

PLANETS, GRADES AND SOTERIOLOGY IN DACIAN MITHRAISM

Introduction

The Iranian god Mithra was deeply transformed after his integration into a Hellenistic mystery structure, where he has always manifested himself as a triumphant god (*invictus*), as a creator and savior of the world¹. His cult enjoyed a wide popularity in the province of Dacia as well, where it was exemplified by the votive altars dedicated to him and by the reliefs with Mithras as a bull killer, the main image of his cult². Given the multiple meanings of a religious symbol, we intend to investigate from a global perspective the phenomena which have led to the appearance of this cult's icons in Dacia. Then, our approach emphasizes the astrological meaning of the tauroctony's symbols, in an attempt to overcome the 'personification' simplifying language used by F. Cumont³. In order to explain the tauroctony, some authors have resorted to the Iranian religious literature (F. Cumont, G. Widengreen, L. A. Campbell), the Greek-Roman art (F. Saxl, E. Will) and also the astral symbolism (K. B. Starck, R. Beck, R. L. Gordon)⁴.

The Astral Journey of the Soul: Grades and Planets

The degrees of the initiation that Mithra's worshippers went through have been known for a long time – thanks to the literary texts⁵ – but two discoveries from the XX-th century have revealed the relationship between the seven grades and the planetary gods who had the protective power over each of them: the mosaic on the pavement from the *mithraeum* of Felicissimus in Ostia and the *graffiti* from the *mithraeum* from Santa Prisca. This way we find out that every grade is placed under the protection (*tutela*) of one of the planetary gods: Pater – Saturnus, Heliodromus – Sol, Perses – Luna, Leo – Iupiter, Miles – Mars, Nymphus – Venus and Corax – Mercurius⁶. Origen's testimony, *Contra Celsum*, 6. 22, regarding the *symbolon* of a ladder with seven gates on top of which there was situated an eighth gate – symbol which Mithra's worshippers used to have, has risen different interpretations regarding the planetary gates that the soul of the initiated person

¹ Giulia Sfaenzi Gasparro, in *Mysteria Mithrae* (ed. U. Bianchi), Leiden 1979, p. 311.

² The Mithraic monuments in Dacia have been published in the two main repertoires: F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* (MMM) II, Paris 1896, p. 131-139, no. 232-308 (the inscriptions), p. 278-320, no. 136-212 (figurate monuments); M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae* (CIMRM), II, Hague, 1960, p. 273-333, no. 1916-2190; the subsequently discovered monuments were published in scientific reviews: Al. Popa, in *OmCD*, 1960, p. 443-446; A. Zrinyi, *RM*, 1965, p. 431-432; L. Mărghită, *SCIV* 18, 1967, 4, p. 693-700; N. Gudea, O. Bozu, *SCIVA* 28, 1977, 4, p. 333-343; N. Gudea, O. Bozu, *JMS* 2, 1977, 1, p. 69-73; R. L. Gordon, *JMS* 2, 1977, 1, p. 73-77; Al. Popa, in *Études mithriaques*, (ed. J. Duchesne-Guillemin), Leiden 1978, p. 327-333; C. L. Băluță, *SCIVA* 40, 1989, 4, p. 381-385; C. M. Tăulea, *Oltenia, Studii și articole*, 5-6, 1984-1986, p. 41-43; about cultic buildings: C. C. Petolescu, *Dacia NS* 20, 1976, p. 323-334; idem, *Apulum* 14, 1976, p. 455-464; Mathilda Takács, *Apulum* 24, 1987, p. 183-177; Mariana Pintilie, *EN* 9-10, 1999-2000, p. 231-243; short sketches of the cult in Dacia: C. L. Băluță, in *Études mithriaques*..., p. 1-6; I. Șerban, C. L. Băluță, in *Mysteria Mithrae*..., p. 573-578.

³ R. L. Gordon, *JMS* 1, 1976, 2, p. 119.

⁴ M. P. Speidel, *Mithras – Orion. Greek Hero and Roman Army God*, Leiden 1980, p. 5.

⁵ Hieronymus, *Ep. CVII ad Laetam*: ...omnia portentosa simulacra quibus Corax, Gryphus, Miles, Leo, Perses, Heliodromus, Pater initiantur...

⁶ R. Turcan, *Culte orientale în lumea romană*, București 1998, p. 251-264, fig. 5.

had to go through in its journey (*diexodos*). Celsus, quoted by Origen, enumerates the metals the gates and the tutelary planets were made of: lead for Saturnus, tin for Venus, bronze for Jupiter, iron for Mercury, alloy for Mars, silver for Luna and gold for Sol. These metals are also directly connected with the qualities which define the planets as well as with the personalities of the tutelary divinities of the gates. This way, the lead symbolizes the slowness of Saturn, the brightness and softness of the tin make it the perfect metal for illustrating the suave beauty of Venera, the toughness and resilience of bronze is connected to Jupiter's personality, the iron – just as Mercury – lasts through all exhausting tasks, the alloy the stair of Mars is made of underlines the mixture, the ambiguity, while the last two stairs are made of silver and gold, the metals which are universally consecrated to the Moon and the Sun⁷. The order in which the planets are mentioned from Saturnus to Sol does not correspond to the order of the grades / planets as they appear in Felicissimus' mosaic or to other planetary orders as they are known in the ancient astrology (it's the reversed order of the week days, from Saturday to Sunday). Celsus was seeking for an explanation of this cosmic display by attaching musical reasoning to the Persian theology⁸. Although the existence of this "seven – gated ladder of Celsus" in the mysteries is not accepted by modern exegesis, the idea of the initiated person's soul passing after death through the planetary spheres has known an important scientific career thank to F. Cumont. By applying the principles of ancient astrology to the mysteries, he assumed that the soul, whose essence was divine, ethereal, was returning after death in the Empyrean. This way, it goes beyond the sphere of the fixed stars, along the planetary spheres, getting rid of the virtues or the flaws it had obtained from the same planets when it descended on Earth, at the time of its birth⁹. However in Mithraism there is no evidence of the doctrine of the qualities and passions afferent to the planets¹⁰. This idea of Cumont was continued with the common opinion that Mithra, as god of a "mystery religion", was providing his adepts the guarantee of a salvation that was transcendent, beyond the world, of immortality and ascension to heaven. Excepting the ambiguous text of Celsus and some Platonic hints in Porphyrius¹¹, obvious evidence is also missing.

