



Religious Tolerance of Non-Roman Deities in the Late Roman Republic and Empire.

By

Danielle L. McCarthy

1805722

Submitted January 2021

Master's Degrees by Examination and Dissertation

Declaration Form

1. This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Name.....Danielle L. McCarthy.....

Date 29/01/2021.....

2. This dissertation is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Ancient Religions.....

Name...Danielle L. McCarthy.....

Date 29/01/2021.....

3. This dissertation is the result of my own independent work/investigation, except where otherwise stated.

Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references.

A bibliography is appended.

Name...Danielle L. McCarthy.....

Date.....29/01/2021.....

4. I hereby give consent for my dissertation, if accepted, to be available for photocopying, inter- library loan, and for deposit in the University's digital repository

Name...Danielle L. McCarthy.....

Date.....29/01/2021.....

Supervisor's Declaration.

I am satisfied that this work is the result of the student's own efforts.

Signed:

Date:

Contents

1. Abstract
2. Abbreviations
3. Introduction
4. Main analysis by deity
 - a. Bacchus
 - b. Magna Mater
 - c. Mithras
 - d. Isis
 - e. Jupiter Dolichenus
 - f. Zeus Sabazios
5. Conclusion
6. Plates
7. Bibliography

1. Abstract

This dissertation is intended to establish to what extent non-Roman deities were accepted and maintained by Rome during the Republican and Imperial periods from 220BCE to 400CE. It will seek to establish what factors effected the rise and decline of certain non-Roman deities over the given timeframe while highlighting the position of the deities in relation to the overall Roman pantheon. This will be done firstly by providing a definition of ancient religion and explain how our modern interpretation and comparison to modern religions are somewhat insufficient when applying them retrospectively onto ancient polytheist societies. Secondly, I will evaluate the current academia of the methodological theories of syncretism, creolization, hybridity and, ambivalence that have explicit application to religious studies and the wider social science theories of glocalization, acculturation and social conversion. The main body of this dissertation will examine a selection of non-Roman deities individually, seeking to establish the extent of their influence in Rome and its wider territories alongside how they were incorporated, be that by settling communities or a perceived need of the state for a particular deity's favour such as the process of *evocatio* or consultation of the Sibylline Books to avert war. However, it was not always a conscious decision of the state to gain the favour of a non-Roman deity with a majority of their inclusion due to the spread by their established non-Roman followers such as slaves or merchants and the Roman military allowing for the diffusion of non-Roman cults as far apart as the Near East to Hadrian's Wall. Nonetheless, it is clear that religion and politics were undeniably intertwined, with religious tolerance based on the political climate of Rome and its relationship with its dependents and adversaries.

2. Abbreviations

Apul. *Met.* – Apuleius *Metamorphoses*

Arn. *Adv. Nat.* – Arnobius *Adversus Nationes*

Caes. *BGall.* – Julius Caesar *Bellium Gallicum* (*The Gallic War*)

Catull. – Catullus

Clem. Al. – Clement of Alexandria

Diod. Sic. – Diodorus Siculus

Dion. Hal. – Dionysius of Halicarnassus

Firm. Mat. – Firmicus Maternus

Hdt. – Herodotus

Hom. Hymn Dem. – *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*

Nonnus, *Dion.* – Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*

Ov. – Ovid

Fast. – *Fasti*

Met. – *Metamorphoses*

Paus. – Pausanias

Plaut. *Merc.* – Plautus *Mercator*

Plut. – Plutarch

Mor. – *Moralia*

De Is. Et Os. – *De Iside et Osiride* (*On Isis and Osiris*)

SHA *Comm.* – *Scriptores Historia Augusta Commodus*

Val. Max. – Valerius Maximus

Verg. *Aen.* – Virgil *Aeneid*

3. Introduction

The term 'Classical World' epitomises the close relationship between Rome and Greece involving the cultural and religious influences that developed across Rome's broad empire. These influences flowed both in and out of Rome as it attracted and captured all manner of intellectuals and other peoples from its territories, enabling a vast array of ideas, practices and beliefs to converge together. This is seen to a certain extent by the acceptance of non-Roman deities¹ into Roman religion such as Dionysus (Bacchus) from Greece, Isis from Egypt and Mithras and Cybele (Magna Mater) from the Middle East. Some, generally less widespread, were equated with pre-existing deities like Wodan with Mercury² through the process of *interpretatio Romana* while others were incorporated wholly with a new name as with Dionysus becoming the Roman Bacchus. Others developed their own substantial following beyond being just another 'oriental' mystery cult.

Mary Beard, John North and Simon Price³ suggest that rather than viewing Rome as being religiously tolerant, it is more appropriate to view it as being based on the exclusivity of the elite classes of Rome and their diverse views regarding non-Roman deities and cults. The ability to control such a vast territory necessitated the Romanization of a proportion of natives at the very least creating an additional tier of the 'Roman elite' especially in settlements furthest from central Rome such as along Hadrian's Wall where only army cohorts were based. It can also be argued that despite the appearance of being a multicultural empire its tolerance of non-Roman deities was dictated greatly by elitist politics with any threat to society's equilibrium, especially the reversal of gender roles, resulting in non-Roman deities being banned and their cult centres plus their followers destroyed as principally evidenced by the extensive prosecution of the Bacchantes from 186 BCE onwards. The delicate balance of religion and socio-political matters in Rome affected tolerance of non-

¹ I have chosen to use the term 'non-Roman' for deities and cults that originate outside of the ancient Roman religion and pantheon. This is in order to circumvent older problematic terms such as 'Oriental' and 'foreign' cults/deities and the negativity associated with them as discussed by Alvar 2008. The same applies for the lesser used term of 'alien' here in place of 'foreign' for anything non-Roman outside of religion. However, both of these terms have their own interpretative issues if somewhat minor. Where a text uses the terms oriental or foreign then the original will be kept.

² Roberts, 2007, p.371; Rives, 2012. "interpretatio Romana." [Online]

³ Beard, North, and Price, 1998a, p. 212. (Appears as Beard *et al* 1998a in future citations)

Roman deities and their origin countries.⁴ The emperor's personal whim also played a substantial role such as Nero's changing preference of favourite deity and his scapegoating of Christians for Rome's devastating fire to veil his architectural ambitions. The exclusivity of the socially elite classes determined certain cultic restrictions when they deemed the spread of initiations to include the lower classed citizens alongside ex-slaves as damaging and allowing frenzied practices to become too public, thereby reducing the elitist nature of some cults⁵ and in their view, justified restrictions to bring it back into their remit. This was not always the case though as Mithraic and Isiac initiates are noted from a wide variety of social classes.⁶

The formation of Bacchus and Magna Mater's cults each with its own set of initiations, temples and private worshipping styles resulted in later disgust at their wild or grotesque practices that saw certain restrictions enforced and revoked by various emperors. Other non-Roman deities were brought into the Roman pantheon to gain favour over Rome's enemies or during times of public distress. Juno Regina from Veii was through the *evocatio* procedure while, in a similar manner, Cybele and Mithras were also viewed as important allies during troubled times initially but their practices were seen as problematic once incorporated.⁷ Mithras was viewed as especially usefully to the emperor's power and the Imperial cult, resulting in Mithraism gaining widespread toleration in spite of its gender restrictions and became an army favourite. The spread of Isis' cult led to the construction of the Iseum on the Campus Martius but its repeated destruction is evidence of the overall fragile position of all non-Roman deities and their cults in Rome regardless of a degree of Romanization.

When a non-Roman deity showed that it benefitted society its position remained strong such as Magna Mater and Mithras but when its following was rooted more in its wandering followers as with the Egyptian gods or introduced new and potentially challenging ideologies that threatened social normality as with Bacchus, then Rome's tolerance faded. Furthermore, when central Rome was in political

⁴ Petersen, 2016, p.21

⁵ Alvar, 2008, p.174.

⁶ Turcan & Nevill, 1996, p.234. Mithraic father who descended from slaves. (Appears as Turcan 1996 in future citations)

⁷ Beard *et al*, 1998a, pp.91-2, 96-8.

turmoil then non-Roman cults operated unhindered but when matters had settled, blame was pinned on those very cults. Crucially, Roman and Romanized elites' tolerance both in Rome and its territories was the linchpin in the spread and acceptance of non-Roman deities even when the cults were introduced by traders and slaves, as without popular support a cult was destined to fail.

This research's purpose is to establish to what extent, from the Middle Republic towards the end of the Empire (ca 220 BCE to 400 CE), Rome was religiously tolerant of a selection of non-Roman deities and what, if any, were the qualifications for the cults existence. Furthermore, the withdrawal of religious toleration will be examined for each cult, paying attention to any evidence for its withdrawal being politically motivated particularly by the issues of a cult's degree of Romanization versus 'alien' elements.⁸

This is to determine whether Rome firstly, used religious tolerance to reflect the cosmopolitan cultural development and diverse agglomeration of people in its central areas. Secondly, was Rome's tolerance an alternative form of direct control over its territories by maintaining some normality for the lower class natives alongside introducing changes from the top-down amongst the native elites⁹ as a long term Romanization plan? This also raises the question regarding the extent of the natives' own steps towards Romanizing their lives and surroundings.¹⁰ Finally, in some remoter areas, such as in Britain, did leaving the internal social structure untouched allow a larger degree of autonomy and self-governance by the natives to continue while permitting Rome to merely garner the territorial rights and financial benefits with no major responsibilities such as having to Romanize the barbarian natives?

In order to establish the extent of Rome's religious tolerance, a select few non-Roman deities with a diverse degree of popularity and central power acceptance will be examined. These deities will be Bacchus, Magna Mater, Mithras, and Isis

⁸ Beard, *et al*, 1998a, pp.212, 246

⁹ Hingley, 2005.

¹⁰ This is beyond the scope of this research but encompasses the desire for Roman material culture such as pottery, dress and buildings and social gains by adopting Roman ways. It also links to the rise in the Latin language proper amongst the Roman territories and the development of an amalgamated Latin-native language by the lower classes too.

along with two further minor deities, Jupiter Dolichenus¹¹ and (Zeus) Sabazios. Christianity's place and growth within Rome's religious system, or as actually the case outside of it, will be briefly discussed with regard to the limits of Roman tolerance.

A brief discussion on the appropriate methodologies used in religious interpretation encompassing syncretism, hybridity, ambivalence, creolization, acculturation, social conversion and finally, glocalization will set out the position of this research and the most applicable interpretation/s. This outline will determine how modern interpretative definitions are sometimes an awkward fit and thus cannot always be propelled backwards onto ancient societies due to these societies' own lack of clear distinctions or detailed surviving evidence.

To a certain extent, even questioning Rome's 'religious tolerance' is problematic due to its modernity as John North¹² argues that 'toleration' suggests an individual has a choice when in reality no other religious systems existed, merely different polytheist cults. James Rives¹³ suggests that religious choice was available as long as the public rites and traditions were observed thus allowing people to choose other deities including non-Roman ones to worship. Beard *et al* prefers to question Rome's degree of exclusivity¹⁴ based on the influence of the broad elite classes in both Roman and non-Roman religious and political matters. How can we use methodologies that are firmly based on modern religious definitions and practices when the ancients ideas of what religion meant to them was completely different to our own modern terms, something that was proved to be at odds with the developing Christianity back in the late Empire itself.

In order to be able to apply our modern terms it is necessary to attempt to define what religion meant to the ancients and its form of practice. By providing a broad and flexible definition of ancient religion, we are able to apply certain interpretative methodologies, specifically glocalization, to analysis the extent of Rome's religious tolerance of non-Roman deities through the selected timeline. As Rome's religion evolved across the centuries and in numerous territories, the city

¹¹ Modern Latinised versions will be used for consistency in relation to Bacchus, Jupiter Dolichenus and Zeus Sabazios but the original from a text will be followed on occasion.

¹² North, 1979, p. 85.

¹³ Rives, 2011, pp.271-2.

¹⁴ Beard et al, 1998a, p.212.

itself developed with it beyond its physical limitations to become not just a place but an “idea”¹⁵, allowing for and, even to a degree, accelerating a separation of the individual from the central place leading them to seek out a space or cult that they fitted into among other like-minded individuals. This will also show how and, more crucially, why Rome’s religion evolved from polytheism to henotheism and finally at the collapse of the Empire, to monotheism.

3.1. Religion

Defining what constitutes religion, especially Roman religion, is not an easy task due to the lack of clear evidence especially in the older mythological based period prior to the Republic and is further hindered by the changing nature and practices of ancient ‘religion’ across the centuries including Augustus’ restructuring. The etymology of ‘religion’ is based on the Latin word *religio* which had no correlation in ancient Greek society which itself is based upon *religare* and *relegere*. These have been interpreted as ‘to tie or bond’ humans and deities together, *religare*¹⁶ or ‘to go over again in thought’ *relegere*.¹⁷ There is no viable translation into modern languages¹⁸, merely a copying of *religio* which John Morwood¹⁹ transcribes as a ‘supernatural feeling of constraint’ or as John Roberts²⁰ defines *religio* as ‘justice rendered to the gods’, giving us the modern word ‘religion’.²¹

Roman religion pertained to the city’s religion itself in the early period as it absorbed Etruscan and Italic traditions up until around the second century BCE²² when cults from outside of Italy started to have an impact in Roman society. Ken Dowden²³ simply describes Roman religion as being one based upon tradition and rituals, with no flexibility for personal preferences and lacking a clear concept of the sacred rather than being a defined set of beliefs or scriptures. By following religious tradition, Rome was able to tolerate other traditions, beliefs and practices that were equally tolerant of others. In this manner, a conquered nation was able to retain its

¹⁵ Turcan, 1996, p.17

¹⁶ Schilling & Rüpke, 2005, p.7894; Roberts, 2007, p.651

¹⁷ Roberts, 2007, p.651

¹⁸ Schilling & Rüpke, 2005, p.7894

¹⁹ Morwood, 2005, p.161

²⁰ Roberts, 2007, p.651

²¹ ‘Religion’. In Stevenson, 2010 [Online]. Modern definition is ‘the belief in and worship of a superhuman controlling power, especially a personal God or gods’.

²² Schilling & Rüpke, 2005, p.7893

²³ Dowden, 1992, p.8.

heritage²⁴ while also incorporating its Roman deities through *interpretatio Romana* and syncretism, allowing for both deities' to be recognised as equals. In a polytheist society, the main deities required attention through certain ritualistic practices and Rome's religious festivals played a crucial role in its annual calendar. This was central to Rome's religious tradition; public sacrifice and festivals in public places and open temples (an important distinction in comparison to oriental cults with their concealed deities) as well as honours in the home.

Romans believed that neglect of its religious traditions, failing to follow a ritual correctly (a theory mostly evident in the Imperial Period) and not maintaining peace with the gods (*pax deorum*) was shown by godly displeasure through failing harvests, destructive weather and war with Rome's enemies. Hence, the consultation of the Sibylline Books was necessary when internal traditions had failed and *evocatio* was invoked so an important deity would abandon Rome's enemy and ensure Rome's victory. The need to maintain Rome's *mos maiorum* (custom of its ancestors)²⁵ was the basis for its religious traditions and in spite of these customs never being written down in the early period, it was a crucial impetus for Augustus' religious restoration.²⁶

3.2. Syncretism

Methodological definitions are not conclusively set, much like ancient religion, leaving their continued application in scholarship as questionable until either a more satisfactory terminology can be established such as Philip Nel's developed use of 'ambivalence'²⁷ or the terms' definitions themselves can be improved upon. In particular, syncretism, hybridity and creolization all significantly blur across each other's boundaries as a response to their jumbled application by scholars.²⁸ Syncretism can be broadly defined as the blending of different characteristics from a range of deities, traditions and beliefs in a manner that makes the new blended subject acceptable within society.²⁹ In general terms, it sees the mixing of old and

²⁴ Dowden, 1992, p.46

²⁵ Rosenstein, 2010, 'Mos Maiorum' [Online].

²⁶ Rosenstein, 2010 [Online].

²⁷ Nel, 2017, pp. 1-12. Ambivalence was originally used by Bhabha, H. (1994). *The Location of Culture in relation to hybridity interpretation issues in colonial history*.

²⁸ Stewart, 2011, pp. 48-55.

²⁹ Bentley, 1993, p.15; Bonnet & Baines, 1999, pp. 181-198.

new cultures and beliefs to form something that is acceptable by the people.³⁰ This resulted in the association of deities such as Mercury and Demeter with a similar or junior non-Roman deity, for example Caesar declaring that Gallic deities were identical to Mercury³¹ or Demeter being linked with Isis.³² Furthermore, both examples are slightly different in their syncretism. Caesar was applying the originally Greek practice of describing an alien deity by using a Roman name rather than its actual name (*interpretatio Romana*). Isis' syncretism in Rome saw the deity resist Romanization, maintained her name while gaining association with Greece's harvest goddess, Demeter. The Roman Isis did not follow the Egyptian syncretism style fully of joining the goddesses' names together such as Amun-Re, most likely due to that form of syncretism being unique to Egypt's universalism religion³³ and thus, having very little influence for more widespread deities (Jupiter Dolichenus seems to be an anomaly).

Linked with syncretism is Jerry Bentley's³⁴ broader concept of "social conversion" which he relates to acculturation as it results in the total transformation of all the aspects of a functioning society; politics, culture and economy alongside religion. However, his social conversion theory has very little application to ancient Rome potentially only seen in the initial dominance of the Romans over the Italic and Etruscan societies however even here, elements of the native culture survived and became a part of the Roman tradition. Applicable to the introduction and success of non-Roman deities, it fails to analyse the partial conversions related to them as opposed to the mainstream (modern) religions³⁵ that Bentley focuses on or to explain the withdrawal of religious tolerance aside in relation to the Christianization of pagan rituals.³⁶ Furthermore, the social conversion theory has no application to Rome and its provinces in the given timeframe as it requires a total transformation of all parts of a society which was predominantly absent from the later Roman conquests as most retained some form of native culture and traditions. Additionally, it would require a

³⁰ Baron, 1977, pp.209-25.

³¹ Caes. *B Gall.* VI.XVII.

³² Hdt. *Histories*, 2.59.2

³³ Assman, 2007, p.25. Hyphenation of gods' names was peculiar to Egypt with the gods retaining their individuality and equality. However hyphenated names were used in literature, such as by Caesar, for lesser Celtic gods to make them easily relatable for Romans not based in a province.

³⁴ Bentley, 1993.

³⁵ Initiation into oriental mystery cults was a personal choice and some cults remained very selective (Mithras). Briefly mentions Mithras' cult but Bentley remains focused upon the spread of modern religions.

³⁶ Bentley 1993.

complete conversion to a new form of religion rather than merely worshipping an addition polytheist deity such as the conversion at the end of the empire to Christianity.

