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THE MATERIAL EVIDENCE OF THE ROMAN CULT OF MITHRAS IN DACIA

CIMRM SUPPLEMENT OF THE PROVINCE

Summary: Since M. J. Vermaseren's visit to Romania and the publication of the second volume of his monumental corpus on Mithraic finds in 1960, the once-called "Mithraic Studies" has had numerous paradigmatic shifts and changed its major focus points. Besides the important changes in the theoretical background of the research, the archaeological material regarding the Mithraic finds of Dacia – one of the richest provinces in this kind of material – has also been enriched. Several new corpora focusing on the Mithraic finds of Dacia were published in the last decade. This article will present the latest currents in the study of the Roman cult of Mithras and will give an updated list of finds and several clarifications to the latest catalogue of Mithraic finds from the province.

Key words: Dacia, cult of Mithras, *CIMRM* Supplement, lived ancient religion, archaeology of religion

Maarten J. Vermaseren, the leading scholar of what was once called "Mithraic Studies and Oriental Religions", who revolutionized the study of Roman religion by establishing the EPRO series in the 1950's – 70's,¹ visited Romania in 1958.² As he remarked in the introduction of the second volume of *CIMRM* [*Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*] in 1960, during his stay in the Communist Romania in 1958, he was accompanied by Constantin Daicoviciu and Emil Condurachi, the two leading figures of *Altertumwissenschaft* in Romania.³ While the first presented

¹ GORDON, R.: Cosmology, Astrology and Magic: Discourse, Schemes, Power and Literacy. In BRI-CAULT, L. – BONNET, C. (eds): *Pantheé: Religious Transformations in the Graeco-Roman Empire*. Leiden 2013, 89–90, esp. nn. 25–27.

² Almost all of the authors and editors of the great corpora (*CIL*, *MMM*, *CIMRM*) personally visited Transylvania and, later, Romania. While the visit of Th. Mommsen and F. V. Cumont were analyzed in a few articles in the last decades, the scholarly relations of M. J. Vermaseren with the Romanian scholars and his visit to Romania is still unstudied.

³ VERMASEREN, M. J.: *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae*. Vol. I–II. The Hague 1956–1960, vi. About ancient studies and Communism of that period, see MATEI-POPESCU, F.:

to Vermaseren the finds from Transylvania, Condurachi was responsible for the finds from Oltenia and, probably, Dobrudja. From his short remarks mentioned in the entries on Dacia, Vermaseren consulted personally the archaeological collections of Cluj, Alba Iulia and Sibiu, although his itinerary in the country was yet unsure. He had at his disposal the original publication of Pál Király on the Mithraeum from Sarmizegetusa, translated for him by the French Orientalist, H. Boissin.⁴ From his notes in the *CIMRM* II, we can deduce that he met Dumitru Tudor and Dan Popescu too.⁵

Since the publication of his monumental corpus, the study of the Roman cult of Mithras has changed radically, while the archaeological data from Dacia has increased significantly. Both changes urged this scholarship to reconsider the heritage of Vermaseren and to find new paths for future researches.

NEW PERSPECTIVES IN THE STUDY OF THE ROMAN CULT OF MITHRAS

In the last decade the study of the cult of Roman Mithras has changed radically. From the influential doctrine of Cumont, who presented the cult as an “Iranian” and “Persian” cult diffused by prophets from the East to the West,⁶ to the Oriental, soteriological and mystery religions,⁷ and highly archaeological perspectives of Vermaseren, these cults are known today as elective cults or small group religions.⁸ From the obsessive quest for the origins and founders of the cult, and after developing the abundant iconographic typologies, recent research is trying to understand the Roman cult of Mithras⁹ as

Imaginea Daciei Romane în istoriografia românească între 1945 și 1960 [The Image of Roman Dacia in Romanian Historiography between 1945–1960]. *SCIIVA* 58 (2007) 265–288; SZABÓ, CS.: Roman Religious Studies in Romania. Historiography and New Perspectives. In *Ephemeris Napocensis* 24 (2014) 195–208.

⁴ It is strange why he did not ask for the older Hungarian bibliography of András Bodor, fluent in English and Oxford alumnus, well known friend of Constantin Daicoviciu and the only Hungarian scholar of antiquity based in Cluj in that period. See also: SZABÓ, CS.: Bodor András, az ókortudós [B. A. the Classical Scholar]. In RÜSZ-FOGARASI, E. (ed.): *Erdélyi fürdőkkultúra. A Kolozsvári Magyar Történeti Intézet Évkönyve*. Kolozsvár 2016, 219–227.

⁵ Due to his visit in Alba Iulia he surely met Ion Berciu, who later contributed with Constantin C. Petolescu to the EPRO series.

⁶ GORDON, R. L.: Franz Cumont and the Doctrines of Mithraism. *Journal of Mithraic Studies* 1 (1975) 215–248; BECK, R.: Mithraism since Franz Cumont. In *ANRW* II.17.4 (1984) 2002–2115; BONNET, C.: The Religious Life in Hellenistic Phoenicia: Middle Ground and New Agencies. In RÜPKE, J. (ed.): *The Individual in the Religions of the Ancient Mediterranean*. Oxford 2013, 41–58.

⁷ On the new perspectives on mystery religions, see BREMMER, J.: *Initiation into the Mysteries of the Ancient World*. Berlin–Boston 2014.

⁸ BONNET, C. – SCARPI, P. – RÜPKE, J. (eds): *Religions orientales – culti misterici: Neue Perspektiven, nouvelles perspectives, prospettive nuove. Im Rahmen des trilateralen Projektes „Les religions orientales dans le monde gréco-romain“*. Stuttgart 2006; GORDON, L. R.: Institutionalised Religious Options: Mithraism. In RÜPKE, J. (ed.): *The Companion of Roman Religion*. Malden, MA – Oxford 2007, 39–405; VERSLUYS, M. J.: Orientalising Roman Gods. In BRICAULT, L. – BONNET, C. (ed.): *Panthée: Religious Transformations in the Graeco-Roman Empire*. Leiden 2013, 239–259; GORDON, L. R.: *Persae in spelaeis solem colunt: Mithra(s) between Persia and Rome*. In STROOTMANN, R. – VERSLUYS, M. J. (eds): *Persianism in Antiquity*. Stuttgart 2017, 289–327.

⁹ The very notion of “Roman cult of Mithras” suggests a sharp delimitation and contrast with the pre-Roman forms of the cult: BECK (n. 6), GORDON 2007 (n. 8); BRICAULT–BONNET (n. 8).

a form of religious communication with superhuman divine agency, where competition, religious experience, material agency, embodiment and local appropriations play a key role in the analysis.¹⁰

The cult should not be necessarily interpreted as a religion founded by a single prophet,¹¹ having one single doctrinal narrative and a typological iconography diffused from a central group and place in the Empire, in a temporary linear and spatial line. Instead, it should be seen as a religious bricolage and intraconnectivity¹² of Hellenistic entrepreneurs influenced, shaped, and constantly appropriated by Orphism,¹³ Zoroastrianism,¹⁴ Manicheism,¹⁵ and other religious ideas and groups of the Roman Empire in the 1st–4th centuries.¹⁶ Studies focusing on the formation, diffusion, and maintaining strategies of contemporary small group religions also help us to understand the possible mechanisms of ancient small group religions.¹⁷ Studies focusing on the mobility of Mithras-worshippers and the relationship with the other cults and forms of religious communication help also to understand the complexity of ancient Mediterranean religions, where the dichotomy between “Roman, public and official” cults and “exotic, new and Oriental” religions was not that strong as once Vermaseren or Cumont stated.¹⁸

Although the literary sources on the cult of Mithras has not increased significantly since F. Cumont’s collection,¹⁹ the archaeological material has changed radically since M. Vermaseren’s corpus. The discovery of numerous important sanctu-

¹⁰ For the application of the Lived Ancient Religion approach on the cult of Mithras, see: DIRVEN, L.: The Mithraeum as *tableau vivant*. A Preliminary Study of Ritual Performance and Emotional Involvement in Ancient Mystery Cults. *Religion in the Roman Empire* 1 (2015) 20–50. For the major changes in Roman religious studies, see SZABÓ CS.: Párbeszéd Róma isteneivel. A római vallások kutatásának jelenlegi állása és perspektívái [In Dialogue with the Gods: Current State and New Perspectives of Roman Religious Studies]. *Orpheus Noster* 9 (2017) 151–163.

