

STUDIES IN ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN RELIGIONS 1

Sandra Blakely (ed.)

# Gods, Objects, and Ritual Practice



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# GODS, OBJECTS, AND RITUAL PRACTICE

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Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religions

Sandra Blakely, Series Editor

Number One  
Gods, Objects, and Ritual Practice

GODS, OBJECTS, AND RITUAL PRACTICE

*Edited by*

Sandra Blakely



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# Gods, Objects, and Ritual Practice

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## Abbreviations

<i>AAE</i>	<i>Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy</i>
<i>AAEA</i>	Anejos de Archivo español de arqueología
<i>ABAW</i>	Abhandlungen der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften
<i>ABD</i>	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by David Noel Freedman. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992.
<i>ʿAbod. Zar.</i>	<i>ʿAbodah Zarah</i>
<i>ABSA</i>	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
<i>Aen.</i>	Vergil <i>Aeneid</i>
<i>Agr.</i>	Cicero <i>De Lege agraria</i>
<i>AIRF</i>	Acta Instituti Romani Finlandiae
<i>A.J.</i>	Josephus <i>Antiquitates judaicae</i>
<i>AJA</i>	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
<i>Alex.</i>	Lucian <i>Alexander (Pseudomantis)</i>
<i>AMD</i>	Ancient Magic and Divination
<i>AMuGS</i>	Antike Münzen und geschnittene Steine
<i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
<i>ANRW</i>	<i>Aufstieg und Niedergang der Römischen Welt: Geschichte und Kultur Roms im Spiegel der neueren Forschung</i> . Part 2, <i>Principat</i> . Edited by Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1972–.
<i>AnSt</i>	<i>Anatolian Studies</i>
<i>AntAf</i>	<i>Antiquités africaines</i>
<i>AntK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
<i>Ant. rom.</i>	Dionysius of Halicarnassus <i>Antiquitates romanae</i>
<i>AOS</i>	American Oriental Series
<i>APAAA</i>	Archeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association
<i>Apocol.</i>	Seneca <i>Apocolocyntosis</i>
<i>ARA</i>	<i>Annual Review of Anthropology</i>
<i>Arch</i>	<i>Archaeology</i>
<i>ArchCl</i>	<i>Archeologia classica</i>
<i>ARG</i>	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>



<i>Argon.</i>	Apollonius Rhodius <i>Argonautica</i>
<i>ARID</i>	<i>Analecta Romana Instituti Danici</i>
<i>ARP</i>	<i>Accordia Research Papers</i>
<i>ARS</i>	African Red Slip ware
<i>Att.</i>	Cicero <i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
b.	born; ben
b.	Babylonian Talmud tractate
<i>BA</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeologist</i>
<i>Balb.</i>	Cicero <i>Pro Balbo</i>
<i>BAPD</i>	<i>Beazley Archive Pottery Database</i> ( <a href="http://www.beazley.ox.ac.uk">www.beazley.ox.ac.uk</a> )
<i>Bapt.</i>	Tertullian <i>De baptismo</i>
<i>BAR</i>	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
<i>BARIS</i>	British Archaeological Reports International Series
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
<i>BCAW</i>	Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World
<i>BCH</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique</i>
<i>BCHSup</i>	<i>Bulletin de correspondance hellénique Supplément</i>
<i>Ber.</i>	Berakot
<i>BiAMA</i>	Bibliothèque d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne et Africaine
<i>Bibl.</i>	Diodorus Siculus <i>Bibliotheca historica</i> ; Apollodorus <i>Bibliotheca</i>
<i>BICSSup</i>	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement
<i>B.J.</i>	Josephus <i>Bellum judaicum</i>
<i>BKP</i>	Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie
<i>BMCRE</i>	<i>Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum</i> . Harold Mattingly, ed. London: British Museum, 1923–.
<i>BMFA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston)</i>
<i>BNP</i>	<i>Brill's New Pauly: Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World</i> . Edited by Hubert Cancik. 22 vols. Leiden: Brill, 2002–2011.
<i>BNTC</i>	Black's New Testament Commentaries
<i>Brev. Vit.</i>	Seneca <i>De brevitae vitae</i>
<i>BSGA</i>	Blackwell Studies in Global Archaeology
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>c. Symm.</i>	Prudentius <i>contra Symmachum</i>
<i>CA</i>	<i>Current Anthropology</i>
ca.	circa
<i>Cal.</i>	Suetonius <i>Gaius Caligula</i>
<i>Cat.</i>	Cicero <i>In Catalinam</i>
cat.	catalog
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
<i>CD</i>	Cairo Genizah copy of the Damascus Document

