Andrew Findley

Egyptian Art and the Imperial Cult at the Red Hall in Pergamon

Istanbuler Mitteilungen 65, 2015, 185–205 (Sonderdruck)

https://doi.org/10.34780/3nyhpf36

DEUTSCHES ARCHÄOLOGISCHES INSTITUT
ABTEILUNG ISTANBUL

ISTANBULER MITTEILUNGEN

BAND 65, 2015

PDF Dokument des gedruckten Beitrags
PDF document of the printed version of

ANDREW FINDLEY

Egyptian Art and the Imperial Cult at the Red Hall in Pergamon

Sigel der Istanbuler Mitteilungen
IstMitt

Herausgeber und Redaktion:
Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul
İnönü Cad. 10, TR-34437 İSTANBUL – Gümüşsuyu

Satz, Gestaltung u. Reprographie: Linden Soft Verlag e.K., Aichwald.
Druck und Einband: AZ Druck und Datentechnik GmbH, Kempten.
Printed in Germany

ISBN 978-3-8030-1656-0 ISSN 0341-9142

ANDREW FINDLEY

Egyptian Art and the Imperial Cult at the Red Hall in Pergamon

Keywords: Red Hall, Pergamon, Egypt, Hadrian, Imperial Cult
Schlüsselwörter: Rote Halle, Pergamon, Ägypten, Hadrian, Kaiserkult
Anahtar sözcükler: Kızıl Avlu, Pergamon, Mısır, Hadrian, İmparatorluk kültü

Egyptianizing art in ancient sanctuaries of the Greco-Roman world is often taken to be convincing evidence for the presence of Egyptian cults. Such is the case with the second-century C.E. Red Hall in Pergamon (*Fig. 1*), where the courtyards were outfitted with unmistakably Egyptianizing caryatids and atlantes (*Figs. 2. 3*). These figures have no parallels in Egyptian art, and some of their attributes suggest that they are more emulative than authentically Egyptian. Beyond these structural figures, there is scant evidence to suggest that a major Egyptian cult existed at the site. Instead, several nearby inscribed altars dedicated to the Emperor Hadrian indicate that the Roman Imperial Cult was practiced in the immediate vicinity of the Red Hall. Accordingly, the presence of Egyptianizing sculptures alongside the Imperial Cult at the Red Hall may demonstrate the adaptive nature of the Roman Imperial Cult and its ability to integrate or appropriate foreign religious content.

The Red Hall was built at the base of the Pergamene acropolis and was most likely prominently positioned in the center of a forum, bath complex, and an amphitheater (*Fig. 4*)[1]. Although it is now surrounded by modern Bergama, the structure is remarkably well preserved. The building faces west at the far eastern edge of an enormous 100 × 270-meter complex that spanned the Selinus River (*Fig. 5*)[2]. Two rotundae flank the central hall, and a portico extended across the front of all three. These side rotundae are largely intact, each measuring about 19 meters high

I am grateful to Barbara Burrell, Theresa Huntsman, Nathaniel Jones, Ulrich Mania, Susan Rotroff, and the anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this article. I am also deeply appreciative for the assistance and encouragement of Felix Pirson, Martin Bachmann and Dominique Krüger.

Sources of Illustrations: *Fig. 1–3* = A. Findley. – *Fig. 4* = nach Mania 2011a, pl. 38, 1. – *Fig. 5* = Radt 1999, Fig. 144. – *Fig. 6* = IvP 364. – *Fig. 7* = IvP 374. – *Fig. 8* = British Museum, Department of Coins and Medals, inventory BMC. Alex.876. – *Fig. 9* = Soprintendenza speciale per il Colosseo, il Museo Nazionale Romano e l'area archeologica di Roma, Servizio di Fotoriproduzione.

1 For a full summary of the most recently completed research on the lower city of Pergamon, see Wulf 1994 and Rieger 2005. There appear to have been several major public structures in the area, but the modern city of Bergama precludes a full excavation.

2 Nohlen (1998, 85) mentioned that the entire Red Hall complex is 266 meters long. Most publications do not include the hall itself in the measurements of the temenos.

Fig. 1 The Red Hall at Pergamon, view of left rotunda and hall from the northwest

and 12 meters in diameter. Both were originally fronted by 27 × 28-meter courtyards. The central building is quite large and measures 26 × 60 meters, with walls reaching at least 19 meters high. Inside was a vast hall with an interior water channel and a large basin. Overall, its style, materials, and techniques of construction indicate that it was a Roman building of the mid second century C.E.[3]. Despite its good condition and size, no known ancient textual sources refer to the Red Hall, nor was its identity preserved in inscriptions or by local tradition[4]. Only after later excavations, the records of which are now missing, turned up fragments of unusual Egyptianizing figures (*Figs. 2. 3*) did scholars begin to propose that the Red Hall was a Roman temple to Egyptian deities[5].

---

[3] Heilmeyer (1970, 92), Koenigs – Radt (1979, 342), Rohmann (1998, 100–102), and Rüpke (2006, 336) have all dated the architectural adornment to the Trajanic through the Antonine periods. Mania (2011a, 37–44. 101–107; 2011b, 350–351) argued that construction began no earlier than the 120s C.E. and that the building was not completed before the late Hadrianic era. In sum, a date range of 130–180 C.E. is possible, which would put the planning and initial labor of the Red Hall squarely in Hadrian's reign. Although the red bricks give the Red Hall its name, the walls were originally faced with revetment made from a variety of imported stones. Mania (2011a, 102) also noted that such materials were expensive and required access to suppliers in different parts of the Empire, including Egypt, Greece, and North Africa. For example, the *pavonazzeto* came from west-central Turkey, the *giallo antico* from Tunisia, the *lapis lacedaemonius* and *cipollino* from Greece, and the porphyry, red, violet, and gray granite from Egypt. Although the use of fine stone was not uncommon in the province of Asia, the extensive use of it at the Red Hall was diverse and lavish by the standards of the Greek-speaking world.

[4] Several modern accounts of Pergamon from the seventeenth through the early twentieth century provide multiple names and functions for the building, including a bathhouse, a temple to Asklepios, or a Christian church dedicated to St. John or the local martyr, St. Antipas. For these early identifications, see Smith 1678, Choiseul-Gouffier 1782, Dallaway 1797, and Collignon – Pontremoli 1900. Systematic excavations at Pergamon began in 1878 under the direction of the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut (DAI). The first volume of the DAI's *Altertümer von Pergamon* (see Conze 1912, 1–5) listed possibilities for the Red Hall's identification, including a bathhouse, temple of Asklepios, basilica, and library.

[5] Deubner (1940) was the first to propose this identification during a 1939 conference in Berlin. The original records of his excavations went missing during the Second World War. Deubner also published an article on the topic in 1977/78 (Deubner 1977/78).