¹¹ The idea of S. Wikander, diffused by R. Merkelbach and especially I. Tóth. See TÓTH, I.: *Pannóniai vallástörténet* [History of Religion in Pannonia]. Pécs–Budapest, 2015.

¹² On the notion of intraconnectivity, see BUSCH, A. – VERSLUYS, M.: Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present. In BUSCH, A. – VERSLUYS, M. (eds): *Reinventing the ‘Invention of Tradition’. Indigenous Pasts and the Roman Present* [Morphomata 32]. Köln 2015, 7–18.

¹³ JÁUREGUI, M. H.: *Orphism and Christianity in Late Antiquity*. Berlin – New York 2010, 72; BREMMER (n. 7) 119.

¹⁴ GORDON 2017 (n. 8).

¹⁵ NAGY, L.: The Short History of Time in the Mysteries of Mithras: The Order of Chaos, the City of Darkness, and the Iconography of Beginnings. *Pantheon* 7 (2012) 37–58.

¹⁶ NEMETI, S.: Recent Reflections on the Cult of Mithras. In NEMETI, S. – SZABÓ, CS. – BODA, I. (eds): *Si deus si dea. New Perspectives in the Research of Roman Religion in Dacia* [Studia Universitatis Babeş Bolyai, vol. 61, no. 1]. 2016, 74–81.

¹⁷ BECK, R.: The Mysteries of Mithras. In KLOPPENBORG, J. – WILSON, G. (eds): *Voluntary Associations in the Ancient World*. London 1996, 176–185; REMUS, H.: Aelius Aristides at the Asclepeion in Pergamum. In KLOPPENBORG–WILSON 146–175.

¹⁸ RÜPKE, J.: *Pantheon. Geschichte der antiken Religionen*. Stuttgart 2016, 322–326.

¹⁹ LÁSZLÓ, L. – NAGY, L. – SZABÓ, Á.: *Mithras misztériumai I–II* [Mysteries of Mithras]. Budapest, 2005 is probably the latest and most complete selection of literary passages, unfortunately available only in Hungarian. See also: http://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/mithras/literary_sources.htm. Last accessed 01.02.2017.

aries,²⁰ the more intense focus on Mithraic small finds²¹ and the changes in the general approaches of archaeology of religion,²² have urged the necessity for a reinterpretation of the material evidence of the cult. Although there was an intention to publish a new *CIMRM* Supplement for all the provinces,²³ the initiative never happened.²⁴ Several volumes were published, however, with the new finds in particular sites²⁵ or provinces.²⁶ The archaeological material published by M. Vermaseren needs not only a critical reconsideration, but also a supplement for each province. Archaeology of religion is recently focusing on several new aspects of the Mithras cult, analyzing the inner structure and the functionality of the mithraea, mithraea as sacred landscapes,²⁷ the use and role of small finds, and even some cognitive aspects of the sanctuary and the material agency used in the religious communication.²⁸

In Romanian scholarship, after the publication of the *CIMRM* II, several studies focussed on and published individual pieces and new finds, local iconographies and, recently, social aspects of the worshippers.²⁹ Three corpora have also been established since then: the unpublished PhD of M. Pintilie,³⁰ the PhD thesis of J. R. C.

²⁰ Based on my own list and John W. Brandt's contribution, Roger Pearse established the following list of discoveries since 1960: http://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/mithras/display.php?page=Discoveries_since_1960. Last accessed 01.02.2017.

²¹ MARTENS, M. – DE BOE, G. (eds): *Roman Mithraism: The Evidence of the Small Finds. Papers of the International Conference, Tienen, 7-8 November 2001*. Amsterdam 2004; FRACKOWIAK, D.: Mithras ist mein Kranz. Weihegrade und Initiationsrituale im Mithraskult. In *Imperium der Götter: Isis – Mithras – Christus. Kulte und Religionen im Römischen Reich*. Karlsruhe 2013, 230–237; SZABÓ, CS.: Notes on the Mithraic Small Finds from Sarmizegetusa. *Ziridava* 28 (2014) 135–148.

²² RAJA, R. – RÜPKE, J.: Archaeology of Religion, Material Religion and the Ancient World. In RAJA, R. – RÜPKE, J. (eds): *A Companion to the Archaeology of Religion in the Ancient World*. Leiden–Boston 2015, 1–27.

²³ http://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/mithras/display.php?page=cimrm_supplement. Last accessed 01.02.2017.

²⁴ Another attempt by C. Witchel also failed. Two proposals by N. Belayche and C. Witchel (with the co-operation of many scholars from Europe and America) and one by A. Mastrocinque concerning Italy were not funded. Oral confirmation of D. Frackowiak from Heidelberg. For a less systematic attempt see also the project of O. Harl: Ubi Erat Lupa and a digitized catalogue of the *LIMC*.

²⁵ HULD-ZETSCHKE, I.: *Der Mithraskult in Mainz und das Mithräum am Ballplatz*. Mainz 2008; MARTENS, M.: *Life and Culture in the Roman Small Town of Tienen. Transformations of Cultural Behaviour by Comparative Analysis of Material Culture Assemblages*. PhD thesis, Amsterdam 2012 (unpublished). Open access.

²⁶ For the Danubian provinces, see FEILER J.: *Mithras-émlékek Magyarországon*. BA thesis, ELTE, Budapest 1994 (manuscript); SELEM, P. – BRČIĆ, I.: *Religionum Orientalum monumenta et inscriptiones ex Croatia [ROMIC] I*. [Znakovi i Riječi Signa et Litterae vol. V]. Zagreb 2015.

²⁷ KLÖCKNER, A.: Die 'Casa del Mitra' bei Igabrum und ihre Skulpturenausstattung. In VAQUERIZO, D. (ed.): *Las áreas suburbanas en la ciudad histórica: topografía, usos, function*. Córdoba 2010, 255–265; SZABÓ, Á.: A mithraeumok tájolásának kérdéséhez [On the Orientation of the Mithraea]. *Antik Tanulmányok* 56 (2012) 125–134; NIELSEN, I.: *Housing the Chosen: The Architectural Context of Mystery Groups and Religious Associations in the Ancient World*. Turnhout 2014.

²⁸ MARTIN, L.: *The Mind of Mithraists: Historical and Cognitive Studies in the Roman Cult of Mithras*. London 2014.

²⁹ BODA, I. – SZABÓ, CS.: *The Bibliography of Roman Religion in Dacia*. Cluj-Napoca 2014, 110–115.

³⁰ PINTILIE, M.: Mithraea in Dacia. *Ephemeris Napocensis* 9–10 (1999–2000) 231–243; PINTILIE, M.: *Mithraea in Dacia*. PhD thesis, University of Babes-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca 2002 (unpublished). Her work can be consulted only in the Central Library of the Babes-Bolyai University, which is not under

Garcia³¹ and the PhD thesis of G. Sicoe – the latter considered at the moment the latest and best catalogue of Mithraic finds from Dacia.³² Although many of the new finds since 1960 were included in these three new catalogues and some of the inscriptions attributed wrongly by Vermaseren to the cult were excluded, several clarifications and new finds need to be added to these.

