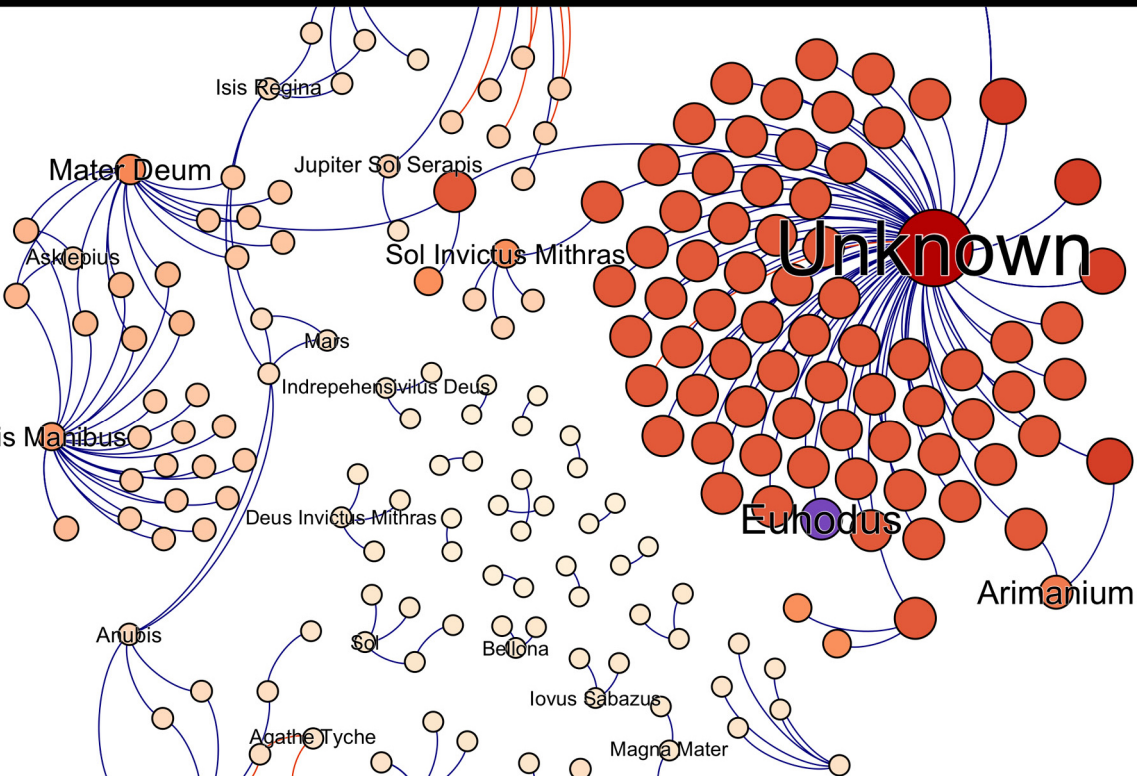


Sandra Blakely
and Megan Daniels (eds.)

Data Science, Human Science,
and Ancient Gods
Conversations in Theory and Method



Data Science, Human Science,
and Ancient Gods
Conversations in Theory and Method

 LOCKWOOD PRESS

Studies in Ancient Mediterranean Religions

Sandra Blakely, Series Editor

Number Three

Data Science, Human Science, and Ancient Gods

Data Science, Human Science,
and Ancient Gods
Conversations in Theory and Method

Edited by

Sandra Blakely and Megan Daniels



LOCKWOOD PRESS

Columbus, GA
2023

Data Science, Human Science, and Ancient Gods

Copyright © 2023 by Lockwood Press

All rights reserved. No part of this work may be reproduced or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic or mechanical, including photocopying and recording, or by means of any information storage or retrieval system, except as may be expressly permitted by the 1976 Copyright Act or in writing from the publisher. Requests for permission should be addressed in writing to Lockwood Press, PO Box 1080, Columbus, GA 31901 USA.

ISBN: 978-1-948488-51-8

Cover design by Susanne Wilhelm.

Cover image: Image from Lindsey A. Mazurek, Kathryn A. Langenfeld, and R. Benjamin Gorham, figure 7.5.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Blakely, Sandra, 1959- editor. | Daniels, Megan, editor.

Title: Data science, human science, and ancient gods : conversations in theory and method / edited by Sandra Blakely and Megan Daniels.

Description: Columbus, GA : Lockwood Press, 2023. | Series: Studies in Ancient Mediterranean religions ; 3 | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2022057575 (print) | LCCN 2022057576 (ebook) | ISBN 9781948488518 (hardcover) | ISBN 9781948488525 (pdf)

Subjects: LCSH: Greece—Religion. | Rome—Religion. | Mythology, Classical. | Science.

Classification: LCC BL790 .D383 2023 (print) | LCC BL790 (ebook) | DDC 292.001/5—dc23/eng20230328

LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022057575>

LC ebook record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2022057576>

Printed in the United States of America on acid-free paper.

Contents

Contributors	vii
Abbreviations	x
Introduction. New Sciences and Old Gods: A Brief History of the Human Sciences and Ancient Religion <i>Megan Daniels and Sandra Blakely</i>	1
HUMAN SCIENCE: FEASTING, COGNITION, MEMORY, AND PERFORMANCE	
Ritualizing Relations in Early Iron Age Greece: Feasting in Extraurban Sanctuaries <i>Megan Daniels</i>	31
Harnessing the Gods: Big Gods Theory and Moral Supervision in the Greek World <i>Jennifer Larson</i>	71
Festival Souvenirs from Roman Cologne: Connectivity, Memory, and Conceptions of Time <i>Maggie Popkin</i>	93
Roman Strategies of Ritualization and the Performance of the <i>Pompa Circensis</i> <i>Jacob Latham</i>	117
NETWORK MODELS: MATERIAL AND SOCIAL	
Nearness and Experience in a Network of Roman Amphitheaters <i>Sebastian Heath</i>	135
Reflexivity and Digital Praxis: Reconstructing Ostia's Social Networks <i>Lindsey A. Mazurek, Kathryn A. Langenfeld, and R. Benjamin Gorham</i>	175

DATA DRIVEN APPROACHES: QUANTIFYING, DIGITIZING, AND DESCRIBING

The Landscape of Early Greek Religion: GIS , Big Data, and the Complexity of the Archaeological Record <i>Sarah Murray</i>	205
Quantifying Thick Descriptions with the Database of Religious History <i>M. Willis Monroe</i>	223
The Reign of Janus: Signs, Data Science, and Image Worlds in Third-Century BCE Italy <i>Dan-el Padilla Peralta</i>	247
Agency, Affect, Games, and Gods: Archaeogaming and the Archaeology of Religion <i>Sandra Blakely</i>	283
Epilogue. Ancient Religion and Modern Science: A Coevolution <i>Ian Rutherford</i>	321
Subject Index	327
Index of Ancient Sources	340

Contributors

Sandra Blakely is associate professor of Classics at Emory University. Her research foci include religion and magic in the Greek and Roman worlds, digital humanities, maritime mobility, archaeometallurgy, and anthropological and comparative approaches to the ancient Mediterranean. Her current project explores the pragmatic realization of the promises of safe sailing associated with initiation into the mysteries of the Great Gods of Samothrace, positioning epigraphic, legendary, and literary data in social networks and ancient geospaces.

Megan Daniels is assistant professor of ancient Greek material culture at the University of British Columbia. Her interests revolve around several areas, including data science and social sciences approaches to ancient Mediterranean religions, the study of migration and mobility in antiquity, and the shared ideologies of divine kingship between Greece and the Near East. She is currently working on a monograph on this latter topic, and has edited a volume of papers on interdisciplinary approaches to ancient migration, which came out in 2022.

R. Benjamin Gorham is the research data specialist in the Kelvin Smith Library at Case Western Reserve University and the technical director of the Mediterranean Connectivity Initiative. He received his PhD in art history from the University of Virginia, where he was a Mr. and Mrs. John H. Birdsall III fellow. His work focuses on geospatial information recording, network analysis, and digital modeling of Italian sites, including photogrammetric recording. He contributed to the Via Consolare Project at Pompeii, served as the supervisor of geospatial studies at the American excavations at Morgantina: Contrada Agnese Project and provided technical consulting to Archimedes Digital.

Sebastian Heath is clinical associate professor of Roman Archaeology and Computational Humanities at the Institute for the Study of the Ancient World, New York University. His research and field work employ a variety of digital approaches, including data modeling, linked open data, and methods for the virtual recreation of ancient objects, spaces, and experiences.

Kathryn A. Langenfeld is an assistant professor in the Department of History and Geography at Clemson University. She received her PhD in classical studies from Duke University and later held an Andrew W. Mellon postdoctoral fellowship at Rice University. Her research uses history, epigraphy, and archae-

ology to investigate issues concerning political disillusionment, forgery, censorship, and espionage in the Late Roman Empire. Her work has appeared in *Studies in Late Antiquity*, as well as the volume *Beyond Deceit: Valuing Forgery and Longing for Antiquity* (Oxford University Press, 2023). Further epigraphic work on Ostia's Caserma dei Vigili will feature in an upcoming volume of Brill Studies in Greek and Roman Epigraphy.

Jennifer Larson is professor of Classics at Kent State University. Her research interests span the fields of ancient Mediterranean religions, Greek poetry, ancient sexualities, and the cognitive science of religion. She is the author of *Understanding Greek Religion: A Cognitive Approach* (Routledge, 2016), *Ancient Greek Cults: A Guide* (Routledge, 2007), *Greek Nymphs: Myth, Cult, Lore* (Oxford, 2001) and other books, journal articles, and chapters. She is a research affiliate of Oxford University's School of Anthropology and Museum Ethnography and a member of the board of Seshat: Global History Databank.

