

STUDIES IN ANCIENT MEDITERRANEAN RELIGIONS 2

Sandra Blakely  
and Billie Jean Collins (eds.)

# Religious Convergence in the Ancient Mediterranean



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Religious Convergence  
in the Ancient Mediterranean

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Sandra Blakely, Series Editor

Number Two  
Religious Convergence in the Ancient Mediterranean

# Religious Convergence in the Ancient Mediterranean

*Edited by*

Sandra Blakely and Billie Jean Collins



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2019

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Dedicated to the memory of  
Sebastiano Tusa (1952–2019),  
a brilliant scholar and a generous friend



Sebastiano (center right) with his wife, Valeria Li Vigni (center left), and the editors of this volume, Sandra Blakely (left) and Billie Jean Collins (right). Photograph by Jeffrey Brodd.



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# Abbreviations

## General

|             |                        |
|-------------|------------------------|
| BCE         | before the Common Era  |
| ex(x).      | example(s)             |
| fr.         | fragment               |
| LH          | Late Helladic          |
| pers. comm. | personal communication |
| p(p).       | page(s)                |
| pr.         | praefatio              |
| ps.         | pseudo                 |
| trans.      | translation            |
| translit.   | transliteration        |

## Bibliographical Abbreviations

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| AA        | <i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i>   |
| AAEA      | Anejos de Archivo español de arqueología  |
| ACS       | American Classical Studies  |
| ÄgAbh     | Ägyptologische Abhandlungen   |
| Agora I   | Agora Inscription   |
| Agora XIX | Gerald V. Lalonde, Merle K. Langdon, and Michael B. Walbank. <i>Inscriptions: Horoi, Poletai Records, and Leases of Public Lands</i> . Princeton, NJ: American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 1991. |
| AhT       | Ahhiyawa text, according to the numbering in Gary M. Beckman, Trevor Bryce, and Eric H. Cline, <i>The Ahhiyawa Texts</i> . WAW 28. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011.                           |
| AJA       | <i>American Journal of Archaeology</i>  |
| AJAH      | <i>American Journal of Ancient History</i>  |
| AntCl     | <i>L'Antiquité classique</i>  |
| AntK      | <i>Antike Kunst</i>   |
| AntOr     | <i>Antiguo Oriente</i>  |
| AOAT      | Alter Orient und Altes Testament  |
| AoF       | <i>Altorientalische Forschungen</i>   |
| ARC       | <i>Archaeological Review from Cambridge</i>   |

|                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| <i>ArchCl</i>    | <i>Archeologia Classica</i>  |
| <i>ARW</i>       | <i>Archiv für Religionswissenschaft</i>  |
| <i>AnSt</i>      | <i>Anatolian Studies</i>   |
| <i>AS</i>        | Assyriological Studies   |
| <i>ASAE</i>      | <i>Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte</i>  |
| <i>ATSAT</i>     | Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament  |
| <i>AuOr</i>      | <i>Aula Orientalis</i>   |
| <i>AuOrSup</i>   | Supplements to <i>Aula Orientalis</i>  |
| <i>AVO</i>       | Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients  |
| <i>BAAL</i>      | Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaise   |
| <i>BAB</i>       | <i>Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie royale de Belgique</i>  |
| <i>BaF</i>       | Baghdader Forschungen  |
| <i>BAR-IS</i>    | British Archaeological Reports, International Series   |
| <i>BASOR</i>     | <i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>   |
| <i>BCSMS</i>     | <i>Bulletin of the Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies</i>   |
| <i>BCTH</i>      | <i>Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques</i>   |
| <i>BdA</i>       | <i>Bollettino d'arte</i>   |
| <i>BibAr</i>     | Bibliotheca archaeologica  |
| <i>BibHelRom</i> | Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana   |
| <i>BICS</i>      | <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>  |
| <i>BICSSup</i>   | Supplements of the <i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>   |
| <i>Bj</i>        | <i>Bonner Jahrbucher</i>   |
| <i>BM</i>        | British Museum   |
| <i>BM</i>        | Simone Michel. <i>Die magischen Gemmen im Britischen Museum</i> . 2 vols. London: British Museum Press, 2001.  |
| <i>BMMA</i>      | <i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>  |
| <i>BMS</i>       | L. W. King. <i>Babylonian Magic and Sorcery</i> . London, 1896.  |
| <i>BNJ</i>       | Ian Worthington, ed. <i>Brill's New Jacoby</i> . Leiden: Brill, 2006–.   |
| <i>Bo</i>        | inventory numbers of the Boghazköy tablets   |
| <i>BPI</i>       | <i>Bullettino di Paleontologia Italiana</i>  |
| <i>BSA</i>       | British School at Athens Studies   |
| <i>BSFE</i>      | <i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i>  |
| <i>CAJ</i>       | <i>Cambridge Archaeological Journal</i>  |
| <i>CANES</i>     | Edith Porada. <i>Corpus of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in North American Collections: The Pierpont Morgan Collection</i> . Washington, DC: New York Pantheon Books, 1948. |
| <i>CBQ</i>       | <i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>   |
| <i>CCJ</i>       | <i>Cambridge Classical Journal</i>   |
| <i>CdÉ</i>       | <i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>  |

