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978-0-521-87581-3 - From Hellenism to Islam: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Roman Near East

Edited by Hannah M. Cotton, Robert G. Hoyland, Jonathan J. Price and David J. Wasserstein
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FROM HELLENISM TO ISLAM

The 800 years between the first Roman conquests and the conquest of Islam saw a rich, constantly shifting blend of languages and writing systems, legal structures, religious practices and beliefs in the Near East. While the different ethnic groups and cultural forms often clashed with each other, adaptation was as much a characteristic of the region as conflict. This volume, emphasising the inscriptions in many languages from the Near East, brings together mutually informative studies by scholars in diverse fields. Together, they reveal how the different languages, peoples and cultures interacted, competed with, tried to ignore or were influenced by each other, and how their relationships evolved over time. The volume will be of great value to those interested in Greek and Roman history, Jewish history and Near Eastern studies.

HANNAH M. COTTON is Professor of Classics and Ancient History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

ROBERT G. HOYLAND is Professor of Arabic and Middle East Studies at the University of St Andrews, Scotland.

JONATHAN J. PRICE is Professor of Classics and Ancient History at Tel Aviv University.

DAVID J. WASSERSTEIN is Professor of History and the Eugene Greener Jr. Professor of Jewish Studies at Vanderbilt University.

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FROM HELLENISM TO ISLAM

*Cultural and Linguistic Change
in the Roman Near East*

EDITED BY

HANNAH M. COTTON

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JONATHAN J. PRICE

DAVID J. WASSERSTEIN



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Contributors

WALTER AMELING Professor of Ancient History, Institut für Altertumswissenschaften, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Germany. His publications include *Karthago: Studien zu Militär, Staat und Gesellschaft* (1993), and most recently, *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis II: Kleinasien* (2004).

DAN BARAG Professor emeritus of Archaeology at the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, author of *Catalogue of Western Asiatic Glass in the British Museum I* (1985) and other studies on glass from the second millennium BCE to the early Byzantine period. Editor of *Israel Numismatic Journal*.

NICOLE BELAYCHE Directeur d'études in the Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes, Sciences religieuses, Paris; author of *The Pagan Cults in Roman Palestine (Second to Fourth Century)* (2001).

GIDEON BOHAK Professor at the Department of Jewish Culture and the Program in Religious Studies at Tel Aviv University. His publications include *Joseph and Aseneth and the Jewish Temple in Heliopolis* (1996), and *Ancient Jewish Magic: A History* (2008).

SEBASTIAN BROCK Emeritus Reader in Syriac Studies, University of Oxford, and Emeritus Fellow of Wolfson College, Oxford. Among his publications are *The Syriac Version of the Pseudo-Nonnus Mythological Scholia* (1971), and several collections of reprinted articles, including *From Ephrem to Romanos: Interactions between Syriac and Greek in Late Antiquity* (1999).

ANGELOS CHANIOTIS Former Professor of Ancient History in Heidelberg, Senior Research Fellow for Classical Studies at All Souls College, Oxford, and senior editor of *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.

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HANNAH M. COTTON Professor of Classics and Ancient History, the Shalom Horowitz Chair in Classics at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, editor of *Masada II: The Latin and Greek Documents* (1989 with J. Geiger) and of *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Texts from Nahal Hever, Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XXVII* (1997 with A. Yardeni) and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae Palaestinae*.

LEAH DI SEGNI Lecturer and researcher at the Institute of Archaeology of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, editor of the *Tabula Imperii Romani-Judaea Palaestina* (1994), the *Onomasticon of Iudaea, Palaestina and Arabia in the Greek and Latin Sources*, and the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae Palaestinae*.

WERNER ECK Professor emeritus of Ancient History, Institut für Altertumskunde-Alte Geschichte, Universität zu Köln, Germany. His most recent publications include *Köln in römischer Zeit* (2004) and *Rom und Judaea* (2007). Director of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* and the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* at the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy in Berlin, editor of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae Palaestinae*.

ROBERT G. HOYLAND Professor of Arabic and Middle East Studies at the University of St Andrews, Scotland, UK, author of *Seeing Islam as Others Saw It* (1997), *Arabia and the Arabs* (2001) and *Medieval Islamic Swords and Swordmaking* (2004); he has written on the epigraphy of the late Roman and early Islamic Middle East.

BENJAMIN ISAAC Fred and Helen Lessing Professor of Ancient History at Tel Aviv University, author of *The Limits of Empire: The Roman Army in the East* (1990), *The Near East under Roman Rule, Selected Papers* (1998) and *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* (2004), and editor of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae Palaestinae*.

TED KAIZER Lecturer in Roman Culture and History at Durham University since 2005, author of *The Religious Life of Palmyra* (2002) and editor of *The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods* (2008).

ERNST AXEL KNAUF Professor at the Institut für Bibelwissenschaft, Theologische Fakultät, Universität Bern. He has written on the production of authoritative scripture in the Persian period and all aspects of Israel/Palestina and Arabia before Islam.

