

## “Manufacturing Religion” in the Hellenistic Age: The Case of Isis-Demeter Cult\*

Panayotis Pachis  
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

The use of the term globalization, which comprises the subject of this round table, within the historical context which points to the Hellenistic era must be seen as incompatible and deceiving, as it is lacking any sign of historical evidence. This point is confirmed if we take into account the fact that globalization is a contemporary phenomenon that is — still — being formulated by the influence of a complex set of political and economic developments that occur within modern historical reality. First of all, it is dominant in contemporary thought since the early 90ies and is originally identified with the notion of modernity, later with the development of industrial economy, and finally with the information society. It is a phenomenon strongly connected to the political system, a product of a transitional period that brings radical changes in people’s overall worldview (Petrou forthcoming: 1-3).

This fact forces us to draw a clear line between a pre-modern and a post-modern society. Besides, the use of the term “modern” for a period of a pre-industrial society seems, always according to the modern sociological approaches, inappropriate. This claim could perhaps partly yield, if we base any comparison between the two eras on the view of G. Benavides, who states that “[t]hinking in terms of multiple modernities may lead to diluting the usefulness of the concept; on the other hand, thinking in terms of multiple modernities forces us to consider the differences between a modernity

---

\* I would like to thank Giulia Sfameni Gasparro and Einar Thomassen for their comments on the first version of this essay.

such as the one we find in the West since at least the seventeenth century, which combines heightened reflectivity and technological development and one that is understood mainly in cultural terms — *that is, as an attempt to free oneself in a self-conscious manner from the tyranny of place, of community, of tradition*” (emphasis mine) (Benavides 1998: 188-189; 2004). These considerations allow us to advance onto a *mutatis mutandis* reevaluation of the Hellenistic period as a “modern era,” where phenomena similar to those of our own time appear. Of course, to avoid any misunderstandings, throughout this comparison we should always have a clear understanding of the differences that characterize the past in relation to the present.

The Hellenistic era is a period of transition, constant transformation, increasing knowledge of the natural environment and cosmological redefinition. Conservation coexists inextricably with the tendency for renewal that is observed mostly in the realm of the Hellenistic kingdoms, where the new and innovative reality is formed, in accordance to the spirit and the ideals of that time. In this context, we can observe a constant transformation in the way people think, characterized by the legitimization of new forms of power and the development of ecumenism and cosmopolitanism. The latter is a multidimensional civil system, related to specific changes in the socio-political structure of the ancient Greek city-state and characterizing the entire Hellenistic period (Tarn <sup>3</sup>1961: 103. Green 1990: 389). As a political system, it is a product of Stoic and Cynic philosophy that succeeds the politics of racial isolation (Baldry 1959: 14. Nilsson <sup>3</sup>1974: 293; 725. Green 1990: 57; 64; 312; 388; 407. Bilde 1996: 332. Humphrey 1978: 238). The overall framework contributes to the creation of a new world, an oecumene composed of various aspects that clearly distinguish it from other historical periods.

The above characteristics contribute to the development of new religious movements in Greece, as well as in other parts of the oecumene, parallel to the traditional religion. Dominant among them are the oriental deities, that are particularly attractive and imposing compared to the traditional religion of the ancient Greek world, as they offer special experiences through their lavish rites, their ascetic ordeals and their complex expiatory rituals (Verma-

seren 1981. Burkert 1987. Turcan 1996).

Most of these new cults are influenced by the Greek way of thinking, thus taking a new form, which is the product of syncretism (Grant 1953: xiii. Ringgreen 1968. Smith 1971. Levêque 197 Nilsson <sup>3</sup>1974: 581-701. Nouaihait 1975. Bergman, 1982. Samu 1983: 75. Martin 1983. Colpe 1987. Motte-Pirenne Delforge 199 Motte 1999. Stewart – Shaw 1994. Boechinger 1994. Pakkan 1996: 85; 100. Martin 1996. Martin – Leopold, forthcoming. Smi 1996. Cassidy 2001. Thomassen 2004). As L. H. Martin write “syncretism suggests the possibility of understanding religion in th Hellenistic age as a coherent system rather than as the fortuito byproduct of political internationalism” (Martin 1987: 11). Th phenomenon appears whenever a culture is going through a “p riod of crisis,” due to the circumstances and constant changes. In the process of the configuration of the new forms, the dominant factors, naturally, are the elements of the local tradition with which this interaction takes place. When aspects of different cultures and traditions into communication, then new religious phenomena arise. Any kind of comparison between deities of different cultural traditions should always be made on the basis of analogi (Arepr., *Metaph.* 1018a 12-19. Bianchi, 1975: 5-8, 1979: 16; 18; 2 27-28; 33; 38; 57-58; 73; 76; 80-93; 104; 111-112; 116; 146, 198 145-175, 1994. Sfameni Gasparro 1994. Smith 1990. Mihelic 200 189-194. Sanzi 2004.

The syncretistic spirit of this time has correspondences to the Ptolemaic worldview, dominant since the 4th century B.C. (Cumo 1912: 68. Sambursky 1956: 133. Nilsson <sup>3</sup>1974: 486-597; 702-71 Martin 1987: 3; 6; 8; 156. Beck 1988: 4-11. Culianu 1983: 28. Green 1990: 453-466. Dodds 1995: 19-68. Pachis 2003b: 36). Among the cults, mainly of Eastern origin, that flourish within the environment of the Hellenistic oecumene, are those of Isis and Sarapis. Isis is the first foreign deity to demonstrate a particular adaptability to the new environment where her cult spreads (Malaise 1972. Burke: 1987. Merkelbach, 1995. Turcan 1996: 75-129. Takács 1995). The basic principals of this cult introduce us to the religiosity of this era and most clearly show the personal relations that are developed between the goddess and humans. The last book of the *Metamorpho.*

is the best example of syncretism in late antiquity. Isis' identification with other deities should be understood as a compilation of differing concepts in the face of a unique deity (Isis), that is presented to rule even over Fortune (Apul., *Met.*, XI 15. Griffiths 1975: 241-244. Herzog – Hauser 1943. Tarn <sup>3</sup>1961: 79; 193. Kajanto, 1972. Nilsson <sup>3</sup>1974: 200-210. Frazer 1972: I, 241-243. Sabine – Thorsen <sup>2</sup>1973: 125-132. Martin 1987: 21-23. Sfameni Gasparro, 1997. Mikalson 1983: 2-28. Mikalson 1998: 62-63). This allows us to conclude that the notion of "syncretism" is defined as a concrete relational system, which is defined by similarities and organised based on a relation of sympathy (similarities) and non-sympathy (differences) (Martin 1983: 136-137. Lloyd, 1966. Foucault 1973).

Within this framework, Isis is identified with Demeter. Their conjunction is not an automatic process, but a result of long durée fermentations, related to the developments (political-economic-religious) that take place in the ancient world. It begins during the fifth century B.C., and is completed during the imperial ages. To be able to understand the place of Isis' cult as well as its final form after its propagation throughout the Greco-roman world, we should examine all of the factors that have contributed to this configuration of her divine form. These factors are basically related to the ecumenical spirit of the times. Ritual is also influenced by the Greek deities that are propagated in Egypt during the Hellenistic period, resulting to a gradual transformation of Isis' form. The general ideology of this time has a drastic effect once again, and Isis exits the narrow local environment of Egypt and spreads throughout the broader ecumene. She becomes a means of propaganda for political power, through her priests who wander around the entire ecumene, following the general trend of the time (Dunand 1983: 77-79. Solmsen 1979. Gasparro 1985/1986. Pakkanen, 1996. Pachis 2002).

The political and economical behavior of this era coexists with religion and creates, especially in such complex times as the Hellenistic period, all these syncretistic expressions that facilitate communication, coexistence and mutual understanding among groups belonging to different cultural environments (Rostovtzeff 1941. Green 1990: 362-382. Martin 2003a. Pachis 2003b: 73-311).

This situation, however, does not lead to the extinction of the traditional way of expression, but coexists with it, always depending on the general conditions that prevail in the daily life of the areas in which it spreads (Stewart 1977. Nilsson <sup>3</sup>1974: 1-10. Graf 1995. Mikalson 1998: 315). This latter factor is combined with the ecumenical spirit of this era, as well as with the continuous wanderings of the people, who distribute on their way all kinds of doctrines and religious ideas within the constantly expanding Hellenistic world (Martin 1987: 23-25, 1994: 125-131. Pachis 2002).

\*

The political and economical changes that occur in Egypt from the first moment of the Ptolemaic rule also effect religious life. Since its establishment, Alexandria is a constant pole of attraction for the wandering people of this era. The Greek and the Egyptian way of thought meet within this context, creating a sophisticated culture, already established from the beginning of the Hellenistic period (Wycheley <sup>2</sup>1962: 35. Schneider 1967: I, 529-556; 569-573. Fraser 1972: I, 7; 20-21. Ferguson 1973: 29. Heinen 1981: 312. Green 1990: 80-91; 153; 157-158; 160; 313-315. Pachis 2003b: 45-46). The Greek metics that inhabit Egypt, already from the time of the reign of Ptolemy I the Soter, transfuse to the new environment where they inhabit not only their traditional way of thought but also their paternal gods. The political rulers were more in favour of Greek, rather than local elements in every sector of public and private life (Fraser 1972: I, 7; 2-21. Koch 1993: 488-490). The representatives of the new dynasty feel much more Greek than Egyptian, and for this reason they support Greek deities, and especially those of Macedonia (Adriani 1961: p. 34, no 34. Hatzopoulos 1994: 20-40. Thompson, 1998: 704-705.)

Among the deities that appear in the Egyptian environment during that time, the cult of Demeter has a distinguished place. The so-called *Zenon Papyri* as well as Callimachus' *Hymn to Demeter*, are the main evidence for her cult (Callim., *Hymn.* 6 1-6. Clem. Al. *Protr.* II 18P. Fraser – Rumpf 1952. Schneider 1969: II, 316; 318. Fraser 1972: I, 198-199; 556, II, 335; 338-342; 371. Nilsson <sup>3</sup>1974

94-95. Skowronek – Tkaczow, 1979: 131-134. Hopkinson 1984: 41-42. Orrieux 1983. Thompson 1998: 491-493; 553-553; 700; 703 and n.19. Quegebeur 1981.). During the 3rd century, Demeter's sanctuary is established in Alexandria and evolves into an important cultic centre of its religious life (Polyb. 15, 27, 1-3. Fraser 1972: I, 200-201, II, 17; 119; 334. Pantos 1987: 346-347). Many contemporary scholars identify this specific cultic centre with the city's Thesmophorion, where they held the homonymous festival of Demeter. This is the most possible place, if we take into account the connection of the cult of the Thesmophoros goddess to that of the Egyptian queens (Athen., *Deipn.* 13, 37, 31. Strab. 17, 1, 16. *P.Cair.Zen* I 59028 [258 B.C.]; II 59350, 5 [244 B.C.]. *P.Teb* III 1079, 2 [3th-2nd B.C.], III, 880 Fr 1, 12; 15. 895 rpr, 375. 903, 4. 998, 22. Skowronek – Tkaczow 1979: 132; 137, 44; 142, 96)

The cult of Demeter is particularly popular, not only within the environment of the Egyptian capital, but also in many parts of the country (*chora*), and mainly around the Nile Valley (*OGIS* 83. SB 2674. *P.Petr.* III 95, 5. Callim., *Hymn.* 6. Polyb., XV 29, 8, 33). Besides, this place is ideal for the development of a cult of a *par excellence* agrarian character, with the form of the “*παντοδότηρα*” goddess (Quaebebeur 1981). Among the cultic centers that flourish around this area, particularly famous are those of the Al Fayyūm area. Reports on the presence of this cult in this area can be found in papyri from the 3rd century B.C. (Callim., *Hymn* 6. Polyb., XV 29, 8, 33. *OGIS* 83. SB, 2674. *P.Petr.* III 95, 6; 97, 1, 5. *P.Cair.Zen* III 59350. Doxiadi 1995: 126-133. Dunand 2000: 42-44)

In these specific areas, the goddess is highly respected by the Greek cleruchs, as well as by the native rural population, that often honour her jointly with local deities of similar character. Among them are the Greek metics and the veteran soldiers that settle in various areas. A Graeco-Egyptian community was formed, as intermarriage was very common, and the interaction between the two cultures was significant. The female members of these groups play a leading role in the rituals of the goddess, contributing to the propagation and popularity of her cult. The inhabitants of these areas consider Demeter as analogous to their patrimonial deity, Isis, and this fact leads to the approach and understanding of foreign cults

on behalf of the natives (Perpillou-Thomas 1993: 81. Herrmann, Jr., 1999 [2000]).

