

MITHRAS SANCTUARIES IN THE DANUBIAN PROVINCES AND THEIR POTENTIAL FOR TOURISM

CSABA T. SZABÓ¹

Hungarian Archaeology Vol. 13. (2024) Issue 3, pp. 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.36338/ha.2024.3.3>

The Roman cult of Mithras has left us one of the richest groups of material sources from the 1st to the 5th century AD. The cult, emerging in the Roman Period, presumably in Rome, has almost two hundred archaeologically investigated sanctuaries and three thousand known reliefs and statues, with a significant concentration in the Danubian provinces, an area spanning from the Alps to the Black Sea. The study discusses the research history of some of the best-known Mithras sanctuaries in the region, the religious-historical and iconographic characteristics of the cult, as well as the archaeological and touristic potential of sanctuaries made accessible to visitors, particularly the ones in Poetovio and Aquincum.

Keywords: Mithras, Roman religion, archaeology of religion, public archaeology, sanctuaries, Poetovio, Aquincum

INTRODUCTION

In the 1st century AD, the Roman Empire underwent significant religious changes, the effects of which are still perceptible today. This period saw the emergence of the Jesus-followers' movement, which became the base of the first Christian groups (DUFF 2017; FREDRIKSEN 2018). The destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem also occurred at that time, leading to the formation of a Jewish diaspora, and it was during this era that a new religious movement, known in ancient sources as the Mysteries of Mithras, appeared. For nearly four centuries, the cult of Mithras remained a notable component of Roman polytheism. The development and origins of Mithras' cult in Rome remain some of the most debated topics in research history. The scarcity of written sources, the sudden appearance of material evidence related to the cult, and the high degree of similarity between them complicate the interpretation of the cult's origins (CHALUPA 2016). Among the various hypotheses, current research considers the Anatolian (Commagene, Cilicia) origin the most probable (BECK 1998). According to this view, in the second half of the 1st century AD—after Asia Minor and the Near East were organised into Roman provinces—groups practising the Persian-Hellenistic cult of Mithra arrived in Rome and Ostia, where, sometime between the reigns of Nero and Nerva (AD 60–90), they developed a new Roman mystery cult that, while had a fundamentally Persian character (GORDON 2017), incorporated Hellenistic, Middle-Platonist, and Orphic elements in its iconography, soteriological message, and initiation rites (LÁSZLÓ, NAGY & SZABÓ 2005/I, 20–95; BECK 2006; GORDON 2007). The unprecedented emergence and uniformity of the cult's iconographic programme suggest that the so-called Mithras myth and its visual representation can be attributed to a founder or founding group. Consequently, by the end of Nerva's reign and during the rule of Trajan, the cult spread rapidly from Rome to major commercial and military centres of the Empire, such as Novae (Svishtov, Bulgaria), Carnuntum (Petronell, Austria), and Poetovio (Ptuj, Slovenia) (TÓTH 2015, 170).

As a result of the extensive military relocations during Emperor Trajan's two Dacian Wars and the establishment of the new province, migration in the Danubian provinces intensified, stimulating the wider spread of some cults emerging in the 1st century AD in the early 2nd century AD. It is no coincidence that the earliest mentions of Christian groups and the Roman cult of Mithras, along with the first sources from the provinces, can be traced back to the Nerva or the Trajan era. From the 2nd century AD onward, the Danubian provinces played a significant role in the spread of the Roman cult of Mithras and the development

¹ University of Szeged, Department of Religious Studies; e-mail: szabo.csaba@szte.hu

of its distinctive local forms, resulting in the accumulation of a rich Mithraic archaeological heritage in the region (VAN ALTEN 2017; SZABÓ 2022).

The material evidence of the Mithras cult has been collected on an imperial scale twice: catalogues of inscriptions and figurative monuments published by Belgian historian of religion Franz V. Cumont and Dutch ancient historian Maarten J. Vermaseren remain indispensable for research to this day. However, these works do not detail the small finds and archaeological finds of the sanctuaries known before 1960 (CUMONT 1894–99; CIMRM). Although no comprehensive catalogue is available in Hungarian yet, the most complete Hungarian-language two-volume summary of the cult to date was compiled and written by Levente László, Levente Nagy, and Ádám Szabó (LÁSZLÓ, NAGY & SZABÓ 2005). Research over the past half-century has uncovered numerous new sanctuaries, inscriptions, and abundant archaeological find material, making timely the preparation of a new digital Mithras catalogue, which would also provide fresh momentum to international research on the topic (SZABÓ 2018). The current online catalogues that present inscribed and figurative monuments ([Epigraphic Database Heidelberg](#) [EDH], [Epigraphy Database Clauss-Slaby](#) [EDCS], [Ubi Erat Lupa – Image Database of Ancient Stone Monuments](#) and the [Catalogue of monuments and images of Mithras](#)) do not substitute for a specialised catalogue focused on the cult.