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CONTRIBUTORS

FERGUS MILLAR Emeritus Camden Professor of Ancient History in the University of Oxford and a member of the Hebrew and Jewish Studies Unit, Oriental Institute, Oxford, author of *The Emperor in the Roman World* (1977), *The Roman Near East 31 BC–AD 337* (1993), and most recently *A Greek Roman Empire: Power and Belief under Theodosius II, 408–50* (2006).

SHLOMO NAEH Professor of Talmud and Jewish Thought at the Hebrew University, member of the Academy of the Hebrew Language and a fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Shalom Hartman Institute in Jerusalem; he writes extensively on rabbinic textual culture, especially among the Palestinian schools.

ARIETTA PAPACONSTANTINO Marie Curie Fellow in the Oriental Institute, University of Oxford, author of *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides* (2001) and of articles on various aspects of late antique and early Islamic social history and material culture.

JONATHAN J. PRICE Professor of Classics and Ancient History at Tel Aviv University, author of *Jerusalem Under Siege: The Collapse of the Jewish State, 66–70 C.E.* (1992) and *Thucydides and Internal Conflict* (2001), and editor of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaeae Palaestinae*.

TONIO SEBASTIAN RICHTER Lecturer, Ägyptologisches Institut/Ägyptisches Museum–Georg Steindorff, Universität Leipzig, author of *Rechtssemantik und forensische Rhetorik: Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Stil und Grammatik der Sprache koptischer Rechtsurkunden* (2002, 2nd edn., 2008).

MARIJANA RICL Professor of Ancient History in the University of Belgrade, author of *The Inscriptions of Alexandria Troas* (1997), *Inscriptiones Graecae Epiri, Macedoniae, Thraciae, Scythiae, II: Inscriptiones Macedoniae, II: Inscriptiones Macedoniae septentrionalis, sectio prima: Inscriptiones Lyncestidis, Heraclaeae, Pelagoniae, Derriopi, Lychnidi* (1999), and co-editor of *Lexicon of Greek Personal Names*.

SETH SCHWARTZ Gerson D. Cohen Professor of Rabbinic Culture and Professor of History at the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York. He has written about the influence of Roman imperialism on political, social and economic developments in Jewish life in ancient Palestine, author of *Imperialism and Jewish Society, 200 BCE to 640 CE* (2001).

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DAVID J. WASSERSTEIN Professor of History and Eugene Greener, Jr Professor of Jewish Studies at Vanderbilt University, author most recently (with the late Abraham Wasserstein) of *The Legend of the Septuagint, From Classical Antiquity to Today* (2006).

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Preface

This book is devoted to processes of continuity and change over the thousand years which separate Alexander the Great from Muhammad the Prophet – two men perceived as instrumental in changing the linguistic and cultural map of the Middle East, the former responsible for the spread of Greek, the latter for the demise of Greek and the rise of Arabic. Obviously the reality is not so simple, and the main purpose of this book is to examine the finer details and complexities of the relationship between languages and cultures during this period, and also to offer some account of the variety of responses that Greek, and other languages, evoked in the peoples of that area from Greece (and Rome) eastwards to Iran.

Like many other collective works, this book too has its own history. It grew out of the success of a conference, and the conference itself out of the experience of the editors as leaders and participants in a year-long research group at the Institute for Advanced Studies at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem in 2002–3. The group was led by Hannah M. Cotton (of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Jonathan J. Price (of Tel Aviv University) and David J. Wasserstein (then of Tel Aviv University, now of Vanderbilt University); the other members were Leah Di Segni and Shlomo Naeh (of the Hebrew University of Jerusalem), Robert G. Hoyland (then of Oxford University, now of the University of St Andrews), E. Axel Knauf (of Bern University), Marijana Ricl (of the University of Belgrade) and Seth Schwartz (of the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York).

The theme of our work at the Institute was ‘Greeks, Romans, Jews and Others in the Near East from Alexander to Muhammad: “A Civilization of Epigraphy”’, echoing Louis Robert’s definition of the Greco-Roman civilisation there. Engagement in inscriptions offered itself as a gateway to larger issues, especially languages and cultures and the interrelationships between them in the immensely varied worlds ruled by speakers of

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Latin and Greek and inhabited by those others whom they dominated, or tried to, between Alexander and Muhammad.

These concerns were in themselves a natural outgrowth of the ongoing international project known as the *Corpus inscriptionum Iudaeae–Palaestinae* (CIIP), three of whose editors were members of our research group. The CIIP is an attempt to create a comprehensive multilingual corpus of all inscriptions, both published and unpublished, from the fourth century BCE to the seventh century CE, from the territories of Israel and Palestine, where, as the many surviving written documents attest, the local languages and cultures pre-dating the arrival of the Greeks and Romans proved tenacious and potent and remained vital and vibrant under Greek and Roman rule. Here, more than anywhere else, it becomes evident that the richness of the epigraphic tradition comes fully into its own only when epigraphic texts in different languages, the contemporaneous expressions of different but related cultures, are studied together.