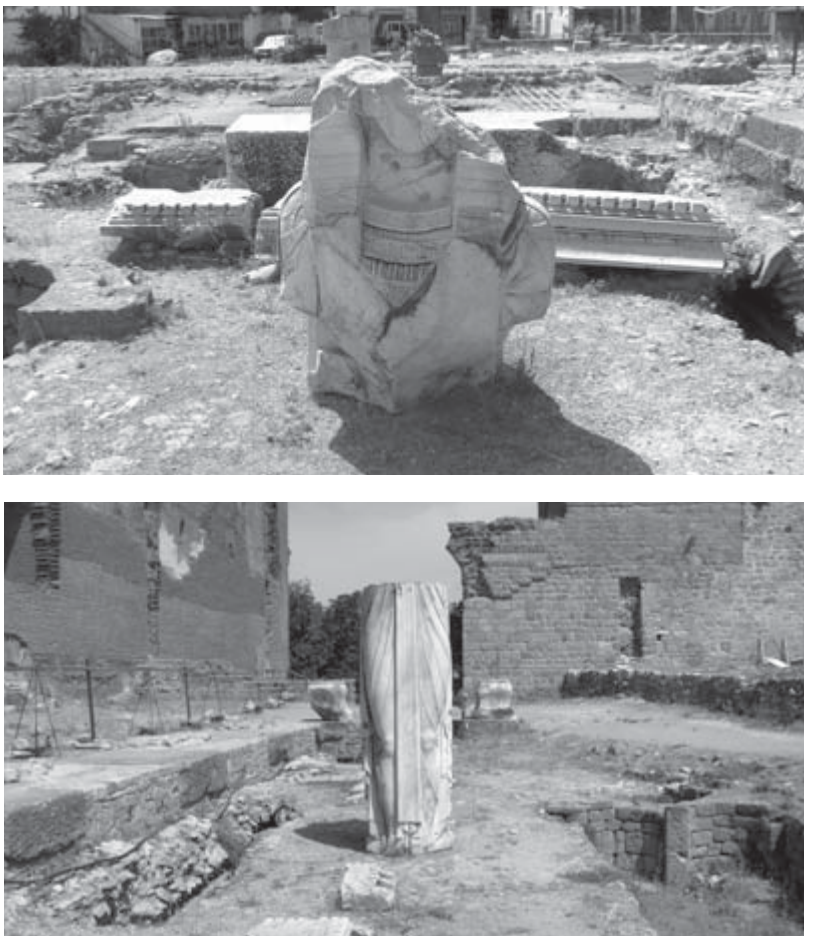

Fig. 2 The Red Hall at Pergamon: a. atlantid bust, b. caryatid lower half

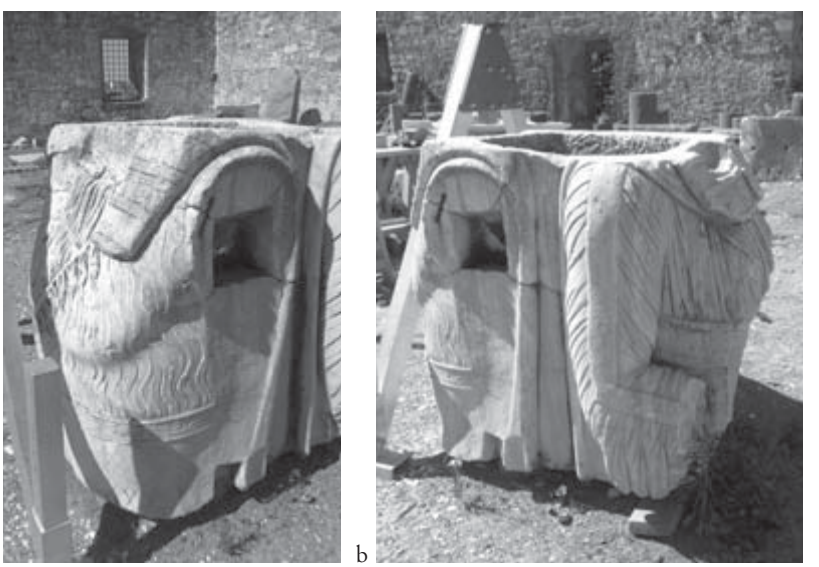

Fig. 3 The Red Hall at Pergamon: a. atlantid bust, b. caryatid bust

The Egyptianizing figures in question consist of a large group of marble fragments of atlantes and caryatids. Most were found in the area of the two courtyards flanking the central hall, and all are janiform, with back-to-back standing figures. The figures bear clear signs of Egyptian influence in their attire and postures[6]. Although it is indisputable that the courtyard figures were significant to the overall appearance of the Red Hall, whether they are direct evidence of an Egyptian cult is less certain[7]. Other than their Egyptianizing appearance, there is no evident unifying theme among the courtyard figures. Atlantes and caryatids are not unknown in Roman or Greek architecture, but those at the Red Hall have no clear comparanda[8].

---

[6] Three figural types exist: two female and one male. The first female type wears a single garment with a vertical fold running down the center. The other female figure wears a mantle diagonally draped over a chiton. The male type wears a kilt and a combined Egyptian waistcoat and cuirass. The heads on the figures are varied; the male figures have the heads of jackals, crocodiles and ibises, while the female figures have lion heads or are fully human.

[7] A few features of the figures mark them as unique in comparison to traditional Egyptian cult art and may suggest that they are more emulative or evocative of Egyptian religion than authentically Egyptian. First, one of the human-headed female figure types can be identified as a devotee of Isis, but the garments cannot be reconciled with other known representations. Mania (2011b, 349) specifically noted that the vertical fold running down the center of the garment does not terminate with an »Isis knot«, something always present in other known representations. Mania also noted that the figures might have worn necklaces, eliminating the need to depict the knots. Second, several of the caryatids wear the *nemes* headdress, which was usually only worn by male figures in Egyptian art.

[8] For a summary of the use of figural supporters in Rome and their Greek predecessors, see Lloyd-Morgan 1990. Mania (2011b, 347–348. 356) has suggested that the pillars from the Temple of Hathor at Dendera and the Osiris pillars from the second court of the Temple of Ramses at Thebes, also known as the Temple of Amun at Karnak, could be useful comparisons. The Hathor pillars depicted only the heads of divinities, so they could only be the inspiration of the Red Hall columns. In this, the Hathor pillars more closely resemble herms because the only figural representation included is a head in place of a capital. The Osiris pillars are one sided, provide no structural support, and are much larger than the Red Hall figures. In addition to Mania's suggestions, one other set of comparable Egyptian models is the Pillars inside the Temple of Ramses II at Abu Simbel. These resemble the Osiris pillars at Karnak, and are much larger than the Red Hall figures. Furthermore, they are interior architecture and not janiform. Although it is possible that the atlantes and caryatids reveal Egyptian influence, no clear comparable caryatids exist in the canon of Egyptian archaeology. In terms of sculptural style, the Red Hall figures are representative of second-century Roman sculpture and appear almost classical in their naturalism. In this respect, they bear closer resemblance to the caryatids from the Forum of Augustus in Rome, the caryatids from Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, and the tritons from the Odeon of Agrippa at Athens than any Egyptian prototype. These Roman-era caryatids and tritons can be interpreted as imitations of a classical style, especially the caryatids, which were obviously modeled after the Greek caryatids of the Athenian Erechtheion. The writhing poses of the tritons of Agrippa's Odeon vary from the Red Hall figures in posture, but they do offer a rare parallel of hybrid human and animal sculpted figures. All of these comparanda served as structural supports, but the integration of sculpture and support is less complete in the tritons at Agrippa's Odeon, which are visually appended to pillars. None are janiform like the Red Hall figures. The closest Roman-era comparisons for the Red Hall figures come from the Sanctuary of Egyptian Gods at Brexiza, near Marathon in Greece. The sanctuary, which may have been built by Herodes Atticus (c. 101–177 C. E.) and dedicated to Isis, includes freestanding Egyptianizing figures at its entrances. The Brexiza sculptures are approximately life-sized and are frontally oriented in a standard Egyptian sculptural stance. Both genders are represented, with both types wearing traditional Egyptian dress. Although not identical, the figures are similarly-styled contemporaries of those at the Red Hall, demonstrating a common interest in Egyptianizing imagery. Compared to the Red Hall figures, those at Brexiza are of inferior craftsmanship, due to discrepancies in scale and rough finishes. The figures at Brexiza were also likely free-standing and flanking an entryway, but their Egyptianizing traits are nevertheless similar to the Red Hall figures. Unfortunately, the enigmatic function of the Brexiza sanctuary limits the usefulness of comparing the complex with the Red Hall. For the Forum of Augustus in Rome, see Richardson 1992, 160–162. 245–246, and Reusser 1996; for Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, see MacDonald – Pinto 1995; for the Odeon of Agrippa at Athens, see Thompson 1950; and for the Sanctuary of Egyptian Gods at Brexiza, see Tobin 1991, 123–131 and Albersmeier 1994.