MITHRAS SANCTUARIES IN THE DANUBIAN PROVINCES

In the following, I enumerate the Mithras sanctuaries established and archaeologically identified in the territory of the former Danubian provinces (Raetia, Noricum, Pannonia Superior, Pannonia Inferior, Moesia Superior, Moesia Inferior, and Dacia; see *Fig. 1*), with particular attention to the cult sites of Poetovio and Aquincum. I also discuss their cultural and heritage conservation significance.

The Danubian provinces represented one of the most significant military, geopolitical, and economic regions of the Roman Empire, though they had no unified designation in antiquity. Instead of the frequently used modern term, the customs system known as *Publicum Portorium Illyrici* encompassed the provinces established north of the Alps during the Roman Period. From a history of religions perspective, these provinces were characterised primarily by local religious practices that rarely incorporated imperial norms or

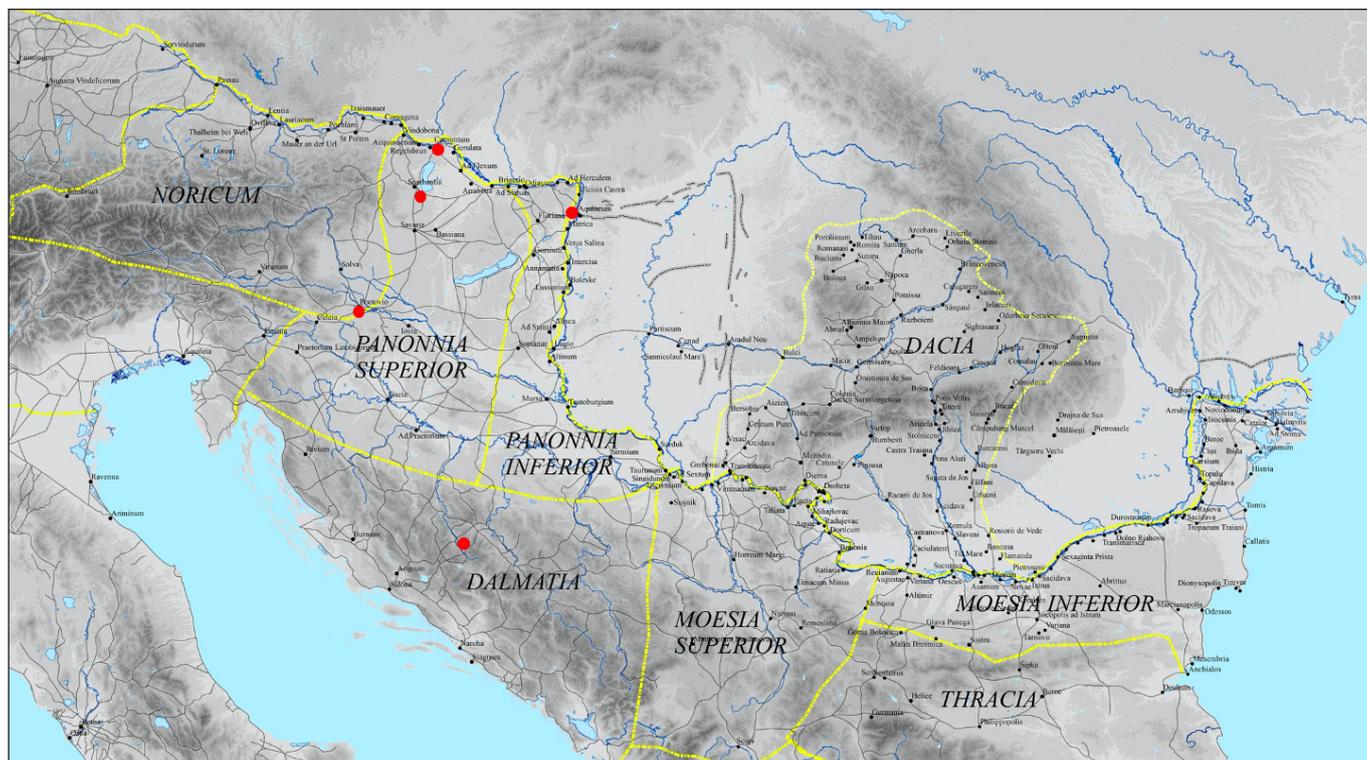


Fig. 1. Identified Mithras sanctuaries open to visitors in Carnuntum, Poetovio, Fertőrákos, Aquincum, and Jajce (after SZABÓ 2022, 136, fig. 3.17)

only did so by blending them with local features (ALFÖLDY 2004; SZABÓ 2020). The Roman mysteries of Mithras did not belong to the open, official practices of Roman religion, thus forming a discrete part of religious life in the period. Local traditions played a crucial role in the spread of the cult and in shaping its local features. Currently, within the seven provinces, 43 Mithras sanctuaries from the 1st to the 5th centuries AD, known in modern times as *Mithraea* and in ancient times as *templum*, *aedes*, *spelaeum*, *crypta*, *anthrum*, or *sacrarium*, have been identified using archaeological methods, including a partial or full excavation (SZABÓ 2022, 209–225: Königsbrunn, Pfaffenhofen am Inn, Künzing, Wachstein, Gradišče über St. Egyden, Moosham-Lungau, Salzburg, Linz, Zgornja Pohanca, Schachadorf, St. Urban, Aquincum I–VI, Brigetio, Campona, Carnuntum I–III, Fertőrákos, Modrić, Poetovio I–IV, Rozanec-Crnomelj, Ruše, Savaria, Sárkeszi, Stixneusiedl, Kumanovo, Pojejena, Acbunar, Kreta-Nicopol, Novae, Târgușor, Gyulafehérvár, Marosdécse, Slăveni, and Várhely). Additionally, the area in the former Dalmatia province (now Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina) contains