Alongside the new deities, the traditional cult of the local pantheon continues to play a primary role. The members of the traditional triad of the Egyptian pantheon (namely Osiris, Isis, and their son, Horus) continue, even under the specific circumstances of the new age, to comprise the invariable models for the royal ideology of the Ptolemies (Dunand 1991: 233-237. Dunand 2000: 33-34). Isis is a particularly popular deity, an element that remains unchanged in Egypt during the following Roman era, or even later, after her propagation in the entire Greco-Roman world. The new political leaders of Egypt, already since the time of Ptolemy I the Soter (305-283 B.C.), show a particular interest for her cult (Arr., *Anav.* III, 1, 4-5. Brady 1935: 13-16. Schneider 1967: I, 483-486; 564-569. Dunand 1973: I, 23-69, 1991: 203, 233-237. Dunand 2000: 45-49. Koch 1993: 500-505). The goddess continues to maintain her characteristics in depictions in various temples in Egypt during the late pharaonic age. The same applies, of course, to the ritual of her cult, that is conducted daily at the big cultic centers of Egypt (Dunand 1991: 223-230). This fact can be considered as a result of the continuous and powerful influence of the clergy, that remains faithful to the traditions of the ancestral religion. Their tactics is perhaps a sort of reaction to the insertion and prevalence of any innovative idea within the overall political environment of their country in general, and religious authorities in particular (Preux 1936, 1978: I, 389-398. Rostovtzeff 1941: II, 719-722; 736; 887; 902, III, 1496. Peremans 1978. Lloyd 1982. Green 1990: 323. Dunand 1991: 202-203. Dunand 2000: 43-44; 45. Gehrke 2000: 257-258).

As an outcome of the overall innovative trends, various indigenous deities are identified with other, outsider deities, thus resulting to the creation of syncretistic forms within the traditional pantheon. Isis is identified with Demeter, Osiris with Dionysus, and Horus with Apollo (Hdt II 41; 42; 47; 48; 59; 121-122; 143; 156. Kolta 1968: 31-41; 42-51; 58-70. Dunand 1973: I, 9-71; 85-86. Dunand 1991: 238-240. Griffiths 1980: 123; 172. Sfameni Gasparro 1985/86: 130-150. Mora 1986: 84-86; 96; 100; 107; 212-219. Herrman 1999 [2000], 71, 7; 73. Lloyd 1976: p. 218; 220-221; 269, 1988:

57; 59; 110-112; 146. Pachis forthcoming). Another yet fact of major importance that signifies this specific tactics of the rulers is Osiris' displacement, mainly during the administration of the Ptolemies, by Sarapis, who is the most characteristic sample of the ecumenical dimension. This god will from now on be Isis' permanent consort during their propagation throughout the Greek and Roman world (Fraser 1960, 1967. Vidman 1969, 1970. Malaise 1971. Dunand 1973. Dunand 1983. Dunand 1991: 214-221. Bianchi 1980: 35-36. Takács 1995. Merkelbach 1995. Pakkanen 1996. Borgeaud – Volokhine 2000).

The "spirit of the times," but mostly the rulers' theocratic intentions, act particularly in favour of the syncretistic tendencies formed between the two deities in Egypt. Isis' identification with Demeter is possibly the personal fabrication of the country's rulers, as well as certain members of the priesthood who are in favour of the ecumenical reformatory agendas of the archons. Their endmost aim is to create ideal conditions of balance between the indigenous and the new inhabitants of the country. Being a vested order that has no connection to the traditional aspects of this area, it is very natural that they favour the trends that are in accordance to the spirit of the new age. In this way, better conditions for the governing of the state are created, as a new way of expression appears for the state administration. This particular tactics also contributes to the formation of the overall worldview of this time, not only within the environment of Egypt, but throughout the Graeco-Roman oecumene. Of course, this is an artificial system, that most often does not correspond to the real facts. Besides, the above tactics is nothing but an expression of the rulers, and especially of their ecumenical ideals, but not those of most of the local inhabitants, that remain, even during the Hellenistic period, secluded within the borders of their traditional world (Koch 1993. Dunand 2000: 43-44. Thompson 1998. *OGIS*, 83. *SB* V 8867).

The attempted transformation of the goddess' form thrusts particularly between the 3rd and 2nd century B.C., starting during the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus (283-246 B.C.). During the same period, another significant novelty occurs, marking the already Hellenized form of Isis and related to her identification with her coun-

terpart Demeter, thus reinforcing the ecumenical trends, that comprise a common way of expression, in the political as well as religious life of the Hellenistic, and later of the Roman era (Dunand 1973: I, 34-35. Dunand 1979: 112-113. Dunand 1983: 87-88.)

The above are confirmed if we take into consideration the tactics as well as the influence of the country's queens on the cult of the goddess. This particular tactics is part of their religious politics and is related to the increase of their power. Arsinoe II, the wife of Ptolemy II, the so-called Philadelphus, right after her establishment to the throne, at first seeks the appropriation — in many ways — of the cult of the Greek deity, and later seeks to introduce the cult of the indigenous deity to the Greek metics of her country. This is when the relevant iconography is developed, according to which the specific queen is identified with Demeter (*P.Tebt* III, 879, 5-16; 880, 1, 11-16. *SB* III 7239 r 17-18. Marschal 1907: no 367. Walters 1926: no 1185, pl. 17. Richter 1968: no 633. Kyrieleis 1975: 80 and n. 319. Turner 1984: 168. Pantos 1987: 344-345. Quaegebeur 1998: 702). Arsinoe II is also identified, already during her lifetime, with other deities, such as Aphrodite and Nike (Athen., *Deipn.* VII 316d. *P.Petr. Will* III, 1 col. 2, 43. Visser 1938: pp. 16-17. Dunand 1973: I, 35. Dunand 1991: 246). This tactics of identification with the representatives of the divine world reaches its climax when she is identified with Isis (*OGIS* 16. 31. *PSI*, 539. *SB* I 601; 602. Breccia 1893-1934: I, 52, no 2. Breccia 1911: no-7, Sethe 1904-1916: I, no 19, l. 10. Preisigke – Bilabel – Kiessling 1913-: nos 601-62. Brady, 1935: 13. Otto, 1905-1908: I, 185. Tondriau, 1948a, 1948b. Frazer 1972 vol. I, 238-243., II, 129, 93. Dunand 1973: I, 35- 36; 113; 124; 137; 166; 178, III, pp. 33-34; 137. Dunand 1991: 248; 281. Thompson, 1973: 57-59. Marangou, 1971. Brunelle, 1976: 37-38. Koenen, 1983: 157-158. Pantos, 1987: 347. Green 1990: 145-146; 158; 410).

The same tactics continues during the rule of Berenice II, wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes. Berenice II maintains and reinforces her predecessor's, Arsinoe's, religious politics; without abandoning the traditional cult of Demeter, she creates, like all of the Ptolemies, a combination between Greek and Egyptian cultic reality. Her overall tactics contributes to the formation, for the first time, of the Hellenized form of Isis' cult, as well as her iconography (*P.Petr.* III,

1, col.2. Breccia, 1893: pl. XXV, 2.. Vandebek 1946: 67, 4. Dunand 1973: I, 38-39. Heyob 1975: 20-21, 119. Pantos 1987: 345-346). This is achieved at large in 238 B. C., as witnessed in the Decree of Canopus (OGIS I 56 90. Austin, 1981: 366-368; 374-378. Onasch, 1976. Green 1990: 262; 291). In this text, the conjunction of religious and political beliefs is dominant, since the rulers undertake — according to the spirit of the times — jurisdictions that belong to the divine world, and thus appear as gods or favoured of the gods (P.Athen 35, 4. P.David 1rp 3, 3. P.Enteux 28rp r 2; 86 r 2. P.Giss Univ II 11, 6. P.Koeln II 95, 12. P.Mil, Congr. XVII 90, 2, 4. P.Tebt I 13, 10; 53, 18; 61B 13, 365; 72D 18, 364; FrV 9, 189; II 28, 2; ctr 6; 28, 4, 8; 28, 6, 15; 28, 8, 7; 28, 9, 11; 28, 10, 20; 289 rpr, FrD 1, 40; 345 Fr A1, 6; 2, 6; 375, 8; 13; 609v; III 1799, 3; 793r 1, 22; 793 r 8, 88; 11, 1; 792, 2; III 2, 826, 1, 4; 7; 880 Fr 1, 2; 5; 895 rp r3, 75; 903, 4; 998, 22; IV 1102 rp dupl FB 20; 24: 1116 rp FrC 4, 78. SB III 7200, 2, 2; 4, 44; 5, 72; XVIII 13257 rp 5. P.Ryl II 331. PSI VII 737, 7; VIII 901, 7; 10; 20; XIII1311 r, 20. P.SelWarge 2 rp 5; 3rp 6. P.Stras IV 192, 4. O.Wilck 1118, 2. StudPal X 92, 1, 1. Skowronek — Tkaczow 1979: 134). That is when the cult of this particular queen is enriched with new divine names, resulting to her ever-increasing connection to Isis-Demeter. This tactics continued during the reigns of Cleopatra II and III, who is characterized as “Φιλομήτωρ Σώπειρα» and “θεά ευεργέτις,” “Δικαιοσύνη» and “Νικηφόρος» (OGIS 107; 739, 7-8. P.Bad II 2r 1; 5; 15. UPZ 217 rp 1 int 2; ext 13; 14; 19. P.Adl G1 1, 5. P.Dion 13rp r, ext 7; 9, 14 rp r, ext 8; 10; 12, 15 rp r ext 7; 9; 10, 16 rp r ext 8; 9; 11, 17 rp r ext 8; 10; 12, 21 rp r ext 8; 10, 22 rp r ext 7; 9. P.Grent 15 1 rp 8. P.Koeln II 81, 2; 5; 10; 13. Bouché-Leclercq 1903-1907: III, p. 53; 62, n. 3. Tondriau, 1948: 27-28 Dunand 1973: I, 40-41; 79). The above names demonstrate the relation of her divine adjective to the exercise of the dynastic rule (Pachis forthcoming a). Cleopatra III is also characterized as “Ισις μεγάλη μήτηρ θεών,” a fact that points further to her identification with the goddess (BGU 993, II 3. Fraser 1972:I, 221).

The above politics finds its ideal expression in the iconography of the goddess, resulting to the emergence of the iconographical type that is known as “Alexandrine” (Dunand 2000: 44-49). Even in this case, however, the Greek elements are predominant

compared to the Egyptian ones. The creators of this trend attribute to the goddess those characteristics that are common and related to their own way of thought. Besides, the tactics of selection is one of the main aspects of syncretism, from antiquity to our time. In iconography, the goddess bears along with her Greek hieratic appearance elements of her traditional vesture (such as, for example, the crown of Athor, the knot and her fringed scarf), which comprise, already from the time of the New Kingdom, her par excellence attributes. The name of the new iconographical type allows us to understand that its origin should be traced, as with many innovations of that period, to the ecumenical environment of Alexandria (Schneider 1967: I, 485-486. Dunand 2000: 47). In time, these divine representations are not limited within the urban environment, but also appear in certain areas of the countryside, especially in those of the temples, that usually tend to be tolerant towards anything novel (Ballet 1994: 21, 3. Dunand 1990: 72, 2; 75; 76. Dunand 1994: 196. Frankfurter 1998: 98-106, 1999).

In absolute accordance to the above iconography of the goddess is her form as “Isis lactans», by which her property as a divine mother is particularly underlined (Dunand 2000: 49-55. Tram Tam Tihn 1990). All of her depictions by and large aim to underline her absolute dominance on nature, her magnificence. She is usually represented bearing wheat spikes, that relate her all the most to the form of the Greek Demeter, and also express her connection to fertility and agriculture. This latter element is another yet aspect that borrowed from the traditional Egyptian deity of grain and produce, Renenunet-Hermouthis. Their relation can be traced mainly during the Ptolemaic rule, and is expressed in various ways, that demonstrate her multifaceted divine form (Dunand 1973: I, 89-92; 102-103; 179. Dunand 2000: 50-51. Perpillou-Thomas 1993: 79-79. Tran Tam Tinh 1990: 788-789, nos 332-364). All these new forms of religiosity that are integrated to the cult of the goddess, as well as of other deities of the Egyptian pantheon (for example, Horus/Harpokrates, Anubis), very soon find their way out of Egypt, especially when the Ptolemies employ an imperialistic political agenda towards the broader Hellenistic oecumene (Vidman 1969, 1970. Dunand 1973. Wild 1981. 1984. Mora 1990).

