

# THE MITHRAEUM FROM COLONIA SARMIZEGETUSA: ON THE LIMITS OF MATERIALITY OF RELIGION

Csaba Szabó

## Abstract

*Colonia Sarmizegetusa – known from the epigraphic sources also as colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa Metropolis – was one of the major urban centres in the province of Dacia, the political and religious capital of Tres Daciae. The rich epigraphic and archaeological material from the modern site of Sarmizegetusa (Várhely) reflects the splendour of the ancient city and its religious life. The Mithraeum discovered in 1879 and excavated in the following years was a European sensation at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century: at the time of its discovery, it was the largest ever discovered treasure of figurative monuments from a Mithraic context. While the epigraphic and figurative material of the partially preserved and today missing site was published and reanalysed several times, the interpretation of the material and the curious case of the site still present us with uncomfortable and unsolved questions, such as the interpretation of the quantity of the reliefs, the chronology of the site and the production, use and fate of the largest Mithraic find ever discovered in Europe. The article will address once again these issues and will summarize the possible answers and research perspectives.*

**Keywords:** *Mithras – Mithraeum – archaeology of religion – Dacia – materiality of religion – Danubian provinces.*

In recent years, there has been a recurring abundance and renaissance of “Mithraic studies”. Several important monographs, syntheses, and catalogues have been published on both old and new material related to the cult of Roman Mithras.<sup>1</sup> With few

---

1 The abundant literature was recently collected in the bibliography of Bricault and Roy 2021, Bricault, Veymiers and Amoroso 2021. On new trends and perspectives in Mithraic research, see also: Szabó 2018a.

monographs focusing on local case studies,<sup>2</sup> most of the recent works addressed general, holistic questions on the origins,<sup>3</sup> the end,<sup>4</sup> the figurative narratives<sup>5</sup> or the cognitive aspects of the cult.<sup>6</sup> Site-studies highlighted the importance of local and glocal approaches in Mithraic studies and the urgent necessity of a *CIMRM* Supplement on provincial and imperial scale as well.<sup>7</sup> The contemporary study of the cult of Roman Mithras today is an inter- and transdisciplinary field: beside the traditional and descriptive approaches from art history (visualities), classical archaeology and Roman provincial archaeology, the material evidence of Mithras can be analysed as part of reception-history and historiography,<sup>8</sup> cognitive approaches, comparative religious studies, spatial aspects,<sup>9</sup> network studies, sensorial studies<sup>10</sup> and various technical and scientific methods as well.<sup>11</sup> In this context of interdisciplinary dialogue, the reanalysis of the already known material evidence is also important, as many recent works proved.<sup>12</sup> In this article, I will focus on the reinterpretation of one of the largest Mithraic finds ever discovered in Central-Eastern Europe, a discovery which provoked an archaeological sensation in Europe in the Belle Époque and attracted a second wave of Mithraic scholars in Transylvania after the initial, late 18<sup>th</sup> century interests.

### Mithras in colonia Sarmizegetusa before 1879

The cult of Mithras in Dacia was well attested in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century due to some well-known reliefs and inscriptions from Apulum and other localities.<sup>13</sup> Sarmizegetusa, the first city of the province - well known already in Renaissance literature and by 17-18<sup>th</sup> century travellers, who mapped the ruins of the Roman town for

2 Bull et al. 2017; Zsidi 2018; Siemers-Klenner 2021; Fontana and Murgia 2022. See also the studies in McCarty and Egri 2020.

3 Lahe 2019.

4 Walsh 2018. See also Gordon 2019.

5 Adrych et al. 2017; Mastrocinque 2017; Mastrocinque 2022.

6 Panagiotidou and Beck 2017; Martin 2022.

7 The last imperial-scale catalogue of Mithraic finds was published by M. J. Vermaseren in 1956–60. Several catalogues and supplements have since been published, focusing mostly on urban and provincial-scale documentation of the new finds. See Tóth 1988; Sagona 2009, *Tit. Aq.* I, 227–266; Sicoe 2014; Szabó 2018b; Alvar Ezquerro 2018; Canciani 2022; Chalupa 2023. In bibliography: Chalupa, Aleš, *Římský kult boha Mithry. Atlas lokalit a katalog nálezů I* (The Roman Cult of Mithras. Atlas of Sites and Catalogue of Mithraic Evidence I). 1st ed. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2023 and many others. No empire-scale catalogue or project has ever been financed. A detailed catalogue of the largest Mithraic exhibition organised in the last decades: Bricault, Veymiers and Amoroso 2021. Another important exhibition on the so-called Oriental cults was organised in 2013 in Karlsruhe: *Imperium der Götter: Isis – Mithras – Christus: Kulte und Religionen im Römischen Reich*.

8 Gordon 2021; Szabó 2022a.

9 Dirven 2015.

10 Rubio 2021.

11 Magrini et al. 2019. For techniques of field archaeology, see: McCarty and Egri 2020.

12 Zsidi 2018.

13 Szabó 2013; Szabó 2022a.



**Fig. 1. Large Mithraic relief probably from Sarmizegetusa or Doștat (photo: Ortoft Harl, lupa 19193)**

the first time in the Modern period<sup>14</sup> – was missing from the early works on Roman Mithras from the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>15</sup>

A possible Mithraic inscription (dedicated to Sol Invictus) was described by Verantius and Mezerzius in the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>16</sup> The large-format relief with inscription preserved in the epigraphic collection of the Teleki family in Hosszútelke (Dorstadt, Doștat) was presumed to have been discovered in the 18<sup>th</sup> century (some sources mention the date of 16<sup>th</sup> July 1723; however the evidence for this discovery is missing).<sup>17</sup> Later literature stated that the quality of the relief might indicate that the relief comes from the capital of the province or Apulum, one of the two major urban centres of Dacia (fig. 1).<sup>18</sup> The site of Sarmizegetusa was constantly and extensively looted in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, where the marble was used for burning

14 Szabó 2004; Cupcea and Marcu 2011.

15 The capital of the province was not mentioned by the first catalogues of Mithraic finds: Seel 1823; Hammer-Purgstall 1833.

16 *CIL* III, 7952 = *IDR* III/2, 280 = *CIMRM* 2148.

17 *CIL* III, 968 citing the description of Johann Seivert, however Seivert does not mention this in his epigraphic collection from 1773. A different date (1788) is mentioned by Gábor Téglás: Téglás 1886, 131. The name of the donator is also confused: while the 19<sup>th</sup> century literature named Gusztáv Teleki as the donator, recently Cristian Bodó mentions József Teleki and Teleky Arvéd: Bodó 2021, 122 and her n. 511.

18 Tóth 1977; *IDR* III/2, 306a. See also: Sicoe 2014, 227 cat. no. 188. I. I. Russu rightly argued that the provenience of the relief can be established only on the analysis of the marble or the family archives of the Teleki family from the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century. Several Roman monuments were discovered in Hosszútelke, which might indicate that the large-sized Mithraic relief was not transported from other sites, but in the vicinity of the stone quarries there was a natural spelaeum. Téglás 1886, 131.

19 Ompolyi 1858.

lime.<sup>19</sup> From this period, several Mithraic inscriptions were discovered in the *territorium* of Sarmizegetusa, however the exact provenience and context of the discovery is unknown. A small fragment of a relief with an inscription dedicated in honour of a procurator by his *libertus* was in the collection of the Nopcsa family in Zám already in the 1850's.<sup>20</sup> A fragmented relief with uncertain provenience was associated with Veczel and Várhely as well.<sup>21</sup> Neugebauer describes another fragment of a probably large Mithraic relief in his catalogue from 1851: the relief represents scenes from the Mithras myth, which usually appears only on panelled reliefs (such as the representation of Saturnus).<sup>22</sup>

A well-preserved altar (*CIMRM* 2146 = *CIL* III, 1436 = *IDR* III/2, 283) was found in 1856 in Várhely (Sarmizegetusa village).<sup>23</sup> The exact place and context of the discovery is unknown. Teodor Mommsen during his trip in Transylvania in 1857 saw the altar at Grădiştea or Abrud at the local priest. Russu claims – without explanation – that the altar was found “in the mithraeum”, which is incorrect. The altar was dedicated by a certain Hermadio actor.<sup>24</sup> This person was interpreted by István Tóth as a “prophet” of Mithras,<sup>25</sup> one of the early groups responsible for the diffusion of the cult in Dacia and the Danubian provinces,<sup>26</sup> however it is not certain if the three persons attested on epigraphic sources in Rome, Poetovio and Sarmizegetusa are the same and his chronological interpretation is also problematic.<sup>27</sup> It is, however, sure that Tóth was right when he argued that the earliest Mithraic groups in the Danubian region were “busy” in the first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century: that is the period when the first Mithraic communities were formed in this region.<sup>28</sup>

20 Neugebauer 1851, 41 no. 139. See also: *IDR* III/2, 286; Sicoe 2014, 223 no. 179. The dedicant – *libertus* of a procurator – indicates that it comes from the same sanctuary or context.

21 Sicoe 2014, 225 no. 184 with previous bibliography.

22 Neugebauer 1851, 44 no. 203; Sicoe 2014, 226 no. 186. Neugebauer mentions that he saw the fragmented relief in the private collection of Ignác von Várad and Eszter von Dobai in Déva. The provenience is uncertain. For the Mithraic finds of Transylvania till the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century see also: Lajard 1840.

23 See also: Vermaseren 1963, 62–66. The rare association of Mithras with Anicetus is known only from Britannia (*RIB* 1397). Interestingly, the inscription from Britannia includes solar divinities (Apollo, Sol). The name of Mithras is not preserved, only presumed, based on the context of the discovery in the Vindovala Mithraeum: *Soli / Apollini / Aniceto / [Mithrae] / Apon[i]us / Rogatianus / [–]*. Anicetus, however, can also be an epithet of the divinity, as Vermaseren argued: *Idem*, 63.

24 *CIMRM* 2146 = *CIL* III, 1436 = *IDR* III/2, 283: *Soli In/victo M/it(h)rae Ani/ceto -----Her/madio / votum / solvit / I(ibens) m(erito)*.

25 The notion itself is a historical anachronism. Tóth used this term to emphasize the crucial role of some of the members of the core-groups in the early phase of diffusion. As these altars cannot be dated precisely, the theory of Tóth remains hypothetical on Hermadio from Dacia.

26 Tóth 1992.

27 *CIL* III, 1549: *S(oli) I(nvicto) N(umini) M(ithrae) / pro salute / P(ubli) Ael(i) Mari / -----Hermadio / act(or) Turran(i) / Dii v(otum) s(olvit) I(ibens) m(erito)* attests a Hermadio from Tibiscum. This person is rightly associated by Tóth with the one from Sarmizegetusa. He is closely related to the Turrani, a family which was also attested in Apulum as Radu Ardevan and others argued a long time ago. The inscription from Aquae lasae, Pannonia (*AE* 1985, 714) mentions a Hermadion, associated with the publicum Portorium Illyrici. It is not sure if Hermadion from Pannonia is identical with the Hermadio from Dacia, as Tóth suggested. Another Hermadio(n) was attested in the Mithraeum III from Poetovio (*ILJug* 1145): *Cauti // pro salute FI(avi) / -----Hermadionis / et Aviti Syriac(i) / et filiorum / Felix libert(us)*. See also *CIMRM* 591 from Rome.