3.3. Hybridity

The biological theory of hybridity has expanded into the social sciences as mixing two pure elements together to enable a more neutral analysis to be made initially within the context of globalisation and to override the negativity associated with the overtly Christianized syncretism. The role of missionary work in the European dominated colonial world from the sixteenth century onwards, especially regarding the syncretistic African-Christian religions, advanced the view that the blended product was enabling a deterioration of the parent religion.³⁷

As R. Daniel Shaw³⁸ discusses, hybridity, much like creolization, was applied in an increasing globalised colonial world in response to previously incongruent things interacting together in an innovative way to form a new entity, a hybrid. However, in recent years, hybridity has been tainted with the same problems that syncretism encountered partly due to its association with the colonial period's racial superiority beliefs.³⁹ Charles Stewart's⁴⁰ discussion on the necessity of the initially separate elements' purity prior to their hybridization links in with creolization's development and evidences the definitional difficulty arising from the overlap between the three terms.

3.4. Creolization

Creolization on the other hand, was the process of taking something from the Old World, predominantly plants and people, to the New World and subjecting it to different conditions and ways of life for example African slaves and Spanish conquistadores sent to the developing Latin American colonies from the late fifteenth century onwards. A further defining point of creolization is that it occurs with the New World born generation, the "native-born",⁴¹ rather than the first migrants as the subsequent generations move culturally further away from their ancestral homeland

³⁷ Shaw, 2018, pp. 6-19; Nel, 2017, p.7.

³⁸ Shaw, 2018, p.8

³⁹ Nel, 2017, p.4

⁴⁰ Stewart, 2011, p.52

⁴¹ Elliott, 2007, p.234

and develop a blended language and culture, such as the children of the slaves and conquistadores. Thus, as a group becomes more distant from its birthplace and traditions, it undergoes a material change in both language and culture that resulted in the use of words from a dominant society where there had previously not been any in the lesser language all the while creating a new language, a pidgin, which was predominately based on the lesser language rather than the dominant one.⁴²

Therefore, as the pidgin language was based on the lesser society with only minor elements of the dominant incorporated, it is evidence of creolization rather than acculturation with a similar occurrence seen in the Roman provinces including Latin. Creolization has expanded its use into archaeology; particularly in Romano-Celtic studies⁴³ in relation to Romanization within the provinces as the excavated items give off the initial appearance of being Roman but the overall context shows the underlying native culture blended with Roman aspects to form a new creation, as Jane Webster⁴⁴ states it is not merely a Roman veneer over an uncorrupted Celtic deity.

3.5. Acculturation

Acculturation is a type of pre-requisite condition to syncretism, hybridity and creolization with the basic definition providing that it is an exchange of beliefs and cultural traditions between two or more groups⁴⁵ but it later narrowed into a one way system with only the dominant culture passing on its unique elements, rather than an equal exchange occurring. This is particularly prominent with European conquering cultures and their missionary attempts of Christianising the savage natives, hence the negativity associated with syncretism and its colonial era successor hybridity. Webster⁴⁶ states that acculturation is Romanization, viewing it as a “linear transfer of ideas from the center to the provinces”⁴⁷ however its scope is limited whereby not all classes were Romanized such as the Celtic peasantry and more isolated areas of the rustic poor.⁴⁸ Francis Haverfield from the early 1900s provided in depth analysis of Romanization after its initial coinage by Theodor Mommsen, which saw the

⁴² Webster, 2001, pp.217-18

⁴³ Webster, 2014, p.210

⁴⁴ Webster, 2001, p.221

⁴⁵ Ferguson, 1992, p.150, n22 in Webster, 2001, p.210.

⁴⁶ Webster, 2001, p.210

⁴⁷ Webster, 2001, p.210

⁴⁸ Webster, 2001, p.215

terminology meaning the development of a Roman culture, notably among the non-Roman elite classes, within its provinces to the detriment of the native culture and religion, with limited and varied results.⁴⁹ Richard Hingley⁵⁰ views Romanization as deeply problematic due to the rather broad definition “as a centralizing and civilizing process”⁵¹ and scholars’ tendency to reuse the classical past without discussing Romanization as a concept. Hingley also puts forward the view that Romanization was a process of social change to provincial culture⁵² that was advanced by the natives themselves rather than being enforced from central Rome resulting in a bottom-up process rather than the traditional top-down.

3.6. Ambivalence

Philip Nel’s definition of ambivalence⁵³ advances opposing cultural and religious ideas and practices coexisting together irrespective of their origins. In spite of the complexity and multiplicity involved in the various cultural, religious and social dynamics, ambivalence can be applied in a non-prejudicial manner⁵⁴ to evaluate the expanding cultural and religious changes that take place across history and not merely in a modern setting. However, its application in religious studies as an alternative to syncretism and hybridity has been sparse due to the globalised world concept and more recently, glocalization that has been developed since the 1990s by Roland Robertson amongst others.

3.7. Glocalization

Finally, Zygmunt Bauman⁵⁵ rather succinctly defines the growing phenomenon of glocalization as requiring the increase of the locality while the spatial distance declines in importance. Simply put, glocalization is taking into consideration both global and local interests within a given area⁵⁶ such as business or cultural exchange despite the initial view that the two are polar opposites and that one will dominate the other. For example, a product may be produced locally in a distinct

⁴⁹ Webster, 2001, p.211

⁵⁰ Hingley, 2005. Pp.15-48

⁵¹ Hingley, 2005, p.15

⁵² Hingley, 2005, pp.15, 40-42, 46, 108

⁵³ Nel, 2017, p.8

⁵⁴ Nel, 2017, p.9

⁵⁵ Bauman, 2013, pp. 1-5

⁵⁶ “glocalization” in Stevenson, 2010 [Online].

native style, both stylistically and manufacturing wise but sold on a large scale around the globe. Global demand suggests that mass producing would increase production rate and maintain sensible costs but the local element ensures it maintains its quality and style along with remaining ethical to its origins. As George Ritzer⁵⁷ states glocalization is “the interpenetration of the global and the local, resulting in unique outcomes in different geographic areas”⁵⁸ however he advances the view that the local is overwhelmed by the global in order to grow, resulting in grobalization⁵⁹ as the very end result. Victor Roudometof⁶⁰ alternatively argues that glocalization is analytical autonomous as both the global and local help shape and create the end state equally; the result is cultural heterogeneity and a multitude of glocalities⁶¹ as globalisation is refracted through the local.⁶²

As with hybridity and creolization, the end result of the process is a blend of elements but without the negative connotations of missionary work and racism. However, glocalization is not without its problems in particularly with regard to grobalization⁶³, universalisation of particularism versus particularisation of universalism⁶⁴ and the personalisation of space-place⁶⁵ sociology. In relation to ancient Rome, glocalization allows us to analysis the religious changes as it effected the varied populations across the provinces and subsequently, the influence that the populations themselves had on filtering Romanness into their territories and in reverse, the impact these varied peoples had in Rome itself.

The following analysis will focus on certain non-Roman deities separately and will view Roman tolerance through the lens of Romanization, glocalization and creolization. As each cult fared differently in both its success and by its location, it can be determined that not one set policy was consistently applied across the Roman territories to all non-Roman deities in the timeframe analysed. Hingley’s bottom up effect of Romanization⁶⁶ is closely linked with both creolization, as native

⁵⁷ Ritzer, 2003, pp.193-209.

⁵⁸ Ritzer, 2003, p.193

⁵⁹ Ritzer, 2003, p.194

⁶⁰ Roudometof, 2015a, p. 399.

⁶¹ Roudometof, 2015a, p.399

⁶² Roudometef, 2015a, p.403

⁶³ Ritzer, 2003.

⁶⁴ Robertson, 1997, pp. 69-90

⁶⁵ Roudometof, 2018, pp.801–817.

⁶⁶ Hingley, 2005, pp.45-6

and Roman matters are combined to form a new blended culture, and with glocalization as the non-Roman deity represents the local that is exported globally across the empire and vice versa with Roman deities in a cultural exchange.

4A. Bacchus

Bacchus provides a comprehensive argument for religious intolerance by the Roman elites based on the fear of social corruption by wayward citizens and others as evidenced by the survival of an inscribed letter relating to the decree officially restricting the Bacchanalia in 186 BCE, the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*.⁶⁷ Dionysus/Bacchus' position within the Roman pantheon was unique for a number of reasons.

Firstly, Dionysus was fully Romanized under *interpretatio Romana* to become a new Roman deity, Bacchus, however Dionysus has also been persistently equated with the older Italian god Liber Pater. Secondly, the Hellenic Dionysus had an extensive mythology that was subsumed under Roman mythology for Bacchus and provides different versions of his birth. The standard version used in Roman mythology was that he was the twice born son of Semele and Jupiter/J Zeus from his father's leg⁶⁸ and the second, lesser known Orphic myth as twice born after being eaten by the Titans but Athena saved his heart to regenerate him through Semele which also explained a change of name, variable from Zagreus/Sabazios⁶⁹ to Dionysus. Hellenic Dionysus does have further regeneration myths not typically seen in the Roman mythology of Bacchus.⁷⁰

Despite being an eastern mystery cult that possibly originated from Phrygian-Thrace and adopted by Greece⁷¹ in the eight century BCE, the Romanized Bacchus, although he remained officially outside⁷² of the Roman religion,⁷³ remained

⁶⁷ Tierney, 1945, p.89 Latin inscription. Beard, North & Price (*et al* hereafter), 1998b, p.290-1 English translation. Inscription ILLRP 511 and referred to as de Bacchanalibus in future citations.

⁶⁸ Ov. *Met.* 3.252-315.

⁶⁹ Diod.Sic. *Library of History*, 4.4.1

⁷⁰ Grimal & Kershaw, 1991, p.128. Hera driving Dionysus' foster parents' mad, transformation into a kid before reaching manhood.

⁷¹ Roberts, 2007, p.231-2

⁷² Orlin, 2010, p.167-8

⁷³ Alvar, 2008, p.10.

persistently influential over the centuries across a varied section of society even when his cult was heavily restricted in comparison with any other non-Roman cults.

As Jaime Alvar notes⁷⁴ Dionysus' mysteries were not viewed as completely 'alien' nor were they subject to an extensive Romanization like other eastern cults to fit into a 'foreign culture'. This initial tolerance may have been due to turning a blind eye to cultic practices because of Hellenic Dionysus' proximity to the central Olympian pantheon even though he was deemed as strange⁷⁵ there and Bacchus' own association with the older Italian god Liber Pater⁷⁶ where the similarities between the pair potentially made his assimilation easier prior to the restrictions. Both were considered wine gods and led raucous rituals that during the Liberalia of Liber Pater were sexualised to aid fertility of the land and people⁷⁷ and in the Bacchanalia of Bacchus involved mystic ecstasy, intoxication and worship for vegetation growth. However, it is likely that the fast spread across Italy and the changes to its practices sparked the senatorial protest under the guise of preserving Rome's *mos maiorum*.

The Bacchic appeal to women was aided by the greater freedom Roman women had in the cult's early spread along with the open nature of both its initiations and festivals compared to other closed non-Roman cults such as Mithras and Zeus Sabazios. Female participants had the opportunity to extend their inclusion beyond merely initiation, leading women to take up higher level roles⁷⁸ within the hierarchy that Rome saw as weakening social and family structures by removing women from their natural place at home under male guardianship, *paterfamilias*.⁷⁹ This threatened elite males control over religious matters⁸⁰ alongside proving that women were capable of making their own decisions that could break down Roman traditions.

The role of Annia Paculla in Livy's *History of Rome*, whether false and exaggerated or not, portrayed a high level woman making crucial decisions regarding the central workings of the cult including the male initiation and moving to

⁷⁴ Alvar, 2008, p.10

⁷⁵ Turcan, 1996, p.291. Detienne, 2005, p.2358

⁷⁶ North, 2012, 'Liber Pater'. [Online].

⁷⁷ Roberts, 2007, p.419

⁷⁸ Roberts, 2007, p.108. De Bacchanalibus specifically bans women from the role of master or acting master see Beard *et al*, 1998b, p. 291.

⁷⁹ Roberts, 2007, p.539

⁸⁰ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p. 95.

night time initiations⁸¹ that was outside the scope of the Roman senate. By returning female initiates to their family for punishment in private,⁸² it shows the enforcement of archaic traditions and methods in a male dominated society.⁸³ The openness of Bacchus' cult compared to Hellenic Dionysus meant that men across all social groups⁸⁴ including citizens were active at all levels, although John North⁸⁵ suggests Bacchus remained the favourite of predominately women and the lower classes.

Surviving sources on Bacchus, his cult and 186 BCE restrictions are scarce with Livy's writings being problematic due to the embellishment of the danger that Bacchus' cult posed to Roman society and its traditions. The restrictions scattered and drove the cult and Bacchantes underground, making it difficult to determine why Rome was so intolerant of Bacchus who was effectively a copy of Liber Pater, one third of the ancient Aventine triad. Nonetheless, Bacchus' cult was not completely destroyed, allowing for its influence to continue in Pompeii and even be revived and partly officially authorised⁸⁶ in the mid first century BCE by Caesar.⁸⁷

Numerous excavated images of Bacchus attesting to his mysterious survival and transformation into a more family orientated cult while being linked with the Underworld have been found in the form of mosaics, sarcophagi and statues well into the third century CE. However, these surviving images raise more questions than provide answers. The discovery of the *De Bacchanalibus* bronze inscription in Tiriolo in 1640 (Plate 4A.1)⁸⁸ was crucial in providing another version to Livy's *History* and allowed an academic reconstruction of the cult's hierarchy and workings.⁸⁹ Importantly, the allowance of the cult to remain active in much smaller groups and under heavy restrictions permitted locality to influence its modified continuance within the global community.

4A.A Bacchanalia restrictions

The Bacchanalia sanctions of 186 BCE were portrayed as though Bacchus' cult had suddenly pounced upon Rome out of the darkness and offended its

⁸¹ Livy, *History of Rome*, 39.13. 8-11.

⁸² Livy, *History of Rome*; 39.18.6

⁸³ Merced-Owney, 2008, p.35, Augustus preferring outdated female concepts compared to the relevant Isis.

⁸⁴ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p. 93-4.

⁸⁵ North, 1979, p.95

⁸⁶ Turcan, 1996, p. 306

⁸⁷ Grimal & Kershaw, 1991, p.129

⁸⁸ See Plates section for full bibliography.

⁸⁹ North, 1979, p.91

sensitivities. In reality, the Bacchanalia had developed in southern Italy and Etruria amongst migrant Greeks from around the third century BCE⁹⁰ and spread across much of Italy, including into Rome. Livy's *History of Rome*⁹¹ suggests the senate was shocked to discover such a morally destructive cult operating at night in central Rome under their very noses but also "they feared for their own relatives, in case one of them should be associated with the villainy"⁹², which suggested people had turned a blind eye to peoples' daily lives so long as their behaviour did not degrade Rome's moral fabric or threatened Roman traditions.

Robert Turcan⁹³ offers an alternative analysis that the struggles suffered in the Second Punic War by Rome opened them up to a greater tolerance of non-Roman deities if they aided Rome's victory. The consultation of the Sibylline Books evidences this by recommending Cybele's (Magna Mater) introduction and her *evocatio* transfer in 204 BCE, although Rome was enthusiastic initially before inflicting lesser restrictions effecting citizen participation much like Bacchus.⁹⁴ After victory in the Punic war and no further conflicts to deal with after the 189 BCE Galatian War, Rome was able to concentrate on her internal workings once more, which coincidentally meant tightening control over the runaway Bacchanalia and returning women to their proper place under the *paterfamilias*. It was not a case that knowledge of the cult suddenly came to light as Livy implies (probably more for dramatic effect⁹⁵), rather that the Roman senate was no longer occupied with war.

At the same time, Rome had to deal with unchecked criminal problems and this combined with the need to exert religious control, gifted the Roman elite with the perfect scapegoats in the form of the Bacchus cult. Livy dramatically states that "7,000 men and women... (were)...involved in the intrigue"⁹⁶ with its plebeian cult leaders seen as the cause of "criminal and immoral activity". It is from Livy's emphasis on the scale of the problem here that the Bacchanalia restrictions were deemed necessary due to its initiates' depraved and ecstatic behaviour causing broken chastity vows and violence amongst other things. However, Livy later states

⁹⁰ King, 2003, 'Bacchus'. [Online]. Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.93 Etrurian 3rd century BCE grotto with destroyed throne.

⁹¹ Livy, *History of Rome*; 39.8-18

⁹² Livy, *History of Rome*; 39.14.5

⁹³ Turcan, 1996, p.301

⁹⁴ Beard *et al*, 1998a, pp. 96-7.

⁹⁵ North, 1979, p.88

⁹⁶ Livy, *History of Rome*; 39.17.6

that capital punishment was only applied to people who committed murder, false testimony or various frauds⁹⁷ rather than poor religious behaviour⁹⁸ but again, suggests that this was a large proportion of Bacchic participants. By making an overtly aggressive example of Bacchus and his followers after their important victories in the Punic, Macedonian and Seleucid Wars, the Roman elite were demonstrating their power over all matters eastern, in both war and religion.⁹⁹ It also protected the native Liber Pater whose Liberalia festival continued unabated¹⁰⁰ after the Bacchanalia restrictions even though the celebrations were similar.

The bronze inscription (Plate 4A.1) from ca. 186 BCE containing the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* in letter form to the Italian provinces has shown the extent of Rome's intolerance towards Bacchus and more importantly, disputes some of Livy's exaggerations. It demonstrates that Rome was not completely destroying the cult and was merely trying to control its workings and critically, the behaviour of Roman citizens plus allies in the provinces. This inscription raises a problem but reaches a positive conclusion based on what it actually is. As a letter to the provinces, it does not appear to contain the full decree and potentially only the parts that were deemed applicable to the provinces and allies. It could be suggested that the decree was much harsher in central Rome and had to be delicately balanced to maintain the allies' support¹⁰¹ and that the acceptance of the moderated decree allowed for an extension of Roman dominance into internal areas it had previously remained locked out from.

There are two important aspects in the surviving text; the preceding mixed gender hierarchy and the reduction of group structures. Rome's desire to control the hierarchy of groups and their workings is clearly evidenced by the new restrictions. Notably, the control over specific social classes, "Roman citizen, of Latin status or one of the allies"¹⁰² and genders, "no man or woman shall be a master"¹⁰³ comprehensively covers a majority of the population and suggests a return to the

⁹⁷ Livy, *History of Rome*; 39.18.6

⁹⁸ Orlin, 2010, p.167

⁹⁹ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.93; Tierney, 1945, p.94.

¹⁰⁰ Ov. *Fast.* III.713.

¹⁰¹ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.95.

