

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

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*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>
<i>AntCl</i>	<i>L'Antiquité classique</i>
<i>AntK</i>	<i>Antike Kunst</i>
<i>AntOr</i>	<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>	<i>Assyriological Studies</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte</i>
<i>ATSAT</i>	<i>Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament</i>
<i>AuOr</i>	<i>Aula Orientalis</i>
<i>AuOrSup</i>	<i>Supplements to Aula Orientalis</i>
<i>AVO</i>	<i>Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients</i>
<i>BAAL</i>	<i>Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaise</i>
<i>BAB</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie royale de Belgique</i>
<i>BaF</i>	<i>Baghdader Forschungen</i>
<i>BAR-IS</i>	<i>British Archaeological Reports, International Series</i>
<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>	<i>Bibliotheca archaeologica</i>
<i>BibHelRom</i>	<i>Bibliotheca Helvetica Romana</i>
<i>BICS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
<i>BICSSup</i>	<i>Supplements of the Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London</i>
<i>Bj</i>	<i>Bonner Jahrbucher</i>
<i>BM</i>	<i>British Museum</i>
<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>Bollettino di Paleontologia Italiana</i>
<i>BSA</i>	<i>British School at Athens Studies</i>
<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
CIAnt	<i>Classical Antiquity</i>
CIQ	<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. Kořak 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. Op-laden: 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.

IEJ	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
IG	Max Fraenkel. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> . Berlin, 1873–
IG I <sup>3</sup>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae I: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores</i> . 3rd ed. Berlin, 1981, 1994. Fasc. 1: <i>Decreta et tabulae magistratuum</i> . Edited by David Lewis. Fasc. 2: <i>Dedicationes. Catalogi. Termini. Tituli sepulcrales. Varia. Tituli Attici extra Atticam reperti. Addenda</i> . Edited by David Lewis and Lilian Jeffery.
IG IV <sup>2</sup>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae IV: Inscriptiones Argolidis</i> . 2nd ed. Berlin, 1929. Fasc. 1: <i>Inscriptiones Epidauri</i> . Edited by Friedrich Hiller von Gaertringen.
IG IX, 1 <sup>2</sup>	<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.
IG XII, 6	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae. Inscriptiones Chii et Sami cum Corassii Icariaque</i> . 2 parts. Berlin. 2000, 2003.
IG XII, 9	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae. Inscriptiones Euboeae insulae</i> . Edited by Erich Ziebarth. Berlin, 1915.
IGR	René Cagnat. <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> . Paris: Leroux, 1911.
ILLRP	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i>
ILS	Hermann Dessau, ed. <i>Inscriptiones Latinae selectae</i> . Berlin: Weidmann, 1892–1916.
IM	Iraq Museum
IMagnesia	Otto Kern. <i>Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander</i> . Berlin: Spemann, 1900.
IMilet	Peter Herrmann, Wolfgang Günther, and Norbert Ehrhardt. <i>Inschriften von Milet</i> . Milet 6. Berlin: de Gruyter, 1997–2006.
IMSA	<i>Israel Museum Studies in Archaeology</i>
IOSPE <sup>3</sup>	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.
JAH	<i>Journal of Ancient History</i>
JANER	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions</i>
JAOS	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
JAR	<i>Journal of Anthropological Research</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JBL	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
JDAI	<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	Münchener 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 neerlandais 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>
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>
RIA	<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 Mastrocinque, 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. Op-laden: 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</i> , Band 12, 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	Yassihöyük 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 Vincetus</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>	Porphyry, <i>De abstinence</i>
Soph. <i>Phil.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Philoctetes</i>
Soph. <i>Trach.</i>	Sophocles, <i>Trachiniae</i>
Stat. <i>Silv.</i>	Stattius, <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>



## Contributors

**Mary R. Bachvarova** (PhD 2002, University of Chicago) is professor of classical studies at Willamette University, Oregon. She is the author of *From Hittite to Homer: The Anatolian Background of Ancient Greek Epic* (Cambridge University Press, 2016). She has also co-edited two volumes, including *The Fall of Cities in the Mediterranean: Commemoration in Literature, Folk-Song, and Liturgy* (with Dorota M. Dutsch, and Ann Suter; Cambridge University Press, 2016). Her research focuses on cultural contact in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages in Anatolia and Greece.