28 *Idem*, 159.

There is no information regarding any relevant discoveries around the Mithraeum between 1856 and 1876.<sup>29</sup>

### The discovery and the excavations: 1879–1883 and its aftermath

The exact date of the discovery of the site – later identified as a Mithraeum – is unknown. The discovery of the sanctuary itself was made by local villagers in 1879.<sup>30</sup> A relief of Mithras dedicated by Aurelius Valentinus,<sup>31</sup> and another by Severus were discovered in 1876 or 1877 and sent by Ioan Ianza to the bishop of Lugoj (fig. 2).<sup>32</sup> Ianza mentions in his letter that several “similar figures to the one dedicated by Severus” were discovered. It is uncertain if the discoveries made in 1876/77 are related to the discovery in 1879. An important inscription – possibly the building inscription of a mithraeum – was discovered in this period (uncertain year, before 1882) in an undocumented context in the ruins of Sarmizegetusa dedicated in the honour and memory of a Sextus and Marcus Valerius.<sup>33</sup>

In the period of 1879 and the spring of 1881, the site was systematically looted by the locals; some of the finds were already in the garden of the owner and the steps of the sanctuary had already been sold when the members of the Historical and Archaeological Association of Hunyad County visited the site in the summer of 1881.<sup>34</sup> There is no catalogue of the finds in the possession of the villagers in 1881 or those which remained in the ownership of the locals during and after the excavation.<sup>35</sup> The site of the discovery was on the field of Ioan Armion lui Vieru (or Ármion Mihály, Ármion Áron)<sup>36</sup> and Jován Muntyán (probably Ioan Muntean, in his non-Hungarianized name).<sup>37</sup> The area of the sanctuary was therefore divided by two owners at least; however the contemporary

29 Király mentioned briefly in his monograph those Mithraic inscriptions and monuments which were published before 1879. Király: 1886, 12. It seems that some of the reliefs discovered in Apulum in the 18<sup>th</sup> century were interpreted as discoveries from Várhely in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: Studniczka 1883, 202 citing Lajard. The Brukenthal material was discovered before 1787 in Apulum: Szabó 2013.

30 Király 1886, 17. See also: Boda 2014, 321; Bodó 2021, 196–197.

31 Interestingly, an Aurelius Valentinus appears also in Mithraeum II from Poetovio, however the two persons could be different. See: *CIL* III, 15184 = *CIMRM* 1524.

32 *IDR* III/2, 275 and 290. See also: Pleșa and Rotar 1977, 567. Ianza and the members of the Association were in good relationship, however I am not aware of any letters between Ianza and the members of the Association regarding the discoveries in 1876–1877: Kun 1884, 84.

33 *CIL* III, 7959 = *IDR* III/2, 226 = lupa 17756. The Mithraic nature of the inscription is uncertain, although highly possible: the size of the building inscription (0.74 m long in its fragmentary state, almost 1.5 m long as reconstructed by I. Piso and I. I. Russu), the dedication to Invictus and the *in memoriam* formula might suggest the Mithraic context (but can be also a collegium too). A similar case study was attested in Poetovio: *CIMRM* 1501-3 = lupa 9330, 9331; Beskow 1980, 16.

34 Bodó 2021, 196 and 198. On the history of the Association see also: Boda 2014.

35 Király mentioned 5–6 objects left on the site. Király 1891, 143. See also: Bodó 2021, 197. There was a possible terracotta head of Mithras in the possession of Sándor Tornyai, although the identification of such objects was problematic in that period (it could be easily an Attis or other divine figure too): Bodó 2021, 118. Torma published several inscriptions discovered already in 1881 by Armion: Torma 1882.

36 The name of the Romanian villager appears in several, different forms, see: Téglás 1902, 62; Bodó 2021, 83 and 197.

37 *Idem*, 197.



**Fig. 2. Relief of Aurelius Valentinus discovered before 1882 (photo: after Sicoe 2014, 330 fig. 112 cat. no. 84)**

*nique of Fiorelli*", the predominant method in that period named after Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823–1896), the archaeologist of Pompeii.<sup>42</sup>

The preserved structure identified by Király as the naos (spelaeum) (fig. 3a–b) is of modest size (5.40 × 6.15 × 8.30 m). The lower part of the walls of the naos was painted with geometrical forms (red and blue colours).<sup>43</sup> The site was covered by soil in a very

reports confirm that the largest part of the Mithraic finds and the sanctuary was discovered on the site of site of Armion, next to the garden of Johann Vida (IDR III/2, 177). The location and position of the site was described by Pál Király (1853–1927):<sup>38</sup> "the building material of the walls of the sanctuary was provided by the Hobicza brook, flowing right next to it".<sup>39</sup> After the visit to the site in early 1881, the Association asked the Hungarian authorities for financial support of the excavations, which began on 5<sup>th</sup> July 1882.<sup>40</sup> In the first season, Pál Király excavated the remains of the naos and after 14<sup>th</sup> August 1883 continued his work, excavating the peribolos of the building, however no further structures were revealed and only a relief was found in several pieces.<sup>41</sup> He mentioned that he was using the "horizontal archaeological tech-

38 There are few, certain data about the life and activity of Pál Király (born as Kőnig). He was born in Komárom, studied in Szombathely and Budapest. He later became a history teacher in Déva, a member of the Historical and Archaeological Society of Hunyad County and archaeologist of Sarmizegetusa. He authored several important books on Roman Mithras, Apulum and the province of Dacia as well. In his later life, he and his family lived in Erzsébetváros, Dumbrăveni, where his tomb is preserved today. His wife, Csiktapolczai Lázár Ilona, özv. Király Pálné died in 1942 at the age of 81. Their daughter was Király Mária (born in 1895 in Fehértemplom, Temes county). I am very thankful for Lia Ciupe, descendent of the family who provided some of the personal information on the Király family. For his major works, see: Király 1891; Király 1892; Király 1894; Király 1903. His chapter on Roman religion in Dacia (Király 1894, 306–389) is still the most comprehensive summary in the Hungarian language on this topic. See also: Bodó 2021, 220–222.

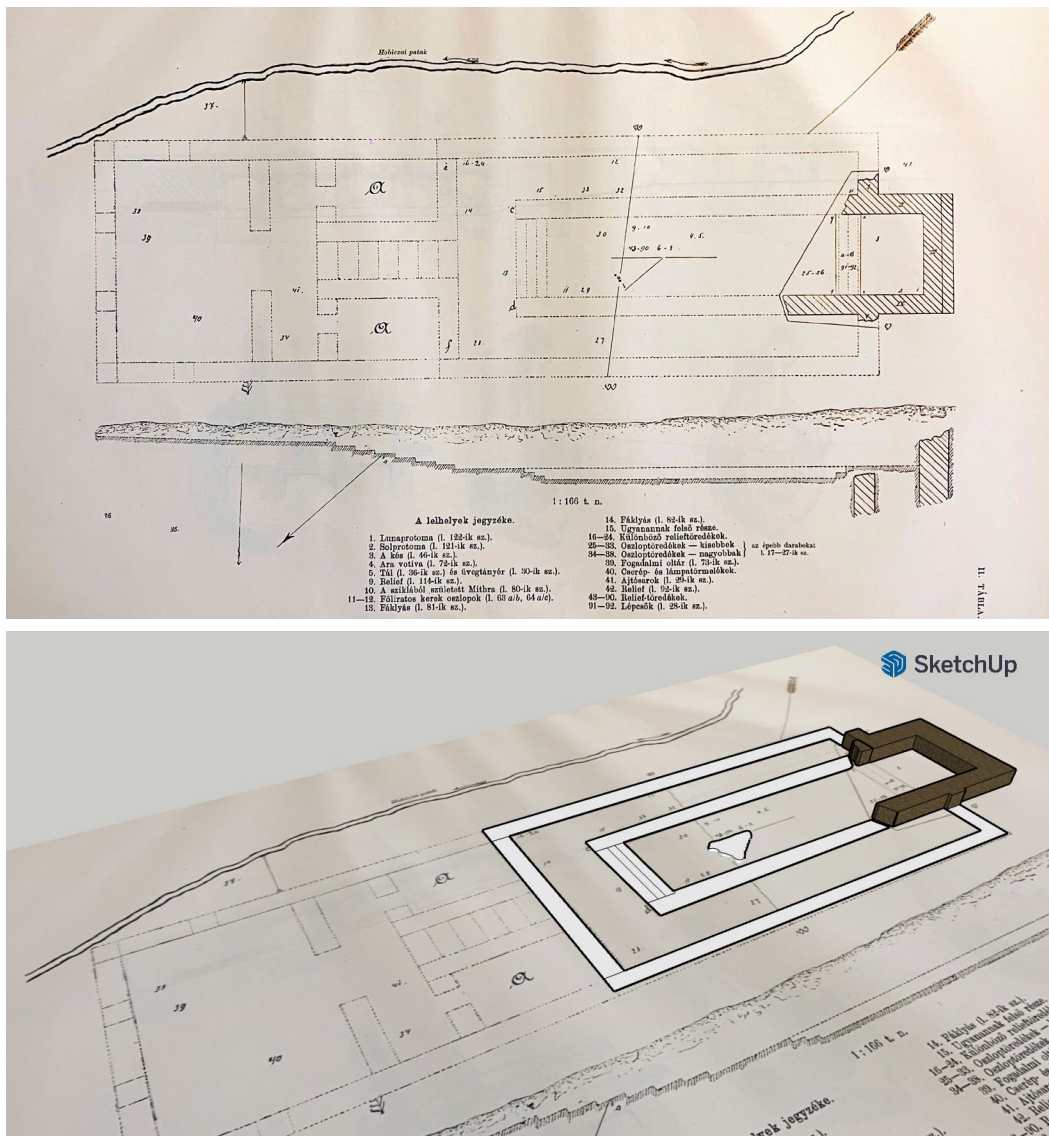
39 Király 1886, 17. See also in Téglás 1902, 75: "Szentélyünk a castrum déli falától 100 méternyire a hobiczai havasokhoz hajló emelkedésen, közvetlenül a patak mellett feküdt" (our sanctuary lies 100 m from the south wall of the castrum, on the bank of the brook, towards a hill to the Hobicza mountain). Téglás also mentioned in the publication of the Palmyrene temple, that the Mithraeum was "1000 feet from the sanctuary" (approx. 800 m): Bodó 2021, 197. The discovery of Mithraic finds from 1966 confirms the position of the sanctuary in the south-west corner of the colonia (extra-muros), however there were no excavations in that period. Mărghitan 1967, 691.

