

Entangled Worlds: Religious Confluences between East and West in the Roman Empire

Edited by
SVENJA NAGEL,
JOACHIM FRIEDRICH QUACK,
and CHRISTIAN WITSCHERL

*Orientalische Religionen
in der Antike*

22

Mohr Siebeck

Orientalische Religionen in der Antike

Ägypten, Israel, Alter Orient

Oriental Religions in Antiquity

Egypt, Israel, Ancient Near East

(ORA)

Herausgegeben von / Edited by

Angelika Berlejung (Leipzig)

Joachim Friedrich Quack (Heidelberg)

Annette Zgoll (Göttingen)

22



Entangled Worlds:
Religious Confluences
between East and West
in the Roman Empire

The Cults of Isis,
Mithras, and Jupiter Dolichenus

Edited by

Svenja Nagel,
Joachim Friedrich Quack,
and Christian Witschel

Mohr Siebeck

SVENJA NAGEL, born 1984; studied Egyptology and Classical Archaeology; 2015 PhD; since 2016 Research Associate at the Institutes of Egyptology of Wuerzburg University and Heidelberg University.

JOACHIM FRIEDRICH QUACK, born 1966; studied Egyptology, Semitics and Biblical Archaeology; 1993 PhD; 2003 Habilitation; since 2005 Full Professor of Egyptology at Heidelberg University.

CHRISTIAN WITSCHEL, born 1966; studied Ancient and Modern History, Prehistoric and Classical Archaeology; 1998 PhD; 2004 Habilitation; since 2005 Full Professor of Ancient History at Heidelberg University.

Published with financial support from the Cluster of Excellence “Asia and Europe in a Global Context”.

ISBN 978-3-16-154730-0 / eISBN 978-3-16-154731-7
ISSN 1869-0513 (Orientalische Religionen in der Antike)

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliographie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

© 2017 by Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen, Germany. www.mohr.de

This book may not be reproduced, in whole or in part, in any form (beyond that permitted by copyright law) without the publisher’s written permission. This applies particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage and processing in electronic systems.

The book was printed by Gulde Druck in Tübingen on non-aging paper and bound by Buchbinderei Spinner in Ottersweier.

Printed in Germany.

Table of Contents

General Abbreviations	IX
-----------------------------	----

Joachim Friedrich Quack and Christian Witschel

Introduction: Religious Confluences in the Roman Empire; or: Why ‘Oriental Cults’ Again?	1
---	---

I The Concept of ‘Oriental Cults’ in Recent Debates

Jaime Alvar

The ‘Romanization’ of ‘Oriental Cults’	23
--	----

Julietta Steinhauer

Osiris <i>mystes</i> und Isis <i>orgia</i> – Gab es ‚Mysterien‘ der ägyptischen Gottheiten?	47
--	----

II Origins and Diffusion of ‘Oriental Cults’ within the Imperium Romanum: The Case of Jupiter Dolichenus

Engelbert Winter

The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus and its Origins. The Sanctuary at Dülük Baba Tepesi near Doliche	79
--	----

Michael Blömer

The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in the East	96
--	----

Mihály Loránd Dészpa

Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus and the Re-Imagination of the Empire: Religious Dynamics, Social Integration, and Imperial Narratives	113
---	-----

III Expanding from Egypt into Globality: The Case of Isis and Osiris

Ian S. Moyer

The Hymns of Isidorus at Medinet Madi: Global Currents in a Local Context	182
---	-----

Svenja Nagel

One for All and All for One? Isis as <i>una quae es(t) omnia</i> in the Egyptian Temples of the Graeco-Roman Period	207
--	-----

VI

Martin Andreas Stadler

New Light on the Universality of Isis (pVienna D. 6297+6329+10101) 232

Joachim Friedrich Quack

Resting in Pieces and Integrating the Oikoumene. On the Mental Expansion
of the Religious Landscape by Means of the Body Parts of Osiris 244

IV The Visual Conceptualization of ‘Oriental Gods’

Miguel John Versluys

Egypt as Part of the Roman *koine*: Mnemohistory and the Iseum Campense
in Rome 274

Darius Frackowiak

Mithräische Bilderwelten. Eine Untersuchung zu ausgewählten
ikonographischen Elementen im römischen Mithraskult 294

Ralf Krumeich

Zwischen Orient und Okzident. Bilder des Jupiter Dolichenus und der
Juno Regina aus dem Osten und Westen des Römischen Reiches 329

V Changing Forms of Sacred Space, Sanctuaries and Rituals

Kathrin Kleibl

An Audience in Search of a Theatre – The Staging of the Divine in the
Sanctuaries of Graeco-Egyptian Gods 353

Florence Saragoza

Exploring Walls: On Sacred Space in the Pompeian *Iseum* 372

Andreas Hensen

Templa et spelaea Mithrae. Unity and Diversity in the Topography, Architecture
and Design of Sanctuaries in the Cult of Mithras 384

Richard Gordon

From East to West: Staging Religious Experience in the Mithraic Temple 413

List of Contributors	443
Index of Sources	447
Index of Names	460
Plates	I–LXXXV
Colour Plates	I–VII

List of General Abbreviations Used Throughout the Volume

Latin sources are cited by using the short titles of the *Index* of the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*. Greek sources are in general cited by using the short titles in the *Greek-English Lexicon* of LIDDELL, H. G./SCOTT, R./JONES, H. S. Epigraphic Corpora of Greek and Latin inscriptions are cited according to the list of abbreviations in F. BÉRARD et al., *Guide de l'épigraphiste. Bibliographie choisie des épigraphies antiques et médiévales*, Paris ⁴2010, 19f. (see also http://www.antiquite.ens.fr/IMG/file/pdf_guide_epi/abbreviations_guide.pdf); as well as that in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*. Papyri are mostly cited by the inventory number of the respective collections, or, for the Greek and Demotic papyri and ostraca, according to the rules presented in OATES, J. F., et al., *Checklist of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets*; see <http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>. For Egyptian papyri, inscriptions and other sources cf. furthermore HELCK, W./WESTENDORF, W. (Eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, Wiesbaden 1975, XVII–XXXIV; as well as the LGG.

CCCA	VERMASEREN, M. J., <i>Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque I–VII</i> (EPRO 50), Leiden 1977–89.
CCID	HÖRIG, M./SCHWERTHEIM, E., <i>Corpus Cultus Iovis Dolicheni</i> (EPRO 106), Leiden 1987.
CIMRM	VERMASEREN, M. J., <i>Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis Mithriacae I–II</i> , Den Haag 1956/60.
Dend.	CHASSINAT, É./DAUMAS, F./CAUVILLE, S., <i>Le temple de Dendara I/III</i> , al-Qāhira 1934/35.
Edfou I	ROCHEMONTEIX, M. DE CHALVET et al., <i>Le temple d'Edfou I</i> (2ème ed. rev. et corr. par S. CAUVILLE/D. DEVAUCHELLE) (<i>Mémoires publiées par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire</i> 10), al-Qāhira 1984–87.
Edfou III	CHASSINAT, É., <i>Le temple d'Edfou III</i> (<i>Mémoires publiées par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire</i> 20), al-Qāhira 1928.
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain.
Imperium der Götter	Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe (Ed.), <i>Imperium der Götter. Isis – Mithras – Christus. Kulte und Religionen im Römischen Reich. Ausstellungskatalog Karlsruhe</i> , Darmstadt 2013.
ILSlov I	M. LOVENJAK, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Sloveniae I: Neviodunum</i> , Ljubljana 1998.
KRI	KITCHEN, K. A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions I–VIII</i> , Oxford 1975–90.
LGG	LEITZ, C. (Ed.), <i>Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen I–VIII</i> (<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i> 110–116, 129), Leuven 2002/03.
PGM	PREISENDANZ, K. (Ed.), <i>Papyri Graecae Magicae. Die griechischen Zauberpapyri</i> , Leipzig 1928–41.
RGW	<i>Religions in the Graeco-Roman World</i> .
RIC	MATTINGLY, H. et al., <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage I–X</i> , London 1923–94.
RICIS	BRICAULT, L., <i>Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques I–III</i> , Paris 2005.
RICIS Suppl. I	BRICAULT, L., <i>RICIS Supplément I</i> , in: L. BRICAULT (Ed.), <i>Bibliotheca Isiacae I</i> , Bordeaux 2008, 77–130.
RICIS Suppl. II	BRICAULT, L., <i>RICIS Supplément II</i> , in: L. BRICAULT (Ed.), <i>Bibliotheca Isiacae II</i> , Bordeaux 2011, 273–316.

X

- RICIS Suppl. III BRICAULT, L., RICIS Supplément III, in: L. BRICAULT/R. VEYMIERS (Eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* III, Bordeaux 2014, 139–195.
- SIRIS VIDMAN, L., *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten 28), Berlin 1969.
- SNRIS BRICAULT, L. (Ed.), *Sylloge nummorum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, Paris 2008.
- SNRIS Suppl. I BRICAULT, L., SNRIS Supplément I, in: L. BRICAULT/R. VEYMIERS (Eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* III, Bordeaux 2014, 245–284.
- Wb ERMAN, A./GRAPOW, H., *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* I-VII, Berlin 1926–63.

Introduction: Religious Confluences in the Roman Empire; or: Why ‘Oriental Cults’ Again?

Why to produce yet another volume on the religious history of the Roman Empire and especially on the so-called ‘oriental cults’? After all, the last decades have seen the publication of a number of good surveys and introductory essays on various aspects of religious life in the Imperium Romanum,¹ including the peculiar appearance of cults that originally were and sometimes remained – at least from a certain perspective and in certain circumstances – ‘foreign’ or ‘non-institutionalized’ ones.² More specifically, the latter phenomenon has been treated extensively in a whole series of studies that was initiated in the 1960s: starting under the title *Études préliminaires aux cultes orientales dans l’Empire romain* (EPRO) and later renamed as *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World* (RGW), the series has by now reached more than 180 volumes.³ In addition, regarding the three cults envisaged in this volume (i.e. those of Isis, Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus), we have experienced a lively series of conferences on the cult of Isis in the Roman Empire⁴ as well as regular meetings on Mithraic studies⁵ and a number of general studies on this cult,⁶ recently joined by intensive research on the origins and

¹ A number of good introductory and general essays on religious life in the Roman Empire have been published in the last years, cf. BEARD/NORTH/PRICE, *Religions of Rome*; SCHEID, *Introduction*; RÜPKE, *Religion*; ID., *Roman Religion*, RIVES, *Religion*; ANDO, *Matter of the Gods*; NORTH/PRICE, *Religious History*. The broad range of gods venerated in the Roman Empire, and especially the cults of Mithras, Isis, Magna Mater and Jupiter Dolichenus, were also the subject of a large exhibition in the *Badisches Landesmuseum* at Karlsruhe in 2013/14; for which see the catalogue ‘Imperium der Götter’.

² The supposed ‘foreignness’ of the cults in question, often regarded as part of the so-called *sacra pergrina*, constitutes a problem in itself, as it was a rather fluid notion with no clearly defined boundaries; cf. BENDLIN, *Pragmatik religiösen Verhaltens* (and also below n. 18).

³ One of the most recently published volumes in the series RGW, BRICAULT/BONNET, *Panthée*, contains a number of papers that are highly relevant for our subject.

⁴ BRICAULT, *De Memphis à Rome*; BRICAULT, *Isis en Occident*; BRICAULT/VERSLUYS/MEY-BOOM, *Nile into Tiber*; BRICAULT/VERSLUYS, *Isis on the Nile*; BRICAULT/VERSLUYS, *Power, Politics*.

⁵ HINNELLS, *Studies in Mithraism*; VOMER GOJKOVIČ, *Mithraskult*; MARTENS/DE BOE, *Roman Mithraism*. For an overview of Mithraic studies in the last decades, see BECK, *Mithraism since Franz Cumont*, and ID., *Mithraism after ‘Mithraism since Franz Cumont’*.

⁶ MERKELBACH, *Mithras*; CLAUSS, *Cultores Mithrae*; BECK, *Religion of the Mithras Cult*; GORDON, *Roman Army*; CLAUSS, *Mithras*; GORDON, *Mithras*; HENSEN, *Mithras*. The classic study of CUMONT, *Mystères des Mithra*, has been recently re-edited by N. BELAYCHE and A. MASTROCINQUE (with a useful introduction into the historiographical background of CUMONT’s work). In addition, some important regional studies on Mithraism have been produced in the last years; cf. FRACKOWIAK, *Fremde Götter* (for the Germanic provinces); SCHULTE, *Mithras in Gallien* (for Northern Gaul); KLÖCKNER, *Mithras auf der Iberischen Halbinsel* (for *Hispania*); SICOE, *Stein-*

diffusion of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus.⁷ So, to repeat the initial question: why did we initiate yet another project on this subject?

On the one hand, the intensive research carried out during the last years on the so-called ‘oriental cults’ has reached an important phase. There are by now some very useful corpora of data especially for the cult of Isis thanks to the work of Laurent Briault and his group,⁸ which make the production of an overall synthesis much easier.⁹ At the same time new and exciting discoveries have occurred all around the Roman world which might help to advance our understanding of these religious phenomena significantly. For the cult of Isis, the demotic Egyptian sources provide a rich new input, and much is still to be gained from papyri which remain unpublished at the moment.¹⁰ Regarding the cult of Mithras, recent archaeological fieldwork has led to the detection of new temples and interesting objects¹¹ – both on a large scale like inscriptions¹² and wall-paintings,¹³ but also with regard to ‘small finds’ like pottery and ani-

denkmäler aus Dakien (for *Dacia*); GRIFFITH, Mithraism in Imperial Rome (for Rome); WHITE, Mithraism at Ostia (for Ostia; cf. also RIEGER, Heiligtümer; STEUERNAGEL, Kult). We await a new comprehensive study on the ‘oriental cults’ in Ostia by R. MARCHESINI.

⁷For some recent summaries of our knowledge on the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, see the papers in BLÖMER/WINTER, Iuppiter Dolichenus (esp. BLÖMER, Iuppiter Dolichenus; COLLAR, Commagene) as well as SANZI, Iuppiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus. The research in Doliche itself has been undertaken by our colleagues from the University of Münster (Germany); see <http://www.doliche.de/> (cf. further below n. 15) and <http://www.uni-muenster.de/Religion-und-Politik/forschung/projekte/c9.html>; for a more recent project on the distribution of Syrian cults within the Roman Empire, see <http://www.uni-muenster.de/Religion-und-Politik/forschung/projekte/b2-20.html>. The processes through which the (Roman) cult of Jupiter Dolichenus was created and diffused throughout the Imperium Romanum have also been intensively debated in recent scholarship; cf. below n. 32.