The transformation that occurs to the character of the goddess during the Hellenistic age is witnessed by Diodorus Siculus. In the first book of his *Bibliotheca Historica*, he presents us with a panorama of the beliefs and customs of Egypt during his time. This is a period when the goddess's cult is propagated by its agents all over the Hellenistic ecumene. The local aspects of the cult are replaced by the ecumenical and cosmopolitan ones, thus increasingly intensifying her syncretistic character. Until now, the Greeks get their information about the religious and everyday beliefs of Eastern peoples — totally different to their own way of life — by the stories of travellers and writers who visit foreign and far away places. Everything seemed exotic, charming, and distant to them. Now, however, a large part of this distant world is "transferred" closer to them (Pachis, forthcoming).

The arrival of Eastern deities and particularly the acceptance of foreign cults in the Greek world is dictated, even during the Hellenistic period, by the so-called "interpretatio Graeca" (Vandebeek 1946. Schneider 1969: II, 769; 770; 839; 859; 984; 985. Dunand 1983: 86-88. Schenk 1989). Thus, Isis' identification with a deity of outmost importance, Demeter, allows the rather quick acceptance and adaptation of the Egyptian deity in the religious conscience of the Greeks. This principle functions in Diodorus as a criterion for the analogical similarities of the two goddesses: they are both identified with earth and generally with the physical powers that favour the fertility of plants and animals (I, 12; 13, 6-7. Burton 1972: 158. Müller 1961: 86-87. Sfameni Gasparro 1985/86: 158-159.). Osiris and his wife, Isis, undertake a common task of acculturation for the sake of the entire human race. Isis is considered to have discovered cereals, while Osiris the methods of cultivation (Diod. Sic. I, 14; 15. Burton 1972: 73-75; 151-152. Griffiths, 1948. Sfameni Gasparro 1985/86: 159-162). Diodorus describes the above acts of the deities using the term "εὐεργετικόν" (Diod. Sic. I 17. Burton 1972: 79-81) and "εὐρετιν" (Diod. Sic. I 25), which, according to Vanderlip: "[b]y the first century B.C. had been apparently replaced in Greek cult by and. In I B.C. Diodorus is first use (I 13ff) when he ranks Isis and Osiris with the Greek "cultural heroes" (I 62ff.)" (Vanderlip, 1972: 22; 4-7; 23. Diod. Sic., I 14; 25. Burton 1972: 73-75; 116-

117; 162-168. Henrichs 1984. Solmsen 1979: 27-51. Sfameni Gasparro 1985/1986: 151-152; 158-164; 167-168. Pachis, 1998: 105-168, forthcoming). During this time period, Horus, Osiris's lawful successor, is also associated with Triptolemus, who is related to the spread of agriculture, that brings about civilization and harmonious life (Skowronek – Tkaczow 1979: 141. Schwarz 1987: 55-56, no 140; 157-158; p. 169-172, pl. XX, 35. Herrman, Jr 1999 [2000]: 90. Laubscher 1988. Pachis 1998: 171-174.).

The above conviction expresses the political *status quo* of his time. It demonstrates ideas according to which the rulers are considered as civilizers and saviours of the oecumene, thus propagandising their deification. The rulers of the country of the Nile are attributed with similar beneficent qualities of the divine couple, Isis and Osiris, who spread agriculture to mankind and thus create the most appropriate conditions for the development of civilisation. This fact defines, by and large, their political behaviour: as new gods, they go around the entire ecumene and spread cultural commodities to all humans, who recognise them as civilisers and benefactors of mankind (Diod. Sic. I, 19, 5-8. Vernière 1990. Pachis 2003b: 195-201). The absolute authority of the Successors continues to exist throughout the Hellenistic era, in every sector of public administration, commercial transactions, as well as many aspects of the cultural life of this period. This last point plays an important role in Diodorus' overall work, and is related to the hermeneutical approach of Euhemerus (Rostovtzeff 1941: II, 1132. Nilsson 1974: 283-289; 294. Green 1990: 55; 108-109; 132; 172-174; 189; 196; 207; 247; 264; 273; 339; 348; 395; 398-399; 402; 602; 622; 629; 632). Euhemerism is also apparent in the stories of Diodorus Siculus, and is the main characteristic aspect of his narratives. Euhemerus' ideas echo the religious beliefs that prevail in Alexandria during the rule of the first Ptolemies, as well as in the greater Hellenistic world. A regulatory factor for the shaping of his theory is the phenomenon of deified rulers (Nilsson 1974: 35-185. Green 1990: 397-406. Gruen 1993. Koenen 1993. Walbank 1993: 9-105; 295-306. Gehrke 2000: 78-80; 85-86; 124-125; 236-240; 272-273. Pachis 2003b: 247-289). The rulers of this time are considered as patrons and eternal agents of civilisation. They are representatives of harmony, order,

and continuous stability, and for that reason are considered as “divine saviours” (Nock 1972. Nilsson <sup>3</sup>1974: 183-185. Mikalson 1998: 76-104. Koenen 1993: 61). Their districts of influence are those areas where law prevails, and so do themselves, as the absolute enforcers of the law. Their “philanthropy” is directly related to their general politics and is the best evidence of their salvific effect on their subjects, especially whenever they are in danger (Pachis 2003b: 186-206).

Isis gradually becomes, during the second half of the 1st century B.C., more important than her husband, Osiris. Her wider acceptance can be interpreted on the basis of the historical facts of this era, that are connected to the increased role of the Egyptian Queens in religio-political affairs (Diod. Sic., I, 27. Dunand 1973: I, 41.). Their authority is so powerful, that they can impose changes even in religious life. Among their politics is the support of the cult of Isis in opposition to that of the other local deities. This fact has a catalytic affect on the overall form of the goddess in later periods. In the Aretalogies, it is her, and not Osiris, who carries through every act of acculturation (Vernsel 1990: 39-95. Pachis 2003a: 105-110).

Decisive for this reality, as we mentioned above, is the role of the Egyptian Queens, who since the 2nd century B.C. are actually the governors of the country. This contributes to an even closer connection between Isis and the world of fertility, as witnessed by the hymns that derive from the temple of Philae, and that can be considered as the model for the her Aretalogies (Zabkar 1988: pp. 138-146. Herrmann, Jr 1999 [2000]: 74). This belief is all the more reinforced in time, and becomes one of Isis’ most characteristic attributes. Isis’ connection to agriculture, and generally to the world of production, is another yet reason for the rulers of Egypt to favour the development of the specific cult. Their tactics creates new ideas that contribute decisively to a new, flourishing economy. The *homo politicus* of the 5th century B.C. gives his place to the *homo economicus* of this era (Rostovtzeff 1941: I, 100-101; 411-412; 421-422, II, 1074-1077; 1119-1121. Edelstein 1967: 81-83. Austin – Vidal Naquet 1998: 210. Pachis 2003b: 16; 90).

At this point, it is worth mentioning that the above outlook

covers only a part of reality, and not the overall character of these cults. In this specific case, we are dealing with a problem which is multifaceted, as is this era in general. Demeter continues to be worshipped by the Greek metoikoi in her Greek form, and the same applies to Isis and the Egyptians. The above groups are related to all those who cannot tolerate any compromise of their traditions towards anything foreign. The people who live outside the “spirit of their times” try to dig themselves in the immiscible traditional environment. At the same time, however, there is another group of people, Greek as well as native, who jointly worship these two deities (Fraser – Rumpf 1952: 73). Among them are the residents of the urban centres, as well as those of the country (chora), who obey — whether consciously or not — to the trends of the new age. The acceptance of the new ideas, especially by the countrymen, comes as a surprise, as the latter are usually considered as exponents of the traditional lifestyle. Despite all that, there are people who care more about their annual crop, and therefore their survival, rather than the existing cultural peculiarities. For this reason, they accept the cult of the Greek deity, that reminds them of their own Isis, and attribute to her the same credit that they pay to their traditional deities.

The above testimonies of Diodorus can also be related to Isis’ sovereignty (identified with Demeter) within the Greek environment. The first testimony for the introduction of the goddess’s cult into the Greek environment dates back to 333/332 B.C., in Piraeus (IG II2 337. Dow 1937: 185. Dunand 1973:II, 4-5. Ferguson 1974: 88; 217-218. Nilsson <sup>3</sup>1974: 120. Simms 1989: 216, 1995: 197-208. Parker 1995: 243; 337-338. Pakkanen, 1996: 49-50. Mikalson 1998: 30; 276.), where it remains in isolation, compared to the pantheon of the traditional Athenian deities (Mikalson 1998: 144; 151-155. Dunand 1973: II, 4-5, 1983: 89). This tactics changes during the 2nd century B.C., when the Athenian cleruchs of Delos meet the goddess and identify her cult with that of Demeter, contributing to its final establishment within the environment of Athens and the other Greek city-states. Isis’ particular character gradually overcomes the feelings of disbelief and distrust. In comparison to the other cults that appear from time to time in the Greek area, that of Isis comes undoubtedly first among the preferences of the Greeks.



The reasons for this change should be sought in the historical reality that is shaped in the Athenian political setting during the 2nd century B.C., after the settlement of the Athenians in Delos (Ferguson 1974: 348-349. Habicht 1998: 323-324). Delos' commercial character contributes to the gathering of many foreign merchants from all over the Hellenistic oecumene, resulting to the creation of an ecumenical society, characterised by communication and tolerance (Schneider 1967: I, 387-401. Roussel 1987. Reger 1993, 1994. Ducat 1983. Pachis 2003b: 138-152). The development of foreign mercantile communities also contributes to the appearance of a characteristic phenomenon, namely peoples' colligation around the cult of the patron deity (or deities) of their country (Baslez 1977. Rauth 1993: 251-289. Habicht 1998: 339-344). Besides, these groups require protection from deities whose dominion is the world of physical phenomena (such as, i.e., Poseidon, Zeus Ourios, Isis Pelagia for the regular and safe conduct of their journeys) (Ferguson 1974: 406. Roussel, 1916: no 129 = *ID* 2179. Mora 1990: no 18+).

Among the foreign cults that appear in the island are those of the Egyptian deities (Sarapis, Isis, Anubis) as well as the cult of the Ptolemies (such as, i.e., that of Ptolemy VI) (Roussel 1916: 249-251. Bruneau 1970: 457-466. Dunand 1973: II, 83-115. Ferguson 1974: 242. Mikalson 1998: 223; 229-231; 311). At first, the priests that represent these cults strictly follow the Egyptian ritual order, as it is still the time of the settlement and gradual adaptation of the cult to the life of the new social environment (Habicht 1998: 334-335). The Athenians of Delos in the beginning are indifferent to the cult of Isis and Sarapis, because of their patrimonial beliefs. In time, however, and due to the existence of intense commercial transactions with Egyptian merchants, their initial diffidence gives in, and they begin to be interested in these cults. The cosmopolitan environment of the sacred island contributes to the acquaintance and familiarisation with these cults. The rulers of the island follow a more flexible tactics towards these cults, in order to create even better conditions for the conflation between the Egyptian ritual of the foreign cult and the patrimonial customs of the Athenians. In this way, the traditional distinction between "us" and the "others"

that used to be dominant collapses, even in the conscience of the Athenian cleruchs (Ferguson, 1974: 407; 418-419; 421-423).

Isis's cult quickly becomes particularly popular among the Athenians of Delos, not only for the reasons mentioned above, but mainly because she is closer to Demeter, whose cult is widely spread in Delos during this period. Besides, we should not forget that the women of Delos, as those throughout the rest of the Greek world, celebrated the Thesmophoria to honour Demeter, Core, and Zeus Euboleus. The Thesmophorion had two altars, one for each deity, a sanctuary, and the Megaron (*μέγαρον*), where the ritual of the "Nyktophylaxia" (*Νυκτοφυλάξια*) is conducted as part of the festival (Bruneau 1970: 269-290; 290-293. Mikalson 1998: 211).

