



**HAL**  
open science

## Lebanon

Julien Aliquot

► **To cite this version:**

Julien Aliquot. Lebanon. Ted Kaizer. A companion to the Hellenistic and Roman Near East, John Wiley and sons, pp.249-258, 2022, Blackwell companions to the ancient world, 978-1-4443-3982-6. halshs-03517033

**HAL Id: halshs-03517033**

**<https://shs.hal.science/halshs-03517033>**

Submitted on 28 Apr 2022

**HAL** is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

BLACKWELL COMPANIONS TO THE ANCIENT WORLD

A COMPANION TO  
**THE HELLENISTIC AND  
ROMAN NEAR EAST**

EDITED BY  
TED KAIZER



**WILEY** Blackwell

A COMPANION  
TO THE  
HELLENISTIC  
AND ROMAN  
NEAR EAST

*Edited by*

Ted Kaizer  
Durham University  
Durham, UK

WILEY Blackwell

This edition first published 2022  
© 2022 John Wiley & Sons, Inc.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by law. Advice on how to obtain permission to reuse material from this title is available at <http://www.wiley.com/go/permissions>.

The right of Ted Kaizer to be identified as the author of the editorial material in this work has been asserted in accordance with law.

*Registered Office*

John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA

*Editorial Office*

111 River Street, Hoboken, NJ 07030, USA

For details of our global editorial offices, customer services, and more information about Wiley products visit us at [www.wiley.com](http://www.wiley.com).

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats and by print-on-demand. Some content that appears in standard print versions of this book may not be available in other formats.

*Limit of Liability/Disclaimer of Warranty*

While the publisher and authors have used their best efforts in preparing this work, they make no representations or warranties with respect to the accuracy or completeness of the contents of this work and specifically disclaim all warranties, including without limitation any implied warranties of merchantability or fitness for a particular purpose. No warranty may be created or extended by sales representatives, written sales materials or promotional statements for this work. The fact that an organization, website, or product is referred to in this work as a citation and/or potential source of further information does not mean that the publisher and authors endorse the information or services the organization, website, or product may provide or recommendations it may make. This work is sold with the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. The advice and strategies contained herein may not be suitable for your situation. You should consult with a specialist where appropriate. Further, readers should be aware that websites listed in this work may have changed or disappeared between when this work was written and when it is read. Neither the publisher nor authors shall be liable for any loss of profit or any other commercial damages, including but not limited to special, incidental, consequential, or other damages.

*Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data*

Names: Kaizer, Ted, 1971- editor.

Title: A companion to the Hellenistic and Roman Near East / edited by Ted Kaizer, Durham University, Durham, UK.

Description: Hoboken, NJ : John Wiley & Sons, 2021. |

Series: Blackwell companions to the Ancient world |

Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2020047557 (print) | LCCN 2020047558 (ebook) | ISBN 9781444339826 (hardback) | ISBN 9781119528531 (paperback) | ISBN 9781119037293 (pdf) | ISBN 9781119037422 (epub) | ISBN 9781119037354 (ebook) | ISBN 9781119037392 (ebook)

Subjects: LCSH: Middle East--Civilization--To 622--Historiography.

Classification: LCC DS57 .C564 2021 (print) | LCC DS57 (ebook) |

DDC 939.4/04--dc23

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020047557>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2020047558>

Cover image: © Niha Monument, Courtesy of Rubina Raja

Cover design by Wiley

Set in 9.5/11.5 Galliard Std by Integra Software Services, Pondicherry, India

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

*In memory of Sir Fergus Millar*



# Contents

---

Preface	xii
List of Figures	xiii
List of Maps	xxi
Contributor Biographies	xxii
Abbreviations	xxviii
Maps	xxx
1 Introduction	1
<i>Ted Kaizer</i>	
2 Historical Narrative	9
<i>Maurice Sartre</i>	
<b>Part I Sources</b>	<b>19</b>
3 Geographical Sources and Documents	21
<i>Gillian Ramsey</i>	
4 Berossos between Greek and Babylonian Culture	34
<i>Johannes H. Haubold</i>	
5 Lucian, Philo of Byblos, and Ps.-Meliton	44
<i>J.L. Lightfoot</i>	
6 Jewish Sources	54
<i>C.T. Robert Hayward</i>	
7 Josephus	66
<i>Jan Willem van Henten</i>	
8 Syriac Sources	76
<i>Alberto Rigolio</i>	
9 Greek and Latin Inscriptions	86
<i>Pierre-Louis Gatiier</i>	
10 Ancient North Arabian	99
<i>Ahmad al-Jallad</i>	
11 Parchments and Papyri	105
<i>Kimberley Czajkowski</i>	

12	Statues, Reliefs, and Paintings: Hellenism versus Local Culture <i>Lucinda Dirven</i>	114
13	Archaeology and Architecture <i>Rubina Raja</i>	126
14	Numismatics <i>Kevin Butcher</i>	135
15	Air-Photography <i>David L. Kennedy</i>	154
16	Mosaics <i>Janine Balty</i>	177
<b>Part II Regions, Places, and Peoples</b>		<b>189</b>
17	The Tetrapolis and Other City Foundations <i>Apostolos Bousdroukis</i>	191
18	The Decapolis <i>Achim Lichtenberger</i>	213
19	Commagene <i>Margherita Facella</i>	223
20	Hellenistic and Roman Phoenicia <i>Michael Sommer</i>	240
21	Lebanon <i>Julien Aliquot</i>	249
22	Judaea, the Palestinian Coast, the Galilee, Idumaea, and Samaria <i>Yaron Z. Eliav</i>	259
23	The Nabataeans <i>David F. Graf</i>	272
24	Palmyra <i>Jean-Baptiste Yon</i>	284
25	Dura-Europos <i>J.A. Baird</i>	295
26	The Middle Euphrates <i>P.M. Edwell</i>	305
27	The Parthian and Sasanian Near East (including Hatra, Edessa, and the Characene) <i>Tommaso Gnoli</i>	316
28	The Desert and its Peoples <i>M.C.A. Macdonald</i>	327
<b>Part III Themes</b>		<b>335</b>
29	The Roman Armies in the Near East <i>Oliver Stoll</i>	337
30	Roads and Harbors <i>Benjamin Isaac</i>	350
31	Kingdoms and Principalities <i>Andreas J.M. Kropp</i>	365



32	Trade	378
	<i>Michał Gawlikowski</i>	
33	Local and Regional Economies	389
	<i>Kai Ruffing</i>	
34	The Arabs	397
	<i>M.C.A. Macdonald</i>	
35	Indigenous Law	402
	<i>John F. Healey</i>	
36	Funerary Traditions	412
	<i>Lidewijde de Jong</i>	
37	Religious Life	423
	<i>Alison C. Ewins and Eris B. Williams Reed</i>	
38	Early Christianity in the Near East	435
	<i>L. Van Rompay</i>	
	Bibliography	445
	Index	518

## CHAPTER 21

# Lebanon

---

*Julien Aliquot*

Between the Mediterranean sea and the Syrian steppe, the area called “Lebanon” in antiquity included Mount Lebanon itself, along the Phoenician coast, and the parallel range of the Antilebanon with its southern extension, Mount Hermon. Its mountains, which surround the fertile Bekaa Valley, are the highest in the Near East. Culminating at 3083 m above sea level and extending over about 220 km from north to south and 80 km from west to east, they appear as a real water tower. Four of the main rivers of Syria have their sources here: the Orontes and the Litani in the Bekaa, the Barada on the eastern slope of Antilebanon, and the Jordan south of Mount Hermon. A multitude of smaller watercourses also enabled the development of agriculture in altitude at an early date. Lebanon has not seen the birth of any important town in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, apart from Arca, Heliopolis (Baalbek), and Caesarea Paneas. The country was rather the homeland of peasants and shepherds settled on the margins of the very civilized cities of Phoenicia and Damascus. Its history has long been reduced to the account of the disorders created by some of these men when Rome began to impose its authority over the Orient. Recent advances in archaeological and historical research today give a more balanced picture of the situation. They also provide new information on the communities which constructed the temples that already built the reputation of Lebanon under Roman rule.

### The Making of a Lebanese Arabia

Alexander the Great did not arouse a great enthusiasm in the mountain. During the siege of Tyre in 332 BCE, Arabs from Antilebanon harassed the Greeks. Nevertheless, after the Macedonian conquest, the area entered the Hellenized world for more than a millennium. Within the kingdoms ruled by the successors of Alexander it was first under the control of the Ptolemies. The kings of Egypt were much concerned about defending their empire here, and built in the Bekaa the fortresses of Brochoi and Gerrha. Lebanon was directly exposed to the attacks of the Seleucids throughout the third century BCE until Antiochus III took it with all Ptolemaic Syria in 200–198 BCE. Then it depended on the rulers of Antioch. From the late second century BCE the Seleucid monarchy experienced serious crises of succession and underwent the pressure of the Ptolemies,

the Parthians, and Rome. Cities and peoples emancipated inside the kingdom. On the coast the Phoenician cities took their independence one after the other (Chapter 20). In the mountains a people who had never drawn any attention before seized power: the Ituraeans.

The Ituraeans have been identified as Arab robbers since antiquity (Aliquot 1999–2003; Myers 2010; cf. Aliquot 2011). They may be related to the Arabs who had harassed the Greeks during the siege of Tyre, but they are best known later for plundering the neighboring cities and for forming a principality in the Bekaa under the authority of Ptolemaeus, son of Mennaëus (c. 85–40 BCE), tetrarch and high priest of Chalcis ad Libanum. This principality existed even after Pompey conquered Syria in 64/3 BCE because Rome accepted into its clientele the Mennaids of Chalcis and Abilene as well as their kins and rivals from Arca and northern Lebanon. Ituraean client kings controlled territories until the mid-first century CE and were progressively replaced by various sovereigns (Cleopatra, Herod the Great and his heirs, Cotys IX of Armenia Minor). The sources concerning them are numerous and varied. In a disparaging tone the literary tradition (above all Strabo and Josephus) provides valuable information about their dynasties, territories, and lifestyle. Epigraphy brings additional data. Coins tell us about their cults (Herman 2006; Aliquot 2009: 183–185; Kropp 2009a). And excavations and surveys have recently started to reveal the material culture of the local communities.

Beyond the tricky reconstruction of events, the available evidence can address two fundamental questions: to the specific issue of the settlement history of Lebanon the more general problem of the formation of the Arab peoples in antiquity is to be added (on Arabs, Arabia, and Arabic, see Macdonald 2009a, 2009b). Both phenomena have been conceived of as the result of successive waves of migration. In the wake of the orientalist René Dussaud (1955), Arabs were supposed to have periodically left the Arabian Peninsula to reach the Fertile Crescent throughout history (Chapter 34). The Bible is the starting point for Dussaud and his followers (Knauf 1989, 1998). Some books of the Old Testament (e.g. Genesis 25:15) provide a list of the twelve sons of Ishmael, the mythical ancestor of the Arabs. Biblical scholars regard this genealogy as an inventory of a tribal federation formed between the late eighth and the mid-seventh century BCE. According to them this federation should have come from northern Arabia, the topography of which kept some names of the tribes, such as Duma and Tema. Among Ishmael's sons is a Yetur, whose name evokes that of the Ituraeans in Greek (*Itouraiōi*) and Latin (*Ituraei*). On one occasion, in the second century BCE, the translators of the First Book of Chronicles (5:19) replaced the Hebrew name “Yetur” by the Greek ethnic of the Ituraeans. Based on this isolated piece of evidence, the homeland of the Ituraeans was located in northern Arabia. From there the Ituraeans would have migrated northwestwards, because the same text would indicate their presence in Transjordan under the Achaemenids. This is the classical theory, which relies on the references to Yetur in the Old Testament to trace the long migration of the Ituraeans from northern Arabia, or at least from Transjordan, to Lebanon.

This sophisticated reconstruction raises many objections. First, the identification of Yetur with the Ituraeans is based on a single text. It may be the result of a vague assonance. Josephus himself, when he adapted the Bible, never equated Yetur to the eponymous ancestor of the Ituraeans. More generally it must be considered how the Old Testament was written in successive layers before being translated into Greek. The occasional replacement of “Yetur” by the Ituraean ethnic could only correspond to a more or less relevant update of the biblical text. It does not testify to the identity of the two groups. In this respect the case of Yetur is not isolated. The reality of the relations between Ishmael's sons and the peoples that occupied the Near East in the first millennium BCE has recently been challenged. The best-known example is that of the Nabataeans, who were once artificially related to biblical Nebayoth.

In short, nothing proves that the Ituraeans had migrated from northern Arabia. If we stick to the facts, the Ituraeans were referred to only during the late second century BCE, at a time when the Seleucid authority was decaying. North of Lebanon, the Emesans may already have started to settle the middle Orontes Valley around Arethusa (Chapter 2). Southwards the Jewish state of the Hasmonaeans had emerged in Judaea after the Maccabean revolt. In this context the Hasmonaeans

were seeking to expand toward areas already occupied or dominated by Ituraeans. Incidentally they were able to convert some of them to Judaism, at least for a while. Thus all that can be said is that there was a territory populated or dominated by Ituraeans in the second half of the second century BCE and that it was partly coveted by the Hasmonaeans. This territory cannot be defined with high precision, but it should be sought in the Bekaa, where the Hasmonaeans led military expeditions in 104/3 BCE.

Although it leaves unanswered the question of their origin, evidence concerning the Ituraeans helps us to characterize them quite accurately. The Ituraeans formed a “people” – in Greek an *ethnos*, as in Strabo and Josephus; in Latin a *gens*, as in Pliny the Elder. Pliny (*HN* 5.81) also has this interesting phrase: “the people of Ituraeans and those among them who are called ‘Baethaemi’,” which hints at tribal subdivisions within a larger ethnic group. A Latin inscription from Berytus further shows that Rome officially recognized the Ituraean people, even though by fighting it (*CIL* 3.6687). At the same time Rome started to raise auxiliary troops of “Ituraeans,” sent them to the West and soon compensated for their losses by recruiting men locally, so that the Ituraean ethnic came to describe soldiers who did not necessarily originate from Lebanon. On several occasions Ituraeans were also related to Arabs. Strabo (16.2.18 and 16.2.20) mentions separately “Ituraeans and Arabs.” In his turn, Cassius Dio (59.12.2) writes that Caligula appointed a dynast of the “Ituraeans amongst Arabs” in northern Lebanon. To explain these differences we must consider that the Ituraeans were not alone: at the time of the Maccabees the Arabs called “Zabadaeans” occupied Antilebanon, and Strabo himself distinguished between the Ituraean and Arab mountain-dwellers and the peasants of the Bekaa. However, the onomastics and cults of the Ituraean dynasts may point to an Arab identity. As well as Mennaecus, father of the first tetrarch of Chalcis, Soemus and Ouaros, lords of northern Lebanon, bore Hellenized Semitic names which call to mind those of the Arab dynasts of Edessa and Emesa, and which also (though not exclusively) occurred in Arabic languages. On the coins of the dynasts of Chalcis, the images of Athena and the armed Dioscuri reflect the popularity of deities in military dress among the Arabs and the inhabitants of the Syrian steppe. Gods armed with bows and spears still appeared in the civic coinage of Arca under Antoninus (e.g. Seyrig 1970: 97).

The Ituraeans had traditions in common with the Arabs of Syria. While adopting features of Hellenism they were also under the influence of Aramaic culture. With the exception of Mennaecus, the lords of Chalcis bore Greek names (Ptolemaeus, Lysanias, Zenodorus) and some of their gods (Zeus, Hermes, Artemis) were not specifically Arab. On their coins, dates, names, and titles were normally written in Greek. This is not a surprise. In Lebanon as all over the Hellenistic and Roman Near East there was a significant distortion between written and vernacular languages – on the one hand, Greek and Latin, languages of dominant powers; and on the other, Semitic languages, especially Aramaic, which had once been the language of administration and culture in the Achaemenid Empire. In this context it is interesting to find Aramaic letters on a coin minted by Lysanias of Chalcis (Briquel Chatonnet 2005). The text is not clear, though it may be translated “son of Mennaecus.” But its mere existence may indicate that the Ituraeans officially used Aramaic. It is very tempting to relate it to a Hellenistic dedication discovered in Yanuh, east of Byblos. This inscription is the first that demonstrates the use of Aramaic in a public context in Lebanon. Its paleography derives from a standard of the Achaemenid period without relating to any of the branches of Aramaic known in the East. The text commemorates the construction of a temple (“house of gods”) by a group of individuals. It is dated from 110/9 BCE, which corresponds to the time when the Ituraeans seized power. This dedication may testify to the importance of Aramaic culture in the local communities of Lebanon.

To sum up, the issue of the Ituraean ethnic identity calls for a nuanced response. The problem of the geographical origin of the Ituraeans remains unsolved, but it cannot be excluded that they came from Lebanon. A series of clues further permits to regard them as an Arab people influenced by both Greek and Aramaic cultures. Presumably their situation was comparable to that of the Emesans and the Nabataeans, who were sedentarized in the Hellenistic period, who wrote either in Aramaic or in Greek, and whose onomastics and cults were comparable to those of the men

who were referred to as Arabs in antiquity. Under this assumption the Ituraean ethnic would have experienced the same evolution as the Emesan and Nabataean ethnics: it would have referred first to a tribal or ethnic identity, then to the subjection to a prince, and finally, after the annexation of the client states to the Roman Empire, to being native to a specific geographical and cultural area.

In this respect, defining the extent of the Ituraean lands is not easy. What ancient authors called “Ituraea” originally corresponded to the vast Lebanese estate of Ptolemaeus of Chalcis and his son Lysanias. However, Ituraea did not remain unchanged. On the one hand, it was reduced step by step from the 20s BCE. On the other hand, several neighboring regions, including Gaulanitis, Trachonitis, and Auranitis, in present-day Golan and southern Syria, were added to the remains of Ptolemaeus’s estate for a while. Obviously these regions were not areas of Ituraean settlement (despite Hartal 2005), and a distinction ought to be made between the territories which at a given time were under the domination of an Ituraean prince and those areas populated by Ituraeans. This area overall matches the region Strabo calls “the Massyas and the mountainous country of the Ituraeans,” i.e. the Bekaa and the surrounding mountains (*Geogr.* 16.2.10). Chalcis, Arca, and Abila were located there. This is also where the Romans fought Ituraean robbers in the early first century CE. This area has to be regarded as one of the small Arabias of the Near East following Cassius Dio (49.32.5), who equated Ituraeans to Arabs and who logically considered that around 36 BCE Cleopatra was awarded the “Arabia of Ituraeans,” separate, for example, from those of the Emesans and of the Nabataeans.

## Mountain-dwellers and Clients Kings

The ancient tradition is unanimously unfavorable to the Lebanese mountain-dwellers. This is best exemplified by Strabo (*Geogr.* 16.2.18):

After the Macras is the Massyas [i.e. the Bekaa], which also has some mountainous parts where Chalcis is established as an acropolis of the Massyas, and the beginning of which is Laodicea ad Libanum. Ituraeans and Arabs, all of whom are robbers, hold all the mountainous parts, while peasants are in the plains; and when the latter are mistreated by those men, they need different kinds of help. They use strongholds as bases of operation; just as those who hold Lebanon possess, high up, Sinna and Borrana and other fortresses like them, and, down below, Botrys and Gigartus and the caves by the sea and the fort that was erected on the Theouprosopon, all the places Pompey pulled down and from which they raided Byblos and the city that comes next after, Berytus, which both lie between Sidon and Theouprosopon. Now Byblos, the royal residence of Cinyras, is sacred to Adonis. Pompey freed it from tyranny by beheading its tyrant with an axe.

This passage reproduces all the prejudices of the ancient ethnography on pastoral peoples (Briant 1982b). For Strabo, the Lebanese robbers were neither farmers nor even sedentary men. Their mobility makes one think about wanderings of nomads. Their lifestyle differed from that of sedentary peoples because they lived hidden in caves (perhaps rock-cut dwellings). Violence is another commonplace in Strabo, whose *Geography* is based on a scale of civilization where peoples’ humanity decreases analogous to the rise of altitude at which they live. Eventually Strabo’s thesis has a political component. The mountain-dwellers were only able to govern as tyrants. Their opposition to the farmers of the plains justified the intervention of kings before Pompey arrived as a liberator. The conquest is thus presented as a necessity. It must precede the advent of a new order under the Roman rule.

One could quote long passages of Josephus where we find the same presentation of the relationship between Rome and pastoral peoples. On the whole there is no reason to deny that brigandage was practiced, nor that the Ituraeans were involved in this matter; and it is likely that the cities really suffered at the turn of the Christian era, when Rome still had some difficulties to establish its power over the East. Nevertheless the explanation given by the ancient ethnographers

has to be challenged. According to them there was a kind of law of need: robbery was a lifestyle imposed on peoples who occupied a territory difficult or impossible to cultivate. Until recently there was no decisive argument, neither to support this statement nor to pinpoint its weakness. This is why one could read completely contradictory theories on the settlement history of Lebanon. According to the historian Henri Seyrig, the building of the numerous Lebanese temples was linked to the development of villages already in the Hellenistic period and even more under Roman rule (Seyrig 1939b). According to the geographer Xavier de Planhol, Lebanon was settled only during the Middle Ages by the Maronite and Druze communities, who had taken refuge in virtually empty areas (Planhol 1997). Today, while validating Seyrig's brilliant intuition, the work carried out by a French archaeological mission at Yanuh and in the upper valley of the Nahr Ibrahim has shed new light on this issue.

The Yanuh survey was conducted between 1999 and 2005 under the direction of Pierre-Louis Gatier (Gatier and Nordiguian 2005). It covered a remote area on the maritime slope of Mount Lebanon. Twenty kilometers east from Byblos, the Nahr Ibrahim Valley is bounded by a vast amphitheater of high calcareous plateaus. At an average altitude of 1200 m, the water stored in these permeable massives is blocked by impermeable argillaceous rocks and gushes profusely to give birth to the Nahr Ibrahim, the ancient Adonis river. This fertile area is a good example of the geological stratigraphy which brought about the agricultural wealth of Lebanon north of Beirut. The survey showed that it was permanently occupied since the Bronze Age. The era of the Ituraean domination was well-documented too. A series of small forts and entrenched rural settlements were identified in 2003 and dated from this period. These sites were difficult to access and visible from each other. Together they formed a network similar to the one described by Strabo. In the first centuries CE they were seemingly abandoned before being reoccupied in the Middle Ages. Under the Roman Empire the mountain-dwellers would therefore have settled the most suitable areas for agriculture, between 1000 and 1600 m above sea level, especially near the sanctuary of Yanuh. The first impression of an austere and self-sufficient life hardly stands up. Fine imported ceramics and Phoenician productions of the early first century BCE have been found in Yanuh. Although they were isolated, the mountain-dwellers had contacts with the Phoenician cities while under Ituraean rule. In addition, traces of rural housing of the early first century CE showed that they already occupied parts of the valley. Finally, an Aramaic inscription from Yanuh proved that, as early as the late second century BCE (Briquel Chatonnet 2005), they were able to dedicate officially a religious building (a sacrificial platform).

It would be interesting to check the exemplarity of Yanuh's case. Further south, in the hinterland of Sidon, a Polish–Lebanese–French mission has investigated a village associated with a pagan and Christian sanctuary at Chhim (Waliszewski and Ortali-Tarazi 2002). The site was particularly flourishing from the first to the eighth century CE. It was also occupied in Hellenistic times. However Chhim did not necessarily belong to the area of Ituraean settlement. Other missions were conducted in northern Lebanon and on Mount Hermon, but they only provided evidence for sporadic occupation before the coming of Rome. More generally, it is too early to identify a specific Ituraean material culture (despite Dar 1993 and Hartal 2005). One can only be skeptical about the allocation to Ituraeans of the “Golan ware,” which consists of large *pithoi* sometimes inscribed in Greek. In fact this ware was produced outside the main Ituraean settlement area and continued to be produced after the end of the Ituraean domination. Nothing suggests that it ought to be described as “Ituraean.”

Although it is not yet possible to generalize the case of Yanuh, we can safely consider that sedentary groups settled Lebanon in the Hellenistic period. Former judgments about the Ituraeans and the other Lebanese mountain-dwellers should therefore be revised, especially their assimilation to nomads who would have obtained by robbery what nature would have refused to give. This picture was probably forged in cities that suffered from their onslaughts. As it happens, the literary tradition illustrates the persistence of ancient commonplaces on pastoral peoples more than it gives positive information about their lifestyle. Overall it reveals what this lifestyle was not: the Lebanese mountain-dwellers ignored city life in the Hellenistic period; whether they were Arabic-speakers or not, be they shepherds, farmers, or bandits (or all three at once), they were at

least partly sedentarized, they were able to write in Aramaic, and the most powerful of them were likely to adopt some elements of Greek culture. And the same is true for their lords.

The Ituraean lords were divided between two families: the dynasty of Chalcis ad Libanum, i.e. the Mennaiids, or Mennaëus's heirs (Ptolemaeus, Lysanias, Zenodorus, most probably related to the princes of Abila of Lysanias), and the princes of Arca (Soaemus, Ptolemaeus, Soaemus, Ouaros). Despite some differences of political views, all of them were at the head of states comparable to those which had emerged out of the Seleucid kingdom before entering the clientele of Rome. They bore the title of "tetrarch." Their behavior was reminiscent of that of the Hellenistic rulers. The princes of Chalcis in particular asserted their independence by minting coins bearing the sovereign's name, his portrait, and the emblems of the dynasty. They may have demonstrated their power by building aristocratic monuments, such as the monument of Hermel north of the Bekaa. Exercise of power was also associated with Hellenization. The Mennaiids had Greek inscriptions on their coins. Similarly they chose to figure their ancestral gods in a Greek manner. The Ituraean princes therefore ostensibly tried to hide their barbarian origins by adopting modes of expression privileged in the Hellenistic world. This attitude was the same as that of their Syrian counterparts, especially the Arab kings of Emesa, to whom they were bound by diplomatic and matrimonial alliances. Something else put the Mennaiids closer to these dynasts: they were at the head of both a principality and a major sanctuary, in this case most probably that of Heliopolis-Baalbek (Aliquot 2009; Kropp 2009a), where their heirs were still buried under the Rome Empire.

Each Ituraean dynasty had its own capitals: for the Mennaiids, Chalcis ad Libanum in the Bekaa and Abila of Lysanias on Antilebanon; for the lords of northern Lebanon, Arca in the plain of Akkar, at the location of the early Hellenistic city of Heraclea of Phoenicia. Only Arca could ever have claimed the status of a city following its refoundation as a Caesarea in the early Roman period. Its development resulted either from an Ituraean initiative or from a Herodian decision. In any case, the Ituraean past was still locally meaningful enough under the Severan dynasty for the city to mint coins under the name of "Caesarea of the Ituraeans." The fact that Alexander Severus was born here was certainly decisive. Unlike Arca, Chalcis and Abila were just the main settlements of rural communities. Chalcis probably has to be placed at the current location of the Ptolemaic fortress of Gerrha (Majdal Aanjar) in the Bekaa. It should also be identical to the *castellum* mentioned in a famous Latin epitaph from Berytus (*CIL* 3.6687). The text outlines the career of the prefect Quintus Aemilius Secundus, who was credited with the capture of the *castellum* of the Ituraeans on Mount Lebanon around 6/7 CE. Obviously this *castellum* was not one of the small forts of northern Lebanon, but rather an important fortress, the capture of which preceded the breakup of the Mennaid principality, following which the site was certainly integrated in the territory of Berytus. Chalcis's failure was similar to the mediocre fate of Abila of Lysanias. The latter was scattered around modern Suq Wadi Barada above Damascus. According to its name, a Mennaid had founded it either in the late first century BCE or in the early first century CE. The place is well known for its sanctuaries, especially for the high place of Nabi Abel, which, under Tiberius, was dedicated to Cronos by a freedman of the tetrarch Lysanias (the same Lysanias as in Luke 3:1). Abila may have been incorporated into the territory of Damascus before it became a city in late antiquity.

## Rome in Lebanon

The situation changed step by step under Roman rule. Following the conquest of the Near East by Pompey in 64/3 BCE, most parts of Lebanon were ruled by client kings in the name of Rome. The area was definitely integrated into the province of Syria only in the late first century CE, after the death of Agrippa II, the last Herodian king. It remained in the same province until 194 CE, after which it came to belong to Syria Phoenice until the territorial modifications of the fourth century CE. Soon, nothing was heard of the Ituraeans, apart from those who had been recruited

in the Roman army. On a smaller scale, the emperors monopolized forest resources while allowing the cities to possess parts of the mountain. Lebanon was divided between the Phoenician cities, Damascus, and a Roman colony that was granted the privilege of *ius Italicum*. The latter, the first of its kind in Syria, was founded under Augustus in 27 BCE at the location of Berytus. Populated by Roman veterans from the legions *V Macedonica* and *VIII Gallica*, the new *colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Berytus* saw its territory being extended in the Bekaa to the sources of the Orontes river by Augustus's son-in-law Marcus Agrippa around 15 BCE. In Heliopolis the Roman colonists continued the work of the Ituraeans and (maybe) the Herodians (Wiegand 1921–25; Aliquot 2009, 2010b, 2019; Kropp 2010b; Van Ess and Rheidt 2014; Lohmann 2017). The site certainly belonged to their territory until Septimius Severus made it an independent colony in 194 CE to thank its inhabitants for their support during the war against Pescennius Niger while punishing the citizens of Berytus for their defection. The important point is that the Roman takeover was contemporary with the construction of an impressive set of more than a hundred sanctuaries (Aliquot 2009, with a comprehensive gazetteer). Cities were far from being responsible for all of this. Some districts of the former client kings kept an ambiguous status. Others had a marginal situation in relation to the cities on which they depended. The new sanctuaries were especially numerous there.

There are still some misconceptions about the Lebanese sanctuaries. Too often they are presented as places where the depths of oriental paganism would have been transformed only superficially by the Greco-Roman tradition. Here we are faced with the presuppositions of a model that has met with great success in both scholarly and popular literature on the ancient Near Eastern religions: the model of the high places, according to the most common translation of the Hebrew term *bamah*, which refers to the outdoor places of worship of Canaan before its conquest by the Hebrews. This model is based on the (real) presence of dozens of Roman sanctuaries in the Phoenician hinterland and on the (much more questionable) assimilation of the culture of the worshippers of these sanctuaries to that of the Canaanites of the Bible and the Phoenicians. This model partly owed its success to the reputation of Lebanon. Since antiquity, the mountain has been identified with a border land consecrated to the gods, overrun with wild beasts, and inhabited by giants or by men close to the state of nature. Under Roman rule the Phoenicians reproduced this picture, even though they interpreted the regional mythology in Greek terms. Philo of Byblos, in his *Phoenician History*, regarded Lebanon and Antilebanon as divine giants and rejected them on the fringes of primitive humanity (for this author, see Chapter 5). For others, Lebanon was a small Arabia, or a Near Eastern Arcadia, i.e. a harsh country of shepherds and giants. The Ituraean raids probably revived these legends that reflected the prejudices of ancient ethnography on Arab, pastoral, and nomadic peoples.

Lebanon's Roman sanctuaries were very different from the traditional places of worship of Phoenicia, where the agglutination of chapels and rooms inside an enclosed courtyard still prevailed in Roman times. Their features reflected the emergence of a new way of designing sacred spaces. Religious building tended to be planned by the use of architectural drawings, plans, and models. One building, the temple, was more important than ever. It was clearly distinguished from the altar, standing in an axial position on a high podium, and closed. These changes modified the way of looking at the statues nestled in the *adyton*, which only the priests were allowed to enter. Of course, all this took place in accordance with tradition and there were adjustments and exceptions to these trends. Sanctuaries without temples still existed in Sfireh and Mashnaqa. High-altitude cults were still practiced on the summits (the most spectacular example being that of Mount Hermon at 2814 m above sea level) or through the construction of tower-altars at Sfireh, Machnaqa, Qalaat Faqra, and Baalbek. In any case, the religious building accompanied the advent of a new social order. It was due neither to Rome, nor to cities (apart from Arca, Heliopolis, and Caesarea Paneas), but to villagers. The sanctuaries were built by notables who came after the client kings. This is why their aspect reflected the search for a compromise between local traditions and Roman models that had been first adapted at Berytus and Heliopolis (Figure 21.1). This is also the reason why the Lebanese temples today appear as the most "Roman" temples of the





**Figure 21.1** The courtyard of the great Roman sanctuary at Heliopolis-Baalbek. © J. Aliquot 2009.

Roman Near East. Notables funded the religious buildings, managed the priesthoods, controlled the sacred funds, and dedicated their own resources to the gods. The choice they made to adapt the Roman architecture thus appears as a manifestation of their influence on society and as a means to perpetuate their domination.

Under no circumstances were the rural sanctuaries of Lebanon museums of the timeless religiosity of the Semitic East – this unlikely avatar of Orientalism. Their worshippers were as much concerned to show their attachment to ancestral traditions as to comply with the traditions of the Roman world. With that in mind, they translated vows by imitating behaviors that were already known in neighboring towns, especially in Phoenicia. They transcribed votive formulas into Greek or Latin, and gave Greek or Latin names to their gods. It is true that we find in the names of the gods some Phoenician elements, for instance with Jupiter Balmarcodes (“Lord of Dances”) at Dayr al-Qalaa, and especially Aramaic elements, with Zeus Beelgalasos and Atargatis at Qalaat Faqra, or Hadaranes and Atargatis in the *pagus Augustus* of Niha. However the adoption of the Greek and Latin nomenclature came to mask the nuances that could be made if the worshippers had their dedications written in a Semitic language. The gods were distinguished from each other by references to their local, village, or civic roots, or by their success beyond civic boundaries. For example, images of Venus mourning the death of Adonis were not only discovered in Byblos, but also in Arca and Yanuh. Lebanon was definitely not a region where religious traditions would have remained archaic because they were practiced by communities without contact with the cities and the world outside.

More generally the Lebanese worshippers adhered to a theology that was widespread throughout the Roman Near East (Chapter 37). A couple of gods stood at the head of local pantheons. On the one hand, the supreme god was called Zeus or Jupiter, when he did not remain anonymous. He was sometimes accompanied by a messenger, an angel, and his power was the subject of astrological speculations. The Ladies of Lebanon, on the other hand, were called Atargatis, Aphrodite, Juno Regina, Leucothea, Venus, and Urania. In the definition of these doctrines the participation of the clergy is not always detectable, but the role of priests in the management of the sanctuaries may give a hint. Lebanon was also marked by larger currents that went through the Roman world – for instance, the exaltation of supreme gods participated to the henotheistic trend that was characteristic of the new religious style of the imperial era.

In the various expressions of piety, borrowings from Greek tradition played an important role, as everywhere in Roman Syria. What distinguishes Lebanon from the rest of the Near East is that here the Romans were not left behind. While colonizing the Bekaa they restructured the Lebanese cults and gave them a public character. Their contribution was evident in the case of the Heliopolitan triad, the group of gods consisting of Jupiter (*Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus*, usually abbreviated to *IOMH*), Venus, and Mercury (Hajjar 1977, 1985, 1990; Aliquot 2009, 2010b; Kropp 2010b). The model was totally new in the area. It was established in Heliopolis by the Romans from Berytus, who were inspired by the organization of the Roman Capitoline triad when they tried to synthesize the cults of their territory. From the Bekaa the Heliopolitan cult spread to the West in the wake of the diaspora from Berytus and Heliopolis. Its oracle drew the attention of emperors, because Jupiter was available for consultation either locally or remotely. In Heliopolis the Romans also innovated by introducing a new mystery cult, that of Bacchus, to whom a temple was dedicated in the second century CE. Outside Heliopolis they were finally responsible for the reorganization of other local pantheons, insofar as the Heliopolitan cult was either adopted, or imitated, in the Bekaa and in the mountains.

One may wonder when all this ended. Officially Theodosius I issued an edict to prohibit sacrifices and to decree the closure of temples in 391/2 CE. These drastic measures came after more than a century of struggle between supporters of the pagan tradition and followers of the Christian faith. What happened in Lebanon? Here as elsewhere in the Near East no pagan sanctuary was founded in the fourth century CE. It seems that the sanctuaries were gradually abandoned as Christianization progressed in society, but Lebanon was not affected by this change at the same rate as all other regions. Christianization spread faster and earlier in

northern Syria. Pagans were still active in and around Heliopolis in the sixth century CE, though in private circles or in remote areas. At the same time deliberate destructions by the Christians were rare. They occurred only in places that were famous for the licentious character of their cult, such as Aphrodite's sanctuary in Afqa at the mouth of the Adonis river, which was destroyed on the order of Constantine around 333 CE (Euseb. *Vit. Const.* 3.55.3–5; Sozom. *Hist. eccl.* 2.5.5–7). However, pagan sanctuaries remained for a long time protected as public places by the Roman authorities. Looting and reuse of their materials was also long prohibited and the Christians themselves were at first very reluctant to install their churches where demons had once been worshipped. The history of Lebanon thus took place in a renewed frame in Byzantine times.

### FURTHER READING

There are two comprehensive studies on the topics discussed here: Aliquot 1999–2003 deals in detail with the Ituraeans and the Arab presence in Lebanon; Aliquot 2009 is a book on religious life and social history of Lebanon in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, with a gazetteer of all the sanctuaries in the area (including Mount Lebanon, Antilebanon, Mount Hermon, Heliopolis, and the Bekaa), photographs, maps, developed index, and bibliography. On Arabs, Arabia, and Arabic, see most recently Macdonald 2009a and 2009b. About the Ituraeans, their dynasts, and the other clients kings, see also Herman 2006 (coinage of the lords of Chalcis), Gatier 2007c: 483–489 (Cotys IX of Armenia Minor and the Arabia of Ituraeans), Briquel Chatonnet 2005 (language), and Kropp 2009a (Ituraeans and Heliopolis); Myers 2010 is problematic (cf. Aliquot 2011). Emesans: Gatier 1996; Kropp 2010a. Heliopolis and Heliopolitan cults: Wiegand (ed.) 1921–25 (architecture); Hajjar 1977, 1985 and 1990 (Heliopolitan triad); Aliquot 2010b (oracle) and 2019 (Capitolia); Kropp 2010b (iconography and cults); Van Ess and Rheidt (eds.) 2014 (recent archaeological research); Lohmann 2017 (greater sanctuary of Jupiter). Other sanctuaries and rural life: Krencker and Zschietzschmann 1938 (architecture); Dar 1993 (Mount Hermon); Gatier and Nordiguian (eds.) 2005 (Yanuh); Waliszewski and Ortali-Tarazi (eds.) 2002 (Chhim); Gatier, Nordiguian, and Yon (eds.) 2009 (recent works). Epigraphy of Lebanon in the *IGLS* series: VI (Baalbek and the Bekaa); VIII.3 (forest inscriptions); XI (Mount Hermon).

# Bibliography

---

- Abadie-Reynal, C. 2001. "Apamée et Séleucie-Zeugma: des villes jumelles sur l'Euphrate", *Histoire urbaine* 3: 7–24.
- Abadie-Reynal, C. 2002. "Les maisons aux décors mosaïqués de Zeugma", *CRAI* 146: 751–759.
- Abadie-Reynal, C. 2003. "L'urbanisme séleucide: l'exemple des sites d'Apamée de l'Euphrate et de Séleucie-Zeugma", in M.-Th. Le Dinahet (ed.), *L'Orient méditerranéen de la mort d'Alexandre au I<sup>er</sup> siècle avant notre ère. Anatolie, Chypre, Egypte, Syrie*. Nantes: 354–373.
- Abadie-Reynal, C. (ed.) 2012. *Zeugma III, Fouilles de l'habitat (2). La maison des "synaristôsai" – Nouvelles Inscriptions*. Lyon.
- Abadie-Reynal, C. 2015. "Les fouilles de sauvetage de Zeugma: un bilan des résultats", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28: 821–845.
- Abadie-Reynal, C., E. Bucak and F. Bulgan 2000. "Zeugma-moyenne vallée de l'Euphrate, rapport préliminaire de la campagne de fouilles de 1999", *Anatolia Antiqua* 8: 279–337.
- Abadie-Reynal, C. and R. Ergeç 1997. "Mission de Zeugma – moyenne vallée de l'Euphrate", *Anatolia Antiqua* 5: 349–370.
- Abadie-Reynal, C. and R. Ergeç (eds.) 2012. *Zeugma I. Fouilles de l'habitat (1). La mosaïque de Pasiphae*. Paris.
- Abadie-Reynal, C., R. Ergeç and E. Bucak e.a. 1999. "Zeugma – Moyenne vallée de l'Euphrate. Rapport préliminaire de la campagne de fouilles de 1998", *Anatolia Antiqua* 7: 311–366.
- Abadie-Reynal, C. and J. Gaborit 2003. "Le développement urbain en Syrie du Nord. Étude des cas de Séleucie et Apamée de l'Euphrate", in *Topoi Suppl.4*. Lyon: 149–169.
- Abadie-Reynal, C. and J.-B. Yon 2015. *Zeugma VI. La Syrie romaine. Permanences et transferts culturels*. Lyon.
- Abdallah, K. 2012. "Mosaïque d'Héraclès découverte à Homs (Syrie Centrale)", in M. Sahin (ed.), *11th International Colloquium on Ancient Mosaics, 2009 Bursa Turkey*. Istanbul: 1–13.
- Abdallah, K. 2018. *Les mosaïques romaines et byzantines de Syrie du Nord. La collection du musée de Maarrat al-Nu'man. Inventaire des mosaïques antiques de Syrie* 3. Beirut.
- Abdallah, K., A. Desreumaux and M. al-Kaid 2020. "Nouvelles mosaïques d'Osrhoène découvertes *in situ* en Syrie du nord", *Journal of Mosaic Research* 13: 1–34.
- Abdulkarim, M. and O. Olesti-Vila 2007. "Les centuriations dans la province romaine de Syrie: nouvelles perspectives d'étude", *Syria* 84: 249–276.
- Abdul-Massih, J. 2009. "La fortification polygonale et les mosaïques d'une maison romaine à Cyrrhus (Nebi Hourî)", *Syria* 86: 289–306.
- Abdul-Massih, J. (ed.) 2012a. *Cyrrhus I. Le théâtre de Cyrrhus d'après les archives d'Edmond Frézouls*, avec les contributions de F. Alpi, J.-Cl. Bessac, S. Binninger, Z. Fani and A. Youssef. Beirut.

- Abdul-Massih, J. 2012b. "La mission archéologique libano-syrienne de Cyrrihus, bilan des travaux 2006–2011", *CRAI* 156: 303–330.
- Abel, F.-M. 1914. "Le littoral palestinien et ses ports", *Revue Biblique* 11: 556–590.
- Abou Diwan, G. 2016. *Sarepta V. The Coin Finds of Areas I and II (X, Y). Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine and Medieval Periods*. Beirut.
- Adler, W. 2004. "Sextus Julius Africanus and the Roman Near East in the third century," *Journal of Theological Studies* 44: 520–550.
- Adrych, P., R. Bracey, D. Dalglisch, R. Wood and S. Lenk 2017. *Images of Mithra*. Oxford.
- Aggoula, B. 1991. *Inventaire des inscriptions hatréennes*. Paris.
- Aharoni, A. 1954. "The Roman Road to Aila (Elath)", *Israel Exploration Journal* 4: 9–16.
- Ahmad, T. 2018. *Il complesso monumentale di Baitokaike (Hoson Sulaiman – Siria)*. Oxford.
- Akamatis, I. 2011. "Pella", in R. Lane Fox (ed.), *Brill's Companion to Ancient Macedon. Studies in the Archaeology and History of Macedon, 650 BC-300 AD*. Leiden: 393–408.
- Alabe, F. 2005. "Céramiques hellénistiques d'Europos à Doura", in P. Leriche, M. Gelin and A. Dandreaux (eds.), *Doura-Europos Etudes V, 1994–1997*. Paris: 163–198.
- Alabe, F. 2012. "Vaisselle d'Europos hellénistique: la carrière en contrebas de la rue principale et son comblement", in P. Leriche, G. Coqueugniot and S. De Pontbriand (eds.), *Europos-Doura Varia I*. Beirut: 161–184.
- Albani, M. 1994. *Astronomie und Schöpfungsglaube: untersuchungen zum astronomischen Henochbuch*. Neukirchen-Vluyn.
- Alcock, S.E. 2007. "The Eastern Mediterranean", in W. Scheidel, I. Morris and R. Saller (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*. Cambridge: 671–697.
- Alexander, P.S. 2010. "Using Rabbinic literature as a source for the history of late-Roman Palestine: problems and issues", in M. Goodman and P.S. Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late-Roman Palestine, Proceedings of the British Academy* 165. Oxford: 7–24.
- Alföldy, A. 1937. "Die Hauptereignisse des Jahre 253–261 n. Chr. im Orient im Spiegel der Münzprägung", *Berytus* 4: 41–68.
- Alföldy, G. 2000. "Das Heer in der Sozialstruktur des Römischen Kaiserreiches", in id., B. Dobson and W. Eck (eds.), *Kaiser, Heer und Gesellschaft in der Römischen Kaiserzeit. Gedenkschrift für Eric Birley*. HABES 31. Stuttgart 2000: 33–57.
- Aliquot, J. 1999–2003. "Les Iturécens et la présence arabe au Liban du II<sup>e</sup> siècle a.C. au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle p.C.", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 56: 161–290.
- Aliquot, J. 2009. *La vie religieuse au Liban sous l'Empire romain*. BAH 189. Beirut.
- Aliquot, J. 2010a. "Laodicée-sur-mer et les fondations de l'empereur Constance", *Chiron* 40: 61–76.
- Aliquot, J. 2010b. "Au pays des bétéyles: l'excursion du philosophe Damascius à Émèse et à Héliopolis du Liban", *Cahiers du Centre Gustave-Glotz* 21: 305–328.
- Aliquot, J. 2011. "Review of E.A. Myers, *The Ituraeans and the Roman Near East* (2010)", *Topoi* 17: 701–705.
- Aliquot, J. 2015. "A Laodicean on Mount Casius", in M. Blömer, A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.), *Contextualising the Sacred in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East*. Turnhout: 157–167.
- Aliquot, J. 2019. "Heliopolitan Capitolia: from Greek games to Christian pilgrimage", *Religion in the Roman Empire* 5: 145–169.
- al-Jallad, A.M. 2014a. "An Ancient Arabian zodiac: the constellations in the Safaitic inscriptions, part I", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 25: 214–230.
- al-Jallad, A.M. 2014b. "On the genetic background of the Rbbl Bn Hf'm grave inscription at Qaryat Al-Fāw", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 77: 445–465.
- al-Jallad, A.M. 2015. *An Outline of the Grammar of the Safaitic inscriptions*, *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics* 80. Leiden.
- al-Jallad, A.M. 2016. "An Ancient Arabian zodiac: the constellations in the Safaitic inscriptions, part II", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 27: 84–106.
- al-Jallad, A.M. 2017. "Graeco-Arabica I: the Southern Levant", in id. (ed.), *Arabic in Context: Celebrating 400 Years of Arabic at Leiden University*, *Studies in Semitic Languages and Linguistics* 89. Leiden: 99–186.
- al-Jallad, A.M. 2018a. "The earliest stages of Arabic and its linguistic classification", in E. Benmamoun and R. Bassiouney (eds.) *The Routledge Handbook of Arabic Linguistics*. London: 315–331.
- al-Jallad, A.M. 2018b. "What is Ancient North Arabian?", in D. Birnstiel and N. Pat-El (eds.) *Re-engaging Comparative Semitic and Arabic Studies*. Wiesbaden: 1–43.