In the following contribution, I will present a corrected and updated list of the major corpora, highlighting some clarifications and presenting the new finds too.

CIMRM DACIAE: SUPPLEMENTUM ET CORRIGENDUM

NAPOCA³³

CIMRM	CARBÓ-GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
1916	Cat. no. 334. Enrolls it among uncertain inscriptions	Does not accept it as a Mithraic inscription.	
1917	Cat. no. 41.	Cat. no. 1.	The altar was discovered in the foundation of the Tivoli House next to the Bánffy Palace in 1898 during the construction of the Status-palace. It could mark a possible location of a mithraeum in Napoca

the open access yet. The work contributed with the new data especially regarding the topography of the finds and the possible list of sanctuaries, but mostly used the material published by M. Vermaseren and later, by I. Berciu and C. C. Petolescu.

³¹ CARBÓ GARCIA, J. R.: *Los cultos orientales en la Dacia romana. Formas de difusión, integración y control social e ideológico*. Salamanca 2010, 113–181 and 717–805. His work opened new questions regarding the possible differentiation of Mithras and Sol Invictus, although his selection is not always plausible. His work is less known in the Western literature and was rarely cited till 2014, when his book was replaced by Sicoe's catalogue.

³² SICOE, G.: *Die mithräischen Steindenkmäler aus Dakien*. Cluj-Napoca 2014. For a review and a few critical notes, cf. <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2014/2014-10-56.html>, last accessed: 1.02.2017. In establishing and analysing the local iconographic features, he omits to analyze the dynamics of iconographic languages on an Empire scale. He does not cite either the *LIMC*, nor the latest works on Mithraic visual languages (I. Elsner for example). It is important to mention that the majority of the archaeological material presented in his volume have undocumented proveniences and that few of the pieces were examined petrographically, which could help more in the identification of workshops. Similarly, his book does not analyze the social aspects of the Mithraic groups, the dynamics between these groups in urban, rural and provincial contexts and the lived aspects of religious communication. A detailed examination of the museum archives and deposits in Romania (especially Oltenia) is necessary to establish a complete list of Mithraic finds from Dacia.

³³ There are no direct proofs for the existence of a mithraeum, but the altar found in the foundation of the Tivoli House could indicate the presence of a sanctuary. Opreanu presumed a sanctuary of Mithras outside of the city wall, at the Str. Crisan no. 21: OPREANU, C. H.: Recently Discovered Marble Statuette of Nemesis at Napoca. In GAGGADIS-ROBIN, V. (ed.): *Les ateliers de sculpture régionaux: techniques, styles et iconographie. Actes du X^e colloque international sur l'art provincial romain, Arles et Aix-en-Provence, 21-23 mai 2007*. Arles 2009, 721–725.



Fig. 1. Possible Mithraic altar from Napoca (after OPREANU [n. 33] fig. 2)

		Cat. no. 2.	Uncertain. The fragmentarily preserved dedication could belong to different gods (Hercules, Sol Invictus)
			<i>AE</i> 2010, 1369 = OPREANU 2009 (n. 33). The fragmentarily preserved inscription was found in Cluj-Napoca, at the foundation of a house at Crisan Str. 21. approx. 2 km from the Northern edge of the Roman city. The Mithraic nature of the inscription is uncertain. (fig. 1)

GHERLA

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
1918	Cat. no. 35. Accepts the reading of Vermaseren and Cumont and argues that the Ala II Pannoniorum stationed in Gherla.	Does not accept it as a Mithraic inscription, citing <i>AE</i> 1960, 222.	

DOMNEȘTI

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
N.		Cat. no. 15. Reads the inscription as one dedicated to IOM and Mithras.	The Mithraic nature of the inscription is uncertain, although Publius Aelius Mar(i)us certainly plays an important role in the formation of Mithraic groups in Dacia. See SZABÓ, CS.: The Cult of Mithras in Apulum: Communities and Individuals. In ZERBINI, L. (ed.): <i>Culti e religiosità nelle province danubiane</i> . Bologna 2015, 414, n. 76.

DRAGU³⁴

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
1919	As an anepigraphic monument, it is not included in his epigraphic list.	Cat. no. 3. abb. 23.	See also: SZABÓ, CS.: Searching for the Lightbearer: Notes on a Mithraic Relief from Dragu. <i>Marisia</i> 23 (2012) 135–145.

³⁴ Few other Roman finds were discovered in this area, which could indicate a Roman settlement or villa. It is uncertain if the middle-sized ex voto belonged to a sanctuary or was part of a private worship.

POTAISSA³⁵

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
1920–21	Cat. no. 47.	Cat. no. 4. abb. 91.	
1922–23	Cat. no. 48.	Cat. no. 8.	
1924–25	Cat. no. 49.	Cat. no. 6. abb. 35.	
1926		Cat. no. 7. abb. 85.	
1927	Cat. no. 50.	Cat. no. 11.	
1928	Cat. no. 51.	Cat. no. 9.	
1929	Cat. no. 336. Lists among uncertain inscriptions.	Cat. no. 12.	
2377	Cat. no. 52.	Cat. no. 10.	
		Cat. no. 13.	The inscription has been read differently. The latest interpretation (<i>ILD</i> 492) does not accept it as a Mithraic one.
		Cat. no. 252. abb. 19.	Colossal head of Mithras: a large sized head of a young, bearded figure was at- tributed to Mithras. See also BĂRBU- LESCU, M.: <i>Arta romană din Potaissa</i> . Cluj-Napoca 2015, 40, cat. no. 1.
		Cat. no. 253.	

CEANU MIC³⁶

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2376	Cat. no. 331. Enrolls it among the uncertain inscriptions, probably to Sol.	Cat. no. 14.	

³⁵ Although a mithraeum was not identified archaeologically or epigraphically in Potaissa, the existence of a sanctuary seems to be very plausible. Some of the finds are concentrated in the same, SE area of the fort. A statue of a genius, identified once as a Mithraic iconography is not plausible, the large sized head could be also more a *genius legionis*. In contrast with the other legionary centre, Apulum, the material evidence of a Mithras cult is insignificant in Potaissa. This could be explained with the dominant presence of Isiac cults or with Medieval looting. It is also possible that on one of the slopes of the city there is still an intact mithraeum.

³⁶ A possible Roman settlement was identified there in the beginning of the 20th century. The Mithraic altar could belong also to Potaissa.

DECEA MUREȘULUI³⁷

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
1930	Not presented.	Cat. no. 59. abb. 8.	The name of the locality and the detailed journal of Károly Herepei was not known by Vermaseren.
1931	Cat. no. 60.	Cat. no. 60.	Identical with <i>CIMRM</i> 1933.
1932	Cat. no. 61.	Cat. no. 61.	
1933	Cat. no. 60.	Cat. no. 60.	Identical with <i>CIMRM</i> 1931.

APULUM³⁸

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
1937	Cat. no. 2.	Cat. no. 20.	SZABÓ, CS.: The Mithraic Statue of Secundinus from Apulum. <i>ReDiv</i> 1 (2013) 45–65. Probably part of the so called Kaftal Mithraeum.
1938	As an anepigraphic monument, it is not included in his epigraphic list.	Cat. no. 18	Identical with <i>CIMRM</i> 1986. See SZABÓ, CS. – BOUNEGRU, G. – SAVA, V.: Mithras Rediscovered. Notes on the <i>CIMRM</i> 1938. <i>Ziridava</i> 28 (2014) 149–156 (fig. 2).
1939	Cat. no. 3.	Cat. no. 23.	Probably discovered during the building of the railway in the Northern half of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis
1940	Cat. no. 4.	Cat. no. 24.	The reading of Vermaseren was not accepted later by I. Piso. The suggestion of Sonoc–Munteanu is not plausible: SONOC, A. – MUNTEANU, C.: Observații privind câteva monumente mithraice din Sudul Transilvaniei. <i>Acta Musei Brukenthal</i> 3.1 (2008) 156–157.
1941	Cat. no. 5.	Cat. no. 25.	