Jacob Latham is associate professor of history at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. He is the author of *Performance, Memory, and Processions in Ancient Rome: The Pompa Circensis from the Late Republic to Late Antiquity* (Cambridge University Press, 2016) as well as articles in *Church History*, *History of Religions*, *Journal of Late Antiquity*, *Journal of Religion*, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, and a number of edited volumes.

Lindsey A. Mazurek is assistant professor in the Department of Classical Studies at Indiana University, Bloomington and codirector of the Mediterranean Connectivity Initiative. She received her PhD in art history from Duke University. Her work focuses on connectivity, transcultural exchange, and mobility in the Roman Mediterranean. Her first book, *Isis in a Global Empire: Greek Identity through Egyptian Religion in Roman Greece*, was published with Cambridge University Press in 2022. Together with Cavan Concannon, she edited *Across the Corrupting Sea: Post-Braudelian Approaches to the Ancient Eastern Mediterranean* (Routledge, 2016). Other work has appeared in *Hesperia*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Journal of Roman Archaeology*, and *Classical Review*, and has been supported by the Loeb Classical Library, the Archaeological Institute of America, the International Catacomb Society, and the National Endowment for the Humanities.

M. Willis Monroe is a research associate in the Department of Philosophy at the University of British Columbia and the Associate Director of the Database of Religious History. He received his PhD in Assyriology from Brown University. His work focuses on the history and transmission of science and religion in ancient contexts, with a focus on the Mesopotamian and cuneiform worlds.

In his role as associate director of the DRH he has written extensively on the difficult work of coding historical pasts for quantitative analysis.

Sarah Murray is assistant professor of Classics at the University of Toronto. Her research concerns the archaeology and economy of the Aegean Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. She has published two books, *The Collapse of the Mycenaean Economy: Trade, Imports, and Institutions 1300–700 BCE* (Cambridge, 2017) and *Male Nudity in the Greek Iron Age: Representation and Ritual Context in Aegean Societies* (Cambridge, 2022), and coedited a third, *The Cultural History of Augustan Rome: Texts, Monuments, and Topography* (Cambridge, 2019). She has also authored or coauthored articles on various topics related to Aegean prehistoric archeology or archaeological methods in journals including the *Journal of Archaeological Research*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, *Journal of Field Archaeology*, *Hesperia*, and *Mouseion*. She presently codirects a survey based in Porto Rafti, Greece.

Dan-el Padilla Peralta is associate professor of Classics, and associated faculty in African American Studies, at Princeton University. He is the author of *Undocumented: A Dominican Boy's Odyssey from a Homeless Shelter to the Ivy League* (Penguin, 2015) and *Divine Institutions: Religions and Community in the Middle Roman Republic* (Princeton, 2020); and he has coedited *Rome, Empire of Plunder: The Dynamics of Cultural Appropriation* (Cambridge, 2017). His main lines of research are Roman Republican religious and cultural history, the history of slavery, and classicisms in the Afro-Atlantic diaspora.

Maggie L. Popkin is the Robson Junior Professor in the Humanities and associate professor of art history at Case Western Reserve University. She is the author of *The Architecture of the Roman Triumph: Monuments, Memory, and Identity* (Cambridge, 2016), *Souvenirs and the Experience of Empire in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge, 2022), and numerous articles on Greek and Roman art and architecture, and coeditor of *Future Thinking in Roman Culture: New Approaches to History, Memory, and Cognition* (Routledge, 2022).

Ian Rutherford is professor of Classics at the University of Reading, UK. His research tends to focus on Greek poetry, on ancient religions and on interactions between the Greek world and other cultures, especially those of Anatolia and Egypt. His most recent book is *Hittite Texts and Greek Religion: Contact, Interaction and Comparison* (Oxford, 2020).

Abbreviations

AA	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>
AΔ	<i>Αρχαιολογικόν Δελτίον</i>
<i>Adv. nat.</i>	Arnobius, <i>Adversus nationes</i>
<i>Aem.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Aemilius Paulus</i>
<i>Aen.</i>	<i>Aeneid</i>
Aesch.	Aeschylus
<i>Agr.</i>	Cato, <i>De agricultura</i>
AJA	<i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>
AJN	<i>American Journal of Numismatics</i>
AJP	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AJS	<i>American Journal of Sociology</i>
<i>An.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i>
<i>Ann.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annales</i> ; Ennius, <i>Annales</i>
<i>Ant.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Antigone</i>
<i>Ant. Rom.</i>	Dionysius of Hallicarnassus, <i>Antiquitates Romanae</i>
AP	Anthologia Palatina
App.	Appian
Ap. Rhod.	Apollonius Rhodius
Apollod.	Apollodorus mythographus
Ar.	Aristophanes
AR	<i>Archiv für Religionsgeschichte</i>
Archil.	Archilochus
ARD	Varro, <i>Antiquitates rerum divinarum</i>
Argon	Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i>
Arn.	Arnobius
Aug.	Suetonius, <i>Divus Augustus</i>
August.	Augustine
BARIS	BAR International Series
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BCH	<i>Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique</i>
<i>B. Civ.</i>	Appian, <i>Bella civilia</i>
<i>Bibl.</i>	Apollodorus, <i>Bibliotheca</i>
BICS	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies</i>
BICSSup	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Supplement
BSA	<i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i>
BSAS	British School at Athens Studies

BSASup	British School at Athens Supplementary Volume
BzA	Beiträge zur Altertumskunde
CA	<i>Current Anthropology</i>
Caes.	Plutarch, <i>Caesar</i>
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History
Calig.	Suetonius, <i>Gaius Caligula</i>
CÉFR	Collection de l'École française de Rome
CGRN	<i>Collection of Greek Ritual Norms</i> . http://cgrn.ulg.ac.be/ .
ch(s).	chapter(s)
Cic.	Cicero
CIL	<i>Coprus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> . Berlin, 1862–.
ClAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
Claud.	Claudianus
Clem.	Seneca, <i>De clementia</i>
Comp. hist.	<i>Historiarum Compendium</i>
Coriol.	Plutarch, <i>Coriolanus</i>
CP	<i>Classical Philology</i>
CSR	cognitive science of religion
De civ. D.	Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i>
Dem.	Demosthenes
De spect.	Terullian, <i>De spectaculis</i>
DHA	<i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i>
Dio Cass.	Dio Cassius
Dion. Hal.	Dionysus of Halicarnassus
Div.	Cicero, <i>De divinatione</i>
Div. inst.	Lactantius, <i>Divinae institutiones</i>
DOP	<i>Dumbarton Oaks Papers</i>
Ep.	Horace, <i>Epodi</i> ; Seneca, <i>Epistulae</i>
EPRO	<i>Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain</i>
ESR	evolutionary science of religion
ETCSL	<i>Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature</i> . http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk
Eum.	Aeschylus, <i>Eumenides</i>
Eur.	Euripides
Fast.	Ovid, <i>Fasti</i>
Fest.	Sextus Pompeius Festus
FGH	Jacoby, Felix. <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin: Weidmann; Leiden: Brill, 1923–1959.
frag(s).	fragment(s)
FRHist	Cornell, Timothy J., ed. <i>Fragments of the Roman Historians</i> . 3 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
GRF	<i>Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta</i>

HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
Hdt.	Herodotus
<i>Heliogab.</i>	Scriptores Historiae Augustae, <i>Heliogabalus</i>
<i>Hipp.</i>	Euripides, <i>Hippolytus</i>
<i>Hist. eccl.</i>	Eusebius, <i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
HN	Pliny, <i>Naturalis historia</i>
HN ^p	Rutter, Keith, et al. <i>Historia Numorum</i> . 3rd ed. London: British Museum Press, 2001–.
Hom.	Homer
HTR	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
<i>Hymn. Hom. Ap.</i>	Phokis, <i>Homeric Hymn to Apollo</i>
IG	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter, 1924–.
Il.	Homer, <i>Iliad</i>
ILLRP	Degrassi, Attilio, ed. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> . 2 vols. Rome: La Nuova Italia, 1963, 1965.
<i>Iul.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Divus Iulius</i>
JAAAR	<i>Journal of the American Academy of Religion</i>
JAJ	<i>Journal of Ancient Judaism</i>
JAR	<i>Journal of Archaeological Research</i>
JArS	<i>Journal of Archaeological Science</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JFA	<i>Journal of Field Archaeology</i>
JHS	<i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>
JMA	<i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>
JNG	<i>Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte</i>
JRA	<i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>
JRASup	Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplementary Series
JRS	<i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>
Lactant.	Lactantius
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
Leg.	Plato, <i>Leges</i>
LH	Late Helladic
LIMC	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> . Düsseldorf: Artemis, 1981–.
Ling.	Varro, <i>De lingua Latina</i>
LTUR	Steinby, Margareta, ed. <i>Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae</i> . 6 vols. Rome: Quasar, 1993–2000.
Lyc.	Plutarch, <i>Lycurgus</i>
Lys.	Lysias
MAAR	<i>Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome</i>
Macrob.	Macrobius
Marc.	Plutarch, <i>Marcellus</i>