- al-Jallad, A.M. 2020. "Notes on the language of the Hismaic inscriptions and a re-reading of line 4 of the Madaba Hismaic inscription", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 30: 561–569.
- al-Jallad, A.M. and K. Jaworska 2019. *A Dictionary of the Safaitic Inscriptions*. Leiden and Boston.
- al-Jallad, A.M. and A. al-Manasir 2015. "New Epigraphica from Jordan I: a pre-Islamic Arabic inscription in Greek Letters and a Greek inscription from north-eastern Jordan", *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 1: 51–70.
- al-Jallad, A.M., al-Salameen, Z.M., al-Shdifat, Y.M and Harahsheh, R.M.A. 2020. "Gaius the Roman and the Kawnites: inscriptional evidence for Roman auxiliary units raised from the nomads of the ḥarrah," in P.M.M.G. Akkermans (ed.), *Landscape of Survival*. Leiden: 355–362.
- al-Khraysheh, F. 1986. *Die Personennamen in den nabatäischen Inschriften des Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*. PhD Marburg.
- Allag, C. 2004. "La sanctuaire de la rue principale (M5) de Doura-Europos: la décoration murale", in P. Leriche, M. Gelin and A. Dandrau (eds.) *Doura-Europos Etudes V, 1994–1997*. Paris: 99–112.
- Allara, A. 2002. *Problemi di architettura domestica a Dura-Europos sull'Euphrate. L'isolato dei vasai (B2)*. Naples.
- al-Maqdissi, M. 2000. "Notes sur les sondages réalisés par Robert du Mesnil du Buisson dans la cour du sanctuaire de Bêl à Palmyre. Annexe. Première campagne 1965. Deuxième campagne 1967", *Syria* 77: 137–158.
- al-Maqdissi, M., F. Braemer and J.-M. Dentzer (eds.) 2010. *Hauran V. La Syrie du Néolithique à l'Antiquité tardive. Recherches récentes. Actes du colloque de Damas 2007*. Damascus.
- al-Maqdissi, M., F. Braemer, J.-M. Dentzer and E. Ishaq 2013. *Hauran V. La Syrie du Sud du Néolithique à l'Antiquité tardive II*. Beirut.
- Almqvist, K. and L. Belfrage (eds.) 2016. *Cultural Heritage at Risk*. Stockholm.
- al-Otaibi, F.M. 2011. *From Nabataea to Roman Arabia: Acquisition or Conquest*, BAR 2212. Oxford.
- Alpass, P. 2013. *The Religious Life of Nabataea. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 175. Leiden.
- al-Salameen, Z. 2005. "Nabataean wine-presses from Bayda, Southern Jordan", *Aram* 17: 115–127.
- Alram, M. 1986. *Nomina propria iranica in nummis*, Iranisches personennamenbuch IV, Wien.
- al-Salameen, Z. and H. Falahat 2012. "Two new Nabataean inscriptions from Wādī Mūsā, with discussion of Gaia and the marzēah", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 57: 37–51.
- al-Salameen, Z. and M. Hazza 2018. "New Nabataean inscriptions from Umm al-Jimāl", *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 4: 87–106.
- al-Salameen, Z., Y. al-Shdaifat and R. Haransheh 2018. "Nabataean echoes in al-Ḥarrah: new evidence in light of recent field work", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 150: 60–79.
- Alston, R. 1995. *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt*. London.
- Alston, R. 1998. *Aspects of Roman History AD 14–117*. London.
- Alt, A. 1929. "Römerstrasse Jerusalem-Eleutheropolis", *Palästina Jahrbuch* 25: 18–23 and 124–126.
- Alt, A. 1954. "Stationen der römischen Hauptstrasse von Ägypten nach Syrien", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 70: 154–166.
- al-Talhi, D. and M. al-Daire 2005. "Roman presence in the desert", *Chiron* 35: 206–217.
- al-Theeb, S.A.R. 1993. *Aramaic and Nabataean Inscriptions from North-West Saudi Arabia*. Riyadh.
- Alzoubi, M.A. 2007. "Les formules juridiques dans les contrats nabatéens", in S. Démare-Lafont and A. Lemaire (eds.), *Trois millénaires de formulaires juridiques, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques II; Hautes études orientales Moyen et Proche Orient* 4/48. Geneva: 321–336.
- Alzoubi, M.A. 2011. *Les formules juridiques dans les inscriptions nabatéennes. Étude analytique*. Saarbrücken.
- Ando, C. 2000. *Imperial Ideology and Provincial Loyalty in the Roman Empire*. Berkeley, CA.
- Andrade, N.J. 2010. "Ambiguity, violence, and community in the cities of Judaea and Syria", *Historia* 59: 342–370.
- Andrade, N.J. 2012. "Inscribing the citizen: Soados and the civic context of Palmyra", *MAARAV* 19: 65–90.
- Andrade, N.J. 2013. *Syrian Identity in the Greco-Roman World*. Cambridge.
- Andrade, N.J. 2015. "A Syriac document and its cultural implications for third-century Roman Syriac", in M. Doerfler, E. Fiano and K. Smith (eds.), *Syriac Encounters. Papers from the Sixth North American Syriac Symposium. Duke University, 26–29 June 2011*. Leuven: 239–257.
- Andrade, N.J. 2020. "Romans and Iranians: experiences of imperial governance in Roman Mesopotamia", in K. Berthelot (ed.), *Reconsidering Roman Power: Roman, Greek, Jewish and Christian Perceptions and Reactions*. Rome: published online at <https://books.openedition.org/efr/5148>.
- Anonymous 1914. "Paris – le Caire en aéroplane", *L'Illustration*, no.3698 (10 Janvier): 28–29.

- APAAME (<https://www.flickr.com/photos/apaame/sets/72157652009016911>)
- Aperghis, G.G. 2001. "Population – production – taxation – coinage. A model for the Seleukid economy", in Z.H. Archibald e.a. (eds.), *Hellenistic Economies*. London and New York: 69–102.
- Aperghis, G.G. 2004. *The Seleukid Royal Economy. The Finances and Financial Administration of the Seleukid Empire*. Cambridge.
- Aperghis, G.G. 2005. "City building and the Seleukid royal economy", in Z.H. Archibald, J. Davies and V. Gabrielsen (eds.), *Making, Moving and Managing. The New World of Ancient Economies, 323–31 BC*. Oxford: 27–43.
- Aperghis, G.G. 2008. "Managing an empire – teacher to pupil", in S.M.R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran. Cross-Cultural Encounters*. Athens: 137–147.
- Archibald, Z. 2001. "Away from Rostovtzeff: a New SEHHW", in ead. e.a. (eds.), *Hellenistic Economies*. London and New York: 379–388.
- Argall, R.A. 1995. *I Enoch and Sirach*. Atlanta, GA.
- Ariel, D.T. 1982. "A survey of coin finds in Jerusalem", *Liber Annuus* 32: 273–326.
- Ariel, D.T. and J.-P. Fontanille 2011. *The Coins of Herod. A Modern Analysis and Die Classification*. Leiden.
- Arnaud, P. 1986. "Doura-Europos: microcosme grec ou rouage de l'administration arsacide? Modes de maîtrise du territoire et intégration des notables locaux dans la pratique administrative des rois arsacides", *Syria* 68: 135–155.
- Arnaud, P. 1993. "De la durée à la distance: l'évaluation des distances maritimes dans le monde gréco-romain", *Histoire et Mesure* 8 (3–4): 225–247.
- Arzhanov, Y. 2019. *Syriac Sayings of Greek Philosophers. A Study in Syriac Gnomologia with Edition and Translation*. Leuven.
- As'ad, K. and J.-B. Yon, with the collaboration of T. Fournet 2001. *Inscriptions de Palmyre. Promenades épigraphiques dans la ville de Palmyre, Guides archéologiques de l'Institut français du Proche-Orient* 3. Beirut.
- Ashbrook Harvey, S. 1990. *Asceticism and Society in Crisis. John of Ephesus and the Lives of the Eastern Saints*. Berkeley, CA.
- Ashton, R. 2012. "The Hellenistic world: the cities of mainland Greece and Asia Minor", in W.E. Metcalf (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. Oxford and New York: 191–210.
- Atayi, M.T. and S. Zare 2019. "A new Achaemenid building complex in Kerman", *Achemenet – Arta* 2019.004: 1–16.
- Atkinson, K. 2004. *I Cried to the Lord: A Study of the Psalms of Solomon's Historical Background and Social Setting*. Leiden.
- Attridge, H.W. and R.A. Oden 1976. *De Dea Syria*. Missoula, MT.
- Attridge, H.W. and R.A. Oden 1980. *The Phoenician History*. Washington, DC.
- Augé, C. 1989. "La monnaie en Syrie à l'époque hellénistique et romaine", in J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (eds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie II. La Syrie de l'époque achéménide à l'avènement d'Islam*. Saarbrücken: 149–190.
- Augé, C., L. Bore, J. Dentzer-Feydy, C. March, F. Renel and L. Tholbecq 2016. "Le sanctuaire du Qasr al-Bint et ses bords", *Syria* 93: 255–310.
- Augé, C. and F. Duyrat (eds.) 2002. *Les monnayages syriens. Quel apport pour l'histoire du Proche-Orient hellénistique et romain?* Beirut.
- Avery-Peck, A. and J. Neusner (eds.) 2006. *Mishnah in Contemporary Research*. Leiden.
- Aviam, M. 2004. "Regionalism of tombs and burial customs in the Galilee during the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine periods", in id. (ed.), *Jews, Pagans and Christians in the Galilee. 25 Years of Archaeological Excavations and Surveys: Hellenistic to Byzantine Periods*. Rochester: 257–313.
- Avigad, N. 1976. *Beth She'arim; Report on the Excavations during 1936–1940 III: Catacombs* 12–23. New Brunswick, NJ.
- Avi-Yonah, M. 1950–51. "The development of the Roman road system in Palestine", *Israel Exploration Journal* 1: 54–60.
- Avi-Yonah, M. 1952. "Mount Carmel and the God of Baalbek", *Israel Exploration Journal* 2: 118–124.
- Avner, U. 2015a. "Desert farming in the southern 'Araba Valley, Israel, 2nd century B.C. to 11th Century AD", in A. Davies, F. Retamero and I. Schjellerup (eds.), *Making Agro-pastoral Landscapes in Pre-industrial Societies: Choices, Stability and Change*. Oxford: 19–35.
- Avner, U. 2015b. "The Nabataeans in Southern Sinai", *Aram* 27: 397–429.
- Avni, G., U. Dahari and A. Kloner 2008. *The Necropolis of Bet Guvrin-Eleutheropolis*. Jerusalem.

- Aylward, W. 2013. *Excavations at Zeugma, Conducted by Oxford Archaeology I–III*. Los Altos, CA (<https://zeugma.packhum.org>).
- Aylward, W. 2013a. The Rescue Excavations at Zeugma in 2000, in id. (ed.), *Excavations at Zeugma, Conducted by Oxford Archaeology I*. Los Altos, CA: 1–54.
- Babelon, E. 1890. *Les rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène, Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.
- Bach, J. 2013. “Berossos, Antiochos und die Babyloniaka”, *Ancient West and East* 12: 157–180.
- Bagg, A.M. 2012. “Irrigation”, in D. Potts (ed.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*. Malden, MA: 261–278.
- Bagnall, R.S. 2011. *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA and London.
- Baird, J.A. 2011. “The graffiti of Dura-Europos: a contextual approach”, in J.A. Baird and C. Taylor (eds.), *Ancient Graffiti in Context*. London and New York: 49–68.
- Baird, J.A. 2012a. “Dura deserta: the death and afterlife of Dura-Europos”, in N. Christie and A. Augenti (eds.), *Urbes Extinctae: Archaeologies of Abandoned Classical Towns*. Aldershot: 307–329.
- Baird, J.A. 2012b. “L’habitat d’époque romaine à Europos-Doura: replacer les artefacts en contexte”, in P. Leriche, G. Coqueugniot and S. de Pontbriand (eds.), *Europos-Doura Varia* 1. Beirut: 231–240.
- Baird, J.A. 2012c. “Re-excavating the houses of Dura-Europos”, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 25: 146–169.
- Baird, J.A. 2014. *The Inner Lives of Ancient Houses: An Archaeology of Dura-Europos*. Oxford.
- Baird, J.A. 2016. “Everyday life in Roman Dura-Europos: the evidence of dress practices”, in T. Kaizer (ed.), *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos*. Cambridge: 30–56.
- Baird, J.A. 2018. *Dura-Europos. Archaeological Histories*. London.
- Baird, J.A. 2020. “The ruination of Dura-Europos”, *Theoretical Roman Archaeology Journal* 3: 1–20.
- Baird, J.A. and Z. Kamash (eds.) 2019. *Remembering Roman Syria. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 62.1. London.
- Baldus, H.R. 1969. *MON(eta) URB(is) – ANTIOXIA: Rom und Antiochia als Prägestätten syrischer Tetradrachmen des Philippus Arabs*. Frankfurt.
- Baldus, H.R. 1971. *Uranus Antoninus, Münzprägung und Geschichte*. Bonn.
- Baldus, H.R. 1987. “Syria”, in A.M. Burnett and M.H. Crawford (eds.), *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic*. Oxford: 121–151.
- Ball, W. 1994. *Syria: A Historical and Architectural Guide*. Buckhurst Hill, Essex.
- Ball, W. 2000. *Rome in the East. The Transformation of an Empire*. London and New York.
- Ball, W. 2016. *Rome in the East. The Transformation of an Empire*, 2nd ed. London and New York.
- Balty, J. (ed.) 1969. *Colloque Apamée de Syrie: bilan de recherches archéologiques, 1965–1968. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles, 29–30 Avril 1969*. Brussels.
- Balty, J. 1977. *Mosaïques antiques de Syrie*. Brussels.
- Balty, J. 1981. “La mosaïque antique au Proche-Orient. I. Des origines à la Tétrarchie”, *ANRW* II.12.2: 347–429.
- Balty, J. 1989. “La peinture en Syrie”, in J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (eds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie* II. Saarbrücken: 525–536.
- Balty, J. 1991. “Les mosaïques du musée de Suweida”, in J.-M. Dentzer et J. Dentzer-Feydy (eds.), *Le djebel al-‘Arab. Histoire et Patrimoine au Musée de Suweida*. Paris: 81–84.
- Balty, J. 1995. *Mosaïques antiques du Proche-Orient. Chronologie, Iconographie, Interprétation*. Besançon.
- Balty, J. 2001. “Doro Levi, Antioch Mosaic Pavements: 50 ans après”, *Byzantion* 71: 303–324.
- Balty, J. 2002. “Roman mosaics in the Euphrates Valley: iconography, style and cultural tradition”, in M. Al-Maqdissi e.a. (eds.), *The Syrian Jezira Cultural Heritage and Interrelations, Documents d’archéologie syrienne* 1. Damas: 251–254.
- Balty, J. 2003. “A la recherche de l’Apamée hellénistique: les sources antiques”, in *La Syrie hellénistique, Topoi* Suppl.4. Lyon: 211–222.
- Balty, J. 2004. “Les mosaïques d’Antioche: style et rayonnement”, in B. Cabouret, P.-L. Gatier and C. Saliou (eds.), *Antioche de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique, Topoi* Suppl.5. Lyon: 257–269.
- Balty, J. 2005. “Un programme de mariage à Shahba-Philippopolis (Syrie)”, in H. Morlier (ed.), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* 9.2. Rome: 1307–1316.
- Balty, J. 2010. “Une mosaïque des trois Grâces à Shahba-Philippopolis”, *Monuments Piot* 88: 93–114.



- Balty, J. 2014. *Les mosaïques des maisons de Palmyre. Inventaire des mosaïques antiques de Syrie 2*, BAH 206. Beirut.
- Balty, J. and J.-Ch. Balty (eds.) 1972. *Colloque Apamée de Syrie: bilan des recherches archéologiques, 1969–1971. Actes du colloque tenu à Bruxelles les 15, 17 et 18 avril 1972*. Brussels.
- Balty, J. and J.-Ch. Balty 1983. “L’Apamène antique et les limites de la Syria Secunda”, in T. Fahd (ed.), *La géographie administrative et politique d’Alexandre à Mahomet, Travaux du Centre de recherche sur le Proche-Orient et la Grèce antiques* 6. Leiden: 41–75.
- Balty, J. and J.-Ch. Balty 2007. “Apamée, base militaire de Séleucos à Anastase”, *Mélanges en l’honneur de Jean-Paul Rey-Coquais, Mélanges de l’Université Saint-Joseph* 60: 111–125.
- Balty, J. and J.-Ch. Balty 2014. *Apamée et l’Apamène antique. Scripta varia historica*. Brussels.
- Balty, J. and F. Briquel-Chatonnet 2000. “Nouvelles mosaïques inscrites d’Osrhoène”, *Monuments et Mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot* 79: 31–72.
- Balty, J.-Ch. 1987. “Apamée (1986): nouvelles données sur l’armée romaine en Orient et les raids sassanides du milieu du III<sup>e</sup> s.”, *CRAI* 131: 218–241.
- Balty, J.-Ch. 1997. “Le sanctuaire oraculaire de Zeus Bélos à Apamée”, *Topoi* 7: 791–799.
- Balty, J.-Ch. 2000. “Claudia Apamea. Données nouvelles sur l’histoire et la topographie d’Apamée”, *CRAI* 144: 459–481.
- Balty, J.-Ch. 2003. “A la recherche de l’Apamée hellénistique: les témoignages archéologiques”, in *La Syrie hellénistique, Topoi Suppl.* 4. Lyon: 223–252.
- Balty, J.-Ch. and W. van Rengen 1993. *Apamea in Syria, the Winter Quarters of Legio II Parthica: Roman Gravestones from the Military Cemetery/Apamée de Syrie. Quartiers d’hiver de la IIe Légion Parthique. Monuments funéraires de la nécropole militaire*. Brussels.
- Bar, D. 1998. “Aelia Capitolina and the location of the camp of the Tenth Legion”, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 130: 8–19.
- Baratte, F. 1978. *Catalogue des mosaïques romaines et paléochrétiennes du musée du Louvre*. Paris.
- Barber, M. 2011. *A History of Aerial Photography and Archaeology*. London.
- Barbet, A. (ed.) 2005. *Zeugma II. Peintures murales romaines, Varia Anatolica* 17. Paris.
- Barbet, A. and C. Vibert-Guigue 1988–94. *Les peintures des nécropoles romaines d’Abila et du nord de la Jordanie I–II*, BAH 130. Beirut.
- Barclay, J.M.G. 1996. *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)*. Edinburgh.
- Barclay, J.M.G. 2007. *Against Apion: Translation and Commentary*. Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 10. Leiden.
- Barish, D.A. 1978. “The autobiography of Josephus and the hypothesis of a second edition of his *Antiquities*,” *Harvard Theological Review* 71: 61–75.
- Barkay, R. 2003. *The Coinage of Nysa-Scythopolis (Beth-Shean)*. Jerusalem.
- Barkay, R. 2011. “The earliest Nabataean coinage”, *Numismatic Chronicle* 171: 67–73.
- Barkay, R. 2014a. “The coinage of the Nabataean king Malichus II”, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 18: 107–121.
- Barkay, R. 2014b. “The coinage of the last Nabataean king, Rabbel II (AD 70/1–105/6)”, *Numismatic Chronicle* 174: 29–44.
- Barkay, R. 2019. *Coinage of the Nabataeans, Qedem* 35. Jerusalem.
- Barkay, R. 2019–10. “The coinage of the Nabataean king Malichus I (59/58–30 BCE)”, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 17: 39–47.
- Barnes, T.D. 2005. “The sack of the Temple in Josephus and Tacitus”, in J. Edmondson, S. Mason and J. Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*. Oxford: 129–144.
- Baroni, A. 1984. “I terreni e i privilegi del tempio di Zeus a Baitokaike (IGLS, VII, 4028)”, *Studi Ellenistici* 1: 135–167.
- Barr, J. 1974–5. “Philo of Byblos and his Phoenician History”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 57: 17–68.
- Bartlett, J.R. 1999. “Edomites and Idumaeans”, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 131: 102–114.
- Basgelen, N. 2000. *Zeugma from the Air*. Istanbul.
- Baslez, M. 1992. “La famille de Philopappos de Commagène: un prince entre deux mondes”, *Dialogues d’Histoire Ancienne* 18: 89–101.
- Bauer, W. 1934. *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*. Tübingen.
- Bauer, W. and G. Strecker 1964. *Rechtgläubigkeit und Ketzerei im ältesten Christentum*. Zweite, durchgesehene Auflage mit einem Nachtrag. *Beiträge zur historischen Theologie* 10. Tübingen.

- Baumgarten, A.I. 1981. *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos. A Commentary*. Leiden.
- Baur, P.V.C. 1947. *The Lamps. The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Final Report IV, Part III*. New Haven, CT.
- Baur, P.V.C. and M.I. Rostovtzeff (eds.) 1929. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Preliminary Report of First Season of Work, Spring 1928*. New Haven, CT.
- Baur, P.V.C. and M.I. Rostovtzeff (eds.) 1931. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Preliminary Report of Second Season on Work, October 1928-April 1929*. New Haven, CT.
- Baur, P.V.C., M.I. Rostovtzeff and A.R. Bellinger (eds.) 1932. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of the Third Season of Work*. New Haven, CT.
- Baur, P.V.C., M.I. Rostovtzeff and A.R. Bellinger (eds.) 1933. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Preliminary Report of Fourth Season of Work*. New Haven, CT.
- Bauzou, T. 1985. "Les voies de communication dans le Hauran à l'époque romaine", in J.-M. Dentzer (ed.), *Hauran I*. Paris: 138–165.
- Bauzou, T. 1988a. "Les voies romaines entre Damas et Amman", in P.-L. Gatier, B. Helly and J.-P. Rey-Coquais (eds.), *Géographie historique au Proche-Orient*. Paris: 293–300.
- Bauzou, T. 1988b. "La province romaine d'Arabie et son réseau routier", in *IVe Congrès sur l'Histoire et l'Archéologie de Jordanie*. Lyon and Amman.
- Bauzou, T. 1993. "Épigraphie et toponymie, le cas de la Palmyrène du Sud-Ouest", *Syria* 70: 27–50.
- Bauzou, T. 1998. "Le secteur nord de la via nova en Arabie de Bostra à Philadelphie", in J.-B. Humbert and A. Desreumaux (eds.), *Fouilles de Khirbet es-Samra en Jordanie I: La voie romaine, le cimetière, les documents épigraphiques*. Turnhout: 101–255.
- Beard, M., J. North and S. Price 1998. *Religions of Rome II: A Sourcebook*. Cambridge.
- Beaulieu, P.-A. 2007. "Berossus on Late Babylonian history", in Y. Gong and Y. Chen (eds.), *Special Issue of Oriental Studies. A Collection of Papers on Ancient Civilizations of Western Asia, Asia Minor and North Africa*. Beijing: 116–149.
- Beaulieu, P.-A. 2006. "Berossus on Late Babylonian history", in Y. Gong and Y. Chen (eds.), *Oriental Studies (Special Issue: A Collection of Papers on Ancient Civilizations of Western Asia, Asia Minor and North Africa)*. Beijing: 116–149.
- Beaulieu, P.-A. 2014. "Nabû and Apollo: the two faces of Seleucid religious policy", in F. Hoffmann and K.S. Schmidt (eds.), *Orient und Okzident in hellenistischer Zeit*. Nuremberg: 13–30.
- Beauvery, R. 1957. "La route romaine de Jérusalem à Jericho", *Revue Biblique* 64: 72–101.
- Becker, A.H. and A. Yoshiko-Reed (eds.) 2003. *The Ways that Never Parted*. Tübingen.
- Becker, L. and C. Kondoleon 2005. *The Arts of Antioch*. Worcester.
- Bedal, L. 2004. *The Petra Pool-Complex*. Piscataway.
- Beentjes, P.C. 1997. *The Book of Ben Sira in Modern Research*. Berlin.
- Beeston, A.F.L. 1981. "Languages of Pre-Islamic Arabia", *Arabica* 28, fasc.2/3 (Numéro Spécial Double: Études de linguistique arabe): 178–186.
- Beitzel, B.J. 1992. "Roads and highways (pre-Roman)", *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 5: 775–782.
- Belayche, N. 2001. *Iudaea-Palaestina: The Pagan Cults in Roman Palestine (Second to Fourth Century)*. Tübingen.
- Belge, M. and S. Yerasimos 1994. *Turkey: An Aerial Portrait*. London.
- Bellinger, A.R. 1938. *Coins from Jerash, 1928–1934*. New York.
- Bellinger, A.R. 1940. *The Syrian Tetradrachms of Caracalla and Macrinus, Numismatic Studies* 3. New York.
- Bellinger, A.R. 1949. *The Coins. The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, Final Report VI*. New Haven, CT.
- Bellinger, A.R. 1966. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection I. Anastasius to Maurice, 491–602*, Washington, DC.
- Ben Dor, S. 1952. "Quelques remarques à propos d'une monnaie de Néapolis", *Revue Biblique* 59: 251–252.
- Ben-David, A. 1974. *Talmudische Ökonomie. Die Wirtschaft des jüdischen Palästina zur Zeit der Mischna und des Talmud I*. Hildesheim and New York.
- Benech, C. 2010. "The use of 'space syntax' for the study of city planning and household from geophysical maps: the case of Dura-Europos (Syria)", in *Städtisches Wohnen im östlichen Mittelmeerraum 4. Jh. v. Chr. – 1. Jh. n. Chr. Actes du colloque, Vienne, 24–27 octobre 2007, Archäologische Forschungen* 18: 403–416.

- Benoit, P., J.T. Milik and R. de Vaux 1961. *Les Grottes de Murabba'at, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert II*. Oxford.
- Berggren, J.L. and A. Jones 2000. *Ptolemy's Geography: An Annotated Translation of the Theoretical Chapters*. Princeton, NJ and Oxford.
- Berlin, A.M. 2002. "Power and its afterlife: tombs in Hellenistic Palestine", *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65: 138–148.
- Berlin, A.M. and S. Herbert 2013. "Tel Kedesh", in D.M. Master (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of the Bible and Archaeology*. Oxford: 373–381.
- Bernard, P. 1970. "Campagne de fouilles 1969 à Ai-Khanoum en Afghanistan", *CRAI* 114: 301–349.
- Bernard, P. 1974. "Fouilles d'Aï Khanoum (Afghanistan). Campagnes de 1972 et 1973", *CRAI* 118: 280–308.
- Bernard, P. 1976. "Les traditions orientales dans l'architecture gréco-bactrienne", *Journal Asiatique* 264: 245–275.
- Bernard, P. 1995. "I. Une légende de fondation hellénistique: Apamée sur l'Oronte d'après les *Cynégétiques* du Pseudo-Oppien. II. Paysages et toponymie dans le Proche-Orient hellénisé", *Topoi* 5: 353–408.
- Bernard, P. 2005. "De l'Euphrate à la Chine avec la caravane de Maès Titianos (c. 100 ap. n.è.)", *CRAI* 149: 929–969.
- Bernard, P. 2009. "La découverte et la fouille du site hellénistique d'Aï-Khanoum en Afghanistan: comment elles se sont faites", *Parthica* 11: 33–56.
- Bernett, M. 2007. *Der Kaiserkult in Judäa unter den Herodiern und Römern*. Tübingen.
- Berrin, S.L. 2005. "Qumran Pesharim", in M. Henze (ed.), *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran*. Grand Rapids, MI: 110–133.
- Bertolino, R. 1995. *La cronologia di Hatra: interazione di archeologia e di epigrafia*. Istituto Universitario Orientale, *Annali*, suppl.83, vol.1.55, fasc.2. Naples.
- Beyer, J.M. 1998. "«Sie brauchen kaum etwas aus der Stadt wegen des Austauschs untereinander» – Bemerkungen zu Ursprung und Verhältnis einiger Siedlungsformen im syrischen Kalksteinmassiv von der hohen Kaiserzeit bis in die Spätantike", in L. Schumacher (ed.), *Religion – Wirtschaft – Technik. Althistorische Beiträge zur Entstehung neuer kultureller Strukturmuster im historischen Raum Nordafrika/Kleinasien/Syrien*, *MAS* 1. St. Katharinen: 179–202.
- Beyer, K. 1998. *Die aramäischen Inschriften aus Assur, Hatra und dem übrigen Ostmesopotamien*. Göttingen.
- Bichler, R. and R. Rollinger 2005. "Die Hängenden Gärten zu Ninive: die Lösung eines Rätsels?", in R. Rollinger (ed.), *Von Sumer bis Homer (FS Manfred Schretter)*. Münster: 153–218.
- Bickerman, E.J. 1938. *Institutions des Séleucides*. Paris.
- Bickermann, E.J. 1979. *The God of the Maccabees*. Leiden.
- Bickermann, E.J. 1980. "Une proclamation séleucide relative au temple de Jérusalem", in id., *Studies in Jewish and Christian History II*. Leiden: 86–104.
- Bieberstein, K. and H. Bloedhorn 1994. *Jerusalem: grundzüge der Baugeschichte vom Chalkolithikum bis zur Frühzeit der osmanischen Herrschaft I–III*. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients: Series B 100. 1–3. Wiesbaden.
- Bietenhard, H. 1977. "Die syrische Dekapolis von Pompeius bis Trajan", in *ANRW* II.8: 220–261.
- Bijovsky, G. 1998. "The Gush Halav hoard reconsidered", *Atiqot* 35: 77–106.
- Bikai, P., C. Kanellopoulos and S. Saunders 2008. "Beidha in Jordan: a Dionysian hall in a Nabataean landscape", *American Journal of Archaeology* 112: 465–507.
- Bilde, P. 1988. *Flavius Josephus between Jerusalem and Rome: His Life, His Works and Their Importance*. Sheffield.
- Billows, R.A. 1990. *Antigonos the One-Eyed and the creation of the Hellenistic State*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA and London.
- Billows, R.A. 1995. *Kings and Colonists. Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism*. Leiden and New York.
- Billows, R.A. 2003. "Cities", in A. Erskine (ed.), *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: 196–215.
- Birley, A.R. 1997. "Hadrian and Greek Senators", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 116: 209–245.
- Bjørge, E., G. Boccardi, E. Cunliffe, M. Fiol, T. Jellison, W. Pederson and C. Saslow 2014. *Satellite-based Damage Assessment to Cultural Heritage Sites in Syria*. Geneva.
- Blaylock, S.R., D.H. French and G.D. Summers 1990. "The Adiyaman survey: an interim report", *Anatolian Studies* 40: 81–135.

- Blétry, S. 2015. *Zénobia-Halabiya, habitat urbain et nécropoles: cinq années de recherches de la mission syro-française (2006–2010)*. Ferrol.
- Blömer, M. 2009. “Stelen mit Darstellungen lokaler Wettergottgestalten im römischen Nordsyrien”, in M. Blömer, M. Facella and E. Winter (eds.), *Lokale Identität im Römischen Nahen Osten. Kontexte und Perspektiven, Oriens et Occidens* 18. Stuttgart: 13–47.
- Blömer, M. 2011. “Die Stele von Doliche”, in E. Winter (ed.), *Von Kummuh nach Telouch. Historische und archäologische Untersuchungen in Kommagene. Dolichener und Kommagenische Forschungen* 4, *Asia Minor Studien* 64. Bonn: 69–103.
- Blömer, M. 2012a. “Iuppiter Dolichenus zwischen lokalem Kult und reichsweiter Verehrung”, in id. and E. Winter (ed.), *Iuppiter Dolichenus. Vom Lokalkult zur Reichsreligion*. Tübingen: 39–98.
- Blömer, M. 2012b. “Religious life of Commagene. The archaeological evidence”, in A. Merz and T.L. Tieleman (eds.), *The Letter of Mara bar Sarapion in Context*. Leiden: 95–128.
- Blömer, M. 2014. *Steindenkmäler römischer Zeit aus Nordsyrien. Identität und kulturelle Tradition in Kyrrhestike und Kommagene, Asia Minor Studien* 71. Bonn.
- Blömer, M. 2015. “Religious continuity? The case of Doliche”, in M. Blömer, A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.), *Religious Identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammed*. Turnhout: 129–141.
- Blömer, M. 2018. “Doliche and the exploration of Graeco-Roman urbanism in ancient greater Syria”, in R. Raja and S.M. Sinbaek (eds.), *Urban Network Evolutions*. Aarhus: 59–63.
- Blömer, M., D. Çobanoğlu and E. Winter 2019. “Die Stadtgrabung in Doliche. Zu den Ergebnissen der Feldarbeiten 2015–2018”, *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 69: 103–186.
- Blömer, M., A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.) 2015. *Religious Identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammed*. Turnhout.
- Blömer, M. and R. Raja (eds.) 2019. *Funerary Portraiture in Greater Roman Syria*. Turnhout.
- Blömer, M., S. Riedel, M.-J. Versluys and E. Winter forthcoming. *Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods. Commagene in its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context*. Stuttgart.
- Blömer, M. and E. Winter 2011. *Kommagene. The Land of Gods between the Taurus and the Euphrates. An Archaeological Guide*. Istanbul.
- Blömer, M. and E. Winter (eds.) 2012. *Iuppiter Dolichenus. Vom Lokalkult zur Reichsreligion*. Tübingen.
- Boffo, L. 1994. *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia*. Brescia.
- Boiy, T. 2004. *Late Achaemenid and Hellenistic Babylon, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 136. Leuven.
- Boiy, T. 2013. “Babylon during Berossos’ lifetime”, in J. Haubold e.a. (eds.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 99–106.
- Bolelli, G. 1986. “La ronde-bosse de caractère indigène de Syrie du Sud”, in J.-M. Dentzer (ed.), *Hauran I. Recherches archéologiques sur la Syrie du Sud à l’époque hellénistique et romaine*. Paris: 311–372.
- Bollati, A. and V. Messina 2004. *Seleucia al Tigri. Le impronte di sigillo dagli Archive I–III*. Alessandria.
- Bongard-Levin, G. and Y. Litvinenko 2004. “Dura-Europos: from Cumont to Rostovtzeff”, *Mediterraneo Antico* 7: 135–159.
- Bongard-Levine, G., C. Bonnet, Y. Litvinenko and A. Marcone 2007. *Mongolus Syrio Salutem Optimam Dat. La Correspondance entre Mikhaïl Rostovtzeff et Franz Cumont*. Paris.
- Bonnet, C. 1988. *Melqart. Cultes et mythes de l’Héraclès Tyrien en Méditerranée*. Leuven.
- Bonnet, C. 1996. *Astarté: Dossier documentaire et perspectives historiques*. Rome.
- Bonnet, C. 2015. *Les enfants de Cadmos. Le paysage religieux de la Phénicie hellénistique*. Paris.
- Bonnet-Tzavellas, C. 1983. “Le dieu Melqart en Phénicie et dans le bassin méditerranéen. Culte national et officiel”, in E. Gubel, E. Lipiński and B. Servais-Soyez (eds.), *Redt Tyrus – Sauvons Tyr – Histoire phénicienne – Fenicische Geschiedenis*. Leuven: 195–207.
- Borgia, E. and M.H. Sayar 2003. “Le iscrizioni”, in E. Equini Schneider (ed.), *Elaiussa Sebaste II. Un porto tra Oriente e Occidente*. Roma: 525–540.
- Botta, A. 2009. *The Aramaic and Egyptian Legal Traditions at Elephantine: An Egyptological Approach, Library of Second Temple Studies* 64. London and New York.
- Bounni, A., J. Seigne and N. Saliby 1992–2004. *Le sanctuaire de Nabû à Palmyre I–II*. Paris and Beirut.
- Bousdroukis, A. 2003. “Les noms des colonies séleucides au Proche-Orient”, in *La Syrie hellénistique, Topoi Suppl.* 4. Lyon: 9–24.
- Bousdroukis, A. 2008. “Étapes mésopotamiennes sur la ‘route de la soie’”, in C. Stavrakos (ed.), *First International Congress of Sino-Hellenic Relations*. Ioannina: 1–26.

- Bousdroukis, A. forthcoming. *D'Alexandre à Kanisbka: rencontres interculturelles dans l'Orient hellénistique, romain et arsacide, de la Méditerranée orientale à la vallée de l'Indus*. Paris.
- Bowersock, G.W. 1973. "Syria under Vespasian", *JRS* 63: 133–140.
- Bowersock, G.W. 1983. *Roman Arabia*. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Bowersock, G.W. 1989a. "La Mésène (Maisan) antonine", in T. Fahd (ed.), *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel*. Leiden: 159–168.
- Bowersock, G. 1989b. "Social and economic history of Syria under the Roman Empire", in J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann (eds.), *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie* II. Paris: 63–80.
- Bowersock, G.W. 1990. *Hellenism in Late Antiquity*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Bowersock, G.W. 1994. *Studies on the Eastern Roman Empire. Social, Economic and Administrative History, Religion, Historiography. Bibliotheca Eruditorum* 9. Goldbach.
- Bowersock, G.W. 2001. "Notes on the new Edessene mosaic of Prometheus", *Hyperboreus* 7: 411–416.
- Bowersock, G.W. 2006. *Mosaics as History. The Near East from Late Antiquity to Islam*. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Bowersock, G.W. 2008. "Reconsidering Hellenism in the Roman Near East: introductory remarks", in Y.Z. Eliav, E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (eds.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*. Leuven and Dudley, MA: 21–23.
- Bowersock, G.W. 2019. "The Nabataeans under Augustus", in A. Heller, C. Müller and A. Suspène (eds.), *Philorhōmaios kai philhellèn: Homage à Jean-Louis Ferray*. Geneva: 225–233.
- Bowie, E.L. 1990. "Greek poetry in the Antonine age", in D.A. Russell (ed.), *Antonine Literature*. Oxford: 52–90.
- Bowsher, J.M.C. 1992. "Civic organisation within the Decapolis", *Aram* 4: 265–281.
- Boyer, D.D. 2016. "Recent advances in understanding the water delivery system to Gerasa of the Decapolis", in G. Wiplinger (ed.), *Meeting of the International Frontinus Symposium: de aquaeductu atque aqua urbium lyciae pamphyliæ et pisidiæ – the Legacy of Sextus Iulius Frontinus, Antalya, 31 October to 9 November 2014*. *BABesch* Suppl. 27. Leuven: 143–154.
- Boyer, D.D. 2020. *An Analysis of the Historical Water Management System to Gerasa in the Period 100 BC to AD 700*. PhD University of Western Australia.
- Bradbury, J. and G. Philip 2011. "The world beyond the tells: pre-Classical activity in the basalt landscape of the Homs region, Syria", in T. Steimer-Herbert (ed.), *Pierres levées, stèles anthropomorphes et dolmens = Standing Stones, Anthropomorphic Stelae and Dolmens*, *BAR* 2317. Oxford: 169–180.
- Bradford, J.S.P. 1957. *Ancient Landscapes*. London.
- Brands, G. 2004. "Orientis apex pulcher – Die Krone des Orients. Antiochia und seine Mauern in Kaiserzeit und Spätantike", *Antike Welt* 35: 11–16.
- Brands, G. 2010. "Hellenistic Antioch on the Orontes: a status quo", *Anadolu ve Çevresinde Ortaçağ* 4: 1–18.
- Braund, D.C. 1984. *Rome and the Friendly King: The Character of the Client Kingship*. London.
- Breasted, J.H. 1924. *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting. First-Century Wall Paintings from the Fortress of Dura on the Middle Euphrates*. Chicago, IL.
- Bredenkamp, H. e.a. 2016. *Palmyra – Was bleibt? Louis-François Cassas und seine Reise in den Orient. Der un-gewisse Blick* 20. Cologne.
- Breitenbach, A. and S. Ristow 2004. "Kommagene (Euphratesia)", *RAC* XXI: coll. 233–273.
- Brennan, T.C. 1998. "The poets Julia Balbilla and Damo at the Colossus of Memnon", *Classical World* 91: 215–234.
- Briant, P. 1982a. *Rois, Tributs et Paysans*. Paris.
- Briant, P. 1982b. *États et pasteurs au Moyen-Orient ancien*. Cambridge and Paris.
- Briant, P. 1985. "Les Iraniens d'Asie Mineure après la chute de l'empire achéménide", *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 11: 167–195.
- Briant, P. 1998. "Droahernès et la statue de Sardes", in M. Brosius and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Studies in Persian History. Essays in memory of David M. Lewis, Achaemenid History* 11. Leiden: 205–226.
- Briant, P. 1999. "Colonisation hellénistique et populations proche-orientales: les dynamiques sociales et politiques de l'acculturation", in S. Settis (ed.), *I Greci* II/2. Florence: 309–333.
- Briant, P. 2002. *From Cyrus to Alexander. A History of the Persian Empire*. Winona Lake, IN.
- Brijder, H.A.G. 2014. *Nemrud Dağı. Recent Archaeological Research and Preservation and Restoration Activities in the Tomb Sanctuary on Mount Nemrud*. Boston and Berlin.

- Brinkerhoff, D.M. 1970. *A Collection of Sculpture in Classical and Early Christian Antioch* (Monographs on Archaeology and the Fine Arts sponsored by the Archaeological Institute of America and the College Art Association of America, XXII). New York.
- Briquel-Chatonnet, F. 2005. "The newly published Aramaic inscription of Yanouh (Lebanon) and the question of the Ituraeans", in O. Al-Ghul (ed.), *Proceedings of Yarmouk Second Annual Colloquium on Epigraphy and Ancient Writings*. Irbid: 2–10.
- Briquel-Chatonnet, F. 2012. "Les inscriptions phénico-grecques et le bilinguisme des Phéniciens", *CRAI* 156: 619–638.
- Briquel-Chatonnet, F. and M. Debić 2017. *Le monde syriaque*. Paris.
- Brizzi, G. 1976. "Gli empori siro-libanesi: peripli e scrittori", *Felix Ravenna* 111–112: 3–64.
- Brock, S.P. 1979. "Syriac historical writing: a survey of the main sources", *Journal of the Iraq Academy* 5: 1–30.
- Brock, S.P. 1991. "Some new Syriac documents from the third century AD", *Aram* 3: 259–267.
- Brock, S.P. 1992. "Eusebius and Syriac Christianity", in H.W. Attridge and G. Hata (eds.), *Eusebius, Christianity and Judaism*. Detroit: 212–234.
- Brock, S.P. 1997. *A Brief Outline of Syriac Literature*. Kottayam (reprint Piscataway 2011).
- Brock, S.P. 1998. "The Peshitta Old Testament: between Judaism and Christianity", *Cristianesimo nella Storia* 19: 483–502.
- Brock, S.P. 2003. "Syriac translations of Greek popular philosophy", in P. Bruns (ed.), *Von Athen nach Bagdad. Zur Rezeption griechischer Philosophie von der Spätantike bis zum Islam*. Bonn: 9–28.
- Brock, S.P. 2004. "The earliest Syriac literature", in F. Young, L. Ayres and A. Louth (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Early Christian Literature*. Cambridge: 161–171.
- Brock, S.P. 2006. *The Bible in Syriac Tradition. Second Revised Edition. Gorgias Handbooks* 7. Piscataway, NJ.
- Brock, S.P. 2015. "Charting the Hellenization of a literary culture: the case of Syriac", *Intellectual History of the Islamicate World* 3: 98–124.
- Brock, S.P., A.M. Butts, G.A. Kiraz and L. Van Rompay (eds.) 2011. *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*. Piscataway, NJ.
- Brock, S.P. and L. Van Rompay 2014. *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts and Fragments in the Library of Deir al-Surian (Egypt). Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 227. Louvain.
- Brodie, N. 2011. "Scholarship and insurgency? The study and trade of Iraqi antiquities", in *Illicit Traffic of Cultural Objects: Law, Ethics, and the Realities. An Institute of Advanced Studies Workshop, 4–5 August 2011, University of Western Australia* (<https://traffickingculture.org/app/uploads/2015/02/Brodie-2011-Scholarship-and-insurgency.pdf>).
- Brody, L.R. and G.L. Hoffman (eds.) 2011. *Dura-Europos: Crossroads of Antiquity*. Boston.
- Brooks, E.W. and J.-B. Chabot (eds.) 1910. *Eliae metropolitanae Nisibeni opus Chronologicum* I–II. Paris.
- Brosius, M. 1998. "Artemis Persike and Artemis Anahitis", in ead. and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Studies in Persian History. Essays in Memory of David M. Lewis, Achaemenid History* 11. Leiden: 227–238.
- Brown, P. 1971. "The rise and function of the holy man in Late Antiquity", *Journal of Roman Studies* 61: 80–101.
- Bruneau, P. 1972. *Exploration archéologique de Délos* 29. *Les mosaïques*. Paris.
- Brünnow, R.E. and A. von Domaszewski 1904–09. *Die Provincia Arabia* I–III. Strasbourg.
- Brutti, M. 2006. *The Development of the High Priesthood during the Pre-Hasmonean Period*. Leiden.
- Buchheim, H. 1960. "Die Orientpolitik des Triumvirn M. Antonius: Ihre Voraussetzungen, Entwicklung und Zusammenhang mit den politischen Ereignissen in Italien", in *Abhandlungen der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 1960/3. Heidelberg.
- Budde, L. 1972. *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien II, Die heidnische Mosaiken*. Recklinghausen.
- Bühlig, C. 2009. "Das Theater-Tempel-Areal von Gadara/Umm Qais. Struktureller Wandel eines urbanen Raumes", *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 2: 162–207.
- Buraselis, K. 2010. "God and king as synoikists. Divine disposition and monarchic wishes combined in the traditions of city foundations for Alexander's and Hellenistic times", in L. Foxhall, H.J. Gehrke and N. Luraghi (eds.), *Intentional History. Spinning Time in Ancient Greece*. Stuttgart: 265–274.
- Burkitt, F.C. 1913. *Euphemia and the Goth. With the Acts of Martyrdom of the Confessors of Edessa*. London.
- Burnett, A. 2002. "Syrian coinage and romanisation from Pompey to Diocletian", in C. Augé and F. Duyrat (eds.), *Les monnayages syriens. Quel apport pour l'histoire du Proche-Orient hellénistique et romain?* Beirut: 115–122.

- Burns, R. 1992. *Monuments of Syria: an Historical Guide*. New York.
- Burns, R. 2005. *Damascus: A History*. London.
- Burstein, S.M. 1978. *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*. Malibu, CA.
- Burstein, S.M. 1989. *Agatharchides of Cnidus: On the Erythraean Sea*. London.
- Butcher, K. 1986–87. “Two related coinages of the third century AD: Philippopolis and Samosata”, *Israel Numismatic Journal* 9: 73–84.
- Butcher, K. 1988. “The colonial coinage of Antioch-on-the-Orontes, c. AD 218–253”, *Numismatic Chronicle* 148: 63–75.
- Butcher, K. 1998. “The mint at Zeugma”, in D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates. Rescue Work and Historical Studies, Journal of Roman Archaeology* Suppl.27. Portsmouth, RI: 233–236.
- Butcher, K. 2002. “Coin circulation in the Orontes Valley in the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods”, in C. Augé and F. Duyrat (eds.), *Les monnayages syriens. Quel apport pour l'histoire du Proche-Orient hellénistique et romain?* Beirut: 145–152.
- Butcher, K. 2003a. *Roman Syria and the Near East*. London.
- Butcher, K. 2003b. *Small Change in Ancient Beirut. The Coin Finds from BEY 006 and BEY 045: Persian, Hellenistic, Roman, and Byzantine Periods. Archaeology of the Beirut Souks, AUB and ACRE Excavations in Beirut, 1994–1996, 1. Berytus XLV–XLVI (2001–2002)*. Beirut.
- Butcher, K. 2003c. “Numismatics (minting and monetary systems/coinage) in the Levant”, in S. Richard (ed.), *Near Eastern Archaeology: A Reader*. Winona Lake, IN: 210–217.
- Butcher, K. 2004. *Coinage in Roman Syria. Northern Syria, 64 BC – AD 253*. London.
- Butcher, K. 2005. “Information, legitimation, or self-legitimation? Popular and elite designs on the coin types of Syria”, in C. Howgego, V. Heuchert and A. Burnett (eds.), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*. Oxford: 143–156.
- Butcher, K. 2006. “The coinage of Roman Syria”, *Minerva* 17.2: 53–54.
- Butcher, K. 2009. “The Euphrates frontier and the civic era of Zeugma”, in O. Tekin (ed.), *Ancient History, Numismatics and Epigraphy in the Mediterranean World. Studies in Memory of Clemens E. Bosch and Sababat Atlan and in Honour of Nezabat Baydur*. Istanbul: 81–83.
- Butcher, K. 2012. “Syria in the Roman period, 64 BC-AD 260”, in W.E. Metcalf (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. Oxford and New York: 468–484.
- Butcher, K. 2013a. “Continuity and change in Lebanese temples”, in A. Gardner, E. Herring and K. Lomas (eds.), *Creating Ethnicities and Identities in the Roman World*. London: 195–213.
- Butcher, K. 2013b. “Coins and hoards”, in W. Aylward (ed.), *Excavations at Zeugma, Conducted by Oxford Archaeology* III. Los Altos, CA: 1–92.
- Butcher, K. 2017. “Architectural Process and the Emergent Temple”, in R. Raja (ed.), *Contextualizing the Sacred in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East. Religious Identities in Local, Regional and Imperial Settings*. Turnhout: 73–81.
- Butler, H.C. 1903. *Publications of an American Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1899–1900. Part.2. Architecture and other arts*. New York.
- Butler, H.C. 1920. *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expedition to Syria in 1904–1905 and 1909. Division 2, Architecture, Section B, Northern Syria*. Leiden.
- Butts, A.M. 2011a. “Julian Romance,” in S.P. Brock e.a. (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*. Piscataway, NJ: 236–238.
- Butts, A.M. 2011b. “Old Syriac documents,” in S.P. Brock e.a. (eds.), *Gorgias Encyclopedic Dictionary of the Syriac Heritage*. Piscataway, NJ: 314–317.
- Butts, A.M. 2016. *Language Change in the Wake of Empire: Syriac in Its Greco-Roman Context. Linguistic Studies in Ancient West Semitic* 11. Winona Lake, IN.
- Cabouret, B. 1997. “Les cultes grecs d’Antioche”, *Topoi* 7: 1005–1022.
- Callataÿ, F. de 2012. “Royal hellenistic coinages: from Alexander to Mithradates”, in W.E. Metcalf (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. Oxford and New York: 175–190.
- Callieri, P. 2007. *L’archéologie du Fârs à l’époque hellénistique. Quatre leçons au Collège de France* 8, 15, 22 et 29 mars 2007. *Persika* 11. Paris
- Cameron, M. 2019. *Making Mesopotamia. Geography and Empire in a Romano-Iranian Borderland, Impact of Empire* 32. Leiden.
- Campbell, B. 2002. *War and Society in Imperial Rome, 31 BC-AD 284*. London and New York.

