

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

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

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in der Antike*

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Religious Confluences
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The Cults of Isis,
Mithras, and Jupiter Dolichenus

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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, Darmstadt</i> 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.

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- 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. MASTROCIQUE (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, *Religions 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. DÉSZPÁ, 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.

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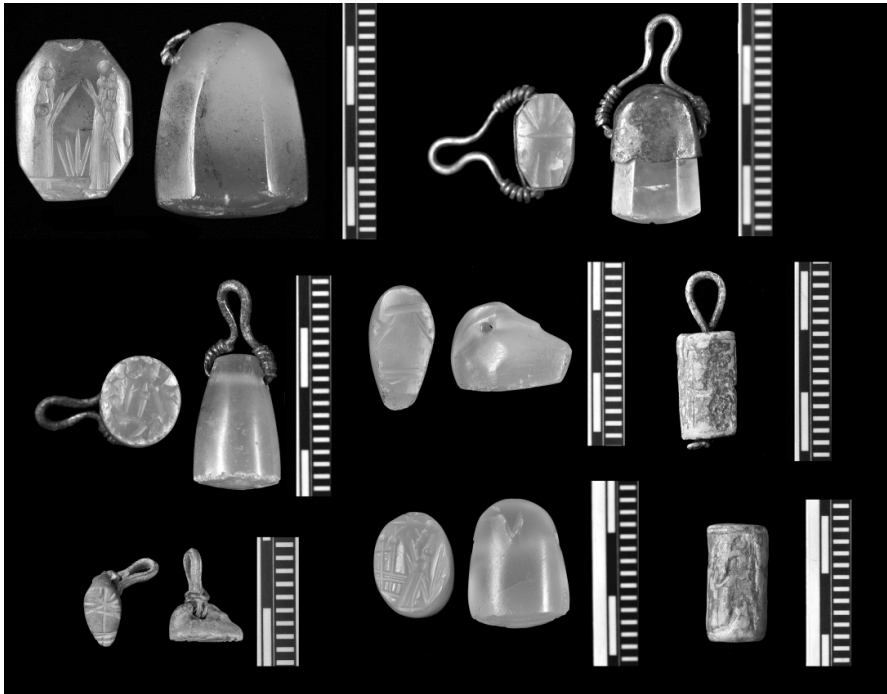
*FIGURE 1: Statuette of Jupiter Dolichenus from Mauer an der Url (CCID 291).
Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum inv. no. M 1 (Photo: SPEIDEL, Religion, Frontispiece).*



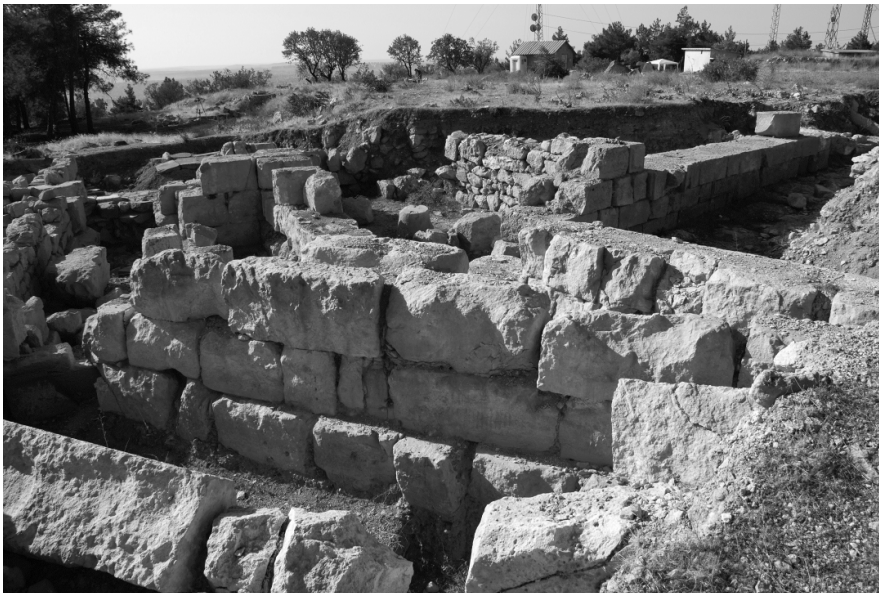
*FIGURE 2: Dülük Baba Tepesi, trench at the center of the main plateau with Iron Age wall; 2008
(Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*



FIGURE 3: Dülük Baba Tepesi, Iron Age contexts at the center of the plateau. Rubble wall with adjacent pebble floor; 2009 (Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).



*FIGURE 4: Dülük Baba Tepesi, Late Iron Age stamp and cylinder seals
(Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*



*FIGURE 5: Dülük Baba Tepesi, retaining walls enclosing the Roman sanctuary
(Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*



*FIGURE 6: Dülük Baba Tepesi, section of the basalt floor of the Roman period
(Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*



*FIGURE 7: Dülük Baba Tepesi, architectural décor of the main temple re-used in medieval walls
(Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*



FIGURE 8: Dülük Baba Tepesi, fragment of a composite capital probably belonging to the main temple (Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).



FIGURE 9: Dülük Baba Tepesi, Tuscan capital (Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).

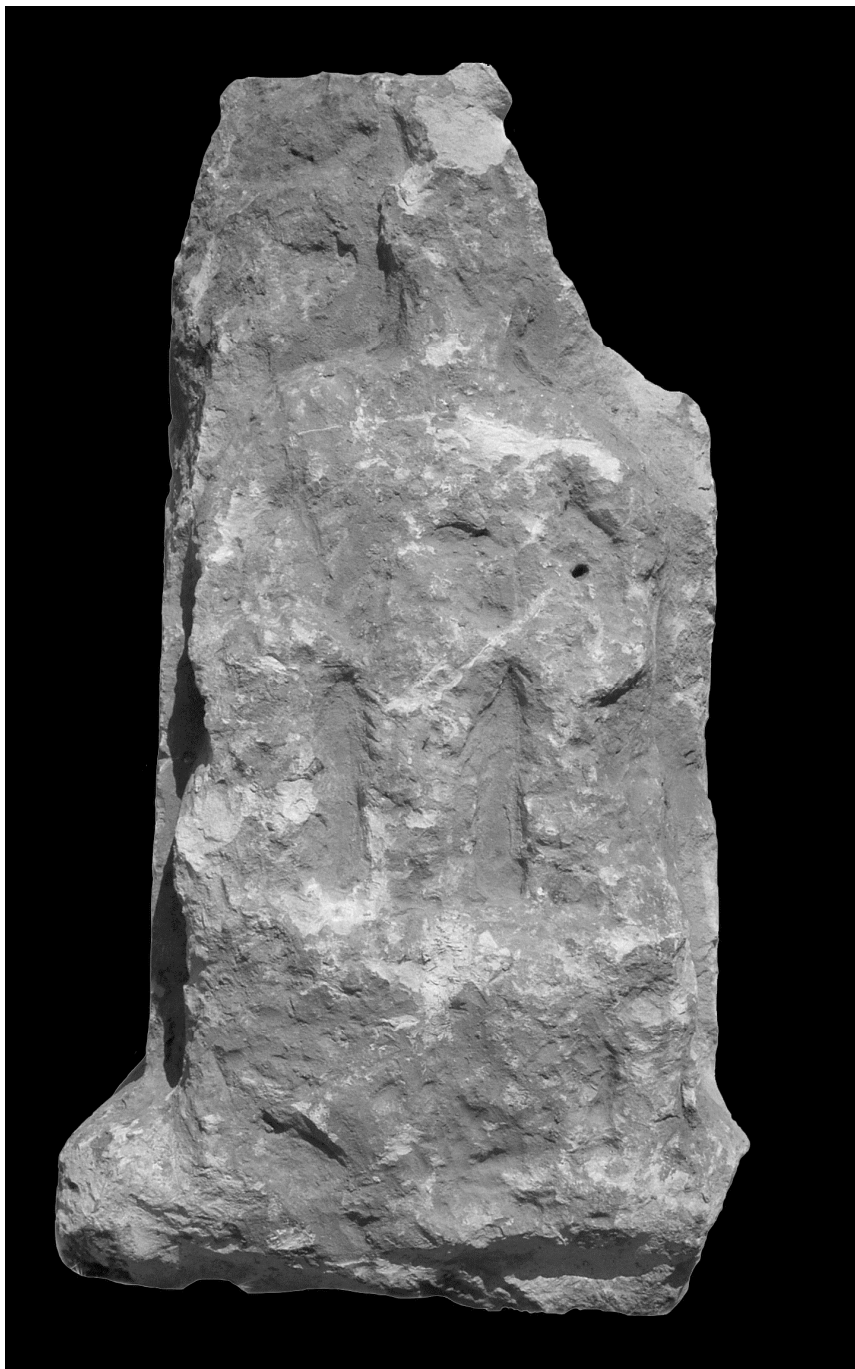


FIGURE 10: Dülük Baba Tepesi, heavily damaged altar with enthroned female goddess (Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).



FIGURE 11: Dülük Baba Tepesi, altar showing a hind (Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).



*FIGURE 12: Dülük Baba Tepesi, monumental male head, limestone
(Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*



*FIGURE 13: Dülük Baba Tepesi, fragment of a cuirassed statue, marble
(Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*



*FIGURE 14: Dülük Baba Tepesi, fragment of a female head, marble
(Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*



*FIGURE 15: Dülük Baba Tepesi, view of the late antique and medieval installations in the forecourt
of the sanctuary (monastery of Mar Salomon) (Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*



*FIGURE 16: Dülük Baba Tepesi, early medieval room of the monastery with storage vessel
(Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*



*FIGURE 17: Dülük Baba Tepesi, burial in the area of the former monastery
(Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*

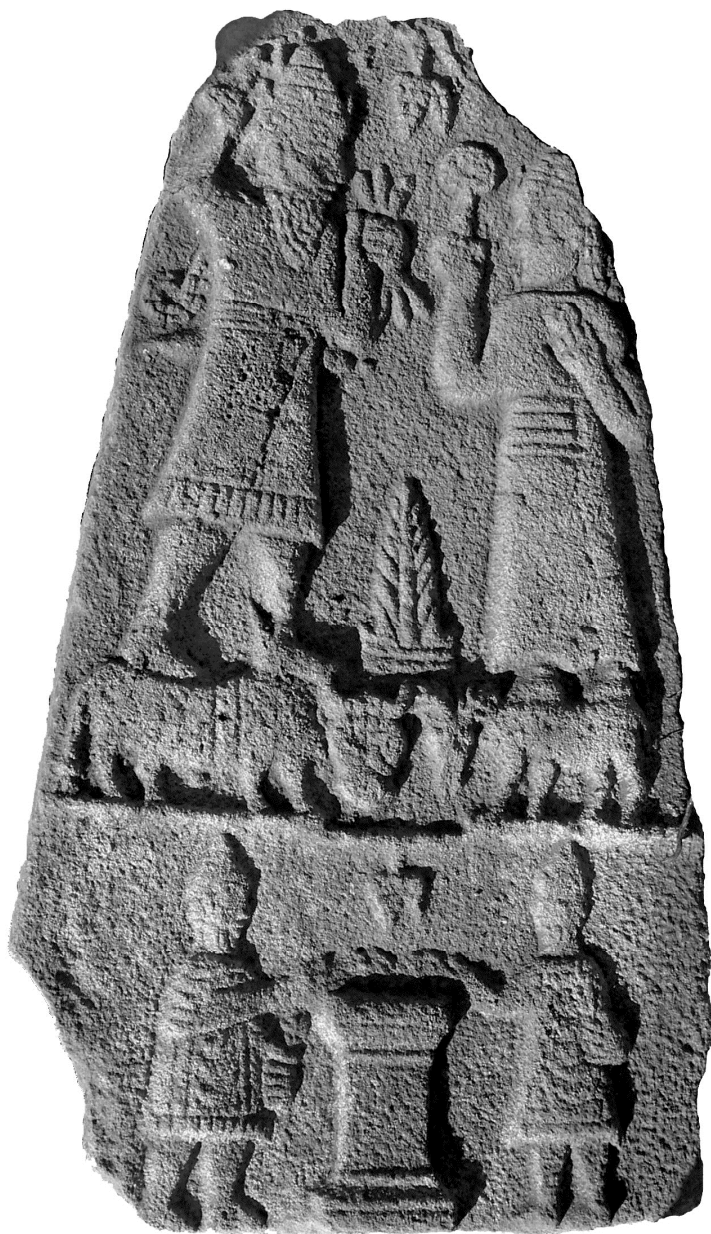


FIGURE 18: Düllük Baba Tepesi, basalt stele with the images of Jupiter Dolichenus and his female consort (Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).



