The Suffering of Isis in Rome (80 B.C. - 37 A.D)
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Introduction
Isis's cult was the longest surviving one of all Egyptian gods; her cult continued till 543 A.D., when the Roman Emperor Justinian I closed the temple of Phila\(^1\). Isis nature in the Hellenistic world changed dramatically, through syncretism, as she was identified with many Greek goddesses such as Demeter\(^2\), Aphrodite, Athena, Persephone and Hera, she was regarded also as a universal goddess with great attributes; she is responsible for the creation of civilization, the patron of sailors, and the protector of the family, which secure a great success for her cult in the Hellenistic world. Furthermore, Isis’s connection to Osiris, as his sincere sister and wife, added to her cult in the Hellenistic world great aspects concerning her ability to vanquish death through magic instead of her traditional role in the divine foundation of the Egyptian monarchy. She became the center of a mystery cult that offered salvation to her initiates and became a potent rival of Christianity\(^3\).

The cult of Isis was among the first Egyptian cults to spread through the Mediterranean world; her Hellenization process occurred in Egypt itself accompanying the creation of the cult of Serapis during the 4th century B.C\(^4\). By the 2nd century B.C. Isis and Serapis were already known in Italy, their worship seems to have been carried there by merchants, legates and lesser government-officials, and to have spread from Rome through the Italian peninsula and beyond\(^5\) reaching the Great Britain\(^6\).

Isis became the beloved goddess of Roman merchants on their way to the Delian market. Numerous Egyptians; merchants, slaves, physicians, members of the cultural and scientific community of Alexandria, entertainers, craftsmen, sailors and athletes had already settled in Italy and their arrival gave a strong boost to the spread of the cult of Isis in Rome\(^7\), especially in

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2) Herodoute identified Isis as Demeter, who was a Greek grain-goddess connected with a story of death and resurrection similar to the Osiris myth. Green, L., *Isis: The Egyptian Goddess who endured in the Graeco-Roman World*, in: *K.M.T* (5/4), 1994-1995, p. 64. Isis was searching for Osiris and Demeter searching for Persephone was obvious to an intellectual climate that sought to find similarities rather than emphasize differences. The connection between Isis-Demeter lets Plutarch to identify Osiris with Dionysos, according to their similar attributes, and the connection of Dionysios with Demeter in the Eleusinian Mysterious, Baring, A and Cashford, J., *" Isis of Egypt: Queen of Heaven, Earth and Underworld", in: The Myth of the Goddess., London, 1991, p. 268*
5) Green, L. *Op. Cit*, p.66
6) About the worship of Isis and Serapis in the Great Britain see Eve and Harries, J., " The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain, *EPRO* (6), Leiden, 1965, pp.74-95
Puteoli (modern Pozzuoli) and Pompeii; which proved to be the pathway for the spread, not only for the cult of Isis, but also for other Egyptian cults, who entered in Italy in the cycle of Isis (1). The construction of the ports of Ostia in Campania, represented later the privilege route for trade between central Italy and Rome with oriental and African countries, this commercial’s relation enables the cult of Isis- Fortuna to be widely spread (pl.1)(2); this means that Isis’ cult was not restricted to trading zones, harbours and places with high levels of immigrations in Rome, but it spreads till the central areas of the city itself during the 5th century B.C(3). Isis’s connection with navigation “Isidis Navigium”(4) and sailors was one of the most important attributes which enables great approval for her cult in the Hellenistic world, sailors from different nations adored Isis and the goddess had taken on a variety of names: Isis Epikoo (of ready help), Isis Pelagia, Isis Euploia (of fortunate sailing), Isis Pharia, a name that attests to the importance of the link with the Pharaos lighthouse of Alexandria (5), moreover her name as Isis Dioscuri (the Saviours); was considered the guardians of the ships and the sailors in the sea. Many Alexandrian ships, in their ways to Italy, carried names reminding onlookers of the divine protection that saved them from the time they sailed away fromPharos. An Italian ship-owner is called “Paul” sailed o Puteoli with a vessel named the Dioscuri which means “made saviours” by Isis, a vessel with a figure of a little goose, a creature sacred to Isis, painted in gold on the stern(6), with the name of the goddess on either sides of the prow. Along the shores of Campania and Latium in the Hellenistic and Imperial times, the Alexandrian faith and the name of Isis, especially the name of Isis was the guarantee of safe to the ships and the seafarer in the whole world(7).

Isis began her cult in Rome under the Republic (8), Traders and priests had brought some knowledge of the cult to various ports around the Mediterranean, especially at Rhodes, even

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4) A public festival attested from the 1st century A.D, at March 5 of every year, in which the lunching of a new ship by the high priest consecrated to Isis, decorated with Egyptian scenes using a burning torch, an egg and sulphur, the ship was then named and dedicated to Isis, on its sail a prayer was inscribed, asking for safe navigation during the new season. Lipka, M., *Roman Gods: A Conceptual Approach*, EPRO (167), Leiden, 2009, pp.105-106. The festival is probably represented on the walls of the Pompeian Iseum, represent a female figure standing in one of the barques of Isis seeking and finding Osiris. Alföldi, A., *Op. Cit*, p.46; Griffiths, J., *Apuleius of Madauros, The Isis-Book* (Metamorphoses, Book XI), EPRO (39), Leiden, 1975, pp. 261-262.
6) the goose’s head was decorated the ship of Isis in the mural painting in the Iseum of Pompeii, Tran Tam Tinth, V., *Essai sur le Culte d'Isis a Pompei*, Paris, 197, pl.10,1.
before the age of Alexander the Great\(^1\). Isis’ arrival to the Tibers' shores of Rome starts when Philadelphus sent his direct economical-commercial embassy to Rome\(^2\). Later the Ptolemies actively supported the cult of Isis and enhanced it with the creation of the cult of Serapis\(^3\); they offered great propaganda for their new cult of Serapis, which was actively exported from Memphis.

During the Ptolemaic period, the Greek trade harbours were the main pathway for transferring the cults of Serapis and Isis to the Roman Empire; already in the 2\(^{nd}\) century B.C. they had become popular in maritime centers, and contact with Alexandria and Aegean cities, especially with Delos\(^4\). The title *Memphiticos* continued to appear in the Roman period. Some scholars have characterized native Egyptian priests who settled at Delos in the Aegean area, which played the intermediary for entering and spreading the Egyptian cults to Rome during commercial relationships\(^5\), that Egypt was the main granary for Rome, so that the identification of Isis as the discoverer of crops, the goddess which connected with the Egyptian harvest; gives her great importance and rank in Rome. Later Peutoli and Ostia began to feel the influence of Egyptian religion, by exporting the religion of Serapis and Isis from Alexandria to Ostia, that the Ostians' ship-owners with their merchandise were responsible for establishing the Serapeum, which has been unearthed at Ostia and which imitated the finest example of its kind in the world at Alexandria\(^6\).

By the second century B.C, the cult of Isis was spread also in other centers of the western Mediterranean\(^7\); Slaves and freedmen of eastern extraction were key; some of these individuals were prosperous and possessed the means for dedications. Women played great role of the cult of Isis in Rome, Malaise points out one-third of the devotees named in the inscriptions dedicated to

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\(^{4}\) Tschudin, P., Isis in Rom, Basel, 1962, pp.13, 15

\(^{5}\) Alfano, C., *Op. Cit*, p.284; Malaise, M., *Inventaireprélminaire des documents égyptiensdécouvert en Itali*, EPRO (21), Leiden,1972, pp. 284-291. A temple of Isis stood beside temples to the Greek goddesses and gods. Baring, A and Cashford, J., *Op. Cit*, p. 268. The earliest development of the cult of the Egyptian gods in the Aegean was of private nature and was promoted by sailors and traders who travelled the route between Greek harbor cities and Egypt, soldiers, who are serving in the armies of the Ptolemies also exported the worship of the Egyptian gods: the sanctuary for Egyptian gods at Thera on the island of Santorini- the most ancient within the Cyclades- was probably hewn from the living rock by sailors serving at the naval base. The Egyptian cult exportations started at the 4\(^{th}\) century B.C and reached its peak during the 3\(^{rd}\) century B.C. The sanctuaries were first were built in the city centers or associated with other Greek local deities such Aphrodite at Kyme (Turkey), the sanctuaries were built close to natural water sources like the rivers. Bommas, M., "Isis, Osiris, and Serapis", in: The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt (ed. by Riggs, C), Oxford, 2012, p. 428

\(^{6}\) Witt, R., *Isis in the Graeco- Roman World*, p. 70

Isis in Italy are Women\(^1\), Isis had bewitching charm, beauty and goodness of a Madonna who would above all listen to women and the unfortunate\(^2\).

1. The political Situation between Egypt and Rome
The close relation between Julius Caesar and Cleopatra from one side and the hate and the revenge appeals by the Romans towards Cleopatra on the other side, that the Senate considered her as an enemy for Rome, this was the main factor of the anti-Egyptian feeling\(^3\) towards the Egyptian cults, especially towards the cult of Isis by the authority power in Rome. The Romans considered Cleopatra as the incarnation of the Egyptian goddess Isis, that Cleopatra felt a special affinity with Isis\(^4\). The connection in Caesar's mind of Egypt with the divinity of Alexander the Great was assured by Cleopatra’s assistance\(^5\), aware of Cleopatra's own dynastic claims to divinity as espoused by her Ptolemaic forbears, and her seeking for the divinity of Caesar and her son Caesareion, as the syncretized Zeus- Ammon, was the god who had announced Alexander's divinity\(^6\), were main factors of the struggle between the Romans against Cleopatra's hopes.

Cleopatra’s arrival in Rome was early in August 46 B.C, she could hardly have reached Rome in less than 50 days\(^7\). She took Caesareion with her on her journey to Rome, where his father would see him for the first time. Caesar erected statues to Cleopatra as the new queen and living Isis. Caesar used a personal seal bearing the image of his own patron goddess, Venus, to whom he vowed a temple in the event of his victory over Pompys at Pharsalus, then Caesar erected in Alexandria a temple for Isis as Victory goddess, or Isis Victrix.