- Campbell, S., S. Hauser, J. Moon, R. Killick, M. Shepperson and V. Doležalkova 2019. “Charax Spasinou: New investigations at the capital of Mesene”, *Zeitschrift für Orient-archäologie* 11: 212–239.
- Camplani, A. 2009. “Traditions of Christian foundation in Edessa. Between myth and history”, *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 75: 251–278.
- Camplani, A. 2015. “Bardaisan’s psychology: Known and unknown testimonies and current scholarly perspectives,” in M. Doerfler, E. Fiano and K. Smith (eds.), *Syriac Encounters. Papers from the Sixth North American Syriac Symposium. Duke University, 26–29 June 2011. Eastern Christian Studies* 20. Louvain: 259–276.
- Camplani, A. and T. Gnoli 2001. “Edessa e Roma. A proposito di un libro recente”, *Mediterraneo Antico. Economia, Società, Cultura* 4: 41–68.
- Canepa, M. 2014. “Topographies of power: theorizing the visual, spatial and ritual contexts of rock reliefs in ancient Iran”, in Ö. Harmanşah (ed.), *Of Rocks and Water: Towards an Archaeology of Place, Joukowsky Institute Publication*. Oxford: 53–92.
- Canepa, M. 2015. “Dynastic Sanctuaries and the Transformation of Iranian Kingship between Alexander and Islam”, in S. Babaie and T. Grigor (eds.), *Persian Kingship and Architecture, Strategies of Power in Iran from the Achaemenids to the Pahlavis*. London and New York: 65–117.
- Canepa, M. 2018. *The Iranian Expanse: Transforming Royal Identity through Architecture, Landscape, and the Built Environment, 550 BCE – 642 CE*. Oakland, CA.
- Cantineau, J. 1930. *Le Nabatéen, Vol. I: Notions généraux. Ecriture. Grammaire*. Paris.
- Cantineau, J. 1932. *Le Nabatéen, Vol. II: Choix de textes. Lexique*. Paris.
- Cantineau, J. e.a. 1930–75. *Inventaire des inscriptions de Palmyre*. Beirut and Damascus.
- Capdetrey, L. 2006. “Économie royale et communautés locale dans le royaume séleucide: entre négociation et imposition”, in R. Descat (ed.), *Approches de l'économie hellénistique*. Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges: 359–386.
- Capdetrey, L. 2007. *Le pouvoir séleucide: Territoire, administration, finances d'un royaume hellénistique*, 312–129 avant J.-C. Rennes.
- Carleton Paget, J. 2001. “Some observations on Josephus and Christianity,” *Journal of Theological Studies* 52: 539–624.
- Carlsson, S. 2010. *Hellenistic Democracies: Freedom, Independence and Political Procedure in Some East Greek City-States*. Stuttgart.
- Carr, D.M. 2005. *Writing on the Tablet of the Heart*. Oxford.
- Cary, M. 1956. “Maës, Qui et Titianus,” *Classical Quarterly* 6: 130–134.
- Casana, J. 2015. “Satellite imagery-based analysis of archaeological looting in Syria”, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 78: 142–152.
- Casson, L. 1984. “Rome’s trade with the East: the sea voyage to Africa and India”, in id., *Ancient Trade and Society*. Detroit: 182–198.
- Casson, L. 1989. *The Periplus Maris Erythraei. Text with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary*. Princeton, NJ.
- Casson, L. 1990. “New Light on Maritime Loans: P. Vindob. 40822”, *ZPE* 84: 195–206.
- Castellino, G.R. 1957. “Les origines de la civilisation selon les textes bibliques et les textes cuneiformes”, in P.A.H. de Boer (ed.), *Volume du Congrès: Strasbourg, 1956, VT Suppl.4*. Leiden: 116–137.
- Caubet, A. 1990. *Aux sources du monde Arabe. L'Arabie avant l'Islam. Collections du Musée du Louvre*. Paris.
- Chabot, J.-B. (ed.) 1899. *Chronique de Michel le Syrien, patriarche jacobite d'Antioche (1166–1199)*. I–IV. Paris.
- Chabot, J.-B. (ed.) 1926–47. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. Pars secunda. Tomus III: Inscriptiones palmyrenae*. Paris.
- Chabot, J.-B. (ed.) 1927a. *Chronicon Pseudo Dionysianum Vulgo Dictum*. Louvain.
- Chabot, J.-B. 1927b. *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo Dionysianum Vulgo Dictum*. Louvain.
- Chaniotis, A. 1993. “Ein diplomatischer Statthalter nimmt Rücksicht auf den verletzten Stolz zweier hellenistischer Kleinpoleis (Nagidos und Arsinoe)”, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 21: 33–42.
- Chaniotis, A. 2007. “La divinité mortelle d’Antiochos III à Téos”, *Kernos* 20: 153–171.
- Chaniotis, A. 2011. “The impact of war on the economy of Hellenistic poleis: demand creation, short-term influences, long-term impacts”, in Z.H. Archibald, J. Davies and V. Gabrielsen (eds.), *The Economies of Hellenistic Societies, Third to First Centuries BC*. Oxford: 122–141.



- Chapman, H.H. 2005. "Spectacle in Josephus' *Jewish War*", in J. Edmondson, S. Mason and J. Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*. Oxford: 289–313.
- Chapman, H.H. and Z. Rodgers (eds.). 2016. *A Companion to Josephus*. London.
- Chapouthier, F. 1954. "Les peintures murales d'un hypogée funéraire près de Massyaf", *Syria* 31: 172–211.
- Charbonneaux, J. 1960. "Aïôn et Philippe l'Arabe", *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome* 72: 253–272.
- Charlesworth, J.H. 2002. *The Pesharim and Qumran History: Chaos or Consensus?* Grand Rapids, MI.
- Chaumont, M.-L. 1984. "Études d'histoire parthe V. La route royale des Parthes de Zeugma à Séleucie du Tigre d'après l'Itinéraire d'Isidore de Charax", *Syria* 61: 63–107.
- Chéhab, M. 1958–59. *Mosaïques du Liban*, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 14–15. Paris.
- Chéhab, M. 1962. "Tyr à l'époque romaine", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 38: 13–40.
- Chevallier, R. 1976. *Roman Roads*. London.
- Chi, J.Y. and S. Heath (eds.) 2011. *Edge of Empires. Pagans, Jews, and Christians at Roman Dura-Europos*. New York.
- Chin, C.M. 2006. "Rhetorical practice in the *chreia* elaboration of Mara bar Serapion", *Hugoye* 9.2: 145–171.
- Christensen, A. 1907. *L'empire des Sassanides: Le peuple, l'état, la cour*. Copenhagen.
- Clancier, P. 2012a. "Le 'Rab Sikkati' de Babylone contre 'l'homme de renom venu d'Égypte': la troisième guerre syrienne dans les rues de Babylone", in P. Goukowsky and C. Feysel (eds.), *Historica. Folia Graeca in Honorem Edouard Will*. Nancy: 9–31.
- Clancier, P. 2012b. "'Le *šatammu*, l'assemblée de l'Esagil, et les Babyloniens'. Les notables de Babylone: du relais local à la marginalisation", in C. Feysel e.a. (eds.), *Communautés locales et pouvoir central dans l'Orient hellénistique et romain, Études Anciennes* 47. Nancy: 298–326.
- Clancier, P. and J. Monerie 2014. "Les sanctuaires babyloniens à l'époque hellénistique. Evolution d'un relais de pouvoir", *Topoi* 19: 181–237.
- Clark, V.A. 1979. *A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan*. PhD thesis University of Melbourne.
- Clarke, G.W. 1994. "Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates: the acropolis building", *Mediterranean Archaeology* 7: 69–75.
- Clarke, G.W. 2002. "The governor's palace", in id. e.a. (eds.), *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates I. Final Reports on Excavations 1986–1996, Mediterranean Archaeology*. Sydney: 25–48.
- Clarke, G.W. 2015. "The Jebel Khalid temple", in M. Blömer, A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.), *Religious Identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammed*. Turnhout: 143–156.
- Clarke, G.W. and H. Jackson 2014a. "Evaluating cultural and ethnic identities from archaeological remains: the case of Hellenistic Jebel Khalid", in P. Leriche (ed.), *Arts et civilisations de l'Orient hellénisé. Rencontres et échanges culturels d'Alexandre aux Sassanides. Hommage à Daniel Schlumberger*. Paris: 97–110.
- Clarke, G.W. and H. Jackson 2014b. "Can the mute stones speak? Evaluating cultural and ethnic identities from archaeological remains: the case of Hellenistic Jebel Khalid", *Humanities Australia* 2: 16–30.
- Clarke, G.W. e.a. 2002. *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates: Report on Excavations 1986–1996 I. Mediterranean Archaeology Suppl.5*. Sydney.
- Clarke, G.W. e.a. 2009–10. "Jebel Khalid: The 2008 Season", *Mediterranean Archaeology* 22–23: 207–219.
- Clarke, G.W. e.a. 2016. *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates V. Report on Excavations 2000–2010, Mediterranean Archaeology* 10. Sydney.
- Clarke, K. 1999. *Between Geography and History: Hellenistic Constructions of the Roman World*. Oxford.
- Clauss-Balty, P. 2008. *Hauran III. L'habitat dans les campagnes de Syrie du Sud aux époques classique et médiévale*. Damascus.
- Clermont-Ganneau, C.S. 1896. *Archaeological Researches in Palestine during the Years 1873–1874*. London.
- Clermont-Ganneau, C.S. 1897. "Une dédicace de la légion Xe Fretensis à l'empereur Hadrien en Palestine", *Études d'Archéologie Orientale* 2: 168–171.
- Clifford, R.J. 1990. "Phoenician religion", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 279: 55–64.
- Cobb, M.A. 2019. "From the Ptolemies to Augustus. Mediterranean integration into the Indian Ocean trade", in id. (ed.), *The Indian Ocean trade in antiquity. Political, cultural and economic impact*. Abingdon: 17–51.
- Cobb, M.A. 2020. "Palmyrene merchants and the Red Sea trade", in M. Sommer (ed.), *Inter duo Imperia. Palmyra between East and West*. Stuttgart: 65–84.

- Cohen, G.M. 1978. *The Seleucid Colonies. Studies in Founding, Administration and Organisation*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 30. Wiesbaden.
- Cohen, G.M. 2006. *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa*. Berkeley, CA.
- Cohen, G.M. 2013. *The Hellenistic Settlements in the East from Armenia and Mesopotamia to Bactria and India*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA.
- Cohen, R. 1982. "New light on the Petra-Gaza road", *Biblical Archaeologist* 45: 240–247.
- Cohen, S.J.D. (ed.) 2000. *The Synoptic Problem in Rabbinic Literature*. Providence, RI.
- Cohen, S.J.D. 2020. "Jewish Observance of the Sabbath in Bardaisan's *Book of the Laws of Countries*", in A.M. Butts and S. Gross (eds.), *Jews and Syriac Christians: Intersections across the First Millennium. Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism* 180. Tübingen: 89–102.
- Collar, A. 2013. *Religious Networks in the Roman Empire. The Spread of New Ideas*. Cambridge.
- Collart, P. c.a. 1969–2000. *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre I-VI*, *Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana*. Neuchâtel and Basel.
- Colledge, M.A.R. 1976. *The Art of Palmyra*. London.
- Collins, J.J. 2000. *Between Athens and Jerusalem. Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2nd ed.). Grand Rapids, MI.
- Collins, J.J. 2010. *Beyond the Qumran Community. The Sectarian Movement of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Grand Rapids, MI.
- Collins, J.J. 2011. "Reading for history in the Dead Sea Scrolls", *Dead Sea Discoveries* 18: 295–315.
- Coloru, O. 2013. "Seleucid settlements: between ethnic identity and mobility", *Electrum* 20: 37–56.
- Comfort, A., C. Abadie-Reynal and R. Ergeç 2000. "Crossing the Euphrates in antiquity: Zeugma seen from space", *Anatolian Studies* 50: 99–126.
- Comfort, A. and R. Ergeç 2001. "Following the Euphrates in antiquity: North-south routes around Zeugma", *Anatolian Studies* 51: 19–50.
- Conder, C.R. 1889. *The Survey of Eastern Palestine*. London.
- Conder, C.R. and H.H. Kitchener (eds.) 1882–88, repr. 1998. *Survey of Western and Eastern Palestine 1882–1888*. London: I–XIII.
- Contini, R. and C. Grottanelli (eds.) 2005. *Il saggio Ahiqar. Fortuna e trasformazioni di uno scritto sapienziale*. Brescia.
- Corke-Webster, J. 2017. "A man for the times: Jesus and the Abgar correspondence in Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History*", *Harvard Theological Review* 110: 563–587.
- Coşkun, A., (ed.) 2005. *Roms auswärtige Freunde in der späten Republik und im frühen Prinzipat*. Göttingen.
- Cotton, H. and W. Eck 2005. "Roman officials in Judaea and Arabia and civil jurisdiction", in R. Katzoff and D. Schnaps (eds.), *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert*. Leiden: 23–44.
- Cotton, H. and M. Wörrle 2007. "Seleukos IV to Heliodoros. A new dossier of royal correspondence from Israel", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphie* 159: 191–205.
- Cotton, H.M. 1993. "The guardianship of Jesus son of Babatha: Roman and local law in the province of Arabia", *Journal of Roman Studies* 83: 94–108.
- Cotton, H.M. 1995. "The archive of Salome Komaise daughter of Levi: another archive from the 'Cave of Letters'", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 105: 171–208.
- Cotton, H.M. 1997. "The guardian (ἐπίτροπος) of a woman in the documents from the Judaean Desert", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 118: 267–273.
- Cotton, H.M. 1999a. "Aspects of the Roman administration of Judaea/Syria-Palaestina", in W. Eck (ed.), *Locale Autonomie und römische Ordnungsmacht in der kaiserzeitlichen Provinzen vom 1. bis 3. Jahrhundert*. Munich: 75–91.
- Cotton, H.M. 1999b. "The impact of the documentary papyri from the Judaean Desert on the study of Jewish history from 70 to 135 CE", in A. Oppenheimer (ed.), *Jüdisch Geschichte in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*. Munich: 221–236.
- Cotton, H.M., W.E.H. Cockle and F.G.B. Millar 1995. "The papyrology of the Roman Near East: a survey", *Journal of Roman Studies* 85: 214–235.
- Cotton, H.M. and J. Geiger 1989. *Masada II: The Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963–1965. Final Reports – The Latin and Greek Documents*. Jerusalem.
- Cotton, H.M., R.G. Hoyland, J.J. Price and D.J. Wasserstein (eds.) 2009. *From Hellenism to Islam. Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*. Cambridge.

- Cotton, H.M. and A. Yardeni (eds.) 1997. *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites: With an Appendix containing alleged Qumran texts (The Seiyâl Collection II), Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* 27. Oxford.
- Cowley, A. 1919. "The Pahlavi document from Avroman", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 51: 147–154.
- Cowper, B.H. 1864. "Selections from the Syriac. No. 1. The Chronicle of Edessa", *Journal of Sacred Literature* 5: 28–45.
- Crawford, M. 1974. *Roman Republican Coinage*. Cambridge.
- Crawford, M.R. 2015. "Reordering the confusion?: Tatian, the Second Sophistic, and the so-called Diatessaron", *Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum* 19: 209–236.
- Crawford, O.G.S. 1929. "Air photographs of the Middle East", *Geographical Journal* 73: 497–512.
- Crawford, S.W. 2008. *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*. Grand Rapids, MI.
- Crouch, D.P. 1974. "Use of aerial photography at Palmyra: a photo essay", *Berytus* 23: 71–104.
- Crouch, D.P. 1975a. "The ramparts of Palmyra", *Studia Palmyreńskie* 7: 6–44.
- Crouch, D.P. 1975b. "The water system of Palmyra", *Studia Palmyreńskie* 7: 151–186.
- Crown, A.D. (ed.) 1989. *The Samaritans*. Tübingen.
- Crowther, C.V. 2013. "Inscriptions on stone", in W. Aylward (ed.), *Excavations at Zeugma. Conducted by Oxford Archaeology*. Los Altos, CA: 192–217.
- Crowther, C.V. and M. Facella 2003. "New evidence for the ruler cult of Antiochus of Commagene from Zeugma", in G. Heedemann and E. Winter (eds.), *Neue Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens, Asia Minor Studien* 49. Bonn: 41–80.
- Crowther, C.V. and M. Facella 2011. "A new Commagenian *nomos* text from Samosata", in E. Winter (ed.), *Von Kummuh nach Telouch. Archäologische und historische Untersuchungen in Kommagene, Asia Minor Studien* 64. Bonn: 355–366.
- Crowther, C.V. and M. Facella 2014. "New Commagenian Royal Inscriptions from the Nešet Akel Collection (Kähta)", in E. Winter (ed.), *Kult und Herrschaft am Euphrat, Asia Minor Studien* 73. Bonn: 255–270.
- Cumont, F. 1917. *Études syriennes*. Paris.
- Cumont, F. 1926. *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922–1923)*. Paris.
- Cumont, F. 1929. *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain* (4th ed.). Paris.
- Cumont, F. 1975. "The Dura mithraeum", in J.R. Hinnells (ed.), *Mithraic studies: Proceedings of the First International Congress of Mithraic Studies*. Manchester: 151–214.
- Cunliffe, E. and Global Heritage Fund 2012. "Damage to the soul: Syria's cultural heritage in conflict." [http://ghn.globalheritagefund.com/uploads/documents/document\\_2107.pdf](http://ghn.globalheritagefund.com/uploads/documents/document_2107.pdf)
- Cuntz, O. 1929. *Itineraria Romana I. Itineraria Antonini Augusti et Burdigalense*. Leipzig.
- Cureton, W. 1855. *Spicilegium Syriacum: Containing remains of Bardesan, Meliton, Ambrose and Mara bar Serapion*. London.
- Cureton, W. 1864. *Ancient Syriac Documents*. London.
- Cussini, E. 1993. *The Aramaic Law of Sale and the Cuneiform Legal Tradition*. PhD Johns Hopkins University.
- Cussini, E. 1995. "Transfer of property at Palmyra", *Aram* 7: 233–250.
- Cussini, E. 2010. "Legal formulae from Syriac documents and Palmyrene inscriptions: an overview", in S. Démare-Lafont and A. Lemaire (eds.), *Trois millénaires de formulaires juridiques, École Pratique des Hautes Études, Sciences historiques et philologiques II; Hautes études orientales Moyen et Proche Orient* 4/48. Geneva: 337–355.
- Cussini, E. 2016. "Reconstructing Palmyrene legal language", in A. Kropp and R. Raja (eds.), *The World of Palmyra*. Copenhagen: 42–52.
- Czajkowski, K. 2015. "Jewish attitudes towards the Imperial cult", *Scripta Classica Israelica* 34: 181–194.
- Czajkowski, K. 2017. *Localized Law: The Babatha and Salome Komaise Archives, Oxford Studies in Roman Society and Law*. Oxford.
- Dąbrowa, E. 1994. *The Roman and Byzantine army in the East*. Cracow.
- Dąbrowa, E. 1998. *The Governors of Roman Syria from Augustus to Septimius Severus*. Bonn.
- Dalley, S. 1994. "Nineveh, Babylon and the Hanging Gardens: Cuneiform and classical sources reconciled", *Iraq* 56: 45–58.

- Dalley, S. 2013a. *The Mystery of the Hanging Garden of Babylon*. Oxford.
- Dalley, S. 2013b. “First millennium BC variation in *Gilgamesh*, *Atrahasis*, the flood story and the *Epic of Creation*: What was available to Berossos?”, in J. Haubold e.a. (eds.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 165–176.
- Dalman, G. 1925a. *Hundert deutsche Fliegerbilder aus Palästina*. Gütersloh.
- Dalman, G. 1925b. “Die Nordstrasse Jerusalems”, *Palästina Jahrbuch* 21: 58–89.
- Danby, H.H. 1933. *The Mishnah*. Oxford.
- Dar, S. 1993. *Settlements and Cult Sites on Mount Hermon, Israel*. Oxford.
- Dar, S. and S. Applebaum 1973. “The Roman road from Antipatris to Caesarea”, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 105: 91–99.
- Darmon, J.-P. 2004. “Zosimos de Samosate, peintre actif à Zeugma autour de 200 ap. J.-C.”, *Musiva et Sectilia* 1: 75–88.
- Darmon, J.-P. 2005. “Le programme idéologique du décor en mosaïque de la maison de la Télété dionysiaque dite aussi de Poséidon, à Zeugma (Belkis, Turquie)”, in H. Morlier (ed.), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine 9.2*. Rome: 1279–1300.
- Darmon, J.-P. 2012. “La mosaïque de la pièce P3 (A1) dans la Maison I (Maison de Poséidon)”, in C. Abadie-Reynal and R. Ergeç (dir.), *Zeugma I. Fouilles de l'habitat (1). La mosaïque de Pasiphae*. Paris: 239–273.
- Daryace, T. 2009. *Sasanian Persia. The Rise and Fall of an Empire*. London and New York.
- Daszewski, W.A. 1985. *Dionysos der Erlöser*. Mainz.
- Daubner, F. 2010. “Seleukidische und attalidische Gründungen in Westkleinasien – Datierung, Funktion und Status”, in id. (ed.), *Militärsiedlungen und Teitorialherrschaft in der Antike*. Berlin: 41–63.
- Daubner, F. 2015a. “Gymnasien und Gymnasiarchen in den syrischen Provinzen und in Arabien”, in P. Scholz and D. Wiegandt (eds.), *Das kaiserzeitliche Gymnasium*. Berlin and Boston: 149–166.
- Daubner, F. 2015b. “Makedonische Götter in Syrien und Kleinasien: Erwägungen zur Identität der Siedler in Hellenistischen Stadtgründungen”, in M. Blömer, A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.), *Contextualising the Sacred in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East*. Turnhout: 49–61.
- Davies, P.R. 2011. “Between text and archaeology”, *Dead Sea Discoveries* 18: 216–228.
- Debié, M. 2015. *L'écriture de l'histoire en syriaque: Transmissions interculturelles et constructions identitaires entre hellénisme et islam: Avec des répertoires des textes historiographiques en annexe. Late Antique History and Religion 12*. Leuven.
- De Breucker, G. 2003a. “Berossos and the construction of a Near Eastern cultural history in response to the Greeks”, in H. Hokwerda (ed.), *Constructions of Greek Past: Identity and Historical Consciousness from Antiquity to the Present*. Groningen: 25–34.
- De Breucker, G. 2003b. “Berossos and the Mesopotamian temple as centre of knowledge during the Hellenistic period”, in A.A. MacDonald, M.W. Twomey and G.J. Reinink (eds.), *Learned Antiquity: Scholarship and Society*. Leuven: 13–23.
- De Breucker, G. 2010. “Berossos (680)”, in *Brill's New Jacoby Online*.
- De Breucker, G. 2012. *De Babyloniaca van Berossos van Babylon. Inleiding, Editie en Commentaar*. PhD Groningen.
- De Breucker, G. 2013. “Berossos: his life and his work”, in J. Haubold e.a. (eds.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 15–28.
- De Jong, L. 2010. “Performing death in Tyre: the life and afterlife of a Roman cemetery in the province of Syria”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 114: 597–630.
- De Jong, L. 2017. *The Archaeology of Death in Roman Syria. Burial, Commemoration, and Empire*. Cambridge.
- De Jong, L. 2018. “Death and burial in early Palmyra. Reflections on urbanization, imperialism, and the creation of memorial landscapes”, in C. Eger and M. Mackensen (eds.), *Death and Burial in Near East from Roman to Islamic Times. Research in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Egypt*. Wiesbaden: 11–28.
- De Jong, L. 2019. “Monuments, landscape, and memory: the emergence of tower-tombs in Tadmor-Palmyra”, in J.A. Baird and Z. Kamash (eds.), *Remembering Roman Syria. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 62: 30–52.
- De Laet, S.J. 1949 *Portorium*. Bruges.
- Delaporte, L.J. 1910. *La Chronographie de Mar Élie bar-Šinaya, métropolitain de Nisibe*. Paris.

- Delcor, M. 1983. "Les trônes d'Astarté", *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici, Rome, 5-10 Novembre 1979* 16: 777-787.
- de Ligt, L. 1993. *Fairs and Markets of the Roman Empire*. Amsterdam.
- Del Monte, G.F. 1997. *Testi della Babilonia ellenistica I. Testi cronografici*. Pisa and Rome.
- Delplace, C. and J. Dentzer-Feydy (eds.) 2005. *L'agora de Palmyre. Sur la base de travaux de Henri Seyrig, Raymond Duru et Edmond Frézouls*. Bordeaux and Beirut.
- Demir, A. 2004. "The urban pattern of Antakya. Streets and houses", in B. Cabouret, P.-L. Gatier, and C. Saliou (eds.), *Antioche de Syrie. Histoire, Images et traces de la ville antique*, Actes du Colloque International, *Topoi* Supplément 5: 221-238.
- den Hollander, W. 2014. *Josephus, the Emperors, and the City of Rome: From Hostage to Historian*. AGJU 86. Leiden.
- Dentzer, J.-M. 1985. "Six campagnes de fouilles à Si': développement et culture indigène en Syrie méridionale", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 2: 65-83.
- Dentzer, J.-M. (ed.) 1986. *Hauran I. Recherches archéologiques sur la Syrie du Sud à l'époque hellénistique et romaine I-II*. Paris.
- Dentzer, J.-M. 1994. "Khans ou casernes à Palmyre? A propos de structures visibles sur les photographies aériennes anciennes", *Syria* 71: 45-112.
- Dentzer, J.-M. 2007. "L'impact des modèles 'classiques' sur le cadre de la vie urbaine en Syrie du sud, entre la fin de l'époque hellénistique et le début de l'époque byzantine", in A. Laronde and J. Leclant (eds.), *La Méditerranée d'une rive à l'autre: Culture classique et cultures périphériques*. Paris: 33-78.
- Dentzer, J.-M. and J. Dentzer-Feydy 1991. *Le djebel al-'Arab. Histoire et Patrimoine au musée de Suweida'*. Paris.
- Dentzer, J.-M. and F. Villeneuve 1985. "Les villages de la Syrie romaine dans une tradition d'urbanisme orientale", in J.-L. Huot, M. Yon and Y. Calvet (eds.), *De l'Indus aux Balkans. Recueil Jean Deshayes*. Paris: 213-248.
- Dentzer-Feydy, J. 2015. "New archaeological research at the Sanctuary of Si'in southern Syria: the Graeco-Roman divinities invite themselves to Baalshamin", in M. Blömer, A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.), *Religious Identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammed. Continuity and Change. Contextualizing the Sacred* 4. Turnhout: 312-325.
- Dentzer-Feydy, J., J.-M. Dentzer and P.-M. Blanc 2003. *Hauran II. Les installations de Si' 8. Du sanctuaire à l'établissement viticole*. Beirut.
- Dentzer-Feydy, J. and J. Teixidor 1993. *Les antiquités de Palmyre au Musée du Louvre*. Paris.
- Dentzer-Feydy, J., M. Vallerin, T. Fournet, R. Mukdad and A. Mukdad 2007. *Bosra. Aux portes de l'Arabie*. Damascus.
- De Romanis, F. 1996. *Cassia cinnamomo ossidiana. Uomini e merci tra Oceano Indiano e Mediterraneo*. Roma.
- De Romanis, F. 2004. "Misura della tetarte a Palmira. Una rilettura di PAT 2634", *Parola del Passato* 59: 460-475.
- DeRose Evans, J. 2006. *The Coins and the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Economy of Palestine. The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima. Excavation Reports VI*. Boston.
- Destrooper-Georgiades, A. 1995. "La numismatique partim Orient", in V. Krings (ed.), *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*. Leiden: 148-165.
- De Vries, B. 1993. "The Umm el-Jimal project, 1981-1992", *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 27: 433-60.
- De Vries, B. (ed.) 1998. *Umm el-Jimal I, Journal of Roman Archaeology*. Suppl. 26. Portsmouth, RI.
- De Vries, B. 2000. "Continuity and change in the urban character of the southern Hauran from the 5th to the 9th century: the archaeological evidence at Umm al-Jimal", *Mediterranean Archaeology* 13: 39-45.
- Dicks, D.R. 1960. *The Geographical Fragments of Hipparchus*. London.
- Dignas, B. 2002. *Economy of the Sacred in Hellenistic and Roman Asia Minor*. Oxford.
- Dignas, B. and E. Winter 2007. *Rome and Persia in late Antiquity. Neighbours and Rivals*. Cambridge.
- Dijkstra, K. 1995. *Life and Loyalty: A Study in the Socio-Religious Culture of Syria and Mesopotamia in the Graeco-Roman Period based on Epigraphical Evidence, Religions in the Greco-Roman World* 126. Leiden.
- Dilke, O.A.W. 1985. *Greek and Roman Maps*. Ithaca, NY.
- Dilke, O.A.W. 1987. "Maps in the service of the state: Roman cartography to the end of the Augustan era", in J.B. Harley and D.W. (eds.), *The History of Cartography I. Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*. Chicago, IL: 201-211.

- Dillén, R. 2014. "Coins of Commagene", in H.A.G. Brijder (ed.), *Nemrud Dağı. Recent Archaeological Research and Conservation Activities in the Tomb Sanctuary on Mount Nemrud*. Boston: 533–562.
- Diller, A. 1952. *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers*. Oxford.
- Diller, A. 1975. "Agathemerus, *Sketch of Geography*", *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 16: 59–76.
- Dillery, J. 2013. "Berossos' narrative of Nabopolassar and Nebuchadnezzar II from Josephus", in J. Haubold e.a. (eds.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 75–96.
- Dillery, J. 2014. *Clio's Other Sons: Berossos and Manetho*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Dillon, J. 2000. "Iamblichos de Chalcis", in R. Goulet (ed.), *Dictionnaire des Philosophes antiques III. D'Eccélos à Juvénal*. Paris: 824–836.
- Dines, J.M. 2004. *The Septuagint*. London.
- Dirven, L. 1996. "The nature of trade between Palmyra and Dura-Europos", *Aram* 8: 39–54.
- Dirven, L. 1999. *The Palmyrenes of Dura-Europos: A Study of Religious Interaction in Roman Syria, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 138. Leiden.
- Dirven, L. 2005. "ΣΗΜΗΘΙΟΝ, ΣΜΥ', ΣΙΓΝΟΜ. A note on the Romanization of the Semitic cultic standard", *Parthica*. 7: 119–136.
- Dirven, L. 2011. "Strangers and sojourners: the religious behavior of Palmyrenes and other foreigners in Dura-Europos", in L.R. Brody and G.L. Hoffman (eds.), *Dura-Europos: Crossroads of Antiquity*. Chestnut Hill, MA: 201–220.
- Dirven, L. (ed.) 2013. *Hatra. Politics, Culture and Religion between Parthia and Rome, Oriens et Occidens* 21. Stuttgart.
- Dirven, L. 2015. "Cult images in the cities of the Syrian-Mesopotamian desert during the first three centuries CE: continuity and change", in M. Blömer, A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.), *Religious Identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammed*. Turnhout: 255–270.
- Dirven, L. 2016. "The problem with Parthian art at Dura", in T. Kaizer (ed.), *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos, Yale Classical Studies* 38. Cambridge: 68–88.
- Dirven, L. forthcoming. "Unity in diversity? A note on the co-existence of different styles in Palmyrene sculpture", in M. Gawlikowski and D. Wielgosz-Rondolino (eds.), *Life in Palmyra, Life for Palmyra. Conference in Memory of Khaled al As'ad*. Warsaw.
- Doak, B.R. and C. López-Ruiz (eds.) 2019. *The Oxford Handbook of the Phoenician and Punic Mediterranean*. New York.
- Dodgeon, M.H. and S.N.C. Lieu (eds.) 1994. *The Roman Eastern Frontier and the Persian Wars, AD 226–363*. 2nd ed. London and New York.
- Dodinet, M., J. Leblanc and J.-P. Vallat 1994. "Etude morphologique de paysages antiques de Syrie", in P.N. Doukellis and L.G. Mendoni (eds.), *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques*. Paris: 425–442.
- Dodinet, M., J. Leblanc, J.-P. Vallat and F. Villeneuve 1990. "Le paysage antique en Syrie: l'exemple de Damas", *Syria* 67: 339–354.
- Donner, H. and W. Röllig 1962. *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*. Wiesbaden.
- Donohue, A. 1988. *Xoana and the origins of Greek sculpture*. Atlanta.
- Doran, R. 1981. *Temple Propaganda: The Purpose and Character of 2 Maccabees*. Washington, DC.
- Döring, M. 2007. "Wasser für Gadara. Römische Fernwasserleitung im Norden Jordaniens", *Wasserwirtschaft* 7–8: 21–25.
- Döring, M. 2008. "Qanat Firaun. 106 km langer unterirdischer Aquädukt im nordjordanischen Bergland", *Schriften der Deutschen Wasserhistorischen Gesellschaft* 10: 1–16.
- Dorna-Metzger, F. 1998. "Funerary buildings at Hatra", in E. Dąbrowa (ed.), *Ancient Iran and the Mediterranean world: Proceedings of an International Conference in Honour of Professor Józef Wolski, Held at the Jagiellonian University, Cracow, in September 1996*. Cracow: 45–53.
- Dörner, F.K. 1996. "Epigraphy analysis", in D.H. Sanders (ed.), *Nemrud Dağı. The Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Commagene*. Winona Lake, IN: 361–377.
- Dörner, F.K. and T. Goell 1963. *Arsameia am Nymphaios: die Ausgrabungen im Hierothesion des Mitbridates Kallinikos 1953–1956*. Berlin.
- Dörner, F.K. and R. Naumann 1939. *Forschungen in Kommagene*. Berlin.
- Dörner, F.K. and J.H. Young 1996. "Sculpture and inscription catalogue", in D.H. Sanders (ed.), *Nemrud Dağı. The Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Commagene*. Winona Lake, IN: 175–360.
- Dörrie, H. 1964. *Der Königskult des Antiochos von Kommagene im Lichte neuer Inschriften Funde*. Göttingen.

- Dothan, M. 1976. "Akko excavation report 1973/74", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 224: 1–78.
- Downey, G. 1961. *A History of Antioch in Syria, from Seleucus to the Arab conquest*. Princeton, NJ.
- Downey, S.B. 1969. *The Heracles Sculpture. The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Arts and Letters. Final Report III, Part 1, Fascicle 1*. New Haven, CT.
- Downey, S.B. 1977. *The Stone and Plaster Sculpture. The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters, Final Report III.1.2*. Los Angeles, CA.
- Downey, S.B. 1986. "The Citadel Palace at Dura-Europos", *Syria* 63: 27–37.
- Downey, S.B. 1988. *Mesopotamian Religious Architecture. Alexander through the Parthians*. Princeton, NJ.
- Downey, S.B. 1988a. "Further observations on the Citadel Palace of Dura-Europos", *Syria* 65: 343–347.
- Downey, S.B. 2003. *Terracotta Figurines and Plaques from Dura-Europos*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Drews, R. 1975. "The Babylonian chronicles and Berossus", *Iraq* 37: 39–55.
- Drijvers, H.J.W. 1965, 2006. *The Book of the Laws of the Countries*. Assen (reprint Piscataway, NJ, 2006, with a new introduction).
- Drijvers, H.J.W. 1977. "Hatra, Palmyra und Edessa. Die Städte der syrisch-mesopotamischen Wüste in politischer, kulturgeschichtlicher und religionsgeschichtlicher Beleuchtung", *ANRW II* 8: 803–837.
- Drijvers, H.J.W. 1982. "After life and funerary symbolism in Palmyrene religion", in U. Bianchi and M.J. Vermaseren (eds.), *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'impero romano*. Leiden: 709–733.
- Drijvers, H.J.W. and J.F. Healey 1999. *The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene: Texts, Translations, and Commentary, HdO I/42*. Leiden.
- Droysen, J.G. 1843. *Geschichte des Hellenismus III. Geschichte der Diadochen*. Hamburg.
- Duchâteau, M.-E. 2013. *Les divinités d'Europos-Doura. Personnalité et identité (~301 av. n.è – 256 de n.è)*. Paris.
- Due, B. 1989. *The Cyropaedia: Xenophon's Aims and Methods*. Aarhus.
- Dueck, D. 2010. "The geographical narrative of Strabo of Amasia", in K.A. Raaflaub and R.J.A. Talbert (eds.), *Geography and Ethnography: Perceptions of the World in Pre-modern Societies*. Malden, MA: 236–251.
- Dunand, M. 1930. "La voie romaine du Ledja", *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres* 13.2: 521–557.
- Dunand, M. 1965. "Tombe peinte dans la campagne de Tyr", *BMB* 18: 5–51.
- Dunbabin, K.M.D. 1999. *Mosaics of the Greek and Roman World*. Cambridge.
- Dunbabin, K.M.D. 2003. *The Roman Banquet. Images of Conviviality*. Cambridge.
- Dunbabin, K.M.D. 2008. "Domestic Dionysus? Telete in mosaics from Zeugma and the Late Roman Near East", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 21: 193–224.
- Dunbabin, K.M.D. 2010. "The pantomime Theonoe on a mosaic from Zeugma", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 23: 413–426.
- Dunbabin, K.M.D. 2013. "Mosaics", in W. Aylward (ed.). *Excavations at Zeugma. Conducted by Oxford Archaeology*. Los Altos, CA: 149–167.
- Dunbabin, K.M.D. 2016. *Theater and Spectacle in the Art of the Roman Empire*. Ithaca and London.
- Dunbabin, K.M.D. e.a. 2019. "The man who came late to dinner. A sundial, a raven, and a missed dinner party on a mosaic at Tarsus", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 32: 329–358.
- Dunbabin, T.J. 1955. "Sir John Myers", *Proceedings of the British Academy* 41: 349–365.
- Durand, C. 2010. "Crossing the Red Sea: the Nabataeans in the Egyptian Eastern Desert", *Navigated Spaces, Connected Places. Proceedings of the Red Sea Project V, Held at the University of Exeter*. Oxford: 85–90.
- Durand, X. 1997. *Des grecs en Palestine au IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ: le dossier Syrien des archives de Zénon de Caunos (261–252)*. Paris.
- Dussaud, R. 1955. *La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam*. Paris.
- Duyrat, F. 2005. *Arados hellénistique: étude historique et monétaire*. Beirut.
- Duyrat, F. 2016. *Wealth and Warfare. The Archaeology of Money in Ancient Syria*. New York.
- Dyson, S.L. 1968. *The Commonware Pottery, the Brittle Ware. The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Final Report IV, Part 1, Fascicle 3*. New Haven, CT.
- Eadie, J. 1996. "One hundred years of rebellion: the eastern army in politics, AD 175–272", in D.L. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the Near East, JRA Suppl.* 18. Ann Arbor, MI: 135–151.
- Eck, W. 1999. "New Evidence on the Bar Kochba War", *Journal of Roman Studies* 89: 76–89.

- Eck, W. 2008. "Die Benennung von römischen Amtsträgern und politisch-militärisch-administrativen Funktionen bei Flavius Iosephus: probleme der korrekten Identifizierung", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 166: 218–226.
- Eck, W. 2010. "Friedenssicherung und Krieg in der Römischen Kaiserzeit", in A. Eich (ed.), *Die Verwaltung der kaiserzeitlichen römischen Armee. Studien für Hartmut Wolff*, *Historia Einzelschriften* 211. Stuttgart: 87–110.
- Eck, W. 2014. *Judäa – Syria Palästina. Die Auseinandersetzung einer Provinz mit römischer Politik und Kultur*. Tübingen.
- Eck, W. 2019. "Nebeneinander oder miteinander? Die Aussagekraft der verschiedenen Sprachen auf Inschriften in Iudaea-Palaestina", in P. Amann, T. Corsten, F. Mitthof and H. Tacuber (eds.), *Sprachen – Schriftkulturen – Identitäten der Antike. Beiträge des XV. Internationalen Kongresses für Griechische und Lateinische Epigraphik, Wien, 28. August bis 1. September 2017*. Vienna: 43–58.
- Eck, W. and G. Foerster 1999. "Ein Triumphbogen für Hadrian im Tal von Beth Shean bei Tel Shalem", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 12: 294–313.
- Edelstein, L. and I.G. Kidd 1989. *Posidonius I. The Fragments*. Cambridge.
- Edwards, M.J. 1991. "Philo or Sanchuniathon? A Phoenician cosmogony", *Classical Quarterly* 41: 213–220.
- Edwell, P.M. 2008. *Between Rome and Persia. The Middle Euphrates, Mesopotamia and Palmyra under Roman Control*. London and New York.
- Edwell, P.M. 2013. "The Euphrates as a boundary between Rome and Parthia in the late republic and early empire," *Antichthon* 47: 191–206.
- Egea Vivancos, A. 2005. *Eufratense et Osrhoene: Poblamiento Romano en el Alto Eufrates Sirio. Antigüedad y Cristianismo* 22. Murcia.
- Ehling, K. 2008. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der späten Seleukiden (164–63 v.Chr.). Vom Tode des Antiochos IV. bis zur Einrichtung der Provinz Syria unter Pompeius*. Stuttgart.
- Eißfeldt, O. 1948. "Tyros Nr. 3", *RE* VII A 2: 1876–1908.
- Elayi, J. 1980. "The Phoenician cities in the Persian period", *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society of Columbia University* 12: 13–28.
- Elayi, J. 1990. "Les cités phéniciennes entre liberté et sujétion", *Dialogues d'Histoire Ancienne* 16: 93–113.
- Elayi, J. and A.G. Elayi 2014. *Phoenician Coinages*. Paris.
- Elderkin, G.W. and R. Stillwell 1938. *Antioch on the Orontes: The Excavations of 1933–1936*. Princeton, NJ.
- Elderkin, G.W. and R. Stillwell 1941. *Antioch on the Orontes: The Excavations of 1937–1939*. Princeton, NJ.
- Eliav, Y.Z. 2003. "The urban layout of Aelia Capitolina: a new view from the perspective of the Temple Mount", in P. Schäfer (ed.), *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome*. Tübingen: 241–277.
- Eliav, Y.Z. 2005. *God's Mountain: The Temple Mount in Time, Place, and Memory*. Baltimore, MD.
- Eliav, Y.Z. 2006. "Jews and Judaism 70–429 CE", in D. Potter (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman World*. Oxford: 565–586.
- Eliav, Y.Z. 2008. "The desolating sacrilege: a Jewish-Christian discourse on statuary, space and sanctity", in id., E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (eds.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology and Power*. Leuven: 605–627.
- Eliav, Y.Z., E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (eds.) 2008. *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*. Leuven and Dudley, MA.
- Elsner, J. 2001. "Describing self in the language of the other: Pseudo (?) Lucian at the temple of Hierapolis", in S. Goldhill (ed.), *Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*. Cambridge: 123–153.
- Elton, H. 2013. "Zeugma's military history in light of the rescue excavations", in W. Aylward (ed.), *Excavations at Zeugma. Conducted by Oxford Archaeology*. Los Altos, CA: 375–380.
- Engels, D. 1980. "Alexander's intelligence system", *Classical Quarterly* 30: 327–340.
- Engels, D. 2017. "The Achaemenid and Seleucid court: continuity or change?" in A. Erskine, L. Llewellyn-Jones and S. Wallace (eds.), *The Hellenistic Court. Monarchic Power and Elite Society from Alexander to Cleopatra*. Swansea: 69–100.
- Eph'al, I. 1982. *The Ancient Arabs. Nomads on the Borders of the Fertile Crescent, 9<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> Centuries BC*. Jerusalem.
- Equini Schneider, E. 1993. *Septimia Zenobia Sebaste*, *Studia Archaeologica* 61. Rome.



- Erdkamp, P. (ed.) 2007. *A Companion to the Roman Army. Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World*. Oxford.
- Ergeç, R. (ed.) 2006. *International Symposium on Zeugma: From Past to Future*. Gaziantep.
- Ergeç, R. (ed.) 2007. *Belkis/Zeugma and its Mosaics*. Istanbul.
- Ergeç, R. and J.-B. Yon 2012. "Nouvelles inscriptions", in C. Abadie-Reynal (ed.), *Zeugma III, Fouilles de l'habitat (2). La maison des "synaristôsai" – Nouvelles Inscriptions*. Lyon: 153–198.
- Erickson-Gini, T. 2010. *Nabataean Settlement and Self-Organized Economy in the Central Negev: Crisis and Renewal, BAR 2054*. Oxford.
- Eristov, H., C. Vibert-Guigue, W. al-As'ad and N. Sarkis (eds.) 2019. *Le tombeau des trois frères a Palmyre. Mission archéologique franco-syrienne 2004–2009*. Beirut.
- Erskine, A., L. Llewellyn-Jones and A. Erskine (eds.) 2017. *The Hellenistic Court: Monarchic Power and Elite Society from Alexander to Cleopatra*. Swansea.
- Ertel, C. 2003. "Ähnliche Stilmerkmale römischer Steindenkmäler in verschiedenem geographischen und historischen Kontext. Ein Beitrag zur Neuverortung der provinziellen Kunst", in P. Noelke (ed.), *Romanisation und Resistenz in Plastik, Architektur und Inschriften der Provinzen des Imperium Romanum*. Mainz: 13–20.
- Eshel, H. 2008. *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State*. Grand Rapids, MI and Jerusalem.
- Esler, P. 2017. *Babatha's Orchard: The Yadin Papyri and an Ancient Jewish Family Tale Retold*. Oxford.
- Étienne, R. and J.-F. Salles (eds.) 2010. *Iraq al-Amir. Guide historique et archéologique du domaines de Tobiades*. Beirut.
- Evenari, M., L. Shannon and N. Tadmor 1982. *The Negev. The Challenge of a Desert*, 2nd ed. Cambridge, MA.
- Fabian, P. 1995. "The Late-Roman military camp at Beer Sheba: a new discovery", in J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East I, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.14*. Ann Arbor, MI: 235–240.
- Facella, M. 1999. "Basileus Arsames. Sulla storia dinastica di Commagene", in B. Virgilio (ed.), *Studi Ellenistici 12*, Pisa: 127–158.
- Facella, M. 2005a. "The economy and coinage of Commagene (first century BC – first century AD)", in S. Mitchell and C. Katsari (eds.), *Patterns in the Economy of Roman Asia Minor*. Swansea: 225–250.
- Facella, M. 2005b. "Φιλορώματος και Φιλέλλην: Roman perception of Commagenian royalty", in O. Hekster and R. Fowler (eds.), *Imaginary Kings. Royal Images in the Ancient Near East, Greece and Rome*. Stuttgart: 87–103.
- Facella, M. 2006. *La dinastia degli Orontidi nella Commagene ellenistico-romana, Studi ellenistici 17*. Pisa.
- Facella, M. 2009. "Darius and the Achaemenids in Commagene", in P. Briant and M. Chauveau (eds.), *Organisation des pouvoirs et contacts culturels dans les pays de l'empire achéménide*. Paris: 379–414.
- Facella, M. 2014. "Apoteosi e catasterismo in Commagene: il cosiddetto 'Oroscopo del Leone'", in T. Gnoli and F. Muccioli (eds.), *Divinizzazione, culto del sovrano e apoteosi. Tra Antichità e Medioevo*. Bologna: 161–178.
- Facella, M. forthcoming. "Sovereignty and autonomy in the Hellenistic coins of Commagene", in M. Blömer, S. Riedel, M.J. Versluys and E. Winter (eds.), «Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods». *Commagene in its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context*. Stuttgart.
- Falk, D.K. 2007. *The Parabiblical Texts*. London.
- Fani Alpi, Z. 2016. *Dévotions lapidaires: Reliefs divins du Liban romain, Baal hors série 11*. Beirut.
- Fedak, J. 1990. *Monumental Tombs of the Hellenistic Age*. Toronto.
- Fehling, D. 1989. *Herodotus and his "Sources". Citation, Invention and Narrative Art*. Leeds.
- Feissel, D. 1985. "Deux listes de quartiers d'Antioche astreints au creusement d'un canal (73–74 après J.-C.)", *Syria 62*: 77–103.
- Feissel, D. 1993. "Les privilèges de Baitokaikè. Remarques sur le rescrit de Valérien et le colophon du dossier", *Syria 70*: 13–26.
- Feissel, D. and J. Gascou 1989. "Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen-Euphrate (III<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C.)", *CRAI 133*: 535–561.
- Feissel, D. and J. Gascou 1995. "Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III<sup>e</sup> s. après J.-C.). I. Les pétitions (P. Euphr. 1 à 5)", *Journal des Savants*: 65–119.
- Feissel, D. and J. Gascou 2000. "Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III<sup>e</sup> s. après J.-C.). III. Actes diverses et lettres (P. Euphr. 11 à 17)", *Journal des Savants*: 157–208.