¹⁰² Beard *et al*, 1998b, p.290 (2)

¹⁰³ Beard *et al*, 1998b, p.291(10)

cult's provenance with the lower class¹⁰⁴, non-Roman peoples and slaves. This further extends to cover the cult's internal workings by preventing the collection of funds "none of them shall seek to have money in common"¹⁰⁵, performance of "rites in secret...in public or private or outside the city"¹⁰⁶, or the grouping of more than five people to perform rites.¹⁰⁷

This specific mention of rites performed outside the city advances the argument that this inscription was tailored to maintain the allies' support while the brunt of the decree affected Rome itself. Dismantling the allies' cultic shrines¹⁰⁸ confirms Livy's statement that all were destroyed aside the very ancient ones¹⁰⁹ that had already been consecrated to Bacchus, showing that Rome at least held respect for proper religious procedures and would not anger the gods for fear of divine consequences. With numerous Bacchus elements banned or restricted the decree appears to be the final nail in Bacchus' coffin however references to urban praetors and the Roman senate grant of permission over continued worship offered a sense of hope for Bacchants. It does confirm that Rome was taking back control of its religious traditions and ensuring that this Romanized deity and cult operated in line with Roman religion, cutting off the growing religious choice that Bacchus had given the people.

The plays of Plautus prior to 186 BCE, in contrast to Livy, neither glamorised nor criticised Bacchus or the Bacchants but made comic use of them in part to ridicule the elite class as in *The Merchant (Mercator)*¹¹⁰ where Charinus sees being torn apart by frenzied Bacchants as a "mere trifle" compared to the way he was living. The timeframe of Plautus' plays (ca. 205 – 184 BCE)¹¹¹ and his casual, non-detailed references to Bacchus suggests that there was a general awareness of the existence and workings of Bacchus' cult and as P. G. Walsh¹¹² emphasises, that they included the involvement of women and men in rural Italy even if this structure had not fully reached Rome yet. Perhaps elite Romans hoped that Plautus' plays

¹⁰⁴ North, 1979, p.95

¹⁰⁵ Beard *et al*, 1998b, p.291 (10)

¹⁰⁶ Beard *et al*, 1998b, p.291(10)

¹⁰⁷ Beard *et al*, 1998b, p.291(19)

¹⁰⁸ Beard *et al*, 1998b, p.290 (2)

¹⁰⁹ Livy, *History of Rome*; 39.18.7-8

¹¹⁰ Plaut. *Merc.* 469-70.

¹¹¹ Brown, 2014, p.594

¹¹² Walsh, 1996, p.191

were purely comical fantasy and there was not a religious cult entering Rome outside of their control and dominated by women. However, it is more likely that the senate was too preoccupied with the ongoing wars to fully address the rise of Bacchus until 186 BCE.

The general desire and determination to retain control of all religious aspects in Rome shows the limited flexibility of glocalization in relation to an adaption of a global non-Roman deity to the relatively embracing nature of Italian society in comparison to the constrictions of central Roman society from the late second century BCE. Nonetheless, it is difficult to view the spread, restriction and survival specifically of Bacchus' cult in the methodological terms discussed in the introduction as there is not one definition that clearly fits based on the evidence we have. If another piece of evidence from nearer the time of the Bacchanalia restrictions were to arise, it would enable us to make a more informed analysis rather than projecting arguments backwards based on later inscriptions and images such as the statue of the Bacchic priestess Pompeia Agrippinilla from the third century CE (Plate 4A.2).

The inscribed base lists hundreds of names and their roles with place of origin deduced from the names allowing speculation that the cult still admitted Roman male citizens¹¹³ in spite of the decree. Unfortunately, as much as the inscription allows this determination, it does not tell us any details regarding the cult's function and as Franz Cumont in Christine Alexander (1933)¹¹⁴ suggests, it is necessary to group it with an array of later finds including the Villa of Mysteries' painting in Pompeii in order to adduce its later functions. However, this surviving cult appeared to be a shadow of the one from 186 BCE, focused more on the family and in line with traditional Roman religion.

Unquestionably, Bacchus was subjected to the process of *interpretatio Romana*. It could be argued that Bacchus was a creolization of Liber Pater and Dionysus however Bacchus was not a completely new entity made up of elements from each deity so this definition is a poor fit. Both Liber Pater and the Hellenic Dionysus have an ancient genealogy which potentially led to an exchange of ideas and practices propagated by travelling Greek merchants that could have altered the

¹¹³ Vogliano, 1933, p. 264.

¹¹⁴ Cumont, 1933, p.265.

two deities prior to the creation of Bacchus in the third century BCE. Bacchus could therefore be viewed as a failed glocalized creation, in between the global non-Roman Dionysus and the local Italian Liber Pater that had attempted to give worshippers a religious choice that was limited in traditional Roman religion.¹¹⁵

Bacchus' imagery also reflects that of Dionysus resulting in later Roman images being attributed to Dionysus rather than Bacchus such as two third century CE sarcophagi from Rome (Plates 4A.2 and 4A.3). Bacchus/Dionysus' imagery clearly changes from an older bearded man to a fresh faced, sometimes effeminate, youth. The older man image is shared with Zeus Sabazios, showing a link between them in terms of characteristics and cultic practices.

The glocalization argument is difficult to fully substantiate due to Hellenic Dionysus' prevalence over the Roman Bacchus, the 186 BCE restrictions and a lack of evidence especially from the early third and late second century BCE. Bacchus is rarely referred to except in reference to the Bacchanalia restrictions with Dionysus being the more extensive version. Perhaps it is better to look at the glocalization of the Hellenic Dionysus and view Bacchus as a brief and failed Romanized glocalization attempt amongst the native Italians by the Greeks and in Rome's western territories. The strength and centrality of Dionysus seriously impacted on the spread of Bacchus as a separate deity with Liber Pater further adding to the stalwart.

4B. Magna Mater

Cybele of Pessinus, Anatolia otherwise known as the Great Mother or Magna Mater in Roman religion¹¹⁶ demonstrates that a non-Roman deity and cult could successfully gain acceptance into Roman religion and elite tolerance across the changing centuries. Her consecration on the Palatine Hill confirmed her centrality in Roman religion, much more than any other non-Roman deity. Her ability to cross into native areas with ease and instituted alongside the local deities notably in Gaul and North Africa without either completely replacing them or assimilating to them shows

¹¹⁵ Rives, 2011, p.271

¹¹⁶ Roller, 2005, p.2108. For consistency and to avoid confusion, I shall use the glocalized 'Magna Mater' rather than the global 'Cybele' in relation to Rome and its territories. Cybele will only be used in reference to the Anatolian goddess and mythology.

her to be a truly glocalized deity. As a global deity, Magna Mater/Cybele maintained her own characteristics and was relatable enough to be incorporated at various local levels alongside the native deities but was not all consuming of them compared with Isis' syncretism of numerous other deities' characteristics into her own divine being.

However, Magna Mater has not been found in all Roman territories, further testifying that the local effect was crucial to her incorporation. The lack of evidence in northern Roman territories could be attributed to a sufficient local Mother goddess presence within the native religion and a lack of eastern slaves. The spread of Magna Mater's cult could be crucially seen as showing a growing religious choice and a need for a more personal, divine experience with John North¹¹⁷ suggesting that the search for deities outside of the traditional Roman religion was based on hollowness and dissatisfaction felt with what was available in the civic religion. Roman tolerance of Magna Mater could have therefore been necessitated in order to ensure that traditional public rites remained at the core of Roman society with an acceptable fringe of moderated and Romanized non-Roman deities.

Cybele was an ancient fertility goddess generally attributed as hailing from Anatolia but the Romanized Magna Mater was specifically influenced by Cybele of Phrygia. Her association with Rhea, Demeter and mother Earth portray an all-encompassing goddess, covering agriculture, fertility, war, diseases, mountains and wildlife¹¹⁸ which is reflected by her cult image (Plate 4B. 1). Cybele's varied mythology presents a complicated picture revolving around hermaphroditism, plant cultivation and failed love ending in castration and death before immortality is granted. It places Attis as Cybele's consort or eunuch is further complicated by the Phrygian hermaphrodite Agdistis' involvement in certain versions. One version from Pausanias¹¹⁹ suggests that the mother goddess avoided Jupiter's seduction and he impregnated a rock resulting in the hermaphrodite Agdistis whose raucous behaviour led to their self-castration aided by Dionysus. The subsequent almond or pomegranate tree's fruit that sprung from Agdistis' blood impregnated the river god's daughter Nana with the child Attis who the wholly female Agdistis, renamed as Cybele, later fell in love with. King Midas offered his daughter's, Ia, hand in marriage

¹¹⁷ North, 1976, p.10

¹¹⁸ Roller, 2005, p.2109

¹¹⁹ Paus. *Description of Greece*, 7.17.9-12. (2nd Century CE)

to prevent an incestuous sin but Cybele/Agdistis intervened, sending Attis mad and castrating himself under a pine tree before dying.

Another myth found in Arnobius but originally by Timotheus suggests Cybele was Agdistis' mother, loved both Attis and Agdistis leading to her intervention in Attis' marriage resulting in madness, self-castration and death.¹²⁰ Meanwhile, a third version in Ovid's *Fasti* sees Attis made the guardian of Cybele's shrine however he elopes with the nymph Sagaritis or Sangarius and later is sent mad thus castrating himself as a sign of devotion to Cybele.¹²¹

Invariable, these surviving myths all become mingled together especially as Christian writers attempted to demonise pagan rituals from the late 3rd century CE onwards. Even with these variant and grotesque myths, Magna Mater's cult was still incorporated into the centre of Roman religion until the rise of Christianity, showing her effectiveness as a glocalized deity.

4B. The Great Mother

Phrygian Cybele's integration as Magna Mater into the Roman pantheon in 205-204 BCE resulted when the traditional Roman religion was seen as failing to assist and provide a victory in the draining Second Punic War against the Carthaginian Hannibal. Furthermore in spite of Roman elites controlling religious matters, it has been suggested that popular pressure¹²² based on disillusionment with the current religious practices had the greater influence on securing Magna Mater's incorporation, with reference to the Sibylline Books alluding to Roman tradition rather than bowing to pressure.

The ancient practice of consulting the Sibylline Books and Apollo's oracle at Delphi deemed it crucial to offer Magna Mater a temple within Rome to ensure their victory in a process similar to *evocatio* but taking an ally's key deity instead of the enemy's. In a rare move not even offered to Juno Regina, Magna Mater was placed first in the goddess of Victory's temple before being dedicated her own temple on the Palatine Hill in 191 BCE. Founding Magna Mater's temple on the Palatine Hill rather than either the Aventine where most non-Roman deities were or on the Capitoline, home of important Roman deities including Jupiter Optimus Maximus, was not just

¹²⁰ Arn. *Adv. Nat.* V, 5-7 in Turcan, 1996, 31-33. (Late 3rd Century CE)

¹²¹ Ov. *Fast.* 4.222-245. (Early 1st century CE)

¹²² Beard, 2012, p.329. Cf. Alvar, 2008, p.244-6. Alvar refutes the elite's resistance to Magna Mater's incorporation.

related to Victory's temple being there which is what Magna Mater was required to ensure against Hannibal but also her links to Rome's founders.

Robert Turcan¹²³ notes that her ancestry as the goddess of Mount Ida linked her to both Troy and Crete making her the protector of Rome's ancestors as Virgil describes in the *Aeneid*¹²⁴ notably when she asks for Jupiter's aid by ensuring their safe passage to Italy. By installing her on, not just the oldest but also, Romulus' hill¹²⁵ shows adherence to ancestral tradition but also significantly, confirms her importance to Roman mythology and religion. Concurrent with this is the matter that Romans by their very religious tradition were naturally superstitious and any failures militarily were viewed as being caused by a lack of piety¹²⁶ or failing to strictly follow religious practices¹²⁷ thus requiring extreme measures such as bringing in a black rock that was understood as representing the mother goddess¹²⁸ to rebalance divine nature.

Roman superstition had another role in Magna Mater's incorporation as it affected her cult's workings. As noted with Bacchus' cult, the Roman elite ruled religious proceedings with an iron fist, especially with regard to non-Roman deities in general and practices that went against tradition. Livy¹²⁹ establishes Magna Mater's position as the protector of Rome and righteous 'Great Mother' through the freeing of her ship by an equally righteous matron, Claudia Quinta. The initial ecstasy and veneration of Magna Mater's cult plus the end of the Second Punic War gave way to dismay at the wild practices and customs of the Mother goddess' cult. However, this dismay raises the question of how Rome was supposedly ignorant to the true workings of Magna Mater especially as it was not just the deity herself that transferred to Rome, but her cult with Phrygian priests too.¹³⁰

Rome was already in the east as shown by the relationship with the King of Pergamum as the giver of Cybele's black stone while Rome's position as a growing global entity is evident by successful wars on both fronts and most importantly, the

¹²³ Turcan, 1996, p.35

¹²⁴ Verg. *Aen.* 3.94-8, 3.102-113, 9.78-119 (aiding Aeneas' ships)

¹²⁵ Wiseman, 2010, 'Cybele and Attis'

¹²⁶ Dowden, 1992, p.35

¹²⁷ As Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.217; puts it *superstitio* is "an obsessive devotion towards ritual and the gods...that could threaten the stability of *religio* and state."

¹²⁸ Ando, 2008, p.103

¹²⁹ Livy, *History of Rome*; 39.24.12

¹³⁰ Alvar, 2008, p.242

role of the elite in celebrating Magna Mater's festival with elaborate banquets,¹³¹ none of these provide support for an ignorant view of the cult's practices. How could a global entity that projected its culture into new areas be blind to the religious culture that it was taking into its very heart? This is shown unconvincingly in Livy's account regarding the senate's mock surprise at Bacchus' cultic practices¹³² leading to the Bacchanalia restrictions.

Jaime Alvar¹³³ suggests that the elite were equally complicit in Magna Mater's arrival and later celebrations. Perhaps it reflected the Roman elite in a better light to seem fooled by a non-Roman deity's trickery in hiding their true practices that later required restrictions than allow a non-Roman deity to lead glocalizing changes to the ancient state religion that the elite so staunchly protected.

Nonetheless this dismay led to restrictions being imposed, though not as harshly as the Bacchanalia's in 186 BCE, that Dionysius of Halicarnassus¹³⁴ records presumably later in the early first century BCE as preventing Roman citizens from being priests or eunuchs and taking an active role in public festivals seemingly due to the cult's preference for 'gaudy clothes' and begging. As Alvar suggests, the elite were not shy in celebrating Magna Mater but perhaps her all-encompassing characteristics and association with a number of other leading goddesses across the Mediterranean such as Rhea, Demeter, and Isis was viewed as a threat to leading Roman goddesses. By introducing restriction on Magna Mater's practice, the Roman elite were able to control her glocalizing effect within the city by making her more acceptably Roman and open to all participants, unlike the cult of Mithras that remained unwaveringly eastern. Rome had an important localizing effect on key elements of the cult by removing or limiting the parts they found too grotesque and wildly akin to Dionysus' ecstatic practices.

Most notable restriction was on castration. One set of Phrygian Cybele priests, the *galli* or eunuchs reflected the emasculation of Attis in order to appear as Cybele's true followers and guardians of her shrine. This public castration with sharp flint¹³⁵ horrified Rome leading firstly to banning all Roman citizen males from joining

¹³¹ Alvar, 2008, p.245

¹³² Livy, *History of Rome*; 39.14.4-6

¹³³ Alvar, 2008, p.245

¹³⁴ Dion. Hal. *Roman Antiquities*, 2.19.4-5

¹³⁵ Catull. *Poems*, 63.5

the priesthood and secondly, requiring that native Phrygians both male and female fill the roles¹³⁶ though Dionysius does not distinguish the specific priestess role, assumedly she was not a *gallus*. As Beard¹³⁷ notes there is evidence of multiple roles within the Magna Mater priesthood with only the *galli* practicing castration, the others were filled by people of all social status, males and females, citizens and aliens. It was only the *galli* that were viewed as disturbing, even more than women taking up official roles, due to the 'foreignness' of the castration practice and the supposedly ancient manner extended to a full castration of all male genitalia using broken pots.¹³⁸

Furthermore, their effeminate appearance, long hair, brightly coloured clothes and reportedly lurid sexual behaviour made the *galli* a clear target for the Roman elite who feared they would attract Roman citizens and weaken the expectations of men. Tolerance of the *galli* was only enough to allow Phrygians to continue the role thus ensuring the cult was changed by the locality. This is further evidenced by the *archigallus* role that appears as a Roman circumvention of the citizen restrictions and castration¹³⁹ and if correct, then it shows a localization of a global cult, however the *gallus/archigallus* role separation is problematic based on the current epigraphic evidence.

The full glocalizing effect on religious tolerance is seen after Magna Mater's temple consecration with the creation of the very public and all-inclusive Megalesia festival held every April that portrayed the 'Roman' side of the cult.¹⁴⁰ Beginning on the 4 April, the Megalesia celebrated the goddess' arrival in the form of the black stone and this allowed the Phrygian priesthood with their wildly exuberant clothes and manner to freely mingle with the Roman populous while seeking monetary support for the rest of their cloistered year. The goddess' temple opened to the public¹⁴¹ in a manner distinctly Roman in practice.

¹³⁶ Dion. Hal. *Roman Antiquities*, 2.19.4-5

¹³⁷ Beard, 2012, p. 340

¹³⁸ Beard, 2012, p. 341

¹³⁹ Beard, 2012, p.341 fn. 59. Alvar, 2008, p 274. Beard sees problems with the *archigallus* role due to the volume of epigraphic evidence and the interchangeable nature of the terms in antiquity. Also Turcan, 1996, p. 49 suggests that Claudius brought in or reformed the *archigallus* role (41-54 CE).

¹⁴⁰ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.165

¹⁴¹ Turcan, 1996, p.38

From the first century CE led by Claudius, other festivals developed in March associating Magna Mater with the spring equinox¹⁴² and included the increasingly popular worship of her consort, Attis, as a separate deity who was assuming certain characteristics of Magna Mater. Only small details remain from these festivals but it can be assumed that they were tailored to Roman sensitivities such as the Day of Blood (24 March) mourning Attis' death by shedding participants' blood, however it is questionable as to whether this referred to castration or not¹⁴³ or how it changed in later centuries.

Connected to Attis' rise and creation of the *archigallus* role¹⁴⁴ is the taurobolium blood ritual for priests which ensured a set of male (animal) genitals were deposited at the goddess' request, like Isis' call to initiation,¹⁴⁵ in her temple. Killing the bull with the new priest bathing in its blood (Plate 4B.2), while it links Magna Mater to Mithras' tauroctony ritual, can be described as a replacement confirmation rite in order to evade the *galli* restrictions on Roman citizens and cancels out the risk of death and infection associated with castration. The glocalization factor of the taurobolium shows how the Romans adapted a non-Roman cult and its' practices to mould it around the ancient traditions pertaining to elite control from the centre out, the openness of religious festivals and temples and the softening of barbaric practices like castration and human sacrifice that was banned on numerous occasions from the late first century BCE onwards.¹⁴⁶

Magna Mater's reception across the Roman territories was varied and indicative of the goddess' glocalization. In Greece, Magna Mater along with Phrygian Cybele failed to establish a firm footing most likely due to the presence of Rhea, Hera and Demeter, who the goddess was likened to. Magna Mater fared even worse in fringe areas like Britain and along the Rhine-Danube border due to the presence of army favourites Mithras and Jupiter Dolichenus.¹⁴⁷ However, she has been found extensively in both North Africa and Gaul alongside native deities.

