



THE WORSHIP OF ISIS AND SERAPIS IN *NOMENTUM* (ROME) SOME EPIGRAPHIC AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

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ABSTRACT

The cult of Isis and Serapis, very popular outside Egypt during Greek and Roman era, had a deep widespread in Italy and certainly in Rome and its neighborhood. The area around the modern city of Mentana, where rose the ancient Nomentum, has given back some interesting finds which afford to suppose a worship of Isis and Serapis, recently supported by the recovery of a little granite head portraying a priest and imported from Egypt during Roman dominion. Furthermore, inscriptions and Isiac symbols carved on some altars also coming from Nomentum, corroborate the hypothesis. Even though no evidence for a temple or shrine consecrated to Isis and Serapis have been discovered yet, the great fame of Egyptian religion and its inclination to syncretism make possible the presence of a priesthood or, at least, a domestic cult in the area under investigation.

EPIGRAPHIC DOCUMENTS

Nomentum was an ancient Latin town located in the so-called *Latium Vetus*, central Italy, specifically in the *Ager Romanus*, the rural area that surrounded the city of Rome on the North-East of Rome, and included in the *Regio IV Sabina et Samnium*¹ under August rule (Figure 1). Currently is the modern city of Mentana which rises in the area. Recent studies confirmed the frequentation of the site during the Bronze Age and at least since VIII century BCE². Latin sources refer to a conquest of the city by Tarquinius Priscus³, then definitely ruled by Rome in 338 BCE becoming a Roman *municipium* with its own *dictator*⁴. Important Roman personalities like Titus Pomponius Atticus, Seneca and Martial⁵ had their own *villae* in the neighborhood.

The massive urbanization of the district of Mentana obliterated traces of the ancient settlement but thanks to a large number of finds⁶, above all a portion of tuff walls in *opus quadratum* dated to IV BCE⁷, it has been possible to identify the exact area occupied by the ancient town in Montedoro-Romitorio⁸, near Casali di Mentana, 1,5 km S from Mentana⁹, at the 21,5 km of Via Nomentana, originally leading from Rome to *Ficulea*¹⁰ and only later prolonged to *Nomentum*. The ancient road, still visible thanks to some traces of Roman paving stones¹¹, crossed the city up to the *Forum*, indeed identified in Romitorio, where a great part of epigraphic and archaeological documents have been found.

The presence of the Egyptian culture in Italy goes back at least to VIII century BCE, thanks to Phoenician traders mediation and, at a later stage, to Hellenistic culture, but it was only with the Roman conquest of Egypt that Pharaoh's culture leaked directly in the Italian peninsula reaching every class level and exercising a deep influence till IV century CE. Despite of an early rejection by Roman authority, proofs of Isis cult are copious, in some cases even monumental, having found a rich soil especially in the private sphere. The *Ager Romanus* gave back scarce evidence of devotion to Egyptian deities (contrary to what is observed in the rest of the area around Rome and Lazio). For this reason all finds from *Nomentum* are proved to be of great interest.

Early data proving the cult of Isis and Serapis in *Nomentum* were found during the first half of XIX century thanks to Borghese's excavation¹² around the territory of the current city of Mentana, specifically in Casali di Mentana-Romitorio. According to an old document, in June 1829 it was recovered as:

*a monument of small size with a Latin inscription and two little figures believed to be Isis and Serapis*¹³

This statement, together with more significant finds, allowed to put forward an hypothesis of a place consecrated to an Egyptian cult in *Nomentum*.