40 Király mentioned in his monograph 5th July 1882. The documents from the Association mentioned two days of excavation: 7th and 8th July 1882. See: Bodó 2021, 82.

41 Kun 1884, 85.

42 Király 1886, 3; Trigger 1989, 196; Malina and Vašíček 1990, 46.

43 Király 1886, 18.



**Fig. 3a. The plan of the Mithraeum with the finds (based on Király 1886, pl. II)**

**Fig. 3b. Remains of the naos and the possible dimension of the sanctuary (based on Király 1886, pl. II)**

thin layer of 0.2–0.8 m. Based on the large amount of material evidence of the cult discovered in front of the revealed building, Király used the available analogies from Ostia and Heddernheim to calculate the dimensions of the sanctuary and argued for an unprecedented, 44.23 m.<sup>44</sup> His calculations however are based exclusively on a proportional, often over-sophisticated calculation and not on the material and archaeological evidence which is painfully lacking from the central and pronaos area of the building.<sup>45</sup>

44 Idem, 14–16.

45 Eight objects were found in the presumed pronaos area (1 altar, 5 column fragments, 1 doorstep, pottery and lamp fragments). Based on the doorstep, the slope and steps going toward the central area of the sanctuary and the 5 column fragments, Király presumed a monumentalised entrance with tympanon and columns in the entrance (pl. III, 2).

Based on the currently available evidence from the archaeologically well-attested Mithraic sanctuaries, Király's calculations seem exaggerated, however the quantity of the roof-material he described (without quantifying it) suggest a large-sized building with a vaulted structure, a central nave and two side naves inside.<sup>46</sup> The fate of the site after the two seasons of excavations is uncertain. In the last report regarding the second season of the excavations, Róbert Kun and Gábor Téglás mentioned that several new buildings were built on the site and the area was constantly used for agricultural purposes, which indicates that the area was continuously looted in 1883 and later too.<sup>47</sup>

The site has not been systematically studied by archaeological research since 1883.<sup>48</sup> Further Mithraic monuments were found in 1966, however no excavations were made on the site.<sup>49</sup> Later publications presumed at least two or more Mithraic sanctuaries in Sarmizegetusa, however their argument is based on speculations and analogies of similar sized towns from the Danubian provinces.<sup>50</sup> The vicinity of the 1879–1883 discoveries and the 1966 discovery might suggest that there were also extra-muros sanctuaries between the brook and the south-western road heading out of the city.<sup>51</sup> An altar or statue base discovered in the building complex of the procuratorial palace was also dedicated to Mithras and several other, Celtic divinities, which is a rare case of religious individuation and personal appropriation of local and universal religious traditions, probably related to the personal choice of the procurator or a historical event in the period of 235–238 AD.<sup>52</sup>

### The building and its finds

The archaeological finds discovered in 7–8<sup>th</sup> July of 1882 were spectacular and marked Sarmizegetusa on the international map of Roman religious and Mithraic studies.<sup>53</sup> The finds were bought (for 50 forint) and saved from the owner of the field (Armion)<sup>54</sup> and most of them were transported to the archaeological collection of the

46 Idem, 17.

47 Kun 1884, 98–86; Bodó 2021, 274–275.

48 An attempt in 1913 to identify the site of the sanctuary was stopped by the outbreak of the First World War: Idem, 206.

49 Mărghitan 1967.

50 Alicu 2002, 221–222; Schäfer 2007, 93–95; Boda 2014, 325–326. See also: Boda 2015, 288.

51 Mithraic sanctuaries are often in close vicinity to each other (50–100 m distance), as was well-attested in Hedderheim, Aquincum, Poetovio and Ostia as well. See also the Digital Atlas of Sanctuaries in the Danubian Provinces: [www.danubianreligion.com](http://www.danubianreligion.com). Last accessed: 16.06.2023. The possible coordinates of the sanctuary: 45.509784, 22.785206. The only chance to find it in the heavily looted and already built-up area (perhaps, in the remaining private gardens) is if we can identify the cadastre books of the field of Armion from 1881. Hunyad county was one of the least mapped areas of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; few settlements had detailed, cadastre-books from the period of 1867–1918: <https://aktakaland.wordpress.com/2015/04/02/kataszteri-terkepek-es-iratok-1850-1916/>. One exemption is the map of Livazény from 1909.

52 Piso 1998, 265; *ILD* 277 = lupa 15155. For possible analogies see: Walters 1974, 42–49.

53 The exact dates of the excavation appear differently in the publication of Király (5<sup>th</sup> July for ten days: Király 1886, 3) and the reports of the Association (Bodó 2021, 82).

54 Bodó 2021, 197.



Association, which later became the Museum of Deva.<sup>55</sup> Several articles were published by the members of the Association after 1882 focusing on various aspects of the cult of Mithras and the new, rare inscriptions, especially the one dedicated to Nabarze, as an epithet of Mithras.<sup>56</sup> Otto Benndorf (1838–1907) and his student, Franz Studniczka (1860–1929), as the authorities on Roman epigraphy in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, visited the museum of Deva from Vienna and contributed to the organisation of the material (probably the reliefs) and the reading of the inscribed monuments.<sup>57</sup>

The monographic analysis of the building and its finds was published in 1886 by Pál Király in 129 pages and 23 tables.<sup>58</sup> It was the first monographic analysis of a Roman sanctuary from the province of Dacia.<sup>59</sup> The building and its finds were presented in detail in the monograph of Király, later summarized in numerous works by him and other members of the Association.<sup>60</sup> The visit of Franz V. Cumont to Transylvania was mainly inspired by the fame of this discovery: the later patriarch of Mithraic studies visited Austro-Hungary (and spent a long time in Transylvania in July 1890) and visited the major museums with Mithraic finds.<sup>61</sup> Cumont visited Deva on 29<sup>th</sup> July 1890 especially for the material from Sarmizegetusa and later repeated his visit in 1893.<sup>62</sup> During his first visit, he was not able to meet Pál Király.<sup>63</sup>

The archaeological material was introduced in the supplement of the *CIL* volume of Roman Dacia, later published in several other corpora focusing on the province or the cult of Mithras in the last 140 years.<sup>64</sup>

The material discovered in 1882 and 1883 is indeed impressive and it is still the largest ever discovered quantity of figurative Mithraic finds to date in the Roman Empire.<sup>65</sup> The

- 
- 55 *Idem*, 113–192. A large part of the material is still in the Museum of Deva, however a comprehensive catalogue of the currently available finds has not yet been established. Several pieces are in the local museum in Sarmizegetusa and in the Museum of Timisoara. The last catalogue with some new photographs of the reliefs and inscriptions was published in Sicoe 2014.
- 56 *CIL* III, 7938; Kuun 1882; Torma 1882, 107–109, Studnicka 1883. On a recent interpretation of this theonym see: Gordon 2017, 298, especially n. 97 citing all the available sources on Nabarze.
- 57 Király mentioned that Benndorf and Studniczka were amazed by the quantity and quality of the material and worked three days without pause on the epigraphic material: Király 1886, 3–4.
- 58 Király 1886. The publication was financed by Gusztáv Emich with 50 forint: Bodó 2021, 66.
- 59 The publications on the Roman baths from Herkulesbad published in the 18<sup>th</sup> century are earlier, but these were not discovered in an archaeological excavation. On the sanctuaries of Roman Dacia see: Szabó 2018c; Szabó 2020.
- 60 Király 1891, 141–149; Király 1894, 134–149.
- 61 Bonnet 1998, 254; Popescu 2000; Belayche 2013, XVII. He also published several new or reinterpreted inscriptions: Cumont 1891.
- 62 Cumont 1893; Popescu 2000, 28.
- 63 *Idem*, 42.
- 64 Most recently: *CIMRM* 2027–2140, Alicu, Pop and Wollmann 1979, 101–114; Carbó-García 2010; Sicoe 2014, 174–221 cat. no. 72–176 with all the previous literature. See also: Szabó 2014; Szabó 2018b, 346–349.
- 65 A significant quantity of figurative and epigraphic evidence was discovered in the Mithraeum III in Poetovio: *CIMRM* 1578–1612, however as we will see, this is not even comparable to the exceptional case study of Sarmizegetusa. Sanctuaries discovered in the last few decades produced a much larger quantity of small finds (especially bones and pottery): Martens and De Boe 2004; McCarty and Egri 2020.

material catalogued by Király lists 184 objects, although he mentioned in his introduction that the total number of finds was around 250–260.<sup>66</sup>

Architectural elements (roof bricks: 4; wall bricks: 5; vault brick: 1; painted plaster fragments: 5; floor tile: 1; column fragments: 11;<sup>67</sup> steps and door corner: 2).

Furnishings / small finds<sup>68</sup> (glass fragments: 3; ceramic vessel fragments: 7; marble vessel fragment: 1; bronze objects: 4; iron objects: 2; lamps: 3; gypsum: 1; melted lead: 1; carved stone fragments:<sup>69</sup> 11).

Votive altars and columns: 16;<sup>70</sup> lion fragment: 1; Mithras Petrogenius statue:<sup>71</sup> 1; torchbearers:<sup>72</sup> 9; high relief:<sup>73</sup> 1; fragments of another high relief:<sup>74</sup> 3; one-registered relief of the tauroctony:<sup>75</sup> 20; extended forms and fragments of tauroctony:<sup>76</sup> 12; two-registered reliefs:<sup>77</sup> 3; three-registered reliefs:<sup>78</sup> 12; five-registered reliefs:<sup>79</sup> 4; rounded reliefs:<sup>80</sup> 7; small relief-fragments without categorisation:<sup>81</sup> 35.

66 Király 1886, 3 and 21–65. I preserved the categories and denominations used by Király. Károly Torma also mentioned at least 250 monuments discovered: Torma 1882, 101. In his text, Király mentions several burned bones, which were probably not documented or collected. Smaller pieces of pottery were also ignored. The material published by Király was partially photographed (not all of the objects). The detailed history of the objects after their discovery and the reception-history of the material has not yet been published. The most detailed, recent catalogue of the material was published in Sicoe 2014, 174–221 cat. no. 72–176. From the 104 catalogued pieces, only 48 are photographed by Sicoe. A comprehensive reanalysis of the material published by Király is an urgent necessity of the scholarship.

67 Several elements of the columns were found in 2–3 parts, such as cat. nos. 17, 20, 21, 25.

68 The small finds were published and reinterpreted in Szabó 2014. The dating of the ceramic material was not possible. The lamps suggest also only a late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 3<sup>rd</sup> century AD chronology. Some parts of the metal material (shackle, knife) suggest ritual performances of initiations.

69 A small globus was also discovered (Király 1886, 24 cat. no. 50). Similar finds are known from the *Symphorus mithraeum* in Aquincum, too.

70 Some of them were found in 2 or 3 fragments (cat. nos. 63, 64), others were anepigraphic column fragments (cat. nos. 66–71). Although the third category of objects is named “votive columns and altars”, it also contains the reliefs and other figurative objects. The main altar dedicated to Nabarze was published several times: Sicoe 2014, 219–220 cat. no. 172 with all the previous bibliography.