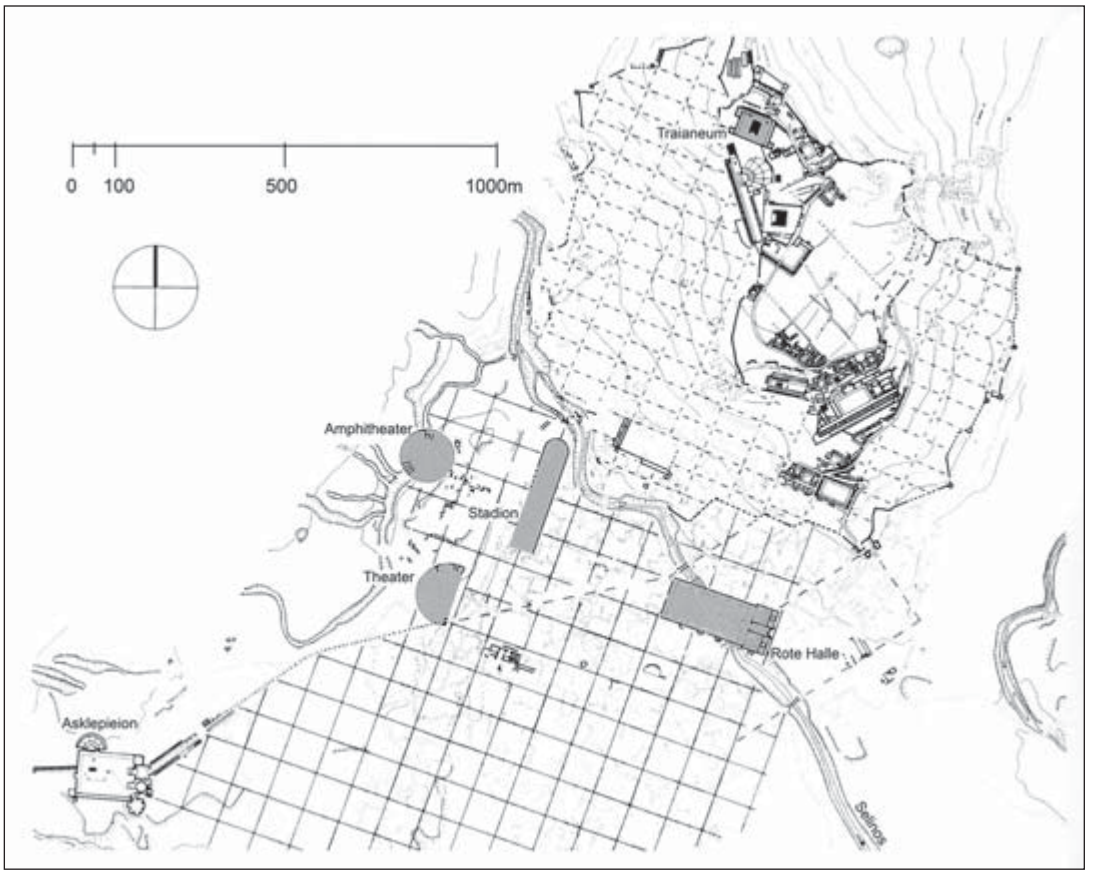

Fig. 4 Pergamon restored site plan

Textual and material support for an Egyptian cult at the Red Hall is lacking. Only one inscription, IvP 338, has been found in the Red Hall itself, but the name of the deity or deities being worshipped is missing[9]. Out of the hundreds of other religious inscriptions recovered from Pergamon, only two refer to Egyptian deities[10]. Both inscriptions significantly preceded

[9] Koester (1999, 317) and Nohlen (1998, 81) claimed that the inscription dates in the first or second century C. E. and that the name of Sarapis »would fit the lacuna on the stone«, and the inscription (IvP 338) has been restored thusly: Τίτος [— {τοῦ δεῖνος} υἱὸς] | Ἀφαρεὺς [σὺν τοῖς ἄλλοις] | θεραπευτα[ῖς Σαράπιδι(?)] ἀνέθη[κε], | γραμματεύο[ντος τὸ β΄(?)] | Τ(ιβερίου) Φλ[αβίου — — —].

[10] IvP 336 and IvP 337. IvP 336 dates to the first century C. E. and was found near the ›Armenian Church‹, which Mania (2011a, 98–99) considered close enough to be within the Red Hall's temenos. Part of the lengthy inscription reads: Π. Εὔφημος ϙαὶ Ṭυλλία Σ̣πένδουσ̣α, οἱ ἱεραφόροι, καθιέρωσαν | τοὺς θεούς, οὓς ἡ θεὸς ἐκέλευσε· Σάραπιν, Εἶσιν, Ἄνουβιν, Ἅρφο | κράτην, Ὄσειριν, Ἆπιν, Ἥλιον ἐφ' ἵππῳ καὶ ἱκέτην παρὰ τῶι ἵππῳ, Ἄρη, Διοσ | κόρους. Because it refers to a collection of Egyptian and Greco-Roman deities, indicating that no matter where these statues were located, it was a mixed religious environment. IvP 337 is from a small altar found at an unspecified location in the city and reads: Σαράπει [— — —] | Ὀρκᾶνος ἀν[έθηκεν]. Koester (1998, 112) dated the inscription to the third or second century B. C. E. and asserted that it was the earliest evidence of Egyptian cults at Pergamon, but he did not associate it with the sculptures identified by Radt (2005), mentioned below in note 11.

the erection of the Red Hall, but nevertheless textually substantiate the existence of Egyptian cults at Pergamon[11]. Surprisingly, no objects, furniture, or other statues have been found in the immediate vicinity of the Red Hall to confirm the presence of an Egyptian cult[12].

Although its design is peculiar in comparison with the other monumental temples of Imperial Asia, the Red Hall complex shares many features with several of the great Roman constructions of the first and second centuries C. E., including the Forum of Augustus, the Templum Pacis, and the Pantheon at Rome, and the Library of Hadrian at Athens[13]. Each comparandum adheres to an axial arrangement that is reminiscent of the Red Hall complex. Furthermore, the cellae or main structures of each possess the same frontal emphasis found with the tripartite terminus of the main hall and dual rotundae. Also like the Red Hall, these comparanda feature typical Roman architectural moldings and were decorated with an extraordinary variety of imported stones. Overall, the designs, varieties of material and decorative schemes of these examples indicate an intentional hybridization of styles. Significantly, none of these structures were confined to a single function and instead seem to have been adaptable to multiple purposes[14].

---

11 The only other Roman-era textual confirmation of Egyptian deities at Pergamon comes from the *Oxyrynccbus Papyri* (P. Oxy XI, 1380.108: . . . ἡ ἐν Περγάμῳ δεσπότις. . .), which calls Isis the »mistress« of Pergamon. The papyrus also mentions other cities and seems to focus on lauding the far-reaching worship of Isis, rather than the goddess's primacy at Pergamon. Radt (2005, 61–69) assembled and discussed other possible indications of Sarapis-Isis worship at Pergamon, some two-dozen small terracotta heads and sculptures. Almost all of these date to the Hellenistic period and were found around the acropolis. None of the sculptures are obviously Egyptian or Egyptianizing in style, but can be interpreted as such with some effort. Most notably, there are six small male busts that may depict Sarapis. Söğüt (2011, 295–296) observed that relatively few sculptures of Sarapis exist compared to the number of inscriptions mentioning the god. When he is represented, it is with a thick beard and curly hair, usually with three separate locks hanging down his forehead. All of the small sculptures identified by Radt depict a bearded male, but none include the attribute of three curls falling across his forehead. For more on the iconography of Sarapis, see Hornbostel 1973.

12 Only one potential cult object, a small terracotta head thought to be a representation of Isis, has been recovered in the lower city. Salditt-Trappmann (1970, 13–14) published the discovery of this small sculpture and asserted that it came from within the temenos area. Without an accurate find spot, however, the terracotta head can contribute nothing to our understanding of the nature of cultic activity at the Red Hall. Even without this uncertainty, the stark contrast between this single modest ritual artifact and the monumental Red Hall complex is enough to call into question any supposed relationship between the two.

13 Rieger 2005, 82–84. 90–91 and Rüpke 2006, 336. Mania (2011a, 68) has also made this connection with the Imperial fora and observed that the Fora of Augustus, Vespasian, and Hadrian were all built away from the Palatine and Capitoline hills, in much the same way that the Red Hall is separate from the acropolis. Mania (2011a, 67–68; 2011b, 356) compared the Red Hall to the Templum Pacis and the Library of Hadrian at Athens. Schorndorfer (1997, 63) also compared its layout to that of the Templum Pacis. For the Forum of Augustus in Rome, see Richardson 1992, 160–162. 245–246, and Reusser 1996; for the Templum Pacis, see Richardson 1992, 286–287 and Coarelli 1999; for the Pantheon at Rome, see MacDonald 1976, Ziolkowski 1999, and Waddell 2008; and for the Library of Hadrian at Athens, see Graindor 1934, 230–245, Shear 1981, 374–377, and Choremi-Spetsieri 1995.

14 The Forum of Augustus, for example, served many functions in addition to providing the setting for the Temple of Mars Ultor. Cassius Dio (54, 8) recorded that the complex was built to house the standards recovered by the Parthians. Augustus also installed bronze statues of major Roman figures in the porticoes and apses, including Aeneas and Romulus (Cass. Dio 4, 10, 3; Suet. Aug. 31, 1). Emperors Claudius and Trajan sat in judgement here (Cass. Dio 68, 10; Suet. Claud. 13). Some social functions also took place in the forum, including the taking up of the *toga virilis* by youths, the formal departure of new provincial governors, and the reception of governors (Cass. Dio 55, 10, 3–5; Suet. Aug. 29, 2). Similar functional flexibility existed at the Templum Pacis, the Pantheon, and the Library of Hadrian.

