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**VARIOUS MANIFESTATIONS OF ISIS CULT IN THE REGION
OF ISTRIA, ILLYRICUM AND PANNONIA AND ITS DIFFUSION
TO THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN REGION (2nd c. BC – 4th c. AD)**

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The first Ancient Egyptian artefacts in Istria and *Illyricum* started to appear in the middle of the First Millennium BC, but without any proof of their worshippers. At the beginning of the 1st century AD the Egyptian cults became very popular in Adriatic and Pannonian region. The first epigraphic evidences of Isiac cults appeared during the reign of the Emperor Claudius with the appearing of the first collegiums of Isis and Serapis in Salona. By the end of the 1st century AD they had spread to *Pannonia* at north. Among the substantial number of the Ancient Egyptian deities that are documented in this region, various manifestations of the Isis cults were the most popular. In this article the author presents the spread of the Isis cults in Istria, *Illyricum* and *Pannonia*; various manifestations of the Isis cult and ethnic groups and professions, which were involved in its diffusion. At the end of the article, the author also discusses various sanctuaries, which have been discovered in this region so far.

Keywords: Isis, Egyptian cults, manifestations of Isis cult, diffusion, ethnic groups, professions, Istria, *Illyricum*, *Pannonia*

1. Introduction

The first Ancient Egyptian artefacts started to appear in *Illyricum* and Istria during the Greek colonization of the eastern Adriatic region (c. 8th – 3rd BC) [Šišić 1925, 75; Mihovilić 2002, 506; Cambi 2002,

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14; Katić 2002, 425; Marin 2002, 415–421; Matijašić 2009, 69–70, 78; Tomorad 2015, 169]. According to the latest archaeological results and historical analysis of its findings the first penetration of such artefacts can be traced from the 7th c. BC (amulets, scarabs, shabtis, beads, statuettes) [Tomorad 2015, 170–171]. During the Hellenistic Period such artefacts started to appear in substantial numbers on the islands and inland [Tomorad 2015, 171] along with the great number of Ptolemaic coinage [Brunšmid 1897, 42, 46, 63–64; Truhelka 1889, 38–43; Mirnik 1981, 37–38, 45–48; Mirnik 1982, 151; Mirnik 1987, 371, 380–386; Šešelj 2009, 321; Tomorad 2015, 171–173]. One of the oldest elements of the Isis cult is the small bronze sistrum discovered in the pre-Roman settlement Nesactium which could be dated in the early 2nd c. BC¹. The first syncretistic form of her cult appeared in Loron near Poreč (ancient *Parentium*) the north-west region of Istria in the 1st c. BC in a form of Isis Fortuna². From the 1st c. AD various manifestations of Isis cult (Isis, Isis *lactans*, Isis *Myrionyma*) or syncretistic forms of her cult (Isis Augusta, Isis Fortuna, Isis Panthea) started to appear in the whole region commonly in company with other Egyptian gods (Osiris, Serapis, and Harpocrates). The oldest inscription about collegium Isidis in this region (*Salona*, Dalmatia) was discovered in *Auternum Vestinorum* (Pescara, Italy) [CIL IX.3338]. The cult of Isis and various manifestations of her cult penetrated Istria and all regions of *Illyricum* until the beginning of the 4th c. [Perc 1968; Selem 1971; Selem 1972; Budischovsky 1977; Selem 1980, 1–75; Selem 1997; Jurkić-Girardi 2001; Giunio 2002; Bugarski-Mesdjian 2004, 619–632; Jurkić-Girardi 2005, 147, 203–205, 216–217, 224–225; Tomorad 2005b, 447–448; Tomorad 2015]. With the rising of Christianity at the beginning of the 4th c. AD the popularity of Isis cults gradually became weaker and weaker until they were prohibited by Emperor Theodosius I and his sons Arcadius and Honorius at the end of the 4th c. AD [CTh XVI.10.10; CTh XVI.10.11; CTh XVI.10.12; CTh, II.8.22; CTh, XVI.10.13; CTh, XVI.10.16].

¹ Pula: The Archaeological museum of Istria, A-5048; cf. [Puschi 1914, 59–60; Perc 1968, 157–158 no. 14; Budischovsky 1977, 173; Džin 2001, 18–19; Tomorad 2003, 49, fn. 193; Giunio 2002, 26–27; Tomorad 2005a, 17; Tomorad 2007, 48–49 no. 3; Tomorad 2015, 175 fig. 128].

² Poreč: Museo del territorio parentiano, unknown inventory number.

2. The phases of the diffusion of Isis cult in Istria and *Illyricum*

The penetration and diffusion of the Ancient Egyptian cults to the territory the east Adriatic coast and *Illyricum* probably happened during several phases. According to the previous archaeological and historical studies, and the latest typological research of ancient Egyptian artefacts kept in the various museum collections in this region, we can identify four main phases of penetration and dissemination in this region:

1) during the first half of the 1st millennium BC when the first ancient Egyptian artefacts were probably traded by the Phoenician and Greek merchants;

2) during the Greek colonization of the eastern Adriatic coast when more intensive connections were established and when the first dissemination probably started (late Bronze age-early Iron Age, around 9th c. to the end of the 3rd c. BC);

3) the period of the Roman conquest of *Illyricum* (the end of 3rd c. BC to the end of Augustus' reign);

4) during the Roman rule of *Illyricum* (the 1st c. to the first half of the 4th c. AD), dissemination started during the reign of Emperor Claudius, and it became more vital during the reign of the Flavian Dynasty (AD 69–96). Egyptian cults (Osiris, Serapis, Harpocrates, Bes, Apis, etc.) with syncretistic elements (Isis Panthea, Isis Fortuna, Hermes-Thoth, Jupiter-Ammon, Serapis with lions etc.) appeared during the 1st c. and their popularity continued until the middle of the 3rd c. AD. With the rising of Christianity at the beginning of the 4th c. AD we can see a gradual decline in popularity of all pagan cults which were, at the end of the fourth century, completely prohibited by emperor Theodosius [*CTh* XVI.1.2; *CTh* XVI.10.8; *CTh* XII.1.112; *CTh* IX.16.11; *CTh* XVI.10.10 – XVI.10.12; *CTh*, II.8.22; *CTh*, XVI.10.13; *CTh*, XVI.10.16].

The first Egyptian artefacts came to *Illyricum* in the first half of the 1st millennium BC but the real penetration and diffusion of the Egyptian cults started during the Roman conquest of *Illyricum* (3rd c. BC – early 1st c. AD) when the considerable number of various Egyptian artefacts (amulets, shabtis, statuettes of pre-Hellenistic version of Egyptian gods) appeared in the eastern Adriatic coast. In the previous historical and archaeological studies of these artefacts in most cases they were not dated, but authors suggested that they arrived after the Roman conquest of *Illyricum*.

In the 4th c. BC Greek geographer Pseudo-Skylax described the women in the societies of *Liburnes* and *Iapodesas* women who had more influential positions and sexual freedom [Ps. Skyl., 21; Suić 1955, 121–185; Shipley 2011]. P. Selem used it for his hypothesis that the prominent positions of women in their societies could enable a more influential perception of the ancient Egyptian goddess Isis during the Roman colonization and the Romanization of *Dalmatia* [Selem 1971, 299], but without any presumption that the dissemination of the ancient Egyptian cults could start earlier than the first century AD. In the region around Zadar, Nin, Lika, and the border between Bosnia and Croatia several Egyptian artefacts have been discovered so far. During an archaeological excavation in 1932, in Ostrožac near Bihać (Bosnia and Herzegovina), shabti was discovered in a Roman grave (1st c. BC)³. In another the 1st c. Roman grave, from an unknown site in Lika, a statuette of Serapis and shabti was discovered during 1940's⁴. In *Aenona* shabti and pseudoshabti (Third Intermediate Period, Ptolemaic Dynasty – early Roman Period)⁵ were discovered along with several oil lamps with carved Isis, Serapis and Jupiter Ammon, and a statue of Isis (1st c. AD)⁶; in Iader a terracotta oil lamp with Isis and Serapis (1st c. AD)⁷ and a bronze amulet of a mummified figure (Ptolemaic Dynasty – 1st c. AD)⁸. All these findings document the presence of Egyptian artefacts and divinities in that region from at least the 1st c. BC and possibly earlier.

More than one hundred Egyptian artefacts (shabtis, amulets, beads, scarabs, bronze statuettes of divinities etc.) were discovered along the eastern Adriatic coast from Istria to *Epidaurum* (today Cavtat), and *Pannonia* region⁹. The biggest numbers of Egyptian artefacts were

³ Zagreb: Archaeological museum, Main inventory book 348. Unpublished.

⁴ Zagreb: Archaeological museum, Main inventory book 358. Unpublished.

⁵ Zagreb: Archaeological museum, E675–E676.

⁶ Zadar: Archaeological museum, L. 163 (t.k. 4379, I.e. 6820), L. 878 (375, I.a. 1383/2, t.k. 4427), L. 495 (I.e. 7298).

⁷ Zadar: Archaeological museum, 3672.

⁸ Zadar: Archaeological museum, without inventory number.

⁹ Zagreb: Archaeological museum, E561-5, E675, E766, Main inventory book 348; Split: Archaeological museum, 1221, AV372-375, B214-218, B757, G1622-32, G1676, G1886-1887, H374-378; H5503-5507, H2604, H5459-5462, I11, I1185; Pula: The Archaeological museum of Istria, A5210,

discovered in Salona¹⁰, the middle Dalmatia region¹¹, on the islands of Korčula, Hvar, and Vis¹². Most of them were discovered during 19th century, and today we do not know much about the archaeological context of these findings except the location of the discovery. According to their typology, iconography, and the artistic style of crafting, they should be dated from the Late Period to the Ptolemaic Dynasty. These artefacts most likely came to the eastern Adriatic region from the early 3rd c. BC to the end of the 1st c. BC. Were they just part of the goods which merchants sold to local communities or were they the first evidence of Egyptian cults which penetrated the eastern Adriatic region during this period? Sadly, we do not possess any archaeological evidence that could provide an answer to that question. If we compare these findings with the material discovered in Spain, France, Italy, Aegean and North Africa there is a great possibility that those artefacts could have arrived to the eastern Adriatic coast and inland before the Romanization of *Illyricum* during the 1st c. AD [Tran Tam Tih 1971; Tran Tam Tih 1972; Dunand 1973; Budischovsky 1977; Hölbl 1979; Padró i Parcerisa 1980–1985; Hölbl 1986; Tomorad 2000, 8–9;

A5220-5221, A5523-5224, A5048; Sinj: Franciscan monastery, Archaeological collection, R299-300; Osijek: Museum of Slavonia, 194962, AA-1340-1344, AA-1406, AA-1432-34, AA-1605-1606, AA-2590, AA-2665, AA-2670, AA-6148, AA-6243, AA-19469. Several artefacts without inventory numbers are also kept in private collections Lik, Marović and Domančić, and in museum collections in Trieste, Senj, Hvar, Graz, Ptuj, Szekszárd, and Vienna.