*FIGURE 19: Dülük Baba Tepesi, bronze applique in the shape of Jupiter Dolichenus
(Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).*



*FIGURE 1: Altar from Dorylaion with Latin and Greek inscriptions
(FREI, Dorylaion = AE 2004, 1387; SEG 54, 2004, 1292).
Archaeological Museum Eskişehir inv. no. A-176-67 (Photo: FREI, Dorylaion 442 pl. 1, 1).*



*FIGURE 2: Fragmentary inscription in Latin from Zela in Pontos
(FACELLA/WINTER, Inschriften, 225–227 no. 3 = AE 2008, 1427),
reused in a medieval fortification wall (Photo: FACELLA/WINTER, Inschriften, pl. 35, 4).*



*FIGURE 3: Votive stele showing Jupiter Dolichenus, erected on behalf of the soldier Gaios Iulios Paulos, from Perrhe in Commagene (BLÖMER/FACELLA, Weihrelief = SEG 56, 2006, 1840).
Archaeological Museum Adiyaman inv. no. 8080 (Photo: Michael BLÖMER).*



*FIGURE 4: Rock relief showing a god on a bull turning to the right
(DURUGÖNÜL, Felsreliefs, 51 f. cat. no. 43),
Imamlı in the mountains of Cilicia Tracheia (Photo: DURUGÖNÜL, Felsreliefs, 247 fig. 47).*



*FIGURE 5: Fragmented relief depicting a god with pointed beard striding to the right, from
Alexandria (MOORMANN, Sculpture, 115 f.).
Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam inv. no. 7771 (Photo: MOORMANN, Sculpture, pl. 61).*



FIGURE 6: Gemstone showing a god standing on a bull in the guise of Jupiter Dolichenus, from central Syria (HENIG/MCGREGOR, Catalogue, 40 cat. 1, 101). Ashmolean Museum Oxford inv. no. 1913.95 (Photo: HENIG/MCGREGOR, Catalogue, fig. cat. 1, 101).



FIGURE 7: Quadrangular seal depicting a smiting god who is not standing on a bull, from Northern Syria (GARSTANG, Notes, 12). Current location unknown (Photo: GARSTANG, Notes, pl. 15).



*FIGURE 8: Basalt stele showing a god in the posture of a 'smiting god', brandishing his weapons and standing on an animal, recovered in Bakır in the south of Gaziantep (BLÖMER, Wettergottgestalten, 19 f.).
Archaeological Museum Gaziantep inv. no. 671 (Photo: Michael BLÖMER).*



FIGURE 9: Lower half of a basalt stele showing a bull and the legs of a god, from Bakır (BLÖMER, Wettergottgestalten, 19). Archaeological Museum Gaziantep, no inv. no. (Photo: Michael BLÖMER).



FIGURE 10: Stele depicting a god from Ceylanlı in the Amuq valley north of Antioch (PERDRIZET/FOSSEY, Voyage, 88 f.). Probably lost (Photo: PERDRIZET/FOSSEY, Voyage, pl. IV).



FIGURE 11: Gravestone of a Roman soldier with Latin inscription, from Doliche (FACELLA/SPEIDEL, Gravestone). *Archaeological Museum Gaziantep inv. no. 2009.34.1* (Photo: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).

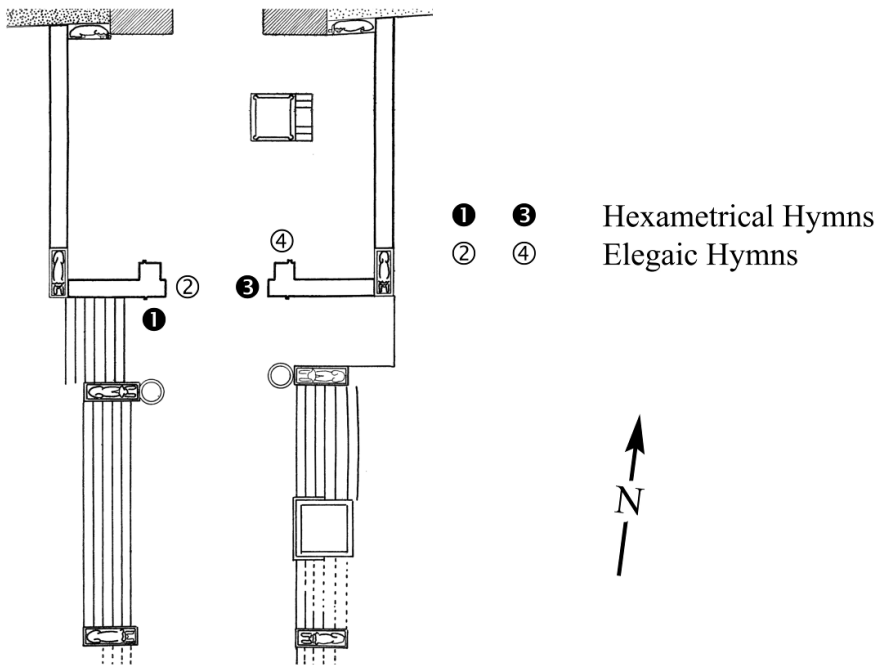


FIGURE 1: Placement of the Hymns of Isidorus at the gates of the temple at Medinet Madi (Plan: adapted from VOGLIANO, Secondo Rapporto, fold-out plate at the end of the book).

2. Mithreum

1:200

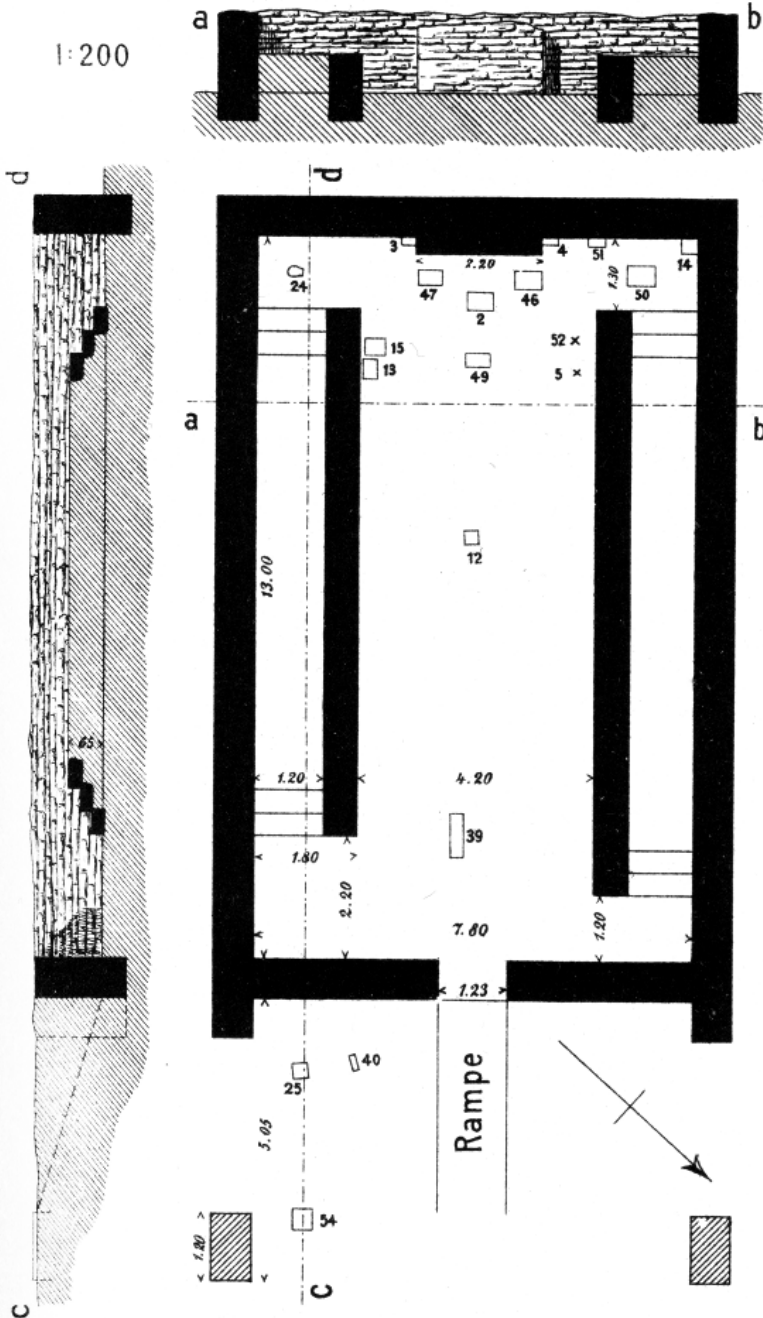


FIGURE 1: Grundriss des Mithräums 1 in Stockstadt (CIMRM II 1158)
 (Plan: DREXEL, Stockstadt, Taf. 5).



FIGURE 2: Vollplastische Darstellung der mithräischen Stiertötung aus Rom (CIMRM I 548).
Roma, Musei Vaticani; Museo Pio Clementino, Sala dei Animali Inv. Nr. 150
(Foto: Darius FRACKOWIAK).



FIGURE 3: Relief mit mithräischer Stiertötung aus dem Mitreo di San Stefano Rotondo in Rom
(LISSI CARONNA, Castra Peregrinorum 31–35). Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme di
Diocleziano Inv. Nr. 205837 (Foto: Darius FRACKOWIAK).



FIGURE 4: Sog. Großes Eleusinisches Weiherelief. Athen, Archäologisches Nationalmuseum Inv. Nr. 126 (Foto: <http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Eleusis2.jpg>).

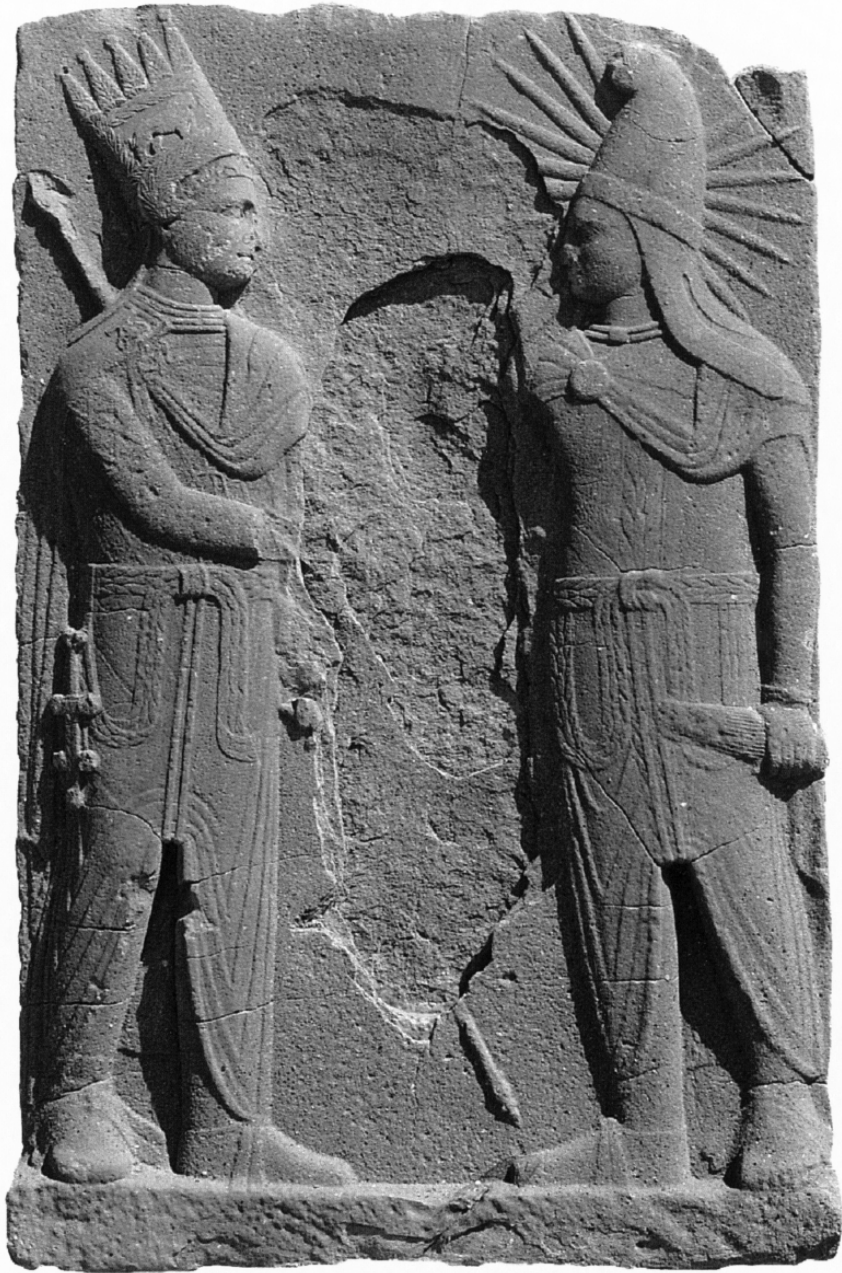


FIGURE 5: Stele aus dem Hierotheseion des Antiochos I. auf dem Nemrud Dağ in Kommagene, Türkei (CIMRM I 30) (Foto: MERKELBACH, Mithras, 266 Abb. 4).



FIGURE 6: Felsrelief mit der Investitur und dem Triumph des Königs Shapur II. bzw. seines Nachfolgers Ardaschir II. in Taq-i Bustan, Iran (Foto: VOLLKOMMER, Mithras, Nr. 25).