The overall reversal of their attitude is clearly demonstrated by an inscription of 158/7 B.C., citing the names of the Athenians serving in these cults (Mikalson 1998: 216-217; 237-238. *ID*, 2605). This change is all the more obvious in the architecture of a new temple of Sarapis, named by contemporary archaeological research as Sarapieion C (Roussel, 1916: 47-67; 106-202. Ferguson 1974: 357; 365. Dunand 1973: II, 93-95. Wild 1981: 38-39; 173-174. Briault, 1996b). This sanctuary is built according to the Greek tradition in 135/4 B.C., in the valley of the river Inopos. Thus, after a relatively short period of time, and especially after 100 B.C., the Athenians are so much affected by the cosmopolitan and syncretistic spirit of the island, that they become particularly tolerant towards all these foreign cults. This attitude takes over the original mistrust with which they used to confront them in earlier times. There are many reasons that lead us to conclude that the Athenians of Delos begin to adopt, due to the environment in which they live, a different way of seeing things, and become cosmopolitans.

All these factors contribute to the fact that Greek as well as Egyptian inhabitants of Delos pray to both of these deities. Both of them had similar attributes for the cosmopolitan inhabitants of the island, and for that reason they no longer noticed their differences. Besides, what was more important to them was the fulfilment of their expectations by the dynamic intervention of these deities. Their sanctuaries are open to all the people of the ecumene, without any distinction of race. Characteristic of the tactics of the resi-

dents of Delos to approach the two cults is an inscription found in this area, dating from the end of the 3rd century B.C., citing: “*Ἰλιούτωνι καὶ Κόρει, Δήμητρι, Ἑρμεί Ἀνούβι*» (IG XI 4, 1235, 3. P. Pakkanen 1996: 97).

The original acquaintance of the Athenians with the cult of the goddess in Delos and her subsequent importation to the city is an event of major significance for the establishment of the cult in the city of Athens, as well as the rest of the Greek world. This fact is of catalytic importance for the goddess's entrance to the Athenian environment. Her cult is no different, during this period, to the cult that the Athenians find for the first time in Delos. The city's religious as well as social life now has a clearly ecumenical character, directly influenced by the situation in Delos, through the Athenian cleruchs, after their definitive return to their paternal ground, who, even in this case, continue to live with the memories of the ecumenical life on Delos (IG II2 4702; 4692. ID 2979. SEG 21. 796; 24. 225; 42.157; Kirchner, 1901-1903: no 2937. Roussel, 1916: 268, 2. Dow 1937: 198-201; 208-212; 227-232. Tracy 1975: 72-73, no 13. Habicht 1992: 76, 1998: 377. Mikalson 1998: 7-8; 276-277.).

Of course, we should not forget the decisive role of the so-called group of the “*philotimoi*” in the establishment of the cult. The members of this particular group mainly come from the environment of the thiasoi of the Egyptian deities and take active part in the economic support of the city's religious as well as everyday needs (IG II/ III2 1231; 1235; 1259; 1260-1262; 1266; 1277, 19-24; 1282, 15-16; 1263, 20-25; 1292, 20-25; 1297; 1299; 1338; 2355; 2357; 2358. Foucart 1873: 193-194, no 6. Dow, 1937: 207. Thompson, 1961: 601-603; 607. San Nicolò 1972: 53. Ferguson 1974: 287; 303; 384. Debord, 1982: 206-207; 210. V/J. Rosivach, 1994: 10. Pakkanen 1996: 43; 52-53; 62-63). Besides, we cannot oversee that the institution of benefaction, as mentioned above, is of particular importance to the historical reality of the Hellenistic ages (Xen., *Vect.* 2, 1-3. IG II/III2 847; 1282, 15-16; 1262, 20-25; 62. IG II/III2 1292, 10-28. IG II2 1186. Ferguson 1974: 242; 246-247; 253; 311; 316-317; 384. San Nicolò 1972: p. 53. Debord, 1982: pp. 206-207; 210. Osborne, 1981-1983: 144-145; 147-150. Garland

1992: 7; 8; 10. Parker 1995: 125; 243; 244-245; 247; 263; 266; 267; 340. Pakkanen 1996: 33; 43; 53; 133. Mikalson 1998: 59; 180-181; 197; 213; 307-308; 310. Pachis 2003b: 186-206).

Another yet aspect of the Delian effect is the fact that within the Athenian environment we find the same hieratic degrees as in Delos. Among them, dominant are those of the *zakoroi*, the *oneirokretes*, and the *kleidouchoi* of the cult of the Egyptian deities, that are occupied by members of renowned Athenian families (IG II2 3681. Dow 1937: 207-208. Roussel 1916: nos 64; 84; 119; 120; 123; 135; 136; 146; 147; 148; 150; 151; 152; 153; 156; 158; 164; 165; 166; 169; 170; 171; 182; 185; 201; 209. Vidman 1969: 66-78, 1970: 7; 38; 53-60; 62; 73; 74. Dunand 1973: II, 9-11. Dunand 1983: 89. Mora 1990: nos 18+; 122+; 158; 247; 442+; 555+; +; 603+; 673+; 681+; 728+; 817+; 841+; 938+. Pakkanen 1996: 55-56; 59-60). This phenomenon is not only exclusive to Delos, but is also seen in Athens, where some time later the members of Eastern and Italian families cohabit in harmony. Though these representative families, new foreign deities and religious communities arrived in Athens a lot more often than before, thus justifying the ascertainment that the dominant cosmopolitanism of Delos also had effects on Athens, which of course was already open to foreigners in the past (Dow 1937: 208-213. Day 1942: 76-82. Habicht 1998: 377. Mikalson 1998: 223; 237-238; 243; 254.). The organisation and the ritual of the cult follow the Greek standards, as in the Athenian cultic environment, generally putting the Egyptian form aside. The priests are elected according to the Greek customs, having an annual and elective, and not lifelong (*διὰ βίου*) and hereditary term (Vidman 1970: 37-42; 48-52).

The negative attitude of the polis and the demos towards foreign cults gives way, mainly from 134 B.C. and later (ID 2124, -28. Dow 1937: 202. Simms 1995: 204-205. Dunand 1973: II, 95. Mikalson 1998: 229-231; 232; 235-238. Bruneau 1970: p.1). This is when the conjunction is completed between the form of Isis and that of Demeter, while we should bare in mind that the cults of the two deities originally remain in a state of “parallelisation” (Pakkanen 1996: 79; 81; 87; 89-92; 97-98). In this way, the form and the symbolisations of one deity characteristically complete the other. The

goddess retains for a long time, after her establishment in Greek territory and especially in Athens, a certain distance from the cult of Demeter; their relations develop gradually according to the spirit of the time. Thus, attributes and symbolisms related to the Egyptian deity are shaped according to the Greek models, contributing to Isis' gradual acquisition of a totally different character, ever more resembling to the form of the Greek goddess. This coexistence does not create any expression of antagonism or hostility between the two cults; to the contrary, they coexist in harmony.

The analogous character of the two deities also becomes evident in Isis' new appearance. Her iconographic form is originally identified in the environment of Alexandria with that of Demeter. The congruence of the two deities is achieved through the use of common symbols, that are connected to the evocation of fertility. These elements are further reinforced with Isis' identification with Demeter, than with any other Egyptian deity, as Isis, the "Mistress and source of life," is considered to represent the power of production. This attribute is not only limited as far as humans are concerned, but also expands to agricultural production and is thus considered as the absolute power that guarantees the fertility and rich harvest of cereals, as demonstrated by the ears of wheat on the royal crown of the goddess, a definitive symbol of her creative power (Pakkanen 1996: 99-100. Pachis, forthcoming).

Despite all that, we should not overlook the differences that continue to exist, even in this case, among the two deities. Their different place of origin functions decisively to emphasise the dissimilarities between the rituals of these two cults. Furthermore, we should bear in mind that Isis' identification with a Greek deity does not mean the end of her association with her original environment. In the first case, there is a goddess who lightens and reinforces the magnificence of the Athenian state with her presence, while in the second it is a foreign cult transplanted to this area during the Hellenistic ages. These differences gradually fade out, resulting to the henotheistic form of the goddess, during the 2nd century A.D. (Versnel, 1990. Bricault 1996a Pachis, forthcoming). Isis' identification with Demeter is more than a common place during this period. Their complete conjunction expresses the spirit of the times in an

entirely unique way. It is one more sample of the convergence and consolidation of the Greek and the Oriental spirit.

The definitive and official recognition of the cult of Isis is affirmed by the text of a sacred law of the 1st century B.C., which describes the official participation of the ministers of Isis in the rituals of the Athenian state. At the same time, the priests appeal "*πρὸς τὴν βουλὴν καὶ τὸν δῆμον καὶ τὸν βασιλέα Ἀθηνῶν*" for resolution to their problems (Pollitt, 1965. Vidman 1969: 18, no 33a. Sokolowski 1969: 93-95, no 50A. Dunand 1973: II, 14-15, 1983: 89). The literature of this period reveals the evident influence that derives from Delos. The coins of this era are one more secure proof for the augmentation of the followers of the Egyptian deity; they depict symbols of the goddess, next to the names of renowned men of the city. We have no evidence of offerings from foreigners, as in the case of Delos, but from Athenian citizens who had been proselytised to the cult of the goddess (*ID I*, 2039. Habicht 1998: 344.).

The decisive effect of the Eleusinian cult will become even more obvious in later times, and especially during the 1st century A.D. Isis' rituals only have the elements of a secret cult that is simply related to the circle of the so-called "deities in vicissitude" (Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 25. 360 D-F. Griffiths 1970: 383-386. Plut., *De E Delph.* 9.384D. Bianchi 1976: 1-3 1984: 74-76. Sfameni Gasparro 1985: xiii-xxii). The analogical relationship between the form of Isis and that of Demeter reinforces her status in the cultic life of the Athenians, and the Greeks in general, however there isn't yet any sign of any mystery cult. Only later, with the beginning of the Imperial ages, does the ritual of Isis' cult acquire a mystery form. The Eleusinian influence defines the final completion of the ritual order (Plut., *De Is. et Os.* 27. 361. D-E. Griffiths 1970: 390-392. Apul., *Met.*, XI, 6; 23. Griffiths 1975: 163-167; 296-308. Bianchi 1980. Sanzi 1996a: 50-52, 1996b: 64-66. Pachis, 2000). The same applies to the rest of the cities of the continental and insular Greek territory, where the cult of the goddess and the rest of the Egyptian deities is propagated (Bricault 2001). The archaeological research in Dion that revealed the goddess's sanctuary has proved that it was close to that of Demeter (Pantermalis 1999: 60-73). This mystery form completes the official mystic character of her rituals; this form

will continue to exist until the 4th century A.D., in Greece, as well as the rest of the vast Roman state.

\*\*

The Hellenistic age as a transitory period of antiquity offers a characteristic example for the attempt of humans to release themselves from the suffocative limits of space, society and tradition. Particularly helpful in this attempt is peoples' translocation from the narrow environment of a "centripetal" society to the wider environment of a "centrifugal" one (Smith 1993a: 10, 1993c: 131-132). In this way, people reach a mutual understanding and communication, with the establishment of the ecumenical ideals of this epoch. Among the characteristic aspects of this time we should recognise its anti-individualistic texture, in order to avoid making invalid generalisations (Martin 1994). Thus, the overall historical frame of this period enables certain conveyors of power (kings and priests) to use certain "common denominators" (i.e., by imposing or allowing a single common language or promoting the phenomenon of syncretism), that facilitate the imposition of new politico-religious situations, as well as the mutual understanding and communication between the citizens of the Hellenistic oecumene (Pachis 2003b: 29-30. Martin 2004a). Their general tactics relies on a systematic use of traditional as well as any kind of innovative aspects that appear during this period. Crucial to this politics of the conveyors of power is the strategy of propaganda (Dunand 2000: 66-67. Pachis 2003a) that reinforces the imposition of types of government that are novel to the traditional way of thinking. Besides, it is implied by the rulers that those who will adopt the new ideals will be among the well-favored of the overall politico-economic, as well as religious, system of this time, contrary to those who choose to remain faithful to the traditional way of thinking. The tactics of a directed imposition of innovatory ideas is even more intense, and thus controlled in certain important centres (i.e. the capital cities of the Hellenistic states), than in the periphery (Smith 1993a: 98-99, 1993b: 107-119, 1993d: 294-295. Bilde – Engberg-Pedersen – Hanestad – Zahle – Randsborg 1996).