The area of Vigna Santucci, (km 22 of Via Nomentana) not so far from Casali, also gave back an abundant documentation

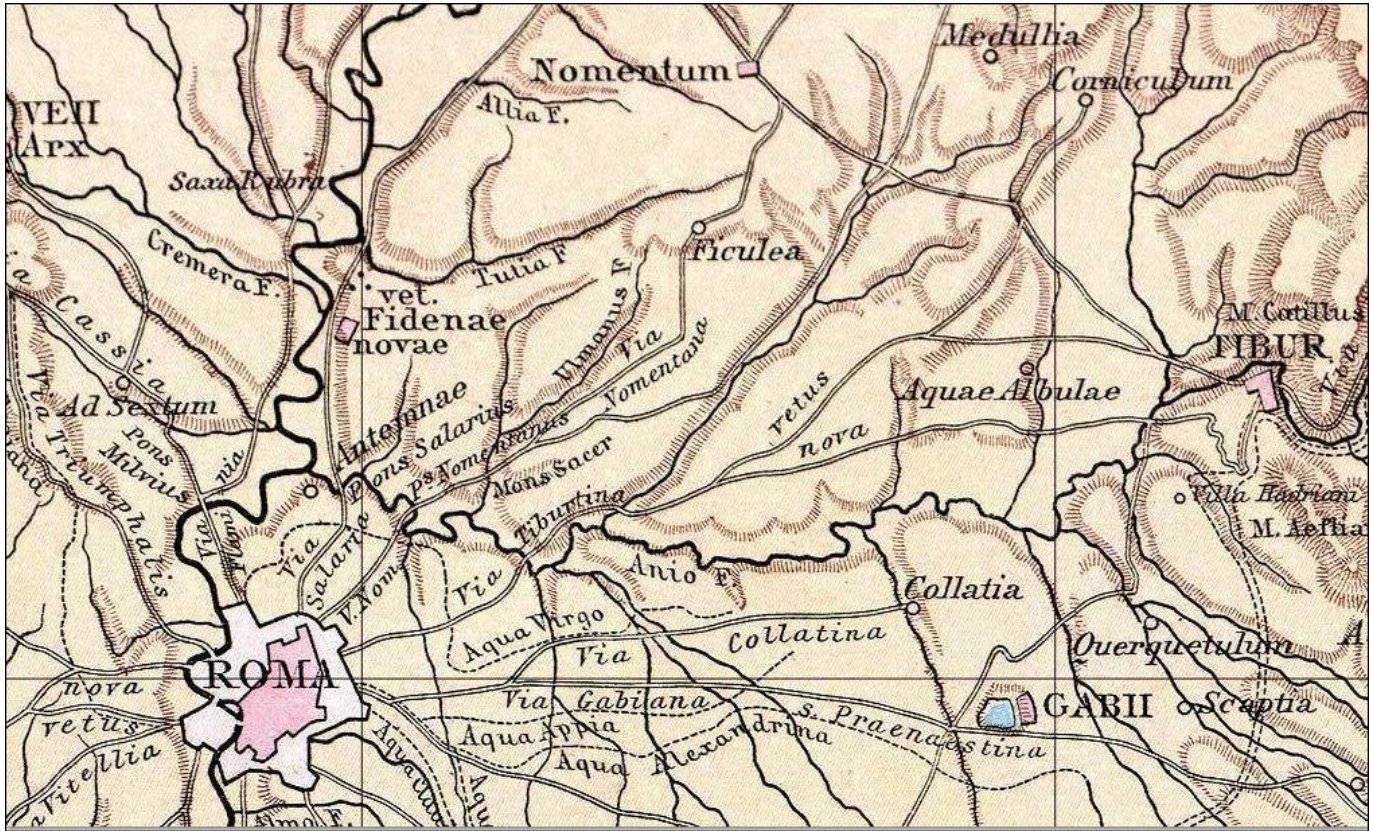


Figure 1: Map of the Ager Romanus

which lead one to think about a cult place of remarkable size rising exactly in the point where, in 1823, was found a little votive altar, or *arula*, made of white marble, dated to I century BCE, (H 21,5 cm; 19,5 x 18,5 cm) and previously part of the Borghese’s Collection¹⁴. At the end of the XIX century the American sculptor W.W. Story came into possession of the altar whereas today is preserved by the American Academy in Rome¹⁵. This little altar has sloping faces surrounded by a frame with a garland of olive leaves. On the front face there is a Latin inscription which refers on a donation for Isis and Serapis made by Valerius Proculus, *magister* of *Nomentum* (Figure 2):