¹⁰ The ten shabtis crafted from the 26th to the Ptolemaic Dynasty (coll. Marović, Zagreb: Archaeological museum, E561-5), ten bronze statuettes of Osiris (Split: Archaeological museum, H374-8, H5006, H5459, H5461-3), five statuettes of Isis-Hathor nursing Horus (Split: Archaeological museum, H5003-5, H5007, H5460), and Wedjet-eye amulet (Split: Archaeological museum, G1629).

¹¹ The nine shabtis crafted from the 18th Dynasty to the Late period (Split: Archaeological museum, B212-216, G1623-1624, G1626, FB-757), the four scarabs (Split: Archaeological museum, AV373, G1632, G1886-1887), pearl with hieroglyphic signs (Split: Archaeological museum, AV372, 374–375), the fragments of the Ancient Egyptian artefacts with or without hieroglyphic signs (Split: Archaeological museum, B217-218, B757), Wedjet-eye amulet (Split: Archaeological museum, G1676).

¹² Shabti (27th Dynasty-Ptolemaic Dynasty; coll. Domančić), shabti (27th Dynasty – Ptolemaic Dynasty, Split: Archaeological museum, G1625), the two Wedjet-eye amulets and the pendant amulet with falcon with crown (Split: Archaeological museum, G1627-8, G1631).

Bricault 2001; Tomorad 2015]. They could be a crucial element in confirming that the first worshippers of Egyptian cults were already present in that region. If this thesis is correct then the first active penetration of ancient Egyptian divinities probably happened between the end of the 3rd c. BC until the end of the 1st c. BC, before the end of the Roman conquest of *Illyricum*. Sadly, from this period we do not have any epigraphic evidence which could confirm the existence of Egyptian cults.

The earliest surviving epigraphic evidence of Isaic cult and communities were dated to be from the 1st c. AD In *Auternum Vestinorum* (today Pescara, Italy) two epigraphic inscriptions from the 1st c. AD document the presence of *collegium Serapis* [*CIL IX.3337 = SIRIS 475, 677 = RICIS 615/0401*] and *collegium Isidis* [*CIL IX.3338*] in *Salona*. These collegiums could have developed from the previous individual worshippers or even small communities of worshippers of Egyptian divinities (Isis, Serapis, Osiris, and Harpocrates) which are documented on bronze figurines discovered along the eastern Adriatic coast. They could be imports from Egypt, Italy, the eastern Mediterranean or Aegean region during the period from the 3rd to the 1st centuries BC or they could have been looted from ancient Egyptian tombs and sold during the Greco-Roman Period. The findings discovered in the Roman settlements on the eastern Adriatic coast and inland, which date from the 1st c. AD until the end of the 3rd c. AD, have a different typology from the artefacts from the Late and Ptolemaic Periods. Does it mean that this typological older material came from an earlier period than the artefacts from the Roman Period? We cannot confirm such a hypothesis but that is possible. The most important reason which could backup such hypothesis is the type artefacts discovered during this period; these artefacts were not the product of the Roman Period. Since the 1st c. AD genuine Egyptian artefacts were mostly copied for cultic purposes in moulds from a bit different material. Commonly Egyptian artefacts from the Late and Ptolemaic Period were made from faience or terracotta and Roman imitations of these artefacts used less quality materials for its production. Iconography of Egyptian gods also changed since the late Roman Republic which can also determine the difference between the genuine Egyptian artefacts, which came from the Late Period or Ptolemaic Egypt, from the products of the Roman Empire.

The first worshippers of Egyptian gods and goddesses were probably present along the coast and inland in the communities of various Illyrian tribes, and in locations where Greeks established their colonies and trading posts which developed prominent communications with the Aegean region, Egypt and North Africa (e.g. Etruscans, Phoenicians, Cartago etc.). One of the most interesting artefacts from the region is a small bronze sistrum discovered in the pre-Roman settlement of *Nesactium* (today Vizače near Pula)¹³. It is dated from the early 2nd c. BC to the 1st c. AD. It was found in 1908 during archaeological excavations in Nesactium, in a grave with an urn and a terracotta oil lamp which were dated to the second century BC. Later it was not dated, or it was dated to the 1st c. AD [Puschi 1914, 59–60; Gnirs 1915, 121; Perc 1968, 157–158, no. 14; Budischovsky 1977, 173; Džin 2001, 18–19; Tomorad 2003, 49 *fn.* 193; Giunio 2002, 26–27; Tomorad 2005a, 17, 48–49 no. 3; Tomorad 2015, 179–180]. The reason for different dating is probably the typical thinking that Egyptian cults appeared in that region from the 1st c. AD. Since the pharaonic period sistrams were, in the ancient world, typical symbols of the cults of Isis and Hathor. According to the typology, iconography and comparisons with similar sistrams from various museums around the world, this sistrum can be dated to the Ptolemaic Period. It could be evidence of some worshipper of Isis or Hathor who lived around *Nesactium*, or evidence of early dissemination of Egyptian divinities in Istria. Bronze figurines of the Egyptian divinities Neith, Harpocrates, Apis and Osiris, discovered in Istria, are all product of the Ptolemaic Period (the 3rd to the 1st c. BC) which could have come to Istria anytime during that period. Sadly, the archaeological context for all these findings was not preserved, and the only confirmed location is Bale (ancient *Valle*), where a larger bronze Osiris statuette was unearthed. These artefacts were most likely brought to Istria from Italy of some Greek settlement at the south Adriatic during the first wave of the diffusion of the Isaic cults in Mediterranean. Newly opened Egyptian artefacts from Krk (ancient *Curricum*) discovered in the late Hellenistic graves related to the civil war between Pompey and Julius Caesar in this region and they were dated in the early second half of the 1st c. BC [Tomorad 2015, 175, 184–192].

¹³ Pula: The Archaeological museum of Istria, A-5048.

The next phase of dissemination of Egyptian cults happened during the period of the Romanization of the Istria peninsula, *Illyricum* and *Pannonia* during the 1st c. AD [Matijašić 2009, 87–221; Domić-Kunić and Džino 2013]. According to previous studies the settlers from Italy were the first members of Roman society which introduced the cult of Isis and Serapis in *Pannonia* [Wessetzky 1961; Móscy 1962, col. 734–736; Pinterović 1967, 26–27; Lengyel & Radan 1980, 185–193; Selem 1980, 1–75; Rendić-Miočević and Šegvić 1998, 10]. The oldest artefacts from this period are two oil lamps with the relief of Isis from *Potovio* (Ptuj, Slovenia)¹⁴, usually dated to the reign of the Emperor Claudius I (41–54 AD) [Saria 1937, 23; Perc 1968, 192 nos. 40–41; Selem 1972, 34, 37; Selem 1980, 19 nos. 31–32; Selem 1997, 136 nos. 8.23–4]. During the same period, at the territory of the other Illyrian tribe *Colapiani* in *Dalmatia*, two shabtis from terracotta¹⁵ were discovered near the ancient *Aequum* (today Čitluk, small village near Sinj, Croatia). The typology of these shabtis [Tomorad 2006, 285–286, nos. 1–2] suggests the possibility that they could come to the area around *Aequum* sometime during the last centuries BC or during the 1st c. AD. The other artefact that probably belonged to this phase is the statue of the goddess Isis which is sitting on the throne with two lions beneath her legs. It was discovered during the early 1950's around Senj [Degmedžić 1952, 251–54, pl. 1 and 4]. L. Bricault dated it from the 1st c. BC to the 1st c. AD [Bricault 2001, maps XXVI–XXVII, 119, 125, 129] when ancient *Senia* (today Senj) was used as the stronghold against the nearby Illyrian tribes *Japodes* and *Liburnes*. The artefact, which could be dated to the period of the Flavian Dynasty, was discovered in Pola. It is a marble fragment of a head depicting the Egyptian goddess Hathor¹⁶, which was excavated from an amphitheatre in Pula during the archaeological season of 1932–1933. It was found among building material and mortar during the reconstruction work of the visitors' seats, together with a coin of the Roman emperor Galba

¹⁴ Graz: Landesmuseum Joanneum, 5683, 8310.

¹⁵ The first shabti from green coloured enamelled terracotta typologically is the typical shabti produced during the 26th Dynasty in Egypt. The second shabti from brown terracotta was probably crafted during the Late or Ptolemaic Period. Sinj: *Franciscan monastery, Archaeological collection*, R299-300.

¹⁶ Pula: Archaeological museum of Istria, A-8712.

[Degrassi 1933, 395–396; Perc 1968, 148–150; Jurkić-Girardi 2001, 14–15; Tomorad 2003, 48 *fn.* 180; Tomorad 2005a, 16–17, 45–46]. There are many other artefacts that could be dated to the 1st c. AD. They were discovered in *Tergeste*, *Aegida* (Kopar), Loron near Poreč, *Pola*, *Galižana*, *Savudrija*, *Aenona*, *Iader*, *Aternum* (Pescara), *Salona*, *Oklaj Promine*, *Poetovio*, Sv. Križ, *Andautonia*, *Siscia*, and *Mursa*. They were dedicated to Bes (Oklaj Promine)¹⁷, Isis¹⁸, *Aegida*¹⁹, *Aenona*²⁰, *Poetovio*²¹, *Siscia*²², Isis Fortuna (*Tergeste*²³, *Silbonis*²⁴, *Lika*²⁵, *Andautonia*²⁶), Isis with Horus (Sv. Križ²⁷, Isis Panthea (*vicus Galisanus*, modern *Galižana*)²⁸, Isis and Serapis (*Aenona*²⁹, *Iader*³⁰), Isis, Serapis, Liber, Libera and Anubis (*Iader*³¹), Jupiter Ammon

¹⁷ Bronze vessel shaped in form of Bes. Split: Archaeological museum, H4427.

¹⁸ *Tergeste* (Oil lamp with sistrum. Trieste: Museo civico archeologico, without inventory number).