- Feissel, D., J. Gascoü and J. Teixidor 1997. "Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (III<sup>e</sup> s. après J.-C.). II. Les actes de vente-achat (P. Euphr. 6 à 10)", *Journal des Savants*: 3–57.
- Feldman, L.H. 1998. *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*. Berkeley, CA.
- Feldman, L.H. and G. Hata (eds.) 1989. *Josephus, the Bible, and History*. Detroit, MI.
- Fellmann, R. 1970. *Le sanctuaire de Baalshamin à Palmyre V: Die Grabanlagen*. Rome.
- Festugière, A.J. 1959. *Antioche païenne et chrétienne, avec un commentaire archéologique sur l'«Antiochicos» par R. Martin*. Paris.
- Fiano, E. 2015. "The Trinitarian controversies in fourth-century Edessa", *Le Muséon* 128: 85–125.
- Fiema, Z.T., A. al-Jallad, M.C.A. Macdonald and L. Nehmé 2015. "Provincia Arabia: Nabataea, the emergence of Arabic as a written language, and Graeco-Arabica", in G. Fisher (ed.), *Arabs and Empires before Islam*. Oxford: 373–433.
- Fiema, Z.T., J. Frösen and M. Holappa (eds.) 2016. *Petra: The Mountain of Aaron. The Finnish Archaeological Project in Jordan II. The Nabatean Sanctuary and the Byzantine Monastery*. Helsinki.
- Fiema, Z.T. and R.N. Jones 1990. "The Nabataean king-list revised: further observations on the second Nabataean inscription from Tell esh-Shuqafiyah, Egypt", *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 34: 239–248.
- Fiema, Z.T., F. Villeneuve and T. Bauzou 2020. "New Latin and Greek inscriptions from ancient Hegra", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 214: 179–202.
- Fiey, J.M. 1993. *Pour un Oriens Christianus novus. Répertoire des diocèses syriaques orientaux et occidentaux*. Stuttgart.
- Figueras, P. 2000. *From Gaza to Pelusium: Materials for the Historical Geography of North Sinai and Southwestern Palestine (332 BCE – 640 CE)*. Beer Sheva.
- Fine, S. 2010. "Death, burial, and afterlife", in C. Hezser (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Daily Life in Roman Palestine*. Oxford: 440–462.
- Fink, R.O. 1971. *Roman Military Records on Papyrus*. Cleveland, OH.
- Finley, M.I. 1973, 1985<sup>2</sup>. *The Ancient Economy*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA and London.
- Fischer, M. 1996. "Marble, urbanism and ideology in Roman Palestine: the Caesarean example", in A. Raban and K.G. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia*. Leiden: 251–261.
- Fischer, M. 1998. *Marble Studies: Roman Palestine and the Marble Trade. Konstanzer althistorische Vorträge und Forschungen* 40. Konstanz.
- Fischer, M. 2008. "Sculpture in Roman Palestine and its architectural and social milieu: adaptability, imitation, originality? The Ascalon basilica as an example", in Y.Z. Eliav, E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (eds.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology and Power*. Leuven: 483–508.
- Fischer, M., B. Isaac and I. Roll 1996. *Roman Roads in Judaea II: The Jaffa-Jerusalem Road, BAR* 628. Oxford.
- Fisher, G. 2011. *Between Empires. Arabs, Romans and Sasanians in Late Antiquity*. Oxford.
- Fisher, G. 2019. *Rome, Persia and Arabia: Shaping the Middle East from Pompey to Muhammad*. London and New York.
- Fisher, G. (ed.) 2015. *Arabs and Empires before Islam*. Oxford.
- Fitzmyer, J.A. 2004. *IQapGen of Qumran Cave I: A Commentary* (3rd ed.). Rome.
- Fleischer, R. 1973. *Artemis von Ephesos und verwandte Kultstatuen aus Anatolien und Syrien*. Leiden.
- Flint, P.W. and J.C. VanderKam (eds.) 1998–99. *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment I–II*. Leiden.
- Foerster, G. 2008. "Marble sculpture of the Roman period in the Near East and its Hellenistic origins", in Y.Z. Eliav, E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (eds.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology and Power*. Leuven: 69–115.
- Fonrobert, C.E. and M.S. Jaffee 2007. *The Cambridge Companion to the Talmud and Rabbinic Literature*. Cambridge.
- Foss, C. 1995. "The Near Eastern countryside in Late Antiquity", in J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East I, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 14. Ann Arbor, MI: 213–234.
- Fowlkes-Childs, B. and M. Seymour 2019. *The World between Empires. Art and Identity in the Ancient Middle East*. New York and New Haven, CT and London.
- Frahm, E. 2010. "Counter-texts, commentaries and adaptations: politically motivated responses to the Babylonian Epic of Creation in Mesopotamia, the Biblical world, and elsewhere", *Orient* 45: 2–33.

- Frascone, D. 2013. *Zeugma IV. Les monnaies, Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient* 63. Lyon.
- Fraser, P.M. 1978. "The Kings of Commagene and the Greek World", in *Studien zur Religion und Kultur Kleinasien I: Festschrift für Friederich Karl Dörner zum 65. Geburtstag am 28. Februar 1976*, hrsg. von S. Şahin – E. Schwertheim – J. Wagner. Leiden: 359–374.
- Fraser, P.M. 1996. *Cities of Alexander the Great*. Oxford.
- Fraser, P.M. 2009. *Greek Ethnic Terminology*. Oxford.
- French, D.H. 1981. *Roman Roads and Milestones of Asia Minor*. Oxford.
- French, D.H. 1991. "Commagene: territorial definitions", in A. Schütte, D. Pohl and J. Teichmann (eds.), *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien. Friederich Karl Dörner zum 80. Geburtstag gewidmet, Asia Minor Studien* 3. Bonn: 11–19.
- French, D.H. 1994. "Legio III Gallica", in E. Dąbrowa (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine army in the East*. Cracow: 29–46.
- French, D.H. and C.S. Lightfoot (eds.) 1989. *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire, BAR* 553. Oxford.
- Freyberger, K.S. 1998. *Die frühkaiserzeitlichen Heiligtümer der Karawanenstationen im hellenisierten Osten: Zeugnisse eines kulturellen Konflikts im Spannungsfeld zweier politischer Formationen. Damaszener Forschungen* 6. Mainz.
- Freyberger, K.S. 2014. "Die 'Haznat Fir'aun' ('Harabat al-Garra') in Petra: Datierung, Funktion und Bedeutung", *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 7: 198–220.
- Freyne, S. 1980. *Galilee from Alexander the Great to Hadrian 323 BCE to 135 CE: A Study of Second Temple Judaism*. Wilmington, DE.
- Frézouls, E. 1969. "L'exploration archéologique de Cyrrus", in J. Balty (ed.), *Colloque Apamée de Syrie: Bilan de recherches archéologiques, 1965–1968*. Brussels: 81–91.
- Frézouls, E. 1953. "Inscription de Cyrrhus relative à Q. Marcius Turbo", *Syria* 30: 247–278.
- Frézouls, E. 1977. "La toponymie de l'Orient syrien et l'apport des éléments macédoniens", in T. Fahd (ed.), *La Toponymie Antique, Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg 12–14 juin 1975*. Leiden: 219–248.
- Friedland, E.A. 1999. "Graeco-Roman sculpture in the Levant: the marbles of the sanctuary of Pan at Caesarea Philippi (Baniyas)", in J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East 2. Some Recent Archaeological Research, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.*31. Portsmouth, RI: 7–22.
- Friedland, E.A. 2003. "The Roman marble sculptures from the North Hall of the East Baths at Gerasa", *American Journal of Archaeology* 45: 461–477.
- Friedland, E.A. 2007. "Shifting places, changing faces: the civic statuary of Roman Jordan", in T.E. Levy, P.M.M. Daviau, R.W. Younker and M. Shaer (eds.), *Crossing Jordan. North American Contributions to the Archaeology of Jordan*. London and New York: 341–347.
- Friedland, E.A. 2008. "Visualizing deities in the Roman Near East: aspects of Athena and Athena-Allat", in Y.Z. Eliav, E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (eds.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*. Leuven: 315–350.
- Friedland, E.A. 2012. "Marble sculpture in the Roman Near East: remarks on import, production and impact", in T.M. Kristensen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *Ateliers and Artisans in Roman Art and Archaeology Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.*92. Portsmouth, RI: 55–73.
- Fröhlich, P. and C. Müller (eds.) 2005. *Citoyenneté et participation à la basse période hellénistique*. Geneva.
- Frost, H. 1972. "Ancient harbours and anchorages in the Eastern Mediterranean", in ead., *Underwater Archaeology: A Nascent Discipline*. Paris: 95–114.
- Frye, R.N. 1962. *The heritage of Persia*. London.
- Frye, R.N. 1968. *The Parthian and Middle Persian Inscriptions of Dura-Europos*. London.
- Frye, R.N. 1984. *The history of Iran, Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft* III.7. Munich.
- Frye, R.N., J.F. Gilliam, H. Ingholt and C.B. Welles 1955. "Inscriptions from Dura-Europos", *Yale Classical Studies* 14: 123–213.
- Fuks, G. 2001. "Josephus' Tobiads again: a cautionary note", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 52: 354–356.
- Gabba, E. 1999. "The social, economic, and political history of Palestine 63c BCE – CE 70", in W. Horbury e.a. (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism III: The Early Roman Period*. Cambridge: 94–167.
- Gaborit, J. 2012–15. *La vallée engloutie. Géographie Historique du Moyen-Euphrate (du IV<sup>e</sup> s. av. J.-C. au VI<sup>e</sup> ap. J.-C.)* I–II. Beirut.
- Gagos, T. 2009. "New inscriptional evidence and Petra's rôle in the province of Arabia", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 22: 381–389.

- Gaifman, M. 2008. "The aniconic image of the Roman Near East", in T. Kaizer (ed.), *The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 164. Leiden and Boston: 37–72.
- Gaifman, M. 2012. *Aniconism in Greek Antiquity*. Oxford.
- Gaifman, M. 2017. "Aniconism: definitions, examples and comparative perspectives", *Religion* 47.3: 335–352.
- Galili, E. e.a. 2008. "Ashqelon and the sea in light of the underwater and coastal archaeological findings", in I. Stager e.a. (ed.), *Ashkelon I*. Jerusalem: 11–38 (Hebr.).
- Garbini, G. 1980. *I Fenici. Storia e religione*. Napoli.
- Gardner, G. 2007a. "Jewish leadership and Hellenistic civic benefaction in the second century BCE", *Journal of Biblical Literature* 126: 327–343.
- Gardner, I. (ed.) 1996–2007. *Kellis Literary Texts I–II*. Oxford.
- Gardner, I. 2007b. "P. Kellis I 67 revisited", *ZPE* 159: 223–228.
- Gascou, J. 2009. "The papyrology of the Near East", in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*. Oxford: 473–494.
- Gascou, J. 2011. "The diversity of languages in Dura-Europos", in J. Chi and S. Heath (eds.), *Edge of Empires: Pagans, Jews, and Christians at Roman Dura-Europos*. New York: 75–96.
- Gatier, P.-L. 1996. "Palmyre et Émèse, ou Émèse sans Palmyre", *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 42: 431–436.
- Gatier, P.-L. 2007a. "Période hellénistique", in M.-A. Haldimann e.a. (eds.), *Gaza à la croisée des civilisations I: Contexte archéologique et historique*. Chamam Musé d'art et d'histoire de Genève. Geneva and Neuchâtel: 105–117.
- Gatier, P.-L. 2007b. "Decapolitana", *Syria* 84: 169–184.
- Gatier, P.-L. 2007c. "Arabic et Syrie: à propos de princes-clients du I<sup>er</sup> siècle apr. J.-C.", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 60: 483–500.
- Gatier, P.-L. 2008. "Héraclée-sur-mer et la géographie historique de la côte syrienne", *Studi Ellenistici* 20: 269–283.
- Gatier, P.-L. 2013. "Des *péliganes* à Suse", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphie* 184: 205–210.
- Gatier, P.-L. 2016. "Géographie mythologique de l'Oronte dans l'Antiquité", in D. Parayre (ed.), *Le fleuve rebelle. Géographie historique du moyen Oronte d'Ebla à l'époque médiévale*, *Syria* Suppl.4: 249–269.
- Gatier, P.-L., J. Aliquot and L. Nordiguian (eds.) 2011. *Sources de l'histoire de Tyr. Textes de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge*. Beirut.
- Gatier, P.-L., P. Lombard and Kh. al-Sindi 2002. "Greek inscriptions from Bahrain", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 13: 223–233.
- Gatier, P.-L. and L. Nordiguian (eds.) 2005. *Yanouh et le Nabr Ibrahim*. Beirut.
- Gatier, P.-L., L. Nordiguian and J.-B. Yon (eds.) 2009. *Temples et sanctuaires du Liban*. *Topoi* 16: 61–264.
- Gauthier, Ph. 1985. *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* Suppl.12. Athens and Paris.
- Gauthier, Ph. 2000. "Les institutions politiques de Delphes au II<sup>e</sup> siècle a. C.", in A. Jacquemin (ed.), *Delphes. Cent ans après la grande fouille. Essai de bilan*, *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* Suppl.36. Athens: 109–129.
- Gauthier, Ph. and M.B. Hatzopoulos 1993. *La loi gymnasiarchique de Béroia*. Athens.
- Gawlikowski, M. 1970. *Monuments funéraires de Palmyre*. Warsaw.
- Gawlikowski, M. 1973. *Le temple palmyrénien, Études d'épigraphie et de topographie historique, Palmyre* VI. Warsaw.
- Gawlikowski, M. 1983. "Palmyre et l'Euphrate", *Syria* 40: 53–68.
- Gawlikowski, M. 1988. "Le commerce de Palmyre sur terre et sur eau", in J.F. Salles (ed.), *L'Arabie et ses mers bordières. I. Itinéraires et voisinages*. Lyon: 163–172.
- Gawlikowski, M. 1990. "Les dieux de Palmyre", *ANRW* II. 18.4: 2605–2658.
- Gawlikowski, M. 1994. "Palmyra as a trading centre", *Iraq* 56: 27–33.
- Gawlikowski, M. 1996. "Thapsacus and Zeugma: the passage of the Euphrates in Antiquity", *Iraq* 58: 123–133.
- Gawlikowski, M. 1997. "The Syrian desert under the Romans", in S.E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*. Oxford: 37–54.

- Gawlikowski, M. 2005. "L'apothéose d'Odeinat sur une mosaïque récemment découverte à Palmyre", *CRAI* 149: 1293–1304.
- Gawlikowski, M. 2006. "Arabes et Arabies dans l'Antiquité", *Topoi* 14: 41–46.
- Gawlikowski, M. 2007a. "The mithraeum at Hawarte and its paintings", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 20: 337–361.
- Gawlikowski, M. 2007b. "Odainat et Hérodien rois des rois", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 60: 27–33.
- Gawlikowski, M. 2008. "The statues of the sanctuary of Allat in Palmyra", in Y.Z. Eliav, E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (eds.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*. Leuven: 397–411.
- Gawlikowski, M. 2010. "The Syrian desert under the Romans", in S. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*. Oxford: 55–71.
- Gawlikowski, M. 2012. "Le Tarif de Palmyre et le temple de Rab'asiré", *CRAI* 156: 765–780.
- Gawlikowski, M. 2017. "The Indian Trade between the Gulf and the Red Sea", *PAM* 26/2: 15–30.
- Gawlikowski, M. 2018. *Le sanctuaire d'Allat à Palmyre*, PAM Monograph Series 8. Warsaw.
- Gawlikowski, M. and M. Żuchowska 2010. "La mosaïque de Bellérophon", *Studia Palmyreńskie* 11: 9–42.
- Gebhardt, A. 2002. *Imperiale Politik und provinzielle Entwicklung. Untersuchungen zum Verhältnis von Kaiser, Heer und Städten im Syrien der vorseverischen Zeit. Klio Beihefte NF 4*. Berlin.
- Gelardini, G. 2014. "Cult's death in Scripture: the destruction of Jerusalem's Temple remembered by Josephus and Mark", in T. Thatcher (ed.), *Memory and Identity in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity. A Conversation with Barry Schwartz*. Atlanta, GA: 89–112.
- Gelin, M. 2002. *L'archéologie en Syrie et au Liban à l'époque du mandat (1916–1946). Histoire et organisation*. Paris.
- Genequand, D. 2012. *Les établissements des élites omeyyades en Palmyrène et au Proche-Orient*, BAH 200. Beirut.
- Gera, D. 1998. *Judaea and Mediterranean Politics, 219 to 161 BCE*. Leiden.
- Gera, D. 2009. "Olympiodoros, Heliodoros and the Temples of Koilē Syria and Phoinikē", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphie* 169: 125–155.
- Gera, D.L. 1993. *Xenophon's Cyropaedia: Style, Genre and Literary Technique*. Oxford.
- Gersht, R. 1987. *The Sculpture of Caesarea Maritima*. PhD Tel Aviv.
- Gersht, R. 2008. "Caesarean sculpture in context", in Y.Z. Eliav, E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (eds.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology and Power*. Leuven: 509–538.
- Gerster, G. and R.B. Wartke 2003. *Flugbilder aus Syrien von der Antike bis zur Moderne*. Mainz.
- Geyer, B. 2000. "Des fermes byzantines aux palais omayyades, ou l'ingénieuse mise en valeur des plaines steppiques de Chalcidique (Syrie)", in L. Nordiguian and J.-F. Salles (eds.), *Aux origines de l'archéologie aérienne. A. Poidebard 1878–1955*. Beirut: 109–122.
- Geyer, B. and J.Y. Monchambert 2003. *La Basse Vallée de l'Euphrate syrien du Néolithique à l'avènement de l'Islam I–II*. Beirut.
- Geyer, P. 1898. *Itineraria Hierosolymitana, Saeculi IIII–VIII. Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 39. Vienna.
- Gitler, H. and O. Tal 2006. *The Coinage of Philistia in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries BC*. Milan.
- Glucker, C. 1987. *The City of Gaza in the Roman and Byzantine Periods*. Oxford.
- Glueck, N. 1934–51. *Explorations in Eastern Palestine I–IV*. New Haven, CT.
- Gnoli, G. 1989. *The Idea of Iran: An Essay on its Origin*, Istituto italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, Serie orientale Roma 62. Rome.
- Gnoli, T. 2000. *Roma, Edessa e Palmira nel III sec. d.C. Problemi istituzionali. Uno studio sui Papiri dell'Eufrate*, Monografie di Mediterraneo Antico 1. Pisa and Rome.
- Gnoli, T. 2002. "Paşgribā at Ḥatra and Edessa", in A. Panaino and G. Pettinato (eds.), *3. Ideologies and Intercultural Phenomena. Proceedings of the Third Annual Symposium of the Assyrian and Babylonian Intellectual Heritage Project Held in Chicago, October 27–31, 2000*. MELAMMU Symposia. Milan: 79–87.
- Gnoli, T. 2007. *The Interplay of Roman and Iranian Titles in the Roman East (1st–3rd Century AD)*, Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, philosoph.-hist. Klasse 765, Veröffentlichungen zur Iranistik 43. Vienna.

- Göbl, R. 2000. *Die Münzprägung der Kaiser Valerianus I./Gallienus/Saloninus (253–268), Regalianus (260) und Macrianus/Quietus (260–262)*. Vienna.
- Goell, T. 1967. “Samosata archaeological excavations, Turkey, 1967”, *National Geographic Society Research Reports*, 1967 Projects (1974): 83–109.
- Gogräfe, R. 2013. “Isriye (İtriah)-Seriana. Bemerkungen zur Raumfunktion eines severischen Tempel in Syrien”, in I. Gerlach and D. Raue (eds.), *Sanktuar und Ritual – Heilige Plätze im archäologischen Befund* Forschungscluster 4: *Heiligtümer: Gestalt und Ritual, Kontinuität und Veränderung*. Rahden: 171–184.
- Goldhill, S. (ed.) 2001. *Being Greek under Rome. Cultural Identity, the Second Sophistic and the Development of Empire*. Cambridge.
- Goldman, B. and N. Goldman 2011. *My Dura-Europos. The Letters of Susan M. Hopkins, 1927–1935*. Detroit, MI.
- Goldstein, J.A. 1966. “The Syriac bill of sale from Dura-Europos”, *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 25: 1–16.
- Goldstein, J.A. 1975. “The Tales of the Tobiads”, in J. Neusner (ed.), *Christianity, Judaism, and other Greco-Roman Cults Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty III*. Leiden: 85–123.
- Goldstein, J.A. 1976. *I Maccabees*, *Anchor Bible* 41. New York.
- Goldstein, J.A. 1993. “Alexander and the Jews”, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 59: 59–101.
- Goldworthy, A. and I. Haynes (eds.) 1999. *The Roman Army as a Community Journal of Roman Archaeology* Suppl.34. Portsmouth, RI. 1999.
- Goodblatt, D. 1994. *The Monarchic Principle: Studies in Jewish Self-Government in Antiquity*. Tübingen.
- Goodblatt, D. 2006. *Elements of Ancient Jewish Nationalism*. Cambridge.
- Goodblatt, D. 2012. “The Jews in the Parthian empire: what we don’t know”, in B. Isaac and Y. Shahar (eds.), *Judaea-Palestina, Babylon and Rome: Jews in Antiquity*. Tübingen: 263–278.
- Goodchild, R.G. 1948–49. “The coast road of Phoenicia and its Roman milestones”, *Berytus* 9: 91–127.
- Goodenough, E.R. 1964. *Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman Period IX-XI*. New York.
- Goodman, M. 1983. *State and Society in Roman Galilee AD 132–212*. London.
- Goodman, M. 1991. “Babatha’s story”, *Journal of Roman Studies* 81: 169–175.
- Goodman, M. 1992. “Jews in the Decapolis”, *Aram* 4: 49–56.
- Goodman, M. 1994. “Josephus as Roman citizen”, in F. Parente and J. Sievers (eds.), *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period*. Leiden: 329–338.
- Goodman, M. 2008. *Rome and Jerusalem: The Clash of Ancient Civilizations*. London.
- Goodman, M. 2018. *A History of Judaism*. Princeton, NJ.
- Goodman, M. and P.S. Alexander (eds.) 2010. *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late-Roman Palestine, Proceedings of the British Academy* 165. Oxford.
- Görkay, K. 2011a. “New piece, new reconstruction and new theories: the Athena statue from Zeugma”, in E. Winter (ed.), *Von Kummuh nach Telouch. Archäologische und historische Untersuchungen in Kommagene, Asia Minor Studien* 64. Bonn: 417–435.
- Görkay, K. 2011b. “A votive stele from Zeugma”, in E. Winter (ed.), *Von Kummuh nach Telouch. Archäologische und historische Untersuchungen in Kommagene Asia Minor Studien* 64. Bonn: 437–442.
- Görkay, K. 2012a. “Zeugma in the light of new research”, in K. Konuk (ed.), *Stephanèphoros. De l’économie antique à l’Asie Mineure. Hommages à Raymond Descat*. Bordeaux: 275–300.
- Görkay, K. 2012b. “Zeugma im Spiegel der neuen Ausgrabungen”, in J. Wagner (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (2nd ed.). Mainz: 195–204.
- Görkay, K. 2015. *Geçmişten Günümüze Bir Geçit – Zeugma*. Istanbul.
- Görkay, K. 2017a. “Zeugma Lejyon Yerleşkesi: Yeni Araştırmalar Sonuçlar ve Ön Değerlendirmeler/The military installation at Zeugma: recent investigations results and preliminary assessment”, *Anadolu/Anatolia* 43: 147–178.
- Görkay, K. 2017b. “2017 Zeugma Kazıları”, *Anadolu/Anatolia* 43: 225–226.
- Görkay, K. 2017c. “Mosaic programmes in domestic contexts at Zeugma”, *Journal of Mosaic Research* 10: 183–211.
- Görkay, K., P. Linant de Bellefonds and E. Prioux 2006. “Some observations on the Theonoe mosaic from Zeugma”, *Anadolu/Anatolia* 31: 19–33.
- Goukowsky, P. 1981. *Essai sur les origines du mythe d’Alexandre (336–270 av. J.-C.) II, Alexandre et Dionysos*. Nancy.
- Goukowsky, P. 2007. *Appien, Histoire Romaine*, livre 11, *Syriakè*. Paris.

- Gounaropoulou, L. and M.B. Hatzopoulos 1985. *Les milliaires de la voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique*. Athens.
- Grabbe, L.L. 2004–2020. *A History of the Jews and Judaism in the Second Temple Period I–III*. London.
- Graf, D.F. 1989. “Les routes romaines d’Arabie Pétree”, *Le monde de la Bible* 59: 54–56.
- Graf, D.F. 1990. “The origins of the Nabataeans”, *Aram* 2: 45–75.
- Graf, D. 1992. “Hellenisation and the Decapolis”, *Aram* 4: 1–48.
- Graf, D.F. 1993. “The *Via Nova Traiana* between Petra and Aqaba”, *Syria* 70: 262–263.
- Graf, D.F. 1994. “The Nabataean army and the *Cohortes Ulpiae Petraeorum*”, in E. Dąbrowa (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Army in the East*. Cracow: 265–311.
- Graf, D.F. 1995. “The *Via Nova Traiana* in Arabia Petraea”, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 14: 141–167.
- Graf, D.F. 1997. “The *Via militaris* in Arabia”, *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51: 271–281.
- Graf, D.F. 2006. “The Nabataeans in the early Hellenistic period: the testimony of Posidippus of Pella”, *Topoi* 14: 47–68.
- Graf, D.F. 2009. “Athenodorus of Tarsus and Nabataea: the date and circumstances of his visit to Petra”, in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan X*. Amman, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Department of Antiquities. Amman: 67–74.
- Graf, D.F. 2013a. “Petra and the Nabataeans in the early Hellenistic period: the literary and archaeological evidence”, in M. Mouton and S.G. Schmid (eds.), *Men on the Rocks: The Formation of Nabataean Petra*. Berlin: 35–56.
- Graf, D.F. 2013b. “Rediscovering early Hellenistic Petra: recent excavations in the civic center”, in N. Khairy and T. Weber (eds.), *Studies in the Nabataean Culture*. Amman: 29–45.
- Graf, D.F. 2013c. “Arabs in the Aegean”, in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan XI*. Amman, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan: Department of Antiquities. Amman: 97–210.
- Graf, D.F. 2016. “The saga of Syllacus revisited”, in N. Khairy (ed.), *Studies in Nabataean Culture II*. Amman: 127–163.
- Graf, D.F. 2018. “The Silk Road between Syria and China”, in A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds.), *Trade, Commerce, and the State in the Roman World*. Oxford: 443–530.
- Graf, D.F. forthcoming. “The Dionysiac lands of Petra’s Northern Hinterland”, in *Third International Conference on Petra: Economy and Society*. Amman.
- Graf, D.F. 2020. “Nabataean”, in D.L. Selden and P. Vasunia (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Literatures of the Roman Empire*. Oxford.
- Graf, D.F., B. Dolinka, T. Erickson-Gini, E. Ronza, S.E. Sidebotham and A. Wasse 2021. “The Hellenistic Petra Project: excavations along the paved street in the city center, preliminary report of the Third Season, 2007”, *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 60.
- Graf, D.F., B. Isaac and I. Roll 1992. “Roads and highways (Roman)”, *Anchor Bible Dictionary* 5: 782–787.
- Graf, D.F. and S.E. Sidebotham 2003. “Nabataean trade”, in G. Markoe (ed.), *Petra Rediscovered: Lost City of the Nabataean Kingdom*. New York: 65–73.
- Graf, D.F. and A. Smith 2017. “A Nabataean inscription from Bir Madkhur with an excursus on basileophoric names and the Nabataean dynastic cult”, in W. Ward (ed.), *The Socio-Economic History and Material Culture of the Roman and Byzantine Near East: Essays in Honor of S. Thomas Parker*. Piscataway, NJ: 185–222.
- Graf, D.F. and M. Zwettler 2004. “The North Arabian ‘Thamudic E’ inscription from Uraynibah West”, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 235: 53–89.
- Grafton, A. 1990. “Invention of traditions and traditions of invention in Renaissance Europe: the strange case of Annius of Viterbo”, in A. Grafton and A. Blair (eds.), *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe*. Philadelphia, PA: 8–38.
- Grainger, J.D. 1990a. *The Cities of Seleukid Syria*. Oxford.
- Grainger, J.D. 1990b. *Seleukos Nikator. Constructing a Hellenistic kingdom*. London.
- Grainger, J.D. 1991. *Hellenistic Phoenicia*. Oxford.
- Grainger, J.D. 2002. *The Roman war of Antiochos the Great*. Leiden.
- Grainger, J.D. 2015. *The Seleukid Empire of Antiochus III (223–187 BC)*. Barnsley.
- Grassi, G.F. 2012. *Semitic Onomastics from Dura Europos: The Names in Greek Script and from Latin Epigraphs*. Padua.

- Grawehr, M. 2014. "Putting Larissa on the map", in K. Bartl and M. al-Maqdissi (eds.), *New Prospecting in the Orontes Region. First Results of Archaeological Fieldwork*, *Orient-Archäologie* 30: 131–136.
- Gregg, R.C. and D. Urman 1996. *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Golan Heights. Greek and Other Inscriptions of the Roman and Byzantine Eras*, *South Florida Studies in the History of Judaism* 140. Atlanta, GA.
- Gregoratti, L. 2012. "The importance of the mint of Seleucia on the Tigris for Arsacid history: Artabanus and the Greek Parthian cities", *Mesopotamia* 47: 129–136.
- Gregoratti, L. 2016. "Dura-Europos: a Greek town of the Parthian Empire", in T. Kaizer (ed.), *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos*, *Yale Classical Studies* 38. Cambridge: 16–29.
- Gregory, S. 1995–97. *Roman Military Architecture on the Eastern Frontier from AD 200–600 I–III*. Amsterdam.
- Gregory, S. and D.L. Kennedy 1985. *Sir Aurel Stein's Limes Report. The Full Text of M.A. Stein's Unpublished Limes Report (his Aerial and Ground Reconnaissances in Iraq and Transjordan in 1938–39)*, BAR 272. Oxford.
- Greisiger, L., C. Rammelt and J. Tubach, with D. Haas 2009. *Edessa in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit: Religion, Kultur und Politik zwischen Ost und West. Beirut Texte und Studien* 116. Beirut.
- Grenet, F. 2003. *Kārnāmag ī Ardaxšēr ī Pābagān: La geste d'Ardashir fils de Pābag; traduction du pehlevi*. Die.
- Grierson, P. 1968. *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection 2.1, Phocas and Heraclius, 602–641*. Washington, DC.
- Grierson, P. 1975. *Numismatics*. Oxford.
- Griesheimer, M. 1997. "Cimetières et tombeaux des villages de la Syrie du Nord", *Syria* 74: 165–211.
- Griffith, S.H. 1987. "Ephraem the Syrian's Hymns *Against Julian*. Meditations on history and imperial power", *Vigiliae Christianae* 41: 238–266.
- Griffith, S.H. 2002. "Christianity in Edessa and the Syriac-speaking world: Mani, Bar Daysan, and Ephraem. The struggle for allegiance on the Aramean frontier", *Journal of the Canadian Society for Syriac Studies* 2: 5–20.
- Gronewald, M. 1981. "P. Dura 3: glossar zu Homer, Ilias Δ'", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 44: 177–178.
- Gropp, D.M. e.a. 2001. *Wadi Daliyeh II: The Samaria Papyri from Wadi Daliyeh and Qumran Cave 4. XXVIII: Miscellanea, part 2, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXVIII*. Oxford.
- Gros, P. 1996. *L'architecture romaine du début du III<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. à la fin du Haut-Empire. Vol.1. Les monuments publics*. Paris.
- Gross, A.D. 2008. *Continuity and Innovation in the Aramaic Legal Tradition, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism* 128. Leiden and Boston.
- Gruen, E. 2006. "Greeks and non-Greeks", in G.R. Bugh (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Hellenistic World*. Cambridge: 295–314.
- Gruen, E. 2017. "Hellenistic patronage and the non-Greek world", in A. Erskine, L. Llewellyn-Jones and S. Wallace (eds.), *The Hellenistic Court. Monarchic Power and Elite Society from Alexander to Cleopatra*. Swansea: 295–318.
- Gruendler, B. 1993. *The Development of the Arabic Scripts: From the Nabatean Era to the First Islamic Century according to Dated Texts*, *Harvard Semitic Studies* 43. Atlanta, GA.
- Grüll, T. 2011. "The date and circumstances of the Heliodoros affair. Considerations on the Seleucus IV dossier from Maresha", *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 46: 9–19.
- Gschwind, M. e.a. 2009. "Raphanea. Report on the 2005 and 2006 Survey", *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 2: 234–289.
- Gufler, B. and I. Madreiter 2013. "Berossos – A bibliography", in J. Haubold e.a. (ed.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 309–323.
- Guidi, I. 1903. *Chronica Minora I–II*. Paris.
- Gulácsi, Z. 2013. "The crystal seal of 'Mani, the Apostle of Jesus Christ' in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France", in N.A. Pedersen and J.M. Larsen (eds.), *Manichaean Texts in Syriac. First Editions, New Editions, and Studies*. Turnhout: 245–267.
- Günther, L.-M. 2005. *Herodes der Große*. Darstadt.
- Gusmann, O. 2008. *Das Priesterverständnis des Flavius Josephus*. Tübingen.
- Gutmann, J. 1992. *The Dura-Europos Synagogue: A Re-Evaluation (1932–1992)*. Atlanta, GA.
- Gzella, H. 2006. "Das Aramäische in den römischen Ostprovinzen: Sprachsituationen in Arabien, Syrien, und Mesopotamien zur Kaiserzeit", *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 63: 15–39.



- Gzella, H. 2015. *A Cultural History of Aramaic. From the Beginning to the Advent of Islam, Handbook of Oriental Studies* I.111. Leiden.
- Gzella, H. 2019. "The Syriac language in the context of the Semitic languages", in D. King (ed.), *The Syriac World*. London: 205–221.
- Habicht, C. 1988. "Zur Vita des Epikureers Philonides (*P Herc* 1044)", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphie* 74: 211–214.
- Habicht, C. 2006. "The ruling class in the Hellenistic monarchies", in id., *The Hellenistic Monarchies. Selected Papers*. Ann Arbor, MI: 26–40.
- Habicht, C. and S.V. Tracy 1991. "New and old Panathenaic victor lists", *Hesperia* 60: 189–236.
- Hachlili, R. 1998. *Ancient Jewish Art and Archaeology in the Diaspora*. Leiden.
- Hachlili, R. 2005. *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period*. Leiden.
- Hackl, U., B. Jacobs and D. Weber (eds.) 2010a. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Partherreiches I. Prolegomena, Abkürzungen, Bibliografie, Einleitung, Indices, Karten, Tafeln Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* 83. Göttingen.
- Hackl, U., B. Jacobs and D. Weber (eds.) 2010b. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Partherreiches II. Griechische und lateinische Texte, Parthische Texte, Numismatische Evidenz Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* 84. Göttingen.
- Hackl, U., B. Jacobs and D. Weber (eds.) 2010c. *Quellen zur Geschichte des Partherreiches III. Keilschriftliche Texte, Aramäische Texte, Armenische Texte, Arabische Texte, Chinesische Texte. Novum Testamentum et Orbis Antiquus* 85. Göttingen.
- Hackl, U., H. Jenni and C. Schneider 2003. *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer: Textsammlung mit Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Göttingen.
- Hadas-Lebel, M. 1993. *Flavius Josephus: Eyewitness to Rome's First Century Conquest of Judea*. New York.
- Haensch, R. 1997. *Capita provinciarum: Statthaltersitze und Provinzialverwaltung in der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Mainz.
- Hahn, W. 1973–81, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, Band 1–3. Vienna.
- Hajjar, Y. 1977. *La triade d'Héliopolis-Baalbek. Son culte et sa diffusion à travers les textes littéraires et les documents iconographiques et épigraphiques I–II*. Leiden.
- Hajjar, Y. 1985. *La triade d'Héliopolis-Baalbek. Iconographie, théologie, culte et sanctuaires*. Montreal.
- Hajjar, Y. 1990. "Baalbek, grand centre religieux sous l'Empire", *ANRW* II.18.4: 2458–2508.
- Halfmann, H. 1979. *Die Senatoren aus dem östlichen Teil des Imperium Romanum bis zum Ende des 2. Jh. n.Chr.* Göttingen.
- Hall, E. and R. Wyles (eds.) 2008. *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime*. Oxford.
- Hall, L.J. 2004. *Roman Berytus. Beirut in Late Antiquity*. London.
- Halpern-Zylberstein, M.C. 1989. "The archaeology of Hellenistic Palestine", in W.D. Davies and L. Finkelstein (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism* II. *The Hellenistic Age*. Cambridge: 1–34.
- Hanfmann, G.M.A. 1951. "Socrates and Christ", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 60: 205–233.
- Harding, G.L. 1969. "The Safaitic tribes", *Al-Abhath* 22: 3–25.
- Harel, M. 1959. "The Roman road at Ma'aleh Aqrabim", *Israel Exploration Journal* 9: 175–179.
- Harley, J.B., D. Woodward and G. Aujac 1987. "The growth of an empirical cartography in Hellenistic Greece", in J.B. Harley and D. Woodward (eds.), *The History of Cartography I. Cartography in Prehistoric, Ancient, and Medieval Europe and the Mediterranean*. Chicago, IL: 148–160.
- Harnack, A. 1897. *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur des Eusebius*, i. Leipzig.
- Harnisch, W. 1969. *Verhängnis und Verbeisung der Geschichte: Untersuchungen zum Zeit- und Geschichtsverständnis im 4. Buch Esra und in der Syr. Baruchapokalypse*. Göttingen.
- Harrak, A. 1999. *The Chronicle of Zuqnin, Parts III and IV, A.D. 488–775*. Toronto.
- Harrak, A. 2017. *The Chronicle of Zuqnūn. Parts I and II. From the Creation to the Year 506/7 AD*. Piscataway, NJ.
- Harris, W.V. 2000. "Trade and transport", in *Cambridge Ancient History* XI, (2nd ed.). Cambridge: 710–740.
- Harrison, T. 2007. "The place of geography in Herodotus' *Histories*", in C.E.P. Adams and J. Roy (eds.), *Travel, Geography and Culture in Ancient Greece, Egypt and the Near East*. Oxford: 44–65.
- Hartal, M. 2005. *The Land of the Ituraeans: Archaeology and History of Northern Golan in the Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Periods* (in Hebrew with English abstract). Qazrin.

- Hartmann, M. and M.A. Speidel 2003. “The Roman army at Zeugma: recent research results”, in J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *Zeugma Interim Reports, Journal of Roman Archaeology* Suppl.51. Portsmouth, RI: 100–126.
- Hartmann, M. and M.A. Speidel 2006. “The importance of the Roman army at Zeugma”, in R. Ergeç (ed.), *International Symposium on Zeugma: From Past to Future*. Gaziantep: 107–109.
- Hartmann, M. and M.A. Speidel 2013. “Military installations at Zeugma: an overview of the Swiss archaeological investigations, 2001–2003”, in W. Aylward (ed.), *Excavations at Zeugma, Conducted by Oxford Archaeology* III. Los Altos, CA: 381–392.
- Hartmann, U. 2001. *Das palmyrenische Teilreich. Oriens et Occidens* 2. Stuttgart.
- Hartmann, U. 2017. “Die Parthischen Stationen des Isidor von Charax: Eine Handelsroute, eine Militärkarte oder ein Werk geographischer Gelehrsamkeit?”, in J. Wieshöfer and S. Müller (eds.), *Parthika. Greek and Roman Authors' Views of the Arsacid Empire*. Wiesbaden: 87–125.
- Hatzopoulos, M.B. 1996. *Macedonian Institutions under the Kings, A Historical and Epigraphic Study* I–II. Athens.
- Hatzopoulos, M.B. 2001. *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides. Problèmes anciens et documents nouveaux*. Athens.
- Hatzopoulos, M.B. 2003–04. “Questiones Macedonicae: Lois, décrets et épistates dans les cités macédoniennes”, *Tekmeria* 8: 27–60.
- Hatzopoulos, M.B. 2006. *La Macédoine. Géographie historique – langue – cultes et croyances – Institutions*. Paris.
- Hatzopoulos, M.B. 2012. “Philippe II fondateur de la Macédoine nouvelle”, *Revue des Études Grecques* 125: 37–53.
- Hatzopoulos, M.B. and L. Gounaropoulou 2013. “Un règlement urbanistique de Kyrros (Macédoine)”, *CRAI* 157: 1368–1396.
- Hatzopoulos, M.B. and L. Loukopoulou 1992. *Recherches sur les marches orientales des Téménides (Anthémonte-Kalindoia)*. Athens.
- Haubold, J. 2013a. *Greece and Mesopotamia: Dialogues in Literature*. Cambridge.
- Haubold, J. 2013b. “The wisdom of the Chaldaeans – Reading Berossos, *Babyloniaca* Book 1”, in id. e.a. (ed.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 31–45.
- Haubold, J. 2016. “Hellenism, cosmopolitanism, and the role of Babylonian elites in the Seleucid empire”, in M. Lavan, R.E. Payne and J. Weisweiler (eds.), *Cosmopolitanism and Empire: Universal Rulers, Local Elites, and Cultural Integration in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*. Oxford and New York: 89–102.
- Haubold, J., G.B. Lanfranchi, R. Rollinger and J. Steele (eds.) 2013. *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden.
- Hauser, S.R. 2017. “Isidor von Charax *Σταθμοὶ Παρθικῶν* – Annäherungen an den Autor, den Routenverlauf und die Bedeutung des Werkes”, in J. Wieshöfer and S. Müller (eds.), *Parthika. Greek and Roman Authors' Views of the Arsacid Empire*. Wiesbaden: 127–187.
- Hauser, S.R. 2014. “Parthian Art or Arts in the Arsacid Empire: Hatra and Palmyra as nodal points for cultural interaction”, in B. Jacobs (ed.), *Parthische Kunst – Kunst im Partherreich. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums in Basel, 9. Oktober 2010*. Duisburg: 127–178.
- Hauser, S.R. and D.J. Tucker 2009. “The final onslaught: the Sasanian siege of Hatra”, *Zeitschrift für Orient-Archäologie* 2: 106–139.
- Haussoullier, B. 1923. “Une loi grecque inédite sur les successions ab intestate”, *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 47: 515–553.
- Hawkins, J.D. 2000. *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Luwian Inscriptions*. Berlin.
- Hayajneh, H. 2001a. “Marcus Ulpus Su'aidu in einem Bruchstück einer nabatäischen Inschrift aus Süd-Jordanien”, *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 117: 171–185.
- Hayajneh, H. 2001b. “First evidence of Nabonidus in the Ancient North Arabian inscriptions from the region of Taymā”, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 31: 81–95.
- Hayajneh, H. 2009. “Ancient North Arabian-Nabataean bilingual inscriptions from south Jordan”, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 39: 203–222.
- Hayajneh, H. 2011. “Ancient North Arabian”, in S. Weninger e.a. (ed.) *The Semitic Languages: An International Handbook, Handbücher zur Sprach- und Kommunikationswissenschaft* 36. Boston and Berlin.
- Haynes, I. 2013. *Blood of the Provinces. The Roman Auxilia and the Making of Provincial Society from Augustus to the Severans*. Oxford.
- Head, B.V. 1911. *Historia Numorum. A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (2nd ed.). Oxford.

- Healey, J.F. 1993a. *The Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions of Mada'in Salih*, *Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement* 1. Oxford and Manchester.
- Healey, J.F. 1993b. "Sources for the study of Nabataean law", *New Arabian Studies* 1: 203–214.
- Healey, J.F. 2001. *The Religion of the Nabataeans; a Conspectus. Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 136. Leiden.
- Healey, J.F. 2004. "A Nabataean papyrus fragment (Bodleian MS Heb. d. 89)", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 146: 183–188.
- Healey, J.F. 2005a. "New evidence for the Aramaic legal tradition: from Elephantine to Edessa", in P.S. Alexander c.a. (ed.), *Studia Semitica: Journal of Semitic Studies Jubilee Volume, Journal of Semitic Studies Supplement* 16. Oxford: 115–127.
- Healey, J.F. 2005b. "The writing on the wall: law in Aramaic epigraphy", in P. Bienkowski, C. Mee and E. Slater (eds.), *Writing and Ancient Near Eastern Society: Papers in Honour of Alan R. Millard, Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies* 426. New York and London: 127–141.
- Healey, J.F. 2006. "A new Syriac mosaic inscription", *Journal of Semitic Studies* 51: 313–327.
- Healey, J.F. 2007. "The Edessan Milieu and the Birth of Syriac", *Hugoye: Journal of Syriac Studies* 10: 2.
- Healey, J.F. 2008a. "Variety in early Syriac: the context in contemporary Aramaic", in H. Gzella and M.L. Folmer (eds.) *Aramaic in its Historical and Linguistic Setting*. Wiesbaden: 221–229.
- Healey, J.F. 2008b. "Some lexical and legal notes on a Syriac loan transfer of 240 CE", in G. Kiraz (ed.), *Malphono w-Rabo d-Malphone: Studies in Honor of Sebastian P. Brock, Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies* 3. Piscataway, NJ: 211–226.
- Healey, J.F. 2009. *Aramaic Inscriptions and Documents of the Roman Period. Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions* IV. Oxford.
- Healey, J.F. 2011. "Dushara as sun-god", in id., *Law and Religion between Petra and Edessa: Studies in Aramaic Epigraphy on the Roman Frontier, Variorum Collected Series* 966. Farnham: 37–53.
- Healey, J.F. 2013. "Fines and curses: law and religion among the Nabataeans and their Neighbours", in A.C. Hagedorn and R.G. Kratz (eds.), *Law and Religion in the Eastern Mediterranean. From Antiquity to Early Islam*. Oxford: 165–186.
- Healey, J.F. 2014. *The Palmyrene Tax Tariff by Il'ia Sholeimovich Shifman*. Oxford.
- Healey, J.F. 2017. "Syriac before Christianity: Epigraphic research in South East Turkey", in H.G.B. Teule c.a. (eds.), *Syriac in its Multi-Cultural Context. First International Syriac Studies Symposium, Mardin Artuklu University, Institute of Living Languages, 20–22 April 2012, Mardin*. Leuven: 1–12.
- Healey, J.F. 2018a. "'This is the house that Jack built': in what sense are the Nabataean tomb inscriptions legal texts?", in Z.M. al-Salameen and M.B. Tarawneh (eds.), *Proceedings of the First Conference on the Archaeology and Tourism of the Maan Governorate, 3rd-4th October, 2017, Petra- Jordan (Supplement to Al-Hussein Bin Talal University's Journal of Research)*. Maan: 34–55.
- Healey, J.F. 2018b. "Temple inscriptions and 'the Death of the God(s)'", in L. Nehmé and A. al-Jallad (eds.), *To the Madbar and Back Again: Studies in the Languages, Archaeology, and Culture of Arabia Dedicated to Michael C. A. Macdonald*. Leiden: 567–580.
- Healey, J.F. 2019. "The pre-Christian religions of the Syriac-speaking regions", in D. King (ed.), *The Syriac World*. London: 47–67.
- Hecker, M. 1961. "The Roman road from Legio to Sepphoris", *Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society* 25: 175–186 (Hebr.).
- Heemstra, M. 2010. *The Fiscus Judaicus and the Parting of the Ways*. Tübingen.
- Heichelheim, F.M. 1938. "Roman Syria", in T. Frank (ed.), *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* IV. Baltimore, MD: 121–257.
- Heil, M. and R. Schulz 2015. "Who was Maes Titianus?", *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 30: 72–84.
- Heilen, S. 2005. "Zur Deutung und Datierung des Löwenhoroskops auf dem Nemrud Dağı", *Epigraphica Anatolica* 38: 145–158.
- Heine, R.E. 2010. *Origen. Scholarship in the Service of the Church*. Oxford.
- Held, W. 2014. "Seleukidische Tempel babylonischen Typs", *Marburger Winckelmann-Programm* 2014: 143–162.
- Held, W. and D. Kaplan 2015. "The residence of a Persian satrap in Meydancikkale, Cilicia", in R. Rollinger and E. van Dongen (eds.), *Mesopotamia in the Ancient World. Impact, Continuities, Parallels*. Münster: 175–191.
- Hempel, C. 1998. *The Laws of the Damascus Document: Source, Traditions and Redaction*. Leiden.

- Hendin, D. 2010. *Guide to Biblical Coins* (5th ed.). New York.
- Hengel, M. 1974. *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*. London.
- Henning, A. 2013. *Die Turmgräber von Palmyra: Eine lokale Bauform im kaiserzeitlichen Syrien als Ausdruck kultureller Identität*, *Orient-Archäologie* 29. Rahden, Westf.
- Henrichs, A. 1975. "Two doxographical notes. Democritus and Prodicus on religion", *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 79: 93–123.
- Herbert, S. 1994. *Tel Anafa I*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Herbert, S. 2008. "The Missing Pieces: Miniature Reflections of the Visual Landscapes of the Hellenistic East", in Y. Eliav, E. Friedland, and S. Herbert (eds.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East: Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*. Leuven and Dudley, MA: 257–273.
- Herbert, S. and A.M. Berlin 2003. "A new administrative center for Persians and Hellenistic Galilee: preliminary report of the University of Michigan/University of Minnesota excavations at Kedesh", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 329: 13–59.
- Herman, D. 2006. "The coins of the Itureans", *Israel Numismatic Research* 1: 51–72.
- Herman, G. 1997. "The court society of the Hellenistic age", in P. Cartledge, P. Garnsey and E. Gruen (eds.), *Hellenistic Constructs. Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography*. Berkeley, CA: 199–224.
- Herrmann, P. 1965. "Antiochos der Grosse und Teos", *Anadolu* 9: 25–159.
- Heuchert, V. 2005. "The chronological development of Roman provincial coin iconography", in C. Howgego, V. Heuchert and A. Burnett (eds.), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*. Oxford: 29–56.
- Hewsen, R.H. 1984. "Introduction to Armenian historical geography III. The boundaries of Orontid Armenia", *Revue des Études Arméniennes* ns 18: 347–366.
- Heyn, M.K. 2010. "Gesture and identity in the funerary art of Palmyra", *American Journal of Archaeology* 114: 631–661.
- Hezser, C. 2000. "Interfaces between Rabbinic literature and Graeco-Roman philosophy", in P. Schäfer and C. Hezser (eds.), *The Talmud Yerushalmi and Graeco-Roman Culture II*. Tübingen.
- Hezser, C. 2001. *Jewish Literacy in Roman Palestine. Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum* 81. Tübingen.
- Higuchi, T. and T. Izumi 1994. *Tombs A and C. Southeast Necropolis Palmyra, Syria*. Nara.
- Higuchi, T. and K. Saito 2001. *Tomb F. Tomb of BWLH and BWRP. Southeast Necropolis, Palmyra, Syria*. Nara.
- Hilkens, A. 2018. *The Anonymous Syriac Chronicle of 1234 and its Sources. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta* 272. Louvain.
- Hiller von Gaertringen, F. 1906. *Inchriften von Priene*. Berlin.
- Hillers, D.R. and E. Cussini 1996. *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*. Baltimore, MD and London.
- Himmelfarb, M. 2006. *A Kingdom of Priests. Ancestry and Merit in Ancient Judaism*. Philadelphia, PA.
- Hirschfeld, Y. 1997. "Farms and villages in Byzantine Palestine", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 51: 33–71.
- Hoepfner, W. 1966. "Direk Kale. Ein unbekanntes Heiligtum in Kommagene", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 16: 157–177.
- Hoepfner, W. 1983. *Arsameia am Nymphaios II. Das Hierothesion des Königs Mithridates I. Kallinikos von Kommagene nach Ausgrabungen von 1963 bis 1967*. Tübingen.
- Hoepfner, W. 2004. "'Antiochia die Große'. Geschichte einer antiken Stadt", *Antike Welt* 35: 3–9.
- Hoffmann, A. and S. Kerner (eds.) 2002. *Gadara – Gerasa und die Dekapolis*. Mainz.
- Hoffmann-Salz, J. 2011. *Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der römischen Eroberung. Vergleichende Untersuchungen der Provinzen Hispania Tarraconensis, Africa Proconsularis und Syria, Historia Einzelschriften* 118. Stuttgart.
- Hoffmann-Salz, J. 2015. "The local economy of Palmyra: organizing agriculture in an oasis environment", in P. Erdkamp, K. Verboven and A. Zuiderhoek (eds.), *Ownership and Exploitation of Land and Natural Resources in the Roman World, Oxford Studies on the Roman Economy*. Oxford: 234–248.
- Högemann, P. 1985. *Alexander der Große und Arabien, Zetemata* 82. Munich.
- Höllbl, G. 1994. *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches. Politik, Ideologie und religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Grossen bis zur römischen Eroberung*. Darmstadt.
- Holladay, C.R. 1983–95. *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, I–III*. Chico, CA.
- Holleaux, M. 1906. "Remarques sur le papyrus de Gourob", *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 30: 330–348.
- Holleaux, M. 1933, 1968<sup>2</sup>. "Une inscription de Séleucie de Piérie", in *Études d'épigraphie et d'histoire grecques* III. Paris: 199–254.