**Aaron Beck-Schachter** received his doctorate at Rutgers University (under Timothy Power and Thomas Figueira). Currently Valergakis Post-Doctoral Fellow at Rutgers, he has published an article on Lysander and his appropriation of the Samian Heraia in the edited volume *Myth, Text and History at Sparta* (2016). His interests include ancient Greek religion, Attic Drama, and cult statues and religious images. His current book project is on the dynamics of the ritual manipulation of cult images in archaic and classical Greece.

**Sandra Blakely** is associate professor of classics at Emory University, with research interests in Greek religion, historiography, digital approaches to antiquity, and the anthropology and ethnography of the ancient world. Her current research project, *The Anthropology of an Island Cult*, focuses on maritime ritual and the mystery cult of the Great Gods of Samothrace, using ArcGIS and network modeling to test the hypothesis of the cult's effectiveness in creating safety for travelers at sea. Recent publications include "Maritime Risk and Ritual Responses: Sailing with the Gods in the Ancient Mediterranean," in C. Buchet and P. de Souza, eds., *Oceanides* (Association Oceanides, 2016), and "Beyond Braudel: Network Models and a Samothracian Seascape," in L. Mazurek and C. Concannon, eds., *Across the Corrupting Sea* (Routledge, 2016).

**Amelia R. Brown** is senior lecturer in Greek history and language in the classics and ancient history discipline of the School of Historical and Philosophical Inquiry at the University of Queensland, Australia. She received her PhD from U.C. Berkeley in ancient history and mediterranean archaeology, and published *Corinth in Late Antiquity: A Greek, Roman, and Christian City* (Bloomsbury



Academic, 2018). Her current book project is on the archaeological and literary evidence for the gods and rituals of ancient Greek seafarers, supported by a Discovery Early Career Research award from the Australian Research Council.

**Billie Jean Collins** (PhD 1989, Yale University) is director of Lockwood Press and adjunct instructor in the Department of Middle Eastern and South Asian Studies at Emory University. She is author of *The Hittite and Their World* (Society of Biblical Literature, 2007) and the forthcoming volume *Hittite Rituals from Luwian Lands* (Society of Biblical Literature). In addition, she has edited and co-edited four volumes, including *A History of the Animal World in the Ancient Near East* (Brill, 2002), and has published numerous articles on Hittite religion, literature, and philology.

**Kevin Dicus** is assistant professor in the Department of Classics at the University of Oregon, and a 2016–2017 Fellow at the American Academy in Rome. He received his PhD at the Interdepartmental Program of Classical Art and Archaeology at the University of Michigan. He has co-supervised the Pompeii Archaeological Research Project: Porta Stabia since 2006, for which he is co-authoring the first volume of the final excavation report. Other research interests include material culture theory and the archaeology of waste and waste management in ancient urban settings, which is the topic of a monograph in progress.

**Christopher Faraone** is the Frank Curtis Springer and Gertrude Melcher Springer Professor in the Humanities, and professor in the Department of Classics at the University of Chicago. His most recent book is *The Transformation of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018). His current book project is titled *Hymn, Oracle, Incantation and Lament: Short Hexametrical Genres from Homer to Theocritus*. He has published extensively on ancient Greek poetry, religion and magic, which are his areas of special interest.

**Amir Gilan** is senior lecturer in Hittite and Anatolian Studies in the Faculty of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Civilizations at Tel Aviv University, Israel. He has published widely on Hittite history, historiography literature, and religion. His book *Formen und Inhalte althethitischer historischer Literatur* (Texte der Hethiter 29) was published in 2015. His current research includes a study of Hittite kingship and its interlocking with religion and investigations of Hittite rituals. His current research project, “The Hittites and Their Past: Forms of Historical Consciousness in Hittite Anatolia,” is funded by the Israel Science Foundation.

**Rosella Giglio** is a classical archaeologist working on Sicily. Since 2009, she has been involved with the excavations in the province of Trapani on Sicily's west coast and since July 2007 has served as head of the Archeology Unit (Unità Operativa VIII per i Beni Archeologici) in the regional Soprintendenza per i Beni Culturali Ambientali (Soprintendenza BB.CC.AA.) for the Province of Trapani. In this capacity, she also supervises the archaeological sites on the island of Mozia, owned by the Fondazione Giuseppe Whitaker in Palermo.