several Mithras sanctuaries in a condition good enough to make them visitable, such as the one at Jajce (SILNOVIĆ 2022). The actual number of ancient sanctuaries was undoubtedly much higher: epigraphic and figurative sources (especially large reliefs) suggest at least twenty Mithras sanctuaries in Dacia province alone (SZABÓ 2021).

Most sanctuaries were constructed during the 2nd century AD, but only a few remained certainly in use after the late 3rd century AD (WALSH 2018). They generally served as gathering places for groups of 20–30 people, likely associated with 2–3 generations (PICCOTTINI 1994; BECK 1996). Since the publication of the second volume of Vermaseren's *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (CIMRM), newly excavated Mithras sanctuaries in the region have been relatively rare. Notable discoveries include the sanctuaries at Gyulafehérvár, Künzing, Königsbrunn, and Pfaffenhofen am Inn, as well as recent finds in Hungary, especially the Mithraeum in the house of the *tribunus laticlavus* in Aquincum (Budapest) (KOC SIS 1991; TIMÁR 2021), the Savaria (Szombathely) Mithraeum (KISS 2011), and the newly discovered sixth Mithraeum in Aquincum, which is the first known Mithras sanctuary in the military town (KOVÁCS 2023). A detailed interpretation of many sanctuaries unearthed before the latter half of the 20th century, as well as of the newer finds, often remains incomplete. However, several well-documented cases demonstrate that Mithras sanctuaries and the related religious activities are best analysed in a local context (McCARTY & EGRI 2020). A significant part of the Mithras sanctuaries in the Danubian provinces was excavated in the 19th or early 20th century, and their documentation often prevents a comprehensive presentation of the sanctuaries, an analysis of the archaeological material related to their religious practices, or assessments of their potential for heritage conservation. Nonetheless, there are exceptional cases, such as the archaeological material from the Mithras sanctuaries at Carnuntum, displayed in the archaeological park's exhibition hall, established in the past century. This setting emphasises the polychrome presentation of Mithraic artefacts (reliefs, statues) (KREMER *et al.* 2024, 102). Another example is the mithraeum at Fertőrákos (TÓTH 2007).