|         |   |
|---------|---|
| CDOG    | Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft  |
| CEFR    | Collection de l'École française de Rome   |
| CHANE   | Culture and History of the Ancient Near East  |
| CIG     | August Boeckh, et al., <i>Corpus inscriptionum graecarum</i> . Berlin, 1828–1877.   |
| CIL     | Wilhelm Henzen et al. <i>Corpus inscriptionum latinarum</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter, 1863–.  |
| CIPOA   | Cahiers de l'Institut du Proche-Orient Ancien du Collège de France  |
| ClAnt   | <i>Classical Antiquity</i>  |
| ClQ     | <i>Classical Quarterly</i>  |
| CMAO    | <i>Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale</i>  |
| COS     | <i>Context of Scripture</i> . Edited by William W. Hallo and K. Lawson Younger. 3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997–2002.   |
| CPA     | <i>Cuadernos de Prehistoria y Arqueología</i>   |
| CRINT   | Compendia Rerum Iudaicarum ad Novum Testamentum   |
| CSF     | Collezione di studi fenici  |
| CT      | Simon Hornblower, <i>A Commentary on Thucydides</i> . 3 vols. Oxford: Clarendon. Volume 1: Books 1–3 (1991); volume 2: Books 4–5.24 (1996); volume 3: Books 5.26–8.109 (2008)   |
| CTH     | Emmanuel Laroche. <i>Catalogue des textes hittites</i> . Paris: Klincksieck, 1971 (with supplements in <i>RHA</i> 30 [1972]: 94–133 and <i>RHA</i> 33 [1973]: 68–71; now extensively expanded and revised in the online Catalog der Texte der Hethiter of the Hethitologie-Portal Mainz: S. Košak and G. G. W. Müller, hethiter.net/: Catalog [2015-08-04], <a href="http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/">http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/CTH/</a> ) |
| D&D     | Armand Delatte and Philippe Derchain. <i>Les intailles magiques gréco-égyptiennes de la Bibliothèque Nationale</i> . Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1964.   |
| DHA     | <i>Dialogues d'histoire ancienne</i>  |
| DMG     | Simone Michel. <i>Die magischen Gemmen: Eine Studie zu Zauberformeln und magischen Bildern auf geschnittenen Steinen der Antike und Neuzeit</i> . PhD diss., Geissen, 2004.   |
| EGF     | Malcolm Davies, <i>Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988.  |
| EM      | Epigraphiko Mouseio (Epigraphical Museum)   |
| ETCSL   | Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature, <a href="http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/">http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/</a>  |
| FGrHist | Felix Jacoby. <i>Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i> . Berlin: Weidmann, 1923–.   |
| FOLD&R  | <i>Fasti Online Documents &amp; Research</i>  |