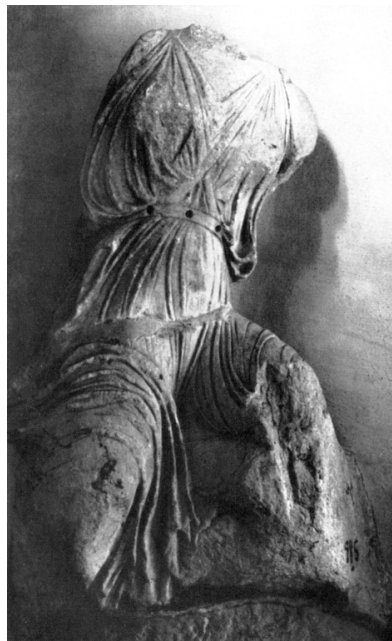


FIGURE 7: Fragmentarisches Relief mit Darstellung einer stiertötenden Nike von der Nikebalustrade auf der Akropolis von Athen. Athen, Akropolis-Museum Inv. Nr. 985 + 997 (Foto: CARPENTER, Nike Temple, 42 Taf. 17).



FIGURE 8: Rekonstruktionszeichnung des fragmentarischen Reliefs mit Darstellung einer stiertötenden Nike von der Nikebalustrade auf der Akropolis von Athen (Zeichnung: SAXL, Mithras, Taf. 6, Abb. 34).



FIGURE 9: Bronzener Klappspiegel mit Darstellung einer stiertötenden Nike aus Korinth. Athen, Archäologisches Nationalmuseum Inv. Nr. X 16115 (Foto: VOLLKOMMER, Nike, Nr. 170).



FIGURE 10: Calenischer Guttus (reliefgeschmücktes Libationsgefäß) mit Darstellung einer stiertötenden Nike. Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum Inv. Nr. 50.83 (Foto: VOLLKOMMER, Nike, Nr. 714).



FIGURE 11: Campanarelief mit Darstellung einer stiertötenden Victoria. Roma, Musei Vaticani, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco Inv. Nr. 14583 (Foto: VOLLKOMMER, Victoria, Nr. 258b).



FIGURE 12: Fragmente eines Frieses mit Darstellung einer stiertötenden Victoria aus der Basilica Ulpia auf dem Trajansforum in Rom. München, Glyptothek Inv. Nr. 348 und Paris, Musée du Louvre Inv. Nr. Ma 307 und Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme di Diocleziano (Foto: VOLLKOMMER, Victoria, Nr. 281).



*FIGURE 13: Bronzestatuette einer stiertötenden Victoria aus Halle/Saale (CIMRM II 1296).
Halle/Saale, Landesmuseum für Vorgeschichte
(Foto: VOLKKOMMER, Mithras aus Bronze, 402 Abb. 2).*



FIGURE 14: Relief des Cautopates mit Schlüssel aus dem Mithräum 1 in Stockstadt (CIMRM II 1163). Bad Homburg v.d.H., Saalburg-Museum Inv. Nr. St. 140 (Foto: Darius FRACKOWIAK).



*FIGURE 15: Statuette des Cautes mit Doppelaxt aus Sidon (CIMRM I 82).
Paris, Musée du Louvre Inv. Nr. AO 22261 (Foto: VOLLKOMMER, Mithras LIMC, Nr. 604).*

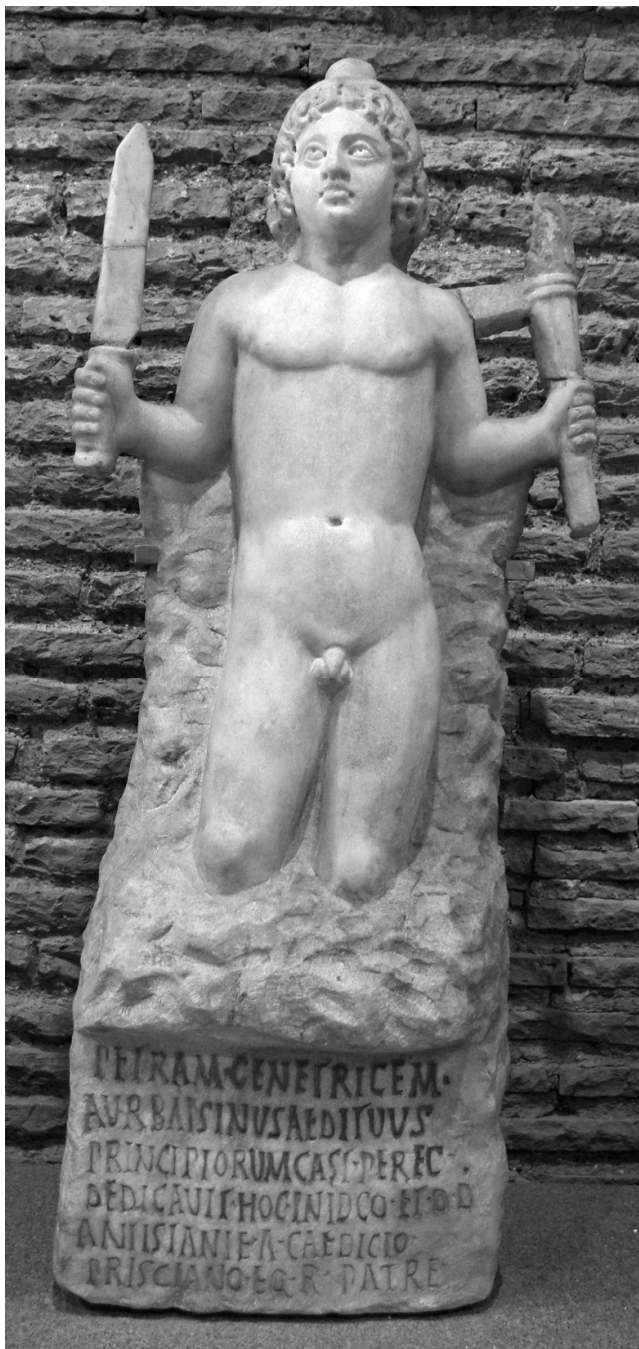


FIGURE 16: Statue mit Darstellung der mithräischen Felsgeburt aus dem Mitreo di San Stefano Rotondo in Rom (LISSI CARONNA, *Castra Peregrinorum* 29–31 = AE 1980, 48). Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano delle Terme di Diocleziano Inv. Nr. 205827 (Foto: Darius FRACKOWIAK).



FIGURE 17: Abdruck eines sassanidischen Siegels mit Darstellung der Epiphanie des Mithras aus dem Berggipfel des Hara Berezaiti. London, British Museum, Department of Oriental Antiquities Inv. Nr. BM 1932.5-17.1 (Foto: CALLIERI, Sasanian Iran, 81 Abb. 3).



FIGURE 18: Abdruck eines akkadischen Rollsiegels mit Darstellung der Epiphanie des Schamasch. London, British Museum Inv. Nr. BM 89115 (Foto: MOORTGAT-CORRENS, Statue Cabane, Taf. 38 Abb. 8).



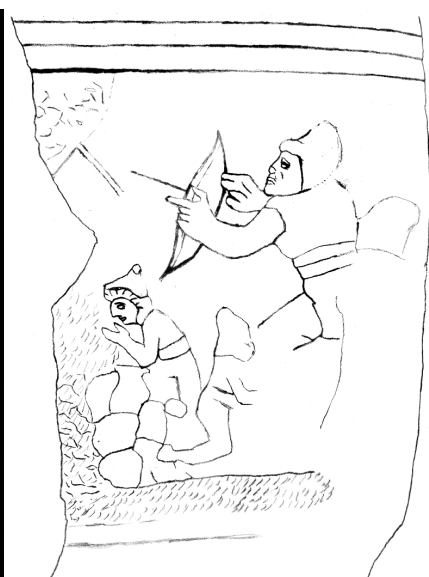
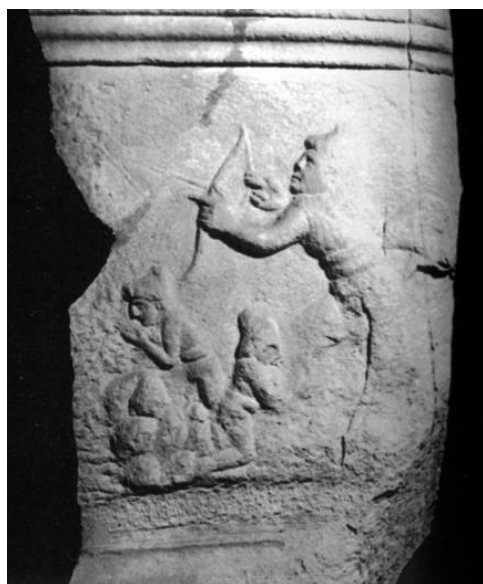
FIGURE 19: Sog. Statue Cabane, vollplastische Darstellung einer Berggottheit, früher als vermeintliche Felsgeburt des Sonnengottes Schamasch gedeutet. Museum Aleppo (Foto: MOORTGAT-CORRENS, Statue Cabane, Taf. 36 Abb. 1).



FIGURE 20: Relief mit Darstellung des Kampfes des Kaineus gegen die Kentauren vom Fries des Apollontempels bei Bassai-Phigaleia. London, British Museum Inv. Nr. BM 530 (Foto: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/4/47/Bassar_Frieze_1070.jpg?uselang=de).



FIGURE 21: Denar mit Darstellung der Bestrafung der Tarpeia, geprägt 19 v. Chr. (RIC I² 299)
(Foto: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/e9/Augustus_Denarius_2300268.jpg?uselang=de).



FIGURES 22-23: Altar mit Darstellung des mithräischen Wasserwunders aus dem Mithräum 3 in Poetovio/Ptuj (CIMRM II 1584/85). In situ, Inv. Nr. RL 293
(Fig. 22: Foto: MERKELBACH, Mithras, 374 Abb. 138. Fig. 23: Zeichnung: Darius FRACKOWIAK).

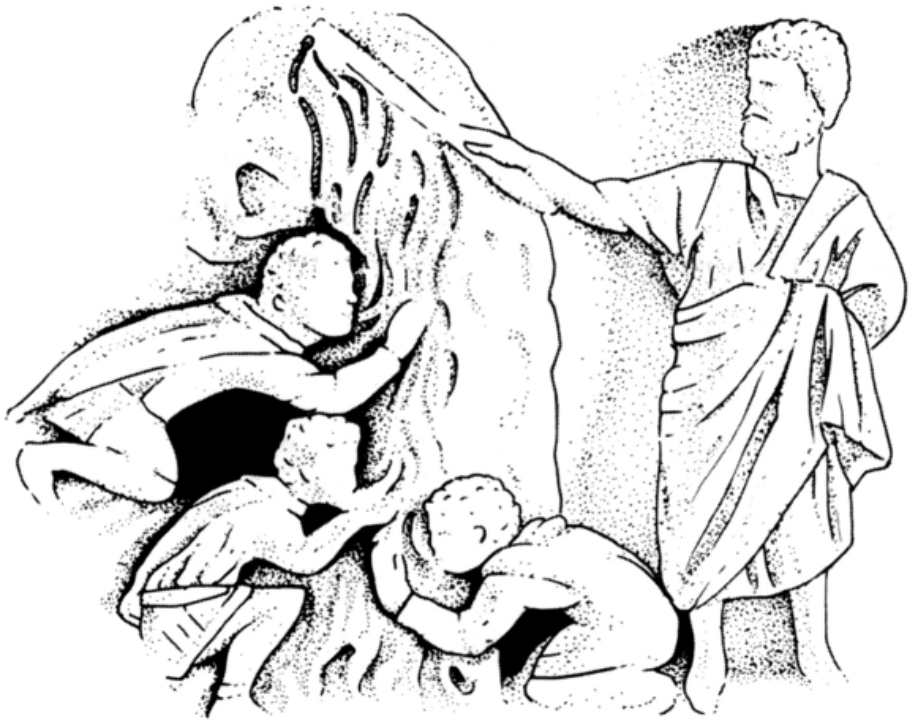


FIGURE 24: *Detail eines Sarkophags mit Darstellung des von Moses bewirkten Wasserwunders.*
Roma, Musei Vaticani, Museo Pio Cristiano Inv. Nr. 119
(Zeichnung: RENAUT, Moïse, Pierre et Mitra, 61 fig. 3).



FIGURE 1: Bronzenes Votivdreieck für den ‚Erhörenden Gott von Soumana‘ und Jupiter Dolichenus, eventuell aus Doliche (CCID 5). Privatbesitz (Foto: Archäologische Staatssammlung, München; Aufnahme: S. MULZER).



FIGURE 2: *Bronzenes Votivdreieck für Jupiter Dolichenus, eventuell aus Doliche (CCID 6). München, Archäologische Staatssammlung, Inv.-Nr. 1985, 4472 (Foto: Museum).*



FIGURE 3: Weihrelief des C. Iulius Paulus für Jupiter Dolichenus aus Perrhe in Kommagene. Adiyaman, Archäologisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. 8080 (Foto: M. BLÖMER).



FIGURE 4: Jupiter Dolichenus im Handschlag mit einem Kaiser (Augustus oder Tiberius?).
Tonsiegel aus der Gegend um Gaziantep, eventuell aus Doliche (CCID 12)
(nach: SPEIDEL, Himmelsgott auf dem Stier, 6 Abb. 2).



FIGURE 5: Jupiter Dolichenus im Handschlag mit einem vollbärtigen Kaiser (Antoninus Pius?).
Tonsiegel, wohl aus Doliche (nach: WEIB, Kommagene, 100 Abb. 146 f).