The base for the formation, propagation and imposition of all those ecumenical ideas are the cities and the commercial centres of the Hellenistic kingdoms. In this case, we shall focus on Alexandria, the capital of the Ptolemies, and Delos, which became an important commercial centre of the Mediterranean. This allows us to understand the particularity of the various political centres and those of the diaspora, that are created because of the continuous movement and wandering of the people of this era. These places are nodular for the acquaintance with and diffusion of these cults throughout the wider oecumene (Martin 1987: 23-24, 1994: 125-131. Martin 2004a: 256, 5. Pachis 2002b. Pachis 2003b: 51-54).

In the case of Alexandria as a cosmopolitan centre, we are facing a directed procedure of syncretism, customised to the general way in expression of this era, and deriving from the encounter between the Greek and Eastern way of thinking. The main protagonists of this encounter are in this case a Greek goddess, Demeter, and a member of the Egyptian pantheon, Isis. Their identification is based on their analogical features, and thanks primarily to the careful selection of all these aspects that are directly related to the traditional cultural way of thinking of the people of this era, who become carriers of these new ideas (Andresen 2001: 18, 22. Barsalou 1992: 83. Sperber 1996: 101-102. Boyer 1994: 11-12; 14-21; 181; 268-275. Beyer 1998: p. 10-11. Lawson 2001: 141-144. Martin 1996: 220 -221. Martin 1997: 149. Martin 2001b: 399, 2003a: 215; 221. Pachis 2002a: 226; 235.). The tactics for creating these religious syncretistic forms is amplified in the consciousness of the members of the group through certain "imagistic" modes of religiosity, that are particularly attractive to them, resulting to a progressive impairment to possible sources of resistance (Martin 2004a: 248, 2. Whitehouse 2000, 2002.).

The influence of all these ideas and the decisive change that occurs in the way of thinking of the people of these regions could be compared to the appearance of an epidemic in a specific area. Indeed, in the case of Alexandria that is of special interest to us here, the imposition and application of these particular syncretistic forms of religiosity is achieved on the basis of an organised strategy that deliberately weakens people's cognitive defenses. In other

words, it is like the spread of an epidemic without an antidote. (Dawkins 1982: 85, 152, 1989: 192; 323. Dennett 1995: 335-350, 473-476. Brodie 1996. Kamppinen 2002: 265; 267; 269. Sperber 1996: 100-108).

The same situation can be seen in the case of Delos, that could be considered as a “nowhere land” for the Athenian klerouchoi who settle on the island, due to the particular character of this region (Smith 1971: 238) the traditional mode of a locative society is lost. Within this environment of the diaspora, the tight limits of a group’s local particularities gradually seem to be fading more and more, yielding to the pressure of external factors. The coexistence of two separate groups usually creates a composite way of expression, customised to the ideals of the time. For the Athenians, their acquaintance with this cult in the Delian environment, out of the sphere of their immediate control, gives them the chance to make a free choice and create novel religious forms, that in their home environment would have remained in the margins of socio-religious reality.

The choice is made also in this case — indeed now more intensely — based on the pre-existing ideas related to the cult of the primary Greek deity of agriculture, Demeter. Indeed, in this case, the consequences of this new religious reality, as it is expressed in the form of Isis-Demeter, are more obvious, in the absence of all those factors that could control the situation and restore a healthy way of thinking, one that is expressed in accordance to tradition (“θέσμιον”). We can say that the behaviour of the Athenian klerouchoi in the environment of Delos can be compared — once more — to the case of an organism that is weak and therefore more vulnerable to microbial factors. This situation is intensified by the constant communication between the Athenians and the groups of the Egyptian communities of the island, as well as by the free choice of ideas that can be considered as “sources of infection” (Martin 2001: 295-296, 2003a, 214-215, 2004a). Of course, we should not forget that the choice is always between beliefs that bear an analogical resemblance to their personal way of thinking. In this way, the proper conditions for the gradual spread of the cult from its particular environment to the rest of insular and continental Greece are created.

## Abbreviations

- AM Atheneische Mitteilungen  
 Anc.Soc Ancient Society  
 ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini – W. Haase, Berlin-New York, 1972-  
 APFJ. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971  
 BCH Bulletin Correspondence Hellenique  
 BGU *Ägyptische Urkunden der königlichen (later staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin. Griechisch Urkunden*, vols. I-XVII, pr.1, Berlin 1895-2000  
 BSA Annual of the British School of Athens  
 Cl.A Classical Antiquity  
 CE Chronique d’Égypte  
 CJ Classical Journal  
 EPRO Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain  
 HSCPh Harvard Studies of Classical Philology  
 HThR Harvard Theological Review  
 ID Inscriptiones Deliacae  
 IG Inscriptiones Graecae.  
 JHS Journal of Historic Studies  
 LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Graecum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich, 1974-  
 MTSR Method and Theory for the Study of Religion  
 OGIS *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, vols I-II, Leipzig 1903-1905.  
 O.Wilck *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien*, ed. U. Wilcken, vols I-II, Leipzig-Berlin, 1899 (texts, vol. II, nos. 1-1624, reprint Amsterdam 1970, with addenda compiled by P.J. Si-

words, it is like the spread of an epidemic without an antidote. (Dawkins 1982: 85, 152, 1989: 192; 323. Dennett 1995: 335-350, 473-476. Brodie 1996. Kamppinen 2002: 265; 267; 269. Sperber 1996: 100-108).

The same situation can be seen in the case of Delos, that could be considered as a “nowhere land” for the Athenian klerouchoi who settle on the island, due to the particular character of this region (Smith 1971: 238) the traditional mode of a locative society is lost. Within this environment of the diaspora, the tight limits of a group’s local particularities gradually seem to be fading more and more, yielding to the pressure of external factors. The coexistence of two separate groups usually creates a composite way of expression, customised to the ideals of the time. For the Athenians, their acquaintance with this cult in the Delian environment, out of the sphere of their immediate control, gives them the chance to make a free choice and create novel religious forms, that in their home environment would have remained in the margins of socio-religious reality.

The choice is made also in this case — indeed now more intensely — based on the pre-existing ideas related to the cult of the primary Greek deity of agriculture, Demeter. Indeed, in this case, the consequences of this new religious reality, as it is expressed in the form of Isis-Demeter, are more obvious, in the absence of all those factors that could control the situation and restore a healthy way of thinking, one that is expressed in accordance to tradition (“δέσμιον”). We can say that the behaviour of the Athenian klerouchoi in the environment of Delos can be compared — once more — to the case of an organism that is weak and therefore more vulnerable to microbial factors. This situation is intensified by the constant communication between the Athenians and the groups of the Egyptian communities of the island, as well as by the free choice of ideas that can be considered as “sources of infection” (Martin 2001: 295-296, 2003a, 214-215, 2004a). Of course, we should not forget that the choice is always between beliefs that bear an analogical resemblance to their personal way of thinking. In this way, the proper conditions for the gradual spread of the cult from its particular environment to the rest of insular and continental Greece are created.

## Abbreviations

- AM Atheneische Mitteilungen  
 Anc.Soc Ancient Society  
 ANRW *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, ed. H. Temporini – W. Haase, Berlin-New York, 1972-  
 APFJ. Davies, *Athenian Propertied Families 600-300 B.C.*, Oxford 1971  
 BCH Bulletin Correspondence Hellenique  
 BGU *Ägyptische Urkunden der königlichen (later staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin. Griechisch Urkunden*, vols. I-XVII, pr.1, Berlin 1895-2000  
 BSA Annual of the British School of Athens  
 CLA Classical Antiquity  
 CE Chronique d’Égypte  
 CJ Classical Journal  
 EPRO Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l’Empire romain  
 HSCPh Harvard Studies of Classical Philology  
 HThR Harvard Theological Review  
 ID Inscriptiones Deliacae  
 IG Inscriptiones Graecae.  
 JHS Journal of Historic Studies  
 LIMC *Lexicon Iconographicum Graecum Mythologiae Classicae*, Zürich, 1974-  
 MTSR Method and Theory for the Study of Religion  
 OGIS *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae, Supplementum Sylloges Inscriptionum Graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, vols I-II, Leipzig 1903-1905.  
 O.Wilck *Griechische Ostraka aus Ägypten und Nubien*, ed. U. Wilcken, vols I-II, Leipzig-Berlin, 1899 (texts, vol. II, nos. 1-1624, reprint Amsterdam 1970, with addenda compiled by P.J. Si-

- jestejn).
- P.AdL *The Adler Papyri. Greek texts*, ed. E. W. Adler – J. G. Tait – F. M. Heicheleheim. Demotic Texts, ed. F. Ll. Griffith, Oxford, 1939. Greek, nos 1-21. Demotic, nos 1-30. an additional Demotic piece, no 31, was published by N. J. Reich, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 36 (1936), 168-169.
- P.Athen *Papyri Societatis Archeologicae Atheniensis*, ed. G. A. Petropoulos, Athens 1939 (*Pragmateiai tês Akademiâs Athênôn*, 10), nos 1-70 [MF 1.G4; rp CG]. Further texts published in *Anekdotoi philologikai kai idiôtikoi papyroi*, ed. M. G. Tsoukalas, Athènes 1962 (Bibliothèque tês en Athênais Philekpaidetikês Hetaireias, 17), reprinted SB VIII 9860-9862.
- P.Bad *Veröffentlichungen aus den badischen Papyrus-Sammlungen*, ed. F. Bilafel, vol II, Heidelberg, 1923.
- P.Cair. *Zen Zenon Papyri*, ed. C.C. Edgar, vol. I, 1925. vol. III, 1928.
- P.Col. *Zen Zenon Papyri: business papers of the 3rd century B.C.*, ed. W. L. Westermann – E. S. Hasenoehrl I (Columbia Papyri, Greek Series, vol.III), New York 1934.
- P.David *Antidoron Martino David oblatum: miscellanea papyrologica*, collegereunt E. Boswinkel – B. A. van Groningen – P. W. Westerman, Lugdunum Batavorum, 1968.
- P.Dion *Les archives privés de Dionysios, fils de Kephalas*, ed. E. Boswinkel – P. W. Pestman, Leiden 1982.
- P.Enteux *Publications de la Société de la Société royale égyptienne de Papyrologie, Textes et Documents*, I: ἐντεύξεις, ed. O. Guérard, Cairo 1931-1932.
- P.Giss *Univ Mitteilungen aus der Papyrussammlung der Giessener Universitätsbibliothek*, ed. H. Kling, vols. I, nos. 1-16, Giessen 1924.
- P.Grenfl. *Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri chiefly Ptolemaic*, ed. B. P. Grenfell, nos 1-70, Oxford, 1896.
- P.Koeln *Kölner Papyri*, ed. B. Kramer – D. Hagedorn (Pap. Colen. VII/2) vol. II, nos 58-114, papyri, nos. 115-124, ostracs, Oplanden, 1978.
- P.Mil, Congr. *XVII Papiri documentati dell' Università Cattolica di Milano*, ed. O. Montevocchi et al., Milano 1983.

- P.Petr. *The Flinders Petrie Papyri*, Pt.1, ed. j. P. Mahaffy (Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs, No 8); Pt. 3, ed. J.-P. Mahaffy (Royal Irish Academy, Cunningham Memoirs, No 11), Dublin 1891-1905.
- P.Petr.Will *The Petrie Papyri*, second edition, 1, The Willis, ed. W. Clarysse, Brussels 1991 (Coll. Hellen. II), nos 1-31.
- P.Ryl *Catalogue of the Greek and Latin Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, Manchester, ed. A.S. Hunt, vols II, nos. 1-61, Manchester 1911.
- P.Sel.Warga *Select Papyri*, ed. R.W. Wurga, Diss. Urbana-Champaign, 1988, nos 1-13.
- PSI *Papyri Graece e Latini* (Publicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei papiri greci e latini in Egitto), vol. VII, nos 731-870, ed. M. Norsa – V. Bartoletti, Firenze 1925, vol. VIII, ed. M. Norsa-V. Bartoletti, nos 871-1000, Firenze 1927, vol. XIII, ed. M. Norsa-V. Bartoletti, nos. 1296-1370, Firenze, 1949-1953.
- P.Stras *Griechische Papyrus der kaiserlichen Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek zu Stassburg*, vol. IV: Papyrus grecs de la Bibliothèque et Universitaire de Strasbourg (Publication de la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire de Strasbourg, I), ed. J. Schwarz et élèves, nos. 169-300, Stasbourg 1963.
- RGRW *Religions in the Graeco-roman World*, R. van den Broek-H. J. Drijvers-H.S.Versnel,
- RGVV *Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*.
- SB *Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten (A collection of documentary papyri, ostraca, mummy tablets and related texts published in journals or unindexed catalogues)*, vol. I, ed. F. Bilafel, nos. 1-6000, Berlin-Leipzig, 1913-1915, vol. III, ed., F. Bilafel, nos. 6001-7269, Berlin-Leipzig, 1926-1927, vol. V, ed. F. Bilafel, nos. 7515-7803, Heidelberg-Wiesbaden 1934-1935
- SIRIS *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae*, ed. L.Vidman 1969.
- StudPal *Studien zur Paleographie und Papyruskunde, vol. X: Griechische Texte zur Topographie Ägyptens*, ed. C. Wessely, nos. 1-291, Leipzig, 1910.