- Gaisford Thomas Gaisford. *Etymologicum Magnum*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1848. Repr. Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1967.
- GHI Marcus Niebuhr Tod. *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions*. 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1933, 1947.
- GMA Roy Kotansky. *Greek Magical Amulets: The Inscribed Gold, Silver, Copper, and Bronze Lamellae*. Part 1: *Published Texts of Known Provenance*. Papyrologica Coloniensia 22.1. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994.
- GMPT Hans Dieter Betz. *Greek Magical Papyri in Translation: Including the Demotic Spells*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- GrazBeitr *Grazer Beiträge*
- GRBS *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
- HED Jaan Puhvel. *Hittite Etymological Dictionary*. Trends in Linguistics. Documentation. Berlin: de Gruyter; Amsterdam: Mouton, 1984– (volumes are referred to by the letter[s] covered in each)
- HEG Johannes Tischler. *Hethitisches etymologisches Glossar*. Innsbruck: Institut für Sprachwissenschaft der Universität Innsbruck. 1977–.
- Heim Ricardus Heim. *Incantamenta Magica Graeca-Latina*. Jahrbücher für classische Philologie Supplements 10. Leipzig: Teubner, 1893.
- Hesperia *Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
- HesperiaSup Supplements to *Hesperia*
- Heth. *Hethitica*
- HFA Hamburger Forschungen zur Archäologie
- HO Handbuch der Orientalistik
- HS *Historische Sprachforschung*
- HSAO Heidelberger Studien zum alten Orient
- HSCP *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
- HSM Harvard Semitic Monographs
- HW<sup>2</sup> Johannes Friedrich and Annelies Kammenhuber, *Hethitisches Wörterbuch, Zweite, völlig neubearbeitete Auflage auf der Grundlage der edierten hethitischen Texte*. Heidelberg: Winter, 1975–.
- IBoT İstanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde bulunan Boğazköy Tabletleri(ndenseçme metinler). İstanbul: Maarif Matbaası, 1944, 1947, 1954; Ankara: Türk Tarih Kurumu Basımevi, 1988.
- IC Margherita Guarducci, ed. *Inscriptiones Creticae*. 4 vols. Rome: La Libreria dello Stato, 1935–50.

|                             |  |
|-----------------------------|--|
| <i>IEJ</i>                  | <i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>  |
| <i>IG</i>                   | Max Fraenkel. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, 1873–   |
| <i>IG I<sup>3</sup></i>     | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae I: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores</i> . 3rd ed. Berlin, 1981, 1994. Fasc. 1: <i>Decreta et tabulae magistratum</i> . Edited by David Lewis. Fasc. 2: <i>Dedications. Catalogi. Termini. Tituli sepulcrales. Varia. Tituli Attici extra Atticam reperti. Addenda</i> . Edited by David Lewis and Lilian Jeffery. |
| <i>IG IV<sup>2</sup></i>    | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae IV: Inscriptiones Argolidis</i> . 2nd ed. Berlin, 1929. Fasc. 1: <i>Inscriptiones Epidauri</i> . Edited by Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen.  |
| <i>IG IX, 1<sup>2</sup></i> | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae IX,1</i> . 2nd ed. Edited by Günther Klaffenbach. Berlin, 1932–1968. Fasc. 1: <i>Inscriptiones Aetoliae</i> , 1932. Fasc. 2: <i>Inscriptiones Acarnaniae</i> , 1957. Fasc. 3: <i>Inscriptiones Locridis occidentalis</i> , 1968.  |
| <i>IG XII, 6</i>            | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae. Inscriptiones Chii et Sami cum Corassiis Icariaque</i> . 2 parts. Berlin. 2000, 2003.  |
| <i>IG XII, 9</i>            | <i>Inscriptiones Graecae. Inscriptiones Euboeae insulae</i> . Edited by Erich Ziebarth. Berlin, 1915.  |
| <i>IGR</i>                  | René Cagnat. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> . Paris: Leroux, 1911.  |
| <i>ILLRP</i>                | <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i>  |
| <i>ILS</i>                  | Hermann Dessau, ed. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> . Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–1916.   |
| <i>IM</i>                   | Iraq Museum  |
| <i>I.Magnesia</i>           | Otto Kern. <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> . Berlin: Spemann, 1900.  |
| <i>I.Milet</i>              | Peter Herrmann, Wolfgang Günther, and Norbert Ehrhardt. <i>Inschriften von Milet</i> . Milet 6. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997–2006.   |
| <i>IMSA</i>                 | <i>Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology</i>  |
| <i>IOSPE<sup>3</sup></i>    | V. Latyshev. <i>Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae</i> , 1885. Digital edition: Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea, <a href="http://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/index.html">http://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/index.html</a> . Edited by Askold Ivantchik and Irene Polinskaya.  |
| <i>JAH</i>                  | <i>Journal of Ancient History</i>  |
| <i>JANER</i>                | <i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>   |
| <i>JAOS</i>                 | <i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>  |
| <i>JAR</i>                  | <i>Journal of Anthropological Research</i>   |
| <i>JARCE</i>                | <i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>  |
| <i>JBL</i>                  | <i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>  |
| <i>JDAI</i>                 | <i>Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts</i>  |