¹⁴² Wiseman, 2010, 'Cybele and Attis'. [Online]

¹⁴³ Turcan, 1996, p.45; Cf. Beard, 2012, p.333.

¹⁴⁴ Turcan, 1996, p.49 suggests it dates back to Claudius' reign but no surviving evidence for it until 160 CE. See fn. 139 as well.

¹⁴⁵ Turcan, 1996, p.52. Taurobolium only occurred when the goddess communicated with her priest as in Isiac practices.

¹⁴⁶ North, 1979, p.85

¹⁴⁷ Turcan, 1996, p.65

The goddess and her consort to a lesser extent proved popular with native populations for a few reasons. Port towns such as Ostia reveal evidence of shrines and taurobolium activity that embraced the flow of varied peoples. In agricultural areas such as Gaul, Magna Mater was important to ensure successful harvests and was assimilated alongside the native mother goddesses without overwhelming them. Furthermore, a large collection of taurobolic altars have been recovered from Gaul most likely attesting to the presence of eastern slaves like in Iberia as well as Romanized elites.¹⁴⁸

It can be deduced from Magna Mater's glocalization of various areas, though not all areas and in spite of Roman restrictions, shows there was an increasing popular feeling of her importance to varied areas of people's lives. As a mother and fertility goddess she represented the life cycle from birth to death of humans, plants and animals linked also with diseases and war. By linking with state concerns¹⁴⁹ and gaining official entrance into the state religion she was no longer an 'eastern' cult but a Roman one¹⁵⁰ hence tolerance for Magna Mater remained consistent, even allowing ways around the mild restrictions. Her glocalization was aided by the official sanction of both the goddess and her cult¹⁵¹ into Roman religion from her induction in comparison to other non-Roman deities whose cults usually followed afterwards. Magna Mater's position in the state religion¹⁵² was the difference in both Roman tolerance and the application of restrictions; she was more untouchable than Bacchus, along with a populous fear of divine persecution linked to her role regarding diseases and harvests.

4C. Mithras

Tolerance of Mithras' late arrival to the Roman pantheon is somewhat varied and odd partly due to his questionable origins and cult functions. On the surface he appears as a Persian non-Roman deity with an accompanying mystery cult involving

¹⁴⁸ Turcan, 1996, p.60

¹⁴⁹ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.280

¹⁵⁰ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.337

¹⁵¹ Alvar, 2008, p.242

¹⁵² Orlin, 2010, p.167-8

secret male only initiations in a small subterranean cave complex (Mithraeum). Research by the likes of Richard Gordon, Robert Turcan and Roger Beck amongst others building upon Franz Cumont's early work illustrates that Mithras was more complex than being just another 'foreign' mystery cult. Despite extensive research, there remain numerous unanswerable questions, unfortunately exasperated by the ritual destruction and building over of key sites.

For the question of Roman tolerance, Mithras played a crucial supporting role for another religious tradition, aside a newer one; the imperial cult stemming from Augustus' reign. By attaching Mithras to the imperial cult and showing that his followers were for the good of the emperor and hence the wider empire, Mithras was allowed to operate in a distinctly non-Roman religious manner. Furthermore, along with imperial support, he had the army's favour, a linchpin in the operation of the empire that has resulted in archaeological finds in areas as diverse as a military post on the wild moors of Carrawburgh, Northumberland (Plate 4C.1) to a soldier's private house shrine in Dura Europos, Syria (Plate 4C.2). As much as Mithras' cult spread across the Roman territories and showed signs of glocalization, this was overall hindered by its reclusive initiations and restrictive membership that was not nearly as all-encompassing as the similar cult of Jupiter Dolichenus was hence failing to become a universal religion like Christianity.

4C.A Origins

Mithras was first attested in Imperial Rome from possibly the late first century CE but unquestionably by the early 2nd century until his slow decline with Christians systematically destroying cultic sites through to the early fifth century CE.¹⁵³ Mithras' etymology derives from an Indo-Iranian god of the sun and contracts/friendship variable named as Mitra and Mithra in Vedic and Zoroastrian mythology respectively and in Roman religion became Deus Sol Invictus Mithras.¹⁵⁴ There have been a number of origin theories advanced regarding Mithras' transfer ranging from the exiled Commagenian royals bringing their native religion to Rome¹⁵⁵ in the mid first century CE, that it was transferred by Cilician pirates via Mount Olympus, Greece in

¹⁵³ Turcan, 1996, pp.246-7

¹⁵⁴ Turcan, 1996, p.196; Griffiths, 2010, 'Mithras' [Online]; Mazhjoo, 2019, p.1 fn.1.

¹⁵⁵ Mazhjoo, 2019, p. 4.

the late first century BCE¹⁵⁶ and Cumont's long established but challenged view that Mithras originated from Persia and was transferred to Rome via the wanderings of the Magi from Asia Minor.¹⁵⁷

However, another view has emerged suggesting that the Roman form of Mithras and his cult was created by an unknown founder in Rome¹⁵⁸ itself, influenced by the ancient Vedic and Zoroastrian deities rather than being a complete copy. There is a remarkable degree of localization seen in the varied diets of different locations such as chicken in the northwest Empire¹⁵⁹ and a lack of Indo-Iranian native worshippers that, in comparison, are found amongst Jupiter Dolichenus' Syrian followers within the Roman army. Moreover, both Ken Dowden¹⁶⁰ and Beard *et al*¹⁶¹ suggest that the cult's surviving form that we encounter is a western construct that bears no resemblance to its supposedly Persian origin aside the name.

Additionally, it could be suggested that Mithraism was a Roman elite creation that attempted to keep its traditionally male dominated religion intact just as women dominated Bacchus' cult although under restrictions however this theory encounters numerous setbacks.¹⁶² Dowden has added that Roman Mithras could be viewed as "the most Roman of the exotic gods"¹⁶³ whose cult, paradoxically, operates in the most non-Roman manner of all the deities discussed here with seemingly, the least restrictions imposed. Perhaps this lack of restrictions evidences Rome's changing attitude towards eastern and especially Persian deities as the glocalization of eastern cultural traditions later impacted upon central Rome.

From the Hellenistic world into Roman religion Mithras was equated with Helios/Sol as a sun god based on the images of the tauroctony (Plate 4C.3) showing Mithras looking to the sun as he kills the bull, as a sacrifice to the sun but also to aid

¹⁵⁶ Gordon, 2005, p.6089, dated to 67 BCE.

¹⁵⁷ Cumont, 1911, pp.142-45

¹⁵⁸ Scholars favouring this Italian born Mithraism are Vermaseren, Merkelbach and Clauss.

¹⁵⁹ Gordon, 2005, p.6089

¹⁶⁰ Dowden, 1992, p.74

¹⁶¹ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.279

¹⁶² The setbacks include that membership was not elitist with men from all social levels. Hussein (2018, p.6) notes that the elites were not noted as members until the mid-third century CE due to its incompatibility with Roman tradition. (see fn.180) Also, why did the Romans chose a non-Roman deity with effeminate clothing, linked with Hellenistic mystery cults which had suffered under the Roman regime? Further, the tauroctony and the taurobolium of Magna Mater were specifically eastern practices against a divine animal that usually symbolised Jupiter/Zeus.

¹⁶³ Dowden, 1992, p.74

the continuance of life from the bull's blood and through the transformation of his tail into an ear of wheat. Later additions around the tauroctony imagery display his cult's astral-astrology and occultism connections (Plate 4C.4)¹⁶⁴ that link Mithras with the coming of the spring equinox¹⁶⁵ when the sun is in the constellation of Taurus, the bull,¹⁶⁶ hence the bull's slaying and Mithras' sun gazing. The inclusion of zodiac images could indicate the "celestial journey of the human soul"¹⁶⁷ as the signs move through the different seasons of the year representing birth, growth and death.

In Rome in particular, he was regarded as an enforcer of justice linking with his roles in war alongside the army and ensuring the success of the emperor through the imperial cult. As a supporter of the imperial cult for the emperor's health and success, Mithras safeguarded himself and cult from the restrictions imposed upon other non-Roman deities, notably those against Bacchus and Magna Mater. Tolerance was aided by the initiation of emperors, some more wholeheartedly than others such as Nero and Commodus with the latter reported to have "desecrated the rites of Mithras with actual murder"¹⁶⁸ to cement his power through fear. Their favouritism of the exotic was showcased in Rome through the display of exuberant clothing, great gladiatorial battles and performance of the arts.

4C.B Tolerance

There are three important, interlinked areas regarding Rome's tolerance of Mithras that was distinctively easy-going in comparison to the restrictions imposed upon other non-Roman deities. These areas are initiation grades and membership, location of sites and the tauroctony. Firstly, initiation and membership was restricted to males only and, unlike Jupiter Dolichenus, does not seem to have spread much beyond the military into the wider, civic community. Beard *et al*¹⁶⁹ submits that the local elites clung to their ancestral religions, much like the Romans themselves did, leading to a patchwork application of Mithraism. Despite this, members do evidence

¹⁶⁴ This particular image is more problematic due to the clustering of so many different aspects. It includes the standard image of Mithras killing a bull with a dog, snake and scorpion present while overseen by the Sun and Moon. However it excludes the torch bearers Cautes and Cautopates who normally accompany Mithras but adds in two ravens or crows. It represents the twelve zodiac signs along with possibly the four winds in each corner (Alvar 2008, p.77). This marble is from the Mithraeum of Sidon, whose archaeological report has scant details, questionable authenticity and its' locations has since been lost. Plate 4C.3 is the standard tauroctony image.

¹⁶⁵ Ulansey, 1991, ch. 5

¹⁶⁶ Dowden, 1992, p.78

¹⁶⁷ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p. 285

¹⁶⁸ SHA (Aelius Lampridius) *Comm.* ch. 9.

¹⁶⁹ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.293.

a broad spectrum of social statuses that included slaves and imperial freedmen.¹⁷⁰ Inclusion of different social classes was facilitated by the pictorial and physical elements of the mysterious rites which ensured a broad spectrum of intellectual levels and life perspectives.

Along with the tauroctony imagery that was displayed in each mithraeum, the visual and physical actions helped to express the power and life generated by Mithras to non-literates too and possibly allowed for philosophical discussions. Problematically, the inscribed names reflect a mixture of backgrounds with Beard *et al*¹⁷¹ suggesting that Greek (Mithras' majority language) or eastern names were given to people with no connection there (such as slaves born in Rome), furthering our difficulties in establishing the genesis of the cult and its' initiates. Importantly, social status was not a constraint on attaining the highest grade of the Father/Pater.¹⁷²

Female exclusion and the creation of a type of brotherhood that engaged in regular dinners together on special dining couches within the mithraeum could be a Roman reflection of the Greek *symposium*.¹⁷³ This, along with the use of Greek alongside Latin, could reflect that Mithras' transfer from Persia was potentially via Greece where elements could have been reformed to make Mithras less exotic based on Roman repulsion of other non-Roman cults' practices such as the public taurobolium of Magna Mater. While the exclusion of women supports an exclusive club creation theory to maintain Roman elite control of religion, it fails by the inclusion of various social classes and its' predominately army members.

There is an ongoing debate regarding the initiation grades in relation to the cult's origins and membership numbers. These areas broadly have a limited impact regarding Roman tolerance of the cult. First, did the seven grades of initiation stem from the Persian original and if that Persian original only suggested certain grades or if the seven grades were a Roman creation as evidenced from the Severan period¹⁷⁴ onwards by the mosaic ladder found in the Mitreo di Felicissimo, Ostia (Plate 3C.5). Second is that the grades were only applicable to the Mithraic priests and not

¹⁷⁰ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.294; Turcan, 1996, p.240

¹⁷¹ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.294.

¹⁷² Turcan, 1996, p.243

¹⁷³ Topper, 2010, 'Symposium' [Online]

¹⁷⁴ Gordon, 2001, p.250

to all members. Manfred Clauss¹⁷⁵ suggests that there was a priesthood who initiated all general members and that the grades referred to a hierarchy of priests only. However, Gordon¹⁷⁶ argues that the epigraphical evidence, as sparse as it is outside Italy, does not support Clauss' theory.

Furthermore, the size of mithraea prevents there being numbers of more than forty with most holding roughly twenty members at a time¹⁷⁷ with Turcan estimating that members only accounted for one to two percent of Rome's population¹⁷⁸ at any given time, even at the height of Mithras' popularity. Given Mithraism's nature with no public festivals or stream of visitors to its sites, it is reasonable to suggest, as argued by Gordon, that Clauss' theory of numerous non-graded members alongside a hierarchical priesthood cannot be substantiated.

The reclusive nature and small size of each mithraeum and other sites did not aid glocalization of the cult within local communities especially when they were located in remote army settlements on borders however this low lying cult helped continue the religiosity of the army relating to life and the emperor which ensured it retained Roman tolerance.

Mithraeum locations are interlinked to its members' military background and an important indicator to its diffusion across the Roman territories. A large number of mithraea and other cult items have been recovered from army settlement sites, most notably in the western territories along the Rhine-Danube border and Germania. Generally, a mithraeum was located in a nature subterranean cavern that gave them a suitable level of privacy with a direct or nearby fresh water source that could be redirected in. Circumstances led to variations in a mithraeum's locations such as a lack of water supply (which was central to Mithraic rites) or suitable cavern as seen in the above ground temple at Carrawburgh and the shrine within a private home in Dura Europos.

The mithraeum's main spaces were generally rectangular with couches along the sides to aid the regular dining of members with a crypt at one end containing the tauroctony imagery. Other images including those of Graeco-Roman deities have been discovered alongside Mithras, showing that his inclusivity of others' divine

¹⁷⁵ Clauss, 1990, pp.248-50

¹⁷⁶ Gordon, 2001, pp.248-9

¹⁷⁷ Turcan, 1996, p.219

¹⁷⁸ Turcan, 1996, p.221

power.¹⁷⁹ They were also symbolically situated in an east-west manner to represent light/day and dark/night which Ersin Hussein¹⁸⁰ suggests that they link together as a representation of the cosmos.

Sites have proven to be prolific in Italy especially in Rome and Ostia around trading ports which portrays the level of tolerance afforded Mithras in spite of the location oddity compared to other Roman religious buildings. Nonetheless, these sites clearly broke Roman religious tradition in that they were the complete opposite of what was acceptable; underground, small and dark with restrictive access and no hint of luxury as well as having no public festivals.

These factors link the cult to the Greek mysteries especially that of Eleusinian and fuels Greece's role in Mithras' origin debate. How were these sites tolerated by the ultra-strict Roman elite with their tight control over religion? It appears that by being for the health and success of the emperor, the small number of members at sites located away from the main locality and not publicly flaunting their cultic differences, they were able to secure their position within the locality.

Unfortunately, this seclusion and sense of the unknown regarding their rites made them the subject of the rising Christian hatred from the fourth century CE onwards, both in literacy and physically. Mithraea were inexplicable besieged with a vengeance by Christians, leaving some statues to be completely pulverised to prevent their reconstruction¹⁸¹ maybe for fear of divine vengeance or demons. In literature, mithraea became the places of sexually deviate practices and human sacrifices claimed by Christian writers such as Firmicus Maternus who saw Mithras as a "cattle thief (worshipped) in the foul gloom of the darkness"¹⁸² in their attempt to demonise Mithraism.

The final important area relating to Roman tolerance of Mithras is the portrayal of the tauroctony, the slaying of the bull that has been interpreted as central to Mithras' liturgy. Mithras' image astride a bull, pulling its head back by its' nostrils in the act of slitting its throat with his gaze cast up to the sun Sol, although some images have him looking at the moon Luna instead, has been interpreted as

¹⁷⁹ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.282

¹⁸⁰ Hussein, 2018, p.5

¹⁸¹ Turcan, 1996, pp.246-7

¹⁸² Firm. Mat. *on the Error of Pagan Religion*, 5.2 in Beard *et al*, 1998b, p.90

signifying the arrival of the spring equinox and the creation of life coming from the bull's blood.

The inclusion of the demi gods Cautes and Cautopates is important regarding their link to darkness and light shown by the up or down position of their torches, which in itself links to the Dioscuri of the Eleusinian mysteries,¹⁸³ and they could also be seen as representing the twin zodiac, Gemini. Additionally, the scorpion (Scorpio) attacking the bull's testicles connect Mithras with Magna Mater's taurobolium where the genitals are consecrated to the deity in lieu of the eunuch's self-castration. The tauroctony could be viewed as a much tamer version of the taurobolium as there is no drenching of a priest in the bull's blood and the Mithraic sacrifice is the offering of the bull's meat, something that is seen throughout traditional Roman sacrifices.

The diverse diffusion of archaeological remains across the Roman territories of Mithras evidences that he was more widespread in terms of spatial distance than any other non-Roman deity. Nevertheless, Mithras was not necessarily overtly popular when compared to Magna Mater or Isis due to his gender specific membership limitations and reclusive nature of the rites as shown by the location and small size of each cultic site that could have only garnered the support of a tiny percentage of the Empire's male population.

Roman tolerance of Mithras, in spite of its completely non-Roman practices, can be attributed to support of and from the emperor and its non-intrusive manner into the Roman religious sphere. By not pushing its exoticness into the public's conscience and not amassing worshippers nor driving them into a frenzied state as seen in both Bacchus and Magna Mater, Mithras' cult was able to comfortably operate on the fringes of the community. The quietly low-key glocalization of the cult resulted in both small part changes such as the diet consumed at feasts to uniform consistencies in membership, rites and grades across Rome that have led to suggestions that the cult was a Roman creation¹⁸⁴ spreading outwards. As David Ulansey¹⁸⁵ notes, as a form of mystery cult, no teachings or initiation practices were written down leaving us to decipher from the archaeological remains and the mostly

¹⁸³ Ulansey, 1991, p.116

¹⁸⁴ Dowden, 1992, p.74

¹⁸⁵ Ulansey, 1991, p.3

prejudiced surviving literature what Mithras' cult entailed and importantly, why the Romans tolerated something so seemingly contrary to their ancient traditions.

4D. Isis

The cult of Isis consistently challenged Roman tolerance across the centuries and remained resolutely influential until the important temple of Philae was forcibly closed by the emperor Justinian in 529 CE¹⁸⁶, over a century after a decree ordering all pagan temples to close. The resilience of Isis and later Serapis is testament to the changing and flexible nature of the Egyptians as universal deities and their appeal to a broad spectrum of Roman society in a variety of areas. They evidence, both separate and jointly, their ability to blend into a locality by taking on the characteristics of the local deities while maintaining a degree of exoticism and mystery around their own practices. This was aided by Isis no longer being truly Egyptian when compared to her old form both visually and in character prior to the Macedonian conquest of Egypt and creation of the Ptolemaic Kingdom in 305 BCE.