THE MITHRAS SANCTUARIES OF POETOVIO

Among the sanctuaries known before the publication of Vermaseren's catalogues, the Mithras sanctuaries in Poetovio (Ptuj) are particularly interesting; especially the first and the third worth a more detailed discussion.

Poetovio (modern-day Ptuj, Slovenia) was one of the most important commercial and cultural centres in the Danubian provinces. Situated as a major stop on the Amber Road, it served as a midpoint linking northern Italy (Aquileia) with settlements along the Danube (Carnuntum, Petronell, Austria). Several new iconographic and religious innovations emerged there, influencing other provinces as well, such as the regional spread of the Nutrices cult (ŠAŠEL KOS 2016).

Poetovio became a significant cult centre for Mithras communities, with their earliest sanctuary (the First Mithraeum) built in the early 2nd century AD (Figs. 2–3). Discovered in 1898–1899 at Spodnja Hajdina, on the outskirts of the ancient city, this square sanctuary (5.7 × 5.5 m) is remarkably small even for a relatively small community. The sanctuary is now protected by a modern building that mimics the origi-

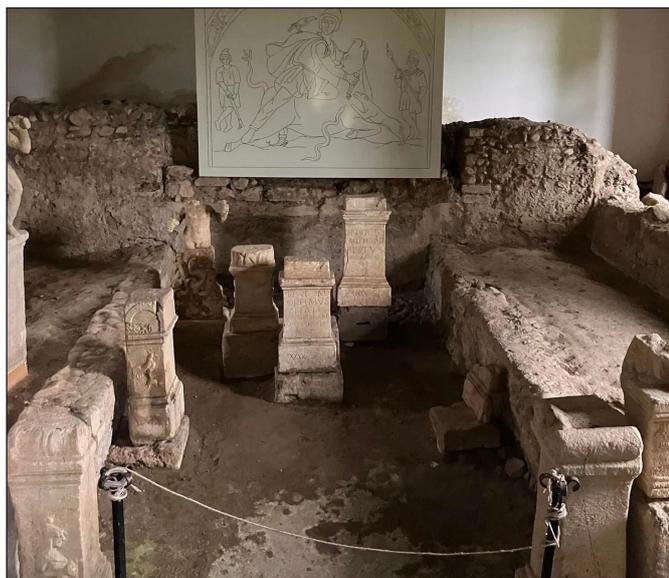


Fig. 2. The First Mithraeum and its protective building in Poetovio (Ptuj, Slovenia) (photo by the author)



Fig. 3. The First Mithraeum and its protective building in Poetovio (Ptuj, Slovenia) (photo by the author)

nal lighting conditions of Mithraea, creating a relatively dim atmosphere (CIMRM 1487–1508; LOVENJAK *et al.* 2021). The interior of the sanctuary accommodated up to fifteen people on two *podia* for communal feasting. Its small space was densely packed with altars and statues in the main room and the anteroom (*pronaos*), making it cramped and uncomfortable, suitable only for occasional use during initiation rites (TÓTH 1977). Despite the absence of a central relief depicting the *tauroctony* (the bull-slaying scene), the sanctuary’s inscribed and figurative materials have been exceptionally well preserved. The protective structure, restored multiple times in the 20th century (PRELOŽNIK-NESTOROVIĆ 2018), only shields the archaeological site and is difficult to access, offering minimal information on the Mithras cult for visitors with limited knowledge. Modern approaches, such as sensory museology and public archaeology, have yet to be implemented at the site (MOSHENSKA 2017). Like the Walbrook Mithraeum in London,



Fig. 4. The Third Mithraeum and its protective building in Poetovio (Ptuj, Slovenia) (photo by the author)



Fig. 5. The Fifth Mithraeum and its protective building in Poetovio (Ptuj, Slovenia) (photo by the author)

Poetovio's sanctuaries and the Mithras cult could benefit from a detailed, immersive presentation utilising sensory museology and public archaeology in a possible new visitor centre adjacent to the sanctuary. This centre could not only encompass the sanctuary itself but surround it with a space dedicated to the mysteries of light and shadow, allowing for an engaging presentation of the cult's history, Poetovio's religious life, and the local characteristics and sources of the Mithras cult.