- Holliday, P.J. 1997. "Roman triumphal painting: its function, development, and reception", *Art Bulletin* 79: 130–147.
- Hollis, A.S. 1994. "[Oppian], *Cyn.* 2, 100–158 and the mythical past of Apamea-on-the-Orontes", *ZPE* 102: 153–166.
- Hölscher, T. 2004. *The Language of Images in Roman Art*. Cambridge.
- Holt, F.L. 1986. "Alexander's settlements in Central Asia", in *Ancient Macedonia IV International Congress*. Thessalonike: 315–323.
- Holt, F.L. 1989. *Alexander the Great and Bactria, The Formation of a Greek Frontier in Central Asia, Mnemosyne* Suppl.104. Leiden.
- Holt, F.L. 2012. "When did the Greeks abandon Ai-Khanoum?", *Anabasis. Studia Classica et Orientalia* 3: 161–175.
- Holum, K.G. 1988. *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea*. New York.
- Holum, K.G. 2004. "Caesarea's temple hill. The archaeology of sacred space in an ancient Mediterranean city", *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67.4: 184–199.
- Holum, K.G., A. Raban and J. Patrich (eds.) 1999. *Caesarea Papers 2: Herod's Temple, the Provincial Governor's Praetorium and Granaries, the later Harbor, a Gold Coin Hoard and Other Studies*. Portsmouth.
- Honigman, S. 2014. *Tales of High Priests and Taxes: The Books of the Maccabees and the Judean Rebellion against Antiochos IV*. Oakland, CA.
- Honigmann, E. 1923a. "Seleukeia (Pieria)", *RE* 2A: 1184–2000.
- Honigmann, E. 1923b. "Syria: Itinerarien und Römerstrassen", *RE* 2.8: 1645–1680.
- Honigmann, E. 1924. "Kommagene", in *RE* Suppl. IV: coll.978–990.
- Honigmann, E. 1937. "Perre", in *RE* XIX.1 coll.904–906.
- Hoover, O. 2004. "Ceci n'est pas l'autonomie: the coinages of Seleucid Phoenicia as royal and civic power discourse", in *Topoi* Suppl.6. Lyon: 486–507.
- Hoover, O. 2018. "The personification of Apameia", *American Journal of Numismatics* 30: 107–115.
- Hopkins, C. 1979. *The Discovery of Dura-Europos*. New Haven, CT.
- Horbury, W., W.D. Davies and J. Sturdy (eds.) 1999. *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Volume 3. The Early Roman Period*. Cambridge.
- Hörig, M. and E. Schwertheim 1987. *Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni*. Leiden.
- Horn, C.B. 2011. "Women, prostitution, and violence in the Syriac *Martyrdom of the Mimes*", in D. Bumazhnov and H.R. Seeliger (eds.), *Syrien im 1.-7. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Akten der 1. Tübinger Tagung zum Christlichen Orient (15.-16. Juni 2007)*. Tübingen: 111–143.
- Horsley, R.A. and J.S. Hanson 1985. *Bandits, Prophets, and Messiahs: Popular Movements in the Time of Jesus*. Minneapolis, MN.
- Houghton, A. 1986. "The Elephants of Nisibis", *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*, 31: 107–124.
- Houghton, A. 2012. "The Seleucids", in W.E. Metcalf (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. Oxford and New York: 235–251.
- Houghton, A. and C. Lorber 2002. *Seleucid Coins. A Comprehensive Catalogue I, Seleucus I through Antiochus III*. New York.
- Houghton, A., C. Lorber and O. Hoover 2008. *Seleucid Coins. A Comprehensive Catalogue II, Seleucus IV through Antiochus XIII*. New York.
- Howard, G. 1981. *The Teaching of Addai*. Chico, CA.
- Howgego, C.J. 1982. "Coinage and military finance: the imperial bronze coinage of the Augustan East", *Numismatic Chronicle* 142: 1–20.
- Howgego, C.J. 1985. *Greek Imperial Countermarks: Studies in the Provincial Coinage of the Roman Empire*. London.
- Howgego, C.J. 1990. "Why did ancient states strike coins?", *Numismatic Chronicle* 150: 1–25.
- Howgego, C.J. 1992. "The supply and use of money in the Roman world, 200 BC to AD 300", *Journal of Roman Studies* 82: 1–31.
- Howgego, C.J. 1995. *Ancient History from Coins*. London.
- Hoyland, R.G. 2001. *Arabia and the Arabs from the Bronze Age to the coming of Islam*. London.
- Hoyland, R.G. 2009. "Arab Kings, Arab Tribes and the beginning of Arab historical memory in late Roman Epigraphy", in H.M. Cotton e.a. (ed.), *From Hellenism to Islam. Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*. Cambridge: 374–400.

- Humann, K. and O. Puchstein 1890. *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*. Berlin.
- Humbach, H. and P.O. Skjærø 1978. *The Sassanian Inscription of Paikuli I–III*. Wiesbaden.
- Humbert, J.-B. (ed.) 2000. *Gaza méditerranéenne. Histoire et archéologie en Palestine*. Paris.
- Humbert, J.-B. and A. Desreumaux (eds.) 1998. *Fouilles de Khirbet es-Samra en Jordanie I. La voie romaine, le cimetière, les documents épigraphiques*. Turnhout.
- Humphrey, J.H. (ed.) 2003. *Zeugma. Interim Reports. Rescue Excavations, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.51*. Porthsmouth, RI.
- Huth, M. 2010a. “Athenian imitations from Arabia”, in id. P.G. van Alfen (ed.), *Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms: Studies in Ancient Arabian Monetization*. 2010: 227–256.
- Huth, M. 2010b. “Some Nabataean questions reconsidered”, in id. P.G. van Alfen (ed.), *Coinage of the Caravan Kingdoms: Studies in Ancient Arabian Monetization*. New York: 213–226.
- Huyse, P. 1999. *Die dreisprachige Inschrift Šābubrs I. an der Ka’ba-i Zardušt (ŠKZ), Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum III.1, Pahlavi Inscriptions*. London.
- Huyse, P. 2008. “Die sāsānidischen Inschriften und Felsreliefs”, in K.P. Johne (ed.), *Die Zeit der Soldatenkaiser I*. Berlin: 109–123.
- Ilan, T. 2001. “Witnesses in the Judaeac Desert documents: prosopographical observations”, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 20: 169–178.
- Ilan, T. 2002–2012. *Lexicon of Jewish Names in Late Antiquity I–IV*. Tübingen.
- Ilan, Z. and E. Damati 1974–75. “Ancient roads in the Samaritan Desert”, *Museum Ha’aretz Yearbook* 17–18: 43–52 (Hebr.).
- Ingholt, H. 1928. *Studier over Palmyrensk Skulptur*. Copenhagen.
- Ingholt, H., H. Seyrig and J. Starcky 1955. *Recueil des tessères de Palmyre*, BAH 58. Paris.
- Innes Miller, J. 1969. *The Spice Trade of the Roman Empire*. Oxford.
- Intagliata, E.E. 2018. *Palmyra after Zenobia, 273–750: An archaeological and historical reappraisal*. Oxford and Philadelphia, PA.
- Invernizzi, A. 1986. “Kifrin-Becchufirin”, *Mesopotamia* 21: 53–84.
- Iossif, P.P. and C.C. Lorber 2009. “The cult of Helios in the Seleucid East”, *Topoi* 16: 19–42.
- Irby, C.L. and J. Mangles 1985. *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and the Holy Land*. London.
- Irby, G.L. 2012. “Mapping the world: Greek initiatives from Homer to Eratosthenes”, in R.J.A. Talbert (ed.), *Ancient Perspectives: Maps and Their Place in Mesopotamia, Egypt, Greece and Rome*. Chicago, IL: 81–107.
- Isaac, B. 1978. “Milestones in Judaea, from Vespasian to Constantine”, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 110: 47–60.
- Isaac, B. 1991. “The Decapolis in Syria: a neglected inscription”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 44: 67–74.
- Isaac, B. 1992. *The Limits of Empire. The Roman Army in the East* (2nd ed.). Oxford.
- Isaac, B. 1994. “Tax collection in Roman Arabia: a new interpretation of the evidence from the Babatha archive”, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 9: 256–266.
- Isaac, B. 1998. *The Near East under Roman Rule. Selected Papers, Mnemosyne Suppl.177*. Leiden.
- Isaac, B. 2006. “Roman organization in the ‘Arabah in the fourth century”, in P. Bienkowski and K. Galor (eds.), *Crossing the Rift: Resources, Routes, Settlement Patterns and Interaction in the Wadi Arabah*. Oxford: 215–221.
- Isaac, B. 2013. “Hatra against Rome and Persia: from success to destruction”, in L. Dirven (ed.), *Hatra. Politics, Culture and Religion between Parthia and Rome, Oriens et Occidens* 21. Stuttgart: 23–32.
- Isaac, B. 2017. *Empire and Ideology in the Graeco-Roman World. Selected Papers*. Cambridge.
- Isaac, B. and I. Roll 1976. “A Roman milestone of AD 69 from Judaea: the Elder Trajan and Vespasian”, *Journal of Roman Studies* 66: 15–19.
- Isaac, B. and I. Roll 1982. *Roman Roads in Judaea I, The Scythopolis – Legio Road*. Oxford.
- Jackson, H. 2009. “Erotes on the Euphrates: A figured frieze in a private house at Hellenistic Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 113: 231–253.
- Jackson, H. and G.W. Clarke 2016. “The sculpture from the Jebel Khalid temple”, in G.W. Clarke e.a. (ed.), *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates V: Report on Excavations 2000–2010, Mediterranean Archaeology* 10. Sydney: 77–96.
- Jacobs, B. 1991. “Archäologie, Forschungen in Kommagene III”, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 18: 133–139.
- Jacobs, B. 2002. “Die Galerie der Ahnen des Königs Antiochos I. von Kommagene auf dem Nemrud Dağ”, in J. Munk Højte (ed.), *Images of Ancestors*. Aarhus: 75–88.

- Jacobs, B. 2012. "Die Religionspolitik des Antiochos I. von Kommagene", in J. Wagner (ed.), *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene* (2nd ed.). Mainz: 99–108.
- Jacobs, B. 2015. "Überlegungen zur Gruppe der Sitzstatuen am Philopappos-Monument in Athen", in P. Henrich and C. Miks e.a. (eds.), *Non solum... sed etiam. Festschrift für Thomas Fischer zum 65. Geburtstag*. Rahden: 207–214.
- Jacobs, B. 2017. "Tradition oder Fiktion? Die 'persischen' Elemente in den Ausstattungsprogrammen Antiochos' I. von Kommagene", in R. Strootman and M.J. Versluys (eds.), *Persianism in Antiquity*. Stuttgart 2017: 235–248.
- Jacobs, B. and R. Rollinger 2005. "Die 'himmlischen Hände' der Götter. Zu zwei neuen Datierungsvorschlägen für die kommagenischen Reliefstelen", *Parthica* 7: 137–154.
- Jacobson, D.M. 2001. "Three Roman client kings: Herod of Judaea, Archelaus of Cappadocia and Juba of Mauretania", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 133: 22–38.
- Jacobson, D.M. 2007. "The Jerusalem temple of Herod the Great", in N. Kokkinos (ed.), *The World of the Herods, Oriens et Occidens* 14. Stuttgart: 145–176.
- Jacobson, D.M. and N. Kokkinos (eds.) 2009. *Herod and Augustus. Conference at IJS London 2005*. Leiden.
- Jacobson, H. 1982. *The Exagoge of Ezekiel*. Cambridge.
- Jacobson, H. 1996. *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum with Latin Text and English Translation I–II*. Leiden.
- Jacoby, F. 1958. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker. Teil 3, Geschichte von Staedten und Voelkern. C, Autoren ueber einzelne Laender*. Leiden.
- Jaffee, M. 2001. *Torah in the Mouth: Writing and Oral Tradition in Palestinian Judaism, 200 BCE – 400 CE*. Oxford.
- James, S. 2004. *The Arms and Armour and Other Military Equipment. The Excavations at Dura Europos. Final Report VII*. London.
- James, S. 2007. "New light on the roman military base at Dura-Europos: interim report on a pilot season of fieldwork in 2005", in A.S. Lewin and P. Pellegrini (eds.), *Proceedings of the Later Roman Army in the East Conference, Potenza, 2005*. Oxford: 29–47.
- James, S. 2011. "Stratagems, combat and 'chemical warfare' in the siege-mines of Dura-Europos", *American Journal of Archaeology* 115: 69–101.
- James, S. 2015. "Of colossal camps and a new Roman battlefield: Remote sensing, archival archaeology and the 'conflict landscape' of Dura-Europos, Syria", in D.J. Breeze, R.H. Jones and I. Oltean (eds.), *Understanding Roman Frontiers*. Edinburgh: 328–345.
- James, S. 2019. *The Roman Military Base at Dura-Europos, Syria. An Archaeological Visualization*. Oxford.
- James, S., J.A. Baird and K. Strutt 2012. "Magnetometry survey of Dura's Roman military base and vicinity", in P. Leriche, G. Coqueugniot and S. de Pontbriand (eds.), *Europos-Doura Varia* 1. Beirut: 111–116.
- Jaussen, A. and M. Savignac 1909. *Mission archéologique en Arabie I–VI*. Paris.
- Jehne, M. and F. Pina Polo (eds.) 2015. *Foreign clientelae in the Roman Empire: A Reconsideration*. Stuttgart.
- Jidejian, N. 1968. *Byblos through the Ages*. Beirut.
- Jidejian, N. 1969. *Tyre through the Ages*. Beirut.
- Jidejian, N. 1971. *Sidon through the Ages*. Beirut.
- Jidejian, N. 1988. *Lebanon, its Gods, Legends and Myths Illustrated by Coins*. Beirut.
- Jokintara, J. 2010. "Sociological approaches to Qumran sectarianism", in T.H. Lim and J.J. Collins (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. Oxford: 200–231.
- Jones, A.H.M. 1964. *The Later Roman Empire, 284–602 I–II*. Oxford.
- Jones, A.H.M. 1971. *The Cities of Eastern Roman Provinces* (2nd ed.). Oxford 1971.
- Jones, C.P. 1986. *Culture and Society in Lucian*. Cambridge, MA.
- Jones, C.P. 2010. *New Heroes in Antiquity: From Achilles to Antinoos*. Cambridge, MA – London.
- Jones, C.P. and C. Habicht 1989. "A Hellenistic inscription from Arsinoe in Cilicia", *Phoenix* 43: 317–346.
- Jones, R.N. e.a. 1988. "A second Nabataean inscription from Tell esh-huqafiya, Egypt", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 269: 47–57.
- Joukowsky, M.S. 1998. *Petra Great Temple Volume I: Brown University excavations 1993–1997*. Brown University Petra Exploration Fund.
- Joukowsky, M.S. 2007. *Petra Great Temple Volume 2: Archaeological contexts of the remains and excavations: Brown University excavations in Jordan at the Petra Great Temple, 1993–2007*. Brown University Petra Exploration Fund.

- Joukowsky, M.S. 2016. *Petra Great Temple Volume 3: Brown University excavations 1993–2008, architecture and material culture*. Oxford and Havertown, PA.
- Kaizer, T. 1997. “*De dea Syria et aliis diis deabusque*. A study of the variety of appearances of Gad in Aramaic inscriptions and on sculptures from the Near East in the first three centuries AD (Part 1)”, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 28: 147–166.
- Kaizer, T. 1998. “*De Dea Syria et aliis diis deabusque*. A study of the variety of appearances of Gad in Aramaic inscriptions and on sculptures from the Near East in the first three centuries AD (Part 2)”, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 29: 33–62.
- Kaizer, T. 2000a. “The ‘Heracles figure’ at Hatra and Palmyra: problems of interpretation”, *Iraq* 62: 219–232.
- Kaizer, T. 2000b. “Some remarks about the religious life of Hatra”, *Topoi* 10.1: 229–252.
- Kaizer, T. 2001. “Nemesis, Aglibol and Malakbel: a note on a relief from Khirbet Ramadan in the Palmyrène”, *Parthica* 3: 211–218.
- Kaizer, T. 2002. *The Religious Life of Palmyra: A Study of the Social Patterns of Worship in the Roman Period*. *Oriens et Occidens* 4. Stuttgart.
- Kaizer, T. 2005. “Leucothea as Mater Matuta at *colonia* Berytus. A note on local mythology in the Levant and the Hellenisation of a Phoenician city”, *Syria* 82: 199–206.
- Kaizer, T. 2006a. “Capital punishment at Hatra: gods, magistrates and laws in the Roman-Parthian period”, *Iraq* 68: 139–153.
- Kaizer, T. 2006b. “In search of oriental cults. Methodological problems concerning ‘the particular’ and ‘the general’ in Near Eastern religion in the Hellenistic and Roman periods”, *Historia* 55: 26–47.
- Kaizer, T. (ed.) 2008. *The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods, Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* 164. Leiden and Boston.
- Kaizer, T. 2009a. “Patterns of worship in Dura-Europos. A case study of religious life in the classical Levant outside the main cult centres”, in C. Bonnet, V. Pirenne-Delforge and D. Praet (eds.), *Les Religions orientales dans le monde grec et romain: Cent ans après Cumont (1906–2006)*. Brussels and Rome: 153–172.
- Kaizer, T. 2009b. “Religion and language in Dura-Europos”, in H.M. Cotton, R.G. Hoyland, J.J. Price and D.J. Wasserstein (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam. Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*. Cambridge: 235–253.
- Kaizer, T. 2010. “Funerary cults at Palmyra”, in O. Hekster and S.T.A.M. Mols (eds.), *Cultural Messages in the Graeco-Roman World BABESCH* Suppl.15. Leuven and Paris and Walpole, MA: 23–31.
- Kaizer, T. 2011. “Interpretations of the myth of Andromeda at Iope”, *Syria* 88: 323–339.
- Kaizer, T. 2013a. “Identifying the divine in the Roman Near East”, in L. Bricault and C. Bonnet (eds.), *Pantheé: Religious Transformations in the Graeco-Roman Empire*. Leiden: 113–128.
- Kaizer, T. 2013b. “Creating local religious identities in the Roman Near East”, in M.R. Salzman and W. Adler (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Religions in the Ancient World II: From the Hellenistic Era to Late Antiquity*. Cambridge: 54–86.
- Kaizer, T. 2013c. “Questions and problems concerning the sudden appearance of the material culture of Hatra in the first centuries CE”, in L. Dirven (ed.), *Hatra. Politics, Culture and Religion between Parthia and Rome, Oriens et Occidens* 21. Stuttgart: 57–71.
- Kaizer, T. 2014. “Euhemerism and religious life in the Roman Near East”, in T. Gnoli and F. Muccioli (eds.), *Divinizzazione, culto del sovrano e apoteosi: Tra Antichità e Medioevo*. Bologna: 295–306.
- Kaizer, T. 2015. “Dura-Europos under Roman rule”, in J.M. Cortés Copete, E. Muñiz Grijalvo and F. Lozano Gómez (eds.), *Ruling the Greek World. Approaches to the Roman Empire in the East*. Stuttgart: 91–102.
- Kaizer, T. 2016a. “Lucian on the temple at Heliopolis”, *Classical Quarterly* 66: 273–285.
- Kaizer, T. 2016b. “The future of Palmyrene studies”, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 29: 924–931.
- Kaizer, T. (ed.) 2016c. *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos, Yale Classical Studies* 38. Cambridge.
- Kaizer, T. 2016d. “Divine constellations at Palmyra. Reconsidering the Palmyrene ‘pantheon’”, in A. Kropp and R. Raja (eds.), *The World of Palmyra*. Copenhagen: 17–30.
- Kaizer, T. 2017. “Empire, community, and culture on the Middle Euphrates: Durenes, Palmyrenes, villagers, and soldiers”, in N. Purcell (ed.), *Roman History: Six Studies for Fergus Millar. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 60.1. London: 63–95.



- Kaizer, T. and M. Facella (eds.) 2010. *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East Oriens et Occidens* 19. Stuttgart.
- Kaizer, T., R.C.T. Parker and J.-B. Yon forthcoming. *Greek Onomastics East of the Mediterranean. Naming and Culture in the Roman Near East and the Greek Far East*.
- Kaldellis, A. and C. López Ruiz 2009. "Philon", (BNJ 790) in *Brill's New Jacoby Online*.
- Kallai, Z. 1965. "Remains of the Roman road along the Mevo-Beitar highway", *Israel Exploration Journal* 15: 195–203.
- Kalmin, R. 1994. *Sages, Stories, Authors, and Editors in Rabbinic Babylonia*. Atlanta, GA.
- Kalmin, R. 2005. "Between Rome and Mesopotamia: Josephus in Sassanian Persia", in C. Bakhos (ed.), *Ancient Judaism in its Hellenistic Context JSJ Suppl.* 96. Leiden: 205–242.
- Kalmin, R. 2006. "The formation and character of the Babylonian Talmud", in S.T. Katz (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, volume IV. The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*. Cambridge: 840–876.
- Kanellopoulos, C. 2001. "The architecture of the shops and colonnaded street in Petra", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 324: 9–22.
- Karvonen-Kannas, K. 1995. *The Seleucid and Parthian Terracotta Figurines from Babylon, Monografie di Mesopotamia IV*. Florence.
- Kasher, A. 1988. *Jews, Idumaeans, and Ancient Arabs*. Tübingen.
- Katz, S.T. (ed.) 2006. *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Volume IV. The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*. Cambridge.
- Katzoff, R. 1991. "Papyrus Yadin 18 again: a rejoinder", *Jewish Quarterly Review* 82: 171–176.
- Katzoff, R. and D. Schaps (eds.) 2005. *Law in the Documents of the Judaean Desert, Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism* 96. Leiden.
- Kedar, B.Z. 1999. *The Changing Land. Between the Jordan and the Sea. Aerial Photographs from 1917 to the Present*. Jerusalem.
- Kennedy, A.B.W. 1924. "The rocks and monuments of Petra", *Geographical Journal* 63.4: 273–295.
- Kennedy, A.B.W. 1925. *Petra. Its History and Monuments*. London.
- Kennedy, D.L. 1980. "The frontier policy of Septimius Severus: new evidence from Arabia", in W.S. Hanson and L.J.F. Keppie (eds.), *Roman Frontier Studies, 1979*. Oxford: 879–887.
- Kennedy, D.L. 1982. *Archaeological Explorations on the Roman Frontier in North-East Jordan*. Oxford.
- Kennedy, D.L. (ed.) 1996a. *The Roman Army in the East. Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 18. Ann Arbor, MI.
- Kennedy, D.L. 1996b. "Syria", in *The Cambridge Ancient History X*, (2nd ed.). Cambridge: 703–736.
- Kennedy, D.L. 1997. "Aerial Archaeology in Jordan: air photography and the Jordanian Hauran", in G. Bisheh (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan VI*. Amman: 77–86.
- Kennedy, D.L. 1998a. "Declassified satellite photographs and archaeology in the Middle East: case studies from Turkey", *Antiquity* 72: 553–561.
- Kennedy, D.L. (ed.) 1998b. *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates: Rescue Work and Historical Studies, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 27. Portsmouth, RI.
- Kennedy, D.L. 1998c. "The area of Umm el-Jemal: maps, air photographs and surface survey", in B. De Vries (ed.), *Umm el-Jimal I: A Frontier Town and its Landscape in Northern Jordan Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 26. Portsmouth, RI: 39–90.
- Kennedy, D.L. 1998d. "Ancient sources for Zeugma (Seleucia-Apamea)", in id. (ed.), *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates Rescue Work and Historical Studies, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 27. Portsmouth, RI: 139–162.
- Kennedy, D.L. 1999. "Greek, Roman and native cultures in the Roman Near East", in J.H. Humphrey (ed.), *The Roman and Byzantine Near East II: Some Recent Archaeological Research, Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 31. Portsmouth, RI: 76–106.
- Kennedy, D.L. 2001. "History in depth: surface survey and aerial archaeology", in K. Amr (ed.), *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan VII*. Amman: 39–48.
- Kennedy, D.L. 2004. *The Roman Army in Jordan* (2nd ed.). London.
- Kennedy, D.L. 2007. *Gerasa and the Decapolis: A "Virtual Island" in Northwest Jordan*. London.
- Kennedy, D.L. 2012. "Pioneers above Jordan. Revealing a prehistoric landscape", *Antiquity* 86: 474–491.
- Kennedy, D.L. 2017. "Losing – And salvaging? – The rural landscape of Graeco-Roman Philadelphia", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 149: 135–161.

- Kennedy, D.L. and R.H. Bewley 2004. *Ancient Jordan from the Air*. London.
- Kennedy, D.L. and R.H. Bewley 2012. "Historical aerial imagery in Jordan and the wider Middle East", in W.S. Hanson and I.A. Oltean (eds.) *Archaeology from Historical Aerial and Satellite Archives*. London: 221–242.
- Kennedy, D.L. and P.W.M. Freeman 1995. "Southern Hauran Survey 1993", *Levant* 27: 39–73.
- Kennedy, D.L. and D.N. Riley 1990. *Rome's Desert Frontier*. London.
- Kermorvant, M., J. Leblanc and M. Lenoir 2003. "Le camp de la legion IIIa Cyrenaica et sa zone d'activités", *Syria* 79: 134–140.
- Khan, G.A. 1994. "The pre-Islamic background of Muslim legal formularies", *Aram* 6: 193–224.
- Kidd, I.G. 1988. *Posidonius II. The Commentary*. Cambridge.
- Kienast, D. 1999. *Augustus: Prinzeps und Monarch*. Darmstadt.
- Kienast, F. 1966. *Untersuchungen zu den Kriegsflotten der römischen Kaiserzeit*. Bonn.
- Kim, H.J., F.J. Vervaeck and A. Adali (eds.) 2017. *Eurasian Empires in Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages. Contact and Exchange between the Graeco-Roman World, Inner Asia and China*. Cambridge.
- Koenen, L. and C. Römer. 1988. *Der Kölner Mani-Kodex: Über das Werden seines Leibes: Kritische Edition. Abhandlungen der Rheinisch-Westfälischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Sonderreihe Papyrologica Coloniensia* 14. Opladen.
- King, G.M.H. 1990. Early North Arabian Himaic. PhD dissertation. University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies. London.
- King, D. (ed.) 2019. *The Syriac World*. London.
- Kingsley, S.A. and M. Decker (eds.) 2001. *Economy and Exchange in the Eastern Mediterranean during Late Antiquity*. Oxford.
- Kingsley, S.A. and K. Raveh 1996. *The Ancient Harbour and Anchorage at Dor, Israel*. Oxford.
- Kinns, P. 1999. "The Attic weight drachms of Ephesus: a preliminary study in the light of recent hoards", *Numismatic Chronicle* 159: 47–97.
- Klein, K.M. 2015. "Marauders, daredevils, and noble savages: perceptions of Arab nomads in Late Antique historiography", *Der Islam* 92: 13–41.
- Kleiner, D.E.E. 1983. *The Monument of Philopappos in Athens*. Rome.
- Klijn, A.F.J. 2003. *The Acts of Thomas: Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (2nd ed.). *Novum Testamentum, Suppl.* 108. Leiden.
- Kloner, A. and B. Zissu 2007. *The Necropolis of Jerusalem in the Second Temple period*. Leuven.
- Klose, D.O.A. 1985. "Nikopolis und Doliche", *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 34: 63–76.
- Klostermann, E. (ed.) 1904. *Eusebius, Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*. Leipzig (reprint Hildesheim 1966).
- Knauf, E.A. 1989. *Ismael* (2nd ed.). Wiesbaden.
- Knauf, E.A. 1998. "The Ituraeans: another bedouin state", in A. Neuwirth, H. Sader and T. Scheffler (eds.), *Baalbek*. Beirut and Stuttgart: 269–277.
- Knauf, E.A. 2010. "Arabo-Aramaic and 'Arabiyya: from Ancient Arabic to early standard Arabic, 200 CE – 600 CE", in A. Neuwirth, N. Sinai and M. Marx (eds.), *The Qur'an in Context: Historical and Literary Investigations into the Qur'anic Milieu, Texts and Studies on the Qur'an* 6. Leiden and Boston: 197–254.
- Knauf, E.A. 2011. "Thamudic", in L. Edzard and R. de Jong (eds.), *Encyclopedia of Arabic Language and Linguistics*. Leiden (Brill Online).
- Knauss, F., L. Gagosidse and I. Babaev 2013. "Karaçamirli: Ein persisches Paradies", *Achemenet – Arta* 2013.004.
- Koçak, M. and D. Kreikenbom 2020. *Sculptures from Roman Syria II. The Marble Statuary*. Berlin.
- Koch, G. and H. Sichtermann 1982. *Römische Sarkophage*. Munich.
- Koch, K. 1993. "Hazzi-Saphon-Kasion. Die Geschichte eines Berges und seiner Gottheiten", in B. Janowski, K. Koch and G. Wilhelm (eds.), *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament*. Fribourg: 171–223.
- Koffmahn, E. 1968. *Die Doppelurkunden aus der Wüste Juda: Recht und Praxis der jüdischen Papyri des 1. und 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr., Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah* 5. Leiden.
- Kokkinos, N. 1998. *The Herodian Dynasty: Origins, Role in Society and Eclipse*. Sheffield.
- Kokkinos, N. (ed.) 2007. *The World of the Herods, Oriens et Occidens* 14. Stuttgart.

- Kolenkow, A.B. 1975. "The genre testament and forecasts of the future in the Hellenistic Jewish milieu", *JSJ* 6: 57–71.
- Kollaparambil, J. 1994. "The Identity of Mar John of Persia and Great India who attended the First Council of Nicea", in R. Lavenant (ed.), *VI Symposium Syriacum, Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 247. Roma: 281–297.
- Koltun-Fromm, N. 2008. "Re-imagining Tatian: the damaging effects of polemical rhetoric", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 16: 1–30.
- Kondoleon, C. 2000. *Antioch. The Lost Ancient City*. Princeton, NJ.
- Konrad, M. 2001. *Der spätromische Limes in Syrien. Archäologische Untersuchungen an den Grenzkastellen von Sura, Tetrapyrgium, Cholle und in Resafa*. Resafa V. Mainz.
- Konrad, M. 2014. *Emesa zwischen Klientelreich und Provinz*. Rahden, Westf.
- Konrad, M. 2017. "The client kings of Emesa: a study of local identities in the Roman East", *Syria* 94: 261–295.
- Kootstra, F. 2016. "The language of the Taymanitic inscriptions and its classification", *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 2: 67–140.
- Kootstra, F. 2019. *Language Variation at Dadan*. PhD Leiden.
- Koschaker, P. 1926. "Zu den griechischen Rechtsurkunden aus Dura in Mesopotamien", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Romanistische Abteilung* 46: 290–304.
- Kosmin, P.J. 2011. "The foundation and early life of Dura-Europos", in L.R. Brody and G.L. Hoffman (eds.), *Dura-Europos: Crossroads of Antiquity*. Chestnut Hill, MA: 95–109.
- Kosmin, P.J. 2013. "Seleucid ethnography and indigenous kingship: the Babylonian education of Antiochus I", in J. Haubold e.a. (ed.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 199–212.
- Kosmin, P.J. 2014. *The Land of the Elephant Kings*. Cambridge, MA.
- Koutsoukou, A., K.W. Russell, M. Najjar and A. Momani 1997. *The Great Temple of Amman. The Excavations*. Amman.
- Kovacs, F.L. 2016. *Armenian Coinage in the Classical Period*. Lancaster, PA and London.
- Kraeling, C.H. (ed.) 1938. *Gerasa. City of the Decapolis*. New Haven, CT.
- Kraeling, C.H. 1956. *The Synagogue, The Excavations of Dura-Europos, Final Report VIII.1*. New Haven, CT.
- Kraeling, C.H. 1964. "A new Greek inscription from Antioch on the Orontes", *American Journal of Archaeology* 68: 178–179.
- Kraeling, C.H. 1967. *The Christian Building, The Excavations of Dura-Europos, Final Report VIII.2*. New Haven, CT.
- Kraft, K. 1972. *Das System der kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung in Kleinasien – Materialien und Entwürfe*. Berlin.
- Krag, S. 2018. *Funerary Representations of Palmyrene Women: From the First Century BC to the Third Century AD*. Turnhout.
- Kramer, N. 2004. *Gindaros: Geschichte und Archäologie einer Siedlung im nordwestlichen Syrien von hellenistischer bis in frühbyzantinische Zeit*. Rahden, Westf.
- Kravaritou, S. 2013. "Thessalian perceptions of ruler cult: *archegetai* and *ktistai* from Demetrias", in P. Martzavou and N. Papazarkadas (eds.), *Epigraphical Approaches to the Post-Classical Polis. Fourth Century BC to Second Century AD*. Oxford 2012: 255–276.
- Krencker, D.M. and W. Zschietzschmann 1938. *Römische Tempel in Syrien*. Berlin and Leipzig.
- Krieger, K.-S. 2000. "Die Funktionen der Septuaginta-Legende in Flavius Josephus' Werken Antiquitates Judaicae und Contra Apionem", in J.U. Kalms (ed.), *Internationales Josephus-Kolloquium Aarhus 1999*. Münster: 246–261.
- Krings, V. (ed.) 1995. *La civilisation phénicienne et punique. Manuel de recherche*. Leiden.
- Kriseleit, I. 2000. *Antike Mosaiken*. Berlin.
- Kristensen, T.M. 2013. *Making and Breaking the Gods. Christian Responses to Pagan Sculpture in Late Antiquity*. Aarhus.
- Kropp, A.J.M. 2006. "Dion of the Decapolis. *Tell al-Ash'arī* in southern Syria in the light of ancient documents and recent discoveries", *Levant* 38: 125–144.
- Kropp, A.J.M. 2009a. "The cults of Ituraean Heliopolis (Baalbek)", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 22: 365–380.
- Kropp, A.J.M. 2009b. "The gods of Heliopolis (Baalbek) at the National Museum of Beirut. Revisiting some questions of iconography", *BAAL* 13: 229–253.

- Kropp, A.J.M. 2010a. "Earrings, *nefesh* and *opus reticulatum*: self-representation of the royal house of Emesa in the first century AD", in T. Kaizer and M. Facella (eds.), *Kingdoms and Principalities in the Roman Near East*. Stuttgart: 199–216.
- Kropp, A.J.M. 2010b. "Jupiter, Venus and Mercury of Heliopolis (Baalbek). The images of the 'triad' and its alleged syncretisms", *Syria* 87: 229–264.
- Kropp, A.J.M. 2011a. "Nabataean Dushārā (Dusares) – an overlooked cuirassed god", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 143: 176–197.
- Kropp, A.J.M. 2011b. "Anatomy of a Phoenician goddess", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 24: 389–407.
- Kropp, A.J.M. 2013a. *Images and Monuments of Near Eastern Dynasts, 100 BC – AD 100*. Oxford.
- Kropp, A.J.M. 2013b. "Crowning the emperor – An unorthodox image of Claudius, Agrippa I and Herod of Chalkis", *Syria* 90: 377–389.
- Kropp, A.J.M. 2016. "The Aphrodite of Emesa: miniature marble sculpture and religious life in Roman Syria", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 29: 193–222.
- Kropp, A.J.M. and D. Lohmann 2011. "'Master, look at the size of those stones! Look at the size of those buildings!' Analogies in construction techniques between the temples at Heliopolis (Baalbek) and Jerusalem", *Levant* 43: 38–50.
- Kropp, A.J.M. and R. Raja 2014. "The Palmyra Portrait Project", *Syria* 91: 393–405.
- Kruijjer, L. and S. Riedel forthcoming. "Transforming objectscales in samosata: the impact of the palatial complex", in M. Blömer, S. Riedel, M.J. Versluys and E. Winter (eds.), «*Common Dwelling Place of All the Gods*». *Commagene in its Local, Regional and Global Hellenistic Context*. Stuttgart.
- Krumeich, R. 1998. "Darstellungen syrischer Priester an den kaizerzeitlichen Tempeln von Niha und Chehim im Libanon", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 10: 171–199.
- Krzywinski, K. and J. Krzywinski 2016. "Agriculture in Byzantine Palmyrena", in J.C. Meyer, E.H. Seland and N. Anfinset (eds.), *Palmyrena: City, Hinterland and Caravan Trade between Orient and Occident*. Oxford: 171–185.
- Kugel, J.L. 1998. *Traditions of the Bible: A Guide to the Bible as it was at the Start of the Common Era*. Cambridge, MA.
- Kühn, D. 2005. *Totengedenken bei den Nabatäern und im Alten Testament. Eine religionsgeschichtliche und exegetische Studie*. Münster.
- Kuhn, H.P. 1990. *Palästina in Griechisch-Römischer Zeit*. Munich.
- Kuhrt, A. 1987. "Berossus' *Babyloniaca* and Seleucid rule in Babylonia", in A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism and the East: Interactions of Greek and non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander*. London: 32–56.
- Kurz, O. 1983. "Cultural relations between Parthia and Rome", in E. Yarshater (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Iran* III.1. Cambridge: 559–567.
- Kushnir-Stein, A. 2005. "City eras on Palestinian coinage", in C. Howgego, V. Heuchert and A. Burnett (eds.), *Coinage and Identity in the Roman Provinces*. Oxford: 157–161.
- Lancaster, W. 1981. *The Rwala Bedouin Today*. Cambridge.
- Lancaster, W. and F. Lancaster 1988. "Thoughts on the bedouinisation of Arabia", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 18: 51–62.
- Lancaster, W. and F. Lancaster 1991. "Limitations on sheep and goat herding in the Eastern Badia of Jordan: an Ethno-Archaeological enquiry", *Levant* 23: 125–138.
- Lancaster, W. and F. Lancaster 1997. "Şulayb", in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. New edition, 9. 814–815.
- Landau, Y.H. 1966. "A Greek inscription found near Hefzibah", *Israel Exploration Journal* 16: 54–70.
- Landersdorfer, P.S. 1914. "Die Götterliste des Mar Jacob von Sarug in seiner Homilie über den Fall der Götzenbilder: Ein religionsgeschichtliches Dokument aus der Zeit des untergehenden Heidentums", in *Programm des Kgl. Gymnasiums im Benediktinerkloster Ettal für das Schuljahr 1913/14*. Munich.
- Lane Fox, R. 2009. *Traveling Heroes in the Epic Age of Homer*, New York.
- Lanfranchi, P. 2006. *L'Exagoge d'Ézéchiél le Tragique. Introduction, texte, traduction, et commentaire*. Leiden.
- Lapin, H. 2006. "The origins and development of the Rabbinic movement in the Land of Israel", in S.T. Katz (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism, Volume IV. The Late Roman-Rabbinic Period*. Cambridge: 206–229.
- Lapin, H. 2012. *Rabbis as Romans. The Rabbinic Movement in Palestine, 100–400 CE*. Oxford.
- Larché, F. 2005a. *Iraq al-Amir. Le château du Tobiade Hyrcan, Vol. II Restitution et reconstruction, Texte*. Beirut.

- Larché, F. 2005b. *Iraq al-Amir. Le château du Tobiade Hyrcan, Vol. II Restitution et reconstruction, Planches*. Beirut.
- Lassus, J. 1972. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes V: Les portiques d'Antioche*. Princeton, NJ.
- Lattke, M. 2009. *Odes of Solomon. A Commentary. Hermeneia*. Minneapolis, MN.
- Lauffray, J. 1983–91. *Halabiyya-Zenobia place forte du Limes oriental et la Haute-Mésopotamie au VI siècle I–II*. Paris.
- Le Bas, P. and H. Waddington 1870. *Inscriptions grecques et latines recueillies en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, Vol. III. Paris.
- Le Bohec, Y. (ed.) 2000. *Les Légions de Rome sous le Haut-Empire Actes du Congrès de Lyon (17–19 septembre 1998) I–II*. Lyon.
- Lebeau, M. and A. Sulciman (eds.) 2005. *Tell Beydar/Nabada. An Early Bronze Age City in the Syrian Jezirah: 10 Years of Research (1992–2002), Documents d'Archéologie syrienne 6*. Damascus.
- Lebeau, M. and A. Sulciman 2007. *Tell Beydar, the 2000–2002 Seasons of Excavations, The 2003–2004 Seasons of Architectural Restoration. A Preliminary Report, Subartu 15*. Turnout.
- Leblanc, J. and G. Poccardi 1999. “Étude de la permanence de tracés urbains et ruraux antiques à Antioche-sur-l'Oronte”, *Syria* 76: 91–126.
- Leblanc, J. and G. Poccardi 2004. “L'eau domestiquée et l'eau sauvage à Antioche-sur-l'Oronte: Problèmes de gestion”, in B. Cabouret, P.-L. Gatier and C. Saliou (eds.), *Antioche de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique, Topoi Suppl.5*. Lyon: 239–256.
- Ledoux, S. 1999. “Séleucie-de-Piérie. Capitale fantôme d'un grand roi”, *Archaeologia* 360: 58–66.
- Leicht, R. 2006. *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des astrologischen Literatur der Juden*. Tübingen.
- Lenoir, M. (ed.) 1979. *Pseudo-Hygin. Des fortifications du camp*. Texte établi, traduit et commenté. Paris.
- Lepaon, T.V., N. Turshan and T. Weber-Karyotakis 2017. The Eastern Baths at Gerasa/Jerash. Preliminary Report on the 2016 Campaign. Gerda Henkel Stiftung Edition Bd. 001. Online: <https://edit.gerdahenkel-stiftung.de/gerasa/the-eastern-baths-at-gerasa-jerash>.
- Lepaon, T.V., N. Turshan and T. Weber-Karyotakis 2018. “The ‘Great Eastern Baths’ of Jerash/Gerasa: Balance of Knowledge and Ongoing Research”, in A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.), *The Archaeology and History of Jerash. 110 Years of Excavation*. Turnhout: 131–142.
- Leriche, P. 1986. “Chronologie du rempart de brique crue de Doura-Europos”, *Syria* 63: 61–82.
- Leriche, P. 2003. “Europos-Doura hellénistique”, in *La Syrie hellénistique, Topoi Suppl.4*. Lyon: 171–191.
- Leriche, P. 2004. “La rue principale et l'urbanisme d'Europos-Doura. Étude préliminaire”, *Parthica* 6: 145–159.
- Leriche, P. 2010. “Europos-Doura séleucide”, in E. Dąbrowa (ed.), *New Studies on the Seleucids. Electrum 18*. Cracow: 23–40.
- Leriche, P. and E. el-Ajji 1999. “Une nouvelle inscription dans la salle à gradins du temple d'Artémis à Doura-Europos”, *CRAI* 143: 1309–1346.
- Leriche, P., G. Coqueugniot and S. de Pontbriand 2011. “New research by the French-Syrian Archaeological Expedition to Europos-Dura and new data on the polytheistic sanctuaries in Europos-Dura”, in J.Y. Chi and S. Heath (eds.), *Edge of Empires: Pagans, Jews, and Christians at Roman Dura-Europos*. New York: 9–33.
- Leriche, P., G. Coqueugniot and S. de Pontbriand (eds.) 2012. *Europos-Doura Varia 1*. Beirut.
- Leriche, P., A. Mahmoud, B. Mouton and G. Lecuyot 1986. “Le site de Doura-Europos: état actuel et perspectives d'action”, *Doura-Europos Études 1986, Syria* 58: 5–25.
- Le Rider, G. 1998. *Séleucie du Tigre. Les monnaies séleucides et parthes*. Florence.
- Le Rider, G. 1999a. *Antioche de Syrie sous les Séleucides. Corpus des monnaies d'or et d'argent. I. De Séleucos I à Antiochos V, c. 300–161*. Paris.
- Le Rider, G. 1999b. “Séleucos I entre Séleucie de Piérie et Antioche”, *Revue Belge de Numismatique* 145: 115–139.
- Lerner, J.D. 1999. *The Impact of Seleucid Decline on the Eastern Iranian Plateau: the Foundations of Arsacid Parthia and Graeco-Bactria, Historia Einzelschriften 123*. Stuttgart.
- Levi, D. 1947. *Antioch Mosaic Pavements*. Princeton.
- Levine, L.I. 1974. “The Hasmonean conquest of Strato's Tower”, *Israel Exploration Journal* 24: 62–69.
- Levine, L.I. 1975. *Caesarea under Roman Rule*. Leiden.
- Levine, L.I. 2000. *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. New Haven.
- Levine, L.I. 2005. *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years* (2nd ed.). New Haven and London.

- Levy, B. 1995. "Tyrian shekels: the myth of the Jerusalem mint", *SAN (Journal for the Society of Ancient Numismatics)* 19.2: 33–35.
- Lewin, A.S. 2014. "Rome's relations with the Arab/Indigenous people in the first-third centuries", in J.H.F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and Out: Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity*. Leuven and Paris and Walpole, MA: 113–143.
- Lewis, N., Y. Yadin and J.C. Greenfield (eds.) 1989. *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters. Greek Papyri. Aramaic and Nabataean Signatures and Subscriptions*. Jerusalem.
- Lichtenberger, A. 1999. *Die Baupolitik Herodes des Großen. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 26. Wiesbaden.
- Lichtenberger, A. 2003. *Kulte und Kultur der Dekapolis. Untersuchungen zu numismatischen, archäologischen und epigraphischen Zeugnissen. Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 29. Wiesbaden.
- Lichtenberger, A. 2004. "City foundation legends in the Decapolis", *Bulletin of the Anglo-Israel Archaeological Society* 22: 23–34.
- Lichtenberger, A. 2008. "Artemis and Zeus Olympios in Roman Gerasa and Seleucid religious policy", in T. Kaizer (ed.), *The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods*. Leiden: 133–153.
- Lichtenberger, A. 2011. "The Decapolis and Phoenicia", *Aram* 23: 543–568.
- Lichtenberger, A. 2013. "Continuity, discontinuity and change in religious life in southern Syria during the Roman period", in E. Froom and R. Raja (eds.), *Redefining the Sacred. Religious Architecture and Text in the Near East and Egypt, 1000 BC – AD 300*. Leuven: 209–229.
- Lichtenberger, A. 2018. "The First Jewish Revolt as reflected on the city coins of the Southern Levant", *Israel Numismatic Research* 13: 121–138.
- Lichtenberger, A., A. Lindroos, R. Raja and J. Heinemeier 2015. "Radiocarbon analysis of mortar from Roman and Byzantine water management installations in the northwest quarter of Jerash, Jordan", *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 2: 114–127.
- Lichtenberger, A. and R. Raja 2015. "New archaeological research in the northwest quarter of Jerash and its implications for the urban development of Roman Gerasa", *American Journal of Archaeology* 119: 483–500.
- Lichtenberger, A. and R. Raja (eds.) 2018. *The Archaeology and History of Jerash. 110 Years of Excavations*. Jerash Papers 1. Turnhout.
- Lichtenberger, A. and R. Raja (eds.) 2019. *Byzantine and Umayyad Jerash Reconsidered. Transitions, Transformations, Continuities*. Jerash Papers 4. Turnhout.
- Lichtenberger, A., R. Raja, E.H. Seland, T. Kinnaird and I.A. Simpson 2019. "Urban-riverine hinterland synergies in semi-arid environments: millennial-scale change, adaptations and environmental responses at Gerasa/Jerash", *Journal of Field Archaeology* 44: 333–351.
- Lightfoot, C.S. 2015. "Zeugma: Packard Humanities Institute excavations", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28: 846–858.
- Lightfoot, D. 2000. "The origin and diffusion of Qanats in Arabia: new evidence from the northern and southern Peninsula", *Geographical Journal* 166.3: 215–226.
- Lightfoot, J.L. 2003. *Lucian, On the Syrian Goddess. Edited with Introduction, Translation and Commentary*. Oxford.
- Lightfoot, J.L. 2005. "Pilgrims and ethnographers: in search of the Syrian goddess", in J. Elsner and I. Rutherford (eds.), *Pilgrimage in Graeco-Roman and Early Christian Antiquity. Seeing the Gods*. Oxford: 333–352.
- Lightfoot, J.L. 2007. "The Apology of Pseudo-Meliton", *Studi epigrafici e linguistici sul Vicino Oriente antico* 24: 59–110.
- Lightfoot, J.L. 2009. "Pseudo-Meliton and the cults of the Roman Near East", in C. Bonnet, V. Pirenne-Delforge and D. Praet (eds.), *Les religions orientales dans le monde grec et romain: cent ans après Cumont (1906–2006). Bilan historique et historiographique*. Brussels and Rome: 387–399.
- Lightstone, J. 2002. *Mishnah and the Social Formation of the Early Rabbinic Guild*. Waterloo, Ontario.
- Lim, T. 2002. *Pesharim*. London.
- Lindenberger, J.M. 1985. "Ahiqar", in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. London: 479–507.
- Lindner, H. 1972. *Die Geschichtsauffassung des Flavius Josephus im Bellum Judaicum: Gleichzeitig ein Beitrag zur Quellenfrage*. Leiden.