**Susanne Görke** received her PhD from Mainz University in 2006 while she was working on Hittite royal ideology perceptible in Hittite festival texts, within the Sonderforschungsbereich 295. Afterwards, she was part of the DFG project "Hethitische mythologische Texte," under the direction of E. Rieken at Marburg University, as well as the DFG project "Hethitische Beschwörungsrituale" supervised by D. Prechel at Mainz University, both in charge of publishing Hittite texts online (see [www.hethiter.net](http://www.hethiter.net)). Since 2016 she is part of the project "Hethitische Festrитуale (HFR)" based at the Mainz Academy of Sciences and Literature where she currently focuses on an edition of the Palaic and Luwian Festival texts (partly with D. Sasseville) and the interpretation of Hittite religious texts in matters of the consolidation of a religious system in Anatolia, especially in old Hittite times. She is co-author of a forthcoming monograph on *Hittite Royal Rituals* together with Doris Prechel and Giulia Torri.

**Virginia R. Herrmann** is a Junior Research Group Leader in the Institute for Ancient Near Eastern Studies at the University of Tübingen (Tübingen, Germany) and co-director of the Chicago-Tübingen excavations at Zincirli, Turkey. She is the author of numerous publications on urbanism, Neo-Assyrian imperialism, and mortuary cult in the Iron Age Levant and Anatolia and the co-editor of *In Remembrance of Me: Feasting with the Dead in the Ancient Middle East* (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2014) and *Imperial Peripheries in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (University of Colorado Press, 2018).

**Margaret M. Miles** is an archaeologist and architectural historian, and professor of art history and classics at the University of California, Irvine. She served a six-year term as the Andrew W. Mellon Professor of Classical Studies at the American School of Classical Studies in Athens (2008–2014). Her publications include a study of the Temple of Nemesis at Rhamnous (Hesperia, 1989), *Agora Excavations XXXI: The City Eleusinion* (Princeton, 1998), *Art as Plunder: the Ancient Origins of Debate about Cultural Property* (Cambridge, 2008), and three edited volumes: *Cleopatra: A Sphinx Revisited* (Berkeley, 2011), *Autopsy in Athens: Recent Archaeological Research in Athens and Attica* (Oxbow, 2015), and *A Companion to Greek Architecture* (Blackwell, 2016).

**Sarah Morris** is Steinmetz Professor of Classical Archaeology and Material Culture in the Department of Classics and the Cotsen Institute of Archaeology at UCLA. Her research involves the interaction of Greece with its eastern neighbors, in art, literature, religion, and culture. Her chief book on the subject, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton, 1992) won the James Wiseman Book Award from the Archaeological Institute of America for 1993. She has also edited (with Jane Carter) a volume of essays, *The Ages of Homer* (Texas, 1995), on the archaeological, literary, and artistic background and responses to Greek epic poetry. A practicing field archaeologist, she has worked in Israel, Turkey, Greece, and Albania, and has recently begun a new project at Methone in northern Greece.

**Lorenzo Nigro** (PhD 1967, Rome) is professor of Near Eastern and Phoenician Punic archaeology in the Faculty of Letters, Dept. of Oriental Studies at Sapienza University of Rome. He is an archaeologist with twenty-five years of experience in the field in the Near East and the Mediterranean. Since 2002 he is the Director of Sapienza University Expedition to Motya, a Phoenician colony in western Sicily, and of the Expedition to Palestine and Jordan (2004–2019) carrying on projects at the sites of Tell es-Sultan (ancient Jericho), Tell Abu Zarad (ancient Tappuah), and Bethlehem in Palestine, and Khirbet al-Batraway and Rujum al-Jamous in Jordan. He has coordinated several programs for Cultural Heritage protection in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, and Jordan. His studies address preclassical societies in the Levant and the Mediterranean, with a major focus on contextual archaeology, as well as on historical and cultural synchronization and conceptualization of Levantine and Mediterranean civilizations as part of human cultural heritage.

