https://www.doi.org/10.17234/9789533791074.11

ISIACA FROM THE ROMAN CEMETERIES OF THESSALONIKI: THE SMALL FINDS

Annareta Touloumtzidou

in memoriam of my father

Abstract

The Isiac sanctuary in Thessaloniki is one of the earliest in Greece and the Mediterranean, likely established in the 3rd century BC and enduring until the 4th century AD. Its significant finds, including sculptures and inscriptions, provide valuable insights into the cults of Isis, Sarapis, Osiris, Harpocrates, and Anubis, and an important place in Isiac studies.

Thus far, the impact of the Isiac cults on the lives of Thessaloniki's citizens has been primarily explored through finds from its Isiac sanctuary. This paper aims to shed light on a neglected category of finds with Isiac connotations: small finds from the city's cemeteries, which encompass older and more recent finds of various forms and materials (terracotta figurines, jewellery, and an inscribed mug).

This paper discusses the typology of these isiaca and their associated deities, drawing comparisons to similar objects from other regions and the finds of the Isiac sanctuary in Thessaloniki. Additionally, it examins the funerary contexts in which the isiaca were unearthed to understand their original purpose in daily life and the rationale behind their placement in a funerary assemblage.

Given the considerable number of excavated graves from Thessaloniki's two cemeteries, recovered during rescue excavations conducted by the Archaeological Service over the past 150 years, the rarity of the isiaca stands in contrast to the abundant findings within the Isiac sanctuary. This raises questions about whether the isiaca reflect a lesser impact of the Isiac cults in the city compared to what the discoveries in the sanctuary may suggest. Furthermore, the absence of imperishable isiaca for the deceased or the omission of Isiac references on funerary monuments prompts an inquiry into the reasons behind these choices. To explore these questions and

*comprehend the scarcity of isiaca in funerary contexts, isiaca from cemeteries in other Greek cities are also considered.**

Keywords: *Thessaloniki; Isis; Sarapis; Harpocrates; Anubis; gens isiaca; grave offerings; cemeteries*

1. Introduction

Rescue excavations conducted between 1921 and 1960 by the Greek Archaeological Service in the western part of the city of Thessaloniki have revealed parts of an Isiac sanctuary near the ancient harbour. The excavations uncovered remnants of four temples with adjacent porticoes. One of the temples, as indicated by terracotta figurines of Aphrodite and Eros and the discovery of a cult statue in the cella, was likely dedicated to Aphrodite. An inscription attests to a temple of Isis Lochia; it can most probably be identified with a partially unearthed temple, where the head of a statue of Isis lactans was found. Further inscriptions refer to an Osiris temple; it must have been the one that featured an underground crypt.[1]

The abundance of sculptures,[2] inscriptions[3] and coins hints at a wealthy sanctuary with a prolonged operation, from possibly the early 3rd century BC, shortly after the city's founding by king Cassander, until the 4th century AD. The finds reveal the worship of the entire *gens isiaca*, i.e. Isis, Sarapis, Osiris, Anubis, and Harpocrates, as well as Ammon Zeus and Tithoes. Some inscriptions and sculptures suggest that Aphrodite, Artemis, Apollo, Asclepius, Dionysus, Theos Hypsistos, Zeus Dionysus Gongylos and other deities were venerated either within the sanctuary or in its immediate vicinity.

Evidence of the cult of Egyptian gods in Thessaloniki can also be traced among finds from its Roman cemeteries (eastern and western). These objects not only indicate the diffusion of the Isiac cult among the city's inhabitants, including natives, immigrants, and even visitors, but also shed light on their beliefs regarding the afterlife. They can be categorised into three groups: a) funerary monuments (sarcophagi, altars, stele), b) terracotta figurines, likely crafted specifically as grave goods, and c) objects

* The author would like to express her gratitude to the authorities of the Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki (Dr Angeliki Koukouvou, Dr Styliana Galiniki, Dr Evangelia Tsangaraki, Eleonora Melliou) and the Museum of Byzantine Culture (Dr Panagiotis Kambanis, Dr Antigoni Tzitzibassi) for granting permission to study objects from their collections and to publish photographs from their archives. She is also immensely indebted to Dr Perikles Christodoulou for providing not easily accessible bibliography and for the meticulous proofreading of the text. Finally, she would like to thank Dr Yuri Kuzmin and Dr Andrey Zelinsky for providing the article of E. Solomonik.

1 Bricault 2001, 26-27; Steimle 2008, 79–132; Christodoulou 2021. For the history of the excavation of the sanctuary and recent identifications based on new research, Χριστοδούλου and Τουλουμτζίδου 2021.

2 Most sculptures and fragments from the sanctuary are published in Δεσπίνης et al. 1997; Δεσπίνης et al. 2003; Despinis et al. 2010; Στεφανίδου-Τιβερίου and Βουτυράς 2020.

3 For the inscriptions found in the sanctuary, some of which were recently identified on account of archive research, *RICIS* 113/0501–113/0529, 113/0531, 113/0533–113/0538, 113/0540–113/0547, 113/0549–113/0558, 113/0560–113/0561, 113/0563–113/0574, 113/0578; *IG* X 2.1, 27–28, 54, 67–71, 123, 226, 945–950, 981. *IG* X 2.1(s), 1050, 1594–1595. Related to the sanctuary and possible originating from it are some more inscriptions, *RICIS* 113/530, 113/0532, 113/0548, 113/0562, 113/0575–113/0576; Στεφανίδου-Τιβερίου and Βουτυράς 2020, 579, no. 1191, fig. 2728–2729 (Εμ. Βουτυράς).

originally used in everyday life (jewellery and a mug). The first group will be treated separately, in another paper.[4]

These artefacts, found in various plots of the city over the past 150 years, have often been subject to incomplete publication or mistaken identification, which may have hindered their comprehensive study as a cohesive group. In fact, they have never been examined as a distinct category. They date to the Roman period, coinciding with a peak of the Isiac sanctuary's affluence. Hence, it is intriguing to investigate whether they reflect the popularity of the cult or if they are associated with some or all of the gods worshipped in the sanctuary. Most finds are unpublished and will be discussed here for the first time.

2. Small finds

2.1 Terracotta figurines

A 1st-century AD child grave from the western cemetery of Thessaloniki contained several terracotta figurines, indicative of the very young age of its occupant:[5] a Maltese dog,[6] a man milking a goat, a man leading a loaded donkey, Telesphorus, Telesphorus with a child, a nude winged baby Eros, Eros embracing Psyche,[7] and a winged nude boy who is riding astride a bull with a solar disk among its horns. In the latter, the boy's right arm is extended to the bull's neck, while the left one is hidden (fig. 1). This figurine has been interpreted as Eros on an Apis bull.[8] A few more identical figurines are known from graves of children in Thessaloniki (fig. 2),[9] Pella,[10] and Stobi.[11] A badly damaged

4 Touloumtzidou, forthcoming.

5 Πέτσας 1974, 377, pl. 83α, 84γ; Κόρτη-Κόντη 1994, 125–128, nos. and figs. 125–133.

6 This terracotta figurine type of a furry, curly-tailed Maltese dog is thought to originate in Egypt, representing the dog-star Sothis or Sirius (*Canis maior*), its heliacal rising preceding the annual Nile inundation. During the Hellenistic and Roman period it is common in Egypt but to a lesser degree outside it. Sometimes Harpocrates or Isis are depicted on the back of such a dog, Barrett 2011, 187–189. In his thorough analysis Gonzalez 2011, persuasively relates such figurines of dogs with the world of childhood, the first phase (from 0 to 5-7 years) of nutrition, education, docility or breeding of both children and dogs, while he recognizes Harpocrates with such a dog and a pot with *athera* as a patron of childhood, nutritioner and breeder of children.

7 As Bosnakis 2009, 49, comments on a similar figurine of Eros embracing Psyche from Cos "it indicates the young and unmarried status of the deceased and symbolizes, through the mourning for the loss, a joyful comforting, reassuring message that initiates into mysteries received the rebirth after the mystic death, the happy ending and Psyche's reunion with Eros".

8 Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, inv. no. ΜΘ 10862. Height: 10.3 cm. Κόρτη-Κόντη 1994, 126, no. and fig. 128; *LIMC* III (1986), s.v. Eros, 875, no. 277a (A. Hermary, H. Cassimatis and R. Vollommer); Γραμμένος 2011, 810–811, no. 2.

9 Κόρτη-Κόντη 1994, 102, no. and fig. 43; Adam-Veleni et al. 2017, 395, no. 487 (the shaft grave contained 20 figurines of bulls, 4 of Maltese dogs, 3 of Harpocrates on Apis, 2 of Aphrodite, one of Telesphorus with child, vases etc.) (L. Acheilara and I. Ninou).

10 Adam-Veleni et al. 2017, 252–253, nos. 175–176 (M. Lilimpaki-Akamati and N. Akamatis); Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη and Ακαμάτης 2022, 134, nos. 514–515, 263, pl. 107. The two figurines have been wrongly dated to 325–300 BC, due to an oinochoe and a part of a male figurine from the same grave, Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη, Ακαμάτης 2022, 133–134, nos. 512, 516, pl. 107–108. However the two figurines of Apis and two of a Maltese dog from the same grave can be dated to the 1st century AD due to identical ones from securely dated assemblages. A reuse of the grave at Pella is the only explanation of this chronological discrepancy, coins of the 1st century BC have been observed in tombs of the 4th century BC in Pella, see Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη and Ακαμάτης 2022, 271, 291.

Fig. 1. Terracotta figurine of Harpocrates on Apis inv. no. ΜΘ 10862 (© Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

Fig. 2. Terracotta figurine of Harpocrates on Apis inv. no. ΜΘ 134 (© Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

figurine from Corinth, found in a tomb with artifacts dating to the 1st–3rd centuries AD, is close to those; unfortunately, the heads of both figures are not preserved.[12]

The cults of the *gens Isiaca* at Pella are hitherto attested through a handful of grave offerings dating to the 2nd–3rd centuries AD.[13] At Stobi, the cult within the Isiac sanctuary begun in the early 2nd century AD, as evidenced by inscriptions and sculptures.[14] Its temple, on a podium with an underground crypt, bears similarities to one of the temples in the Isiac sanctuary of Thessaloniki.[15] It has been suggested that the cult of Isis spread from Thessaloniki to Stobi via the ancient road along the Axios river.[16] Considering the absence of early Isiac finds from Pella and Stobi, it is plausible to assume that such figurines were produced in a Thessalonian workshop and then distributed to these regions. This hypothesis gains further support from Roman period terracotta figurines of other themes found in Stobi which are identical to those discovered in Thessaloniki.[17]

11 One such figurine was found in a grave with figurines of a rooster and Telesphorus with child, dated to the period of Augustus, Wiseman and Mano-Zissi 1976, 279, no. 3, fig. 10; Petruševska-Petroska 2018, 99, note 19. For other exemplars, Blaževska*, forthcoming.*

12 Warner Slane 2017, 217, 247, no. A8, pl. 90.

13 See below, note 276.

14 *RICIS* 113/0401–0402; Blaževska *and* Radnjanski 2015; Maikidou-Putrino 2021, 92-105; Blaževska *2022.*

15 For the temple at Thessaloniki, Μακαρόνας 1940, 464–465; Steimle 2002.

16 Düll 1977, 150–151; Blaževska *and* Radnjanski 2015, 229–230; Maikidou-Putrino 2021, 104.

17 Blaževska*, forthcoming.*

These terracotta figurines hold significant importance, considering the rarity of Apis depictions from Greece, some of which are even doubtful.[18] They are even scarcer in Macedonia, as has already been noted,[19] restricted to two marble statuettes of bulls from the Isiac sanctuary in Dion.[20] Bronze coins from Amphipolis, issued after the Battle of Actium and until 27 BC, portray Artemis Tauropolus sitting sidesaddle on a galloping bull[21] with a small *basileion* among his horns[22] – the crown worn by Ptolemaic queens and later by Isis. These coin issues, which are believed to celebrate the conquest of Egypt, do not provide conclusive evidence for the cult of Apis in the city, as they are identical to later issues without the basileion. This is irrespective of the contemporary acts of Augustus regarding Apis during his sojourn in Egypt[23] or the possibility of the *basileion* being an attribute of Apis,[24] who was associated with kingship and the renewal of pharaonic power, and not of Cleopatra or Isis; scarce depictions of Apis with a *basileion* do exist.[25]

An intriguing reference in an inscription from the Isiac sanctuary of Thessaloniki that relates to the voluntary association of *mystai* of Zeus Dionysus Gongylos mentions a bovine bearer (βωοφόρος);[26] it is a *hapax*, supposedly indicating a person who carried an image of Apis in processions.[27] In the same inscription and in a second one

18 Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975b, 4–9, nos. 267–275; Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1977, 46–47, nos. Add.35–36.

19 Veymiers 2009b, 495, note 157.

20 Παντερμαλής 1982, 67, pl. 50β; Παντερμαλής 1997, 73.

21 An almost identical scene of Europa on bull occurs on coins of Sidon under Augustus, *RPC* I, 4563–4564, 4567–4569.

22 Veymiers 2009b, 493–496, fig. 14; Veymiers 2014b, 195–196, fig. 9.1; Mastrocinque 2017, 160–161.

23 Augustus refused a ceremonial visit to Apis at Memphis, as was customary for new Pharaohs, since legitimacy depended on the Memphite clergy (Suetonius, *Vita divi Augusti*, 93; Dio Cassius, 51.16.5). It has been attested that after the conquest of Alexandria, "Apis bellowed a note of lamentation and burst into tears" (Dio Cassius, 51.17.5). The priest of Apis died two days before the conquest of Egypt by Augustus in 30 BC who in return permitted the installation of a new priest only in 28/27 BC, with a new title, that of "Prophet of Caesar", serving the ruler cult, Thompson 1988, cxiii, 11–12; Takacs 2011, 80–82, 93; Wardle 2014, 508.

24 Malaise 2005, 47, note 106, identifies the bull with Apis, based on a marble relief from the Velian Hill, for which see below, note 25.

25 For Greco-Roman depictions of Apis with a basileion on Egyptian statuettes, Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975a, 27, no. 94, 34, no. 131, 45, no. 180, 47–48, no. 195, 198; Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975b, 51, no. 415, 57, no. 445, 64, no. 484, 75, no. 544, 77, no. 553, for terracotta figurines, Boutantin 2014, 255–256, pl. VII.2, and for an early Imperial period marble relief from Velian Hill in Rome, Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1977, 41, no. Add.12, pl. XVI, which Veymiers 2018, 37–38, fig. 0.13, disassociates from Apis on account of the ribbon around the horns and therefore identifies it with a sacrificial bovine. However, a late Hellenistic terracotta figurine from Egypt depicts Harpocrates on Apis who is wearing a basileion and such a ribbon, see Πινγιάτογλου 1993, 42, no. 30. For more examples of Apis with a basileion, which he owes from the Memphite cow-headed Hathor, Malaise 2020.

26 *RICIS* 113/0561 (2nd century AD). See also the contribution of P. Christodoulou in the present volume.

27 *RICIS* 113/0561 (image of Apis or of Isis in the form of a cow). It should be noted that there are different possibilities, based on depictions in various means: an image of Apis on a litter, carried by two men, as attested in Egyptian terracotta figurines, Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975a, 47, no. 190–191; Dunand 1979, 263, no. 339, pl. CVII, or on a small standard carried by an Egyptian priest, as on a column from *Iseum Campense*, Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975b, 10, no. 278, pl. XIX, or on a tray carried by a woman, as on a mural painting from Pompeii, de Vos 1980, 39, fig. 8, which reminds of Apuleius', *Metamorphoses,* XI.11: "a priest with proud and measured step carried a statue on his shoulders, a cow seated upright; the cow being a fruitful symbol of the divine Mother of all", Griffiths 1975, 219–222.

from the same sanctuary,[28] also related to the same association, there is an equally unique reference to a *besartes* (βησάρτης), a term which has puzzled researchers, evidently denoting a cult official, probably a man bearing an image of the god, as it has already been assumed.[29] However, most plausibly, *besartes* should be identified with a man in the guise of Bes. This assumption finds support in a panel painting from Herculaneum,[30] depicting an Isiac ritual in front of a temple, where the focal figure is a man with a dark complexion (Nubian?), wearing a muscle cuirass over a short chiton, as well as a mask and plumes of Bes on his head; his dancing posture is typical for Bes. In the same posture and attire, also without a sword and a shield, he is encountered only on Hellenistic terracotta objects from Memphis, namely two figurines and two relief vase sherds. These sherds also depict an amphora, alluding to a feast with wine and dance, and a head of the Apis bull,[31] implying his relation to Bes, who was also venerated at Memphis, in his own sanctuary.[32] This relation is further evidenced through terracottas of Bes bearing an image of Apis in a *naos* on his feather crown, possibly originating from Memphis.[33] If the *besartes* was in military attire and wore a mask of Bes, it is plausible that the *boöphoros* had a corresponding appearance, wearing a mask of Apis instead. While there are several depictions of the two gods in military attire from Egypt, signifying their roles as sovereigns,[34] there are no such representations outside Egypt, with the exception of Herculaneum,[35] as mentioned earlier. It is, however, more likely that the *boöphoros* was dressed similarly to the *anubophorus*, wearing a long garment and bearing a mask of Apis, as seen in a mural painting from Herculaneum, where the man is holding a *sistrum* and a *patera*.[36] In either case, the presence of *besartes* and *boöphoros* in the Thessalonian association certainly reflects an Egyptian, possibly Memphite influence,[37] suggesting a possible connection between the cult of Zeus Dionysus Gongylos and the Egyptian gods. If this is the case, it follows that the cult of Apis was also performed in the sanctuary of Thessaloniki.

28 Daux 1972, 478–487; *RICIS* 113/0537 (1st century AD); Nigdelis 2010, 16; Klopenberg and Ascough 2011, 352–356.

29 Daux 1972, 485–487; Klopenberg and Ascough 2011, 354.

30 Tran Tan Tinh 1971, 39–42, 85–86, no. 59, fig. 41; Ritner 2015, 404–406, fig. 4. For the connection of Bes to the Isiac family, Malaise 2004; Moormann 2018, 367–372, is skeptical about the dark-skinned dancer and his association with Bes, because of his enormous size and his depiction as a soldier and not nude like usual representations of Bes. He refers to other assumptions regarding this figure and the ritual involved. The figure is simply identified as "Noir, masqué" who is dancing by Bricault 2013a, 332.

31 Koßmann 2014, 180, 521–524, nos. Bes 5, Bes 7 (Bes was not handling a sword and a shield, with his not preserved arms, as suggested by Koßmann, since no traces are observed on the figurine and as is the case in the painting from Hercunaleum and the two reliefs from Memphis), 545–548, nos. Bes 33–34, pl. 45e, 46b, 52b–c.

32 Koßmann 2014, 116, 181; Boutantin 2014, 259.

33 Koßmann 2014, 116–117, 544–545, no. Bes 32, pl. 52a.

34 Koßmann 2014, 98–118, 176–189, 484–493, 517–564.

35 Koßmann 2014, 176, ignores the painting from Herculaneum, thus stating that there are no such depictions from outside Egypt.

