

Religions in the Graeco-Roman World

Series Editors

David Frankfurter (*Boston University*)
Johannes Hahn (*Universität Münster*)
Frits G. Naerebout (*University of Leiden*)
Miguel John Versluys (*University of Leiden*)

VOLUME 187

The titles published in this series are listed at brill.com/rgrw

Individuals and Materials in the Greco-Roman Cults of Isis

Agents, Images, and Practices

*Proceedings of the VIth International Conference
of Isis Studies (Erfurt, May 6–8, 2013 – Liège,
September 23–24, 2013)*

VOLUME 1

Edited by

Valentino Gasparini
Richard Veymiers



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: A sardonyx cameo showing an Isiac ceremony, 1st cent. BCE or 1st cent. CE.
3,4 × 3,3 × 0,5 cm. From the Grimani collection. © Venice, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. no. G 42.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Colloque international sur les études isiaques (6th : 2013 : Erfurt, Germany ; Liege, Belgium), author. | Gasparini, Valentino, editor. | Veymiers, Richard, editor.

Title: Individuals and materials in the Greco-Roman cults of Isis : agents, images, and practices / edited by Valentino Gasparini, Richard Veymiers.

Description: Leiden ; Boston : Brill, [2018] | Series: Religions in the Graeco-Roman world, ISSN 0927-7633 ; volume 187 | Proceedings of the vith International Conference of Isis Studies (Erfurt, May 6–8, 2013 - Liege, September 23–24, 2013). | Text in English or French. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2018032000 (print) | LCCN 2018043146 (ebook) | ISBN 9789004381346 (Ebook) | ISBN 9789004377837 (hardback : set) | ISBN 9789004382596 (hardback : vol. 1) | ISBN 9789004382602 (hardback : vol. 2)

Subjects: LCSH: Isis (Egyptian deity)—Congresses. | Civilization, Greco-Roman—Congresses. | Civilization—Egyptian influences—Congresses. | Egypt—Religion—332 B.C.–640 A.D.—Congresses.

Classification: LCC BL2450.17 (ebook) | LCC BL2450.17 C65 2013 (print) | DDC 299/.312114—dc23

LC record available at <https://lccn.loc.gov/2018032000>

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: “Brill”. See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 0927-7633

ISBN 978-90-04-37783-7 (hardback, set)

ISBN 978-90-04-38259-6 (hardback, vol. 1)

ISBN 978-90-04-38260-2 (hardback, vol. 2)

ISBN 978-90-04-38134-6 (e-book)

Copyright 2018 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Hes & De Graaf, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Rodopi, Brill Sense, Hotei Publishing, mentis Verlag, Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh and Wilhelm Fink Verlag.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA. Fees are subject to change.

Brill has made all reasonable efforts to trace all rights holders to any copyrighted material used in this work. In cases where these efforts have not been successful the publisher welcomes communications from copyright holders, so that the appropriate acknowledgements can be made in future editions, and to settle other permission matters.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

VOLUME I

- Preface IX
Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge
Acknowledgments XIV
Participants XVI
List of Plates, Graphs and Tables XVIII
Abbreviations XXXII
- Introduction: Agents, Images, Practices 1
Richard Veymiers

PART I

Priests & Worshippers

- 1 Theorising Religion for the Individual 61
Jörg Rüpke
- 2 Identités religieuses isiaques : pour la définition d'une catégorie
historico-religieuse 74
Giulia Sfameni Gasparro
- 3 What is a Priest of Ēse, of Wusa, and of Isis in the Egyptian and Nubian
World? 108
Joachim Friedrich Quack
- 4 What is an Isiac Priest in the Greek World? 127
Paraskevi Martzavou
- 5 Les prêtres isiaques du monde romain 155
Laurent Bricault
- 6 Isis Names in Graeco-Roman Egypt 198
Willy Clarysse

- 7 Social Agentivity in the Eastern Mediterranean Cult of Isis 221
Jaime Alvar
- 8 *Isiastai Sarapiastai*: Isiac Cult Associations in the Eastern Mediterranean 248
Ilias Arnaoutoglou
- PART 2**
Images & Objects
- 9 L'apparence des isiaques : la réalité des stéréotypes littéraires 283
Ludivine Beaurin
- 10 La figure de Pharaon dans la *Mensa isiaca* et ses avatars italiens. Du temple pharaonique au temple isiaque 322
Marie-Christine Budischovsky
- 11 Du blanc, du noir et de la bigarrure : le jeu des couleurs dans les représentations d'isiaques 340
Adeline Grand-Clément
- 12 Ministers of Isiac Cults in Roman Wall Painting 366
Eric M. Moormann
- 13 De « Scipion l'Africain » aux « prêtres isiaques » : à propos des portraits au crâne rasé avec cicatrice(s) 384
François Queyrel & Richard Veymiers
- 14 Mourir en isiaque ? Réflexions sur les portraits de momie de l'Égypte romaine 413
Gaëlle Tallet
- 15 The Garments of the Devotees of Isis 448
Sabine Albersmeier
- 16 Les dévotes isiaques et les atours de leur déesse 470
Michel Malaise & Richard Veymiers