¹⁹ Altar dedicated to Isis. Verona: Museo civico archeologico, without inventory number. CIL V.484.

²⁰ Stone statue of Isis without head. Zagreb: Archaeological museum, A34.

²¹ Oil lamps from terracotta with relief. Graz: Landesmuseum Joanneum, 5683, and 8310.

²² Gemme from the red jasper with Isis relief. Zagreb: Museum of contemporary art – archaeological collection of Benko Horvat, 581.

²³ Bronze statuettes of Isis Fortuna. Trieste: Museo civico archeologico, 2457, 2466, 3440, and one without inventory number.

²⁴ Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna. Pula: Archaeological museum of Istria, A4620.

²⁵ Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna. Zagreb: Archaeological museum, A4633.

²⁶ Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna. Ščitarjevo: Archaeological park *Andautonia*, without inventory number. Unpublished.

²⁷ Bronze statuette of Isis with Horus. Wien: Naturhistorisches Museum – Prähistorische Abteilung, 55419.

²⁸ Votive stone ara with the symbols of the cult of Isis. Pula: Archaeological museum of Istria, A41.

²⁹ Round oil lamps from brown-red terracotta with relief of Isis and Serapis. Zadar: Archaeological museum, L.163, and L.878.

³⁰ Round oil lamp from brown-red terracotta with relief of Isis and Serapis. Zadar: Archaeological museum, 3672. Unpublished.

³¹ Altar with inscription dedicated to Isis, Serapis, Liber, Libera, Anubis and Harpocrates. Verona: Museo lapidario Maffeiiano, without inventory number. CIL III.2903.

(*Pola*³², *Asseria*³³, *Andautonia*³⁴, *Siscia*³⁵), Osiris, Isis and Nephthys (*Mursa*³⁶) and Serapis (*Pola*³⁷).

Many of the Egyptian artefacts “re-discovered” in various museums, during the project *Croato-Aegyptica* (cca. 40–50 artefacts from the Archaeological Museum in Split) are still not analysed or published. Due to the lack of archaeological context for the most of these findings, we will probably never find out when and how they came to Istria and *Illyricum*. According to typology, iconography and crafting techniques of these artefacts, we can presume that many of them could have arrived during the 1st or 2nd centuries AD. In his articles and books, P. Selem [Selem 1963, 94–107; Selem 1969, 125–144; Selem 1971, 291–332; Selem 1972, 7–104; Selem 1980, 1–75; Selem 1997] made a hypothesis that some of them could have been crafted in local workshops related to the worshippers of Egyptian cults but there is no evidence that can support such a hypothesis. It is possible that such workshops existed near the sanctuaries or temples in the main centres of Isaic cults, but we still do not have any archaeological evidences that can support such theory.

The next large group of artefacts mostly came to *Illyricum* during the 2nd c. AD and during the reign of Severus Dynasty with the major influence of the syncretism of the various divinities (e.g. Jupiter Ammon, Isis Fortuna, Isis Tyche, Hermes Thot, Mercury Thot, Harpocrates Helium, Serapis with lions, etc.). The biggest group is devoted to Serapis and crafted as the marble tomb stele with a head of Serapis with kalathos or only kalathos between two lying lions. They were discovered in Pannonia region of *Illyricum* in *Sirmium* (today Sremska

³² Monolith blocks of an altar parapet with relief of Jupiter Ammon. Pula: Archaeological museum of Istria, A391, A393, and A16602.

³³ Tomb stone of Vatica Aplif(ilia) Tituae and Pasinae Voltisae with relief of Jupiter Ammon. Zadar: Archaeological museum, 213.

³⁴ Round oil lamp from red terracotta with relief of Jupiter Ammon. Ščitarjevo: Archaeological park Andautonia, without inventory number. Unpublished.

³⁵ Round oil lamp with relief of Jupiter Ammon. Zagreb: Archaeological museum – Ancient department, unknown inventory number.

³⁶ Egyptian stele of Pedi-Hor-pa-khered. Osijek: Museum of Slavonia, AA-2590.

³⁷ Tomb stone of Obelia Maximae dedicated to Serapis. Pula: Archaeological museum of Istria, 313.

Mitrovica)³⁸, *Bassiana* (today Petrovci)³⁹, *Teutoburgium* (today Dalj)⁴⁰, near Križevci⁴¹ and in Koprivnica⁴². Other monuments with syncretistic elements were mostly bronze statuettes (Isis Fortuna⁴³, Isis Tyche, Hermes Thot, Mercury Thot, and Harpocrates Helium) or parts of architectural decorations of city forums in *Pola* and *Iader* (e.g. Jupiter Ammon). In *Aqua Iasae* couple of stone artefacts dedicated to Serapis and Nymphs⁴⁴, Isis and Serapis⁴⁵ and Isis Fortuna⁴⁶ were discovered during the archaeological excavations in 2011 and 2012. They were dated to the 2nd and the 3rd c. AD.

There is also a group of artefacts which were produced or brought to *Illyricum* during the 3rd c. BC or the first half of 4th c. AD. Such artefacts are mostly genuine Ancient Egyptian funerary steles and tombstones discovered in *Emona* (Ljubljana) and *Mursa* (Osijek). Along with all these artefacts there are many epigraphic monuments with votive and funerary inscriptions (altars, cippus of the tombstone, etc.), and with theophoric names: *Apio*⁴⁷, *Aur(elius)*

³⁸ Eight of them are today kept in lapidarium of the Museum of Sirmium in Sremska Mitrovica and three in the Archaeological museum in Zagreb (inv. nos. 164a-b, 165).

³⁹ Zagreb: Archaeological museum, A161-163.

⁴⁰ Osijek: Museum of Slavonia, AA-6148.

⁴¹ Križevci: City museum, 26.

⁴² Koprivnica: City museum, unknown inventory number.

⁴³ Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna discovered in Proložac near Imotski. Imotski: Local history museum, unknown inventory number.

⁴⁴ Badly damaged inscription dedicated to Serapis and the Nymphs was found in the ruins of spring pool's north wall was discovered in 2011: *Seraphi / Sancto et / Nymphis / Salutaribus / Caecilius / Saturninus [---]*.

⁴⁵ Altar dedicated to Isis and Serapis from marble stone was discovered in 2012: *Isidi et / Serapidi Avg(usti) / sacrvm / C(alus) Val(erius) Priscvs / Avg(ustalis) C(oloniae) V(lpiae) T(raianae) P(oetoviensis) ET / Catienia / Fortvnata Con(iux) / Sive oricclio / V(otum) S(olvit) L(ibens) M(erito)*.

⁴⁶ Slab with a relief regarding religious festivity in honour of Isis Fortuna was discovered during archaeological seasons 2011 and 2012 in the structure of the southern wall and in the ruins of the northern wall of the spring pool. On the right side of the stone slab image of Isis Fortuna was carved. Inscription: *Imp(eratore) [Commodo] VII et helvio pertenaci II Co(n) S(uslibus) P[-]Ve(?)Ivnis*.

⁴⁷ From *Clambetae* (today Gradina near Obrovac). It was kept in Kruševo and today it seems to be lost. ... *Turrani[us] / Dasantis f. Verus / p. Sibi et Apio avo. ILJUG 2858 [Selem 1997, 59 no. 1.17]*.

*Isiodoru(s)*⁴⁸, *T(itus) Anni(ius) Isiodo(rus)*⁴⁹, *Isiodor(ae)*⁵⁰, *Isiciae Firminae*⁵¹, *Papiriae Isiadi*⁵², *Isia(e)*⁵³, *Aeflania Isias*⁵⁴, *Serafio*⁵⁵, *Pomponius Serapion*⁵⁶, *L. Cornelio Serapion*⁵⁷, which can be dated from the 1st to the 4th c. AD.

In previous publications artefacts without any knowledge of the archaeological context discovered in *Illyricum* and Istria were mostly dated during the prolonged period from the 1st to the end of the 4th c. AD. For the genuine Ancient Egyptian artefacts, I did prolong this dating for reasons which I already argument in previous sections of this article. These artefacts are the great number of Ancient Egyptian

⁴⁸ From *Pola*: [...*qui? Quae? Vixi*]t ann(is) / [...] *Isido(rus)* / [...] *loc(us)* in / [(*ronte*) *p(edes)*...] / in *agro(o)* [*p(edes)*...] [Mlakar 1957, 446]. From *Salona*: *Aur(elia) Parasc[eu]e* / *hic est po(i)ta vix[it]* / *ann(os) LX qui[us]* / *memoria(m) fa[br(ica)vit?]* / *vivus mari[us]* / *eius Aur(elius) Isiodoru[s]* / *qu(i) et Edasterius*. Split: *Archaeological museum*, A310 [CIL III.8935].

⁴⁹ From *Pola*: *T(itus) anni(ius) / Isido(rus) / loc(us) in fr(onte) [p(edes)-] / in agr(o) I[X]*. Pula: *Archaeological museum of Istria*, A4118 [Mlakar 1957, 444–446].

⁵⁰ There are confusing data about this inscription, it was found in *Iader* or *Aenona* at the end of the nineteenth century [Selem 1997, 50 no. 1.5, and 58 no. 1.16]: *Isidor(ae) / an(norum) XIX / M(arcus) Minicius / Zasimus / v(ivus) f(ecit) / delicatae suae*. [CIL III.10004].

⁵¹ From *Salona*: *D.M. / Isiciae Firminae / coniugi / Fl(avius) Fortunatus / maritus b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit) / D. Ann. P.m. XXXV*. Split: *Archaeological museum*, unknown inventory number [Selem 1997, 81 no. 2.32].

⁵² From *Dugopolje*. Split: *Archaeological museum*, A5966. *D(is) M(anibus) Papiriae Me/ellicae def(unctae) / ann(orum) XXXIII L(ucius) Oclat(ius) Hygin(us) / coniugi b(ene) m(erenti) et riss (fratris?) Mercurio / et Aristoni et / Papiriae Isiadi / et P(ap)iriae Thasidi* [Cambi 1993, 164–165 no. 7].

⁵³ From *Pola*: [-] *sibi [et] / G(aio) op[-] / Isia(e) / L(ucio) Col[-] / Arch[-] / et S(a[-] / Feli[-] / [-]*. Pula: *Archaeological museum of Istria*, 339.

⁵⁴ From *Pola*. *Aeflanisa / Isias / Istr[i]ae [v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)]*. Pula: *Archaeological museum of Istria*, 439 [CIL V.101].