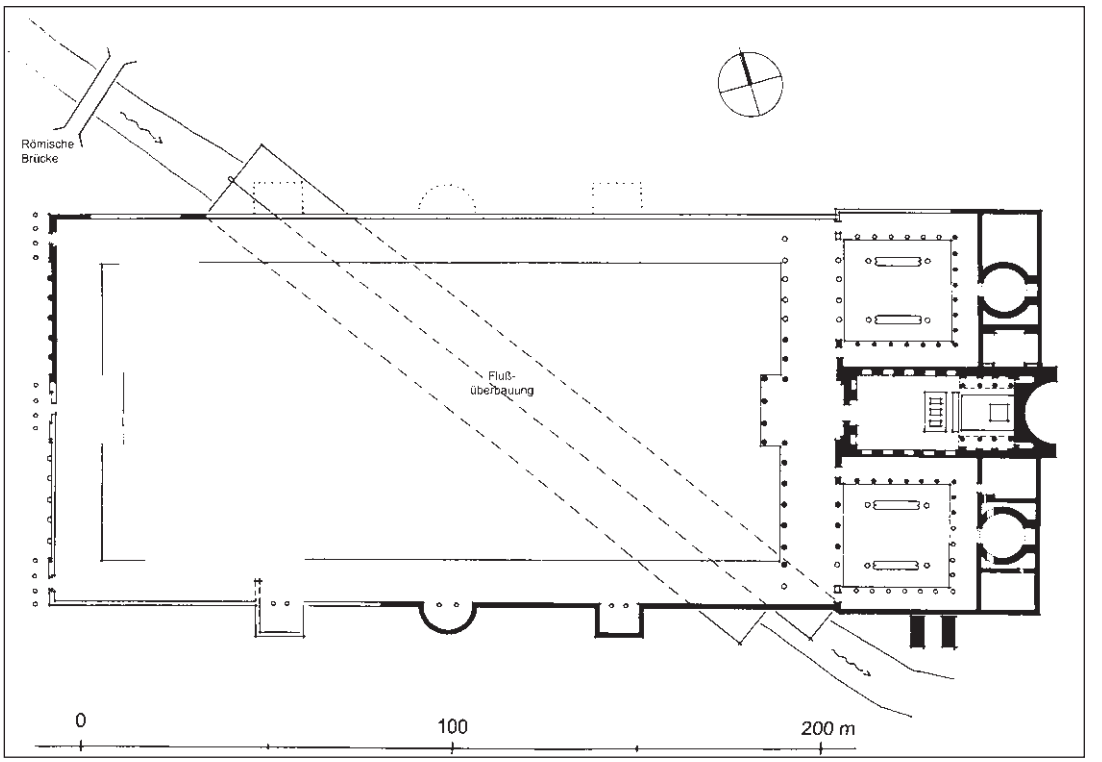

Fig. 5 The Red Hall at Pergamon: restored plan of hall and temenos

There is no doubt that Egyptian deities were worshipped at Pergamon, even if only privately[15]. Yet considering the massive scale of the Red Hall, its expensive material and adornment, and its prominent location, the dearth of textual and material evidence at the site is surprising. Together with the representational irregularities of the courtyard figures, this lack of secondary evidence should cast serious doubt on the common assumption that the Red Hall served an exclusively Egyptian cult.

Several scholars have proposed that the Egyptianizing figures, the odd design of the building, and Hadrian's travel itinerary point to the emperor's direct involvement in the design and construction of the Red Hall[16]. On this basis, Rieger suggested that one or both of the rotundae might have housed the Imperial Cult[17]. Mania raised the point that the Red Hall might be the Pergamene Temple of Hadrian, or Hadrianeion, mentioned by Ailios Aristeides (c. 117–181 C.E.) in his *Hieroi Logoi*[18]. In that passage, Aristeides described a dream he had while residing at the Asklepieion, in which he was instructed to go to the Hadrianeion in order to engage in a

15 See note 11 above.

16 Mania 2011b, 350–351; Rieger 2005, 91–92; Rüpke 2006, 336.

17 Rieger 2005, 91–93.

18 Mania 2011a, 109–110 and Aristeides (Hieroi Logoi 1, 29 [also cited as Orationes 47, 29]). Ailios Aristeides (ca. 117–181 C.E.) was a well-known public intellectual and orator who resided in Asia Minor during the middle second century C.E.

ritual ablution. Although the identity of this Hadrianeion is unknown, the Traianeion on the acropolis is a possibility because statues of both Trajan and Hadrian have been found at the site[19]. Yet the Hadrianeion mentioned by Aristeides and the Traianeion could not be the same, since the latter had no facilities for ritual bathing[20]. The Red Hall, however, has ample water features that could have been used for ritual bathing, including the courtyard fountains and the interior water channel and basins. The date of construction, a Hadrianic decorative scheme, and the presence of fountains and water basins make the Red Hall the most viable option to be identified as the Hadrianeion.

Epigraphic evidence that may equate the Red Hall with the Hadrianeion mentioned by Aristeides exists but has thus far gone unnoticed. Twelve inscriptions naming Hadrian Olympios were found during early excavations at Pergamon, most coming from the lower city[21]. Almost all of these texts are inscribed on altars or blocks of marble that could be fragments of altars[22]. Eight of these inscriptions were found in the lower city, but their find spots were recorded as private homes and most are impossible to identify today. Fortunately, however, the find spots of two of these altars, IvP 364 and IvP 374, can be pinpointed in the immediate vicinity of the Red Hall. The first, IvP 364 (*Fig. 6*), had been built into the wall of a house next to the north rotunda of the ›Basilica of John‹, the name applied to the Red Hall by the early travelers John Smith and M. Gabriel Choiseul-Gouffier[23]. It is approximately 0.44 meters high, and is inscribed on one side, clearly naming Hadrian as Olympios, savior, and founder[24]. The second, IvP 374 (*Fig. 7*), was found at the modern marketplace, only a few hundred meters from the Red Hall, close enough to have been within its sacred precinct. It is inscribed on four sides of a piece of blue-tinted white marble that measures over one meter high[25]. In addition to Hadrian Olympios, the inscription mentions approximately thirty-five *hymnodoi* associated with the Imperial Cult, as well as their officers, responsibilities, and fees[26].

Altars were necessary cultic furniture, primarily used as the structures upon which sacrifices or offerings were made to the gods. While ancient religious buildings could have many functions, altars were only used in the practice of cultic activities and are therefore the only sure evidence that an active cult existed. Altars were especially important to the practice of the Imperial Cult, as they were a means of confirming the divinity of the emperor by means of ritual sacrifice. The presence of altars dedicated to Hadrian at Pergamon certainly indicates an active imperial cult, but the context of that worship is as significant as its existence.

---

19 Müller 2009, 391–392; Mania 2011a, 110.

20 Burrell 2004, 28. Burrell did not discuss the Red Hall as a candidate for the Hadrianeion mentioned by Aristeides, most likely due to her focus on neokoroi.

21 IvP 364–374 and IdA 7. IvP 364–369, 373, and 374 all include Olympios among Hadrian's titles and were found either at the lowest levels of the upper city (i.e. not the acropolis) or in the lower city. IvP 370–372 were found on or near the acropolis and IdA 7 was found at the Asklepieion.

22 IvP 364, 373, and 374 have been positively identified as altars, while IvP 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371 and 372 possess the characteristics of altars, but have not been conclusively identified as such.

23 See Smith 1678 and Choiseul-Gouffier 1782. IvP was published in 1895, before the DAI began commonly using the name ›Die Rote Halle‹. This confusion of identity likely caused other scholars to miss this potentially important piece of epigraphic evidence.

24 Αὐτοκράτορι | Ἁδριανῶι | Ὀλυμπίωι | σωτῆρι | καὶ κτίστῃ | Γάϊος Ἄντιος | Ἀλέξανδρος.

25 The precise height of the altar fragment is 1.045 meters.

26 The *hymnodoi* were a group of about 40 men whose responsibility was to sing hymns associated with the Imperial Cult. For more on *hymnodoi*, see Burrell 2004, 22.

Fig. 6 Altar to Hadrian Olympios

Fig. 7 Altar to Hadrian Olympios naming hymnodoi

Most of the fragments found in Pergamon were from altars of modest size – about 0.5 meters high. This would seem to indicate that they were household altars for private use[27]. An interesting parallel for these Pergamene altars can be found in Athens, another city that greatly benefitted from the euergetism of Hadrian. In 1963, Anna Benjamin identified fragments of 94 altars dedicated to Hadrian Olympios, the largest of which measured 0.53 meters high[28]. None of the altars was inscribed on more than one side, indicating that they were positioned against walls, or at the very least they were only meant to be viewed and used from the front. Overall, the large number of altars and their consistent epigraphic formula led Benjamin to suggest that they were made for an official occasion[29]. Due to their sizes, smaller altars would have been relatively easy to move, so it is possible that these were temporarily placed in thoroughfares for

27 Witulski (2007, 168–170) saw this type of private altar as evidence of the institutionalized ritual worship of the emperor that existed in large public festivals and private homes.

28 Benjamin 1963, 64 no. 13. Most of the altars mentioned by Benjamin are fragments, but very few project to be of significant size. Only three of these altars (IG II² 3329, IG II² 3331, and IG II² 3333) are described by Benjamin as »large«, but no dimensions are available.

29 Benjamin 1963, 60.

public sacrifice during festivals, for ritual processions, or on the occasion of imperial visits[30]. The same could apply to the smaller corpus of altars found in Pergamon[31].