Grades of initiation

The structure of Mithraic communities in Dacia is not well known¹². Of the many worshippers who dedicate votive inscriptions or reliefs to this god, only a certain P. Aelius (?) Artemidorus (from an inscription preserved in a collection from Doştat) calls himself *de[curio?] sacerdos creatus a Pal[.]nis* or *Ad Al[.]nis* (R 13). The missing letters have been arbitrarily reconstituted in IDR as *sacerdos creatus a Pal[myre]nis*¹³. This reconstitution gives the impression that we are facing a priest "created" by a Palmyrean community, when it seems quite clear that we are dealing with a *pater* whose origin is in Macedonia (*domo Macedonia*) and who went then in that *mithraeum* where he dedicated an altar to Mithra who is called *Invictus* and *deus genitor*. The reading *Pal[myre]nis* in

⁷ R. Beck, *Planetary Gods and Planetary Orders in the Mysteries of Mithra*, Leiden – New York – København – Köln 1988, p. 73-85.

⁸ R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonius. Recherches sur l'hellénisation philosophique de Mitra* (EPRO), Leiden 1975, p. 47-50.

⁹ F. Cumont, *Astrologie et religion chez les Grecs et les Romains*, Bruxelles – Rome, 2000, p. 77-90.

¹⁰ R. Turcan, in *La soteriologia dei culti orientali nell'Impero Romano*, Leiden 1982, p. 182-183.

¹¹ W. Burkert, *Les cultes à mystères dans l'antiquité*, Paris 1992, p. 36.

¹² Repertory of Mithra's worshippers in Dacia: M. Clauss, *Cultores Mithrae. Die Anhängerschaft des Mithras-Kultes*, Stuttgart 1992, p. 192-208.

¹³ IDR III/4 30; M. J. Vermaseren, *Les inscriptions sacrées du Mithréum de Sainte-Prisque sur l'Aventin*, in *Religions de Salut* (Annales du Centre d'Étude des Religions 2), Bruxelles 1962, p. 65, 69.

row 4 is very unlikely, given the fact that between the letters A and L and the edge of the inscription there is space for only one more letter. If that would be an M, as the authors of IDR assume, we would have the strange abbreviation *Palmnis* for *Palmyrenis*. The relief with an inscription from London, dedicated by a certain Ulpus Silvanus, *emeritus leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae)*, ends with the formula *factus Arausione*, where *factus* is translated by Vermaseren as *appointed, confirmed*, therefore a Mithraic *pater* „reborn” in Arausio. The situation is similar to that of P. Aelius (?) Artemidorus who is a *creatus pater* in a settlement from Dacia or elsewhere, whose name is written in the 4-th and 5-th rows of the inscription.

Another person from Dacia who probably had an important role in the Mithraic hierarchy from Ulpia Traiana and Tibiscum¹⁴ is Hermadio *actor*. The slave Hermadio calls the god *invictus*, *anicetus* and *nabarze*, and after the *manumissio* we find him again in Poetovio and Roma. In the latter place he dedicated a statuary group whose inscription contains the Persian invocation *Nama!*¹⁵.

Four of the altars dedicated to the Celtic goddess Epona come from Apulum, all of them having been discovered in the *praetorium* of the consular governor, in the area assigned to the stables, where I. Piso assumes there was a small cultic place of the goddess¹⁶. One of those who dedicated the altars was a slave, Libella, *superiumentarius*¹⁷, the overseer of the servants who took care of the governor's carriage horses. The altar was built for the health of C. Iulius Septimius Castinus, governor of the Dacian provinces during the Severus dynasty. This couple of persons – the governor and his coachman – is important because the same Castinus and Libella dedicate one altar each of them in the *V mithraeum* from Aquincum. The governor's worship is simple: *Deo invicto Mithrae*¹⁸; on the other hand, Libella has the grade *leo* and proves to know the Mithraic theology by dedicating the altar to Deus Arimanius, a personification whose iconographic representation is a character with a serpent ascending in a spiral on its body while he is often represented lion-headed¹⁹.

This attempt of revealing the structure of the Mithraic communities using as a starting point the inscriptions is quite difficult, given the fact that the worshippers avoid to disclose their grade in the hierarchy. The symbols of the ranks present in Felicissimus' mosaic have allowed R. Merkelbach to connect the altars with these symbols to certain ranks²⁰. An altar from Apulum (R 7, fig. 1)²¹ and another one from Transylvania (whose discovery place is not specified) (R 49, fig. 2)²² present on one of their facets a person dressed in Oriental costume, wearing a Phrygian bonnet and riding a bull, while holding a torch in his right raised hand. R. Merkelbach believes that this is not Mithras but Cautes – Lucifer and because of the torch's symbol he thinks it was dedicated by a *heliodromus*²³. A more relevant altar is another one from Apulum dedicated *Invicto Mythrae* by Dioscorus Marci, with a dolphin and a trident on each of its lateral sides (R 6,

¹⁴ CIMRM 2146, 2153.

