# PHOENICIAN ANICONISM





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PHOENICIAN ANICONISM IN ITS MEDITERRANEAN AND ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CONTEXTS

## PHOENICIAN ANICONISM

IN ITS MEDITERRANEAN AND ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CONTEXTS

*by*Brian R. Doak

Atlanta, Georgia SBL Press

# PHOENICIAN ANICONISM IN ITS MEDITERRANEAN AND ANCIENT NEAR EASTERN CONTEXTS

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sed nulla effigies simulacraue nota deorum maiestate locum et sacro impleuere timore

But no statues or familiar images of the gods filled the place with solemnity and sacred awe

—Silius Italicus, *Punica* 3.30–31



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This book is dedicated to three of my teachers, on their recent or upcoming retirements:

My doctoral advisor, Peter Machinist (Harvard University) James Moyer (Missouri State University) Lawrence Stager (Harvard University)

### Abbreviations

AASOR Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research

ASOR American Schools of Oriental Research

ABD Anchor Bible Dictionary. Edited by David Noel Freed-

man. 6 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1992

AH De l'archéologie à l'histoire

AHL Archaeology and History in Lebanon

AJ Art Journal

AJBA Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology

AK Antike Kunst
AN Abr-Nahrain

ANESS Ancient Near Eastern Studies Supplement

ANET Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testa-

ment. Edited by James B. Pritchard. 3rd ed. Princeton:

Princeton University Press, 1969

Ant. Jud. Josephus, Antiquitates Judaicae (Jewish Antiquities).

Translated by Henry St. Joseph Thackeray et al. 9 vols. LCL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930–

1965

AOAT Alter Orient und Altes Testament

ASMA Aarhus Studies in Mediterranean Antiquity
ASSM Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean

AUSS Andrews University Seminary Studies

AWE Ancient West and East
BA The Biblical Archaeologist

BAAL Bulletin d'Archéologie et d'Architecture Libanaises
BAALHS Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises,

hors-série

BAI Bulletin of the Asia Institute
BAR Biblical Archaeology Review

BARIS British Archaeology Review International Series

BASOR Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research

BBET Beiträge zur biblischen Exegese und Theologie

BIS Biblical Interpretation Series

#### xviii | Abbreviations

BJS Brown Judaic Studies

BMB Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth

BRA Beiträge zur Religionsgeschichte des Altertums

BSRS British School at Rome Studies

BZAW Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wis-

senschaft

CAD The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the

University of Chicago. Chicago: The Oriental Institute

of the University of Chicago, 1956–2006

CAM Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea

CANE Civilizations of the Ancient Near East. Edited by Jack

M. Sasson. 4 vols. New York, 1995. Repr. in 2 vols.

Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2006

CBOTS Coniectanea Biblica Old Testament Series
CBQMS Catholic Biblical Quarterly Monograph Series

CEFR Collection de l'école française de Rome

CHANE Culture and History of the Ancient Near East

CIDRANE Cult Image and Divine Representation in the Ancient

Near East. Edited by Neal H. Walls. Boston: ASOR,

2005

CMAO Contributi e Materiali di Archeologia Orientale

COS The Context of Scripture. Edited by William W. Hallo.

3 vols. Leiden: Brill, 1997-2002

CRJ Classical Receptions Journal

CS Classical Studies

CSF Collezione di Studi Fenici

CTA Corpus des tablettes en cunéiformes alphabétiques dé-

couvertes à Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 à 1939. Edited

by Andrée Herdner. Paris: Geuthner, 1963

DCPP Dictionnaire de la Civilisation Phénicienne et Punique.

Edited by E. Lipiński. Turnhout: Brepols, 1992

DDD Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible. Edited

by Karel van der Toorn, Bob Becking, and Pieter W.

van der Horst. Leiden: Brill, 1995

EBR Encyclopedia of the Bible and Its Reception. Edited by

Hans-Josef Klauck et al. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009-

EC Études chypriotes

EPAHA Études de philology, d'archéologie et d'histoire anci-

ennes

FAT Forschungen zum Alten Testament

FRLANT Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten

und Neuen Testaments

**GNES** Gorgias Near Eastern Studies GRRS Graeco-Roman Religion Series

GSSP Geological Society Special Publication

History, Archaeology, and Culture of the Levant HACL

HO Handbuch der Orientalistik **HSM** Harvard Semitic Monographs **IAAR** Israel Antiquities Authority Reports

Iconography of Deities and Demons in the Ancient IDD

> Near East. Edited by Christoph Uehlinger et al. OBO, Series Archaeologica. Forthcoming 2015. Electronic prepublication essays posted at http://www.religionswissenschaft.uzh.ch/idd/prepublication.php; dates cited for each author are dates on which the prepubli-

cation material was last edited.

Israel Exploration Journal IEIIlex Series (Ilex Foundation) IS

Interdisciplinary Studies in Ancient Culture and Reli-**ISACR** 

gion

IAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society

IBLJournal of Biblical Literature ICS Journal of Cuneiform Studies

Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology JMAJournal of Mediterranean Studies *IMS* Journal of Near Eastern Studies **INES** 

IRS *Journal of Religion and Society* (Supplemental Series)

Journal of Ritual Studies **IRtSt** 

**JSOTSup** Journal for the Old Testament Supplemental Series Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften. Herbert KAIDonner and Wolfgang Röllig. 2nd ed. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1966-1969. Updated vol. 1 published in

2002

Karth Karthago; Revue d'Archéologie Africaine

LCL Loeb Classical Library

LHBOTS Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies LIMC Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae. Edited

by H. Christoph Ackerman and Jean-Robert Gisler. 8

vols. Zurich: Artemis, 1981-1997

MAMediterraneo Antico

Madrider Beiträge. Deutsche Archäologisches Insti-MB

tut, Madrid

MS Melammu Symposia

Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph MUSI

NEA Near Eastern Archaeology

OA Oriens Antiquus

*OAANE* On Art in the Ancient Near East. By I. J. Winter. 2 vols.

CHANE 34.1. Leiden: Brill, 2010

OBO Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis

Od. Homer, Odyssey

OEANE The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near

*East.* Edited by Eric M. Meyers. 5 vols. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Oxford Biblical Studies

Online, http://www.oxfordbiblicalstudies.com

COIS Chicago Oriental Institute Seminars
OLA Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta
PEQ Palestine Exploration Quarterly

PULSEA Publications de l'Université Libanaise, Section des

Études Archéologiques

RGRW Religions in the Graeco-Roman World

RHR Revue de l'Histoire des Religions

RSF Revista di Studi Fenici RSO Ras Shamra-Ougarit

SATI The Stone Art Theory Institutes
SBL Society of Biblical Literature

SBLABS SBL Archaeology and Biblical Studies

SCL Sather Classical Lectures
SEL Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici

SJOT Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament

SM Spal Monografías SP Studia Phoenicia

SP IV Studia Phoenica IV: Religio Phoenicia. Edited by C.

Bonnet, E. Lipiński, and P. Marchetti. Namur: Société

des Études Classiques, 1986

SS Studi Semitici

SuppTrans Supplément à Transeuphratène

TA Tel Aviv

TDOT Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament. Edited by

G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren. Translated by John T. Willis et al. 15 vols. Grand Rapids:

Eerdmans, 1974-2006

TMAI Trabajos del Museo Arqueológico de Ibiza

TT Texts and Translations

UCOP University of Cambridge Oriental Publications

UF Ugarit-Forschungen VO Vicino Oriente

Supplements to Vetus Testamentum Writings from the Ancient World VTSup WAW Writings from the Ancient World Supplement WAWSup

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins ZDPV