Mart.	Martial
<i>Med.</i>	Euripides, <i>Medea</i>
<i>MEFR</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'École française de Rome</i>
<i>Mem.</i>	Xenophon, <i>Memorabilia</i>
<i>Merc.</i>	Plautus, <i>Mercator</i>
Min. Fel	Minucius Felix
MnSup	Mnemosyne Supplements
<i>Mor.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>
<i>MTSR</i>	<i>Method & Theory in the Study of Religion</i>
<i>Nat. D.</i>	Cicero, <i>De natura deorum</i>
<i>NC</i>	<i>Numismatic Chronicle</i>
Nic. Dam.	Nicolaus of Damascus
NS	new series
NSA	<i>Notizie degli Scavi di antichità</i>
<i>Num.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Numa</i>
<i>Oct.</i>	Minucius Felix, <i>Octavius</i>
<i>Od.</i>	Homer, <i>Odyssey</i>
<i>OGR</i>	<i>Origo Gentis Romanae</i>
<i>Ol.</i>	Pindar, <i>Olympian Ode</i>
<i>Op.</i>	Hesiod, <i>Opera et dies</i>
<i>Ov.</i>	Ovid
<i>Pan. Ter. Hon.</i>	Claudianus, <i>Panegyricus de Tertio Consulatu Honorii Augusti</i>
Paus.	Pausanias
<i>PBSR</i>	<i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>
<i>PCPS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society</i>
Petron.	Petronius
PG	Protogeometric
<i>Phil.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Philoctetes</i>
<i>Planc.</i>	Cicero, <i>Pro Plancio</i>
Plin.	Pliny (the Elder)
Plut.	Plutarch
<i>PNAS</i>	<i>Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences</i>
<i>Poen.</i>	Plautus, <i>Poenulus</i>
<i>Pol.</i>	Aristotle, <i>Politica</i>
<i>Ran.</i>	Aristophanes, <i>Ranae</i>
<i>REL</i>	<i>Revue des études latines</i>
<i>Resp.</i>	Plato, <i>Respublica</i>
<i>RG</i>	Augustus, <i>Res Gestae Divi Augusti</i>
RGRW	Religions in the Graeco-Roman World
<i>RIC</i>	Sutherland, Carol H. V., and R. A. G. Carson. <i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> . Rev. ed. London: Spink & Son, 1984.
<i>RIDA</i>	<i>Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité</i>
<i>Rom.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Romulus</i>

RRC	Crawford, Michael H. <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> . 2 vols. London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.
Rust.	Columella, <i>De re rustica</i>
Sat.	Macrobius, <i>Saturnalia</i> ; Petronius, <i>Satyrica</i> ; Horace, <i>Satirae</i> ; Juvenal, <i>Satirae</i>
ScAnt	<i>Scienze dell'Antichità</i>
SCI	<i>Scripta Classica Israelica</i>
SCJud	Studies in Christianity and Judaism
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum graecum
Sen.	Seneca
Serv.	Servius
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae
SNG	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i>
Soph.	Sophocles
<i>De spect.</i>	Tertullian, <i>De spectaculis</i>
Suet.	Suetonius
<i>Supp.</i>	Aeschylus, <i>Supplices</i>
<i>Tab. Her.</i>	<i>Tabula Heracleensis</i>
Tac.	Tacitus
TAPA	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
<i>Ti. Gracch.</i>	Plutarch, <i>Tiberius Gracchus</i>
Thgn.	Theognis
<i>Theog.</i>	<i>Theogonia</i>
Thuc.	Thucydides
trans.	translator
UET	Ur Excavations: Texts
Val. Max.	Valerius Maximus
Varr.	Varro
<i>Vesp.</i>	Suetonius, <i>Divus Vespasianus</i>
WAW	Writings of the Ancient World
WGRWSup	Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement
YCS	Yale Classical Studies
Xen.	Xenophon
ZPE	<i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>

Subject Index

Page numbers in italics refer to figures; t after page number refers to table; n after page number refers to note

- Abrahamic religions, 72, 77, 82, 89
Achaea, 43, 44, 153, 164
Actaeon, 15, 157
aes grave. *See* coinage
Aetolia, 41n17, 51, 307n21
affect, definition of, 20, 290
Africa Proconsularis, 15, 137, 138, 142, 153–54, 153, 162–67, 164
agency
 big data approach and, 214–15
 cognitive and evolutionary models for, 11, 12, 13, 108
 divine, 76, 293
 of epigraphic texts, 176, 178
 individual, 7, 10, 76, 188n13, 214, 290–92, 323
 of objects, 13, 20, 94, 108
 of research designers, 16
 within social networks, 181
 theory, 18, 19, 284–85, 289–90. *See also* habitus
 (political) transformation and human, 33, 48–52
Agent Based Modeling (ABM), 294
aggrandizers, 39, 48, 51–52
Agios Dimitrios cemetery (Fthiotis), 50
Alexander the Great, 258, 288
Alternative Reality Games (ARG). *See* games
Amnisos (Crete), 208n6, 210
amphitheater
 definition of, 137, 141
 minimum and maximal view on importance of, 138–39
 riots at, 146, 155, 156, 166
 seating capacity of, 136, 137, 140, 147, 161–65, 164, 165, 167
 and urbanism, 138, 167
Amyklai, 40, 48
ancestors, 41, 107, 124, 295, 296, 298
Anfiteatro Campano (Capua), 140, 156–58, 157, 158, 163, 165
animals, fighting involving, 137, 155, 159, 160, 161
Anubis, 185n11, 194, 197
Apollo. *See also* Kalapodi, Apollo sanctuary (Abai)
 Daphnophoros temple (Eretria), 48
 depicted on coins, 254, 264n50
 Hyakinthos (Laconia), 212n15
 musical contest with Marsyas, 156
 sanctuary at Amyklai, 48
 sanctuary at Delos, 194n20
 in the *Iliad*, 73, 81, 302
 in *Sailing with the Gods*, 304
apophoreta. *See* gift: *apophoreta*
apsidal building, 33n4, 48
Arcadia. *See* Mount Lykaion (Arcadia)
archaism (primordialism), 121–24, 127
Argos, 44n22, 51
Artemis Elaphebolos. *See* Diana (Artemis)
Artemision (Ephesus). *See* Diana (Artemis)
as, 260, 261, 262, 270
ash altars, 41, 44, 210
asulia (also *asylia*), 13, 86–87, 307
Atelier des petites estampilles, 266–67, 267, 268
Athena (Minerva), 55n40, 96, 101, 105, 252, 264n48, 266
Augustus, emperor
 amphitheaters during reign of, 141

- Augustus, emperor (*continued*)
 archaism during reign of, 121–22
 and cult of Janus, 249–50, 260n34
 festivals connected to house of, 104n15
 authority. *See also* palace
 centralized, 12, 33, 49, 55–56
 divine and human, 85
 feasting and, 39, 49–52
 hereditary, 34–35
legitimate, 39
 noncentralized, 35, 49
 numinous, 19
 religious and political, 55, 119, 124
 Roman, 15
 tripods and, 53–54
 Aydelotte, William, 235n23, 237, 243
- Baetica, 140, 153, 154, 164
 behavior, prosocial. *See* prosociality
 belief, religious
 of divine punishment, 11, 75–77, 80–81, 82n19, 87n26
 in omniscient moralistic god(s), 13, 36, 72, 77, 83, 89, 324
 and practice, 7, 227, 228–30, 235, 236–38, 321–22
 bifrontality, 255, 261–62, 272
Big Gods: How Religion Transformed Cooperation and Conflict. *See* Norenzayan, Ara
 Bourdieu, Pierre
doxa, 295
habitus, 14, 17, 128–29, 289–90, 292
 “social alchemy”, 39
 Britannia, 94, 142, 153, 154, 164
 building block approach, 225, 228–30
 bull(-calf) motif. *See* coinage: bull motif;
 iconography: bull motif
 burial. *See also* tombs
 in ancient literature, 73, 75–76, 88
 (feasting and) elite, 41, 47–48, 51
 epigraphic display related to, 191–94
 Mycenaean, 34, 41, 43
 practices, 41, 47–48, 51, 236–37, 257n26, 290
 in video games, 288
 warrior, 43, 51
- calendar
 Codex-, 100
 Fasti Praenestini, 103, 104
Feriale Duranum, 103
 festival, 13–14, 94, 99–100, 103–4, 107
 Maya, 297
 religious, 284
 Cannae (Italy), 263–64
 Capitolia, 167, 168
 capta, 16, 20, 187, 321n1
 Carthage (Tunisia)
 amphitheater of, 137, 163
 confrontation with Rome, 248, 263
 manipulation of the Janiform motif by, 263–64
 Castor and Pollux. *See* Dioscuri
 CCAA. *See* Cologne, Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (CCAA)
 Centaureomachy, 15, 157
 chariot
 figurine of, 43, 48
plaustrum, 127
 in processions, 118, 127, 128, 131
tensae, 127, 128
 choreography, ritual, 118, 120, 122–24, 127–28, 130, 131
 circus procession. *See* *pompa circensis*
 city-state. *See also* polis (poleis)
 Carthage as hellenized, 264
 development of, 33, 53, 72, 74, 83
 Etruscan, 257, 262n41
 Greek (*polis*), 79, 81, 83, 88, 207, 264, 266, 302
 mercantile, 31
 Rome, 248, 257, 262n41
 treasuries dedicated by, 55
Civilization (video game), 288, 290
 cognitive science of religion (CSR), 7–13, 17–19, 36–37, 72, 323–25. *See also* evolutionary science of religion (ESR)
 coinage. *See also* iconography; power: of numismatic iconography
aes grave, 259, 266, 267
 Agrigentine bronze *litrae*, 262, 263
as, 260, 261, 262, 270
 of the Brettian League, 265
 bull motif on, 252, 254
 Carthaginian shekel, 263, 264