¹⁵ Tóth I., *Mithras Pannonicus*, Budapest – Pécs 2003, p. 81–86.

¹⁶ I. Piso, *Carnuntum Jahrbuch*, Wien 1993-1994 (1995), p. 203-209; Adriana Rusu-Pescaru, D. Alicu, *Templele romane în Dacia*, Deva 2000, p. 157.

¹⁷ I. Piso, op. cit., p. 203, *superiumentarii et muliones* in the Carnuntum inscription.

¹⁸ CIMRM II 1774.

¹⁹ CIMRM II 1773; for Lion-Headed God and Deus Arimanius / Aion / Frugiferus see Hubertus von Gall, in *Études mithriaques*, Leiden 1978, p. 511-525; H. M. Jackson, *Numen* 32, 1985, 1, p. 17-25; A. Blomart, *RHR* 210, 1993, 1, p. 5-25.

²⁰ R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, Hain 1984, p. 86-133.

²¹ CIMRM 1985.

²² CIMRM 2186.

²³ R. Merkelbach, op. cit., p. 125-126, Abb. 156, 157.

fig. 3)²⁴. The dolphin is the symbol of the goddess Venus and Venus was the tutelary planet of the grade of Nymphus²⁵. Linked with the Nymphus grade is also a statuary group from Porolissum which associated the goddess Venus and Amor with a mithraic torchbearer (R 16).

Planets and Fixed Stars

Celsus, quoted by Origen, declares that Mithra's worshippers had a *symbolon* of "the two celestial revolutions, one of the fixed stars and one of the planets, and of the road the soul take through and beyond them". The symbol is that of the seven metal ladders under the patronage of the planets²⁶. The Mithraic monuments indicate that the mysteries were preoccupied with the two celestial revolutions. The reading of the tauroctony from an astrological perspective, the presence of the zodiac constellations and of the planetary busts or altars in the Mithraic monuments' iconography from the Empire, are a confirmation of Celsus' words.

Our intention is that of discovering in the Mithraic monuments from Dacia – which are in generally characterized by stereotypy and a redundant repetition of the iconographic pattern – the preoccupation for the celestial *diexodos* of the soul, emphasized by the *paranatellonta*'s constellations or by the celestial revolution of the planets.

While listing the ways Mithras is worshiped, Nonnos Mythographos also mentions the emergence of a certain mystery religion of Mithras, "especially among astrologers"²⁷. The attempt of interpreting the tauroctony scene from an astrologic perspective led to a *communis opinio*, namely that before they were actors of an Iranian myth of an avestic Mithras, the characters and the objects represented in the scene are the image of the equatorial constellations. We are dealing with the zodiacal signs between Taurus and Scorpius and *paranatellonta*, namely those constellations that appear North or South of the zodiacal signs; when we are talking about the tauroctony, we are dealing with the Southern constellations, situated below the summer zodiacal signs. Therefore, the summer zodiacal signs from Taurus to Scorpius are: Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra and Scorpius, while South of them there is the *paranatellonta* of the summer signs (from left to right): Spica (*lucida* from Virgo, Alpha Virginis), Corvus, Crater, Hydra and Canis Minor (fig. 4)²⁸.

We can recognize most of these constellations in the characters involved in the tauroctony scene: Taurus is the bull sacrificed by Mithras, Spica is the ear of wheat that sometimes ends the bull's tail, Corvus is the raven from the god's mantle, Crater and Leo often form a symbolic group – the *krater* vessel and the lion – placed in different parts of the scene, and in the lower part, from left to right we find the following constellations: Scorpius (the scorpion that stings the genitals of the bull), Hydra (the snake) and Canis Minor (the dog stretching toward the stabbed neck of the bull).

Given the fact that the bull, the raven, the scorpion, the snake and the dog are the characters involved in the tauroctony act and their presence is therefore necessary in that scene not only for astrological reasons, we will analyze only those monuments on which the complementary symbols are present: the ear of grain and the lion-*krater* group.

²⁴ CIMRM 1942-1943; IDR III/5 273.

²⁵ R. Merkelbach, op. cit., p. 384, Abb. 151.

²⁶ R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus*..., p. 47–52.

²⁷ M. P. Speidel, op. cit., p. 1.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 1-18; R. Beck, *Planetary Gods*..., p. 20-21, no. 46.



fig. 1



fig. 2



fig. 3

Fig. 1. Altar from Apulum, heliodromus (after R. Merkelbach); fig. 2. Altar from Transylvania heliodromus (after R. Merkelbach); fig. 3. Altar from Apulum, nymphus (after R. Merkelbach).

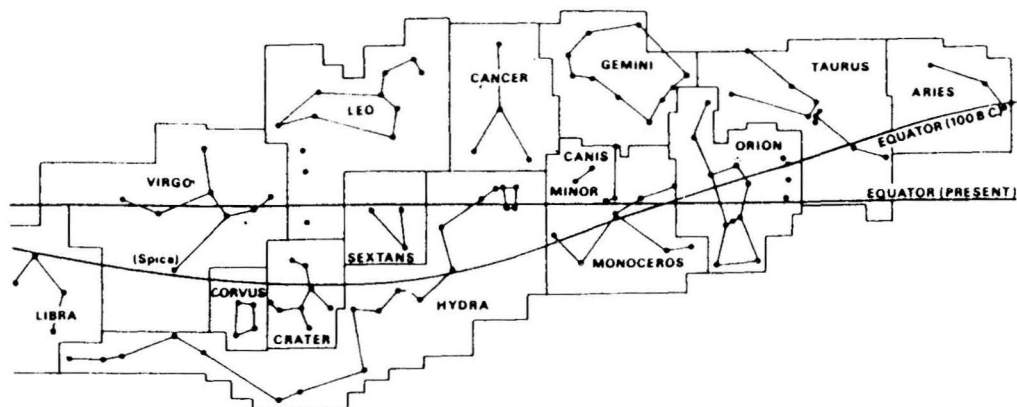


fig. 4



fig. 5



fig. 6

Fig. 4. Summer constellations (after M. Speidel); fig. 5. Marble relief from Apulum (after M. J. Vermaseren); fig. 6. Marble relief from Doştat (after G. Sicoe).