⁵⁵ From *Salona*. [*c(o)n(i)ugi/ bene me / renti L(ucius) Ul(p)iu(s) / Serafio*. Split: *Archaeological museum*, A-4144 [Bulić 1910, 30].

⁵⁶ From Pučišć on the island of Brač: *Pomponio Serapioni carissimo / Lucilia Aufidia mater / b(ene) m(erito) posuit*. Split: *Archaeological museum*, without inventory number. [CIL III.3101].

⁵⁷ From the unknown site in the Middle Dalmatia: *L. Cornelius Serapion. / L. Creperius Hearcla (sevir) et creperia Apis* [CIL III.3176].

shabtis (discovered in Kazale in Istria, Čitluk, Ostrožac near Bihać, Nin, island of Hvar, *Salona*, the Middle Dalmatia, Daruvar, *Mursa*, Ilok, or unknown sites in Pannonian region), various amulets (discovered at the island of Hvar and in the Middle Dalmatia), stele of Pedi-hor-pa-khered from *Mursa*⁵⁸, gems (discovered in *Pharos*, *Salona*, the Middle Dalmatia, *Mursa*, *Siscia* and *Stolac*), various statuettes of the Egyptian divinities (discovered in *Marsonia*, *Mursa*, *Siscia*, the region of Istria, Knin, *Salona*, the middle Dalmatia, and *Epidaurum*), lamps (discovered in *Poetovio*, *Andautonia*, *Aenona*, *Iader*, and *Salona*), and various other artefacts (vessels, reliefs, inscriptions etc.).

Aegyptiaca related with the Egyptian divinities could be imports from the Roman Egypt, Italy or the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean region during the period from the early 1st century to the middle of the 4th c. AD. Some artefacts, like Nilotic relief discovered in *Salona* in 1891⁵⁹ and the architectural decorations of the Diocletian palace in Split (sphinxes brought from Karnak in Egypt, one Ptolemaic statue of prince or king, columns etc.) which had been previously analysed in the context of Egyptian cults on the eastern Adriatic coast should be reconsidered as the Roman “*Aegyptiaca*”, as they probably had nothing to do with Egyptian cults or divinities.

With the rising of Christianity at the beginning of the 4th c. AD we can observe a gradual decline in the popularity of Egyptian and Oriental cults which were, at the end of the 4th c., completely prohibited by emperor Theodosius in AD 391/392 [*CTh* XVI.10.11; *CTh* XVI.10.12; Tomorad 2015b, 150].

3. Various manifestations of Isis cults in Istria and *Illyricum*

In the region of Istria and *Illyricum* (the Roman provinces of *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia*) appeared various forms of Isis cults and its syncretistic forms (Tables 1–3). The Graeco-Roman form of Isis cult was the very popular, but among its syncretistic forms the most popular were Isis Augusta and Isis Fortuna. The possible worshippers of Isis cult could be also seen in various forms of theophoric names which were mentioned in the previous chapter of this paper.

⁵⁸ Osijek: Museum of Slavonia, AA-2590.

⁵⁹ Split: Archaeological museum, D-150.

Table 1: Various forms of Isis cult in Istria

Manifestation of the goddess Isis	Location	Type of artefact	Dating	Museum collection
Isis	<i>Aegida</i> (Koper, Slovenia)	Altar dedicated to Isis	1 st c. AD	Museo civico archeologico, Verona
Isis	<i>Pola</i> (Pula, Croatia)	Head of the statue of the woman with Isaic hairstyle	Roman Empire	The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula
Isis	<i>Tergeste</i> (Trieste, Italy)	Oil lamp with sistrum	1 st c. AD	Museo civico archeologico, Trieste
Isis Augusta	<i>Emonia</i> (Novigrad, Croatia)	Altar devoted to Isis Augusta	Roman Empire	Lapidarium J. Malavec Street no. 12 in Novigrad
Isis Augusta	<i>Parentium</i> (Poreč, Croatia)	Altar devoted to Isis Augusta	Roman Empire	<i>CIL</i> V.347
Isis Augusta	<i>Pola</i> (Pula, Croatia)	Fragment of the small altar from limestone	Roman Empire	The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula
Isis Augusta	<i>Tergeste</i> (Trieste, Italy)	Altar devoted to Isis Augusta	Roman Empire	<i>CIL</i> V.517. Museo civico archeologico, Trieste
Isis Fortuna	Loron near Poreč	Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna	1 st c. BC	Museo del territorio parentino, Poreč
Isis Fortuna	<i>Pola</i> (Pula, Croatia)	Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna	1 st c. AD	Unknown location
Isis Fortuna	Silbonis (Savudrija, Croatia)	Statuette of Isis Fortuna	1 st c. AD	The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: inv. no. A4620

Isis Fortuna	<i>Tergeste</i> (Trieste, Italy)	Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna	1 st c. AD	Museo civico archeologico, Trieste: inv. no. 2457
Isis Fortuna	<i>Tergeste</i> (Trieste, Italy)	Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna	1 st c. AD	Museo civico archeologico, Trieste: inv. no. 2466
Isis Fortuna	<i>Tergeste</i> (Trieste, Italy)	Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna	1 st c. AD	Museo civico archeologico, Trieste: inv. no. 3440
Isis Fortuna	<i>Tergeste</i> (Trieste, Italy)	Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna	1 st c. AD	Museo civico archeologico, Trieste: without inventory number
Isis <i>lactans</i>	<i>Tergeste</i> (Trieste, Italy)	Bronze statuette	Roman Empire	Museo civico archeologico, Trieste
Isis Panthea	<i>Ager Polensis</i> (Galižana, Croatia)	Altar of <i>Q(intus) Latatius Iucundus</i> dedicated to Isis (with reliefs of sistrum, cistella, ascia, patera, baculus, gladius etc.)	2 nd – 3 rd c. AD	<i>CIL</i> V.10. The Archaeological museum of Istria in Pula: inv. no. A41 (former inv. no. 229)
Isis with Harpocrates	<i>Tergeste</i> (Trieste, Italy)	Statuette of Isis with Harpocrates	Roman Empire	Museo civico archeologico, Trieste
Sistrum	<i>Nesactium</i> (Vizače, Croatia)	Bronze sistrum	3 rd – 2 nd c. BC	The Archaeological museum of Istria, Pula: inv. no. A5048

Table 2: Various forms of Isis cult in Dalmatia

Manifestation of the goddess Isis	Location	Type of artefact	Dating	Museum collection
Isis	<i>Aenona</i> (Nin, Croatia)	Marble statue of Isis	1 st c. AD	The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: inv. no. A34
Isis	<i>Auternum Vestinorum</i> (Pescara, Italy)	Epigraphic inscription which mentioned the existence of <i>collegium Isidis</i> in Salona	1 st c. AD	<i>CIL</i> IX.338 Museo civico archeologico, Pescara
Isis	<i>Bigeste</i> (Ljubuški Humac, Croatia)	Rectangular cippus with a sistrum	Late 1 st c. AD	The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo
Isis	Bostan, Croatia	Statue of Isis or her priestess from alabaster	2 nd – early 3 rd c. AD	The Museum Narona, Vid near Metković
Isis	<i>Narona</i> (Vid near Metković, Croatia)	A tombstone with Isaic features and relief with two sistrums	Roman Empire	<i>CIL</i> III.1864. The Museum Narona, Vid near Metković
Isis	<i>Salona</i> (Solin, Croatia)	The fragment of the inscription with the Isis name	Roman Empire	<i>CIL</i> III.12873
Isis	<i>Salona</i> (Solin, Croatia)	Isis statue	Late Roman Empire	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna: inv. no. VI 395

Isis	<i>Salona</i> (Solin, Croatia)	Stele of <i>Iulia Restuta</i> from Salona, with Isaic features on the relief	End of 3 rd – early 4 th c. AD	The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: inv. no. 317
Isis	<i>Varvaria</i> (Bribirska Glavica, Croatia)	Altar dedicated to the goddess Isis	First half of 2 nd c. AD	The Museum of the city of Šibenik, Šibenik. Previously kept in the Lapidarium of <i>Varvaria</i> in Bribirska Glavica
Isis and Serapis	<i>Aenona</i> (Nin, Croatia)	Oil lamp with Isis and Serapis	1 st c. AD	The Archaeological museum, Zadar: inv. no. 163 (former inv. no. 4379)
Isis and Serapis	<i>Aenona</i> (Nin, Croatia)	Oil lamp with Isis and Serapis	1 st c. AD	The Archaeological museum, Zadar: inv. no. 375 (former inv. no. 878)
Isis and Serapis	<i>Municipium S.</i> (Komine near Pljevlje, Bosnia and Herzegovina)	Altar devoted to the cults of Isis and Serapis	2 nd – 3 rd c. AD	The National museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Sarajevo
Isis and Serapis	<i>Pharos</i> (island of Hvar, Croatia)	<i>Intaglio</i> gemma from red carnelian with a bust of Isis and Serapis	1 st – 2 nd c. AD	The Archaeological museum, Zagreb

Various manifestations of Isis cult in the region of Istria, Illyricum ...