Cleopatra housed with her son Caesarion- the son of Julius Caesar- in Caesar's villa outside the city of Rome across the Tiber\(^8\), with the dedication of the Forum Iulium, Caesar's own forum, which included the Corinthian- style temple of Venus Genetrix\(^9\) the “mother” ancestress of the

\(^1\)Invicta, I and Donalson, M., The Cult of Isis in the Roman Empire, Studies in Classics (22), New York, 2003, p.120
\(^4\) Vandebeeck, G., De Interpretation graeca van de Isis figur, Stud. Hellen.(4), Leuven,1946, p. 75; Griffiths, J., “The death of Cleopatra VI”, in: JEA (47), 1961, p.113
\(^5\) Zanker, P., The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus (translated by Alan Shapiro), Michigan, 1990, pp. 297-311
\(^7\) Casson, L., “ The Isis and her Voyage”, in: TAPA (81), 1950, pp.43-56; Lord, L., “ The Date of Julius Caesar’s Departure from Alexandria”, in: JRS (28), 1938, pp.22-23
\(^8\) Cleopatra journeyed up the coast of the eastern Mediterranean, along the southern shore of Asia Minor, north of Rhodes and Crete, across the Ionian Sea. Beyond Sicily traced its western coast, up the gentle Tyrrenian Sea, then to Pompeii and beyond Pompeii she would have enjoyed a view of the bustling port and fine harbor of Puteloi, where the massive Egyptian grain ships docked, then from Puteloi she made the three- day trek overland to Rome. Schiff, S., Cleopatra: A Life, New York, 2010, pp.99-100
\(^9\) Caesar tried to integrate the queen of Egypt into Roman life. Venus Genetrixis the goddess from whom Caesar claimed descent and to whom he ascribed his victories, as well as the divine mother of the Roman people. He received from her “a kind of bloom of youth”. Ibid, p. 107
Julian clan. Caesar actually enrolled Cleopatra as the friend and ally of Roman people in 46 B.C. Caesar ordered a gilt-bronze statue of Cleopatra erected alongside that of Venus in the temple of Venus Genetrix on the Campus Martius in Rome as a deity. To the Romans, placing a gold image of a foreign queen beside the cult image of Venus in her Roman temple, might have seemed extraordinary and unusual. H. Volkmann maintains that “this was more” than an act of personal homage to the woman who loved: it was a well-weighted political and religious act of a kind customary in Egypt and the Hellenistic kingdoms generally.

The Roman People did not appreciate Cleopatra's divinity, Caesar associated between his own goddess Venus with Cleopatra's divinity in Rome as living Isis; which carried with its Hellenistic identification with Aphrodite/ Venus, that Isis in Egypt was identified with Hathor as Isis-Hathor, the goddess of love like Aphrodite as Isis-Aphrodite, and later associated with Venus in the Hellenistic world, and Hathor had served as archetype for the queens, which emphasize the connection between Cleopatra (New Isis) and Venus in Rome, so the statue represents Cleopatra as Isis-Venus, especially Venus in Roman times was depicted on bronze statuette wears the crown of Isis flanked by ears of crown.

The hostile attitude towards Egyptian religious practices existing among the inhabitants and the authorities of Rome was begun before the entry of Cleopatra on the Political stage, but it was increased during her reign; the struggle between Roman governors and Cleopatra has a negative impact on the cult of Isis and its shrines in Rome. She was unwelcomed by the Romans as an oriental queen supposed to be the Queen of Rome, transforming Rome by her hopes from a Republic to a Kingdom, and she is her queen. Later after the assassination of Caesar, Cleopatra returned to Egypt in March 44 B.C. Cleopatra did everything she could to impose the presence of a kind of divination for her son's assassinated father on her people; by the parallel assimilation between the assassination of Caesar and that of Osiris, father of Horus, is clear, so

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3) There was association between the Ptolemaic queens with Aphrodite, the Roman Venus, Cheshire, W., ”Aphrodite Cleopatra”, in: JARCE (43), 2007, p. 166
4) Volkmann, H., Cleopatra, London, 1958, p.80
7) Bernard Andrea identified the marble statue of Venus of the Esquiline, an eclectic nude Venus standing beside a large vase encircled by a cobra and a box of rose petals, as the image of Cleopatra VII Andrea, B., “Kleopatra und die Sogenannte Venus vomEsquilin”, in: Kleopatra und die Caesaren, München, 2006, pp.14-18, fig.1, kat.1. This assumption was refused by Gauy Weill Goudchaux, see: Goudchaux, G., “Die Venus vomEsquiliinischKleopatra”, in:Kleopatra und die Caesaren, pp. 138-141
9) Williams, J., ”Spoiling the Egyptians: Octavian and Cleopatra”, in: Cleopatra of Egypt from History to Myth, p.194
Cleopatra dedicated a huge temple to him – the Caesareum- along the coast of the present-day eastern port of Alexandria (1).

According to the Roman Senator’s view, Cleopatra was all too easy to characterize as the latest in a long time of unsavoury aliens who had set their sights on capturing the city of Rome; not all of them were necessarily persuaded that Cleopatra, rather than Octavian, was the real enemy of the free Republic. The Romans thought that Antony was going to give their city to Cleopatra and move the seat of Power to Alexandria (2). All this was followed by the orchestration of the famous oath sworn by all Italy to Octavian, of which so much was later made in his inscriptive autobiography, known as the Res Gestae Divi Augusti (literally "the achievements of the Divine Augustus") which refer in it that "All Italy took a personal oath to me voluntarily, and demanded me as their leader in the war in which I was victorious at Actium. The provinces of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily (3) and Sardinia swore in the same terms..."(4) seem regularly to have come under attack in the 50s and 40s BC.

The Romans denied what Antony had indulged in some curious eastern customs suggesting that he was a god. In 41 B.C he had been hailed as Dionysos at Ephesus, and Cleopatra appeared in the seductive guise of Aphrodite when she met him in a spectacular fashion at Tarsus. Later in the months before Actium, according to Dio Cassius (5), what most upset Roman opinion were the rumours alleging, that Antony had his picture painted together with Cleopatra, with himself as Osiris and her as Isis, they denied also her attempts to deify Antony (6). These Antonys’ actions give the Romans a serious conclusion about how he was carrying on. Antony allowed Cleopatra to conduct public business with him and rode with him in cities, or at other times he walked behind Cleopatra's carriage together with her eunuch that he addressed in an untraditional, foreign manner, wearing oriental daggers in his belt, and allowed himself to be seen in public in a gilded couch or chair, he was allowing himself to be subordinated to a foreign woman, who was thus both emasculating and barbarizing him, stripping him of his manhood and his sense of identity as a Roman, he is intended of assuming his divine identity in the east with Cleopatra (7).

Cleopatra was the main reason of the struggle between Antony and Octavian. This triumph of Cleopatra's dynastic policy was only a rough draft of an unpredictable future. Not much later, Cleopatra, the most powerful and reliable among Antony's vassals, she accompanied him in his careless expedition towards Rome. The disaster of Actium forced Cleopatra to return to her realm, returning to Alexandria to spend her last days (8).

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2) Dio Cassius, 50.4.1. The apprehension among the Romans of Italy that if Antonius were victorious, Alexandria would supersede Rome as the capital of the empire and his advice if he dies in Rome, his body should be sent to Alexandria to be buried beside that of Cleopatra. Rowel, H., *Rome in the Augustan Age*, Oklahoma, 1962, p.60
3) About the Egyptian cults in Sicilia see: Sfameni, G., I CultiOrientali in Sicilia, EPRO(31), Leiden, 1973
5) Dio Cassius, 50.5.3
8) Bingen, J., Hellenistic Egypt: Monarchy, Society, Economy, Culture, Edinburgh, 2007, pp. 57-80. When news of the capture of Alexandria reached Rome, the Senate passed a decree that the day should be celebrated as a festival,
The wide acceptance and the popularity of the Egyptian cults in Rome knock against the political authorities in Rome itself, especially in its beginning; the Egyptian cults have wide acceptable ritual principals on simplified access, but also was the victim of the Roman political clashes, which has a negative impact on the Isis cult. The authorities have the fear that those cults and practices could cause political instability, arising from noted excesses and immoral behaviour. The political conflict between the conservatives against the populists in Rome caused negative impact on the Egyptian cults, which were used as political papers, used for achieving personnel ambitions by the Senates’ members, the Isis cult’s persecution in Rome took various forms such as the deportations of believers, the destruction of temples and sanctuaries, the crucifixion of priests, and the destruction of images of the divinity (1).

2. Isis in Rome

The cult of Isis and Serapis started to spread through the Roman Empire since the end of 2nd century B.C (2), along the eastern coast of Sicily: ruins of a Serapeum (whose presence was already suggested by an inscription, mentioning the temple and found in 1861) have been excavated under the church of San Pancrazio at Toramina (3). The Romans had an uncertain attitude towards Egyptian religion during this period, they were occasionally suspicious of certain foreign gods and cults, and Egyptian gods sometimes fell within that category. From around 140-130 B.C. sanctuaries are widespread in many cities of Campania and Lazio. A Serapeum in Puteoli is at tested in the so-called Leoparetiefaciendo, in 105 B.C for Serapis and Isis, a nother structure is that of the Iseum in Pompeii in 80 B.C (4); The two earliest sites of worship of the Egyptian gods in Italy were the Iseum in Pompeii and Serapeum in Puteoli, most probably date from as early as the 2nd century B.C (5).

Isis’s cult at Pompeii was strengthened by their attributes and functions of the resurrection and the securing the life after death for its followers (6). Isis’s salvation (7), healing abilities (8), Cosmetic

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7) The wider significance of Isis ability of "Salvation", were being by their worshippers as a celebratory discourse on her "greatness of the beneficial action", she was described as "salutaris", see Bleeker, C., Isis as a Saviour Goddess", in: *The Saviour god. Comparative Studies in the Concept of Salvation presented to Edwin Oliver James* (ed. by Brandon, S), Manchester, 1963, pp.1-16
attributes\(^{(1)}\), Justice’s symbol \(^{(2)}\), her fertility and love aspects made her as ruler of the home and family at Pompeii, and her chastity is stressed when she is associated with the Roman equivalent of Artemis, Diana. Yet she can embrace Venus/ Aphrodite as she did with Hathor in Egypt \(^{(3)}\).