The lion-*krater* group is present on the reliefs with three registers from Apulum and Sarmizegetusa from Dacia, behind Cautes, near the right edge, either as a lion with a *krater* in front of him, or – in the simplified version – as a lion head above a *krater* (8 pieces) (R 1, 2 – fig. 5, 4, 20, 25, 26, 27, 28). This combination appears only twice on those reliefs that have only one register from Ulpia Traiana (R 21, 24). Thirteen pieces belonging to some special iconographic types contain only the *leo* symbol (R 11, 14, 15, 29, 34, 36, 37, 38, 43, 44, 46, 48). Spica is present only on seven of the Dacian reliefs, and all of them contain complementary symbols and keys for deciphering the astrologic and soteriologic message (R 3, 4, 12, 32, 33, 40, 44). On many Dacian reliefs one can notice the absence of the scorpion from the tauroctony scene, though we cannot specify if this omission is due to hazard or if it is an intentional one (the Scorpius constellation cannot be seen in the sky among the equatorial constellations).

Some tauroctony icons contain explicit or implicit references to the revolution of the fixed stars by displaying some zodiacal signs²⁹. On a relief from Ulpia Traiana with only one register (R 32) under Sol, to the left, instead of Cautopates, there is a tree above a lion (Leo) that rests his paw on a ram head (the Aries zodiacal sign). Most Mithraic zodiacs start with Aries and in the zodiacal semicircle whose first sign is Aries, the Leo sign is placed toward the zenith, while the last visible sign is that of Libra. This is the display of the vault of heaven during the vernal equinox³⁰.

We meet the same situation on a relief from Doştat through the display and the attributes of the torchbearers and in the statuary groups from the *mithraeum* at Ulpia Traiana and Apulum (R 8, 9, 12, 41, 42, 50). On the relief from Doştat (R 12 – fig. 6), the position of the torchbearers is the one we traditionally meet on the Danubian reliefs: Cautes to the right, beneath Luna, Cautopates to the left, beneath Sol³¹. Unlike other reliefs from Dacia, this one presents an additional element: Cautes holds in his right hand a bull's head and Cautopates holds a scorpion. The ascribing of the signs to the torchbearers tells us that their scene corresponds to the zodiacal semicircle between Taurus and Scorpius (the signs from Taurus to Scorpius, with Leo to the zenith and the *paranatellonta*). In Taurus, the sun is rising from the vernal equinox toward the summer solstice; therefore Cautes is lifting the torch, while in Scorpius it descends from the autumnal equinox toward the winter solstice, so that Cautopates is lowering the torch³². We discover the same situation in the statuary groups from *mithraea*: two statues of Cautes with the bull head come from Apulum (R 8, 9) and again two statues of Cautes with the bull head and one of Cautopates with the scorpion come from Ulpia Traiana (R 41, 42, 50 – fig. 7). To the right and left of the tauroctony group there are the statues of the torchbearers whose zodiacal signs used to establish the inner cosmic orientation of the *mithraeum*, the only one that mattered to the believers, to the prejudice of the real astronomical order. Mithras is placed in the right position, as Porphyrius tells us, between the equinoxes³³. The name of *Mesites* points to the place of the god in the cosmogonic *taurochtonia* of the Greek-Roman mysteries. His location at the equinox, between light and shadows – when day and night are equal, between Cautes and Cautopates, provides him the character of a "median" god³⁴.

²⁹ The zodiacal signs appear also on a medallion of clay with Sol in *quadriga* (R 45). From the circle of zodiac are preserved only the signs Virgo, Leo and Cancer. Relationships of this piece with the mithraic cult are uncertain.

³⁰ R. Beck, *Planetary Gods*..., p. 22, 24-25.

³¹ J. R. Hinnels, *JMS*, I, 1976, p. 38

³² R. Beck, *Planetary Gods*..., p. 24-27.

³³ R. L. Gordon, *JMS* I, 1976, 2, p. 127-130.

³⁴ R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus*..., p. 14-22; idem, *Culte orientale*..., p. 255-256.

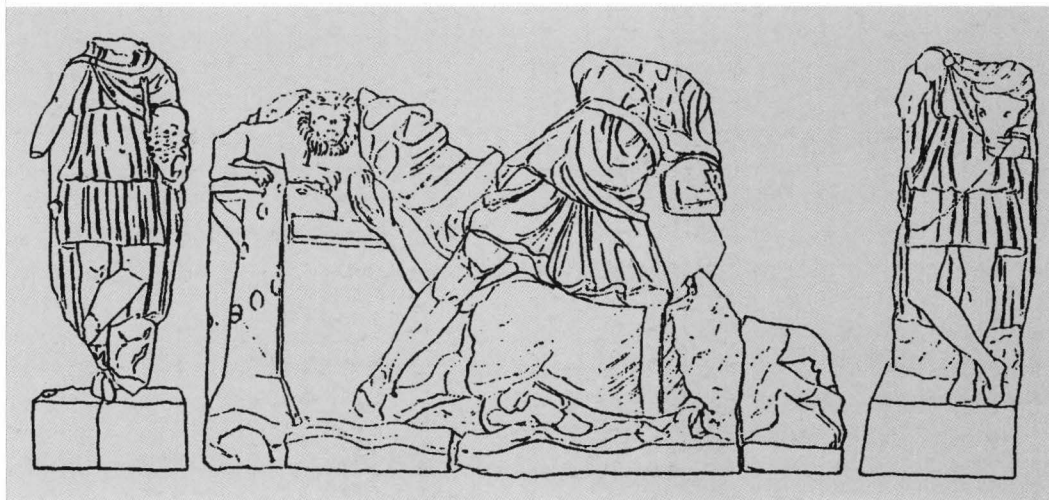


fig. 7



fig. 8

Fig. 7. Statuary group from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (after M. Clauss);
fig. 8. Marble relief from Vinț (after R. Merkelbach).