*D(ecimus)Valerius D(ecimi) f(ilius) Cor(nelia)/Proculus aedil(is), dictator/quaest(or) alimentorum/hydraeum cemmis ex/ornatum et auratum/una cum Valeria Fortu/nata et Valeria Procula/Isidi et Serapi/D(ono) D(edit)*¹⁶

The word “*hydraeum*” reveals the altar to be an important object of Isis cult as reported by various classic authors¹⁷: an *hydria* was a water jar very close in meaning to the *situla*, a kind of vase employed for libation rituals or funerary cult and considered to be the dwelling of god in form of water and for this reason object of devotion. The *situla* was brought in procession by priests bearing the vessel to their breast with veiled hands to respect its sacred



Figure 2: Little altar from Vigna Santucci (Mentana, Rome) with Latin inscription of Valerius Proculus. White marble (I century BCE). Courtesy of the American Academy in Rome.

meaning¹⁸. The water element, in particular the Sacred Nile water, was central in Isiac rituals, as demonstrated by cisterns found inside various sanctuaries, even outside Egypt.¹⁹ The shape of such vessels could vary but during Greco-Roman period they usually had the form of a female breast with a nipple represented on the curved base. Formerly in Egypt, during Dynasty 18, libations provided for similar vases full of milk to recall Isis as mother nursing (*Isis lactans*). Greco-Roman statues often represent Isis and her priestesses bringing this symbolic object with one hand. Exemplars of *situla* made of bronze or silver, carved with religious scenes and inscriptions were also habitual. The *hydria* mentioned in the little *arula* inscription above-cited, was certainly a precious gift, made of gold and adorned with precious stones, to be put on the top of the little altar. This seems to be proved by the hemispheric hollow and four little holes at the four corners of the top of the altar employed to hold iron supports to seat the precious *donarium*.

Each lateral face of the little *arula* present two priests in relief, both half-face, dressed in a typical Egyptian skirt and headgear *nemes* with an *uraeus* on the forehead. Both figures are oriented towards the inscription on the front face, striding with one leg forward. The priest on the left face grasps a tall trunk with long bowed leaves with his left hand (Figure 3), while the other one, on

the right face, holds a *sistrum* with his right hand (Figure 4). As well-known, the *sistrum* was a sacred musical percussion instrument, employed during religious ceremonies, which produced a gloomy sound recalling Isis' lament at Osiris' death when its small metal rings or loops were shaken. Some exemplars in bronze, dated to I century BCE-I century CE, have been caught in Rome into the Tiber where they seem to have been thrown under Tiberius, in 32 CE, along with the sacred furniture possibly belonged to the *Iseum Campense*²⁰.

The Vatican Museums keep another altar from Mentana²¹, almost certainly thanks to Borghese's excavation near Vigna Santucci²². This spot is distant approximately 850 m from Romitorio and probably hosted a sacred area, according to all finds gathered during last decades. The Vatican altar can be dated to I-II century CE and presents an inscription on the front face mentioning a priest of *Magna Mater* ("The Great Mother") who officiated in *Nomentum* (Figure 5):

Front side: [V]erulano/Phaedro sacerdoti/ [N]omentanorum Matris D(eum) M(agnae)/[vixit] annis XXXV et sanitate/[...]omodo volui Hilaris annis LXX/ curios(a)e quit at te//



Figure 3: Little altar from Vigna Santucci (Mentana, Rome) with Latin inscription of Valerius Proculus. Detail with Egyptian priest grasping a tall trunk with long bowed leaves. White marble (I century BCE). Courtesy of the American Academy in Rome.



Figure 4: Little altar from Vigna Santucci (Mentana, Rome) with Latin inscription of Valerius Proculus. Detail with Egyptian priest holding a *sistrum*. White marble (I century BCE). Courtesy of the American Academy in Rome.



Figure 5: Altar mentioning a priest of *Magna Mater* coming from Vigna Santucci (Mentana, Rome). White marble (I-II century BCE). Courtesy of the Vatican Museums.