On the other hand, the IvP 374 altar is significantly larger than the others and includes text on four sides. Furthermore, the text contains far more than a formulaic dedicatory inscription and instead includes information regarding Imperial Cult officials. The nature of its inscription suggest that this altar was displayed in or near an appropriate religious sanctuary, and its substantial size suggests that it is unlikely to have been moved a great distance. While the other Pergamene altars of the Imperial Cult of Hadrian could have been appropriated from elsewhere during the Christian renovation of the Red Hall, their find spots could may offer additional support for Hadrian's involvement with the religious complex. The presence of these altars in the lower city is important not only because it proves that an active Imperial Cult existed in that area, but also because the Red Hall is the only major Roman-era religious structure known to have been in that area of the city. Thus it is the most likely cult center to have been related to these altars.

Perhaps, then, the Egyptianizing courtyard figures are only meant to provide an exotic atmosphere for the temple complex[32]. Egyptian styles were popular at imperial Rome, and especially so during Hadrian's reign due in part to that emperor's travels to the region[33]. This Egyptian-styled art in Rome may have been more evocative than representative of the actual religious art of the region. Anne Roullet has asserted that most religious objects imported to Rome from Egypt served decorative purposes, and that they were suggestive of the Roman idea of that province rather than an accurate representation of Egyptian culture or religion[34]. At Rome, a great deal of Egyptian or Egyptianizing art seems to have been inspired or expropriated as a result of what Ellen Perry called »Roman eclecticism«, which she defined as the synthesis of many artistic prototypes[35]. This notion of eclecticism is evident in the decoration of the Red Hall, especially so considering that the courtyard figures have no prototype in Egyptian art, but instead seem to have represented a Roman interpretation of Egyptian art. This should not, however, completely nullify their potential religious import.

The Iseum Campense in Rome is a useful comparison in this regard[36]. Originally built during Vespasian's reign, the Iseum resembles the Red Hall in that it was surrounded by high walls and included at least one interior water channel. Although not as well preserved, the Iseum Campense

---

30 I am thankful to Barbara Burrell for the suggestion that these altars might have been used in ritual processions or during imperial visits.

31 Burrell also noted that if these altars were used during imperial visits, then they could constitute additional evidence that Hadrian visited Pergamon.

32 Mania (2011a, 90–92) has also suggested this possibility, noting that precedents for this practice can be found at Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, especially the so-called Canopus and Sarapeion, which appear to re-create an Egyptian ambiance.

33 According to Lembke (1994, 95), Hadrian was regularly tied to Egypt, but not always in a manner that can be described as overtly religious. For example, in some coins (see BMCRE III 1552 and 1553) the emperor is portrayed as a general with his left foot surmounting a crocodile, representing his dominion over Egypt (for commentary, see Levi 1948, esp. 30–31). These coins are more appropriately interpreted as political, rather than religious, statements.

34 Roullet 1972, 13. 18–22. In short, she reduced the significance of Egyptianizing art and architecture to popular taste, which may have been the case. On the latter point, she noted that obelisks, sphinxes, lions, and animal-headed gods featured prominently, but decorative statues outnumbered religious statues by far.

35 Perry 2002, 168–171.

36 For the Iseum Campense, see Lembke 1994.

was almost certainly dedicated to the Egyptian deities Isis and Sarapis. Yet not all aspects of the Iseum Campense were authentically Egyptian. In her monograph on the Iseum Campense, Katja Lembke assessed the decorative features of the sanctuary and separated them into two categories: authentically Egyptian and Egyptianesque or Roman imitations[37]. Notably, other deities were also included in the Iseum Campense complex, including Hadrian's companion Antinoos, who is identified through an altar inscription as enthroned with the Egyptian gods[38]. The Iseum Campense thus appears to be an example of a Romanized version of a sanctuary of Egyptian gods that could also facilitate the worship of Roman deities.

Whether or not the Red Hall figures were authentically Egyptian, they were nevertheless installed in an environment explicitly designed to facilitate worship, and they were therefore inflected with religious significance. In short, the figures from the Red Hall are clearly Egyptianizing and clearly housed in a religious environment, but that does not prove that a sizable community exclusively worshipped Egyptian deities at the site.

Although the Egyptianizing features of the Red Hall do not prove the exclusive presence of Egyptian cults there, Egyptian religion could have been a component of the Imperial Cult at Pergamon. The ostensible goal of the Imperial Cult was to place the emperor on a level above other humans as a means to confirm the primacy of the Empire and its ruler. In practice, this required the participation of the Roman administrative hierarchy and of those provinces under Roman authority, but there was no single set of practices or beliefs associated with the Imperial Cult[39]. Consequently, the Imperial Cult was an adaptable institution and capable of being tailored to its environment. In practice, this frequently led to parallel worship of the Emperor and other deities.

The Imperial Cult did not necessarily provide the emperor with full divinity, but instead elevated him above mortals into a position that was god-like, but also in need of divine support[40]. In origin, the cult of Roman emperors was an appropriation of the concept of Genius Populi Romani, itself a combination of the Hellenistic cults of Tyche and the demos of a city[41]. The Imperial Cult simply offered an added element of divinity by combining the concept of the Roman genius with the identity of the emperor. In effect, the cult made the emperor the tangible and spiritual symbol of the Empire throughout the world.

Due in part to its tradition of ruler worship, the Greek-speaking East proved to be especially fertile ground for the Roman Imperial Cult[42]. By linking the Roman emperor to various traditional gods, the Imperial Cult bolstered his celestial significance for the Greek-speaking world. Roman emperors could share in the cults of individual deities, and assimilation to a deity

---

37 Lembke 1994, 18–59.

38 IG XIV 961 (IGUR 98).

39 According to Beard *et al.* (1998, 318), there was no single Imperial Cult, but several cults that shared a focus on the emperor and his family. Environment, ritual, and Roman involvement varied greatly across the Empire.

40 Price 1984a, 94.

41 Fears 1978, 286. According to Fears, the male Genius Populi Romani was distinct from the goddess Roma, represented as a female. Consequently, the Genius Populi Romani was the perfect precursor for the emperor's role as a corporeal symbol of the Empire.

42 See Price 1984b and Burrell 2004 for a more complete account of the role of the Imperial cult in the Greek-speaking East.

was likely aimed at association or comparison[43]. Furthermore, the Greeks frequently collated the names of emperors with specific deities, as they associated Hadrian with Zeus through the epithet Olympios, in the same way that they used the term theos as an adjective[44]. Accordingly, an emperor could be associated with the characteristics of a particular god, but could not truly be that god. It is unknown whether there was any significance to treating the emperor as a god or if the emperor was simply under the gods' protection through alliance or assimilation[45].

Whether he was a partner, subordinate, or was assimilated with a traditional god, the emperor was the supreme power on earth. As king of the gods, Zeus Olympios logically became the most common imperial companion. The term ›Olympios‹ originated as an epithet of Zeus and was used to describe his supremacy as the head of the Olympian gods, therefore making him a universal deity[46]. With the epithet Olympios, several emperors, like Alexander before them, became the chief of the world of humanity in parallel with Zeus as the head of the gods. This concomitant worship with Zeus was more formalized during Hadrian's reign when the use of the epithet originated in Athens and was very likely linked to Hadrian's Panhellenic program[47].

Although Zeus was the most common divine associate, the emperor or his family also could be linked with other gods. Religion and ritual was an ever-present element of Roman life, and temple dedications reminded people of the emperor's beneficence and established a link between religious ritual and the emperor himself, thereby integrating gods and emperors[48]. Rather than situating the emperor in an enigmatic place in the divine hierarchy, his association with a universal deity, like Zeus, would have placed him in an easily recognizable class of divinity.

The god most frequently associated with the Red Hall, Sarapis, was also a universally-worshipped deity. Sarapis was a hybrid deity promoted by the Ptolemies in the third century B.C.E. with the aim of bolstering Greek and Egyptian unity[49]. His identity was flexible and he was often associated with other gods such as Zeus and Asklepios, who were worshipped throughout the ancient Mediterranean[50]. Moreover, the Ptolemies promoted Sarapis as a protector of royal authority, a theme encouraged by some Roman emperors, especially Vespasian,

---

43 Nock 1930, 18. 40–43. Nock (1930, 32) discussed Hadrian's divine epithets, Olympios, Panhellenios, and Eleutherios, and noted that it is difficult to determine whether temples related to these titles featured statues of Hadrian and Zeus side by side, or a single cult statue of Zeus with Hadrian's features.

44 Price 1984a, 79. 85–86. Price noted that the Greek term *theos* (see Liddel – Scott – Jones *s. v.* θεός) differs from the Latin *divus* in that it refers to living persons as well as dead. Similarly the thrust of Imperial Cult practice in the Greek world was towards the figure of the reigning emperor. The use of *theos* placed the emperor within the traditional religious system in a position higher than mortals but not fully equal to the gods.

45 Beard *et al.* 1998, 361. Gordon (2011, 44) even questioned if receiving worship was a simple precondition for imperial power.

46 Metcalf 1974, 60.

47 See Benjamin 1963; Metcalf 1974; Witulski 2007, 168–170. For more on the Panhellenion, see Spawforth – Walker 1985; Spawforth – Walker 1986.