UPZ *Urkunden der Ptolemäerzeit (altere Funde)*, ed. U. Wilcken (Re-publication of texts published in the nineteenth century, but not including the Petrie papyri), vols. I-II, Berlin-Leipzig, 1927-1957.

## References

- Adriani, A. 1961. *Repertorio d' arte dell' Egitto greco-romano*, vol. A1, Palermo.
- Andresen, Jensine. 2001. “Introduction: towards a cognitive science of religion,” in J. Andresen (ed.), *Religion in Mind. Cognitive Perspectives on religious Belief, Ritual, and Experience*, Cambridge, 2001, 1-44.
- Austin, M. M. – Vidal Jaquet, P. 1998. *Οικονομία και Κοινωνία στην αρχαία Ελλάδα* (μετρ. φρ. Τ. Κούρκουλος) (Σύγχρονη Αρχαιολογική Βιβλιοθήκη), Athens.
- Austin, M. 1981. *The Hellenistic World from Alexander to the Roman Conquest: A Selection of Ancient Sources in Translation*, Cambridge.
- Baldry, C. 1959. “Zeno’s Ideal State,” *JHS* 79: 3-15.
- Ballet, P. 1994. “Isis assise sur la corbeille, au sistre, au pot rond et au miroir,” in *Hommages à Jean Leclant*, vol. III: *Études Isiaques* (Institut Français d’ Archeologie Orientale, 106, 3) LE Caire, 21-31.
- Barsalou L.W. 1992. *Cognitive Psychology: An Overview for Cognitive Scientists*, Hillsdale, N.J.
- Baslez M.-Fr. 1977. *Recherches sur les conditions de pénétration et diffusion des religions orientales à Delos II-I siècles avant notre ère*, Paris.
- Beck, R. 1988. *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders in the Mysteries of Mithra* (EPRO, 109), Leiden-New York-København.
- Benavides, G. 1998. “Modernity,” in M. C. Taylor, *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, Chicago-London, 186-204.
- , 2004, “Buddhism, Manichaeism, Markets and Empires,” in L. H. Martin – P. Pachis (eds.), *Hellenisation, Empire, and Globalisation: Lessons from Antiquity. Acts of the Panel held during the 3rd Congress of European Association for the Study of Religion*, Bergen, Norway, 8-10 May 2003, Thessaloniki, 21-40.



- Bergman, J. 1982. "Pagan Religious Syncretism on the Greek Imperial of the Early Third Century," *Dionysius* 6: 58-72.
- Beyer P. 1998. "The Religious System of Global Society: Sociological Look at Contemporary Religion and Religions," *Numen* XLV, 1: 1-29.
- Bianchi, U. 1975. *History of Religions*, Leiden.
- , 1976. *The Greek Mysteries* (Iconography of Religions XVII, 3) Leiden.
- , 1979. *Saggi di metodologia della storia delle religioni*, Roma.
- , 1980. "Iside dea misterica. Quando?," in G. Piccaluga (ed.), *Perennitas. Studi in onore di A. Brelich, promossi dalla Cattedra di Religioni del mondo classico dell'Università degli Studi di Roma*, Roma, 9-36.
- , 1983. "Storia delle religioni," in L. Sartori (ed.), *Le scienze della religione oggi*, Bologna, 145-175.
- , 1984. "Attualità di una interpretazione religionsgeschichtlich," in *Adonis. Relazioni del Colloquio in Roma, 22-23 maggio 1981* (Collezione di Studi Finici, 18), Roma, 73-81.
- , 1994. "Concluding Remarks: The History of Religion, Today," in *idem* (ed.), *The Notion of Religion. Selected Proceedings of the XVI LAHR* (Storia delle Religioni, 8), Roma, 919-921.
- Bilde, P. 1996. "Jesus and Periphery: A Methodological Essay on Two Cases of Religious Innovation in the Context of Centre-Periphery Relations," in P. Bilde – T. Engberg-Pedersen – L. Hannestad – J. Zahle (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization, IV), Aarhus, 316-338.
- Bilde, P. – Engberg-Pedersen, Troels — Hannestad, Lise – Zahle, Jan – Randsborg, Klavs. 1996. *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World* (Studies in Hellenistic Religion, IV), Aarhus.
- Boechinger, Chr. 1994. "Syncretism," in S. Rudolf-Dunde (Hrsg.), *Wörterbuch der Religionssoziologie*, Gütersloher, 320-327.
- Bouché-Leclercq, A. 1903-1907. *Histoire des Lagides*, vols I-IV, Paris.

- Boyer, P. 1994. *The Naturalness of Religious Ideas. A Cognitive Theory of Religion*, Berkeley, Los Angeles- London.
- Brady, Th. Al. 1935. "The Reception of the Egyptian Cults by the Greeks (330-30 B. C.)," *The University of Missouri Studies. A Quarterly of Research* X, 1: 1-88.
- Breccia, E. 1893-1894. *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine. I: Le rovine e i monumenti di Canopo. Teadelfia e il tempio di Pniferôs. II: Terrecote figurate greche e greco-egizie dei Museo di Alessandria*, Bergamo.
- , 1911. *Iscrizioni greche e latine* (Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée d' Alexandrie), Le Caire.
- Bricault, L. 1996a. *Myrionymos. Les Épiclèses Grecques et Latines d' Isis, de Sarapis et d'Anubis* (Beiträge zur Altertumskunde, 82), Stuttgart-Leipzig.
- , 1996b. "Les prêtres du Sarapieion C de Delos," *BCH* 120 (2. Études): 597-616.
- , 2001. *Atlas de la diffusion des cultes Isiaques* (IVe S. Av. J.-C – IVe S. apr. J.-C.) (préface J. Leclant) (Mémoires, tome XXIII), Paris.
- Brodie, R. 1996. *Virus of the Mind: The New Sciences of the Meme*, Seattle, WA.
- Brunelle, E. 1976. *Die Bildnisse der Ptolemäerinnen*, Diss, Frankfurt A.M.
- Burkert, W. 1996. *Ancient Mystery Cults*, Cambridge, Ma.
- Burton, A. 1972. *Diodorus Siculus. Book I. Commentary* (EPRO, 29), Leiden.
- Cassidy W. (ed.) 2001, "Retrofitting Syncretism?," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 27, 3, New York.
- Colpe, C. 1987. "Syncretism," in M. Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, vol. 14, New York-London, 218-227.
- Culianu, I. P. 1983. *Psychanodia I, A Survey of the Evidence concerning the ascension of the Soul and its Relevance* (EPRO, 99), Leiden.
- Cumont, F. 1912. *Astrology and Religion among the Greeks and Romans*, New York.

- Dawkins, R. 1982. *The Extended Phenotype*, Oxford.
- , 1989. *The Selfish Gene*, Oxford-New York.
- Day, St. 1942. *An Economic History of Athens under Roman Administration*, New York.
- Debord, P. 1982. *Aspects sociaux et économiques de la vie religieuse dans l'Anatolie gréco-romaine* (EPRO, 88), Leiden.
- Dennett D. C. 1975. *Darwin's Dangerous Idea: Evolution and the Meaning of Life*, New York.
- Dodds, E. R. 1995. *Εθνικοί και Χριστιανοί σε μια εποχή αγωνίας. Από τον Μάρκο Αυρηλίο ως τον Μ. Κωνσταντίνο* (μετ. Κ. Αντύπας), Athens.
- Dow, St. 1937. "The Egyptian Cults in Athens," *HTbR* 30: 185-232.
- Doxiadi E. 1995. *Τα Πορτραίτα του Φαριούμ* (πρόλογος, Dorothy J. Thompson. Μετάφραση Ανδρέας Παππάς), Athens.
- Ducat, Ph. 1983. *Guide de Délos*, Paris.
- Dunand, F. 1973. *Le culte d' Isis dans le bassin oriental de la Méditerranée*, vols II-III (EPRO, 26), Leiden.
- Dunand, Fr. 1979. *Religion populaire en Égypte romaine* (EPRO, 76), Leiden.
- Dunand, F. 1983. "Cultes Égyptiens hors d' Égypte. Nouvelles voies d' approche et d' interprétation," in E. van't Dack – P. Van Dessel – W. Van Gucht (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium*, Leuven 24-26 May 1982 (*Studia Hellenica*, 27), Leuven, 74-98.
- Dunand, F. 1990. *Terres cuites gréco-romaines d' Égypte*, Musée du Louvre, Département des antiquités égyptiennes, Paris.
- , 1991. "L' Égypte ptolémaïque et Romaine," in: F. Dunand-Chr. Zivie-Coche, *Dieux et Hommes en Égypte (3000 av. J.-C. 395 apr. J.-C.)*. Anthropologie religieuse, Paris, 197-329.
- , 1994. "Un 'chapiteu Harpocratique' inédit de Tell el-Douch," in: *Hommages à Jean Leclant, vol. III: Études Isiaques* (Institut Français d' Archeologie Orientale, 106, 3) Le Caire, 195-202.

- , 2000. *Isis, Mère des Dieux*, Paris.
- Edelstein, L. 1967. *The Idea of Progress in Classical Antiquity*, Baltimore.
- Ferguson, J. 1973. *Heritage of Hellenism*, London.
- Ferguson, W. S. 1974. *Hellenistic Athens. An Historical Essay*, Chicago (reprint).
- Foucault, M. 1971. *The Order of Things* (transl. Anonymus), New York, 1971 (1973 reprint).
- Frankfurter, D. 1998. *Religion in Roman Egypt. Assimilation and Resistance*, Princeton, NJ.
- Frankfurter, D. 1999. "Isis" in G. Bowersock – P. Brown – C. Grabar [eds.], *Late Antiquity. A Guide to the Postclassical World*, Cambridge, Ma-London, 517.
- Fraser, P. M. 1960. "Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World," *Opuscula Atheniensia*: 1-54.
- , 1967. "Current Problems Concerning the Early History of the Cult of Sarapis," *Opuscula Atheniensia*: 23-45.
- , 1972. *Ptolemaic Alexandria, vols. I-III*, Oxford.
- Fraser, P. M. – Rumpf, A. 1952. "The Ptolemaic Dedications," *Journal of Egyptian Archeology* 38: 65-74.
- Garland, R. 1992. *Introducing New Gods: The Politics of Athenian Religion*, London.
- Gehrke, H.-J. 2000. *Ιστορία του ελληνιστικού κόσμου* (μεταφρ. Α. Χαλιώτης. Επιμέλεια Κ.Μπουραζέλης), Athens.
- Graf, F. 1995. "Bemerkungen zur bürgerlichen Religiosität im Zeitalter des Hellenismus," in M. Wörrle – P. Zanker (eds.), *Stadt-bild und Bürgerbild des Hellenismus* (*Vestigia*, 47), München, 103-114.
- Grant, F.C. 1953. *Hellenistic Religions: The Age of Syncretism* (The Library of Liberal Arts), Indianapolis, Ind.
- Green P. 1990. *From Alexander to Actium. The Hellenistic Age*, London.