71 See also: Sicoe 2014, 219 cat. nos. 171 and 286 fig. 10.

72 Only two statues were found (cat. nos. 81–82), the others are small fragments probably belonging to the same statues or other statuary figures of the *Mithraeum* (cat. nos. 83–89). See also: Sicoe 2014, 218–219 cat. nos. 169–170 and lupa 17592, 15151. For similar analogies of *Cautes* see: Szabó 2015a.

73 The high relief (1.33 × 0.92 m) was interpreted by Király as the central signum of the sanctuary, therefore he dedicates 2 pages for this monument: Király 1886, 28–29. The relief today is preserved in fragments, only two parts were identified recently: Sicoe 2014, 313 cat. no. 79.

74 Király argued that based on the dimensions of the fragments (tail of the bull), the fragments were part of a similar, monumental relief as the previous one. No photos were published on the three fragments: Király 1886, 30 cat. no. 91a–c.

75 Some of the reliefs were already in the possession of private individuals, such as the bishop from Lugo (cat. nos. 94, 95, 97, 102), in the collection of Géza Kuun (cat. no. 101) and in the collection of the South Hungarian Archaeological and Historical Museum (cat. no. 99). From the 20 reliefs only 7 are photographed. The identification of the others represents even today a problem, some of them are impossible to find in the collection of the Archaeological Museum of Deva.

76 *À jour* reliefs (cat. nos. 112–123), most famously the almost completely preserved a *jour* tauroctony (cat. no. 112 = Sicoe 2014, 186 cat. nos. 100 and 309 fig. 64). Some of the reliefs are not photographed (cat. nos. 115, 116, 119, 120) and their identification today presents a problem.

77 There is no photograph of the relief cat. no. 126.

Király provides a detailed map with the exact position of the finds on his 2<sup>nd</sup> table (see fig. 3 above). Only 92 objects of the 184 appear on his map, 16 of them can be identified exactly.<sup>82</sup> Eight objects are known from the presumed pronaos area (5 columns, 1 altar, 1 doorstep, fragments of a lamp), which gave the impression for Király that the pronaos was a large, built area with columns, steps and a tympanon.<sup>83</sup> The majority of the objects are concentrated in the hollowed, stepped area which has an approx. 24 m length based on the drawing of Király. Based on the column fragments in this area, Király presumed that on the two podia of the sanctuary there were 20 columns of 140–150 cm (fig. 4).<sup>84</sup> This structure would be not unusual in a Mithraic context, although such a monumental mithraeum has no analogies in the Danubian provinces.<sup>85</sup> The only similar analogy would be the Mithraeum under the baths of Caracalla discovered in 1912,<sup>86</sup> the Marino Mithraeum<sup>87</sup> and Els Munts.<sup>88</sup> The position of the two torchbearers in the close vicinity of the steps in the central nave suggests that the calculations of Király regarding the central nave was probably correct (24–25 m).

There were two altars found in 1882–1883,<sup>89</sup> one in the pronaos dedicated by Carpion, tabularius Augusti (fig. 5), known from three inscriptions in Roman Dacia (one from Apulum two from Sarmizegetusa)<sup>90</sup> and one by Protas, vicarius and Ampliatus, dispensator, treasurers of the imperial accounts (fig. 6).<sup>91</sup> Carpion was tabularius in

78 Due to the fragmentary state of the reliefs, it is not certain if these were indeed, 3 registered. See also: Sicoe 2014, 196 cat. no. 116. Some of the reliefs were not photographed by Király, their identification today is problematic (cat. nos. 127, 134–138).

79 Some of the fragmented reliefs in this category were not photographed (cat. nos. 140–142).

80 Some of the fragmented reliefs in this category were not photographed (cat. nos. 147–149).

81 Some of these small fragments were inscribed (cat. nos. 181–184). Only one was photographed (cat. no. 151, fig. XV,1).

82 The others probably are those which were extracted from the ground in the summer of 1881 by the owner, who discovered 48 fragments of reliefs and the central altar dedicated to Nabarze: Király 1886, 17.

83 His reconstruction was contested by D. Alicu: Alicu and Pescaru 2000, 81–83.

84 Király 1886, pl. III no. 1. The best preserved, inscribed column of the sanctuary, dated to the time of Severus Alexander (*CIMRM* 2031), was 114–117 cm without the capital.

85 See *CIMRM* 17, 20, 32, 34, 40, 54, 55, 56, 91, 117, 144, 162, 198, 199, 210, 216, 229, 232, 250, 284, 325, 356, 361, 389, 390, 393, 394, 399, 434, 446, 464, 476, 653, 673, 710, 719, 771, 814, 832, 839, 909, 929, 985, 1001, 1018, 1025, 1033, 1042, 1045, 1057, 1100, 1127, 1155, 1181, 1206, 1247, 1282, 1335, 1347, 1359, 1373, 1392, 1427, 1430, 1528, 1534, 1597, 1672, 1809, 1891, 1896, 1919, 1958, 1985, 2028, 2144, 2145, 2159, 2244, 2267, 2306, 2324, 2338.

86 *CIMRM* 457.

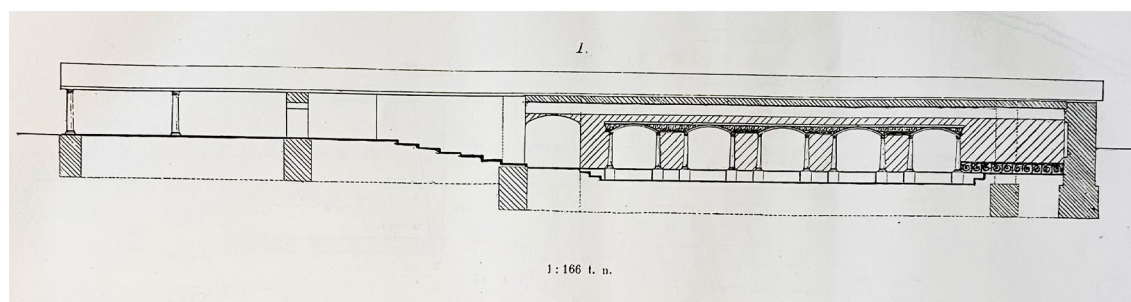
87 Vermaseren 1982, 5.

88 Hensen 2021, 223.

89 Another altar was probably found and extracted already in 1881 by Armion and published by Torma in 1882: Sicoe 2014, 220, cat. no. 174.

90 *CIL* III, 980 = *IDR* III/5, 10: *Aesculapio / et Hygiae / pro salute / sua suorum/q(ue) -----Carpion / Aug(us) ti lib(ertus) / tabularius / provinc(c)iae / Apulensis*; *CIL* III 1467 = *IDR* III/2, 387: *D(is) M(anibus) / M(arco) Aur(elio) One/simo / -----Carpion / Aug(usti) lib(ertus) tabul(arius) / filio / dul[cissimo] p(osuit)?*. The inscription from the Mithraeum: *S(oli) I(nvicto) M(ithrae) / -----Carpion / Aug(usti) / lib(ertus) tabul(arius) / v(otum) s(olvit) I(ibens) m(erito)*. See: Sicoe 2014, 220 cat. no. 173.

91 Sicoe 2014, 219–220 cat. no. 172 with all the previous bibliography: *Nabarze / Deo / pro sal(ute) Ampliati / Aug(usti) n(ostr)i disp(ensatoris) et / sua suorumq(ue) / omnium / Protas vikar(ius) / eius*.



**Fig. 4. Columns in the central nave of the sanctuary (after Király 1886, pl. III)**

the province of Dacia Apulensis, which means that his activity can be dated to the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> century AD, probably after the Marcommanic Wars (after 180 AD).<sup>92</sup> The exact chronology of the two altars is impossible to determine, but the epigraphic and paleographic specificities of the two altars are very different, which might indicate two different dates.<sup>93</sup> The inscription of Marcus Ulpius Victorinus and Marcus Ulpius Maius was made after 222 AD, during the reign of Severus Alexander as the metropolis title of the city can be dated to this period.<sup>94</sup> These two chronological barriers show that the sanctuary existed at least since the period of Marcus Aurelius till the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century AD. The question if there was a reconstruction of the sanctuary after the Marcommanic Wars cannot be answered based on the epigraphic material, however the paleographic analysis of the inscriptions suggests that the altar dedicated by Protas and the votive column discovered in 1881 in the central nave of the sanctuary by Armon, dedicated by M. U. Victorinus and M. U. Maius, bears the same paleography (fig. 7).<sup>95</sup> This could indicate that the sanctuary was rebuilt in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, however without archaeological evidence (coins, stratigraphy) this cannot be proved.<sup>96</sup> One of the two, well-preserved inscribed columns was dedicated by Flavius (---) Trofimus after a vision in a dream (*ex viso*), which is unusual, but not unique in a Mithraic context (fig. 8).<sup>97</sup> The dedication of Quintus Axius Aelianus, procurator Augusti for Mithras and the Celtic divinities in the procuratorial palace in 235–238 AD or the dedication to Marcus Lucceius Felix around 230–235 AD could indicate an important event in the life of this Mithraic group.<sup>98</sup>

The 21 persons identified in the epigraphic material from the sanctuary are predominantly related to financial activities, the staff of the procurator Augusti and the local, urban elite (*decurio*).<sup>99</sup> The predominantly Greek names indicates probably a Hellenic

92 Popa and Berciu 1967, 1000; Weaver 1972, 247 no. 21; Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2006, 179.

93 Letters of S, G and R especially show two different workshops.

94 Mărghitan and Petolescu 1976, 84; Ardevan 1998, 45.

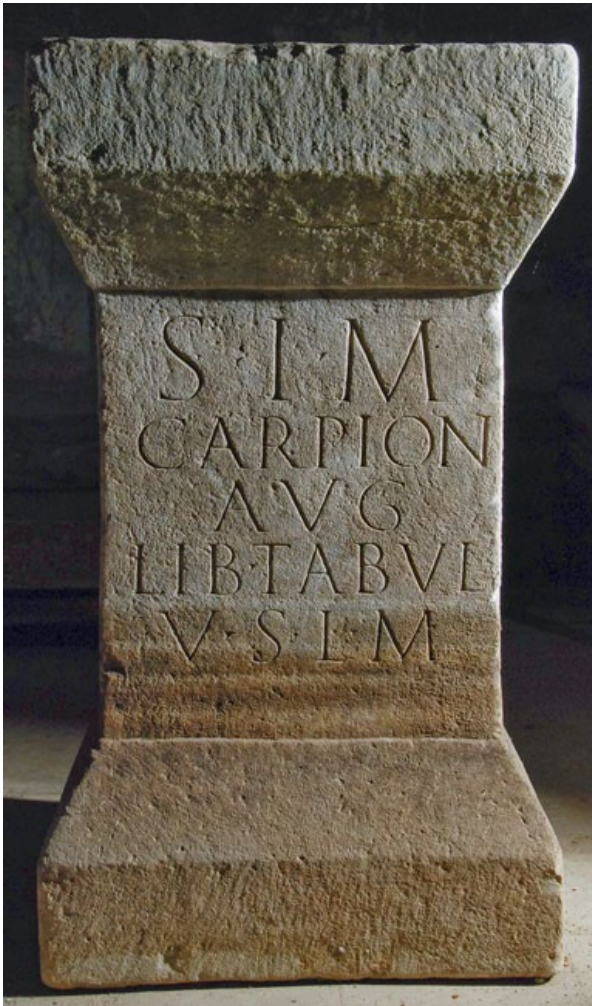
95 See also *CIMRM* 2030 = Sicoe 2014, 220–221 cat. no. 175.