The cult spread widely from Campania to Rome, the reputation of both Isis and Serapis, known widely as “very personnel gods constantly close to their faithful followers”, assisted. Everywhere the cult spread privately, the spread of the Isiac names in Rome during this period is significant, the popularity of the kindly Madonna nursing the infant Horus (Harpocrates) was reflected in the proliferation of images of the Isis Lactans "Isis nursing" spread with it \(^{(4)}\)(pl.3 a,b).

At Pompeii and Ostia the cult of Isis gained ascendency over Serapis, as indicating in many scenes: a fresco from the Pompeian Iseum figured Isis seated in all her majesty almost in the centre of the scene with Serapis on her left as a kind of prince consort; on a lamp, found at Puteoli, shaped like a ten-beaked ship (a reminder of the ceremony called the Voyage of Isis, probably performed locally every year in March, she stands as a queen between Serapis and Harpocrates.\(^{(5)}\).

The support that the Isiac worship constantly received from the common people and the loathing shown by the Senatorial class do not mean that the cult was widespread and embedded only in the lowest classes of Roman society, as is explained by the parallel success among the aristocratic exponents; the cult of Isis was spread also between the Roman aristocracy members in the Republican Rome; the Scipios (the two Cornelii Scipiones Nasicae Serapiones), and Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius (80-63 B.C), of the distinguished family of the Caecilli, consul in 80 B.C with Sulla, founded between 72-64 BC the Iseum Metellinum, at the foot of the Caelian hill \(^{(6)}\).

The Iseum Metellinum was erected in order to celebrate the military achievements of Metellus father, Metellus Numidicus, in his war against Jugurtha \(^{(7)}\). The building of the Iseum Metellinum excavated by Lanciani, consists of a platform 58 x 76 m wide, was built by Quintus Caecilius

\(^{(1)}\) The inscriptions refer to Isi that "the world shone under your faces, your Hellios and Selene, having opened your eyes", see Gasparro, G., “The Hellenistic Face of Isis: Cosmic and Saviour Goddess”, in: Nile into Tiber. Egypt in the Roman World. Proceedings of the IIIrd International Conference of Isis Studies, Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University, May 11-14 2005, EPRO (159), Leiden, 2007, p. 41, note.4

\(^{(2)}\) Isis was regarded in the Hellenistic world as a symbol of Justice, she entitled with the name of Dikaiosyne or Diakia is proposed as the guarantor of correct human relationships with society, see Griffiths, J., Isis as Maat, Dikaiosyne, and Iustitia" , in: Hommages a Jean Leclant, (106/3), pp.255-264

\(^{(3)}\) Ibid, pp. 84-85. A priest of Isis-Aphrodite is attested from the 4th century B.C in Perinthus, and a naked statuette figure of Isis-Hathor- Aphrodite with a diadem found near Cologne. Griffiths, J., The Isis-Book, pp.149-150

\(^{(4)}\) Invicta, I and Donalson, M., Op. Cit, p.120; for more information about Isis-Lactans. see : Tinh, V., Isis Lactans, EPRO (37), Leiden, 1973

\(^{(5)}\) Witt, R., Op. Cit, p. 81, pl.37. Brenk suggested that the misunderstanding that Osiris played a very minor role in the Graeco- Roman cult of the Egyptian religion is due to the attention given to the Hellenistic cult of Isis, Brenk, F., “In the Image, Reflection and Reason of Osiris Plutarch and the Egyptian Cults”, in: With Un perfumed Voice, Studies in Plutarch, in Greek Literature, Religion and Philosophy, and in the New Testament Background, (ed. by Brenk, F), PAwB(21), Stuttgart, 2007, p.144. Serapis received increased popularity in Rome after the ascent of Isis, his popular female, in the 1st century A.D, and became virtually her match from the 2nd century A.D. Lipka, M., Op. Cit, p. 24

\(^{(6)}\) Alfano, C., Op. Cit, p. 283

\(^{(7)}\) Lipka, M., Op. Cit, p.18
Metellus Pius, and restored first in the Augustan Period and then in the Flavian one, the inhabitants of the area was called Isiaci\(^1\). Although the first followers of Isis in Rome were the local poor classes, and believers of humble origin, who for different reasons the worship of Isis allow to them the calm and the happiness more than their Roman pantheon. Later another elite of powerful and educated followers embraced the cult of Isis either for its greater theological depth or only for the discovery of this oriental cult for more religious knowledge and experience or for using the appeal of the cult of Isis as a political instrument for achieving political goals and hopes\(^2\). The worship also exercised an important influence on the customs and behaviour of the higher social classes \(^3\).

Epigraphic sources show that, among the followers of Isis in Rome, foreigners did not form the majority. There was a homogenous distribution, with pockets of density. A part from Egyptians and Greeks from Egypt, there were also many Ethiopians engaged in the cults, as shown on a fresco in Herculaneum, in which may be distinguished a number of officials with dark skin\(^4\).

Later during the period of the director Sulla at the beginning of the 1\(^{st}\) century B.C an Isiac guild of Pastophori (priests, bearers of the curtains that opened the sanctuary) had been found at Rome during the time of Sulla, the director was not indifferent to the charisma of eastern deities \(^5\), A college (Collequim) of the “pastophori” of Isis in Romewas mentioned in the Apuleius’ *Metamorphoses*\(^6\), guilds of “Pastophors” existed in whose hands were carried small replica of Isiac shrines when they walked in processions \(^7\). Alföldi observes that this college must have been attached to a specific sanctuary for the services of the cult in Rome\(^8\).

Sulla’s interest of the Isis cult can be asserted that after Sulla’s attack on Praeneste, the temple of Fortuna there was decorated with mosaics presented by Sulla; these are Alexandrian in style and plan, and shown marked Nilotic landscape with Isis motifs \(^9\). However, the inscriptive evidence of Collequim of Isis on the Capitoline is lacking, while Apuleius, in the 2\(^{nd}\) century A.D, claimed that already under Sulla a congregation of Isis Pastophori was established in the Capitoline \(^10\).

It is of little significance whether shrines or altars were erected there; the existence of a dedicated temple for Isis as Iseum Capitolinum on the Capitoline hill, which may be dated to the decade of

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10) SIRIS no. 433; Lipka, M., *Op. Cit*, p. 54
the 1st century B.C, datable between 90 and 60 B.C., was a subject of discussion and debate between the scholars; Lafaye(1) referred in 1884 to a temple of Isis on the Capitoline in Rome. The literary sources mentioned this several times and actions against followers of the cults of the Egyptian gods on the Capitoline hill in the middle of the 1st century B.C, an obelisk re-erected on a high base and a palm tree can be seen (pl.4 a, b), decorated with lions which was associated with the Isis’s temple during the Republican period. Some scholars were certain for the existence of a sanctuary of Isis on the Capitoline (2), others denied that there was a private sanctuary for Isis on the Capitoline during this period(3), while the others suggest that the cult had a private character while, at the same time, priests were active(4).

Meyboom suggested that the Isis Capitoline was not necessary a temple but could also consists of a group of altars (5). Lembka(6) suggested a sanctuary of Isis on the Capitoline only about 100 B.C. While Alfano assumed that although archaeological evidence for the construction of a sanctuary of Isis in the Capitoline, some inscriptions prove that Isis was given the epithet “Capitoline” in this early period, the title which is almost attributed only for Jupiter (7).

The archaeological sources on the Capitoline uncovered only part of a small (Roman made) naophoros and a terracotta lamp decorated with a Serapis bust as part of an Egyptian sanctuary. While the epigraphic sources preserve an inscription dates back to the middle of the 1st century B.C, a list of 13 deceased, mostly members of prominent Roman families, among them a couple, most probably acted as priests of Isis Cpitoline, which strongly suggests the presence of some sort of cult place. All the references and inscriptions did not contain any concrete information on the existence of a temple or a sanctuary, only suggest an Egyptian cultic presence on the Capitoline(8).

It is also clear that cult began on the Capitoline as a private foundation, it was situated on Private property, this dovetails with the fact than in the middle of the first century B.C; some areas of the Capitoline were in private hands, considering the private first appearance of the goddess, that some of its adherents were of financial ease(9). A first-century B.C. inscription from the Capitoline region refers to the existence of a male or possibly female priest (sacerdos), of Isis Capitoline, with the assistance of other adherents or even functionaries of the cult (10). A priest of Isis Capitoline also appears in a later inscription, dating the end of the 1st century A.D (11). Some literary sources refer to a male Isiac priest, possibly on the Capitoline, in 43 B.C, while others refer to this position for the year 69 A.D(12).

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3) Versluis, M., Op. Cit, p.423
6) Lembka, K., Das Iseum Campense in Rome,Studie über den Isiskult unter Domitian, 1994, p.85, n.4
10) SIRIS no. 377; Takacs, S., Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World, Leiden, 1995, pp.51-56
11) SIRIS no. 378; Versluis, M., Op. Cit, p. 427
12) Val. Max. 7,3,8; Tac. Hist. 3,74; Suet. Dom. 1,2; Lipka, M., Op. Cit, p. 54
A text mentions the power of the Senate against the followers of the Egyptian cults in 58 B.C, it mentioned that the Senate destroyed the altars of the Egyptian gods on the Capitoline, and altars were nevertheless erected by the people (1).

Coarelli(2) recorded three major phases for the introduction of the Egyptian gods, especially Isis.

1- Beginning of the 2nd century B.C.
2- End of the 2nd century B.C.
3- Around 50 B.C.

It is logical to distinguish an Isaic cult in Rome since the 2nd century B.C, especially archaeologically this period is invisible or little evidence for the second phase. Versluys recorded that in the period around 100 B.C there were Isis temples in Puteloii, Rome and Pompeii. The Temple of Isis on the Capitoline in Rome turns out to be a group of sacella and altars amidst all kind of oriental quarter(3).