⁸See BRICAULT, Atlas, as well as RICIS and SNRIS. In contrast, the corpora of epigraphic and archaeological sources for the cults of Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus are more or less outdated by now. This is especially true for VERMASEREN’s CIMRM, which definitely needs to be replaced by a new corpus in the near future, but also for the more recent CCID, as there are serious doubts concerning some of the criteria used to gather the material; for the latter, see the remarks by M. BLÖMER, in this volume pp. 96–112.

⁹Cf. now NAGEL, Ausbreitung des Isis-Kultes; as well as EAD., Gesichter der Isis; and the paper by S. NAGEL, in this volume pp. 207–231.

¹⁰DOUSSA, Imagining Isis; QUACK, Ich bin Isis; ID., Lobpreis; ID., Isis, Thot und Arrian; KOCKELMANN, Praising the Goddess; STADLER, Spätägyptische Hymnen. Cf. also the papers by M.A. STADLER and J.F. QUACK, in this volume pp. 232–243 and 244–273.

¹¹For a list of the most recent archaeological discoveries connected to the cult of Mithras, see BECK, Mithraism after ‘Mithraism since Franz Cumont’, 7–14; KLENNER, Breaking News; and CLAUSS, Mithras, 183 f. Furthermore it should be mentioned that some older excavations of important sanctuaries of Mithras have received an exhaustive scientific treatment only in recent years, such as the ‘Walbrook temple’ in London (SHEPHERD, Temple of Mithras) or the ‘Mithräum am Ballplatz’ in Mainz (HULD-ZETSCHKE, Mithraskult in Mainz).

¹²To cite just a few examples: One of the most intriguing epigraphic finds of the last decades is a bronze tablet discovered in Virunum (*Noricum*) which exhibits an inscription containing a (complete?) list (*album*) of the followers of one Mithraic community: AE 1994, 1334; cf. the detailed commentary by PICCOTTINI, Virunum. In Inveresk (Scotland) two altars for Mithras and Sol were found which point to the existence of the northernmost sanctuary of Mithras known today; see TOMLIN, Inscriptions, 441–444 nos. 5–6 (= AE 2011, 678/79). The excavations of a Mithraeum in Lucus Augusti/Lugo (*Hispania citerior*) have yielded an inscribed altar that throws new light on the expansion of the cult in Roman Spain: AE 2006, 663; cf. ALVAR/GORDON/RODRIGUEZ, Lugo. The

mal bones which help us to analyse the ritual context of specific sanctuaries by using up-to-date archaeological techniques.¹⁴ In the case of Jupiter Dolichenus the excavations of a large sanctuary on the Dülük Baba Tepesi near Doliche in Commagene, the (supposed) ‘homeland’ of this god, have shed new light on the question of the origins of the cult as it was known in the Roman Empire,¹⁵ whereas recently discovered sanctuaries of the god in places as far apart as Vindolanda (near Hadrian’s Wall in *Britannia*) and Balaklava (on the Crimean peninsula) have provided us with fresh insights into the diffusion of the cult and its local organization.¹⁶

side reliefs of another recently detected altar dedicated to *Deus Invictus Imperator* from Burginatum/Alt-Kalkar (*Germania inferior*) show some very interesting symbols of Mithraic art: AE 1999, 1098; cf. GORDON, Viewing Mithraic Art. At the other end of the Mediterranean, a casual find of an inscribed Mithraic relief at Perge (in the province of *Lycia et Pamphylia*) has led to the identification of the first securely attested Mithraeum in the whole of Asia minor: I.Perge I 248. Finally, new research has also led to the rehabilitation of some Mithraic inscriptions which have long been known but have been regarded as suspicious in earlier scholarship – such as an altar from Rome that has been ‘rediscovered’ in South Africa and contains a unique dedication (in Greek) to Helios Mithras as *astrobrontodaimōn*: IG XIV 998 = IGUR I 125; cf. GORDON, *Mithras Helios*.

¹³ The most spectacular discoveries of Mithraic wall-paintings (dated to the 4th century AD; some of them showing motives up to now totally unknown in Mithraic art) have occurred in Hawarte in *Syria*; cf. GAWLIKOWSKI, Mithraeum at Hawarte. Some other wall-paintings found within Mithraic sanctuaries have received a fresh treatment in recent years (see MADARASSY, *Bemalte Kultwand*); especially the very important ones from the Mithraeum in S. Maria Capua Vetere; cf. GORDON, *Mithraic Body*.

¹⁴ Cf. the contributions to two collective volumes focusing on ‘small finds’ and animal bones from sanctuaries of Mithras and other gods: MARTENS/DE BOE, Roman Mithraism; and LEPETZ/VAN ANDRINGA, Archéologie du sacrifice animal. Of special interest are ‘rubbish dumps’ containing huge amounts of pottery and bones like those detected around the Mithraeum at Tienen in *Germania inferior* (MARTENS, Rethinking ‘Sacred Rubbish’; EAD., *Mithraeum* in Tienen; cf. also ULBERT/WULFMEIER/HULD-ZETSCHKE, Ritual Deposits; and the papers in SCHÄFER/WITTEYER, *Rituelle Deponierungen*); as well as complete assemblages of plates and vessels which were used for cultic purposes, such as those that have been found in front of a Mithraeum at Riegel in *Germania superior* (MAYER-REPPERT, *Fundmaterial*). With regard to animal bones, a rich array of material has been excavated in a Mithraeum at Septeuil in *Gallia Lugdunensis*; cf. GAIDON-BUNUEL/CAILLAT, Honorer Mithra en mangeant. A very important single find is a cult vessel discovered at Mainz which is decorated on both sides with scenes depicting ritual processions within the cult of Mithras. The detailed interpretation of these scenes is disputed, however; cf. the divergent analytic models presented by HULD-ZETSCHKE, Mainzer Krater; BECK, Ritual; GORDON, Ritual and Hierarchy.

¹⁵ For a summary of the excavations on the Dülük Baba Tepesi, see WINTER, Kult des Jupiter Dolichenus; and esp. the contribution by E. WINTER, in this volume pp. 79–95. One of the most spectacular finds in Doliche has been the discovery of a stele dating to the Roman period but showing the god in a traditional iron-age iconography: BLÖMER, Stele von Doliche. For the Commagenian background of the cult, cf. the papers in WAGNER, Gottkönige am Euphrat. Some other new finds of inscriptions and reliefs have enlarged our knowledge of the worship of Jupiter Dolichenus in the eastern provinces of the Roman Empire during the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD, some of them seemingly results of a ‘backward flow’ (or ‘reflux’) of religious concepts which had been further developed in the West; cf. FACELLA/WINTER, Neue Inschriften; and for the most important of these discoveries, a votive relief from Perrhe, BLÖMER/FACELLA, Weihrelief für Jupiter Dolichenus (= SEG 56, 2006, 1840).

¹⁶ In Vindolanda a Dolichenum has been discovered inside the walls of the Roman fort, which is a very unusual location: BIRLEY/BIRLEY, Dolichenum; ID., New Dolichenum (see also AE 2010, 790–792). Balaklava: SARNOWSKI/ZUBAR/SAVELJA, Inschriftenfunde; SARNOWSKI/SAVELJA, Balaklava (see also AE 1998, 1154–1163). Another important new epigraphic find from Cilurnum/

On the other hand, some fresh theoretical and methodological approaches are now at hand which could be relevant for the study of the cults in question. Our project was part of a ‘Cluster of Excellence’ (*Exzellenzcluster*), which has been established at the University of Heidelberg in 2007 and was at that time called *Asia and Europe in a Global Context. Shifting Asymmetries in Cultural Flows*.¹⁷ Such a background provides a specific outlook as well as analytic parameters which can inform the research on some of the most popular cults within the Roman Empire. It might direct us towards a better understanding of processes of adaptation and transformation of originally ‘foreign’ cults as one of many historic examples in which a desire to fill a real or perceived void in the ‘mental map’ of contemporary societies, or for acquiring a package of (fascinating) new knowledge, leads to the appropriation of what once had been regarded as the ‘Other’.¹⁸ On a broader level one can remark that in some instances such cultural or religious ‘flows’¹⁹ move in accordance with the political or economic dominance of one specific power over other entities, either imposed by a colonial authority or sought after by the subjects themselves as part of a program of ‘modernisation’.²⁰ In other cases, however, like in the Roman Empire, such flows can – at least partially – also run counter to the general trend of (military) expansion.²¹ Here, some members of the dominant power (i.e. the ‘Romans’ – in itself an instable and shifting group) were attracted by religious phenomena which were perceived (or even constructed) as belonging to an ‘alien’ culture that was older than their own and thus worthy of some veneration but now subject to their political superiority. At this point it might be fruitful to

Chesters demonstrates that Jupiter Dolichenus was still venerated in *Britannia* in AD 286, thus proving that the cult did not come to an end in the middle of the 3rd century: AE 2005, 923 = RIB III 3299. At some places the re-interpretation of older discoveries has been fruitful for a better understanding of the sanctuaries of Jupiter Dolichenus and the surrounding religious landscape in general. A case in point is Carnuntum in *Pannonia superior*; cf. KANDLER, Heiligtum; as well as HUMER/KREMER, Götterbilder; and KREMER, Götterdarstellungen. For the situation in Rome, cf. BELLELLI/BIANCHI, *Orientalia sacra urbis Romae*; RÜPKE, Immigrantenreligion. For a comprehensive treatment of the sanctuaries of Jupiter Dolichenus known through archaeological and epigraphic evidence, see now SCHWARZER, Heiligtümer.

¹⁷ See <http://www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de/de/startseite.html> (the Cluster has now been renamed as “Asia and Europe in a Global Context: The Dynamics of Transculturality”). For our sub-project (D7), entitled “From the Orient to Rome and Back Again. Religious Flows and the Expansion of ‘Oriental Cults’ in the Roman Empire”, see <http://www.asia-europe.uni-heidelberg.de/de/forschung/d-geschichte-kulturerbe/d7.html>.

¹⁸ On the conceptualisation of the ‘Other’ in the Roman Empire, see the observations by M. J. VERSLUYS, in this volume pp. 274–293; as well as VERSLUYS, *Aegyptiaca Romana*.

¹⁹ For the concept of ‘religious flows’, cf. WITSCHER, ‘Orientalische Kulte’, 20–22. The use of this analytical tool (which is only one among a number of others!), should not, however, be understood as a deliberate return to older models of ‘diffusion’ and ‘acculturation’ which have often operated with the notion of an unilateral and one-directional transfer of religious (and other) phenomena from one (fixed) cultural entity to another. Such an approach is rightly criticized by VERSLUYS, *Orientalising Roman Gods*, 241 f. (and n. 15), 251.

²⁰ These observations are of course related to the broader issue of ‘Romanisation’, a concept which has been hotly debated in recent years; cf., for example, SCHÖRNER, *Romanisierung*; HINGLEY, *Globalizing Roman Culture*; MATTINGLY, *Imperialism*; MANN, *Frage der Romanisierung*.

²¹ For some recent attempts (not always successful in our eyes) to use modern network theories in order to explain the rapid expansion of specific cults within the Roman Empire, cf. COLLAR, *Network Theory*; EAD., *Military Networks*; EAD., *Religious Networks*.

bring in comparative material from more recent periods: Modern (western) fascination with Buddhism, for example, can provide us with interesting models for interpreting the material we know from the ancient world.²²

At the same time, we can expect not only to benefit from the insights of our colleagues from Modern and Contemporary (Global) History, but also to add a substantial input of our own in order to confer more depth to the current debates on ‘religious confluences’ and also to the broader theme of ‘cultural hybridity’. Since we treat a period of Antiquity with political, socio-economic and cultural conditions quite different from those in modern times, we hope to make clear what part of the observed phenomena might be classified as ‘universal’ and which other parts are more specific to certain periods or epochs because they are conditioned by a peculiar political and cultural environment. Furthermore, we try to study religious developments over a long period of time (from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity) and are thus able to come up with a broad historical perspective which is sometimes lacking in the analysis of contemporary religious phenomena.

More specifically, one of our central aims is to use a global approach when looking at the different ‘foreign’ cults within the Roman Empire studied here (regardless whether we treat them as a more or less coherent group of ‘oriental cults’ or not) by not focusing on one of them in isolation, but by studying them together and in comparison with each other. It is obviously impossible nowadays for a single scholar to master the whole range of literary, papyrological and epigraphic sources as well as the numerous archaeological finds from the Roman Empire; and also the testimonies (many of them dating to much older periods) from the real or supposed ‘homelands’ of the cults in question which were situated in different parts of the ‘East’ (Asia minor, Syria, Persia, Egypt etc.). The requirements of linguistic competence and detailed knowledge of very different cultures are beyond the reach of any one person. Thus, the natural solution is to establish some kind of cooperation between the various scientific disciplines that are concerned with these phenomena. By combining contributions from Ancient Historians, Classical Philologists and Roman Archaeologists as well as Egyptologists in this volume we hope to gain mutual benefits and to sharpen our eyes for similarities as well as differences between the phenomena that are brought into focus.

One last – and very important – problem comes into play here. At least since the time of Franz Cumont it has been common to speak of ‘oriental cults’ as an overarching category,²³ and despite growing criticism in recent scholarship²⁴ this is still a model favored by many scholars who deal with the religious landscape of the Roman Em-

²² See BAUMANN, *Global Buddhism*.

²³ CUMONT, *Religions orientales*; this classic work is now to be consulted in the re-edition of 2006 with a very helpful historiographic introduction by C. BONNET and F. VAN HAEPEREN. For further studies on the history of the concept of ‘oriental cults’, cf. BONNET, *Religions orientales*; BONNET/BENDLIN, *Approches historiographiques*; BONNET/PIRENNE-DELFORGE/PRAET, *Religions orientales*; BONNET/OSSOLA/SCHIED, *Rome et ses religions*.