The highlight of the year, the culmination of our weekly seminars attended by ever-increasing numbers of people, was a three-day conference, held on 29 June–2 July 2003, under the title ‘Epigraphy and Beyond: Cultural and Linguistic Change in the Near East from Hellenism to Islam’. Scholars from France, Germany, Greece, Israel, Italy, the United Kingdom and the United States took part. The enthusiasm of those present, and the quality of many of the papers delivered there, encouraged us to think about a book on the theme, and this volume is the result. It contains a number of papers from the conference, all of them revised in the light of the discussions in Jerusalem and comments by the readers for Cambridge University Press, as well as several additional papers that we solicited from scholars who had not participated in our group or in the conference. Our aim in editing this volume has thus been not to offer yet another miscellaneous collection of variegated conference papers, but rather to make a distinctive contribution to an area of scholarly interest that has been growing in recent years. In inviting Fergus Millar to write an introduction for us we have sought deliberately both to obtain the imprimatur of that scholar whose contributions to this field have been the richest and the most thought-provoking and – perhaps inevitably – by asking him to read and in effect to comment on its contents, to obtain his reactions to the contributions themselves.

Many bodies and individuals have contributed to the making of this book. First, we wish to thank the Institute for Advanced Studies in Jerusalem for hosting both our Research Group in 2002–3 and the conference in 2003. Without the generous support and commitment of the Institute

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and its staff, continuing through to the preparation of this volume for the press, nothing would have been possible. It is a pleasure to thank here Benjamin Kedar, then the Director of the Institute, as well as Penina Feldman, its Administrative Director, Shani Freiman, Semadar Danziger, Batya Matalov, Dalia Aviely, Ofer Arbeli, Hanoch Kalimian, and, last but not least, Shoshana Yazdi, our cook, whose Afghan cooking delighted us all over many months.

Our group benefited during the year also from the services of a research assistant, Ariadne Konstantinou. Thanks to the Institute she was able to work for us in the preparation of the volume for the press as well. We owe her much.

We are most grateful to Tanya Tolubayev for her assiduous and meticulous help with collating the proofs of the authors and the editors.

Formal acknowledgement is due to Gabi Laron and the Israel Museum for granting us permission to reproduce the two inscriptions which appear on the dust jacket and inside the book.¹

These two inscriptions encapsulate in more ways than one the theme of the book, continuity and change. The ‘memorial epigraphy’, so well described by Werner Eck in the opening chapter, survived the gap of more than 900 years which separate the two inscriptions from each other. Both inscriptions testify to the chain of command in a world empire in which the ruler channels his orders through his local representatives. In both, those representatives display the order in the public sphere in the language of power, whether in Greek in the case of a Seleucid king acting through his viceroy, the infamous Heliodorus, then present in the satrapy of Koilē Syria and Phoinikē, or in Arabic in the case of the Servant of Allāh (*‘abd allāh*) Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, Commander of the Faithful, the Umayyad Caliph, acting through his governor Iṣḥāq b. Qabīṣa. As for change, this is more obvious, and striking: a new language, Arabic, and a different style of rule, by a ‘Commander of the Faithful’. The change is as yet still fresh: just a few miles away, in modern Hammat Gader (ancient Gadara), another building inscription (alluded to in Leah Di Segni’s paper) attests an earlier ‘Commander of the Faithful’, Mu‘awiya ibn Abi Sufyan (660–80), who restored the baths there, again following the convention of naming the chain of command for the execution of the task, but this time in Greek. Mu‘awiya was a very nouveau ruler, and

¹ Cf. Hannah M. Cotton and Michael Wörrle, ‘Seleukos IV to Heliodoros. A New Dossier of Royal Correspondence from Israel’, *ZPE* 159, 2007: 191–205 and Elias Khamis, ‘Two Wall Mosaic Inscriptions from the Umayyad Market Place in Bet Shean/Baysān’, *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 64.2, 2001: 159–76. For text and translation of the two inscriptions see pp. xviii–xx.

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he followed standard practice in using Greek. But this practice was dispensed with very dramatically a few years later, again not so far away, in Jerusalem, by the 'Commander of the Faithful' 'Abd al-Malik in his long mosaic inscription on the Dome of the Rock, and thenceforth, as the Bet Shean/Baysān inscription illustrates, this would become the norm for the monumental epigraphy of the Middle East.

Finally, we are grateful to Michael Sharp, at the Press, whose encouragement kept us going from the inception of this project and enabled us to see it through to completion, and to Clare Zon and Muriel Hall, our copy-editors, whose sharp eyes and shrewdness saved us from a host of errors. Last but not least we thank Eloise Dicker and Sarah Waidler for producing so efficiently the indispensable index.

H.M.C.

R.G.H.

J.J.P.

D.J.W.