48 Boatwright 2000, 127–129.

49 The deity Sarapis may have evolved from a synthesis of the Egyptian gods Osiris and Apis. When depicted in art, he usually wears Greek clothing, curly hair, and a beard. For more on the cult of Sarapis, see Tacitus (hist. 4, 83–84); Stambaugh 1967; Stambaugh 1972; Hornbostel 1973; Merkelbach 2001.

50 Tacitus's (hist. 4, 83–84) account of the third-century B.C.E. development of the god also discusses the Sarapis's assimilation with Asklepios and Zeus.

Fig. 8 Roman Coin Minted in Alexandria. Obverse: Bust of the Emperor Hadrian. Reverse: Hadrian and Sarapis

Hadrian, and Septimius Severus[51]. Because water played a part in the rituals of some Egyptian gods, the basins and water channel in the central structure of the Red Hall could indicate that Sarapis was worshipped at the site[52].

As noted above, Hadrian made efforts to associate himself with Sarapis. A clear example of this can be found in the design of some Alexandrian coins minted during Hadrian's reign (*Fig. 8*)[53]. The reverse side of this type depicts the emperor and Sarapis near or inside a temple with Corinthian capitals, and what appears to be an altar or small structure between them. This object includes a legend which reads »Hadrianon«. Although the nature of the interaction between the figures is unclear, it certainly indicates a connection between Hadrian and Sarapis. The primary debate over the scene concerns the location for the interaction, for which there are two possibilities – that the structure in the background is a temple shared by the two figures or that the structure is a chapel of Hadrian within the larger sanctuary precinct of Sarapis[54]. A portrait bust of Antinoos, found at Ostia in a sanctuary of Magna Mater, may shed light on this issue (*Fig. 9*)[55]. The portrait depicts Antinoos as a priest, wearing a crown with two sculpted busts, presumably representing the gods whom he served. Some have argued that Antinoos is represented as a priest of the Imperial Cult, and the portraits on the crown depict the emperors

51 Sarapis was frequently depicted on imperial coinage alongside emperors, and some emperors, like Septimius Severus, were occasionally depicted as Sarapis. For an introduction to the Roman-era worship of Sarapis, see Lempke 1994; Takàcs 1995; Bremmer 2014, 110–125.

52 For the relationship between water and the worship of Egyptian deities, see Wild 1981. There exists some controversy concerning the uniformity of Roman-era Egyptian sanctuaries. For example, Price (2007, 266) observed that sanctuaries and temples dedicated to Isis are almost always »Egyptian« in appearance, lending credence to the notion that the courtyard figures indicate an Egyptian cult relationship. On the contrary, Wild's 1984 comprehensive study on the known Isis and Sarapis sanctuaries of the Roman period demonstrates the diversity of their appearances (Wild 1984).

53 See BMC.Alex.876 (Hornbostel 1973, pl. 45 no. 82; Geißen 1978 no. 1084) and Hornbostel 1973 pl. 45 no. 83 (Geißen 1978 no. 1085; Förschner 1987, 160 no. 476). Because of its clarity, only BMC.Alex.876 is included in the images.

54 See Pfeiffer 2010, 154–155 for a summary of the various interpretations of this coin type.

55 Pfeiffer 2010, 155–157. The portrait bust is now located at the Museo Nazionale Romano di Palazzo Massimo alle Terme.

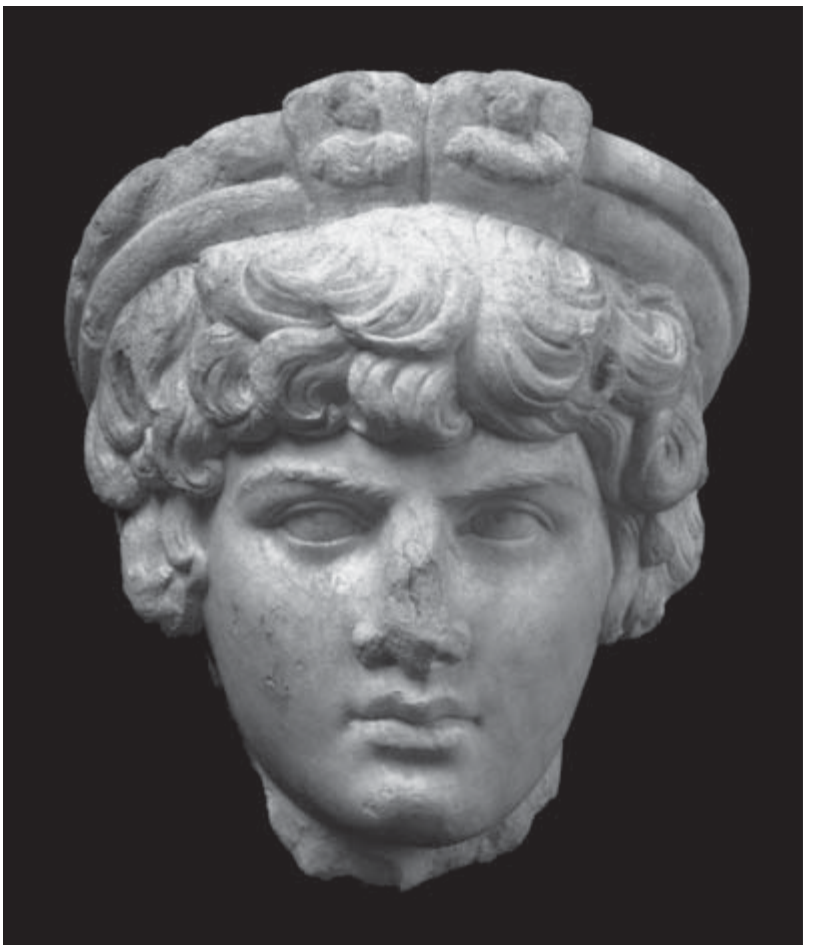

Fig. 9 Bust of Antinoos from the Sanctuary of Magna Mater at Ostia

Hadrian and Trajan or Hadrian and Nerva[56]. Yet both figures are bearded, and neither Nerva nor Trajan wore beards; consequently, the second figure on the crown represents either an emperor who reigned after Hadrian (unlikely in a portrait of Antinoos) or a god. Pfeiffer concluded that the second figure represents Sarapis, because if Hadrian shared religious worship with Sarapis, then Antinoos would have been an appropriate priest of this cult[57]. Together, the coins and Antinoos statue prove that Hadrian and Sarapis were religiously linked. This association also likely extended beyond Egypt, as Hadrian may have even had a role in supporting a now-lost monumental Temple of Sarapis in Rome[58].

[56] Pfeiffer (2010, 156–157) provided a brief summary of the arguments and concluded that this type of crown with small protome portraits was, in fact, used by priests of the Imperial Cult. For the identification of the portraits on this crown, see Beaujeu 1955, 245–246 for Hadrian and Trajan; see Manera – Mazza 2001, 114 for Hadrian and Nerva. Alternatively, this bust could represent Antinoos as a priest of Attis with the heads representing deities related to the cult of Magna Mater.

[57] Pfeiffer 2010, 157.

[58] See Taylor 2004 for a summary of the known information about the structure and controversy over its identity and patron, whom Taylor argued may have been Hadrian.

If Sarapis had a place at the Red Hall, then the significance of the name Hadrianos Olympios on nearby altars could take on a new meaning. This includes the possibility that the Imperial Cult of Hadrian at Pergamon was related to the identity or worship of Sarapis. Hadrian was no stranger to religious synthesis or the mingling of divine identities, as is evident in his well-known association with Zeus Olympios. Furthermore, the established religious institutions at Pergamon could have provided a perfect context for this situation. At Pergamon, the cult of Zeus was of great antiquity, and the god was already honored with the Great Altar and the dynamic Temple of Trajan and Zeus Philios. This abundance of honors may have dissuaded Hadrian from building, or lending his name to, yet another structure related to the worship of Zeus and the emperor. Also, by Hadrian's reign, the city had already been awarded two neokorate temples: one to Augustus and the other to Trajan, both of which included co-dedications[59]. This would not, however, have prevented the construction of a new Imperial Cult temple in Hadrian's name. Accordingly, the choice might have been made to highlight Hadrian's relationship with another universal god with a profile similar to Zeus, like Sarapis, through architecture.

While at first the Red Hall seems an unlikely candidate, it would have in fact been quite well suited as a temple to Hadrian and other deities. Although the appearance and cultural character of the Red Hall were unique, Hadrian's Imperial Cult could have been practiced there and existed in a way that neither imitated, nor overtly challenged, nor displaced any preexisting cults in the city. The discovery of two altars dedicated to Hadrian in the vicinity of the Red Hall attest to the practice of this cult. Furthermore, the location in the lower city provided the Red Hall with noticeable topographical separation from preexisting temples serving the cults of Zeus and other emperors, most of which were located on the acropolis. Finally, an association with an Egyptian god like Sarapis affirmed the emperor's divinity and underscored his ability to bring together the disparate cultures of the Empire.