- Lindner, M. 1986. *Petra: neue Ausgrabungen und Entdeckungen*. Munich.
- Linssen, M.J.H. 2004. *The Cults of Uruk and Babylon: The Temple Ritual as Evidence for Hellenistic Cult Practices*. Cuneiform Monographs 25. Leiden.
- Löhberg, B. 2006. *Das "Itinerarium provinciarum Antonini Augusti". Ein kaiserzeitliches Straßenverzeichnis des Römischen Reiches*. Leipzig.
- Lohmann, D. 2017. *Das Heiligtum des Jupiter Heliopolitanus in Baalbek. Die Planungs- und Baugeschichte*. Rahden.
- Lorber, C. 2018. *Coins of the Ptolemaic Empire I. Ptolemy I through Ptolemy IV*. New York.
- Loreto, R. 2018. "Results from the 2009–2016 excavation seasons in the historical centre of Dūmat al-Jandal, ancient Adummatu", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 48: 151–164.
- Luther, A. 1998. "Abgar Prahates filius rex (CIL VI, 1797)", *Le Muséon* 111: 345–357.
- Luther, A. 1999a. "Überlegungen zur defectio der östlichen Satrapien vom Seleucidenreich", *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaften* 2: 5–15.
- Luther, A. 1999b. "Die ersten Könige von Osrhoene", *Klio* 81: 437–454.
- Luther, A. 2004. "Dura-Europos zwischen Palmyra und den Parthern: der politische Status der Region am Mittleren Euphrat im 2. Jh. n. Chr. und die Organisation des palmyrenischen Fernhandels", in R. Rollinger and C. Ulf (eds.), *Commerce and Monetary Systems in the Ancient World. Means of Transmission and Cultural Interaction, Oriens et Occidens* 6. Stuttgart: 327–351.
- Luther, A. 2006. "Roms mesopotamische Provinzen nach der Gefangennahme Valerians (260)", in J. Wieschöfer and P. Huysse (eds.), *Ērān ud Anērān. Studien zu den Beziehungen zwischen dem Sasanidenreich und der Mittelmeerwelt, Oriens et Occidens* 13. Stuttgart: Verlag, 203–219.
- Luther, A. 2009. "Osrhoener am Niederrhein: Drei altsyrische Graffiti aus Krefeld-Gellep (und andere frühe altsyrische Schriftzeugnisse)", *Marburger Beiträge zur antiken Handels-, Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte* 27: 11–30.
- Ma, J. 1999. *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor*. Oxford.
- Maaskant-Kleibrink, M. 1971. "Cachets de terre de Doliché (?)", *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 46: 23–63.
- MacAdam, H.I. 2002 (republished 2017 by Routledge). *Geography, Urbanisation and Settlement Patterns in the Roman Near East. Variorum Collected Studies Series* 735. Ashgate.
- MacDonald, B. c.a. 2012. *The Ayl to Ras an-Naqab Archaeological Survey, Southern Jordan (2005–2007)*. Boston, MA.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 1992. "The seasons and transhumance in the Safaitic inscriptions", *JRAS* 3rd series.2: 1–11.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 1995. "Herodian echoes in the Syrian desert", in S. Bourke and J.-P. Descœudres (eds.), 1995. *Trade, Contact, and the Movement of Peoples in the Eastern Mediterranean. Studies in Honour of J. Basil Hennessy, Mediterranean Archaeology* Suppl. 3. Sydney: 285–90.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2000. "Reflections on the linguistic map of Pre-Islamic Arabia", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 11: 28–79.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2003. "References to Sī in the Safaitic inscriptions", in J. Dentzer-Feydy, J.-M. Dentzer and P.-M. Blanc (eds.), 2003. *Hauran II: Les installations de Sī 8. Du sanctuaire à l'établissement viticole*. Beirut: 278–80.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2004. "Ancient North Arabian", in R.D. Woodard (ed.), 2004. *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World's Ancient Languages*. Cambridge: 488–533.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2009a. *Literacy and Identity in pre-Islamic Arabia. Variorum Collected Studies* 906. Farnham.
- I. "Literacy in an oral environment".
- II. "Nomads and the Ḥawrān in the late Hellenistic and Roman periods: a reassessment of the epigraphic evidence".
- III. "Reflections on the linguistic map of pre-Islamic Arabia".
- IV. "Some reflections on epigraphy and ethnicity in the Roman Near East".
- V. "Arabians, Arabias, and the Greeks: contact and perceptions".
- VI. "« Les Arabes en Syrie » or « La pénétration des Arabes en Syrie ». A question of perceptions".
- VIII. "On Saracens, the Rawwāfah inscription and the Roman army".
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2009b. "Arabs, Arabia, and Arabic before Late Antiquity", *Topoi* 16: 277–332.

- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2014. “‘Romans go home’? Rome and other ‘outsiders’ as viewed from the Syro-Arabian Desert”, in J.H.F. Dijkstra and G. Fisher (eds.), *Inside and Out. Interactions between Rome and the Peoples on the Arabian and Egyptian Frontiers in Late Antiquity*. Leuven: 145–63.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2015a. “Arabs and empires before the sixth century”, in G. Fisher (ed.), *Arabs and Empires before Islam*. Oxford: 11–89.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2015b. “The emergence of Arabic as a written language”, in G. Fisher (ed.), *Arabs and Empires before Islam*. Oxford: 395–417.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2015c. “Was there a ‘Bedouinization of Arabia?’”, *Der Islam* 92: 42–84.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2015d. “On the uses of writing in ancient Arabia and the role of palaeography in studying them”, *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 1: 1–50.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2019. “Horses, asses, hybrids, and their use as revealed in the ancient rock art of the Syro-Arabian desert”, in P. Raulwing, K.M. Linduff and J.H. Crouwel (eds.), *Equids and wheeled vehicles in the Ancient World. Essays in memory of Mary A. Littauer*. Oxford: 149–168.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. 2020. “Tribes and space in the Syro-Arabian *harrāh* as revealed by the Safaitic inscriptions (c. 1st century BC to c. 4th century AD)”, *Semitica et Classica* 13: 189–204.
- Macdonald, M.C.A. forthcoming a. “The oral and the written in the religions of ancient North Arabia,” in F. Donner (ed.), *Script and Scripture. Proceedings of a conference held at the University of Chicago, 18–19 May, 2017*.
- Macdonald, M.C.A., M. Al Mu’azzin and L. Nehmé 1996. “Les inscriptions safaitiques de Syrie, cent quarante ans après leur découverte”, *CRAI* 140: 435–94.
- Machiela, D.A. 2009. *The Genesis Apocryphon (1Q20): a Reevaluation of its Interpretative Character with a New Text Edition*. Leiden.
- Machiela, D.A. 2010. “Once more, with feeling: rewritten scripture in ancient Judaism”, *JJS* 61: 308–320.
- MacLean, R.A. 1923. “The aeroplane and archaeology”, *American Journal of Archaeology* 37.1: 68–69.
- MacMahon, P. 1997. “Achaemenid Hellenistic remains at Hacinebi Tepe, 1996 Interim Report”, *Anatolica* 23: 121–144.
- Mader, G. 2000. *Josephus and the Politics of Historiography: Apologetic and Impression Management in the Bellum Judaicum*. Leiden.
- Madreiter, I. 2013. “From Berossos to Eusebius – a Christian apologist’s shaping of ‘pagan’ literature”, in J. Haubold e.a. (eds.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 255–276.
- Magen, Y. 1993. “Mount Gerizim and the Samaritans”, in F. Manns e.a. (eds.), *Early Christianity in Context: Monuments and Documents*. Jerusalem: 91–147.
- Magie, D. 1950. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century after Christ*. Princeton.
- Mairs, R. 2014. *The Hellenistic Far East. Archaeology, Language, and Identity in Greek Central Asia*. Oakland, CA.
- Mairs, R. 2015. “The founder’s shrine and the foundation of Ai Khanoum”, in N. MacSweeney (ed.), *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies. Dialogues and Discourses*. Philadelphia: 103–128.
- Malay, H. 1987. “Letter of Antiochos III to Zeuxis with two covering letters”, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 10: 7–15.
- Malay, H. 2004. “A copy of the letter of Antiochos III to Zeuxis (209 B.C.)”, in H. Heftner and K. Tomaschitz (eds.), *Ad fontes! Festschrift für Gerhard Dobesch zum fünfundssechzigsten Geburtstag am 15. September 2004*. Vienna: 407–413.
- Malbran-Labat, F. 1980. “Éléments pour une recherche sur le nomadisme en Mésopotamie au premier millénaire av. J.-C. I: ‘l’image du nomade’”, *JA* 268: 11–33.
- Malkin, I. 1987. *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*. Leiden and New York.
- Mann, C. and P. Scholz (eds.) 2012. *‘Demokratie’ im Hellenismus: von der Herrschaft des Volkes zur Herrschaft der Honoratioren? Die hellenistische Polis als Lebensform II*. Berlin.
- Maoz, U.Z. 2011. *Itur in Galilee*. Qazrin.
- Marböck, J. 1999. *Weisheit im Wandel. Untersuchungen zur Weisheitstheologie bei Ben Sira*. Berlin and New York.
- Marcato, E. 2018. *Personal Names in the Aramaic Inscriptions of Hatra*. Venice.
- Marchetti, N. 2012. “Karkemish on the Euphrates: excavating a city’s history”, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 75.3: 132–147.
- Marciak, M. 2017. *Sophene, Gordyene, and Adiabene: Three Regna Minora of Northern Mesopotamia between East and West*. Leiden.



- Marek, C. 1993. "Die Expedition des Aelius Gallus nach Arabien im Jahre 25. v. Chr.", *Chiron* 23: 121–56.
- Marincola, J. 1997. *Authority and Tradition in Ancient Historiography*. Cambridge.
- Marot, T. 1998. *Las monedas del Macellum de Gerasa (Yaras, Jordania). Aproximación a la circulación en la provincial de Arabia*. Madrid.
- Marriner, N. and C. Morhange 2005. "Under the city centre, the ancient harbour. Tyre and Sidon, heritages to preserve", *Journal of Cultural Heritage* 6: 183–189.
- Marriner, N. and C. Morhange 2008. "Sidon's ancient harbours", *Archaeology and History of the Lebanon* 24: 138–149.
- Martin, P. 1875. "Discours de Jacques de Saroug sur la chute des idoles", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 29: 107–147.
- Martin-Galán, R. 2005. "L'établissement d'époque séleuco-parthe à Tell Beydar et son importance dans le contexte de la Haute Mésopotamie hellénistique", in M. Lebeau and A. Suleiman (eds.), *Tell Beydar/Nabada. An Early Bronze Age City in the Syrian Jezirah: 10 Years of Research (1992–2002)*. Damascus: 38–42 and 103–107.
- Martin-Galán, R. and E. del Castillo Olivares-Pantoja 2007. "The Hellenistic Palace of Tell Beydar", in M. Lebeau and A. Suleiman (eds.), *Tell Beydar, the 2000–2002 Seasons of Excavations, The 2003–2004 Seasons of Architectural Restoration. A Preliminary Report*. Subartu 15. Turnout: 211–226.
- Martinez-Sève, L. 2004. "Peuple d'Antioche et dynastie séleucide", in B. Cabouret, P.-L. Gatier and C. Saliou (eds.), *Antioche de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique, Topoi Suppl.5*. Lyon: 21–41.
- Martinez-Sève, L. 2015. "Ai Khanoum and Greek domination in Central Asia", *Electrum* 22: 17–46.
- Mason, S. 1998. "An essay in character: the aim and audience of Josephus's *Vita*", in J.U. Kalms and F. Siegert (eds.), *Internationales Josephus Kolloquium Münster 1997*. Münster: 31–77.
- Mason, S. 2000. "Introduction to the Judean Antiquities", in *Judean Antiquities 1–4: Translation and Commentary*, xiii–xxxvi. Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 3. Leiden.
- Mason, S. 2001. *Life of Josephus: Translation and Commentary* Flavius Josephus: Translation and Commentary 9. Leiden.
- Mason, S. 2003a. "Contradiction or counterpoint: Josephus and historical method", *Review of Rabbinic Judaism* 6: 145–188.
- Mason, S. 2003b. "Flavius Josephus in Flavian Rome: reading on and between the lines", in A.J. Boyle and W.J. Dominik (eds.), *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*. Leiden: 559–590.
- Mason, S. 2005. "Of audience and meaning: reading Josephus' *Bellum Judaicum* in the context of a Flavian audience", in J. Sievers and G. Lembi (eds.), *Josephus and Jewish History in Flavian Rome and Beyond*. Leiden: 71–100.
- Mason, S. 2011. "What is history? Using Josephus for the Judaeo-Roman war", in M. Popović (ed.), *The Jewish Revolt against Rome: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Leiden: 155–240.
- Mason, S. 2016a. *A History of the Jewish War A.D. 66 – 74*. Cambridge.
- Mason, S. 2016b. "Josephus' Autobiography (Life of Josephus)", in H.H. Chapman and Z. Rodgers (eds.), *A Companion to Josephus*. London: 59–74.
- Matthews, J.F. 1984. "The tax law of Palmyra: evidence for economic history in a city of the Roman East", *Journal of Roman Studies* 74: 157–180.
- Matthews, J.F. 2006. *The Journey of Theophanes: Travel, Business, and Daily Life in the Roman East*. New Haven.
- Matthews, V.J. 1974. "The 'Hemerodromoi': ultra long-distance running in Antiquity", *Classical World* 68: 161–169.
- Maxfield, V.A. 2002. "Soldier and civilian", in R. Brewer (ed.), *The Second Augustan Legion and the Roman Military Machine*. Cardiff: 145–163.
- Mayerson, P. 1994. "The Clysma-Phara-Haila road on the Peutinger Table", in id. *Monks, Martyrs, Soldiers and Saracens. Papers on the Near East in Late Antiquity (1962–1993)*. Jerusalem: 172–182.
- Mazar, B. 1973. *Beth She'arim. Report on the Excavations during 1936–1940. Volume I: Catacombs 1–4*. New Brunswick, NJ.
- Mazzilli, F. 2018. *Rural Cult Centres in the Hauran: Part of a Broader Network of the Near East (100 BC – AD 300)*. Oxford.
- McAlee, R. 2007. *The Coins of Roman Antioch*. Lancaster, PA.
- McKenzie, J. 1990. *The Architecture of Petra*. Oxford.

- McKenzie, J.S. e.a. 2013. *The Nabataean temple at Khirbet et-Tannur, Jordan. Final Report on Nelson Glueck's 1937 Excavation I–II. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 67–68. Boston, MA.
- McLaughlin, R. 2014. *The Roman Empire and the Indian Ocean. The ancient world economy and the kingdoms of Africa, Arabia and India*. Barnsley.
- McVey, K. 1990. “A fresh look at the *Letter of Mara bar Serapion*”, in R. Lavenant (ed.), *V Symposium Syriacum 1988, Orientalia Christiana Analecta* 236. Rome: 257–272.
- Mécérian, J. 1962. “Les inscriptions du Mont Admirable”, *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 38: 297–330.
- Meimaris, Y. 1992. *Chronological Systems in Roman-Byzantine Palestine and Arabia. The Evidence of the Dated Greek Inscriptions*. Athens.
- Menci, G. 2008. “P. Dura 7: Demosthenes, In Aristocratem (or. XXIII) 55”, *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 167: 6–8.
- Mendels, D. 1983. “Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish ‘*patrios politeia*’ of the Persian period (Diodorus Siculus XL,3)”, *ZAW* 95: 96–110.
- Mendels, D. 1992. *The Rise and Fall of Jewish Nationalism*. New York.
- Menze, V. 2015. “The transformation of a saintly paradigm: Simeon the Elder and the legacy of stylitism”, in M. Blömer, A. Lichtenberger and R. Raja (eds.), *Religious Identities in the Levant from Alexander to Muhammed*. Turnhout: 213–228.
- Meritt, B.D. 1935. “Inscriptions of Colophon”, *American Journal of Philology* 56: 358–397.
- Merkelbach, R. and J. Stauber 2002. *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten 4. Die Südküste Kleinasiens, Syrien und Palaestina*. Stuttgart and Leipzig.
- Merola, G.D. 2012. *Per la storia del processo provinciale romano. I papiri del Medio Eufrate*. Napoli.
- Merz, A. and T. Tieleman (eds.) 2012. *The Letter of Mara bar Sarapion in Context, Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 58. Leiden and Boston.
- Meshel, Z. 1981. “The history of the Darb el-Ghaza – the ancient road to Eilat and southern Sinai”, *Eretz Israel* 15: 358–371 (Hebr.).
- Meshel, Z. and Y. Tsafir 1974–75. “The Nabataean road from Avdat to Sha`ar Ramon”, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 106: 103–118 107: 3–21.
- Meshorer, Y. 1982. *Ancient Jewish Coinage I–II*. New York.
- Meshorer, Y. 1985. *City-Coins of Eretz-Israel and the Decapolis in the Roman Period*. Jerusalem.
- Meshorer, Y. 2001. *A Treasury of Jewish Coins*. Jerusalem.
- Messerschmidt, W. 2008. “Kommagene in vorhellenistischer Zeit”, in E. Winter (ed.), *ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΡΟΦΟΣ KOMMAGHNH. Neue Funde und Forschungen zwischen Taurus und Euphrat, Asia Minor Studien* 60. Bonn: 1–35.
- Messina, V. 2006. *Seleucia al Tigri: l'edificio degli archivi: lo scavo e le fasi architettoniche*. Florence.
- Messina, V. 2010. *Seleucia al Tigri. Il monumento di Tell 'Umar. Lo scavo e le fasi architettoniche*. Florence.
- Messina, V. 2012. “Da Babilonia a Ai Khanoum. Teatri greci di età ellenistica e parthica a est dell'Eufrate”, *Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, Classe di Scienze Morali* 35–36: 3–39.
- Metcalf, W.E. 2002. “The end of Antioch's silver coinage”, in C. Augé and F. Duyrat (eds.), *Les monnayages syriens. Quel apport pour l'histoire du Proche-Orient hellénistique et romain?* Beirut: 175–180.
- Mettinger, T.N.D. 1995. *No Graven Image? Israelite Aniconism in its Ancient Near Eastern Context*. Stockholm.
- Meyer, E.A. 2007. “Diplomatics, law and Romanisation in the documents from the Judaean Desert”, in J.W. Cairns and P.J. du Plessis (eds.), *Beyond Dogmatics: Law and Society in the Roman World*. Edinburgh: 53–82.
- Meyer, J.C. 2013. “City and hinterland: villages and estates north of Palmyra. New perspectives”, *Studia Palmyrenskie* 12: 269–286.
- Meyer, J.C. 2017. *Palmyrena: Palmyra and the surrounding territory from the Roman to the early Islamic period*. Oxford.
- Meyer, M. 2006. *Die Personifikation der Stadt Antiocheia. Ein neues Bild für eine neue Gottheit*. Berlin.
- Michalowski, K. e.a. 1959–84. *Palmyre: Fouilles polonaises I–VIII*. Warsaw.
- Michel, P. 2011. “Le théâtre de Babylone: nouveauté urbaine et néologisme en Mésopotamie”, *Études de lettres* 1–2: 153–169.
- Michels, Ch. 2008. *Kulturtransfer und monarchischer “Philhellenismus”: Bithynien, Pontos und Kappadokien in hellenistischer Zeit*. Göttingen.

- Mildenberg, L. 1984. *The Coinage of the Bar Kokkba War*. Aarau.
- Milik, J.T. 1954. "Un contrat juif de l'an 134 après J.-C.", *Revue Biblique* 61: 182–190.
- Milik, J.T. 1972. *Dédicaces faites par des dieux (Palmyre, Hatra, Tyr) et des thiasés sémitiques à l'époque romaine. Recherches d'épigraphie proche-orientale I*, BAH 92. Paris.
- Milik, J.T. 1980. "La tribu des Bani 'Amrat en Jordanie de l'époque grecque et romaine", *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 24: 41–54.
- Milik, J.T. 2003. "Inscription nabatéenne archaïque", in J. Dentzer-Feydy e.a. (eds.), *Hauran II: Les installations de Si' 8*, BAH 164. Beirut: 275.
- Millar, F. 1971. "Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian: the church, local culture and political allegiance in third-century Syria", *Journal of Roman Studies* 61: 1–17.
- Millar, F. 1987. "The problem of Hellenistic Syria", in A. Kuhrt and S.M. Sherwin-White (eds.), *Hellenism in the East*. London: 110–133 = Millar 2006: 3–31.
- Millar, F. 1990. "The Roman coloniae of the Near East. A study of cultural relations", in H. Solin and M. Kajava (eds.), *Roman Eastern Policy and Other Studies in Roman History*. Helsinki: 7–58.
- Millar, F. 1993. *The Roman Near East, 31 BC – AD 337*. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Millar, F. 1993a. "Hagar, Ishmael, Josephus and the origins of Islam", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 44: 23–45.
- Millar, F. 1998a. "Caravan cities: the Roman Near East and long-distance trade by land", in M. Austin, J. Harries and C. Smith (eds.), *Modus Operandi: Essays in Honour of Geoffrey Rickman*, *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*, Suppl. 71. London: 119–137.
- Millar, F. 1998b. "Ethnic identity in the Roman Near East, AD 325–450: language, religion and culture", *Mediterranean Archaeology* 11: 159–76.
- Millar, F. 1999. "The Greek East and Roman law. The dossier of M. Cn. Licinius Rufinus", *Journal of Roman Studies* 89: 90–108.
- Millar, F. 2000. "Review of W. Ball, *Rome in the East* (2000)", *Topoi* 10: 485–492.
- Millar, F. 2005a. "Last year in Jerusalem: monuments of the Jewish War in Rome", in J. Edmondson, S. Mason and J. Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*. Oxford: 101–128.
- Millar, F. 2005b. "The Theodosian Empire (408–450) and the Arabs: Saracens or Ishmaelites?", in E.S. Gruen (ed.), *Cultural Borrowings and Ethnic Appropriations in Antiquity*. Stuttgart: 297–314.
- Millar, F. 2006. *The Greek World, the Jews and the East. Rome, the Greek World and the East III*, eds H.M. Cotton and G.M. Rogers. Chapel Hill and London.
- Millar, F. 2006a. "The Phoenician cities. A case-study of hellenisation", in id. *Rome, the Greek world, and the East III. The Greek world, the Jews and the East*. Chapel Hill: 32–50.
- Millar, F. 2008. "Community, religion and language in the Middle Euphrates region in late antiquity", *Scripta Classica Israelica* 27: 67–93.
- Millar, F. 2010. "Rome's 'Arab' allies in Late Antiquity: conceptions and representations from within the frontiers of the Empire", in H. Börm and J. Wieshöfer (eds.), 2010. *Commutatio et Contentio. Studies in the Late Roman, Sasanian, and Early Islamic Near East*. Düsseldorf: 159–86.
- Millar, F. 2011. "Greek and Syriac in Edessa: from Ephrem to Rabbula (CE 363–435)", *Semitica et Classica* 4: 99–113.
- Millar, F. 2015. *Empire, Church and Society in the Late Roman East: Greeks, Jews, Syrians and Saracens (Collected Studies 2004–2014)*. *Late Antique History and Religion* 10. Leuven.
- Miller, K. 1916. *Itineraria romana*. Stuttgart.
- Minns, E.H. 1915. "Parchments of the Parthian period from Avroman in Kurdistan", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 35: 22–65.
- Mior, P. 2014. *The Southwest Palmyrena in the Roman Period. Patterns of Land Exploitation and Territorial Management*. PhD Udine.
- Mitford, T.B. 1974. "Some inscriptions from the Cappadocian limes", *Journal of Roman Studies* 64: 160–175.
- Mitford, T.B. 2018. *East of Asia Minor. Rome's Hidden Frontier I–II*. Oxford.
- Mitthof, F. and A. Papatomas 2004. "Ein Papyruszeugnis aus dem spätantiken Karien", *Chiron* 34: 401–424.
- Mittmann, S. 1964. "Die römische Strasse von Gerasa nach Adraa", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 80: 113–136.
- Mittmann, S. 1970. *Beiträge zur Siedlungsgeschichte des nördlichen Ostjordanlandes*. Wiesbaden.

- Mohammadkhani, K. 2012. "Une nouvelle construction monumentale achéménide à Dahanch-e Ghulaman, Sistan, Iran", *Achemenet – Arta* 2012.001.
- Möller, C. and G. Schmitt 1976. Die Siedlungen Palästinas nach Flavius Josephus. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients: Series B 14. Wiesbaden.
- Mommsen, T. 1876. "Die Dynastie von Kommagene", *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 1: 27–39.
- Monerie, J. 2012. "Notabilité urbaine et administration locale en Babylonie du sud aux époques séleucide et parthe", in Chr. Feyel, L. Graslin-Thomé and F. Kirbihler (eds.), *Communautés locales et pouvoir central dans l'Orient hellénistique et romain*. Nancy: 327–352.
- Moore, W. 1986. "The divine couple of Demetrius II Nicator, and his coinage at Nisibis", *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes* 31: 125–143.
- Moormann, E.M. and M.J. Versluis 2003. "The Nemrud Dağ project: second interim report", *Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 78: 141–166.
- Moralee, J. 2004. *For Salvation's Sake: Provincial Loyalty, Personal Religion, and Epigraphic Production in the Roman and Late Antique Near East*. New York and London.
- Morgan, M.G. 1973. "Pliny, N.H. III 129, the Roman use of stades and the elogium of C. Sempronius Tuditanus (cos. 129 BC)", *Philologus* 117: 29–48.
- Moriggi, M. and I. Bucci 2019. *Aramaic Graffiti from Hatra: a Study based on the Archive of the Missione Archeologica Italiana. Culture and History of the Ancient Near East* 99. Leiden.
- Morley, N. 2007. *Trade in Classical Antiquity*. Cambridge.
- Moscatti, S. (ed.) 1988. *The Phoenicians*. Milan.
- Mosig-Walburg, K. 2018. "Ma'nu pašgribā, Vater des Königs Aelius Septimius Abgar X. Ein ‚king in waiting‘?", in K. Ruffing and K. Droß-Krüpe (eds.), *Emas non quod opus est, sed quod necesse est. Beiträge zur Wirtschafts-, Sozial-, Rezeptions- und Wissenschaftsgeschichte der Antike. Festschrift für Hans-Joachim Drexhage zum 70. Geburtstag*. Wiesbaden: 371–387.
- Moss, C. 1935. "Jacob of Serugh's Homilies on the Spectacles of the Theatre", *Le Muséon* 48: 87–112.
- Mouterde, R. 1930. "La Strata Diocletiana et ses bornes milliaires", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 15: 221–233 and 339–340.
- Mouterde, R. and A. Poidebard 1931. "La voie antique des caravanes entre Palmyre et Hit au IIe siècle ap. J.-C.", *Syria* 12: 101–115.
- Mouterde, R. and A. Poidebard 1945. *Le Limes de Chalcis*. Paris.
- Mouton, M., e.a. 2008. "The Hellenistic levels under the temenos of the Qasr al-Bint at Petra", *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan* 52: 51–71.
- Mras, K. 1952. "Sanhouniathon", *AAWW* 89: 175–186.
- Muccioli, F. 2013. *Gli epiteti ufficiali dei re ellenistici*. Stuttgart.
- Muccioli, F. 2014. "Λ'ἐπιστάτης et le στρατηγός και ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως. Problèmes ouverts d'administration du pouvoir entre Séleucides et Parthes", *Ktéma* 39: 171–183.
- Muffs, Y. 1969. *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine, Studia et Documenta ad Jura Orientis Antiqui Pertinentia* VIII. Leiden (reprint 1973).
- Muffs, Y. 2003. *Studies in the Aramaic Legal Papyri from Elephantine, HdO* I/66. Leiden.
- Müller, C. 1855–1861. *Geographi Graeci Minores*. Paris.
- Müller, S. 2019. *Alexander der Große – Eroberung – Politik – Rezeption*. Stuttgart.
- Müller, W.W. 1982. "Das Altarabische und das Klassische Arabisch", in W. Fischer (ed.), *Grundriß der Arabischen Philologie*. I. Sprachwissenschaft. Wiesbaden: 17–36.
- Mundell Mango, M. 1996. "Byzantine maritime trade with the East", *Aram* 8: 139–163.
- Murphy, T. 2004. *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia*. Oxford.
- Murray, O. 1970. "Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Egypt", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 56: 141–171.
- Musil, A. 1927. *The Middle Euphrates: A Topographical Itinerary*. New York.
- Musti, D. 1966. "Lo stato dei Seleucidi. Dinastie, popoli, città da Seleuco I ad Antioco III", *Studi Classici e Orientali* 15: 61–197.
- Musti, D. 1984. "Syria and the East", in *The Cambridge Ancient History* VII.1, 2nd ed. Cambridge: 175–220.
- Myers, E.A. 2010. *The Ituraeans and the Roman Near East*. Cambridge.

- Najman, H. 2003. *Seconding Sinai: the Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJ Suppl. 77. Leiden.
- Napoli, J. 2000. “Les remparts de la forteresse de Djazla sur le Moyen-Euphrate”, *Syria* 77: 117–136.
- Nasrallah, L.S. 2010. *Christian Responses to Roman Art and Architecture. The Second-Century Church amid the Spaces of Empire*. Cambridge.
- Nautin, P. 1949. “Sanchuniathon chez Philon de Byblos et chez Porphyre”, *Revue Biblique* 56: 259–273.
- Nebes, N. 2009. “The Nabatäer in Sudarabien. Eine datierte nabatäisch-sabäische Inschrift (Bilingue) aus Sirwah/Yemen”, *Antike Welt* 40: 52–53.
- Negev, A. 1966. “The date of the Petra-Gaza road”, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 98: 89–98.
- Negev, A. 1991. *Personal names in the Nabataean Realm*, *Qedem* 32. Jerusalem.
- Negev, A. 2003. “Obodas the god in a Nabataean-Arabic inscription from the vicinity of Oboda and a review of other Nabataean inscriptions”, in R. Rosenthal-Heginbottom (ed.), *The Nabataeans in the Negev*. Haifa: 17\*–20\*.
- Nehmé, L. 2010. “Les inscriptions nabatéennes du Ḥawrān”, in M. al-Maqdissi, F. Braemer and J.-M. Dentzer (eds.), *Hauran V: La Syrie du sud du Néolithique à l’Antiquité tardive*. I, BAH 191. Beirut: 451–492.
- Nehmé, L. 2012a. *Pétra: Atlas archéologique et épigraphique I. De Bab as-Siq au Wādi al-Farasab*. Paris.
- Nehmé, L. 2012b. “A recently discovered Nabataean sanctuary possibly devoted to the sun-god”, in G.A. Kiraz and Z. al-Salameen (eds.), *From Ugarit to Nabataean. Studies in Honor of John F. Healey*. Piscaw, NJ: 153–166.
- Nehmé, L. 2012c. “Le dieu Obodas chez les Nabatéens: hypothèses anciennes et découvertes récentes”, in I. Sachet and C. Robin (eds.), *Dieux et déesses d’Arabie: images et représentations, Orient et Méditerranée* 7. Paris: 181–224.
- Nehmé, L. (ed.) 2015a. *Les tombeaux nabatéens de Hégra*. Paris.
- Nehmé, L. 2015b. “Strategoi in the Nabataean kingdom: a reflection of central places?”, *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 1: 103–122.
- Nehmé, L. 2017. “New dated inscriptions (Nabataean and pre-Islamic Arabic) from a site near al-Jawf, ancient Dūmah, Saudi Arabia”, *Arabian Epigraphic Notes* 3: 121–164.
- Nehmé, L. e.a. 2010. *Report on the Third Excavation Season (2010) of the Madā’in Sālih Archaeological Project*. Paris.
- Nehmé, L. e.a. 2011. *Report on the Fourth Excavation Season (2011) of the Madā’in Sālih Archaeological Project*. Paris.
- Nehmé, L. e.a. 2015. *Report on the Fifth Excavation Season (2014) of the Madā’in Sālih Archaeological Project*. Paris.
- Nehmé, L. and M.C.A. Macdonald 2015. “Bny, ’l and ’hl in Nabataean and Safaitic”, in G. Charloux and R. Loreto, *Dūma 3. The 2012 Report of the Saudi-Italian-French Archaeological Project at Dūmat al-Jandal, Saudi Arabia*. Riyadh: 69–75.
- Nehmé, L. and L. Wadson 2012. *The Nabataeans in Focus: Current Archaeological Research at Petra*. London.
- Nehmé, L., F. Briquel-Chatonnet, A. Desreumaux, A. al-Ghabban, M.C.A. Macdonald and F. Villeneuve 2018. *The Darb al-Bakrah. A Caravan Route in North-West Arabia Discovered by Ali I. al-Ghabban. Catalogue of the Inscriptions*. Riyadh.
- Netzer, E. 2001. *The Palaces of the Hasmoneans and Herod the Great*. Jerusalem.
- Netzer, E. 2006. *The Architecture of Herod, the Great Builder*. Tübingen.
- Netzer, E. 2007. “The ideal city in the eyes of Herod the Great”, in N. Kokkinos (ed.), *The World of the Herods, Oriens et Occidens* 14. Stuttgart: 71–91.
- Neugebauer, O. and H.B. van Hoesen 1959. *Greek Horoscopes*. Philadelphia.
- Neusner, J. 1969<sup>2</sup>. *A History of the Jews in Babylonia. I: The Parthian Period*. Leiden.
- Neusner, J. 1981. *Judaism: The Evidence of the Mishnah*. Chicago.
- Neusner, J. 1988. *Midrash in Context*. Atlanta.
- Neusner, J. 2002. *The Tosefta Translated from the Hebrew I–VI* (reprint). Peabody, MA.
- Newell, E.T. 1939. *Late Seleucid Mints in Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus, Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 84. New York.
- Newson, P. 2015. “The consequences of Roman imperialism: cultural change in the basalt region of Homs, Syria”, *Levant* 47.3: 267–292.

- Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 2001. *1 Enoch 1: A Commentary on the Book of 1 Enoch Chapters 1–36; 81–108*. Minneapolis.
- Nickelsburg, G.W.E. 2005. *Jewish Literature Between the Bible and the Mishnah* (2nd ed.). Minneapolis.
- Nicolet, C. 1991. *Space, Geography, and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*. Ann Arbor.
- Niehr, H. 2004. *Baʿalsamem. Studien zu Herkunft, Geschichte und Rezeptionsgeschichte eines phönizischen Gottes. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 123*. Louvain.
- Nielsen, I. 1998. *Hellenistic Palaces: Tradition and Renewal*. Aarhus.
- Nir, R. 2003. *The Destruction of Jerusalem and the Idea of Redemption in the Syriac Apocalypse of Baruch*. Atlanta.
- Nixon, C.E.V. 2002. “The coins”, in G.W. Clarke e.a., *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates: Report on Excavations 1986–1996 I, Mediterranean Archaeology Suppl. 5*. Sydney: 291–335.
- Nordiguan, L. and J.-F. Salles 2000. *Aux origines de l’archéologie aérienne. A. Poidebard 1878–1955*. Beirut.
- Northedge, A. 1992. *Studies on Roman and Islamic Amman. Vol. I. History, Site and Architecture. The Excavations of Mrs. C-M Bennett and Other Investigations*. Oxford.
- Novák, M. (ed.) 2000. *Der parthisch-römische Friedhof von Tall Seb Hamad/Magdala. Teil I*. Berlin.
- Noy, D. 2001. “‘A sight unfit to see’: Jewish reactions to the Roman Imperial cult”, *Classics Ireland 8*: 68–83.
- Noy, D. and H. Bloedhorn (eds.) 2004. *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis III: Syria and Cyprus, Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum 102*. Tübingen.
- Nunn, A. 2001. “Nekropolen und Gräber in Phönizien, Syrien und Jordanien zur Achämenidenzeit”, *Ugarit-Forschungen 32*: 389–463.
- Nyberg, H.S. 1923. “The Pahlavi documents of Avroman”, *Le Monde Oriental 17*: 182–230.
- Oates, D. 1968. *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq*. London.
- Oden, R.A. 1978. “Philo of Byblos and Hellenistic historiography”, *Palestine Exploration Quarterly 110*: 115–126.
- Oelgarte, T. 1918. “Die Bethhoronstrasse”, *Palästina Jahrbuch 14*: 73–89.
- Oelsner, J. 1992. “Griechen in Babylonien und die einheimischen Tempel in hellenistischer Zeit”, in D. Charpin and F. Joannès (eds.), *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien*. Paris: 341–347.
- Oenbrink, W. 2014. “Dorische Kapitelle späthellenistischer Zeit. Säulenhallen eines neu entdeckten Temenos des kommagenischen Herrscherkultes nahe Kähta/Adiyaman”, in E. Winter (ed.), *Kult und Herrschaft am Euphrat, Asia Minor Studien 73*. Bonn: 271–288.
- Oenbrink, W. 2017. *Die Sakralarchitektur der kommagenischen Hierothesia und Temene, Asia Minor Studien 83*. Bonn.
- Oenbrink, W. 2019. *Hellenistische und Kaiserzeitliche Architekturglieder aus dem Iuppiter Dolichenus-Heiligtum auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi/Doliche, Asia Minor Studien 92*, Bonn.
- Oleson, J.P. 2010. *Humayma Excavation Project I*. Boston.
- Olin, M. 2002. “The road to Dura-Europos,” *Books-Budapest Review of Books-English Edition 12*.
- Olszewski, M.T. and H. Saad 2018. “Pella-Apamée sur l’Oronte et ses héros-fondateurs à la lumière d’une source historique inconnue: une mosaïque d’Apamée”, in M.P. Castiglioni e.a. (eds.), *Héros fondateurs et identités communautaires dans l’Antiquité, entre mythe, rite et politique*. Perugia: 365–408.
- Önal, M. 2009. *Zeugma Mosaics: A Corpus*. Istanbul.
- Önal, M. 2011. “Die Tonbullae von Doliche”, in E. Winter (ed.), *Von Kummuh nach Telouch. Archäologische und Historische Untersuchungen in Kommagene, Asia Minor Studien 64*. Bonn: 247–279.
- Önal, M. 2014. “Die Tonbullae von Doliche II”, in E. Winter (ed.), *Kult und Herrschaft am Euphrat, Dolichener und Kommagenische Forschungen VI, Asia Minor Studien 73*. Bonn: 173–249.
- Önal, M. 2017. *Urfa-Edessa Mozaikleri*. Şanlıurfa.
- Önal, M. 2018. *Die Siegelabdrücke von Zeugma, Dolichener und Kommagenische Forschungen X, Asia Minor Studien 85*. Bonn.
- Oppenheimer, A., in collaboration with B. Isaac and M. Lecker 1983. *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period. Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients: Series B 47*. Wiesbaden.
- Oudshoorn, J. 2007. *The Relationship between Roman and Local Law in the Babatha and Salome Komaise Archives: General Analysis and Three Case Studies on Law of Succession, Guardianship, and Marriage. Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah 69*. Leiden.

- Ovadia, A. and Y. Turnheim 1994. *Peopled Scrolls in Roman Architectural Decoration in Israel. The Roman Theatre at Beth Shean/Scythopolis*. Rome.
- Overlaet, B., M.C.A. Macdonald and P. Stein 2016. “An Aramaic-Hasaitic bilingual inscription from a monumental tomb at Mleiha, Sharjah, UAE”, *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 27: 127–142.
- Özgül, N. 2009. *Samsat Sümeysat, Samosata, Kumaba, Habha, Habbum. Bir Başkent ve Kalenin Uzun Yaşamının 6000*. Ankara.
- Paltiel, E. 1991. *Vassals and Rebels in the Roman Empire*. Brussels.
- Pamir, H. 2004. “Eine Stadt stellt sich vor. Seleukia Pieria und ihre Ruinen”, *Antike Welt* 35: 17–21.
- Pamir, H. 2012. “Preliminary results of the recent archaeological researches in Antioch on the Orontes and its vicinity”, in C. Saliou, K.P. Todt and H. Pamir (eds.), *Les sources du paysage urbain d’Antioche sur l’Oronte*. Paris: 259–270.
- Pamir, H. 2014. “Recent researches and new discoveries in the harbors of Seleucia Pieria”, in S. Ladstätter, F. Pirson and T. Schmidts (eds.), *Harbors and Harbor Cities in the Eastern Mediterranean. BYZAS 19*. Istanbul: 177–198.
- Pamir, H. 2020. “Archaeological research in Antioch on the Orontes and its vicinity”, in M. Akar and M.A. Ovalı (eds.), *Antioch on the Orontes. Early Explorations in the City of Mosaics*. Istanbul: 78–123.
- Panchenko, D. 2003. “Scylax’ circumnavigation of India and its interpretation in early Greek geography, ethnography and cosmography II”, *Hyperborea* 9: 274–294.
- Parker, G. 2001. “Porous connections: the Mediterranean and the Red Sea,” *Thesis Eleven* 67: 59–79.
- Parker, R. 2017. *Greek Gods Abroad. Names, Natures, and Transformations*. Oakland, CA.
- Parker, S.T. 2000. “Roman legionary fortresses in the East”, in R.J. Brewer (ed.), *Roman Fortresses and their Legions*. Cardiff: 121–138.
- Parker, S.T. 2006. *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan: Final Report on the Limes Arabicus Project, 1980–1989 I–II*. Washington, DC.
- Parker, S.T. 2009. “*Arabia adquisita*: the Roman annexation of Arabia reconsidered”, in A. Morillo, N. Hanel and E. Martin (eds.), *Limes XX: XX International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*. Madrid: 1585–1592.
- Parlasca, K. 1981. *Syrische Grabreliefs hellenistischer und römischer Zeit. Fundgruppen und Probleme, Trierer Winkelmannsprogramme 3*. Mainz.
- Parlasca, K. 1983. “Zum Provinzenmosaik von Belkis-Seleucia am Euphrat”, in *Mosaïque. Recueil d’Hommages à H. Stern*. Paris: 287–295.
- Parthey, G. and M. Pinder 1840. *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum*. Berlin.
- Pastor, J. 1997. *Land and Economy in Ancient Palestine*. London and New York.
- Patrich, J. 1990. *The Formation of Nabatean Art: Prohibition of Graven Images among the Nabateans*. Jerusalem.
- Paturel, S.E. 2019. *Baalbek-Heliopolis, the Bekaa, and Berytus from 100 BCE to 400 CE. A Landscape Transformed*. Leiden.
- Peacock, M. 2013. “The Romanization of Petra”, in A. Gardner, E. Herring and K. Lomas (eds.), *Creating Ethnicities and Identities in the Roman World*. London: 169–194.
- Pearson, L. 1960. *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*. New York.
- Peacock, D. and D. Williams 2007. *Food for the Gods. New Light on the Ancient Incense Trade*. Oxford.
- Pedde, F. 1995. “Seleukidische und Parthische Zeit”, in R.M. Boehmer, F. Pedde and B. Salje (eds.), *Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka: Endberichte. Bd. 10 Uruk, die Gräber*. Mainz: 140–199.
- Pedde, F. 1999. “Einige Bemerkungen zu den Bestattungen der seleukidischen und parthischen Zeit in Babylonien”, in H. Kühne, R. Bernbeck and K. Bartl (eds.), *Fluchtpunkt Uruk. Archäologische Einheit aus methodischer Vielfalt. Schriften für Hans Jörg Nissen*. Rahden, Westf.: 269–271.
- Pedersen, N.A. and J.M. Larsen (eds.) 2013. *Manichaean Texts in Syriac. First Editions, New Editions, and Studies*. Turnhout.
- Pekáry, T. 1968. *Untersuchungen zu den römischen Reichsstrassen*. Bonn.
- Perassi, C. and A. Bona 2016. “La ‘Tariffa’ di Palmira. Un aggiornamento bibliografico ragionato”, *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 117: 73–116.
- Perkins, A. 1973. *The Art of Dura-Europos*. Oxford.
- Perry, M.A. 2002. “Life and death in Nabataea: the north ridge tombs and Nabataean burial practices”, *Near Eastern Archaeology* 65.4: 265–270.
- Petersen, W.L. 1994. *Tatian’s Diatessaron. Its Creation, Dissemination, Significance, and History in Scholarship. Vigiliae Christianae Suppl.25*. Leiden.

- Petersen, W.L. 2005. "Tatian the Assyrian", in A. Marjanen and P. Luomanen (eds.), *A Companion to Second-Century Christian "Heretics"*. *Vigiliae Christianae* Suppl.76. Leiden: 125–158.
- Petzl, G. 2003. "Antiochos I. von Kommagene im Handschlag mit den Göttern. Der Beitrag der neuen Reliefstele von Zeugma zum Verständnis der Dexioseis", in G. Heedemann and E. Winter (eds.), *Neue Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens, Asia Minor Studien* 49. Bonn: 81–84.
- Petzl, G. 2013. "The royal inscriptions from Commagene", *Mediterraneo Antico* 16: 129–138.
- Pinon, P. 2004. "Permanences et transformations dans la topographie d'Antioche après l'Antiquité", in B. Cabouret, P.-L. Gatier and C. Saliou (eds.), *Antioche de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique, Topoi* Suppl.5. Lyon: 191–219.
- Planhol, X. de 1997. *Minorités en Islam*. Paris.
- Poidebard, A. 1923. *Au Carrefour des Routes de Perse*. Paris.
- Poidebard, A. 1928. "Reconnaissance aérienne au Ledja et au Safa", *Syria* 9: 114–23.
- Poidebard, A. 1931. "A propos de la *Strata Diocletiana*", *Revue Biblique* 40: 227–248 and 579–584.
- Poidebard, A. 1934. *La trace de Rome dans le désert de Syrie. Le Limes de Trajan à la conquête arabe. Recherches aériennes (1925–1932)*. Paris.
- Poidebard, A. 1939. *Un grand port disparu, Tyr: recherches aériennes et sous-marines, 1934–1936*. Paris.
- Poidebard, A. 1945. *Le Limes de Chalcis: organisation de la Steppe en Haute-Syrie romaine*, 2 vols. Paris.
- Poidebard, A. 1951. "Note sur les recherches opérées dans le port de Saïda de 1946 à 1950", *Syria* 28: 250–255.
- Poidebard, A. and J. Lauffray 1951. *Sidon: aménagements antiques du port de Saïda. Étude aérienne, au sol et sous-marine, 1946–1950*. Beirut.
- Pola, T. 2010. "Ritzzeichnungen. Werfen archäologische Funde aus dem Ostjordanland Licht auf Ez 8,10 und 1Kön 6,29–36?" *Theologische Beiträge* 41: 97–113.
- Politis, K.D. (ed.) 2007. *The World of the Nabataeans, Oriens et Occidens* 15. Stuttgart.
- Pollard, N. 2000. *Soldiers, Cities and Civilians in Roman Syria*. Ann Arbor.
- Pollard, N. 2007. "Colonial and cultural identities in Parthian and Roman Dura-Europos", in R. Alston and S.N.C. Lieu (eds.), *Aspects of the Roman East I*. Turnhout: 81–102.
- Pöllath, N. and J. Peters 2011. "'Smoke on the mountain': animal sacrifices for the Lord of Doliche", in E. Winter (ed.), *Von Kummuh nach Telouch. Archäologische und Historische Untersuchungen in Kommagene, Asia Minor Studien* 64. Bonn: 47–69.
- Pontbriand, S. de 2012. "La résidence de Lysias à Europos-Doura", in P. Leriche, G. Coqueugniot and S. de Pontbriand, *Europos-Doura Varia I*. Beirut: 77–92.
- Popović, M. (ed.) 2011. *The Jewish Revolt against Rome: Interdisciplinary Perspectives*. Leiden.
- Porten, B. c.a. 1996. *The Elephantine Papyri in English: Three Millennia of Cross-Cultural Continuity and Change, Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui* 22. Leiden.
- Porten, B. 2003. "Elephantine", in R. Westbrook (ed.), *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law, HdO* I/72.1–2. Leiden: 863–881.
- Porten, B. and A. Yardeni 1989. *Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt 2. Contracts*. Jerusalem.
- Possekkel, U. 2012. "Bardaisan and Origen on fate and the power of the stars", *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 20: 515–541.
- Potts, D.T. 1990. *The Arabian Gulf in Antiquity II. From Alexander the Great to the Coming of Islam*. Oxford.
- Potts, D.T. 2011. "The *politai* and *bit tamartu*: The Seleucid and Parthian theatres of Greek citizens of Babylon", in E.C. Cancik-Kirschbaum, M. Van Ess and J. Marzahn (eds.), *Babylon: Wissenskultur in Orient und Okzident*. Berlin: 239–251.
- Potts, D.T. (ed.) 2012. *A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East*. Oxford.
- Potts, D.T. (ed.) 2013. *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*. Oxford.
- Praet, D., T. Kaizer and A. Lannoy (eds.) 2020. *Doura-Europos. Bibliotheca Cumontiana, Scripta Minora VII*. Leuven.
- Price, J.J. 1992. *Jerusalem Under Siege: The Collapse of the Jewish State 66–70 CE*. Leiden.
- Price, J.J. 2005. "The provincial historian in Rome", in J. Sievers and G. Lembi (eds.), *Josephus and Jewish History in Flavian Rome and Beyond*. Leiden: 101–118.
- Price, M.J. 1991. *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus*. Zürich and London.
- Price, M.J. and B.L. Trell 1975. *Coins and their Cities*. London.