**Francesca Oliveri** is an archaeologist at the Soprintendenza del Mare, Palermo (Sicilian Maritime Heritage Department), dealing with the marine and coastal area between Trapani and Sciacca (including the Egadi Islands Survey Project) since 2005. She graduated in Classics at the Università degli Studi of Palermo, and then attended the Università degli Studi “La Sapienza” of Rome with a specialization in Punic antiquities and the section of Near Eastern Archaeology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem (Israel), with a grant of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Her publications focus on Punic ceramics, Motya and the Stagnone Lagoon, Aegadian Islands archaeology and finds (naval rams, amphorae), and Latin epigraphy.

**Adriano Orsingher** is a postdoctoral researcher and teaching Fellow at the University of Tübingen. His main research interests include Mediterranean archaeology and religion, ritual practice, ancient masks, cultural contact, and mi-

gration, with a special focus on Sicily and Cyprus. Recent publications include “The Chapelle Cintas Revisited and the Tophet of Carthage between Ancestors and new Identities”, in *BABESCH: Annual Papers on Mediterranean Archaeology* 93 (2018): 49–74, and “Ritualized Faces: The Masks of the Phoenicians,” in Angelika Berlejung and Judith E. Filitz eds., *The Physicality of the Other. Masks as a Means of Encounter* (Tübingen, 2018).

**Annick Payne** (PhD 2013, Freie Universität, Berlin) is a lecturer and director of the Ambizione-Projekt “Early History of Alphabetic Writing in Anatolia,” at the Institut für Archäologische Wissenschaften, University of Bern. She is author of *Hieroglyphic Luwian Texts in Translation* (Writings from the Ancient World 29; Society of Biblical Literature, 2012), *Hieroglyphic Luwian: An Introduction with Original Texts*, 3rd rev. ed. (SILO 2; Harrassowitz, 2014), *Schrift und Schriftlichkeit: Die anatolische Hieroglyphenschrift* (Harrassowitz, 2015), and *Lords of Asia Minor: An Introduction to the Lydians* (with J. Wintjes, *Philippika* 93, Harrassowitz, 2016). She currently serves on the board of the International Association for Assyriology.

**Irene Polinskaya** (PhD 2001, Stanford) is senior lecturer in Greek history at King’s College, London. She taught ancient Greek and Roman history, as well as ancient Greek and Latin, at Bowdoin College, USA before joining King’s in 2007. Her research areas are ancient Greek religion (methods and approaches); Aigina and the Saronic Gulf (history, epigraphy, archaeology); identity formation (ancient to modern Greece); Greek epigraphy (Aigina, Attica, Northern Black Sea); and digital epigraphy. Her current projects include IOSPE: Ancient Inscriptions from the Northern Black Sea; Religion and War From Antiquity to Early Modernity; The Language of Greek Religion; The Saronic Gulf Regional Project. She is author of *Local History of Greek Polytheism: Gods, People and the Land of Aigina, 800-400 BCE* (Brill, 2013).

**José Miguel Puebla Morón** is a PhD graduate of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid with the thesis “Iconografía de la moneda griega de Sicilia (Siglos VI a.C. – III a.C.)” [Iconography of the Greek coinage of Sicily (Sixth–Third Centuries BC)]. He has a Bachelor’s degree in history from Universidad Autónoma de Madrid and a Masters in history and ancient sciences from Universidades Complutense y Autónoma de Madrid. He has taken part in international congresses, seminars, and conferences organized by universities like Oxford, Bristol, Emory, London, Johannes Gutenberg, La Sorbonne, or Messina, and has written over twenty different publications related to Greek numismatics and iconography.

**Elisabeth Rieken** (PhD 1996, Ruhr-Universität Bochum) is professor of Comparative Indo-European Linguistics at the University of Marburg. Her research focuses on the Anatolian language family and includes both synchronic and diachronic studies. More recently, she has published several articles on Hittite prayers, their structure, and compositional techniques. She is author of *Untersuchungen zur nominalen Stammbildung des Hethitischen* (Harrassowitz, 1999) and together with Alexandra Daues, has published a monograph on the pragmatics of the genre of Hittite prayers: *Das persönliche Gebet bei den Hethitern: Eine textlinguistische Untersuchung* (Harrassowitz, 2018). She is also co-director of the project *Das Corpus der hethitischen Festrituale: Staatliche Verwaltung des Kultwesens im spätbronzezeitlichen Anatolien*.