- 17 Roman Children and the “Horus Lock” between Cult and Image 509
Annika Backe-Dahmen
- 18 Des empereurs aux traits isiaques ? Images et contextes 539
Emmanuelle Rosso

VOLUME 2

PART 3

Rites & Practices

- 19 Archéologie des *Isea* : sur la difficile reconnaissance des pratiques isiaques 571
William Van Andringa
- 20 Material Evidence and the Isiac Cults: Art and Experience in the Sanctuary 584
Molly Swetnam-Burland
- 21 Les préposés au luminaire dans les cultes isiaques 609
Jean-Louis Podvin
- 22 Pèlerinages isiaques 628
Françoise Dunand
- 23 Dreams and Other Divine Communications from the Isiac Gods in the Greek and Latin Epigraphical Record 649
Gil H. Renberg
- 24 Comments on the Egyptian Background of the Priests’ Procession during the *Navigium Isidis* 672
Stefan Pfeiffer
- 25 Jouer, chanter et danser pour Isis 690
Laurent Bricault & Richard Veymiers

26	Les acteurs sur scène. Théâtres et théâtralisation dans les cultes isiaques	714
	<i>Valentino Gasparini</i>	
	Postface	747
	<i>Robert Turcan</i>	
	Bibliography	761
	Index of Literary Sources	924
	Index of Epigraphical and Papyrological Sources	934
	General Index	957
	Plates	985

Acknowledgments

This book is the culmination of an ambitious idea that was born during the autumn of 2011 in the port city of Boulogne-Sur-Mer, in the setting of the *Fifth International Conference of Isis Studies* at which we have been invited to speak. During the course of this stimulating event, the proceedings of which were published in an important book in this series, *Power, Politics and the Cults of Isis*, the two of us concluded that it was necessary to revisit the agents that peopled these cults from one end of the Mediterranean to the other, by looking at them more closely in their own environment, in order to understand better the diversity of religious communities that are often treated in a quite monolithic way. While Isiac studies experienced an undeniable dynamism from the end of the 20th cent. onwards, they also risked turning into a somewhat limited discipline, trapped between Classical Studies and Egyptology. It was necessary to broaden their horizon, and, to this end, solicit the expertise of a wide range of specialists who were not necessarily familiar with our field of study. A call for papers was issued, quickly leading to responses from roughly forty scholars from very different areas.

A workshop was not sufficient for this level of response, nor was a single colloquium. It was thus by means of a pair of conferences that this initiative finally took form, through the creation of a partnership between two universities with notable traditions for working on ancient polytheism. The first of the two conferences was therefore held on the 6th–8th of May 2013 in the Internationales Begegnungszentrum (IBZ) of the Universität Erfurt, in the context of the work of Max-Weber-Kolleg für kultur-und sozialwissenschaftliche Studien, and his Research group “Religious Individualization in Historical Perspective”. Our joint project continued a few months later with a second conference on the 23rd–24th of September, at the Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres of the Université de Liège, under the aegis of the Département des sciences historiques and the Département des sciences de l’Antiquité. This effective Belgo-German collaboration would not have been possible without the determining role played by Jörg Rüpke and Wolfgang Spickermann of Erfurt, and Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge, Jean Winand and Thomas Morard of Liège, thanks to whom we were able to get financial support from institutions like the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG), the Fonds de la Recherche Scientifique – FNRS, and the Patrimoine de l’Université de Liège. We would like to very warmly thank them all here.

The stimulating exchanges that marked these eight half-days spent in a collegial and enthusiastic atmosphere promised fertile results, and Laurent

Bricault and Miguel John Versluys have very kindly accepted the participants' rich contributions for inclusion in the *International Conferences of Isis Studies* series, thus paving the way for publication by Brill as part of *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*. Thus began the long process of editorial work on what had become the *Proceedings of the Sixth International Conference of Isis Studies*, in the context of which we benefitted from the unfailing help and support of Laurent Bricault. We take this opportunity to offer him our profound gratitude. The same applies to Linda Finnigan who checked the texts in English and to all of the authors who showed patience and understanding, always taking into account suggestions made by outside experts and the editors. Finally, we would like to thank the Brill publishing house and editorial board of the *RGRW* series, for generously agreeing to publish our collective work, and especially Miguel John Versluys and Frederick Naerebout, who guided us through all of the steps leading to the creation of these two "green books".

Two "green books" which Professor Michel Malaise and Professor Robert Turcan would have been happy and proud to have in their hands. The former left us at Ossogne on 25 January 2016 and the latter at Craponne on 16 January 2018. They had honored us with their presence during the meeting in Liège and their contribution can be found in the following pages. On the death of Maarten Jozef Vermaseren, Michel Malaise had written his widow: "Un homme comme lui ne meurt jamais vraiment; il reste un exemple et ses travaux seront toujours lus avec le plus grand intérêt" (letter of Sept. 24th, 1985). This sentence applies in equal measure to Michel Malaise and Robert Turcan. This book is dedicated to the memory of these two towering figures in the study of ancient religion.

Richard Veymiers & Valentino Gasparini