The revolution of the fixed stars in the sky is oriented toward West and to the right, the same as the tauroctony scene, like a celestial map or, as R. Beck put it, like a map of a *via salutis*³⁵.

As the cultic monuments and the preserved texts show, the initiation used to take place under the tutelary power of the planets. The *symbolon* of Celsus was also referring to the revolution of the seven planets. Some exceptional Mithraic monuments display the seven planetary gods' busts in different orders: the relief from Bologna, the plate from Brigetio, the mosaics from the Ostian mithraea (Sette Sfere, Sette Porte, Felicissimus), but most of them present only a row of seven (or more) undifferentiated altars, grouped between the symbols of the day and night stars, Sol and Luna³⁶. For R. Turcan, the seven altars represent the planetary multiplication of the tauroctony, the saving multiplication of this sacrifice that brings the total renovation of the world and, implicitly, of the souls. The sidereal group of seven represents the world above the terrestrial one, while when it is related to the tauroctony it involves its universal meaning, which is both spatial and temporal, and the seven altars symbolize not only the planetary gods but also the time lapses dominated by the errantes stars – the great cyclical week³⁷. In Dacia, the row of altars (7 and 9) has been found on 20 monuments and probably in other two uncertain cases (R 1, 3, 4, 5, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 35, 39, 40, 47). Only on two monuments – the ones from Vinț (R 5 – fig. 8) and Apulum (R 10) – there is a sequence of nine altars³⁸; on all the other monuments where the row was preserved intact, the number of the altars is seven (fig. 9) and they have been interpreted as representing the group of the seven planetary gods.

The ancient astrology and the mysteries certify the existence of several competing planetary orders: the Chaldean order or that of the distances between the planets and the Earth in the geocentric system, the horoscope order, the order of the week days in astrology in general³⁹, the order of the busts on the tablet from Brigetio, the order of the tutelary planets of the ranks (from the *mithraeum* of Felicissimus and the one from Santa Prisca) and two versions of the week days order (the *symbolon* of Celsus and the planetary busts on the relief from Bologna, in the Mithraic mysteries)⁴⁰. The lack of additional clues makes it difficult to specify the order in which the sequence of the seven altars should be read. The analogy of a relief coming probably from Potaissa with the relief from Bologna might shed some light in this problem.

The relief from Bologna, an adapted Danubian model, presents on the upper arched edge the busts of the seven planetary gods, having Sol to the left extremity and Luna to the right. Below the luminaries we can see Cautes, to the right, below Luna and associated with a bull head, and Cautopates to the left, below Sol and associated with the scorpion; therefore, the celestial area between the torchbearers is taken by the sequence of the zodiacal constellations between Taurus and Scorpius (Taurus, Gemini,

³⁵ R. Beck, *Planetary Gods...*, p. 73-85, p. 83, p. 28: "The tauroctony depicts a great act of salvation (...). To realize that salvation for the initiate a process and a route are needed. That process and route are defined in one forme in the grade structure of the cult, and they involve, as we now know, a passage under the tutelary powers of the planets in a certain unusual and evocative order. This is in some sense (...) a celestial journey. But the heavens, we know, are incorporated in the icon which expresses the central salvific event, overtly as a precise arrangement of the constellations symbols defining a particular tract of the heavens. Here, then, is another «map» of the *via salutis*".

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 1-73, 91-101; L. A. Campbell, *Mithraic Iconography and Ideology*, Leiden 1968, p. 101-102; R. Merkelbach, op. cit., p. 77-86.

³⁷ R. Turcan, in *Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique*. Tome XXVII. Le sacrifice dans l'antiquité, Genève 1982, p. 364-365.

³⁸ R. Beck, *Apulum* 22, 1985, p. 45-51.

³⁹ A. Bouché – Leclercq, *Istoria divinației în Antichitate*, I, București, 1999, p. 193-203.

⁴⁰ R. Beck, *Planetary Gods...*, p. 1-34.



fig. 9



fig. 10

Fig. 9. Marble relief from Apulum (after G. Sicoe);
fig. 10. Marble relief from Potaissa (after R. Merkelbach).

Cancer, Leo – to the zenith, Virgo, Libra and Scorpius) and the *paranatellonta*. In order to discover the meaning of the planets' order, R. Beck has distributed the zodiacal signs divided in decans (circle segments of 10°, three decans for each zodiacal sign); the planets start with the first decan from Aries (the vernal equinox) and the first planet in the Chaldean order is Mars. Therefore, the order of the planets on the relief from Bologna is the order of the tutelary planets of the central decan from the zodiacal signs situated between Taurus and Scorpius: Luna, the central decan from Taurus, Mars from Gemini, Mercur from Cancer, Iupiter from Leo, Venus from Virgo, Saturnus from Libra and Sol from Scorpius. This is the order of the planets from Bologna, from left to right, beginning with Luna (in the central decan from Taurus) and ending with Sol (in the central decan from Scorpius)⁴¹.