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THE INSCRIPTIONS

- | | | |
|----|--|---|
| 4 | <p>Δορυμένης Διοφάνει
χαίρειν· τῆς παρὰ Ἡλιοδ-
ώρου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν πραγ-
μάτων ἀποδοθείσης ἡμῖν
ἐπιστολῆς κατακεχώρ-
ισται τὸ ἀντίγραφον. Εὖ
οὔν ποιήσεις φροντίζων
ἵνα ἕκαστα συντελήται
ἀκολούθως τοῖς ἐπεσταλ-
μένοις.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Ἔτους) δλρ'
Γορπιαίου κβ'</p> | <p>Dorymenes to Diophanes greet-
ings. The copy of the letter
handed over to us by Heliodoros
who is in charge of the affairs is
enclosed. You will do well there-
fore if you take care that every-
thing is carried out according to
the instructions.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Year 134 (i.e. 178 BCE),
22 of the month of Gorpaios</p> |
| 8 | <p>Ἡλιόδωρος Δορυμένει τῶ
ἀδελφῶι χαίρειν· τοῦ ἀπο-
δοθέντος ἡμῖν προστάγ-
ματος παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
περὶ τῶν κατὰ Ὀλυμπι-
όδωρον ὑποτέτακται τὸ
ἀντίγραφον. Εὖ οὔν
ποιήσεις κατακολουθήσας
τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις.</p> <p style="text-align: center;">(Ἔτους) δλρ'
Γορπιαίου κ{γ}'</p> | <p>Heliodoros to Dorymenes his
brother greetings. The copy of
the order by the king concerning
Olympiodoros handed over to
us is placed below. You will do
well therefore if you follow the
instructions.</p> <p style="text-align: right;">Year 134, after 22 of the
month of Gorpaios</p> |
| 16 | <p>Βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος
Ἡλιοδώρῳ τῶι ἀδελφῶι
χαίρειν· πλείστην
πρόνοιαν ποιούμενοι περὶ
τῆς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων
ἀσφαλείας καὶ μέγιστον
ἀγαθὸ[ν] εἶναι νομίζοντες</p> | <p>King Seleukos to Heliodoros
his brother greetings. Taking
the utmost consideration for
the safety of our subjects, and
thinking it to be of the greatest
good for the affairs in our realm
when those living in our kingdom</p> |

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- | | |
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| <p>τοῖς πράγμασιν, ὅταν
οἱ κατὰ τὴν βασιλείαν
ἀδεῶς τοὺς ἑαυτῶν
βίους διοικῶσιν, καὶ
συνθεωροῦντες, ὡς οὐθὲν
δύναται μεταλαμβάνειν
τῆς καθηκούσης εὐδαι-
μονίας ἄνευ</p> <p>20 τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμενείας,
ἵνα μὲν τὰ καθιδρυμένα
κατὰ τὰς ἄλλας σατρα-
πειάς ἱερά τὰς πατρίο[υς]
κομίζεται τιμὰς μετὰ τῆς
ἀρμοζούσης θεραπ[είας],
[ἐ]ξ ἀρχῆς τυγχάνομεν
τεταγμένοι, τῶν δὲ κ[ατὰ]</p> <p>24 [Κο]ίλην Συρίαν καὶ
Φοινίκην πραγμάτων
οὐκ ἐχόντων] [τὸν τα]
σόμενον πρὸς τῇ τούτων
ἐπιμελ[είαι - c. 6 -]
-----μεν ὅτι σωφρόνως
πρὸς τῇ[ν-----]
-----των Ὀλυμπι-
όδωρος-----</p> <p>28 -----κήψεως ΕΚΤ-----
-----</p> | <p>manage their lives without fear,
and at the same time realising that
nothing can enjoy its fitting prosper-
ity without the good will of
the gods, from the outset we have
made it our concern to ensure
that the sanctuaries founded in
the other satrapies receive the
traditional honours with the care
befitting them. But since the
affairs in Koilē Syria and Phoinikē
stand in need of appointing
someone to take care of these [i.e.
sanctuaries]... Olympiodoros...</p> |
|--|---|

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PREFACE

In the name of Allāh, the Compassionate

بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ

the Merciful. Ordered this

الرَّحِيمِ أَمْرٌ بِهَذَا

building the servant of Allāh (*ʿAbd Allāh*)

الْبَنِيَّانِ عَبْدَ اللَّهِ

Hishām, Commander of the Faithful,

هَشَامَ أَمِيرِ الْمُؤْمِنِينَ

[to be built] by the governor Ishāq

عَلَى يَدِي الْأَمِيرِ إِسْحَاقَ

bin Qabīṣa (completed in ?) the year

بِنِ قَبِيصَةَ وَفِي/ي؟ سَنَةِ

[] and one hundred

[] وَمِئَةَ

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Abbreviations

All classical abbreviations other than those listed below are from the *OCD* or *OLD*, journal abbreviations are from *L'Année épigraphique* and papyri abbreviations are from the *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*.