²⁴ In addition to the literature cited in the previous note, cf. BONNET/RÜPKE/SCARPI, *Religions orientales*; BONNET/RIBICHINI/STEUERNAGEL, *Religioni in contatto*; WITSCHHEL, ‘*Orientalische Kulte*’.

pire.²⁵ Such an approach often implies the – rather problematic – claim of a general structural similarity between religious phenomena that were characterized by quite heterogeneous origins (both in time and in place) and later evolutions. It also takes the risk of introducing a kind of ‘orientalist’ discourse by which an undifferentiated picture of an exotic ‘Orient’ with a vibrant religious life – allegedly superior to the ‘coldness’ of traditional Roman religion²⁶ – is constructed.²⁷ Other elements which were supposedly shared by all or most of these cults have also come into discussion in recent years. It has been questioned, for example, what part (if at all) ritual complexes which might be characterized as ‘mysteries’ (such as rites of initiation) have played within the cults belonging to this supposed group;²⁸ and whether it is appropriate to classify them as ‘mystery cults’ or even as ‘mystery religions’ *in toto*.²⁹ It is equally disputed if and to what extent these cults offered some promise of salvation to their followers (and might thus be called ‘religions of salvation’ or ‘*Erlöser-Religionen*’) – either in this world or with regard to a life after death.³⁰ Following recent trends in religious studies dealing with the Roman Empire,³¹ we are not convinced that such a (perceived or real) unity of ‘oriental cults’ ever existed. We rather intend to check the validity of these concepts by paying careful attention to the many discrepancies encountered in case studies; and to be open-minded with regard to the possible variety of the final results.

²⁵ For example by TURCAN, *Cultes orientaux*; and especially by ALVAR, *Romanising Oriental Gods*; ID., *Religiones orientales*. Cf. also the contribution by J. ALVAR, in this volume pp. 23–46. The theses of ALVAR have provoked a number of dissenting statements; see e.g. SFAMENI GASPARRO, *Eschatologie*, 158–160; VERSLUYS, *Orientalising Roman Gods*, 239, 257–259.

²⁶ The idea that the ‘traditional’ Roman religion was mainly characterized by a strict obedience to the rules of ritual and was therefore not able to capture people emotionally was originally developed by Georg WISSOWA and is still widely repeated today, although it is quite problematic in itself; cf. BENDLIN, *Emotion und Orient*.

²⁷ For the concept of ‘Orient’ that was relevant for CUMONT and his contemporaries (and also for the discourse of ‘orientalism’ developed in the 19th century), cf. BONNET/VAN HAEPEREN, in: CUMONT, *Religiones orientales*, XXX–XXXIX; STROUMSA, *Orientalism*; BURKERT, ‘Orient’; VERSLUYS, *Orientalising Roman Gods*. For modern views on the notion of ‘Orient’ with regard to the ‘oriental cults’, see BELAYCHE, *Romanité*; EAD., ‘Orient’.

²⁸ That some kind of ‘mysteries’ (mainly defined by esoterism and initiation: SFAMENI GASPARRO, *Misteri e culti orientali*, 186 f.; BREMMER, *Mysteries*, XII) were a central aspect of the cult of Mithras has long been an undisputed assumption (cf. also below n. 40), but is now called into question by GORDON, *Mithras-Forschung*, 240 f. In the case of Isis, the role and significance of a ‘mystery component’ within the cult are hotly debated; cf. the divergent positions of J. ALVAR and esp. of J. STEINHÄUER, in this volume pp. 23–46, esp. 29–31, and 47–78; as well as BREMMER, *Mysteries*, 110–125. The discussion centres very much on the (disputed) value of the image presented by Apuleius in book XI of his *Metamorphoses*; for which cf. the papers in KEULEN/EGELHAAF-GAISER, *Isis Book*; and now KEULEN et al., *Isis Book*. In contrast, there is no evidence for the existence of mysteries within the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus.

²⁹ For some major contributions to this debate, cf. BURKERT, *Mystery Cults*; SFAMENI GASPARRO, *Misteri*; EAD., *Misteri e culti orientali*; BOWDEN, *Mystery Cults*; BREMMER, *Mysteries*.

³⁰ On the question of the soteriology within the so-called ‘oriental cults’, see the pertinent remarks by SFAMENI GASPARRO, *Eschatologie*; but also BECK, *Ritual*, 173–178; and J. ALVAR, in this volume pp. 31–33.

³¹ See above n. 23–24.

The first case study presented in this volume (containing three papers) focuses on the origins and diffusion of the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in the Roman Empire, for which different models are presented here.³² The expansion of the cult(s) of Isis and Osiris is the subject of the next part of the book which also deals with forms of textual transfer from Egyptian languages (especially Demotic) to Greek and Latin.³³ Then the different forms in which the gods were conceptualized through images are discussed in some detail in the following three papers.³⁴ The so-called ‘oriental cults’ are characterized by a rich repertoire of visual expressions which show a wide array of iconographic variations.³⁵ Although some forms of standardization are detectable, there are no signs of a mechanical reproduction of a small number of central (cult) images. We are instead confronted with continuing processes of rearranging given motives as well as creating new designs;³⁶ and – especially in the representation of Jupiter Dolichenus – also with constant alterations between an ‘orientalising’ and a ‘westernising’ or ‘Romanising’ mode of depiction.³⁷ The last section of the book concentrates on the variability in the setting, architectural design and décor of the sanctuaries of Isis³⁸ and Mithras,³⁹ and also on the rituals that were staged within these temples.⁴⁰

³² Whereas many scholars (especially those connected to the ‘Münster school’; cf. above n. 7) propose that Doliche, a small town in the region of Commagene from which the god took its name, was the actual homeland of the cult (containing its ‘central sanctuary’ or ‘*Hauptheiligtum*’, the origins of which date back to the early Iron Age; see above n. 15) from which it was supposedly diffused to the West especially by the agency of members of the Roman army, an alternative model is presented by M. L. DÉSZPA, in this volume pp. 113–181 (see also ID., *Klio* 96 [2024] 749–756). The role of soldiers in spreading the ‘masculine’ cults of Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus has been intensively discussed (and modified) in recent years; for the cult of Mithras, see the comprehensive study of GORDON, *Roman Army*; for the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus, see COLLAR, *Military Networks*; HAENSCH, *Angehörige des römischen Heeres*.

³³ Cf. above n. 9–10 and also I. MOYER, in this volume pp. 182–206; supplemented by MOYER, *Egypt, and STADLER, Einführung*, 16 f., 108–112. See now also a volume on the interactions between Egyptian and Greek literature in general: RUTHERFORD, *Greco-Egyptian Interactions*.

³⁴ See in general BRICAULT/PRESCENDI, *Théologie en images*; MOORMANN, *Divine Interiors*, 149–187; for the cult of Isis, cf. NAGEL, *The Goddess’s New Clothes*.

³⁵ For the rich visual repertoires (‘*Bilderwelten*’) in the cult of Mithras, see D. FRACKOWIAK, in this volume pp. 294–328 (cf. also above n. 13). In addition to the many large-scale depictions of Mithras and his myth there are also a lot of miniature images of the god; see GORDON, *Miniature Reproductions*.

³⁶ The pronounced variety of visual compositions and iconographic motives has been especially well studied with regard to the central cult images in the cult of Mithras which show many different side scenes; cf. GORDON, *Panelled Complications*; SCHOFIELD, *Iconographic Variation*. A remarkable new find of a relief showing the ‘standard’ tauroctony but also some rather unique additional motives is now kept in the Israel Museum in Jerusalem but was probably produced somewhere in Northern Syria: DE JONG, *Mithraic Tauroctony*. See also above n. 13 for the discovery of extraordinary wall-paintings with no connection to the known ‘canon’ of Mithraic art in a Mithraeum at Hawarte.

³⁷ See the article by R. KRUMEICH, in this volume pp. 329–352; and also KRUMEICH, *Dokumente orientalischen Selbstbewusstseins*; cf. further above n. 15.

³⁸ See the papers by K. KLEIBL and F. SARAGOZA, in this volume pp. 353–371 and 372–383 (with special reference to the temple of Isis at Pompeii). A comprehensive study of Isiac sanctuaries has recently been published by KLEIBL, *Iseion*. On the Isea in Rome and Beneventum, two important sites in Italy, cf. LEMBKE, *Iseum Campense*; QUACK, *Iseum Campense*; BÜLOW CLAUSEN, *Flavian Isea*. One of the most spectacular finds in recent years has been the discovery of a sanctuary

It emerges quite clearly from the case studies presented in this volume (and elsewhere) that the cults in question had no fixed doctrinal core or ‘theology’ which was then spread unaltered over long distances in time and space.⁴¹ Instead, their basic structures, rituals⁴² and outward appearance were constantly adapted to the needs and expectations of their followers in different parts of the Roman Empire.⁴³ In this context,

of Isis (Panthea/Regina) and Mater Magna at Mainz; cf. WITTEYER, Heiligtum; EAD., Rituelle Niederlegungen (and AE 2004, 1014–1023 = RICIS II 609/0501–0509).

³⁹ The architecture and infrastructure of Mithraea are extensively treated by A. HENSEN, in this volume pp. 384–412. For further studies on the setting and layout of Mithraic sanctuaries, cf. BECK, Rock-Cut Mithraea; SCHATZMANN, Topographie von Mithras-Heiligtümern; KLÖCKNER, Mithras; GORDON, Mithras-Heiligtümer. There is now a comparable analysis of the known sanctuaries of Jupiter Dolichenus: SCHWARZER, Heiligtümer.

⁴⁰ In the cult of Isis, Osirian rituals based on Egyptian models still played a central role in Roman sanctuaries (cf. QUACK, Iseum Campense; NAGEL, Ausbreitung des Isis-Kultes), and the *Isia*-festival with its celebration of the discovery of Osiris (*inventio Osiridis*) was integrated into the Roman calendar, see e.g. MALAISE, Conditions, 227; PERPILLOU-THOMAS, Fêtes d’Égypte, 94–100. Furthermore, derivatives of the Egyptian daily temple ritual seem to have been conducted in Isiac sanctuaries (according to some sources), cf. DUNAND, Culte d’Isis, 197–202; NAGEL, Kult und Ritual. Individual, local forms of cult practices can be observed, for instance, in the sanctuary of Isis and Mater Magna at Mainz, cf. above n. 38. Various kinds of ritual definitely also played an important role in the cult of Mithras, but we don’t know very much about the details (and some of the more explicit information is conveyed by outsiders like Christians and thus remains at least partially dubious). In addition, we have to account for the fact that there seems to have been quite a lot of freedom for the leading figures within a given Mithraic community to shape the rituals according to their own views (cf. GORDON, Mithras-Heiligtümer, 217; and below n. 43 and 46). There is no doubt that the collective cultic meal celebrated in the Mithraea was of central importance for the followers of the god; cf. KANE, Mithraic Cult-Meal; HULTGÅRD, Repas cultuels. This observation has been confirmed by recent analyses of animal bones that were found in sanctuaries of Mithras (see above n. 14); they can show that particularly young pigs and poultry (especially cocks) were consumed. Rather problematic is the nature of the sacrifices that were performed within (and also outside?) the Mithraea, as our sources give no details on them. This is also true for a complex of rituals that is commonly labelled as ‘initiations’, although they are not described as such from an emic perspective; cf. GORDON, Ritual and Hierarchy, 258–266; ID., Mithraic Body; BREMMER, Mysteries, 125–138. A characteristic feature of Mithraic rituals is their strong connection to (or even a kind of re-enactment of) the mythical stories that had developed around the god; cf. BECK, Ritual, 145–149. They also often took the form of a dramatic or theatrical staging with effects of light and darkness (cf. GORDON, Viewing Mithraic Art, 241–244); the performative aspects of the cultic procedures (including processions of various groups, for which see the wall-paintings in the Mithraeum under S. Prisca at Rome: VERMASEREN/VAN ESSEN, Excavations) are thus quite obvious. In contrast, we know nearly nothing about the rituals that were performed by the worshippers of Jupiter Dolichenus; but the design of some of the sanctuaries seems to demonstrate that collective meals played an important role in this cult too (see SCHWARZER, Heiligtümer, 181 f.).

⁴¹ This statement is not undisputed, however; for a divergent view regarding the cult of Mithras, see BECK, Ritual, 158 (and n. 61: “I maintain that Mithraism did indeed have doctrinal norms [as I would prefer to call them] ...”), 171 f. But see also ID., Beck on Mithraism, XXII: “That Mithraism had anything like a systematic and coherent body of teaching, transmitted to the initiates as a necessary element of the mysteries or guarded by the Fathers as *arcana*, I no longer consider tenable”.

⁴² Cf. GORDON, Mithraic Body, 297, on the character of ritual complexes in the cult of Mithras: “my opinion is that initiatory tests were not standardized between temples, and that each Mithraic community devised its own forms of initiation with reference to certain ‘sacralized moments’ in the myth of Mithras”.

⁴³ See BEARD/NORTH/PRICE, Religions of Rome, 278; as well as the remarks by GORDON, Ritual and Hierarchy, 258 f., on Mithraism: “it may very well be that different Mithraic communities con-

it is important to keep in mind that these cults were ‘optional’ or ‘elective’.⁴⁴ People were not obliged to take part in them (as, for example, in the imperial cult), but could consciously decide to join in by selecting their preferred cult out of a broad range of religious choices. In addition, the adherents of these cults (especially those of Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus) were normally organized in rather small groups around a sanctuary with reduced dimensions, thus creating an ‘intimate’ atmosphere for the worshippers. Such ‘small group cults’ (*Gruppenreligionen*)⁴⁵ seem to have been especially open (and attractive) for religious innovation and appropriation which were initiated by creative individuals within these groups.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the religious phenomena we are dealing with – which might be labelled as ‘universal cults’ as they were present in many different regions of the Mediterranean – were also characterized by a certain degree of uniformity, which made them recognizable throughout the Roman Empire and created a sense of belonging (and membership) for their followers.⁴⁷ When looking at these cults from a broad perspective, we are therefore confronted both with a remarkable standardization of some important organizational,⁴⁸ ritual, architectural and

structed their own particular rituals in keeping with their understanding of the requirements. There would then be not one Mithraic ritual system but many, each presenting slightly different value commitments”; further ID., *Religious Options*, 398, on the specific form of ritual that has been revealed by the excavation of the Mithraeum at Tienen (see below n. 63): “[this is] one of the many indications of the extent to which the cult was adapted to local needs and usages”. But cf. also BECK, *Mithraism after ‘Mithraism since Franz Cumont’*, 6 f., 15 f.

⁴⁴ For the concept of ‘elective’ or ‘optional’ cults, see BEARD/NORTH/PRICE, *Religions of Rome*, 275; GORDON, *Religious Options*.

⁴⁵ The model of ‘small group cults’ has been developed in the contributions to RÜPKE, *Gruppenreligionen*; see esp. RÜPKE, *Integrationsgeschichten*.