By being less Egyptian, Isis was assimilated to a wide variety of Graeco-Roman deities however this also led to the Roman elites playing up the exotic elements, especially by visual means, in periods when non-Roman cults were subjected to heavier restrictions and bans as seen in the reign of Augustus. Tolerance of Isis could depend very much on the personal whim of the current emperor, political matters and elite support.

4D.1 Isis' Mythology

Isis' core mythology is well established compared to other non-Roman deities due to the longevity of her worship dating back to the Fifth Dynasty¹⁸⁷ and rise in prominence as part of the Abydos Triad, overtaking the old Theban Triad. The Heliopolitan myth in brief sees her born of Geb and Nut (Earth and Sky) alongside her brothers, Osiris and Set and sister, Nephthys plus Horus the Elder in some myths. Osiris became her husband with Plutarch¹⁸⁸ suggesting another myth that

¹⁸⁶ Mark, 2016, "Isis" [Online]

¹⁸⁷ Takács, 2005, p.4557. Fifth Dynasty = 2465 – 2325 BCE

¹⁸⁸ Plut. *Mor. De Is. Et Os.* 12.F (356).

they secretly “consorted together in the darkness of the womb before their birth” with Horus the Elder being born of their union and highlighting their love for each other, while Set and Nephthys formed another pair.

Osiris’ position as ruler of Egypt attracted the jealousy of Set who, as a chaos god, set about to destroy Osiris and seize control of Egypt. Set tricked Osiris into stepping into a made to measure coffin, sealed it shut and threw it into the Nile where it later washed up in Byblos and enclosed in the trunk of a tamarisk tree. Isis removed the coffin from the king’s palace where the tree formed a pillar (giving us the *djed* symbol of stability)¹⁸⁹ and hid Osiris’ body in the Nile Delta marshes but Nephthys informed Set, who hunted out Osiris, dismembered and scattered the fourteen parts¹⁹⁰ in varied locations. The mourning Isis aided by Anubis locates Osiris’ body parts and either performed funerary rites for each piece in the found location or more, commonly, reunites all missing pieces except the penis and brings Osiris back to life limited as the Underworld ruler. Isis then conceives the child Horus (the Younger) who she conceals from Set with some success before he is able to challenge Set for his right to rule over Egypt.¹⁹¹

There is much more to Isis’ genesis but this evidences the key characteristics of Isis which were her roles as a mother and loyal wife, her ability to revive the dead, provide healing and conceive life through magic that also linked to the idea of life after death as shown by Osiris and her dedication to her family and the good of the community. It positioned her as Queen mother of the future King and keeper of the throne that also derives from her headdress in Egyptian imagery as with the *ankh* either tied at the front of her dress or held in her hand reflecting life (Plate 4D.1). These characteristics are evident in Isis’ later forms and are important for her glocalization with many other deities who she subsumed traits from, for example, Demeter, Hathor and Venus leading to her designation as the goddess “of the million names”, *myrionomos*.¹⁹² It shows the glocalization of Isis’ cult to a varying degree of success as she remained true to her original roles while assimilating to the native deities in order to expand her cult.

¹⁸⁹ Wilkinson, 2008, 68.

¹⁹⁰ Plut. *Mor. De Is. Et Os.* 18 (358).

¹⁹¹ Mark, 2016, ‘Osiris and Set’ and ‘Resurrection of Osiris’ [Online]; Wilkinson, 2017, pp. 146-9. Shaw, 2015, pp. 72-82.

¹⁹² Dowden, 1992, p.68

4D.2 Myrionomos

In order to understand Rome's fluctuating restrictions and tolerance of Isis, it is necessary to see Isis as a complex changing deity more than any other non-Roman deity, who could assimilate into a locality due to her universal character similar to the effect of Magna Mater as a mother goddess. The earliest testimony of Isis in literature, from a rather questionable source concerning Egypt at least, is Herodotus' *Histories*¹⁹³ which linked Isis with the Greek mysteries suggesting knowledge of her had spread outside of Egypt by the mid fifth century BCE. Dow¹⁹⁴ dates her transfer to the Mediterranean, notably into Attica, by 333/2 BCE with possibly a temple at Piraeus providing a solid grounding for the immigrant cult. Isis was assimilated mostly to Demeter and her Eleusinian mysteries through Isis' own myth of searching for her husband just as Demeter searched for her missing daughter Persephone and disguised herself as a nurse while attempting to burn away the mortal soul from the queen's son¹⁹⁵ before finding her loved one.

This allowed Greeks and later Romans to identify Isis as a mother figure and devoted wife that were important qualities for women in the Graeco-Roman world in line with their ancestral traditions. The creation of Serapis as a Graeco-Egyptian hybrid of Osiris and the Apis bull in an anthropomorphic form with Egyptian clothing and the added characteristics of Hades and Asclepius amongst others was designed to soothe the sensitivities of Egypt based Greeks. His role as Isis' visually reformed consort helped portray her role as a wife and mother despite her exotic origins, even if his own cult was slightly less influential in the Greek world.

Isis' Hellenization continued as her cult was given a firm footing in Greece and the Mediterranean with a number of temples founded on islands and at ports in the third and second century BCE¹⁹⁶, where she became the patron goddess of sailing and sailors. An annual festival, the *Ploiaphesia*, was instituted for the opening of the sailing season in spring and it was later incorporated into Roman ports as the *Isidis Navigum*¹⁹⁷ one of only two public Roman festivals for the goddess. Travelling merchants, slaves brought back by Sulla into Italy, temporary temples and festival creations aided the diffusion of Isis' cult amongst the lower classes that, as Dowden

¹⁹³ Hdt. *Histories*. 2.59.2, 2.156.5.

¹⁹⁴ Dow, 1937, pp.184-5. Also Turcan, 1996, 76, 81

¹⁹⁵ Plut. *Mor. De Is. Et Os.* 15-16 (357); *Hom. Hymn Dem.* 2.225-255.

¹⁹⁶ Turcan, 1996, 82.

¹⁹⁷ Parker, 2010, 'Isis' [Online] or *Navigum Isidis* in some sources such as Dowden, 1992, p.72.

suggests¹⁹⁸ was against the will of Rome's elite and struck at the heart of a politically changing and challenging Republic from the late first century BCE. As Lauren Hackworth Petersen¹⁹⁹ notes, Rome was driven by the intrinsically linked religious and socio-political institutions so when an imbalance occurred in one, it had a profound effect on the other as seen with the Punic Wars and the rise of Bacchus' cult.

Central to Isis' appeal that facilitated Rome's variable tolerance from the first century BCE was her inclusivity and universalism but also the curiosity of people seeking more than the ancestral traditions could offer especially in relation to life after death that was within Isis' remit. Her cult was inclusive of all genders, ages and social classes with a distinct hierarchy of priests to carry out the daily rituals and secret initiations. Initially a cult of the lower classes, Isis later in the Empire was endorsed by a number of emperors through inclusion into the official calendar and temple building notably by Caligula, Vespasian, Domitian and Hadrian but as Beard *et al* notes senators did not appear as initiates in non-Roman cults until the mid-third century CE.²⁰⁰

Women, as with Bacchus' cult, were especially drawn to Isis in her roles as a mother and protector of childbirth, which beginning with Augustus was seen as a new threat to Rome's *mos maiorum* based on the prejudicial view of Cleopatra.²⁰¹ The surviving tale of a scandalous affair, similar to the Bacchanalia one, damaged the reputation of an elite Roman lady (Paulina), an Isiac devotee through sexually driven trickery with the assistance of the Isiac priests which resulted in Tiberius banning the cult, destroying the temple and its cult statues in 19CE²⁰² along with crucifying and exiling Isiac worshippers.

As much as her membership was inclusive her temples were not and remained closed to everyone except on festival days though to the exclusion of the inner temple sanctuaries that was reserved for the priests only. In addition, Isiac temples had a strict daily opening and closing schedule alongside rituals that involved waking and dressing the cult's statue plus the priesthood was easily

¹⁹⁸ Dowden, 1992, p.40

¹⁹⁹ Petersen, 2016, p.21

²⁰⁰ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.291

²⁰¹ Merced-Ownbey, 2008, p.35

²⁰² Beard *et al*, 1998a, pp.230-1; Turcan, 1996, p.89

distinguishable by their white robes and shaved heads, something that was odd even amongst other non-Roman deities. This is clearly in opposition to Rome's traditional openness, leading Isis' cult to be regarded as a mystery cult, much like the Eleusinian mysteries, however the mystery cult aspect of Isis was not actually evidenced until as late as the second century CE.²⁰³

The initiations closed nature again was in opposition to Roman practices especially as they required a dream calling both the initiate and priest to the temple to commence the night time practice as with Magna Mater's initiations too. Lucius in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* goes through initiations to please Isis as well as providing vital funds to the temple's priests²⁰⁴ but does not detail the initiation process itself leaving it to be supposed that all initiates endured three rituals²⁰⁵ that related to death of the old life and rebirth as an Isiac follower as well as being initiated into Osiris' cult. There is also a suggestion of the *katabasis* journey²⁰⁶ as a symbol of ridding the initiate of their old life while gaining new knowledge which conversely links to Virgil's *Aeneid* and Rome's founding myth, again showing Isis' glocalization efforts. The uncertainty surrounding the initiations and daily practices, much like the cult of Mithras, and the combination of Egyptian anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images were used by intolerant Romans as evidence of a malignant cult that needed to be controlled.

Petersen²⁰⁷ suggests that Isis was a paradoxical character that resulted in the Romans skewering her cult when necessary; she symbolised everything alien as an Egyptian but could easily assimilate to Roman ideals, myths and deities due to her inclusivity and universal characteristics. Nonetheless, the greatest fuel during the late Republic and early Empire was Cleopatra's wicked, seductive ways in making great men, like Julius Caesar and Mark Antony, crumble, become effeminate and forget their ancestral traditions. Despite Isis' glocalization into Rome, a concentrated effort to restore *mos maiorum* and political order to Rome overrode religious tolerance²⁰⁸ in the dying Republic.

²⁰³ Bremmer, 2014, pp.113-4

²⁰⁴ Apul. *Met.* 11.21

²⁰⁵ Apul. *Met.* 11.23, 11.28 & 11.29-30

²⁰⁶ Apul. *Met.* 11.23

²⁰⁷ Petersen, 2016, p.17

²⁰⁸ Mark, 2016, 'Isis outside Egypt'; Turcan, 1996, p.88

Isis' universal characteristics as a mother, wife and healer/magician allowed her to be associated with other goddesses as seen in statues denoting her as Fortuna/Tyche (Plate 4D.2), Aphrodite (Plate 4D.3) and Demeter (Plate 4D.4), much like Magna Mater's spread which made her relatable at the local level while maintaining her global persona, an effective glocalized deity. As Bonnet and Baines²⁰⁹ explains, this was due to the unique syncretism that was fundamental in Egyptian religion where two deities fused together and yet remained individuals. Hence, Isis is in Demeter yet they both remain separate, something that eventually led to a common spiritual basis²¹⁰ that allowed monotheist concepts to develop.

Despite the mysterious practices and drawing women away from their traditional roles like Bacchus' cult had, Isis still maintained a consistent level of influence across Roman territories despite of restrictions and bans mostly due to her universal application supporting different peoples' religious needs across society as far as Asia Minor to Spain and Britain. Dowden notes there was a belief by the west that Egyptians were the purveyors of a 'deep sacred knowledge'²¹¹ and the deities that emerged from it would give them access to that mystic. However, Petersen²¹² argues caution in projecting our own modern fascination, or Egyptomania, back onto the Romans when the ancient written evidence from the likes of Valerius Maximus and Juvenal suggests a general distaste for the Egyptian cults as well as other non-Roman deities. Valerius Maximus' disgust at a magistrate disguised in foreign emblems²¹³ implies that Isis' cult may have been commonplace and acceptable for the lower classes by the first century CE but it was no place for the Roman elite to involve themselves in.

4D.3 Restrictions

The glocalization of Isis' cult across Roman territories was generally successful except within Rome itself where it suffered consistently from the late first century BCE until beyond the end of the Empire. Non-Roman cultic centres were mostly established outside the *pomerium* with the formal *Iseum Serapeum* built on the Campus Martius. However, other cultic sites were likely illegally set up on the

²⁰⁹ Bonnet and Baines, 1999, p.183, 186

²¹⁰ Bonnet and Baines, 1999, p.194

²¹¹ Dowden, 1992, p.66

²¹² Petersen, 2016, p.6

²¹³ Val. Max. *Memorable Doings and Saying*, VII.3.8

Capitoline Hill²¹⁴ and were repeatedly destroyed by the senate.²¹⁵ Eric Orlin²¹⁶ notes that there was an increasing amount of destruction of particularly Isis' cult, ending in digging up the entire precincts in 48 BCE to prevent her followers rebuilding again. While the belief that 'foreign' cults were inferior, liable to *superstitio* and the source of potential political subversion²¹⁷, Isis' cult was not formally banned in the manner that Bacchus was in 186 BCE with temples and altars as the target instead and as Dowden notes,²¹⁸ Rome's concerns during the first century BCE were focused centrally on protecting the city's culture, not its wider territories.

This is clear by the unhindered proliferation of Isis' cult in Pompeii from roughly the 2nd century BCE²¹⁹ when Pompeii was merely a Roman ally rather than a conquest. Augustus' ban in 28 BCE on Egyptians cults inside the *pomerium* and later into an area one Roman mile²²⁰ from the centre was an attempt to re-establish, or as Beard *et al*²²¹ argues retrospectively invent, an ancient tradition of preventing non-Roman cults from entering the sacred *pomerium*.²²² Connected to Augustus' Isiac restrictions was his funding of a new *Iseum* outside the *pomerium* which Orlin²²³ views as evidencing an overall Roman openness towards all non-Roman cults despite Augustus' defeat of Cleopatra in 31BCE that was typified as a victory over Egyptian gods.²²⁴

Crucially, the political relationship between Rome and Egypt was also an important factor in religious tolerance. According to D. Jasmine Merced-Ownbey, non-Roman cults were tolerated when relations were peaceful and trade unhindered whereas war and internal strife resulted in religious persecution.²²⁵ As political relations settled with Roman domination, emperors were confidently able to revive and officially institute Isiac worship into the Roman pantheon without *mos maiorum* proving too much of a stalwart.

²¹⁴ Turcan, 1996, p.86; Orlin, 2010, p.204

²¹⁵ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.161; dates of destruction are 59, 58, 53, 50 and 48 BCE.

²¹⁶ Orlin, 2010, p.204

²¹⁷ Beard *et al*, 1998a, pp.221-2

²¹⁸ Dowden, 1992, p.41

²¹⁹ Meyers, 2016, p.7

²²⁰ Turcan, 1996, p.88, extended in 21 BCE by Agrippa in his capacity as Augustus' deputy while Augustus was in Sicily.

²²¹ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.180; Orlin, 2010, p.211

²²² Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.180

²²³ Orlin, 2010, p.211

²²⁴ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p.222

²²⁵ Merced-Ownbey, 2008, p.5

Isis challenged Rome's tolerance on multiple levels and despite repeated attempts to block her cult's glocalization, Isis' flexibility and her worshippers' persistence, allowed adaption accordingly into a variety of territories including Londinium and Asia Minor. Her tolerance greatly depended on Rome's internal political stability and that with Egypt. Isis offered an alternative religious choice alongside ancestral traditions rather than completely moving away²²⁶ from them that included giving women greater freedom and reassurance regarding life after death that was more than just a place in the Underworld of Roman religion.

Jupiter Dolichenus and Zeus Sabazios

Jupiter Dolichenus and Zeus Sabazios are evidence of glocalization, Romanization and *interpretatio Romana*, allowing them to be identified both visually and in literature with the more global Roman deities alongside preserving their locality's heritage beyond their origin town.²²⁷ More importantly they are linked to the leading Graeco-Roman deity, Jupiter/Zeus, which can arguably be suggested that the non-Roman deity is at least as equally as powerful in their locality as they occur within the Roman pantheon.²²⁸

As with most eastern origin cults, initiations were behind closed doors with no public worship or displays and thereby, there is little to no surviving evidence attesting to these matters. What does survive in ancient literature is either negative, influenced by generalised proscriptions or postdates the cult's activity and the excavated archaeological remains have led to mostly intelligent guesswork in academic writings, hence the belief that Jupiter Dolichenus had female worshippers based on the inclusion of their names alongside their male family members.²²⁹

²²⁶ Dowden, 1992, p.74

²²⁷ Dowden, 1992, p.46

²²⁸ Price, 2012, pp. 1–19; IV "The Imperial Context"

²²⁹ Turcan, 1996, p.167

4E. Jupiter Dolichenus

Baal,²³⁰ the Syrian god of fertility and thunder from Doliche (now in southeast Turkey) was incorporated into the Roman pantheon through *interpretatio Romana* as the military god Dolichenus from roughly the early second century CE²³¹ but was in decline from the late third century CE onwards following a number of temple destructions. Baal was primarily identified with the weather gods of the Hittite-Hurrian pantheons Teshub and Hadad²³² prior to his Roman incorporation and the later Dolichenus was predominately viewed as a thunder god based on his imagery containing a thunderbolt, naturally aligning him with the Capitoline Jupiter under the Romanized dual name as Iuppiter/Jupiter Dolichenus.

Later on, his epithet expanded into Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus (IOMD), taking on the Capitoline Jupiter's full name reflecting Dolichenus' transformation and identification as a universal god beyond his origin town²³³ and across the empire with Beard *et al*²³⁴ even stating that the adoption of the full Capitoline Jupiter's name amounted to an usurpation of the state cult and suggested the superiority of an 'alternative' non-Roman cult. Furthermore, Dolichenus' cult imagery astride a bull provides another connection to Jupiter in his anthropomorphic form found in Roman mythology²³⁵ as well as linking to the Mithras' tauroctony.

The extensive spread of Jupiter Dolichenus' cult can be linked to the movement of the Roman army and Syrian traders as well as the Dolichenian priests²³⁶ with archaeological evidence, most notably inscriptions, discovered in both Germany and Britain at army settlements and sites with major trade and transport connections. His cult was interlinked with Mithras' to ensure the army's safety and success in war. Some temples have been recorded since the second century BCE in the western empire however this number is low compared to other cults such as Mithras partly due to their destruction after the 250s CE as

²³⁰ Vágási, 2019, p. 537. The term 'Baal' was later used to mean 'owner' or 'lord'.

²³¹ Nash-Williams, 1952, p.76-77

²³² Leisser, 2015, p.2. Kuşseven, 2007, pp.2, 4.

²³³ Kaizer, 2008, p.23

²³⁴ Beard *et al*, 1998, p.281.

²³⁵ Ov. *Met.* 6.115-16.

²³⁶ Vágási, 2019, p.241

Dolichenus' influence declined including in his origin town Doliche, which was destroyed by the Persian King Shapur I around 253 CE.²³⁷ Nonetheless discoveries at provincial borders and the undiscovered finds at identified potential sites where army regiments resided such as the Rhine-Danube border and Hadrian's Wall does demonstrate Dolichenus' popularity being only second to that of Mithras²³⁸ amongst the army.