FIGURE 6: *Dexiosis zwischen Roma und Hadrian. Denar des Hadrian (BMCRE III Hadrian 581). London, British Museum, Inv.-Nr. G3,RIS.610 (Foto: © Trustees of the British Museum).*



FIGURE 7: *Hadrian erhält den Globus von Jupiter. Aureus des Hadrian (RIC II Hadrian 109). Münzkabinett der Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, Objektnummer 18204275 (Foto: Museum; Aufnahme: D. SONNENWALD).*

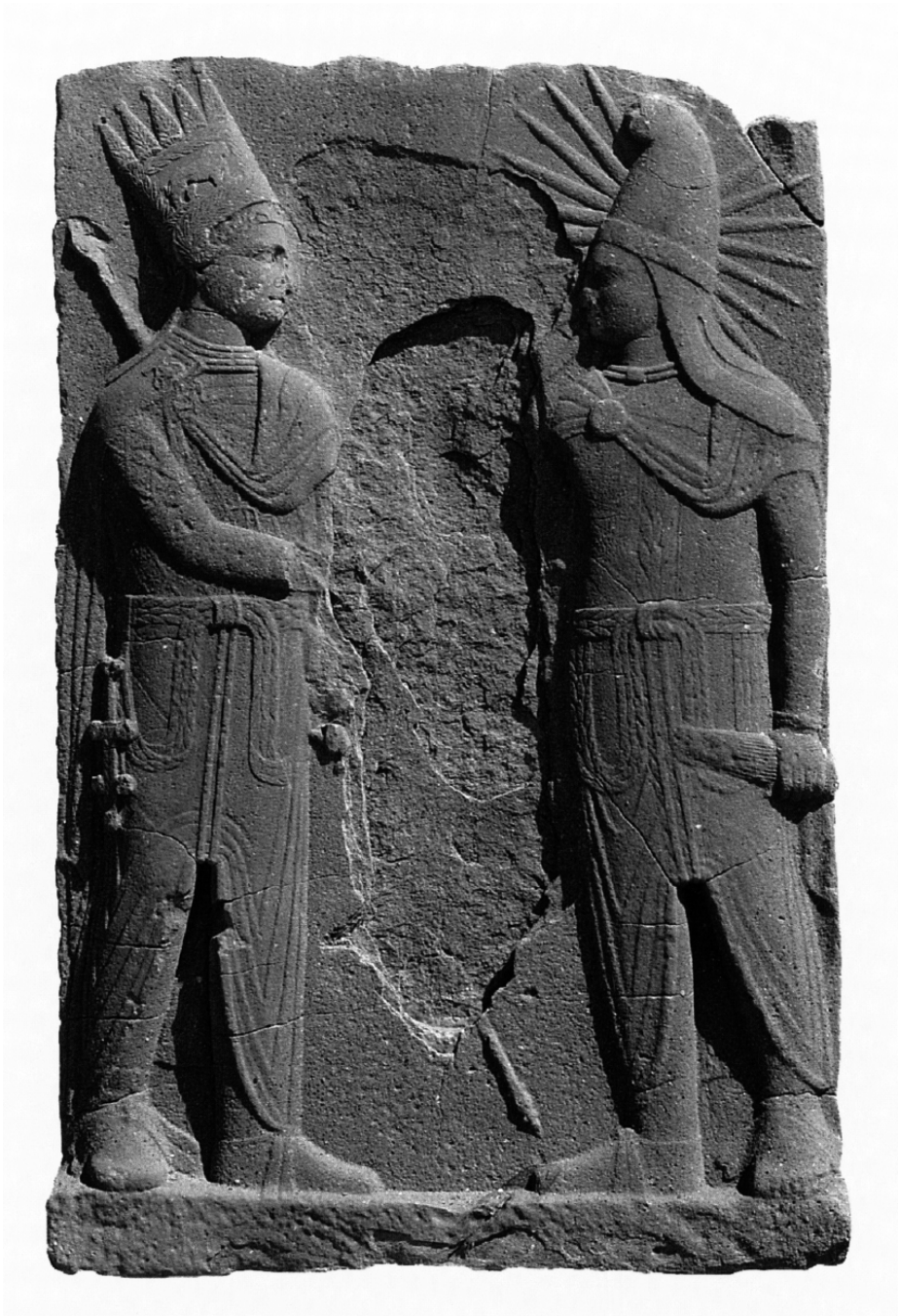


FIGURE 8: *Dexiosis* zwischen Antiochos I. von Kommagene und Apollon-Mithras-Helios-Hermes.
Reliefstele auf dem auf dem Nemrud Dağı (nach: WAGNER, *Gottkönige*, 82 Abb. 65).



FIGURE 9: Priester des Jupiter Dolichenus. Altar aus dem Heiligtum auf dem Dülük Baba Tepesi bei Doliche (CCID 2). Gaziantep, Archäologisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. 3567 (Foto: M. BLÖMER).



FIGURE 10: Votivdreieck für Jupiter Dolichenus, aus Frankfurt-Heddernheim/Nida (CCID 512). Wiesbaden, Stadtmuseum. Sammlung Nassauischer Altertümer Inv.-Nr. 500432 (Foto: Museum).



*FIGURE 11: Bronzestatuette des Jupiter Dolichenus, aus Mauer an der Url (CCID 291).
Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. M 1 (Foto: Museum).*



FIGURE 12: Weihrelief des Centurio Atilius Primus für Jupiter Dolichenus, aus Carnuntum (CCID 222). Bad Deutsch-Altenburg, Museum Carnuntinum, Inv.-Nr. 31
(Foto: Land Niederösterreich – Archäologischer Park Carnuntum, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg).



FIGURE 13: Votivdreieck des Centurio P. Aelius Lucilius für Jupiter Dolichenus; aus Kömlöd/Lussonium (CCID 201). Budapest, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Inv.-Nr. RR.10.1951.106 (Foto: Museum © MNM).



FIGURE 14: *Silbernes Votivblech für Jupiter Dolichenus, aus Mauer an der Url (CCID 298). Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. M 7 (Foto: Museum).*



FIGURE 15: *Rituell geschmückte Opfertiere an einem Suovetaurilienrelief. Paris, Musée du Louvre, Inv.-Nr. MA 1096 (Foto: © bpk / RMN 07-505259; Aufnahme: H. LEWANDOWSKI).*



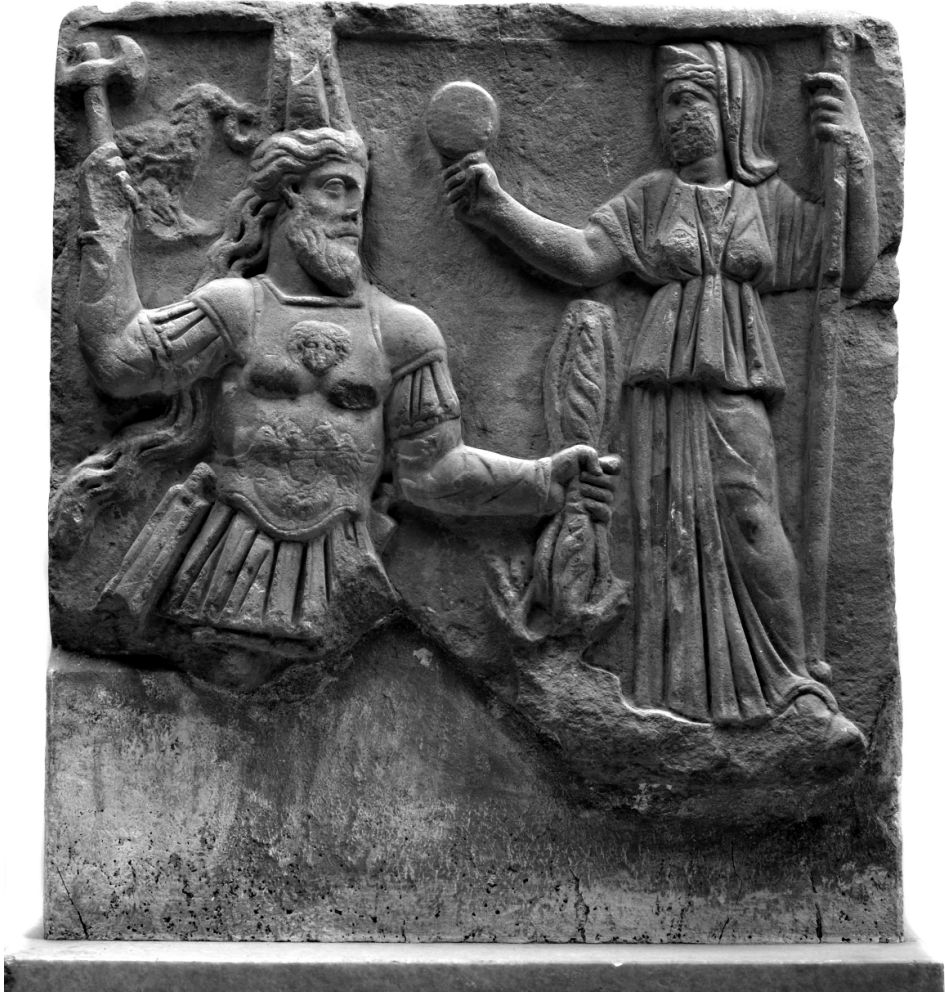
FIGURE 16: Jupiter Dolichenus und Juno Regina. Bronzene Statuettengruppe aus Mauer an der Urf (CCID 292). Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. M 2 (Foto: Museum).



FIGURE 17: Bronzenes Votivdreieck für Jupiter Dolichenus und Juno Regina, aus Mauer an der Url (CCID 294). Wien, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Inv.-Nr. M 4 (Foto: Museum).



FIGURE 18: Silbernes Votivblech für Jupiter Dolichenus, aus Frankfurt-Heddernheim/Nida (CCID 517). London, British Museum, Inv.-Nr. 224 (nach: CCID 517 Taf. 112).



*FIGURE 19: Weihrelief für Jupiter Dolichenus und Juno Regina; aus Rom (CCID 428).
Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (heute im Neuen Museum), Inv.-Nr. Sk 1778
(Foto: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/413014>).*



FIGURE 20: Wie Fig. 19; Zeichnung von Pirro Ligorio
(nach: MANDOWSKY/MITCHELL, Roman Antiquities, Taf. 61 a.).



FIGURE 21: Weihrelief des P. Albius Euhelpestus für Jupiter Dolichenus und Juno Regina (CCID 371).
Rom, Kapitolinische Museen, Inv.-Nr. 9744
(© Roma, Sovraintendenza Capitolina ai Beni Culturali – Musei Capitolini).



FIGURE 22: Weihrelief des M. Ulpius Chresimus für Sol Invictus; aus Rom (CCID 419).

Rom, Museo Nazionale Romano, Inv.-Nr. 78197

(Foto: <http://arachne.uni-koeln.de/item/marbilder/688577>. Aufnahme: B. MALTER).



FIGURE 1: Herm portrait of Caius Norbanus Sorex with inscription (CIL X 814 = RICIS II 504/0207); found within the Iseum in Pompeii. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. no. 4991 (Photo: HACKWORTH PETERSEN, Freedman, 55 fig. 32).

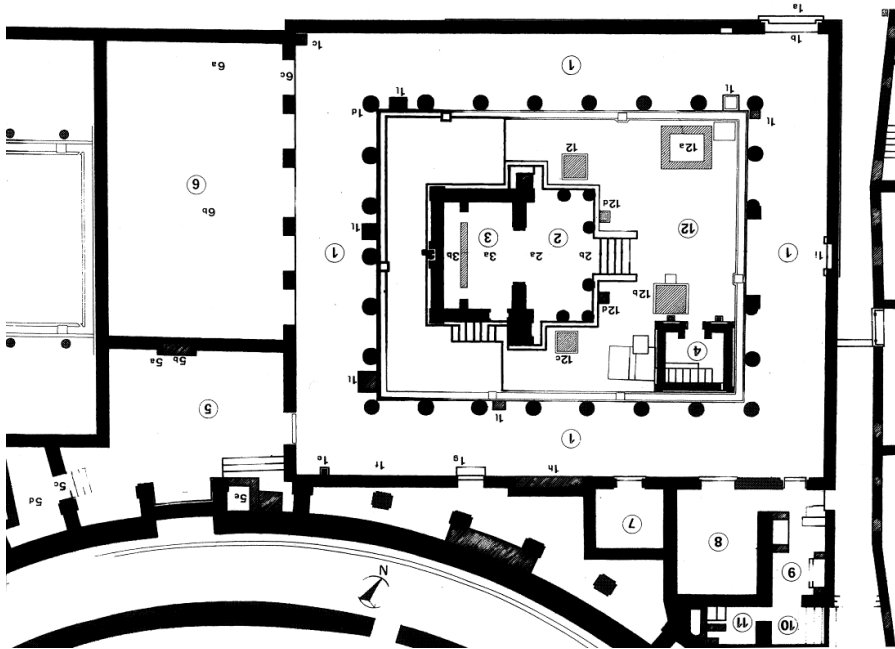


FIGURE 2: Plan of the Iseum in Pompeii (Drawing: KLEIBL, *Iseion*, 283 Abb. 29.1).



FIGURE 3: Fresco with theatre mask from the Iseum in Pompeii. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (Photo: Kathrin KLEIBL).