36 Tran Tam Tinh 1971, 88, no. 62.

37 For Isis Memphitis in the same sanctuary, *RICIS* 113/0549.

Regarding the terracotta figurines depicting the winged boy on Apis, it is important to note that depictions of Eros on a bull are extremely rare in Greco-Roman art.[38] As far as I know, there are only two: a Julio-Claudian silver cantharus from Pompeii, depicting Eros sitting sidesaddle on a bull and touching its horns, and a 1st-century BC marble base in Villa Albani, also featuring Dionysian themes, showing Eros on a bovine.[39]

One might reasonably assume that the boy on the figurine could be identified with Harpocrates Eros, despite the absence of Harpocrates' characteristic gesture. Figurines of winged Harpocrates, influenced by depictions of Eros,[40] have been found in Beroea (1st century BC),[41] Herakleia Lyncestis,[42] and elsewhere.[43] The assimilation of Harpocrates with Eros is evident in dedications found at Serapea A and C in Delos. One dedication is addressed to Eros Harpocrates Apollo and Isis Soteira Astarte Aphrodite Euploia Epekoos,[44] while another to Eros Nikephoros.[45] Additionally, offerings of marble and bronze statues of Eros in Serapeum C possibly imply a connection with Harpocrates.[46] The reference to Karpocrates being "vengeful against those who are unjust in love", in his hymn from Chalkis, further supports his association with Eros.[47]

Similar to the case of Dion,[48] the Isiac sanctuary of Thessaloniki also had a temple devoted to Aphrodite.[49] In the same sanctuary a priest dedicated a marble statuette of Aphrodite Omonoia and Eros.[50] This circumstance could have influenced the integration of Eros' features into Harpocrates' iconography, a process commonly observed in relation to Aphrodite and Isis.[51] Wings of Eros are also found in the iconography of other deities, for instance, Attis.[52] In fact, the Thessalonian tomb contained a figurine of Eros embracing Psyche and one of baby Eros, suggesting the young and unmarried status of the deceased.

38 An Attic 4th century BC plastic vase is actually depicting a panther and not a bull, *LIMC* III (1986), s.v. Eros, 875, no. 277 (A. Hermary, H. Cassimatis and R. Vollommer).

39 *LIMC* III (1986), s.v. Amor/Cupido, 996, no. 340, 344 (N. Blanc, F. Gury).

40 For Eros Harpocrates, *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Harpocrates, 442, 444 (V. Tran Tam Tinh, B. Jaeger and S. Poulin); Malaise 2005, 36-38; Malaise 2008. For a relief of Eros holding a torch (Eros Harpocrates or Hesperus?) in temple E at Soloi, attributed to the cult of the Isiac deities, see Kleibl 2007, 144, fig. 12.

41 Adam-Veleni et al. 2017, 265, no. 197 (G. Papazapheiriou).

42 Düll 1977, 411, no. 71, fig. 67A.

43 *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Harpocrates, 418, no. 11b, 423, no. 113, 424, no. 118c, 121a (V. Tran Tam Tinh, B. Jaeger and S. Poulin).

44 *RICIS* 202/0365. Wallensten 2014.

45 *RICIS* 202/0123 (late 3rd–early 2nd century BC).

46 *RICIS* 202/0424 (156/5 BC). Malaise 2005, 37.

47 Matthey 2007, 216.

48 For the temple with the cult statue of Aphrodite Hypolimpidia, Παντερμαλής 1997, 26; Παντερμαλής 1999, 104–109; *RICIS* 113/0208–0209; Falezza 2012, 249–252, fig. III.30.

49 See above, note 1.

50 *RICIS* 113/0563 (182 AD); Δεσπίνης et al. 1997, 115–116, no. 88, figs. 230–233 (Γ. Δεσπίνης).

51 For the early assimilation of the two goddesses, *RICIS* 114/0601 (3rd century BC), 202/322 (105/4 BC), 202/0346 (95/4 BC), 202/350 (94/3 BC); *Delta* I 925,1 (221–205 BC); Malaise 2005, 181–186.

52 Bosnakis 2009.

The figurine type of a winged boy on Apis was likely inspired by Egyptian terracotta figurines of Harpocrates riding Apis, often depicted leaping and occasionally standing, with a pot or a solar disc placed between the bull's horns. Harpocrates is portrayed wearing a short tunic and a *pschent* crown or lotus buds on his head. He holds a pot with *athera* or a *patera* and a cornucopia, and keeps his right index finger over his mouth.[53] His attributes identify him as Karpokrates, the distributor of benefits an *euergetes* and a nurturing monarch.[54]

A figurine from Cyprus depicts a winged mantle-clad boy riding a leaping bull, with his right hand close to his chin.[55] This boy has been identified as Eros. Conversely, marble mantle-clad herms of boys from Delos (2nd century BC), whether holding a cornucopia or not, although wingless, have been identified by J. Marcadé as Hellenised depictions of Harpocrates.[56] Consequently, the figurine from Cyprus can be seen as a depiction of Harpocrates Eros, influenced by the aforementioned Egyptian terracottas.

Additional evidence of Egypt as a source for such depictions of boys on bulls comes from a terracotta roundel from Egypt, which depicts a winged Eros playing kithara on the back of a bull striding over the sea, as indicated by the presence of dolphins.[57] This bull is identified as Zeus. A similar terracotta roundel from Memphis features Europa instead of Eros, flanked by two cupids, confirming the representation of Zeus.[58] Achilles Tatius (*Leucippe and Cleitophon,* 1.1.2–13) describes a painting with a very similar composition in the temple of Astarte at Sidon. However, on the Memphite roundel depicting Eros on the back of the bull, the animal may represent both Zeus and Apis, a hypothesis supported not only by the findspot but also by a small detail reflecting Memphite theology: a tiny nude kneeling man holding the bull's horns. This figure, yet to be identified, may possibly represent the god Shu (the wind), son of Atum. Shu and his sister Tefnut are associated with Ptah in Memphis, as their *bau* (plural of *ba*, soul), formed a triad.[59] Since Apis was considered the *ba*, the manifestation of Ptah, a relation between Apis and Shu can be inferred. The absence of the solar disk among the bull's horns in the Memphite roundel is intentional, as it is replaced by Shu, who is typically depicted in Egyptian art as a kneeling figure lifting the sky in the form of a solar disk.[60] Alternatively, the tiny figure could be identified with Ptah, who is portrayed in the sanctuary of Ibis at Memphis as a nude man sitting on the ground with legs wide apart, supporting the starry sky with his outstretched arms, flanked by Shu and Tefnut depicted as two *ba*-birds.[61] The presence of the solar disc among the bull's horns in the terracotta figurines

53 Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975a, 38, no. 148; *LIMC* II (1984), s.v. Apis, 180, no. 25 (M.G. Vermaseren); Πινγιάτογλου 1993, 42, no. 30; Poulin 1988, 295, 333–336, nos. 384–388, figs. 433–437; Boutantin 2014, 270, no. 123.

54 For an analysis of these symbols of Harpocrates, Gonzales 2011, 176-190.

55 Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2009, 104, no. 37 (P. Flourentzos).

56 Marcadé 1989.

57 Perdrizet 1921, 96, no. 246, pl. LXVII.

58 Merkelbach 1995, 524, fig. 47.

59 Kákosy 1980, 53; Das Candeias Sales 2012, 128.

60 Derriks and Delvaux 2009, 223–224 (A. Lebrun-Nélis and Ch. Brasseur).

61 Kákosy 1980, 48–49, fig. 1.

from Thessaloniki firmly identifies it with Apis, not with Zeus in the guise of a bull. The inspiration for this type likely came from figurines of Harpocrates on the back of Apis, without excluding depictions similar to that on the Memphite roundel, where cupids are also present, alongside a potential assimilation of Zeus with Apis.

Among the sculptures adorning the *dromos* in the Serapeum of Memphis, leading to a chapel of Apis, there are falcons with the *pschent* crown and little boys riding lions, panthers, and peacocks. These boys have been consistently identified as representations of Dionysus, due to the inclusion of grapes on the supports and Athenaeus' description (*Deipnosophistai*, V, 200d–f) of the *pompe* of Ptolemy Philadelphus in honour of Dionysus in Alexandria, where a parade included various animals and chariots driven by elephants and horses, however not panthers, lions or peacocks. "On all of these were mounted little boys wearing the tunics and wide-brimmed hats of charioteers … The lads driving the chariots wore pine crowns".[62] It is evident that the sculptures bear no similarities to this description. Due to the absence of attributes such as ivy wreaths and *nebris*, and considering the young age of the riders, it is plausible to assume that these sculptures might represent a Hellenised version of Harpocrates instead of Dionysus. Dionysian traits, like the ivy wreath, grapes, and *nebris*, are also known in the iconography of Harpocrates, possibly linking him to *Dionysus pais*.[63] The aretalogy of Karpokrates from Chalkis further describes him as the son of Serapis and Isis, associated with Demeter, Kore, Dionysus, and Iacchos, inventor of the mixing of wine and water, participating in the thiasoi of Bakkhoi and Bacchai, and devising the ways to hunt all kinds of animals.[64]

This assumption gains further support from depictions of Harpocrates in Egypt and elsewhere, showing him riding lions,[65] panthers,[66] peacocks,[67] and other animals,[68] potentially influenced by similar Eros representations on these animals, symbolising their virtues.[69] An epigram by Marcus Argentarius (*A.P.* IX, 221) describes a sealstone with a depiction of Eros riding a lion, holding the reins and a whip. The subject is known from sealstones and sealings.[70] A statue from Memphis preserves reins in the hand of the small god and in the panther's mouth. The absence of wings allows us to identify as Harpocrates the boy on all Memphite statues depicting boys on animals, influenced by the iconography of both Eros and Dionysus.

62 Wilcken 1917; Lauer and Picard 1955, 173–260; Thompson 1988, 27–29, 212–213; Bergmann 2007.

63 Malaise 2000, 406; Poulin 1988, 237–238, no. 257, 288, no. 322, 328, no. 368, figs. 280, 364, 414.

64 *RICIS* 104/0206 (late 3rd–early 4th century AD); Matthey 2007, 196, 214–221.

65 *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Harpocrates, 437, no. 320–321 (V. Tran Tam Tinh, B. Jaeger and S. Poulin); Poulin 1988, 298, figs. 449-451, 458; Dunand 1990, 94, no. 205; Boutantin 2014, 439 note 3.

66 For a coin of Alexandria under Trajan, *RPC* II, 4397.

67 Poulin 1988, 327, no. 366, fig. 412; Thiboutot 2020, 49–50, fig. 5.6a.

68 Poulin 1988, 291-380.

69 *Contra* Burr Thompson 1934, 44, no 22, pl. XI (terracotta figurines of Eros aside peacocks from Myrina were inspired by the statues of Memphis). For Eros on various animals, *LIMC* III (1986), s.v. Eros, 874–875, nos. 257–272 (A. Hermary, H. Cassimatis and R. Vollommer), s.v. Amor, Cupido, 995, no. 335, 996, no. 337 (N. Blanc and F. Gury); Σταμπολίδης 1992, 178–180, pl. XXXIX.15–19 Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2009, 101–108, nos. 31–47.

70 Pantos s.a.

This assumption is furher corroborated by the existence of a priest of Harpocrates (*Har-Pa-Chered*) at Memphis[71] and the presence of statues depicting Horus as a hawk on the *dromos*.[72] The religious aspects of the Memphis sculpture strengthen the identification of these figures as Harpocrates, especially considering that Apis, whose most significant cult center was in Memphis, was regarded there as the son of Isis, and was associated or assimilated with Horus.[73] Furthermore, coins and lead tokens of the Memphite nome (under Domitian, Trajan, Antoninus Pius) depict Isis alongside a small Apis,[74] while numerous Egyptian terracotta figurines portray Isis nursing Apis to attain eternal youth.[75] These deities were also depicted together on a relief from Rome.[76]

A bronze figurine from Qaryat al-Faw, attributed to an Alexandrian workshop, portrays a small bull, likely representing Apis, beside a standing adolescent Harpocrates.[77] Few are common depictions of Apis and Harpocrates,[78] significant being a lead token from the Memphite nome featuring Apis with Harpocrates standing on his back, and another showing an enthroned Isis, Apis, and possibly Horus, holding a small figure of Harpocrates emerging from a lotus.[79] Few more depictions of Isis, Apis, and Harpocrates are known.[80] These instances may indicate the perceived identity between Harpocrates and Apis as distinct manifestations of Horus, as supported by Ptolemaic texts, and their association with fertility and regeneration. These qualities were fitting in a funerary context,[81] particularly the graves of children, where terracotta figurines of Harpocrates on the back of Apis from Thessaloniki, Pella, and Stobi were discovered. The creation of this figurine type reveals connections with Egypt, especially Memphis, and suggests the plausible existence of a cult of Apis in Thessaloniki. Interestingly, a 2nd century AD inscription from the city's Isiac sanctuary refers to Isis with the rare epithet Memphitis.[82]

A Memphitic theology behind the creation of the terracotta figurine type of Harpocrates on Apis and its Greek adaptation may be corroborated by a similar case of what may appear as another genre figurine, Harpocrates on a ram. According to M.-C. Budischovsky, the ram is Khonsou, son of Ammon, and their common representation denotes his assimilation with Horus, which was a product of Theban theology.[83]

71 Sandri 2006, 44.

72 Lauer and Picard 1955, 210-211, fig. 111.

73 Koßmann 2014, 113–116.

74 Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1977, 14–20, nos. 41–42, 44–46, 49–50, 53, 56–62, 64; Koßmann 2014, 114–115.

75 Tran Tam Tinh 1973, 27–28, fig. 144, 201; Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975a, 28, no. 101, 30, no. 112, 33, no. 127, 37, no. 141, 45, no. 182, 54, no. 231; Boutantin 2014, 257–259, no. 124; Koßmann 2014, 114.

76 Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975b, 11, no. 280.

77 *RICIS* 404/0901; Ibrahim Al-Ghabban 2010, 335, no. 156.

78 Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975a, 28, no. 98, 37, no. 140; Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975b, 15–16, no. 288, 81–82, no. 577; Boutantin 2014, 255–256, 270, no. 124, pl. VII, fig. 2.

79 Milne 1915, 109, no. 9–10; Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1977, 19, nos. 61–62.

80 Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975a, 37, no. 140–141; Kater-Sibbes and Vemaseren 1977, 19–20, no. 62; Tran Tam Tinh 1973, 60, no. A–9; Koßmann 2014, 115, 393–394, no. Hor 55, pl. 20b.

81 Boutantin 2014, 256–257.

82 *RICIS* 113/0549.

83 Budischovsky 2011, 167, fig. 5. For representations of Harpocrates on the back of a sphinx (Tithoes), proclaiming their assimilation, Matthey 2007, 212.

2.2. Jewellery

2.2.1. Isiac pendants

The front side of a marble sarcophagus from the eastern cemetery of Thessaloniki, dating to AD 140–160, features relief portraits of four family members: a young and an older man, and a young and an older woman (fig. 3).[84] The iconography does not carry any Isiac connotation. The sarcophagus held the burials of an adult man, with his remains placed aside for the burial of an adult woman. Remarkably well-preserved, the sarcophagus suggests that it was not used many times, with its final use possibly dated to the second half of the 2nd century AD. The woman was accompanied by a pair of gold earrings, a gold ghost coin and gold pendants, which were likely strung together as a necklace. These pendants include two spherical *bullae*, two situla pendants with an arched handle and fluted body featuring a knob at the bottom, two elliptical amulets with an embossed depiction of a goddess with a rudder and cornucopia, a lamp pendant, a lance pendant, and a ring pendant (fig. 4).[85]

Generally, during the Roman period, pendants and amulets of various types (*bullae*, coins, and images of gods) and materials, worn either independently or threaded in a cord, were called *crepundia*. These items served to provide protection against dangers and diseases while expressing personal religiosity. The cords, sometimes depicted in art, were commonly worn around the neck or between the armpit and the neck, especially by children and young women. Pendants and amulets from Campania, some of which bore Isiac connotations,[86] enable a better understanding of the diversity of similar items from Thessaloniki.

In Pompeii, a box held by a mature lady contained various amulets, including a herm, bells, a bunch of grapes, knucklebones, dice, phalli, a cicada, a panther, pinecones, and beads, some of which were related to the *gens isiaca* (such as Osiris of Kanopos, an open palm, and jackals symbolizing Anubis).[87] A figurine of Isis Tyche from Pompeii was suspended from a gold chain with a snake-shaped finial,[88] possibly alluding to Isis Thermouthis.[89] A necklace from another Pompeiian house consisted of pendants in the form of Isis Tyche, Harpocrates, Bes, an arm, a lotus flower, and more.[90] Pompeii yielded more examples of pendants, with Harpocrates and Isis or Isis

84 Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2014, 158, no. 1, pl. 1–2.

85 Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, inv. nos. ΜΘ 5452 (situla pendant, height 1.85 cm), ΜΘ 5453 (situla pendant, height 1.64 cm), ΜΘ 5454 (two *bullae*, height 1.5 and 1.62 cm), ΜΘ 5456 (pendant with Tyche, height 1.66 cm), ΜΘ 5457 (pendant with Tyche, height 1.68 cm) ΜΘ 5458 (lamp pendant, length 1.25 cm), ΜΘ 5459 (ring earrings, diam. 1 cm), ΜΘ 5460 (lance pendant, height 1.82 cm), ΜΘ 5461 (ring pendant, threaded with a glass bead, diam. 1.2 cm), ΜΘ 32631 (ghost coin). Walter 1942, 160, 163, fig. 31.2–3; Newspapers "Μακεδονία" (6/07/1940, 7/07/1940, 9/07/1940, 10/07/1940), and "Φως" of Thessaloniki (6/07/1940, 10/07/1940).

86 Faraone 2018, 28–61 (also discussing examples from Classical Greece); Beaurin 2013, 389–396.

87 Faraone 2018, 59–60, fig. 2.4.

88 De Caro 2006, 216, no. 140 (S. Venditto).

89 See a gold bracelet from Egypt with depictions of Isis Tyche, Venus, Isis Thermuthis and Agathodaimon, Hill 2000, 95, fig. 75.

90 Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 167, no. 117.

Fig. 3. The front side of the marble sarcophagus inv. no. ΜΘ 1942 (© Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture / photographer: Orestis Kourakis)

Tyche being prominent. These pendants possibly functioned as protective amulets, particularly those of Isis Tyche, which might have been associated with maritime travels, commerce, or safeguarding against sea dangers.[91] The prevalence of Isis Tyche in amulets from the city likely reflected the importance of her cult, evident in various statuettes, wall paintings,[92] and even a graffiti on a house wall referring to "Isistyche protector" (Εἰσιτύχη σώζουσα).[93]

In a tomb of Imperial date in Cumes, a city where the Egyptian gods were venerated,[94] the deceased woman wore earrings with Harpocrates pendants and a necklace featuring eye-beads and miniature pendants in the forms of Harpocrates, Isis Tyche, Baubo, a sphinx, a hawk, and a scarab.[95] Similarly, a small box found in a wine shop (*taberna vinaria*) with a dwelling on the upper floor in Herculaneum contained a necklace with amulets shaped as Harpocrates, Bes, Venus, an Egyptianizing intaglio, a fish (*tilapia nilotica*), and beads.[96]

91 Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 169, no. 128; Beaurin 2013, 390–392.

92 Mol 2015, 169–181.

93 *RICIS* 504/0216.

94 Caputo 2009, 235–250.

95 Semmola 1844, Tran Tam Tinh 1972, 73–74; Faraone 2018, 164, fig. 6.10.

96 Tran Tam Tinh 1971, 12, 73–74, nos. 37–38, 79, no. 51, fig. 28; Scatozza Höricht 1989, 54, 59–60, 102, 113; Mols 2020, 255.

Fig. 4. The gold jewellery (pendants, earrings) and the gold ghost coin, which were found in the marble sarcophagus inv. no. ΜΘ 1942, in a photograph in 1941 (© Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

A *bulla* (fig. 5a-b) was originally an amulet type worn around the neck of Roman boys after their birth, signifying their freeborn status and offering protective effects. During the Roman Imperial period, its use was extended in the provinces to girls and women. A miniature figurine of Isis Tyche was attached to a large *bulla* found in a tomb near Rome,[97] possibly referencing *Isis puel*(*laris*) (Isis protector of girls), as seen in a dedication from Guadix[98] or the "Isistyche protector" mentioned above.[99] Under Roman influence, Harpocrates is occasionally depicted with a *bulla*, possibly a new version of an Egyptian cordiform amulet protecting the heart.[100] Occasionally, Harpocrates is shown sitting on a ram with a *bulla*, denoting his connections with Ammon.[101] A bronze *bulla* discovered in Carnuntum contained a tiny figurine of Harpocrates.[102] At the temple of Isis in Pompeii, a golden *bulla* was unearthed, possibly associated with

97 Malaise 2008, 50–51, Faraone 2018, 163, fig. 6.8.

98 *RICIS* 603/0101; Dahmen 2018, 521.