A relief discovered at Potaissa (R 44 – fig. 10) presents the same way of connecting the planets with the zodiacal constellations by using the decanat. It contains the tauroctony with all its elements (including Spica) and even an additional cypress behind each torchbearer. Upward, above Mithras' head, having Sol in the left and Luna in the right, there is a lion's mask. The explicit presence of this central term discloses the planetary order from Bologna, where Iupiter, the tutelary god of the *leo* grade is watching over the central decan from the Leo constellation. In the altars' sequence from Barberini fresco, the central altar is replaced by the lion head of a character that is conventionally called Aion. The order on the relief from Dacia seems to be the following: Luna (Mars, Mercur), Iupiter (Venus, Saturn) Sol⁴².

This planetary order that begins with Luna ends with Sol, having Iupiter in a central position; the order of the planets that dominate the central decan of the constellations between Taurus and Scorpius is the reverse order of the week days, from Monday to Sunday. It doesn't correspond to the order of the initiation grades' patronage, but to the order of the planetary gates that has been transmitted by Celsus (the reverse order of the week days, from Saturday to Sunday, namely Saturn, Venus, Iupiter, Mercur, Mars, Luna, Sol). Although other planetary orders have been certified in the Mithraic mysteries as well (the order of the grades, the one on the plate from Brigetio, the groupings from Sette Sfere and Sette Porte), it is possible that this should be the right order of reading the sequence of the undifferentiated Danubian altars. The order is certified by monuments of Danubian origin (the reliefs from Bologna and Potaissa) and the series of seven altars appears mainly on Danubian monuments, where Luna is always situated to the left and Sol to the right.

This assumption seems to be supported by a sequence of different altars and symbols that appear on a relief from Apulum (R 3). Mithras as a bull-killer is present in the center accompanied by all the elements, including Spica. Sol is situated to the right and a sunray comes from him toward Mithras, while Luna is situated to the left. A row of seven altars separated by groups of two or three symbols appears above: a stick with a Phrygian cap, a tree, a knife. Four altars are accompanied by all the three symbols, while the other three only by two, every time in a different combination (the first altar from the left – tree and knife, the second – stick with cap and knife, the last from the right – stick with cap and tree). If we consider that out of the seven altars only those accompanied by two symbols are differentiated and if we interpret the altars as planetary gods using the order of the relief from Bologna, we get the following sequence: Luna (the bust of the moon, altar, stick with cap and tree), Mars, Mercur, Iupiter, Venus (altars and groups of three symbols), Saturn (altar, stick with cap and knife), Sol (the bust of Sol, altar, tree and knife). This way, the tutelary planets of the first three grades are differentiated: Pater (Saturn), Heliodromus (Sol) and Perses (Luna), the altar of Saturn – *pater* being accom-

⁴¹ Op. cit., p. 17-25.

⁴² Op. cit., p. 26, 32.

panied by symbols as the stick with the Phrygian cap and the knife, just like in the mosaic from Felicissimus' *mithraeum*.

The sequence of undifferentiated altars that appear on the Danubian reliefs from Luna (left) and Sol (right) is the symbol of the other celestial revolution of the planets – errantes that move in the sky in a reverse direction than that of the immobile stars, toward East and to the left. These planetary spheres the soul of the initiated person goes through are arranged in an order that involves the zodiac as well: the reverse order of the week days, the order in which the planets rule the central decan of the zodiacal signs from Taurus to Scorpius, order that appears also in the *symbolon* of Celsus.

The Dacian monuments that present the sequence of altars, the additional constellations (Spica, Crater and Leo) and zodiacal signs that divide in an astral way the scene during the vernal equinox (Aries, Taurus, Scorpius) are big size monuments (R 3 – 1,13 × 1,45 m, R 4 – 1,20 × 1 m, R 12 – 0,89 × 1,43 m, R 32 – 0,94 × 1,33 m), cultic reliefs which used to serve as models for the votive ones. They come from those *mithraea* whose inner sides were cosmically oriented, reliefs that display a cosmic map of the salvation path that has been conceived by a *pater, studiosus astrologiae*.

Repertory of the Dacian Monuments⁴³

Alba Iulia – (Apulum).

1. CIMRM II 1935–1936; MMM II 192, 242; CIL III 1109; IDR III/5, 280.

Marble relief with inscription, D – 62 × 63 × 8 cm; Brukenthal Museum, Inv. No. 7162.

The central scene represents Mithras as a bull-killer, with all the characters involved and the torchbearers appear on both sides of Mithras, in the typical crossed-legged position and wearing Oriental dress. Especially Cautopates captures the attention as he seems to hold a *scorpion* in his right hand. Behind Cautes, there is a *krater* above which one can notice a *lion* in a vertical position. On the upper row, under *scapha lunata*, we can see *seven altars* and then, after *templum caelestis*, there is a *ram* and above it a *dog*.

2. CIMRM II 1958–1959; IDR III/5, 271; V. Christescu, *Dacia* 3–4, 1927–1932, p. 620–622; C. Daicoviciu, *Dacia* 7–8, 1937–1940, p. 308.

Marble relief with inscription, D – 63 × 74 × 3.5 cm; MUA I, Inv. No. 225/I.

In the central register, next to the classical scene of Mithras as a bullkiller, there are also other representations. Among them, toward the left edge, we can see a *krater* and above it a *lion* in a vertical position, with his tongue stuck out. In the upper register, after the representation of the bull in a boat, there also *two rams*.

3. CIMRM II 1973; MMM II 193.

Marble relief, D – 113 × 145 × 10–23 cm; MUA I, Inv. No. 203/II.