⁴⁶ The idea that the specific structures within the ‘small group cults’ were shaped to a high degree by individual ‘religious entrepreneurs’ (or ‘mystagogues’, as he prefers to call them) has recently been put forward by GORDON, *Individuality* (see esp. 161f.: in this context “small scale innovation, re-interpretation and reflection were both inevitable and normal”; of special importance was “the power exercised by the mystagogue to construct religious experience as he ... deems appropriate”). Although such processes are not easily recognized in our sources, the rather specific setting and décor of many Mithraea (and the divergent ritual practices that seem to have been performed within them; see above n. 42–43) can best be explained by the initiative of individuals who were responsible for the conceptualization of a sanctuary and are sometimes explicitly attested in building or votive inscriptions: GORDON, *Mithras-Heiligtümer*, 213–215; ID., *Mithras-Forschung*, 241 f. On the (difficult) question of who might have been the institutionalized ‘leader(s)’ of Mithraic communities, see MITTHOF, *Vorstand der Kultgemeinden*.

⁴⁷ The relative homogeneity of the cults in question is stressed by J. ALVAR, in this volume pp. 26–28.

⁴⁸ A case in point is the system of ‘grades’ within the cult of Mithras (seven of them are attested by Hier. epist. 107, 2). Regardless of the question how the function of these grades might be interpreted (for divergent positions, see MERKELBACH, *Weihegrade*, and CLAUSS, *Grade*), it seems certain by now that they were established early in the development of the Roman cult of Mithras and that this system was geographically widespread (cf. GORDON, *Ritual and Hierarchy*, 248–253). Nevertheless, some of the grade-names are attested much more often than others, and we can also detect a degree of regional variety in these denominations, as is best demonstrated by the graffiti in the Mithraeum at Doura Europos (see FRANCIS, *Graffiti*; FRACKOWIAK, *Weihegrade*, 232 f.; BREMMER, *Mysteries*, 134).

iconographical elements (like the ‘icon’ of the tauroctony in the cult of Mithras),⁴⁹ and at the same time with a large range of variations, some of them presenting highly individual creations.⁵⁰ There was thus a constant tension between the poles of the ‘universal’ and the ‘particular’ (on the local level) within these cults.⁵¹

On the other hand, we have to recognize that besides using a global approach the specificity of each cult and its historical development should also get more attention. To give just one example: Looking at the veneration of Isis it has become apparent during the last years that there is a strong link between the Graeco-Roman form(s) of the cult and genuine Late Period Egyptian roots.⁵² Especially the demotic sources have proved to be of crucial importance in this respect. They have allowed us to connect the concept of Isis as a supreme deity much better to the situation in Egypt itself during the Late Period. Besides that, it has become increasingly clear that there were elaborate Egyptian mythological tales about the wars of the gods taking place mainly in Asia, and that the Greek accounts such as those written by Diodorus and Plutarch ultimately rely

⁴⁹ For the visual representation of the tauroctony in the cult of Mithras and its iconographic archetypes, see TURCAN, *Mithra tauroctone*; FARAONE, *Mithraic Bull-Wounding Scene*; BOSCHUNG, *Mithras*; and D. FRACKOWIAK, in this volume pp. 304–308.

⁵⁰ A good example for such a highly individual creation is a small Mithraic ‘plaque’ that was found in St. Albans (Verulamium in *Britannia*). It was fabricated in the later 2nd century AD by reusing and re-cutting a silver coin of the Augustan period. The image on the reverse was changed into an illustration of the rock-birth of Mithras; and two new legends were added, one (in Greek) saying *Mithras Oromasdēs / Phrēn*, the other (in Latin) dedicated to *D(eo) M(ithrae)* (CIMRM I 827 = RIB II 1, 2408.2). The direct identification of Mithras with the highest Persian and Zoroastrian god Oromasdes/Ahura Mazda is only found here in a Roman context, and this fact might point to the existence of small and rather ‘esoteric’ circles within the cult that consisted of well-educated individuals who developed fanciful speculations about the cosmological and ‘Persian’ nature of the god (cf. GORDON, *Mithras Helios*, 184f.; and also above n. 12). It might be added that *Phrēn* is likely to be a rendering of name of the Egyptian sun-god, see PEREA YÉBENES, *Demon mégico*; VON LIEVEN, *Soul of the sun*, 56; QUACK, *Zauber ohne Grenzen*, 195. The recourse to a specifically Egyptian form would enhance the impression that this plaque was produced in a highly learned esoteric circle. In some exceptionally well documented cases the initiative of individuals in spreading new religious ideas can even be demonstrated on the ground. One such person was Q. Axius Aelianus, equestrian *procurator* in *Dacia* around AD 235 (cf. PISO, *Fasti Provinciae Daciae*, 227–235 no. 102). He erected a number of votive inscriptions in his administrative headquarters at Sarmizegetusa, including one dedicated to Mithras *invictus*, Mars Camulus, Mercurius and Rosmerta (AE 1998, 1100). This is a rather peculiar combination, as Mithras is here addressed together with three Celtic gods which were particularly venerated in Northern Gaul. Aelianus seems to have encountered the worship of these gods during one of the previous posts in his career when he was *procurator rationis privatae per Belgicam et duas Germanias* (see CIL III 1456 = ILS 1371). The combination of Mithras with Celtic gods, especially Mercurius, is also quite typical for this region, especially for *Germania superior* (see below n. 63); and it is thus conceivable that Aelianus brought this idea with him when he came from Northern Gaul to *Dacia* – a good example for the transfer of religious concepts over quite a long distance by the action of a single individual.

⁵¹ For the model of the ‘universal’ (or the ‘general’) and the ‘particular’, see – with special reference to the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus – the contribution by M. L. DÉSZPA, in this volume pp. 167–172; cf. also KAIZER, *Oriental Cults*.

⁵² Cf. NAGEL, *Ausbreitung des Isis-Kultes*, who has also pointed out that in some Isiac sanctuaries in central Italy and North Africa a direct dependence from cultic communities in Egypt or Alexandria can be observed.

Index of Sources

1. Corpora for Specific Cults (Jupiter Dolichenus, Mithras, Isis)

CCID

1-7	96	147	151
5	104, 161, 331, 336, 344	148	151
6	331 f.	150	153
8	103 f.	151	153, 156
9	103 f.	151-156	106
10	101, 161, 338 f.	153	150
10-15	96	154	106, 148, 154
12	333	155	150
13	333	156	149
15	317	157	338
16	103	158	106, 149, 163
16-29	104	160	105
17	103	161	151
19	103	162	105
21-28	103	165	150
28	104	169	150
29	101	172	153
31-38	105	181	153
40	98, 104	183	147
41	98, 104	191	160
43	98	200	146, 170
44	98, 104	201	160, 338 f.
45	98, 104	202	161, 317, 338
47	338	203	160
80	338	204	160
85	338	207	147
88-97	300	208a-b	147
89	338	217	128, 137
91	338	221	140
97	300	222	140, 144, 338
103	317, 338	223	140, 144
123	124, 169	224	128
124	169 f.	229	141
125	169	230	162, 339
131	151	232	141, 145
132	151	235	145
138	153	237	142
144	151	239	142, 162, 338
145	151	241	145, 163
146	105, 151	242	142, 144, 162, 337
		253	145

271	145	428	338, 341
274	143	429	124
275	143, 145	430	166
276	144	432	123
277	144	451	137
279	338 f.	457	338
281	317	512	337 f.
291	337 f.	514	340
292	338 f.	515	340
294	33, 340	517	340
295	338 f.	518	338, 340
296	340	529	300
298	338	532	169
307	340	533	169
347	338	540	143
352	338	587	337
355–405	300	588	338
356	125	603	337
357	125, 164	620	128, 140
363	127, 157, 164		
364	164	<i>CIMRM</i>	
365	159, 171, 337		
366	337	I 16	304
367–369	300, 404	I 20	312
371	162, 166, 341	I 34	423
372	129, 164	I 42	314, 321, 423
373	127, 129, 158, 164	I 45	424
376	155, 158 f.	I 68	415
377	165	I 70	404
378	159	I 74–87	300, 405
379	126, 164	I 76	301
380	159, 164 f.	I 80	309
381	124, 158	I 82	309–311
383	166	I 83	309–311
386	164, 337	I 122	301
389	337	I 123	309
393	405	I 124	309
401	164	I 161–164	395
402	127	I 180	386, 390, 393, 421
403	127, 166	I 180–199	300
404	128	I 181	310
408	130, 157	I 182	309
409	131	I 183	309
410	131	I 208–209	301
411	131	I 214	414
416	131, 166	I 216	394
418	132	I 229	386, 400
419	132, 343	I 230–231	301
420	132, 343	I 233	390
421	128	I 239	390
422	135, 170	I 243	309
423	124	I 254	309
427	156	I 254–255	309

I 260	312	I 596	301
I 267	309	I 599	313
I 279	427	I 605	301
I 288	309	I 612	313
I 299	399	I 635	426
I 310	422	I 636	309
I 310–331	301	I 637	309
I 315	394	I 641	426
I 318	427	I 650	303, 313
I 321	422	I 651	303, 313
I 334	424	I 653	387
I 338	386, 393 f., 400, 422	I 654	387
I 339	422	I 666	314
I 344	313	I 675	312
I 352	301	I 694	309
I 353	313	I 723	426
I 358	309	I 729	426
I 359	309	I 736	424
I 360	388	I 761	311
I 368	422	I 771	301
I 369	415	I 772–797	300, 405
I 370	301	I 798	428
I 372	343	I 814–826	300
I 373	343	I 825	414
I 374	301	I 827	10, 320
I 385	301	I 839	395
I 389	386, 394	I 840	395
I 390	310, 313, 321, 390	I 884	301
I 397	426	I 887	414
I 407	394	I 894	313
I 415	394	I 895	387
I 428	313	I 896	387
I 435	424	I 966	312, 322
I 439	312	I 967	312
I 454	415	I 985	314
I 457	399 f.	I 988	427
I 462	313	I 1001	388
I 467–469	404	II 1083	322, 389, 384
I 476	394	II 1085	309
I 476–500	300	II 1108	386
I 480a	173	II 1110	309–311
I 501	415	II 1111	314
I 531	301	II 1119	309
I 548	301	II 1128	322, 422
I 556	312 f.	II 1137	389
I 557	301	II 1163	309, 311
I 587	301	II 1164–1165	309
I 590	312 f.	II 1167	311
I 591	313	II 1175	390
I 592	301	II 1176–1188	405
I 593	294, 301, 395	II 1206	422
I 594	294, 301	II 1208	300
		II 1225	322

II 1237	311	II 1815	322
II 1240	312–314, 318	II 1816	311
II 1246–1271	300	II 1823	311
II 1247	321, 423	II 1857	426
II 1248	321	II 1882	388
II 1249	321	II 1896	389, 426, 428
II 1250	321	II 1900	421
II 1280	387	II 1906	311
II 1281	387	II 1920	322
II 1283	303, 314, 322	II 1924	311
II 1291	404	II 1935	311, 322
II 1292	303, 322	II 1947–1948	301
II 1293	303	II 1958	311, 322
II 1294	322	II 1972	311, 322
II 1296	307	II 1975	314, 322
II 1301	313, 322, 395	II 1976	314
II 1333	312	II 1991	313, 318
II 1359	303, 407	II 2006	311
II 1400	314, 424	II 2015	311
II 1422	322	II 2018	311, 322
II 1430	313, 322	II 2023	322
II 1473	309	II 2026	313
II 1478	392	II 2027	396
II 1492	313, 318	II 2029	415
II 1493	313, 318	II 2036	322
II 1494	421	II 2037	322
II 1497	421	II 2042	322
II 1504	313	II 2051	322
II 1505	313	II 2052	311, 422
II 1584	321, 322	II 2068	311
II 1585	321	II 2078	311
II 1593	313	II 2079	311
II 1594	313	II 2085	311
II 1656	314	II 2120	311
II 1657	314	II 2122	311
II 1668	312	II 2134	313, 318
II 1669	312	II 2154	311
II 1673	388	II 2160	310
II 1687	313, 318	II 2170	314
II 1697	309	II 2171	322
II 1697–1698	295	II 2185	311
II 1727	311, 314, 422	II 2202	322
II 1729	405	II 2214	322
II 1740	322	II 2237	314
II 1750	391	II 2238	314
II 1756	313, 318	II 2244	322
II 1765	311	II 2245	311, 314
II 1768–1769	301	II 2272	322
II 1773	415	II 2298	311
II 1775	415	II 2306	311
II 1790	415	II 2307	415
II 1791	311	II 2315	322
II 1794	311	II 2338	311, 322

<i>RICIS</i>		II 306/0201	55
		II 308/0401	57, 59 f.
		II 501/0127	57, 59
I 101/0101	279	II 501/0161	62
I 102/1702	207	II 504/0202	380
I 104/0206	29	II 504/0206	381
I 104/0206 1.8	29	II 504/0207	353
I 113/0505	61	II 504/0215	381
I 113/0506	259	II 504/0216	381
I 113/0537	62	II 504/0219	381
I 113/0545	29, 55, 182	II 504/0301	353
I 113/0552	62	II 504/0601	207
I 114/0202	55 f.	II 512/0201	57 f.
I 114/0202 1.23	29	II 602/0501	57, 61
I 202/0101–0438	73	II 602/0701	207
I 202/0139	60	II 603/0701	279
I 202/1101	29, 55, 182	II 609/0501–0509	8
I 202/1801	55, 182	II 610/0104	391
I 204/1002	60	II 701/0103	55, 244
II 302/0204	29, 55, 182	Suppl. I 113/1201	55
II 303/1301	57	Suppl. I 113/0545	182

2. Greek and Latin Inscriptions

AE

1899, 33	163	1990, 125	353
1912, 45	128, 170	1991, 1116	36
1917/18, 126	158	1994, 1334	2, 397
1936, 132	128, 137	1994, 1335	397
1938, 61	129	1994, 1369	138
1938, 63	171	1994, 1413	128
1938, 65	342	1997, 858–859	61
1938, 123	163	1997, 860	61
1940, 70	125	1998, 1100	10
1940, 71	125	1998, 1154–1163	3
1940, 72	127	1998, 1156–1160	97
1940, 73	128	1998, 1430	80, 99
1940, 76	155	1999, 1098	3
1946, 117	173	2001, 1706	149
1950, 14	166	2001, 1707	148
1953, 26	134	2004, 1014–1023	8
1956, 115	414	2004, 1222	148
1957, 118	166	2004, 1387	80, 99
1967, 575	139	2005, 923	4
1971, 21	343	2005, 1313	145
1971, 28	123	2006, 312	163
1972, 507	415	2006, 313	163
1980, 49	129	2006, 663	2, 384
1980, 58	415	2008, 1092	163
1980, 755	149	2008, 1427	99