Versluys assumed that most probably there were altars and shrines on a specific part of the Capitoline, or a kind of Oriental quarter on the Capitol's slope for the Egyptian cult. This reconstruction of the veneration of the Egyptian gods as small scale and private is even more likely according to the social and political background of the late Republican period. So there would be no moral or religious problems with a public temple for the Egyptian goddess Isis in the late Republican era which played a limited role before 50 B.C.

After this date adherents and followers of Isis and the Egyptian gods had become a political factor and after the problems on the Capitol. That the new political circumstances of the civil war and the role of the Egyptian gods give the political need for building the IseumCampense by Antony at Rome(4).

The Egyptian cults did not play an important remarkable or public role in the second and the first half of the 1st century B.C, as a private cult the Egyptian gods fitted well into a late Republican Roman society innovated with foreign influence; it was a general attitude in Egypt for exporting a private Hellenistic character of Isis and Serapis. Perhaps this private character came forward from a fear of the Roman government, as with the creation of the bacchanalia(5) (a state within the state). So Versluys suggested that the Egyptian cult still the first half of the 1st century B.C just played a rather marginal role (6).

Later the Senate resisted the enrolment of Isis (the Iseum) and Serapis (Serapeum) among the state gods of Rome(7). Other gods from the East had been welcomed officially, these included Cybele and Attis from Asia Minor- which was a cult- center for the Isiac- served by their famous eunuch priests. The Isis cult being under conflict and fire four times within a few short years, between 59 and 48 B.C due to political reasons, that the worship of Isis was a politicized instrument for some politicians of the late republic (8).

During the first two or three decades of the 1st century B.C, the Egyptian gods achieved a noticeable progress in Rome in lower class milieu. They would become involved in the troubles

3) Versluys, M., Op. Cit, p. 444
4) Ibid., p. 446
7) Taylor, R., The Divinity of the Roman Emperor, Middleton, 1931, p.51
8) Invicta, I and Donalson, M., Op. Cit, p.120
of the Republic's death-throes. The Egyptian emblems like \textit{basileio} and lotus –flower appeared on an official \textit{denarri} of an auxiliary around 90 B.C. later in 79 B.C the \textit{sistra} of Isis appeared (pl. 5 a, b). Although her cults was not permitted within the sacred \textit{pomerium} of Rome during this period\(^1\)

3. Isis’s Persecution in Rome

Although a college of \textit{pastophoroi} of Isis was founded in Rome about 80 B.C, but the worship of Isis was proscribed after a few years and temples to her were pulled down from 58 to 48 B.C\(^2\). In 64 B.C both the Isis and Serapis cults were suspected of political involvements and persecutions followed until 48 B.C, with a further resurgence in Thirties. Caesar had himself barred Isis priests from entering Rome \(^3\). The patterns of these oppressions reveal that the worship of Isis and Serapis was most popular with the Roman lower-classes \(^4\).

Isis in Rome suffered a lot; her cult was prohibited, her temples were destroyed, her figures and statues were demolished, and her priests and followers were mistreated and suffered, all of these actions were done by some of the members of the Senate, the popular political fiction, the \textit{curuleaediles} (magistrates with responsibility for the urban fabric in Rome) and \textit{thesvirimonetales} (official moneyers and the authors of a form of Propoganda for Isis on coins) played a very important role in the destiny of the Isiac cult throughout the 1\(^{st}\) century B.C, that the political situation and conflicts of the Roman authority members determined the favoured and the neglected cults; the cult of Isis was one of the disapproved cults, that the Senate were later the cause of its persecution in Rome \(^5\) in six occasions from the 1\(^{st}\) half of the 1\(^{st}\) century B.C till the 1\(^{st}\) half of the 1\(^{st}\) century A.D:

The First Accident:
In 59 B.C the Senate ordered the destruction of all the altars of Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates and Anubis, they were very soon reinstated “owing to the violence of the people’s intervention” \(^6\), apparently, however, the cult was relatively strong, so the altars were rebuilt again.

The Second Accident
Before 58 B.C statues and altars for Isis had been erected clandestinely on the Capitoline hill, but the Senate had demolished them. On 1 January in the same year due to a decision about Isis and Serapis, by the consuls \textit{Piso} and \textit{Gabinius}, the people (that is, the \textit{plebs} \(^7\) or \textit{commoners} \(^8\)), they did not sacrifice to Egyptian gods; interfered with the consul’s ritual examination of the

\(^1\) Turcan, R., \textit{The Cults of the Roman Empire}, Oxford, 1996, pp.85-86
\(^3\) Schiff, S., \textit{Cleopatra: A Life}, p. 87
\(^6\) Tert., Nat. 1, 10, 17; Turcan, R., \textit{The Gods of Ancient Rome}, p. 121
\(^7\) In ancient Rome, the \textit{plebs} was the general body of free Roman citizens who were not patricians, as determined by the \textit{census}. Shopkeepers, crafts people, and skilled or unskilled workers might be \textit{plebeian}, Volkmann, H., “Plebs”, in: \textit{Der Klein ePauly} (4), München, 1975, pp. 919-922ö Richard, B., The Roman Theatre and Its Audience, Harvard University Press, 1991, pp.14-15
\(^8\) The Commoners are the “common people” or ordinary people who are members of neither the nobility nor the priesthood
sacrificial victim's entrails for the gods, an important rite of the state cult\(^1\), in which the consul is offering of incence and wine to the Roman Republican gods. The consul, while he was sacrificed to Jupiter Captaininus, he was heckled because he refused to sacrifice to Isis and Serapis\(^2\); but on the contrary opted for the destruction of their altars (\textit{arare}); a decree “Censura” issued special by the Senateto hinder the impetuosity of the people who wanted to erect new altars in the honour of Isis and Serapis in Rome; a band of Isiac militants had disturbed the performance of a solemn sacrifice, while the consul Gabinius was ritually proceeding with an examination of the victims: the magistrate was blamed for having done nothing on behalf of Isis and Serapis\(^3\).

The decree prohibit the worship of Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates and Anubis \(^4\). The Senate had voted for the destruction of the Iseum and the Serapeum and no workmen had the courage to lay hands upon those sacred edifices \(^5\). A silver \textit{denarius} issued under the\textit{curuleaedile} Marcus PlaetoriusCestianus. Dated from 67 B.C, is portrayed Isis as Isis \textit{Panthea}, the universal Isis, she has a helmet with a laurel-wreath and a lotus, she hailed from the mint at the temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitoline, that many slaves and freedmen were working in the palace of mint near the temple of Juno Moneta the north-west part of the Capitoline hill; they paid a great attention to the cult of Isis there, and this is reflected in many Nilotic themes that appears on the coinage, moreover, the head-dress of Isis occurs \(^6\).

Various sacred Egyptian symbols appeared on the Roman coinage in the 1\(^{st}\) century B.C, before and after the social revolution in Rome, especially on the Capitoline, that commercial activities and slave trade took place upon the hill, especially during the Isis Capitoline ceremonies there, where the slavesfound in the Isiac festivals an occasion for prolific sales, in these years that Egyptian signs, mainly Isiac symbols begin to be found as control marks on the coins such as a scorpion, a lotus flower, a crocodile, a crane, a pyramid, the emblem of Isis, a sistrum, a sistrum with a basket of fruits and a crocodile with a hippopotamus, all of these coins date back before 80 B.C. Before the time of the Consul Pompeii, by 70 B.C, other Roman coins can be regarded with sacred Egyptian elements, especially those attributed to Isis, as Isis herself with a sacred bird, the emblem of Isis with a cow’s head, or with a bird’s head, the sistrum of Isis with a lotus flower, a crocodile with an ichneumon. All of these representations and depictions of the Isis figure, or the Isiac attributes appeared between the workers, the slaves and the merchant, who may be made their fortunes in Egypt, while the Isiac cult is forbidden and regarded as outlawed cult in Rome?!?!\(^7\).

Alföldi\(^8\) saw this coin as representative of propaganda meant to undermine and to sap the senatorial party. While Vidman\(^1\) saw the roots of popular support for the Isis’s cult.

\(^{1}\) Turcan, R., \textit{the Cults of Roman Empire}, p. 86
\(^{2}\) Turcan, R., \textit{The Gods of Ancient Rome}, p. 121
\(^{3}\) \textit{Ibid.}, p. 86
\(^{6}\) Griffiths, J., \textit{The Isis-Book}, p. 344
\(^{8}\) Alföldi, A., "Isiskult und Umsturzbewegung im letzten Jahrhunderte der römischen Republik", in: Schweizer Münzblätter (5), 1954, pp.25-31
concluded that in the first half of the 1st century B.C the Egyptian gods were worshipped on the Capitoline hill and this worship included the erection of aras (altars). While Meyboom denied that the figure depicted on the denarius for Isis, it seems more probable that she represents Fortuna Romana, or closely related Roma Panthea. In 58 B.C Cleopatra most probably accompanied her father Ptolemy XII at Rome, she was about eleven years old. She had the opportunity to discover the Latin community composed of followers of Isis, who were not accepted by the majority of the Roman Senate. It seems that the Senate was split into two camps consisting of followers (a minority) and opponents of Isis. The Senate ordered the destruction of all statues and altarshonouring Isis located on the Capitoline hill, the statues are replaced, the reconstruction of the altars begins.

The Third Accident

By 53 B.C the Senate issued a decree states for destruction of the Isiac temples (naoi) forbad and ban the practice of Isis cult at Rome, and destroy all the private shrines and chapels dedicated to Isis, which were ostensibly built since the troubles of 59-58, the decree forbidden their cult in Rome itself. The decree was probably directed for destroying the Iseum Metellinumas well as a sanctuary that had been illegally rebuilt on the Capitoline Hill, while all the other temples in Rome dedicated to Isis and Serapis in this period such as: the Serapeum on the Quirinale, the Iseum in the Campus Martius and another in the Regio III district; the temple of Isis at Castra Praetoria and the Horti Sallustiani; the sanctuaries at St Martin on the mountains in Regio V, of the forum Boarium in Regio XI, of Trastevere and the Vatican in Regio XIV, of Isis Athenodoria in Regio XIII and another in Regio III) were undoubtedly built in later periods. The grand Temple of Isis and Serapis in Regio III, a district which even got its name from the temple, was one of the biggest, second only to the Campus Martius, and surely one of the oldest.