<i>ADAJ</i>	Annual of the Department of Antiquities in Jordan. Amman
Adams <i>Bilingualism</i>	Adams, J.N. (2003) <i>Bilingualism and the Latin Language</i> . Cambridge.
Adams, Janse and Swain <i>Bilingualism</i>	Adams, J.N., Janse, M. and Swain, S. (eds.) (2002) <i>Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Word</i> . Oxford.
<i>AE</i> or <i>AÉ</i>	<i>L'Année épigraphique</i> .
<i>AM</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i> , Athenische Abteilung.
Ameling <i>Kleinasien</i>	Ameling, W. (ed.) (2004) <i>Inscriptiones Iudaicae Orientis</i> vol. II: <i>Kleinasien</i> . Tübingen.
<i>ANRW</i>	Temporini, H. and Haase, W. (eds.) (1972–) <i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt</i> . Berlin and New York.
<i>ArchPF</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung</i>
<i>BAGN</i>	Stiehl, R. and Stier, H.E. (eds.) (1969–1970) <i>Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben. Festschrift für Franz Altheim zum 6.10.1968</i> . 2 vols. Berlin.
Bagnall <i>Egypt</i>	Bagnall, R.S. (1993) <i>Egypt in Late Antiquity</i> . Princeton, New Jersey.
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i> .

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin. Griechische Urkunden.</i>
<i>BKU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Koeniglichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin. Koptische Urkunden.</i>
<i>BM Or.</i>	Lane-Poole, S. (1875–90) <i>Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum</i> . London.
<i>BMC Pal.</i>	Hill, G. F. (1914) <i>Catalogue of Greek Coins of Palaestina in the British Museum</i> . London.
<i>BMCR</i>	Mattingly, H. (1966) <i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> vol. III: Nerva to Hadrian. London.
Bowersock <i>Arabia</i>	Bowersock, G. W. (1983) <i>Roman Arabia</i> . Cambridge, Mass. and London.
Bowersock <i>Hellenism</i>	Bowersock, G. W. (1990) <i>Hellenism in Late Antiquity</i> . Ann Arbor, Mich.
<i>CCID</i>	Hörig, M. and Schwertheim, E. (1987) <i>Corpus cultus Iovis Dolicheni</i> . Leiden.
<i>CCL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina</i> .
<i>CIG</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum</i> .
<i>CII</i> or <i>CIJ</i>	Frey, J.-B. (1936–52) <i>Corpus inscriptionum Iudaicarum: Recueil des inscriptions juives qui vont du IIIe siècle avant Jésus-Christ au VIIe siècle de notre ère</i> , vols. I–II. Rome.
<i>CIIP</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Iudaeae-Palestinae</i> .
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum</i> .
<i>CIMRM</i>	Vermaseren, M. J. (1956–60) <i>Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae</i> . The Hague.
<i>CIS</i>	<i>Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum</i> .
<i>CJ</i>	<i>Classical Journal</i> .
Cotton, Cockle, Millar ‘Papyrology’	Cotton, H. M., Cockle, W. E. H. and Millar, F. G. B. (1995) ‘The Papyrology of the Roman Near East: A Survey’, <i>JRS</i> 85: 214–35.
<i>CPG</i>	<i>Corpus papyrorum Graecarum</i> .
<i>CPJ</i>	<i>Corpus papyrorum Iudaicarum</i> I–III.
<i>CPL</i>	<i>Corpus papyrorum Latinarum</i> .
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Corpus papyrorum Raineri</i> . Vienna.
<i>CSCO</i>	<i>Corpus scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium</i> .