99 See above, note 93.

100 Tran Tam Tinh 1964, 162–163, nos. 104, 107, pl. XII.1, XXI.2; *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Harpocrates, 420, no. 53b, 423, no. 112b, 424, no. 118d–e, 438, no. 351b, 425, no. 136n–o (V. Tran Tam Tinh, B. Jaeger and S. Poulin); Malaise 2008, 50–51.

101 *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Harpocrates, 435, no. 289a–b (V. Tran Tam Tinh, B. Jaeger and S. Poulin). Budischovsky 2011, 167, fig. 5.

102 Luchesi-Palli 1994.

Fig. 5a-b. Two gold bullae inv. no. ΜΘ 1722 (© Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

Harpocrates.[103] Further evidence linking it to Harpocrates comes from a gold *bulla* which was discovered near an Egyptian base, referring to Horus-Ra, two statues of Harpocrates, one of Isis Fortune and Bes, and an Egyptianizing necklace at the vestibule of a building in the Palaestra of Herculaneum, which is believed to be a sanctuary of Isis and Mater Deum.[104]

Situla pendants or Isiac-themed jewelry are not depicted in art,[105] even in portraits of mummies from Fayum, for instance portraits of women, believed to be priestesses, devotees, or initiates in Isis' mysteries, but would be possibly more accurately described as women assimilated with Hathor but displaying an Isiac character.[106] However, pendants featuring depictions of Isis and Sarapis have been observed in five mummy portraits of boys.[107]

The fluted body of the Thessalonian *situla* pendants (fig. 6–7) is a rare characteristic, scarcely attested.[108] In a 1st century AD golden torc of unknown context from Egypt strung are four pendants depicting Aphrodite, Osiris, Sarapis, and Fortuna and a

103 Podvin 2021, 148.

104 Gasparini 2010, 234, pl. IV.2.

105 E.g. they are missing from statues and reliefs of Isis or her devotees, Walters 1988; Eingartner 1991; Walters 2010.

106 Thompson 1981; Backe-Dahmen 2018, 523-524; Tallet 2018, 419–431, figs. 14.1–14.3.

107 Trouchaud 2013.

108 Zwierlein-Diehl 1986, 141–142, no. 272, pl. 52 (gem depicting Isis, 50–1 BC); Walters 1988, 21–24, pl. 19a (Attic stele, early 2nd century AD); Podvin and Veymiers 2008, 63, εικ. 1–2 (Corinthian lamps depicting Isis, 2nd–3rd century AD).

Fig. 6a-b. Gold situla pendant inv. no. ΜΘ 5452 (© Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

Fig. 7a-b. Gold situla pendant inv. no. ΜΘ 5453 (© Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

Fig. 8. Gold lamp pendant inv. no. ΜΘ 5458 (© Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

golden *situla* pendant. The *situla* has an ovoid body without a neck, like Egyptian parallels, but the body is fluted, a feature unattested in Egypt. The small diameter of the torc indicates that it belonged to a child, possibly a girl.[109] More information can be drawn from the gold *situla* pendants found in controlled excavations. Two *situla* pendants with a spherical body featuring a cylindrical knob and relief checkerboard decoration were found in a cremation grave of a woman at Istria (AD 125–150).[110] Another *situla* pendant, with a fluted body and a knob on the bottom was discovered in a marble sarcophagus at Kios,[111] which was used for the burial of seven individuals (2nd–early 3rd century AD). The sarcophagus contained a gem with engraved busts of Sarapis and Isis in profile,[112] providing a secure Isiac connection. Notably, the worship of the *gens Isiaca* is attested at Kios.[113] Another *situla* pendant, similar to the one from Kios, was found in a disturbed grave with the inhumation of a woman in a family tomb at Vidobishta, a suburb of Ohrid (Lychnidos). The grave contained a gold danake (AD 161–169), a few gold threads from a textile, two gold finger rings, and two bronze *styli*.[114] The cult of Isis in the city is attested through two statuettes of the goddess.[115] In these three funerary assemblages, where there is no mention of a cultic office of the deceased, the *situla* pendants likely served as amulets, providing protection and functiong as manifestation of Isis. Women invoked Isis for help and assistance throughout various aspects of their lives, possibly from childhood. These pendants may allude to initiation in the mysteries of the goddess or a possible consecration since childhood.[116]

The lamp pendant (fig. 8) strongly resembles a bronze lamp (AD 50–100) from the Roman *agora* of Thessaloniki.[117] A bronze lamp pendant adorned a bronze earring

109 Backe-Dahmen 2018, 522–523, fig. 17.2.

110 Petrović Markežić and Milošević 2010, 296, fig. 8.

111 Sağir et al. 2011, 38, no. 22, fig. 13.

112 Sağir et al. 2011, 37–39.

113 *RICIS* 308/0301–0302.

114 Кузман 2015, 147, no. 2, fig. 2.

115 Nikoloska 2015, 222–223, fig. 164–165; Bitrakova-Grozdanova 2015, 42-43, figs. 9-10.

116 Backe-Dahmen 2018, 520-524.

117 Αδάμ-Βελένη 2016, 80–83, figs. 1–3.

Fig. 9. Gold pendant depicting Tyche inv. no. ΜΘ 5457 (© Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

Fig. 10. Gold pendant depicting Tyche inv. no. ΜΘ 5458 (© Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

(AD 130–200) from Nîmes, while gold Roman finger rings from Viminacium and Asia Minor feature a bezel in the form of a lamp.[118] The lamp pendant may not be devoid of Isiac symbolism, possibly alluding to a person with the cultic duty of daily lighting lamps in the sanctuary (πυρφόρος,[119] λυχνάπτρια,[120] λυχνάπτης[121]) or bearing a lantern (λαμπτηροφόρος) [122] during cult processions in honour of Isis, as part of festivals like λαμπαδεία,[123] λυχναψία,[124] or νυκτέλια.[125] These duties and activities are attested in inscriptions, literature, and depictions in art, emphasising the significance of light in Isiac cults, as evidenced through lamps, torches, lanterns, and candelabra found in temples or attested in temple inventories. There is also a less certain association with the use of lamps in lychnomancy.[126] The Isiac connotation of the lamp pendant is further supported by a necklace from a house at Pompeii consisting of two miniature lamp pendants and pendants in the form of Isis, Harpocrates, Bastet, scarabs, and other symbols.[127]

118 Manniez 2014.

119 *RICIS* 102/0405 (2nd–3rd century AD); Podvin 2018, 613–614.

120 *RICIS* 101/0221 (c. AD 120); Podvin 2018, 615, 626 (perhaps related to lychnomancy).

121 Podvin 2018, 613.

122 *RICIS* 202/0209 (95/4 BC); Podvin 2018, 614, 624.

123 *RICIS* 304/0802 (c. 200 BC); Podvin 2018, 625.

124 *RICIS* 501/0221 (AD 354).

125 Podvin 2018, 624.

126 Podvin 2011; Beaurin 2013, 42–43, 55, fig. 4; Podvin 2015; Podvin 2018; Podvin 2021, 153–154.

127 De Caro 2006, 215, no. 137 (S. Venditto).

Regarding the two amulets with a relief depiction of a standing goddess, wearing a chiton and himation and holding a *cornucopia* and a rudder (fig. 9–10), similar ones are known from a few Roman funerary contexts in the Balkans and the Northern Pontus,[128] with the goddess usually identified as Tyche/Fortuna.[129] A headdress, like a *calathos*, is not rendered in these amulets, as in few other pendants. From Thessaloniki we may add a small silver miniature amulet, discovered as a stray find during the excavation of a plot with numerous graves. It has the form of a goddess with a rudder, a *cornucopia*, and a *calathos*.[130] A similar one was found in the grave of a woman at Nea Kerdylia,[131] 90 km to the east of Thessaloniki. Additionally, the bezel of a silver ring from a grave in Thessaloniki bears an engraved depiction of a goddess with a *calathos*, reclining on a *lectisternium* and holding a rudder,[132] a rare iconographic theme related to Alexandria and attested in city ports, thought to represent Tyche of Alexandria or less probably Isis.[133] The presence of a *calathos* usually identifies similar depictions as those of Tyche/Fortuna, while its substitution by a basileion or its position in front of a *calathos* identifies the figure as Isis Tyche. However, the *calathos* has also been part of the iconography of Isis since the 2nd century BC.[134] A bronze figurine of a goddess with the same attributes (*calathos*, rudder, cornucopia) from Banyas on the Syrian coast is inscribed as Isis Pharia. Initially, the figure wore an Isis knot, and a *basileion* was attached in front of the *calathos*.[135] Similarly, a Hellenistic papyrus sealing from Paphos[136] and some 2nd–3rd century AD gems depict Isis with all three attributes, often alongside the figure of Sarapis.[137] In essence, the pendants could have represented either Isis Tyche or Tyche, and the omission of a headdress could have allowed their owners to identify the goddess as either of them.

The assumption in favour of Isis Tyche for the Thessalonian pendants gains further support from votive inscriptions found in the city's Isiac sanctuary, where in two of

128 Greifenhagen 1975, 31, pl. 25.3, 27.4 (2nd c. AD); Laffineur 1980, 434–436, no. 139, fig. 55; Буюклиев 1986, 40, pl. 14 (2nd–early 3rd c. AD); Ruseva-Slokoska 1991, 150, no. 131 (2nd–3rd c. AD); Treister and Zuba 1994, 335–343, fig. 3–4 (under Alexander Severus); Lungu et al. 2012, 126–127, no. 15, pl. LXI.15 (2nd c. AD); Журавлев et al. 2017, 73–74, nos. 127–128, pl. 39–40, 42 (1st–3nd c. AD); Keramaris 2021, 148, fig. 3 (along with a coin of Domitian).

129 For the qualities and the iconography of Isis Tyche, *LIMC* V (1990), s.v. Isis, 784–786, nos. 303–316 (V. Tran Tam Tinh); Sfameni Gasparro 1998; Veymiers 2009a, 139–140; Amoroso 2015; Amoroso 2017.

130 Found during excavation for the Metro Station at Sintrivani Square in 2007. Νικάκης 2019a, 139–140; Νικάκης 2019b, 135–6 no. 5.39 (identified as a female figure holding a child).

131 Μάλαμα and Νταράκης 2008, 190, no. 3, 430, pl. 81 (not identified as Tyche or Isis–Tyche). The grave contained a coin dated to AD 160–180.

132 Found during excavation for the Metro Station in Sintrivani Square in 2010, in a cist grave with the burials of a woman, a man and two children, containing jewellery, vessels and coins of the third–fourth century AD. Νικάκης 2019a, 229; Νικάκης 2019b, 286–287, no. 8.90, 350–351, pl. XIX (not identifying the scene). Cf. Azarnouche 2020, 110, fig. 14 (same theme on an intaglio).

133 For the iconography, see Azarnouche et al. 2020, 97–147. See also Tran Tam Tinh 1983, 228–229, no. IV C1, fig. 221; Veymiers 2009a, 88, 93, 115–116.

134 Malaise 2014. For these attributes and the difficulties in distingushing Isis Tyche from Tyche, Amoroso 2015; Amoroso 2017.

135 Bricault 2020, 133–136, fig. 96; *RICIS* 402/0501; Amoroso 2017, 70.

136 Bricault 2020, 136, n. 222.

137 Bricault 2020, 101–105, figs. 76, 79–81.

them, Isis Tyche is the dedicand, and in two others Isis Tyche Agathe.[138] Attestations of Isis Tyche or Isis Tyche Agathe or Isis Tyche Protogeneia are known from Athens, Delos, Rome, Pompeii, Praeneste, Mama d'Avio, and Neine/Gorna Gradešnitsa, highlighting the widespread assimilation of Isis to Tyche.[139] This assimilation can be traced back to the association of Ptolemaic queens with Isis and the attestations of Agathe Tyche Arsinoe Philadelphus Isis on Ptolemaic faience jugs, related to the cult of Arsinoe II.[140] Two hymns from Egypt also address Isis as Tyche Agathe.[141] The assimilation of Isis and Tyche is further supported by the dedication of a statue of *Sors* (Fortune) to Isis Domina from Taraccina[142] and a statue of Fortuna offered to Isis Augusta in Lyon.[143] In the central and western Macedonia, Tyche was not the subject of a cult, and her representation is limited to coin issues of Edessa and Pella,[144] while she is prominently featured in pseudo-autonomous issues of Thessaloniki, portrayed as the patroness of the city with her veiled head bearing a mural crown.[145] The only dedication to Tyche from Thessaloniki comes from the Isiac sanctuary of the city, where she is referred to as the "Tyche of the city of Thessalonians".[146] This dedication highlights the close connection between the two deities due to their shared qualities or even their possible identity, given that at Coptos, Isis was identified with the Tyche of the citizens of Coptos,[147] and the Thessalonian inscription only preserves the first two lines referring to Tyche.[148]

Regarding a possible depiction or statue of Isis Tyche in the Isiac sanctuary of Thessaloniki, it is worth mentioning a temple within the Isiac sanctuary of Dion that was devoted to Isis Tyche. A headless cult statue of Isis Tyche (*c.* AD 200) was discovered in its niche, while an altar in front of the temple was dedicated to her.[149] The goddess holds a cornucopia and initially held a rudder as well; her garment is typically Greek and lacks any Isiac trait like knot or fringes. The strands of hair falling on her shoulders also deviate from the usual Libyan locks often seen in representations of Isis. Interestingly, if this statue were found in a different context, it could easily be interpreted as a statue of Tyche. The goddess depicted in the pendant from the Cumes necklace bears similar traits and a *calathos*. Her identification as Isis Tyche is

138 *RICIS* 113/0514–515 (2nd–1st century BC), 113/0531 (1st century BC–1st century AD), 113/0566 (2nd–3rd century AD). For a dedication addressed to the Tyche of Thessaloniki from the same sanctuary, *RICIS* 113/0546 and Νίγδελης 2006, 467–468, who identifies her with Isis.

139 Veymiers 2009a, 139; *RICIS* 101/0258 (Imperial period), 114/1902 (after AD 78), 202/0129 (late 3rd-early 2nd century BC), 202/0283–0284 (115/4 BC), 501/0139 (late 1st–early 2nd century AD), 503/0602 (AD 138–161), 504/0216 (before AD 79), 515/1001 (2nd–3rd century AD).

140 Amoroso 2015, 212; Amoroso 2017, 42.

141 Bricault and Dionysopoulou 2016, 61.

142 *RICIS* 507/0701; Sfameni Gasparro 1998, 310.

143 *RICIS* 607/0102.

144 Χατζηνικολάου 2011, 175–177.

145 Touratsoglou 1988, 82-93.

146 *RICIS* 113/0546 (1st–2nd century AD); Νίγδελης 2006, 467–468, for another dedication addressed to the same deity, from Smyrna, and her relation/identification to Isis.

147 Malaise 2014, 240.

148 Cf. a marble base from Heraclea Lyncestis, bearing the statue of Nemesis, which was dedicated to "Tyche of the city, goddess Nemesis", Düll 1977, 384–386, nos. 216–217.

facilitated by the Harpocrates pendants and the other pendants with Egyptian character.[150]

Considering the similarities between the statue of Isis Tyche from Dion and the goddess depicted on the two Thessalonian pendants, along with the affinities between the Isiac sanctuaries at Dion and Thessaloniki, the dedications to Isis Tyche from the Thessalonian Isiac sanctuary, and the Isiac connotations of the gold pendants found in the same sarcophagus, such as the Isiac *situla* pendants and possibly the lamp pendant or even the *bullae*, it is reasonable to assume that the pendants likely depict Isis Tyche rather than Tyche/Fortuna or perceived so by their owner, most likely a devotee of Isis. Additionally, it is important to consider the comparison between Fortuna and Isis Tyche, which Apuleius vividly presents in Metamorphoses (XI.15).[151] Fortuna is *caeca* and *nefaria,* while Isis is *videns* and *sospitatrix* and Lucius eventually conquers Fortuna with the help of Isis. Isis' sovereignty over Fortune is explicitly stated in an aretalogy: "I conquer *Heimarmene* (Destiny), *Heimarmene* is subservient to me".[152] This concept is rooted in Egyptian beliefs related to Isis and other Egyptian gods who have power over fate[153]. The benevolent and beneficent character of Isis Tyche as the Mistress of Destiny, the dispenser of wealth, protectress of navigation, and provider of salvation,[154] sets her apart from the ambiguous nature of Tyche or Fortuna. This aspect of Isis Tyche must have been appealing for the creation of amulets, as seen in Pompeii,[155] making her a strong candidate for the interpretation of the Thessalonian amulets.

2.2.2. Gem with Harpocrates sitting on a lotus flower

In a grave of unknown context, a dark green jasper gem bears an engraved depiction of Harpocrates sitting on a lotus flower (fig. 11a-b). He places his right hand on his mouth and holds a flail with his left.[156] The rear side is plain. This depiction is common in Hellenistic and Roman period terracottas[157] and magical gems. It is, in fact, the most well-known and widespread theme,[158] with a long history in Egyptian art and was often used to represent child gods, such as Harpocrates.[159] It also appears on Alexandrian

149 Παντερμαλής 1997, figs. on p. 22, 70; Παντερμαλής 1999, figs. on p. 58 and 102; *RICIS* 113/0216; Falezza 2012, 253–254, fig. III.34; Κασσερόπουλος 2024, 62, 109-110.

150 See above, note 95.

151 Griffiths 1975, 241–243; Sfameni Gasparro 1998; Malaise 2014, 241–242.

152 *RICIS* 302/0204.

153 Sfameni Gasparro 1998, 312–314.

154 Amoroso 2015, 212, 214.

155 See above, notes 88-91, and Beaurin 2013, 390-391.

156 Museum of Byzantine Culture, inv. no. ΒΛΜ 12/4. Length 1.9 cm. Found in 1993 in grave 118 of the northern section of the Evangelistria cemetery. *Ημερολόγιο* 2004, 142–143; Μπονόβας and Τζιτζιμπάση 2009, 2.

157 *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Harpokrates, 432, nos. 238–239, 250–251, 433–434, nos. 250–251, 263–268, 437, no. 330 (V. Tran Tam Tinh, B. Jaeger and S. Poulin); Barrett 2001, 255–257,

158 *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Harpocrates, 432, no. 233, 433, no. 240, 243, 434, nos. 255–262, 435, no. 376 (V. Tran Tam Tinh, B. Jaeger and S. Poulin); Michel 2004, 65, 68–72, 269–271, no. 19; Poulin 1988, 245-271, figs. 296-349, nos. 270-302.

159 Morenz and Schubert 1954; Sandri 2006, 119–120.

Fig. 11a-b. Jasper gem depicting Harpocrates on a lotus inv. no. ΒΛΜ 12/4 and its cast (© Museum of Byzantine Culture, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

coins (under Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, and Commodus).[160] According to Plutarch (*De Is. et Os*. 11), the Egyptians used this motif as an allegory of the rising of the sun from the waters. The theme recalls the lotus that emerged from the primordial waters, which once flooded the land, and from which the sun arose. In other words, it symbolizes the birth of the sun god from a lotus, representing the sun's daily renewal, and thus acting as a symbol of rejuvenation—a reminder of the original creation and its daily and annual renewal, also associated with the annual flooding of the Nile.[161] This notion may have held particular significance for those who chose this gem to accompany the deceased in the afterlife.