The Fourth Accident

In 50 B.C the Senate decided to subdue the Isis's cult and to rid Rome of Isis shrines, and destroy the monuments dedicated to Isis. Here there is a revealing anecdote: none of the workmen required to tear down the holy walls of Isis and Serapis dared to lift a hand to them. The great influence of the cult of Isis and Serapis upon some of the Roman people can be attested by their refusing to destroy the shrines of the Egyptian gods, or to give up the cult of Isis; after any Senatorial decree for the destruction of the shrines and altars of Isis, the consul could no longer find anyone among the people for the execution of the senatorial decree, due to this public

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1) Vidman, L., Op. Cit, pp.103-10. There were the most famous deities in Egypt during the Hellenistic and Roman period. see: Dunand, F., Religion Populaire et iconographie en EgypteHellenistique et Romaine, in: Visible Religion (III), Leiden, 1984, pp.18-42
2) Versluys, M., Op. Cit, p.428
4) Grant, M., Cleopatra, London, 1978, pp.15-16
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resistance handlers: the consul in person L. Aemilius Publius had to lay aside his embroidered toga, armed with an axe, and drove it through the temple doors, is forced to intervene and break down the door of one of the places of worship\(^1\). This is the temple of Isis which was mentioned later by Dio Cassius, a source from the 3rd century A.D, that the story of destruction was mentioned later by Dio Cassius\(^2\), he uses the term naos to refer to the temple of Isis on the Capitoline.

He was forced to use his own hands to execute this Senatorial decree, as the workers have religious afraid to do that\(^3\). This detail suggests that even the joiners and custodians feared Isis and that her followers had grown numerous. How many of them were there? And how many followers were there of Dionysos, the Hellenistic consort of Isis, even though in 50 B.C the worshippers of Dionysos had not yet received permission to practice their rites openly\(^4\).

The Fifth Accident

In 48 B.C the Senate ordered to dismantle all the areas dedicated to Isis and Serapis shrines\(^5\) that now stood on the Capitoline for the enactment of the state cult's rituals. An inscription refers to a priest of Isis Capitoline during this time, who presided at this shrine \(^6\). That the orders given to destroy the protective walls surrounding the rebuilt sanctuaries on the Capitoline \(^7\).

In 48 B.C, during a sacrifice to Isis Capitoline, Dio Cassius\(^8\) mentioned that a swarm of bees had settled in the sanctuary of Heracles near his cult-statue there, in the area of the Capitoline hill, because of this bad omen the diviners and fortune-tellers decided to destroy the entire sacred enclosure (temenismata) of Isis and Serapis. From this time onwards we do not have any more news regarding the Iseum Capitolinum, there is no reference to the latter in Tacitus' and Suetonius' accounts. This bad omen led to advocate another raid against the etemenismata was destructed by the Senate.

In 46 B.C, with the arrival of Cleopatra at Rome, she was probably present at the inauguration of the temple of Venus built upon Caesar's orders. Her statue was placed inside, with the Director's approval as a royal cult for Cleopatra associated with Venus\(^9\).

Between 46-44 B.C, the stay of Cleopatra at Rome, the cult of Isis was almost profitable \(^10\), she planned for the official recognition of the cult of Dionysos at Rome-he too was related to Isis with the same title as Osiris and Serapis. Caesar himself was wishing for a new image for him as a deified king, similar to Alexander the Great or the Ptolemaic ancestors, so he put a statue for

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2) Dio Cassius 40.47.4
6) Invicta, I and Donalson, M., Op.Cit,p.121; Bricault, L., "Isis a Rome", in: De Cybele a Isis, p. 140; Turcan, R., the Gods of Ancient Rome, p. 121
8) Dio Cassius 40. 47.4; Versluys, M., Op. Cit, p. 428
him in the temple of “Quirinus” with the title "unvanquished god" or "immortal god"\textsuperscript{(1)}, but Cleopatra's religious policy was foiled by the assassination of the Caesar\textsuperscript{(2)}. In October 43 B.C., in a marked reversal of policy following Caesar's assassination, the second Triumvirate decreed the construction of a temple to Isis and her consort\textsuperscript{(3)}, a huge propaganda and a great support of the cult of Isis began, when the Triumvirs- Antony, Octavian and Marcus Lapidus made a pact to control the empire, agreed to restore order to the state in the aftermath of Caesar's assassination and subsequently vowed to erect a new Iseum at Rome\textsuperscript{(4)}, known as "Iseum Campense"\textsuperscript{(5)} in the Campus Martius, as a public temple outside the Pomerium (the sacred boundaries of Rome)\textsuperscript{(6)}. The decree seeks to put a political need for an officialisation of the Isiac cult at Rome, to have the cult of Isis and her followers and adherents fit into the late Republican system\textsuperscript{(7)}.

If the Capitoline cult was not completely suppressed, it was surely scaled down: it is possible that only a small altar survived. The chronology of the inscription mentioning an aedilis plebis Markus Volusius, priest of Isis Capitoline, oscillates between the half of the 1 st century B.C. and the beginning of the Augustan Age. The priest donned the jackal-headed mask of Anubis and the linen garment of Isiac devotees, Valerius Maximus\textsuperscript{(8)} commented on this action saying "Can there be anything more deplorable than a Roman magistrate having to disguise himself in the trappings of a foreign religion". Many scholars agree that the vow seems never to have been fulfilled\textsuperscript{(9)}. The building of an Isis temple with state recognition would have represented "a complete reversal of senatorial policy and a signal victory for political and religious elements with which one is tempted to associate Cleopatra"\textsuperscript{(10)}. The false vow was also a symbolic gesture to the deified Caesar and his beloved Cleopatra\textsuperscript{(11)}. The vow appears to have been connected to another concession on Octavian's part- the recognition of Caesarion, three years old, at the same time, Antony does not seem to have become a priest of Julius Caesar's cult\textsuperscript{(12)}. The destruction of the Iseum Capitolinum in 48 B.C. did not prevent the revival of the cult and the Egyptian divinities from finally receiving a public veneration, in a sanctuary built out of the Pomerium. There is no evidence for public cults of Egyptian gods, especially for Isis, before this decree in 43 B.C., which suggests a proper and strong cult for Isis, which began its shifting from the private to the public, to emerge from its shadow, from the fear to its first strides to the power

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\textsuperscript{1}) Caesar started to appear with all signs of kingship during his stay with Cleopatra at Rome. He erected a statue of himself in the Capitol, appeared clad. A throne of gold was provided for him to sit upon in his official capacity of the Senate. He carried a scepter of ivory in his hand, while upon his head was a chaplet of gold in the form of a laurel-wreath. A consecrated chariot like the sacred chariot of the Egyptian kings was consecrated for him. He was given the right of being buried the city walls, just as Alexander the Great. See Weigall, A., \textit{The life and Times of Cleopatra, Queen of Egypt: A study in the Origin of the Roman Empire}, London, 1935, p.134

\textsuperscript{2}) \textit{Ibid}, pp.134-135

\textsuperscript{3}) Dio Cassius. 47.15.4, Green, L., \textit{Op. Cit}, p.67


\textsuperscript{5}) About the IseumCampense see: Bommas, M., Forthcoming, \textit{"The IseumCampense as a lieu de memoire"}, in: Cultural Memory, Religion and the Ancient City, (ed. by Bommas, M et al), London, 2011


\textsuperscript{7}) Versluys, M., \textit{Op. Cit}, p. 446

\textsuperscript{8}) Memorabilia, VII, 3, 8; Turcan, R., The Cults of the Roman Empire, p.87

\textsuperscript{9}) Turcan, R., The Gods of Ancient Rome, p. 121


\textsuperscript{11}) Takacs, S., \textit{Op. Cit}, pp.69-70

and control; this is well-proved by the story of two classical authors tell the story of how in that same year a political opponent of Antony and Octavian was able to escape from Rome by disguising himself as a priest of Isis (1).

The Sixth accident
In 30 B.C a decree called for the temple destruction, but no workmen could be found to do this, until the consul himself took up the axe (2). Under Augustus (30-14 B.C), that Augustus Caesar refused to have Egyptian shrines within the sacred central area of Rome known as praperium (3), especially for the cult of Isis. But the people of Rome appear to have paid little attention to this restriction.

Under the first years of the reign of Augustus Isis worship was prohibited with the pomerium, but the people of Rome appear to have paid little attention to this restriction (4). Though he regulated the veneration of the deosAlexandrinos (gods of Alexandria), condemned animal worship and its degenerations; he was not welcomed of the Egyptian divinities (Serapis, Isis, Harpocrates and Anubis), and he was openly hostile towards these divinities, especially its animals' figures, flatly refused to render homage to the bull Apis, Though he paid homage to Serapis in Alexandria in his capturing Egypt (5). and executed the doglike form of Anubis who became more bitter with Augustus (6).