Isis and Serapis	Unknown location in the region of Zadar, Croatia	Oil lamp from light brown terracotta	1 st c. AD	The Archaeological museum, Zadar: inv. no. 3672
Isis Fortuna	Proložac, Croatia	Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna	First half of the 2 nd c. AD	“Zavičajni muzej”, Imotski
Isis Fortuna	Unknown site in the region of Lika, Croatia	Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna	1 st c. AD	The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: inv. no. A4633
Isis Hathor nursing Horus or Harpocrates	Salona (Solin, Croatia)	Bronze statuette	Ptolemaic Period	The Archaeological museum Split: inv. no. H5003
Isis Hathor nursing Horus or Harpocrates	Salona (Solin, Croatia)	Bronze statuette	Ptolemaic Period	The Archaeological museum Split: inv. no. H5004
Isis Hathor nursing Horus or Harpocrates	Salona (Solin, Croatia)	Bronze statuette	Ptolemaic Period	The Archaeological museum Split: inv. no. H5005
Isis Hathor nursing Horus or Harpocrates	Salona (Solin, Croatia)	Bronze statuette	Ptolemaic Period	The Archaeological museum Split: inv. no. H5007
Isis Hathor nursing Horus or Harpocrates	Salona (Solin, Croatia)	Bronze statuette	Ptolemaic Period	The Archaeological museum Split: inv. no. H-5460
Isis Hathor nursing Horus or Harpocrates	Salona (Solin, Croatia)	Terracotta amulet	30 th Dyn. – 1 st c. AD	The Archaeological museum Split: inv. no. G-1622

<i>Isis lactans</i>	Fojnica, Bosnia and Herzegovina	A silver statuette of Isis	Not dated	It was kept in Cimeliotheca Musei Nationalis Hungarici in Budapest. It seems to be lost
<i>Isis lactans</i>	Salona (Solin, Croatia)	A sculpture of Isis with the pedestal decorated with flowers and shield	Not dated	Lost
<i>Isis lactans</i>	Unknown	An amulet pendant representing <i>Isis lactans</i>	Roman Empire	The Archaeological museum Split
Isis Thermouthis	Aenona (Nin, Croatia)	Oil lamp with a representation of crocodile, the sacred animal of Isis Thermouthis	Roman Empire	The Archaeological museum, Zadar: inv. no. 584/6
Isis Thermouthis	Aenona (Nin, Croatia)	Oil lamp with a representation of naked young boy which is riding a crocodile, the sacred animal of Isis Thermouthis	Roman Empire	The Archaeological museum, Zadar: inv. no. 597/6
Isis, Serapis, Liber, Libera, Anubis and Harpocrates	Iader (Zadar, Croatia)	Inscription dedicated to Isis, Serapis, Liber and Libera	2 nd – 3 rd c. AD	CIL III.2903. Museo lapidario Maffeiano, Verona

Table 3: Various forms of Isis cult in *Pannonia*

Manifestation of the goddess Isis	Location	Type of artefact	Dating	Museum collection
Isis	<i>Aqua Iasae</i> (Varaždinske Toplice, Croatia)	Inscription dedicated to Isis and Serapis	Discovered in 2012. 2 nd – 3 rd c. AD	<i>Aqua Iasae</i> museum, Varaždinske Toplice
Isis	<i>Poetovio</i> (Ptuj, Slovenia)	Bronze <i>tabula ansata</i> dedicated to Isis	Roman Empire	<i>CIL</i> III.15184. The Ptuj regional museum, Ptuj: inv. no. 1010
Isis	<i>Poetovio</i> (Ptuj, Slovenia)	Fragment of <i>tabula ansata</i> dedicated to Isis	Roman Empire	The Ptuj regional museum, Ptuj: inv. no. 4082
Isis	<i>Poetovio</i> (Ptuj, Slovenia)	Oil lamp with relief of Isis	Middle of 1 st c. AD	Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz: inv. nos. 5683
Isis	<i>Poetovio</i> (Ptuj, Slovenia)	Oil lamp with relief of Isis	1 st c. AD	Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz: inv. nos. 8310
Isis	Sesvete in Požeška valley, Croatia	Bone handle of a dagger with the carved Isis with the vulture crown	Not dated. Unpublished	The Museum of Požega
Isis	<i>Sirmium</i> (Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia)	Head of Isis or her priestess	Middle of 2 nd c. AD	The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: inv. no. A35

Isis	<i>Siscia</i> (Sisak, Croatia)	Head of Isis or her priestess	Reign of Commodus (AD 180–192)	The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: inv. no. A36
Isis	<i>Siscia</i> (Sisak, Croatia)	Jasper gem with Isis relief	1 st c. AD	The Museum of contemporary art, Zagreb: inv. no. 524
Isis and Serapis	<i>Aqua Iasae</i> (Varaždinske Toplice, Croatia)	Inscription dedicated to Serapis and Isis	Discovered in Autumn 2012. 2 nd – 3 rd c. AD	At the restoration. It will be kept in <i>Aqua Iasae</i> museum, Varaždinske Toplice
Isis and Serapis	<i>Poetovio</i> (Ptuj, Slovenia)	Altar with inscription dedicated to Isis and Serapis	Roman Empire	The Ptuj regional museum, Ptuj: inv. no. 31
Isis Augusta	<i>Poetovio</i> (Ptuj, Slovenia)	Altar with inscription dedicated to Isis Augusta	2 nd . c. AD	<i>CIL</i> III.4015. It seems to be lost
Isis Augusta	<i>Poetovio</i> (Ptuj, Slovenia)	Base of Isis statue with inscription dedicated to Isis Augusta	2 nd . c. AD	<i>CIL</i> III.4016. It seems to be lost
Isis Augusta	<i>Siscia</i> (Sisak, Croatia)	Altar with inscription dedicated to Isis Augusta	Roman Empire	<i>CIL</i> III.3944. The National museum of Slovenia, Ljubljana: inv. no. 146
Isis Augusta	<i>Siscia</i> (Sisak, Croatia)	Bronze <i>tabula ansata</i> dedicated to Isis Augusta	2 nd c. AD	The Archaeological museum, Zagreb: inv. no. A531

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Isis Fortuna	<i>Aqua Iasae</i> (Varaždinske Toplice, Croatia)	Inscription with stone slab with relief of Isis Fortuna	Discovered in 2011/2012. 2 nd – 3 rd c. AD	<i>Aqua Iasae</i> museum, Varaždinske Toplice
Isis Fortuna	<i>Andautonia</i> (Ščitarjevo, Croatia)	Bronze statuette of Isis Fortuna	1 st c. AD	The Archaeological park <i>Andautonia</i> , Ščitarjevo
Isis Myrionyma	<i>Poetovio</i> (Ptuj, Slovenia)	Altar with inscription dedicated to Isis <i>Myrionyma</i>	Middle of the 2 nd c. AD	<i>CIL</i> III.4017. It was kept in Landesmuseum Joanneum, Graz, inv. no. 491. It seems to be lost
Isis with Horus	Sv. Križ, Slovenia	Bronze statuette of Isis with Horus	Ptolemaic Period	Naturalhistorisches Museum, Vienna: inv. no. 55419
Isis, Anubis and Harpocrates	<i>Emona</i> (Ljubljana, Slovenia)	Mould from terracotta with the images of Isis, Anubis and Harpocrates	4 th c. AD	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna: inv. no. V2739
Isis, Serapis and Harpocrates	<i>Emona</i> (Ljubljana, Slovenia)	Mould from terracotta with the images of Isis, Serapis and Harpocrates	4 th c. AD	Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna: inv. no. V2738
Osiris, Nephtis and Isis	<i>Mursa</i> (Osijek, Croatia)	Egyptian stele of Pedi-Horpa-khered	Ptolemaic Period	The Museum of Slavonia, Osijek: MSO AA-2590

As we can see from the previous tables (Tables 1–3) various forms of Isis cult appeared in all regions of Istria and *Illyricum* from the 2nd c. BC until the 4th c. AD. Her cult slowly penetrated the eastern Adriatic and its inland at least from the end of 3rd c. BC, and diffused to the region of Pannonia in the 1st c. AD. Various forms of her cult, or its syncretistic forms (e.g. Isis Augusta, Isis Fortuna, Isis Hathor, Isis Myrionyma, Isis Thermouthis) reached its peak at the 2nd and early 3rd c. AD. She was commonly associated with Osiris, Serapis and Harpocrates with who she appeared on various monuments in *Illyricum*. Her sanctuaries were not yet discovered in Istria and the western Balkan region but existence of some are confirmed on various epigraphic inscriptions [*CIL* IX.338] and other archaeological remains. According to the previous historical interpretations scholars (e.g. Schmid, Saria, Selem, Suić) made hypothesis which could lead to confirmation of her sanctuaries in *Aenona*, *Iader*, *Narona* and *Siscia* but none of them are located yet [Schmid 1936, 150–157; Saria 1937, 28; Suić 1969, 87; Selem 1980, 44; Selem 1997, 176–177]. The future archaeological excavations could confirm locations of the temples in *Poetovio* and *Salona* where Iseum probably existed. Altars devoted to Egyptian or syncretistic gods were discovered at the forum in *Pola* and *Iader* which could probably confirm that such gods were worshipped there with the other Roman and Oriental gods and goddesses. In the settlements where the Egyptian temples did not exist, Orientals and other worshippers of Egyptian divinities probably worshipped their gods in small chapels in private buildings [Pinterović 1967, 53; Selem 1997, 177] or in the temples of other gods. For example, in *Nemus* in Italy worshippers of Isis shared the temple with the worshippers of Diana [Malaise 1972b, 63–65]. The Egyptian gods could be worshipped that way for example in *Pola*, *Iader*, *Narona*, *Siscia*, *Mursa* and maybe in *Aenona*.

4. Ethnic groups and the professions related with the the diffusion of various manifestations of Isis cult in Istria, Balkan and Pannonian region

According to the various epigraphic evidences we can sometime determine the group of bearers of the diffusion of the Isis cults, their occupation and in some cases to confirm their ethnic groups (e.g. Orientals, Egyptians, and Alexandrinus etc.) according their names or

other relevant sources. The epigraphic inscriptions and other archaeological sources can confirm the basic professions which were commonly connected with the diffusion of the cults of Egyptian divinities. They are: 1) sailors, 2) merchants, 3) soldiers, 4) the Roman custom and administration officials, and 5) citizens, slaves and freedmen of the unknown profession.

In the region of Istria and *Illyricum* the Romans established several transit roads: 1) *Aquileia–Emona–Siscia–Mursa–Sirmium–Singidunum–Naissus–Serдика*⁶⁰; 2) *Aquileia–Emona–Celeia–Aquincum*; 3) *Aquileia–Emona–Celeia–Savaria–Vindobona* and 4) *Aquileia–Senia–Iader–Salona–Narona–Epidaurum*. Through these roads and the main ports (*Aquileia*, *Ravenna*, *Salona*) these group of professions could easily spread the beliefs of the Egyptian divinities. The commerce and probably the first penetration of the Egyptian cults started during the 2nd c. BC, and from the 1st and the 2nd c. AD their diffusion was even more intensive. In almost every important urban and administrative centre of the Balkan region along with *Pannonia* (today in Austria and Hungary) traces of the Egyptian divinities can be found. The Egyptian cults were the most common along these important trading routes, and outside these major roads the Egyptian cults appeared very rarely. That fact is usually connected with the “level” of the Romanization of territories outside the *limes* of frequent communication and it was typical for the whole Roman Empire.