Before its use in a funerary context, the gem was likely used in everyday life due to its depiction being considered suitable for blessings and spells, providing protection against various forms of evil. For instance, a hymn on a magical papyrus invokes the infant god seated on a lotus. Similarly, an instruction for a love charm in another magical papyrus involves an iron ring engraved with the depiction of Harpocrates sitting on a lotus, accompanied by the name ABRASAX.[162] Such a function is corroborated by two gems with Harpocrates on a lotus flower on one side and a love spell on the other side.[163]

2.2.3. Carnelian scarab

In the eastern cemetery of Thessaloniki, the tile grave of an adult woman yielded a set of jewelry – glass, amber, and jet beads from a necklace, three silver rings, and

160 *LIMC* IV (1988), s.v. Harpocrates, 432, no. 236, 433, no. 245 (V. Tran Tam Tinh, B. Jaeger and S. Poulin); *RPC* III, 5999, 6421; *RPC* IV.4, 14202 (temporary), 14724 (temporary), 14780 (temporary), 14885 (temporary), 15233 (temporary), 15827 (temporary), 15865 (temporary), 16275 (temporary), 16484 (temporary), 16609 (temporary).

161 Sfameni Gasparro 1973, 245, no. 78, pl. XLVIII (ΑΒΡΑΣΑΞ ΙΑΩ); Mastrocinque 2003, 153–158, 161–174, nos. 7–41; Michel 2004, 68–72.

162 Vitellozzi 2018, 203, no. 1.14, fig. 14.

163 *Dasen and Nagy* 2019, 433–434.

a pair of golden earrings – a glass unguentarium, a bronze coin from the reign of Caracalla (AD 198–217), and a carnelian gem. The gem, perforated on its long axis, is shaped like a schematically rendered scarab with minimal incisions on its convex side, while the other, flat side, bears an engraved *basileion* consisting of a solar disk with a pair of feathers between cow horns and two ears of wheat below,[164] symbolising the agrarian nature of the goddess.[165] This gem likely served as the swiveling bezel of a ring, a usage recorded in magical spells.

Amulets in the form of the Egyptian scarab (*scarabaeus sacer*) or dung beetle, symbols of new life and resurrection, were made from various materials. They were considered to possess magical properties that were further enhanced through inscriptions or representations on their flat underside, attracting good luck, providing protection, or even manifesting special devotion to a god. These amulets were intended for use by both the deceased and the living. In Pharaonic Egypt, they were worn by children, and their use continued during the Greco-Roman period. Additionally, Egyptian or Phoenician imitations were worn during the Geometric-Archaic period by both Phoenician and Greek children and women.[166]

Pliny (*N.H.* 11.34, 30.47) mentions that beetles were suspended from the necks of infants as a remedy against certain maladies, or their horns were attached to the bodies of infants, functioning as amulets. Magicians recommended the use of scarabs as protective charms. For example, a magical spell in a papyrus concerns the consecration of a "ring of Hermes", which is addressed to Helios. This ring actually involves an emerald scarab with an engraved figure of Isis, threaded with gold wire to be used as a ring.[167] According to another magical spell, emerald provided every grace and ensured success in all deeds for the wearer. It was considered suitable for hydromancy and helped slaves to gain their freedom. For instance, if someone carved an emerald in the shape of a scarab, engraved a standing Isis on it, and threaded it with gold wire to be worn on the finger, it was believed that the individual could accomplish anything.[168]

The Thessalonian scarab shares similarities with scarabs dating back to the 1st century BC –1st century AD, suggesting that it was more than a century old when placed in the grave. These scarabs originated in Alexandria but were widespread in Campania during the Hellenistic period. At Herculaneum, a girl's skeleton was found wearing a string of over forty amulets, including three carnelian scarabs.[169] Some scarabs depict a *basileion,*[170] while others portray Isiac or other deities, diverse creatures,[171] or even

164 Kept at the premises of the Ephorate of Antiquities of Thessaloniki City, inv. no. Μ.ΣΝΤ.3803α. Length 1.1 cm, width 1 cm, thickness 0.85 cm. Νικάκης 2019a, 239; Νικάκης 2019b, 297, no. 8.110, 335.

165 Veymiers 2014b, 206.

166 Andrews 1994, 50–56.

167 *PGM* V, 213–303; Vitellozzi 2018, 199, no. 1.8, fig. 10.

168 *Orphic Lithica*, 26.2; Faraone 2018, 164, 166, note 104, provides a slightly wrong translation.

169 Faraone 2018, 60.

170 Caylus 1856, 35–36, no. IV, pl. IX; Pannuti 1983, 170–171, nos. 329–331; Philipp 1986, 123, no. 202, pl. 54 (considered as work of the 19th century); Pannuti 1994, 293, no. 260; Michel 2001, 330, nos. 568–570, pl. 82–83; De Caro 2006, 215, no. 137 (S. Venditto).

171 Michel 2001, 328–332, nos. 564 (Osiris), 565 (non identifiable figure), 566 (Seth), 567 (Harpocrates), 571 (Isis and Zeus), 572 (rat, lizard, lion), 573 (Hekate), pl. 82–83; De Caro 2006, 215, no. 137 (Silen and bull)

voces magicae.[172] The *basileion* appears on coins since the 2nd century BC, and it is also found on other types of objects, such as sealings. The feathers descended from the crowns of queens in Egypt, while the solar disc among horns was the headdress of Hathor. Since the 14th century BC, the composite headdress adorned the head of queens, Hathor, and goddesses closely associated with her. Later on, it became part of the iconography of the deified Ptolemaic queens and, finally, in the early 2nd century BC, it was adopted by Isis, as evidenced by coins and jewellery.[173]

2.2.4. Crystal Tilapia nilotica and ball

The burial of a woman in a shaft grave contained four glass perfume bottles, clay lamp (100–150 AD), a clay unguentarium (1st–early 2nd century AD), a few jewels (a gold earring, bone pins, and a necklace with bone and amber beads)[174] and two objects in the finest rock crystal; one in the form of a ball and the other in that of a Tilapia nilotica fish (fig. 12).[175] The ball is preserved intact, free from abrasions caused by a possible mount. The mouth and tail of the fish are broken. A few chips are observed in the dorsal and ventral fins. Incisions on both sides represent the head, the eye, and the pectoral fin of the fish. While these objects may not initially appear to have Isiac connotations, it has been suggested that they could be connected to Egyptian concepts, and perhaps even vaguely related to Osiris.[176]

The Tilapia nilotica, native to the Nile, has a unique behaviour observed by the ancient Egyptians. When in danger, it shallows its eggs – which are enclosed in a spherical membrane – or the hatched babies, to protect them. When the danger subsides, the fish releases the eggs or the offspring. This natural phenomenon of emergence and rebirth inspired the use of Tilapia as symbol of regeneration, akin to the goddess Nut, the personification of the sky, who daily swallowed and gave birth to the sun god Re.

In ancient Egypt, representations of Tilapia can be found in various objects (scarabs and containers, like plates and spoons), while more often they were used as amulets of various materials,[177] some even made of transparent glass to resemble rock crystal.[178] Isolated fish pendants in the shape of Tilapia have been discovered in tombs of young

(S. Venditto); Mastrocinque 2007, 37, no. Fi 7 (Harpocrates), 60, no. Fi 67 (Aphrodite), 177, no. Ve 8 (Thoth); Vitellozzi 2018, 199, no. 1.8, fig. 10 (Isis).

172 Mastrocinque 2007, 96, no. Na 29.

173 Veymiers 2014b. For clay sealings bearing a basileion from Sarapieion C of Delos, Brun-Siard 2010, 200–201, nos. S1–S7, fig. 5–11.

174 Grave 122 (length 2 m, width 0.47 m) of the North section of the Evangelistria cemetery, excavated in 1993. For the burial assemblage, Πελεκανίδου and Μπουλιώνη 1995, 20; Kourkoutidou-Nikolaidou 1997, 137; Antonaras 2019, 126–129, nos. 127–129, 131.

175 Museum of Byzantine Culture, inv. no. ΒΥμ 10/2. Fish: length 5.8 cm, width 2.6 cm, thickness 1.4 cm, ball: diam. 1.6 cm. Πελεκανίδου and Μπουλιώνη 1995.

176 Πελεκανίδου and Μπουλιώνη 1995.

177 Gamer-Wallert 1970, 24–27, 53–54, 109–113; Dambach and Wallert 1966, 273–294; Andrews 1994, 67, fig. 4, 43, 54, 93.

178 Riefstahl 1972.

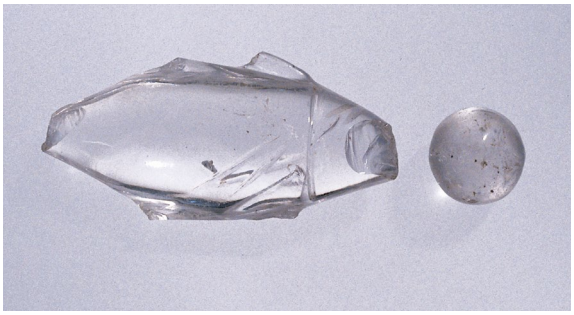

Fig. 12. Rock crystal Tilapia Nilotica fish and ball inv. no. ΒΥμ 10/2. (© Museum of Byzantine Culture, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

women since the Old Kingdom, extending through the Later period. Fish pendants in the form of catfish were popular during the Middle Kingdom. Two examples provide insights into the function of these fish pendants. A steatite vase from Thebes dating back to the 12th Dynasty (1985–1795 BC) depicts a young girl wearing a fish pendant hanging from her braid and a belt adorned with cowrie shells, symbols of fertility.[179] An account tells of a "miracle" during the reign of Pharaoh Snefru, where a girl's hair got tangled in her fish-shaped pendant, and as she tried to untangle it, the pendant fell into the water.[180]

The Thessalonian rock crystal fish and ball are extremely rare finds. Pliny the Elder (*N.H.* 37.9–10, 78) described rock crystal as the most valuable product found on the Earth's surface, originating from India – which was preferred over any other source – Alabanda and Orthosia in Asia, Cyprus, an island in the Red Sea, the Alps, and Lusitania. In Rome, a rock crystal fish was found in a cinerary urn,[181] and another was discovered in a funerary context.[182] Additional examples are known from Pompeii.[183] In Herculaneum, a wooden box retrieved between two skeletons contained rock crystal pendants: three amphoras, two Tilapias, an astragalus, an almond, and a bird.[184] A richly furnished early 1st century AD tomb of a young girl at Arezzo contained a coin of Augustus (35–28 BC), rock crystal miniature vessels and objects such as a Tilapia, a ball and a shell.[185] A contemporary grave from Piraeus[186] also contained rock crystal pendants (two Tilapias, a shell, and a turtle), along with gold jewelry. Some other examples kept in museums are of unknown provenance, but at least some of them were found in Italy.[187] A few examples of rock crystal or bone fishes with numerical signs, occasionally found in groups, were used as game counters.[188] The Thessalonian fish may also be assigned to the 1st century AD, based on its wear, denoting long use. Initially, it must have had a suspension hole in the mouth, as seen in intact examples.

179 James and Russmann 2001, 107–108, no. 32. For a 12th Dynasty intact tomb of a young girl at Haraga, Egypt, which contained, among other jewellery, four gold fish pendants, three in the shape of catfish and one in that of tilapia, Troalen et al. 2015, 75–86.

180 Simpson 2003, 16–17.

181 Mancini 1920, 34, fig. 2.

182 Bouvenne 1868, 335–337.

183 Kornbluth 2019, 127, note 15.

184 Scatozza Höricht 1989, 71–72, nos. N131–138.

185 Pasqui 1938; *Arezzo* 1988, 157, no. 128–129; Kornbluth 2019, 126–127, pl. 9/6–7.

186 Pfeiler 1970, 45–49, pl. 5–7; Georgoula 1999, 252–259.

187 Maioli 1994; Kornbluth 2019, 127, note 14.

188 Kornbluth 2019, 127–128.

Possibly in the Roman period young girls wore, as in Egypt, rock crystal fish pendants for their amuletic value and fertility connotations (as denoted by the accompanying shells in at least two cases) but the exact manner of their use escapes us. In the tomb from Arezzo the rock crystal objects were found along the corpse of the young deceased girl,[189] while pendants of a different form were hung around her neck. In the case of the Thessalonian grave, both the age of the woman and the exact positioning of the fish and the ball are unknown.

It is possible that the Thessalonian rock crystal fish and ball were intentionally placed as grave offerings, not merely as jewelry or amulets. This combination is only found in the Arezzo tomb assemblage, as other known crystal balls lack archaeological context. These crystal objects likely held symbolic or apotropaic functions, with the ball potentially representing the sphere of the universe.[190] However, they were not directly related to Isiac concepts about the afterlife. The Thessalonian burial assemblage, consisting of only a fish and a ball, led Pelekanidou and Boulioni to explore the possibility of an association with Egyptian symbolism.[191] They considered the meaning of the Tilapia in Egypt and drew parallels to a mural painting from a tomb (1279–1212 BC) in Deir El Medina, near Thebes, depicting the deceased Khabekhnet not as Osiris but as an enormous *abdjou*-fish, not as Osiris, being embalmed by Anubis. This fish is related to the Tilapia, as it is attested that both of them followed the solar bark of Ra in his nocturnal journey and kept an eye on the approaching enemies of the god. It can thus be considered as a manifestation of Osiris[192] or may represent the deceased who associated himself with Osiris.[193]

Further arguing in favour of this assumption we may note the following. The colourless and transparent nature of rock crystal (*crystallus* in Latin deriving from Greek *krystallos*, meaning ice)[194] alludes to water. Pliny (*N.H.* 37.9) stated that "rain-water and pure snow are absolutely necessary for its formation, and hence it is unable to endure heat, being solely employed for holding liquids that are taken cold". This leads to a possible relation to Osiris, who is connected with water and humidity (Plutarch, *De Is. et Os*. 34: "they call Bacchus *the wetter,* they looking upon him as the lord of the humid nature, he being none other than Osiris"). Corroborating this idea is an aquamarine gem, almost colourless like rock crystal, carved in the shape of Osiris Hydreios (1st century AD or earlier), admirably embodying the water symbolism.[195]

It would be possible to relate rock crystal objects in a burial context, due to their material, with Osiris and the known sepulchral formula "may Osiris offer you cool water",[196]

189 "Giovanetta", according to the excavator.

190 Kornbluth 2019.

191 Πελεκανίδου and Μπουλιώνη 1995, who also refer to a demotic spell, concerning the egg (Horus) that Isis protected and hatched in her chest. Actually this spell cannot be used as evidence of a relation of Isis with Tilapia, since it refers to the seed of Osiris within the womb of Isis, also described as "the god's form which has congealed in the egg" within the womb of Isis, see Simpson 2003, 263–264.

192 Gamer-Wallert 1970, 131–132.

193 Houlihan 1996, 132.

194 Crowley 2020, 151-152.

195 Whitehouse 2009.

196 Delia 1992.

if we could trace objects of Isiac connotations in burials with rock crystal objects. The rather poor Thessalonian grave provides negative evidence, but the aforementioned Piraeus tomb contained a bracelet[197] with elements in the form of a *cornucopia* and a *basileion*, which were not noticed before. The Isiac character of the bracelet may indicate that it belonged to a devotee of Isis.[198] Subsequently, the rock crystal pendants in this tomb, including the fish, may reflect some relations with Egypt. Supportive evidence comes from an amuletic string from Herculaneum with Isiac pendants and a bone fish pendant.[199]

Regarding the Thessalonian fish and ball, it cannot be excluded that they were placed in the grave simply as symbols of rebirth, providing indirect evidence of Egyptian concepts. However, the degree of their relation to the Isiac cult will remain unknown, as they rather reflect popular religion that traveled afar from Egypt.

2.3 An inscribed mug

An unidentified grave yielded a small clay mug (fig. 13),[200] a rather common object in the Roman cemeteries of Macedonia.[201] What makes this mug singular is the painted inscription with calligraphic letters εἷς Ζεὺς Σέραπις ("there is one Zeus Serapis") (fig. 14). Similar small-sized thin-walled mugs are typically plain. They are found not only in Greece but also in the central and eastern Mediterranean, and as far as the North Pontus, in contexts dating from the late 1st to 3rd century AD. Occasionally, during the mid- and late 3rd century AD, these mugs feature simple decorations, such as scrolls, or inscriptions in Greek, applied with thin white paint before firing, often of convivial nature, while others mention gods like Isis, Sarapis, Hera, Zeus, Tyche, and Hermes.[202] The mug from Thessaloniki can be dated to the 3rd century AD based on its shape[203] and the letter forms, which resemble those found on identical mugs from

197 Pfeiler 1970, 47–48, pl. 6–7, compared with the finial of another gold bracelet in form of a calathos with poppies and ears of wheat, Pfeiler 1970, 49–51, pl. 8.

198 Pieces of jewellery of the same tomb were set with emeralds. Emeralds were related to Isis and dedicated to her, *RICIS* 501/0303, 603/0101. See also above, notes 167-168. Ancient emeralds originated from *Mons Smaragdus* in Egypt, Shaw et al. 1999.

199 See above, note 96.

200 The tomb was part of the cemetery north of the hospital "Agios Dimitrios" which was excavated in 1988–1989. Thessaloniki, Museum of White Tower, inv. no. Βκ 4522/2. Height: 6.7 cm., rim diam. 4.5 m., base diam. 2.3 cm. Ημερολόγιο 2007, 76–77.

201 Ναλπάντης 2003, 125–126, pl. 40; Μάλαμα and Νταράκης 2008, 403–405, pl. 64–65; Ναούμ 2017, 429–432, pl. 32, 37–38, 44–45, 47–48, 68, 76.

202 Hayes 2008, 101–104. For mugs with dipinti, Robinson 1959, 97–98, nos. M145–148, 101, no. M190, pl. 24, 26, 57 (from layers of mid–3rd century AD–AD 267 and later); Barbu 1961, 220, fig. 11; Соломоник *1973;* Adamsheck 1979, 89–90, fig. 4, pl. 22 (one of them should be read as [E]ΙΛΕΟΣ and not as ΚΛΕΟ, on account of best preserved exemplars, c.f. Соломоник *1973, 66, no. 17*); Соломоник *1987, 117;* Σταμπολίδης and Παρλαμά 2000, 81, no. 54 (Β. Χριστοπούλου); Зубарь 2005, 162–163; Papadopoulos and Stern 2006, 262, fig. 217; Hayes 2008, 268, no. 1608, fig. 51; Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 2009, 80–81, fig. 74–77.

203 Barbu 1961, 213, 220, fig. 11 (with a coin of AD 276–282); Ναλπάντης 2003, 79–80, drawing 45, pl. 43 (with a coin of AD 276–282); Hayes 2008, 268, no. 1608, fig. 51 (from a context of early to mid–3rd century AD); Емец 2012, 58, no. 160 (AD 250–300).

204 Соломоник *1973*.