Figure 6: Altar mentioning a priest of *Magna Mater* coming from Vigna Santucci (Mentana, Rome). Detail with a *situla*. White marble (I-II century BCE). Courtesy of the Vatican Museums.



Figure 7: Altar mentioning a priest of *Magna Mater* coming from Vigna Santucci (Mentana, Rome). Detail with a *sistrum*. White marble (I-II century BCE). Courtesy of the Vatican Museums.

Right side: *Et Melizusae verna[e]/vixit annis XVIII
posita hic a(nnos) XXX²³*

*Locus consacr/atus Reginae Isid(i)sacris redditis/Fuficiae
Onom/aste fecit C(aius)/ Iulius Eumo/lpus²⁵*

Reliefs on both sides of the altar represent a *situla* on the right (with the typical bowed form, a bump at the base and handles on the top) with an inscription of two lines (Figure 6), while on the left there is a *sistrum* (Figure 7). The well-known association of the goddess Isis with *Magna Mater* can explain the relief decoration: Isis was said “The Goddess with Thousand Names”, an epithet with universal value, as well as that of “The Mother of all Gods” also reserved to *Magna Mater*. This is the reason why *sistrum* and *situla* as attributes are absolutely relevant.

From the district of the ancient *Ficulea*²⁴, not far from Mentana, comes an altar in white marble. According to the owner’s assertion, it was discovered at the beginning of ‘70s, on the eastern side of Via Nomentana (km 15.500-15.600). This *ara* is dated to I century CE ca. (H 45 cm, 32 x 22 cm) and presents an inscription (Figure 8):

The two lateral faces are decorated with an *urceus* (a kind of vessel with handle and a hook on the lip) and a *patera* (a shallow libation bowl). The epithet of “*Regina*” is not infrequent attributed to Isis, while the onomastics reflects those social classes where the goddess cult was deeply widespread²⁶.

In the neighborhood of Vigna Santucci were also recovered a number of *cappuccina* tombs on a tuff reef, although unfortunately lost. It seems like if there was some relation between these burials and the “*locus consacratus*” above-mentioned, according to the affinity of Isis religion to resurrection beliefs²⁷.

SCULPTURE EVIDENCE

Fragments of a marble sculpture representing Isis and coming from *Ficulea*²⁸, near Casaletti and Casale Capobianco (400 m



Figure 8: Altar mentioning Isis coming from Ficulea. In Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli, *Ficulea*, (Roma: CNR, 1993), site 231.



Figure 9: Ancient Egyptian head probably portraying an Isis priest. Dark granite. (IV century BCE). Courtesy of The Carabinieri Command for Cultural Heritage Preservation.

NNO from km 14 of Via Nomentana), are mentioned by Giuseppe Guattani in 1806, reporting a letter of Ulisse Pentini who asserts to have found the statuette during a dig²⁹. *Ficulea* gave back also a statue representing *Harpocrates* and found, in 1917, among the remains of a *villa* in Sant'Eusebio estate, 400 m N from Torre S. Eusebio³⁰. The statue, acephalous and dated to the first half of II century CE (reign of Antoninus)³¹, is made of white marble (H 87 cm) and now at The Museum delle Terme di Diocleziano in Rome³². *Harpocrates* is represented as a naked child with *chlamys* holding a cornucopia of plenty with his left arm. The right arm, although not intact, provided the key identification of the character, based on iconographic comparison: in fact it bends toward the lacking head suggesting a finger on the mouth. In Greco-Roman era this kind of gesture was read as an invitation to be silent³³ but it was a misjudgment of the ancient Egyptian iconography employed to represent children, in particular *Horus the Child*, whereof *Harpocrates* was the Hellenistic adaptation. As son of Isis and Osiris/Serapis and personifying a deity with solar and agricultural peculiarities, he had a great spread inside Greco-Roman culture. Hence, the statue

mentioned above is a further proof for an Egyptian cult in the area overlooking ancient *Nomentum*.