*FIGURE 4: Fresco showing a stage scene from the 'House of the Four Styles' in Pompeii (I.8.17)
(Photo: DENARD, Theatre, 152 Abb. 2).*



*FIGURE 7: Ariccia relief. Roma, Museo Nazionale Romano/Museo delle Terme, inv. no. 77255
(Photo: NIELSEN, Cultic Theatres, pl. 63).*



FIGURE 8: Temple and courtyard in the Iseum in Pompeii (Photo: Kathrin KLEIBL).

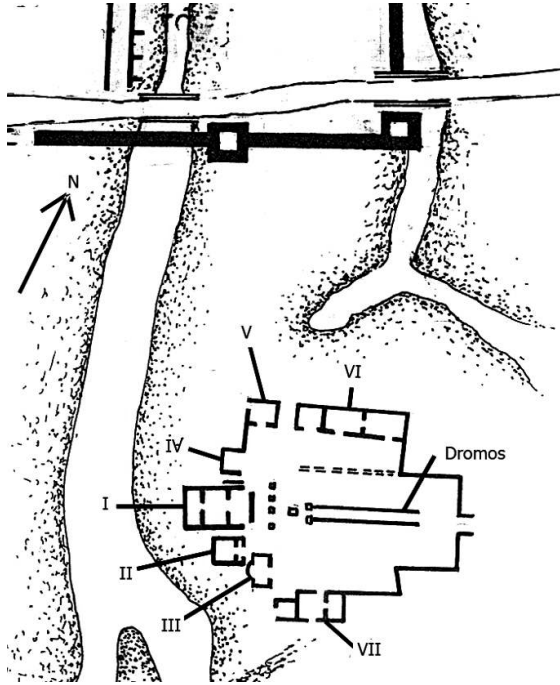


FIGURE 9: Plan of the sanctuary of Isis in Dion (Drawing: KLEIBL, *Iseion*, 203 Abb. 7.1).

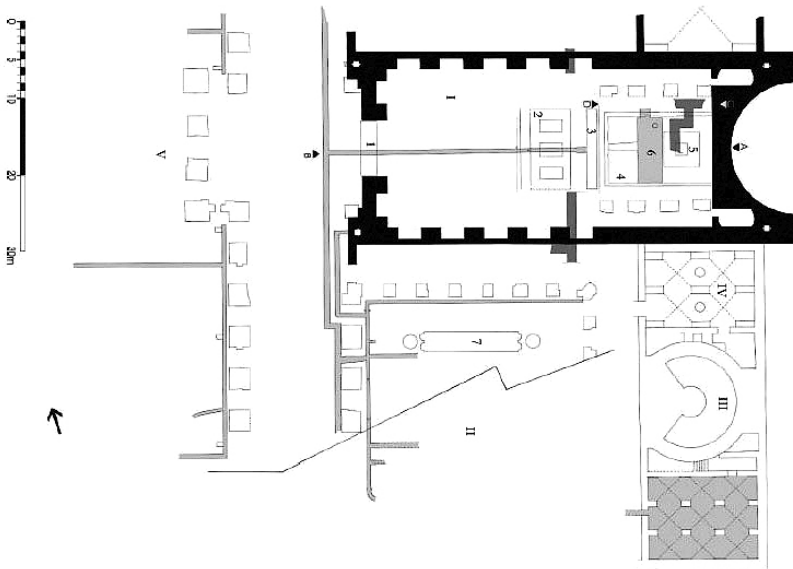


FIGURE 10: Plan of the sanctuary of the Graeco-Egyptian gods in Pergamum (Drawing: KLEIBL, *Iseion*, 239 Abb. 15.2).

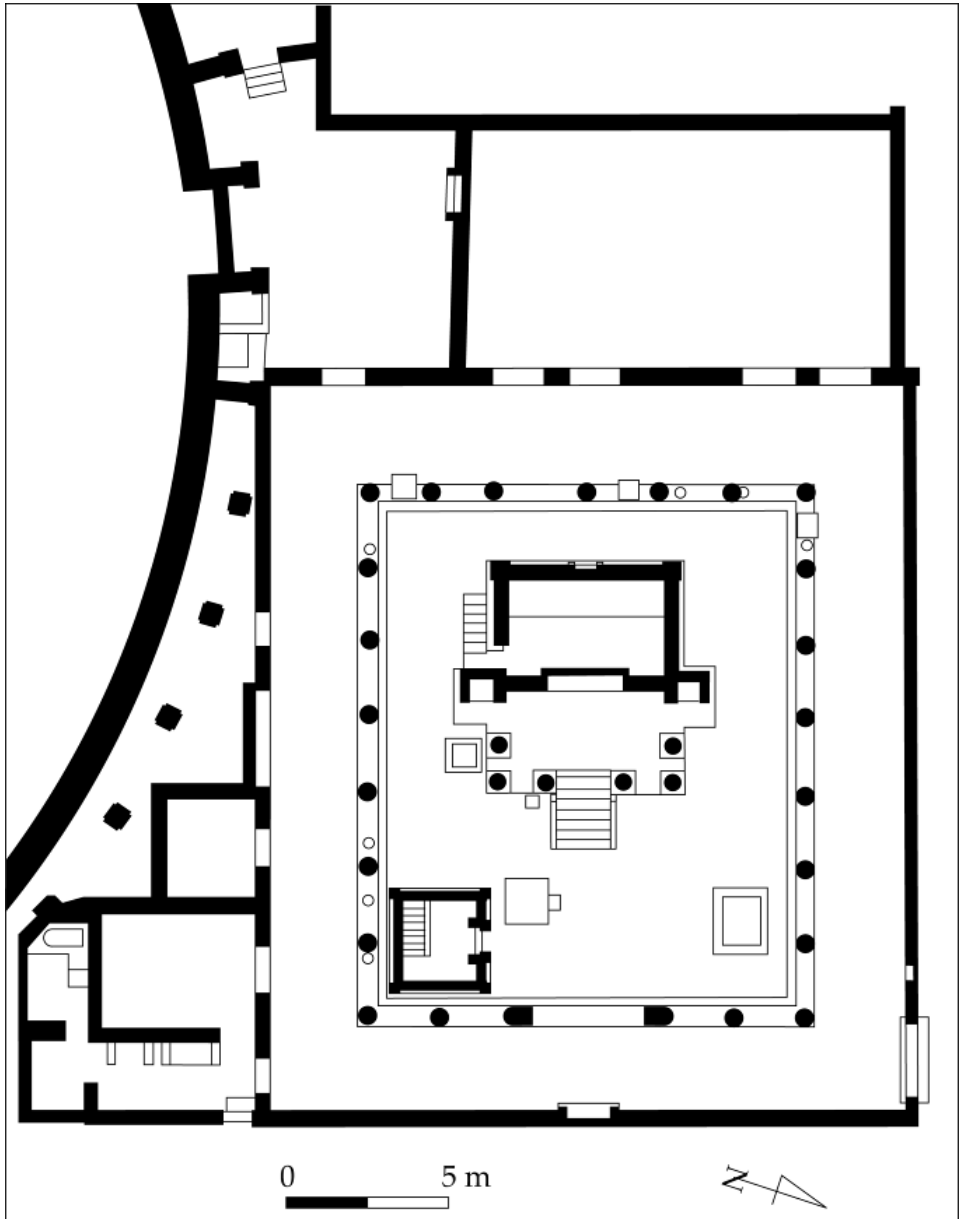


FIGURE 1: *The Iseum at Pompeii* (Plan: BLANC/ERISTOV/FINCKER, *Réfections*, 229).



FIGURE 3: Cult chapel of Ptolemy I Soter in Tuna el-Gebel. Hildesheim, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, inv. no. 1883 (Photo: Florence SARAGOZA, 2005).

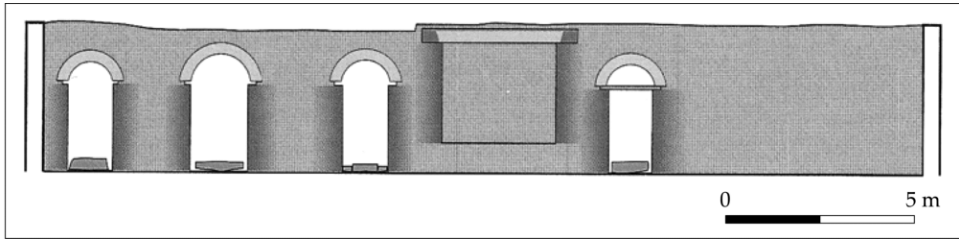
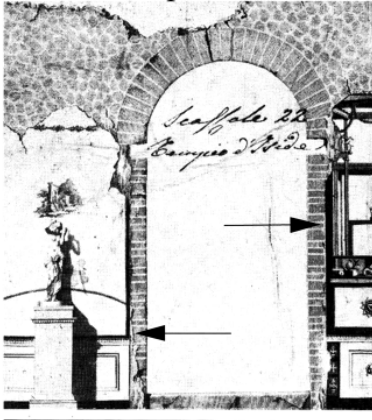
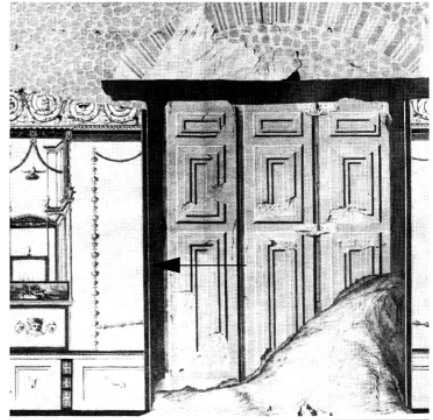


FIGURE 5: Elevation of the southern wall of the Portico (Drawing: BLANC/ERISTOV/FINCKER, Réfections, 240).

Walls with painted borders

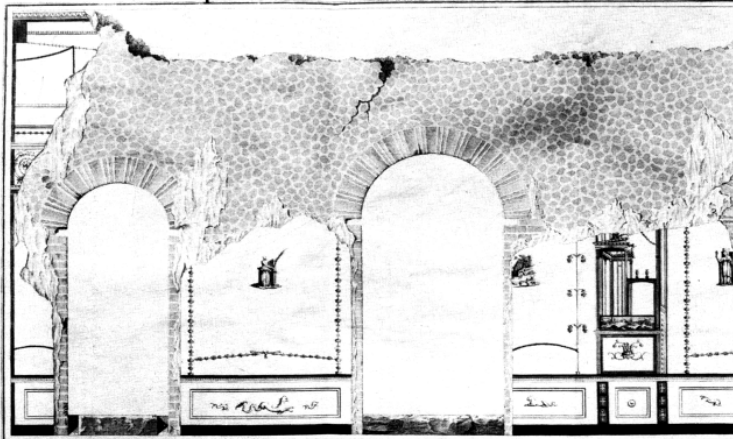


a. Western Wall



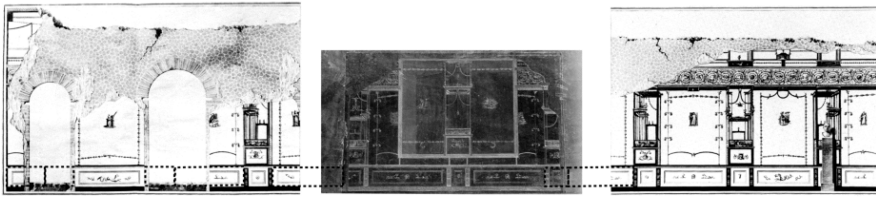
b. Northern wall

Wall without painted borders

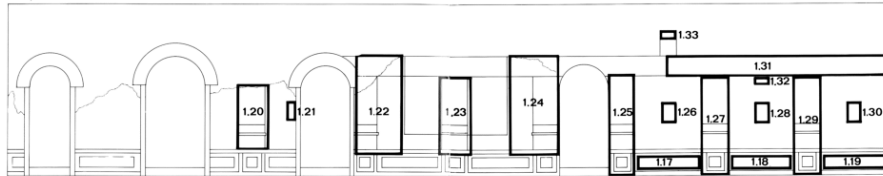


c. Southern Wall

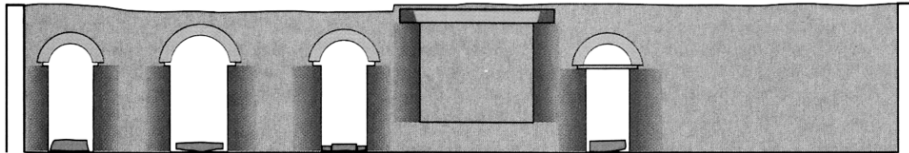
FIGURE 6: Doorways with or without painted borders (Drawings: Florence SARAGOZA, 2010).



c. New proposal



b. Sampaolo's reconstitution



a. Southern Wall Survey by Blanc, Eristov and Fincker

FIGURE 7: Reconstruction of the southern wall of the portico (Drawing: Florence SARAGOZA, 2010).