Fig. 13. Clay mug with the painted acclamation εἷς Ζεὺς Σέραπις inv. no. Βκ4522/2 (© Museum of Byzantine Culture, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

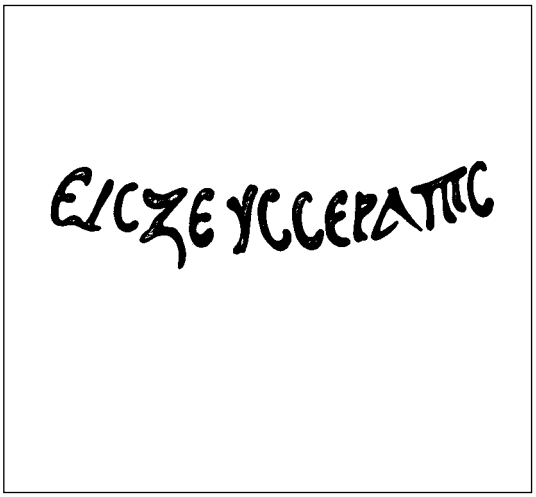

Fig. 14. Drawing of the acclamation εἷς Ζεὺς Σέραπις in clay mug inv. no. Βκ4522/2 (© Museum of Byzantine Culture, Hellenic Ministry of Culture)

Chersonesos[204] and Athens.[205] It can also be classified within a subgroup referred to as "Thracian",[206] named after the presumed place of production in the region of the Thracian coast or the Dardanelles, with Ainos and Troy being proposed as potential manufacturing centers. Plain imitations were produced in various locations. Surprisingly, scholars have largely overlooked a potential production centre of mugs with dipinti in North Pontus, despite the despite the fact that the majority of them was unearthed in Chersonesos and its vicinity. In fact, 23 dipinti from this region were published in 1973 by E. Solomonik,[207] and a few more later on.[208] As for their function, most of them were found in funerary contexts, leading to the assumption that they were used for libations or had a connection to chthonic deities or ideas related to the afterlife due to their inscriptions.[209] However, this assumption is untenable considering the small size and the shape of the mugs, and, most importantly, the convivial character of theirs inscriptions, such as 'drink and rejoice", characteristics that clearly define them as drinking vessels. In fact, several inscribed mugs, including one with the inscription "drink and rejoice", were found in a *taberna vinaria* at Demetrias.[210] Others were unearthed in the Aphrodision at Corinth,[211] in urban contexts,[212] in a presumed domestic sanctuary at Tyras,[213] or in wells and deposits in Athens.[214]

205 Robinson 1959, 97–98, nos. M147–148, pl. 24, 57 (from a layer of mid–3rd c. AD–AD 267).

206 Hayes 2008, 102–104, nos. 1602–1608.

207 Соломоник 1973. See also note 234.

208 From Aul–Kiz, near Myrmekion, Емец 2012, 58, no. 160, and Chersonesos, Соломоник *1987, 117.*

209 As argued by Соломоник 1973, 68–77.

210 Μπάτζιου-Ευσταθίου 2009, 80–81, fig. 76.

211 Adamsheck1979, 89–90, fig. 4, pl. 22.

212 Соломоник 1973, 68.

213 Соломоник 1973, 62–63, nos. 6–7.

214 Robinson 1959, 97–98, nos. M145–148, 101, no. M190, pl. 24, 26, 57; Σταμπολίδης and Παρλαμά 2000, 81, no. 54 (Β. Χριστοπούλου).

The acclamation εἷς Ζεὺς Σέραπις, which proclaims the identity of two gods who belong to different cultural traditions,[215] is only attested once in Macedonia, on a silver ring from a grave at Pella.[216] Other instances of this acclamation in funerary contexts are found on a gold amulet from Perinthus[217] and a jasper prism from Juliopolis.[218] The acclamation commonly occurs in gems and jewelry, unfortunately their provenance is often unknown.[219] It appears to had a protective or apotropaic value and served as a means of communication and expression of exaltation.[220] An illuminating example of the possible use of the acclamation is found in a magical papyrus that describes the ritual of consecrating a ring, where the wearer is instructed to utter the acclamation while invoking Agathos Daimon for power.[221] The acclamation is rarely attested in other media, such as an altar in the Mithraeum of the thermes of Caracalla in Rome,[222] on the walls of buildings in Rome, Doura-Europos, and Berenice,[223] or at a presumed temple of Sarapis, not far from the temple of Dendur.[224] Another example was found in a quarry in Ptolemais Hermeiou.[225] The earliest attestation of the acclamation occurs on a coin issue of Alexandria under Hadrian (AD 123/4), depicting a radiate statue of a god with sceptre on a column.[226] The evidence from this coin aligns with a roughly contemporary account by Aelius Aristeides, stating that the citizens of Alexandria identified Sarapis with Zeus.[227] All these attestations, dated to the Imperial period and likely originating in Egypt, reflect the tradition of glorifying the gods in Ptolemaic Egypt.[228] There have already been Hellenistic dedications to Zeus Sarapis[229] and he was depicted on coin issues of Alexandria under Vespasian and Domitian,[230] as well as on those of Tripolis of Lydia under Trajan Decius.[231]

215 Belayche 2010, 157.

216 Χρυσοστόμου 2006, 665 (shortly after AD 222–235).

217 *RICIS* 114/0602.

218 Arslan et al. 2022, 99–100, no. 6, fig. 9.

219 Veymiers 2009a, 200–206, 357–359, nos. VI.DA 1–VI.DA 14, 369–72, nos. A.2, A.4–A.10, A.12–A.14, A.18, A.20–A.21, A.24, A.26–A.27, A.32–A.36, A.38, A.41, pl. 65, 72, XXVI; Veymiers 2011, 254–255, nos. VI.DA.15–16, A.42, A.44, A.47; Veymiers 2014a, 223–224, nos. VI.DA.17, A.50, A.52–53; Veymiers 2020, 321, no. VI.DA 18, *RICIS* 114/0602; Arslan et al. 2022, 99–100, no. 6, fig. 9.

220 Belayche 2010, 149.

221 *PGM* IV,1708–1715; Belayche 2010, 158.

222 Its one side was initially inscribed Εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις Ἥλιος κοσμοκράτωρ ἀνείκητος, *RICIS* 501/0126 (late 2rd–early 3rd century AD).

223 *RICIS* 404/0101, 501/0216, 701/0301; *RICIS* Suppl. II, 501/0224.

224 The acclamation, which is attested twice on graffiti, and the numerous footmarks of visitors on stones surrounding a brick chamber, support the identification of the location as a shrine rather than a watch-tower, Weigall 1907, 80.

225 Veymiers 2009, 204.

226 Staffieri 1996, 255–269.

227 Aelius Aristides, *Or.* 8.53: οἱ μὲν δὴ τῆς μεγάλης πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ πόλεως πολῖται καὶ ἕνα τοῦτον ἀνακαλοῦσι Δία. Weinreich 1919, 26–27. For other accounts in literature, stressing the identity of the two gods, Veymiers 2009a, 201–202.

228 Belayche 2010, 157.

229 Veymiers 2009a, 201.

230 Veymiers 2009a, 202.

231 *RPC* IX, 796–797.

Acclamations on pottery related to Sarapis are almost absent, an exception being a terracotta relief applique from Alburnus maior (Rosia Montana) in Dacia, which bears an acclamation in Greek "May Sarapis and all the gods be propitious to me", possibly related to Isiac festivals.[232] Apart from the Thessalonian mug, there are only three further instances of the acclamation εἷς Ζεὺς Σέραπις on a vase.

a) The first occurs on a mug with the dipinto [Ζ]ε̣ὺ[ς] Σ[ά]ραπις; its beginning is not preserved. The vase was found during excavations of K. K. Kostsyushko-Valyuzhinich, conducted in 1888–1906 in Chersonesos and its dipinto was published in 1987 by E. Solomonik,[233] in a paper that supplements a previous paper of hers. Unfortunately, there is no published picture or drawing of this vase, which Solomonik calls горшочек – "small pot", but the previous article deals with 23 specimens of the same category, dated to the third–early 4th century AD;[234] based on their illustrations, they are beyond any doubt mugs, exact counterparts of the Thessalonian example.

b) The second is a dipinto on a mug from the excavations of V. Zubar at the western necropolis of Chersonesos, with letter forms very similar to that of the Thessalonian mug. It is erroneously thought to be inscribed with the words "Zeus Hera",[235] but in reality the dipinto reads [Ε]ΙC ΖΕ[Υ]Ϛ CΕΡΑ[ΠΙC].

E. Solomonik suggested that these mugs were manufactured in Chersonesus,[236] which seems probable because of the quantities of similar mugs discovered there. Certainly, the Greek inscriptions point to an eastern provenance. Convivial inscriptions on drinking vessels of other shapes, from the West, e.g. those manufactured in the region of Trier, are written in Latin and are dissimilar.[237] However, we may assume that these dipinti functioned similarly to their western counterparts, which "most likely represented a compromise between the views of the potters and/or the merchants and their end-buyers. The former would have wanted to create/select something likely to appeal to the latter, and the latter was unlikely to buy a vessel with a motto far from reflecting their sentiments". Another common element between western and eastern dipinti is "the striking standardization of mottos, in terms of lettering and content, attested on vessels discovered far afield".[238] These similarities support the existence of one

232 *RICIS* 616/0601 (AD 200–250); Podvin 2014, 127.

233 Соломоник 1987, 117; the mug is kept in the local museum, with inv. no. 5688. The dipinto is cited by Vinogradov and Zolotarev 1999, 373, n. 49, and *RICIS* 115/0301; both publications simply note the absence of a description, illustration, and dating of the vase.

234 Соломоник 1973. This paper examines dipinti on 23 mugs discovered in Chersonesus (16 specimens), Pantikapaion (two specimens), Tyras (three specimens), Olbia (one specimen) and either Tyras or Olbia (one specimens). Most of these mugs were found in graves dating back to the 3rd–early 4th century AD. Among them, five bear the name of Serapis, while two mention the names "Isis Zeus" together. Surprisingly, these dipinti are not referenced in Isiac studies, even in studies related to the worship of Egyptian gods in the region, e.g. Vinogradov and Zolotarev 1999; Braund 2018. Other dipinti on these mugs mention the names of gods (Zeus, Hera, or Hermes), or good wishes such as "happiness" (εὐτυχία), "drink and rejoice" (πεῖνε καὶ εὐφραίνου), "may God be propitious to me" (εἵλεως μοι ὁ Θεὸς) and "may Tyche be propitious to me" (εἵλεως μοι εἴη ἡ Τύχη). In contrast, a dipinto on a mug from Kiz-Aul, near Myrmekion, with the word "Isis" is known in the Isiac bibliography, RICIS 115/0601; Емец 2012, 58, no. 160.

235 Зубарь 2005, 163.

236 Соломоник 1973, 69.

237 *CIL* XIII, 10018.1–246; Harris 1986; Mudd 2015.

238 Mudd 2015, 82.

workshop distributing its products through merchants in Pontus and Greece. However, without an archaeometric analysis, we cannot be absolutely certain whether the Thessalonian mug was imported or manufactured in a local workshop.

c) The third instance of the acclamation εἷς Ζεὺς Σέραπις on pottery is a sherd of a vessel of unknown shape, dated to the 3rd–4th century AD, which was found in Oxyrhynchus. It bears a crude figure of a snake (?), while its incomplete inscription reads as follows: εὐτυχῶς τ[ῷ…] | Ἑρμῇ τὸ τάχο[ς] | εἷς Ζεὺς Σ[άραπις],[239] reminiscent of the acclamation to Zeus Sarapis and Helios Hermanubis from Ptolemais Hermeiou.[240] The coexistence of the acclamation with the mention – possible acclamation – of Hermes and a possible depiction of a snake reminds of two engraved gems with the acclamation εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις on one side and a snake, the god Chnoubis,[241] or Hermes[242] on the other, dated to the 3rd century AD and the Imperial period, respectively. It is thus possible that this sherd constitutes evidence of megatheism.[243]

A 2nd-century AD papyrus from Oxyrhynchus partially preserves an aretalogy of Sarapis, instructing worshippers to utter the acclamation εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις after narrating Sarapis' miraculous intervention in providing water to the inhabitants of Pharos island in Alexandria.[244] This acclamation was likely part of Sarapis rituals performed in his sanctuaries, leading to its dissemination by worshippers who recorded it on various media, especially personal objects, as a testament of their faith and the god's power.[245] Voluntary associations of Sarapis in Thessaloniki, such as the ἱεραφόροι συνκλίται or the συνθρησκευταὶ κλείνης θεοῦ μεγάλου Σαράπιδος,[246] might have played a role in spreading the acclamation during sacred banquets (*lectisternia*) in honour of the god. Two attested associations or groups of people from elsewhere were named after Zeus Serapis.[247] In Roman depictions of *lectisternia* on coins, lamps, money boxes from Egypt, and a gem, the reclining Egyptian gods, including Sarapis, are often shown holding drinking vessels,[248] alluding to drinking festivities in which devotees participated.

The papyrus from Oxyrhynchus with the acclamation εἷς Ζεὺς Σάραπις is referred to as the *arête* of Zeus Helios Megalos Sarapis.[249] The same name is attested in papyri

239 Grenfell and Hunt 1904–1905, 15; Weinreich 1919, 25.

240 See above, note 225.

241 Veymiers 2009a, 370, no. A.9, pl. 71.

242 Veymiers 2009a, 373, no. A.36, pl. 72.

243 Chaniotis 2010.

244 *P.Oxy.* XI.1382; Chaniotis 2009, 208; Bąkowska-Czerner and Łajtar 2021, 37.

245 Bąkowska-Czerner and Łajtar 2021, 37–38.

246 *RICIS* 113/0530 (early 2nd century AD), 113/0575 (before the mid–3rd century AD).

247 Veymiers 2009a, 201; *RICIS* 102/2001 (Prote, Messenia), 204/0105 (Rhodes).

248 Bricault 2013b. In connecting the Egyptian gods to wine consumption and the shapes of vessels, two polychrome glass goblets from a Meroitic tomb (AD 250–300) can be referred to. These goblets bear the convivial acclamation πίε ζῆσεν (drink and you shall live) and depict the veneration of an enthroned Osiris, Leclant 1973, 56–68, nos. 4–5, figs. 5–15. Additionally, a magic spell in demotic script against the effects of poisoning involves a cup filled with wine and mild rue, referred to as the "cup of Osiris", from which Isis, Osiris, and Agathodaimon had also drunk, Faraone and Torallas Tovar 2022, 209–211.

249 For Zeus Helios megalos Sarapis, attested at least since the reign of Trajan, initially in Upper Egypt, Bricault 2005.

from the same city concerning oracles[250] and invitations to the κλίνη Σαράπιδος (*lectisternium* of Sarapis), mainly held in the Serapeum of the city. Additionally, a partially preserved wooden applique, also from Oxyrhynchus, represents a reclining Sarapis with Harpocrates, part of a scene of a *lectisternium*.[251] The consumption of wine in ritual banquets in honour of Egyptian gods is widely attested,[252] including a specific event called *kothon*, organised by the guild of Sarapiastai in Thasos in honour of Sarapis.[253] *Kothon* was not chosen accidentally, as it designated a kind of mug.[254] The question arises whether the Thessalonian mug was used in such a context. Unfortunately, we will never know its specific use or the purpose behind its placement in a grave. It is possible that the family or the owner deemed it appropriate to accompany the deceased into a blissful afterlife, achieved through the eternal invocation of the mighty and saviour god.

3. Discussion

Isiac testimonia from the cemeteries of Thessaloniki date back to the Roman Imperial period, aligning with the timeframe of most finds in the Isiac sanctuary and its expansion. Despite the vast number of excavated graves, only a small fraction has been published, resulting in a limited number of finds related to the cult of Isis. However, this is consistent with the overall pattern observed in Greco-Roman sites across Greece. An exception to this ascertainment are the numerous funerary stelae of Isis' devotees found in Attica, mainly Athens,[255] a city where the Isiac cults flourished.[256] In fact, Thessaloniki ranks second in Greece in terms of the number of Isiac testimonia discovered in funerary contexts, following Athens. It appears that devotees of Isis had the option to publicly express their affiliation with the cult of Isis or furnish their graves with Isiac objects, either used in everyday life or made to accompany them in the afterlife, aside from the perishable sacred garments.[257]

250 Renberg 2016, 383, note 127.

251 Bricault 2013b, 124, note 41, 134, fig. 31, Veymiers 2009a, 95.

252 For ritual banquets in honour of Sarapis, Veymiers 2009a, 95–97. For wine, *RICIS* 202/1503–06 (Minoa), 515/0806 (Verona). For amphorae from Pompeii, most probably containing wine, imported from Crete, perhaps distributed during banquets in Isiac festivals, with dipinti "gift of Serapis", *RICIS* 504/0219; Beaurin 2020. For similar dipinti on amphoras, *RICIS* 101/0212 (Athens), *515/0124 (Aquileia). A temple inventory from Sarapieion C in Delos bears a unique attestation to a small silver sarapian situla (καδίσκον σαραπιακόν) with one handle, *RICIS* 202/0424 (156/5 BC). Since situlae are normally related to Isis, it is possible that not a situla but a drinking cup is implied. Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, 473b–c, attests to drinking vessels named *kadiskoi*. Of particular importance was the *kadiskos* of Zeus Ktesios, an anguiform Zeus who was protector of domestic storeroom and guardian of property. The vessel had two handles wreathed with wool and was filled with *ambrosia* (water, olive oil and grains) along with anything the owner found by chance, which alludes to Hermes, thus becoming a symbol of constant health and abundance. Hermes was also connected to *kadiskoi*, Cook 1925, 1054–1068; Rose 1957, 100–103. Zeus Ktesios, along with other Egyptian deities, received dedications at Delos (*RICIS* 202/0371), possibly perceived as a Greek interpretation of Agathos Daimon, who is also associated with Sarapis and the Egyptian anguiform Shai, see Dunand 1969.

253 *RICIS* 201/0101 (2nd century BC); Veymiers 2009a, 96.

254 For the identification of *kothon* to a mug and its uses, Παλαιοθόδωρος 2012, 439–441.

255 Walters 1988; Walters 2000. For those from outside Attica, *RICIS* 105/0205-0206, 202/1002.

256 *RICIS* 101/0201-0258; Bricault 2001, 4-5; Maikidou-Putrino 2021, 165-186.

257 Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 3 (352b): Griffiths 1970, 264-268.

Similar patterns are observed in other regions where the cult of the *gens isiaca* was present. For instance, a funerary stele of an Egyptian priest of Isis[258] was found in Demetrias, a cosmopolitan Macedonian harbour.[259] However, the scarcity of Isiac testimonia in funerary assemblages extends even to significant cult centres like Delos, an important hub for the Isiac cults outside Egypt.[260] Out of the over 1000 terracotta figurines discovered on Delos, nearly 100 of them depict Egyptian deities. Only two of these figurines, depicting the ithyphallic Harpocrates and imported from Egypt, were found in individual graves on Rheneia, the burial place of the Delians.[261] In another burial, the deceased woman was found holding a sistrum and wearing a ring with her name.[262] Similarly in Rhodes, another island with a notable Isiac cult centre,[263] only two objects related to the Egyptian gods were found in a funerary context, a 2nd century BC funerary altar with depiction of a *kanephoros*[264] and a 1st century BC bone handle featuring Harpocrates, which was imported from Egypt.[265] Equally from the island of Cos, where the Isiac cult is well attested,[266] a Roman lamp from a grave depicted Isis Tyche.[267] Sistra accompanied women in very few graves from Arta, Patra, Megara, Thisbe, and Delos.[268] It is important to note that the scarcity of Isiac testimonia from funerary contexts in Greece does not fully reflect the reality, as much material remains unpublished or incorrectly identified. Future publications or excavations may reveal more evidence.

In some cases, Isiac artefacts from funerary contexts are the only indications of an Isis cult in a particular place, such as the sistra from Megara and Thisbe, or a unique marble sarcophagus with Isiac iconography from Hierapetra.[269] Another noteworthy example is a gold necklace with beads, a lunar pendant, and pendants depicting Isis and Sarapis, from a Hellenistic grave at Achinos,[270] a maritime city with limited indications of the Isiac cult.[271]

In Macedonia, the presence of *isiaca* in funerary contexts is extremely limited. A grave in Beroea, a city where the cult of Isis is known,[272] contained a gold ghost coin depicting a bust of Sarapis.[273] Other graves yielded two terracotta figurines of Harpocrates

258 *RICIS* 112/0701.