³⁷ The discovery of the small Mithraeum of Decea Muresului was described by Károly Herepei in 1888 and later published by M. Takács in 1987. See also: PINTILIE 1999–2000 (n. 30.).

³⁸ Vermaseren presented the finds in two major groups: Maros-Porto (Partos today), which was the territory of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis and the *canabae*, later Municipium Septimium Apulense. He mentioned, wrongly, that the Maros-Porto was the *canabae* originally. In the conurbation there is only one mithraeum excavated systematically. Based on the history of the research and the presumed topography of the finds, at least 6–7 sanctuaries could exist in the two cities.



Fig. 2. Large sized Mithras relief from Apulum (after SZABÓ–BOUNEGRU–SAVA 2014)

1942–43	Cat. no. 6.	Cat. no. 21.	Probably part of the so called Mithraeum of Károly Pap. See SZABÓ, CS. – BODA, I. – TIMOC, C.: Notes on a New Mithraic Inscription from Dacia. In ARDEVAN, R. – BEU-DACHIN, E. (eds): <i>Mensa Rotunda Epigraphica Napocensis</i> . Cluj-Napoca 2016, 91–105.
1944–45	Cat. no. 7.	Cat. no. 26.	Probably part of the so-called Mithraeum of Károly Pap. See SZABÓ, CS. – BODA, I. – TIMOC, C.: Notes on a New Mithraic Inscription from Dacia. In ARDEVAN, R. – BEU-DACHIN, E. (eds): <i>Mensa Rotunda Epigraphica Napocensis</i> . Cluj-Napoca 2016, 91–105.
1946	Cat. no. 319. Lists among the uncertain dedications.	Did not accept it as Mithraic. SICOE (n. 32) 28, n. 96.	Was found in the vicinity of the Forum and the major sanctuary area of the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis. Probably not related to a mithraeum. See <i>Digital Map of Apulum [DMA]</i> (https://religioacademici.wordpress.com/dma/)
1947–48	Cat. no. 8.	Cat. no. 16.	SZABÓ, CS.: The Mithraic Statue of Secundinus from Apulum. <i>ReDiv</i> 1 (2013) 45–65.

1949	As an anepigraphic monument, it is not included in his epigraphic list.	Cat. no. 19. abb. 3.	
1950	Cat. no. 9.	Cat. no. 51.	
1951	Cat. no. 10.	Cat. no. 52.	The inscription could be an unfinished one, referring to the building of a mithraeum or a rare case of a supernomina.
1952	Cat. no. 318. List among the uncertain dedications, possibly to Sol.	Did not accept it as Mithraic. SICOE (n. 32) 28, n. 96.	
1953			Mithraeum of Oancea. For a possible location, see <i>DMA</i> .
1954–55	Cat. no. 11.	Cat. no. 29.	
1956	As an anepigraphic monument, it is not included in his epigraphic list.	Cat. no. 32. abb. 17.	See also SZABÓ, CS.: Notes on a New Cautes Statue from Apulum. <i>Archaeologische Korrespondenzblatt</i> 2 (2015) 237–247.
1957	As an anepigraphic monument, it is not included in his epigraphic list.	Cat. no. 31. abb. 16.	See also SZABÓ, CS.: Notes on a New Cautes Statue from Apulum. <i>Archaeologische Korrespondenzblatt</i> 2 (2015) 237–247.
1958–59	Cat. no. 12.	Cat. no. 30. abb. 77.	
1960	Cat. no. 13.	Cat. no. 33.	
1961	Cat. no. 317. C-G wrongly deems it as an uncertain inscription, although it was certainly found in the Oancea Mithraeum.	Cat. no. 34.	
1962	Cat. no. 14.	Cat. no. 35.	
1963	Cat. no. 15.	Cat. no. 36.	
1964	Cat. no. 16.	Cat. no. 37.	
1965	Cat. no. 17.	Cat. no. 38.	
1966	Does not appear as Mithraic inscription.	Did not accept it as Mithraic. SICOE (n. 32) 28, n. 96.	The dedication is for Jupiter Optimus Maximus, but the altar seems to belong to the Oancea Mithraeum.
1967	As an anepigraphic monument, it is not included in his epigraphic list.	Did not accept it as Mithraic. SICOE (n. 32) 28, n. 96.	It could be the representation of a torchbearer. See also SZABÓ, CS.: Notes on a New Cautes Statue from Apulum. <i>Archaeologische Korrespondenzblatt</i> 2 (2015) 237–247.
1968	Cat. no. 323. Lists among the uncertain dedications, possibly to Sol.	Did not accept it as Mithraic. SICOE (n. 32) 28, n. 96.	

1969	Cat. no. 322. Lists it among the uncertain dedications, possibly to Sol.	Did not accept it as Mithraic. SICOE (n. 32) 28, n. 96.	
1970	Cat. no. 326. Lists it among the uncertain dedications, possibly to Sol.	Did not accept it as Mithraic inscription	It was discovered in the area of the Asclepieion. See <i>DMA</i> .
1971	Cat. no. 137. Wrongly identified it as a dedication to Deus Aeternus.	Did not accept it as Mithraic. SICOE (n. 32) 28, n. 96.	It was discovered in the area of the Asclepieion. See <i>DMA</i> .
1972	As an anepigraphic monument, it is not included in his epigraphic list.	Cat. no. 40 abb. 25.	
1973	As an anepigraphic monument, it is not included in his epigraphic list.	Cat. no. 39. abb. 72.	Sicoe identifies it as a monument from the Municipium Septimium. The exact findspot is unknown.
1974	As an anepigraphic monument, it is not included in his epigraphic list.	Cat. no. 42, abb. 66.	
1975–76	Cat. no. 18.	Cat. no. 41. abb. 95.	
1977	Cat. no. 19.	Cat. no. 55.	
1978		Did not accept it as Mithraic. SICOE (n. 32) 28, n. 96.	Vermaseren already stated that the inscriptions interpreted by Cumont as belonging to a mithraeum could belong to a shrine of Diana (<i>CIL</i> III 1095, 1096). These could belong to the Liber Pater shrine.
1979–80	Cat. no. 20.	Cat. no. 45, abb. 107.	
1981–82	Cat. no. 21.	Cat. no. 44, abb. 36.	
1983–84	Cat. no. 321. Probably a dedication to Sol-Helios.	Did not accept it as Mithraic. SICOE (n. 32) 28, n. 96.	Vermaseren's description is not clear. After the restauration it was clear that the altar does not represents a snake and a bull.
1985		Cat. no. 50, abb. 69.	Could be from the same context as that of <i>CIMRM</i> 2186.
1986			Identical with <i>CIMRM</i> 1938. See SZABÓ, CS. – BOUNEGRU, G. – SAVA, V.: Mithras Rediscovered. Notes on the <i>CIMRM</i> 1938. <i>Ziridava</i> 28 (2014) 149–156.
1987		Cat. no. 254, abb. 20.	Not sure whether it represents Mithras
1988		Cat. no. 255. abb. 21.	Not sure whether it represents Mithras
1989–90	Cat. no. 270. Lists it among the uncertain inscriptions.	Cat. no. 54.	The reading of the inscription is uncertain