- Prieur, M. and K. Prieur 2000. *A Type Corpus of the Syro-Phoenician Tetradrachms and their Fractions from 57 BC to AD 253*. Lancaster, PA and London.
- Prioletta, A. 2018. “New research on the Thamudic graffiti from the region of Himā (Najrān, Saudi Arabia)”, in M.C.A. Macdonald (ed.), *Languages, Scripts and their Uses in Ancient North Arabia, Supplement to the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 48. Oxford: 53–70.
- Pucci Ben Zeev, M. 1998. *Jewish Rights in the Roman World: The Greek and Roman Documents Quoted by Josephus Flavius*. Tübingen.
- Puech, B. 1992. “Prosopographie des amis de Plutarque”, *ANRW* II 33.6: 4831–4893.
- Quet, M.-H. 1999. “La mosaïque dite d’Aion de Shahba-Philippopolis, Philippe l’Arabe et la conception hellène de l’ordre du monde en Arabie, à l’aube du christianisme”, *Cahiers Glotz* 10: 269–330.
- Quet, M.-H. 2000. “Le Triptolème de la mosaïque dite d’Aion et l’affirmation identitaire hellène à Shahba-Philippopolis”, *Syria* 77: 181–200.
- Quet, M.-H. 2005. “L’Euphrate-Roi de la mosaïque d’El Mas’udiye (Syrie)”, in H. Morlier (ed.), *La mosaïque gréco-romaine* 9.2. Rome: 1317–1323.
- Quinn, J.C. 2017. *In Search of the Phoenicians*. Princeton.
- Raban, A. (ed.) 1985. *Harbour Archaeology. Proceedings of the First International Workshops on Mediterranean Harbours, Caesarea Maritima*. Oxford.
- Raban, A. and K. Holum (eds.) 1996. *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia*. Leiden.
- Rahmani, L.Y. 1994. *A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel*. Jerusalem.
- Raja, R. 2009. “The sanctuary of Artemis in Gerasa”, in T. Fischer-Hansen and B. Poulsen (eds.), *From Artemis to Diana. The Goddess of Man and Beast. Acta Hyperborea*. Copenhagen: 383–400.
- Raja, R. 2012. *Urban Development and Regional Identity in the Eastern Roman Provinces, 50 BC – AD 250: Aphrodisias, Ephesos, Athens, Gerasa*. Copenhagen.
- Raja, R. 2013. “Changing spaces and shifting attitudes: revisiting the sanctuary of Zeus in Gerasa”, in T. Kaizer e.a. (eds.), *Cities and Gods: Religious Space in Transition*. Leuven: 31–46.
- Raja, R. 2015. “Complex sanctuaries of the Roman period”, in R. Raja and J. Rüpké (eds.), *A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World*. London: 307–319.
- Raja, R. (ed.) 2017. *Contextualizing the Sacred in the Hellenistic and Roman Near East. Religious Identities in Local, Regional and Imperial Settings. Contextualizing the Sacred* 8. Turnhout.
- Raja, R. (ed.) 2019a. *Revisiting the Religious Life of Palmyra. Contextualizing the Sacred* 9. Turnhout.
- Raja, R. 2019b. “Funerary portraiture in Palmyra: portrait habit at a cross-road or a signifier of local identity?” in M. Blömer and R. Raja (eds.), *Funerary portraiture in Greater Roman Syria*. Turnhout: 95–110.
- Raja, R. 2019c. *The Palmyra Collection*. Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Copenhagen.
- Raja, R., O. Bobou and J.-B. Yon (eds.) 2021. *Palmyrene Funerary Portraits and Sculpture I–XV, Studies in Palmyrene Archaeology and History*. Turnhout.
- Raja, R. and A.H. Sørensen 2015. “The ‘Beauty of Palmyra’ and Qasr Abjad (Palmyra): new discoveries in the archive of Harald Ingholt”, *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 28: 439–450.
- Rajak, T. 1982. “Josephus and the ‘Archaeology’ of the Jews”, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 33: 465–477.
- Rajak, T. 1998. “The *Against Apion* and the continuities in Josephus’ political thought”, in S. Mason (ed.), *Understanding Josephus: Seven Perspectives*. Sheffield: 222–246.
- Rajak, T. 2000. “Jews, Semites and their cultures in Fergus Millar’s ‘Roman Near East’”, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 51: 63–68.
- Rajak, T. 2002. *Josephus: The Historian and his Society* (2nd ed.). London.
- Rajak, T. 2009. *Translation and Survival. The Greek Bible of the Ancient Jewish Diaspora*. Oxford.
- Ramelli, I. 2009. *Bardaisan of Edessa: A Reassessment of the Evidence and a New Interpretation. Gorgias Eastern Christian Studies* 22. Piscataway, NJ.
- Rapin, C. 1992. *Fouilles d’Ai-Khanoum VIII: La trésorerie du palais hellénistique d’Ai-Khanoum. Mémoires de la Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan* 33. Paris.
- Rappaport, U. 2004. *The First Book of Maccabees: Introduction, Hebrew Translation, and Commentary [in Hebrew]*. Jerusalem.
- Raschke, M.G. 1978. “New studies in Roman commerce with the East”, in *ANRW* II.9.2. Berlin and New York: 604–1378.
- Rees, B.R. 1968. “Theophanes of Hermopolis Magna”, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 51: 164–183.
- Rees, L.W.B. 1929. “The Transjordan desert”, *Antiquity* 3: 389–407.
- Reid, S.K. 2005. *The Small Temple: A Roman Imperial Cult Building in Petra, Jordan*. Piscataway, IN.

- Reinach, T. 1890. "La dynastie de Commagène", *Revue des Études Grecques* 3: 362–380.
- Renel, F. e.a. 2012. "Dating the early phases under the temenos of the Qasr al-Bint at Petra", *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 42: 39–54.
- Renel, F. and M. Mouton 2013. "The architectural remains and pottery assemblage from the early phases at Qasr al-Bint", in M. Mouton and S.G. Schmid (eds.), *Men on the Rocks: The Formation of Nabataean Petra*. Berlin: 57–77.
- Retsö, J. 2003. *The Arabs in Antiquity. Their History from the Assyrians to the Umayyads*. London and New York.
- Rey-Coquais, J.-P. 1974. *Arados et sa pérée aux époques grecque, romaine et byzantine: recueil des témoignages littéraires anciens, suivi de recherches sur les sites, l'histoire, la civilisation*. Paris.
- Rey-Coquais, J.-P. 1978. "Syrie romaine, de Pompée à Dioclétien", *Journal of Roman Studies* 68: 44–73.
- Rey-Coquais, J.-P. 1994. "Tyr, métropole de Carthage et de beaucoup d'autres villes, aux époques romaine et paléochrétienne", in A. Mastino and P. Ruggeri (eds.), *L'Africa romana. Atti del X convegno di studio Oristano, 11–13 dicembre 1992* III. Sassari: 1339–1353.
- Rey-Coquais, J.-P. 2006. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de Tyr, Baal Hors-Série* III. Beirut.
- Rezakhani, K. 2017. *ReOrienting the Sasanians, East Iran in Late Antiquity*. Edinburgh.
- Rich, J. 1989. "Patronage and interstate relations in the Roman republic", in A. Wallace-Hadrill (ed.), *Patronage in ancient society*. London: 117–135.
- Richardson, P. 1996, 1999 *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans*. Columbia, SC.
- Richardson, P. and A.M. Fisher 2017. *Herod: King of the Jews and Friend of the Romans* (2nd ed.). London.
- Riedl, N. 2005. *Gottheiten und Kulte in der Dekapolis*. PhD FU Berlin.
- Rigolio, A. 2013. "From *Sacrifice to the Gods* to *The Fear of God*: omissions, additions, and changes in the Syriac translations of Plutarch, Lucian, and Themistius", *Studia Patristica* 64: 133–143.
- Rigsby, K.J. 1996. *Asyria. Territorial Inviolability in the Hellenistic World*. Berkeley.
- Rigsby, K.J. 2000. "A supplicant at Gerasa", *Phoenix* 54: 99–106.
- Riley, D.N. 1987. *Air Photography and Archaeology*. London.
- Rives, J. 2005. "Flavian policy and the Jerusalem Temple", in J. Edmondson, S. Mason and J. Rives (eds.), *Flavius Josephus and Flavian Rome*. Oxford: 145–166.
- Robert, L. 1938. *Études épigraphiques et philologiques*. Paris.
- Robert, L. 1946. *Hellenica. Recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques* II. Paris.
- Roberts, C.H. 1952. "The archive of Theophanes", in id. and E.G. Turner (eds.), *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library* IV. Manchester: 104–106.
- Robin, C.J. 2013. "À propos de *Ymnt* et *Ymn*: "nord" et "sud", "droite" et "gauche", dans les inscriptions de l'Arabie antique", in F. Briquel-Chatonnet, C. Fauveaud and I. Gajda (eds.), 2013. *Entre Carthage et l'Arabie heureuse. Mélanges offerts à François Bron* I. Paris: 119–40.
- Robin, C.J. and M. Gorea 2016. "L'alphabet de Himà (Arabie Séoudite)", in I. Finkelstein, C.J. Robin and T. Römer (eds.), *Alphabets, Texts and Artifacts in the Ancient Near East: Studies Presented to Benjamin Sass*. Paris: 310–375.
- Rochberg, F. 2010. *In the Path of the Moon: Babylonian Celestial Divination and its Legacy*. Leiden.
- Roll, I. 1983. "The Roman road system in Judaea", *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 3: 136–161.
- Roll, I. 1996. "Roman roads to Caesarea Maritima", in A. Raban and K. Holum (eds.), *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia*. Leiden: 549–558.
- Roll, I. 2000. "Roman milestones in the vicinity of Aphek-Antipatris", in M. Kochavi e.a. (eds.), *Aphek-Antipatris I. Excavation of Areas A and B. The 1972–1976 Seasons*. Tel Aviv: 39–46.
- Roll, I. and E. Ayalon 1986. "Roman roads in western Samaria", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 118: 113–134.
- Roll, I. and E. Ayalon 1989. *Apollonia and Southern Sharon: Model of a Coastal City and its Hinterland*. Tel Aviv (Hebr.).
- Roll, I. and O. Tal 1999. *Apollonia-Arsuf: Final Report of the Excavations* I. Tel Aviv.
- Roller, D.W. 1998. *The Building Program of Herod the Great*. Berkeley.
- Roller, D.W. 2003. *The World of Juba II and Kleopatra Selene: Royal Scholarship on Rome's African frontier*. New York and London.
- Roller, D.W. 2010. *Eratosthenes' Geography*. Princeton.
- Rollinger, R. 2013. "Berossos and the monuments: city walls, sanctuaries, palaces and the Hanging Garden", in J. Haubold e.a. (eds.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 137–162.

- Rollinger, R. 2016. "Megasthenes, mental maps and Seleucid royal ideology: the western fringes of the world or how Ancient Near Eastern empires conceptualized world dominion", in J. Wieschöfer, H. Brinkhaus and R. Bichler (eds.), *Megasthenes und seine Zeit*. Wiesbaden: 129–164.
- Rollinger, R. and K. Ruffing 2013. "Schlauchlöße und Schwimmschläuche an Euphrat und Tigris in der römischen Kaiserzeit", in R. Breitwieser, M. Frass and G. Nightingale (eds.), *Calamus. Festschrift Herbert Graßl, Philippika* 57. Wiesbaden: 403–418.
- Romer, F.E. 1998. *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World*. Ann Arbor.
- Romm, J.S. 1992. *The Edges of the Earth in Ancient Thought: Geography, Exploration, and Fiction*. Princeton.
- Rood, T. 2010. "Xenophon's parasangs", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 130: 51–66.
- Roseman, C.H. 2005. "Reflections of philosophy: Strabo and geographical sources", in D. Dueck, H. Lindsay and S. Potheary (eds.), *Strabo's Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia*. Cambridge: 27–41.
- Rosenberg, S.G. 2006. *Airag al-Amir: The Architecture of the Tobiads*. Oxford.
- Rosenfeld, B.Z. 2010. "The title 'rabbi' in third- to seventh-century inscriptions in Palestine: revisited", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 61: 234–256.
- Ross, S.K. 2001. *Roman Edessa. Politics and Culture on the Eastern Fringes of the Roman Empire, 114–242*. London and New York.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. 1932. *Caravan Cities*. Oxford.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. 1935a. "La Syrie romaine", *Revue historique* 175: 1–40.
- Rostovtzeff, M. 1935b. "Dura and the problem of Parthian art", *Yale Classical Studies* 5: 157–303.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. 1938. *Dura-Europos and Its Art*. Oxford.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. 1941a. *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*. Oxford.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. 1941b. "The Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Times", *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 1: 25–40.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I. 1957. *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire* (rev ed.). Oxford.
- Rostovtzeff, M.I., F.E. Brown and C.B. Welles (eds.) 1936. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Preliminary Report of the Seventh and Eighth Seasons of Work, 1933–1934 and 1934–1935*. New Haven.
- Rougé, J. 1966. *Expositio totius mundi et gentium. Introduction, texte critique, traduction, notes et commentaires*, *Sources chrétiennes* 124. Paris.
- Rougemont, G. 2012. *Inscriptions grecques d'Iran et d'Asie centrale, avec des contributions de P. Bernard, Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*. London.
- Roussel, P. 1942–43. "Décret des péliganes de Laodicée-sur-mer", *Syria* 23: 21–32.
- Rozenberg, S. 2014. "Wall painters in Herodian Judea", *Near Eastern Archaeology* 77: 120–128.
- Rozenberg, S. and D. Mevorah (eds.) 2013. *Herod the Great. The King's Final Journey*. Jerusalem.
- Ruffing, K. 2000. "Die Geschäfte des Aurelios Nebuchelos", *Laverna* 11: 71–105.
- Ruffing, K. 2007. "Dura Europos: a city on the Euphrates and her economic importance in the Roman Era", in M. Sartre (ed.), *Productions et échanges dans la Syrie grecque et romaine, Topoi* Suppl.8. Lyon: 399–411.
- Ruffing, K. 2008. *Die berufliche Spezialisierung in Handel und Handwerk. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Entwicklung und zu ihren Bedingungen in der römischen Kaiserzeit im östlichen Mittelmeerraum auf der Grundlage griechischer Inschriften und Papyri, Teil 1, Pharos* 24. Rahden/Westf.
- Ruffing, K. 2010. "Dura Europos und seine Rolle im Fernhandel der Römischen Kaiserzeit", in R. Rollinger, B. Gufler and M. Lang (eds.), *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt: Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts*. Wiesbaden: 151–160.
- Ruffing, K. 2013. "Berossos in modern scholarship", in J. Haubold e.a. (eds.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 291–308.
- Ruffing, K. 2016. "Economic Life in Roman Dura-Europos", in T. Kaizer (ed.), *Religion, Society and Culture at Dura-Europos, Yale Classical Studies* 38. Cambridge: 190–198.
- Ryckmans, G. 1956. "Aspects nouveaux du problème thamoudéen", *Studia Islamica* 5: 5–17.
- Sabine, P., H. van Wees and M. Whitby (eds.) 2007. *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare II. Rome from the Late Republic to the Late Empire*. Cambridge.
- Sachet, I. 2010. "Libations funéraire aux frontières de l'Orient romain: le cas de la Nabatène", in J. Rüpke and J. Scheid (eds.), *Bestattungsrituale und Totenkult in der römischen Kaiserzeit = Rites funéraires et culte des morts aux temps impériaux*. Stuttgart: 157–174.

- Sachs, A.J. and H. Hunger 1996. *Astronomical Diaries and Related Texts from Babylonia III, Diaries from 165 BC to 61 BC*. Vienna.
- Sadurska, A. and A. Bounni 1994. *Les sculptures funéraires de Palmyre, Rivista di Archeologia* Suppl. 13. Rome.
- Safadi, C. 1990. “La foggara, système hydraulique antique, serait-elle toujours concevable dans la mise en valeur des eaux souterraines en syrie?”, in B. Geyer (ed.), *Techniques et pratiques hydro-agricoles traditionnelles et domaine irrigué. Approche multidisciplinaire des modes de culture avant la motorisation en Syrie*. Paris: 285–193.
- Safar, F. and A. Mustafa 1974. *Hatra. The City of the Sun God*. Bagdad (Arabic).
- Safrai, Z. 1994. *The Economy of Roman Palestine*. London and New York.
- Safrai, Z. 2005. “Temporal layers within Strabo’s description of Coele Syria, Phoenicia and Judaea”, in D. Dueck, H. Lindsay and S. Potheary (eds.), *Strabo’s Cultural Geography: The Making of a Kolossourgia*. Cambridge: 250–258.
- Saghieh Beydoun, M. 2005. “Urban Planning in a Seaport City: Beirut from the Hellenistic to the Byzantine Periods”, *Bulletin d’Archéologie et d’Architecture Libanaises*: 147–184.
- Şahin, S. 1991a. “Forschungen in Kommagene I: Epigraphik”, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 18: 99–105.
- Şahin, S. 1991b. “Forschungen in Kommagene II: Topographie”, *Epigraphica Anatolica* 18: 114–132.
- Saliège, J.-F., A. Zazzo, C. Hatté and C. Gauthier 2013. “Radiocarbon dating in Petra: limitations and potential in semi-arid environments”, in M. Mouton and S.G. Schmid (eds.), *Men on the Rocks: The Formation of Nabataean Petra*. Berlin: 79–91.
- Saliou, C. 1999–2000. “Les fondations d’Antioche dans l’*Antiochikos* (*Oratio XI*) de Libanios”, *Aram* 11–12: 357–388.
- Saliou, C. 2020. *Le Proche-Orient de Pompée à Mahomet, Ier s. av. J.-C.-VIIe s. ap. J.-C.* Paris.
- Saliou, C. 2008. “Inscriptions de la région de Gaza”, *Revue Biblique* 115: 275–286.
- Saliou, C., K.P. Todt and H. Pamir (eds.) 2012. *Les sources du paysage urbain d’Antioche sur l’Oronte*. Paris.
- Salles, J.-F. 1993. “The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea and the Arab-Persian Gulf”, *Topoi* 3: 493–523.e
- Salway, B. 2001. “Travel, *itineraria* and *tabellaria*”, in C. Adams and R. Laurence (eds.), *Travel and Geography in the Roman Empire*. London and New York: 22–66.
- Samely, A. c.a. 2013. *Profiling Jewish Literature in Antiquity. An Inventory from Second Temple Texts to the Talmuds*. Oxford.
- Sanders, D.H. (ed.) 1996. *Nemrud Dağı. The Hierothesion of Antiochus I of Commagene*. Winona Lake.
- Sarkhosh Curtis, V. and S. Stewart (eds.) 2007. *The Idea of Iran II. The Age of the Parthians*. London.
- Sarkhosh Curtis, V. and S. Stewart (eds.) 2008. *The Idea of Iran III. The Sasanian Era*. London.
- Sarkhosh Curtis, V., E.J. Pendleton, M. Alram and T. Daryaee (eds.) 2016. *The Parthian and Early Sasanian Empires: Adaptation and Expansion, Proceedings of a Conference held in Vienna, 14–16 June 2012*. Oxford and Philadelphia.
- Sartre, M. 1979. “Le trophée de Gadhimat, roi de Tanukh: une survivance en Arabie d’une institution hellénistique”, *Liber Annuus – Studium Biblicum Franciscanum* 29: 253–258.
- Sartre, M. 1982. *Trois études sur l’Arabie romaine et byzantine*. Brussels.
- Sartre, M. 1985. *Bostra, des origines à l’Islam*, BAH 117. Paris.
- Sartre, M. 1988. “La Syrie Creuse n’existe pas”, in P.-L. Gatier, B. Helly and J.-P. Rey-Coquais (eds.), *Géographie Historique au Proche-Orient*. Paris: 15–40.
- Sartre, M. 1991. *L’Orient Romain: provinces et sociétés provinciales en Méditerranée orientale d’Auguste aux Sévères (31 avant J.C. – 235 après J.C.)*. Paris.
- Sartre, M. 1996. “Palmyre, cité grecque”, *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes* 42: 385–405 (= Sartre 2014: 293–319).
- Sartre, M. 2000. “Syria and Arabia”, in *The Cambridge Ancient History* XI. 2nd ed. Cambridge: 635–663.
- Sartre, M. 2001. “Les colonies romaines dans le monde grec”, in E. Dąbrowa (ed.), *Roman Military Studies, Electrum* 5. Cracow: 111–152.
- Sartre, M. 2003. *D’Alexandre à Zénobie. Histoire du Levant antique, IV<sup>e</sup> siècle av. J.-C. – III<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.* 2nd ed. (orig. 2001). Paris.
- Sartre, M. 2004. “Conclusions”, in B. Cabouret, P.-L. Gatier and C. Saliou (eds.), *Antioche de Syrie. Histoire, images et traces de la ville antique*, *Topoi* Suppl.5. Lyon: 597–603.
- Sartre, M. 2005a. *The Middle East under Rome*. Cambridge, MA and London.
- Sartre, M. 2005b. “The Arabs and the desert peoples”, in *The Cambridge Ancient History* XII. 2nd ed. Cambridge: 498–520.

- Sartre, M. 2007. "The ambiguous name: the limitations of cultural identity in Graeco-Roman Syrian onomastics", in E. Matthews (ed.), *Old and New Worlds in Greek Onomastics. Proceedings of the British Academy 148*. Oxford: 199–232.
- Sartre, M. 2008. "The nature of Syrian hellenism in the late Roman and early Byzantine periods", in Y.Z. Eliav, E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (eds.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*. Leuven and Dudley, MA: 25–49.
- Sartre, M. 2014. *L'historien et ses territoires. Choix d'articles*, ed. P. Brun. *Scripta Antiqua* 70. Paris.
- Sartre, M. 2015. "Rome et les arabes nomades: le dossier épigraphique de *Eitha*", in D. Genequand and C.J. Robin (eds.), *Les Jafnides. Des rois arabes au service de Byzance (VI<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'ère chrétienne)*. Paris: 37–51.
- Sartre, M. 2018. "Retour vers la Coelé-Syrie", *Syria* 95: 447–460.
- Sartre, M. and A. Sartre-Fauriat 2008. *Palmyre. La cité des caravans*. Paris.
- Sartre-Fauriat, A. 2001. *Des Tombeaux et des morts. Monuments funéraires, société et culture en Syrie du sud du I<sup>er</sup> s. av J.-C. au VII<sup>e</sup> S. apr. J.-C.* Beirut.
- Sartre-Fauriat, A. 2004. *Les voyages dans le Hawrān (Syrie du Sud) de William John Bankes (1816 et 1818)*, BAH 169. Bordeaux and Beirut.
- Sartre-Fauriat, A. and M. Sartre 2014. *Zénobie. De Palmyre à Rome*. Paris.
- Sass, B. 1991. *Studia Alphabetica. On the Origin and Early History of the Northwest Semitic, South Semitic, and Greek Alphabets*. *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 102. Freiburg.
- Sauer, E.W., T.J. Wilkinson, H.O. Rekanvandi and J. Nokandeh 2013. *Persia's Imperial Power in late Antiquity. The Great Wall of Gorgan and the Frontier Landscape of Sasanian Iran*. Oxford.
- Sauvaget, J. 1934; 1936. "Le plan de Laodicée-sur-Mer", *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 4: 81–116; *Bulletin d'Études Orientales* 6: 51–52.
- Savalli-Lestrade, I. 1998. *Les 'philoï' royaux dans l'Asie hellénistique*. Geneva.
- Savalli-Lestrade, I. 2015. "Les adieux à la basilissa. Mise en scène et mise en intrigue de la mort des femmes royales dans le monde hellénistique", *Chiron* 45: 187–219.
- Savignac, R. and J. Starcky 1957. "Une inscription nabatéenne provenant du Djôf", *Revue Biblique* 64: 196–217.
- Sawaya, Z. 2009. *Histoire de Bérytos et d'Héliopolis d'après leurs monnaies, I<sup>er</sup> siècle av. J.-C. – III<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C.* Beirut.
- Sawaya, Z. 2016. *Les monnaies de JEM 002, JEM 003 et JEM 004 à Jemmayzeh – Beyrouth*. Beirut.
- Sayar, M.H. 2011. "Kilikien unter den Diadochen. Epigraphische Zeugnisse aus der hellenistischen Zeit Kilikiens und ihre Bedeutung für die Altertumswissenschaftliche Erforschung des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes", in A. Hoffmann, R. Posamentir and M.H. Sayar (eds.), *Hellenismus in der Kilikia Pedias*. BYZAS 12. Istanbul: 217–245.
- Sayce, A.H. 1919. "Two notes on Hellenic Asia", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 39: 202–205.
- Schäfer, P. 1981. *Der Bar Kokhba-Aufstand: Studien zum zweiten jüdischen Krieg gegen Rom*. Tübingen.
- Schäfer, P. (ed.). 2003. *The Bar Kokhba War Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Second Jewish Revolt against Rome*. Tübingen.
- Schalit, A. 1969. *König Herodes: der Mann und sein Werk*. Berlin.
- Scheer, T.S. 2003. "The Past in a Hellenistic present: myth and local traditions", in A. Erskine (ed.) *A Companion to the Hellenistic World*. Oxford: 216–231.
- Scheid, J. 1990. *Le collège des frères arvaies. Étude prosographique du recrutement (69–304)*. Rome.
- Scheidel, W., I. Morris and R.P. Saller 2007. *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*. Cambridge.
- Schiffman, L.H. 1994. *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran*. Philadelphia, PA.
- Schiffman, L.H. 1995. *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls. Their True Meaning for Judaism and Christianity*. New York.
- Schironi, F. 2013. "The early reception of Berossos", in J. Haubold e.a. (eds.) *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 235–254.
- Schlumberger, D. 1951. *La Palmyrène du nord-ouest. Villages et lieux de culte de l'époque impériale. Recherches archéologiques sur la mise en valeur d'une région du désert par les Palmyréniens, suivi du recueil des inscriptions sémitiques de cette région par H. Ingholt et J. Starcky, avec une contribution de G. Ryckmans*. Paris.

- Schlumberger, D. 1969. *Der hellenisierte Orient. Die griechische und nachgriechische Kunst ausserhalb des Mittelmeerraumes*. Baden-Baden.
- Schmid, S.G. 2001. "The Nabataeans: travelers between lifestyles", in B. MacDonald, R. Adams and P. Bienkowski (eds.), *The Archaeology of Jordan*. Sheffield: 367–426.
- Schmid, S.G. 2007. "Nabataean [fineware] pottery", in K.D. Politis (ed.), *The World of the Nabataeans*. Stuttgart: 309–326.
- Schmid, S.G., P. Bienkowski, Z.T. Fiema and B. Kolb 2012. "The palaces of the Nabataean kings at Petra", in L. Nehmé and L. Wadeson (eds.), *The Nabataeans in Focus: Current Archaeological Research at Petra, Supplement to the Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 42. Oxford: 73–98.
- Schmidt, J. 1963. *Die agglutinierende Bauweise im Zweitstromland und in Syrien*. PhD TU Berlin.
- Schmidt-Colinet, A. 1985. "Skulpturen aus dem Nymphaum von Apamea/Syria", *Archäologischer Anzeiger*: 119–133.
- Schmidt-Colinet, A. e.a. 1992. *Das Tempelgrab Nr. 36 in Palmyra. Studien zur palmyrenisch Grabarchitektur und ihrer Ausstattung, Damaszener Forschungen* 4. Mainz.
- Schmidt-Colinet, A. 1997. "Aspects of 'Romanization': the tomb architecture at Palmyra and its decoration", in S.E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*. Oxford: 157–177.
- Schmidt-Colinet, A. 2004. "Palmyrenische Grabkunst als Ausdruck lokaler Identität(en)", in id. (ed.) *Lokale Identitäten in Randgebieten des Römischen Reiches*. Vienna: 189–198.
- Schmidt-Colinet, A. (ed.). 2005. *Palmyra Kulturbegegnung im Grenzbereich*, 3rd ed., *Antike Welt* Sondernummer. Mainz.
- Schmidt-Colinet, A. 2019. "No temple in Palmyra! Opposing the reconstruction of the temple of Bel", *Syria Studies* 11.2: 63–84. <https://ojs.st-andrews.ac.uk/index.php/syria/issue/view/194>
- Schmidt-Colinet, A. and W. al-As'ad (eds.) 2013. *Palmyras Reichtum durch weltweiten Handel. Archäologische Untersuchungen im Bereich der hellenistischen Stadt I–II*. Vienna.
- Schmidt-Colinet, A. and A. Stauffer 2000. *Die Textilien aus Palmyra, Damaszener Forschungen* 8. Mainz.
- Schmitt, G. 1995. *Siedlungen Palästinas in griechisch-römischer Zeit: Ostjordanland, Negeb und (in Auswahl) Westjordanland, Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients*, Reihe B, Nr.93. Wiesbaden.
- Schmitt, R. 2017. "Isidors *Stathmoi Parthikoi* aus Sicht der Iranischen Toponomastik", in J. Wiesehöfer and S. Müller (eds.), *Parthika. Greek and Roman Authors' Views of the Arsacid Empire*. Wiesbaden: 189–220.
- Schnädelbach, K. 2010. *Topographia palmyrena I: Topography. Documents d'archéologie syrienne* 18. Damascus.
- Schneider, H. 2007. "Technology", in W. Scheidel, I. Morris and R. Saller (eds.), *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*. Cambridge: 144–171.
- Schoff, W.H. 1914 (repr. 1989). *Parthian Stations by Isidore of Charax. An Account of the Overland Trade Route between the Levant and India in the First Century BC. The Greek Text with Translation and Commentary*. Chicago, IL.
- Schoff, W.H. 1927. *Marcian of Heraclea. Periplus of the Outer Sea*. Philadelphia, PA.
- Schörle, K. 2017. "Palmyrene merchant networks and economic integration in competitive markets", in H.F. Teigen and E.H. Seland (eds.), *Sinews of Empire. Networks in the Roman Near East and beyond*. Oxford: 147–154.
- Schreiber, T. 2019. "Doliche, Türkei. Siegelabdrücke aus dem Archiv von Doliche. Die Arbeiten des Jahres 2018", *e-Forschungsberichte des DAI* 1 (online publication): 229–237.
- Schreiber, T. forthcoming. "Searching for the archive of Doliche: a preliminary report on the work on the archive inventory", in B. van Oppen and R. Wallenfels (eds.), *Hellenistic Sealings and Archives*, Proceedings of the International conference 23–24 June 2018.
- Schremer, A. 2007. "'Midrash and history: God's power, the Roman Empire, and hope for redemption in Tannaitic literature' [in Hebrew]", *Zion* 72: 5–36.
- Schremer, A. 2010. *Brothers Estranged: Heresy, Christianity, and Jewish Identity in Late Antiquity*. Oxford.
- Schuol, M. 2000. *Die Charakene. Ein mesopotamisches Königreich in hellenistisch-parthischer Zeit, Oriens et Occidens* 1. Stuttgart.
- Schuol, M. 2010. "Die Rechtsschule von Berytus. Römische Jurisprudenz im Vorderen Orient", in R. Rollinger, B. Gufler, F. Lang and I. Madreiter (eds.), *Interkulturalität in der Alten Welt. Vorderasien, Hellas, Ägypten und die vielfältigen Ebenen des Kontakts*. Wiesbaden: 161–184.
- Schuol, M. 2017. "Isidor von Charax und die literarische Gattung der *stathmoi*", in J. Wiesehöfer and S. Müller (eds.), *Parthika. Greek and Roman Authors' Views of the Arsacid Empire*. Wiesbaden: 71–85.

- Schürer, E. 1973–87. *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ I–III*, eds. G. Vermes, F. Millar and M. Goodman. Edinburgh.
- Schwabe, M. and B. Lifshitz 1974. *Beth She'arim. Report on the Excavations during 1936–1940 II: The Greek Inscriptions*. New Brunswick, NJ.
- Schwartz, D.L. 2016. “Discourses of religious violence and Christian charity: the Christianization of Syria in Jacob of Sarug’s *On the Fall of the Idols*”, in J. Kreiner and H. Reimitz (eds.), *Motions of Late Antiquity: Essays on Religion, Politics, and Society in Honor of Peter Brown*. Turnhout: 129–149.
- Schwartz, D.R. 1983–1984. “Josephus on Jewish constitutions and community”, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 7: 30–52.
- Schwartz, D.R. 1990. *Agrippa I: The Last King of Judaea*. Tübingen.
- Schwartz, D.R. 1998. “Josephus’ Tobiads: back to the second century?” in M. Goodman (ed.) *Jews in a Graeco-Roman World*. Oxford: 47–61.
- Schwartz, D.R. 2002. “Once again on Tobiad chronology: should we let a stated anomaly be anomalous? – A response to Gideon Fuks”, *Journal of Jewish Society* 53: 146–151.
- Schwartz, D.R. 2007. *Flavius Josephus, Vita: Introduction, Hebrew Translation, and Commentary [Hebrew]*. Jerusalem.
- Schwartz, D.R. 2008. *2 Maccabees*. Berlin.
- Schwartz, J.J. 1991a. *Lod (Lydda), Israel: From its Origins through the Byzantine Period, 5600 BCE – 640 CE*. Oxford.
- Schwartz, S. 1991b. “Israel and the nations roundabout: I Maccabees and the Hasmonean Expansion”, *Journal of Jewish Studies* 41: 16–38.
- Schwartz, S. 2005. “Hebrew and imperialism in Jewish Palestine”, in C. Bakhos (ed.), *Ancient Judaism in its Hellenistic Context, SJ Suppl.* 95. Leiden: 53–84.
- Schwartz, S. 2009. “Euergetism in Josephus and the epigraphic culture of first-century Jerusalem”, in H. Cotton e.a. (eds.), *From Hellenism to Islam. Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East*. Cambridge: 75–92.
- Schwartz, S. 2010. *Were the Jews a Mediterranean Society? Reciprocity and Solidarity in Ancient Judaism*. Princeton, NJ.
- Schwartz, S. 2014. *The Ancient Jews from Alexander to Muhammad*. Cambridge.
- Schwemer, D. 2001. *Die Wettergottgestalten Mesopotamiens und Nordsyriens im Zeitalter der Keilschriftkulturen. Materialien und Studien nach den schriftlichen Quellen*. Wiesbaden.
- Schwemer, D. 2007. “The storm-gods of the ancient Near East: summary, synthesis, recent studies. Part 1”, *Journal of Near Eastern Religion* 7.2: 121–168.
- Schwemer, D. 2008. “The storm-gods of the ancient Near East: summary, synthesis, recent studies. Part 2”, *Journal of Near Eastern Religion* 8.1: 1–44.
- Schwentzel, C.-G. 2005. “Les thèmes du monnayage royal nabatéen et le modèle monarchique hellénistique”, *Syria* 82: 149–160.
- Schwentzel, C.-G. 2007. “La présence des Nabatéens en Italie (I<sup>er</sup> siècle av-II<sup>e</sup> siècle ap. J.-C.)”, in R. Compantangelo-Soussignan and C.-G. Schwentzel (eds.), *Étrangers dans la cité romaine*. Rennes: 145–153.
- Schwentzel, C.-G. 2010. “Reines commagénienes: la place des *basilissai* dans les *hierothesia* et Iotapè Philadelphie”, *Res Antiquae* 7: 429–440.
- Schwentzel, C.-G. 2013. *Juifs et Nabatéens. Les monarchies ethniques du Proche-Orient hellénistique et romain*. Rennes.
- Schwertheim, E. and E. Winter. (eds.). 2003. *Stadt und Stadtentwicklung in Kleinasien, Asia Minor Studien* 50. Bonn.
- Scot, I. 2013. “Arms, armor, and other military objects”, in W. Aylward (ed.), *Excavations at Zeugma. Conducted by Oxford Archaeology*. Los Altos, CA: 353–374.
- Seck, O. 1876. *Notitia Dignitatum accedunt Notitia Urbis Constantinopolitanae et Laterculi Prouinciarum*. Berlin.
- Segal, A. 1997. *From Function to Monument. Urban Landscapes of Roman Palestine, Syria, and Provincia Arabia*. Oxford.
- Segal, A. 2001. “The *Kalybe* structures: temples for the imperial cult in Hauran and Trachon: an historical-architectural analysis”, *Assaph* 6: 91–118.

- Segal, A. 2013a. *Temples and Sanctuaries in the Roman East: Religious Architecture in Syria, Iudaea/Palaestina and Provincia Arabia*. Oxford.
- Segal, A. c.a. 2013b. *Hippus-Sussita of the Decapolis. The First Twelve Seasons of Excavations 2000–2011. Volume I*. Haifa.
- Segal, J.B. 1970. *Edessa. "The Blessed City"*. Oxford.
- Segal, M. 2007. *The Book of Jubilees: Rewritten Bible, Redaction, Ideology and Theology*. Leiden.
- Seigne, J. 1997. "De la grotte au périptère: le sanctuaire de Zeus Olympios à Jérash", *Topoi* 7: 993–1004.
- Seigne, J. 2000. "Review of M.S. Joukowsky, *Petra Great Temple I*", *Topoi* 10: 507–516.
- Sekunda, N.V. 1985. "Achaemenid colonization in Lydia", *Revue des Études Anciennes* 87: 7–30.
- Seland, E.H. 2011. "The Persian Gulf or the Red Sea? Two axes in ancient Indian Ocean trade, where to go and why", *World Archaeology* 43/3: 398–409.
- Seland, E. H. 2014. "The organization of the Palmyrene caravan trade", *AWE* 13: 197–211.
- Seland, E.H. 2015. "Camel, camel nomadism and the practicalities of Palmyrene caravan trade", *ARAM* 27: 45–54.
- Seland, E.H. 2016. *Ships of the Desert and Ships of the Sea: Palmyra in the World Trade of the First Three Centuries CE*. *Philippika* 101. Wiesbaden.
- Seland, E.H. 2020. "The rise of the merchant princes? Scale, status and wealth in Palmyrene trade", in M. Sommer (ed.), *Inter duo Imperia. Palmyra between East and West*. Stuttgart: 85–94.
- Selb, W. and H. Kaufhold 2002. *Das syrisch-römische Rechtsbuch, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil.-hist. Klasse, Denkschrift* 295. Vienna.
- Serdaroglu, Ü. 1977. *Aşağı Firat havzasında araştırmalar, 1975 (= Surveys in the Lower Euphrates Basin), Lower Euphrates Project Publications Series I.1*. Ankara.
- Seyrig, H. 1934–2013. *Antiquités syriennes I–VII*. Paris.
- Seyrig, H. 1939a. "Le cimetière des marins à Séleucie de Piérie", in *Mélanges syriens offerts à Monsieur René Dussaud*. Paris: 451–459.
- Seyrig, H. 1939b. "Review of D.M. Krencker and W. Zschietzschmann, *Römische Tempel in Syrien* (1938)", *Gnomon* 15: 438–443.
- Seyrig, H. 1950. "Sur les ères de quelques villes de Syrie", *Syria* 27: 296–301.
- Seyrig, H. 1952. "Le phare de Laodicée", *Syria* 29: 54–59.
- Seyrig, H. 1959. "Caractères de l'histoire d'Émèse", *Syria* 36: 184–192.
- Seyrig, H. 1970. "Les dieux armés et les Arabes en Syrie", *Syria* 47: 77–112.
- Seyrig, H. 1973. *Trésors du Levant anciens et nouveaux*. Paris.
- Seyrig, H., R. Amy and E. Will 1968–75. *Le temple de Bél à Palmyre. Album; Texte et Planches*, BAH 83. Paris.
- Shahar, Y. 2004. *Josephus Geographicus: The Classical Context of Geography in Josephus*. Tübingen.
- Shatzman, I. 1983. "The beginning of the Roman defensive system in Judaea", *American Journal of Ancient History* 8: 130–160.
- Shayegan, M.R. 2009. "Persianism: or Achaemenid reminiscences in the Iranian and Iranic world(s) of Antiquity", in R. Strootman and M.J. Versluys (eds.), *Persianism in Antiquity, Oriens et Occidens* 25: 401–557.
- Shayegan, M.R. 2011. *Arsacids and Sasanians. Political Ideology in Post-Hellenistic and Late Antique Persia*. Cambridge.
- Shershevski, J. 1991. *Byzantine Urban Settlements in the Negev Desert*. Beer-Sheva.
- Sherwin-White, A.N. 1984. *Roman Foreign Policy in the East*. London.
- Shifman, I.S. 2014. "The Palmyrene Tax Tariff", *Journal of Semitic Studies* Suppl. 33. Oxford.
- Shipley, G. 2011. *Pseudo-Skylax's Periplus. The Circumnavigation of the Inhabited World. Text, Translation and Commentary*. Exeter.
- Shipley, G. 2012. "Pseudo-Skylax and the Natural Philosophers", *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 132: 7–24.
- Sidebotham, S.E. 2011. *Berenike and the Ancient Maritime Spice Route*. Berkeley- Los Angeles, CA.
- Siebert, F., H. Schreckenberg and M. Vogel 2001. *Flavius Josephus Aus meinem Leben (Vita): Kritische Ausgabe, Übersetzung und Kommentar*. Tübingen.
- Sievers, J. and J. Lembi. (eds.). 2005. *Josephus and Jewish History in Flavian Rome and Beyond*. Leiden.
- Sima, A. 1999. *Die libyanischen Inschriften von al-'Uḡayb (Saudi-Arabien)*. Rahden, Westf.
- Sima, A. 2002. "Die hasaitischen Inschriften", in Norbert Nebes (ed.) *Neue Beiträge zur Semitistik. Erstes Arbeitstreffen der Arbeitsgemeinschaft Semitistik in der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft vom 11. bis 13. September 2000 an der Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena*. Wiesbaden: 167–200.



- Skupinska-Lovset, I. 1983. *Funerary Portraiture of Roman Palestine. An Analysis of its Production in its Culture-Historical Context*, *Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology* 21. Gothenborg.
- Skupinska-Lovset, I. 1999. *Portraiture in Roman Syria. A Study in Social and Regional Differentiation within the Art of Portraiture*. Lodz.
- Smallwood, E.M. 1976. *The Jews under Roman Rule: From Pompey to Diocletian*. Leiden.
- Smith, A.M. II 2013. *Roman Palmyra. Identity, Community, and State Formation*. Oxford.
- Smith, C.D. 1991. "Geography or Christianity? Maps of the Holy Land before AD 1000", *Journal of Theological Studies* 42: 143–152.
- Smith, K. 2016. *Constantine and the Captive Christians of Persia. Martyrdom and Religious Identity in Late Antiquity. Transformation of the Classical Heritage*. Oakland, CA.
- Smith, M. 1999. "The troublemakers", in W. Horbury e.a. (eds.), *The Cambridge History of Judaism III: The Early Roman Period*. Cambridge: 501–568.
- Sodini, J.-P. 1990. "Villes et campagnes en Syrie du Nord: échanges et diffusion des produits d'après les témoignages archéologiques", in E. Aerts, J. Andreau and P. Ørsted (eds.), *Models of Regional Economies in Antiquity and the Middle Ages to the 11<sup>th</sup> Century*. Leuven: 72–83.
- Soler, E. 2006. *Le sacré et le salut à Antioche au IV<sup>e</sup> siècle apr. J.-C. Pratiques festives et comportements religieux dans le processus de christianisation de la cité*. Beirut.
- Sommer, M. 2003. *Hatra. Geschichte und Kultur einer Karawanenstadt im römisch-parthischen Mesopotamien. Antike Welt, Sonderband*. Mainz.
- Sommer, M. 2005a. *Roms orientalische Steppengrenze: Palmyra – Edessa – Dura-Europos – Hatra. Eine Kulturgeschichte von Pompeius bis Diocletian, Oriens et Occidens* 9. Stuttgart.
- Sommer, M. 2005b. "The archaeology and history of Roman Syria", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 18: 726–728.
- Sommer, M. 2005c. *Die Phönizier. Handelsherren zwischen Orient und Okzident*. Stuttgart.
- Sommer, M. 2007. "Networks of commerce and knowledge in the Iron Age. The case of the Phoenicians", *Mediterranean Historical Review* 22: 97–112.
- Sommer, M. 2009. "Shaping Mediterranean economy and trade. Phoenician cultural identities in the Iron Age", in S. Hales and T. Hodos (eds.), *Material Culture and Social Identities in the Ancient World*. Cambridge: 114–137.
- Sommer, M. 2015. "The Phoenicians in the Mediterranean. Diasporic identities and commercial networks", in R. Faber and A. Lichtenberger (eds.), *Ein pluriverses Universum. Zivilisationen und Religionen im antiken Mittelmeerraum*. Paderborn: 191–207.
- Sommer, M. 2016. *Syrien, Geschichte einer zerstörten Welt*. Stuttgart.
- Sommer, M. 2018. *Roms orientalische Steppengrenze: Palmyra – Edessa – Dura-Europos – Hatra. Eine Kulturgeschichte von Pompeius bis Diocletian*, 2nd ed. Stuttgart.
- Sommer, M. 2020. "Gateway Tadmur. The beginnings of Palmyra's long-distance trade", in id. (ed.), *Inter duo Imperia. Palmyra between East and West*. Stuttgart: 37–46.
- Sørensen, A.H. 2016. "Palmyrene tomb paintings in context", in A. Kropp and R. Raja (eds.), *The World of Palmyra*. Copenhagen: 103–117.
- Southern, P. 2008. *Empress Zenobia. Palmyra's Rebel Queen*. London.
- Spanu, M. 1996. "L'opus reticulatum e mixtum nelle province asiatiche", in M. Khanoussi, P. Ruggeri and C. Vismara (eds.), *Atti dell'XI Convegno di Studio sull'Africa Romana*. Sassari: 923–939.
- Speidel, M.A. 1998. "Legio III Scythica, its movements and men", in D. Kennedy (ed.), *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates. Rescue Work and Historical Studies*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology Suppl.* 27. Portsmouth, RI: 163–204.
- Speidel, M.A. 2005. "Early Roman rule in Commagene", *Scripta Classica Israelica* 24: 85–100.
- Speidel, M.A. 2009. *Heer und Herrschaft im Römischen Reich der Hohen Kaiserzeit*, *MAVORS* 16. Stuttgart.
- Speidel, M.A. 2012. "Making use of history beyond the Euphrates: political views, cultural traditions, and historical contexts in the Letter of Mara bar Sarapion", in A. Merz and T.L. Tieleman (eds.), *The Letter of Mara bar Sarapion in Context*. Leiden: 11–41.
- Speidel, M.A. 2015. "Almaqah in Rom? Zu den Beziehungen zwischen dem kaiserzeitlichen *Imperium Romanum* und Südarbien im Spiegel der Dokumentarischen Überlieferung", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 194: 241–258.
- Speidel, M.P. 1975. "The rise of ethnic units in the Roman imperial army", *ANRW* II 3: 202–31.
- Speidel, M.P. 1978. *The Religion of Iuppiter Dolichenus in the Roman Army*. Leiden.