259 Bricault 2001, 17.

260 Bricault 2001, 36, 38-40; *RICIS* 202/0101-0439.

261 Barrett 2011, 202-208, 372-378, 608-611; Barrett 2015.

262 *RICIS* 202/0418.

263 Bricault 2001, 63; Fantaoutsaki 2011.

264 Μποσνάκης 1994-1995, 54, pl. 7β.

265 Φανταουτσάκη 2014.

266 Μποσνάκης 1994-1995, 56-63.

267 Μποσνάκης 1994-1995, 62-63, pl. 10δ.

268 Saura-Ziegelmeyer 2018.

269 Koch 2017. Actually an indication of the cult of Egyptian gods in the city is provided through a terracotta plastic vase in the form of Bes-Silenus, Vogeikoff-Brogan 2016.

270 Πάντος 1983, 174, pl. 74a; Φρούσσου 2010, 519.

271 Φρούσσου 2010.

272 *RICIS* 113/0301, *113/0302-0303; Maikidou-Putrino 2021, 121–123.

273 Τουράτσογλου 1969, 315, pl. 328στ.

and two of Isis.[274] In Pella, three individual graves held a lamp with the bust of Sarapis, a ring with the inscription εἷς Ζεὺς Σέραπις, and two figurines of Harpocrates on Apis.[275] These finds represent the only indications of the Isiac cults in this important Macedonian city. Isolated funerary stelae of devotees and of a priestess of Isis have been found in Thasos[276] and Amphipolis[277] respectively, where the presence of the Isiac cults is also documented, particularly in Amphipolis.[278] A sarcophagus of an Isis priest was discovered at Doxato/Drama,[279] located in the *chora* of Philippi, a town known to have had an Isiac sanctuary.[280]

Returning to Thessaloniki, five cases of Isiac testimonia are related to funerary monuments, which reveal the owners' adherence to the Isiac cult and their aspirations for a safe journey in the afterlife, blissful existence, and protection by Isis.[281] These monuments unveil a different aspect of "the queen of departed spirits" and provide insights into family histories and personal stories through inscriptions and depictions. Aulus Papius Cheilon, a prominent member of the local Isiac community, sought to be remembered in his funerary stele as an *anubophorus* and the founder of the ἱεραφόροι συνκλίται.[282] Claudius Achillas placed his burial, next to his parents, under the eternal protection of Isis, as relief symbols in his funerary altar denote.[283] Annia Tryphaena presents a more intricate case, as she not only expressed her Isiac identity (as an initiate?) in her sarcophagus through depictions of the sistrum and the caduceus[284] but also expreseed her wish for a blissful afterlife, through visual likening of herself and of her brothers (?) with Helen and Dioscuri respectively, possibly indicating the worship of Helen and her brothers in the Isiac sanctuary. Unparalleled is the theomorphic representation of the deceased as Isis Pelagia on a funerary altar,[285] motivated by her rarely attested role as protectress of the voyage between the realms of the living and the dead and potentially indicating the veneration of the goddess under this aspect within the city, a quality absent thus far from the Isiac sanctuary. Equally unique is the case of the sarcophagus of Ammonius,[286] likely an Alexandrian athlete who died in Thessaloniki, where the reference to Ammon is inspired by the name of the deceased and the known

274 Πουλακάκης 2019.

275 Χρυσοστόμου 2006, 665, fig. 10; Ναούμ 2017, 207–208, no. 322, 440–441, pl. XXIV. See also above, note 10.

276 In an uninscribed 2nd century BC funerary stele from Thasos a sistrum, a situla and a *basileion* are depicted on the field near the reclining deceased who is wearing the *atef* crown of Osiris, obviously implying an Isiac identity (Hamiaux 1998, 131–132, no. 139; Veymiers 2018, 36, fig. 0.11), membership in an association of *Osiriastai* (for Osiriastai, *RICIS* 204/1001; *RICIS Suppl.* II 204/1012), or even a theomorphic representation (cf. Bricault and Veymiers 2020).

277 Christodoulou 2009, 327–329, Taf. 40.1; Veymiers 2009, 512, no. 1, fig. 4–5; *RICIS* 113/0901.

278 For Thasos: *RICIS* 201/0101-0105; Rolley 1968. For Amphipolis: Veymiers 2009.

279 Christodoulou 2009, 332–333; *RICIS Suppl*. II 113/1013.

280 Τσώχος 2002.

281 These five funerary monuments will be treated by Touloumtzidou forthcoming.

282 *IG* X 2,1 58; Δεσπίνης et al. 1997, 139–141, no. 111, fig. 313 (Ε. Βουτυράς); *RICIS* 113/0530.

283 *IG* X 2,1 822; Αδάμ-Βελένη 2002, 177–178, no. 126, pl. 82.

284 *IG* X 2,1 573; *RICIS* 113/0559; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2016.

285 Blanchaud 1984; Αδάμ-Βελένη 2002, 82–83, 190, no. 164, pl. 98.

286 *IG* X 2,1 541; Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2014, 196, no. 63, pl. 45.3, 46.1–2.

depictions of Ammon in funerary monuments, as safeguard of the final resting place rather than being directly associated with the god's worship in the Isiac sanctuary.

When it comes to other categories of Isiaca, Sarapis, the second most frequently attested deity in the Isiac sanctuary,[287] is represented in the Thessaloniki cemeteries by a modest mug. This mug, whether imported or locally made, holds value due to its rare acclamation, seldom found on pottery, and its distribution in Macedonia. The most surprising finds are the figurines of Harpocrates, a deity with limited presence in the Isiac sanctuary[288] but significant in popular cult as the overseer of infants.[289] In these figurines, Harpocrates is depicted on the back of Apis. This theme suggests the possible worship of Apis in the sanctuary, as well as the assimilation of Harpocrates to Eros, a concept known in other places and expected due to the presence of Aphrodite in the Isiac sanctuary. The creation of this extremely rare iconographic type, associated with ideas of fertility and regeneration, is likely attributed to a coroplastic workshop in Thessaloniki. It reflects the influence of an Egyptian model, possibly of Memphite origin, the religious significance of which was likely understood by the consumers. Popular Egyptian concepts of rebirth find expression through a well-known iconographic theme on a gem depicting Harpocrates on a lotus, and possibly through a pair of rock crystal items featuring a Tilapia fish and a ball. Finally, the gold pendants with Isiac affinities, which reveal aspects of popular cult and personal religion, signify the owner's hope for protection against all dangers in both her everyday life and the afterlife.

4. Conclusions

The diverse range of Isiaca found within the funerary assemblages of Thessaloniki provides valuable insights into both the public and private spheres of devotees of the *gens isiaca*. Through elaborate funerary monuments as well as more modest personal objects, these depictions shed light on the spread of the Isiac cult within the city, encompassing individuals of different social statuses and origins, particularly women.[290] They also offer glimpses into the connections between Thessaloniki and other regions such as Egypt and Italy. Importantly, these representations reveal the accessible nature of the Egyptian gods, who played a role in all aspects of their devotees' lives, from birth to death, and addressed their concerns regarding rebirth and afterlife. Isis, with her role as guarantor of a blissful life and guardian of the deceased's journey in the Otherworld and of their tombs, occupied a prominent position, a status she also enjoyed within the Isiac sanctuary.[291] She is followed by Harpocrates, the protector of infancy, Sarapis, and Anubis, with the notable absence of Osiris.

287 Sarapis is attested in 21 inscriptions, *RICIS* 113/0501, 113/0503-0504, 113/0507-0511, 113/0513, 113/0521, 113/0525, 113/0527, 113/0533-0534, 113/0536, 113/0544, 113/0555, 113/0565, 113/0569-0571, and through the head of a marble statue, Δεσπίνης et al. 1997, no. 38, figs. 99-102 (Γ. Δεσπίνης).

288 Attested in only three inscriptions, *RICIS* 113/0512, 113/0525, 113/0533, and through two marble statues, Δεσπίνης et al. 1997, 113-114, figs. 221-225, no. 86 (Γ. Δεσπίνης).

289 Backe-Dahmen 2018, 510.

290 Backe-Dahmen 2018, 521.

291 Her name is attested in 35 inscriptions, *RICIS* 113/0501-0502, 113/0504, 113/0506, 113/0508-0515, 113/0521, 113/0523, 113/0525, 113/0527, 113/0529, 113/0531-0534, 113/0536, 113/0545, 113/0549-0552, 113/0555, 113/0565-0566, 113/0568-0572, and is depicted three times in sculpture, Δεσπίνης et al. 1997, 46, no. 27, figs. 54-57, 112-113, no. 85, figs. 217-220, 114-115, no. 87, figs. 226-229 (Γ. Δεσπίνης).

Bibliography

Αδάμ-Βελένη 2002

Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη, *Μακεδονικοί βωμοί. Τιμητικοί και ταφικοί βωμοί αυτοκρατορικών χρόνων στη Θεσσαλονίκη, πρωτεύουσα της επαρχίας Μακεδονίας, και στη Βέροια, πρωτεύουσα του Κοινού των Μακεδόνων*, Αθήνα 2002.

Αδάμ-Βελένη 2016

Π. Αδάμ-Βελένη, *Δύο μετάλλινοι λύχνοι από την Αγορά των αυτοκρατορικών χρόνων της Θεσσαλονίκης*, in Γιαννοπούλου and Καλλίνη 2016, 90–98.

Adam-Veleni et al. 2017

P. Adam-Veleni, H. Zographou, A. Koukouvou, U. Palli and E. Stefani (eds.), *Figurine. A microcosmos of clay. Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki*, exhibition catalogue, Thessaloniki 2017.

Adamscheck 1979

B. Adamscheck, *Kenchreai Eastern Port of Corinth IV: the pottery,* Leiden 1979.

Amoroso 2015

N. Amoroso, *Objets isiaques en contexte domestique durant l'Antiquité tardive à Athènes et à Rome: le cas des images associant Isis à Tychè/Fortuna,* in M. Cavalieri, R. Lebrun and N. L. J. Meunier (eds.), *De la crise naquirent les cultes. Approches croisées de la religion, de la philosophie et des représentations antiques (*Homo religiosus. Série II*, 15),* Leuven 2015, 207–232.

Amoroso 2017

N. Amoroso, *The roles of Isis in Roman domestic cults: A study of the "Isis–Fortuna" bronze statuettes from the Vesuvian area,* in *ArchRel* 18–19 (2017), 37–74.

Andrews 1994

C. Andrews, *Amulets of Ancient Egypt,* London 1994.

Antonaras 2019

A. Antonaras, *The art of glass. Works from the collection of the Museum of Byzantine Culture,* Thessaloniki 2019.

Arezzo 1988

Arezzo: Gioeilli e ornamenti dagli Egizi all'Alto Medioevo, Catalogo della Mostra, Museo Archeologico di Arezzo, Arezzo 1988.

Arslan et al. 2022

M. Arslan, R. Gordon and Y. Yeğin, *Six amuletic gems in Ankara*, in *Adalya* 25 (2022), 89–104.

Azarnouche 2020

S. Azarnouche, H. Fragaki and F. Grenet, *De l'Égypte à la Perse: un plat sassanide du VIIe siècle*, in M.-D. Nenna (ed.), *Alexandrina 5,* Alexandrie 2020, 97–147.

Backe-Dahmen 2018

A. Backe-Dahmen, *Roman children and the "Horus Lock" between cult and image*, in Gasparini and Veymiers 2018, 509–538.

Bąkowska-Czerner and Łajtar 2021

G. Bąkowska-Czerner and A. Łajtar, *ΜΕΓΑ ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΣ: An inscribed bronze ring from Marina El–Alamein*, in *The JJurP* 51 (2021), 27–39.

Barbu 1961

V. Barbu, *Considérations chronologiques basées sur les données fournies par les inventaires funéraires des nécropoles tomitaines*, in *StCl* 3 (1961), 203–225.

Barrett 2011

C. Barrett, *Egyptianizing figurines from Delos. A study in Hellenistic religion,* Leiden–Boston 2011.

Barrett 2015

C. E. Barrett, *Harpocrates on Rheneia*. *Two Egyptian Figurines from the Necropolis of Delos*, in A. Muller and E. Lafli (eds.), *Figurines de terre cuite en Méditerranée grecque et romaine 2 - Iconographie et contexts,* Villeneuve d'Ascq 2015, 195-208.

Beaurin 2013

L. Beaurin, *Honorer Isis: Les cérémonies isiaques dans les cités de l'empire romain occidental (PhD Thesis, Université Lille III – Charles de Gaulle),* 2013.

Beaurin 2020

L. Beaurin, Σεράπις δῶρα. *De l'eau du Nil dans les cérémonies isiaques domestiques* **à** Pompéi ?, in L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (eds.), *Bibliothesa Isiaca* IV (2020), 175–196.

Belayche 2010

N. Belayche, *Deus deum ... summorum maximus (Apuleius). Ritual expressions of distinction in the divine world in the imperial period, in* S. Mitchell and P. van Nuffelen (eds.), *One god: pagan monotheism*, New York 2010, 141–166.

Bergmann 2007

M. Bergmann, *The Philosophers and Poets in the Sarapieion at Memphis*, in P. Schultz and R. von den Hoff (eds.), *Early Hellenistic Portraiture: Image, Style, Context*, Cambridge 2007, 246–264.

Bernard 1969

I. Bernard, *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco–romaine. Recherches sur la poésie épigrammatique des Grecs en Égypte*, Paris 1969.

Bitrakova-Grozdanova 2015

V. Bitrakova-Grozdanova, *Les cultes* orientaux dans la Haute Macédoine, leur survie et leur adoption au temps romain, in A. Nikoloska and R. Müskens (eds.), *Romanising Oriental Gods? Religious transformations in the Balkan provinces in the Roman period. New finds and novel perspectives. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Skopje 18–21 September 2013*, Skopje 2015, 35–71.

Blanchaud 1984

M. H. Blanchaud, *Un relief thessalonicien d'Isis Pelagia*, in *BCH* 108 (1984), 709–711.

Blaževska and Radnjanski 2015

S. Blaževska and J. Radnjanski, *The Temple of* Isis *at* Stobi, in A. Nikoloska and R. Müskens (eds.), *Romanising Oriental Gods? Religious transformations in the Balkan*

provinces in the Roman period. New finds and novel perspectives. Proceedings of the International Symposium, Skopje 18–21 September 2013, Skopje 2015, 215–256.

Blaževska 2022

S. Blaževska, *Two Marble Statues from the Temple of Isis at Stobi*, in *Δ. Δαμάσκος, Π. Καραναστάση and Θ. Στεφανίδου–Τιβερίου* (eds.), Πλαστική στη ρωμαϊκή Ελλάδα: νέα ευρήματα και νέες έρευνες, Θεσσαλονίκη 2022, 301–311.

Blaževska forthcoming

S. Blaževska, *Terracotta Figurines at Stobi in Funerary Contex*, in A. Κουκουβού (ed.), Το *ειδώλιο στον βορειοελλαδικό χώρο από την προϊστορία έως τους ρωμαϊκούς χρόνους, Αρχαιολογικό Μουσείο Θεσσαλονίκης, 11–13 Οκτωβρίου 2013, Θεσσαλονίκη*, forthcoming.

Bosnakis 2009

D. Bosnakis, *Lumen in tenebris – light in the darkness. An approach to Eros from the realm of Death*, in Stampolidis and Tasoulas 2009, 35–49.

Boutantin 2014

C. Boutantin, *Terres cuites et culte domestique: bestiaire de l'Egypte gréco–romaine*. RGRW 179, Leyden–Boston 2014.

Bouvenne 1868

A. Bouvenne, *Poisson en cristal de roche provenant des catacombs*, in *Revue de l'art chrétien* 12 (1868), 335–337.

Braund 2018

D. Braund, *Greek religion and cults in the Black Sea region: goddesses in the Bosporan Kingdom from the Archaic period to the Byzantine era*, Cambridge–New York 2018.

Bricault 2001

L. Bricault, *Atlas de la diffusion des cultes isiaques*, Paris 2001.

Bricault 2005

L. Bricault, *Zeus Hélios mégas Sarapis*, in Chr. Cannuyer (ed.), *La langue dans tous ses états. Michel Malaise in honorem,* Bruxelles 2005, 243–254.

Bricault 2013

L. Bricault, *Les cultes isiaques dans le monde gréco–romain*, Paris 2013.

Bricault 2013

L. Bricault, *Sarapis au banquet: lectisternes d'Alexandrie et d'Égypte*, in *RNum* 170 (2013), 101–134.

Bricault 2020

L. Bricault, *Isis Pelagia: Images, Names and Cults of a Goddess of the Seas,* Translator: G. H. Renberg, RGRW 190, Leiden–Boston 2020.

Bricault and Veymiers 2020

L. Bricault and R. Veymiers, *Les portraits théomorphes des isiaques. De l'image à l'identité,* in D. Boschung and F. Queyrel (eds.), *Porträt und soziale Distinktion / portrait et distinction sociale*, Paderborn 2020, 283–305.

Brun-Siard 2010

H. Brun-Siard, *Les sceaux du Sarapieion C de Délos*, in *BCH* 134 (2010), 195–201.

Budischovsky 2011

M.-Ch. Budischovsky, *Petits bronzes d'Égypte gréco–romaine: Harpocrate à la cornucopia, Harpocrate sur le belier*, in L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* II (2011), 163–168.

Burr Thompson 1934

D. Burr Thompson, *Terracottas from Myrina in the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston 1934.

Буюклиев 1986

Х. Буюклиев, *Тракийският Могилен некропол при Чаталка, Старозагорски Окръг*, Разкопки и проучвания XVI, 1986.

Caputo 2009

P. Caputo, *Aegyptiaca from Cumae: New Evidence for Isis Cult in Campania: Site and Materials*, in C. Giovanni and P. A. Johnston (eds.), *Mystic Cults in Magna Graecia,* Austin 2009, 235–250.

Caylus 1856

A. C. P. comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines, tome 2*, Paris 1856.

Chaniotis 2009

A. Chaniotis, *Acclamations as a form of religious communication*, in H. Cancik and J. Rüpke (eds.), *Die Religion des Imperium Romanum. Koine und Konfrontationen*, Tübingen 2009, 199–218.

Chaniotis 2010

A. Chaniotis, *Megatheism: the Search of the Almighty God and the Competition of Cults,* in S. Mitchell and P. van Nuffelen (eds.), *One God. Pagan Monotheism in the Roman Empire*, Cambridge 2010, 112–140.

Christodoulou 2009

P. Christodoulou, *Priester der* ägyptischen *Götter in Makedonien (3 Jh. v. Chr. – 3 Jh. n. Chr.)*, *AM* 124 (2009), 325–356.

Christodoulou 2021

P. Christodoulou, *The Isiac Sanctuary in Thessaloniki from its beginnings to the Age of Augustus: a brief overview*, in *Ancient Macedonia VIII, Macedonia from the death of Philip II to Augustus' rise to power. Papers read at the Eighth International Symposium held in Thessaloniki, November 21–24, 2017*, Thessaloniki 2021, 451–472.

Cook 1925

A. B. Cook, *Zeus. A study in Greek religion vol. II: Zeus god of the dark sky (thunder and lighting), part II: appendixes and index*, Cambridge 1925.

Crowley 2020

P. R. Crowley, *Rock crystal and the nature of artifice in ancient rome*, in C. Hahn and A. Shalem (eds.), *Seeking Transparency. Rock crystals across the medieval Mediterranean*, Berlin 2020, 151-162.

Dambach and Wallert 1966

M. Dambach and I. Wallert, *Das Tilapia–Motiv in der altägyptischen Kunst*, in *ChrÉg* 41 (1966), 273–294.

Das Candeias Sales 2012

J. das Candeias Sales, *Divine Triads of Ancient Egypt*, in *Hathor. Studies of Egyptology* (2012), 115–135.

Dasen and Nagy 2019

V. Dasen and Á. M. Nagy, *Gems,* in D. Frankfurter (ed.) *Guide to the Study of Ancient* Magic, Leiden 2019, 406–445.

Daux 1972

G. Daux, *Trois inscriptions de la Grèce du Nord*, in *CRAI* (1972), 478–493.

De Caro 2006

S. de Caro (ed.), *Egittomania. Iside e il mistero, Catalogo della mostra, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, Ottobre 2006 – Febbraio 2007*, Milano 2006.