- Griffiths, J. G. 1948. "Diodorus Siculus and the Myth of Osiris," *Man* XL: 83-84.
- , (ed.). 1970. *Plutarch de Iside et Osiride, with an Introduction, Translation and Commentary*, Cambridge.
- , (ed.). 1975. *Apuleius of Madauros. The Isis Book (Metamorphoses, Book XI)* (EPRO, 39), Leiden.
- , 1980. *The Origins of Osiris Cult and his Cult* (Studies in the History of Religions [Supplement to NUMEN]), Leiden.
- Gruen, E. 1993. "The King as Benefactor: Some Remarks on Ideal Kingship in the Age of Hellenism," in A. W. Bulloch – A. A. Long – A. Stewart (eds.), *Images and Ideologies in the Hellenistic World* (Hellenistic Culture and Society, XII), Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 7-24.
- Habicht, Chr. 1992. "Athens and the Ptolemies," *Classical Antiquity* 11: 68-90.
- , 1998. *Η ελληνιστική Αθήνα* (μεταφρ. Γ. Κοιλής), Athens.
- Hatzopoulos, M. 1994. *Cultes et Rites de passage en Macedoine*, Athens.
- Heinen, H. 1981. "Alexandrien – Weltstadt und Residenz," in N. Hinske (Hrsg.), *Kulturbegegnungen dreier Jahrtausende im Schmelztiegel einer mediterranen Grosstadt*, Mainz, 3-12.
- Henrichs, A. 1984. "The Sophist and Hellenistic Religion: Prodicus as the Spiritual Father of the Isis Aretalogies," *HSSCPb* 88: 139-158.
- Herrmann, Jr., J. J. (1999) (2000) "Demeter-Isis or the Egyptian Demeter?," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 114: 65-123.
- Herzog-Hauser, G. 1943. "Tyche," *RE* 7A 2: 1643-1689.
- Heyob, Sh. K. 1975. *The Cult of Isis among Women in the Graeco-Roman World* (EPRO, 51), Leiden.
- Hopkinson, N. 1984. *Callimachus Hymn: Hymn to Demeter*, Cambridge.
- Humphrey, S.C. 1978. *Anthropology and the Greeks*, London.

- Kajanto, I. 1972. "Fortuna," *ANRW* II 17, 1: 502-558.
- Kamppinen, M. 2002. "Explaining Religion: Cognitive and Evolutionary Mechanisms," in Ilkka Pyysiäinen – Veiko Anttonen (eds.), *Current Approaches in the Cognitive Science of Religion*, London-New York, 260-270.
- Kirchner, J. 1901-1903. *Proposopographia Attica*, Berlin.
- Koch, K. 1993. *Geschichte der ägyptischen Religion. Von den Pyramiden bis zu den Mysterien der Isis*, Stuttgart- Berlin-Köln.
- Koenen, L. 1983. "Ägyptische Königsideologie am Ptolemäerhof," in E. van't Dack – P. van Dessel – W. van Gucht (eds.), *Egypt and the Hellenistic World. Proceedings of the International Colloquium, Leuven 24-26 May 1982* (Studia Hellenistica, 27), Leuven, 157-158.
- Koenen, L. 1993. "The Ptolemaic King as a religious Figure," in A. W. Bulloch – A. A. Long – A. Stewart (eds.), *Images and Ideologies in the Hellenistic World* (Hellenistic Culture and Society, XII), Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, 1993, 25-115.
- Kolta, K. S. 1968. *Die Gleichsetzung ägyptischen und griechischen Götter bei Herodot*, Diss. Tübingen.
- Kyrieleis, H. 1975. *Bildnisse der Ptolemäer* (DAI, Archäologische Forschungen, no 2) Berlin.
- Laubscher, H. P. 1988. "Triptolemos und die Ptolemäer," *Jahrbuch des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg* 6/7: 11-40.
- Lawson Th. E. 2001. "Psychological Perspectives on Agency," in J. Andresen (ed.), *Religion in Mind. Cognitive Perspectives on religious Belief, Ritual, and Experience*, Cambridge, 2001, 141-172.
- Levêque, P. 1971. "Essai de typologie des religions," in P. Levêque – F. Dunand (eds.), *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine. Colloque de Strasbourg 1971* (Bibliothèque des centres supérieures spécialises), Paris, 179-187.
- Lloyd, A. B. 1976. *Herodotus II. Commentary 1-98* (EPRO, 43), Leiden.
- , 1982. "Nationalistic Propaganda in Ptolemaic Egypt," *Historia*

- 31: 33-55.
- , 1988. *Herodotus II. Commentary 99-192* (EPRO, 43), Leiden.
- Lloyd, G. E. 1966. *Polarity and Analogy: Two Types of Argumentation in Early Greek Thought*, Cambridge.
- Malaise, M. 1972. *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie* (EPRO, 22), Leiden.
- Marangou, L. 1971. "Prolemäische Fingerringe aus Bein», *AM* 86: 165-166, pl. 2-3.
- Marschal, F. H. 1907. *Catalogue of the finger rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman*, British Museum, London.
- Martin, L. H. 1983. "Why Cecropian Minerva? Hellenistic Religious Syncretism as System," *Numen* XXX, 2: 131-145.
- , 1987. *Hellenistic Religions. An Introduction*, New York-Oxford.
- , 1994. "The Anti-individualistic Ideology of Hellenistic Culture," *Numen* 41: 117-140.
- , 1996. "Syncretism, Historicism and Cognition: A Response to Michael Pye," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 8, 2: 215-224.
- , 1997. "Akin to the Gods or simply one to another?," in H.-J. Klimkeit (ed.), *Verleichen und Verstehen. Vorträge der Jahrestagung der DVRG vom 4. bis 6. October 1995 in Bonn* (Studies in Oriental Religions, 1), Wiesbaden, 147-159.
- , 2001a. "Comparativism and Sociobiological Theory," *Numen* XLVIII, 3: 290-308.
- , 2001b. "To use 'syncretism' or not to use 'sycrretism': that is the question," *Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques* 27, 3: 389-400.
- , 2003a. "Kinship and the Hellenistic Consolidation of religious-political power," in L. H. Martin – P. Pachis (eds.), *Theoretical Frameworks for the Study of Graeco-Roman Religions. Adjunct Proceedings of the XVIIIth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions*, Durban, South Africa, 2000, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press 2003, 89-96.

- , 2003b. "Cognition, Society and Religion: A New Approach to the Study of Culture," *Culture and Religion* 4, 2: 207-231.
- , 2004a. "Ritual Competance and Mithraic Ritual," in T. Light – Br. C. Wilson (eds.), *Religion as a Human Category. A Festschrift in honor of E. Thomas Lawson* (NUMEN Book Series. Studies in the History of Religion, vol. XCIC), Leiden-Boston, 245-263.
- , 2004b. "The Very Idea of Globalization: The Case of Hellenistic Empire" in: L. H. Martin – P. Pachis [eds.], *Hellenization, Empire and Globalization: Lessons from Antiquity*, Thessaloniki, 123-139.
- Martin, L. H. – Leopold, A. M., forthcoming. "New Approaches to the Study of Syncretism," 1-21.
- Merkelbach, R. 1995. *Isis-Regina – Sarapis Zeus. Die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt*, Stuttgart-Leipzig.
- Mihelic, G. 2003. *Una Religione di libertà. Raffaele Petazzoni e la scuola Romana di Storia delle Religioni*, Roma.
- Mikalson, J. 1983. *Athenian Popular Religion*, Chapel Hill, N.C.
- Mikalson, J. 1998. *Religion in Hellenistic Religion* (Hellenistic Culture and Society, XXIX), Berkeley-Los Angeles-London.
- Mora, F. 1986. *Religione e Religioni nelle storie di Erodoto* (Le Edizioni Universitarie Jaca, 18), Milano.
- , 1990. *Prosopographia Isiaca*, vol. I: *Corpus Prosopographicum Religionis Isiacae*, vol. II: *Prosopographia Storica et Statistica del culto Isiaco* (EPRO, 113), Leiden.
- Motte, A. 1999. "La notion de syncrétisme dans l'oeuvre de Franz Cumont," in C. Bonnet – A. Motte (eds.), *Les syncrétismes religieux dans le monde méditerranéen antique*, Actes du Colloque International en l'honneur de Franz Cumont à l'occasion du cinquantième anniversaire de sa mort. Rome, Academia Belgica, 25-27 septembre 1997, Bruxelles-Rome 1999, 21-42.
- Motte, A. – Pirenne, Delforge V. 1994. "Du 'bon usage' de la notion de Syncrétisme», *Kernos* 7: 11-27.
- Müller, D. 1961. *Ägypten und die griechischen Isis-Aretalogien* (Abhand-

- lungen des sachsichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Band 53, Heft 1), Berlin.
- Nilsson, M.P. <sup>3</sup>1974. *Geschichte der Griechischen Religion* (Handbuch der Altetumswissenschaft, V.2.2), vol. II, München.
- Nock, A.D. 1972. "Soter and Euergetes," in *idem, Essays on Religion and the Ancient World* (Selected and edited, with an Introduction, Bibliography of Nock's writings, and Indexes, by Z. Stewart, vol.II, Oxford, 720-735.
- Nouahait, R. 1975. "Remarques méthodologiques à propos de la question de l'hellénisation du christianisme," in F. Dunand – P. Levêque (eds.), *Les syncrétismes dans les religions de l'antiquité. Colloque de Besançon 1973* (EPRO, 46), Leiden, 212-234.
- Onasch, C. 1976. "Zur Königsideologie der Ptolemäer in der Dekreten von Kanopus und Memphis (Rosettana)," *APF* 24/25: 137-155.
- Orrieux, Claude. 1983. *Les Papyrus de Zenon. L'horizon d'un grec en Egypte au IIIe siècle avant J.C.* (preface d'Edouard Will), Paris.
- Osborne, M. J. 1981-1983. *Naturalization in Athens* (4 vols in 3), Brussels.
- Otto, W. 1905-1908. *Priester und Tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten*, vols I-II, Leipzig-Berlin.
- Pachis, P. 1998. *Δήμητρα Καρποφόρος. Θρησκεία και αγροτική οικονομία του αρχαιοελληνικού κόσμου* (Θρησκευολογία, 17), Athens.
- , 2000. "Crossing the Boundaries and Initiation in the Hellenistic Mystery Cults," *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Θεολογικής Σχολής. Νέα Σειρά. Τμήμα Θεολογίας*, vol. 10, Thessaloniki, 187-220.
- , 2002a. "Religious Tendencies in Greece at the Dawn of the 21th Century. An Approach to Contemporary Greek Reality," in G. Sfameni Gasparro (ed.), *Themes and Problems of the History of Religions in Contemporary Europe. Proceedings of the International Seminar, Messina March 30-31, 2001* (Hierà. Collana di studi storico-religiosi 6), Cosenza, 221-224.

- , 2002b. "Η περιπλάνηση του ατόμου κατά τη διάρκεια της ελληνορωμαϊκής εποχής", *Επιστημονική Επετηρίδα Θεολογικής Σχολής. Νέα Σειρά. Τμήμα Θεολογίας* (Τιμητικό Αφιέρωμα στον Καθηγητή Νικόλαο Ματσούκα), vol. 12, 273-323.
- , 2003a. "Propaganda in the Hellenistic Era as an Age of Propaganda: The Case of Isis' Cult," in L.H. Martin-P. Pachis (eds.), *Theoretical Frameworks for the Study of Graeco-Roman Religions. Adjunct Proceedings of the XVIIIth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions Durban, South Africa, 2000*, Thessaloniki: University Studio Press 2003, 97-125.
- , 2003b. *Ισις Καρποτόκος*, vol. I: *Οικουμένη. Προλεγόμενα στον συγκρητισμό των ελληνιστικών χρόνων*, Thessaloniki.
- , forthcoming. *Ισις Καρποτόκος*, vol. II: *Το πρόβλημα του συγκρητισμού των ελληνιστικών χρόνων*, Thessaloniki.
- Pakkanen, P. 1996. *Interpreting Early Hellenistic Religion. A Study Based on the Mystery Cult of Demeter and the Cult of Isis* (Papers and Monographs of the Finnish Institute at Athens, III), Helsinki.
- Pantermalis, P. 1999. *Διον. Η ανακάλυψη*, Athens.
- Pantos, P. A. 1987. "Berenike II Demeter," *BCH* III, 1: 343-352.
- Parker, R. 1995. *Athenian Religion. A History*, Oxford.
- Peremans, W. 1978. "Les révolutions égyptiennes sous les Lagides," H. Maehler – V. M. Strocka (Hrsg.), *Das ptolemäische Ägypten. Akten des Internationalen Symposiums 27-29 September 1976*, Mainz 1978, 39-50.
- Perpillou-Thomas, Fr. 1993. *Fêtes d'Égypte Ptolémaïque et romaine d'après la documentation papylogologique Grecque* (Studia Hellenistica, 3, 1), Louvain.
- Petrou, I., forthcoming. "Παγκοσμιοποίηση, τοπικοί πολιτισμοί και ανθρώπινη ελευθερία," in *Sociology: A Lesson on Freedom, 2nd International Congress of Sociology*, Thessaloniki, November 8-1-2002.
- Pollitt, J. J. 1965. "The Egyptian Gods in Attica," *Hesperia* 34: 125-130.