In comparison to Mithras though, Jupiter Dolichenus' cult had a much broader appeal and surviving inscriptions evidence²³⁹ that it was not as restrictive of its initiates, allowing military and civilian as well as male and potentially female followers. However, Beard *et al*²⁴⁰ states there were no female initiates despite there being evidence of female names on dedications. Perhaps it evidences instead a distinction between initiates into the cult and general followers based on their male family member's participation.

The expansion of Dolichenus' cult was not just across Rome's territories where its armies settled but also into central Rome with a primary temple excavated on the Aventine Hill, along with secondary cult sites excavated on the Caelian and Esquiline Hills.²⁴¹ In particular, the Aventine Hill temple has revealed an array of inscriptions made by dedicatees that evidence its hierarchy²⁴² with an estimated number of over 600 items found across known cult sites that can be related to Jupiter Dolichenus.²⁴³ The location of the Aventine temple was in close proximity to the Egyptian Iseum Serapeum which could have suggested to Romans that the two cults' practices mirrored each other and, although they both maintained closed temples, Dolichenus was completely solitary like Mithras possibly as a reaction to the persecution suffered by other non-Roman cults across the centuries.

However, in spite of the closed nature of Dolichenus' temple and initiations as well as a lack of public worship and festivals (unlike Isis), adherence to him by the military and the elite plus their families is evidence of a rapid glocalization due

²³⁷ Leisser, 2015, p. iii

²³⁸ Nash-Williams, 1952, p.72. Leisser, 2015, p.iii.

²³⁹ Turcan, 1996, p.167

²⁴⁰ Beard *et al*, 1998a, p. Nash-Williams, 1952, p.72. Leisser, 2015, p.iii. 298.

²⁴¹ Dészpa, 2017, p.115.

²⁴² Beard *et al*, 1998b, p. 295-7.

²⁴³ Blömer, 2017, p.96, fn 1.

to a well-executed *interpretatio Romana* during the second century CE. This was further aided by the use of Latin as the common language of the cult compared to others non-Roman deities that used Greek²⁴⁴ as the Roman army set up dedications across the territories however there are also examples of bilingual inscriptions.²⁴⁵

The Romanized imagery of a bearded Dolichenus (Plate 4E.1) in the Roman military dress (cuirass and lambrequins)²⁴⁶ surrounded by the Capitoline Jupiter's symbols (bull and thunderbolt) made him more relatable to both native Romans and the varied members of the army which included Syrians who were still able to engage with their homeland's deity. This re-imagination of Dolichenus as a glocalized deity enabled his cult to peacefully grow without attracting the harsh restrictions that were inflicted upon Magna Mater and Bacchus.

His dress conflicts with that of Mithras who is presented in eastern clothing, notably the Phrygian cap and this evidences that Jupiter Dolichenus was more glocalized into Roman culture but still, through standing astride a bull, relatable to Mithras' cult too. Jupiter Dolichenus' Romanized image should have made his cult more widespread than that of Mithras however it appears that Mithras' influence as an 'Other' deity option and supporting the imperial cult gave Mithras the upper hand.

The destruction of Doliche's temple in 253 CE by a fellow easterner was the turning point in support for the cult showing that Dolichenus was not an all-powerful universe god and the loss of imperial favour after the Severan dynasty weakened support across the empire rather than any condemnation or restriction by the Roman elites. As followers of Jupiter Dolichenus waned, Mithras proved a ready and tolerated alternative.

4F. Zeus Sabazios

Zeus Sabazios was a Thracian-Phrygian god emerging in Greece in the fourth century BCE onwards whose primary characteristic has been suggested as

²⁴⁴ Dészpa, 2017, p.115

²⁴⁵ Dészpa, 2017, p.115-16

²⁴⁶ Turcan, 1996, p.160

being a god of the mountain,²⁴⁷ of fermented juice²⁴⁸ and a horseman god.²⁴⁹ The inclusion of Zeus in his epithet stems from Phrygian sources whereas the association with Dionysus was from Thracian sources, evidencing that he was not subjected to *interpretatio Romana* nor fully Romanized but rather Hellenized. Rather his epithet places him within the glocalization category, remaining true to his local roots but on a slightly global but small scale in select parts of the Roman territories.

The link with Dionysus was created by a number of factors, firstly in one version of Dionysus' mythology found from the first century BCE in Diodorus Siculus,²⁵⁰ it is suggested that Dionysus was first named Sabazios before the Titans tore him to pieces and Dionysus was created anew from Sabazios' surviving heart.²⁵¹ Secondly, the inclusion of a sacred drink (possibly beer) in the mysterious night time initiations which also relates to the etymology of his name²⁵² denoting "*sab*" as juice, and thirdly, his imagery reflected Dionysus' earlier image as a bearded older man (Plate 4F.1) before Dionysus was reimagined as a younger, baby faced and effeminate youth.

A further link to the Greek Dionysus from Phrygian myth sees Cybele, the mother goddess as the nurse of Sabazios in his second born form as the child Dionysus, hidden in the Phrygian mountains away from the vengeful Hera.²⁵³ The diffusion of Sabazios' cult was much more limited compared to Jupiter Dolichenus, as he remained mostly in the east especially in the Hellenic territories and was officially introduced into Pergamum's state cult²⁵⁴ however a cultic site close to that of the Capitoline Jupiter has been found in Rome, dedicated in 146 BCE by Scipio Aemilianus as a possibly shared area with another non-Roman deity.²⁵⁵

²⁴⁷ Lozovan, & Haddad, 1968, p. 217.

²⁴⁸ Turcan, 1996, p.315

²⁴⁹ Turcan, 1996, p.316

²⁵⁰ Diod. Sic. *Library of History*, 4.4.1

²⁵¹ Nonnus' *Dionysiaca* states that the first born of Zeus and Persephone was named as Zagreus but became Dionysus when he is reborn by Semele from a potion made by Zeus of Sabazios' heart after the infant Sabazios is torn apart by the Titans. Greek Dionysus is Zeus and Semele's son and considered twice born after Semele burns up in Zeus' divine presence and the baby Dionysus is stitched into Zeus' leg until he is full term. Nonnus, *Diony.* 252-315.

²⁵² Culianu & Poghirc, 2005, p.7953.

²⁵³ Nonnus, *Dion.* 9.136, 9.206.

²⁵⁴ Parker, 2012. [Online].

²⁵⁵ Turcan, 1996, p.317

The glocalization of Zeus Sabazios on a smaller scale than other non-Roman deities still suffered restrictions on its practices. This is partly argued by Turcan²⁵⁶ as being due to the Roman tendency to lump certain groups together, without any proper thought or investigation into their practices. Diodorus Siculus' description of practices "at night and in secret, because of the disgrace (of sexual intercourse)"²⁵⁷ fuelled the belief that the night time initiations with their strange mud cleanse and sacred drink was another version of Bacchus' raucous practices that resulted in the 186 BCE Bacchanalia ban.

Clement of Alexandria²⁵⁸ added further fuel by associating Sabazios with the myth of Zeus' sexually repulsive behaviour against mother/sister, Demeter and his own daughter, Persephone that was characterised in Sabazian rites by snakes representing Zeus on initiates' chests. Valerius Maximus' muddled account of Sabazios' proscription alongside Jews and Chaldaeans in 139 BCE suggests Roman confusion with 'Sabaoth', mistaking 'Jupiter Sabazius'²⁵⁹ as the Jewish deity and accusing them of trying to 'infect Roman manners'.²⁶⁰

Rather than showing Roman intolerance of Sabazios, this instead highlights the elites' misunderstanding of non-Roman cults and their failure to fully justify any sanctions imposed. Cumont also suggests that the votive liturgical hands of Sabazios were influenced by Judaism views linked to celestial feasting²⁶¹, further complicating Sabazios' cult. It goes towards establishing that Roman tolerance was not actually a fully glocalized process, especially during the Republic, as the non-Roman deities were forced to Romanize their practices in order to operate relatively peacefully in central Rome and Roman territories.

5. Conclusion

The lasting prevalence of religious tolerance during the late Roman Republic and through to the Empire of non-Roman deities remained reasonably consist at its

²⁵⁶ Turcan, 1996, p. 316

²⁵⁷ Diod. Sic. *Library of History*, 4.4.1.

²⁵⁸ Clem. Al. *The Exhortation to the Greeks*, II.XV.

²⁵⁹ Val. Max. *Memorable Doings and Sayings*, I.3.3.

²⁶⁰ Val. Max. *Memorable Doings and Sayings*; I.3.3.

²⁶¹ Cumont, 1911, p.65.

core even though on the surface it seemed to be applied rather haphazardly. Fundamentally, this tolerance developed due to the nature of Rome's early religion as a polytheist society with an adopted religious tradition at its core dating back to its foundation. Central to Roman tolerance was its dedication to its ancestral traditions, just as local elites around its territories stuck to their traditions too and resisted Romanization of religion. As Dowden²⁶² demonstrates, Rome's polytheism was founded upon religious tradition and practices rather than a set of beliefs or scriptures as in Christianity which allowed for a greater degree of flexibility and tolerance of non-Roman deities in its expanding pantheon. However, this flexibility became restrictive when a mystery cult and its deity was deemed a threat to Rome's *mos maiorum* that could have seen the fabric of society deteriorate into barbaric chaos not dissimilar to the barbarian natives found in Rome's vast territories.

Rome's conquest of strong ancient societies with well-established religious traditions such as Egypt did not necessarily break down the pre-existing religious structure but it did enable the flow of trades, people and beliefs to extend across a vast array of territories. This flow also worked in a reverse manner, allowing cultures and religions to impact on Rome itself, highlighted mostly by the Egyptian-Greek hybrid and later Romanised Isis. Nonetheless, these incoming non-Roman deities had to conform to Roman traditions and practices by muting the more grotesque elements of their cults or restricting citizens' roles as with Magna Mater and Bacchus.

Rome's position as the centrally located hub of its territories with no other large politically dominating city such as seen when the Empire split in 395 CE meant it played a dominating role in its religious workings. Providing that a non-Roman cult functioned in a similar manner to Roman religion, it was left generally to operate unhindered. This broadly required not having secret or grotesque initiations and general practices, behaving in a moderate and not ecstatic manner, having a well-structured mostly male hierarchy that was subject to central controls and rules and being open/public in terms of its temple and festivals. A non-Roman cult also could be left unencumbered if it operated on society's fringes and did not draw attention to its exoticism such as in Mithraism.

²⁶² Dowden, 1992, p. 8

However, when a non-Roman cult acted outside of Rome's control, as with Bacchus' cult, then Rome deemed it appropriate for it to enforce restrictions even into areas, like those of Rome's allies, where there was no previous precedent of interference and liable to risk their relationship. By acting outside of Roman control, it enabled the religiously active to have a religious choice, a matter that was at play through the rise of Christianity and weakened not just Roman control but also the validity of polytheist religions. Roman religion involved the continuance of traditions which meant that certain public practices had to be followed regardless leaving the population with little choice. Tradition could be adapted to include non-Roman deities and practices as with Magna Mater's official inclusion into the pantheon as she was deemed to support civic traditions but again, there was no explicit choice to move away from the central traditions without there being consequences to bear. Crucially, official and sanctioned non-Roman deities were merely an addition to the pantheon, not a movement away from it however they were still perceived as a threat.

Religion was an important way of enforcing Roman power and control by incorporating local deities but forcing them into a pre-set Roman structure as it brought about a civilizing way into all societies. By globalizing a native religion, it allowed other areas of a province to be changed and Romanized, both by Rome itself and the native elites' desire to gain benefits by Romanizing their lives although it is noted that local elites choose whether or not to adopt a non-Roman deity and to what extent at the risk of their native deities and traditions.

The changing level of religious tolerance is particularly notable between the Republic and the later Empire. More restrictions including outright bans and temple destructions were put in place during the Republic against Bacchus, Magna Mater, Isis and Zeus Sabazios. In the Empire by comparison, Isis enjoyed a renewal of worship and the cults of Mithras plus Jupiter Dolichenus were able to exist reasonably peacefully. The main impetuses appears to have been the religiosity and favouritism of the emperor and the elites of eastern cultures plus religions and also the political security of Rome within its territories overall. During the Republic, Rome was still expanding its control into new territories and dealing with a mass influx of strange people and their cultures while also trying to deal with its own internal problems. Whereas by the time of the Empire, Rome was reasonably stable at the centre and able to indulge more, although notably at the beginning the morally upright Augustus and Tiberius were re-emphasising *mos maiorum* linked to

establishing a new political structure and rebalancing society. Changing religious choice, reduction in religious strictures and Romanized deities allowed for a growing tolerance of non-Roman deities throughout the Empire. It was only with the rise and subsequent takeover of Christianity that condemned religious tolerance of not just non-Roman deities but also the ancestral Roman traditions.

Religious tolerance was a powerful card in the Roman hand as it linked into all areas of ancient life due to the significance of any form of religion across the Roman territories. The globalization process of non-Roman deities into both Roman and native societies was effective in varying degrees but when this started to fail and disintegrate as people had gained more religious choice in their worship and practices, then the empire itself began to crumble with it.

Plates

4A. Bacchus

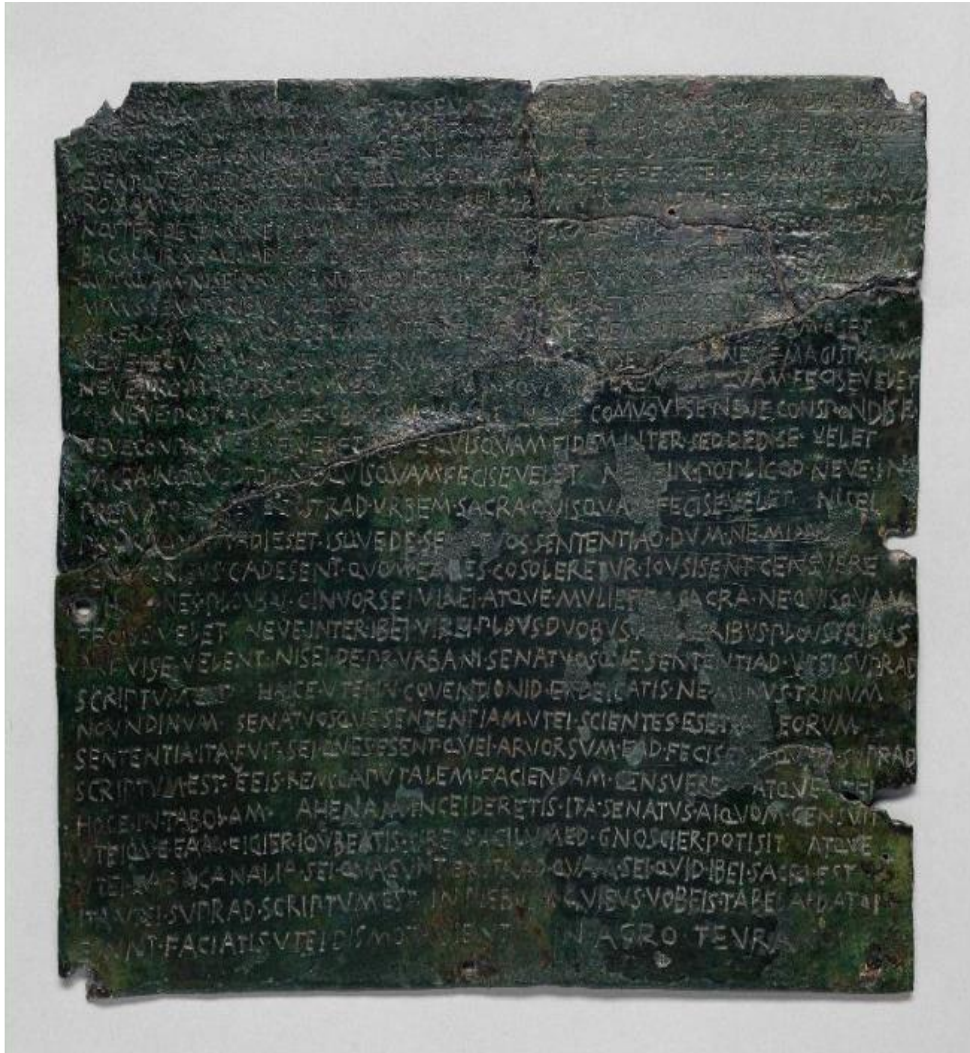


Plate 4A.1. Bronze tablet with an inscription of version of the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*, ca. 186 BCE. Discovered in Tiriolo, Calabria, Italy in 1640. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Collection of Antiquities. (2020).



Plate 4A.2. Marble statue base of Pompeia Agrippinilla ca. 160-170 CE from Torre Nova, Campagna. The Metropolitan Museum, 26.60.70a, b, Gallery 168.



Plate 4A.3. Marble sarcophagus featuring Dionysus and Ariadne, ca. 200 CE from Vigna Casali, Rome. Carlsberg Glyptotek Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark. Tarker / Bridgeman Images. Image Number TRK697501.



Plate 4A.4. Marble sarcophagus featuring Dionysus and the Triumph of the Seasons, ca. 260-70 CE from Rome (possibly). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA. Tarker / Bridgeman Images. Image Number TRK563051

4B.Magna Mater



Plate 4B.1 Patere de Parabiago, silver ritual dish depicting the triumph of Attis and Cybele on a chariot fired by lions, Parabiago near Milan, ca. 4th century CE. Musee archelologique de Milan, Italy. Luisa Ricciarini / Bridgeman Images. Image Number LRI4646371.



Plate 4B.2 Taurobolium of Magna Mater's cult based on Prudentius' account. Figure 12.2 in Beard, M. (2012). 'The Cult of the 'Great Mother' in Imperial Rome: The Roman and the 'Foreign'. In Rasmus Brandt, J. and Iddeng, J. W. *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

4C. Mithras



Plate 4C.1. Temple of Mithras with 3 replica altars, ca. 200 CE and destroyed ca. 350 CE at Carrawburgh, Northumberland. English Heritage.



Plate 4C.2. Shrine to the God Mithras (Mithraeum) of painted plaster, ca. 240 CE (third reconstruction, originally created in 168 CE) from a private house shrine in Dura-Europos. Yale University Art Gallery.



Fig. 122 – Mon. 435

Plate 4C.3. White marble relief showing Mithras performing a tauroctony, ca. late 3rd century CE. Campus Maximus Mithraeum, Rome, from Vermaseren *CIMRM* 435, Fig. 122. Tertullian Online.



Plate 4C.4. Marble relief of Mithras slaying a bull, surrounded by the Sun and Luna, twelve zodiac signs, The Mithraic torch-bearers Cautes and Cautopates and possibly the four winds. CA 2nd-3rd century CE, Mithraeum of Sidon. Paris, Louvre Museum. Josse; Bridgeman Image. Image Number JLJ4680789.