|              |  |
|--------------|--|
| JEMAHs       | <i>Journal of Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology and Heritage Studies</i>   |
| JEOL         | <i>Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux</i>  |
| JHS          | <i>Journal of Hellenic Studies</i>   |
| JMA          | <i>Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology</i>  |
| JNES         | <i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>   |
| JRA          | <i>Journal of Roman Archaeology</i>  |
| JRAS         | <i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>  |
| JRS          | <i>Journal of Roman Studies</i>  |
| JSKBW        | <i>Jahrbuch der staatlichen Kunstsammlungen in Baden-Württemberg</i>   |
| KBo          | <i>Keilschrifttexten aus Boghazköi</i> . Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1916–1923; Berlin: Gebr. Mann, 1954–.  |
| KernosSup    | Supplements to <i>Kernos</i>   |
| KhT          | <i>Konkordanz der hethitischen Texten</i> , <a href="http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/">http://www.hethport.uni-wuerzburg.de/hetkonk/</a>                  |
| KST          | Kohlhammer Studienbücher Theologie   |
| KUB          | <i>Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi</i> . Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1921–  |
| LAS          | Leipziger altorientalische Studien   |
| LCL          | Loeb Classical Library   |
| LHBOTS       | The Library of Hebrew Bible/Old Testament Studies  |
| LIMC         | John Boardman, <i>Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae</i> . Zurich: Artemis, 1981–2009.   |
| LSJ          | Henry G. Liddell, Robert Scott, Henry S. Jones. <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. Oxford: Clarendon, 1940.  |
| LW           | Roberto Gusmani, <i>Lydisches Wörterbuch: Mit grammatischer Skizze und Inschriftensammlung</i> . Heidelberg: Winter, 1964. Ergänzungsband 1 (1980); 2 (1982); 3 (1986) |
| MAAR         | Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome  |
| Marc.Gr.     | Marciana Graeca  |
| AM           | <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung</i>  |
| MEFR         | <i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome</i>   |
| MEFRA        | <i>Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome. Antiquité</i>  |
| MGR          | <i>Miscellanea Graeca e Romana</i>   |
| MGR          | Monumenta Graeca et Romana   |
| MH           | <i>Museum Helveticum</i>   |
| MM           | <i>Madriider Mitteilungen</i>  |
| MnemosyneSup | Supplements to <i>Mnemosyne</i>  |
| MonAnt       | <i>Monumenti antichi</i>   |
| MSF          | Joseph Naveh and Shaul Shaked. <i>Magic Spells and Formulae: Aramaic Incantations of Late Antiquity</i> . Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993.                                     |

|             |  |
|-------------|--|
| MSS         | Münchner Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft  |
| NEA         | <i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>  |
| NSc         | <i>Notizie degli scavi di antichità</i>  |
| OA          | <i>Oriens Antiquus</i>   |
| OBO         | Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis   |
| OIMP        | Oriental Institute Museum Publication  |
| OIS         | Oriental Institute Seminars  |
| OJA         | <i>Oxford Journal of Archaeology</i>   |
| OLA         | Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta  |
| OpAth       | <i>Opuscula Atheniensia</i>  |
| ORA         | Orientalische Religionen in der Antike   |
| Or          | <i>Orientalia NS</i>   |
| PBSR        | <i>Papers of the British School at Rome</i>  |
| PGM         | Karl Preisendanz and Albert Henrichs. <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae: Die Griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> . 2nd rev. ed. 2 vols. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1973–1974. |
| PIHANS      | Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul  |
| PIR         | Paul von Rohden, Elimar Klebs, and Hermann Dessau, eds. <i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani, I</i> . Berlin, 1897.  |
| PLF         | Edgar Lobel and Denys L. Page. <i>Poetarum Lesbiorum fragmenta</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1955.  |
| PMG         | Denys Lionel Page. <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford: Clarendon, 1962.  |
| PMGF        | <i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Edited by Malcolm Davies. Oxford: Clarendon, 1991.   |
| PP          | <i>La parola del passato</i>   |
| QAFP        | Quaderni di archeologia fenicio-punica   |
| QStSup      | Qatna Studien Supplementa  |
| QVO         | <i>Quaderni di Vicino Oriente</i>  |
| RANT        | Res Antiquae   |
| RDAC        | <i>Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus</i>   |
| REG         | <i>Revue des études grecques</i>   |
| RendLinc    | <i>Rendiconti lincei. Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche</i>   |
|             | <i>Revue Archéologique</i>   |
| RendPontAcc | <i>Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia</i>   |
| RGRW        | Religions in the Graeco-Roman World  |
| RGTC        | Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes   |
| RHA         | <i>Revue hittite et asianique</i>  |
| RHR         | <i>Revue de l'histoire des religions</i>   |
| RIA         | <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie</i> . Berlin: de Gruyter, 1928–.   |
| RivIstArch  | <i>Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale d'archeologia e storia dell'arte</i>  |