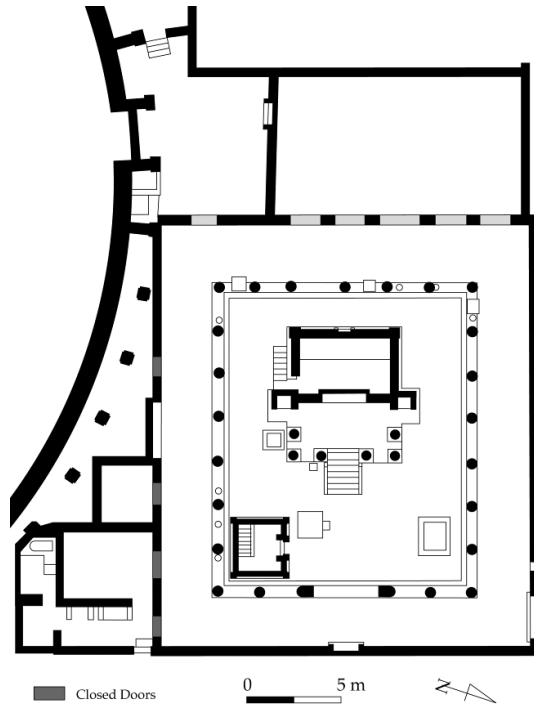


FIGURE 8: Location of the closed doors
(Plan: BLANC/ERISTOV/FINCKER, *Réfections*, 229, additions by Florence SARAGOZA, 2010).



FIGURE 9: Front view of the purgatorium (Photo: Florence SARAGOZA, 2009).

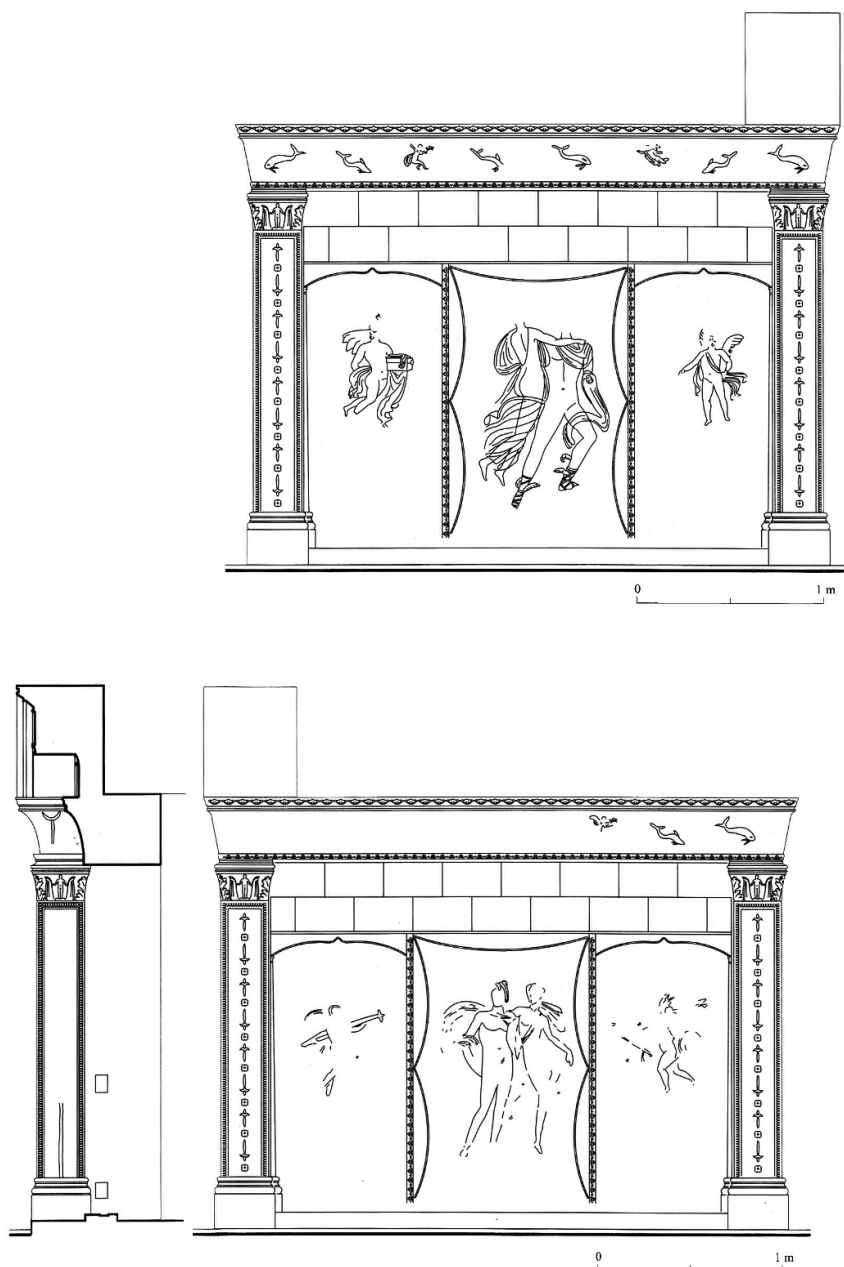


FIGURE 10: Mythological representations on the side walls of the purgatorium (Drawing: BLANC/ERISTOV/FINCKER, *Réfections*, 276).

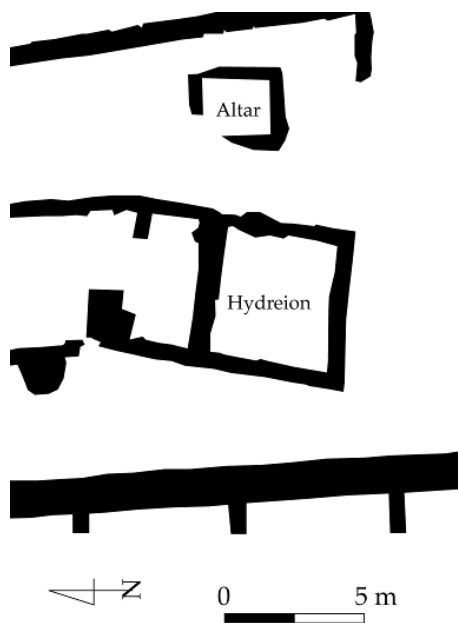


FIGURE 11: Plan of the hydreion in the Delian Sarapieion C (Plan: SIARD, Hydreion, 418).



FIGURE 12: Subterranean room under the purgatorium (Photo: Florence SARAGOZA, 2010).

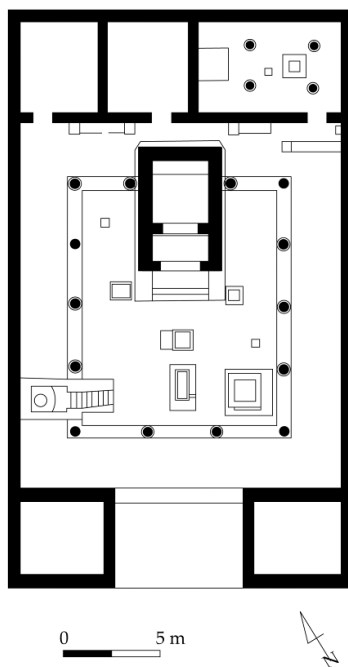


FIGURE 13: The Iseum at Baelo Claudia (Plan: DARDAINE/FINCKER/LANCHA/SILLIERES, Belo, pl. I).



FIGURE 14: Water Tank discovered in the Iseum at Pompei. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. nos. 78594 and 69816 (Photo: Florence SARAGOZA, 2010).

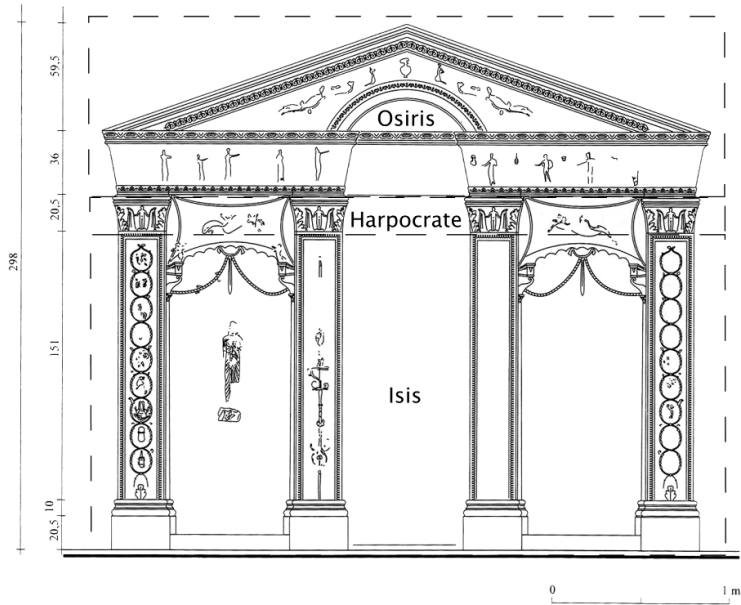


FIGURE 15: Interpretation of the iconographical motifs of the purgatorium (Drawing: Florence SARAGOZA and BLANC/ERISTOV/FINCKER, Réfections, 271).

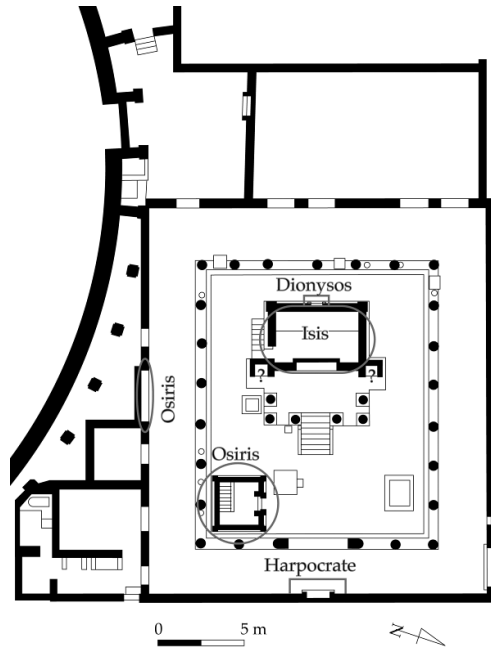


FIGURE 16: Location of the main gods in the Pompeian Iseum (Plan: BLANC/ERISTOV/FINCKER, Réfections, 229, with additions by Florence SARAGOZA).



FIGURE 1: Distribution of Mithraic temples in the Roman Empire, as known in 2012
(Drawing: A. HENSEN; Graphic: A. WEIHER, Cliffhouse, Wiesbaden)

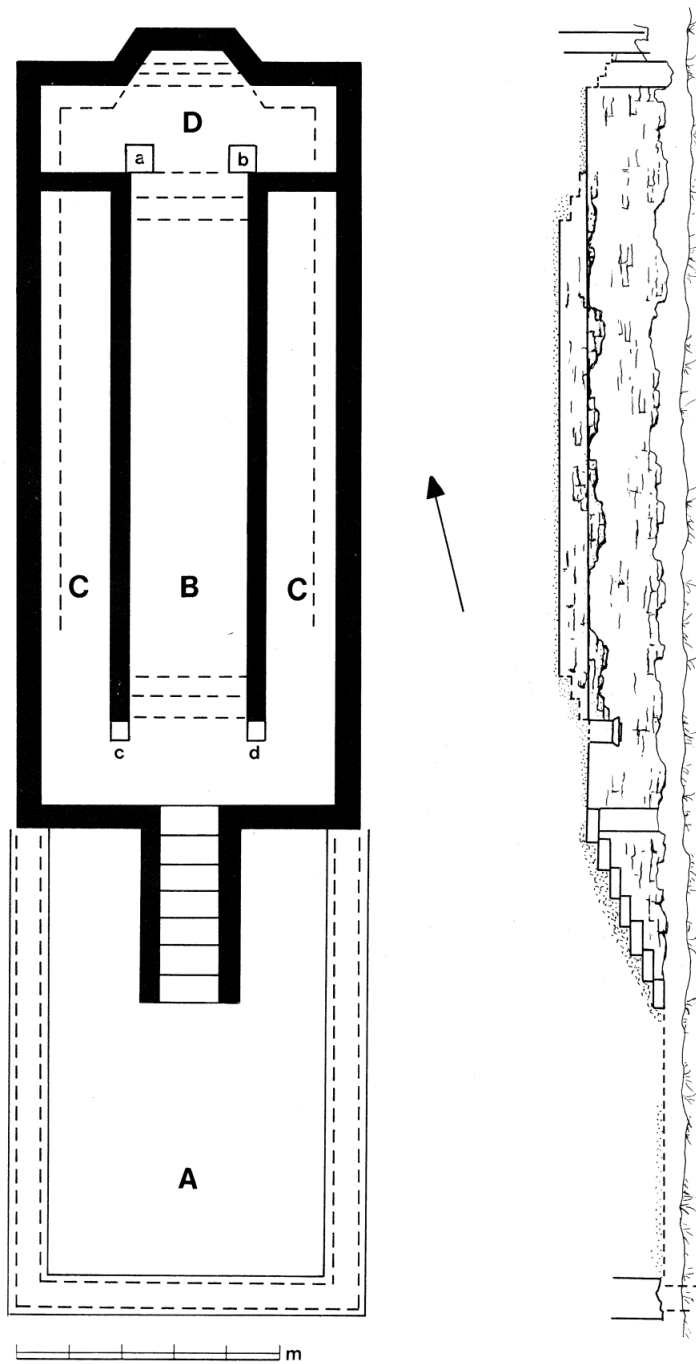


FIGURE 2: Ground-plan and section of Mithraeum II at Frankfurt-Heddernheim/Nida (CIMRM II 1108; Drawing: HULD-ZETSCHKE, Nida, 23 fig. 11).