After Actium and the suicide of Markus Antony who had presented himself as a reincarnation of Osiris or Dionysos (7) and Cleopatra who had taken the title "New Isis". The cults of the four Egyptian divinities Isis, Serapis, Harpocrates and Anubis were still very popular outside Egypt. The close contact and definitive Roman occupation threw open the doors to direct relations which enable the Egyptian cult of Isis to transform directly from the Nile Valley, creating a new phenomenon as a kind of "Egyptomania" which suppressed the Roman world (8). Under Augustus, the more sure of his power he became, the more openly he showed his animosity towards the Egyptian cults. In 28 B.C, the same year in which he restored eighty-two temples of the gods in Rome (9), Augustus refused to have Egyptian shrines within praperium (10), and prohibited the celebration of the Egyptian rites within the pomerium (11), especially for the cult of Isis, he forbade the performance of her rites inside the city of Rome, instead of building a temple there, as he once promised (12); however, this did not mean that Augustus showed any resistance to the cult of Isis outside Rome and its immediate surrounding area; he permitted her cult elsewhere outside the pomerium of Rome, The Augustus's ban of the Alexandrian's cult

1) Val. Max.7.3.8, App. BC 4.47; Bowden, H., Op. Cit, pp. 161-162
2) Green, L., Op. Cit, p.66
4) Green, L., Op. Cit, p. 67
5) Turcan, R., The Cults of the Roman Empire, p.87
9) Res Gestae 20.4
10) Dio Cassius. 53.2.4. Macrobius states the Octavian's attitude towards the Egyptian gods as " The Egyptians as they were not allowed by their religion to appease their gods with animals and blood-sacrifices but only with incense placed the temple extra praperium" Macrobius 1,7: FRA 595, 15; Witt, R., Op. Cit, pp.223, 317 (note.7)
12) Dio Cassius. 53.2.4, 54.6,6
didn't include the worship of Isis and Serapis\(^{(1)}\). He safeguarded the cult of Isis, the Isiac cult continued in secret in underground private chapels within the families, especially the women\(^{(2)}\). During the life time of Augusts, the cult of Isis in Rome made great strides in spreading not only between the lower classes of workers and slaves, but also between the aristocrats and their families, especially the women. This can be proved by three actions, two of them connected with two important officials of Augustus: the first is called\textit{G. Julius Papius}, the chief of the Roman military garrison in Egypt, he travelled to Phila with his sons, to visit the temple of Isis there, and left a memorial stele there to commemorate his visit to Isis at 26 March 25 B.C, the second one is \textit{M. Valerius Messala}, the lieutenant of Augustus and his close friend, who paid a great homage to Osiris-Buchis during a festival at Gaule on the anniversary of his birthday and his glorification of his military achievements in 27/26 B.C, Messala also brought with him from Egypt a statue of Osiris and put it among the Roman \textit{Di Penates}, the domestic deities. The third action is attributed to two aristocrats women, Delia and Nemisis, the mistress of Tibullus, the famous Roman poet (55-19 B.C) were the devotees of Isis, they did not hesitate to implore Isis for health for both of them\(^{(3)}\).

In 21 B.C troubles assailed Rome while Augustus was in Sicily. Agrippa, his son-in-law, restored order and drove the Egyptian cults from the \textit{pomerium}, which again invaded the city\(^{(4)}\), prohibiting any person to practice the cult inside the \textit{pomerium}, in the same time the Egyptian cults were even banned from the suburbs of Rome\(^{(5)}\) within a radius of seven and a half \textit{stadia} (1,330 km); this indicates that there was temples or shrines for Isis inside the \textit{pomerium}, and the Isiac cult was already celebrated there, which may be inside the Iseum \textit{Capitolinum}, or the Iseum \textit{Metellinum}?!!

Later DioCasius claimed that Augustus in the year 10 B.C had erected two Egyptian obelisks taken from Heliopolis(one in the Campus Martius, the other in the Circus Maximus) and adorned his mausoleum with two uninscribed obelisks(the tomb itself have much Egyptian ornament), he had erected sanctuaries for the Alexandrian gods whom he had excluded before\(^{(6)}\), he appeared also on the walls of the Egyptian temples in the homage of Isis\(^{(7)}\).

4. Isis in the first years of the Imperial Rome
Augustus later, especially during the Imperial period, paid attention to the cult of Isis both in Egypt and Rome. He appeared with all the iconographical characteristics and comportment of a god-king, or Egyptian pharaoh building sanctuaries or adoring Isis. He probably became a


\(^{5)}\) Bricault, L., “Isis a Rome”, in: De Cybele a Isis, p.143


\(^{7)}\) Depicted on the temples of Kalabsha and Phila. See: Heinen, H., Kleopatra- Studien, Gesammelte Schriften zur ausgehenden Ptolemäerzeit, Konstanz, 2009,pp.239,242. He also depicted himself as the father of Caesarion in his stela which was depicted himself as a pharaoh is making offerings before the crocodile –god, Suchos of Arsinoe. The stela dates back to the reign of Cleopatra. About this stela see. \textit{Ibid}, pp.244-248; id., \textit{"Julius Caesar als Vater des Ptolemaios XV. Kaiser (Kaisarion”}, in: \textit{Vom hellenistischen Osten zum römischen Westen}, Ausgewählte Schriften zur Alten Geschichte, Stuttgart, 2006, pp. 159-162
victim, of his new own attitude towards the orient, was the patron of "Egyptionizing" works in Rome\(^1\). Starting his imperial cult in Egypt\(^2\).

The new Augustus’ attitude towards the Egyptian gods in the imperial period is emphasized by his construction the Iseum of Pompeii. The recent famous and magnificent Iseum of Pompeii\(^3\) is the second structure, the original building built under Augustus was damaged in an earlier earthquake 62 A.D, is a podium temple surrounded by a portico. The importance of the Isiac cult at Pompeii could be proved clearly by the location of the Iseum itself. It stands in the public quarter near the triangular Forum and close to it are the theatres, the Wrestling School, and the temples of Asclepius and Neptune. The Iseum was regarded as very important for the official life of the city \(^4\) (pl.6 a, b, c).

The Pompeii Iseum shows the great rank, not only for Isis, but for the other Egyptian divinities, which were worshiped inside it, it contains a main altar, has two others which faced niches presumably with statues of Harpocrates and Anubis \(^5\). There were six other altars which stood between the columns of the portico. A variety of sculptures including sphinxes or lions, as well as obelisks often adorn the courtyard or the dromos. There could be live sacred animals about the temple, such as ibises or cats\(^6\). The inner walls of the Pompeii Iseum depict various kinds of Isiac priests including astrologer, anubophoros (bearers the masks of Anubis) (pl.7). In the Sacrarium, or inner Sanctum, with various wall paintings of Egyptian deities as Bes, Apis, and other funerary Egyptian themes and figure\(^7\).

The cult was banned again by Tiberius in 19 A.D, Tiberius abolished all foreign cults in Rome; who took the Egyptian cults hostage and decide upon their elimination, especially Isis and Serapis, on whose rites the emperor laid particular stress, but all the harsh measures he took in his direction, including the demolition of their shrines and the persecution of their priests \(^8\), or at least the persecution of some cult communities \(^9\). The massive involvement of slaves in the Isiac cult at the end of the Republican and the beginning of the imperial Period can easily be proved by the fact that more than 4,000 Isiac and Jewish believers (liberti) and their cult communities (Collegia) were outlawed \(^10\). Tiberius’ decisions were followed by reconstruction of the sanctuaries, often accompanied by the suspension of the destruction decrees \(^11\).

During the life time of the Emperor Tiberius, the priests of Isis involved in a shameful scandal, has its negative impact on the worship of Isis in Rome, and her worshippers were subjected to a severe persecution by Emperor Tiberius in 19 A.D, following the episode of “Paulina” and “Decius Mundus”, which was related by Josephus \(^12\); telling the story that the noble and the beautiful lady “Paulina”, the wife of Saturninus, and the devote of Isis was deceived to sleep

\(^{1)}\) Alfano, C., Op. Cit, p.286
\(^{2)}\) Herklotz, F., Prinzepp und Pharao: Der Kult des Augustus in Ägypten, Frankfurt, 2007
\(^{3)}\) For more information about the temple see: Moormann, E., “The Temple of Isis at Pompeii”, in: Nile into Tiber, pp.137-154; Hofmann, P., Der Isis-Tempel in Pompeji, Münster, 1993
\(^{5)}\) Witt, R., Op. Cit, p.83
\(^{6)}\) Donalson, M., The Domestic Cat in Roman Civilization, Lewiston, 1999,p.50; Steinmann, V., "Ägyptische und römisch- Der Isistempel von Pompeii", in: Antike Welt (6), 2013, pp.22-26
\(^{7)}\) Invicta, I and Donalson, M., Op.Cit.pp.93-95
\(^{8)}\) Josephus, Antiq. 18,3,4; Tacitus, Ann. 2. 85; Lutfi, Y., Op. Cit, p. 358
\(^{9)}\) Alfano, C., Op. Cit, p.288
\(^{10)}\) Ibid, p.286
\(^{11)}\) Ibid,p.288
\(^{12)}\) Joseph. Ant. 18, 65
with the scammer “Decius Maundus”, who was admired with her, and with the bribed collusion of the priests of Isis, took the role and the mask of god Anubis and invited her to dinner, which is specifically called the “kline of Anubis or dinner of Anubis”, the priests of Isis informed and persuaded her with the great majesty she had, that god Anubis chose her to spent his night with her, after the approval of her husband, Maundus, the noble matron was seduced in the temple of Isis by a knight dressed as the god Anubis and abetted by temple priests, after his charming deed, Maundus informed Paulina with his chicanery, Paulina, upon finding that she lost her charity, she informed her husband to god to the Emperor Tiberus, that the affair took place inside the temple of Isis in Rome, and the net result was the crucifixion of the priest of Isis, the throwing of the Isis-statues into the Tiber, and burning her temple and all of her cultic instruments and Isiac vestments, and the liar knight was exiled.

By the end of the Julio-Claudian reign, especially by the reign of Caligula, The Isiac cult most probably became a part of the Roman state religion. The cult of Isis was fostered under the emperor Caligula, that the first state temple of Isis was erected, the Caligua's temple was outside the pomerium (the enclosure) of Rome on the Champ of Mars in Rome, dedicated for Isis and Serapis, which indicates that the cult was not considered as one of the official cults of the state of Rome. An Isis’s figure adorned the pediment of the temple in the form of Isis-Sothis, the star's symbol of the Nile's inundation. Caligula was a devotee of the cult, since he also consorted physically with his sisters, went into deep mourning after the death of Drusilla, and bedecked his own statues with daily costume, in the manner of Isis worship. Caligula rebuilt the Iseum Campense on the Campus Martius destroyed by Tiberius.