96 Not a single coin was documented by Király in his excavations of 1882 and 1883.

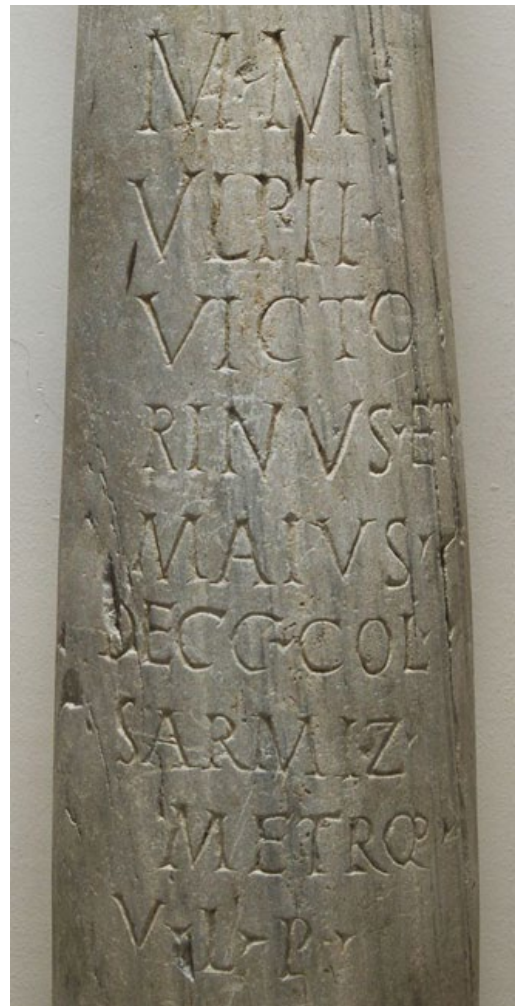
97 See also: *CIMRM* 1229, 1395, 1490, 1497, 1536, 1778, 1805, 1876.

98 Piso 1998, 264; Piso 2013, 221–226 for the *cursus honorum* of Felix and 227–235 for Aelianus.

99 Inscribed monuments from the sanctuary with all the previous literature: Sicoe 2014, 178–221 cat. nos. 82, 83, 84, 85, 88, 97, 99, 101, 105, 117, 119, 120, 126, 129, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176.



**Fig. 5.** Votive altar discovered in the area of the pronaos or outside the sanctuary (photo: Ortolf Harl, lupa 17715)



**Fig. 6.** Votive column discovered in the territory of the Mithraeum (photo: Ortolf Harl, lupa 19189.2)

origin of former slaves (*liberti*), but at a later time – especially in the late Severan period – their legal state is obviously different. The financial treasurers and their staff might indicate why we find Mithras within the procuratorial palace in an unusual, Celtic pantheon: there must be an agent-based network between the sanctuary and the palace.<sup>100</sup> Another important group are the members of the *ordo Augustalium*, who are attested on two inscriptions.<sup>101</sup>

For the social network of the Mithraic groups from the Danubian provinces see: Tóth 1977; Beskow 1980; Tóth 1992; Clauss 2000, 37; Szabó 2015b; Szabó 2022b, 176–182. See also: Egri et al. 2018, 274 n. 28 on the discussion related to the procuratorial influence on the management of the *publicum*. For a general discussion on this topic: Sicoe 2014, 42; Szabó 2021. Needless to say, the argument of R. Gordon regarding the predominantly civic nature of the cult of Mithras can be attested in Sarmizegetusa too, although the diffusion of the cult in Dacia and in Sarmizegetusa in the Antonine period is still uncertain: Gordon 2009.

100 *ILD* 277.

101 Sicoe 2014, 42.



**Fig. 7. Altar dedicated by Protas to Nabarze (photo: Ortoľ Harl, lupa 15152.1)**

The most intriguing aspect of this discovery is the enormous number of figurative monuments. While the number of statues and altars are not unusual and represents well the inner geography of a Mithraeum with several analogies even in the province of Dacia,<sup>102</sup> the number of reliefs is highly unusual and without doubt represents the largest amount ever discovered in the territory of the former Roman Empire:<sup>103</sup> in his monograph, Király lists 62 different reliefs and 35 further fragments. The number is slightly different in Vermaseren's and Sicoe's catalogue (96 reliefs).<sup>104</sup> A large part of the reliefs was found in front of the archaeologically attested building-parts of the naos, in the middle of the central nave, in a V-shaped pit, and in the vicinity of the Nabarze altar (see fig. 7).<sup>105</sup> The place of the discovery, and the large concentration of the reliefs indicate an unusual activity inside the sanctuary: although the dimensions of the sanctuary (even if we count the smallest possible size, approx. 10 × 25 m)<sup>106</sup> could easily host on its walls ca. 90–100 reliefs;<sup>107</sup> there are no analogies for such heavily decorated walls in Mithraea.<sup>108</sup> The fragmented reliefs found in the pit (47 pieces)<sup>109</sup> indicate a deliberate hoarding and intentionally made concentration of reliefs: if these were decorating the walls of

102 The number of statues and altars is not unusual: similar sanctuaries, such as the Mithraeum III from Poetovio, the Merida Mithraeum, Walbrook or Aventine in Rome produced similar quantities and even much more impressive qualities. The Mithraeum on the field of "Oancea" in Apulum had similar number of altars and statues: Romero-Mayorga 2018, 175. See also: Szabó 2018c, 106–110.

103 In comparison, the number of small and middle-sized Mithraic reliefs (smaller than 90 × 90 cm) known from Italy are around 40: Canciani 2022. The number of larger and panelled reliefs in Italy are higher.

104 *CIMRM* 2027–2140; Sicoe 2014, 174–217 cat. nos. 72–168.

105 Some reliefs – such as the cat. no. 92 in Király's catalogue or the ones marked with nos. 16–24 on his plan – are not from the pit. The provenience of the reliefs discovered in 1879–1881 by Armion is not known.

106 *CIMRM* 2027: Vermaseren argued for 26 × 12 m.

107 A sanctuary of 10 × 25 m has at least 225 m<sup>2</sup>. Based on the relatively small dimensions of the reliefs (most of them smaller than 30 × 25 cm, approx. 0.09 m<sup>2</sup>) these could easily fit as decorative elements on the walls of such a large building.

108 A possible reconstruction of the Nida sanctuaries have 6–7 reliefs in the area of the naos: David 2021, 475.

109 Sadly, Király did not mention exactly which of the reliefs were inside the pit and if some of these were inscribed too. There were no photos or drawings made during the ten days of the first season. The photographs of the reliefs were made already in Déva. The first archaeological photographs on systematic excavations in Transylvania were used by Béla Csérni in the 1890s.

the Mithraeum, they could not be found in such a large concentration.<sup>110</sup> This archaeological “anomaly” was interpreted in several different ways in the previous literature: it was presumed either that most of the reliefs decorated the walls of the sanctuary and belonged to the largest Mithraeum ever found,<sup>111</sup> or that it represents a deliberate hoard of reliefs from several sanctuaries of the city.<sup>112</sup> Hoards of reliefs and figurative monuments are not rare in Roman times, however their context usually is not in sanctuaries: stone and bronze monument treasures such as the one from Mauer an der Url/ Mauer-Öhling bei Amstetten (Dolichenus), Apulum (Nemesis) or Tomis (several divinities) were discovered outside of their original context.<sup>113</sup> Others, such as the large number of altars found in the small shrines of the *Quadriviae* and *Silvanus* in Carnuntum are also problematic to interpret.<sup>114</sup> The relief-treasure of the Mithraeum from Sarmizegetusa was interpreted also as a hoard of a Mithraic workshop:<sup>115</sup> the several uninscribed examples, the iconographic similarity and typology of the small sized and round reliefs<sup>116</sup> could suggest that the finds were collected from a neighbouring building which served as a workshop and artistic centre of Mithraic monuments later diffused in other places of the province (especially *Dacia Apulensis*) and perhaps abroad.<sup>117</sup> The reliefs show not only a striking similarity in iconography, but they were all fragmented: Király mentions that the pit with the reliefs was found under the remains of the roof, which suggests that they were buried already when the roof collapsed.<sup>118</sup>

The original use and provenience of these reliefs are, indeed, uncertain and it cannot be determined if they belonged to the sanctuary as votive slabs on its walls, or to a specific workshop attached to the sanctuary which provided a large quantity of reliefs for the local, provincial and local communities. The large



**Fig. 8. Votive column dedicated by Trofimus (photo: Ortolof Harl, lupa 19190.1)**

110 Király mentioned that in 1879–1881 the owner of the field found 48 fragments in the same area (marked with V and W on his plan). We do not know if there were several other pits or one large one in the middle of the sanctuary, in front of the main altar.

111 Király himself believed the reliefs decorated the walls of the central nave as in the case of Fertőrákos: Király 1886, 18. See also: Beck 2006, 21.

112 Alicu and Pescaru 2000. Király also presumed that there were several sanctuaries of Mithras in Sarmizegetusa, but did not associate them with this material: Király 1886, 12.

113 Alexandrescu 2016; Szabó 2018c, 46–48.

114 Kremer 2012, 341–345.

115 Sicoe 2004; Sicoe 2014, 59–70.

116 Idem, 301 with two identical – one inscribed and one without epigraphic text – reliefs.

117 See the rich literature on the small, round Mithraic reliefs identified usually with *Dacia*: Gordon 2004; Silnović 2018, 297.