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CSNS	Clark, V.S. (1979) 'A Study of New Safaitic Inscriptions from Jordan.' Unpublished PhD thesis. Melbourne.
<i>CTh</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i> .
D-H	Drijvers and Healey <i>Old Syriac</i> .
<i>DAGR</i>	Daremberg, Ch., Saglio E. (ed.) and Pottier, E. (1877–1916) <i>Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines</i> . Paris.
Dieleman <i>Priests</i>	Dieleman, J. (2005) <i>Priests, Tongues, and Rites: The London–Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100–300 CE)</i> . Religions in the Graeco-Roman World 153. Leiden.
Dirven <i>Palmyrenes</i>	Dirven, L. (1999) <i>The Palmyrenes of Dura-Europos: A Study of Religious Interaction in Roman Syria</i> . Leiden.
Donceel-Voûte <i>Pavements</i>	Donceel-Voûte, P. (1988) <i>Les pavements des églises byzantines de Syrie et du Liban</i> . Louvain-la-Neuve.
Drijvers and Healey <i>Old Syriac</i>	Drijvers, H.J.W. and Healey, J.F. (1999) <i>The Old Syriac Inscriptions of Edessa and Osrhoene: Texts, Translations, and Commentary</i> . Leiden.
<i>EBGR</i>	<i>Epigraphic Bulletin for Greek Religion</i> . Kernos.
<i>EI</i> ²	<i>Encyclopaedia of Islam</i> , 2nd edn.
<i>FD</i>	Fouilles de Delphes.
Feissel and Gascou 'Documents I'	Feissel, D. and Gascou, J. (1995) 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (IIIe siècle après J.-C.), I. Les pétitions (P.Euphr. 1 à 5)', <i>JS</i> 65: 65–119.
Feissel and Gascou 'Documents III'	Feissel, D. and Gascou, J. (2000) 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (IIIe siècle après J.-C.) III. Actes divers et lettres (P.Euphr. 11 à 17)', <i>JS</i> 70: 157–208.
Feissel, Gascou and Teixidor 'Documents II'	Feissel, D., Gascou, J. and Teixidor, J. (1997) 'Documents d'archives romains inédits du Moyen Euphrate (IIIe siècle après J.-C.), II. Les actes de vente-achat (P.Euphr. 6 à 10)', <i>JS</i> 67: 3–57.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- FIRA* *Fontes iuris Romani antejustiniani*. 3 vols. Florence, 1940–3.
- GIBM* Newton, C. T. *et al.* (eds.) (1874–1916) *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*. Oxford.
- Hackl, Jenni and Schneider *Quellen* Hackl, U., Jenni, H. and Schneider, Ch. (2003) *Quellen zur Geschichte der Nabatäer*. NTOA 51. Freiburg and Göttingen.
- Hadad *Oil Lamps* Hadad, S. (2002) *The Oil Lamps from the Hebrew University Excavations at Bet Shean*. *Qedem Reports* 4. Jerusalem.
- Hatra Aggoula, B. (1991) *Inventaire des inscriptions hatréennes*. Paris.
- Healey *Tomb Inscriptions* Healey, J. (1993) *The Nabataean Tomb Inscriptions of Mada'in Salih*. *Journal of Semitic Studies*, supplement 1. Oxford.
- Hillers and Cussini *Palmyrene* Hillers, D. R. and Cussini, E. (1996) *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*. Baltimore, Maryland and London.
- Hoftijzer and Jongeling *North-West Semitic* Hoftijzer, J. and Jongeling, K. (1995) *Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions*. 2 vols. Leiden.
- Hoyland *Islam* Hoyland, R. G. (1997) *Seeing Islam as Others Saw it*. Princeton, New Jersey.
- I. Beroia* Gounaropoulou, L. and Hatzopoulos, M. B. (1998) *Ἐπιγραφές Κάτω Μακεδονίας (μεταξὺ τοῦ Βερμίου Ὄρους καὶ τοῦ Ἀξιῶ Πотоμοῦ)*. Τεύχος Α. Ἐπιγραφές Βεροίας. Athens.
- I. Épidamne* Cabanes, P. and Drini, F. (1995) *Corpus des inscriptions grecques d'Illyrie méridionale et d'Épire* vol. I: *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion et d'Apollonia*. 1: *Inscriptions d'Épidamne-Dyrrhachion*. Athens and Paris.
- I. Leukopetra* Petsas, P. M., Hatzopoulos, M. B., Gounaropoulou, L. and Paschidis, P. (2000) *Inscriptions du sanctuaire de la Mère des Dieux autochtone de Leukopetra (Macédoine)*. Athens.
- I. Oropos* Petrakos, B. C. (1997) *Οἱ ἐπιγραφές τοῦ Ὄρωποῦ*. Athens.

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<i>I.Salamis</i>	Mitford, T. B. and Nicolau, I.K. (1974) <i>The Greek and Latin Inscriptions from Salamis</i> . Nicosia.
IDAM	Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums.
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> .
IGBulg	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> .
IGCVO	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Christianae veteres occidentis</i> .
IGLJ II	Gatier, P.L. (1986) <i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie: Inscriptions de la Jordanie</i> vol. 2: Région centrale. Paris.
IGLS	<i>Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie</i> .
IGR	<i>Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes</i> .
IGRRP	<i>Inscriptiones graecae ad res romanas pertinentes</i> .
<i>IGrSic. et inf. It.</i>	Ruiz, V.A. and Olivieri, A. (eds.) (1925) <i>Inscriptiones graecae Siciliae et infimae Italiae ad ius pertinentes</i> . Milan.
IGUR	<i>Inscriptiones graecae urbis Romae</i> .
<i>IJudOr</i>	<i>IJudOr</i> I = Noy, D., Panayatov, A. and Bloedhorn, H. (eds.) <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis</i> vol. I: Eastern Europe. <i>IJudOr</i> II = Ameling, W. (ed.) <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis</i> vol. II: <i>Kleinasien</i> . <i>IJudOr</i> III (= Syr) = Noy, D. and Bloedhorn, H. (eds.) <i>Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis</i> vol. III: <i>Syria and Cyprus</i> .
IK	<i>Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien</i> .
ILCV	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae christianae veteres</i> .
ILS	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> I–III.
<i>IosPE</i> I ²	Latschev, B. (ed.) (1916) <i>Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae</i> . Petrograd.
Isaac <i>Near East</i>	Isaac, B. (1998) <i>The Near East under Roman Rule: Selected Papers</i> . Leiden.
<i>Jamhara</i>	Ibn al-Kalbī (1966) <i>Jamharat al-nasab</i> . vol. I, ed. W. Caskell. Leiden.
LA	See <i>SBL</i>
Levick <i>Roman Colonies</i>	Levick, B. (1967) <i>Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor</i> . Oxford.
LMLS	Language Monography of the Linguistic Society (of America).