In addition to all these notables documents concerning *Nomentum* as a probable location for a cult of Isis and Serapis, it must be noticed a recent discovery. In May 2009 the Carabinieri Command for Cultural Heritage Preservation³⁴ presented the results of the operation called "Iside": they succeeded in recover an ancient Egyptian head, probably portraying an Isis priest due to its total shaving. Prof. Loredana Sist, (chair of Egyptology, Sapienza University of Rome), dated this relevant find to IV century BCE thanks to some stylistic comparison with the coeval statuary. The little head, made of black granite, belonged to a male character in a standing position, probably a *naophor*, as reflected by Egyptian late period statuary. The head has almond eyes, lengthened eyebrow, a small smiling mouth and is stretched on the back and show bloating on both sides, all elements which recall to mind the early Ptolemaic statuary (Figure 9 and Figure 10). Unfortunately the head is damaged in several points and broken at the neck. Traces of the anepigraphic little pillar are still visible on the back of the head (Figure 11). According to the previous holder, the head



Figure 10: Ancient Egyptian head probably portraying an Isis priest. Dark granite. (IV century BCE). Courtesy of The Carabinieri Command for Cultural Heritage Preservation.



Figure 11: Ancient Egyptian head probably portraying an Isis priest. Dark granite. (IV century BCE). Courtesy of The Carabinieri Command for Cultural Heritage Preservation.

would have been found in the area of Romitorio, near Casali di Mentana. This would confirm evidence for a worship of Isis and Serapis in that area along with the very widespread custom, typical

during Roman dominion, to import a great number of masterpieces from Egyptian sacred places. It is interesting to compare this little head with that now at the Roman National Museum of Palazzo Altemps in Rome, dated to the same period, IV century BCE (Dynasty 29-30) and representing an Egyptian priest too³⁵. Stylistic analogies are well evident in spite of differences in dimension. The head in Palazzo Altemps, found in Rome and coming from the Iseum Campense, presents the similar stretching on the back, bloating sides and part of the little anepigraphic pillar but is larger in size, measuring H 27 cm³⁶, while the smaller head from Romitorio is just 14 cm ca. The attribution of the little head to a statue portraying a naophor is corroborated by the strict connection of the latter with Isiac cults outside Egypt. A naophor represents a kneeling or standing figure holding up a little *naos* with the picture of a god inside. Various exemplars of this kind of statues have been found in Italy and they all fall within the number of artworks willfully imported from Egypt to adorn Roman temples and, above all, those consecrated to Isis and Serapis. These naophors were intended as protectors of the god inside the little shrine they bring, generally a deity associated with Isis. Their primeval meaning was lost once they arrived in Italy where these statues started to be interpreted on the basis of the new ritual background and considered as portrayals of the divine herald during Isiac processions, as reported by Apuleius³⁷.

The lucky recovery of the Ptolemaic head is an emblematic token of how ancient Egyptian culture was spread in Rome as well as of the influence exercised in *Urbe's* bordering areas.

Therefore the new important find from *Nomentum* could further confirm the hypothesis of a place where a local priesthood probably exercised a worship of Isis and Serapis, as the inscription of the altar in the Vatican Museums underlines: the mention of a Magna Mater's priest and the presence of a *sistrum* and a *situla*, both Isiac symbols, confirm a capillary diffusion of the Egyptian cult in the *Ager Romanus*, as well as a religious syncretism whereof Isis had the leading role as Universal Mother and proved one more time by several finds. Tomassetti mentioned a statue of the Mater Deum, acephalous and seated on a throne flanked by two winged lions³⁸, now at the National Roman Museum in Rome. A bronze statuette dated to Imperial era, probably I century CE, unfortunately lost, was pointed out by Pala and identified with the Goddess Fortuna. It was found in Fonte Nuova, not so far from Romitorio, in Quarto della Conca³⁹. The goddess was represented with a cornucopia, a diadem and a *modius* on her head. All these features are common in Isis iconography too. So the statuette could be another proof for Isis devotion around *Nomentum*. An inscribed marble sheet from Montedoro, once again not far from Romitorio, was recovered by the Carabinieri Command in 1997. It is dated to Hadrian age (136 CE) and its inscription refers to the restoration of some temples or shrines in *Nomentum* for want of the emperor⁴⁰. A shrine consecrated to Isis and Serapis is not mentioned but the expression "*Bonae Deae*" could be referred to Isis, thanks to her proven assimilation with the main female goddesses.