The relief presents the *taurochtonia* scene at the center – Mithras kills the bull whose tail ends with *wheat ears*. Out of the two torchbearers, Cautes captures our attentions as he holds an object in his left hand, probably a *bull head*, a zodiacal sign that we meet frequently in this character's representations. On the rounded edge of this piece, between the busts of Sol and Luna, there have been represented alternatively *seven sacrificial knives*, *seven altars with a lit fire on them*, *seven sticks with a Phrygian bonnet on their top* and *seven trees*. Sol is represented with a nimbus and a crown formed of eleven rays out of which one is extended, falling upon Mithras.

4. CIMRM II 1972; MMM II 192 bis.

Sandstone relief, D – 120 × 100 × 8 cm; MUA I, Inv. No. 204/II.

⁴³ The pieces in this repertory are not new, being known to the specialists. This is the reason why will not insist upon their description but we will present them briefly, mentioning only the details regarding the iconographical motives that are the target of our study.

Mithras as a bullkiller is represented at the center, assisted by the two torchbearers. The bull's tail ends with *wheat ears*. Behind Cautes, there is a *lion* seizing a *krater*. In the upper register, among the typical narrative scenes, *seven altars* are represented in a row.

5. CIMRM II 1974; MMM II 194; F. Cumont, *AErt* 13, 1893, 290.

Marble relief, D – 25 × 21 cm; private collection, Budapest.

Mithras as a bullkiller appears at the center. The two torchbearers are represented in Oriental dress, this time without the specific bonnets and their legs are not crossed. Both of them hold the torch (one of them upward and the other downward) in their right hand while both have on their left shoulder a *stick on top of which hangs a Phrygian bonnet*. Above the god's mantle, near the raven, there is a *krater*. Beneath the upper register there are *nine altars* placed on both sides of Mithras' head, four on the left and five on the right.

6. CIMRM II 1942-1943; MMM II 202, 245; CIL III 1113 = IDR III/5, 273; R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, Hain 1984, p. 384, nr. 151.

Limestone altar, D – 63.5 × 38.5-50 × 38.5 cm; h. letters – 2.5 – 6.5 cm; MNIR, Inv. No. 69.933.

Invicto / Mythrae / Diosco/rus Marci /5/ v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). On each of the lateral sides there is a sculpture of a *dolphin* and a *trident*.

7. CIMRM II 1985; R. Merkelbach, *Mithras*, Hain 1984, p. 387, nr. 156.

Basis of a limestone statue (column?), D – 118 × 35-44 × 30-38 cm; MUAI, Inv. No. 33/I.

On the central side of this piece Cautes-Lucifer is represented riding a bull, turned to the right and holding the burning torch in his raised right hand (*Heliodromus*). Under the forelegs of the animal we can see a stem with three *wheat ears* (Vermaseren) or the stylized representation of a palm tree (Merkelbach). Under the back legs of the bull there is only one stem.

8. CIMRM II 1956.

Fragmented limestone statue (the head and the lower part are missing); h – 92 cm; MUAI, Inv. No. 233.

The statue represents one of the torchbearers in Oriental dress, holding the head of a *bull* or a *ram* (?) in his left hand.

9. CIMRM II 1957.

Fragmented limestone statue (only the bust of the character has been preserved); h – 22 cm; MUAI (?).

The statue probably represents Cautes, in Oriental garments, holding a *bull's head* (?) in his left hand.

Vințul de Jos – the riverbed of Mureș; the pieces come probably from **Apulum**.

10. CIMRM II 2000; MMM II 195; F. Cumont, *AErt* 13, 1893, 291.

Marble relief, D – 24 × 19.5 × 3 cm; Brukenthal Museum, Inv. No. 1826.

Mithras as a bullkiller is represented in the central register while *nine altars* are present on both sides of his head, five on the left and four on the right.

11. CIMRM II 2001 – 2002; MMM 198, 255; CIL III 7782; IDR III/5, 267.

Marble relief with Greek inscription, D – 16 × 23 × 2 cm; Brukenthal Museum, Inv. No. 1827.

This piece illustrates the *taurochtonia* scene. The front part of a *lion's* body can be seen in the bottom left corner.

Doștat – the Teleki collection; the piece comes probably from **Apulum** or **Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa**⁴⁴.

12. CIMRM II 2006-2007; MMM II 191, 256; CIL III 968, 7929; O. Floca, *ED* 1935, 216, fig. 1.

Marble relief with inscription, D – 89 × 143 × 21 cm; MCDR.

Mithras as a bullkiller appears on this piece and the bull's tail ends with *wheat ears*. The torchbearers are represented in an atypical manner because they are not crossed-legged. Cautopates holds the torch in his right hand and a *scorpion* in his left hand while Cautes holds a *bull head* in his left hand.

13. CIL III 7728; IDR III/4, 30; CIMRM II 2008; MMM II 257.

Fragmented sandstone altar, D – 62 × 56 × 48 cm; MIA.

[Invic]to [Soli Deo] / [ge]nitori P[ublius] Ael[ius] Ar[emidorus] de[c(urio?)] / sacer(dos) creatus APAL[.]NIS d(omo) Macedonia et adve[n-]tor huius templi pro se / et suis fecit [l(ibenter)].

⁴⁴ G. Téglás, *Hunyadvármegye Története*, Budapest 1902, 79, fig. 178.

Celei (Sucidava)

14. CIMRM II 2182; D. Tudor, *Dacia* 11-12, 1945-1947, p. 158-159.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 27.5 × 21.2 × 4 cm.