The Third Mithraeum, discovered in 1913 on the Zgornji Breg Hill, is considerably larger than the First Sanctuary, measuring 11.2×6.8 m (PRELOŽNIK-NESTOROVIĆ 2018, Fig. 4). Established in the latter half of the 3rd century AD, it was constructed with materials from the two earlier sanctuaries and with the active participation of their communities. Religious offerings from officers of two legions visiting from Dacia (V Macedonia and XIII Gemina) also contributed to its development. As with the First Mithraeum, the inventory of the Third Mithraeum is incomplete (the central relief or fresco depicting the *tauroctony* is missing); however, its size allowed for the installation of a modern protective structure in the 20th century, enabling the display of numerous small artefacts and sculptures. Unfortunately, the presentation within this building is not tourist-friendly: the unusually bright interior does not reflect the dim, shadowy ambience typical of Mithraea. Moreover, the facility lacks informational displays, audio-visual resources, or interactive features for visitors (SZABÓ *et al.* 2023, 747–749). Given the spaciousness of the Mithraeum, it presents an opportunity to establish an exhibition area showcasing objects associated with the sanctuary in their original contexts. Surrounding the protective building, a museum utilising interactive methods to engage a broad audience and dedicated to illustrating Poetovio's importance in the history of the Mithras cult would be desirable. The introduction of short videos, audio features, 3D reconstructions designed by experts, AI-generated animations, scale models, and detailed object biographies, enhanced by pedagogical approaches inspired by Moshenska, would create an engaging archaeological exhibit on-site (CARAMIAUX 2023).

The Second Mithraeum, adjacent to the First and in operation in the latter half of the 2nd century AD, has not been accessible for years, thus lacking any current educational application. Only a debated relief indicates the existence of the so-called Fourth Mithraeum, which is now rejected by several scholars (PRELOŽNIK-NESTOROVIĆ 2018, 283; TÓTH 2015, 189–190). The archaeological materials from the Fifth Mithraeum, partially displayed in a hotel lobby, have limited potential for educational engagement in their current form (PRELOŽNIK-NESTOROVIĆ 2018, 282–283, Fig. 5).

MITHRAS SANCTUARIES IN AQUINCUM

Aquincum (in modern-day Budapest, Hungary) hosts a remarkable concentration of Mithras sanctuaries, spanning the military town, the civil town, and the surrounding territory. With the discovery of the sixth



Fig. 6. The Mithraeum founded by Marcus Antonius Victorinus in Aquincum (Óbuda, Budapest, Hungary) (photo by the author)

Mithraeum in 2023, Aquincum has become the third richest city in Europe in terms of identified Mithraea, following only Rome and Ostia. Currently, two Mithras sanctuaries in Aquincum's civil town area are accessible: the so-called Second Mithraeum, built by Marcus Antonius Victorinus (CIMRM 1750-57; TIT. AQ. I. 231–237; MRÁV & SZABÓ 2012), and the Fourth or Symphorus Mithraeum (CIMRM 1768–1772; TIT. AQ. I. 246–248) (Fig. 6–8). The First and Third Mithraea are known only from epigraphic records (CIMRM 1742 and 1758).

The Victorinus Mithraeum, situated in Aquincum's archaeological park, has a partial reconstruction, offering basic insight with limited information for visitors. In contrast, the Symphorus Mithraeum is presented in a modern protective structure incor-