**J. B. Rives** is Kenan Eminent Professor and Chair of the Department of Classics at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. His previous publications include *Religion and Authority in Roman Carthage from Augustus to Constantine* (1995), a commentary on Tacitus's *Germania* (1999), and *Religion in the Roman Empire* (2007), as well as articles on magic and law in the Roman world and other aspects of ancient Mediterranean religion. His current major project is a study of the cultural significance of animal sacrifice in the context of religious change during the Roman imperial period.

**Louis A. Ruprecht Jr.** is the inaugural holder of the William M. Suttles Chair in Religious Studies as well as Director of the Center for Hellenic Studies. His work may best be characterized as an historical study of the appropriation of Greek themes in a number of subsequent historical periods, especially the Early Modern period. He interrogates this classical legacy in areas ranging from ethics and politics, to psychology and sexuality, to drama and film. For the past ten years he has been a Research Fellow at the Vatican Library and the Vatican Secret Archives, where he has extended these research interests to the emergence of the Early Modern conception of Art, and the privileging of classical art as embodied in that preeminent institution, the Vatican Museums. His recent books include: *Winckelmann and the Vatican's First Profane Museum* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), *Policing the State: Democratic Reflections on Police Power Gone Awry, in Memory of Kathryn Johnston* (Wipf and Stock, 2013) and *Classics at the Dawn of the Museum Era: The Life and Times of Antoine Chrysostome Quatremere de Quincy* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

**Ian Rutherford** is professor of Greek at the University of Reading. My university education was at Oxford, and my first teaching job was at Harvard. I have held research positions at the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington DC and the University of Cincinnati. I have published three books, and over 40 ar-

ticles. Research interests: early Greek poetry, ancient pilgrimage, ancient Anatolia and the Greek world. He has most recently authored *State Pilgrims and Sacred Observers in Ancient Greece: A Study of Theōriā and Theōroi* (Cambridge, 2014, and edited *Greek Lyric* (Oxford, 2019) and *Luwian Identities: Culture, Language and Religion Between Anatolia and the Aegean* (with Alice Mouton and Ilya Yakubovich; Brill, 2013)

**Rebecca Smith** received her MPhil in Classics from the University of Queensland, Australia, with a thesis on amphitheaters in Roman Italy. She is currently working at the R.D. Milns Antiquities Museum at the University of Queensland.

**Federica Spagnoli** (Frascati, RM, 1977) is an archaeologist and a member of the Rome “La Sapienza” Archaeological Expedition to Motya. Her research activities are focused on Phoenician and Punic archaeology, especially religious traditions and cult contexts, and Phoenician material culture. She published her PhD thesis (*Cooking Pots as an Indicator of Cultural Relations between Levantine Peoples in Late Bronze and Iron Ages*, QAFP 4; Rome 2010), a monograph (*Alle sorgenti del Kothon. Il rito a Mozia nell’Area sacra di Baal ‘Addir - Poseidon. Lo scavo dei pozzi sacri nel Settore C Sud-Ovest, 2006-2011*, QAFP/CM-02; Rome 2012; with L. Nigro); a study on the early Phoenician settlement at Motya (*Landing on Motya: The Earliest Phoenician Settlement in the Excavations of Sapienza University of Rome: 2012–2016*, Rome, 2017); *The So-Called “Kothon” at Motya: Stratigraphy, Architecture, and Finds*, QAFP/CM-04; Rome 2017, with L. Nigro), and several scientific articles. She has a post-doctoral position at Sapienza University of Rome, Italian Institute of Oriental Studies.

†**Sebastiano Tusa** was councilor for Cultural Heritage for the Sicilian Region of Italy from 11 April 2018 until his death on 10 March 2019. Tusa also served as a professor of paleontology at the Suor Orsola Benincasa University of Naples. In 2004 he was appointed as the first Superintendent of the Sea by the Department of Cultural Heritage of the Sicilian Region. He organized archaeological missions in Italy, Pakistan, Iran and Iraq. In January 2010, he was named honorary member of the National Archaeologists Association. In 2012 he returned to head the Superintendence of the Sea of the Region, until his appointment in 2018 as councilor for Cultural Heritage. His publications include *Sicilia preistorica* (Dario Flaccovio, 1994), and the coedited volume *Mirabilia Maris: Tesori dai mari di Sicilia* (Regione Siciliana, 2016).