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ABBREVIATIONS

- LSAM* Sokolowski, F. (ed.) (1955) *Lois sacrées de l'Asie mineure*. Paris.
- LSCG* Sokolowski, F. (ed.) (1969) *Lois sacrées des cités grecques*. Paris.
- Magen, Misgav and Tsfania *Gerizim* Magen, Y., Misgav, H. and Tsfania, L. (2004) *Mount Gerizim Excavations* vol. I: The Aramaic, Hebrew and Samaritan Inscriptions. Jerusalem.
- Malay Researches* Malay, H. (1999) *Researches in Lydia, Mysia and Aiolis*. TAM, Ergänzungsband 23. Vienna.
- MAMA* *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua*.
- MEFRM* *Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Moyen Âge et temps modernes*
- Millar Roman Near East* Millar, F. (1993) *The Roman Near East, 31 BC–AD 337*. Cambridge, Mass. and London.
- NEAEHL* Stern, E. (ed.) (1993–2008) *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* I–V. Jerusalem.
- O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* I = Hall, H. R. (ed.) (1905) *Coptic and Greek Texts of the Christian Period from Ostraka, Stelae, etc. in the British Museum*. London.
II = Biedenkopf-Ziehner, A. (ed.) (2000) *Koptische Ostraka* vol. I: *Ostraka aus dem Britischen Museum in London*. Wiesbaden.
- O.Crum* Crum, W. E. (ed.) (1902) *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others*. London.
- O.CrumST* Crum, W. E. (ed.) (1921) *Short Texts from Coptic Ostraca and Papyri*. Oxford.
- O.Medin. HabuCopt.* Stefanski, E. and Lichtheim, M. (eds.) (1952) *Coptic Ostraca from Medinet Habu*. Chicago.
- O.Petr.* 'Ostraca in Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie's Collection at University College, London', in *O.Bodl.* I: 82–152.
- O.Vind.Copt.* Till, W. C. (ed.) (1960) *Die koptischen Ostraka der Papyrussammlung der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*. Vienna.
- P.Apoll.* Rémondon, R. (ed.) (1953) *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônos Anô*. Cairo.

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- P.Bal.* Kahle, P. E. (ed.) (1954) *Balā'izah. Coptic Texts from Deir el-Balā'izah in Upper Egypt*. London.
- P.CLT* Schiller, A. A. (ed.) (1932) *Ten Coptic Legal Texts*. New York.
- P.Dura* Welles, C. B., Fink, R. O. and Gilliam J. F. (eds.) (1959) *The Excavations at Dura-Europos Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Final Report V, Part I: The Parchments and Papyri*. New Haven, Conn.
- P.Euphr.* Feissel and Gascou 'Documents I'; Feissel, Gascou and Teixidor 'Documents II'; Feissel and Gascou 'Documents III'.
- P.Euphr.Syr* Teixidor, J. (1990) 'Deux documents syriaques du IIIe siècle après J.-C. provenant du Moyen Euphrate', *CRAI*: 144–66.
Teixidor, J. (1991–2) 'Un document syriaque de fermage de 242 après J.-C.', *Semitica* 41/42: 195–208.
- P.Hever* Cotton, H. M. and Yardeni, A. (eds.) (1997) *Aramaic, Hebrew and Greek Documentary Texts from Nahal Hever and Other Sites. The Seiyāl Collection II; Discoveries in the Judaean Desert 27*. Oxford.
- P.Köln* *Kölner Papyri*.
- P.KRU* Crum, W. E. (1912) *Koptische Rechtsurkunden des achten Jahrhunderts aus Djême (Theben)*. Leipzig.
- P.Lond.* *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*. London.
- P.Lond.Copt.* Crum, W. E. (ed.) (1905) *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum*. London.
- P.Mich.* *Michigan Papyri*.
- P.Mon.Apollo* Clackson, S. J. (2000) *Coptic and Greek Texts Relating to the Hermopolite Monastery of Apa Apollo*. Oxford.
- P.Mon.Epiph.* Crum, W. E. and Evelyn White, H. G. (eds.) (1926) *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes, part II*. New York.
- P.Mur* Benoit, P., Milik, J. T. and de Vaux, R. (eds.) (1961) *Les grottes de Murabba'ât*. Oxford.