De Vos 1980

M. de Vos, *L'egittomania in pitture e mosaici romano–campani della prima età imperiale,* Leiden 1980.

Delia 1992

D. Delia, *The refreshing water of Osiris, in Journal of the American Reaserch Center* in *Egypt* 29 (1992), 181-190.

Derriks and Delvaux 2009

C. Derriks and L. Delvaux (eds.), *Antiquités égyptiennes au Musée royal de Mariemont, Musée royal de Mariemont,* Morlanwelz 2009.

Δεσπίνης et al. 1997

Γ. Δεσπίνης, Θ. Στεφανίδου-Τιβερίου and Εμ. Βουτυράς (eds.), *Κατάλογος γλυπτών Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης Ι*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1997.

Δεσπίνης et al. 2003

Γ. Δεσπίνης, Θ. Στεφανίδου-Τιβερίου and Εμ. Βουτυράς (eds.), *Κατάλογος γλυπτών Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης ΙΙ*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2003.

Δεσπίνης et al. 2010

Γ. Δεσπίνης, Θ. Στεφανίδου-Τιβερίου and Εμ. Βουτυράς (eds.), *Κατάλογος γλυπτών Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης ΙΙΙ*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2010.

Düll 1977

S. Düll, *Die Götterkulte Nordmakedoniens* in *römischer Zeit*. *Eine kultische und typologische Untersuchung anhand epigraphischer, numismatischer und archäologischer Denkmäler,* Münchener archäologische Studien Bd. 7, München 1977.

Dunand 1969

F. Dunand, *Les représentations de l'agathodémon. À propos de quelques bas–reliefs du musée d'Alexandrie*, in *BIFAO* 67 (1969), 9–48.

Dunand 1979

F. Dunand, *Religion populaire en Ėgypte romaine : les terres cuites isiaques du Musée du Caire, ĖPRO 76,* Leiden 1979.

Dunand 1990.

F. Dunand, *Catalogue des terres cuites gréco–romaines d'Égypte, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Département des Antiquités égyptiennes,* Paris 1990.

Емец 2012

И. А. Емец, *Граффити и дипинти из античных городов и поселений северного причерноморья (подготовительные материалы к Корпусу)* интернет–версия, Москва 2012.

Faleza 2012

G. Falezza, *I santuari della Macedonia in età romana. Persistenze e cambiamenti del paesaggio sacro tra II secolo a.C. e IV secolo d.C.,* Roma 2012.

Fantaoutsaki 2011

Ch. Fantaoutsaki, *Preliminary Report on the Excavation of the Sanctuary of Isis in Ancient Rhodes: Identification, Topography and Finds*, in L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* II, Bordeaux 2011, 47-63.

Φανταουτσάκη 2014

Χ. Φανταουτσάκη, *Δείγμα οστεογλυπτικής με ανάγλυφες παραστάσεις του κύκλου λατρείας της Ίσιδος από τη ροδιακή νεκρόπολη*, in Α. Γιαννικουρή (ed.), *Κοροπλαστική και μικροτεχνία στον αιγαιακό χώρο από τους γεωμετρικούς χρόνους έως και τη ρωμαϊκή περίοδο, Διεθνές Συνέδριο στη μνήμη της Ηούς Ζερβουδάκη* (Ρόδος, 26-29 Νοεμβρίου 2009), τόμος ΙΙ, Αθήνα 2014, 267-292.

Faraone 2018

C. Faraone, *The transformation of Greek amulets in Roman imperial times,* Philadelphia 2018.

Faraone and Torallas Tovar 2022

Ch. A. Faraone and S. Torallas Tovar (eds.), *Greek and Egyptian Magical Formularies: Text and Translation, vol. I,* California 2022.

Φρούσσου 2010

Ε. Φρούσσου, *Αγαλμάτιο Αρποκράτη από τον Αχινό: έναυσμα συνειρμών για ύπαρξη ιερού με συλλατρευόμενες θεότητες στον αρχαίο Εχίνο, in Φθιωτική Ιστορία.* Πρακτικά 4ου Συνεδρίου Φθιωτικής Ιστορίας (Ιστορία-Αρχαιολογία-Λαογραφία) 9–11 Νοεμβρίου 2007, Λαμία 2010, 491–525.

Gamer-Wallert 1970

I. Gamer-Wallert, *Fische und Fischkulte im alten Agypten*, Wiesbaden 1970.

Gasparini 2010

V. Gasparini, *La "Palaestra" d'Herculanum: un sanctuaire d'Isis et de la «Mater Deum»*, in *Pallas* 84 (2010), 229–264.

Gasparini and Veymiers 2018

V. Gasparini and R. Veymiers (eds.), *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 – Liege, September 23–24, 2013), Leiden–Boston 2018.

Georgoula 1999

E. Georgoula (ed.), *Greek Jewellery from the Benaki Museum Collections*, Athens 1999.

Γιαννοπούλου and Καλλίνη 2016

Μ. Γιαννοπούλου and Χρ. Καλλίνη (eds.), *Ηχάδιν Ι. Τιμητικός τόμος για την Στέλλα Δρούγου*, Αθήνα 2016.

Gonzalez 2011

J. Gonzalez, *Maltais, trophè, ktèsios… Remarques autour des figurines de chien en terre cuite d'Égypte,* in *Égypte nilotique et méditerranéenn* 4 (2011), 159–196.

Γραμμένος 2011

Δ. Γραμμένος (ed.), *Στη Μακεδονία από τον 7ο αιώνα π.Χ. ως την ύστερη αρχαιότητα. Μελέτες και λήμματα για την 3η εκθεσιακή ενότητα της μόνιμης έκθεσης του Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2011.

Grenfell and Hunt 1904–1905

B. P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, *Graeco–Roman branch. Excavations at Oxyrhynchus*, in *Egypt Exploration Fund. Archaeological Reports* 1904/5, 13–17.

Griffiths 1970

J. G. Griffiths (ed.), *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, Cardiff 1970.

Griffiths 1975

J. G. Griffiths (ed.), *Apuleius of Madauros; The Isis–book: Metamorphoses, book XI,* Leiden 1975.

Hamiaux 1998

M. Hamiaux, *Les sculptures grecques II. La période hellénistique (IIIe–Ier siècles avant J.–C.),* Paris 1998.

Harris 1986

E. Harris, *Words and Meanings: ACCIPE ET VTERE FELIX*, in M. Henig and A. King (eds.), *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire*, Oxford Archaeology Monograph 8, Oxford 1986, 105–111.

Hayes 2008

J. Hayes, *Roman pottery. Fine–ware imports*, The Athenian Agora XXXII, Princeton, New Jersey 2008.

Hill 2000

M. Hill, *Roman Egypt*, in E. J. Milleker (ed.), *The Year One: Art of the Ancient World East and West: The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New Haven 2000, 78–101.

Ημερολόγιο 2004

Ημερολόγιο 2005. *Φυλακτά από τις Συλλογές του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού, Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2004.

Ημερολόγιο 2007

Ημερολόγιο 2008. *Ματιές στην ιστορία της Θεσσαλονίκης μέσα από τις συλλογές του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού, Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2007.

Houlihan 1996

P. Houlihan, *The animal world of the Pharaohs*, London 1996.

James and Russmann 2001

T. G. H. James and E.R. Russmann (eds.), *Eternal Egypt: Masterworks of Ancient Art from the British Museum*, London 2001.

Ibrahim Al-Ghabban et al. 2010

A. Ibrahim Al-Ghabban, B. André-Salvini, F. Demange, C. Juvin and M. Cotty (eds.), *Routes d'Arabie. Archéologie et histoire dy royame d'Arabie Saoudite,* musée du *Louvre, Paris 2010*.

Kákosy 1980

L. Kákosy, *A Memphite Triad*, in *JEA* 66.1 (1980), 48–53.

Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975a

G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes and M.J. Vermaseren, *Apis, I: Monuments from outside Egypt,* ÉPRO 48, Leiden 1975.

Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1975b

G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes and M.J. Vermaseren, *Apis, II: Monuments from outside Egypt*, ÉPRO 48, Leiden 1975.

Kater-Sibbes and Vermaseren 1977

G. J. F. Kater-Sibbes, M. J. Vermaseren, *Apis, III: Inscriptions, coins and addenda*, Leiden 1977.

Keramaris 2021

A. Keramaris, *Ephorate of Antiquities of Kilkis*, in S. Skartsis (ed.), *A pipeline traversing greek history*: *archaeological finds from the excavations for the Trans Adriatic Pipeline in Northern Greece*, Athens 2021, 142–153.

Kleibl 2007

K. Kleibl, *Der Hellenistisch–römische Tempel gräco–ägyptischer Gottheiten in Soli*, in S. Rogge (ed.), *Begegnungen. Materielle Kulturen auf Zypern bis in die römische Zeit,* Münster 2007, 125–150.

Klopenberg and Ascough 2011

J. Klopenberg and R. Ascough, *Greco–Roman Associations: texts, translations, and commentary I. Attica, Central Greece, Macedonia, Thrace*, Berlin–New York 2011.

Koch 2017

G. Koch, *Der Sarkophag aus Hierapytna. Wann, wo und in welchem Umfeld ist er entstanden?*, in G. Koch, K. Kirchhainer and H. Koch (eds.), *Akten des Symposiums Römische Sarkophage, Marburg, 2.–8. Juli 2006*, Marburger Beiträge zur Archäologie, 3, Marburg 2017, 151–160.

Kornbluch 2019

G. Kornbluth, *Pilulae and bound pendants: roman and merovingian amulets*, in K. Endreffy, A. M. Nagy and J. Spier (eds.), *Magical gems in their contexts. Proceedings of the International Workshop held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest 16–18 February 2012,* Rome 2019, 125–133.

Kourkoutidou–Nikolaidou 1997

E. Kourkoutidou–Nikolaidou, *From the Elysian Fields to the Christian paradise*, in L. Webster and M. Brown (eds.), *Transformation of the Roman World AD 400–900,* Berkeley–Los Angeles 1997, 128–142.

Κόρτη-Κόντη 1994

Στ. Κόρτη-Κόντη, *Η κοροπλαστική της Θεσσαλονίκης*, Θεσσαλονίκη 1994.

Koßmann 2014

D. Koßmann, *Ägyptische Götter in Panzertracht in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (*PhD thesis, Universität zu Köln)*, Köln 2014.

Кузман 2015

П. Кузман, *Видобишта. Античка семејна гробница*, in *Folia Archaeologica Balkanica III, Professoris illustrissimae Elica Maneva in honorem*, Скопје 2015, 131–202.

Laffineur 1980

R. Laffineur, *Collection Paul Canellopoulos (XV). Bijoux en or grecs et romains*, in *BCH* 104 (1980) 345–457.

Lauer and Picard 1955

J. P. Lauer and C. Picard, *Les statues ptolémaïques du Sarapieion de Memphis*, Paris 1955.

Leclant 1973

J. Leclant, *Glass from the Meroitic necropolis of Sedeinga (Sudanese Nubia),* in *JGS* 15 (1973), 52–68.

Lichocka 1997

B. Lichocka, *L'iconographie de Fortuna dans l'empire romain (Ier siècle avant n.è.–IVe siècle de n.è.),* Warszawa 1997.

Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη and Ακαμάτης 2022

Μ. Λιλιμπάκη-Ακαμάτη and Ν. Ακαμάτης, *Ανατολικό νεκροταφείο Πέλλας: οι πρώτες ανασκαφές (1974–1981)*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2022.

Lucchesi–Palli 1994

E. Lucchesi–Palli, *Untersuchungen zum Inhalt der Bullae und anderer Amulettkapseln in antike Spätantike und im frühe Mittelalter*, in *Boreas* 17 (1994), 171–176.

Maikidou-Putrino 2021

D. Maikidou-Putrino, *The Isiac cults in Roman Greece Religious connectivity in the mainland, the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean (PhD Thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki),* Thessaloniki, 2021.

Maioli 1994

M. G. Maioli, *Cristalli di rocca dal Padovano*, in B. M. Scarfi (ed.), *Studi di archeologia della 10. Regio in ricordo di Michele Tombolani,* Roma 1994, 365–371.

Μακαρόνας 1940

Χ. Μακαρόνας, *Χρονικά αρχαιολογικά*, in *Makedonika* 1 (1940), 46–196.

Malaise 2000

M. Malaise, *Harpocrate. Problèmes posés par l'étude d'un dieu égyptien à l'époque gréco–romaine*, in *Bulletin de la Classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques* 11.7–12 (2000), 401–431.

Malaise 2004

M. Malaise, *Bès et la famille isiaque*, in *CdE* 79 (2004), 266–292.

Malaise 2005

M. Malaise, *Pour une terminologie et une analyse des cultes isiaques,* Académie Royale de Belgique, Classe de Lettres 3e série, tome XXXV, Bruxelles 2005.

Malaise 2008

M. Malaise, *Une statuette en bronze d'Harpocrate–Éros aux multiples attributs*, in L. Bricault (ed.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* I (2008), 49–52.

Malaise 2014

M. Malaise, *Le calathos sur la tête d'Isis: une enquête*, in *SAK* 43 (2014), 223–265.

Malaise and Veymiers 2018

M. Malaise and L. Veymiers, *Les devotes isiaques et les atours de leur deesse*, in Gasparini and Veymiers 2018, 470–508.

Malaise 2020

M. Malaise, *Un disque inscrit en basanite à l'effigie de Sérapis radié couronnant un taureau Apis ?,* in L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* IV (2020), 67–73.

Μάλαμα and Νταράκης 2008

Π. Μάλαμα and Κ. Νταράκης, *Νεκροταφείο ρωμαϊκών χρόνων στα Νέα Κερδύλια Σερρών*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2008.

Mancini 1920

G. Mancini, *Regione VII. Roma*, in *NSc* 17 (1920), 31–41.

Manniez 2014

Y. Manniez, *Bijoux antiques en forme de lampe à huile*, in *Instrumentum* 39 (2014), 19–20.

Marcadé 1989

J. Marcadé, *L'image sculptée d'Harpocrate à Délos*, in *Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux–Arts de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* 71 (1989), 242–276.

Mastrocinque 2003

A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Sylloge Gemmarum Gnosticarum parte I*, Bollettino di Numismatica, Monografia 8.2.I, Roma 2003.

Mastrocinque 2007

A. Mastrocinque (ed.), *Sylloge Gemmarum gnosticarum parte II,* Bollettino di Numismatica Monografia 8.2.II, Roma 2007.

Mastrocinque 2017

A. Mastrocinque, *The mysteries of Mithras. A different account*, Tübingen 2017.

Matthey 2007

P. Matthey, *Retour sur l'hymne «arétalogique»* de *Karpocrate à Chalcis*, in *ArchRel* 9 (2007), 191–222.

Merkelbach 1995

R. Merkelbach, *Isis Regina – Zeus Serapis*, Stuttgart–Leipzig 1995.

Michel 2001

S. Michel, *Die Magische Gemmen im Britischen Museum*, London 2001.

Michel 2004

S. Michel, *Die Magischen Gemmen. Zu Bildern und Zauberformeln auf geschnittenen Steinen der Antike und Neuzeit*, Studien aus dem Warburg–Haus 7, Berlin 2004.

Milne 1915

J. C. Milne, *Lead tokens from Memphis*, in *Ancient Egypt* (1915), 107–120.

Mol 2015

E. M. Mol, *Egypt in material and mind: the use and perception of Aegyptiaca in Roman domestic contexts of Pompeii (PhD Thesis, Universiteit Leiden),* 2015.

Mols 2020

S. T. A. M. Mols, *Wooden Furniture in Herculaneum: Form, Technique and Function*, Leiden 2020.

Moormann 2018

E. M. Moormann, *Ministers of Isiac Cults in Roman Wall Painting*, in Gasparini and Veymiers 2018, 366–383.

Morenz and Schubert 1954

S. Morenz and J. Schubert, *Der Gott auf der Blume. Eine ägyptische Kosmogonie und ihre weltweite Bildwirkung,* Artibus Asiae Supplementum 12, Ascona 1954.

Μπάτζιου–Ευσταθίου 2009

Α. Μπάτζιου–Ευσταθίου, *Το εμπόριο οίνου στη Δημητριάδα*, in *Οἶνον ἱστορῶ. Πότνια οἶνου. Διεθνές επιστημονικό συμπόσιο προς τιμήν της Σταυρούλας Κουράκου–Δραγώνα*, Βόλος 2009, 55–94.

Μπονόβας and Τζιτζιμπάση 2009

Ν. Μπονόβας and Α. Τζιτζιμπάση, *Μαγεία και θρησκεία: θεοί, άγιοι και δαίμονες, Ευρωπαϊκές Ημέρες Πολιτιστικής Κληρονομιάς, Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2009.

Μποσνάκης 1994-1995

Δ. Μποσνάκης, *Οι αιγυπτιακές θεότητες στη Ρόδο και την Κω από τους ελληνιστικούς χρόνους μέχρι και τη Ρωμαιοκρατία*, in *ADelt A* 49-50 (1994-1995), 43–74.

Mudd 2015

S. A. Mudd, *"Don't be Thirsty!" Wine Beakers with Drinking Mottos in Roman Britain*, in D. Toner and M. Hailwood (eds.), *Biographies of Drink: A Case Study Approach to our Historical Relationship with Alcohol*, Newcastle 2015, 72–99.

Ναλπάντης 2003

Δ. Ναλπάντης, *Ανασκαφή στο οικόπεδο του Μουσείου Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού στη Θεσσαλονίκη: ταφές και ευρήματα*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2003.

Ναούμ 2017

Ε. Ναούμ, *Το δυτικό νεκροταφείο της Πέλλας (unpublished PhD Thesis, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki),* Θεσσαλονίκη 2017.

Νίγδελης 2006

Π. Νίγδελης, *Επιγραφικά Θεσαλονίκεια. Συμβολή στην πολιτική και κοινωνική ιστορία της αρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2006.

Nigdelis 2010

P. Nigdelis, *Voluntary Associations in Roman Thessalonikē: In Search of Identity and Support in a Cosmopolitan Society*, in L. Nasrallah, Ch. Bakirtzis and S. Friesen (eds.), *From Roman to Early Christian Thessalonikē: Studies in Religion and Archaeology*, Harvard Theological Studies, Cambridge, Mass.–London 2010, 13–46.

Νικάκης 2019a

Δ. Νικάκης, *Κοσμήματα ελληνιστικών και ρωμαϊκών χρόνων. Τα ευρήματα από τις ανασκαφές του ΜΕΤΡΟ στο ανατολικό και δυτικό νεκροταφείο της αρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης* (*PhD, Aristostle University of Thessaloniki), vol. I,* Θεσσαλονίκη 2019.

Νικάκης 2019b

Δ. Νικάκης, *Κοσμήματα ελληνιστικών και ρωμαϊκών χρόνων. Τα ευρήματα από τις ανασκαφές του ΜΕΤΡΟ στο ανατολικό και δυτικό νεκροταφείο της αρχαίας Θεσσαλονίκης* (*PhD, Aristostle University of Thessaloniki), vol. II,* Θεσσαλονίκη 2019.

Nikoloska 2015

A. Nikoloska, *Evidence for the cults of Isis on the territory of the Republic of Macedonia, Macedonia*, in M. Tomorad (ed.), *A history of research into ancient Egyptian culture conducted in the Southeast Europe*, Oxford 2015, 221–228.