Abstract: The Red Hall (Kızıl Avlu) in Pergamon has long been considered a sanctuary to Egyptian gods, mostly because of the unmistakably Egyptianizing caryatids and atlantes found at the site. Yet save for the evocative figures, there is no irrefutable evidence to tie the Red Hall to Egypt or Egyptian cults. Nevertheless, the features of the building indicate that it served a religious function. Historical and material evidence points to the Imperial Cult of Hadrian. The emperor has been linked by date, style, and material to the Red Hall, and the presence of several altars confirm that an active cult of Hadrian existed near the site. Hadrian was also linked with Egyptian styles and deities during his reign, and he was even sometimes associated with Sarapis. Instead of affirming that an exclusively Egyptian religion was practiced at the Red

[59] A neokorate temple is a temple built in conjunction with the bestowing of the title of *neokoros*. In its most basic sense, *neokoros* may be translated as ›temple warden‹. In the Imperial Roman era, it was often used as a title that accompanied a special award of the Imperial Cult. A few historical sources (Cass. Dio 51, 20, 6–9; 59, 28, 1 and Tac. ann. 4, 37, 3) suggest that Augustus founded the Imperial Cult at the city, which may have been housed in a neokorate temple co-dedicated to Rome. The second neokorate temple is the Traianeion on the acropolis, which was co-dedicated to Zeus Philios and Trajan. Burrell (2004, 23) concluded that the dual dedication of the second neokorate temple under Trajan was probably modeled on the preceding cult of Augustus and Rome. Pergamon received a third neokorate during the latter years of Caracalla's (r. 198–217 C.E.) reign (see Burrell 2004, 30–31). Because the Red Hall was built sometime in the mid-second century C.E., between the second and the third award of the honor, it could not have been a neokorate temple.

Hall, the Egyptianizing sculptures at the site may have only expressed part of the building's religious identity, in which the Roman emperor was honored alongside, or perhaps as, a major Egyptian deity.

Ägyptische Kunst und der Kaiserkult an der Roten Halle in Pergamon

Zusammenfassung: Die Rote Halle (Kızıl Avlu) in Pergamon wurde lange als ein Heiligtum ägyptischer Gottheiten angesehen; vor allem aufgrund der unverkennbar ägyptisierenden Karyatiden und Atlanten, die in ihrer unmittelbaren Umgebung gefunden worden waren. Außer den evokativen Figuren gibt es für die Rote Halle selbst jedoch keinen unwiderlegbaren Beweis für eine Verbindung mit Ägypten bzw. ägyptischen Kulten. Nichtsdestotrotz weisen bestimmte Eigenschaften des Gebäudes auf eine religiöse Funktion. Schriftliche und materielle Zeugnisse deuten auf den Kult des Kaisers Hadrian hin. Der Herrscher konnte durch Datierung, Stil und Material mit der Roten Halle in Zusammenhang gebracht werden und das Vorhandensein mehrerer Altäre bestätigt, dass es einen aktiven Hadrianskult nahe der Anlage gegeben hat. Hadrian wird außerdem während seiner Regierungszeit mit ägyptischen (Bau)stilen und Gottheiten in Verbindung gebracht und manchmal wurde er sogar mit Sarapis assoziiert. Statt zu bestätigen, dass eine ausschließlich ägyptische Religion an der Roten Halle praktiziert wurde, könnten die ägyptisierenden Skulpturen auf dem Gelände nur einen Teil der religiösen Identität des Bauwerks ausdrücken, in der der römische Kaiser gemeinsam mit oder sogar als eine ägyptische Hauptgottheit verehrt wurde.

Mısır Sanatı ve Pergamon Kızıl Avlu'da İmparatorluk Kültü

Özet: Bergama'daki Kızıl Avlu uzun bir süre Mısır tanrılarının bir kutsal alanı olarak kabul görmüştür; hemen yakınında ele geçen özellikle açık bir şekilde Mısır etkisinde olduğu görülen *katyatid*ler ve *atlaslar* sayesinde böyle yorumlanmıştır. Bu figürler dışında yapının Mısır ile daha doğrusu Mısır kültüyle ilgili bağlatısını gösteren çürütülemez deliller yoktur. Yine de bazı özellikleri, yapının dini işlevine işaret etmektedir. Yazılı ve madesel kanıtlar İmparator Hadrian kültünü çağrıştırmaktadır. İmparator, tarihlendirme, stil ve malzeme açısından Kızıl Avlu ile ilişkilendirilebilmiştir ve çok sayıda sunağın varlığı, bu yapının yakınlarında aktif bir Hadrian kültünün bulunduğunu onaylamaktadır. Hadrian ayrıca yönetimde olduğu zamanlar Mısır etkisindeki (yapı) stil ve tanrılarla, hatta bazen Sarapis ile ilişkilendirilmiştir. Mısır etkisindeki heykeller, Kızıl Avlu'da başlı başına bir Mısır dininin uygulandığını onaylamak yerine, Roma İmparatorunun bir Mısır ana tanrısı ile birlikte veya bir Mısır ana tanrısı olarak tapınım gördüğü yapının dini kimliğinin yalnızca bir parçasını gösterir.

Bibliography

Albersmeier 1994	S. Albersmeier, Ägyptisierende Statuen aus Marathon, in: M. Minas-Nerpel – J. Zeidler – S. Schips – S. Stöhr (eds.), Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur. Festschrift Erich Winter, Aegyptiaca Traverensia 7 (Mainz 1994) 9–21
Beard *et al.* 1998	M. Beard – J. A. North – S. R. F. Price, Religions of Rome (Cambridge 1998)
Benjamin 1963	A. Benjamin, The Altars of Hadrian in Athens and Hadrian's Panhellenic Program, Hesperia 32, 1963, 57–86
Beaujeu 1955	J. Beaujeu, La religion romaine à l'apog*é*e de l'Empire I. La politique religieuse des Antonins (96–192) (Paris 1955)
Boatwright 2000	M. T. Boatwright, Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire (Princeton 2000)
Bremmer 2014	J. Bremmer, Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World, Münchner Vorlesungen zu antiken Welten 1 (Berlin 2014)
Burrell 2004	B. Burrell, Neokoroi. Greek Cities and Roman Emperors, Cincinnati classical studies (N. S.) 9 (Leiden 2004)
Choiseul-Gouffier 1782	M.-G.-A.-F. Choiseul-Gouffier, Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce (Paris 1782)
Choremi-Spetsieri 1995	A. Choremi-Spetsieri, The Library of Hadrian at Athens. Recent Finds, Ostraka 4, 1995, 137–147
Coarelli 1999	LTUR 4 (1999) 67–70 *s. v.* Pax, temlum (F. Coarelli)
Collignon – Pontremoli 1900	M. Collignon – E. Pontremoli, Pergame. Restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole (Paris 1900)
Conze 1912	A. Conze, Stadt und Landschaft, AvP 1 (Berlin 1912)
Dallaway 1797	J. Dallaway, Constantinople Ancient and Modern. With Excursions to the Shores and Islands of the Archipelago and to the Troad (London 1797)
Deubner 1940	O. Deubner, Das ägyptische Heiligtum in Pergamon, in: DAI (ed.), Bericht über den VI. Internationalen Kongress für Archäologie, Berlin 21.–26. August 1939 (Berlin 1940) 477–478
Deubner 1977/78	O. Deubner, Das Heiligtum der alexandrinischen Gottheiten in Pergamon genannt ›Kızıl Avlı‹ (›Rote Halle‹), IstMitt 27/28, 1977/78, 227–250
Fears 1978	J. R. Fears, Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΡΩΜΑΙΩΝ Genius Populi Romani. A Note on the Origin of Dea Roma, Mnemosyne 31, 1978, 274–286
Förschner 1987	G. Förschner, Die Münzen der römischen Kaiser in Alexandrien. Die Bestände des Münzkabinetts, Kleine Schriften des Historischen Museums Frankfurt a. M. 25 (Frankfurt/Main 1987)

Geißen 1978 — A. Geißen, Katalog alexandrinischer Kaisermünzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln II. Hadrian – Antoninus Pius, AbhDüsseldorf 5, 2 = Papyrologica Coloniensia 5, 2 (Opladen 1978)

Gordon 2011 — R. Gordon, The Roman Imperial Cult and the Question of Power, in: J. North – S. Price (eds.), The Religious History of the Roman Empire. Pagans, Jews, and Christians (Oxford 2011) 37–70

Graindor 1934 — P. Graindor, Athènes sous Hadrien (Cairo 1934)

Heilmeyer 1970 — W.-D. Heilmeyer, Korinthische Normalkapitelle. Studien zur Geschichte der römischen Architekturdekoration, RM Ergh. 16 (Heidelberg 1970)