1991		Cat. no. 48, abb. 4.	Could belong to the so called Kaftal Mithraeum.
1992–93	Cat. no. 22.	Cat. no. 47.	
1994		Cat. no. 49, abb. 5.	
1995–96	Did not accept it as Mithraic.	Did not accept it as Mithraic.	The inscription is dedicated to Bonus Puer, who probably had a sanctuary in Apulum.
1997	Did not accept it as Mithraic.	Did not accept it as Mithraic.	The inscription is dedicated to Bonus Puer, who probably had a sanctuary in Apulum.
1998	Cat. no. 324. Enrolls it among the uncertain inscriptions, probably to Sol.	Did not accept it as Mithraic.	
1999	Cat. no. 320. Enrolls it among the uncertain inscriptions, probably to Sol.	Did not accept it as Mithraic.	
2000		Cat. no. 64, abb. 67.	Could be from the territory of Apulum, many of the Roman finds from Alvinc were transported from Alba Iulia.
2001–02	Cat. no. 23.	Cat. no. 65, abb. 96.	Could be from the territory of Apulum, many of the Roman finds from Alvinc were transported from Alba Iulia.
2003	Cat. no. 24.	Cat. no. 66.	Could be from the territory of Apulum, many of the Roman finds from Alvinc were transported from Alba Iulia.
2004–05	Cat. no. 25.	Cat. no. 63, abb. 27.	Discovered at Oarda de Sus, but it could be from the territory of Apulum.
2184		Cat. no. 223, abb. 6.	Could belong to the so called Kaftal Mithraeum.
2185		Cat. no. 222, abb. 18.	Preserved in the Batthyaneum, probably discovered in Apulum.
2186		Cat. no. 225, abb. 70.	Could belong to the same context with CIMRM 1985.
2188		Cat. no. 224, abb. 11.	Probably discovered in Apulum.
		Cat. no. 22.	Was discovered during the excavation near the Liber Pater shrine. Not certain, if the context is a new mithraeum or not. See DIACONESCU, A. – BOGDAN, D. – CIUTĂ, B. – GLIGOR, M. – LIPOT, Ș. – DOBOS, A. – MUSTAȚĂ, S. – ÖTVÖS, K. B. – PÂNCZÉL, SZ. P. – VASS, L. – FIEDLER, M. – GRUNEWALD, H. M. – HÖPKEN, K.: <i>Alba Iulia, jud. Alba (Apulum). Punct: cartierul Partoș. Cod sit: 1026.13.</i> CCAR, Campania 2013 Oradea 2014, 100–101.

	Cat. no. 327. Lists it among the uncertain inscriptions, probably dedicated to Sol.	Cat. no. 27.	
		Cat. no. 28.	Was discovered during the excavation near the Liber Pater shrine. Not certain, whether the context is a new mithraeum or not. See DIACONESCU ET AL.: <i>Alba Iulia, jud. Alba (Apulum). Punct: cartierul Partoș. Cod sit: 1026.13</i> . CCAR, Campania 2013 Oradea 2014, 100–101.
		Cat. no. 43.	Could belong to the Mithraeum of Oancea. See SZABÓ, CS.: Placing the Gods. Sanctuaries and Sacralized Spaces in the Settlements of Apulum. <i>Revista Doctozanzilor în istorie veche și arheologie</i> 3 (2015) 123–160.
	Cat. no. 26.	Cat. no. 53.	
			Statue of Cautes with bucranium: found in secondary position in the Vauban fort. See SZABÓ, CS.: Notes on a New Cautes Statue from Apulum. <i>Archaeologische Korrespondenzblatt</i> 2 (2015) 237–247 (fig. 3).
			Mithraic column: discovered on the black market. Probably from the mithraeum of Károly Pap. See SZABÓ, CS. – BODA, I. – TIMOC, C.: Notes on a New Mithraic Inscription from Dacia. In ARDEVAN, R. – BEU-DACHIN, E. (eds): <i>Mensa Rotunda Epigraphica Napocensis</i> . Cluj-Napoca 2016, 91–105 (fig. 4).
			Mithraeum discovered in 2008 and excavated systematically between 2013 and 2016. See also: RUSTOIU, A. – EGRI, M. – MCCARTY, M. – INEL, C.: Apulum-Mithraeum III Project 2014. Alba Iulia, punct: cartier Cetate. In <i>Cronica cercetarilor arheologice din Romania</i> . Bucuresti 2015, 19–21 and 260–261; EGRI, M. – MCCARTY, M. – RUSTOIU, A. – INEL, C.: A New Mithraic Community at Apulum (Alba Iulia, Romania), <i>ZPE</i> 205, 2018, 268–276. Several important inscriptions and small finds (fig. 5).



Fig. 3. Cautes with bucranium from Apulum (after SZABÓ 2015, 238, fig. 1a)



Fig. 4. Votive column from Apulum (after SZABÓ–BODA–TIMOC 2016, 102, pl. 1.2)



Fig. 5. Mithraeum discovered in 2008 and excavated recently in Apulum (RUSTOIU ET AL. 2015)

OZD

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
	Cat. no. 42.	Cat. no. 56. abb. 26. Lists it among the finds from the territorium Apulensis.	

BOIAN³⁹

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
1934	As an anepigraphic monument, it is not in- cluded in his epigraphic list.	Cat. no. 57. Lists it among the finds from the territorium Apulensis.	Lupa 9883.

³⁹ There were no other Roman finds identified in this settlement. The altar could belong to another site and reused in Medieval times in Alsóbajom.

SĂCĂDATE

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
	Cat. no. 56.	Cat. no. 58. Lists it among the finds from the territorium Apulensis.	

LOPADEA NOUĂ

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
	Cat. no. 36.	Cat. no. 62 abb. 37. Lists it among the finds from the territorium Apulensis.	

PĂULENI

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2011	Cat. no. 335. Lists it among the un- certain inscriptions, probably to Sol.	Did not accept it as Mithraic inscription. SICOE (n. 32) 31, n. 129.	

CINCȘOR

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2012	Cat. no. 31.		Vermaseren probably refers to a Mithraeum which seems to exist in Cincșor where a Roman military settlement was identified.
2013		Cat. no. 67. abb. 119.	
2014		Cat. no. 68. abb. 120.	
2015		Cat. no. 69. abb. 38.	
2016		Cat. no. 70.	

2017		Cat. no. 71.	Uncertain whether these small fragments are part of one or more reliefs. There were no photos published about these finds.
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MICA⁴⁰

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2018		Cat. no. 195. abb. 33.	
2019	Cat. no. 37.	Cat. no. 202.	
2022	Cat. no. 39.	Cat. no. 201.	
2023		Cat. no. 196. abb. 60.	
2024			Vermaseren cites Buday's article from 1916, but does not publish the photograph of the relief.
2025		Cat. no. 197. abb. 34.	
	Cat. no. 40.	Cat. no. 198.	
		Cat. no. 199. abb. 129.	
	Cat. no. 333. Lists it among the uncertain inscriptions. Possibly a dedication to Sol Invictus.	Cat. no. 200.	The inscription is the only epigraphic attestation of a sanctuary. It is more plausible, that it refers to Mithras than Sol Invictus. See: SZABÓ, Cs.: The Cult of Mithras in Apulum: Communities and Individuals. In ZEBINI, L. (ed.): <i>Culti e religiosità nelle province danubiane</i> . Bologna 2015, 409, n. 24.

CIOROIUL NOU⁴¹

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2026			Vermaseren confused the Serbian Dubljane with the Romanian Calan. Not from Roman Dacia.
2162	Cat. no. 28.	Cat. no. 230.	There is a letter or symbol similar to a P on the back of the altar.

⁴⁰ The existence of a Mithraeum from Micia is confirmed by epigraphic sources. The large number of the finds also suggest the presence of a sanctuary, which was unfortunately not attested on the field.

⁴¹ The ancient name of the settlement is uncertain. For a long time it was associated with Aquae or Malva.