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- P.Nessana* Kraemer, C.J. (ed.) (1958) *Excavations at Nessana (Auja Hafir, Palestine)* vol. III: Non-Literary Papyri. Princeton, New Jersey.
- P.Oxy* *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*.
- P.Petra* *P.Petra* I = Frösén, J., Arjava, A. and Lehtinen, M. (eds.) (2002) *The Petra Papyri* vol. I. American Center of Oriental Research 4. Amman.
- P.Petra* III = Arjava, A., Buchholz, M. and Gagos, T. (eds.) (2007) *The Petra Papyri* vol. III. American Center of Oriental Research Publication 5. Amman.
- P.Qurra* Abbott, N. (1938) *The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute*. Chicago.
- P.Ross. Georg.* *Papyri russischer und georgischer Sammlungen*. Tiflis.
- P.Ryl. Copt.* Crum, W.E. (1909) *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the Collection of the John Rylands Library*. Manchester.
- P.Sorb.* *Papyrus de la Sorbonne*.
- P.Tebt.* *The Tebtunis Papyri*. London.
- P.Yadin* Lewis, N. (1989) *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* vol. I: Greek Papyri. Judean Desert Studies 2. Jerusalem.
- Yadin, Y., Greenfield, J.C., Yardeni, A. and Levine, B. (2002) *The Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters* vol. II: Hebrew, Aramaic and Nabataean Documents. Judean Desert Studies 4. Jerusalem.
- PAES* Littmann, E., Magie, D. and Stuart, D.R. (eds.) (1904–21) *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria* III: Greek and Latin Inscriptions, A. Southern Syria. Leiden.
- Pap. dem.* *Papyrus démotique* (in *Bibliothèque nationale*, Paris).
- PAT* Hillers, D.R. and Cussini, E. (1996) *Palmyrene Aramaic Texts*.

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Pestman <i>Recueil</i>	Pestman, P.W. (1977) <i>Recueil de textes démotiques et bilingues</i> . Leiden.
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca</i>
PGM	Preisendanz, K. (ed.) (1928–31) <i>Papyri graecae magicae</i> . 2 vols. Leipzig and Berlin.
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> .
Pollard <i>Soldiers</i>	Pollard, N. (2000) <i>Soldiers, Cities and Civilians in Roman Syria</i> . Ann Arbor, Mich.
PPolitIud	<i>Urkunden des Politeuma der Juden von Herakleopolis (144/3–133/2 v. Chr.) (P.Polit.Iud.): Papyri aus den Sammlungen von Heidelberg, Köln, München und Wien</i> , ed. James M.S. Cowey and Klaus Maresch, Wiesbaden, 2001.
PSI	<i>Papiri greci e latini: Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto</i> .
PSAS	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland</i>
QDAP	<i>The Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine</i>
Rahmani <i>Ossuaries</i>	Rahmani, L.Y. (1994) <i>A Catalogue of Jewish Ossuaries in the Collections of the State of Israel</i> . Jerusalem.
RB, RBi	<i>Revue biblique</i>
RE	Pauly-Wissowa, <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> .
Rep.	M. Rostovtzeff <i>et al.</i> (eds.) (1929–52), <i>The Excavations at Dura-Europos, Conducted by Yale University and the French Academy of Inscriptions and Letters. Preliminary Reports I–IX</i> . New Haven, Conn.
Richter <i>Rechtssemantik</i>	Richter, T.S. (2002) <i>Rechtssemantik und forensische Rhetorik. Untersuchungen zu Wortschatz, Stil und Grammatik der Sprache koptischer Rechtsurkunden</i> . Kanobos. Forschungen zum griechisch–römischen Ägypten 3. Leipzig.
RICIS	Bricault, L. (2005) <i>Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques</i> , Paris.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- RMD* Roxan, M., Holder, P. (eds.) (1975–2006), *Roman Military Diplomas I–V*. London.
- Rochette Latin* Rochette, B. (1997) *Le Latin dans le monde grec. Recherches sur la diffusion de la langue et des lettres latines dans les provinces hellénophones de l'Empire romain*. Brussels.
- Sartre Alexandre* Sartre, M. (2001) *D'Alexandre à Zénobie. Histoire du Levant antique, IVe siècle av. J.-C. – IIIe siècle ap. J.-C.* Paris.
- SB* *Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten*.
- SBL* *Studi Biblici Franciscani Liber annuus*
- Schürer, Vermes and Millar *History* Schürer, E., Vermes, G. and Millar, F. (1973–87) *The History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ, 175 B.C.–A.D. 135 I–III*. Edinburgh.
- SEG* *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*.
- Syll.*³ *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum I–IV*³.
- Syr* *IJudOr III*.
- TAM* *Tituli Asiae Minoris*.
- Welles 'The Inscriptions' Welles, C. B. (1938) 'The Inscriptions', in *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis*, ed. C.H. Kraeling. New Haven, Conn.
- WH Winnett, F.V. and Lankester Harding, G. (1978) *Inscriptions from Fifty Safaitic Cairns*. Toronto.
- WZKM* *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*
- Yadin Bar-Kokhba* Yadin, Y. (1971) *Bar-Kokhba: The Rediscovery of the Legendary Hero of the Last Jewish Revolt against Imperial Rome*. Jerusalem.
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- Yardeni Textbook* Yardeni, A. (2000) *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material I–II*. Jerusalem.
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*