Sailors and sea merchants were commonly considered as one of the most important bearers of the Isiac cults. In my previous papers about the role of sailors and merchants in the Roman Fleets [Tomorad 2005b; Tomorad 2005c] I discussed their role so for this purpose I will only give one example from Adriatic region. At the previous mentioned inscriptions from *Auternum Vestinorum* (the 1st c. AD) *Lucius Cassius Hermodorus* was mentioned as the member of collegium *Isidis* [*CIL* IX.3338] and collegium *Serapis* [*CIL* IX.3337 = *SIRIS* 475, 677 = *RICIS* 615/0401] in *Salona*. He was a well-known Egyptian ship owner and a boatman who sailed between the two coasts of the Adriatic Sea and some other parts of the Mediterranean. Other inscription with the name seaman *Hermodorus* was found in the other regions of the Roman Empire and it was also connected with the maritime

⁶⁰ The very detailed study about the Roman roads in Southern Pannonia in: [Gračanin 2010, 9–69].

tradition of Alexandria in Egypt [CIL III.4796; Selem 1972, 86]. The other merchants connected with Isiac and the other Egyptian cults lived in this region. In *Savaria (Pannonia Superior)* there is an evidence of a merchant called *Barbarus*, probably Romanized native from *Aquileia* who had the title of pontifex in the cult of Isis [Tomorad 2005b, 447]. According to the earlier studies of V. Wessetzky [Wessetzky 1961, 20] and L. Balla [Balla 1963, 225–237] it seems that *Savaria*, as the most important centre of the cult of Isis in *Pannonia Superior*, was the centre where merchants and citizens played the role of the carriers of the Isaic cults.

So far almost every history of the Roman religion has addressed the Roman soldiers and their officers as the one of the most common profession which help the diffusion of the various Oriental (Mithras, Cybele, Jupiter Dolichenus, etc.) and the Egyptian cults all over the Roman Empire. The major military centres in *Illyricum* and *Pannonia* were stationed on the river Sava in Siscia and Sirmium, on the river Drava in *Poetovio* and *Mursa* and on the river Danube in *Vindobona*, *Carnuntum*, *Brigetio*, *Aquincum*, *Singidunum*, *Viminacium*, *Incernisa* and *Ratiaria*. These centres were also the places where Egyptian cults the most commonly appeared and where the soldiers from Oriental and North African provinces were mostly stationed [Barkóczy 1964, 285–290].

The serving soldiers and officers in the Roman legions and auxiliary troops, along with their veterans commonly worshipped Mithras, Isis and Serapis on their surviving tombstones and other commemorative inscriptions [Hofmann 1905; Schober 1923]. Some of them had family (wife and children) who also worshipped the same cults as they husbands and fathers. [Saller and Shaw 1984, 124–156]. In the region of Pannonia we can find traces of the formation of the families among the soldiers in some garrisons [Forni 1953, 216–217 (*Legio I Adiutrix*), 228–229 (*Legio X Gemina*), 230–231 (*Legio XIV Gemina*), 236 (*Legio XXX Ulpia Victrix*); Saller and Shaw 1984, 144]. Such connections can easily help the diffusion of the worship of the Oriental and the Egyptian divinities from soldier (father-husband) to his brother, sister or wife and children. Such relations were probably very common in some regions of the Empire. There are not many epigraphic inscriptions which are discovered in the territory of *Illyricum* and nearby provinces which can without doubt proved that soldiers

worshipped Egyptian cults but that does not mean that many of them exist. Soldiers surely built the Mithreum and probably never discovered Iseum in *Poetovio* [Selem 1972, 83] and they were probably connected with sanctuaries of the Egyptian divinities in *Pannonia* (e.g. Iseum in *Savaria*). The epigraphic inscription of *Cneius Pompeius Politanus* probably from the late 2nd or the early 3rd c. AD is the only military inscription found in the eastern borders of Dalmatia which could connect one of the Roman soldiers who worshipped the cult of Serapis and Isis⁶¹. It was discovered in Čačak (Serbia). In military garrison in *Teutoburgium* cornice of a sepulchral stele with a lion pairs and head of Serapis and kalathos was discovered but almost whole inscription on it is sadly lost. D. Pinterović⁶² and later P. Selem⁶³ connected it with the one of the officers of *ale II Aravacorum* (AD 85) or *ale I Civium romanorum* (AD 101 to 107) which were stationed in *Teutoburgium*. Similar monuments were found in the whole region of *Pannonia* (in Austria, Slovenia, Hungary, Croatia and Serbia). The bronze bust of Zeus Serapis (?) discovered in the same *castrum* could maybe relate to the Roman soldiers. In the northern *limes* in *Aquincum* (*Pannonia Inferior*) Egyptian and the other Oriental cults appeared from the early 2nd c. AD [Topál 2003, 269]. In *Vindobona* (*Pannonia Superior*) the epigraphic inscription document that L. Quirinalis Maximus, the military tribune of *Legio X Gemina* dedicated two inscriptions to *I. O. M. Serapidi*⁶⁴. Another military tribune *M. Porcius Verus* served in *Cohors Milliaria Hemesenorum* in *Intercisa* at the end of the 2nd or at the first half of the 3rd c. AD. He dedicated his inscription to Isis and Serapis [Alföldy 1965, 87–90].

The soldiers from the Oriental provinces of the Roman Empire were stationed along the Pannonian *limes* in garrisons in *Carnuntum*,

⁶¹ *Serapi et Isidi / Cn(eius) Pomp(eius) / Politanus / trib(unus) coh(ortis) II (mil. Delm.)* [Vulić 1948, 253, no. 494; Alföldy 1962, 280, 282–283, 294; Perc 1968, 217, no. 65; Vidman 1969, 679a; Selem 1972, 27 no. 14; Cambi 1971, 103; Selem 1997, 120 no. 7.1].

⁶² Pinterović dated it to the late 1st c. AD [Pinterović 1958, 38–40].

⁶³ Selem dated it to the early 2nd c. AD [Selem 1972, 83; Selem 1980, 23–24 no. 38; Selem 1997, 145 no. 9.6].

⁶⁴ *I. O. M. Serapidi / pro salute Imp. L. Sept. Severi / pii Pertinac. Aug. Arabici / Aiaden perthici Maximi et / Imp. M. Aureli Antonini Aug. / (i. f.) L. Quirinalis Maximus / trib. Milit. Leg. X. gem / p. f. v. s. l. L. M. CIL III.4560. I. O. M. Sarapidi idem / Maximus* [CIL III.4561].

Brigetio, Aquincum, Ulesia Castra and *Intercisa*. They often have oriental names like Faladus, Paladus, Alados, Afalados, Bassus etc. [Balla 1963, 226–229; Póczy 2002, 166, 168–169]. All of these soldiers could be the potential carriers of the Oriental and the Egyptian cults. Thanks to the past research of D. Pinterović [Pinterović 1967, 33] we know about the substantial number of Roman soldiers from Africa and eastern provinces who served their legions and auxiliary troops in *Pannonia* or who made their homes as veterans in the various towns in the region of the southern *Pannonia* (e.g. *Siscia, Marsonia, Mursa, Cibalae, Sirmium* etc.). In *Singidunum* on the border between *Pannonia* and *Moesia Superior* we find one of the veterans who dedicated his inscription to Isis⁶⁵. In the same province we find *L. Mantennius Sabinus, legatus consularis* in AD 229 who was the son of the prefect of Egypt in AD 193–194 [Stein 1940, 96]. We cannot prove that he or his family helped the diffusion of the Egyptian cults, but such possibility surely exists.

The epigraphic sources well document the very common worship of the Oriental and Egyptian cults among the various kind of the Roman bureaucracy. Near the borders of the provinces we could find custom officials which served in stations of *Publicum Portorii Illyrici*. Such custom stations were placed along the eastern region of Alps, along the coast of the eastern Adriatic shores and along the great rivers Sava, Drava and Danube in Pannonian region. The lower ranked Roman custom officials, usually freedmen and slaves, worked in these stations commonly worshipped Serapis, Isis and various other Oriental cults. The biggest number of inscriptions related with the Oriental cults in this region was discovered along the roads which went from *Aquleia* to *Poetovio* and *Senia*. In *Poetovio* couple of inscriptions dedicated to Isis and Serapis which were related with the Roman custom officials were found. Dedicand of the first inscription⁶⁶

⁶⁵ *D[ea]e (vel Isidi) Nor[e]ia[e] sacrum p[r]o s[al]u[e] d(ominorum) n(ostrorum) Diocleti[an] i et Maximiniani Aug(ustorum) ordo[a]m[pl] is[s(imus)?] co[l](oniae)] S[ing(iduni)] per M(arcos) Aur(elios) ... et Ssostonem II viros, curante Simplicio vet(erano), d(ominis) n(ostris) Diocletiono [III] et Ma[x]imiano Aug(ustis) cos [CIL III.1660].*

⁶⁶ *Isidi / Aug(ustae) / Sacrum / Marti/alis / Firmini / Q. Sabini / Verani / t(ertiae?) p(artis?) / conduc(toris) / portori / Illyrici / ar[k]ari vic(arius) / voto / suscepto / d(onum) d(at) / sac(erdotibus) T. Fl(avio) / Martiale/et Fl(avio) Marul(lino) fil(io) [CIL III.4015].*

was *Martialis* who worked as *vicarius arcarius* of *Q. Sabinius Veranus*, who was one of the three lease-holders (*conductores*) of *portori Illyrici* in *Poetovio* [Selem 1972, 72; Selem 1997, 128, no. 8.7] during the reign of Emperor Antonini Pius. The other two were *A. Caius Antoninus Rufius* and *Titus Julius Saturninus* [Selem 1972, 74]. He dedicated this inscription to Isis Augusta during the time when Isaic priests in *Poetovio* were *Titus Flavius Martiale* and his son *Flavio Marullino*. This is also the only document which could prove the existence of the Isaic sanctuary in *Poetovio*. *Fructus, Servus vilicus* [Selem 1972, 72; Selem 1997, 128 no. 8.7] of the same *Q. Sabinius Veranus*, dedicated another inscription from *Poetovio* to Isis *Myrionimae*⁶⁷.