Iseum Metellinum, Iseum Capitolinum and Iseum Campense are the three Isiac sanctuaries in Rome that were built during the Republican Rome Age with certitude of good probability. By the long Roman imperial history, especially since the time of Domitian, egyptomania and a kind of religious egyptization of Rome and the Roman Empire started. Isis found great approval and appeal by the Roman Emperors; who regarded her as protectress of rulers into the circle of the imperial dynasties. The most supporters of the worship of Isis in Rome were the emperors Caligula, Nero, Vespasian, Domitian, Hadrian, Commodus, and Caracalla, the villa

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1) Grenier, J., L’Egypte hors d’Egypte: L’egyptedans Rome “, p. 253
2) Griffiths, J., the Isis-Book, pp. 318, 327, 337; Green, L., Op. Cit, p.67; Turcan, R., the Gods of Ancient Rome, p. 123
3) Yehya, L., Op. Cit, p. 358
6) Dunand, F., Isis, Mere des Dieux, p. 75
7) Ibid, pp. 121-122
8) Goldman, N., "Isis revealed: Cult and Costume in Italy", in: Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt, the Proceeding of the Seventeenth Classical Colloquium of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum, JRA Supplementary Series (19), (ed. by M. Baily, D), Michigan, 1996, p.207
10) Brenk, F., “Isis is Greek Word”. Plutarch’s Allegorization of Egyptian Religion”, in: With Unperfumed Voice, p.341
complex of Hadrian at Tivoli (the Villa Adriana) had an area evoking the Egyptian port of Canopus and its temple of Isis and Serapis\(^3\).

Finally Isis transformed from the stage of suffering and persecution to her new stage of prosperity and high rank inside Rome; it played an important role in the religious practices and landscape of Rome. Literary and epigraphic testimonia suggest there were seven or eight separate shrines to Isis in the capital, though the Iseum and Serapeum Campensis is the largest, which located in the heart of the Campus Martius, near the Saepa Julia (an open-air portico famed for its paintings). Under certain emperors, the temple and cult even enjoyed imperial patronage, particularly in the last first century, when Vespasian used his patronage to the cult, especially after his coronation as an emperor by the Roman armed forces in Egypt, and his celebration and coronation in the Iseum of Champ of Mars in Rome\(^4\).

Inscriptions from throughout the Roman world attest to the importance of these cults in their communities in the imperial period, and numbers of the cult of Isis included men and women from all walks of life and social classes\(^5\). Isis was one of the official cults of Rome, had its big number of followers and special festivals in her cult- centers in Rome\(^6\).

**Conclusion**

1. The worship of Isis at Rome suffered between 80 B.C - 14 A.D; her cult was forbidden by the Roman political Senate for more reasons:

   A- The oriental origin of the cult and the feeling of oppression and condescension by the Romans, who considered the Orientals as Barbarians.

   B- The Roman political situation during this period, especially in the 1\(^{st}\) century B.C in Rome, had its negative impact on the Isiac cult. The conflict between the two political authorities at Rome has the fear that those cults and practices could cause political instability. So the destruction of the Isiacs' altars during the 1\(^{st}\) century B.C by the Senate should probably not be interpreted religious- morally but mainly politically against the Populists party, who the athletes and followers of Isis were the majority.

   C- The unstable political situation between Egypt and Rome during thereignof Cleopatra, and the terrible hate and antipathy of the Romans to Cleopatra due to her illegal relationship with their leaders Caesar and Antony.

   D- The escalated propaganda waged by Octavian against Cleopatra and Antony in a bid for the mastery of Rome and its dominions; this produced aggressive attitude by the Romans against both of them. Antony distributed the Roman territories to Cleopatra and her children; a coin struck by Antony about 33 B.C, showed on its observe the head of Cleopatra with the caption\(^7\). Cleopatra was even hailed in some eastern quarters as the deliverer of the East from

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1) Vespanian and Domitian paid favourable attitude towards Isis, both father and son assumed that Domitian owed his life to her on the occasion of the civil war with Vitellius and that she protected their lives after their ascent to the Imperial position. Lutfi, Y., *Op. Cit*, p. 360


4) Bricault, L., *Isis a Rome*, p. 147

5) Swetnam- Burland, M., ” Nilotica and the Image of Egypt”, in: *the Oxford Handbook of the Roman Egypt*, p. 689


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Roman subjection. Antony’s hope directed to be buried next to her in Alexandria. The exaggerated Octavian and his followers propaganda against Cleopatra portrayed her to dominate Rome and destroy the Roman Empire; the post-Actium Roman poets mentioned Cleopatra’s “schemes to ruin the Capitol and destroy the Empire” and “to dispense with justice among the statues and arms of Marius” at Rome\(^1\).

E- The connection between Cleopatra and Isis; Cleopatra was portrayed in the ritual robe of Isis and identified herself as the "New Isis\(^2\)" by many ways and styles such as:

- Cleopatra celebrated the birth of Caesareon by identifying him as an Egyptian pharaoh; the real incarnation of god Horus on earth, while Cleopatra incarnates goddess Isis- Hathor upon the external wall of the temple of Dendera\(^3\)(pl.8)
- Coins struck on Cyprus in 47 B.C show Cleopatra with the attributes of Isis - Aphrodite nursing the infant Caesareion\(^4\).
- She built the Caesarium of Alexandria as the cenotaph of her assassinated husband Caesar and identified him with god Osiris.
- She built a mamisi at Hermonthis (Armant)\(^5\)(pl.9) for affirmation of the divine birth of her son Caesarion as Horus-who perhaps is to avenge the death of his father, the queen was “visited by the holy spirit” (as her emulator, the Madonna) or the god Amun, who appeared to her in the guise of the Roman Caesar\(^6\), and on the way of Rome she possibly stopped at the temple of Isis-Fortuna at Preneste, to thank Isis for having given her Caesar’s son, she always try to portray her family (Caesaer, Cleopatra and Caesareion) in the form of the triad of Osiris - Isis and Horus or in other cases in the form of the Theban’s triad of Amon- Mut and Khonso\(^7\)( pl. 10)
- Her attempt for identifying herself as Isis continued during her relationship with Antony. That she dressed as Isis, probably completely in black during the celebration feast in Alexandria for Antony’s victory over the king of Armenia in 34 B.C, this celebration, which was known as “the ceremony of the Donations”, during which Antony offered gifts of various

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5) The Mammisi of Hermonthis was built by Cleopatra in a purely Egyptian style, as can be seen by the photograph taken by the English man Francis Frith in 1857. Four years before it was destroyed by the Khedive Ismael, who used the stones to build a sugar refinery? The engravings made by travellers such as the scholar Lepsius described as mammisi dedicated to Caesareion and his mother with traditional themes. Goudchaux, G., *Op. Cit*, p.136
6) Ibid, p.133
7) The stela was found among private collection at Montpellier at south of France show Caesareion with signs of childhood as Khnoso in between Caesar (as Amon) and Cleopatra (as Mut). See Grenier, J.," Deux Documents au Nom de " Cesarion"", in: *Hommages a Jean Leclant*, BdE ( 106/3), pp.250-252, fig.2; Andrea, B etal., “Kleopatra und die historischen persönnnllichten in ihrem Umkreis”, in: *Kleopatra und die Caesaren*, p. 69, fig.38 kat.16
territories for Cleoparas’ children. It was the first time that this feast was celebrated outside Rome and later angered many Romans (1). The Greek classical author Plutarch declared that Cleopatra boldly assumed the role of Isis in the guise of the Greek goddess Aphrodite coming to visit her husband Osiris in his manifestation of Dionysos (2).

I think that not only the constant attempts of Cleopatra to represent herself in the guise of Isis, but also her attempting to represent her Roman husband, Antony, as Osiris-Serapis, were two main factors to the malice in Augustus’s soul, not only towards Cleopatra and Antony, but also towards Isis and Serapis; whose Cleopatra and Antony identified with them. So he and his supporters lost their enthusiasm to perform his promise to erect temple for Isis in Rome after the Triumvirs- Antony, Octavian and Marcus Lapidus in 43 B.C, after the assassination of Caesar. Especially he was in general appeared as old-fashioned and cautious in his attitude towards foreign gods. In his war against Antony and Cleopatra, he had made it a major part of his propaganda that he was fighting for the traditional gods of Rome against not only Isis and Serapis, but all the strange.

F- The Roman attitude to the Egyptian gods Isis and Serapis in the late Republican was highly ambiguous. The Senate always regarded them to some extent as threat, especially Isis, whose priests were independent from the senatorial Collegium Pontificum (members of the highest-ranking priests of the state religion), and offered their followers personal spiritual guidance.

G- Most of the followers of Isis were in general plebs (common people) or slaves, they suffered a lot in the Republican Rome, lost their freedom and their power, suffered from famines and new taxes but didn’t lose their hopes, there was a lot of poverty at Rome, but also considerable social mobility in the Republican Rome, which suffered a lot from social conflicts (3). They found the hope, the justice, the provider of food and life and the freedom in the cult of Isis, this cult which away from the power and the supervision of the Senate and the senators, who have the fear and the worry from a public uprising, so they prohibited her cult, appeared as enemies for her and her followers. There were 3 million slaves in Italy under Augustus, in a total population of 7.5 million (4).

The Pax Augusta (27 B.C-180 A.D) enhanced the capabilities of the rich and the moneyed class, especially knights, on the otherwise, restrictions clamped by Augustus on the numbers of the poor men and the incoming slaves; two facts which were bound to encourage free labour in the capital, most of the plebeian masses remained untouched for two reasons; first: they avoided work at a trade or industry in which slaves and freedom were employed (5), the second one, the plebians and consequently, those among them who lived on state dole grew in number due to the restrictions enforced on the emigration of Roman colonists to the provinces- an opportunity which was now reserved for the veterans (6).

Under such circumstances, the Egyptian cults, especially Isis, made a direct appeal to Roman human emotions through introducing their adherents to a new concept of life to help them adjust

5) Duff, J., Social Life in Rome and Italy”, in: CAH (11), 1980, pp.750-751
their attitudes towards any feeling of loss they might have to go through, as well as pointing out new values and hopes in life\(^{(1)}\)

2. The spread of the cult of Isis later in the Mediterranean for many reasons:

A. Isis touched the conscience of all age groups in the community and has achieved the dreams and beliefs of the Public that embraced all of the concepts of the great mother, goddess of creation, fertility, death and resurrection, love, wisdom, and protection. Isis associate and identified with other Hellenistic goddesses who were has a great reputation and followers in their origins. She was Agatha Tyche, Demeter, Aphrodite, Artemis, Athena, Persephone Hera, and Venus. All of these Hellenistic and Roman goddesses were combined in her personality and attributes.