2008, 1521	85, 97	VI 366	127
2010, 790–792	3	VI 367	131
2011, 678/79	2	VI 403	116
<i>CIL</i>		VI 407	126
		VI 408	165
		VI 414	128, 130, 157
II 59	158	VI 415	124
II ² /7,468	414	VI 418	124
II 730	158	VI 419	170
II 2395c	61	VI 420	116
II 6185	38	VI 422	116, 135
III 1096	392	VI 422	129
III 1286	152	VI 710	118
III 1301	152	VI 716	129
III 1456	10	VI 738	129
III 3253	147	VI 742	415
III 3343	146, 170	VI 767	132
III 3345	146	VI 957	158
III 3414	415	VI 1035	128
III 3415	415	VI 3698	131
III 3462	147	VI 3699	131
III 3481	415	VI 9089	129
III 3905	144	VI 9428	129
III 3908	143	VI 12258	392
III 3955	136, 145	VI 30757	116
III 3960	392	VI 30758	126
III 4272	139	VI 30760	129
III 4281	142	VI 30762	128
III 4331	142	VI 30763	135
III 4401	141	VI 30764	116
III 4792	392	VI 30934	116, 121
III 4816	397	VI 30943	128
III 7938	415	VI 30945	128, 131
III 7954	163	VI 31053	117
III 8785	124	VI 31141	131
III 10243a–b	147	VI 31168	116, 132
III 10399	128	VI 31172	132
III 10784	143	VI 31178	132
III 10991	142	VI 31179	132
III 11129	140	VI 31181	343
III 11131	140	VI 31182	132
III 11134	140	VI 31187	128, 343
III 11135	141	VI 31372	128
III 11137	145, 163	VI 34776	62
III 11138	145	VI 36749	116
III 11139	135, 141	VI 36791	135
III 11701	142	VI 36792	116
III 13447	128	VI 36793	117
III 14219	421	VI 36803	116
III 14354	421	VI 41141	117
V 8211	139	VI 41145	117
VI 47	415	VIII 2680	128, 140
VI 365	127	VIII 6049	158

IX 1618	392	X 2, 103	62
X 814	353	X 2, 107	61
X 840	353	X 2, 254	55, 182
X 846	364	XII 5, 14	55, 182
X 3800	207	XII 5, 739	55, 182
XI 574	58	XII Suppl., 98	182
XII 1324	414	XII Suppl., 99	182
XIII 123	169	XIV 984	342
XIII 124	169	XIV 985	116
XIII 8246	391	XIV 998	3, 415
XIII 11782	169		
XIII 11783	169	<i>IGUR</i>	
XIV 24	117	I 109	118
XIV 2215	353	I 117	121, 166
XIV 2596	158	I 118	121, 134
XIV 3567	414	I 119	120
XIV 4314	390	I 120	120
<i>ICUR</i>		I 125	3, 415
II 5507	124	I 165	116, 342
		I 166	116
<i>ID</i>		<i>ILS</i>	
2530	121	398	116
		1371	10
<i>IDR</i>		2193	343
III 2, 202	150	4247	421
III 2, 203	150	4260	415
III 2, 307	415	4261	415
III 3, 3	153	4262	415
III 3, 286–336	153	4263	415
III 3, 296	151	4362	207
III 3, 297	153	4394	391
III 3, 298	151	4410	58
III 3, 299	151	5198	353
III 3, 382–411	153	5552	392
III 3, 432	153	6367	364
III 5, 1–21	149	6507	392
III 5, 5	150		
III 5, 13	150	<i>ILSlov</i>	
III 5, 21	150	I 116–120	144
III 5, 217	149	I 116–131	143
III 5, 218	150	I 121	144
III 5, 219	150	I 122	144
III 5, 220	149	I 123–133	144
III 5, 221	106, 128, 148, 154	I 133	143
III 5, 222	150, 156	I 134	143
<i>IG</i>		I 135	143
V 1, 1390	73	I 141	143

<i>ICret</i>		4, 27–28	199
		4, 37–40	186
IV 249	364		
<i>I.Kyme</i>		<i>RIB</i>	
		I 4	414
41	182, 244	II 1, 2408.2	10
		III 3299	4
<i>I.Perge</i>		<i>RIU</i>	
I 248	3	VI 1424	148
<i>I.Prusa</i>		VI 1490	146
		VI 1492	146
48	59	VI 1493	146
		VI 1494	146
<i>I.Tralleis</i>		VI 1495	146
		VI 1498	146
86	60	VI 1499	146
		VI 1501	146
<i>Medinet Madi Hymns (Isidorus Hymns)</i>		VI 1537	146
in general	182–203, 234, 240	<i>SEG</i>	
1	184, 186–189, 192	8, 1937, 549	190 f.
1, 1–3	187	26, 1976, 821	55
1, 1–5	192	46, 1996, 1373	61
1, 14–24	208 f.	48, 1998, 1871	80, 100
2	186, 189–192	48, 1998, 1875	80
2, 15–16	190	54, 2004, 1292	80, 100
2, 33–34	192	56, 2006, 1840	3, 80, 100
3	186, 192–196	58, 2008, 1683	85, 97
4	186, 192, 196–202		
4, 11–16	199		

3. Papyri (Greek and Egyptian)

Delta Papyrus		P. BM	
cf. P. Brooklyn 47.218.84		10090	249
Dramatic Ramesseum Papyrus		10209, 3, 16	254
cf. P. Ram. dram.		10209, 3, 17–18	254
OSING, Hier. Pap. I		10569	223
no. 1, X 1,3–3,2	216	P. Boulaq	
no. 1, X 2,3–4,2	216	III, 7, 10	253
no. 1, X 3,3–4,7	216 f.	III, 8, 12	253
P. Berlin		P. Bremner-Rhind	
P3027	249	5, 20	253
P3048, 4	221	18, 1–21, 6	224
P3055	221	P. Brooklyn	
P6750	218	47.218.49, x+11, 2–3 247	
P8765	218	47.218.50, 9,10	211
P12845	199	47.218.84	251

47.218.138	249, 253	14, 8	261
P. Cair.		21, 2–4	262
30619	192	P. Mich.	
30646, 3, 12–14	199	VIII 511	363
58001, 8	247	P. Mich. Zen	
58006, 4	247	38, 25–26	375
P. Cair. Zen.		P. Mil. Vogl.	
59754, 25	375	I 18	202
P. Carlsberg		P. MMA 35.9.21	
7, A 12	252	20, 16	254
79	261	22, 7–8	254
85	260	22, 9–24, 16	254
411	198	45, 15	248
412	198	47, 3–6	248
621	260	P. Oslo	
652 vs.	217, 235, 240, 246	III 157	363
P. Chester Beatty		P. Oxy.	
VIII vs. 4, 1–7, 5	251	1380	182, 187, 218, 234 f., 237–241, 246
P. Deir el Medineh		1381	237
44, 1. 16–17	251	3011	261
P. Ebers		P. Ram.	
1, 13	247	VI	225
P. Freiburg		IX, 2, 7	247
47	261	P. Ram. dram.	250, 361
P. Giessen		P. Rhind	
115	223	I, 3 h 3f, 3 d 3f	252
P. Greenfield	236, 240	P. Tamerit	
P. Hamburg		1, x+6, 7–9	257
33 vs.	217, 235, 246	P. Tebt.	
P. Harkness		III 698	196
5, 24–25	261	Tait 14	217, 235, 240, 246
5, 25	261	P. Tebt. H cf. OSING, Hier. Pap. I	
P. Jumilhac		P. Vatican	
11, 10	259 f.	Inv. 38068, 1. 11	254
TB III, 19–V	252	Inv. 38068, 1. 33	254
TB IV 1–4	263	P. Vienna	
TB IV 18–20	263	D. 6397+6329+10101	218, 232–241, 246
TB V	263	PGM	
P. Leiden		III 252	247
I 344	221	IV 11–14	262
I 347, IX, 1–2	217	IV 2375	261
I 384 vs. I, 25–27	251	V 269–277	258
P. Lille		XXIVa	261
P. 76 d + 78 a–c		PSI	
+ 79 + 82 + 84	201	Inv. D 79	217, 246
P. Louvre		Inv. D 80	261
E 3229	262	Inv. D 81	260
E 3239	249	Inv. I 72, x+2, 5	249
I 3079 112–114	224	V 547, 18	375
P. Mag. LL			
6, 30	258		
9, 33	262		

4. Other Egyptian Sources

Assuan	235	IV, 126, 2	194
no. E.14	212	IV, 291, 1–2	254
no. E.15	213, 225	VI, 89, 6–90, 2	251
BARUCQ/DAUMAS, Hymnes		VII, 86, 15	194
no. 6	222	VII, 243b	194
no. 90	221	Mam. 8–12	224
no. 118	221	Mam. 99, 4	211
no. 126	225	El-Qal'a II, no. 238	225
Behbeit el-Hagara		Esna	
SAE 218	210	II, no. 24	226
Berlin Photo 1297	213, 215, 225	III, no. 209	226
Book of the Dead		III, no. 241	226
142	222, 236, 240	III, no. 360	226
166 Pleyte	247	VIII, 5–43	226
Book of the Fayum	225	Hibis	
Calendar of Lucky and Unlucky Days		III, pl. 31	221 f.
249 f.		III, pl. 33	221
Canopus decree	196	KRI	
Deir Chelouit		II, 591–596	223
I, no. 7	214	V, 219, 15–220, 5	195
Dendara		V, 239, 8	195
I, 20, 14–21,5	216	V, 262, 13	247
II, 145, 11	254	Lamb of Bocchoris cf. Prophecy of the Lamb	
III, 35	216	Monument of Memphite Theology	
X, 26, 3–49, 10	252	248	
X, 28, 6	252	Opet I, 139	216
X, 41, 15	252	Ostraca Hor (O. Hor)	
X, 73, 6	263	2, 15	200
X, 75, 4	263	10	235, 240
X, 76, 1–3	263	19, 5	200
X, 401, 14	263	Ostracon Strasbourg 1338	
X, 404, 9	263	262	
X, 404, 12	263	Petubastis-Inaros-cycle	236, 264
XII, 279, 12	254	Prophecy of the Lamb	263 f.
Isis, 78, 16–79, 5	214	PT spell 580	247
Isis, 191, 4–5	213	Philae Hymns to Isis (ŽABKAR)	
Mam., 99, 4	210 f.	no. 7	211, 235, 240
Edfou		Ritual of Embalming	252
I ² , 177, 6	253	Rosetta stone	196
I ² , 329–344	253	Royal canon Turin	
I ² , 335, 4	215	rt. 1, 15	246
I ² , 338, 6	263	Stela Louvre C 30	222
III, 292–324	224		

5. Classical Sources

Aelius Aristides	67	NA 6, 7	198 f.
Aelianus		Apion	39, 67

Apuleius	6, 29–31, 51, 62–64, 66–72, 73, 74 f., 182, 187, 207, 218, 234, 245, 354, 356, 357, 359 f., 362, 363, 374, 381, 419	1, 21, 2 1, 21, 5–9 1, 25, 1 1, 27, 3 1, 27, 4 1, 27, 6 1, 85, 5 1, 96, 5	253, 256 256 33 57, 182 55, 182, 244 57 256 33
apol. 27	67		
apol. 55, 8–9	72		
met. 10, 29–32	356	Diogenes Laertius	
met. 11	6, 30 f., 62 f., 70, 359, 419	vit. phil. 1, 8	415
met. 11, 2	187, 207	Euboulus	12, 31, 295, 395, 413, 423 f., 426
met. 11, 5	182, 207 f., 234	Euripides	355
met. 11, 5–12	362	Festus	320
met. 11, 8–17	72	Firmicus Maternus	413
met. 11, 9–11	373	err. 2–5	415
met. 11, 10, 6	74	err. 2, 2	256
met. 11, 19–30	30	err. 2, 3	256
met. 11, 20, 4–5	360	err. 3, 1–2	32
met. 11, 22, 5	72	err. 5	295
met. 11, 23, 5	29, 62	err. 5, 2	395, 414
met. 11, 23, 6	75	err. 20, 1	428
met. 11, 23, 7	62	err. 22, 1	32
met. 11, 24	363	Fronto	
met. 11, 24, 5	66	princ. hist. 17 [20]	357
met. 11, 25	182, 187	Hecataeus of Abdera	39
met. 11, 27	64	Herodotus	33, 56, 197, 200, 216, 275 f., 323
met. 11, 27, 3–4	72	1, 135	275
met. 11, 28	363	2, 42, 2	33, 216
met. 11, 29, 4	68	2, 50	275
met. 11, 30, 3	69	2, 59, 2	56
met. 11, 30, 5	71	2, 144, 2	33
Aratus	424	3, 35	323
Aristoteles		7, 61, 3	294
pol. 1, 2, 1252b 24–27	345	7, 150, 2	294
Arnobius		Hieronimus	
nat. 5, 5	317 f.	adv. Iovin. 1, 7	318
Augustinus	64	Hippolytus	
Aulus Gellius	67	ref. 5, 9, 8–9	33
Callimachus	186, 201 f.	Homer	126
Cassiodorus		Il. 5, 385–386	118
var. 5, 17	256	Od. 13	395
Catullus	355 f.	Od. 13, 102–112	414
Celsus		Homeric Hymns	
ap. Orig. Cels. 1, 12	413	2, 495	189
ap. Orig. Cels. 6, 22	31, 413, 426	3, 177–178	189
Cicero		3, 546	189
leg. 2, 14, 36	66	4, 580	189
nat. deor. 2, 164	414	6, 21	189
Diodorus Siculus	10, 255, 264, 354	10, 6	189
1, 14–18	33	25, 7	189
1, 17–21	265	29, 14	189