In the first half of the 3rd c. AD, during the reign of Alexander Severus, *Epaproditus tabularius dispensator* in *Poetovio* dedicated another inscription to *Serapi Augusto*⁶⁸. The Oriental name *Epaphroditus*, both *conductoris*, are known from other two inscriptions. The first was found in *Poetovio* [CIL III.15184] and the second in *Nicopolis ad Istrum* [CIL III.7434] in *Moesia Inferior*. The last epigraphic document from *Poetovio* is *tabula ansata* with inscription from *Apollinaris*, who was probably the slave, and who dedicated it to Isis⁶⁹. We found another custom official with the name *Apollinarius* in *Dacia*. He also dedicated one inscription to Isis [CIL III.7837]. Was he the same one as *Apollinarius* from *Poetovio* is hard to determine but for sure this inscription well document the popularity of the Isis cult among custom officials. *Sarmentius Geminus* dedicated one inscription from *Senia* to *Serapis*⁷⁰. P. Selem made hypothesis that he was the Oriental slave who worked in custom station in *Senia* according to the fact that the main other dedicands of the gods Mithras, Serapis and the goddess Isis in this region were custom officials [Selem 1972, 74]. Selem also connected the Orientals from *Aquileia* and *Tergeste*, the probably the most important centres of the Oriental cults in the northern Adriatic region, with northern *Dalmatia*. He also determined one of the probable ways of diffusion of Egyptian cults during the 2nd

⁶⁷ [Is]idi / [Mi]rrio[ny]mae / [pro] Fructo / [Sabi]ni Verani / [co]nduct(oris) [CIL III.4017].

⁶⁸ Serapi / Aug(usto) / sacrum / Epap(h)roditus / Alexandri / Aug(usti) disp(ensatoris) / tabularius / v(otum) s(olvit) l(iebens) m(erito) [CIL III.4044].

⁶⁹ Apollinar(is) / Isid(i) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito) [CIL III.15185].

⁷⁰ Sarmentius / Geminus / Sarapidi deo sancto [CIL III.15092].

and the 3rd c. AD which went from *Aquileia*, through *Tergeste* and *Senia* to the north to *Poetovio* or along the coast of east Adriatic to the south [Selem 1972, 74–77]. In the other important stations in this region (*Salona*, *Aequum*, *Siscia*, *Sirmium*) none inscription dedicated to the Egyptian cults were found. But we found one more inscription in Guberevac (*Moesia Superior*) near the *limes* of the three Roman provinces (*Pannonia Inferior*, *Moesia Superior* and *Dalmatia*) where the person with theophoric name *Ision* served as *servus villicus* of *vertigal Illyricum* [CIL III.8163]. In this small station one bronze statue of Isis Fortuna was also discovered which could prove the worship of the Isiac cults in that region. P. Lisičar stated that it was found in 1956 [Lisičar 1961, 129–130]. It seems that he was wrong and that it was found two years earlier in 1954 and that it was bought for the museum during the same year⁷¹.

Along with the various custom officials the worship of the Oriental and Egyptian cults was very popular among the higher ranked public officials. During their lifetime they often served in various regions and provinces of the Roman Empire usually as procurators or *legatus Augusti pro praetore*. During the 2nd c. AD several *legatus* served before and after their service in Africa, Syria, and the other Oriental provinces in Pannonia⁷². According to V. Wessetzky *legatus Augusti pro praetore* called *Avitianus* worshipped Neptun Serapis in *Pannonia Inferior* in the early 3rd c. AD⁷³. His inscription was discovered in Csiv near Vörösvar in Hungary. This unnamed *legatus* was according to the studies of G. Alföldy and V. Wessetzky later identified as *Avitianus* who also served in Rome in AD 218 [Wessetzky

⁷¹ Today it is kept in the National museum in Beograd, inv. no. 2778/III. It was also mentioned by Veličković [1972, 62 no. 92], and Anđelković [1991, 68 fn. 22]. I would like to thank my colleague *Branislav Anđelković* from the Department of Archaeology, Faculty of Philosophy at the University of Beograd for this valuable information.

⁷² E.g. *P. Afranius Flavius*, *Q. Marcius Turbo Gallonius Fronto Pulicius Severus Iulius Priscus*, *M. Nonius Macrinus*, *C. Vettius Sabinianus*, *Claudius Maximus*, *M. Pontius Laelianus*, *C. Vettius Sabinianus*, *Julius Fidus Aquila*, *T. Claudius Xenophon* during the 2nd c. AD [Stein 1944, 14–16, 31, 78–79; Fitz 1963, 249–253, 258–259, 306–311, 318–319, 322–324].

⁷³ *Iovi Optimo M. / Neptuno Serapi(di) / pro salute victoria / et perpetuitate / Imp. Caesaris / M. Aureli ... p. Fellicis Aug ... / ... us Antianus (leg) / eius pr. Prov. Pann. Inf* [CIL III.3637].

1961, 51–52]. This last example can prove the possibility that some of previously mentioned public officials, which served in *Pannonia* could be introduced into the Isaic mystery cults during their service in Africa, Egypt and the East and that later they could carry their new religion to *Illyricum* and *Pannonia*.

In *Poetovio Caius Ulpius Aurelius Gaianus* who might serve as *praefectus vehiculorum* dedicated the inscriptions to Isis and Serapis⁷⁴. This inscription was discovered in Spojdna Hajdina in Ptuj at November 26, 1936 [Saria 1937, 23, no. 7]. B. Saria compared this inscription with two completely the same inscriptions from *Virinum* [CIL III.4802] and *Mediolanum* [CIL V.5797] which were dedicated by *Ulp. Gaianus* who as *praefectus vehiculorum* made these inscriptions. *Ulp. Gaianus* might be the same from *Poetovio* the one which in AD 167 served as *iuridicus Alexandriae* [Saria 1937, 23; Selem 1972, 80–81]. In *Virinum (Noricum)* another public officials *Q. Septu-eius Clementis, Ti. Claudius Heraclaea, Cn. Octavius Secundus* and *Q. Septu-eius Valens*, which served as *conductoris ferariarum* in *Noricum* dedicated their inscription to Isis [CIL III.4809]. The dating of these inscriptions in the middle of the 2nd c. AD seems to be right. This interesting hypothesis could prove my own hypothesis that the various public officials could diffused the Isaic cults to the western Balkan provinces and *Pannonia* directly from Egypt.

At the eastern borders of Dalmatia in *Municipium S.* we find altar with inscription dedicated to Isis and Serapis⁷⁵. It was created by the *curator rei publicae Marcus Ulpius Gellianus* who served in at least five places in Dalmatia (*Arbensium, Metlensium, Splonistarum, Malvesatium* and *Municipium S.*) [Sergejevski 1940, 20–22 no. 4]. This inscription was dated from in the 2nd c. AD to the early 3rd c. AD. In *Ephesus* we found very interesting *procurator T. Claudio T. f. Papi-ria Xenophonti* who served as *procurator* in Africa, Asia, *Illyricum (Moesia Inferiorum, Pannonia, and Dalmatia)*, Dacia and Egypt [CIL III.6575]. He could easily spread Egyptian cults to every place where he served if he worshipped Isaic cults; sadly there is no evidence of that. In *Pola* we find an inscription dedicated to Isis from *Lucius*

⁷⁴ *C(aius) Ul(pi)us Aur(elius) / Caianu[s] / I(sidi) V(ictrici) et Ser(apti) / pro salu[te] / [s]ua suorum[q(eue)] / omniu[m] / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito).*

⁷⁵ *Serapidi / et Isidi M(arcus) / Ulp(ius) Gellia/nus eq(ues) r(omanus) / cur(ator) Arben/si(um) Metlensi(um) / Splonista(rum) / Malvesari(um).*

Valerius Memor (Isidi sacrum ex monit eius d(ono) d(edit) L(ucius) Valerius Memor VI vir Aug(salis) l(ocus) d(atus) p(ublice)) who served as the priest of the cult of Augustus [CIL V.265]. One of the other possible carriers of the diffusion could be the *T. Aurelius Calpurnianus Apollonides* who served as *procurator* in *Alexandria*, *Egypt*, *Histria*, *Dalmatia*, *Thracia* and *Moesia Inferior* in the middle of the 2nd c. AD [Stein 1940, 113].

During the period of the Romanization of *Illyricum* some natives started to worship the cult of Egyptian goddess Isis. In some cases, their affection and worship for the new goddess is only present in artistic presentation of Isaic sistrum⁷⁶. Sadly inscriptions in many cases do not give any information about their profession. Such inscriptions were discovered in Galežana⁷⁷, Pola⁷⁸, Senia⁷⁹, Iader⁸⁰, Varvaria⁸¹, Salona⁸², Poetovio⁸³. The similar inscriptions can be found in nearby surrounding provinces and regions (the Hungarian parts of *Pannonia Inferior* and *Pannonia Superior*, in *Noricum* and the *Italian Regio X*).

⁷⁶ *T. Flavio Blod f(ilio) / Plasso patri pientissimo an(no) L / et Flaviae Tattae matri / an(no) XXXX bene meritae / et Flavio Epicado fratri / anno XII et. T. Flavio Laedion / aed(ile) IIII vir(o) i(ure) d(icunod) Narona Laedio f(ecit) vivi sibi et s(uis) f(illius)*. Inscription from Bigeste [Sergejevski 1947, 16–17].

⁷⁷ *[I]sidis inprio Q(uintus) Lutatius Iucundus* [CIL V.10].

⁷⁸ *Isidi / Aug(uste) sac(rum) / v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* [Mlakar 1957, 455].

⁷⁹ *Sarmentius / Geminus / Sarapidi deo sancto* [CIL III.15092].

⁸⁰ *Isidi Serapi Liber[o] / Liberae voto / suscepto pro salute / Scapulae filii sui / P. Wuinctius Paris / s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* [CIL. III.2903].

⁸¹ *Isidi / sac(rum) / Raecia Mar/cella* [Kuntić-Makvić 1982, 151].

⁸² *D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elio) Satrio / qui vixit a/m(os) VIII m(enses) IIII / et Aur(elianae) Max(imae) quae vi/cit ann(os) VI m(enes) III fili(i)s piisimis Aur(elius) Flav(us) et Cer(ēs) par(entes) et Is(idis) Vic(tricis) Ur(aniae?) et Sa(rapidis) Con(servatoris) alum(n)is s(u)is P(ublicus) Hipetius et* [CIL III.8921]. *[c]o(n)i/ugi bene me/renti L(ucius) Ul(p)iu(s) / Serafio* [Bulić 1910, 30].

⁸³ *Isidi / Aug(ustae) / signum / cum bas(i) / Victorin(us) / ex voto / posuit* [CIL III.4016]. *Apollinar(is) / Isid(i) v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito)* [CIL III.15184]. *Is[idi] / Val(erius) A[...]/ P(ublicus) [M...]. IlJug 271* and *Siscia [Isi(idi) / Aug(ustae) ... / P. Anton(inus) ... / .. n ..* [CIL III.3944]. *Isidi Aug(ustae) / sac(rum) Vol(cenia) / Maxima / ex vi(su) vo(tum) so(lvit) l(aeta) l(ibens) m(erito)* [IlJug 531].