CÉFR	Collection de l'École française de Rome
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CHSC	Center for Hellenic Studies Colloquia
CIL	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (1863–)
CJ	<i>Classical Journal</i>
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
Claud.	Suetonius <i>Divus Claudius</i>
Clem.	Seneca <i>De clementia</i>
ClQ	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CM	Cuneiform Monograph
col(s).	column(s)
Cons. Hon	Claudianus <i>De consulatu Honorii</i>
Cor.	Plutarch <i>Marcus Coriolanus</i>
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CRHPPhR	Cahiers de la Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses
CSCAI	Cambridge Studies in Classical Art and Iconography
CSCT	Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition
CSHJ	Chicago Studies in the History of Judaism
CSSCA	Cambridge Studies in Social and Cultural Anthropology
CWA	Cambridge World Archaeology
DACL	<i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> . Edited by Fernan Cabrol. 15 vols. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907–1953.
<i>De or.</i>	Cicero <i>De oratore</i>
<i>Descr.</i>	Pausanias <i>Graeciae descriptio</i>
diam.	diameter
<i>Diatr.</i>	Epictetus <i>Dairtribai (Dissertationes)</i>
<i>Dig.</i>	<i>Digesta</i>
<i>Div. Caec.</i>	Cicero <i>Divinatio in Caecilium</i>
<i>Div. quaest. LXXXIII</i>	Augustine <i>De diuersis quaestionibus LXXXIII</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
DT	August Audollent, <i>Defixionum Tabellae</i> . Paris: Fontemoing, 1904.
DWhG	Deutsche Wasserhistorische Gesellschaft
Ebib	Etudes Bibliques
ECC	Eerdmans Critical Commentary
Eccl. Rab.	Rabbah Ecclesiastes
<i>Ecl.</i>	<i>xuae</i>
Eins. Ecl.	Einsiedlin Eclogues
<i>Enarrat. Ps.</i>	Augustine <i>Enarrationes in Psalmos</i>
<i>Ep.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Epod.</i>	Horace <i>Epodi</i>

EPRO	Etudes préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
'Erub.	'Erubin
<i>Fab.</i>	Plutarch <i>Fabius Maximus</i> ; Hyginus <i>Fabulae</i>
<i>Fast.</i>	Ovid <i>Fasti</i>
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
fig(s).	figure(s)
flor.	floruit
frag.	fragment
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
Gen. Rab.	Rabbah Genesis
<i>Geogr.</i>	Strabo <i>Geographica</i>
<i>Georg.</i>	Vergil <i>Georgica</i>
GR	<i>Greece and Rome</i>
GRBS	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
<i>Har. resp.</i>	Cicero <i>De haruspicum responso</i>
HAW	Handbuch der altertumswissenschaft
HdA	Handbuch der Archäologie, Vorderasien
<i>Her.</i>	Philo <i>De rerum divinarum heres sit</i> ; Ovid <i>Heroides</i>
<i>Hesperia</i>	<i>Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens</i>
<i>Hist.</i>	Herodotus <i>Historiae</i>
Hist. Aug., Comm.	Historia Augusta, Commodus
<i>Hist. Eccl.</i>	Sozomenus <i>Historia Ecclesiastica</i>
<i>Hor. C.</i>	Porphyry's comments on Horace <i>Carmina</i>
HR	<i>History of Religions</i>
HSCP	<i>Harvard Studies in Classical Philology</i>
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HTS	Harvard Theological Studies
HUCA	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
Ḥul.	Ḥullin
IAAR	Israel Antiquities Authority Reports
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>IG.3 Sup.</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae. Vol. 3: Supplement.</i> Edited by Richard Wünsch. Berlin: Deutsche Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin, 1903.
<i>IGRom</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i> (1906–)
<i>IJAHS</i>	<i>International Journal of African Historical Studies</i>
illus.	illustration
ILS	H. Dessau. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> . Berlin, 1892–1916.