Horatius	355 f.	Is. 13 (356 B)	265
epist. 2, 1, 188–200	355	Is. 13 (356 D)	249
Hyginus		Is. 13–18	256
fab. 277	256	Is. 21 (359 C)	259
Isocrates		Is. 25 (360 F)	69
or. 4, 28	66	Is. 27 (361 D–E)	359
Iulian		Is. 27 (361 E)–28 (362 B)	61
or. 10 [Caes.] 336C	32	Is. 28	264
Iulius Obsequens		Is. 28 (361 F–362 B)	34
44 a	39	Is. 35 (364 D–365 A)	33
Iustinus the Martyr		Is. 36 (365 B)	377
dial. tryph. 70, 1	33	Is. 39	256
Kronius	413, 426	Is. 39 (366 D–F)	360, 361
Lactantius		Is. 42 (368 A)	252
inst. 17, 6	256	mor. fragm. 178	71
Lucianus	294, 298	Porphyrius	33, 423
Alex. 38–40	68	abst. 2, 56, 3	413
deor. conc. 9	295, 413	abst. 4, 9	360
Syr. dea 7	258	abst. 4, 16, 1–4	12, 31, 413, 426
Syr. dea 9–15	157	antr. 2–3	413
Macrobius		antr. 6	11, 31, 295, 395, 413, 422, 424
sat. 1, 21	32	antr. 22–24	31, 402, 413
Manetho	34, 39	antr. 25, 1	426
Martial	355 f.	antr. 28	413
Mela		ap. Eus. pr. ev. 5, 6, 4	258
1, 3	414	ap. Porph. Antr. 5–6	413
Minucius Felix		de phil. ex. orac. haur.	122–123
22, 1	256, 280	ap. Eus. praep. evang.	5, 6, 4
Nonnus of Panopolis	265	9, 10, 1–2	417
Numenius	413, 426	Posidonius	39
Ovidius		Pseudo-Plutarch	
met. 9, 693	359	fluv. 23	318
Pallas	12, 31, 413, 426	Seneca	355
Pausanias		epist. 77, 20	358
1, 37, 4	65	Servius	
1, 38, 7	65	aen. 2, 116	359
10, 32, 14	71	georg. 1, 166	256
Plautus	355	Sophokles	
Plato	236	fragm. 418	66
leg. 10, 893B 3–4	33	Stattius	
rep. 580C	117	theb. 1, 716–720	294, 307, 395, 413
Plinius (the Elder)	284 f., 287	Strabo	
nat. 8, 29	390	geogr. 17, 1, 23	256
nat. 37, 10	288	Suetonius	
Plutarch	10, 245, 257, 285 f., 354	Aug. 44	358
Alex. 27, 3	199	Vesp. 7, 2	282
art. 3	236	Tacitus	
Is.	33, 39, 67, 70, 255	hist. 4, 83–84	34, 264
Is. 2 (351 F–352 A)	69	Terentius	355
Is. 3 (352 B)	70		
Is. 13	259		
Is. 13 (356 A–B)	33		

Tertullian	396	9, 1, 5	414
coron. 15, 3–4	399	Vergil	
Varro		georg. 1, 30	283
ant. rer. hum. divin.		Xenophanes	
16 fr. 225	345	fr. 11/12, 14–16	345
Vitruvius			

6. The Bible

Ex. 17	323	Num. 20	32, 323
--------	-----	---------	---------

7. Miscellaneous Sources

Avesta		Rigveda	
Yasht 10	315, 322 f.	5, 63	322
Bundahischn		Yajur-Veda	
4, 19–20	305	4, 1, 4, 8	305
Kalevala	248	6, 4, 8	305
Song of Ullikummi (Kumarbi Myth)	317		

Index of Names

1. Rulers

- Aelius Caesar, L. 139
Alexander the Great 34, 199, 276, 282, 288
Amenemhat I 361
Amenemhat III 184, 196–201
Amenemhat IV 184
Amenhotep III 194, 224
Antiochos I (of Commagene) 84, 305, 332–336
Antiochos IV 196
Antoninus Pius 27, 106, 140, 150, 153, 174, 225, 333 f.
Ardashir 306
Arsinoe I 189
Arsinoe II 188 f., 196
Augustus 174, 218 f., 236, 282–284, 287 f., 333, 358
Avidius Cassius 117
Caesar 283 f., 287
Cambyses II 323
Caracalla 86, 99, 123, 143, 170
Claudius 27, 283
Cleopatra VII 233
Clodius Albinus 123
Commodus 116–118, 127 f., 136, 140, 147, 153, 157, 168, 174
Diocletian 158, 295
Djoser 260
Domitian 214, 282 f., 287
Galba 214
Hadrian 60, 128, 137–140, 174 f., 274 f., 278, 334, 336
Herod the Great 400
Iulia Domna 123, 170
Julian 32 f., 306
Lysimachos 188 f.
Marcus Aurelius 117, 128, 147, 153, 157
Marres/Maresisouchous cf. Amenemhat III
Nero 335, 379
Nerva 334
Nurettin 87
Otho 214
Pertinax 128, 170
Pescennius Niger 123
Porramanres cf. Amenemhat III
Ptolemy I 196
Ptolemy II Philadelphos 188 f., 194, 196, 211, 235
Ptolemy III 188
Ptolemy IV 188, 235
Ptolemy VI 236
Ptolemy VIII 213
Ramesses II 199, 223
Ramesses III 195
Seleukos Nikator 142
Senusret/Senwosret cf. Sesostris III
Septimius Severus 123, 136, 143, 146 f., 170
Sesoösis cf. Sesostris III
Sesostris I 361
Sesostris III 200 f.
Shapur I 86, 414
Shapur II 306
Shattiwazza 304
Shuppiluliuma I 304
Theodosius I 36
Tiberius 333
Titus Tatius 319
Trajan 158, 174, 285, 294, 335
Vespasian 214, 282–284, 333, 419

2. Personal Names

- Abraham (priest from Edessa) 87
Adde, son of Barsemeius 151
Aelius(?) Vitalis (from Bassiana) 106
Aelius Aristides 63, 67
Aelius Demetrius (Alexandrian sophist) 67
Aelius Hermogenes, T. 131
Aelius Hilarius, T. 131
Aelius Lucilius, P. (*centurio*) 161, 338

- Aelius Myron, P. 131
 Agrippa 284
 Albius Euhelpestus, P. (*libertus* of Anicetus) 342
 Alexander of Abonouteichos 35, 65, 68
 Alkibiades 65
 Andromeda 376 f.
 Annius Iulianus 129, 164 f.
 Annius Victor 129, 164 f.
 Antiochus (priest) 141, 145
 Antonius Gaionas, M. 116–118, 134 f.
 Apion (sophist) 67
 Apollinaris Bassou 148 f.
 Apollonius (from Memphis) 36
 Apronianus (*arkarius rei publicae*) 303
 Apronius Chrysomallus, L. 414
 Aquila Barhadados (priest) 127 f.
 Aquilia Bassillia 127
 Argo 376
 Arian 261
 Aristonikos 187
 Arrinus Balbinus 207
 Atennais (priest from Drobeta) 148
 Atilius Primus (*evocatus* from Marruvium) 140, 145, 338
 Aurelius Alexander (*negotiator*) 150
 Aurelius Apollinaris, M. (from Mursella) 147
 Aurelius Domittius 143
 Aurelius Flavius (*negotiator*) 150
 Aurelius Germanus Barlaha 124
 Aurelius Hela, son of Teatecnus 124
 Aurelius Iulianus 128 f.
 Aurelius Maximus 143
 Aurelius Magnesius 155
 Aurelius Marinus 151
 Aurelius Oenopio, M. 127
 Aurelius Sarapiacus 155
 Aurelius Valentinus (*sacerdos*) 149
 Aurelius Valentinus, M. 143 f.
 Aurelius Valerianus (*dupliarius*) 106
 Axius Aelianus, Q. 10
 Bassus Aquila, M. 150
 Caecilius Caecilianus, L. 169
 Caecilius Servillianus 123
 Callistus (slave at Apulum) 152
 Calpurnius Rufinus, C. 30 f., 61
 Calus (priest at the Esquiline) 131
 Chaibio (priest) 128
 Chrysas Thyrsus (priest at the Esquiline) 131
 Claudius Felix, Tib. 119–122, 134
 Claudius Maximus 146
 Cornelius Balbus, L., the younger 400
 Dextrinia Iusta (daughter of L. Dextrinius Iustus) 391
 Dextrinius Iustus, L. 391
 Domitius Philumenus, Q. 126
 Domitius Titus (from Zeugma) 142, 145
 Dorion 187
 Dülük Baba (muslim saint) 87 f.
 Ennaios 335
 Eraton 187
 Flavia Philyra 364
 Flavius (priest from Drobeta) 148
 Flavius Castor 143
 Flavius Marinus (priest at the Esquiline) 131
 Flavius, son of Barhadados 148
 Frontinius Nigrinus Lucius, C. 124
 Gaius Gaianus (syrian merchant at Sarmizegetusa) 150
 Gallonius Crispinus, C. 142
 Ganymede 310, 362
 Gavius Squilla Gallicanus, M. 126
 Gavius Zosimus 141, 145
 Herennius (priest) 135
 Hi, son of Hor (character in demotic narrative) 199
 Imhotep (vizier) 260
 Inaros (prince) 260 f., 264
 Io 376
 Iphigenia 159
 Isidoros 182–203, 208, 234, 237, 240
 Iulius Aurelius Heliodorus, son of Antiochus 120 f., 134, 136
 Iulius Frugi, L. 59
 Iulius Gracilis (*equus singularis* at Apulum) 150
 Iulius Maior, Sex. 175
 Iulius Marinus, C. 131
 Iulius Palus, C. (soldier from Doliche) 99 f., 332, 336
 Iulius Passenianus, L. (*praefectus*) 160
 Kaineus 318 f.
 Lemminkainen (Finnish folk hero) 248
 Leonas (*vilicus*) 121, 135 f.
 Leonides, son of Hermolaos 59
 Licinius N[...], C. 134
 Lucius (in Apuleius) 31, 66, 68, 70–72, 182, 187, 207, 234, 356, 360, 363
 Marcus Atemidorus, Q. (*medicus castrorum*) 132 f., 156
 Maria 338
 Marinus (priest at Carnuntum) 141
 Marinus (priest at the Esquiline) 131
 Marius Mariani Basus 151
 Marrius Ursinus (veteran) 338

- Moses (bible) 324
 Neferkasokar (character in demotic narrative) 199
 Nonnus (of Panopolis) 265
 Norbanus Sorex, C. 353 f., 364
 Numa, son of Numenius 35 f., 279
 Oceanus, son of Socrates 151
 Orion 261
 Paezon (slave of Aquilia Bassillia) 127, 134
 Paezusa, daughter of Paezon (slave of Aquilia Bassillia) 127
 Paris 310
 Perseus 294, 377, 380
 Photis (in Apuleius) 63
 Plato the younger (from Thebes, Egypt) 187, 195
 Pompeius Maximus, Sex. 390
 Pomponius Sosipater, Q. 141
 Popidius Ampliatus, N. 364
 Potamon, son of Sostratos 59
 Prexaspes 323
 Semnus (*libertus*) 129
 Servilius Caepius, Q. 39
 Setna Khaemuas (character in demotic narrative) 199
 Silvanus (priest from Drobeta) 148
 Sopatrus (priest at the Esquiline) 131
 Spurius Silvanus, C. (*centurio*) 140
 Tarpeia 319 f.
 Telegenius Speratus, C. 58
 Terentius Damario (priest) 135
 Tettius Hermes, L. 126 f., 164 f.
 Theseus 424
 Timotheus (of Eleusis) 34
 Ulpian, M. 115, 342
 Ulpian Amandianus 141
 Ulpian Artemon, M. (son of M. Ulpian) 115, 342
 Ulpian Chresimus, M. 132–134, 156–157, 342–344, 346
 Valeria Digna 140
 Valerius Hermes 142
 Valerius Valentinus, M. 123
 Veturius 150
 Virilius Pupus, L. (*beneficiarius consularis*) 135
 Zmaragdus (*libertus* at Apulum) 152
 Zoroaster 11 f., 295, 395, 402, 414, 416, 422 f.

3. Deities

Note: The names (without further additions) of the main deities treated extensively in this volume, i.e. Isis, Mithras (Sol Invictus), and Jupiter (Optimus Maximus) Dolichenus have not been included in this index. For a general orientation on the studies regarding these gods, cf. the Table of Contents.

- Accestis 318
 Adonis 33, 258
 Aesculapius 149 f., 163, 233
 Agathodaimon 197, 199, 233
 Aglibol 120 f.
 Ahriman/Arimanius 305, 415
 Ahura Mazda (cf. also Oromasdes) 10, 305 f., 413
 Aion 296, 311
 Alath 119
 Amon 187, 195, 220–224
 Amon–Ra 187, 221 f.
 Amunet 215
 Anahita 234, 237 f.
 Anaia 208
 Anat 235
 Anchoes 195, 197
 Antinoos 138
 Anubis 35, 47, 200, 223, 252, 256, 354, 362, 373
 Anukis 212, 223, 225
 Aphrodite (cf. also Venus) 159, 189, 209 f., 218, 318, 425
 –, Paphian 208
 Apollon 131 f., 166, 189, 207, 258, 288, 307, 343 f., 395, 425
 –, Clarian 417
 Apollon Epekoos 335
 Apollon–Helios 413
 Apollon–Mithras–Helios–Hermes 305 f., 335
 Apophis 261, 264
 Artemis (cf. also Diana) 159, 207 f., 210, 238, 425
 Asclepius cf. Aesculapius
 Astarte 208, 233
 Atargatis cf. Dea Syria