In conclusion, all the epigraphic and archaeological finds coming from Romitorio, the area where the *Forum* has been identified, could support the important inscription of Valerius Proculus, a public personality of the Roman world who donated a

precious as well as symbolic object to Isis and Serapis. Even thought never officialized by Roman authority, Isis and Serapis cult must have had a great following also in a peripheral area like that of the current city of Mentana.

NOTES

- ¹ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, III, 9. In the Book III chapter 9 Pliny formerly inserts *Nomentum* among the colonies of the *Regio I*, while in chapter 17 “Nomentani” are part of the *Regio IV*. Authors are uncertain about its belonging to Sabin or Latin ethnic, due to the position of the ancient city beyond the Aniene River, the natural boundary between Latium and Sabina.
- ² A necropolis returned interesting finds of that period, the so-called “oriental period”.
- ³ Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, Book I, chapter 38. “Corniculum, Ficulea Vetus, Cameria, Crustumerium, Ameriola, Medullia, and Nomentum — these were the towns which were captured from the Ancient Latins, or from those who had gone over to the Latins. Peace was then made”. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* III 50: “The Nomentans also, having formed the same plans, met with the same fate. For they kept sending bands of robbers to pillage the fields of the Romans and openly became their enemies, relying upon the assistance of the Latins. But when Tarquinius set out against them and the aid from the Latins was too late in arriving, they were unable to resist so great a force by themselves, and coming out of the town with the tokens of suppliants, they surrendered”.
- ⁴ Titus Livius, *The History of Rome*, Book VIII, chapter 4.
- ⁵ Andrea Carbonara and Gaetano Messineo, *Via Nomentana*, (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1996), 83-86.
- ⁶ For a full archaeological study on this topic see Corrado Pala, *Nomentum. Forma Italiae Regio I, Vol XII* (Roma: Istituto di Topografia Antica dell'Università La Sapienza di Roma, De Luca Editore, 1976).
- ⁷ Southern versant of Montedoro hill.
- ⁸ A ‘Romitorio’ is a hermitage, a place for spiritual retreat. Here the sacred remains of SS. Primus and Felicianus, martyrs in IV century CE, were preserved inside the little chapel of “Santa Maria del Buonconsiglio” or “del Romitorio” which probably reused an ancient Roman republican tomb with traces of a paint representing the Virgin with her Child as a crypt.
- ⁹ The relocation of Mentana was probably due to the Langobards destruction of the ancient site in VIII century CE. Corrado Pala, *Nomentum. Forma Italiae Regio I, Vol XII* (Roma: Istituto di Topografia Antica dell'Università La Sapienza di Roma, De Luca Editore, 1976), 12.
- ¹⁰ This ancient town was part of the Latin League and was captured by Tarquinius Priscus with Nomentum and other cities of the area. The site where it raised has been located near Casal Bianco, between Via Nomentana and Via Tiburtina.
- ¹¹ Corrado Pala, *Nomentum. Forma Italiae Regio I, Vol XII* (Roma: Istituto di Topografia Antica dell'Università La Sapienza di Roma, De Luca Editore, 1976), 26 ff. For general informations about *Nomentum* and its ancient finds see also: Giuseppe Tomassetti, *La campagna romana antica, medioevale e moderna, vol. VI. Vie Nomentana e Salaria, Portuense, Tiburtina*, Luisa Chiumenti and Fernando Bilancia (eds.) based on Giuseppe and Francesco Tomassetti's notes, (Firenze: Olschki, 1979), 229; Stefania Quilici Gigli, *Roma fuori le mura*, (Roma: Newton Compton Editori, 1980), 241; Salvatore G. Vicario, *La Nomentana: strada di Roma per la bassa Sabina*, (Monterotondo Mentana: Rotary Club, 1994), 15, 18; Andrea Carbonara and Gaetano Messineo, *Via Nomentana*, (Roma: Istituto Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato, 1996).
- ¹² The Borgheses were the owners of the *feudum* of Mentana since 1932.
- ¹³ Camerlengato, *Antichità e Belle Arti*, part II (years 1824-1854), Titolo IV, b. 204, fasc. 1219, (Archivio di Stato di Roma); Corrado Pala, *Nomentum. Forma Italiae Regio I, Vol XII* (Roma: Istituto di Topografia Antica dell'Università La Sapienza di Roma, De Luca Editore, 1976), 44.
- ¹⁴ Corrado Pala, *Nomentum. Forma Italiae Regio I, Vol XII* (Roma, Istituto di Topografia Antica dell'Università La Sapienza di Roma, De Luca Editore 1976), 104, figs. 277-8-9; Giuseppe Tomassetti, *La campagna romana antica, medioevale e moderna, vol. VI. Vie Nomentana e Salaria, Portuense, Tiburtina*, Luisa Chiumenti and Fernando Bilancia (eds.) based on Giuseppe and Francesco Tomassetti's notes, (Firenze: Olschki, 1979), 235. See also: Michel Malaise, *Inventaire préliminaire des documents égyptiens découverts en Italie*, (Leyden : Brill 1972); Ladislaus Vidman, *Sylloge inscriptionum religionis Isiacae et Sarapiacae* (SIRIS), Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten, Band 28, (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1969); Laurent Bricault, *Recueil des inscriptions concernant les cultes isiaques* (RICIS), Paris, 2005 ; AE. *L'Année épigraphique: revue des publications épigraphiques relatives à l'antiquité romaine* (Paris) ; *CIL. Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. Consilio et auctoritate academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae editum* (Berlin).
- ¹⁵ Archaeological Seminar Room, inv. 8949 – 170.