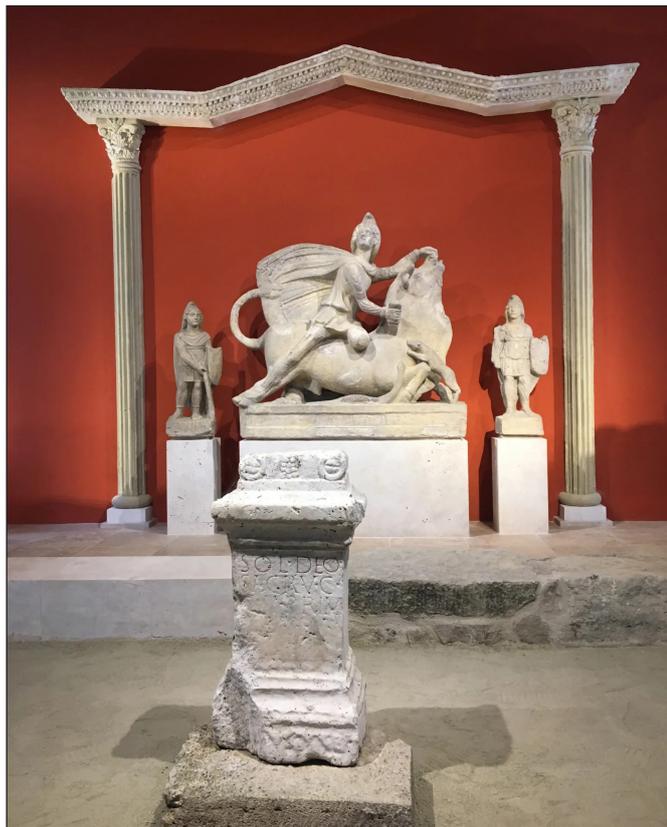


Fig. 7. Interior of the Symphorus Mithraeum in Aquincum (Óbuda, Budapest, Hungary) (photo by the author)



Fig. 8. The protective building of the Symphorus Mithraeum in Aquincum (Óbuda, Budapest, Hungary) (photo by the author)

porating contemporary museum pedagogy and sensory museology techniques to effectively narrate the history of the sanctuary and the Mithras cult (ZSIDI 2018). The exhibit places particular emphasis on smaller artefacts from the sanctuary, though a comprehensive analysis and publication of these items are still pending (ZSIDI 2014).

The sanctuary within the House of the *tribunus laticlavius* (Fifth Mithraeum; see KOC SIS 1991, TIT. AQ. I. 249–256; TIMÁR 2021) and the recently uncovered Sixth Mithraeum in the military town reveal unique local aspects of the Mithras cult. One of Aquincum's most celebrated finds is the colourful fresco preserved in the sanctuary of the *tribunus laticlavius*, a rare example in the region, now on display in the Aquincum Museum's new permanent exhibition, while its analysis is presented at the entrance of the Symphorus Mithraeum (MADARASSY 1991). The painted altar from the newly discovered Sixth Mithraeum is on display in this year's exhibition on the museum's history (entitled *Aquincum 130—The very best! A selection of the finest finds from the past 130 years of excavation in Aquincum*), enhancing the portrayal of Mithraic worship in Aquincum.

CONCLUSIONS

The Roman cult of Mithras, as one of the many mystery religions of the period, demonstrates the religious diversity at the end of the 1st and the beginning of the 2nd century AD (GORDON 1988, 60; FARAONE 2013, 111). At its peak, in the 2nd–4th centuries AD, the cult and its small sanctuaries for 15–30 people could be found in nearly every corner of the empire, particularly in urban and military communities. Even in its heyday, the cult attracted no more than 10,000–15,000 followers across the empire. This number is small when compared to contemporary Jewish, Christian, and other minor religious groups, yet the memory of the cult and its later reception proved to be enduring and influential (SZABÓ 2024). The Mithras sanctuaries briefly discussed in this study are significant examples of the abundant archaeological heritage related to Mithras in Central and Eastern Europe from the perspectives of both archaeology and heritage preservation. With the application of new methods, the systematic analysis and interpretation of this record could breathe new life into research on ancient religions and European heritage conservation. The Mithras sanctuaries in Poetovio and Aquincum represent unique and exceptionally rich sources, and presenting them using modern museum pedagogical methods could open new perspectives both in the contemporary understanding

of the cult and the possibilities of presenting archaeological heritage (see the methods used for the London Walbrook Mithraeum or the Mariemont Mithras exhibition in BRICAULT, VEYMIERS & AMOROSO 2021; SZABÓ *et al.* 2023, 747).