- to commemorate, 20, 111
 didrachms, 258
 Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) on, 252, 257–61
dupondius, 257, 258, 261
 Janiform, 17–18, 248–51, 252, 255–65
 Janus-prow motif, 260, 261n38, 267–70
 Locriate issue, 256, 257
 oath-taking motif, 255–56
 prow motif, 253, 254
 Punic, 264
quadrigati, 255, 257–58, 259, 263
 Servilian *triens*, 260n35, 270–71
sextans, 260n35, 266
 stater, 255, 256, 257, 258–59
 symbolic power of, 270–71
 Tarentine, 266
 tetradrachm, 254n17, 267
 thunderbolt motif on, 253, 254, 271
- Cologne
 Ara Ubiorum, 94, 101
 Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium (CCAA), 93–94, 104
 cult of the Matronae, 103
 festivals at, 13–14, 94, 100–103, 105–9, 111–12
 medieval pit near Neumart, 98, 100
 pottery manufacture, 94–103, 95, 97, 98, 105–6, 109–10
 Roman potters' district at Rudolfplatz, 95–96
- combat
 gladiatorial 137–40, 146, 155, 156, 159, 162
 maritime, 47
- communication
 buildings as loci of, 295–96
 of and with the divine, 11, 37
 function of games, 287
 heralds and, 80–81
 imperial, 17, 247
 numismatic, 248–49, 258–59, 262–65, 322
 of political power, 12, 38–39
 represented in network analysis, 145, 147–48
 Roman road system and regional, 144
 symbolic, 250
- community, religious, 181–83, 188n13, 229, 272, 286, 2877
 comparative approaches, 1–8, 17, 49, 234, 238, 285, 325
 complex societies, 12, 36, 39–40, 88, 323, 324
 computational analysis, 15, 136, 144–45, 147, 155, 168, 213
 consumption
 drink, 41, 48
 conspicuous, 54
 of meat, 44, 46, 52, 55
 ritual, 32, 34, 37–44, 46–52, 53, 78
 cooperation
 engendered by religion, 8, 11–12, 36–37, 50, 71–72
 fostered by feasting, 32, 39
 intragroup and “out-group”, 79, 81, 89
proxenia and, 79, 302
 Corinth (Greece), 44, 48, 148, 151, 266
 cosmic turtle. *See* turtle, cosmic
 cosmology
 Etruscan, 271, 272n65
 Maya, 18, 293–301
 religious activities and the order of the, 37
 in virtual worlds, 285, 293–94, 297–301
 craft production, 35, 40
- Crete
 amphitheater on, 148, 153, 164
 historiography of archaeology on, 211–12, 322–23
 iron ore, 51
 Minoan, 16
 pirates from, 305
 ritual landscapes of, 209–11, 209t, 322
 ritual practices in, 16, 207, 208–10
- CSR. *See* cognitive science of religion
 CSV (comma-separated values)
 database, 178–79, 185, 188
 files, 178n4, 181, 310
 Gephi visualizations of, 187
- Culsans. *See* iconography: Culsans
- cult(s)
 civic, 121
 connection between disparate, 183–85, 186, 197
 Cybele, 181, 184–85, 186, 194, 195, 197

- cult(s), (*continued*)
 foreign, 19
 imperial, 94, 100, 101, 103–4, 107–9, 111
 Isis, 184–85, 194, 195–96
 Janus, 249–50, 260
 of the Matronae, 103
 Mithras, 14, 184–85, 186, 194, 197
 mystery, 18, 77, 185
 of Roma and Augusta, 101
 Serapis, 184
 of the Servilian *triens*, 270–71
 Victoria, 258n27
- curses, 13, 76, 81–82, 85, 87, 88
- Cybele
 cult of. *See* cult: Cybele
 figurine. *See* figurine: of Cybele
- Cyprus, 12, 42, 51, 148, 153, 164
- dance, 123, 302
- Database of Religious History (DRH). *See*
also qualitative data
 comparative research, 234, 242
 concept of religion, 225
 converting qualitative into quantitative
 data, 224, 225, 235–42
 data creation, 234–38
 polls of analytic units, 227–33, 241–42
 qualitative data within DRH, 223–25,
 227–28, 230–31, 233, 234
 quantified data within DRH, 223–24,
 227–28, 230, 231, 235, 237–38
- dedication
 of a building, 157
 of inscriptions in Ostia, 179n5, 192–97
 to Janus, 249
 of the Maya house, 295
 metal, 44n22, 47
 of “sacrificial grain”, 52
 of tripods, 47, 48, 53–55
- Delphi, 86, 207, 210, 211, 212n15
- deposition of votives, 12, 55, 210
- Diana (Artemis)
 Artemis Elaphebolos, 44
 dedication to, 255n19
 depicted on Magerius mosaic, 160, 161
 figurine. *See* figurine: of Diana
 sanctuary (Artemision) at Ephesus, 84,
 105n17
- didrachms. *See* coinage
- digital humanities, 17, 20, 177, 187, 226,
 234–35
- dikē* (righteousness), 73, 74, 76
- dining, deposits indicating (ritual), 12, 34,
 47–48, 49. *See also* feasting
- Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), 195, 252,
 255, 257–58, 259, 260–61
- doxa. *See* Bourdieu, Pierre
- drinking
 extraurban sanctuaries and communal,
 35, 37, 40
 ritualized, 49, 117, 268
 standard sets for, 34
 vessels for (ritual), 42, 43, 50, 52, 268
- dupondius*. *See* coinage
- Durkheim, Émile, 4, 5n11, 6, 225, 228, 229
- dynamicist view, 291–92
- East Lokris, 44, 45n24, 47
- Elateia, 45, 47, 53n36, 54n38
- Eleusis, 35n8, 207
- Elis, 43, 44, 54n38, 84, 207
- emic and etic, 20, 185, 229, 285, 294
- Eretria, Apollo Daphnephoros temple. *See*
 Apollo
- ethne*, 35, 40
- ethnography
 data derived from 2–5, 17, 36, 227, 228,
 239–40
 on feasting, 32
 of game player communities, 287
 of the Maya, 295
- Etruria, 51, 261–62
- Etruscanization and Etruscanizing, 259,
 261–62, 271
- Etruscans. *See also* iconography: Etruscan
 city-states of the, 257
 and live burials, 257n26
 pirates, 305
 religion of the, 259, 261–62, 271–72n65
 “Euboean koine”, 45
- evolution
 biological, 71
 human social(-cultural), 1–6, 83, 88,
 285, 288, 290
 of morality, 12, 71, 83, 88
 of religion and prosocial behavior, 8–9,

- 11–13, 17, 36–37, 227, 323
 socioeconomic and political, 12–13, 33
 evolutionary game theory, 322
 evolutionary science of religion (ESR),
 11–14, 17, 19, 36–37. *See also* cognitive
 science of religion (CRS)
 exchange. *See also* trade
 extraurban sanctuaries and, 35, 39–40,
 48, 55, 84
 feasting and, 12, 13, 38, 40, 48, 51–55
 gift-, 2, 51, 53, 54, 79
 state-controlled, 31
 transegalitarian societies and systems
 of, 35
 of votives, 20
 executions, 137, 148, 155, 159, 162
- Fasti Praenestini. *See* calendar: Fasti
 Praenestini
- Faynan mines (Jordan), 54
- feasting. *See also* dining; exchange: feast-
 ing and
 anthropological research in 2, 12, 32,
 34–35, 38, 39
 economic processes and ritual, 13,
 38–40, 48, 52–56
 equipment, 34, 40–43, 45–49, 51, 53,
 56n42
 funerary, 34, 37, 51–52
 in Homeric epics, 51, 55n41, 302
 memory and, 20, 38
 ritual, 33–36, 44, 46, 49, 51–52, 55–56
 in (extraurban) sanctuaries, 12, 33, 35,
 37, 40–47, 48, 50–52
 sponsored by (ruling) elites, 34, 38–39,
 43, 48, 49–52
- festival. *See also* Cologne: festivals at
 Agrippinensian, 101
 annual, 100, 111
 calendars, 13–14, 94, 99–100, 103–4,
 107–9
 cyclical 111–12
decennalia, 107
dies natalis, 100, 101, 107
 faunal remains of, 16
 Latin, 119
 Ludi Romani, 100, 101
panspermion, 52
 as productive for commerce and poli-
 tics, 302
 public, 102–3, 122
 religious, 102–3, 302
 on Samothrace, 303
 Saturnalia, 103n14, 105–6, 110
vicennalia, 107
- Fidenae, 146
- figurine
 cattle, 43, 48
 chariot, 43, 48
 of Cybele, 95, 96, 96, 99–100, 101
 of Diana, 96, 99–100, 103, 109
 of Hercules, 105
 horse, 43, 48
 of Mercury, 97, 100, 103
 metal (anthropo- and zoomorphic), 43,
 48, 210
 of Minerva, 96, 101
 terracotta, 13, 43, 48, 93–111, 97, 98, 107
- Flavian amphitheater (Rome), 139, 140,
 142–44, 156, 162
- functionalism, 4, 6–7, 8, 228. *See also*
 structural functionalism
- games
 Alternative Reality (ARG), 286
 funerary, 53
 and religion, 286–87
 serious, 285–87
- Gaul, 138, 142, 268
- Geertz, Clifford, 4, 8n19, 239–41, 243
- gender, 128, 178
- Gephi, software, 176–77, 178, 180–89, 194,
 197, 198
- Germania Inferior, 94, 101–12, 153, 164
- Gestalt approach, 291–92, 301, 310
- Giddens, Anthony, 7, 289–90
- gift
apophoreta, 105–6
 commemorative, 101–2, 105
 -exchange, 2, 51, 53, 54, 79
 giving, 2, 110
 in Homeric epics, 53, 79
 as symbolic capital, 39
 tripods as, 53, 54
 votive, 83