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| RM      | <i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung</i>  |
| RLA     | <i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie</i>  |
| RRC     | M. H. Crawford. <i>Roman Republican Coinage</i> . London: Cambridge University Press, 1974.  |
| RSF     | <i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>   |
| RSFSup  | Supplements to <i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>  |
| RSP     | <i>Rivista di Scienze Preistoriche</i>   |
| RStPomp | <i>Rivista di studi pompeiani</i>  |
| RHR     | <i>La revue d'histoire des religions</i>   |
| RINAP   | Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period  |
| SAOC    | Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations  |
| SBA     | Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde  |
| SEC     | <i>Semitica et Classica</i>  |
| SEG     | <i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , 1923–.  |
| SGD     | D. R. Jordan, “A Survey of Greek Defixiones Not Included in the Special Corpora.” <i>GRBS</i> 26 (1985) 151–97.  |
| SGG     | Attilio Mastrocino, ed. <i>Sylloge gemmarum gnosticarum</i> . 2 vols. Bollettino di Numismatica Monografia 8.2.1, 2. Rome: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, Libreria dello Stato, 2003, 2008. |
| SGRR    | Studies in Greek and Roman Religion  |
| SicArch | <i>Sicilia Archeologica</i>  |
| SM      | Robert W. Daniel and Franco Maltomini. <i>Supplementum Magicum</i> . 2 vols., Papyrologica Coloniensia 16.1, 2. Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1990, 1992.   |
| SMA     | Campbell Bonner, <i>Studies in Magical Amulets Chiefly Graeco-Egyptian</i> . University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series 4. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1950.                             |
| SMA     | Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology   |
| SMEA    | <i>Studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici</i>   |
| SNG     | <i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum</i>  |
| SSR     | <i>Studi Storico-Religiosi</i>   |
| StBoT   | Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten   |
| StEtr   | <i>Studi Etruschi</i>  |
| StMed   | Studia Mediterranea  |
| StMon   | Studi e Monumenti  |
| StOr    | Studia Orientalia  |
| StudAs  | Studia Asiana  |
| T       | testimonium  |
| TAM     | Ernst Kalinka. <i>Tituli Asiae Minoris. I: Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti</i> , Vienna: Hoelder, 1901.  |
| TCS     | Texts from Cuneiform Sources   |

|          |   |
|----------|---|
| THeth    | Texte der Hethiter  |
| TL       | Ernst Kalinka. <i>Tituli Lyciae lingua Lycia conscripti</i> . Tituli Asiae Minoris 1. Vienna, 1901.   |
| TrGF     | Bruno Snell, Richard Kannicht, and Stefan Radt, eds. <i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . 6 vols. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1971–2004   |
| UF       | <i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>   |
| VBoT     | Albrecht Götze. <i>Verstreute Boghazköi-Texte</i> . Marburg: Selbst-verlag des Herausgebers, 1930.  |
| VO       | <i>Vicino Oriente</i>   |
| VS NF 12 | <i>Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköy im Vorderasiatischen Museum. Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Neue Folge, Band 12</i> , ed. Liane Rost. Mainz: von Zabern, 1997. |
| WAW      | Writings from the Ancient World   |
| WJA      | <i>Würzburger Jahrbücher für die Altertumswissenschaft</i>  |
| WSA      | Würzburger Studien zur Altertumswissenschaft  |
| WO       | <i>Welt des Orients</i>   |
| YCS      | Yale Classical Studies  |
| YES      | Yale Egyptological Studies  |
| YHSS     | Yassıhöyük Stratigraphic Sequence   |
| ZA       | <i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie</i>  |
| ZPE      | <i>Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik</i>   |