REFERENCES

- Alföldy, G. (2004). Die 'illyrischen' Provinzen Roms: von der Vielfalt zu der Einheit. In Urso, G. (a cura di), *Dall'Adriatico al Danubio. L'Illirico nell'età greca e romana. Atti del convegno internazionale Cividale del Friuli, 25–27 settembre 2003* (pp. 207–22). I Convegni della Fondazione Niccolò Canussio 3. Pisa: Edizioni ETS.
- Beck, R. (1996). The mysteries of Mithras. In Kloppenborg, J. & Wilson, G. (eds), *Voluntary Associations in the Ancient World* (pp.176–185). London: Routledge.
- Beck, R. (1998). The Mysteries of Mithras: a New Account of Their Genesis. *Journal of Roman Studies* 88, 115–128. <https://doi.org/10.2307/300807>
- Beck, R. (2006). *The religion of the Mithras Cult in the Roman Empire: Mysteries of the Unconquered Sun*. Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bricault, L., Veymiers, R. & Amoroso, N. (eds) (2021). *The Mystery of Mithras: Exploring the Heart of a Roman Cult / Le Mystère Mithra. Plongée au coeur d'un culte romain*. Morlanwelz: Musée royal de Mariemont.
- Caramiaux, B. (2023). AI with Museums and Cultural Heritage. In Thiel, S. & Bernhardt, J. (eds), *AI in Museums Reflections, Perspectives and Applications*. Open Access. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783839467107-011>
- Chalupa, A. (2016). The Origins of the Roman Cult of Mithras in the Light of New Evidence and Interpretations: The Current State of Affairs. *Religio* 24, 65–96. <https://hdl.handle.net/11222.digilib/135694>
- CIMRM= Vermaseren, M.J. (1956; 1960). *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* Vol. I–II. Hague: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.
- Cumont, F. (1894-99). *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*. Vol. 1-2. Bruxelles: H. Lamertin.
- Duff, P. B. (2017). *Jesus Followers in the Roman Empire*. Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company.
- Faraone, Ch. A. (2013). The Amuletic Design of the Mithraic Bull-Wounding Scene. *Journal of Roman Studies* 103, 96–116. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0075435813000051>
- Fredriksen, P. (2018). *When Christians Were Jews: The First Generation*, New Haven–London: Yale University Press.
- Gordon, R. (1988). Authority, salvation and the mystery in the mysteries of Mithras. In Huskinson, J., Beard, M. & Reynolds, J. (eds), *Image and Mystery in the Roman World* (pp. 48–80). Gloucester: Alan Sutton Publishing,

Csaba T. Szabó • *Mithras sanctuaries in the Danubian provinces and their potential for tourism*

Gordon, R. (2007). Institutionalised religious options: Mithraism. In Rüpke, J. (ed.), *The Companion of Roman Religion* (pp. 392–405). New York: Blackwell-Wiley. <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470690970.ch27>

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

Kiss, P. (2011). Mithras-Altäre aus Savaria. In Lazar, I., *Religion in Public and Private Sphere. Acta of the 4th International Colloquium The Autonomous Towns of Noricum and Pannonia* (pp. 183–192). Koper: Celje Univerzitetna založba Annales.

Kocsis L. (1991). A tribunus laticlavusok háza az aquincumi 2–3. századi legiotáborban (előzetes jelentés). *Budapest Régiségei* 28, 117–179.

Kovács O. (2023). Előkerült az aquincumi katonaváros első Mithras-szentélye. *Műemlékem.hu* 2023.12.10. ([online](#))

Kremer, G., Linke, R., Plattner, G., Pollhammer, E., Brzakovic, M., Krickl, R. & Silnović, N. (2024). Colours revealed: First results on a polychrome Mithras relief from Carnuntum. In Kremer, G., Pollhammer, E., Kopf, J. & Beutler, F. (Hrsg.), *Zeite(n) des Umbruchs. Akten des 17. Internationalen Kolloquiums zum provinzialrömischen Kunstschaffen. Wien – Carnuntum, 16.–21. Mai 2022* (pp. 101–111). Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut Sonderschriften Band 64. Wien: Holzhausen Verlag.

László L., Nagy L. & Szabó Á. (2005). *Mithras és misztériumai I–II*. Budapest: Kairosz Kiadó.

Lovenjak, M., Gaspari, A., Lubšina Tušek, M., Janežič, M., Horvat, J. & Nestorović, A. (2021). *At the heart of Poetovio. Ptuj in the time of the Roman Empire*. Ptuj: Muzej Ptuj.

Madarassy O. (1991). A tribunus laticlavusok háza az aquincumi 2–3. sz-i legiotáborban: a Mithraeum falfestménye (Das Haus der Tribuni Laticlavii aus dem Legionslager vom 2–3. Jh. in Aquincum: Wandgemälde des Mithrasheiligtums). *Budapest Régiségei* 28, 123–126.