118 Király 1886, 17.

119 See the case of the *Liber Pater* shrine from Apulum: Szabó 2018c, 78–89 or the *Tienen* Mithraeum: Martens 2021.

concentration of reliefs in a relatively small area within the sanctuary, however, shows that they were intentionally collected there for a purpose, which indicates a radical, non-repetitive event. Such events can be related to the foundation of the sanctuary,<sup>119</sup> but it is more probable that it reflects the end of the Mithraeum or a post-Roman rearrangement of the space.<sup>120</sup> The problem of the end of the Mithraea was recently discussed by David Walsh, although his book focussed on Late Antique (mostly 4<sup>th</sup> century) case studies.<sup>121</sup> He identified several reasons and forms of the fate and end of Mithraea: images reused for spolia, unmolested, removed, destroyed or mutilated. The reason behind these radical actions could be Christian iconoclasm, barbarian incursions, civil war, imperial legislation, mobility of Mithraic members or natural disasters.<sup>122</sup>

Due to the special case of the province of Dacia, abandoned officially by the administration around 270 AD, the functionality of the sanctuary certainly came to an end in this period or even before. The last two to three decades of the province (247–275 AD) reveal a rapid ruralisation of the urban settlements, as well as a radical break in the epigraphic habit and monumental urban architecture.<sup>123</sup> The arrangement of reliefs within the central nave, in front of the main altar of the sanctuary in a large, organised quantity suggests that this pit was made deliberately by one or more Mithraic groups still functioning in Sarmizegetusa in the period of 235–260 AD. It was a period with several military incursions and existential crises especially in urban settlements. Although there are some industrial activities and even well-attested post-Roman rearrangements in the city of colonia Sarmizegetusa after 275 AD (till the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century), there is no evidence for religious activity attested after 260 AD.<sup>124</sup>

The large collection discovered by Pál Király after 1883 became part of several museums in Transylvania. Most of the material was preserved in the Museum of Deva, while several pieces ended up later in Kolozsvár/Cluj,<sup>125</sup> Várhely-Sarmizegetusa Museum,<sup>126</sup> Lugoj<sup>127</sup> and Temesvár/Timișoara.<sup>128</sup> The history of these objects after 1883 has not yet been researched properly. It is unknown when and how the reliefs ended up in Timișoara, Cluj or the Sarmizegetusa Museum.<sup>129</sup> In the case of the material from the

120 See the case studies of Pojejena and Walbrook: Toynbee 1986; Gordon 2009. The provenance of the monumental statue-treasure of the Merida mithraeum is also problematic and impossible to determine if they are from the original sanctuary or from a later deposit: Basarrate and Romero-Mayorga 2021, 257.

121 Walsh 2018. See also: Gordon 2019.

122 Walsh 2018, 67–92.

123 Ruscu 2003; Oltean 2007, 185.

124 Diaconescu 2004, 130–131; Piso 2013, 256–257.

125 Sicoe 2014, 182 cat. no. 89. See also cat. no. 177 in his book.

126 Idem, 193, 221–222 cat. no. 113 = lupa 17604, cat. no. 178 = lupa 17601.

127 Idem, 178 cat. no. 83 = lupa 21954.

128 Idem, 179–192 cat. nos. 84, 87, 90, 111, 157.

129 Vermaseren did not mention in most of his entries where he saw the objects. The *CIMRM* 2051 for example is today in Sarmizegetusa, however Vermaseren did not mention where he saw it or who made the photograph of the relief. In most of the cases, local Romanian researchers (Daicoviciu, Condurachi, Băluță) sent him the photographs. In cases where the object is elsewhere than Deva, he mentions this (see *CIMRM* 2079 from Lugoj). No inventory numbers are given.



Sarmizegetusa Mithraeum we can presume that they were transferred recently, as the statues of Cautes and Cautopates were still in Deva in the 1970s.<sup>130</sup> Following the catalogue of Király, there were several other important publications, where the material of the Mithraeum was published (in most of the cases, copied from Király): Franz Cumont, Dorin Alicu, Constantin Pop with Volker Wollmann, Alfred Schäfer, Juan Carbó-García and most recently, Gabriel Sicoe published the material.<sup>131</sup> The work by Dorin Alicu, Constantin Pop and Volker Wollmann in the 1970s was crucial: the material from Deva appears for the first time with an inventory number, although already in that period some of the finds had no inventory numbers or were lost.<sup>132</sup> Their work was paradigmatic and the following publications only served as addendum to their catalogue. The most detailed catalogue with the description of each individual object and an almost complete bibliography was published by Gabriel Sicoe in 2014 (highly inspired by his tutor, Alfred Schäfer, who personally visited numerous museums and photographed the material). In the catalogue of Sicoe, only 48 of the objects from the Mithraeum are photographed in black and white, good quality photographs. Others are marked as lost objects, and he used only the drawings and photographs of Király.<sup>133</sup> The material from Deva is just partially available in the digital database of Ortolof Harl (lupa.at), listing 14 Mithraic objects.<sup>134</sup> The turbulent history of the collection and the museum can explain why many of the small fragments are currently undocumented.<sup>135</sup>

## Conclusions

Roman religious studies asking new, innovative questions nowadays, for example the methodological approaches of the material turn (study of material religion),<sup>136</sup> sensorial studies, cognitive religion<sup>137</sup> and lived religion<sup>138</sup> have produced numerous important works and reinterpreted the material and literary sources of Roman religion in the Roman Empire.<sup>139</sup> Questioning the uniformity of religious belief, focusing on religious individualisation and local appropriations, analysing the agency role of objects, their production, mobility and economic aspects, the mobility of human agency in local, glocal and global perspectives are a few of the recent topics which have shaped the new trends in Roman religious studies. The adaptability of the questions raised by these new methodological approaches, however, are often confronted with the lack

---

130 Alicu, Pop and Wollmann 1979, 101.

131 See above n. 64 with literature.

132 Alicu, Pop and Wollmann 1979, 101–114.

133 Sicoe 2014, 334, figs. 126–127.

134 Lupa lists 334 monuments from the Museum of Deva (Deva - Muzeul Civilizatiei Dacice si Romane). The Mithraic material are the following: lupa 15152, 17690, 17715, 17756, 17769, 17861, 18041, 19165, 19168, 19189, 19190, 19193, 19981, 19982.

135 Ferencz 2017.

136 Hicks 2010. See also: Morgan 2016.

137 Eidinow et al. 2022.

138 Albrecht et al. 2018; Rüpke 2018.

139 Rüpke and Woolf 2021.

of sources available in Roman provincial case studies: material evidence found in old excavations, such as the one discussed here, can answer only a few of the most interesting questions of the research.<sup>140</sup>

In re-analysing the Mithraeum of Sarmizegetusa we can reshape the drawing of Király, contextualise the epigraphic material, the network of the individuals of the Mithraic group in the larger network of provincial and Danubian religious mobilities and the impact of a religious centre on the regional production of reliefs and other visual narratives. Although the idea of a central dogma, myth and hierarchic communities needs to be abandoned,<sup>141</sup> the mobility of members from Mithraic groups and their impact on different, often extra-provincial contexts cannot be ignored, as the case study of Sarmizegetusa and its connectivity shows. Details of religious practices (initiations, activities related to the initiations)<sup>142</sup> and sensorial religion can be only presumed, based on a few elements of the small iron and bronze finds, as I argued in one of my previous studies.<sup>143</sup> These details could perhaps be answered if the site could be identified again in the field, although the area has been continuously looted and modified since 1883.

What perspectives of research can be done on such problematic material in the future? At least two dimensions need to be considered. As the photographic material of Gabriel Sicoe and Ortoľ Harl shows, the material from the Museum of Deva urgently needs a digitisation project and a comprehensive digital catalogue. Current projects on digital humanities, photo-3D projects in Romania have already proved the utility of such initiatives.<sup>144</sup> An Addendum of *CIMRM* for Dacia and the Danubian provinces is also necessary, as has been pointed out numerous times in the recent literature.<sup>145</sup> Studies on the provenience of the stone and marble material<sup>146</sup> and polichromy of the monuments might be a possible direction for future studies. Both methods are possible only in the framework of a well-supported, multi-annual project. None of these major perspectives in the research can be addressed in the length of an article but instead will require systematic research.

The Mithraeum of Sarmizegetusa was one of the major sanctuaries built for Mithras and contained the largest ever discovered collection of reliefs. It was partially looted probably in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and later in 1879–1881 by local inhabitants. The two, short excavations conducted by Király Pál can be considered only as a rescue excavation by today's standards, which saved a large part of the material and documented the surviving parts of the building. As Géza Kuun argued, citing the

140 My book on sanctuaries in Roman Dacia tested the limits of lived ancient religion approach in a peripheral case study, where the materiality of Roman religion suffered from numerous types of limitations and methodological issues: Szabó 2018c.

141 Gordon 2019, 466–467.

142 Adrych 2021; Belayche 2021.

143 Szabó 2014.

144 Timofan et al. 2018.

145 Szabó 2018b.

146 Müller et al. 2012, 90 for the relief discovered in 1965 and page 99 on reliefs from the Mithraeum (*CIMRM* 2142, 2051).

amazed words of Iulius Jung: “from now on, those who want to study the cult of Mithras need to see the collection of Déva”. He also added: “the work of Pál Király cannot be ignored in the study of Roman Mithras”.<sup>147</sup> Kuun was right: M. J. Vermaseren personally asked Henri Boissin (1910–1975) for the translation of the Hungarian text, which remained the only monograph until now on a Mithraic sanctuary from Roman Dacia.<sup>148</sup> 140 years after the last excavation of Király and dozens of well-excavated Mithraea from all over Europe and the Middle East, the relief-chose discovered in the Mithraeum of Sarmizegetusa still holds the title as the biggest Mithraic treasure ever found.

---

147 Kuun 1886, 10.

148 *CIMRM* 2027. See also: McCarty, Egri and Rustoiu 2019.

## Bibliography

### Adrych 2021

P. Adrych, *The Seven Grades of Mithraism, or How to Build a Religion*, in N. Belayche and F. Massa (eds.), *Mystery cults in visual representation in Graeco-Roman antiquity*, Boston 2021, 103–123.

### Adrych et al. 2017

P. Adrych, R. Bracey, D. Dalglisch, S. Lenk and R. Wood, *Images of Mithra*, Oxford 2017.

### Albrecht et al. 2018

J. Albrecht, C. Degelmann, V. Gasparini, L. R. Gordon, M. Patzelt, G. Petridou, R. Raja, K. Rieger, J. Rüpke, B. Sippel, E. Urciuoli and L. Weiss, *Religion in the making: the Lived Ancient Religion approach*, in *Religion* 48/4 (2018) 568–593.

### Alexandrescu 2016

C. G. Alexandrescu, *The Fate of Sculpture on the Lower Danube in Late Antiquity: Preliminary Observations*, in T. M. Kristensen and L. Stirling (eds.), *The Afterlife of Greek and Roman Sculpture: Late Antique Responses and Practices*, Ann Arbor 2016, 243–262.

### Alicu 2002

D. Alicu, *Addenda la repertoriul templelor romane din Dacia*, in *Apulum* 39 (2002) 201–235.

### Alicu, Pop and Wollmann 1979

D. Alicu, C. Pop and V. Wollmann, *Figured monuments from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, Oxford 1979.

### Alicu and Pescaru 2000

D. Alicu and A. Pescaru, *Templele romane din Dacia*, Deva 2000.

### Alvar Ezquerro 2018

J. Alvar Ezquerro, *El culto de Mitra en Hispania*, Madrid 2018.

### Ardevan 1998

R. Ardevan, *Viața municipală in Dacia romană*, Timișoara 1998.

### Basarrate and Romero-Mayorga 2021

T. N. Basarrate and C. Romero-Mayorga, *The Mithraeum of Augusta Emerita and its sculptures*, in L. Bricault, R. Veymiers and N. Amoroso (eds.), *The Mystery of Mithras: Exploring the Heart of a Roman Cult / Le Mystère Mithra. Plongée au cœur d'un culte romain*, Morlanwelz 2021, 257–263.