- GIS
 mapping, 176, 177, 188–94, 197, 198
 platform, 178
 use of, 16, 207, 209–10, 213, 310
- GitHub, 15, 141
- gladiators. *See* combat: gladiatorial
- globalization, 32, 175–76
- god(s), omniscient, 13–14, 36, 72, 77–78, 83, 89, 324
- Granovetter, Mark, 7, 179
- graph theory, 180–81
graphē, 76
- Great Tradition, concept of the, 3–4, 9, 10
- Gryllos, 43
- guest-friend(ship), 72, 73–74, 77, 78, 79–80. *See also* hospitality; *xenia*
- habitus
 agency theory (affect and), 20, 285, 289, 300, 302, 310, 312
 defined by Pierre Bourdieu, 14, 17, 128–29, 289–90, 292
 ritual, 131
- Hannibal, 257, 264, 265
- heralds, 74, 80–81, 161
- Hercules (also Heracles/Herakles)
 arrival in Italy, 265
 Charops sanctuary (Koroneia), 86
 colloquial “oaths”, 83
 depicted in amphitheatres, 15, 157
 depicted on coins, 260n35
 figurine of, 105
 as son of Cretan Ida, 210
- hierarchy
 institutionalized, 39
 palatial, 34, 49
 postpalatial, 40, 44, 52
 settlement, 47
 social(-political), 15, 34, 39, 43, 48, 167, 296
- hierosulia*. *See* temple: robbery
- hiketeia* (supplication), 13, 74, 80, 81, 88–89
- Hispania Tarraconensis, 153, 154, 164
- Hispania, 142, 146
- historiography, 10, 211, 228
- hoards
 of coins, 17, 251–54, 268
 of feasting equipment, 51
 with tripods, 41n18
- Homer
 feasting in, 51, 55n41, 302
 gift-exchange between guest-friends, 51, 53, 79
 moral supervision of the gods in, 12–13, 72–75, 77, 78
 in *Sailing with the Gods*, 302, 305, 306
- Horden, Peregrine and Purcell, Nicholas, *The Corrupting Sea*, 10, 32n2, 144
- horse
 faunal remains of, 46, 51
 figurine, 43, 48
 iconography, 53, 252, 258, 264n48, 248n50
 in Roman religious parades, 118, 122, 124, 127, 129, 130
- hosiē*, 76
- hospitality, 38, 72, 74, 76, 78–79, 302. *See also* guest-friendship; *xenia*
- hunts, animal
 elite activity, 46
panspermion festival celebrating, 52
 staged in amphitheater, 137, 148, 158, 159
- hyperreality, 17–18, 248, 311–12, 322
- Icarus, 15, 157
- iconography. *See also* coinage
 Alexander the Great’s numismatic, 258
 Apollo, 252, 254
 Athena/Minerva, helmeted, 252, 266, 267
 bull motif, 252, 254
 corn-ears motif, 253, 264
 Culsans, 257n24, 259, 261–62
 Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux) motif, 252, 255, 257–61
 dolphin, 252, 266
 Etruscan, 254n17, 257n24, 259, 261–62, 266, 271
 female Janiform motif, 263–64
 hammer motif, 272
 horse, 252, 258, 264n48, 248n50
 Janiform motif, 17–18, 248–51, 252, 254–65
 Janus-prow motif, 260, 261n38, 267–70

- Jupiter and Victoria, 252, 257, 266
 Mars, 252, 258
 Maya. *See* Maya: in video games
 Mercury, 252, 266
 oath-taking motif, 255–56
 Pegasus, 252, 266, 267
 prow motif, 253, 254
 Punic, 263–65
quadriga motif, 253, 263
 shell, 266, 267
 Tanit/Demeter, 252, 264, 265n52
 Tarantine numismatic, 266–67, 267
 thunderbolt motif on, 253, 254, 271
- identity
 civic, 157, 165
 discourse on coinage, 262–63, 266
 ethnic, 145, 178
 European, 20
 gender, 128
 Greek (ancient), 301–2
 group, 35, 38, 94, 110
 as performance, 118, 128–29, 131–32
 regional (political), 35, 53, 157
 religious, 228, 230
 Roman, 121, 131–32, 139, 262, 266
 Sicilian discourses on, 262
 social, 55, 118, 128, 129, 131
- inequality, 38n14, 39, 47
- infantry, 122, 130
- inscription(s)
 confession, 13, 85n23, 87–88
 cultic, 181, 188
 Fasti, 103
 funerary, 15, 147, 181, 189, 191–94
 honorific, 181
 on Magerius mosaic, 161
 Maya, 295–96, 297
 monumental, 111
 of Ostia, 15, 177–98, 323
 of *proxenia* grants in Samothracian network, 294, 302–3
 sacrifice listed in, 128
 on terracotta figurines, 93–102, 95–99, 103, 106, 108
 tracing social and religious networks by studying, 145, 176–88, 194–98
- instauratio*, 119–20
- institutions. *See also asulia, hiketeia; proxenia; xenia*
 (non-)centralized, 33–34, 35, 50
 civic, 14, 302
 of the polis, 13, 19
 prosocial, 13
 religion embedded in, 5, 7
 religious, 86–87, 89, 207, 208, 228–29
 social, 11, 13, 19, 83, 177
 weakened, 33–34, 39, 50, 54
- Isis
 and Anubis, 194, 197
 cult of, 184–85, 194, 195–96
- Isis Regina, 194, 195–96
- Isthmia, 40, 43, 47–48
- Janus (Janiform). *See also entries under iconography; myth and mythology; semiotics; temple(s); worship*
 bearded, 259, 260
 -Castor-Pollux complex, 257–61
 cult of, 17, 249–50
 as emblem of Roman power and sacred commitment, 262–63, 265
 in Etruscan cosmology, 271
 female, 263–65
 inventor of coinage, 272
 nonbearded, 259, 260
 -prow motif on coins, 260, 261n38, 267–70
quadrifons, 259
 representing past and future, 259, 271–73
 temple (Rome), 259–60, 271
- Jequetepeque (Peru), 49
- Juno (Iono) Regina. *See* temple(s): of Juno Regina
- Jupiter (Iuppiter), 120, 127, 252, 257, 263, 266, 271
- Jupiter Liber. *See* temple(s): of Jupiter Liber
- Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 100, 101, 127, 167
- Jupiter Sol Serapis, 184
- Jupiter Tonans. *See* temple(s): of Jupiter Tonans
- Jupiter Victor. *See* festival: *dies natalis*

- Kalapodi
 Apollo sanctuary (Abai), 12, 40, 41n17,
 43, 44–47, 207, 212
 bronze tripods, 47, 48, 53, 54
 as hub for food processing and storage,
 53
 regional metal production center, 47,
 48, 53
 ritual feasting and economic processes,
 48, 51–52, 55
 small-scale leadership at, 47, 48, 51–52
- Kavousi, 51, 210n9
- kēru*x. *See* heralds
- K'inich Janab Pakal I, 295–99
- kleos*, 303
- Knossos (Crete). *See* tomb(s): Knossos
- kraters, 41, 42, 43n20, 45, 46, 47
- kylix, 42, 49, 51, 267–68
- Lasteika, 43
- leaders(hip)
 in “big men” societies, 34–35, 39
 (ritual) feasting and, 38–41, 48–55
 in Homer, 53
 LH IIIC local, 33n4
 political, 10–11, 50, 55
 small-scale, 47
 in state-level societies, 39
- Lefkandi (Toumba), 41, 43n20, 46n28, 47,
 51
- libation, 74, 117, 119, 123, 268, 304
- lictors, 126–27
- Linear B texts, 34, 49, 211
- lion, 46, 48, 96
- litrae*, Agrigentine. *See* coinage
- liturgical order, 131–32, 322. *See also*
 performance: ritual
- ludiones* (or *ludius*), 118, 119, 120, 123, 124
- Magerius mosaic, 158, 160, 161, 167
- Magna Graecia, 264, 267, 268
- Malinowski, Bronislaw, 3, 4, 6
- manumission, 13, 85–86
- Marsyas, myth of. *See* myth and mythol-
 ogy: of Marsyas
- materiality, 1, 7, 11, 12, 188n14, 291
- Maumbury (England), 140–41
- Mauretania, 142, 153, 164
- Mauss, Marcel, 2, 6
- Maya
 ball players, 299
 religion, 18, 293, 294–300
 Spanish conquest of the, 247
 in video games, 293, 296, 297–301, 310
- Medeon, 45, 47
- Mediterranean Connectivity Initiative
 (MCI), 176–88, 197–98
- memorialization acts, 16, 188, 197, 302
- memory
 animal sacrifices and, 38
 collective, 94, 111–12
 cultural, 12, 14, 131, 284, 300
 episodic, 13–14, 15, 18, 108–10, 322
 individual, 111–12
 and inscriptions of Ostia, 188, 193, 197
 prospective, 14, 94, 109–10, 111
 retrospective, 94, 111
 semantic, 13–14, 15, 108–9, 322
 studies, 19, 94, 108–10, 322
- Mercury, 97, 100, 103, 252, 260n35, 266.
See also figurine: of Mercury
- Metropolis (Naxos), 41
- Minerva. *See* Athena (Minerva)
- Minerva Augusta, temple of. *See* temple(s)
- Mithras cult. *See* cult: Mithras
- monumentality, 11, 31–32, 111, 139, 285,
 297
- morality
 and big gods, 13, 36, 71–72, 77–78,
 88–89, 324
 in “confession inscriptions” in Lydia
 and Phrygia, 87–88
 engendered by religion, 8
 and Greek gods in Hesiod and Homer,
 13, 72–78, 83, 88–89
 and the Greek polis, 83–85
 (ritual) practices that enforce, 12,
 128n17
- Mount Hymettus (Attica), 40, 48, 207, 211,
 212n12, 212n15
- Mount Kynortion, 212
- Mount Lykaion (Arcadia), 40, 44, 50, 207,
 212
- Mount Parnes, 48
- multimediality, 249, 266–69
- multiscalar analysis, 11, 19, 38, 111, 189