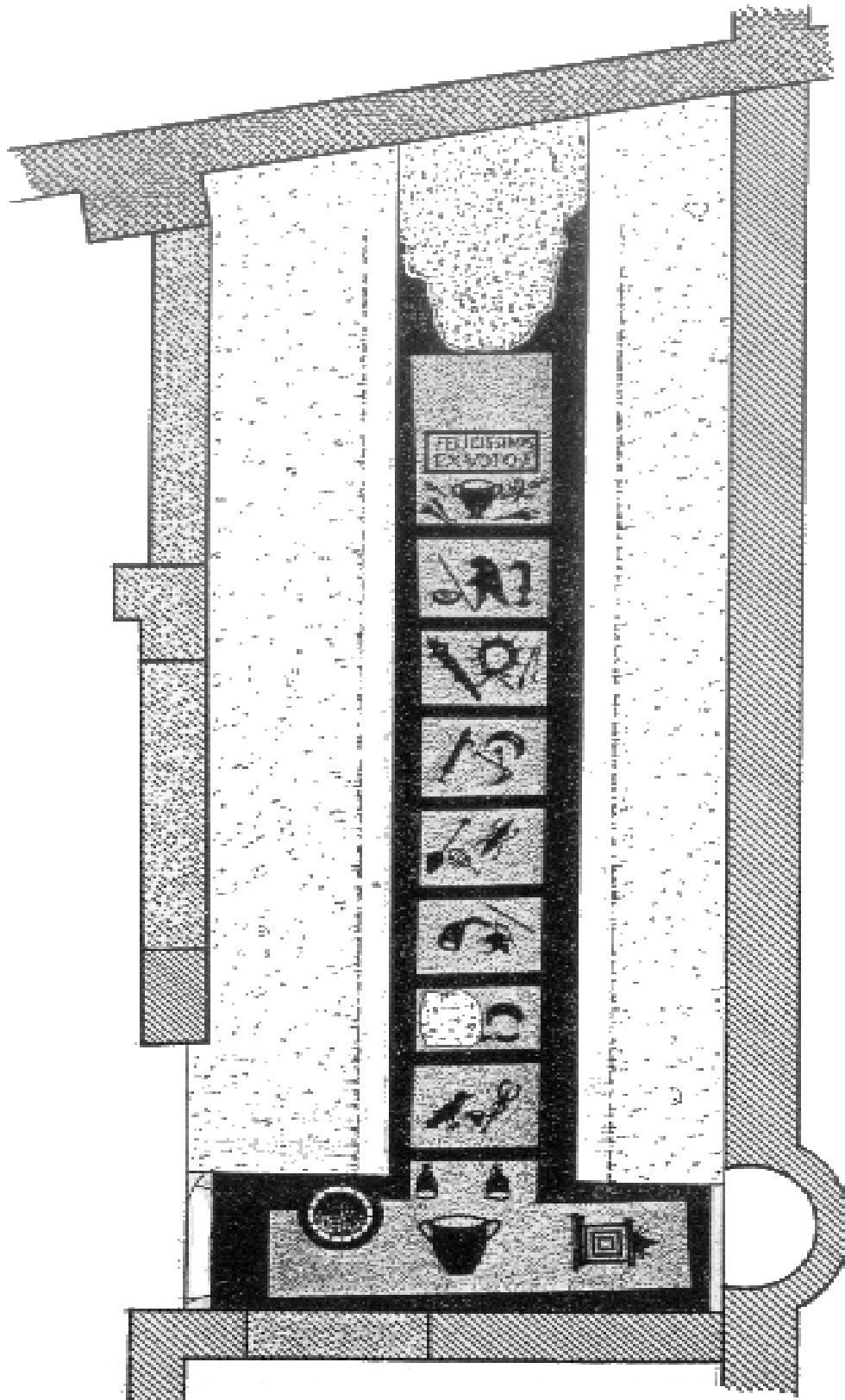


Plate 4C.5. Mosaic ladder with each section symbolising the seven grades of Mithras, ca. 250 CE, Mitreo di Felicissimo, Ostia. Regio V, Insula IX. Ostia Topographical Dictionary [Online].

4D. Isis



Plate 4D.1 Marble sculpture of Isis, ca 1st-2nd century CE, from possibly Tivoli. Rome: Musei Capitolini. Inv MC 0744.



Plate 4D.2 – Cast bronze statuette of Isis-Fortuna (Egyptian), ca. 1st-2nd century CE, possibly from Egypt. The Walters Art Museum. Image Number 54.943



Plate 4D.3 - Romano-Egyptian vessel in the form of Isis-Aphrodite (terracotta), location unknown, Roman Imperial Period (27 BC-476 AD). Private Collection: Photo © Heini Schneebeli / Bridgeman Images. Image Number HSC325668.



Plate 4D.4 – Marble statue of Isis Demeter, Roman, location and date unknown. Museo Nazionale Romano - Palazzo Altemps, Rome, Italy. Photo © Stefano Baldini / Bridgeman Images. Image Number SBL3042704.

4E Jupiter Dolichenus



Plate 4E.1. Roman Bronze statuette of Jupiter Dolichenus (standing on a bull), ca. 200-250 BCE from an unknown shrine. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna, Austria. Ali Meyer: Bridgeman Images. Image Number XAM93779.

4F. Zeus Sabazios



Plate 4F.1. Bronze bust of Dionysus-Sabazius, late 2nd century BC from Pompeii.
Accademia Italiana, London: Bridgeman Images. Image number ACI97452.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Apuleius. *Metamorphoses (The Golden Ass), Volume II: Books 7-11*. Hanson, J. A. (trans) (1989). Loeb Classical Library 453. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Caesar, G. Iulius. *The Gallic War* in Hammond, C. (trans) (2008) 2nd ed. Oxford World's Classics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Catullus, *Poems*. Cornish, F. W. (trans) (1913) & Goold, G. P. (ed) *Catullus*. Loeb Classical Library 6. Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press.
- Clement of Alexandria. *The Exhortation to the Greeks*. Butterworth, G. W. (trans) (1919). Loeb Classical Library 92. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Diodorus Siculus. *Library of History (Books III – VIII)*, Oldfather, C. H. (trans) (1935). Loeb Classical Library, 303 - 340. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus. *Roman Antiquities, Volume I: Books 1-2*. Cary, E. (trans) (1937). Loeb Classical Library 319. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Herodotus, *Histories*. Godley, A. D. (trans) (1920) Cambridge, MA; Harvard University Press.
- Homeric Hymns. Homeric Apocrypha. Lives of Homer*. West, M. L. (ed & trans) (2003). Loeb Classical Library 496. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Lampridius, A. 'Commodus Antonius' (Life of Commodus) in *(Scriptores) Historia Augusta, Volume I*. Magie, D. (trans) (1921). Loeb Classical Library 139. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Livy. *History of Rome, Volume XI: Books 38–40*, Yardley, J. C. (trans) (2018). Loeb Classical Library 313. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*. Rouse, W. H. D. (trans) (1940). Loeb Classical Library 344, 354, 356. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press.
- Ovid, *Fasti*. Frazer, J. G. and Goold, G. P. (trans) (1931) Loeb Classical Library 253. Cambridge MA; Harvard University Press.
- Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, Raeburn, D. (trans) (2004). London: Penguin Books.

- Pausanias, *Description of Greece, Volume III Books 6-8.21 (Elis 2, Achaia, Arcadia)*. Jones, W. H. S. (trans) (1918) Loeb Classical Library 272. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Plautus. *The Merchant. The Braggart Soldier. The Ghost. The Persian*. de Melo, W. (trans) (2011). Loeb Classical Library 163. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Plutarch. *Moralia, Volume V: Isis and Osiris*. Babbitt, F. C. (trans) (1936). Loeb Classical Library 306. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings, Volume I: Books 1-5*. Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (trans) (2000). Loeb Classical Library, 492. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Valerius Maximus, *Memorable Doings and Sayings, Volume II: Books 6-9*. Shackleton Bailey, D. R. (trans) (2000). Loeb Classical Library, 493. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Virgil, *Aeneid*. Ahl, F. (trans.) (2008). Oxford World Classics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Secondary Sources

- Adams, L.L. (2008). "Globalization, Universalism, and Cultural Form." *Comparative studies in society and history*, 50(3), pp.614–640. Accessed 15/07/20.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/27563692>
- Alles, G. D. (2005). 'Study of Religion: An Overview'. In L. Jones (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 2nd ed.(13), pp. 8761-8767. Macmillan Reference USA. Accessed 24/06/20.
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424502976/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=a0d9e637>
- Alvar, J. (2008). Gordon, R. (trans. & ed.) 'Romanising Oriental Gods: Myth, Salvation and Ethics in the Cults of Cybele, Isis and Mithras'. *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 165. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill. Accessed 10/11/20.
<https://doi-org.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/10.1163/ej.9789004132931.i-486>
- Ando, C. (2008). *The matter of the gods: religion and the Roman Empire*. Berkeley, Calif.; London: University of California Press.

- Assman, J. (2007). 'Monotheism and Polytheism.' In Johnston, S. I. (ed) *Ancient Religions*. Cambridge, Mass & London, UK: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Baron, R. (1977). 'Syncretism and Ideology: Latin New York Salsa Musicians'. *Western Folklore*, 36(3), pp. 209-225. Accessed 15/10/20. doi:10.2307/1499249.
- Baron, R. (2003). 'Amalgams and Mosaics, Syncretisms and Reinterpretations: Reading Herskovits and Contemporary Creolists for Metaphors of Creolization'. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 116(459), pp.88-115. Accessed 18/10/20. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4137944>
- Bauman, Z. (2013). 'Glocalization and hybridity'. *Glocalism*, 1, pp.1–5. Accessed 01/09/20. <https://doi.org/10.12893/gjcpi.2013.1.9>
- Beard, M., North, J., and Price, S. (1998a). *Religions of Rome; Volume 1, A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beard, M., North, J., and Price, S. (1998b). *Religions of Rome; Volume 2, A Sourcebook*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Beard, M. (2012). 'The Cult of the 'Great Mother' in Imperial Rome: The Roman and the 'Foreign''. In Rasmus Brandt, J. and Iddeng, J. W. *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 03/01/21. <https://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199696093.001.0001/acprof-9780199696093-chapter-13>
- Beck, R. (1998). 'The Mysteries of Mithras: A New Account of Their Genesis'. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, 88, pp.115-128. Accessed 18/12/20. doi:10.2307/300807
- Beck, R. (2007). *The Religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire: Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bellah, R.N. (1964). 'Religious Evolution'. *American sociological review*, 29(3), pp.358–374. Accessed 06/06/20. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2091480>
- Bentley, J.H., (1993). *Old World encounters : cross-cultural contacts and exchanges in pre-modern times*, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bermúdez, M., (2009). 'Pasados bárbaros, presentes romanos. Sincretismo e identidad religiosa/Barbarian pasts, Roman presents. Syncretism and religious identity.' *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma*, (22), pp.261–274. Accessed

- 10/06/20. <https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/scholarly-journals/pasados-bárbaros-presentes-romanos-sincretismo-e/docview/1525750685/se-2?accountid=130472>
- Beyer, P. (2005) 'Globalization and Religion'. In L. Jones (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed.(5), pp. 3497-3504. Macmillan Reference USA. Accessed 10/10/20.
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424501180/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=ebc19f9c>
- Beyer, P. (2007) 'Globalization and glocalization'. In J. A. Beckford & N. J. Demerath, *The SAGE handbook of the sociology of religion*, pp. 98-118. London: SAGE Publications Ltd. Accessed 10/06/20. doi: 10.4135/9781848607965.n6
- Beyer, P. (2010). 'Religious Diversity and Globalization'. In Meister, C. (ed) *The Oxford Handbook of Religious Diversity, Vol 1*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 10/06/20 [Online].
DOI:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780195340136.003.0014
- Bjørnebye, J. (2007). "*Hic locus est felix, sanctus, piusque benignus*". *The cult of Mithras in fourth century Rome*. PhD thesis. Norwegian Open Research Archives. Accessed 12/01/21. <https://core.ac.uk/reader/30925335>
- Blömer, M. (2017). 'The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus in the East'. In Nagel, S., Quack, J., and Witschel, C. (eds). *Entangled Worlds. Religious Confluences between East and West in the Roman Empire. The Cults of Isis, Mithras, and Jupiter Dolichenus*. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck. Accessed 05/12/20.
https://www.academia.edu/32979366/The_Cult_of_Jupiter_Dolichenus_in_the_East
- Bonnet, H. & Baines, J. (1999). 'On Understanding Syncretism'. *Orientalia (Roma)*, 68(3), pp.181–198. Accessed 01/09/20. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43076461>
- Bremmer, J. N. (2014). *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World*. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter. Accessed 12/01/21.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110299557>
- Brodd, J., Reed, J.L. & American Council of Learned Societies, (2011). *Rome and religion a cross-disciplinary dialogue on the imperial cult*, Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature. Accessed 19/01/21. <https://hdl-handle-net.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/2027/heh.31288>

- Brown, P. G. M. (2014) 'Plautus'. In Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A. and Eidinow, E. *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Chidester, D. (2005). 'Colonialism and Postcolonialism' In L. Jones (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed.(3), pp. 1853-1860). Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA. Accessed 14/06/20.
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424500621/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=71e4a1b4>
- Clauss, M. (1990). 'Die sieben Grade des Mithras-Kultes,' *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 82, 183-94. Accessed 05/01/21.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20187313>
- Colpe, C. (2005). 'Syncretism [First Edition]'. In L. Jones (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed.(13), pp. 8926-8934. Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA. Accessed 01/07/20.
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424503019/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=fd138819>
- Culianu, I. P., & Poghirc, C. (2005). 'Sabazios.' In L. Jones (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed.(12), pp. 7953-7954. Macmillan Reference USA. Accessed 11/12/20.
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424502688/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=9c4ab399>
- Cumont, F. (1911). *The Oriental religions in Roman paganism*, Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company.
- Cumont, F. (1933). 'Part Two: Religious Commentary on the Inscription'. In. Alexander, C. 'Abstract of the Articles on the Bacchic Inscription in the Metropolitan Museum'. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 37(2), pp.264-270. Accessed 18/12/20. doi:10.2307/498441
- Desmangles, L. G. (2005). 'Creolization'. In L. Jones (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed.(3), pp. 2065-2068. Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA. Accessed 03/07/20.
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424500676/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=a5b292ed>
- Dészpa, M. L. (2017). 'Jupiter Optimus Maximus Dolichenus and the Re-Imagination of the Empire: Religious Dynamics, Social Integration and Imperial Narratives'. In Nagel, S., Quack, J., and Witschel, C. (eds). *Entangled Worlds*.

Religious Confluences between East and West in the Roman Empire. The Cults of Isis, Mithras, and Jupiter Dolichenus. Tübingen, Germany: Mohr Siebeck. Accessed 05/12/20.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/317388092_Jupiter_Optimus_Maximus_Dolichenus_and_the_Re-Imagination_of_the_Empire_Religious_Dynamics_Social_Integration_and_Imperial_Narratives

Detienne, M. (2005). 'Dionysos'. In L. Jones (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*. 2nd ed.(4), pp. 2356-2360. Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA. Accessed 28/11/20.

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424500789/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=2926f936>

Dow, S. (1937). 'The Egyptian Cults in Athens'. *The Harvard Theological Review*, 30(4), pp.183-232. Accessed 21/01/21. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1508249>

Dowden, K. (1992). *Religion and the Romans*. London: Bristol Classical Press.

Elliott, J. H. (2007). *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Fowler, W. W. (1911) *The Religious Experience of the Roman People From The Earliest Times To The Age of Augustus*. London: Macmillan and Co Ltd.

Gasparro, G. F. (1985). *Soteriology and Mystic Aspects in the Cult of Cybele and Attis*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.

Geertz, C. & American Council of Learned Societies. (1973). *The interpretation of cultures selected essays*, New York: Basic Books.

Gordon, R. L. (2001). 'Ritual and Hierarchy in the Mysteries of Mithras'. *Antigüedad: Religiones Y Sociedades*, 4, 245-274. Accessed 10/01/21.

<https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/60638972.pdf>

Gordon, R. (2005). Mithraism. In L. Jones (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed.(9), pp. 6088-6093. Macmillan Reference USA. Accessed 10/01/21.

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424502083/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=6cc2952d>

Graf, F. (2005). 'Syncretism [Further Considerations]'. In L. Jones (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed.(13), pp. 8934-8938. Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA. Accessed 01/07/20

<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424503020/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=067aa30a>

Griffiths, A. (2010). 'Mithras'. In Gagarin, M. *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 10/01/21.

<https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-821>

Grimal, P. and Kershaw, S. (ed) (1991) *The Penguin Dictionary of Classical Mythology*. London: Penguin Books.

Hill, C. (2017). 'The Origins and Identity of Roman Mithraism'. Theses, Dissertations, and Student Creative Activity, School of Art, Art History and Design. 116. Unpublished Thesis. University of Nebraska, Lincoln. Accessed 12/01/21

<http://digitalcommons.unl.edu/artstudents/116>

Hingley, R. (2005). *Globalizing Roman Culture; Unity, diversity and empire*. London & New York: Routledge.

Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A. and Eidinow, E. (eds) (2014) *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*, 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hussein, E. (2018). 'Roman Religion in the Classroom: Spotlight on the Mysteries of Mithras'. *The journal of classics teaching*, 19(38), pp.4–12. Accessed 11/01/21. DOI:10.1017/S2058631018000168

Johnston, S.I. (ed) (2007). *Ancient religions*. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.

Juergensmeyer, M. (ed) (2006) *The Oxford Handbook of Global Religions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kaizer, T. (2008) 'The Variety of Local Religious Life in the Near East'. *Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*, 164. Leiden: Brill. Accessed 18/12/20. <https://doi-org.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/10.1163/ej.9789004167353.i-396>

Kennedy, J. (1917). 'Serapis, Isis, and Mithras as Essays towards a Universal Religion.' *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp.386–399. Accessed 22/12/20. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25189548>

Kennedy, P. (2007) 'Global Transformations but Local, "Bubble" Lives: Taking a Reality Check on Some Globalization Concepts', *Globalizations*, 4(2), pp. 267–282. Accessed 18/11/20. doi: 10.1080/14747730701345275.