### Beck 2006

R. Beck, *The religion of the Mithras cult in the Roman Empire: mysteries of the unconquered sun*, Oxford – New York 2006.

### Belayche 2013

N. Belayche, *Introduction historiographique I. 'L'homme de Mithra'*, in N. Belayche and A. Mastrocinque (eds.), *Réédition critique de F. Cumont, Les Mystères de Mithra*, Bibliotheca Cumontiana, Scripta maiora 3 (Academia Belgica de Rome), XIII–LXVIII.

**Belayche 2021**

N. Belayche, *Integrating the cult: "Mysteries" and initiations*, in L. Bricault, R. Veymiers and N. Amoroso (eds.), *The Mystery of Mithras: Exploring the Heart of a Roman Cult / Le Mystère Mithra. Plongée au cœur d'un culte romain*, Morlanwelz 2021, 309–319.

**Beskow 1980**

P. Beskow, *The Portorium and the mysteries of Mithras* in *Journal of Mithraic Studies* III, 1–2 (1980) 1–18.

**Boda 2014**

I. Boda, *Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and the archaeological research carried out between 1881 and 1893* in *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 20 (2014) 307–351.

**Boda 2015**

I. Boda, *The sacred topography of Colonia Sarmizegetusa*, in *Acta Archaeologica Hungarica* 66 (2015) 281–304.

**Bodó 2021**

C. Bodó, *Din activitatea Societății de Istorie și Arheologie a comitatului Hunedoara, Cluj-Napoca* 2021.

**Bonnet 1998**

C. Bonnet, *La formation de Franz Cumont d'après sa correspondance (1885–1892)*, in *Kernos* 11 (1998) 245–264.

**Bricault and Roy 2021**

L. Bricault and P. Roy, *Les cultes de Mithra dans l'Empire romain, 550 documents présentés, traduits et commentés*, Toulouse 2021.

**Bricault, Veymiers and Amoroso 2021**

L. Bricault, R. Veymiers, and N. Amoroso, (eds.), *The Mystery of Mithras: Exploring the Heart of a Roman Cult / Le Mystère Mithra. Plongée au cœur d'un culte romain*, Morlanwelz 2021.

**Bull et al. 2017**

R. J. Bull, J. D. Evans, A. L. Ratzlaff, A. H. Bobek, and R. S. Fritzius, *The Mithraeum at Caesarea Maritima: The Joint Expedition to Caesarea Maritima. Excavation Reports II*, American Schools of Oriental Research: Archaeological Reports 25, Boston 2017.

**Carbó-García 2010**

J. R. Carbó-García, *Los cultos orientales en la Dacia romana. Formas de difusión, integración y control social e ideológico*, Salamanca 2010.

**Canciani 2022**

V. Canciani, *Archaeological evidence of the cult of Mithras in ancient Italy*, PhD thesis, Universiteit Gent. <https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/8750224> (last accessed 17.06.2023)

**Chalupa 2023**

A. Chalupa, *Římský kult boha Mithry. Atlas lokalit a katalog nálezů I (The Roman Cult of Mithras. Atlas of Sites and Catalogue of Mithraic Evidence I)*. 1st ed. Brno: Masarykova univerzita, 2023.

## Claus 2000

M. Claus, *The Roman cult of Mithras: The god and his mysteries*, New York 2000.

## Cumont 1891

F. V. M. Cumont, *Revidierte und neugefundene Inschriften aus Dacien, Archäologisch-epigraphische Mitteilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 14 (1891) 108–113.

## Cumont 1893

F. Cumont, *Mithras emlékek Magyarországon, AÉrt* 13 (1893) 289–299.

## Cupcea and Marcu 2011

G. Cupcea and F. Marcu, *The topography of Colonia Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa and the first centuriation in Dacia, AKorrBI* 41/4 (2011) 543–560.

## David 2021

W. David, Mithras in Germany and Raetia, in L. Bricault, R. Veymiers and N. Amoroso (eds.), *The Mystery of Mithras: Exploring the Heart of a Roman Cult / Le Mystère Mithra. Plongée au cœur d'un culte romain*, Morlanwelz 2021, 421–431.

## Diaconescu 2004

A. Diaconescu, *The towns of Roman Dacia. An overview of recent archaeological research in Romania*, in I. Haynes and W. Hanson (eds.), *Roman Dacia. The making of a provincial society*, Portsmouth 2004, 87–142.

## Dirven 2015

L. Dirven, *The Mithraeum as tableau vivant. A Preliminary Study of Ritual Performance and Emotional Involvement in Ancient Mystery Cults*, in *Religion in the Roman Empire* 1, 1 (2015) 20–50.

## Egri et al. 2018

M. Egri, M. M. McCarthy, A. Rustoiu and C. Inel, *A new mithraic community at Apulum (Alba Iulia, Romania)*, in *ZPE* 205 (2018) 268–276.

## Eidinow et al. 2022

E. Eidinow, A. Geertz and J. North, *Introduction* in E. Eidinow, A. Geertz and J. North (eds.), *Cognitive Approaches to Ancient Religious Experience*, Cambridge 2022, 1–19.

## Ferencz 2017

I. V. Ferencz, *Muzeul din Deva. Arc peste timp*, Cluj-Napoca 2017.

## Fontana and Murgia 2022

F. Fontana and E. Murgia, *Il mitreo del Circo Massimo: studio preliminare di un monumento inedito tra archeologia, conservazione e fruizione*, Trieste 2022.

## Gordon 2004

R. Gordon, *Small and miniature reproductions of the Mithraic icon: reliefs, pottery, ornaments and gems*, in M. Martens and G. De Boe (eds.), *Roman mithraism: the evidence of the small finds*, Papers of the international conference, Tienen, 7–8 November 2001, Amsterdam 2004, 259–283.

## Gordon 2009

L. R. Gordon, *The Roman Army and the Cult of Mithras: a critical view*, in Y. Le Bohec and Ch. Wolff (eds.), *L'armée romaine et la religion*, Paris 2009, 379–450.

## Gordon 2017

R. Gordon, *Persae in spelaeis solem colunt: Mithra(s) between Persia and Rome*, in R. Strootmann and M. J. Versluys (eds.), *Persianism in Antiquity*, Stuttgart 2017, 289–327.

## Gordon 2019

R. Gordon, *The cult of Mithras in Late Antiquity. Review of Walsh, David: The cult of Mithras in Late Antiquity: development, decline and demise ca. A.D. 270–430*, Leiden – Boston 2018, in *ARYS Antigüedad Religiones y Sociedades* 17 (2019) 461–475.

## Gordon 2021

R. Gordon, *A brief history of Mithraic studies*, in L. Bricault, R. Veymiers and N. Amoroso (eds.), *The Mystery of Mithras: Exploring the Heart of a Roman Cult / Le Mystère Mithra. Plongée au cœur d'un culte romain*, Morlanwelz 2021, 51–61.

## Hammer-Purgstall 1833

J. Hammer-Purgstall, *Mithraica ou Les Mithriaques: Mémoire académique sur le culte solaire de Mithra*, Paris 1833.

## Hensen 2021

A. Hensen, *The archaeology of the Sanctuaries of Mithras*, in L. Bricault, R. Veymiers and N. Amoroso (eds.), *The Mystery of Mithras: Exploring the Heart of a Roman Cult / Le Mystère Mithra. Plongée au cœur d'un culte romain*, Morlanwelz 2021, 215–227.

## Hicks 2010

D. Hicks, *The material culture turn. Event and effect*, in D. Hicks and M. Beaudry, (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Material Culture Studies*, Oxford 2010, 25–99.

## Király 1886

P. Király, *A sarmizegetusai Mithraeum*, in *Archeológiai Közlöny* 15 (1886) 1–95.

## Király 1891

P. Király, *Ulpia Trajana Augusta Colonia Dacica. Sarmizegetusa Metropolis, Dacia fővárosa. Várhely Hunyadmegyében*, Budapest 1891.

## Király 1892

P. Király, *Gyulafehérvár története: Apulum Gyulafehérvár az ó-korban*, Gyulafehérvár 1892.

## Király 1894

P. Király, *Dacia provincia Augusti II*, Nagybecskerek 1894.

## Király 1903

P. Király, *Dacia története*, Budapest 1903.

## Kremer 2012

G. Kremer, *Götterdarstellungen, Kult- und Weihedenkmäler aus Carnuntum*, CSIR Carnuntum suppl. 1, Wien 2012.

## Kun 1886

R. Kun, *A társulat 1883. évi június hó 1-től 1884. évi december hó 31-ig kifejtett működésének vázlata*, in R. Kun (ed.), *A Hunyadmegyei Történelmi és Régészeti Társulat Évkönyve*, Arad 1886, 82–100.

## Kuun 1886

G. Kuun, *Bevezető*, in *Archeológiai Közlöny* 15 (1886) 5–10.

## Lahe 2019

J. Lahe, *Mithras – Miθra – Mitra. Der römische Gott Mithras aus der Perspektive der vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte*, München 2019.

## Lajard 1840

F. Lajard, *Mémoire sur deux bas-reliefs Mithriaques qui ont été découverts en Transylvanie*, Mémoires de l'Institut de France 14, Paris 1840.

## Magrini et al. 2019

D. Magrini, S. Bracci, G. Bartolozzi, R. Iannaccone, S. Lenzi and P. Liverani, *Revealing Mithras' Color with the ICVBC Mobile Lab in the Museum*, in *Heritage 2* (2019) 2160–2170.

## Malina and Vašíček 1990

J. Malina and Z. Vašíček, *Archaeology Yesterday and Today. The Development of Archaeology in the Sciences and Humanities*, Cambridge 1990.

## Martens and De Boe 2004

M. Martens and G. De Boe (eds.), *Roman mithraism: the evidence of the small finds. Papers of the international conference, Tienen, 7–8 November 2001*, Amsterdam 2004.

## Märghitan 1967

L. Märghitan, *Două noi reliefuri mithraice de la Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, in *Studii si Comunicari de Istoria Veche* 18/4, 1967, 693–700.

## Märghitan and Petolescu 1976

L. Märghitan and C. Petolescu, *Vota Pro Salvte Imperatoris in an Inscription at Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, in *JRS* 66 (1976) 84–86.

## Martens 2021

M. Martens, *The Mithraeum at Tienen*, in L. Bricault, R. Veymiers and N. Amoroso (eds.), *The Mystery of Mithras: Exploring the Heart of a Roman Cult / Le Mystère Mithra. Plongée au cœur d'un culte romain*, Morlanwelz 2021, 431–439.