- Speidel, M.P. 1984a. "The Roman army in Arabia", in id. (ed.) *Roman Army Studies I*. Amsterdam: 229–272.
- Speidel, M.P. 1984b. "'Europeans' – Syrian elite troops at Dura-Europos and Hatra", in id. (ed.) *Roman Army Studies I*. Amsterdam: 301–309.
- Speidel, M.P. 1987. "The Roman road to Dumata (Jawf in Saudi Arabia) and the frontier strategy of *praetensione colligare*", *Historia* 36: 213–221.
- Spijkerman, A. 1978. *The Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia*, ed. M. Piccirillo. Jerusalem.
- Stangl, G. 2011. "Der Holzverbrauch in der Antike als Teil des ökologischen Fußabdrucks", in P. Scherrer (ed.), *Lignum. Holz in der Antike*. Graz: 73–86.
- Starcky, J. 1954. "Un contrat nabatéen sur papyrus", *Revue Biblique* 61: 161–181.
- Starcky, J. 1966. "Pétra et la Nabatène", *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible* 7: 886–1017.
- Starcky, J. and M. Gawlikowski 1985. *Palmyre*. Paris.
- Stauffer, A. 1995. "Kleider, Kissen, bunte Tücher. Einheimische Textilproduktion und weltweiter Handel", in A. Schmidt-Colinet (ed.) *Palmyra. Kulturbegegnungen im Grenzbereich*. Mainz.
- Stavrianopoulou, E. 2013. "Hellenistic world(s) and the elusive concept of Greekness", in ead. (ed.) *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narratives, Practices, Images, Mnemosyne* Suppl.363. Leiden: 177–205.
- Steele, J.M. 2013. "The 'astronomical fragments' of Berossos in context", in J. Haubold e.a. (eds.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 107–122.
- Stein, A. 1990. *Studies in Greek and Latin Inscriptions on the Palestinian Coinage under the Principate*. PhD Tel Aviv.
- Stein, G.J. and A. Misir 1995. "Excavations at Hacinebi Tepe 1993", *Kazi Sonuçları Toplantısı* 16: 121–140.
- Stein, G.J., K. Boden, C. Eden, J. Pearce Eden and P. MacMahon 1997. "Excavations at Hacinebi, Turkey-1996: preliminary report", *Anatolica* 23: 111–161.
- Stein, M.A. 1936. "'The Roman Limes in Syria' (review of Poidebard 1934)", *Geographical Journal* 87: 66–76.
- Stein, M.A. 1938. "Note on the remains of the Roman Limes in North Western Iraq", *Geographical Journal* 92: 62–66.
- Stein, M.A. 1940. "Surveys on the Roman frontier in Iraq and Transjordan", *Geographical Journal* 95: 428–438.
- Stein, M.A. 1941. "The ancient trade route past Hatra and the Roman posts", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 9: 299–316.
- Stein, P. 2017. "South Arabian Zabūr script in the Gulf: some recent discoveries from Mleiha (Sharjah, UAE)", *Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy* 28: 110–124.
- Steinsapir, A.I. 2005. *Rural Sanctuaries in Roman Syria. The Creation of a Sacred Landscape*. Oxford.
- Stemberger, G. 2010. "Halakhic Midrashim as historical sources", in M. Goodman and P. Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late-Roman Palestine, Proceedings of the British Academy* 165. Oxford: 129–142.
- Stemberger, G. 2011. *Einleitung in Talmud und Midrasch* (9. Auflage). Munich.
- Stephens, F.J. 1937. "A cuneiform tablet from Dura-Europos", *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 34: 183–189.
- Stephens, W. 2004. "When Pope Noah ruled the Etruscans: annius of Viterbo and his forged *Antiquities*", *Modern Language Notes* Suppl. 119.1: S201–S223.
- Stephens, W. 2013. "From Berossos to Berosus Chaldaeus", in J. Haubold e.a. (eds.), *The World of Berossos*. Wiesbaden: 277–289.
- Stern, E. 1968. "The dating of stratum II at Tell Abu Hawam", *Israel Exploration Journal* 18: 213–219.
- Stern, E. 1994a. *Dor: Ruler of the Seas*. Jerusalem.
- Stern, H. 1977. *Les mosaïques des Maisons d'Achille et de Cassiopée à Palmyre*. Paris.
- Stern, K.B. 2010a. "Mapping devotion in Roman Dura-Europos: a reconsideration of the Synagogue ceiling", *American Journal of Archaeology* 114: 473–504.
- Stern, K.B. 2013. "Graffiti as gift: mortuary and devotional graffiti in the Late Ancient Levant", in M. Satlow (ed.), *Gift in Antiquity*. Somerset: 137–156.
- Stern, M. and O. Murray 1973. "Hecataeus of Abdera and Theophrastus on Jews and Egyptians", *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59: 159–168.
- Stern, S. 1994b. *Jewish Identity in Early Rabbinic Writings*. Leiden.

- Stern, S. 2010b. "The Talmud Yerushalmi", in M. Goodman and P. Alexander (eds.), *Rabbinic Texts and the History of Late-Roman Palestine, Proceedings of the British Academy* 165. Oxford: 143–164.
- Stevens, K. 2016. "From Herodotus to a 'Hellenistic world? The Eastern geographies of Aristotle and Theophrastus", in E. Barker, S. Bouzarovski, C. Pelling and L. Isaksen (eds.) *New Worlds from Old Texts: Revisiting Ancient Space and Place*. Oxford: 121–152.
- Stevens, K. 2019. *Between Greece and Babylonia: Hellenistic Intellectual History in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. Cambridge.
- Stewart, A. 1987. "Diodorus, Curtius, and Arrian on Alexander's mole at Tyre", *Berytus* 35: 96–99.
- Stewart, A. and S.R. Martin 2003. "Hellenistic discoveries at Tel Dor, Israel", *Hesperia* 72: 121–145.
- Stewart, P. 2008. "Baetyl as statues? Cult images in the Roman Near East", in Y.Z. Eliav, E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (eds.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology, and Power*. Leuven and Dudley, MA: 297–314.
- Stillwell, R. (ed.) 1941. *Antioch on the Orontes III. The Excavations, 1937–1939*. Princeton, NJ.
- Stoll, O. 2001. *Zwischen Integration und Abgrenzung. Die Religion des Römischen Heeres im Nahen Osten. Studien zum Verhältnis von Militär und Zivilbevölkerung im kaiserzeitlichen Syrien und den Nachbarprovinzen, Mainzer Althistorische Studien* 3. St. Katharinen.
- Stoll, O. 2002. "'Entlassungsweihungen' aus Bostra und die *honesta missio*. Epigraphische Reflexe eines römischen Herreszeremoniells", *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz* 49.2002: 235–280.
- Stoll, O. 2007a. "The religions of the armies", in P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army. Blackwells Companions to the Ancient World*. Oxford: 451–476.
- Stoll, O. 2007b. "Nulla erunt bella, nulla captivitas? Aspekte der Kriegsgefangenschaft und Gefangene als Mediatoren römischer Technologie im Sasanidenreich", in S. Günther, K. Ruffing and O. Stoll (eds.), *Pragmata. Beiträge zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Antike im Gedenken an Harald Winkel*. Wiesbaden: 117–149.
- Stoll, O. 2009a. "Kentaur und Tyche – Symbole städtischer Identität? Resaina, Singara und ihre Legionsgarnisonen im Spiegel städtischer Münzprägungen", in M. Blömer, M. Facella and E. Winter (eds.), *Lokale Identität im Römischen Nahen Osten. Kontexte und Perspektiven. Oriens et Occidens* 18. Stuttgart: 249–340.
- Stoll, O. 2009b. "Integration und doppelte Identität", in R. Gundlach and C. Vogel (eds.), *Militärsgeschichte des pharaonischen Ägypten. Altägypten und seine Nachbarkulturen im Spiegel der aktuellen Forschung. Krieg in der Geschichte* 34. Paderborn: 419–458.
- Stoll, O. 2015. *Ehrenwerte Männer. Veteranen im römischen Nahen Osten der Kaiserzeit*. Berlin.
- Stoll, O. 2019. *Vestigia Cladis – Roms Umgang mit militärischem Misserfolg. Niederlagen verdrängen, Siege betonen, Resilienz beweisen*. Berlin.
- Stone, M.E. 1990. *Fourth Ezra: A Commentary on the Fourth Book of Ezra*. Minneapolis, MN.
- Stone, M.E. 2011. *Ancient Judaism. New Visions and Views*. Grand Rapids, MI.
- Strack, H.L. and G. Stemberger 1992. *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*. Minneapolis, MN.
- Strootman, R. 2007. *The Hellenistic Royal Court. Court Culture, Ceremonial and Ideology in Greece, Egypt and the Near East, 336–30 BCE*. PhD Utrecht.
- Strootman, R. 2011. "Hellenistic court society: the Seleukid imperial court under Antiochos the Great, 223–187 BCE", in J. Duindam, M. Kunt and T. Artan (eds.), *Royal Courts in Dynastic States and Empires: A Global Perspective, Rulers and Elites* 1. Leiden: 63–89.
- Strootman, R. and M.J. Versluys. (eds.). 2017. *Persianism in Antiquity, Oriens et Occidens* 25. Stuttgart.
- Strothenke, E. 2016. *Einfache Gebrauchswaren und Kochtopfwaren vom Dülük Baba Tepesi von der römischen bis in die islamische Zeit, Asia Minor Studien* 80. Bonn.
- Stuckenbruck, L.T. and D.M. Gurtner. (eds.). 2019. *The T and T Clark Encyclopedia of Second Temple Judaism* I–II. London.
- Stucky, R.A. 1993. *Die Skulpturen aus dem Eschmun-Heiligtum bei Sidon. Griechische, römische, kyprische, und phönizische Statuen und Reliefs vom 6. Jahrhunderts vor Chr. bis zum 3. Jahrhunderts nach Chr.* Basel.
- Stucky, R.A. 2005. *Das Eschmun-Heiligtum von Sidon. Architektur und Inschriften*. Basel.
- Skehan, P.W. and A.A. di Lella 1987. *The Wisdom of Ben Sira, Anchor Bible* 39. New York.
- Sullivan, R. 1977a. "The dynasty of Commagene", *ANRW* II 8: 732–798.
- Sullivan, R. 1977b. "Papyri reflecting the Eastern dynastic network", *ANRW* II 8: 908–938.
- Sullivan, R.D. 1990. *Near Eastern Royalty and Rome*. Toronto.

- Suter, D.W. 1979. "Fallen angel, fallen priest: the problem of family purity in 1 Enoch 6–16", *HUCA* 50: 115–135.
- Swain, S. 2007. "The three faces of Lucian", in C. Ligota and L. Panizza (eds.), *Lucian of Samosata Vivus et Redivivus*. London: 17–44.
- Swoboda, S. 2014. *Tod und Sterben im Krieg bei Josephus. Die Intentionen von Bellum und Antiquitates im Kontext griechisch-römischer Historiographie*. Tübingen.
- Syon, D. 2015. *Small Change in Hellenistic-Roman Galilee. The Evidence from Numismatic Site Finds as a Tool for Historical Reconstruction*. Jerusalem.
- Tadmor, H. 1987. "The Aramaization of Assyria: aspects of western impact", in H.-J. Nissen and J. Renger (eds.) *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehungen im alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, *Berliner Beiträge zum vorderen Orient* 1, 2nd ed. Berlin: 449–470.
- Tal, O. and Z. Weiss (eds.). 2019. *Expressions of Cult in the Southern Levant in the Greco-Roman Period Manifestations in Text and Material Culture. Contextualizing the Sacred* 6. Turnhout.
- Talbert, R.J.A. (ed.). 2000. *The Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*. Princeton, NJ.
- Talbert, R.J.A. 2010. *Rome's World. The Peutinger Map Reconsidered*. Cambridge.
- Talgam, R. and Z. Weiss 2004. *The Mosaics of the House of Dionysos at Sepphoris, Qedem 44*. Jerusalem.
- Talgam, R. 2014. *Mosaics of Faith. Floors of Pagans, Jews, Samaritans, Christians, and Muslims in the Holy Land*. Jerusalem- State College, PA.
- Tanabe, K. 1986. *Sculptures of Palmyra I*. Tokyo.
- Tardieu, M. 1990. *Les paysages reliques: routes et haltes syriennes d'Isidore à Simplicius*. Louvain- Paris.
- Tate, G. 1992. *Les campagnes de la Syrie du Nord du IIe au VIIe siècle. Un exemple d'expansion démographique et économique à la fin de l'Antiquité I*. Paris.
- Tate, G. 1994. "A propos des cadastres romains du Nord de la Syrie", in P.N. Doukellis and L.G. Mendoni (eds.), *Structures rurales et sociétés antiques*. Besançon: 443–451.
- Tate, S. 1997. "The Syrian countryside during the Roman era", in S.E. Alcock (ed.), *The Early Roman Empire in the East*. Oxford: 55–71.
- Taylor, D. 2002. "Bilingualism and diglossia in late antique Syria and Mesopotamia", in J.N. Adams, M. Janse and S. Swain (eds.), *Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text*. Oxford: 298–331.
- Taylor, J. 1992. *High Above Jordan*. Amman.
- Taylor, J. 2005. *Jordan: Images from the Air*. Amman.
- Tchalenko, G. 1953–58. *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord. Le massif du Belus à l'époque romaine*. Paris.
- Tcherikover, V. 1927. *Die Hellenistischen Städtegründungen von Alexander dem Grossen bis auf die Römerzeit*. Leipzig.
- Tcherikover, V. 1937. "Palestine under the Ptolemies (a contribution to the study of the Zenon Papyri)", *Mizraim* 4–5: 7–90.
- Tcherikover, V. 1959. *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*. Philadelphia, PA.
- Tcherikover, V. and A. Fuks 1957–64. *Corpus Papyrorum Iudaicarum I–III*. Cambridge.
- Tchernia, A. 1995. "Moussons et monnaies: les voies du commerce entre le monde gréco-romain et l'Inde", *Annales ESC* 50: 991–1009.
- Tchernia, A. 2011. *Les Romains et le commerce*. Naples.
- Teixidor, J. 1963. "Deux inscriptions palmyréniennes du Musée de Bagdad", *Syria* 40: 33–46.
- Teixidor, J. 1977. *The Pagan God. Popular Religion in the Greco-Roman Near East*. Princeton, NJ.
- Teixidor, J. 1979. *The Pantheon of Palmyra*. Leiden.
- Teixidor, J. 1984. *Un port romain du désert. Palmyre et son commerce d'Auguste à Caracalla*, *Semitica* 34. Paris.
- Teixidor, J. 1990. "Deux documents syriaques du IIIe siècle ap. J.-C., provenant du Moyen Euphrate", *CRAI* 134: 144–166.
- Teixidor, J. 1991–92. "Un document syriaque de fermage de 242 apr. J.-C.", *Semitica* 41–42: 195–208.
- Teugels, L.M. and R. Ulmer. (eds.) 2005. *Recent Developments in Midrash Research*. Piscataway, NJ.
- Thiel, W. 2007. *Studien zum hellenistischen Siedlungswesen in Palästina und Transjordanien: historische und archäologische Untersuchungen zur städtebaulichen Entwicklung ausgewählter Siedlungen unter den Ptolemäern und Seleukiden*. Munich.
- Tholbeq, L. 2007. "Hérodiens, Nabatéens et Lagides dans le Ḥawrān au 1er s. av. J.-C.: réflexions autour du sanctuaire de Ba'alšāmīn de Sī '(Syrie du Sud)", *Topoi* 15: 286–293.

- Tholbecq, L. 2017. "La géographie religieuse de la capitale nabatéenne: nouvelles recherches de la mission archéologique française à Pétra (Jordanie)", *CRAI* 161: 1053–1074.
- Thomas, E.V. 2007. *Monumentality and the Roman Empire: Architecture in the Antonine Age*. Oxford.
- Thompson, D.J. 1998. "Demeter in Graeco-Roman Egypt", in W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion: the last thousand years: studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur*. Leuven: 600–607.
- Thomsen, P. 1917. "Die römischen Meilensteine der Provinzen Syria, Arabia und Palaestina", *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 40: 1–103.
- Timm, S. (ed.) 2017. *Eusebius Werke III.1: Das Onomastikon der biblischen Ortsnamen*. Berlin.
- Tirpan, A. 1989. "The Roman walls of Samosata", in D.H. French and C.S. Lightfoot (eds.), *The Eastern Frontier of the Roman Empire*, BAR 553. Oxford: 519–536.
- Tod, M.N. 1948. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions II*. Oxford.
- Toll, N. 1943. *The Green Glazed Pottery. The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Final Report 4, Part I, Fascicle 1*. New Haven, CT.
- Toll, N. 1946. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Preliminary Report on the Ninth Season of Work, 1935–1936. Part 2, The Necropolis*. New Haven, CT.
- Toumanoff, C. 1959. "A note on the Orontids", *Le Muséon* 72: 1–36.
- Traina, G. 2010. *La resa di Roma, 9 giugno 53 a. C., battaglia a Carre*. Roma- Bari.
- Traina, G. 2017. "Rois ou dynastes? Les territoires Arméniens à l'époque d'Antiochos III", in C. Feyel and L. Graslin-Thomé (eds.), *Antiochos III et l'Orient. Actes de la rencontre franco-allemande tenue à Nancy du 6 au 8 juin 2016*. Paris: 377–388.
- Trevor, M. 2004. *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia*. Oxford.
- Trumbley, F.R. and J. Watt 2000. *The Chronicle of Pseudo-Joshua the Stylite*. Liverpool.
- Trüdinger, K. 1918. *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie*. PhD Basel.
- Trümpler, C. 2003. "Aerial photography in archaeology and its pioneers", in G. Gerster and R.-B. Wartke (eds.), *Flugbilder aus Syrien von der Antike bis zur Moderne*. Mainz: 9–23.
- Trümpler, C. 2008. "Das Deutsch-Türkische Denkmalschutz-Kommando und die Luftbildarchäologie", in id. (ed.) *Das Grosse Spiel – Archäologie und Politik zur Zeit des Kolonialismus (1860–1940)*. Essen- Cologne: 474–483.
- Tsafir, N. 1996. "New Thamudic inscriptions from the Negev", *Le Muséon* 109: 79–93.
- Tsafir, Y. 2008. "The classical heritage in late Antique Palestine: the fate of freestanding statues", in Y.Z. Eliav, E.A. Friedland and S. Herbert (eds.), *The Sculptural Environment of the Roman Near East. Reflections on Culture, Ideology and Power*. Leuven: 117–142.
- Tsafir, Y., L. Di Segni and J. Green 1994. *Tabula Imperii Romanum: Maps and Gazetteer*. Jerusalem.
- Tubach, J. 2009. "Die Anfänge des Königreichs von Edessa. Vom Zelt- zum Palastbewohner, oder: Erfolgreiche Migration in hellenistischer Zeit", in L. Greisiger, C. Rammelt and J. Tubach (eds.), *Edessa in hellenistisch-romischer Zeit. Religion, Kultur und Politik zwischen Ost und West. Beirut Texte und Studien* 116. Beirut: 279–311.
- Tubach, J. 2011. "Zur Interpretation des Perlenliedes. Exegetische Prämissen und ihre Schlussfolgerungen", in D. Bumazhnov and H.R. Seeliger (eds.), *Syrien im 1.-7. Jahrhundert nach Christus. Studien und Texte zu Antike und Christentum* 62. Tübingen: 231–258.
- Tuplin, C. 1987. "Xenophon and the garrisons of the Achaemenid empire", *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran* 20: 167–245.
- Tuplin, C. 1991. "Darius' Suez Canal and Persian imperialism", in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History VI. Asia Minor and Egypt: Old Cultures in a New Empire*. Leiden: 237–283.
- Tuplin, C. 2008. "The Seleucids and their Achaemenid predecessors: a Persian inheritance?" in S.M.R. Darbandi and A. Zournatzi (eds.), *Ancient Greece and Ancient Iran. Cross-Cultural Encounters*. Athens: 109–136.
- Turcan, R. 1989. *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain*. Leiden.
- Tuval, M. 2013. *From Jerusalem Priest to Roman Jew: On Josephus and the Paradigms of Ancient Judaism*. Tübingen.
- Ulbert, T., D. Kurapkat, F. Arnold, H.R. Baldus, G. Brands and P.-L. Gatier 2019. *Forschungen in Resafa-Serginopolis VII. Al-Mundir-Bau und Nekropole vor dem Nordtor Basilika C*. Berlin.

- Vaelske, V. 2013. "Isis in Petra: chronological and topographical aspects", in M. Mouton and S.G. Schmid (eds.), *Men on the Rocks: The Formation of Nabataean Petra*. Berlin: 351–361.
- Vandenhoff, B. 1915 (repr. Gorgias Press, 2010). "Die Götterliste des Mar Jacob von Sarug in seiner Homilie über den Fall der Götzenbilder", *OrChr* 5: 234–262.
- VanderKam, J.C. 1989. *The Book of Jubilees: A Critical Text I–II*. Leuven.
- Vanderkam, J.C. 2000. "Studies in the chronology of the Book of Jubilees", in id. (ed.) *From Revelation to Canon*. Leiden: 522–544.
- VanderKam, J.C. and P.W. Flint 2002. *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity*. San Francisco, CA.
- Vann, R.L. (ed.) 1992. *Caesarea Papers 1: Straton's Tower, Herod's Harbour, and Roman and Byzantine Caesarea*. Ann Arbor, MI.
- van As, M. 2014. "Description and dating of the potsherds found on Mount Nemrud and looking for more", in H.A.G. Brijder (ed.), *Nemrud Dağ. Recent Archaeological Research and Conservation Activities in the Tomb Sanctuary on Mount Nemrud*. Boston 530–532.
- van Berchem, D. 1983. "Une inscription flavienne du Musée d'Antioche", *Museum Helveticum* 40: 185–196.
- van Berchem, D. 1985. "Le port de Séleucie de Piérie et l'infrastructure logistique des guerres parthiques", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 185: 47–87.
- van Ess, M. and K. Rheidt (eds.) 2014. *Baalbek – Heliopolis: 10 000 Jahre Stadtgeschichte*. Darmstadt.
- van Henten, J.W. and L. Huitink 2012. "Josephus", in I. de Jong (ed.), *Space in Ancient Greek Literature. Studies in Ancient Greek Narrative* 3. Leiden: 199–218.
- van Lière, W.J. 1958–59. "Ager centuriatus of the Roman *colonia* of Emesa", *Annales Archéologiques de Syrie* 8–9: 55–58.
- Van Rompay, L. 1994. "Some preliminary remarks on the origin of classical Syriac as a standard language. The Syriac version of Eusebius of Caesarea's *Ecclesiastical History*", in G. Goldenberg and S. Raz (eds.), *Semitic and Cushitic Studies*. Wiesbaden: 70–89.
- Van Rompay, L. 2008. "The East (3): Syria and Mesopotamia", in S.A. Harvey and D.G. Hunter (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Early Christian Studies*. Oxford: 364–386.
- Van Rompay, L. 2018. "'The blessed land and the inheritance of Israel': the Old Testament and Judaism in a fourth-century refutation of Marcion", in L. Baron, J. Hicks-Keeton and M. Thiessen (eds.), *The Ways That Often Parted: Essays in Honor of Joel Marcus. Early Christianity and its Literature* 24. Atlanta, GA: 353–376.
- van der Spek, R.J. 2000. "The Šatammus of Esagila in the Seleucid and Parthian periods", in J. Marzahn and H. Neumann (eds.), *Assyriologica et Semitica. FS Joachim Oelsner, Alter Orient und Altes Testament* 252. Münster: 437–446.
- van der Spek, R.J. 2001. "The theatre of Babylon in cuneiform", in W.H. van Soldt e.a. (eds.), *Studies Presented to Klaas R. Veenhof on the Occasion of his Sixty-Fifth Birthday*. Leiden: 445–456.
- van der Spek, R.J. 2006. "The size and significance of the Babylonian temples under the Successors", in P. Briant and F. Joannès (eds.), *La transition entre l'empire achéménide et les royaumes hellénistiques (vers 350–300 av. J.-C.)*, *Persika* 9. Paris: 261–307.
- van der Spek, R. 2007. "The Hellenistic Near East", in W. Scheidel, I. Morris and R. Saller (eds.) *The Cambridge Economic History of the Greco-Roman World*. Cambridge: 409–433.
- van der Spek, R.J. 2008. "Berossos as a Babylonian chronicler and Greek historian", in id. (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Near Eastern World View and Society Presented to Marten Stol on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*. Bethesda, MD: 277–318.
- van der Spek, R.J. 2009. "Multi-ethnicity and ethnic segregation in Hellenistic Babylon", in T. Derks and N. Roymans (eds.), *Ethnic Constructs in Antiquity. The Role of Power and Tradition*. Amsterdam: 101–115.
- van der Spek, R.J. 2014. "Seleucos, self-appointed general", in H. Hauben and A. Meeus (eds.), *The Age of the Successors and the Creation of the Hellenistic Kingdoms (323–276 B.C.)*, *Studia Hellenistica* 53. Leuven and Paris: 323–344.
- Vattioni, F. 1981. *Le iscrizioni di Hatra*. Suppl. 28 agli Annali dell'Istituto universitario Orientale di Napoli 41. Naples.
- Vattioni, F. 1994. *Hatra*. Suppl. 81a agli Annali dell'Istituto universitario Orientale di Napoli. Naples.
- Verbrugge, G. and J. Wickersham. (eds.). 1996. *Berosos and Manetho: Native Traditions in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt*. Ann Arbor, MI.

- Vermander, J.-M. 1972. "La parution de l'ouvrage de Celse et la datation de quelques apologies", *REAug* 18: 27–42.
- Vermes, G. 1970. "Bible and Midrash: early Old Testament exegesis", in P.R. Ackroyd and C.F. Evans (eds.) *The Cambridge History of the Bible: From the Beginnings to Jerome*. Cambridge: 199–231.
- Versluys, M.J. 2015. "Roman visual material culture as globalising koine", in M. Pitts and M.J. Versluys (eds.) *Globalisation and the Roman World. World History, Connectivity and Material Culture*. Cambridge: 141–174.
- Versluys, M.J. 2017. *Visual Style and Constructing Identity in the Hellenistic World. Nemrud Dağ and Kommagene under Antiochos I. Greek Culture in the Roman World*. Cambridge.
- Veysseyre, P. 1979. "Rome devant la prétendue fuite de l'or: mercantilisme ou politique disciplinaire?" *Annales ESC* 2: 211–241.
- Villeneuve, F. 1985. "L'économie rurale et la vie des campagnes dans le Hauran antique (Ier Siècle avant J.C. VIe Siècle après J.C)", in J.-M. Dentzer (ed.), *Hauran I. Recherches archéologiques sur la Syrie du sud à l'époque hellénistique et romaine I–II*. Paris: 63–136.
- Villeneuve, F. 2004. "Une inscription latine sur l'archipel Farasân, Arabie Séoudite, sud de la mer Rouge", *CRAI* 148: 419–429.
- Villeneuve, F. 2007. "L'armée romaine en mer Rouge et autour de la mer Rouge aux IIème et IIIème siècles apr. J.-C.: à propos de deux inscriptions latines découvertes sur l'archipel Farasan", in A.S. Lewin, P. Pellegrini, Z.T. Fiema and S. Janniard (eds.), *The Late Roman Army in the Near East from Diocletian to the Arab Conquest. BAR 1717*. Oxford: 13–27.
- Villeneuve, F. and Z. al-Muheisen 2003. "Dharih and Tannur: sanctuaries of central Nabataea", in G. Markoe (ed.) *Petra Rediscovered: Lost City of the Nabataean Kingdom*. New York: 83–100.
- Villeneuve, F. and S. Sadler 2001. "Occupation du sol et vestiges architecturaux sur les marges arides de Syrie du sud. L'exemple de Diyathéh", in B. Geyer (ed.) *Conquête de la steppe et appropriation des terres sur les marges arides du Croissant fertile*. Lyon: 159–187.
- Visotzky, B.L. 2003. *Golden Bells and Pomegranates: Studies in Midrash Rabbah*. Tübingen.
- Visscher, M.S. 2020. *Beyond Alexandria: Literature and Empire in the Seleucid World*. Oxford.
- Vitale, M. 2013. *Koinon Syrias: Priester, Gymnasiarchen und Metropoleis der Eparchien im kaiserzeitlichen Syrien. KLIO Beihefte 20*. Berlin.
- Viviers, D. and A. Vokaer 2007. "Travaux de la Mission archéologique belge à Apamée de Syrie XL<sup>e</sup> campagne (2006)", *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 85: 125–156.
- von Gutschmid, A. 1888. *Geschichte Irans und seiner Nachbarländer von Alexander dem Grossen bis zum Untergang der Arsaciden*. Tübingen.
- von Oppenheim, M. and H. Lucas 1905. "Griechische und lateinische Inschriften aus Syrien, Mesopotamien und Kleinasien", *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 14: 58–59.
- Vörös, G. 2013. *Machaerus I. History, Archaeology and Architecture of the Fortified Herodian Royal Palace and City overlooking the Dead Sea in Transjordan. Final Reports of the Excavations and Surveys 1807–2012*. Milan.
- Vössing, K. 2004. *Mensa regia: Das Bankett beim hellenistischen König und beim römischen Kaiser*. Munich.
- Vry, S. 1996. *Zeus und Tyche in der Dekapolis*. PhD Kiel.
- Waage, D.B. 1952. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes IV.2, Greek, Roman, Byzantine and Crusaders' Coins*. Princeton, NJ.
- Wacholder, B.Z. 1962. *Nicolaus of Damascus*. Los Angeles, CA.
- Wadson, L. 2010. "The chronology of the façade tombs at Petra: a structural and metrical analysis", *Levant* 42: 48–69.
- Wadson, L. 2013. "The development of funerary architecture at Petra: the case of the Façade tombs", in M. Mouton and S.G. Schmid (eds.) *Men on the Rocks. The Formation of Nabataean Petra*. Berlin: 167–188.
- Wagner, J. 1976. *Seleukeia am Euphrat/Zeugma*. Wiesbaden.
- Wagner, J. 1982. "Neue Denkmäler aus Doliche. Ergebnisse einer archäologischen Landesaufnahme im Ursprungsgebiet des Iupiter Dolichenus", *Bonner Jahrbücher* 82: 133–166.
- Wagner, J. 1983. "Dynastie und Herrscherkult in Kommagene", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 33: 177–224.
- Wagner, J. (ed.) 2012. *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene*, 2nd ed. Mainz.
- Wagner, J. and G. Petzl 1976. "Eine neue Temenos-Stele des Königs Antiochos I. von Kommagene", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 20: 201–223.

- Wagner, J. and G. Petzl 2003. "Relief- und Inschriftenfragmente des kommagenischen Herrscherkultes aus Ancoz", in G. Heedemann and E. Winter (eds.), *Neue Forschungen zur Religionsgeschichte Kleinasiens, Asia Minor Studien* 49. Bonn: 85–96.
- Walbank, F.W. 1979. *A Historical Commentary on Polybius III: Commentary on Books XIX-XL*. Oxford.
- Waldmann, H. 1973. *Die kommagenischen Kulturreformen unter König Mithradates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I*. Leiden.
- Waliszewski, T. and R. Ortali-Tarazi (eds.) 2002. *Chbīm*. Warsaw and Beirut.
- Walmsey, A. 2007. *Early Islamic Syria. An Archaeological Assessment*. London.
- Walmsley, A. 2019. "Judith McKenzie 1957–2019", *Levant* 51: 1–5.
- Waterhouse, S.D. 1998. *The Necropolis of Hesban. A Typology of Tombs*. Berrien Springs.
- Weber, E. 1976. *Tabula Peutingeriana, Codex Vindobonensis 324, Vollständige Faksimile-Ausgabe im Originalformat*. Graz.
- Weber, M. 2000. *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft. Die Stadt*. Tübingen.
- Weber, T.M. 1993. "Damaskòs pólis epísemos: hellenistische, römische und byzantinische Bauwerke in Damaskus aus der Sicht griechischer und lateinischer Schriftquellen", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 7: 135–176.
- Weber, T.M. 2002. *Gadara-Umm Qès I. Gadara Decapolitana. Untersuchungen zur Topographie, Geschichte, Architektur und der Bildenden Kunst einer «Polis Hellenis» im Ostjordanland*. Wiesbaden.
- Weber, T.M. (in cooperation with Q. al-Mohammed) 2006. *Sculptures from Roman Syria in the Syrian National Museum at Damascus I: From Cities and Villages in Central and Southern Syria*. Worms.
- Weber, T.M. 2009. *Die Skulpturen aus Sahr und die Statuendenkmäler der römische Kaiserzeit in südsyrischen Heiligtümern. Sahr al-Ledje. Hauran IV.2, BAH 184*. Beirut.
- Weber, T.M. 2010. "Die Basaltplastik des Hauran: ein Forschungsüberblick", in M. al-Maqdissi and J. Dentzer-Feydy (eds.), *La Syrie du Sud du Néolithique à l'Antiquité tardive, recherches récentes* 1. Hauran V, BAH 191. Beirut: 425–433.
- Weber, T.M. 2015. "Near East", in E.A. Friedland, M. Grunow Sobocinski and E.K. Gazda (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Sculpture*. Oxford: 569–586.
- Weber-Karyotakis, T.M. and M.H.S. al-Khdair 2018. "An Arab Chariot Monument at Umm al-Jimāl", *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 150: 214–235.
- Weber-Karyotakis, T.M. and K. al-Bashaireh 2020. "Bildschemata der Marmorskulptur aus der Provincia Arabia", in J. Lipps, M. Dorka Moreno, and J. Griesbach (eds.), *Appropriation Processes of Statue Schemata in the Roman Provinces*. Wiesbaden: 245–280.
- Weiskopf, M.N. 1993. "Commagene", *Encyclopaedia Iranica* 6: 54–57.
- Weiss, D. 2020. "The Founders Tomb", *Archaeology* 73: 38–41.
- Weiss, P. 1992. "Neue Tonsiegel von 'Doliche'", *Chiron* 22: 171–193.
- Weiss, P. 2006. "Die Auxilien des syrischen Heeres von Domitian bis Antoninus Pius. Eine Zwischenbilanz nach den neuen Militärdiplomen", *Chiron* 36: 249–298.
- Weiss, P. and M.P. Speidel 2004. "Das erste Militärdiplom für Arabia", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 150: 253–264.
- Weiss, Z. 2014. *Public Spectacles in Roman and Late Antique Palestine*. Cambridge, MA.
- Weiss, Z. (ed.) 2015. *Ehud Netzer Volume – Eretz Israel* 31. Jerusalem.
- Weitzmann, K. 1971. *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H.L. Kessler. Chicago, IL.
- Weitzman, M.P. 1999. *The Syriac Version of the Old Testament. An Introduction*. University of Cambridge Oriental Publications 56. Cambridge.
- Weksler-Bdolah, S. 2019. *Aelia Capitolina: Jerusalem in the Roman Period In Light of Archaeological Research*. Leiden.
- Welles, C.B. 1934. *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period. A study in Greek Epigraphy*. New Haven, CT.
- Welles, C.B. 1951. "The population of Roman Dura", in P.R. Coleman-Norton (ed.), *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson*. Princeton, NJ: 251–273.
- Welles, C.B. 1970. "The gods of Dura-Europos", in R. Stiehl and H.E. Stier (eds.), *Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben. Festschrift F. Altheim* II. Berlin: 50–65.
- Welles, C.B., R.O. Fink and J.F. Gilliam (eds.) 1959. *The Parchments and the Papyri. The Excavations at Dura-Europos. Final Report V, part I*. New Haven, CT.
- Wenning, R. 1987. *Die Nabatäer. Denkmäler und Geschichte*. NTOA 3. Fribourg- Göttingen.



- Wenning, R. 1994. "Die Dekapolis und die Nabatäer", *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins* 110: 1–35.
- West, M.L. 1977. "Balbilla did not save Memnon's soul", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 25: 120.
- Wharton, A.J. 1995. *Refiguring the Post-Classical City. Dura Europos, Jerash, Jerusalem and Ravenna*. Cambridge.
- Whealey, A. 2003. *Josephus on Jesus: The Testimonium Flavianum Controversy from Late Antiquity to Modern Times*. New York.
- Wheeler, E.L. 1996. "The laxity of Syrian legions", in D.L. Kennedy (ed.), *The Roman Army in the Near East. JRA Suppl.* 18. Ann Arbor, MI: 229–276.
- Wheeler, E.L. 2007. "The army and the Limes in the East", in P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army, Blackwell Companions*. Malden- Oxford: 235–266.
- Whittaker, M. 1982. *Tatian, Oratio ad Graecos and fragments. Oxford Early Christian Texts*. Oxford.
- Wickham, C. 2005. *Framing the Early Middle Ages: Europe and the Mediterranean, 400–800*. Oxford.
- Wiedemann, T.E.J. 1986. "Between men and beasts: barbarians in Ammianus Marcellinus", in I.S. Moxon, J.D. Smart and A.J. Woodman (eds.), *Past Perspectives. Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing*. Cambridge: 189–201.
- Wiegand, T. 1920. *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen des Deutsch-Türkischen Denkmalschutz-Kommandos I. Sinai*. Berlin and Leipzig.
- Wiegand, T. (ed.) 1921–25. *Baalbek. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1898 bis 1905*. Berlin and Leipzig.
- Wielgosz, D. 2010. "La sculpture en marbre à Palmyre", *Studia Palmyreńskie* 11: 75–106.
- Wielgosz-Rondolino, D. 2011–12. "Marble for Phoenician purple. Classical sculpture on the Levantine coast", *Archeologia* 62–63: 7–18.
- Wielgosz-Rondolino, D. 2016. "La sculpture figurative de Palmyre", in M. al-Maqdissi and E. Ishaq (eds.), *La Syrie et le désastre archéologique du Proche-Orient, "Palmyre cité martyre"*. Beirut: 66–82.
- Wieschöfer, J. 1996. *Ancient Persia from 550 BC to 650 AD*. London- New York.
- Wieschöfer, J. and S. Müller. (eds.) 2017. *Parthika. Greek and Roman Authors' Views of the Arsacid Empire/ Griechisch-römische Bilder des Arsakidenreiches. Classica et Orientalia* 15. Wiesbaden.
- Wilhelm, G. 1998. *Zwischen Tigris und Nil: 100 Jahre Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Vorderasien und Ägypten. Sonderhefte der Antiken Welt*. Mainz.
- Wilker, J. 2007. *Für Rom und Jerusalem. Die herodianische Dynastie im 1. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* Berlin.
- Wilkinson, J. 1975. "The way from Jerusalem to Jericho", *Biblical Archaeologist* 38: 10–24.
- Will, É. 1979–82. *Histoire politique du monde hellénistique (323–30 av. J.-C.)*, 2 vols. Nancy.
- Will, E. 1953. "Une nouvelle mosaïque de Chahba-Philippopolis", *Annales archéologiques de Syrie* 3: 27–48.
- Will, E. 1957. "Marchands et chefs de caravane à Palmyre", *Syria* 34: 262–277.
- Will, E. 1965. "La Syrie romaine entre l'Occident gréco-romain et l'Orient parthe", in *Le rayonnement des civilisations grecques et romaines sur les cultures périphériques*. Paris: 511–526.
- Will, E. 1992. *Les Palmyréniens. La Venise des sables*. Paris.
- Williams, M.H. 1998. *The Jews among the Greek and Romans. A Diasporan Sourcebook*. London.
- Williams Reed, E. 2020. "Environments and gods: creating the sacred landscape of Mount Kasios", in G.F. Chiai and R. Häussler (eds.) *Sacred Landscapes in Antiquity. Creation, Manipulation, Transformation*. Oxford: 87–94.
- Wilson, A. 2011. "City sizes and urbanization in the Roman empire", in A. Bowman and A. Wilson (eds.) *Settlement, Urbanization, and Population*. Oxford: 161–195.
- Wilson, C.W. 1880–84. *Picturesque Palestine, Sinai and Egypt I–IV*. London (repr. Jerusalem 1975–82).
- Wilson, D.R. 2000. *Air Photo Interpretation for Archaeologists*. Stroud.
- Winiarczyk, M. 2002. *Eubemeros von Messene: Leben, Werk und Nachwirkung*. Leipzig.
- Winkelmann, S. 2007. "Christliche Könige im heidnischen Gewand: Betrachtungen zur partherzeitlichen Herrscherikonographie der Abgariden von Edessa", in S.G. Vashalomidze and L. Greisiger (eds.) *Der christliche Orient und seine Umwelt. Gesammelte Studien zu Ehren Jürgen Tubachs anlässlich seines 60. Geburtstages*. Wiesbaden: 169–186.
- Winnett, F.V. 1937. *A Study of the Lihyanite and Thamudic Inscriptions. University of Toronto Oriental Series* 3. Toronto.
- Winnett, F.V. 1973. "The revolt of Damasi: safaïtic and Nabataean evidence", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 211: 54–57.
- Winnett, F.V. and W.L. Reed 1970. *Ancient Records from North Arabia. Near and Middle East* 6. Toronto.

- Winsbury, R. 2010. *Zenobia of Palmyra: History, Myth and the Neo-Classical Imagination*. London.
- Winter, E. 1987. "Handel und Wirtschaft in Sasanidisch-(Ost-)Römischen Verträgen und Abkommen", *Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 6/2: 46–74.
- Winter, E. 2003. "Doliche in hellenistisch-römischer Zeit. Eine kommagenische Stadt zwischen Tradition und Innovation", in E. Schwertheim and E. Winter (eds.), *Stadt und Stadtentwicklung in Kleinasien, Asia Minor Studien* 50. Bonn: 51–56.
- Winter, E. 2004. "Doliche-Geographische Lage und Geschichte", in A. Schütte-Maischatz und E. Winter (eds.), *Doliche-Eine kommagenische Stadt und ihre Götter. Mithras und Iupiter Dolichenus, Asia Minor Studien* 52. Bonn: 53–78.
- Winter, E. (ed.) 2008. ΠΑΤΡΙΣ ΠΑΝΤΡΟΦΟΣ ΚΟΜΜΑΓΗΝΗ. *Neue Funde und Forschungen zwischen Taurus und Euphrat, Asia Minor Studien* 60. Bonn.
- Winter, E. (ed.) 2011. *Von Kummuh nach Telouch. Archäologische und historische Untersuchungen in Kommagene, Asia Minor Studien* 64. Bonn.
- Winter, E. (ed.) 2014. *Kult und Herrschaft am Euphrat, Asia Minor Studien* 73. Bonn.
- Winter, E. 2017. "Das Heiligtum auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi bei Doliche. Die Grabungen der Jahre 2013–2015", in id (ed.), *Vom eisenzeitlichen Heiligtum zum christlichen Kloster: neue Forschungen auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi. Dolichener und Kommagenische Forschungen IX, Asia Minor Studien* 84. Bonn: 1–20.
- Winter, E. and B. Dignas 2001. *Rom und das Perserreich. Zwei Weltmächte zwischen Konfrontation und Koexistenz*. Berlin.
- Wirth, E. 2000. *Die orientalische Stadt im islamischen Vorderasien und Nordafrika*. Mainz.
- Wise, M.O. 2015. *Language and Literacy in Roman Judaea: A Study of the Bar Kokhba Documents*. New Haven, CT.
- Wiseman, T.P. 1991. *Flavius Josephus: Death of an Emperor*. Exeter.
- Witakowski, W. 1996. *Pseudo-Dionysus of Tel-Mahre: Chronicle (known also as the Chronicle of Zuqin), Part III. Translated with Notes and Introduction*. Liverpool.
- Witakowski, W. 2017. "Syriac", in D.L. Selden and P. Vasunia (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of the Literatures of the Roman Empire*. Oxford. online publication only.
- Wolski, J. 1993. *L'empire des Arsacides*. Acta Iranica III.32. Leuven.
- Wood, G.A. 2004. "The Roman fort at Qubur al Bid, Mesopotamia", *Journal of Roman Archaeology* 17: 397–404.
- Wood, P. 2010. *We have no King but Christ: Christian Political Thought in Greater Syria on the Eve of the Arab Conquest*. Oxford.
- Wood, P. 2012. "Syriac and the 'Syrians'", in S.F. Johnson (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Late Antiquity*. New York: 170–194.
- Wörle, M. 1975. "Antiochos I., Achaïos der Ältere und die Galater", *Chiron* 5: 59–87.
- Wright, N.L. 2009–10. "Non-Greek religious imagery on the coinage of Seleucid Syria", *Mediterranean Archaeology* 22–23: 193–206.
- Wruck, W. 1931. *Die syrische Provinzialprägung von Augustus bis Traian*. Stuttgart.
- Yadin, A. 2004. *Scripture as Logos: Rabbi Ishmael and the Origins of Midrash*. Philadelphia, PA.
- Yadin, Y. 1962. "Expedition D – The Cave of the Letters", *Israel Exploration Journal* 12: 227–257.
- Yadin, Y. 1963. "The Nabataean kingdom, provincia Arabia, Petra and En-Geddi in the documents from Naḥal Hever", *Ex Oriente Lux* 17: 227–241.
- Yadin, Y. 1971. *Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Last Jewish Revolt against Imperial Rome*. London.
- Yadin, Y., H.M. Cotton and J. Naveh 2002a. *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Nabatean-Aramaic Papyri* Vols I–II. Jerusalem.
- Yadin, Y., J.C. Greenfield, A. Yardeni and B.A. Levine. (eds.) 2002b. *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri I–II, Judean Desert Studies*. Jerusalem.
- Yadin, Y., J.C. Greenfield, A. Yardeni and B.A. Levine. (eds.) 2004. *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters: Hebrew, Aramaic, and Nabataean-Aramaic Papyri*. Jerusalem.
- Yaman, H. 2019. "Death in Zeugma: a survey of the tombs", *Anatolia-Anadolu* 45: 168.
- Yardeni, A. 2000. *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean. Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material I–II*. Jerusalem.

- Yardeni, A. 2001. "The decipherment and restoration of legal texts from the Judaean Desert: a reexamination of *Papyrus Starcky* (P. Yadin 36)", *Scripta Classica Israelica* 20: 121–137.
- Yardeni, A. 2014. "A list of the Arabic words appearing in Nabataean and Aramaic legal documents from the Judaean Desert", *Scripta Classica Israelica* 34: 301–324.
- Yaron, R. 1961. *Introduction to the Law of the Aramaic Papyri*. Oxford.
- Yarshater, E. (ed.) 1983. *The Cambridge History of Iran III*, 1–2. Cambridge.
- Yon, J.-B. 2002. *Les notables de Palmyre*, BAH 163. Beirut.
- Yon, J.-B. 2003. "Les villes de Haute Mésopotamie et de l'Euphrate à la fin de l'époque hellénistique", in *La Syrie hellénistique*, *Topoi* Suppl. 4. Lyon: 193–210.
- Yon, J.-B. 2006. Review of M. Sommer, *Roms Orientalische Steppengrenze* (2005), in *Sehepunkte* 6: nr.7/8 [15.07.2006] (<http://www.sehepunkte.de/2006/07/9188.html>)
- Yon, J.-B. 2007a. "Les commerçants du Proche-Orient: désignation et vocabulaire", in J. Andreau and V. Chankowski (eds.) *Vocabulaire et expression de l'économie dans le monde antique*. Bordeaux: 51–87.
- Yon, J.-B. 2007b. "Commerçants et petits commerçants sur les bords de l'Euphrate", *Topoi* Suppl. 8: 413–428.
- Yon, J.-B. 2007c. "De l'araméen en grec", *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* 60: 381–429.
- Yon, J.-B. 2013. "L'épigraphie palmyrénienne depuis PAT, 1996–2011", in M. Gawlikowski and G. Majcherek (eds.), *Fifty Years of Polish Excavations in Palmyra, 1959–2009*, *Studia Palmyreńskie* 12: 333–379.
- Yon, J.-B. 2018a. *L'histoire par les noms: histoire et onomastique, de la Palmyrène à la Haute Mésopotamie romaines*, BAH 212. Beirut.
- Yon, J.-B. 2018b. "Les tombes palmyréniennes étaient-elles des lieux de culte? Éléments de réponse archéologiques et épigraphiques", in M.-D. Nenna, S. Huber and W. van Andringa (eds.) *Constituer la tombe, honorer les défunts en Méditerranée antique*. Alexandria: 201–218.
- Yon, J.-B. and J. Aliquot 2016. *Inscriptions grecques et latines du Musée national de Beyrouth*, *Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises hors-série* 12. Beirut.
- Yon, J.-B. and P.-L. Gatier. (eds.). 2009. *Choix d'inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, *Guides archéologiques de l'Institut français du Proche-Orient* 6. Beirut.
- Young, G.K. 2001. *Rome's Eastern Trade. International Commerce and Imperial Policy, 31 BC – AD 305*. London- New York.
- Youtie, H.C. 1975. "ὄπογραφεύς: the social impact of illiteracy in Graeco-Roman Egypt", *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 17: 201–221.
- Zaccagnini, C. 1982. "The enemy in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions: the 'ethnographic' description", in H.J. Nissen and J. Renger (eds.), *Mesopotamien und seine Nachbarn: politische und kulturelle Wechselbeziehung in Alten Vorderasien vom 4. bis 1. Jahrtausend. XXV. Rencontre assyriologique internationale Berlin, 3. bis 7. Juli 1978*. Berlin: 409–23.
- Zayadine, F. (ed.) 1986. *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981–1983*. Amman.
- Zayadine, F., F. Larché and J. Dentzer-Feydy 2003. *Le Qasr al-Bint de Pétra. L'architecture, le décor, la chronologie et les dieux*. Paris.
- Zecchini, G. 1998. "Asinius Quadratus storico di Filippo l'Arabo", *ANRW* II 34.4: 2999–3021.
- Zeinaddin, H. 2000. "Safaitische Inschriften aus dem Gabal al-'Arab", *Damaszener Mitteilungen* 12: 265–89.
- Ziegler, S. (ed.) 1998. *Ptolemy Geography, Book 6. Middle East, Central and North Asia, China*. Part 1. Text and English/German Translations. Wiesbaden.
- Zissu, B., R. Porat, B. Langford and A. Frumkin 2011. "Archaeological remains of the Bar Kokhba revolt in the Te'omim Cave (Mūghâret Umm et Tücimîn), Western Jerusalem Hills", *Journal of Jewish Studies* 62: 262–283.
- Zoroğlu, L. 2012. "Samosata. Ausgrabungen in der kommagenischen Hauptstadt", in J. Wagner (ed.) *Gottkönige am Euphrat. Neue Ausgrabungen und Forschungen in Kommagene*, 2nd ed. Mainz: 135–145.
- Zorzi, N. 2012. "Greek inscriptions from the citadel of Shayzar/Larissa and their historical context", in C. Tonghini and N. Montevicchi (eds.), *Shayzar. The Fortification of the Citadel*, Leiden-Boston: 41–59.
- Zuchowska, M. 2013. "Palmyra and the Far Eastern Trade", *Studia palmyreńskie* 13: 381–387.

- Zwettler, M. 1993. "Imra'alqays, son of 'Amr: king of ...??" in M. Mir and J.E. Fossum (eds.), *Literary Heritage of Classical Islam. Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of James A. Bellamy*. Princeton, NJ: 3–37.
- Zwettler, M.J. and D.F. Graf 2004. "The North Arabian 'Thamudic E' inscription from Uraynibah West", *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 335: 53–89.