- Preisigke, F. – Bilabel, F. – Kiessling E. (eds.). 1913-. *Sammelbuch griechischen Urkunden aus Ägypten*, Strassburg-Berlin-Heidelberg.
- Preux, C. 1936. "Esquisse d' un histoire des," *CE* 11: 522-552
- , 1978. *Le monde Hellenistique: La Grèce et l' Orient de la mort d' Alexandre à la conquête romaine de la Grèce (323-146 av. J.-C.)* (L'Histoire et ses problèmes, no 6), vols. I-II, Paris.
- Quaegebeur, J. 1972. "Contribution à la proposographie des prêtes à l' époque ptolemaïque," *Anc.Soc.* 3: 77-109.
- , 1981. "Cultes Égyptiens et grecs en Égypte hellenistique: l' exploitation des sources," in E. Van't Dack – P. Van Dessel – W. Van Gucht [eds.], *Egypt and the Hellenistic World* (Studia Hellenistica. 27), Leuven, 303-324.
- Rauth, N. K. 1993. *The Sacred Bonds of Commerce. Religion, Economy and Trade Society at Hellenistic Roman Delos*, Amsterdam.
- Reger, G. 1993. "The Public Purchase of Grain on Independent Delos», *CLA* 12, 2: 300-334.
- , 1994. *Regionalism and Change in the Economy of Independent Delos 314-167 B.C.* (Hellenistic Culture and Society, XIV), Berkeley-Los Angeles-Oxford.
- Richter, G. M. A. 1968. *Engraved Gems of the Greeks and the Etruscans*, London.
- Ringgreen, H 1968. "The Problem of Syncretism," in S. S. Hartman (ed.), *Syncretism. Based on Papers read at the Symposium on Cultural Meeting of Religion. Syncretism at Åbo on the 8th -10th September, 1966, Stockholm*, 9-14.
- Rosivach, V/J. 1994. *The System of Public Sacrifice in the Fourth-Century* (American Philological Association. American Classical Studies, 34), Atlanta, Ga.
- Rostovtzeff, M. 1941. *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, vols I-III, Oxford..
- Roussel, P. 1916. *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C.*, Paris-Nancy 1916.
- , 1987. *Délos Colonie Athénienne* (réimpression augmenté de com-

- pléments bibliographiques et de concordances épigraphiques par Ph. Brunneau – T. Couilloud-Lédinalet – R. Etienne) (Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d' Athènes et Rome, fasc. 111), Paris.
- Sabine, G. H. – Thorsen, Th. L. 1973. *A History of Political Theory*, Hinsdale.
- Sambursky, S., 1956. *The Physical World of Late Antiquity*, New York.
- Samuel, A.E. 1983. *From Athens to Alexandria. Hellenistic and Social in Ptolemaic Egypt* (Studia Hellenistica, 26), Louvain.
- San Nicolò, M. 1972. *Ägyptisches Vereinswesen zur Zeit der Ptolemäer und Römer* (Zweiter Teil: Vereinswesen und Vereinsrecht. Zweite, durchgesehene Auflage mit Nachträgen von Johannes Herrmann. Münchener Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte 2. Heft, II teil) München.
- Sanzi, Ennio. 1996a. "Salute e Salvezza nei culti orientali del secondo Ellenismo," in *idem, Misteri, Soteriologia, Dualismo. Ricerche storico-religiose* [prefazione di G. Sfameni Gasparro] Roma, 41-72.
- , 1996b. "Iniziazione e Soteriologia nei culti di mistero del secondo Ellenismo," in *idem, Misteri, Soteriologia, Dualismo. Ricerche storico-religiose* [prefazione di G. Sfameni Gasparro] Roma, 59-72
- , 2004. "Universale concreto, analogia, idiografia, procedimento induttivo. I fondamenti della Storia delle Religioni nella metodologia di Ugo Bianchi," in R. Bercea – L. Munteanu (eds.), in collaboration with S. Toader, *Annals of the Sergiu Al-Giorgiu Institute of Oriental Studies*, vols VI-VIII (1997-1999), Bucharest 39-49.
- Schenk, W. 1989. "Interpretatio Graeca – Interpretatio Romana. Die hellenistische Synkretismus als semiotisches Problem," in P. Schmitter – H. W. Schmitz [eds.], *Innovationen in Zeichentheorien*, Münster, 83-121.
- Schneider, C. 1967-1969. *Kulturgeschichte des Hellenismus*, vols. I-II, München.
- Schwarz, G. 1987. *Triptolemos. Ikonographie einer Agrar-und Mysterien-*

- gottbeit* (Gräzer Beiträge Suppl. 2), Horn.
- Sethe, K. 1904-1916. *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der griechisch-römischen Zeit* (Urkunden des ägyptischen Religion), vols I- II, Leipzig.
- Sfameni Gasparro, G. 1985. *Soteriology and Mystic Aspects in the Cult of Cybele and Attis* (EPRO, 103), Leiden.
- , 1985/1986. *I Culti egiziani nel mondo ellenistico-romano: destino dell'uomo e religiosità isiaca* (Università di Messina. Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia) (Lezioni di Storia delle religioni raccolte dalla Dr. Concetta Aloe Spada), Messina.
- , 1994. "History of Religions: A Retrospective and Prospective View," in U. Bianchi (ed.), *The Notion of Religion. Selected Proceedings of the XVI LAHR* (Storia delle Religioni, 8), Roma, 913-917.
- , 1997. "Daimôn and Tychê in the Hellenistic Experience," in P. Bilde – T. E. Pedersen – L. Hannestad – J. Zahle (eds.), *Conventional Values of the Hellenistic Greeks* (Studies in Hellenistic Civilization, VIII), Aarhus, 67-109.
- Simms, R. R. 1989. "Isis in Classical Athens", *CJ* 84: 216-221.
- , 1995. *Foreign Religious Cults in Athens in the Fifth and Fourth Centuries*, Ann Arbor.
- Skowronek, Stefan – Tkaczow, Barbara. 1979. "Le culte de la deesse Démeter à Alexandrie," in Lilly Kahil (ed.), *Mythologie greco-romaine. Mythologies peripheriques. Étude d' iconographie* (Colloques internationaux du C. N. R. S., No 593), Paris, 131-144, pls. 1-4.
- Smith, J. Z. 1971. "Native Cults in the Hellenistic Period," *History of Religions*, 11: 236-246.
- , 1990. *Drudgery Divine. On the Comparison of Early Christianities and the Religions of Late Antiquity*, London 1990.
- , 1996. "Syncretism," in J. Z. Smith – W. S. Green (eds.), *The HarperCollins Dictionary of Religion*, London, 1042-1043.
- , 1993a. "The Wobbling Pivot," in *idem*, *Map is not Territory. Studies in the History of Religions*, Chicago-London, 1993, pp. 88-103.

- , 1993b. "Earth and Gods," in *idem*, *Map Is not Territory. Studies in the History of Religions*, Chicago-London, 1993, pp. 104-128.
- , 1993c. "The Influence of Symbols on Social Change," in *idem*, *Map is not Territory. Studies in the History of Religions*, Chicago-London, 129-146.
- , 1993d. "Map Is not Territory," in *idem*, *Map Is not Territory. Studies in the History of Religions*, Chicago-London, 289-309.
- Sokolowski, F. 1969. *Lois sacrées des cités grecques* (École Française d'Athènes, fasc. XVIII), Paris.
- Solmsen, Fr. 1979. *Isis among the Greeks and the Romans*, Cambridge, Ma-London.
- Sperber, D. 1996. *Expaining Culture: A Naturalistic Approach*, Oxford.
- Stewart, Ch. – R. Shaw (eds.) 1994. *Syncretism/Anti-Syncretism. The Politics of Religious Synthesis* (European Association of Social Anthropologists), London-New York.
- Stewart, Z. 1977. "La religione," in R. Bardinelli (ed.), *Storia della civiltà dei Greci*, vol. 7 Milano, 603-616.
- Takács, S. A. 1995. *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World* (RGRW, 124), Leiden-New York-Köln.
- Tarn, W. W. 1961. *Hellenistic Civilization* (rev. ed. with G.T. Griffith), New York.
- Thomassen, E. 2004. "Musings on 'Syncretism,'" in: Chr. Kleine – M. Schrimpf – K. Triplett (Hrsg.), *Unterwegs. New Pfade in der Religionswissenschaft. Festschrift in Honour of Michael Pye on his 65<sup>th</sup> Birthday*, München 2004, 137-147.
- Thompson, M. 1961. *New Style Silver Coinage of Athens*, New York.
- Thompson, D. B. 1973. *Ptolemaic Oinochoai and Portraits in Fayence. Aspects of the Ruler Cult*, Oxford.
- Thompson, D. J. 1998. "Demeter in Graeco-Roman Egypt," in Willy Clarysse – Antoon Schoors – Harco Willems (eds.), *Egyptian Religion. The Last Thousand Years. Studies dedicated to the memory of Jan Quaegebeur, vol. II* (Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta / Department Orientalistick, Kath. Univers. Leuven, 85),

- Leuven, 699-707.
- Tondriau, J. 1948a. "Princesses ptolémaïques comparées ou identifiées à déesses," *BSAA* 37: 12-33.
- , 1948b. "Rois lagides comparés ou identifiés à des divinités," *CE* 23: 127-146.
- Tracy, S. V. 1975. *The Lettering of an Athenian Mason* (Hesperia Supplement, 15), Princeton.
- Tram Tam Tihn, V. 1990. "Isis," *LIMC*, V, 1, Zürich-München, 777-779, nos 211-248.
- Turcan, R. 1996. *The Cults of the Roman Empire* (transl. A. Nevill), Oxford-Malden, MA.
- Turner, A. E. 1984. "Ptolemaic Egypt," in F. W. Turner – A. E. Austin – M. W. Frederiksen – R. M. Ogilvie [eds.], *The Ancient Cambridge History*, vol. 7: The Hellenistic World, Cambridge-Melbourne-Sydney, 118-174.
- Vandebeek, G. 1946. *De Interpretatio Graeca van de Isisfiguur* (Studia Hellenistica, 4), Louvain.
- Vanderlip, V. Fr. 1972. *The Four Greek Hymns of Isidorus and the Cult of Isis* (American Studies in Papyrology, vol. 12), Toronto.
- Vermaseren, M. J. (Hrsg.) 1981. *Die orientalischen Religionen im Römerreich* (EPRO, 93), Leiden.
- Vernière, Y. 1990. "L'expédition mythique d'Osiris-Dionysos en Asie et ses prologements politiques," in Fr. Jouan – A. Motte (eds.), *Mythe et Politique. Actes du Colloque de Liège 14-16 Septembre 1989* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule CCLVII), Paris, 279-285.
- Vernsel, H. 1990. *Ter Unus. Isis, Dionysos, Hermes. Three Studies in Henotheism* (Inconsistencies in Greek and Roman Religion, I), Leiden-New York-København-Köln.
- Vidman, L. 1969. *Sylloge Inscriptionum Religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (RGV, XXIX), Berlin.
- , 1970. *Isis and Sarapis bei den Griechen und Römern* (RGV, 1970), Berlin.

- Visser, C. E. 1938. *Götter und Kulte im ptolemäischen Alexandrien*, Amsterdam.
- Walbank, Fr. 1993. *Ο ελληνιστικός κόσμος* (μετάφρ. Τ. Βαρβέρης. Επιμ. Α. Μανωλόπουλος, Π. Νιγδελής), Thessaloniki.
- Walters, H. B. 1926. *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos, Greek, Etruscan and Roman*, British Museum, London.
- Whitehouse, H. 2000. *Argument and Icons. Divergent Modes of Religiosity*, Oxford, 2000.
- , 2002. "Modes of religiosity: Towards a Cognitive Explanation of the Sociopolitical Dynamics of Religion," *Method and Theory in the Study of Religion* 14, 3-4: 293-315.
- , 2004. *Ritual and Memory: towards a comparative anthropology of religion*, (edited with James Laidlaw) Walnut Creek, CA: AltaMira Press.
- Wild, R. 1981. *Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis-Sarapis* (EPRO, 87), Leiden.
- , 1984. "The known Isis-Sarapis Sanctuaries of the Roman Period," *ANRW* II 17, 4: 1739-1851.
- Wycheley, R. E. 1962. *How the Greeks Built Cities*, London.