## Martin 2022

L. Martin, *Identifying Symptoms of Religious Experience from Ancient Material Cult. The Example of Cults of the Roman Mithras*, in E. Eidinow, A. Geertz and J. North (eds.), *Cognitive Approaches to Ancient Religious Experience*, Cambridge 2022, 218–242.

## Mastrocinque 2017

A. Mastrocinque, *The Mysteries of Mithras: A Different Account*, Tübingen 2017.

## Mastrocinque 2022

A. Mastrocinque, *The Mithraic Prophecy*, BAR International Series 3074, Oxford 2022.

## McCarty, Egri and Rustoiu 2019

M. M. McCarty, M. Egri and A. Rustoiu, *The archaeology of ancient cult: from foundation deposits to religion in Roman Mithraism*, in *JRA* 32 (2019) 279–312.

## McCarty and Egri 2020

M. M. McCarty and M. Egri (eds.), *The Archaeology of Mithraism New Finds and Approaches to Mithras-Worship*, Leuven 2020.



**Mihailescu-Bîrliba 2006**

L. Mihailescu-Bîrliba, *Les affranchis dans les provinces romaines de l'Illyricum*, Wiesbaden 2006.

**Morgan 2016**

D. Morgan, *Materiality*, in M. Stausberg and S. Engler (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Study of Religion*, Oxford 2016, 271–290.

**Müller et al. 2012**

H. W. Müller, B. Schweighofer, I. Piso and M. Benea, *Der Marmor im Römischen Dakien*, Cluj 2012.

**Neugebauer 1851**

F. D. J. Neugebauer, *Dacien aus den Überresten des klassischen Alterthums mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Siebenbürgen*, Kronstadt 1851.

**Oltean 2007**

I. Oltean, *Dacia: Landscape, Colonisation and Romanisation*, London 2007.

**Ompolyi 1858**

N. N. Ompolyi, *Mommsen erdélyi látogatásáról*, in *Magyar Futár* 3/200, 28<sup>th</sup> February 1858.

**Panagiotidou and Beck 2017**

O. Panagiotidou and R. Beck, *The Roman Mithras Cult: A Cognitive Approach*, London 2017.

**Piso 1998**

I. Piso, *Inschriften von Prokuratoren aus Sarmizegetusa II*, in *ZPE* 120 (1998) 253–271.

**Piso 2013**

I. Piso, *Fasti provinciae Daciae II, Die ritterlichen Amtsträger*, Bonn 2013.

**Pleșa and Rotar 1977**

I. Pleșa and O. Rotar, *Documente privind monumentele arheologice romane de la Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa*, in *Sargetia* 13 (1977) 561–575.

**Popa and Berciu 1967**

A. Popa and I. Berciu, *Trois monuments épigraphiques d'Ampelum*, in *Latomus* 26/4, 996–1007.

**Popescu 2000**

M. Popescu, *Quand Franz Cumont cherchait Mithra en Dacie. Remarques sur les voyages du savant d'après la correspondance conservée à l'Accademia Belgica de Rome*, in *Ephemeris Dacoromana* 11 (2000) 21–51.

**Romero-Mayorga 2018**

C. Romero-Mayorga, *Mithraic Iconography in Hispania. Reinterpretation of the Catalogue and New Findings*, in *ActaAnthHung* 58 (2018) 171–197.

**Rubio 2021**

R. Rubio, *The Mithraeum at Merida*, in L. Bricault, R. Veymiers and N. Amoroso (eds.), *The Mystery of Mithras: Exploring the Heart of a Roman Cult / Le Mystère Mithra. Plongée au cœur d'un culte romain*, Morlanwelz 2021, 455–461.

Ruscu 2003

D. Ruscu, *Provincia Dacia în istoriografia antică*, Cluj-Napoca 2003.

Rüpke 2018

J. Rüpke, *Pantheon. A new history of Roman religion*, Princeton 2018.

Rüpke and Woolf 2021

J. Rüpke and G. Woolf (eds.), *Religion in the Roman Empire*, Stuttgart 2021.

Sagona 2009

C. Sagona, *Looking for Mithra in Malta*, Leuven 2009.

Schäfer 2007

A. Schäfer, *Tempel und Kult in Sarmizegetusa. Eine Untersuchung zur Formierung religiöser Gemeinschaften in der metropolis Dakiens*, Berlin 2007.

Seel 1823

H. Seel, *Die Mythrageheimnisse während der vor- und uhrchristlichen Zeit*, Aarau 1823.

Sicoe 2004

G. Sicoe, *Lokalproduktion und Importe. Der Fall der mithraischen Reliefs aus Dakien*, in M. Martens and G. De Boer (eds.), *Roman Mithraism: the Evidence of the Small Finds*, Bruxelles 2004, 285–302.

Sicoe 2014

G. Sicoe, *Die mithräischen Steindenkmäler aus Dakien*, Cluj-Napoca 2014.

Siemers-Klenner 2021

I. Siemers-Klenner, *Archäologie des Mithraskultes. Architektur und Kultpraxis am Beispiel der Tempel von Güglingen, Kreis Heilbronn*, Wiesbaden 2021.

Silnović 2018

N. Silnović, *To Carry the Universe in One's Own Pocket: A Miniature Mithraic Relief from the Archaeological Museum in Split*, in *Acta Antiqua* 58 (2018) 291–304.

Studniczka 1883

F. Studniczka, *Mithraeen und andere Denkmäler*, in *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 7 (1883) 200–225.

Szabó 2004

Á. Szabó, *L. F. Marsigli és Sarmizegetusa topográfiája. A provinciális forum és az Ara Augusti Daciában*, in *AÉrt* 129 (2004) 83–119.

Szabó 2013

Cs. Szabó, *The Mithraic statue of Secundinus from Apulum*, in *Revista Doctoranzilor de Istoria Veche si Arheologie* 1 (2013) 45–65.

Szabó 2014

Cs. Szabó, *Notes on the Mithraic small finds from Sarmizegetusa*, in *Ziridava* 28 (2014) 135–148.

Szabó 2015a

Cs. Szabó, *Notes on a new Cautes statue from Apulum*, in *AKorrBl* 2 (2015) 237–247.

## Szabó 2015b

Cs. Szabó, *The cult of Mithras in Apulum: communities and individuals*, in L. Zerbini (ed.), *Culti e religiosità nelle province danubiane*, Atti del 2° Convegno internazionale Ferrara, 20–22 novembre 2013, Ferrara 2015, 407–422.

## Szabó 2018a

Cs. Szabó, *Understanding Roman Mithras. Notes on Three New Books. Review of Adrych, Philippa, Bracey, Robert, Dalglish, Dominic, Lenk, Stefanie & Wood, Rachel (2017), Images of Mithra; Mastrocinque, Attilio (2017), The Mysteries of Mithras; and Panagiotidou Olympia & Beck, Roger (2017), The Roman Mithras cult*, ARYS 16 (2018) 469–479.

## Szabó 2018b

Cs. Szabó, *The material evidence of the Roman cult of Mithras in Dacia. CIMRM Supplementum of the province*, in *Acta Antiqua* 58 (2018) 325–357.

## Szabó 2018c

Cs. Szabó, *Sanctuaries in Roman Dacia: materiality and religious experience*, Oxford 2018.

## Szabó 2020

Cs. Szabó, *Sanctuaries in Roman Dacia: A catalogue of sacralised places in shared and secondary spaces*, in *JbRGZM* 62 (2020) 255–340.

## Szabó 2021

M. Szabó, *Szervezeti váltás a poetoviói vámhivatalban*, in L. Juhász (ed.), *Numismatica Pannonica III*, Budapest 2021, 37–47.

## Szabó 2022a

Cs. Szabó, *The reception of Roman Mithras in Transylvania in the 18<sup>th</sup>–19<sup>th</sup> century*, in *La Revista de Historiografía* 37 (2022) 249–271.

## Szabó 2022b

Cs. Szabó, *Roman Religion in the Danubian Provinces: Space Sacralisation and Religious Communication during the Principate (1<sup>st</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> century AD)*, Oxford 2022.

## Téglás 1886

G. Téglás, *Római márványbányák a Bisztravölgyben*, in *Archaeológiai Közlemények* 14 (1886) 123–135.

## Téglás 1902

G. Téglás (ed.), *Hunyad Vármegye földjének története az őskortól a honfoglalásig*, Budapest 1902.

## Timofan et al. 2018

A. Timofan, C. Şuteu, R. Ota, G. Bounegru, L. Ilie, R. Ciobanu, D. Anghel, C. Pavel and D. Burnete, *PANTHEON 3D. An Initiative in the Three-Dimensional Digitization of Romanian Cultural Heritage*, in *Studia UBB Digitalia* 63/2 (2018) 65–83.

## Tit. Aq.

P. Kovács – Á. Szabó, *Tituli Aquincenses I–III*. Vol. 1: *Tituli operum publicorum et honorarii et sacri* (eds. Á. Szabó et al.); vol. 2: *Tituli sepulcrales et alii Budapestini reperti / adiuvante Bence Fehér* (eds. L. Borhy et al.); vol. 3: *Tituli instrumenti domestici / cura Bence Fehér*, Budapest, 2009–2011.

## Toynbee 1986

J. Toynbee, *The Roman art treasures from the Temple of Mithras*, London 1986.

## Torma 1882

K. Torma, *Inschriften aus Dacia, Moesia Superior und Pannonia Inferior*, in *Archaeologisch-Epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Österreich-Ungarn* 7 (1882) 97–145.

## Tóth 1977

I. Tóth, *Das lokale System der Mithraischen Personifikationen im Gebiet von Poetovio*, in *Archeološki vestnik* 28 (1977) 385–392.

## Tóth 1988

I. Tóth, *Addenda Pannonica Mithriaca. Additions to the Work of M. J. Vermaseren. Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*, in *SpNov* (1988) 17–73.

## Tóth 1992

I. Tóth, *A Dacian "Apostle" of the cult of Mithras?*, in *SpNov* 8 (1992) 153–160.

## Trigger 1989

B. Trigger, *A History of Archaeological Thought*, Cambridge 1986.

## Vermaseren 1963

J. M. Vermaseren, *Mithras, the Secret God*, London 1963.

## Vermaseren 1982

J. M. Vermaseren, *Mithriaca III: The Mithraeum at Marino*, Leiden 1982.

## Walsh 2018

D. Walsh, *The Cult of Mithras in Late Antiquity. Development, Decline and Demise ca. A.D. 270–430*, Leiden – Boston 2018.

## Walters 1974

V. J. Walters, *The Cult of Mithras in the Roman Provinces of Gaul*, Leiden 1974.

## Weaver 1972

R. C. P. Weaver, *Familia Caesaris. A Social Study of the Emperor's Freedmen and Slaves*, Cambridge 1972.

## Zsidi 2018

P. Zsidi, *Mithras in Aquincum: The Mithraeum of Symphorus*, Budapest 2018.

Csaba Szabó  
Department of Religious Studies  
University of Szeged  
Egyetem utca 2.  
Szeged, 6722  
Hungary