- ¹⁶ CIL 14, 03941=SIRIS 00531=RICIS-02, 00503/0801.
- ¹⁷ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 36, 365 B; Apuleius, *Metamorphosis*. XI, II, 3-4.
- ¹⁸ Clemens of Alexandria, *Strom.* VI, 4, 37.
- ¹⁹ See Robert A. Wild, *Water in the cultic worship of Isis and Sarapis*, Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire Romain (= EPRO) 87 (Leyden: 1981).
- ²⁰ Giuseppe Flavio, *Antiquities of the Jews* XVIII: 79. "He also demolished the temple of Isis, and gave order that her statue should be thrown into the river Tiber".
- ²¹ Vatican Museums, Lapidary Gallery, between sectors XIX e XXI, inv. 9373.
- ²² Edoardo Martinori, *Via Nomentana, Via Patinaria, Via Tiburtina: studio storico-topografico*, (Arti grafiche e fotomeccaniche P. Sansaini, 1932), 56; Roberto Paribeni, *Mentana. Iscrizioni latine*, in N.S.: Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Notizie degli scavi di antichità, (Roma: G. Bardi, 1944-45), 35 fll.; Giuseppe Tomassetti, *La campagna romana antica, medioevale e moderna, vol. VI. Vie Nomentana e Salaria, Portuense, Tiburtina*, Luisa Chiumenti and Fernando Bilancia (eds.) based on Giuseppe and Francesco Tomassetti's notes, (Firenze: Olschki, 1979) 235.
- ²³ CIL 14, 03956.
- ²⁴ Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli, *Ficulea*, (Roma: CNR, 1993), site 231.
- ²⁵ RICIS-02, 00503/1001=AE 1994, 00370.
- ²⁶ Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli, *Ficulea*, (Roma: CNR, 1993).
- ²⁷ Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli, *Ficulea*, (Roma: CNR, 1993).
- ²⁸ Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli, *Ficulea*, (Roma: CNR, 1993), site 192.
- ²⁹ Giuseppe A. Guattani, *Memorie enciclopediche romane sulle belle arti, antichità, etc.* (Roma, Pel Salomoni 1806).
- ³⁰ Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli, *Ficulea*, (Roma: CNR, 1993), site 601.
- ³¹ Roberto Paribeni, *Il Museo nazionale romano alle Terme di Diocleziano*, (Roma: E. Cuggiani, 1920); Antonio Giuliano (ed.), *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture I*, (Roma: De Luca Editore, 1986); Lorenzo Quilici and Stefania Quilici Gigli, *Ficulea*, (Roma: CNR, 1993).
- ³² Inv. 72854. Antonio Giuliano (ed.), *Museo Nazionale Romano. Le sculture I,2* (Roma: De Luca Editore, 1986), 291-2.
- ³³ Plutarco, *De Iside et Osiride*, 67, 378 C.