McCarty, M. & Egri, M. (eds) (2020). *The Archaeology of Mithraism New Finds and Approaches to Mithras-Worship*. BABesch Supplementa 39. Leuven: Peeters Publishers.

Moshenska, G. (2017). *Key Concepts in Public Archaeology*, London: UCL Press.

Mráv Zs. – Szabó Á. (2012). Új adatok Aquincum Severus-kori városi elitjéhez. M. Antonius Victorinus Aquincumban és Budaörsön. In Kovács P. – Fehér, B. (eds), *Studia Epigraphica Pannonica IV.* (pp. 120–139). Budapest: Történelmi Ismeretterjesztő Társulat Egyesület.

Piccottini, G. (1994). *Mithrastempel in Virunum*. Aus Forschung und Kunst 28. Klagenfurt: Verlag des Geschichtsvereins für Kärnten

Preložnik, A. & Nestorović, A. (2018). Between Metropolis and Wilderness: The Topography of Mithraea in Ager Poetoviensis. *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 58, 275–290. <https://doi.org/10.1556/068.2018.58.1-4.17>.

Šašel Kos, M. (2016). Nutrices: the most popular goddesses at Poetovio. In Lehner, M. – Schrettle, B. (eds), *Zentralort und Tempelberg Siedlungs- und Kultentwicklung am Frauenberg bei Leibnitz im Vergleich. Akten des Kolloquiums im Schloss Seggau am 4. und 5. Mai 2015* (pp. 167–174). Wien: Phoibos Verlag.

Csaba T. Szabó • *Mithras sanctuaries in the Danubian provinces and their potential for tourism*

Silnović, N. (2022). *Invicto Mithrae spelaeum fecit: Typology and Topography of Mithraic Temples in the Roman Province of Dalmatia*. (PhD dissertation). https://www.etd.ceu.edu/2022/silnovic_nirvana.htm.

Szabó, Cs. (2018). Understanding Roman Mithras. Notes on Three New Books. *ARYS* 16, 469–479.

Szabó, Cs. (2020). Danubian Provinces: History of a Notion. *Revista Transilvania* 6, 88–96.

Szabó, Cs. (2021). Sacralised spaces of Mithras in Roman Dacia. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 72:1, 55–65. <https://doi.org/10.1556/072.2021.00004>.

Szabó, Cs. (2022). *Roman Religion in the Danubian Provinces. Space Sacralisation and Religious Communication During the Principate (1st–3rd Century AD)*. Philadelphia: Oxbow Books.

Szabó Cs. (2024). Mithras misztériumai: egy ókori kultusz újkori és kortárs recepciója. *Ujkor.hu*. 2024.03.30. ([online](#))

Szabó, Cs., Libiță-Partică, M. & Muntean, I. (2023). Mithras Exhibited. Perspectives of Sensory Museology in Mithraic Contexts. *Cercetari Arheologice* 30:2, 737–762. <https://doi.org/10.46535/ca.30.2.19>.

Timár L. (2021). Correlation between military and domestic architecture: A tribune's house in Aquincum and its place in Roman architecture. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 72:2, 267–277. <https://doi.org/10.1556/072.2021.00016>.

TIT. AQ. I.= Kovács, P. – Szabó, Á. (eds) (2009). *Tituli Aquincenses I. Tituli operum publicorum et honorarii et sacri*, Budapest: Pytheas Nyomda.

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

Tóth I. (2007). *A fertőrákosi Mithraeum/ Das Mithräum von Fertőrákos*. Budapest: PAN

Tóth, I. (2015). *Pannóniai vallástörténet*. Pécs-Budapest: L'Harmattan.

Van Alten, D. C.D. (2017). Glocalisation and Religious Communication in the Roman Empire: Two Case Studies to Reconsider the Local and the Global in Religious Material Culture. *Religions* 8:8, 1–20. <https://doi.org/10.3390/rel8080140>.

Walsh, D. (2018). *The Cult of Mithras in Late Antiquity*. Leiden: Brill.

Zsidi, P. (2014). Terrakotta-Mithrasdarstellung aus dem Symphorus-Mithraeum in Aquincum. *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 65, 119–129. <https://doi.org/10.1556/AArch.65.2014.1.4>.

Zsidi P. (2018). *Mithras in Aquincum: The Mithraeum of Symphorus*. Budapest: Archaeolingua.