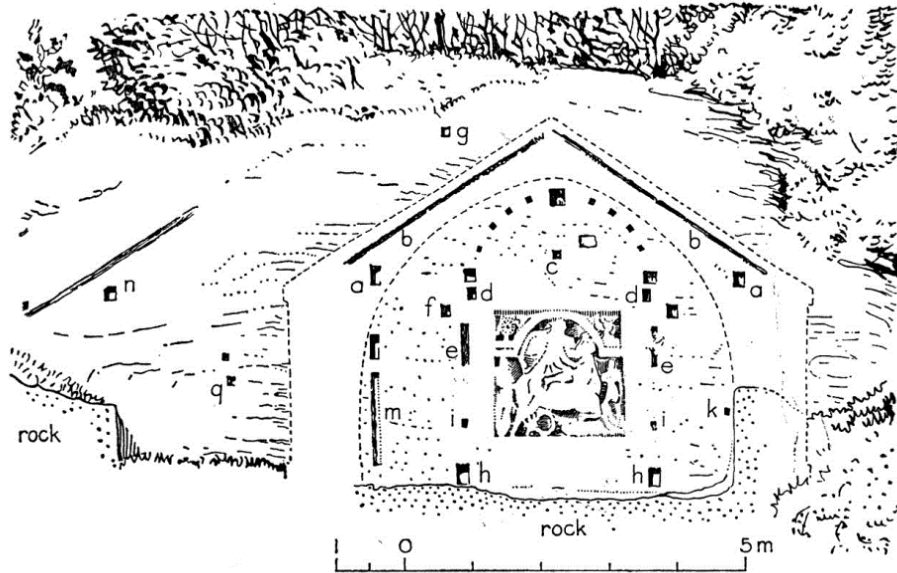


FIGURE 3a: The rock-cut mithraeum at Reichweiler/Schwarzerden (CIMRM II 1280/81).
View of the rear wall (Drawings: KRENCKER, Schwarzerden, 27 fig. 1).

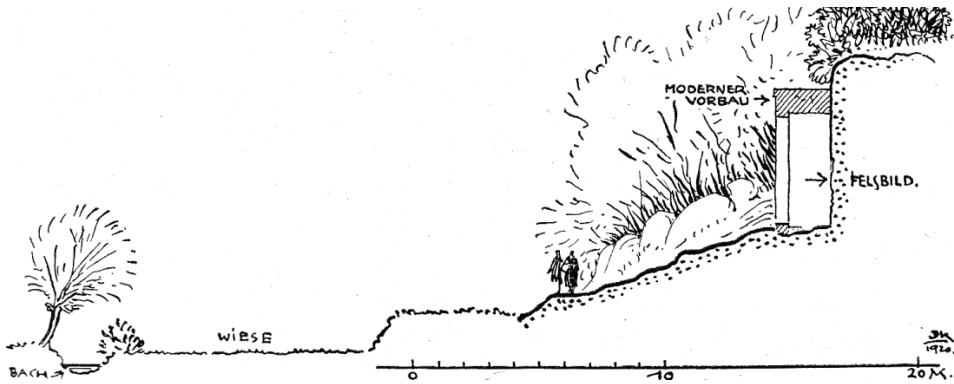


FIGURE 3b: The rock-cut mithraeum at Reichweiler/Schwarzerden (CIMRM II 1280/81).
Cross section, showing the topography (Drawings: KRENCKER, Schwarzerden, 29 fig. 3).



FIGURE 4: A cult-relief carved into the rock above the entrance to the cave at Močići (CIMRM II 1882; Photo: H. STROHM).



FIGURE 5: Damaged relief from the Mithraeum I in Stockstadt, showing six persons lying on a bench (CIMRM II 1175); Photo: Saalburg Museum).



FIGURE 8: Modern reconstruction of Mithraeum II at Güglingen (Photo: A. HENSEN).

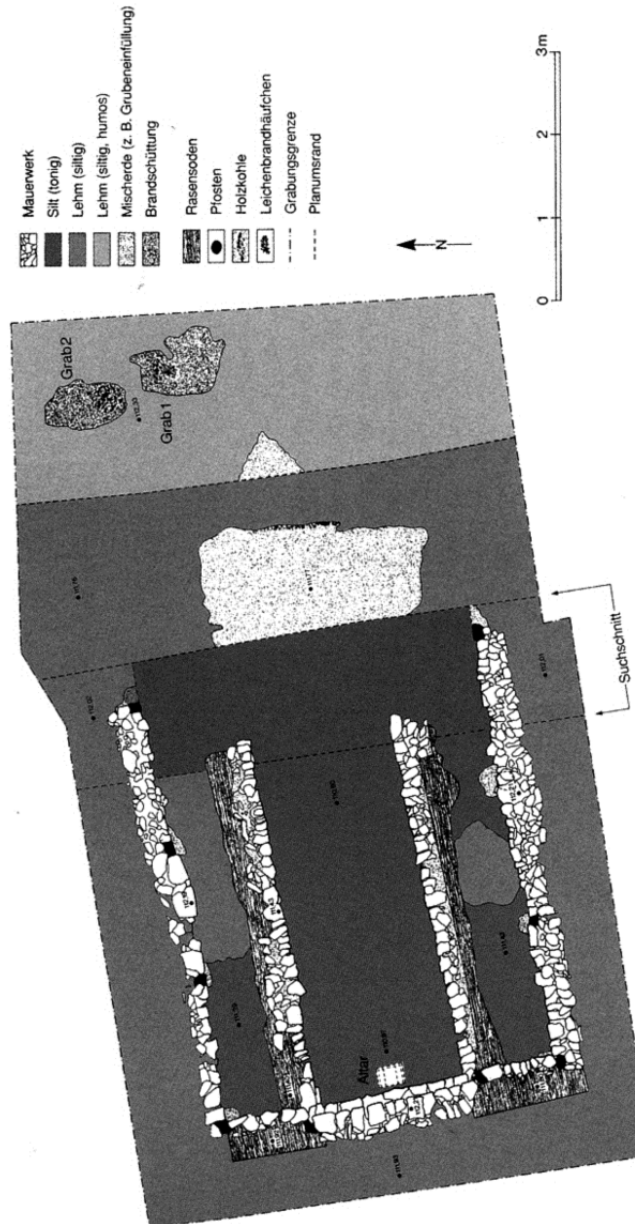


FIGURE 9: The mithraeum at Wiesloch with two graves situated in front of it (Drawing: HENSEN, Wiesloch, 32 f. fig. 1).



FIGURE 1: Image of 'Transitus' from Mithraeum I in Poetovio/Ptuj (CIMRM II 1494), late 2nd century AD. Pokrainski Muzej Ptuj inv. no. RL 142 (Photo: Museum).



FIGURE 2: View down the Mithraeum of S. Maria Capua Vetere towards the cult-fresco (CIMRM I 180/81); the podia were re-constructed in this form in the first quarter of the 3rd century AD (Photo: Richard L. GORDON).



FIGURE 3: Detail of head of Mithras from the fresco in the Marino Mithraeum (Vermaseren, Marino), c. AD 200/10 (Photo: Richard L. GORDON).



*FIGURE 4: Cast of the grand panelled relief from Osterburken (CIMRM II 1291), c. AD 230.
Original: Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe inv. no. C 118
(Photo: Museum für Abgüsse klassischer Bildwerke, München).*



FIGURES 5 a–b: Obverse and reverse of the reversible relief from Proložac Donji, near Imotski, Croatia (Gudelj, Mitre, 35–41), late 2nd century AD. Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika Split (Photos: Zoran ALAJBEG).

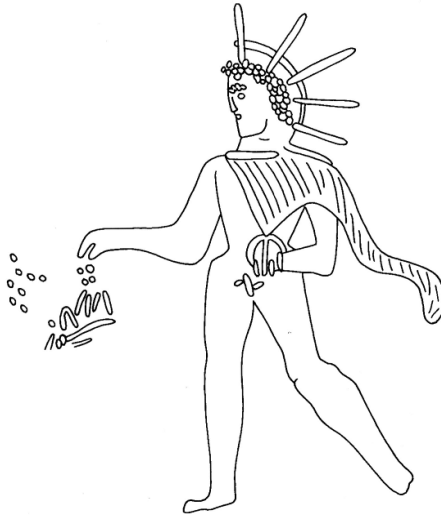


FIGURE 6: Sol/Helios offering incense at an altar. Pierced-rim incense burner from Cologne, Zeughausstraße (SCHWERTHEIM, Denkmäler 15a), 2nd century AD. Römisch-Germanisches Museum Köln inv. no. 58.289 (Drawing: Joanna BIRD).



FIGURE 7: Banquet of Mithras and Sol. Terra-sigillata dish from the Roman cemetery near St. Matthias at Trier (CIMRM 1988), 3rd or 4th century AD. Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier inv. no. 05.228 (Photo: Museum).

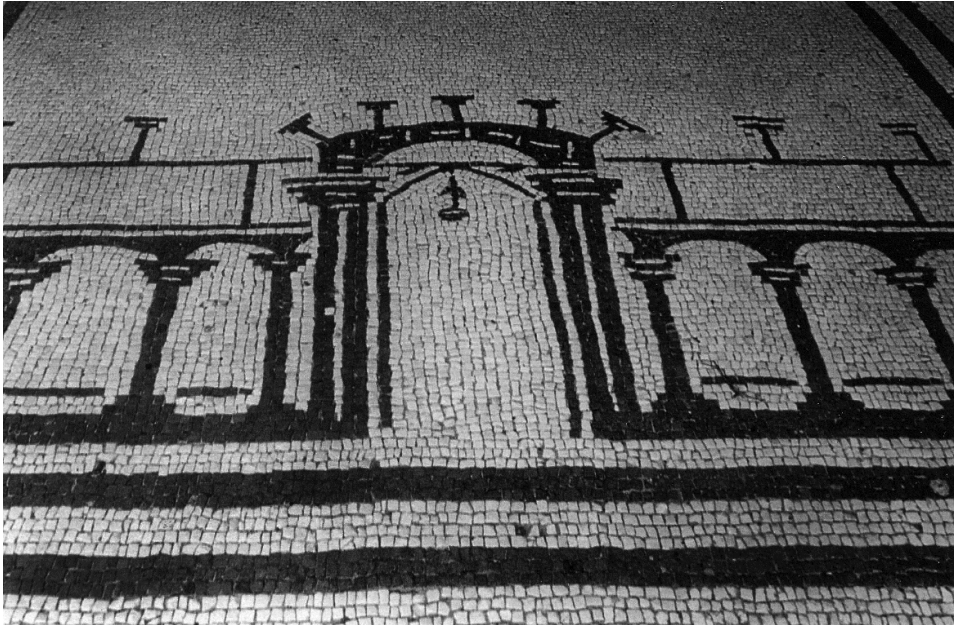


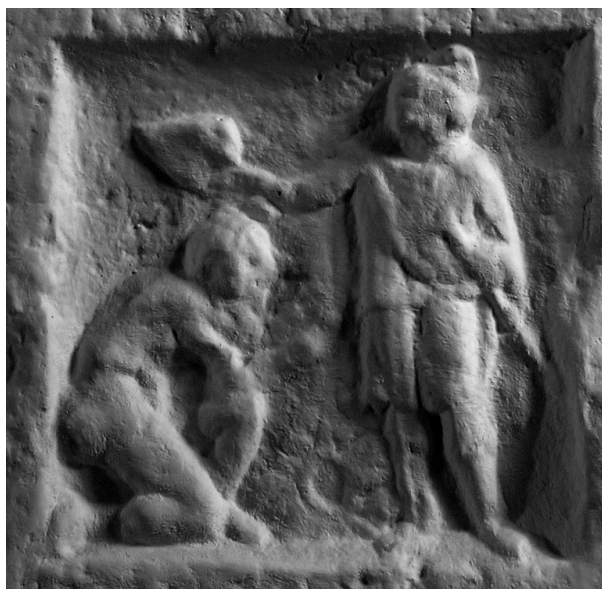
FIGURE 8: Threshold screen in mosaic, *Mitreo delle Sette Porte* at Ostia (CIMRM I 287), c. AD 160/70 (Photo: Richard L. GORDON).



FIGURE 9: Mithras born from rock, supported by *Cautes* and *Cautopates*, with *Saturnus* sleeping above. Mithras' future achievements are represented proleptically by the sword in his right hand and the torch in his left. From *Mithraeum III* at *Poetovio/Ptuj* (CIMRM II 1593), 3rd century AD. *Pokrajinski Muzej Ptuj*. inv. no. RL 296 (Photo: Museum).