## Ancient Sources Abbreviations

|                         |  |
|-------------------------|--|
| Ael. <i>Nat. an.</i>    | Aelian, <i>De natura animalium</i>       |
| Ael. <i>Var. hist.</i>  | Aelian, <i>Varia historia</i>            |
| ps.-Aeschin. <i>Ep.</i> | pseudo-Aeschinus, <i>Epistulae</i>       |
| Aesch. <i>PV</i>        | Aeschylus, <i>Prometheus Vincitus</i>    |
| Aesch. <i>Sept.</i>     | Aeschylus, <i>Septem contra Thebas</i>   |
| Aesch. <i>Supp.</i>     | Aeschylus, <i>Supplices</i>              |
| Anac.                   | Anacreon                                 |
| <i>Anth. Pal.</i>       | <i>Anthologia Palatina</i>               |
| App. <i>Bell. civ.</i>  | Appian, <i>Bella civilia</i>             |
| Apollod. <i>Bibl.</i>   | Apollodorus, <i>Bibliotheca</i>          |
| Ap. Rhod. <i>Argon.</i> | Apollonius Rhodius, <i>Argonautica</i>   |
| Ar. <i>Ach.</i>         | Aristophanes, <i>Acharnenses</i>         |
| Ar. <i>Lys.</i>         | Aristophanes, <i>Lysistrata</i>          |
| Ar. <i>Nub.</i>         | Aristophanes, <i>Clouds</i>              |
| Ar. <i>Pax</i>          | Aristophanes, <i>Pax</i>                 |
| Ar. <i>Plut.</i>        | Aristophanes, <i>Plutus</i>              |
| Arist. <i>Ath. pol.</i> | Aristotle, <i>Constitution of Athens</i> |
| Arist. <i>Pol.</i>      | Aristotle, <i>Politica</i>               |

|                             |   |
|-----------------------------|---|
| Arn. <i>Adv. Nat.</i>       | Arnobius, <i>Adversus nationes</i>                      |
| Ath.                        | Athenaeus   |
| <i>Ath. pol.</i>            | see Arist. <i>Ath. pol.</i>                             |
| August. <i>Civ.</i>         | Augustine, <i>De civitate Dei</i>                       |
| Bacchyl.                    | Bacchylides   |
| Callim. <i>Aet.</i>         | Callimachus, <i>Aetia</i>                               |
| Callim. <i>Dieg.</i>        | Callimachus, <i>Diegesis</i>                            |
| Cic. <i>Verr.</i>           | Cicero, <i>In Verrum</i>                                |
| Caes. <i>BG</i>             | Caesar, <i>Bellum Gallicum</i>                          |
| Clem. Al. <i>Protrep.</i>   | Clemens Alexandrinus, <i>Protrepticus</i>               |
| Clem. Al. <i>Strom.</i>     | Clemens Alexandrinus, <i>Stromateis</i>                 |
| <i>Ctes.</i>                | Aeschines, <i>Against Ctesiphon</i>                     |
| Dem.                        | Demosthenes   |
| Diod. Sic.                  | Diodorus Siculus  |
| ps.-Diog. Laer.             | pseudo-Diogenes Laertius                                |
| Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> | Dionysius of Halicarnassus, <i>Antiquitates Romanae</i> |
| <i>Ep.</i>                  | <i>Epistle</i>  |
| <i>Etym. Magn.</i>          | <i>Etymologicum Magnum</i>                              |
| Eur. <i>Bacch.</i>          | Euripides, <i>Bacchae</i>                               |
| Eur. <i>Iph. taur.</i>      | Euripides, <i>Iphigenia Taurica</i>                     |
| Eur. <i>Med.</i>            | Euripides, <i>Medea</i>                                 |
| Eur. <i>Tro.</i>            | Euripides, <i>Troades</i>                               |
| <i>Euthyphr.</i>            | Plato, <i>Euthyphro</i>                                 |
| Hdt.                        | Herodotus   |
| Hes. <i>Cat.</i>            | Hesiod, <i>Catalogus mulierum</i>                       |
| Hes. <i>Theog.</i>          | Hesiod, <i>Theogony</i>                                 |
| Hesych.                     | Hesychius   |
| Hyg. <i>Fab.</i>            | Hyginus, <i>Fabulae</i>                                 |
| <i>Hymn. Hom. Dion.</i>     | Homeric Hymn to Dionysos                                |
| Joseph. <i>B. J.</i>        | Josephus, <i>Bellum Judaicum</i>                        |
| Juv. <i>Sat.</i>            | Juvenal, <i>Satirae</i>                                 |
| Lactant. <i>Div. inst.</i>  | Lactantius, <i>Divinae institutiones</i>                |
| Lyd. <i>Mens.</i>           | Lydus, <i>De mensibus</i>                               |
| Mart. <i>Epigr.</i>         | Martial, <i>Epigrams</i>                                |
| Nic. Dam.                   | Nicolaus Damascenus                                     |
| Nonnus, <i>Dion.</i>        | Nonnus, <i>Dionysiaca</i>                               |
| Ov. <i>Fast.</i>            | Ovid, <i>Fasti</i>                                      |
| Ov. <i>Met.</i>             | Ovid, <i>Metamorphoses</i>                              |
| Paus.                       | Pausanias   |
| P.Dura                      | papyrus <i>Feriale Duranum</i>                          |
| Philo <i>Leg.</i>           | Philo, <i>Legum allegoriae</i>                          |
| Philostr. <i>Imag.</i>      | Philostratus, <i>Imagines</i>                           |
| Pind. <i>Ol.</i>            | Pindar, <i>Olympian Odes</i>                            |