COLONIA SARMIZEGETUSA⁴²

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2006–7	Cat. no. 57.	Cat. no. 188. abb. 71.	Attested at Doştat, it comes very probably from Sarmizegetusa.
2008	Cat. no. 58.	Cat. no. 194.	Attested at Doştat, it comes very probably from Sarmizegetusa.
2009–10	Cat. no. 59.	Cat. no. 189.	Attested at Doştat, it comes very probably from Sarmizegetusa.
2020–21	Cat. no. 38.	Cat. no. 184. abb. 76.	Vermaseren mentioned the monument as one from Micia. The first publisher, Neigebaur mentioned clearly among the finds from Sarmizegetusa.
2027			On the mithraeum, see also SZABÓ, CS. – BODA, I.: Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (n. 42).
2028–29	Cat. no. 68.	Cat. no. 172.	
2030	Cat. no. 69.	Cat. no. 175.	
2031	Cat. no. 70.	Cat. no. 176.	
2032	Cat. no. 71.	Cat. no. 173.	
2033			The small finds of the mithraeum were mentioned in one single entry. See also SZABÓ, CS.: Notes on the Mithraic Small Finds from Sarmizegetusa (n. 21).
2034–35	Cat. no. 72.	Cat. no. 119. abb. 79.	
2036		Cat. no. 118. abb. 53.	
2037		Cat. 116. abb. 135.	
2038–2041			In many cases, M. Vermaseren did not realise that some of the fragments belong to the same relief. Sicoe's new catalogue reorganized some of the larger pieces.
2042		Cat. no. 131. abb. 99.	
2043		Cat. no. 130. abb. 31.	
2044–45	Cat. no. 74.	Cat. no. 129. abb. 89.	
2046–47	Cat. no. 75.	Cat. no. 126. abb. 81.	

⁴² One of the biggest Mithraic discoveries of the Roman Empire was unearthed in Sarmizegetusa in the 1880's by Pál Király. Before that, only few Mithraic monuments were known from the settlement (*CIMRM* 2020 for example). It is still uncertain, if all the finds of Pál Király belong to a single sanctuary or it proves the existence of a local-regional workshop of Mithraic reliefs. The quantity of finds is the biggest ever discovered on a single site. It could be also a later Roman spolia, as in many of the mithraea we can attest this phenomena. D. Alicu suggests the possibility of the existence of a second mithraeum too, although it was not identified on the field. See also: BODA, I.: Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa and the Archaeological Research Carried out between 1881 and 1893. *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 20 (2014) 307–351; SZABÓ: Notes (n. 21).

2048–49	Cat. no. 76.	Cat. no. 120. abb. 80.	
2050		Cat. no. 114. abb. 52.	
2051		Cat. no. 113. abb. 92.	
2052		Cat. no. 111. abb. 98.	
2053		Cat. no. 109. abb. 127.	
2054		Cat. no. 158.	
2055		Cat. no. 103. abb. 88.	
2056		Cat. no. 112. abb. 134.	
2057		Cat. no. 106. abb. 132–33.	
2058=2093		Cat. no. 98. abb. 125.	
2059		Cat. no. 104. abb. 97.	
2060–61	Cat. no. 77.	Cat. no. 105. abb. 51.	
2062 = 2092 = 2094		Cat. no. 102. abb. 48–50.	
2063		Cat. no. 100. abb. 64.	
2064–65	Cat. no. 78.	Cat. no. 97. abb. 47.	
2066–67	Cat. no. 79.	Cat. no. 101. abb. 28–29.	
2068–69	Cat. no. 80.	Cat. no. 88. abb. 45.	
2070		Cat. no. 94.	
2071		Cat. no. 95. abb. 123.	
2072		Cat. no. 96. abb. 124.	
2073–74	Cat. no. 81.	Cat. no. 82. abb. 40.	
2075–76	Cat. no. 82.	Cat. no. 85. abb. 42.	
2077		Cat. no. 157.	Recently identified it in the National Museum of Banatului, Timisoara. No. inv.: 6507.
2078		Cat. no. 86. abb. 43.	
2079		Cat. no. 90.	Recently identified it in the National Museum of Banatului, Timisoara. No. inv.: 7590.
2080		Cat. no. 91.	
2081–82	Cat. no. 83.	Cat. no. 99.	
2083		Cat. no. 81. abb. 39.	
2084		Cat. no. 169. abb. 14.	
2085		Cat. no. 87. abb. 44.	
2086		Cat. no. 128.	
2087		Cat. no. 159.	
2089		Cat. no. 139.	
2090		See the comments on SICOE (n. 32) 31, n. 129.	
2091		Cat. no. 160. abb. 100.	

2095		Cat. no. 161.	
2096		Cat. no. 154.	
2097		Cat. no. 162.	
2098		Cat. no. 140.	
2099		Cat. no. 141.	
2100		Cat.no. 142.	
2101		Cat. no. 144.	
2102		Cat. no. 145.	
2103		Cat. no. 146.	
2104		Cat. no. 148.	
2105		Cat. no. 149.	
2106		Cat. no. 121.	
2107		Cat. no. 122. abb. 136.	
2108		Cat. no. 123. abb. 30.	
2109		Cat. no. 124.	
2110		Cat. no. 125.	
2111		Cat. no. 132. abb. 137.	
2112		Cat. no. 163. abb. 139.	
2113		Cat. no. 164. abb. 140	
2114		Cat. no. 133. abb. 138.	
2115		Cat. no. 134.	
2116		Cat. no. 135.	
2117		Cat. no. 136.	
2118		Cat. no.137.	
2119		Cat. no. 127.	
2120–21	Cat. no. 84a.	Cat. no. 169. abb. 14.	
2122–23	Cat. no. 84b.	Cat. no. 170. abb. 15.	
2124		Cat. no. 72–78.	
2125		Cat. no. 152.	
2126		Cat. no. 151.	
2127		Cat. no. 165.	
2128		Cat. no. 93. abb. 122.	
2129		Cat. no. 147.	
2130		Cat. no. 92. abb. 46.	
2131		Cat. no. 107.	
2132		Cat. no. 108. abb. 126.	
2133		Cat. no. 110.	
2134		Cat. no. 171. abb. 10.	
2135–36	Cat. no. 85.	Cat. no. 83. abb. 41.	
2137–38	Cat. no. 86.	Cat. no. 84. abb. 112.	Recently identified it in the National Museum of Banatului in Timisoara. Inv. no.: 7596.

2139		Cat. no. 80.	
2140		Cat. no. 89. abb. 129.	See also <i>CIMRM</i> 2200.
2141		Cat. no. 177.	
2142–43	Cat. no. 87.	Cat. no. 178. abb. 32.	
2144	Cat. no. 88.	Cat. no. 193.	
2145			Not accepted as a Mithraic inscription, although it was published in <i>CIL</i> and Cumont in the same context as the previous one.
2146	Cat. no. 89.	Cat. no. 191.	
2147		Cat. no. 192.	
2148	Cat. no. 340. Lists it among the inscriptions dedicated to Sol Invictus.		
2149–50	Cat. no. 90.	Cat. no. 179. abb. 54.	
2151		Cat. no. 190. abb. 9.	
2152		Cat. no. 180. abb. 55.	
		Cat. no. 181.	Discovered it in 1966 on the South-West corner of the Roman city. It could indicate the position of the sanctuary.
		Cat. no. 182.	The same context as the previous one.
		Cat. no. 183.	Discovered it at Poiana (jud. Gorj). Not sure whether it comes from Sarmizegetusa.
		Cat. no. 185. abb. 56.	
		Cat. no. 186.	
		Cat. no. 187.	