- Athena (cf. also Minerva) 218, 234, 237–239, 241
 Athyna cf. Athena
 Athynen cf. Athena
 Attis 27, 32 f., 39, 295, 310
 Atum 220
 Baal 100
 Baalshamin 119
 Bastet 213, 215, 223
 Bel 120, 149
 Bellerophon 362
 Bellona 208
 Bes 362
 Cabeiri 49
 Caelum/Caelus 416
 Campestris 131
 Castores (Dolicheni) 161, 171, 317
 Cautes 296, 308–311, 313, 321, 406, 427
 Cautopates 296, 308–311, 313, 321, 427
 Ceres (cf. also Demeter) 207 f.
 Chnum 220, 226
 Cybele (cf. also Magna Mater and Pessinuntia) 27, 33, 39, 47, 49, 51, 53, 208, 210
 Dea Menmanhia 132
 Dea Syria 85, 89, 149, 154, 189
 Demeter (cf. also Ceres) 33, 49, 51, 56, 65 f., 189, 209, 234, 237, 302
 Deus Commagenorum/Commagenus 154 f., 156, 171
 Deus Magnus Commagenorum 132 f.
 Diana (cf. also Artemis) 131 f., 139, 207, 210, 299 f., 342, 344, 353
 Diana Dictynna 208
 Dionysos Gongylos 62
 Dionysus 33, 35, 39, 49, 52, 54, 265, 340, 421
 Divus Augustus 146
 Divus Marcus Aurelius 146
 Epona 131, 300
 Felicitas 131
 Fortuna (cf. also Tyche) 128, 210, 363
 Gad Taimi 120
 Gaia 318
 Gavaevodata (Gav) 305
 Geb 247
 Glycon 35
 Hadad 100
 Hadad of Halpa 103
 Hadad of Karkemish 103
 Hadad of Kummuh 103
 Hadad of Sam'al 103
 Hades (cf. also Pluto) 66
 Harpocrates 35, 47, 354, 376, 380
 Hathor 194, 211–214, 216–219, 223–226
 Hathor Quadrifrons 219
 Hecate 208, 299 f.
 Heka 226
 Helios (cf. also Sol) 282, 424, 427–431
 Helios Mithras 3
 Heracles cf. Hercules
 Hercules 126, 130, 139, 159, 161, 299 f., 303, 306, 335, 424
 Hercules Victor 366
 Hermes (cf. also Mercurius) 29, 32, 56, 59 f., 189, 261, 376
 Hermouthis cf. Renenutet
 Hermouthis–Isis 188–193, 202 f.
 Hesperus 309
 Hestia 189, 209
 Horus 213, 223, 247 f., 251, 253, 260, 262, 354, 361
 Ianus Gimenus 152
 Iarchibol 121
 Imouthes Apollon Asclepius 196
 Isis Augusta 381
 Isis Bastet 215
 Isis Fortuna 210
 Isis Kyria 381
 Isis Nepherses 209
 Isis Panthea 210
 Isis Selket 214
 Isis Thesmophorus 197
 Isis Tyche 381
 Iusaas 214, 223
 Jesus 27, 304
 Juno 131, 138, 161, 162, 166, 209, 299 f.
 Juno Regina 99, 127, 159, 166, 329, 337–342, 344–346
 Juno Regina Dolichena 88
 Jupiter (Optimus Maximus) (cf. also Zeus) 131, 137–139, 143 f., 146, 152, 157, 161–163, 173, 331, 334 f., 340, 416
 Jupiter Balmarqodes 116
 Jupiter Behelefarus 116, 121, 132, 134
 Jupiter Heliopolitanus (cf. also IOM Heliopolitanus) 27, 98, 117 f., 122, 418
 Jupiter Maleciabruda 116
 Jupiter Optimus Maximus Commagenorum aeternus 151
 Jupiter Optimus Maximus Damascenus 116
 Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus 116–118, 135, 141, 143, 150, 154, 163, 166, 169
 Jupiter Optimus Maximus Heliopolitanus Commodus 122
 Jupiter Optimus Maximus Teutanus 146

- Jupiter Stator 320
 Kore cf. Persephone
 Korybas 295
 Kubaba 340
 Lathyna cf. Athena
 Lathynen cf. Athena
 Latina cf. Athena
 Leto 208
 Liber Pater 72
 Luna 125, 161, 171, 312, 331 f., 343, 424
 Maat 214
 Maga 247
 Magna Mater (cf. also Cybele and Pessinuntia) 1, 8, 25–28, 30, 39, 318, 417 f.
 Malakbel 119–122
 Mars 131, 161, 299, 318, 334, 380
 Mars Camulus 10
 Mater Magna cf. Magna Mater
 Matres 131
 Men 27, 310
 Menhyt 215, 226
 Mercurius (cf. also Hermes) 10, 12, 131, 166, 169, 299
 Minerva (cf. also Athena) 131, 138
 –, Cecropeian 208
 Monthu 214
 Musae 189, 202
 Mut 211 f.
 Nanaia 234, 237
 Nebethetepet 214, 223
 Nebetuu 226
 Neith 211, 218, 226, 238
 Nekhbet 212 f., 215
 Nephthys 225, 248 f., 257 f., 262
 Nike (cf. also Victoria) 201, 306 f., 424 f.
 Noreia 132
 Nut 247
 Oceanus 416
 Omphale 159
 Op(?) Eresem 104
 Oromasdes (cf. also Ahura Mazda) 10
 Oserapis (cf. also Serapis) 34, 354
 Osiris 7 f., 33, 47, 61 f., 64, 66 f., 69 f., 72, 210, 213, 216, 219 f., 222 f., 244–265, 286, 294, 354, 359–361, 377, 380 f., 413
 Paeon 196
 Pa-Shai cf. Agathodaimon
 Pegasus 362
 Persephone (cf. also Proserpina) 302, 318
 Pessinuntia (cf. also Cybele and Magna Mater) 208
 Phosphorus 309
 Phren cf. Ra
 Pluto (cf. also Hades) 61
 Prometheus 355 f.
 Proserpina (cf. also Persephone) 65, 69, 207 f.
 –, Ortygian 208
 Ptah 213, 216, 220
 Ra 10, 195, 213 f., 217, 220, 225, 233
 Ra–Atum 214
 Rattai 214
 Rattai-Tjenenet 214
 Renenutet (cf. also Hermouthis) 184 f., 187, 189–191, 193 f., 196 f., 199 f.
 Rhamnousia 208
 Rhea 209
 Roma 334 f.
 Rosmerta 10
 Sabazius 25, 27, 295
 Sakhmet 213, 223 f.
 Salus 131
 Satis 212, 215, 223
 Saturnus 119, 120
 Serapis (cf. also Oserapis) 12, 27, 30, 35, 47, 55, 59, 60–62, 66, 74 f., 139, 150, 154, 159, 163, 170 f., 182, 264, 279, 281–283, 354, 360, 363, 367, 381, 391
 Seshat 215
 Seth (cf. also Typhon) 246–249, 251, 256 f., 361, 416, 432
 Sha'ru 119
 Shamash 316 f., 320
 Shesemetet 213
 Silvanus 131, 145, 151, 153, 159, 169
 Sobek 185, 195 f., 199 f., 225
 Sokar 224
 Sokonopis 192, 195, 197
 Sol (cf. also Helios) 2, 99, 119–122, 125, 133, 161, 171, 299, 312, 331 f., 384, 389, 424–431
 Sol Elagabalus 146
 Sol Invictus 99, 132, 343 f.
 Sol Serapis 391
 Soma 305
 Sothis 212 f., 215, 262
 Souchos cf. Sobek
 Suleviae 131 f.
 Tatenen 222
 Teshub 100, 317, 329
 Theos Adados Libaneotes 116
 Theos Dolichenos 115 f., 133–135, 154–156
 Theos Hypsistos 27
 Thot 2, 195, 199 f., 252, 258, 261
 Tjenenet 215
 Toutates Meduris 132

- Triptolemos 302
 Tyche (cf. also Fortuna) 85, 120
 Typhon (cf. also Seth) 69, 255
 Unut 213
 Uto 211–213, 222
 Varuna, 322
 Venus (cf. also Aphrodite) 2, 166, 169, 207,
 210, 307, 380
 Venus Victrix 141, 366
 Victoria (cf. also Nike) 99, 131, 159 f., 171,
 210, 299 f., 304, 306 f., 334, 338–340,
 424 f.
 Vulcanus 299 f.
 Yahweh 27
 Zeus (cf. also Jupiter) 282, 295, 335, 337
 Zeus Ammon 200
 Zeus Helios Mithras Turmasgades 404
 Zeus Kimistenos 152
 Zeus Nareus 152
 Zeus Panamaros 54
 Zeus Sardendenos 152 f.
 Zeus Sittakomikos 153

4. Geographical Names

- Abdera 55
 Abonouteichos 35
 Abydos 213, 215, 222, 262
 Acumincum 147
 Ad Enum (Mühlthal am Inn) 11, 427
 Aemilia 58, 309
 Africa 10, 36, 151, 169, 182, 202, 417
 Aintab cf. Gaziantep
 Alba Iulia cf. Apulum
 Aleppo 102 f.
 Alexandria 10, 30, 35, 67, 101, 202, 279,
 283 f., 354, 366, 368
 Alpes Graiae et Poeninae 400
 Alqhah 262
 Alwand 261
 Alt-Kalkar cf. Burginatum
 Ampelum (Zlatna) 147, 151–153
 Ampurias cf. Emporiae
 Amuq valley 102
 Anatolia 28, 97, 115, 155, 157, 162, 165,
 317, 416
 Andania 72 f.
 Andautonia 143
 Andros 55–57, 182 f.
 Angers cf. Iuliomagus
 Antiochia 102
 Anti-Taurus 82
 Apamea 142, 387, 393
 Apulum (Alba Iulia) 106, 147, 149–153, 301,
 311, 392
 Aquae (Sâncrai) 150
 Aquae Mattiacorum (Wiesbaden) 311, 338
 Aquileia 139, 143
 Aquincum (Budapest) 146 f., 301, 311, 391,
 401, 415
 Arabia 57, 265
 Argos 368
 Armant cf. Hermonthis
 Arsameia (on the Euphrates) 333
 Arsameia (on the Nymphaios) 335
 Arsinoe (nome) 188 f., 195 f., 199
 Asciano 301
 Asia 10, 193 f., 200, 260, 263–265, 304, 308,
 333
 Asia Minor 3, 5, 11, 23, 28, 61 f., 80 f., 87,
 96–100, 320
 Assyria 89, 260, 417
 Aswan 212 f., 218, 220, 222, 235
 Ateste (Este) 137
 Athens 48, 56, 66, 306–308, 319
 Augusta Emerita (Mérida) 300, 405
 Augusta Raurica (Augst) 98
 Augusta Treverorum (Trier) 314, 427
 – St. Matthäus 427
 Augusta Vindelicum (Augsburg) 406
 Baalbek cf. Heliopolis
 Babylon 296
 Babylonia 416 f.
 Bad Homburg vor der Höhe 406
 Baelo (Bolonina) 38, 210, 366, 379
 Bakhtan 261
 Bakir 102
 Balaklava 3, 80, 97
 Balaneae 142
 Banjevac 426
 Bassai-Phigaleia 319
 Bassiana 106
 Behbeit el-Hagar 210, 222
 Beneventum (Benevento) 7, 36, 283, 335,
 392
 Beroia 102, 105, 107
 Besigheim 395

- Biesheim 391
 Biggeh 211, 219
 Bingen 314
 Blieddalheim 388
 Bithynia 59
 Bodobriga (Boppard) 311
 Boeotia 202
 Boğazköy cf. Hattuša
 Bononia (Bologna) 309
 Boppard cf. Bodobriga
 Bornheim-Sechtem 401
 Borollos (lake) 257
 Bosnia-Herzegovina 426
 Bourg-Saint-Andéol 387
 Bouzlidje Sharki 103
 Brigetio (Komárom) 139, 141 f., 144, 162, 311, 405
 Britannia 3 f., 10, 97, 171, 283, 300, 320, 329
 Brza Palanka cf. Egeta
 Bubastis 196, 215
 Budapest cf. Aquincum
 Burginatum (Alt-Kalkar) 3
 Busiris 213, 222, 258
 Buto 211 f.
 Byblos 217, 255–259, 263
 Cabra cf. Igabrum
 Caesarea maritima 11, 400, 427, 431
 Canopus/Kanopos 378
 Cappadocia 98
 Capua 207, 300, 309 f., 393, 414, 422
 – S. Maria Capua Vetere 3, 386, 390, 393, 414, 421, 430 f.
 Caria 54
 Carnuntum (Petronell) 4, 128, 137–142, 144 f., 156, 162, 166, 175, 295, 309, 338 f., 388
 Cășeiu cf. Samum
 Cassandra cf. Kassandrea
 Castra Peregrinorum cf. Rome – S. Stefano Rotondo
 Castrimoenium (Marino) 303, 309 f., 321, 393, 414, 422 f., 430 f.
 Catal Ziyaret 103
 Ceylanli 102
 Chalcis 29
 Cilicia Tracheia 101
 Cilurnum (Chesters) 3 f.
 Cineșor 311
 Čitluk 426
 Cluj-Napoca cf. Napoca
 Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippensium (Cologne/Köln) 314, 391, 425
 Comana 98
 Commagene/Kommagene 3, 7, 12, 79, 84, 88 f., 99, 102, 105, 132, 136, 147, 151 f., 155 f., 305, 329, 331–336, 345, 386, 420
 Constanța cf. Tomis
 Coptos 213, 219, 263
 Corduba (Córdoba) 414
 Corinth 64, 70, 306
 Crete 364
 Crimean peninsula 3, 97
 Croatia 426, 428
 Crocodilopolis (Shedet) 185, 199
 Crocodilopolites (nome) cf. Arsinoe (nome)
 Cyprus 281, 378
 Cyrene 55, 244
 Cyrrhестice 88, 102, 105
 Cyrrhus 102, 105
 Dacia 2, 10, 97, 106, 114, 137, 147–149, 152–156, 166, 301, 311, 313 f., 321, 339, 396
 Dalmatia 124, 128, 169, 311, 387 f., 421, 426, 428
 Danube region 23, 80, 142, 169, 302, 309, 311, 313, 318, 322, 329 f., 337–341, 345, 421, 426
 Deir el-Chelouit 214
 Delos 35 f., 60, 73, 121, 149, 364, 366, 378 f., 381
 Dendara 210, 214–219, 222 f., 226, 252–254, 263, 286
 Dep 211, 222
 Dieburg 300, 321, 423
 Dierna (Orșova) 311
 Dime cf. Soknopaïou Nesos
 Dion 366 f.
 Dja cf. Medinet Madi
 Doliche 2 f., 7, 11 f., 79–89, 96–107, 115, 125, 132–134, 136 f., 142, 152 f., 165, 167, 169, 171 f., 329–341, 344 f., 386, 388, 407, 420
 Domnești 153
 Dorylaion 98
 Doștat 311
 Drobeta 148 f.
 Duino 431
 Dülük Baba Tepesi cf. Doliche
 Dunakömlöd cf. Lussonium
 Dunaújváros cf. Intercisa
 Dura Europos 9, 104 f., 314, 321, 396, 404, 414 f., 423 f., 430
 Edessa 87
 Edfu 194, 215, 224, 253, 361
 Egeta (Brza Palanka) 300