- ³⁴ The Carabinieri Command for Cultural Heritage Preservation formerly recovered further evidence of the Egyptian cult in Rome: in 2008 an Hellenistic statuette made of bronze portraying Isis and Serapis, a Roman copy dated to Imperial Era (II-III CE) was found near SS. Sergio and Bacco Church in Piazza Madonna ai Monti in Rome. It was proved to have been stolen from the National Roman Museum in April 1980 to be put up for auction at Christie's. Carabinieri, with the support of Scotland Yard, succeeded in giving back the statuette to The Museum of Terme di Diocleziano where it is presently exhibited (Inv. 223782).
- ³⁵ Inv. 112108.
- ³⁶ Bernard V. Bothmer - Herman De Meulenaere, *The Brooklyn Statuette of Hor, Son of Pawen (with an Excursus on Eggheads)*, in L. H. Lesko, *Egyptological Studies in Honor of Richard A. Parker*. Presented on the Occasion of His 78th Birthday, December 10, 1983. 1986, 1-15; Ermanno A. Arsalan, (ed.), *Iside: il mito, il mistero, la magia*, (Milano: Electa Mondadori, 1997), 389; Katia Lembke, *Das Iseum Campense in Rom. Studie über den Isiskult unter Domitian*, = *Archäologie und Geschichte*. Band 3, (Heidelberg, 1994). Susan Walker and Peter Higgs (eds.), *Cleopatra. Regina d'Egitto*. Catalogue of the Exposition held in Rome from 12th Oct. 2000 to 25th Feb. 2001, (Milano: Electa, 2001), 251; Daniela Candilio et al, *Palazzo Altamps: le collezioni*, (Milano : Electa, 2011), 321.
- ³⁷ Apuleio, *Metam.* XI, 8-11, 16-17. John G. Griffiths, *The Isis-book: Metamorphoses, Book 11*, (Leiden: Brill, 1975). Michel Malaise, "Statues égyptiennes naophores et cultes isiaques", in *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie de Genève*, 26 (Genève 2004) : 63-80.
- ³⁸ Roberto Paribeni, *Regione I (Latium et Campania). 7, Mentana : iscrizioni latine e statuette della Magna Mater*, in N.S.: Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Notizie degli scavi di antichità, (Roma: G. Bardi, 1929), 217; Giuseppe Tomassetti, *La campagna romana antica, medioevale e moderna, vol. VI. Vie Nomentana e Salaria, Portuense, Tiburtina*, Luisa Chiumenti and Fernando Bilancia (eds.) based on Giuseppe and Francesco Tomassetti's notes, (Firenze: Olschki, 1979), 232.
- ³⁹ Corrado Pala, *Nomentum. Forma Italiae Regio I, Vol XII* (Roma: Istituto di Topografia Antica dell'Università La Sapienza di Roma, De Luca Editore, 1976), 92, figs. 234-5.
- ⁴⁰ AE 1976, 00114=AE 2000, 00286=AE 2002, 00302. Corrado Pala, *Nomentum. Forma Italiae Regio I, Vol XII* (Roma: Istituto di Topografia Antica dell'Università La Sapienza di Roma, De Luca Editore, 1976), 48-49, fig. 103.