The previously mentioned theophoric names also proved valuable information about the existence of the popularity of the cults of Isis and Serapis among the population who lived in the cities and surrounding ager. These theophoric names commonly used in Egypt (e.g. *Apion, Serapion, Serapia*, etc.) does not have to prove the ethnicity of their owners like some older scholars thought in their works. Thylander and Alföldy both connected the persons with the names Serapio, Serapion etc. with the persons who came from Egypt [Thylander 1952, 161; Alföldy 1969, 189, 195 fn. 191]. Some sources (e.g. bronze statues of Isis and Serapis from *Salona* or marble statue of Isis from *Aenona*) were previously mentioned in the context of the possible sanctuaries in *Salona* and *Aenona* but there is also possibility that they could be linked with the wealthier higher classes of the Roman citizens who lived in those cities. Of course, that cannot be proved but that is likely possible. Other bronze statuettes of the Egyptian gods and goddesses were commonly found in almost in every city in this region which can prove that Egyptian cults were very popular among citizens in the cities. The recently discovered inscriptions, statuettes and other monuments from *Andautonia, Aquae Iasae, Križevci, Koprivnica, and Požega* etc. proved that the Egyptian cults were even more popular in the northern Croatia that it was previously thought.

5. Sanctuaries of Isaic cults in Istria, Illyricum and Pannonia

The sanctuaries of the Egyptian gods and goddesses are rarely archaeologically documented at the territory of the western Balkan and Pannonia. The best known Iseum in Pannonia was discovered in the middle of 1950's in *Savaria* (today Szombathely in Hungary) on the Danube limes of the Roman Empire. According to the latest research it was probably erected during the 2nd c. AD⁸⁴. In 2002 another Iseum was discovered in *Scarbantia* (today Sopron in Hungary) in the area later occupied by the Benedictine (former Franciscan) Monastery [Mráv and Gabrieli 2011, 201–238]. In many other cases later Christian churches and monasteries were built in the area of previous pagan shrines and sanctuaries so the example from Sopron is one of good examples for such practice. In very important military base

⁸⁴ *Iseum Savariense*: <http://www.iseumsavariense.hu/hu/a-savariai-iseum>, May 2, 2016. The recent studies about Iseum in Savaria see: [Mezős 2002, 129–145; Sosztarits 2002, 163–172; Szentlélek 2002, 193–199].

camp in *Carnuntum* Egyptian sanctuary has not yet been discovered but it surely existed at least the sanctuary of Serapis and maybe another of Isis. According to the research of the monumental building inscription from the reign of Caracalla (AD 213) it has been proven that an organized collegium of Egyptian deities existed in *Carnuntum* [Weber 1985, 649; Jobst 1998, 38]. Similar shrines or temples were according to the research by L. Bricault erected in more than 210 other cities of the Roman Empire [Bricault 2005, 256–257]. The common sanctuaries such as Iseum and Serapeum are not yet discovered in Istria and the western Balkan region but existence of some are confirmed. In previous historical interpretations historians made hypothesis which could lead to confirmation of sanctuaries of Egyptian gods in *Aenona*, *Iader*, *Salona*, *Narona*, *Siscia* and *Poetovio* but none of them are located yet. The future archaeological excavations could confirm locations of the temples in *Poetovio* and *Salona* where *Iseum* and maybe *Serapeum* probably existed. The epigraphic inscription from *Poetovio*⁸⁵ confirms the existence of the Isaic priests *T. Flavio Martiale* and his son *Flavio Marullino* in the first half of the 2nd c. AD. In 1935 very unusual W-building was discovered in Spodnja Hajdini on the outskirts of ancient *Poetovio*. The central room of this building with dimensions 10 × 5.75 m is surrounded by the three corridors 2.80 × 3.75 m wide. In the first publication of these findings W. Schmid made hypothesis about the temple of Jupiter as part of forum of *Poetovio* [Schmid 1936, 150–157]. In 1937 B. Saria ruled out previous hypothesis and made the new one about the temple of Isis, the possible Iseum [Saria 1937, 28]. This badly preserved remains seem to be are very similar to the Iseum in *Pompeii* [Malaisse 1972, 239–242]. In 1936 interesting altar with inscription dedicated to *Isidi Victrici et Serapi* was discovered very close to the location of possible Egyptian temple [Ptuj: Ptuj regional museum, 31; *IlJug* 269] that discovery allowed P. Selem to confirm existence of the temple of Isis and Serapis around Spodnja Hajdina in *Poetovio* [Selem 1980, 44; Selem 1997, 176–177]. Was this temple the place where *T. Flavio Martiale* and his son *Flavio Marullino* were priests of Egyptian divinities? For now, it

⁸⁵ *Isidi / Aug(ustae) / Sacrum / Marti / alis / Firmini / Q. Sabini / Verani / t(ertiae?) p(artis?) / conduc(toris) / portori / Illyrici/ar[k]ari vic(arius) / voto / suscepto / d(onum) d(at) / sac(erdotius) T. Fl(avio) / Martiale / et Fl(avio) Marul / lino fil(io) [CIL III.4015].*

is hardly to confirm that hypothesis. The epigraphic documents from Pescara⁸⁶ confirm the existence of the sanctuaries of Isis and Serapis in Salona during the 1st or the 2nd c. AD. On them the ship owner *Lucius Cassio Hermodoro* was mentioned as the member of the Serapis and Isis collegium in *Salona*. At the territory of *Salona* and the surrounding area of the Middle Dalmatia the considerable number of Egyptian artefacts was discovered along with the statues or statuettes of Isis, Serapis and other Egyptian divinities. They were probably connected with the worshippers of the collegiums of the Egyptian divinities in *Salona*. The two bronze statues of Isis and Serapis were found in 1820 probably somewhere near the location of these temples⁸⁷. Sadly, exact location of these findings is not known.

The statue of Isis from white marble dated to the 1st c. AD probably stood in some temple in *Aenona*⁸⁸. Was that Iseum, or some temple dedicated to various gods is very hard to confirm. The documentation of the location of this monument is very poor and we do not have the information of the exact location where it was discovered during the 19th century. M. Gorenc connected it with *Augusteum* near the *Aenona* forum [Gorenc 1952, 51]. M. Suić made hypothesis about the existence of the possible temple outside the city near the sea [Suić 1969, 87]. In the last fifty years none new archaeological evidence was discovered which could confirm the existence of Isis temple in *Aenona*. In nearby *Iader* several Egyptian divinities were worshipped but for now we cannot confirm the existence of the real temple. Altars devoted to Egyptian or syncretistic gods were discovered at the forum in *Pola* and *Iader* which could probably confirm that such gods were worshipped there with the other Roman and Oriental gods and goddesses.

⁸⁶ *L. Cassio Hermodoro nauclero / qui erat in collegio / Serapis Salon(itano). Per // freta, per maria tra / iectus saepe per und(as) / qui non debuerat/obitus remanere / in Atern(o), set mecum // coniunx si vivere / nolueras, at Styga / perpetua val rate / funerea utinam / tecu(m) comitata // fuisse(m). Ulpia Candi / da domu Salon(itana) con(iugi) / b(ene) m(erenti) p(osuit) [CIL IX.3337]. Atern(i?) qui fuit in colle(egio) Isid(is) [CIL IX.3338].*

⁸⁷ Wien: Kunsthistorisches Museum, VI.395 [Drexler 1890, 41–42; Selem 1997, 70–73, nos. 2.5 and 2.6].

⁸⁸ Zagreb: Archaeological museum, Antique Department, 34.

In the settlements where the Egyptian temples were not built the cults were probably worshipped in small chapels in private buildings [Pinterović 1967, 53; Selem 1997, 177] or in the temples of other gods, e.g. in *Nemus* in Italy worshippers of Isis shared the temple with the worshippers of Diana [Malaise 1972, 63–65]. The Egyptian gods could be worshipped that way for example in *Pola*, *Iader*, *Narona*, *Siscia*, and *Mursa* and maybe in *Aenona*.

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**Різні прояви культу Ісиди в районах Істрії,
Іллірику та Паннонії і його поширення
в Центральноєвропейському регіоні
(II ст. до н. е. – IV ст. н. е.)**

Перші стародавні єгипетські артефакти в Істрії та Іллірику почали з'являтися вже в середині I тисячоліття до н. е., але без будь-яких доказів існування наявності культової практики. На початку I ст. н. е. єгипетські культу стали дуже популярними в Адріатичному і Паннонському регіонах. Перші епіграфічні свідчення наявності культу Ісиди з'явилися за часів правління імператора Клавдія разом з появою перших колегій Ісиди та Серапіса в Салоні. До кінця I ст. н. е. він поширився до Паннонії на півночі. Серед значного числа давніх єгипетських божеств, які задокументовані в цьому регіоні, найпопулярнішими були різні прояви культу Ісиди. У цій статті автор розгляне поширення культу Ісиди в Істрії, Іллірику і Паннонії, різні прояви культу Ісиди, а також етнічні групи та професії, які брали участь у його поширенні. Наприкінці статті автор обговорить різні святилища, виявлені до теперішнього часу в цьому регіоні.

Ключові слова: Ісіда, єгипетські культу, прояви культу Ісиди, поширення, етнічні групи, професії, Істрія, Іллірик, Паннонія

М. Томорад

**Различные проявления культа Иисиды в районах Истрии,
Иллирикума и Паннонии и его распространение
в Центральноевропейском регионе
(II в. до н. э. – IV в. н. э.)**

Первые древние египетские артефакты в Истрии и Иллирикуме начали появляться уже в середине I тысячелетия до н. э., но без каких-либо

доказательств существования наличия культовой практики. В начале I в. н. э. египетские культы стали очень популярными в Адриатическом и Паннонском регионах. Первые эпитафические свидетельства наличия культа Исиды появились во времена правления императора Клавдия с проявлением первых коллегий Исиды и Сераписа в Салоне. До конца I в. н. э. он распространился в Паннонии на севере. Среди значительного числа древних египетских божеств, которые задокументированы в этом регионе, самыми популярными были различные проявления культа Исиды. В настоящей статье автор рассмотрит распространение культа Исиды в Истрии, Иллирикуме и Паннонии, различные проявления культа Исиды, а также этнические группы и профессии, которые участвовали в его распространении. В конце статьи автор обсудит различные святилища, которые обнаружены к настоящему времени в этом регионе.

Ключевые слова: Исида, египетские культы, проявления культа Исиды, распространение, этнические группы, профессии, Истрия, Иллирикум, Паннония

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