Hornbostel 1973 — W. Hornbostel, Sarapis. Studien zur *Überlieferungsgeschichte, den* Erscheinungsformen und Wandlungen der Gestalt eines Gottes, EPRO 32 (Leiden 1973)

Koenigs – Radt 1979 — W. Koenigs – W. Radt, Ein kaiserzeitlicher Rundbau (Monopteros) in Pergamon, IstMitt 29, 1979, 317–345

Koester 1998 — H. Koester, The Cult of Egyptian Deities in Asia Minor, in: H. Koester (ed.), Pergamon. Citadel of the Gods, Harvard theological studies 46 (Harrisburg 1998) 111–137

Lembke 1994 — K. Lembke, Das Iseum Campense in Rom. Studie über den Isiskult unter Domitian, Archäologie und Geschichte 3 (Heidelberg 1994)

Levi 1948 — A. Levi, Hadrian as King of Egypt, NumChron (ser. 6) 8, 1/2, 1948, 30–38

Lloyd-Morgan 1990 — G. Lloyd-Morgan, Caryatids and Other Supporters, in: M. Henig (ed.), Architecture and Architectural Sculpture in the Roman Empire, Oxford University Committee for Archaeology Monograph 29 (Oxford 1990) 143–151

MacDonald 1976 — W. MacDonald, The Pantheon. Design, Meaning, and Progeny (Cambridge 1976)

MacDonald – Pinto 1995 — W. MacDonald – J. A. Pinto, Hadrian's Villa and its Legacy (New Haven 1995)

Manera – Mazza 2001 — F. Manera – C. Mazza, Le collezione egizie del Museo nazionale romano (Rome 2001)

Mania 2011a — U. Mania, Die Rote Halle in Pergamon. Ausstattung und Funktion, PF 15 (Mainz/Rhein 2011)

Mania 2011b — U. Mania, Sculpture from Pergamon's Red Hall. An Indicator for Itinerant Workmen between Rome and Asia Minor, in: F. D'Andria – I. Romeo (eds.), Roman Sculpture in Asia Minor. Proceedings of the International Conference to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Italian Excavations at Hieropolis in Phrygia Held on May 24–26, 2007, in Cavallino (Lecce), JRA Suppl. 80 (Portsmouth 2011) 346–358

Merkelbach 2001 — R. Merkelbach, Isis regina, Zeus Sarapis. Die griechisch-ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen dargestellt (Leipzig 2001)

Metcalf 1974 — W. E. Metcalf, Hadrian, Iovis Olympius, Mnemosyne 27, 1974, 59–66

Müller 2009 — H. Müller, Hadrian an die Pergamener. Eine Fallstudie, in: R. Haensch (ed.), Selbstdarstellung und Kommunikation. Die Veröffentlichung staatlicher Urkunden auf Stein und Bronze in der römischen Welt, Vestigia 61 (Munich 2009) 367–406

Nock 1930 — A. D. Nock, Σύνναος θεός, HSCP 41, 1930, 1–62

Nohlen 1998 — K. Nohlen, The ›Red Hall‹ (Kizil Avlu) in Pergamon, in: H. Koester (ed.), Pergamon. Citadel of the Gods, Harvard theological studies 46 (Harrisburg 1998) 77–111

Perry 2002 — E. Perry, Rhetoric, Literary Criticism, and the Roman Aesthetics of Artistic Imitation, in: E. K. Gazda (ed.), The Ancient Art of Emulation. Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity, MemAmAc Suppl. 1 (Ann Arbor, Michigan 2002) 153–172

Pfeiffer 2010 — S. Pfeiffer, Der römische Kaiser und das Land am Nil. Kaiserverehrung und Kaiserkult in Alexandria und Ägypten von Augustus bis Caracalla (30 v. Chr. – 217 n. Chr.), Historia Einzelschriften 212 (Stuttgart 2010)

Price 1984a — S. Price, Gods and Emperors. The Greek Language of the Roman Imperial Cult, JHS 104, 1984, 79–95

Price 1984b — S. Price, Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor (Cambridge 1984)

Price 2007 — S. Price, Homogeneity and Diversity in the Religions of Rome, in: J. North – S. Price (eds.), The Religious History of the Roman Empire. Pagans, Jews and Christians (Oxford 2007) 253–275

Radt 1999 — W. Radt, Geschichte und Bauten einer antiken Metropole (Darmstadt 1999)

Radt 2005 — W. Radt, Spuren Ägyptischer Kulte in Pergamon, in: A. Hoffmann (ed.), Ägyptische Kulte und ihre Heiligtümer im Osten des Römischen Reiches. Internationales Kolloquium, 5./6. September 2003 in Bergama (Türkei), Byzas 1 (Istanbul 2005) 59–79

Reusser 1996 — LTUR 3 (1996) 230–231 *s. v.* Mars Ultor (Capitolium) (Chr. Reusser)

Richardson 1992 — L. Richardson, A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome (Baltimore 1992)

Rieger 2005 — A.-K. Rieger, Pergamon und Rom. Überlegungen zur städtebaulichen Bedeutung und zur Bauherrschaft der Roten Halle in Pergamon, in: A. Hoffmann, Ägyptische Kulte und ihre Heiligtümer im Osten des Römischen Reiches. Internationales Kolloquium, 5./6. September 2003 in Bergama (Türkei), Byzas 1 (Istanbul 2005) 81–94

Rohmann 1998 — J. Rohmann, Die Kapitellproduktion der römischen Kaiserzeit in Pergamon, PF 10 (Berlin 1998)

Roullet 1972 — A. Roullet, The Egyptian and Egyptianizing Monuments of Imperial Rome, EPRO 20 (Leiden 1972)

Rüpke 2006 — J. Rüpke, Roman Imperial and Provincial Religion. An Interim Report, ArchRel 8, 2006, 327–342

Salditt-Trappmann 1970 — R. Salditt-Trappmann, Tempel der ägyptischen Götter in Griechenland und an der Westküste Kleinasiens, EPRO 15 (Leiden 1970)

Schorndorfer 1997 — S. Schorndorfer, Öffentliche Bauten hadrianischer Zeit in Kleinasien. Archäologisch-historische Untersuchungen, Charybdis 14 (Münster 1997)

Shear 1981 — T. L. Shear Jr., Athens. From City-State to Provincial Town, Hesperia 50, 1981, 356–377

Söğüt 2011 — B. Söğüt, The Serapis Relief from Lagina, in: F. D'Andria – I. Romeo (eds.), Roman Sculpture in Asia Minor. Proceedings of the International Conference to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Italian Excavations at Hieropolis in Phrygia Held on May 24–26, 2007, in Cavallino (Lecce), JRA Suppl. 80 (Portsmouth 2011) 294–301

Smith 1678 — T. Smith, Remarks Upon the Manners, Religion and Government of the Turks Together With a Survey of the Seven Churches of Asia, As They Now Lye in Their Ruines, and a Brief Description of Constantinople (London 1678)

Spawforth – Walker 1985 — A. J. Spawforth – S. Walker, The World of the Panhellenion I. Athens and Eleusis, JRS 75, 1985, 78–104

Spawforth – Walker 1986 — A. J. Spawforth – S. Walker, The World of the Panhellenion II. Three Dorian Cities, JRS 76, 1986, 88–105

Stambaugh 1967 — J. Stambaugh, The Sarapis Concept in the Hellenistic Age (Ph.D. diss. Princeton University, Ann Arbor 1967)

Stambaugh 1972 — J. Stambaugh, Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies, EPRO 25 (Leiden 1972)

Takács 1995 — S. Takács, Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World, Religions in the Graeco-Roman world 124 (Leiden 1995)

Taylor 2004 — R. Taylor, Hadrian's Serapeum in Rome, AJA 108, 2004, 223–266

Thompson 1950 — H. Thompson, The Odeion in the Athenian Agora, Hesperia 19, 2, 1950, 31–141

Tobin 1991 — J. Tobin, The Monuments of Herodes Atticus (Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 1991)

Waddell 2008 — G. Waddell, Creating the Pantheon. Design, Materials and Construction, Bibliotheca archaeologica 42 (Rome 2008)

Wild 1981 R. A. Wild, Water in the Cultic Worship of Isis and Sarapis, EPRO 87 (Leiden 1981)

Wild 1984 R. A. Wild, The Known Isis-Sarapis Sanctuaries of the Roman Period, ANRW 2, 17, 4 (Berlin 1984) 1739–1851

Witulski 2007 T. Witulski, Kaiserkult in Kleinasien. Die Entwicklung der kultisch-religiösen Kaiserverehrung in der römischen Provinz Asia von Augustus bis Antoninus Pius (Göttingen 2007)

Wulf 1994 U. Wulf, Der Stadtplan von Pergamon, IstMitt 44, 1994, 135–175

Ziolkowski 1999 LTUR 4 (1999) 54–61 *s. v.* Pantheon (A. Ziolkowski)

INHALT

TABLE OF CONTENTS