- munera*, 138, 139, 146
 musicians, 119, 159–60, 159
 mysteries, 303
 Eleusinian, 84
 of Proteus, 305
 myth and mythology
 of Actaeon, 157
 of Hercules labors, 157
 of Icarus, 157
 of Janus, 249–50, 255, 271–72
 of Jason and the Argonauts, 303–4, 311
 of Marsyas, 156–57, 157
 Maya. *See* Maya: religion
 panhuman, 6, 325

 network. *See also* Ostia: social networks
 of
 computationally actionable, 136, 144, 145, 147, 155, 168
 concept of, 144–46, 148–54
 of connectivity, 94, 111–12
 maps, 178, 181, 198
 proxenic, 285, 303–5
 religious, 144, 181, 323
 rhizomatic, 176, 181, 198
 Samothracian (in *Sailing with the Gods* game), 294, 311, 323
 sanctuaries and interregional, 47, 53
 social(-political), 43, 144, 293, 323
 strong and weak ties in, 179–80, 181, 198, 303
 visualization of, 136, 142–43, 148–55, 151–52, 163, 168, 176, 323
 New Archaeology. *See* Processual archaeology
 Newstead (Scotland), 142, 151
 Nichoria, 33n4, 41
 Norenzayan, Ara, *Big Gods: How Religion Transformed Cooperation and Conflict*, 9, 12n26, 71–72, 75, 77–78, 81, 82n21, 88–89
 Nucera, 146–47
 Numa, 121, 124

 oaths, 13, 73, 76–77, 82–83, 88–89, 255–56
 object-centered approaches, 16–17, 213
 Olympia
 ash altar, 41, 44
 bronze tripod (production), 41, 43, 48, 49, 53–55
 Cretan connection of, 210
 deposition of figurines, 43, 48, 210
 kylikes (with ribbed stems), 42, 49, 51
 ritual feasting, 44, 49, 51–52, 54, 55
 (Panhellenic) sanctuary, 12, 40–44, 84, 207, 211
 small-scale leadership at, 47, 52, 54
 treasuries at, 54
 Olympic games, 44, 84
 omniscient gods. *See* god(s), omniscient
 Opous, cemetery at, 47
 Orchomenos, 45, 47
Oregon Trail (video game), 288, 290
 Ostia Connectivity Project, 177
 Ostia
 inscriptions in Campus of Magna Mater, 188, 195, 197
 inscriptions from Caserma dei Vigiles, 189
 inscriptions from Piazza delle Corporazioni, 189, 190
 inscriptions from Regio II, 189
 Isola Sacra necropolis, 178, 189
 Porta Romana necropolis, 177, 189, 191–94, 192, 193
 primary and secondary usage (spoliation) of inscriptions, 189–91
 published inscriptions of, 177–79, 181, 185
 (eastern) religious cults at, 14, 15, 181, 184–85, 186, 194–97
 Sarapeum, 190, 195–96
 social networks of, 14, 15, 20, 176–79, 181–98, 182, 183, 184
 study of ethnic identity at, 178

 palace. *See also* authority
 centralized authority of the, 48–49
 demise of Mycenaean, 12, 31, 33n4, 35, 50, 53, 54
 feasts at Mycenaean, 34, 35, 40
 figural imagery of the Mycenaean, 47
 of Mycenae, 35n8
 of Orchomenos, 45
 at Palenque (site in Mexico and virtual), 294, 296, 297

- palace (*continued*)
 of Pylos, 34
 religious activity at Mycenaean, 34, 42, 207, 211
 of Tiryns, 35n8, 40n15
- Palaeopaphos-Skales. *See* tomb(s):
 Palaeopaphos-Skales
- Palenque (Mexico), 294–95
- Palenque* (virtual), 18, 285, 293, 296–301, 304, 309–11
- Palmyra (Syria), 146, 151, 288
- Pegasus. *See* iconography: Pegasus
- Perachora, 56n42, 207
- performance
 and feasting, 12, 20
 festival, 108, 109–11
 Maya buildings and, 295–96
 punctilious (orthopraxy) ritual, 117–18, 119–22, 131, 132
 ritual, 2, 14, 20, 110n20, 118, 128–32, 304
 of Roman identity, 121, 131, 132, 139
 of the social self, 11, 14, 118, 128–32
- Phokis, 44, 47, 48, 207, 210
- Polanyi, Karl, 7
- polis (poleis). *See also* city-state
 prosocial institutions between and beyond the, 13, 76, 79, 81, 87n26
 religion embedded in the, 7, 32, 47, 52, 83
 sanctuaries and the rise of, 12, 31–32, 35, 40, 53–55, 72
- Polis cave (Ithaka), 42, 207
- polytheistic cultures (polytheism), 72, 77, 88, 321
- pompa circensis* (circus procession)
 archaism, 122–24, 127
 itinerary, 118
 at *ludi circenses*, 118, 127
 as ritual performance, 118, 119–21, 127–32
 and social conduct, 128–31
tensae. *See* chariot: *tensae*
- Pompeii
 advertisements for *munera*, 146, 165
 amphitheater, 140, 147
 funerary inscription from, 147
 riot at amphitheater, 146, 155, 156, 166
 spatial visibility and integration, 193n18
 in video games, 287
- Portus, 141, 192, 194n21
- postprocessual archaeology, 10, 21, 206n2, 288. *See also* Processual archaeology
- power
 centering on raiding, conflicts and maritime travel, 47
 divine punitive, 82, 89, 254
 (ritual) feasting and competition for, 33, 38–39, 49, 50–52
 of large-scale data science, 206
 metal dedications and networks of, 44n22
 of numismatic iconography, 18, 250n9, 254, 260–65, 269–70
 of oaths, 82, 89
 political, 12, 39, 50
 of rituals, 87, 124
 Roman imperial violence as expression of, 139, 141
 semiotic, 248
 strong ties within in a social network and, 179–80
- prayers, 13, 81, 87, 89, 120, 122
- primordialism. *See* archaism
- procession
 circus. *See pompa circensis*
 civic, 126, 157–58, 158
 itineraries, 118; 125, 130
 numinous authority behind, 19
 organizers of, 118, 127, 128–31
 religious, 118, 124
 ritual, 14, 117, 120, 131
 triumphal, 107, 126
- Processual archaeology (also New Archaeology), 3–4, 10, 21. *See also* post-processual archaeology
- prosociality
 “big gods” and, 14–15, 72, 83, 89
 engendered by religion, 8, 11–13, 17, 32, 36, 50, 227
 and feasting, 12, 38–40
 and games, 15
- prow motif. *See* coinage: Janus-prow motif, prow motif; iconography: Janus-prow motif, prow motif

- proxenia, 79, 302–4, 307–9
- Punic War
 First, 259–60, 264n48, 267, 272
 Second, 257, 260, 262, 263, 264n49, 265, 271
 in video games, 288
- punishment
 afterlife, 77
 divine, 15, 71, 72–82, 87–89
 fear of, 11, 13, 71, 80
 of gladiatorial troupes, 147
 meted out in amphitheatres, 137, 156, 157
 role of myths in, 156–57
 taboo as form of, 39
- Pylos. *See* palace: of Pylos
- Pyrrhus, 248, 258n29
- Python code, 15, 141, 143n3, 155, 163
- quadrigati*. *See* coinage
- qualitative data, quantification of, 17, 235, 238, 240–41, 243. *See also* Database of Religious History (DRH)
- Rappaport, Roy, 14, 118, 121, 122, 123, 124, 128, 129, 131
- reciprocity, 34–35, 78, 79–80n14, 81, 85, 89
- Renfrew, Colin, 3–4, 9, 10, 207, 210n10
- retribution, divine, 13, 14, 120. *See also* punishment, divine
- Rhine Valley, 14, 94, 106
- rhizomatic networks. *See* networks:
 rhizomatic
- ritualization, definition, 120–21
- rituals, definitions, 37, 117–18, 121–24, 128
- Romanization, 18, 19, 262, 268n56
- Romulus, 121, 124, 255
- sacrifice
 at amphitheater, 157–58
 animal, 38–39, 47, 55, 83, 117, 121
 as belief that deities need sustenance, 236–37
 depiction on relief, 157, 158
 at end of procession, 128
 at festivals, 100, 102
 human, 257n26, 258n27, 299
 pig, 256
Sailing with the Gods (video game), 293–94, 301–11
 Salamis (Cyprus), 51, 52, 267
 Salmone, 43
 Samikon, 43
 Samothrace, 18, 294, 303, 323
 San Benedetto di Marsi (Italy), 154, 163
 Saturn, 103n14, 105, 272
 Saturnalia. *See* festival: Saturnalia
 satyr, 118, 123, 156
 science revolution, 8–9
 self-reflexivity, 4, 11, 16, 18, 19–21, 176, 190
- semiotics
 Baudrillardian, 322
 coinage, 254, 255, 258–68, 269
 imperial, 17, 247–48, 266, 267, 272, 322
 of Janus, 17, 255, 259–65, 267–69, 271
- Serapis, 86, 184
- Servandus, potter, 95–99, 95, 97, 100, 101–2, 109–10
- sextans*. *See* coinage
- shekel, Carthaginian. *See* coinage
- Silenoi, 118, 123
- slaves
 absence of data about, 15, 177, 179
 agency and, 284
instauratio and abused, 120
 dedicated to the god, 85–86
 divine concern for, 74, 87
 freeing of, 85–86
 in Ostia, 15, 177, 179
 public, 129
 social network analyses (SNA), 14, 15, 145, 176–78, 180–81, 198
- society
 “big man”, 34–35
 (evolution of) complex, 12–13, 36–37, 39–40, 88, 323, 324
 palatial, 40, 43n21, 45, 48–50, 211
 stateless (transegalitarian), 34–35, 37, 39, 50
 state-level, 34, 39
- Solon’s laws, 76
- souvenirs, definition, 102
- space, concepts of, 284–85
- spectacles, 15, 19, 130–31