<i>Inst.</i>	Lactantius <i>Divinarum institutionum libri VII</i> ; Quintilian <i>Institutio oratoria</i>
<i>Isaac</i>	Ambrose <i>De Isaac vel anima</i>
<i>Isoc.</i>	Dionysus of Halicarnasus <i>De Isocrate</i>
<i>IstMitt</i>	<i>Istanbuler Mitteilungen</i>
<i>Itin.</i>	Egeria <i>Itinerarium Egeriae</i>
<i>JAMT</i>	<i>Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JCH</i>	<i>Journal of Cognitive Historiography</i>
<i>JCM</i>	Jews, Christians, and Muslims from the Ancient to the Modern World
<i>JCPS</i>	<i>Jewish and Christian Perspectives Series</i>
<i>JdI</i>	<i>Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts</i>
<i>JECS</i>	<i>Journal of Early Christian Studies</i>
<i>JFA</i>	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
<i>JHS</i>	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
<i>JMEMSt</i>	<i>Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies</i>
<i>JPf</i>	Judean pillar figurines
<i>JPICL</i>	Joan Palevsky Imprint in Classical Literature
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JRAI</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</i> NS
<i>JRASup</i>	Journal of Roman Archaeology, Supplement
<i>JRS</i>	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
<i>JSJSup</i>	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
<i>JSOTSup</i>	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JWP</i>	<i>Journal of World Prehistory</i>
<i>Ketub.</i>	Ketubbot
<i>KölnJb</i>	Kölner Jahrbuch für Vor- und Frühgeschichte
<i>KTAH</i>	Key Themes in Ancient History
<i>Lahav</i>	Reports of the Lahav Research Project, Excavations at Tell Halif, Israel
<i>LAHR</i>	Late Antique History and Religion
<i>LAI</i>	Library of Ancient Israel
<i>LASBF</i>	<i>Liber Annuus Studii Biblici Franciscani</i>
<i>LCL</i>	Loeb Classical Library
<i>LCM</i>	Laboratory for Comparative Microarchaeology
<i>LCS</i>	Lang Classical Studies
<i>Leg.</i>	Cicero <i>De legibus</i>

LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Zurich: Artemis, 1981–.
Ling.	Varro <i>De lingua latina</i>
LRP	Lahav Research Project
LTUR	<i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> . Edited by Eva Margereta Steinby. 6 vols. Rome: Quasar, 1993–2000.
m.	Mishnah tractate
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
MAARSup	Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome Supplement
Marc.	<i>Tertullian Adversus Marcionem</i>
Maxim.	Augustine <i>Contra Maximinum Arianum</i>
MDAI(R)	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>
Med.	<i>Medea</i>
MededRom	<i>Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome</i>
MedEnc	<i>Medieval Encounters</i>
MeditArch	<i>Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
MEFRA	<i>Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Antiquité</i>
Metam.	Ovid <i>Metamorphoses</i>
MGR	Monumenta Graeca et Romana
MHNH	<i>Revista Internacional de Investigación sobre Magia y Astrología Antiguas</i>
Migr.	Philo <i>De migratione Abrahami</i>
Mil.	Cicero <i>Pro Milone</i>
Mor.	Plutarch <i>Moralia</i>
MS	Mnemosyne Supplementum
MSS	manuscripts
n(n).	note(s)
N. A.	Aulus Gellius <i>Noctes Atticae</i>
NBACr	<i>Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana</i>
NA <sup>28</sup>	<i>Novum Testamentum Graece</i> , Nestle-Aland 28th ed.
NAC	<i>Numismatica e antichità classiche</i>
Nat.	Seneca <i>Naturales questiones</i> ; Pliny the Elder <i>Naturalis historia</i>
Nat. grat.	Augustine <i>De natura et gratia</i>
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEAEHL	<i>The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i> . 5 vols. Edited by Ephraim Stern. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1993–2008.
NICNT	New International Commentary on the New Testament
NIGTC	New International Greek Testament Commentary

NNM	Numismatic Notes and Monographs
no.	number
NovTSup	Supplements to Novum Testamentum
NTS	<i>New Testament Studies</i>
<i>Num.</i>	Plutarch <i>Numa</i>
Obj(s).	Object(s)
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBOSA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis Series Archaeologica
OCM	Oxford Classical Monographs
OCT	Oxford Classical Texts
<i>Off.</i>	Cicero <i>De officiis</i>
OJA	<i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
OMRL	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden</i>
<i>Onom.</i>	Eusebius <i>Onomasticon</i>
<i>Opuscula</i>	<i>Opuscula: Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome</i>
<i>Ord.</i>	Augustine <i>De ordine</i>
ORF	H. Malcovati, <i>Oratorum Romanorum fragmenta liberae rei pvblicae</i> . 4th ed. Torino: Paravia, 1976.
<i>Orig.</i>	Isidorus <i>Origenes</i>
OSCC	<i>Oklahoma Series in Classical Culture</i>
PAB	Potsdamer altertumswissenschaftliche Beiträge
<i>Pan.</i>	Epiphanius <i>Panarion (Adversus haereses)</i> ; Pliny <i>Panegyricus</i>
P.Oxy.	Grenfell, Bernard P., et al., eds. <i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i> . London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1898–.
PAPhS	<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i>
PBSR	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
PDM	Demotic texts in Hans Dieter Betz, <i>The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation, Including the Demotic Spells</i> . 2nd edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PGM	<i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> . Edited by Karl Preisendanz. 2nd ed. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973–1974.
pl(s).	plate(s)
PMAAR	Papers and Monographs of the American Academy in Rome
POC	<i>Proche-Orient Chrétien</i>
P. Oxy.	Oxyrhynchus Papyri