TIBISCUM⁴³

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2153	Cat. no. 67.	Cat. no. 203.	
2189		Cat. no. 220. abb. 141.	The relief fragment was photographed and published by Vermaseren with the help of Dorin Popescu in Bucuresti in 1958. Later it became part of the collection from the Museum of Banat. After the opinion of I. Boda and C. Timoc, the relief was discovered in Tibiscum: BODA I. – TIMOC, C.: The Sacred To-

⁴³ The existence of a mithraeum is supposed in this settlement too, based on the important altar of Hermadio and the archaeological context of the discoveries.

			pography of Tibiscum. In NEMETI, S. – BODA, I. – SZABÓ, CS. (eds): <i>New Perspectives in the Study of Roman Religion in Dacia</i> [Studia Historia Universitatis Babes-Bolyai]. Cluj-Napoca 2016, 41–62.
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DIERNA⁴⁴

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2154		Cat. no. 217. abb. 58.	
		Cat. no. 218.	
	Cat. no. 32.		Uncertain provenience
		Cat. no. 204.	Uncertain provenience. Could belong to the same context as the previous one.

POJEJENA⁴⁵

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
		Cat. no. 205.	
	Cat. no. 44.	Cat. no. 206.	
	Cat. no. 43.	Cat. no. 207. abb. 115.	
		Cat. no. 208. abb. 68.	
		Cat. no. 209. abb. 101.	
	Cat. no. 45.	Cat. no. 210. abb. 116.	
		Cat. no. 211. abb. 75.	
		Cat. no. 212.	
		Cat. no. 213. abb. 117.	
		Cat. no. 214.	
	Cat. no. 46.	Cat. no. 215.	
		Cat. no. 216. abb. 101–102.	

⁴⁴ The existence of a mithraeum is supposed in this settlement based on the number of Mithraic finds.

⁴⁵ The existence of a mithraeum is supposed in this settlement based on the number of Mithraic finds. The context of the finding is very problematic (in one of the corners of the Roman fort). It could have been either a late antique spolia or pertaining to the post-military phase of the fort. Pojejena – although it was listed among the finds from Dacia – very likely was under the administration of Moesia.



Fig. 6. Mithraic relief fragment representing Mithras killing the bull
(GUDEA–BOZU 1977, photo by Ana C. Hamat, Museum of Banatului Montan, Resița, RO)

		GUDEA, N. – BOZU, O.: A existat un sanctuary mithraic la Pojejena? <i>Banatica</i> 4 (1977) 125– 126, cat. no. 13.	The small head was published as Mithras. It could belong to one of the torchbearers too.
		GUDEA, N. – BOZU, O.: A existat un sanctuary mithraic la Pojejena? <i>Banatica</i> 4 (1977) 125– 126, cat. no. 14.	Mithras killing the bull fragment. The inventory sheet dates the monument to the 3rd–4th centuries AD (fig. 6).
			Mithraic relief fragment: recently discovered during the excavations in the Roman fort, probably on the same spot as the previous finds. Verbal confirmation of B. Imola and C. Timoc. Prepared for publication.

DROBETA⁴⁶

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2157			Vermaseren cites the work of Tudor, who mentioned a relief from Oltenia, Drobeta preserved in the National Museum of Bucuresti. Not confirmed by any further researchers.
2158			Small bronze statuette with a Phrygian cap discovered in Catunele de Motru. No photos published. Impossible to confirm whether it is Mithraic or not.
2159		Cat. no. 226. abb. 143.	
2160		Cat. no. 227. abb. 13.	Disappeared.

BUMBESTI-GORJ

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2163	Cat. no. 30.	Cat. no. 228.	

BOTOSESTI-PAIA

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2155–56		Cat. no. 228.	

ROMULA⁴⁷

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2164		Cat. no. 231. abb. 144.	
2170		Cat. no. 236. abb. 7.	The statue was probably part of the sanctuary and used with oil lamps similarly to the case study from Inveresk. ⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Most of the finds are listed by Vermaseren as discovered in Transylvania.

⁴⁷ The mithraeum was possibly discovered in 1856 on the bank of the Teslui river. No further excavations were made.

⁴⁸ http://www.tertullian.org/rpearse/mithras/display.php?page=supp_Britain_Inveresk_Mithraeum. Last access: 13.02.2017.

2171		Cat. no. 232. abb. 104.	
2172–73	Cat. no. 53.	Cat. no. 233. abb. 118.	
2174–76			Uncertain Mithraic objects. See SICOE (n. 32) 34, n. 175.
2177	Cat. no. 54.	Cat. no. 237.	
2178			The relief-fragment could belong to a Bacchic representation, too; uncertain Mithraic nature.
2179		Cat. no. 234.	
2183	Cat. no. 55.	Cat. no. 238.	
		Cat. no. 235.	

SFINȚEȘTI

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
	Cat. no. 62.	Cat. no. 239.	

SLĂVENI⁴⁹

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2166		Cat. no. 242. abb. 90.	
2167		Cat. no. 241. abb. 109.	
2168		Cat. no. 240. abb. 94.	
		Cat. no. 243. abb. 110.	
		Cat. no. 244. abb. 145.	
		Cat. no. 245. abb. 130.	
2169	Cat. no. 63.	Cat. no. 246.	
2169	Cat. no. 64.	Cat. no. 247.	

SUCIDAVA⁵⁰

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2182		Cat. no. 248.	
		Cat. no. 249. abb. 131.	

⁴⁹ A mithraeum was discovered in 1837 and shortly published by V. Blaremborg.

⁵⁰ The existence of a mithraeum is based on the large amount of material found in the settlement. The exact findspot of the sanctuary is unknown.

	Cat. no. 66.	Cat. no. 250.	
	Cat. no. 65.	Cat. no. 251. abb. 106.	

PESTERA LUI TRAIAN

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
			Uncertain context. Cumont mentioned it as among the probable sanctuaries. Rock carvings were reported by local inhabitants. PINTILIE 1999–2000, 236.

PESTERA VETERAN

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
			Uncertain context. A cave was researched in 1964–69. A Roman altar was mentioned by the publishers. No further examinations were made. PINTILIE 1999–2000 n. 30, 235–236.

AMPELUM

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
			Seven small glazed pottery fragments with possibly Mithraic iconography. ANGHEL, D. – OTA, R. – BOUNEGRU, G. – LASCU, I.: <i>Coroplastica, medalioane și tipare ceramice din colecțiile Muzeului Național al Unirii Alba Iulia</i> . Alba Iulia 2011, 57.

UNKNOWN PROVENIENCE⁵¹

<i>CIMRM</i>	CARBÓ–GARCIA (n. 31)	SICOE (n. 32)	NEW FINDS OR COMMENTS
2180			After TUDOR, D.: Monuments de pierre de la collection César Bolliac au Musée

⁵¹ Most of the finds are listed by Vermaseren as discovered in Transylvania or Oltenia, based on the verbal confirmation of his helpers from Romania and the current place of preservation of the objects.

			National des Antichités de Bucuresti. <i>Dacia – Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne</i> 9–10 (1945) 407–425, fig. 13, the monument was found in Oltenia, although the Bolliac collection has numerous finds from Dobrudja too.
2181			After TUDOR, D.: Monuments de pierre de la collection César Bolliac au Musée National des Antichités de Bucuresti. <i>Dacia – Revue d'archéologie et d'histoire ancienne</i> 9–10 (1945) 407–425, fig. 13, the monument was found in Oltenia, although the Bolliac collection has numerous finds from Dobrudja too.
2187		Cat. no. 219. abb. 108.	
2190		Cat. no. 221. abb. 142.	
			Fragment of a Mithraic relief representing the ascension of Mithras on the quadriga. Lost. Attested in the manuscript of Lugosi Fodor András. NEMETI, I.: Votive Monuments from Dacia Superior in Lugosi Fodor András' Manuscript. In NEMETI, S. – SZABÓ, CS. – BODA, I. (ed.): <i>Si deus si dea</i> (n. 16) 123. pl. I.