- Khondker, H.H., (2013). 'Globalization, Glocalization, or Global Studies: What's in a Name?' *Globalizations*, 10(4), pp.527–531. Accessed 18/11/20. doi: 10.1080/14747731.2013.806747.
- King, H. (2003) 'Bacchus'. In Blakemore, C. and Jennett, S. (eds) *The Oxford Companion to the Body*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 23/12/20. <https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780198524038.001.0001/acref-9780198524038-e-76>.
- Kraidy, M. (2005). *Hybridity, or the Cultural Logic of Globalization*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press. Accessed 20/10/20 <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1bw1k8m>
- Kuşseven, P. (2007). *The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus: Origins and Iconography*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Bilkent University. Accessed 05/12/20. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/52940297.pdf>
- Lane, E. (1980). 'Towards a Definition of the Iconography of Sabazius.' *Numen*, 27(1), 9-33. Accessed 11/12/20 doi:10.2307/3269980
- Leisser, C. (2015). *The Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus on the Outer Limits of the Roman Empire: A Comparison Study of Dolichena*. Unpublished MA Thesis. Concordia University. Accessed 05/12/20. https://spectrum.library.concordia.ca/980389/1/Leisser_MA-F2015.pdf
- Lesko, L.H. and Mastrocinque, A. (2005) 'Osiris' in Jones, L., ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed., vol. 10, Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, pp. 6919-6922. Accessed 20/01/21. <https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424502350/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=6523eeb6>
- Lipka, M. (2009). *Roman Gods*, Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill.
- Lozovan, E., & Haddad, S. (1968). 'Dacia Sacra'. *History of Religions*, 7(3), pp.209-243. Accessed 03/01/21. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1061774>
- Mark, J. J. (2016). 'Isis'. *Ancient History Encyclopedia*. Accessed 18/01/21. <https://www.ancient.eu/isis/>
- Mazhjo, N. (2019). 'When Mithras Came to Rome: The Cultural Transmission of Mithras from Persia to the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds'. Unpublished PhD thesis. Concordia University Research Repository. Accessed 09/01/21. <https://core.ac.uk/reader/241087564>

- Mcguire, M. R. P. (ed) 'Roman Religion.' (2003). In *New Catholic Encyclopedia* (2nd ed.(12), pp. 323-327. Gale. Accessed 12/06/20.
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3407709654/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=144d73fb>
- Merced-Ownbey, D. J. (2008). 'Roman Isis and the Pendulum of Tolerance in the Empire'. *Inquiry: The University of Arkansas Undergraduate Research Journal*, 9(12). Accessed [Online]. <https://core.ac.uk/reader/72843714/>
- Meyers, C. (2016) *The Cult of Isis and Other Mystery Religions in Pompeii and the Roman World*. University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Accessed 17/01/21
<https://core.ac.uk/reader/217193149>
- Morford, M. P. O., Lenardon, R. J., and Sham, M. (2015) *Classical Mythology*, 10th ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Morwood, J. (2005). *Pocket Oxford Latin Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Nash-Williams, V. (1952). 'Iuppiter Dolichenus'. *Greece & Rome*, 21(62), pp. 72-77. Accessed 04/12/20. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/640970>
- Nederveen Pieterse, J. (2013) 'What is Global Studies?' *Globalizations*, 10(4), pp. 499–514. Accessed 17/08/20. doi: 10.1080/14747731.2013.806746
- Nel, P. (2017). 'Syncretism, Hybridity and Ambivalence: Probing the Concepts in Religious Discourse with Reference to Sacred Site Dynamics in South Africa', *Scriptura* 116 (1), pp. 1-12. Accessed 01/09/20.
<https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/cdef/6612614a63f7991df0970b13ad45e3c3312d.pdf>
- North, J. A. (1976). 'Conservatism and Change in Roman Religion'. *Papers of the British School in Rome*, 44, pp.1-12. Accessed 11/11/20.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/40310734>
- North, J. A. (1979) 'Religious Toleration in Republican Rome.' *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 25, pp. 85-103. Accessed 11/11/20.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/44696849>
- North, J. (2012). 'Liber Pater'. In Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A., and Eidinow, E. (eds). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 27/11/20. <https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-3679>

- Orlin, E. M. (2010). *Foreign Cults in Rome: Creating a Roman Empire*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 28/11/20. DOI: 10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199731558.001.0001
- Parker, G. (2010). 'Isis'. In Gagarin, M. (ed) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 07/01/21. <https://www.oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-638>
- Parker, R. (2012). 'Sabazius'. In Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A., and Eidinow, E. (eds). *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 10/12/20. <https://www.oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001/acref-9780199545568-e-5642>
- Petersen, L. H. (2011). 'Introduction: People, Places and Rituals in the Religions of Rome'. *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 56/57, pp. 3-14. Accessed 12/12/20. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/24616434>
- Petersen, L. H. (2016). *The Places of Roman Isis: Between Egyptomania, Politics and Religion*. Oxford Handbooks Online. Accessed 17/01/21. DOI:10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935390.013.128
- Price, S. (2012) 'Religious Mobility in the Roman Empire', *Journal of Roman Studies*. Cambridge University Press, 102, pp. 1–19. Accessed 10/11/20. doi: 10.1017/S0075435812000056.
- Pye, E. (1969). 'The Transplantation of Religions'. *Numen*, 16(3), pp.234-239. Accessed 16/07/20. doi:10.2307/3269750
- Ritzer, G. (2003). 'Rethinking Globalization: Glocalization/Globalization and Something/Nothing'. *Sociological Theory*, 21(3), pp.193-209. Accessed 10/09/20. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3108635>
- Rives, J. (2011). 'Religious Choice and Religious Change in Classical and Late Antiquity: Models and Questions'. *Antigüedad, Religiones y Sociedades* 9, pp.265-80. Accessed 12/01/21. https://www.academia.edu/5386941/Religious_Choice_and_Religious_Change_in_Classical_and_Late_Antiquity_Models_and_Questions?email_work_card=view-paper

- Rives, J. (2012). 'interpretatio Romana'. In Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A., and Eidinow, E. (eds). *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 05/09/20. doi: 10.1093/acref/9780199545568.001.0001
- Roberts, J. (2007) (ed) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Classical World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Robertson, R (1995) 'Glocalization: Time–space and homogeneity–heterogeneity.' In: Featherstone, M, Lash, S, Robertson, R (eds) *Global Modernities*. London: SAGE.
- Robertson, R. (1997). 'Social Theory, Cultural Relativity and the Problem of Globality'. In King A. (Ed.), *Culture, Globalization, and the World-System: Contemporary Conditions for the Representation of Identity*. Minneapolis; University of Minnesota Press.
- Robertson, R. (2012) "Globalisation or glocalisation?" *The Journal of International Communication*, 18:2, pp.191-208. Accessed 07/07/20.
DOI: [10.1080/13216597.2012.709925](https://doi.org/10.1080/13216597.2012.709925)
- Roller, L.E. (2005) 'Cybele' in Jones, L., ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed.(3), Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, pp.2108-2111. Accessed 12/01/21.
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424500694/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=975f3b3c>
- Rosenstein, N. (2010). 'Mos Maiorum'. In Gargarin, M. (ed) *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 20/11/20. doi:10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001
- Roudometof, V. (2015a). 'Theorizing glocalization'. *European Journal of Social Theory*, 19(3), pp.391–408. Accessed 17/09/20.
doi:10.1177/1368431015605443
- Roudometof, V. (2015b) 'The Glocal and Global Studies', *Globalizations*, 12(5), pp. 774–787. Accessed 17/09/20. doi: 10.1080/14747731.2015.1016293.
- Roudometof, V. (2018). 'Recovering the local: From glocalization to localization'. *Current sociology*, 67(6), pp.801–817. Accessed 18/09/20.
doi:[10.1177/0011392118812933](https://doi.org/10.1177/0011392118812933)
- Rüpke, J. (2007). *A companion to Roman religion*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rüpke, J., 2014. *From Jupiter to Christ : On the History of Religion in the Roman Imperial Period : on the history of religion in the Roman imperial period*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Scheid, J. (1995) 'Graeco Ritu: A Typically Roman Way of Honouring the Gods.' *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97, pp.15-31. Accessed 09/09/20.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/311298>
- Schilling, R., & Rüpke, J. (2005) 'Roman Religion: The Early Period'. In L. Jones (Ed.), *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed.(12), pp. 7892-7911. Macmillan Reference USA. Accessed 08/09/20.
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424502672/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=7c07b314>
- Shaw, G. J. (2015) *The Egyptian Myths. A Guide to the Ancient Gods and Goddesses*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Shaw, R. D. (2018) 'Beyond Syncretism: A Dynamic Approach to Hybridity', *International Bulletin of Mission Research*, 42(1), pp. 6–19. Accessed 02/10/20. doi: 10.1177/2396939317708954.
- Stevenson, A. (ed). (2010). *Oxford Dictionary of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 20/12/20. doi:10.1093/acref/9780199571123.001.0001
- Stewart, C. (2011). 'Creolization, Hybridity, Syncretism, Mixture'. *Portuguese Studies*, 27(1), pp.48-55. Accessed 05/10/20. doi:10.5699/portstudies.27.1.0048
- Takács, S.A. (2005) 'Isis' in Jones, L., ed., *Encyclopedia of Religion*, 2nd ed.(7), Detroit, MI: Macmillan Reference USA, pp.4557-4560. Accessed 12/01/21.
<https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CX3424501547/GVRL?u=walamp&sid=GVRL&xid=0e45a904>
- Takács, S.A. (2008) 'Initiations and Mysteries in Apuleius' Metamorphoses'. *Electronic Antiquity*, 12.1, pp.73-87. Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University. Accessed 21/01/21. <https://pdf4pro.com/view/initiations-and-mysteries-in-apuleius-metamorphoses-526d48.html>
- Tierney, J. (1945). 'The "Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus"'. *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, 51, pp.89-117. Accessed 28/12/20 .
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/25505991>
- Tilg, S. (2014). *Apuleius' Metamorphoses: A Study in Roman Fiction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Topper, K. (2010). 'Symposium'. In Gagarin, M. (ed). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 19/01/21. <https://www-oxfordreference->

com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-1208

- Turcan, R. & Nevill, A. (trans) (1996). *The Cults of the Roman Empire*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ulansey, D. (1991). *The Origins of the Mithraic Mysteries: Cosmology and Salvation in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 15/01/21. <https://oxford.universitypressscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780195067880.001.0001/acprof-9780195067880>
- Vágási, T. (2019) 'The Sociolinguistic Research of the Cult of Jupiter Dolichenus'. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, 59(1-4), pp.537–546. Accessed 16/12/20. <https://doi.org/10.1556/068.2019.59.1-4.47>
- Van Alten, D. C. D. (2017) 'Glocalization and Religious Communication in the Roman Empire: Two Case Studies to Reconsider the Local and the Global in Religious Material Culture.' *Religions*, 8(8), pp. 140. Accessed 04/04/20. DOI:10.3390/rel8080140
- Vermaseren, M J. (1956 & 1960) *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*. Vols. 1&2. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Vogliano, A. (1933). 'Part One: An Epigraphic Commentary on the Inscription'. In. Alexander, C. 'Abstract of the Articles on the Bacchic Inscription in the Metropolitan Museum. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 37(2), pp.264-270. Accessed 18/12/20. doi:10.2307/498441
- Walsh, P. G. (1996). 'Making a Drama out of a Crisis: Livy on the Bacchanalia'. *Greece & Rome*, 43(2), pp.188-203. Accessed 15/12/20. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/643095>
- Webster, J. (2001). 'Creolizing the Roman Provinces'. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 105(2), pp. 209-225. Accessed 07/10/20. doi:10.2307/507271
- Webster, J. (2014) 'Creolization' in Hornblower, S., Spawforth, A., and Eidinow, E. *The Oxford Companion to Classical Civilization*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wilkinson, T. (2008). *The Thames & Hudson Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*. London: Thames & Hudson.
- Wilkinson, R. H. (2017). *The Complete Gods and Goddesses of Ancient Egypt*. London; Thames & Hudson

Wiseman, T. (2010). 'Cybele and Attis'. In Gagarin, M. (ed). *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Greece and Rome*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed 03/01/21. <https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/view/10.1093/acref/9780195170726.001.0001/acref-9780195170726-e-329>

Images

Plate 4A.1 - "*Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus*" [Bronze]. Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Collection of Antiquities.

<https://www.khm.at/objektdb/detail/52468/> (Accessed 16/12/20)

Plate 4A.2 - *Statue base of Pompeia Agrippinilla* [Marble]. The Metropolitan Museum, 26.60.70a, b, Gallery 168.

<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/252534> (Accessed 16/12/20)

Plate 4A.3 - *Sarcophagus featuring Dionysus and Ariadne* [Marble]. Carlsberg Glyptotek Museum, Copenhagen, Denmark. Tarker / Bridgeman Images. Image Number TRK697501.

https://www-bridgemaneducation-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/en/asset/697501/summary?context=%7B%22route%22%3A%22assets_search%22%2C%22routeParams%22%3A%7B%22format%22%3A%22html%22%2C%22_locale%22%3A%22en%22%2C%22filter_text%22%3A%22dionysus+sarcophagus%22%7D%7D (Accessed 16/12/20).

Plate 4A.4 - *Sarcophagus featuring Dionysus and the Triumph of the Seasons* [Marble]. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA. Tarker / Bridgeman Images. Image Number TRK563051.

https://www-bridgemaneducation-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/en/asset/563051/summary?context=%7B%22route%22%3A%22assets_search%22%2C%22routeParams%22%3A%7B%22format%22%3A%22html%22%2C%22_locale%22%3A%22en%22%2C%22filter_text%22%3A%22dionysus+sarcophagus%22%7D%7D (Accessed 16/12/20).

Plate 4B.1 - *Patere de Parabiago* [Silver]. Musee archelologique de Milan, Italy. Luisa Ricciarini / Bridgeman Images. Image Number LRI4646371. <https://www-bridgemaneducation->

com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/en/asset/4646371/summary?context=%7B%22route%22%3A%22assets_search%22%2C%22routeParameters%22%3A%7B%22format%22%3A%22html%22%2C%22_locale%22%3A%22en%22%2C%22filter_text%22%3A%22cybele%22%2C%22page%22%3A%223%22%7D%7D

(Accessed 08/01/21)

Plate 4B.2 - *Taurobolium of Magna Mater's cult based on Prudentius' account.*

Figure 12.2 in Beard, M. (2012). 'The Cult of the 'Great Mother' in Imperial Rome: The Roman and the 'Foreign'. In Rasmus Brandt, J. and Iddeng, J. W. *Greek and Roman Festivals: Content, Meaning, and Practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

<https://www.oxfordscholarship.com/view/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199696093.001.0001/acprof-9780199696093-chapter-13> (Accessed 08/01/21)

Plate 4C.1 - *Temple of Mithras with 3 replica altars* [Stone]. Northumberland. English Heritage. [Online]. <https://www.english-heritage.org.uk/visit/places/temple-of-mithras-carrowburgh-hadrians-wall/> (Accessed 02/01/21)

Plate 4C.2 - *Shrine to the God Mithras (Mithraeum)* [painted plaster]. Yale University Art Gallery. <https://artgallery.yale.edu/collections/objects/6746> (Accessed 02/01/21)

Plate 4C.3 - *Relief showing Mithras performing a tauroctony* [White marble]. Campus Maximus Mithraeum, Rome, from Vermaseren *CIMRM* 435, Fig. 122. <http://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/mithras/display.php?page=cimrm435> (Accessed 02/01/21)

Plate 4C.4 - *Relief of Mithras slaying a bull* [Marble]. Paris, Louvre Museum. Josse / Bridgeman Image. Image Number JLJ4680789. https://www-bridgemaneducation-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/en/asset/4680789/summary?context=%7B%22route%22%3A%22assets_search%22%2C%22routeParameters%22%3A%7B%22format%22%3A%22html%22%2C%22_locale%22%3A%22en%22%2C%22filter_text%22%3A%22JLJ4680789%22%7D%7D (Accessed 02/01/21)

Plate 4C.5 - *Mosaic ladder with each section symbolising the seven grades of Mithras* [Tiles]. Mitreo di Felicissimo, Ostia. Regio V, Insula IX. Ostia Topographical Dictionary. <https://www.ostia-antica.org/regio5/9/9-1.htm> (Accessed 02/01/21)

Plate 4D.1 - *Sculpture of Isis* [Marble]. Rome / Musei Capitolini. Inv MC 0744.

http://www.museicapitolini.org/en/percorsi/percorsi_per_sale/palazzo_nuovo/sala_del_gladiatore/statua_di_iside (Accessed 21/01/21)

Plate 4D.2 – *Statuette of Isis-Fortuna* [Bronze]. The Walters Art Museum. Image

Number 54.943. <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/6611/isis-fortuna/> (Accessed 21/01/21)

Plate 4D.3 - *Romano-Egyptian vessel in the form of Isis-Aphrodite* [Terracotta].

Private Collection: Photo © Heini Schneebeli / Bridgeman Images. Image

Number HSC325668. https://www.bridgemaneducation-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/en/asset/325668/summary?context=%7B%22route%22%3A%22assets_search%22%2C%22routeParameters%22%3A%7B%22format%22%3A%22html%22%2C%22_locale%22%3A%22en%22%2C%22filter_text%22%3A%22HSC325668%22%7D%7D (Accessed 21/01/21)

Plate 4D.4 – *Statue of Isis Demeter, Roman*, [Marble]. Museo Nazionale Romano -

Palazzo Altemps, Rome, Italy. Photo © Stefano Baldini / Bridgeman Images.

Image Number SBL3042704. https://www.bridgemaneducation-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/en/asset/3042704/summary?context=%7B%22route%22%3A%22assets_search%22%2C%22routeParameters%22%3A%7B%22format%22%3A%22html%22%2C%22_locale%22%3A%22en%22%2C%22filter_text%22%3A%22SBL3042704%22%7D%7D (Accessed 21/01/21)

Plate 4E.1 - *Roman statuette of Jupiter Dolichenus* [Bronze]. Kunsthistorisches

Museum, Vienna, Austria. Ali Meyer / Bridgeman Images. Image Number

XAM93779. https://www.bridgemaneducation-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/en/asset/93779/summary?context=%7B%22route%22%3A%22assets_search%22%2C%22routeParameters%22%3A%7B%22format%22%3A%22html%22%2C%22_locale%22%3A%22en%22%2C%22filter_text%22%3A%22dolichenus%22%7D%7D (Accessed 12/12/20)

Plate 4F.1 - *Bust of Dionysus-Sabazius* [Bronze]. Accademia Italiana, London /

Bridgeman Images. Image number ACI97452. [https://www-](https://www-bridgemaneducation-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/en/asset/97452/summary?context=%7B%22route%22%3A%22assets_search%22%2C%22routeParameters%22%3A%7B%22format%22%3A%22html%22%2C%22_locale%22%3A%22en%22%2C%22filter_text%22%3A%22sabazius%22%7D%7D)

[bridgemaneducation-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/en/asset/97452/summary?context=%7B%22route%22%3A%22assets_search%22%2C%22routeParameters%22%3A%7B%22format%22%3A%22html%22%2C%22_locale%22%3A%22en%22%2C%22filter_text%22%3A%22sabazius%22%7D%7D](https://www-bridgemaneducation-com.ezproxy.uwtsd.ac.uk/en/asset/97452/summary?context=%7B%22route%22%3A%22assets_search%22%2C%22routeParameters%22%3A%7B%22format%22%3A%22html%22%2C%22_locale%22%3A%22en%22%2C%22filter_text%22%3A%22sabazius%22%7D%7D) (Accessed 12/12/20)