Qidd.	Qiddušin
<i>Quaest. rom.</i>	Plutarch <i>Quaestiones romanae et graecae</i>
<i>QuadMess</i>	<i>Quaderni dell'Istituto di archeologia della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia, Università di Messina</i>
R.	Rabbi
RAC	<i>Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum</i> . Edited by Theodor Klauser et al. Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1950–.
<i>RAr</i>	<i>Revue archéologique</i>
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RdA</i>	<i>Rivista di archeologia</i>
<i>REL</i>	<i>Revue des Études Latines</i>
Res gest. divi Aug.	Res gestae dvi Augusti
rev.	reverse (of tablet)
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
<i>RhMus</i>	<i>Rheinisches Museum</i>
<i>RIC</i>	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> . Edited by Harold Mattingly et al. London: Spink, 1923–.
<i>RIC</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> . Edited by Harold Mattingly et al. London: Spink, 2007–
<i>RPAA</i>	<i>Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia: Rendiconti</i>
RPC	Roman Provincial Coinage Project
RRP	Religion der römischen Provinzen
RSQ	<i>Rhetoric Society Quarterly</i>
RSR	<i>Recherches de science religieuse</i>
RVV	Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten
Šabb.	Šabbat
SAM	Studies in Ancient Medicine
SANER	Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records
<i>Sat.</i>	Macrobius <i>Saturnalia</i> ; Juvenal <i>Satirae</i>
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series
<i>ScAnt</i>	<i>Scienze dell'Antichità: Storia, archeologia, antropologia</i>
ScrHier	Scripta Hierosolymitana
Šeb.	Šebi'it
SGRR	Studies in Greek and Roman Religion
SHGR	Studies in the History of Greece and Rome
SMNIA	Tel Aviv University Sonia and Marco Nadler Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series
SMSR	<i>Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni</i>
SNTSMS	Society for New Testament Studies Monograph Series
SO	<i>Symbolae Osloenses</i>

<i>Sol.</i>	Plutarch <i>Solon</i>
<i>Spect.</i>	Tertullian <i>De spectaculis</i>
SSCA	Stockholm Studies in Classical Archaeology
str.	stratum
<i>StOr</i>	<i>Studia Orientalia</i>
SWBA	Social World of Biblical Antiquity Series: Second series
t.	Tosefta tractate
tab.	table
TAOP	Tel Aviv: Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University, Occasional Publications
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
TDNT	<i>Theological Dictionary of the New Testament</i> . Edited by Gerhard Kittel and Gerhard Friedrich. Translated by Geoffrey W. Bromiley. 10 vols. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964–1976.
<i>ThesCRA</i>	<i>Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum</i> . Los Angeles: Getty Museum, 2004–.
<i>Tim.</i>	Plato <i>Timaeus</i>
TLL	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i>
TSAJ	Texte und Studien zum antiken Judentum/Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism
Tr.	Ovid <i>Tristia</i>
<i>Trac. Ev. Jo.</i>	Augustine <i>In Evangelium Johannis tractatus</i>
<i>Trin.</i>	Augustine <i>De trinitate</i>
TZ	<i>Theologische Zeitschrift</i>
UCOP	University of Cambridge Oriental Publications
<i>Var. Hist.</i>	Aelian <i>Varia Historia</i>
<i>Verr.</i>	Cicero <i>In Verrem</i>
<i>Vit. Par.</i>	Plutarch <i>Vitae Parallelae</i>
WA	<i>World Archaeology</i>
WGRWSup	Writings on the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
y.	Jerusalem Talmud tractate
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>
ZAC	<i>Zeitschrift für Antikes Christentum/Journal of Ancient Christianity</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina- Vereins</i>
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>





## Contributors

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