|                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Plato Com.                    | Plato, Comicus  |
| Plato, <i>Euthyphr.</i>       | Plato, <i>Euthyphro</i>                               |
| Plato, <i>Hipparch.</i>       | Plato, <i>Hipparchus</i>                              |
| Plato <i>Phd.</i>             | Plato, <i>Phaedo</i>                                  |
| Plato, <i>Resp.</i>           | Plato, <i>Respublica</i>                              |
| Plato, <i>Symp.</i>           | Plato, <i>Symposium</i>                               |
| Pliny, <i>HN</i>              | Pliny the Elder, <i>Naturalis historia</i>            |
| Plut. <i>Arist.</i>           | Plutarch, <i>Aristides</i>                            |
| Plut. <i>Mor.</i>             | Plutarch, <i>Moralia</i>                              |
| Plut. <i>Sull.</i>            | Plutarch, <i>Sulla</i>                                |
| Plut. <i>Them.</i>            | Plutarch, <i>Themistocles</i>                         |
| Plut. <i>Thes.</i>            | Plutarch, <i>Theseus</i>                              |
| Polyaen. <i>Strat.</i>        | Polyaenus, <i>Strategemata</i>                        |
| Polyb.                        | Polybius  |
| Porph. <i>Abst.</i>           | Porphiry, <i>De abstinentia</i>                       |
| Soph. <i>Phil.</i>            | Sophocles, <i>Philoctetes</i>                         |
| Soph. <i>Trach.</i>           | Sophocles, <i>Trachiniae</i>                          |
| Stat. <i>Silv.</i>            | Statius, <i>Silvae</i>                                |
| Steph. Byz.                   | Stephanus Byzantius                                   |
| Tac. <i>Ann.</i>              | Tacitus, <i>Annals</i>                                |
| Tac. <i>Hist.</i>             | Tacitus, <i>Historiae</i>                             |
| Theocr. <i>Id.</i>            | Theocritus, <i>Idylls</i>                             |
| <i>Theog.</i>                 | Hesiod, <i>Theogony</i>                               |
| Thuc.                         | Thucydides  |
| Vell. Pat.                    | Velleius Paterculus                                   |
| Vitr. <i>De arch.</i>         | Vitruvius, <i>De architectura</i>                     |
| Xen. <i>Anab.</i>             | Xenophon, <i>Anabasis</i>                             |
| Xen. <i>Cyr.</i>              | Xenophon, <i>Cyropaedia</i>                           |
| Xen. <i>Hell.</i>             | Xenophon, <i>Hellenica</i>                            |
| Xen. <i>Lac. Pol.</i>         | Xenophon, <i>Respublica Lacedaemoniorum</i>           |
| ps.-Xen. <i>Const. Athen.</i> | Pseudo-Xenophon, <i>Constitution of the Athenians</i> |



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