Παλαιοθόδωρος 2012

Δ. Παλαιοθόδωρος, *Η λατρεία της Αρτέμιδος Φεραίας από τη Θεσσαλία στις Συρακούσες*, in *Αρχαιολογικό Έργο Θεσσαλίας και Στερεάς Ελλάδας* 3, Βόλος 2012, 439–450.

Pannuti 1983

U. Pannuti, *Catalogo della Collezione Glittica, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, vol. 1,* Rome 1983.

Pannuti 1994

U. Pannuti, *La Collezione Glittica, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, vol. 2.* Rome 1994.

Παντερμαλής 1982

Δ. Παντερμαλής, *Ανασκαφή Δίου*, in *ΠΑΕ* 1982, 64–68.

Παντερμαλής 1997

Δ. Παντερμαλής, *Δίον: Αρχαιολογικός χώρος και Μουσείο*, Αθήνα 1997.

Παντερμαλής 1999

Δ. Παντερμαλής, *Δίον: η ανακάλυψη*, Αθήνα 1999.

Πάντος 1983

Π. Πάντος, *Αχινός. Οικόπεδο Γ.Α. Χάδου*, in *ADelt B1* 38 (1983), 174.

Pantos s.a.

P. Pantos, *Cupido riding leo. The sealings of Aetolian Kallipolis – no 187*, https://www.academia.edu/46498154/Cupid_riding_leo_The_Sealings_of_Aetolian_Kallipolis_no_187

Papadopoulos and Stern 2006

J. Papadopoulos and E. M. Stern, *Roman Pottery, Lamps, and Glass*, in. J. Papadopoulos (ed.), *The Art of Antiquity: Piet de Jong and the Athenian Agora*, Athens 2006, 259–268.

Pasqui 1938

U. Pasqui, *Tomba romana scoperta nella collinetta di Puglia presso Arezzo,* in *StEtr* 12 (1938), 263–265.

Πελεκανίδου and Μπουλιώνη 1995

Ε. Πελεκανίδου and Β. Μπουλιώνη, *«Μητέρα Ήλιος» και ο συμβολισμός της ψυχής στη Θεσσαλονίκη της Ύστερης αρχαιότητας*, in *Μουσείο Βυζαντινού Πολιτισμού* 2 (1995), 20–31.

Perdrizet 1921

P. Perdrizet, *Les terres cuites grecques d'Égypte de la collection Fouquet,* Nancy 1921.

Petrović Markežić and Milošević 2010

B. Petrović Markežić and B. Milošević, *Još jedno otkriće zlatnog nakita u Sv. Ivanu Kornetskom u Istri*, in *Histria Antiqua* 19 (2010), 293–298.

Petruševska–Petroska 2018

V. Petruševska–Petroska, *Telesphorus: child–deity from Stobi*, in S. Blaževska (ed.), *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi IV*, Stobi 2018, 95–109.

Πινγιάτογλου 1993

Σ. Πινγιάτογλου, *Πήλινα ειδώλια από την Αίγυπτο (3ος αι. π.Χ. – 4ος αι. μ.Χ.),* Αθήνα 1993.

Πέτσας 1974

Φ. Πέτσας, *Χρονικά Αρχαιολογικά 1968–1970*, in *Makedonika* 14 (1974), 212–381.

Pfeiler 1970

B. Pfeiler, *Römische Goldschmuck des ersten und zweiten Jahrhunderts n. Chr. nach datierten Funden*, Mainz 1970.

Philipp 1986

H. Philipp, *Mira et Magica: Gemmen im Ägyptischen Museum der Staatlichen Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz*, Berlin–Charlottenburg 1986.

Podvin 2011

J.-L. Podvin, *Luminaire et cultes isiaques,* Monographies Instrumentum 38, Montagnac 2011.

Podvin 2014

J.-L. Podvin, *Médaillons d'applique et moules de terre cuite à décor isiaque*, in L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* III, Bordeaux 2014, 121–137.

Podvin 2015

J.-L. Podvin, *La lumière dans les fêtes isiaques*, in *Transilvania* 10 (2015), 39–46.

Podvin 2018

J.-L. Podvin, *Les preposes au luminaire dans les cultes isiaques*, in Gasparini and Veymiers 2018, 609–627.

Podvin 2021

J.-L. Podvin, *Sacral inventories and archaeological reality in the Isis sanctuaries outside Egypt (Hellenistic and Roman periods)*, in *Studies in ancient art and civilization* 25 (2021), 145–160.

Podvin and Veymiers 2008

J.-L. Podvin and R. Veymiers, *À propos des lampes corinthiennes à motifs isiaques*, in L Bricault (ed.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* I, Bordeaux 2008, 63–68.

Πουλακάκης 2019

Ν. Πουλακάκης, *Πήλινο ειδώλιο Αρποκράτη από τη Βέροια*, in Ν. Ακαμάτης, Α. Βουβουλής, Α. Λαφτσίδης and Ν. Πουλακάκης (eds.), Τῷ διδασκάλῳ. *Τιμητικός τόμος για τον καθηγητή Ιωάννη Ακαμάτη,* Θεσσαλονίκη 2019, 337-348.

Poulin 1988

S. Poulin, *Essai d'interprétation des représentations d'Harpocrate sur les statuettes et les lampes en terre cuite (PhD Thesis, Universite Laval),* Quebec 1988.

Renberg 2016

G. Renberg, *Where dreams may come: incubation sanctuaries in the Greco–Roman world,* Leiden–Boston 2016.

RICIS

L. Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques (*RICIS*), Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 31,* Paris 2005.

RICIS Suppl. II

L. Bricault, RICIS : Supplément II, in L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* II, Bordeaux 2011, 273-307.

Riefstahl 1972

E. Riefstahl, *A unique fish-shaped glass vial in the Brooklyn Museum*, in *JGS* 14 (1972), 10-14.

Ritner 2015

R. Ritner, *Osiris–Canopus and Bes at Herculaneum*, in R. Jasnow and K. M. Cooney (eds*.), Joyful in Thebes. Egyptological Studies in honor of Betsy M. Bryan, vol. I,* Atlanta, Georgia 2015, 401–406.

Robinson 1959

H. S. Robinson, *Pottery of the Roman period: Chronology*, The Athenian Agora V. Princeton, New Jersey 1959.

Rolley 1968

C. Rolley, *Les cultes égyptiens à Thasos: à propos de quelques documents nouveaux*, in *BCH* 92 (1968), 187–219.

Rose 1957

H. J. Rose, *The religion of a Greek household*, in *Euphrosyne* 1 (1957), 95–116.

Roussel 1916

P. Roussel, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III au I siècle av. J.-C.*, Paris - Nancy 1916. -

RPC

Roman Provincial Coinage

Sağir et al. 2011

E. Sağir, H. Uzunoğlu and K. Hançer, *Three New Sarcophagi from Kios* (Gemlik), in *Gephyra* 8 (2011), 31–44.

Sandberg 1954

N. Sandberg, ΕΥΠΛΟΙΑ. *Études épigraphiques*, Göteborgs Universitets Arsskrift 60, Göteborg 1954.

Sandri 2006

S. Sandri, *Har-pa-chered (Harpokrates): die Genese eines ägyptischen Götterkindes*, Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta, 151, Leuven 2006.

Saura-Ziegielmeyer 2018

A. Saura-Ziegelmeyer, *Inside and outside the tomb: the Isiac sistrum as testimony of worshippers beliefs*, in A. Bellia and Sh. Bundrick (eds.), *Musical Instruments as Votive Gifts in the Ancient Greek World*, Pise–Rome 2018, 71–80.

Scatozza Höricht 1989

L. A. Scatozza Höricht, *I monili di Ercolano*, Roma 1989.

Semmola 1844

T. Semmola, *Illustrazione di una collana egizia*, Napoli 1844[2].

Sfameni Gasparro 1973

G. Sfameni Gasparro, *I culti orientali in Sicilia*, Leiden 1973.

Sfameni Gasparro 1998

G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Iside Fortuna: fatalismo e divinità sovrane del destino nel mondo ellenistico–roman*o, in *Le fortune dell'età arcaica nel Lazio ed in Italia e la loro posterità. Atti del 3° Convegno di studi archeologici sull'antica Preneste, Palestrina, 15/16 ottobre 1994,* Palestrina 1998, 301–323.

Shaw et al. 1999

I. Shaw, J. Bunbury and R. Jameson, *Emerald mining in Roman and Byzantine Egypt*, in *JRA* 12 (1999), 203–215.

Simpson 2003

W. K. Simpson (ed.*), The literature of ancient Egypt: an anthology of stories, instructions, stelae, autobiographies, and poetry*, New Haven–London 2003.

Соломоник 1973

Э. И. Соломоник, Из истории религиозной жизни в северопонтийских городах позднеантичного времени, in *ВДИ* 1 (1973), 55–77.

Соломоник 1987

Э. И. Соломоник**,** *Inedita*, in *Іноземна філологія* 85 (1987), 111–118.

Staffieri 1996

G. M. Staffieri, *ЄIC ZЄYC CAPAΠIC su una dramma alessandrina inedita*, in *NACQT* 25 (1996), 255–269.

Σταμπολίδης 1992

Ν. Σταμπολίδης, *Τα σφραγίσματα της Δήλου: ο ερωτικός κύκλος*, Αθήνα 1992.

Σταμπολίδης and Παρλαμά 2000

Ν. Σταμπολίδης and Λ. Παρλαμά (eds.), *Η πόλη κάτω από την πόλη. Ευρήματα από τις ανασκαφές του Μητροπολιτικού Σιδηρόδρομου Αθηνών*, Αθήνα 2000.

Stampolidis and Tassoulas 2009

N. Stampolidis and G. Tassoulas (eds.), *Eros. From Hesiod's Theogony to late antiquity, Museum of Cycladic Art,* Athens 2009.

Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2014

T. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Die lokale Sarkophage von Thessaloniki*, Ruhpolding 2014.

Stefanidou-Tiveriou 2016

T. Stefanidou-Tiveriou, *Der Annia Tryphaina Sarkophag in Thessaloniki: Heroisierung und Selbstdarstellung*, in G. Koch (ed.), *Akten des Symposiums Römische Sarkophage, Marburg, 2.–8. Juni 2006,* Marburg 2016, 95–101.

Στεφανίδου-Τιβερίου and Βουτυράς 2020

Θ. Στεφανίδου-Τιβερίου, Εμ. Βουτυράς (eds.), *Κατάλογος γλυπτών Αρχαιολογικού Μουσείου Θεσσαλονίκης IV*, Θεσσαλονίκη 2020.

Steimle 2002

C. Steimle, *Neue Erkenntnisse zum Heiligtum der Ägyptischen Götter in Thessaloniki. Ein unveröffentlichtes Tagebuch des Archäologen Hans von Schoenebeck*, in *AErgoMak* 16 (2002), 291–306.

Steimle 2008

Ch. Steimle, *Religion im römischen Thessaloniki*: *Sakraltopographie, Kult und Gesellschaft 168 v. Chr. –324 n. Chr.,* Tübingen 2008.

Takacs 2011

S. Takacs, *Cleopatra, Isis, and the formation of Augustan Rome*, in M. Miles (ed.), *Cleopatra: a sphinx revisited*, London 2011, 78–95.

Tallet 2018

G. Tallet, *Mourir en isiaque? Reflexions sur les portraits de momie de l'Egypte romaine*, in Gasparini and Veymiers 2018, 413–447.

Thiboutot 2020

G. Thiboutot, *Egyptian blue in Romano–Egyptian mummy portraits*, in M. Svoboda and C. Cartwright (eds.), *Mummy Portraits of Roman Egypt: Emerging Research from the APPEAR Project, The J. Paul Getty Museum*, Los Angeles 2020, 46–53.

Thompson 1981

D. Thompson, *A Priestess of Isis at Swarthmore College*, in *AJA* 85 (1981), 88–92.

Thompson 1988

D. J. Thompson, *Memphis under the Ptolemies*, Princeton 1988.

Touloumtzidou 2024, forthcoming

A. Touloumtzidou, *Isiaca from the Roman cemeteries of Macedonia: the funerary monuments*, in *Egyptian Cults in the Balkans, International Conference*, Athens, 29-31 October 2024, forthcoming.

Τουράτσογλου 1969

Ι. Τουράτσογλου, Βέροια. Ανασκαφή προαυλίου Νέου Γυμνασίου (Αρρένων, πρώην Θηλέων), in *ADelt B2* 24 (1969), 313–315.

Touratsoglou 1988

I. Touratsoglou, *Die Münzstätte von Thessaloniki in der römischen Kaiserzeit (32/31 v. Chr. bis 268 n. Chr.),* Berlin 1988.

Tran Tam Tinh 1964

V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Essai sur le culte d'Isis à Pompéi*, Paris 1964.

Tran Tam Tinh 1971

V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte des divinités orientales à Herculanum*, ÉPRO 17, Leyden 1971.

Tran Tam Tinh 1972

V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Le culte des divinités orientales en Campanie en dehors de Pompéi, de Stabies et d'Herculanum*, ÉPRO 27, Leiden 1972.

Tran Tam Tinh 1973

V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Isis Lactans. Corpus des monuments gréco–romains d'Isis allaitant Harpocrate,* ÉPRO 37, Leiden 1973.

Tran Tam Tinh 1983

V. Tran Tam Tinh, *Sérapis debout. Corpus des monuments de Sérapis debout et étude iconographique*, ÉPRO 94, Leiden 1983.

Troalen et al. 2015

L. Troalen, I. Tissot, M. Maitland and M. F. Guerra, *Jewellery of a young Egyptian girl: Middle Kingdom goldwork from Haraga tomb 72*, in *Historical Metallurgy* 49.2 (2015), 75–86.

Trouchaud 2013

C. Trouchaud, *Bijoux* à type isiaque sur les portraits *d'enfants du Fayoum*, in *StMatStRel* 79.2 (2013), 396–418.

Τσώχος 2002

Χ. Τσώχος, *Το ιερό των Αιγυπτίων θεών και η λατρεία τους στους Φιλίππους μέσα από το επιγραφικό υλικό. Πρώτες παρατηρήσεις*, in *AErgoMak* 16 (2002), 83-94.

Veymiers 2009a

R. Veymiers, *Ἴλεως τῷ φοροῦντι. Sérapis sur les gemmes et les bijoux antiques*, Bruxelles 2009.

Veymiers 2009b

R. Veymiers, *Les cultes isiaques à Amphipolis. Membra disjecta (IIIe s. av. J.–C. – IIIe s. apr. J.–C.)*, in *BCH* 133 (2009), 471–520.

Veymiers 2011

R. Veymiers, *Ἴλεως τῷ φοροῦντι. Serapis sur les gemmes et les bijoux antiques. Supplement I,* in L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* II, Bordeaux 2011, 239–271.

Veymiers 2014a

R. Veymiers, *Ἴλεως τῷ φοροῦντι. Sérapis sur les gemmes et les bijoux antiques Supplément II*, in L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* III, Bordeaux 2014, 207–244.

Veymiers 2014b

R. Veymiers, *Le basileion, les reines et Actium*, in L. Bricault and M.–J. Versluys (eds.), *Power, Politics and the Cults of Isis. Proceedings of the Vth International Conference of Isis Studies, Boulogne–sur–Mer, October 13–15, 2011*, Leiden–Boston 2014, 195–236.

Veymiers 2018

R. Veymiers, *Introduction: Agents, Images, Practices*, in Gasparini and Veymiers 2018, 1–60.

Veymiers 2020

R. Veymiers, *Ἴλεως τῷ φοροῦντι. Sérapis sur les gemmes et les bijoux antiques Supplément III*, in L. Bricault and R. Veymiers (eds.), *Bibliotheca Isiaca* IV, Bordeaux 2020, 307–342.

Vinogradov and Zolotarev 1999

Y. G. Vinogradov and M.I. Zolotarev, *Worship of the sacred Egyptian triad in Chersonesus (Crimea),* in *AncCivScytSib* 5.4 (1999), 357–381.

Vitellozzi 2018

P. Vitellozzi, *Relations Between Magical Texts and Magical Gems. Recent Perspectives*, in S. Kiyanrad, C. Theis and L. Willer (eds.), *Bild und Schrift auf 'magischen' Artefakten*, Berlin–Boston 2018, 181–253.

Vogeikoff-Brogan 2016

N. Vogeikoff-Brogan, *A Bes-Silenus plastic vase in the Ierapetra Archaeological Collection: the Egyptian connection*, in Γιαννοπούλου and Καλλίνη 2016, 808-822.

Wallensten 2014

J. Wallensten, *Dedications to double deities. Syncretism or simple syntax?,* in Kernos 27 (2014), 159–176.

Walter 1942

O. Walter, *Archäologische Funde in Griechenland von Frühjahr 1940 bis Herbst 1941*, in *AA* (1942), 99-200.

Walters 1988

E. J. *Walters*, *Attic grave reliefs that represent women in the dress* of *Isis, Hesperia* Supplement 22, Princeton, New Jersey 1988.

Walters 2000

E. J. Walters, *Predominance of Women in the Cult of Isis in Roman Athens*, in L. Bricault (ed.), *De Memphis à Rome, Actes du Ier Colloque international sur les études isiaques, Poitiers - Futuroscope, 8-10 avril* 1999, Leiden 2000, 63–89.

Wardle 2014

D. Wardle, *Suetonius. Life of Augustus, translated with introduction and historical commentary,* Oxford 2014.

Warner Slane 2017

K. Warner Slane, *Corinth XXI: Tombs, burials, and commemoration in Corinth's Northern cemetery,* Princeton, New Jersey 2017.

Weigall 1907

A. Weigall, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia (the First Cataract to the Sudan frontier and their condition in 19067),...* Oxford 1907.

Weinreich 1919

O. Weinreich, *Neue Urkunden zur Sarapis–Religion*, Tübingen 1919.

Whitehouse 2009

H. Whitehouse, *A remarkable gem in Paris*, in E. Goring, N. Reeves and J. Ruffle (eds.), *Chief of Seers. Egyptian studies in memory of Cyril Aldred*, London–New York 2009, 303–313.

Wilcken 1917

U. Wilcken, *Die griechischen Denkmäler vom Dromos des Serapeums von Memphis*, in *JdI* 32 (1917), 149–203.

Wiseman and Mano–Zissi 1976

J. Wiseman and D. Mano–Zissi, *Stobi: a city of ancient Macedonia*, in *JFieldA* 3.3 (1976), 269–302.

Χατζηνικολάου 2011

Κ. Χατζηνικολάου, *Οι λατρείες των θεών και των ηρώων στην Άνω Μακεδονία κατά την αρχαιότητα (Ελίμεια, Εορδαία, Ορεστίδα, Λυγκηστίδα),* Θεσσαλονίκη 2011.

Χριστοδούλου and Τουλουμτζίδου 2021

Π. Χριστοδούλου and Α. Τουλουμτζίδου, *«Νέα» στοιχεία για τις ανασκαφές στο λεγόμενο Σαραπιείον της Θεσσαλονίκης*, in *AErgoMak* 34 (2021), forthcoming.

Χρυσοστόμου 2006

Π. Χρυσοστόμου, *Σωστική ανασκαφή στο δυτικό νεκροταφείο της Πέλλας κατά το 2006: οι ρωμαϊκοί τάφοι*, in *AErgoMak* 20 (2006), 659–671.

Зубарь 2005

В. М. Зубарь, *Боги и герои античного Херсонеса*, 2005.

Журавлев et al. 2017

Д. В. Журавлев, Е.Ю. Новикова, С.А. Коваленко, М.С. Шемаханская, *Золото Херсонеса Таврического (Ювелирные изделия из собрания Государственного исторического музея),* Москва 2017.

Annareta Touloumtzidou
Archaeological Museum of Thessaloniki
6 Andronikou Manoli Str.
annaretatouloumtzidou@gmail.com