CONCLUSIONS

From the above-presented new list of Mithraic finds from Roman Dacia, produced between 106 and 271 AD it is possible to draw some general and specific patterns regarding the religious communication within these small religious groups. Currently, there are four Mithraic sanctuaries excavated in Roman Dacia (Slăveni, Decea Mușeșului, Sarmizegetusa, Apulum), one attested epigraphically (Micia) and 15 presumed, based on the archaeological material (fig. 7). Most of the sanctuaries seems to be small or middle sized architectural entities, hosting less than 20 or even 10 persons. The total number of worshippers attested in the province represents a minor number of the Roman society from Dacia, but it is significant in comparison with other Danubian provinces.⁵² As was already noticed by F. Cumont, this amount of archaeological data (282 monuments, including 23 uncertain pieces) is one of the most significant in the entire Roman Empire, especially if we take into account the short existence of the province (less than 4 generations: 160 years).

More than half of the archaeological corpus and the number of worshippers are from the two urban settlements, Sarmizegetusa and Apulum, reflecting the economic,

⁵² CLAUSS, M.: *Cultures Mithrae. Die Anhängerschaft des Mithraskultes*. Stuttgart 1992, 191–208. His list – although it is the last comprehensive one of the worshippers from Dacia – is not accurate and since then several new inscriptions were found.

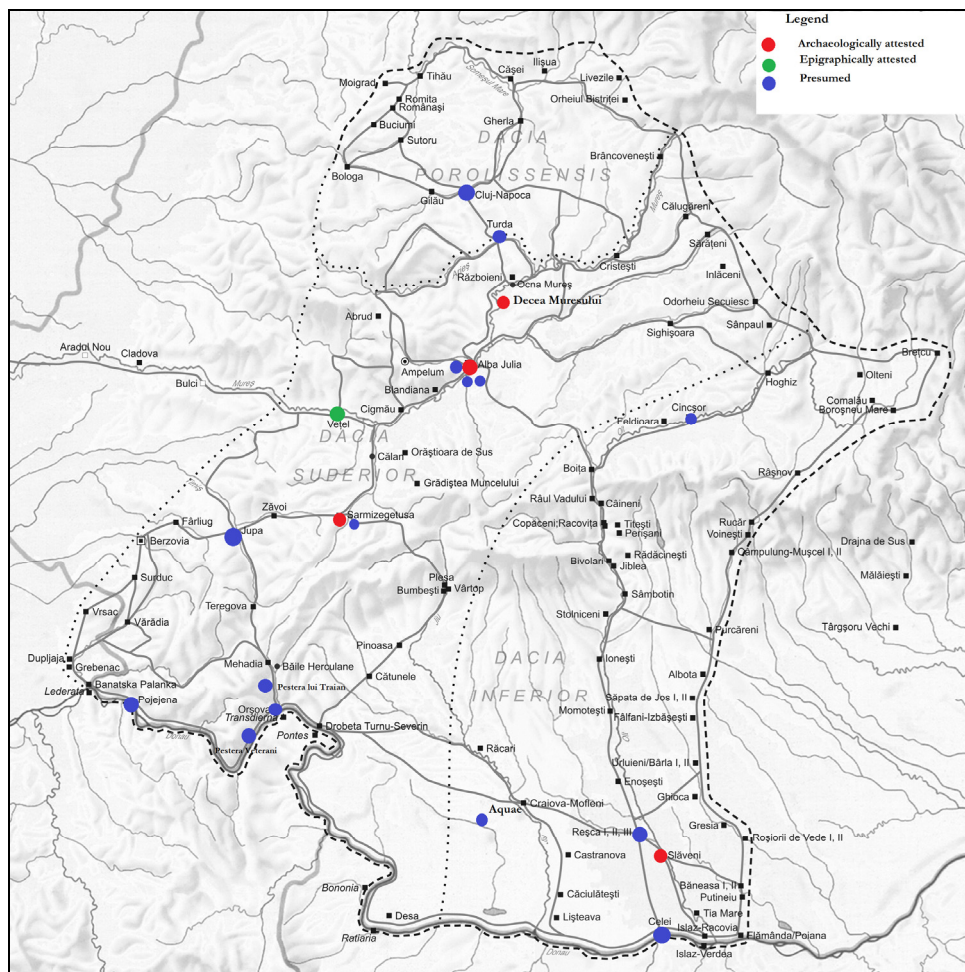


Fig. 7. Mithraic sanctuaries of Roman Dacia
(map modified after SCHÄFER, A.: *Tempel und Kult in Sarmizegetusa. Eine Untersuchung zur Formierung religiöser Gemeinschaften in der metropolis Dakiens*. Berlin 2007)

religious and cultural dominance of these towns in Dacia. This percentage, however, is documented not only in the case of the Roman cult of Mithras, but for the entire Roman religious materials from Dacia. The two cities produced more than half of the total number of votive inscriptions and stone monuments.⁵³ In both cases, the majority of the worshippers are civilians, which contests the once stressed, military, aspect

⁵³ See SZABÓ, CS.: *Sanctuaries in Roman Dacia. Materiality and Religious Experience* [Archaeopress Roman Archaeology Series 49]. Oxford 2018.

of the cult.⁵⁴ In many cases of documents from the land, however, the Mithraic groups were probably founded and maintained by military units. The dominance of Sarmizegetusa as the centre of diffusion of iconographies in the province seems to be a plausible assumption,⁵⁵ although in numerous cases we can notice some personalized or local iconographic narratives and appropriations, featured according to individual choices, to the available materials, and to the economic possibilities. The formation, maintenance, and dynamics of Mithraic groups on local or provincial scale is very hard to reconstruct, but the available sources seem to prove the existence of an economic elite (the staff of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* and their environment) who played the key role in the organisation and maintenance of these groups. In many cases, we can attest to a dynamic mobility between sanctuaries and even cities. Some of the iconographic features – such as the representation of Cautes with bucranium, i.e., the small, portable round reliefs or the Sol with seven rays pointing toward Mithras Tauroctonos – suggest an intraconnectivity with other groups all around the Roman Empire, especially through the major commercial roads of the *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* (Rome–Aquleia–Poetovio–Sarmizegetusa–Apulum) and beyond (Moesiae, Thracia, Britannia, Germania and possibly even the Eastern provinces). A close relationship with the cult of the so-called Danubian Rider in Dacia was also attested. Although we do not know the exact role of the religious functions of some prominent members of these groups, some of them have a remarkable mobility in the Empire. There are very few traces of the seven grades or the internal structure of the Mithraic groups, which can be hardly reconstructed on the basis of the epigraphic material. Very few objects from the large amount of archaeological material can help us to reconstruct the religious and cognitive experiences within the sanctuaries. From the four sanctuaries excavated, only the last one, the mithraeum from Apulum, could provide us with such details.

Dacia was associated with the Mithraic finds from Transylvania already in the 18th century. Many of the first scholars dealing with the Roman cult of Mithras personally visited this part of Europe because of the large amount of Mithraic finds. The success of this cult is hard to describe, but it seems to be a quite complex phenomenon, which cannot be explained only by the presence of the Roman army, but the intraconnectivity of Mithraic groups and individuals within the province and beyond the limits of Dacia.

Csaba Szabó
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⁵⁴ See also GORDON, R. L.: The Roman Army and the Cult of Mithras: A Critical View. In LE BOHEC, Y. – WOLFF, CH. (eds): *L'armée romaine et la religion*. Paris 2009, 379–450.

⁵⁵ SICOE (n. 32) 59–70.