B. Her worship imported to the Hellenistic world as a model for a faithful wife to her husband, guarding him with her wings, mourning for his death, she covered all the privileges, the attributes and the functions of all these goddesses such as Love, beauty, motherhood, childbirth, harvest, fertility, mysterious secrets\(^{(2)}\)…etc. So Most of her worshippers and followers were women\(^{(3)}\), she was the protector of women\(^{(4)}\) looked to Isis for assistance, that she had established herself as patroness of the female sex and offered herself as a model of inspiration in the circumstances of domestic life\(^{(5)}\). Her role as protectress of lovers is particularly emphasized in the Greek romances of imperial times\(^{(6)}\).

C. She speaks of her own attributes and characteristics, her deeds, inventions and the benefits she has given mankind.

D. Almost every Isis' temples with extant architectural remains contain areas that can be identified as living space for pilgrims, especially since the process of initiation into the mysteries of Isis sometimes took several weeks. Which refer to a kind of oracle or incubation\(^{(7)}\) were available in the precinct of the Iseums. The Graeco- Roman world regarded Isis as responsible for divination, she was known as Isis Medica\(^{(8)}\).

3. The spread of the Egyptian cults- especially the cult of Isis- from Alexandria to the whole world, not only the Hellenistic one, is considered one of the most remarkable religious developments in antiquity. This is dues to two factors:

A. Political factor. The huge propaganda which was done by the Ptolemaic rulers, who embraced the Egyptian deities with its interesting and great beliefs and by exporting the cult of these gods to the Hellenistic world with great propaganda for strengthen the throne of the Ptolemaic

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\(^{(1)}\) Lutfy, Y. *Op. Cit*, p. 363  
\(^{(3)}\) Among the inscriptions which were dedicated to Isis in Athens and Rome. Of the 35 inscriptions from Athens 17 or 48.6 % concern female devotees, while from Rome 36 of 97 inscriptions or 37.1 % speak of women. From the other major cult centers the percentage are much smaller. Of the 75 inscriptions from the island of Rhodes not one mentions a woman devotee. May he dues to that Rhodes was an old cult center from the 3rd century B.C. Heyob, S., *Op. Cit*, pp. 81-82  
\(^{(4)}\) Dunand, F., *Isis, Mere des Dieux*, pp. 108-109. An inscription was dedicated to her as guardian of Women under the name Isis Puellaris was found in Spain. VS 761=CIL 2.3386  
\(^{(6)}\) *Ibid*, p. 66; see also. Aubaude, C., "Isis Romantique. La Grandeur du Mystere", in: *De Memphis à Rome*, pp. 147-162  
\(^{(8)}\) Isis was responsible of healing the sick. Her responsibilities were exactly the same of Asklepios. Greek writer said "Men say that she is the giver of health, as we declare Asclepius is". See Witt, R., *Op. Cit*, pp.185-197
king and attract more greatness for the Ptolemaic kingdom in the conflicted Hellenistic world during this period; The Ptolemies supported the spreading of the Egyptian cults in the Hellenistic world, especially the Alexandrian triad: Serapis, Isis and Harpocrates. Which seek to put it as the official triad of the Hellenistic world which achieves their political ambitions. The Roman emperors- in many cases- welcomed the Egyptian gods for political reasons and selfish greeds.

B. The battle of Actium played an important role for direct connection between the Egyptians and the Romans, which transformed the Egyptian cults to Rome rapidly without the Aegean coast as mediator and link, which enable the Romans to more recognize and keen interest of these cults. That after Actium the cult of Isis became a thriving influence between the public, which no political pressure could stop

4. The cult of Isis in Rome not only embraced all level of society but also caught the interest of Philosophers and writers\(^1\).

Plates

Pl. 1 Isis- Fortuna, the National Archaeology Museum of Naples
_Ibid_, fig. 9

Pl. 2 Isis- Aphrodite from Egypt. Badische Landesmuseum, Karlsruhe

PL. 3 (A) Isis is suckling her son
Gentili, G., Cleopatra: Roma e l'Incantesimodell'Egitto, Milano, 2013, pl.29
Pl. 3 (b) Isis is suckling Harpocrates

_Itbid, pl.150_

Pl.4 (A) The Capitoline monuments

Versluys, M., Isis Capititolina and the Egyptian Cults in Late Republican Rome, p. 422, fig.1
Pl. 4 (B) View on the ancient forum and the Capitoline hill, on the right side, the obelisk and palm tree

*Ibid*, p. 422, fig. 1

Pl. 4 (C) The Capitoline obelisk and palm tree

*Ibid*, p. 425, fig. 2

Pl. 5 (A) Sistrums of Isis from the Iseum of Pompeii, the National Archaeology Museum of Naples,

Pl. 5 (B) The Situla of Isis, Museum August Kestner, Hannover

Ibid, fig. 118

PL. 6 (A) The Iseum of Pompeii

Plan of the Temple of Isis
1. Temple
2. Main altar
3. Building with water tank
4. Meeting hall
5. Initiation chamber
6. Priests’ lodging
A. Statue of Venus
B. Statue of Isis
C. Herm of Norbanus Sorex
D. Statue of Dionysus
E. Shrine of Harpocrates

Pl. 6 (B) Model of the Iseum of Pompeii

Quack, J., Op. Cit, fig. 101
Pl. 6 (C) Thelseum of Pompeii

Pl. 7 Priest of Isis with Anubis-mask, fresco from the Iseum of Pompeii, Naples Museum
Quack, J., Op. Cit, fig.110

Pl. 8 Cleopatra and Caesareion- The exterior wall of the temple of Isis at Dendera
Goudchaux, G., "Cleopatra's subtle religious Strategy", in: Cleopatra of Egypt from History to
Myth fig.3.2

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Pl. 9 The Mammisi of Armant

*Ibid*, fig. 3.1

Pl. 10 Julius Caesar, Cleopatra VII and Caesareion as the triad of Thebes, Gentili, G., Op. Cit, pl. 88
معاناة أيزيس في روما (80 قبل الميلاد - 37 بعد الميلاد)
وقد عمران
كلية السياحة والفنادق – جامعة الفيوم

تعتبر عبادة أيزيس من أهم وأولى العبادات المصرية التي انتشرت في حوض البحر المتوسط منذ القرن الرابع قبل الميلاد. الملامح الهلليستية لأيزيس تشكلت مع خلق العباده الجديدة للسيبيريس في بدايات العصر البيزنطي داخل مصر، وذلك قبل تصدر عبادة أيزيس بالملاحمة الهلليستية إلى العالم الهلليستي. مع بدايات القرن الثاني قبل الميلاد، دخلت عبادة أيزيس وسيرابيس روما، حيث انتشرت عبادتها في البداية عن طريق العلاقات التجارية بين مصر وروما من خلال الموانئ اليونانية في البحر الأبيض. في البحر الأبيض الذي شكل في ذلك الوقت الوسيط لانتقال عبادة أيزيس إلى روما.

لقد أصبحت أيزيس الآلهة المحبوبة للتجار الرومان من خلال تجارتهم في البحر الأبيض، لكن بعد غزو أكتافيان لمصر، أصبحت عبادة أيزيس داخل روما من خلال تجارتهم في البحر الأبيض، مما ساعد على بداية انتشار عبادة الآلهة المصرية، لاسيما عبادة أيزيس، داخل روما خاصة بين الطبقات الفقيرة والنساء. عانت عبادة أيزيس عن طريق إعطاء مجلس السناتور الروماني الكثير من الرومان الذين تولوا شعوره برد القبول والكره من مصر والآلهة، لاسيما أن إنشاءه السنيه من قبل أكتافيان وشعاراء البلاط الروماني في ذلك الوقت ضد أنطونيوس وكلوبتريا كاملاً بشكل قوي في تدامت ذلك الشعور، حيث صور الحروب بينه وبين كلوبتريا بأنها حرب بين الشرق بالله، روما الغربي بالله.

مشكلة البحث

لقد أخذت إيزيس داخل روما إبان الحكم الجمهوري والسنوات الأولى من الحكم الإمبراطوري لسنوات عديدة، هذه المعاناة أخذت أشكال مختلفة مثل اضطهاد الطبقات، وفي السنوات الأخيرة، أو تدمير المعابد، وقد طالب بإنهاء الادعاءات الدينية التي تحدثت عن إيزيس، وتشير المعاداة والصواريخ الممتلكات ديبهب وتشير المعاداة ومن الأسئلة الممتعة بحقيقة وشرح دخول عبادة أيزيس إلى روما، وهل كان الصراخ السياسي بين الجمهوريين والمحافظين في روما في العصر الجمهوري له الأثر السلبي على العبادات المصرية بشكل عام، وخاصة على عبادة أيزيس؟ وهل كان العداء الشخصي من قبل مجلس السناتور الروماني بشكل خاص، والرومانيون بشكل عام ضد كلوبتريا له تأثير على عبادة أيزيس في روما باكملها مع حرص كلوبتريا على إظهار عبادة أيزيس في روما بشكل واضح من قبل كليوبتريا. أخيراً، والبحث الم.getElementsByTagName("meta")[0].content.length]وحهد في الاختلافات في كل العبادات.

النتائج

يعتبر انتشار عبادة أيزيس من الإسكندرية إلى العالم كله، وليس فقط العالم الهلليستي من التطورات الدينية الأكثر أهمية في العصور القديمة. كانت معاناة عبادة أيزيس في روما لها أسبابها الخاصة والسياسية على حد سواء، وساهمت في العصر الجمهوري. لقد مثلت الدعاية السياسية لألكسندر والشعراء الرومانيون ضد مارك أنطونيو وكلوبتريا دعاية سلبية أيضاً ضد عبادة أيزيس، حيث أدى إلى تناول الشعراء الراقب لما هو معرفي، لاسيما الآلهة. لقد تغلبت السمات والصفات الشخصية لأيزيس في أن تصبح الآلهة المحبوبة لآلاف الناس في روما، بالإضافة إلى شعور الشعب الروماني على العبادة، بالإضافة إلى شعوره في كثير من الصفات مع العديد من الآلهات في العالم الهلليستي، ويمكن أن تكون أهم العوامل الرئيسية لنجاح عبادة أيزيس.