- stamps
 brick, 145
 ceramic, 266–67, 267
 on roof tiles, 46
- Stanford Orbis project, 144, 147
- stateless (transegalitarian) society. *See*
 society: stateless
- stater. *See* coinage
- structural functionalism, 6, 7, 289–90. *See*
also functionalism
- supervision, divine, 12, 76–78, 82, 85, 89
- surplus production and accumulation, 35,
 37, 38, 39, 50
- Susa (Italy), 148, 149
- swords, 43, 54n38, 253
- symbolism
 of amphitheaters, 138–39
 in the virtual world, 286–87, 297, 302
- Tarentum, 266–67
- Telones (tax farmer), 308, 308–9, 309
- temple(s)
 of Apollo Daphnephoros, 48
 of Castor and Pollux, 258
 construction in video games, 286, 288
 of the Cross Group at Palenque (video
 game), 297
dies natalis of a, 107
 of Fides, 268
 of Janus (Rome), 259–60, 271
 of Flora, 272
 of the Inscriptions at Palenque (site and
 video game), 295–96, 297–98
 of Juno Regina, 100, 167
 of Jupiter Liber, 100
 of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, 100, 167
 of Jupiter Tonans, 100
 law codes inscribed on walls of, 85
 as marked-off sacred space, 124–25
 of Minerva Augusta, 167
 North and South at Kalapodi, 44–46
 robbery (*hierosulia*), 77, 86, 87
 as symbols of “communal conscious-
 ness and economic success”, 31, 55
 of Vertumnus, 268
- tensae* (processual chariots). *See* chariot
- terracotta figurines. *See* figurine: ter-
 racotta
- tetradrachm. *See* coinage
- Thebes, 47
- theoria*, 302–3
- thick description, 226, 234, 239–41, 243
- thunderbolt, 83, 253, 254, 271
- Tiryns Treasure, 40n15
- Titus, Emperor, 140, 156
- tomb(s). *See also* burial
 cemetery at Elatería, 47
 Knossos, 51
 Mycenaean, 34, 41, 47
 Ostia, 191–94, 192
 of Pakal, Temple of Inscriptions
 (Palenque, site and video game), 295,
 297–98
 Palaeopaphos-Skales, 51
 “princely”, 51
 Protogeometric, 47, 51–52
 Salamis, 51, 52
 Toumba (Lefkandi), 51
- Toumba (Lefkandi). *See* Lefkandi
- trade. *See also* exchange
 copper, 48, 51, 54
 iron ore, 51
 long-distance, 12, 13, 40, 48, 55
 oaths to facilitate, 83
 ritualized activity and, 37, 51
 Roman, 101n13, 144, 177, 251
 in *Sailing with the Gods* video game,
 308
 (extrarurban) sanctuaries and, 35, 39–40,
 84
- transegalitarian (stateless) society. *See*
 society: stateless
- travel
 between amphitheaters, 148–50
 to festivals, 14, 84, 102, 109
 maritime, 47, 294–95, 302
 and religion, 1
- treasuries and banking at sanctuaries, 55,
 84
- triens*, Servilian. *See* coinage
- tripod, bronze
 dedications of, 47, 48, 53–55
 gift-exchange of, 53
 in Homeric epics, 51, 53, 55n41
 Kalapodi, 47, 48, 53, 54
 Olympia, 41, 43, 48, 49, 53–55

- Palaeopaphos-Skales, 51
 production, 48, 54
 ritual feasting and, 41, 43, 51, 53–54
 Salamis (Cyprus), 51
- truces, 13, 84
- trust, 8, 11, 71, 83, 256
- Trypiti, 43
- Tunisia, 140, 142, 153
- turtle, cosmic, 294, 298, 299
- Tyches, 157, 158, 165, 248n3
- Tylor, Edward B., 1–2, 3
- violence, 136, 137, 138, 139, 141
- virtual heritage sites, 18, 284, 285, 287–88, 293
- visualizations. *See also* network: visualizations of
 data-generated, 136, 142–43, 148–55, 163, 168
 social network 176–77, 185–89, 194–95, 197
- Volterra (Volaterrae), 140, 257, 258, 261
- votive(s)
 (Early Iron Age) deposition of, 12, 41, 45, 47, 48, 52–55
 Roman, 20
 terracotta souvenirs as, 103
 in video game *Sailing with the Gods*, 304, 306
- wanax, 34, 50, 211
- warrior
 burials. *See under* burial
 culture in Homeric poetry, 72–73, 80, 302
 ethos in *Sailing with the Gods* video game, 305
 paintings of hoplite, 53
 wealth accumulation, 53–56
- Weber, Max, 4, 5n11, 7n15, 302
- women
 absent on inscriptions, 15, 179
 in the Odyssey, 74
 receiving gifts on the Kalends of March, 105
- workshop(s)
 bronze, 12, 53
 pottery, 95, 99, 100, 101, 109, 266–67
 Roman, 125
- worship
 ancestral, 124
 in caves, 42, 207, 208, 210, 211
 Creto-Minoan tradition of, 207–10
 of the Dioscuri, 258
 of Egyptian gods, 184–85, 194–97
 of Janus, 17, 249–50, 259–60
 on mountain tops, 207, 211, 212
 regulation of Roman, 121
 in rural locations, 207–8, 209t, 210, 212
- xenia* (hospitality/guest friendship), 13, 74, 78–80, 81, 88–89, 302n17. *See also* hospitality
- Zenodo archiving site, 141, 164n9
- Zeus
 depicted on coins, 252, 265
 and guest-friendship, 80
 in Hesiod, 72, 74–75, 76, 77, 266
 in Homeric epics, 13, 72–75, 77, 78n13, 79
 and hospitality, 72–73, 78–79, 81, 89
 and oaths to, 73, 82–83, 89
 as overseer of truce, 84
 in Pausanias, 41, 210
- Zeus Hikesios, 73, 76n7, 80, 81
- Zeus Olympios, 84
- Zeus Xe(i)nios, 72, 78n12, 79, 81
- Zliten mosaic, 158–59, 159, 160, 165

Ancient Sources Index

Acts of the Apostles 19:23–27	105n17	Aristotle	
<i>AE</i>		<i>Politica</i> 1262a	75
1889, 128	189n16	Arnobius (Arn.)	
1956, 76	190	<i>Adv. nat.</i>	
1969/70, 87	190	7.39	121n7
1971, 63	196n23	7.41–43	121n7
1988, 216	106n23	Augustine (August.)	
Aeschylus (Aesch.)		<i>Confessions</i> 6.8	137
<i>Eum.</i> 267–275	77n9–10	<i>De civ. D.</i>	
<i>Supp.</i>		4.26	120n7
347	80n15	4.4	305n20
698–709	76n8	Augustus	
Anaximenes of Lampsakos		<i>RG</i>	260n34
<i>FGH</i> 72 F 41.4	80	Calpurnius Piso L.	
Antiphilus		<i>FRHist</i> F11	260n34
<i>AP</i> 10.17	304	Cassius Dio	
Antipater of Thessalonica		<i>Comp. hist.</i> 1.168b	272n68
<i>AP</i> 7. 639	305n19	Catullus	
Antiphon		<i>FRHist</i> 32 F 7	249n7, 277
5.82–83	75	Cato	
6.39	82	<i>Agr.</i>	
Apollodorus mythographus (Apollod.)		134	249
<i>Bibl.</i> 3.8.1–2	79	141	249
Apollonides		Cicero (Cic.)	
<i>AP</i> 6.105	304	<i>Div.</i>	
Apollonius Rhodius		1.26.55	120n7
<i>Argon.</i>	303, 310	1.33	119n5
4.698	80n15	<i>Har.resp.</i> 23	119
Appian (App.)		<i>Nat.</i>	
<i>Bella civilia</i> 1.14–17 (58–72)	126n14	2.10–11	119n5
Archilochus (Archil.)		3.5.11	258n28
F 7 (Lattimore 1960)	306	<i>Planc.</i> 17	125
F 9 (Lattimore 1960)	306	<i>CIL</i>	
F 12 (Lattimore 1960)	304	1 ² .4.2833	258n28
frag. 177	74n5	6.4054a	139
Aristophanes (Ar.)		6.32404	128n17
<i>Clouds</i> 398–402	83	13.8016	100n7
<i>Plutus</i> 305	306	14.18	194n21
<i>Ran.</i>		14.19	194n21
145–163	77n10	14.41	197n26
354–371	77n10	14.42	197n26