*FIGURE 10: Dexiosis of Mithras and Sol-Helios. Cast of the Osterburken relief (CIMRM II 1291), right pilaster, third scene from bottom
(Photo: Museum für Abgüsse klassischer Bildwerke, München).*



*FIGURE 11: The 'initiation' or 'obeisance' of Sol. Cast of the Osterburken relief (CIMRM II 1291), right pilaster, fourth scene from bottom
(Photo: Museum für Abgüsse klassischer Bildwerke, München).*

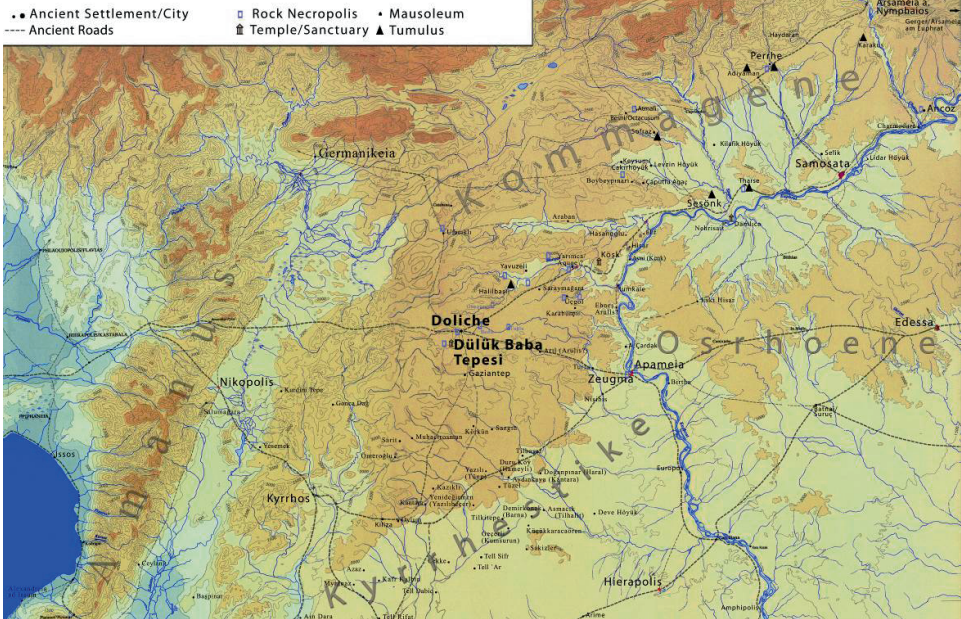


FIGURES 12 a–b: Two barbotine figures from the 'procession' face of the Schlangengefäß in Wetterauer Ware from the Ballplatz Mithraeum in Mainz (I. HULD-ZETSCHKE, Der Mainzer Krater mit den sieben Figuren, in: MARTENS/DE BOE, Roman Mithraism, 213–227), c. AD 120–40. (a) Pater; (b) Heliodromus. Archäologische Denkmalpflege Mainz, inv. no. FM 83-101. (Photo: Landesarchäologie Mainz).



FIGURE 13: Bull's head on the mosaic floor of the Mitreo degli Animali at Ostia (CIMRM I 278/79), c. AD 160 (Photo: Richard L. GORDON).

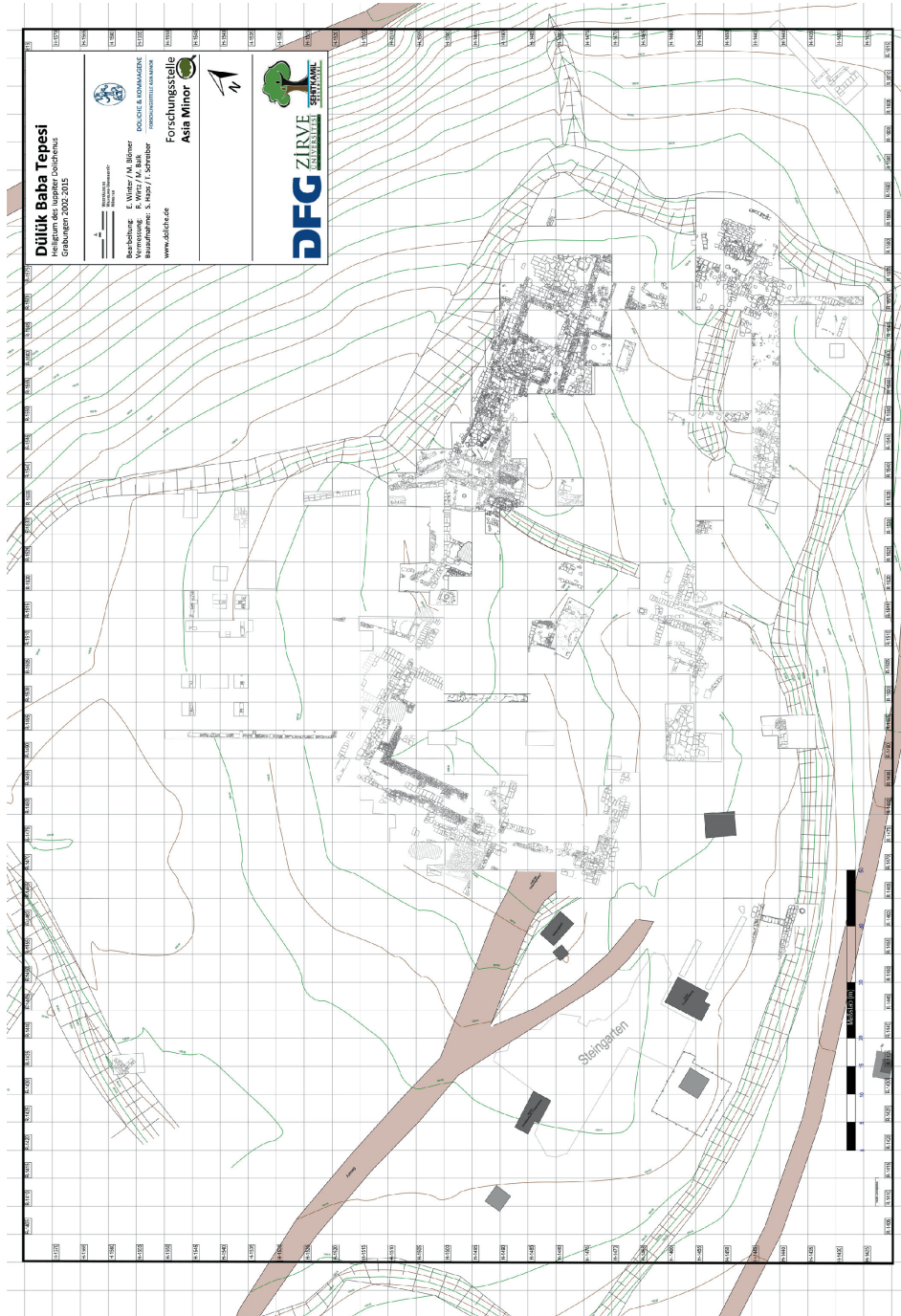
Northern Syria in Hellenistic and Roman Times



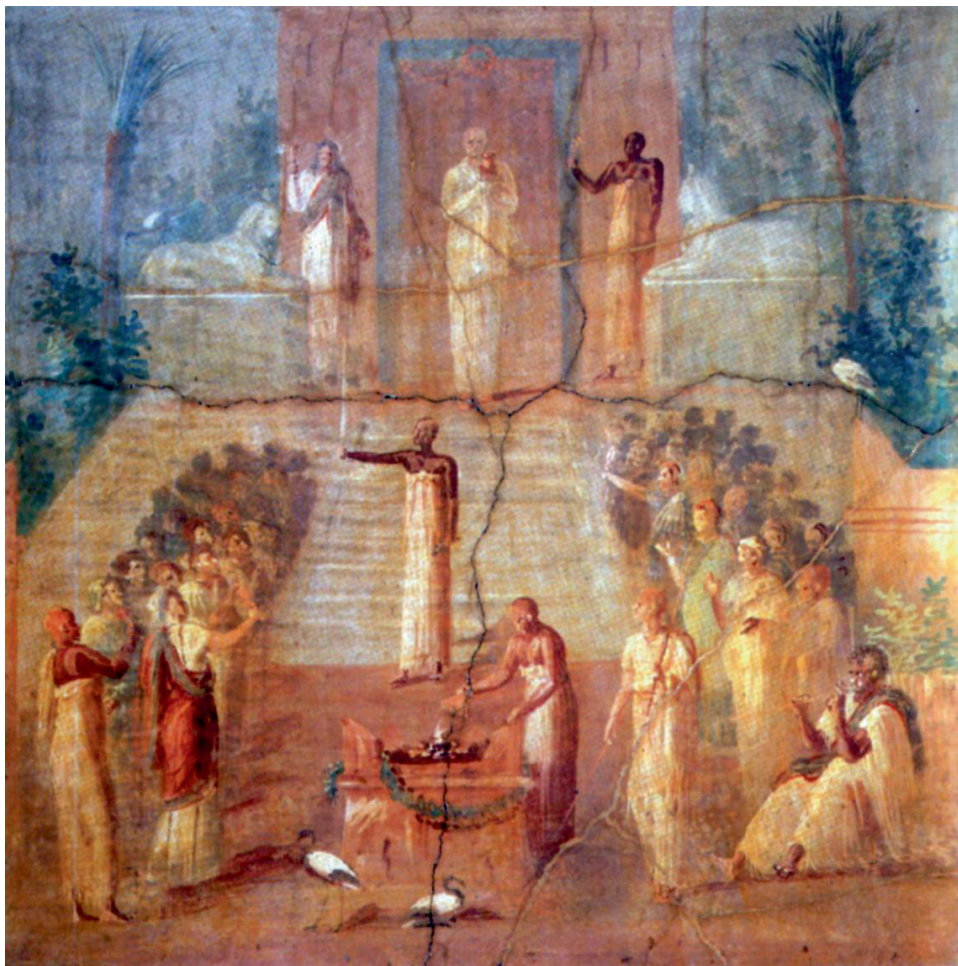
MAP 1: Map of Roman North Syria (Drawing: Michael BLÖMER).



MAP 2: Dülük Baba Tepesi, general plan of the hill top (Drawing: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).



MAP 3: Dülük Baba Tepesi, plan of the central area of the sanctuary
(Drawing: Forschungsstelle Asia Minor).



*FIGURE 5: Fresco from Herculaneum. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli
(Photo: KLEIBL, Iseion, Taf. 25.2).*



*FIGURE 6: Fresco from Herculaneum. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli
(Photo: KLEIBL, Iseion, Taf. 26.1).*



FIGURE 2: Representation of an Anubophorus, western wall of the portico. Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, inv. no. 8920 (Photo: Florence SARAGOZA, 2009).



FIGURE 4: View of the southern wall of the portico. Model in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (Photo: Florence SARAGOZA, 2009).



FIGURE 6: The vicus of Göglingen with its two mithraea (Plan: Regierungspräsidium Stuttgart, Archäologische Denkmalpflege).

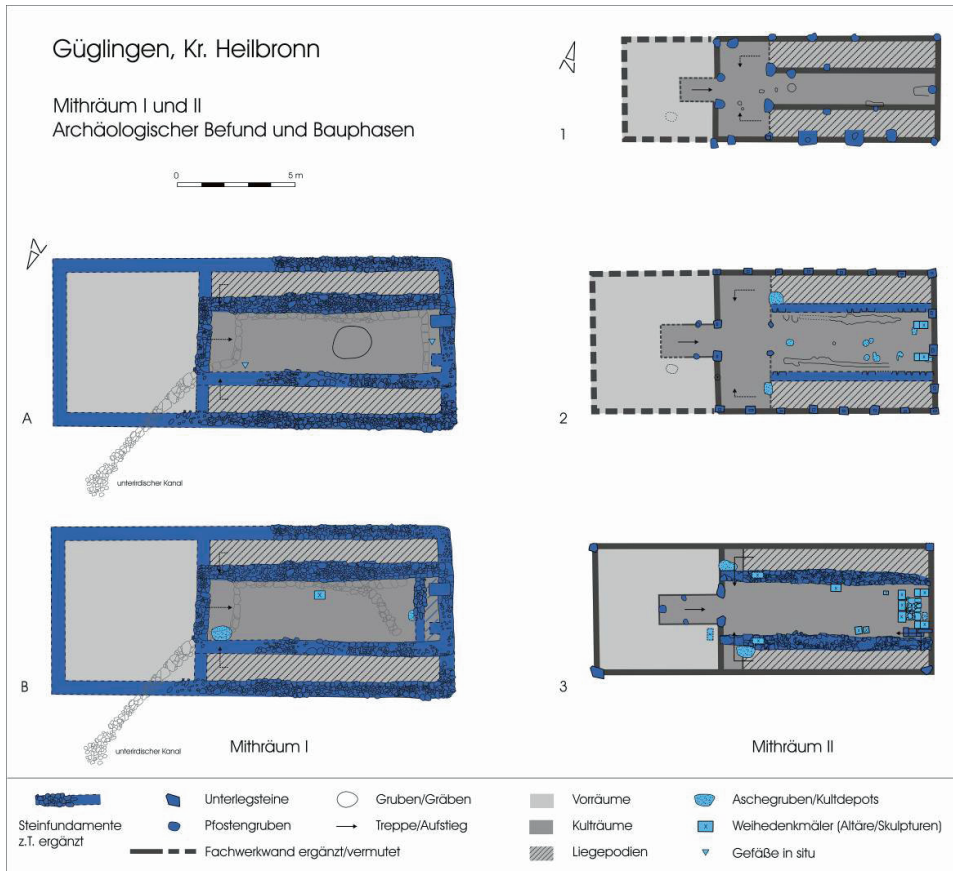


FIGURE 7: The construction-phases of the two mithraea at Güglingen
(Drawing: KORTÜM/NETH, *Mithras*, 226 fig. 274).