- Egypt 5, 10, 23, 27 f., 33, 35 f., 50, 57, 66 f.,
 71, 165, 182–185, 187–191, 193 f., 196 f.,
 199, 203, 209–219, 222, 225 f., 232, 234,
 236 f., 240 f., 246, 250 f., 253–258, 260–
 264, 274 f., 278–289, 296, 312, 316, 323,
 354, 361, 367 f., 376–378, 380, 413, 415,
 417–419
 Elephantine 212, 215, 223, 263
 Eleusis 31, 33, 35, 48 f., 51, 53 f., 56, 62,
 65 f., 68–72, 74
 El-Kab 211 f., 215, 225
 El-Qal'a 219
 Els Munts 396, 401
 Emesa (Homs) 101
 Emona (Ljubljana) 143
 Emporiae (Ampurias/Empúries) 35, 38, 279
 Ephesos 368
 Epidaurum 388
 Eretria 364, 366
 Esna 225 f.
 Ethiopia 255, 262, 265
 Etruria 301, 303, 314, 387, 432
 Euphrates 79, 99, 101, 333, 335, 396, 415
 Europe 193 f., 265, 274, 402
 Fayum 184 f., 188, 194–199, 201 f., 208 f.,
 216, 218, 232, 240
 Fiano Romano 426
 Florentia (Florence/Firenze) 314
 Forum Claudii Vallensium (Martigny) 400,
 402
 Forum Popilii (Forlimpopoli) 57 f.
 Frankfurt-Heddernheim cf. Nida
 Gallia 1, 10, 12, 123
 – Aquitania 313
 – Belgica 314, 322, 387 f., 427
 – Lugdunensis 3, 384, 392
 – Narbonensis 387, 414
 Gaziantep (Aintab) 85, 87, 101 f., 339
 Gelduba (Krefeld-Gellep) 98, 396, 402 f., 407
 Germania 1, 13, 156, 171, 298, 402, 405,
 426–428
 – inferior 3, 13, 38, 163, 314, 396, 401
 – superior 3, 10, 12, 163, 169, 298, 300,
 309 f., 313 f., 321 f., 338, 386, 389–391,
 393, 396 f., 401, 403 f., 406, 426
 Gerulata (Rusovce) 145
 Giebichenstein (castle) 307
 Gorsium (Tác) 145 f., 170
 Gortyn 364
 Greece 12, 34 f., 51 f., 56, 63, 70–72, 189,
 194, 200, 202, 259, 274 f., 277, 281, 315,
 355, 418
 Großkrotzenburg 403
 Güglingen 321, 390, 393, 396–398, 401 f.
 Halle (Saale) 307
 Halberg 388
 Hammam (on the Euphrates) 101
 Hatra 332 f.
 Hattuša (Boğazköy) 304, 317
 Hawarte 3, 7, 300, 387, 393, 407
 Heidelberg 303, 314, 393 f., 396, 401
 Heliopolis (Baalbek) 104, 117 f., 122, 135 f.,
 141
 Heliopolis (in Egypt) 211, 213, 215 f., 222 f.,
 251
 Hellas cf. Greece
 Herakleopolis magna 213, 221
 Herculaneum 360–362, 377, 379
 Hermonthis 214 f.
 Hermopolis 215, 221
 Hibis 221, 249
 Hierapolis/Bambyke 89, 102, 104 f.
 Hispania 1, 2, 38, 207, 275, 379, 384
 – Baetica 301, 379, 405
 – Callaecia 61
 – Hispania citerior 2, 30, 35, 60, 396, 401
 – Lusitania 300, 405, 428
 Homs cf. Emesa
 Igabrum (Cabra) 301, 405
 India 265, 274, 276 f., 305, 417
 Intercisa (Dunaújváros) 146, 311
 Inveresk 2, 384, 404
 Ios 29, 55–57, 182 f., 244
 Iran 11, 304–306, 308, 416
 Isheru 211–213
 Italica (Santiponce) 38
 Italy 7, 10 f., 13, 71, 100, 123 f., 137, 140 f.,
 143, 145, 163, 174, 209, 301–303, 307–
 309, 311, 313, 321 f., 329, 337, 345, 394,
 400, 415, 426, 430
 Iuliomagus (Angers) 384, 398
 Japra 169
 Jerusalem 7, 262
 Judea 283
 Kalabsha 236, 240
 Karanis 201
 Karnak 211 f., 216, 219, 223, 367
 Kassandreia 55–57, 182
 Keber Tepe cf. Doliche
 Kenchreai 70, 366
 Kharga 221
 Khemmis 233
 Khen-Shespet 213
 Khirbet Khalid 99
 Koenigshoffen cf. Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen
 Kom Ombo 224

- Komárom cf. Brigetio
 Komir 225
 Königsbrunn 401, 406
 Konjic 389, 426, 428
 Kos 60
 Kral-Marko 311
 Krefeld-Gellep cf. Gelduba
 Krupanj 426
 Künzing cf. Quintana
 Kurtowo-Konare 311
 Kyme 29, 55–57, 182 f., 244
 Ladenburg cf. Lopodunum
 Lambaesis 128, 139 f., 156, 175
 Latium et Campania 300 f., 309, 321
 Lebanon 97 f.
 Letopolis magna 213, 218
 Libya 194
 Ljubljana cf. Emona
 Londinium (London) 2, 300, 414, 427
 Lopodunum (Ladenburg) 428
 Lucus Augusti (Lugo) 2, 384
 Lussonium (Dunakömlöd) 160 f., 338
 Luxor 378
 Lycia et Pamphylia 3, 189
 Lydia 60, 417
 Macedonia 265
 Magdola 201
 Magione 406
 Mainz cf. Mogontiacum
 Mar Salomon (monastery) 87
 Marathon 366, 425
 Mari 317
 Marino cf. Castrimoenium
 Maroneia 29, 55–57, 64, 182 f., 187, 244
 Marruvium (San Benedetto dei Marsi) 140, 338
 Martigny cf. Forum Claudii Vallensium
 Mastala 104
 Mauer an der Url 338 f.
 Mauls 424
 Medinet Madi cf. Narmouthis
 Megalopolis 207
 Memphis 36, 57, 211, 213, 215 f., 222 f., 264
 Mendes 215, 221
 Mérida cf. Augusta Emerita
 Meroe 262
 Mesopotamia 96, 305, 315 f.
 Micia (Veřel) 152, 311
 Miletos 368
 Miline 311
 Močiči 388
 Moesia 322
 – inferior 311, 415
 – superior 145, 300, 311, 387
 Mogontiacum (Mainz) 2 f., 8, 11, 321, 427, 430 f.
 Mons Claudianus 378
 Montana 314
 Mt. Helicon 202
 Mt. Olympos 194 f.
 Mühlthal am Inn cf. Ad Enum
 Mundelsheim 391, 407
 Mursella (Árpás) 147
 Musselburgh 384
 Myszkow 153
 Naples/Napoli cf. Neapolis
 Napoca (Cluj-Napoca) 151
 Narmouthis (Medinet Madi) 182, 184 f., 190–192, 197, 201–203, 208, 218, 234, 237, 240
 Narona 169 f.
 Naucratis 67
 Neapolis (Naples/Napoli) 303, 393 f.
 Near East 28, 33, 80–82, 89, 96 f., 100 f., 104 f., 368, 390
 Nemi 353
 Nemrud Dağ 305, 333, 335
 Nersae (Civitella di Nesce) 303, 430
 Neviodunum 143
 Nida (Frankfurt-Heddernheim) 11, 309, 311, 314, 321, 338, 340, 346, 386, 389, 392, 394, 397, 401
 Niniveh 260, 263 f.
 Noricum 2, 11, 166, 313, 322, 338 f., 397
 Nubia 219, 260, 262 f.
 Numidia 128, 139 f., 301, 309
 Nysa 57
 Olba 101
 Orbe-Boscéaz 401
 Orşova cf. Dierna
 Osterburken 303, 404
 Ostia 2, 32, 35, 117, 301, 309, 364, 386, 390, 393 f., 397, 399 f., 407, 425, 427 f., 431 f.
 Oxyrhynchos 66, 218, 235, 237–241
 Palaestina 11
 Palmyra 119–122, 134–136, 154, 156, 163, 166, 171, 332 f.
 Panamara 54, 72 f.
 Pannonia 13, 114, 128, 137–147, 153–155, 163, 166, 171, 322, 421
 – inferior 137, 144–147, 160, 301, 311, 313, 338, 387, 391
 – superior 4, 128, 135, 137, 142–145, 147, 160, 309, 313, 321, 338 f., 387, 392–394, 405
 Panóias 30 f., 38, 57, 60–62, 74

- Parthia 134
 Pasargades 238
 Pashalom 262
 Pe 211, 222
 Pergamon 368
 Perge 3, 61
 Perrhe 3, 88, 99 f., 332 f., 336, 345
 Persia 5, 10–12, 23, 136, 238, 261, 294 f.,
 304–308, 315, 395, 413–415, 417, 420
 Pessinus 208, 318
 Petra 366, 368
 Petronell cf. Carnuntum
 Pharos 258
 Philae 211–213, 218 f., 235 f., 240
 Phoenicia 255, 258
 Poetovio (Ptuj) 313, 321, 421
 Pojejena des Sus 153
 Pompeii 7, 36, 62, 353 f., 356, 362, 364, 366,
 368, 372–381
 Pontus 99, 264
 Porolissum 80, 97, 148 f., 155, 339
 Portus 364
 Potaissa (Turda) 151, 311
 Praeneste (Palestrina) 368
 Praetorium Latobiorum (Trebnje) 142–144
 Proložac Donji 426, 428
 Prusa ad Olympum 57, 59
 Ptuj cf. Poetovio
 Punt 213, 258
 Puteoli (Pozzuoli) 35, 136
 Quintana (Künzing) 396, 403, 427
 Raetia 396, 401, 406, 424
 Ras es-Soda 378
 Ravenna 123, 133
 Reichweiler 387 f., 393
 Resca cf. Romula
 Rhine region 80, 302 f., 309, 311, 313, 318,
 322, 329 f., 337–341, 345
 Rhodos 72
 Riegel 3, 391, 393, 426
 Riotinto 98
 Rome/Roma 2–4, 7 f., 23–29, 32, 36, 39,
 51 f., 57 f., 62 f., 66 f., 70, 74, 96, 113–
 117, 119–122, 128–137, 140 f., 147, 149,
 153–157, 162, 164–167, 169–171, 173–
 175, 209, 274–289, 294 f., 300 f., 303,
 307–310, 313, 319–321, 324, 329–331,
 333, 337, 341–345, 353, 356 f., 366, 378,
 386, 388 f., 393–396, 399 f., 404, 414 f.,
 419, 421 f., 425 f., 431
 – Aventinus mons 58, 115, 125–131, 133,
 136, 141, 155, 157–159, 162, 164 f.,
 167 f., 170, 172, 300, 342, 394, 404 f.,
 414
 – Caelius mons, 115, 133, 343
 – Capitolinus mons 157, 166, 173, 319
 – Castra Praetoria 426
 – Esquilinus mons 115, 130 f., 133, 157,
 164, 168
 – Janiculum 115, 117 f.
 – Quirinalis mons 341, 394
 – S. Clemente 386, 393 f., 400, 422, 431
 – S. Prisca 8, 31 f., 173, 300, 394, 414 f.,
 421–425, 430
 – S. Sabina 58
 – S. Stefano Rotondo 294, 313, 396
 – Trastevere 115, 121, 123 f., 133 f.
 Romula (Resca) 149, 314
 Rückingen 389
 Rudchester cf. Vindovala
 Rusicade (Skikda) 301, 309
 Saalburg 393, 406
 Saarbrücken 388
 Saint Albans cf. Verulamium
 Saint-Aubin 313
 Sais 211
 Saite (nome) 218, 222, 238
 Salona (Solin) 124, 169
 Samothrace 51, 68, 72
 Santiponce cf. Italica
 Samum (Câșeu) 151
 San Benedetto dei Marsi cf. Marruvium
 Sâncrai cf. Aquae
 Saqqara 200, 367
 Sárkeszi 311
 Sarmizegetusa 10, 147, 149 f., 152, 163, 311,
 321, 396, 415
 Savaria (Szombathely) 393 f., 396
 Schriesheim 405 f.
 Schwarzerden 321, 387, 393
 Scotland 2, 384
 Seleucia 264
 Seleucia (on the Euphrates) cf. Zeugma
 Septeuil 3, 392
 Serbia 426
 Setúbal 428
 Shedet cf. Crocodilopolis
 Shenhur 219
 Sidon 300 f., 309–311, 405, 424
 Siloam (Silwan) 262
 Sinope 264
 Sirmium (Sremska Mitrovica) 143, 146
 Siscia (Sisak) 135, 143, 309, 392
 Skikda cf. Rusicade
 Sofraz Köy 335

- Soknopaiou Nesos (Dime) 232
 Soli 378
 Solin cf. Salona
 Soumana 104, 331
 Sremska Mitrovica cf. Sirmium
 Stockstadt am Main 169, 298–301, 309, 311,
 390 f., 397, 403, 405, 407
 Strasbourg-Koenigshoffen 303, 321, 393,
 396, 407
 Sutri 387
 Syria 3, 5, 11, 23, 27, 50, 85, 89, 96–101,
 103–105, 107, 114 f., 122–124, 130,
 133 f., 141, 151, 162, 165, 189, 258,
 263 f., 300 f., 309, 311, 314, 329, 338,
 342, 345, 387–389, 393–396, 405
 – North 7, 12, 79–81, 84, 87, 89, 97, 100–
 104, 155, 157, 317, 330 f., 336 f., 340,
 345
 Szombathely cf. Savaria
 Tác cf. Gorsium
 Taposiris 259
 Taq-i Bustan 306
 Taurus 99
 Tebtunis/Tebtynis 198 f., 202, 216 f., 223,
 235, 240, 257, 260
 Tell el-Ashhār 257
 Telmessos 55–57
 Thebes (Egypt) 187, 199, 211, 213–216,
 222 f., 262 f.
 Thessaloniki 29, 55 f., 61 f., 182 f., 259, 263,
 366
 Thessalia 56
 Thinis 262 f.
 Thonis 211
 Thracia 29, 188 f., 265, 311, 322
 Thurii 54
 Tibur (Tivoli) 366, 414
 Tienen 3, 9, 13, 38, 396, 398–400, 403, 432 f.
 Tirguşor 311
 To-Bener 187
 Tomis (Constanţa) 311, 415
 Tralles 57, 60
 Trebnje cf. Praetorium Latobicorum
 Trier cf. Augusta Treverorum
 Tuenno 426
 Turda cf. Potaissa
 Urfa 102
 Val di Non 426
 Verulamium (Saint Albans) 10, 320
 Veşel cf. Micia
 Vetus Salina 160
 Vindobona (Vienna) 140, 142, 144
 Vindolanda 3, 97
 Vindovala (Rudchester) 395
 Virunum 2, 392, 397
 Vulci 301, 432
 Wiesbaden cf. Aquae Mattiacorum
 Wiesloch 390 f., 396 f., 403
 Zela 99
 Zellhausen 169
 Zeugma/Seleucia 102, 142, 145, 162, 335