14.250	197n26	<i>Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature</i> . http://etcsl	
14.251	197n26		
14.252	197n26	1.8.1.4	82n20
14.343	196n23	Euripides	
14.352	197n25, 197n26	<i>Hippolytus</i> 1025	73n2
14.371	179n6, 180	<i>Ion</i> 1312–1320	86
14.409	197n26	<i>Medea</i> 1391–1392	75
14.4144	197n26	Eusebius	
14.4185	255n19	<i>Hist. eccl.</i> 5.1.37–39	156
14.4290	196n23	Exodus, book of	
14.5177	190	21:13	80n16
14.5349/50	190	20:1–17	85
14 S 4356	189n16	Fabius Maximus Servilianus, Q.	
Claudianus (Claud.)		<i>FRHist</i> F3	249
<i>Pan. Ter. Hon.</i> 133–141	126	Fenestrella	
Columella		<i>FRHist</i> F6	250n9
<i>Rust.</i> 3.8.2	130n20	<i>FRHist</i>	
Demosthenes (Dem.)		F3 (Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus)	249
19.70	81n18	F6 (Fenestrella)	250n9
23.72 (Solon frag. 6)	76n7	F10 (Hyginus)	272n66
23.85	77n8	F11 (L. Calpurnius Piso)	260n34
23.97	81n18	1 T7 (Fabius Pictor)	265
48.52	82	32 F 7 (Catulus)	249n7, 272n66
<i>Against Conon</i>		Hellanicus of Lesbos	
54.38	82–83	<i>FGH</i> 4 F 111	254n17
54.41	83	Herodotus (Hdt.)	
Deuteronomy, book of, 5:4–21	85	7.133–137	81n17
Dinarchus 2.16	81	Hesiod	
Dio Cassius (Dio Cass.) 63.4	126	<i>Op.</i>	
Dio Chrysostom 31.54	84	24	306
Dionysius of Halicarnassus (Dion. Hal.)		217–221	74
<i>Ant. Rom</i>		220–247	73n3
1.35	254n17	238–269	75
2.63.2	121	238–347	82n19
5.57.5	129, 129n18	250–251	75
6.95.4	129	264	75
7.68.1–7.69.2	120n7	276–285	74n3
7.70.2–3	124	282–285	82n19
7.72.1	122	327–334	74
7.72.5	124	618–694	302
7.72.6	123	620–621	304
7.72.10	123	709–711	76
7.73.5	120n7	<i>Theog.</i> 285–286	266
Drakon, law of		Homer	
<i>GI¹</i> 104	80n16	<i>Iliad</i> (<i>Il.</i>)	
Ennius		1.225	306
<i>Ann.</i> 240–41	249	1.4–5	73
		1.33–42	81

<i>Iliad</i> (continued)		VIII.2872	86
1.474-479	302	<i>ILLRP</i>	
2.243-244	306	nos. 10-308	249n6
3.105-107	73n2	Isaeus 2.31	82
3.278-279	73n2	Juvenal	
4.160-162	73n2, 82n19	<i>Satirae</i>	
4.235-239	73n2	3.243-246	125
6.118-237	302n17	3.254-256	125
7.411	73n2	10.36-46	129
8.379-380	73	Lactantius (Lactant.)	
9.205-214	51	<i>Div. inst.</i>	
11.451-455	73	1.13.7	120n66
13.620-635	72	2.7.20-21	120n7
16.384-393	73n3	<i>lex Ursonensis</i> (64)	100n9
16.386-388	74n5	<i>LIMC</i>	
19.259-260	73n2	Culsans	257n24, 26n40
22.337-360	73	Livy	
23.263-858	53	1.24.3	124
24.53	73	1.55.5-6	262n41
24.568-570	73	2.36.1-8	120n7
24.65-70	73	5.41.2	129
<i>Odyssey</i> (<i>Od.</i>)		6.38.8	126
5.333	305	9.40.15-17	130n21
6.206-208	74, 79	21.62	271n62
7.159-165	74	22.52.3	263n46
9.269-272	79	22.58.4	263-64n46
9.270-271	73n4	40.59.3	107
13.10-23	53	41.16.1	119
13.213-214	73n4	45.1.7	129n18
14.48-58	74	<i>LTUR</i>	
14.53-59	73n4	3.92-93	260n34
14.83-84	73n3	Lysias (Lys.)	
14.283-284	73n3	6.51	81
14.389	73n3	12.98	86
17.483-487	78n13	32.13	82
19.302-303	73n2	Macrobius (Macrob.)	
Horace		<i>Saturnalia</i>	
<i>Ep.</i>		1.6.15	130n21
1.20.1	268n57	1.7.19-23	272n66
2.2.72-75	125	1.10.24	105n18
<i>Sat.</i> 2.6.27-31	125	1.11.3-5	120n7
Hyginus		1.11.49	103n14
<i>FRHist</i> F10	272n66	Martial (Mart.)	
<i>Hymn. Hom. Ap.</i>		<i>Epigrams</i>	
388-544	210	3.46.4-6	126n14
<i>IG</i>		12.57.4-14	125
Γ ³ 104	80n16	14.170	105
V 1.1390.80-84	87	14.178	105

14.182	105	<i>Coriol.</i> 24.1–25.1	120n7
31	156	<i>Lyc.</i> 6.1	85n22
Martianus Capella		<i>Marc.</i>	
<i>De nuptiis</i> 1.45–60	271n65	3.3–4	257n26
Minucius Felix (Min. Fel)		5.2	119n5
<i>Oct.</i>		5.4	122
7.3	121n7	<i>Pompey</i> 24	305n20
21	272n66	<i>Rom.</i>	
27.4	121n7	20.3	126
Nicolaus of Damascus (Nic. Dam.)		5.5	130n21
78	126	<i>Ti. Gracch.</i> 19	126n14
<i>Orphic Hymn</i> 25 (Athanasakis 1977)	305	<i>Vit. Num.</i> 9 and 10	122
Ovid (Ov.)		Polybius	
<i>Fast.</i>		4.67	305n20
1.229–230	260n36	Pompeius Festus, Sextus (Fest.)	
1.229–240	272n66	436L	123n8
<i>Met.</i> 216–239	79	<i>RIC</i> I ²	
Pausanias (Paus.)		Roma #217	131n22
3.17.9	80n15	Tiberius #56, 62, 68	131n22
5.7.4	210	SEG 9.72 85n22	
5.8.1	210	Seneca (Sen.)	
5.13.8–14.3	41	<i>De clementia (Clem.)</i> 1.6.1	125
6.10.1	210	<i>De ira</i> 3.6.4	125
10.28.4–5	77	<i>Ep.</i> 94.60	126n14
Petronius (Petron.)		Servius (Serv.)	
<i>Satyrica</i> 40, 56H, 60	105	<i>Aeneid</i>	
Pindar		2.178	119n5
<i>Ol.</i> 5.20	210	3.279	123n8
Plato		8.111 (ed.Thilo)	123n8
<i>Leg.</i> 8.838a–d	77n8	SHA	
<i>Resp.</i> 2.364b–365a	77n77	<i>Heliogabalus</i> 21.7	105
Plautus		Sophocles (Soph.)	
<i>Merc.</i> 115	125	<i>Ant.</i> 450–455	76–77n8
<i>Poen.</i> 1010–1012	130	<i>fr.</i> 472 Radt	82n21
Pliny, the Elder (Plin.)		<i>Philoctetus</i> 1324	73n2
<i>HN</i>		Solon	
19.23	131n22	frag. 6 (=Dem.23.72)	76n7
28.11	120	frag. 44	76n7
28.12	124	7.5	127
33.45	272	12	155
34.20	129n18	19	155
34.38.137	270	Suetonius (Suet.)	
Plutarch (Plut.)		<i>Calig.</i> 55.2	105
<i>Mor.</i> 274F–275A	250n9	<i>Divus Augustus</i> 75.1	105
<i>Vitae Parallelae</i>		<i>Divus Iulius</i> 10	131n22
<i>Aem.</i> 32.3	126	<i>Divus Vespasianus</i> 19.1	105
<i>Caes.</i> 5.5	131n22	<i>Tab. Her.</i>	
		55–56	127

Suetonius, <i>Tab. Her.</i> (<i>continued</i>)		2.37.3	77n8
56–72	126n12	5.18.9	89
64–65	127	5.47.8	89
Tacitus (Tac.)		5.49.1–50.4	84
<i>Ann.</i>		Ur Excavations: Texts (UET)	
1.39.1	101	6, 58 lines 20–28	82n20
4.62–63	146	Valerius Maximus (Val. Max.)	
12.27.1	94	1.1.1a	119
12.36.2	126n15	1.1.2	119
14.17	146	1.1.3	119n5
16.27	126n15	1.1.8	119
Tertullian		1.7.4	120n7
<i>De Spect.</i>		2.4.6	129
7.5	127	5.2.1a	126
12	155	Varro (Varr.)	
Theodoridas		ARD Frags. 230–234	249
<i>AP</i> 7.282	305	<i>Ling.</i>	
Theognis (Thgn.)		5.165	260n34
143–144	75	5.41–42	262n41
Theophrastus		7.27–28	249
<i>Characteres</i>	309	Xenophon (Xen.)	
Thucydides (Thuc.)		<i>An.</i> 5.7.30	81n17
2.13.4–5	55n40	<i>Mem.</i> 4.4.19–24	76