Mithras as a bull-killer appears at the center, flanked by the two torchbearers. Cautes, situated to the right, holds in his right hand the torch pointed upward while in his left hand, that is bent on his chest, he holds an unidentified object (very likely the head of a *bull*). Cautopates, placed to the left of the god, holds a torch turned downward and behind this torch a *lion* head is visible. The rounded edge of the Mithraic cave is decorated with a row of *altars* (probably seven) out of which only two have been preserved.

Dragu

15. CIMRM II 1919.

Limestone relief, D – 41 × 49 × 7 cm; MNIT, Inv. No. IN 1326 = V. 15.812.

The relief has the form of a temple shape, with a triangular pediment and two lateral columns. In that triangular pediment, beside the representation of the busts of Sol, Luna and the raven, we can see a *lion* walking toward the right. The central register presents Mithras as a bull-killer in a typical hypostasis, flanked by the two torchbearers, with the one on the left standing on an *altar*.

Moigrad (Porolissum)

16. N. Gudea, D. Tamba, in *Limes XIX. Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Roman Frontier Studies*, Pécs, September 2003 (ed. Zsolt Visy), Pécs 2005, p. 472, nr. 6, fig. 17.

Fragment of a marble statuary group. Only the lower part of this piece has been preserved – the rectangular basis on which we can still notice the crossed legs of Cautopates to the left, and the end of the torch turned downward, while at the center the barefoot of a nude goddess (*Venus*) and most of the body (the head and the right arm are missing) of a small *Eros riding a dolphin*.

Pojejena

17. G. Téglás, *AERT* 24, 1904, p. 414-413; N. Gudea, O. Bozu, *Banatica* 4, 1977, p. 118-119, nr. 2.

Fragmented relief. The main register illustrated the Mithraic sacrifice and of the upper one only the representation of the bull in the boat, supported by *seven altars*, has been preserved.

18. N. Gudea, O. Bozu, *Banatica* 4, 1977, p. 118-119, nr. 6; idem, *SCIVA* 29, 1978, p. 564-565, nr. 2; *IDR* III/1, 14.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 20.7 × 17.5 × 1.2 cm; MBM, Inv. No. P 76 R2-6.

The upper register represents several standard scenes of the mythical Mithraic cycle among which the representation of Oceanus or Saturn, laying down above *seven* small size *altars*. In the central register, between the god's head and the Moon's bust there have been represented *five altars*. Probably other four altars were placed on the other side of Mithras' head.

Reșca – Romula (the Tzupagu collection and later on the Istrati-Capșa collection).

19. CIMRM II 2172 – 2173; *IDR* II 342; C. C. Petolescu, *SCIV* 25, 1974, p. 595, nr. 1; D. Tudor, *AO* 12, 1933, p. 221, nr. 1, fig. 1.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 23.8 × 19 × 3 cm; MPF, Inv. No. 131/5.

In the central register we have Mithras as a bullkiller. In the upper corner of the rounded edge, near the bust of the Moon, out of a row, *two altars* have been still preserved.

Sarmizegetusa (Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa)

20. CIMRM II 2048 – 2049; *MMM* II 271; *CIL* III 7934; *IDR* III/2, 297.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 73 × 51.2 × 2.5 – 1.8 cm; MCDR.

In the center of the image the scene representing Mithras killing of the bull appears in a typical manner. Behind the dog, we can see a *krater* and above it a *lion* head.

21. CIMRM II 2060, 2061; *MMM* II 288, nr. 154; *CIL* III, 7931.

Fragmented marble plate with inscription, D – 17 × 23 × 3 cm; MCDR.

The lower right corner of this piece has been preserved and beside the elements of the *taurochtonia* scene one can notice on this fragment a *krater* and above it a *lion* head.

22. CIMRM II 2044 – 2045; *MMM* II 165, 273; *CIL* III 7937; *IDR* III/2, 282.

Marble relief with inscription, fragmented in several pieces, D – 29.5 × 40 × 2 cm; MCDR.

The relief is decorated in three registers. In the third one, after the scene where Sol is helping Mithras to climb in the *quadriga*, we can see *three altars* placed in a row and above the third one, that is smaller than the others, there is a rectangular object.

23. CIMRM II 2068 – 2069; MMM II 142, 262, 284; CIL III 7925; IDR III/2, 273.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 27 × 32.5 × 3 cm; MCDR.

This piece illustrates the *taurochtonia* scene in a typical manner. In the upper part there are *seven altars*, four to the right of Mithras' head and three to the left.

24. CIMRM II 2066 – 2067; MMM II 153, 267; CIL III 7930; IDR III/2, 278.

Fragmented limestone relief with inscription, D – 18.3 – 23.5 × 62.2 × 3.4 cm; MCDR.

The Mithras as a bull-killer scene is partially visible. Near Cautes, a *krater* is represented to the god's right and above it, the representation of a *lion* head.

25. CIMRM II 2034 – 2035; MMM II 169, 270; CIL III 7933; IDR III/2, 291.

Marble relief with inscription, fragmented in several pieces, D – 22 – 36 × 30 × 1 – 2 cm; MCDR.

The relief is decorated in three registers, in the central one being represented the killing of the bull. This time, behind Cautes who is placed to Mithras' right, there is a representation of a *krater* and above it a *lion* in vertical position (the head of the animal is missing).

26. CIMRM II 2038 – 2041, MMM II 168, 269; CIL III 7932; IDR III/2, 284.

Marble relief with inscription, fragmented in several pieces, D – 38 × 54 × 2.5 cm; MCDR.

In the central register the *taurochtonia* scene is still partially visible. Near the torchbearer situated to the right there is a *krater* and a *lion* head seen in profile.

27. CIMRM II 2036; MMM II 167.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 25 – 18 × 33.5 × 3.2 cm.

The relief is decorated in three registers, the central one being filled with the scene representing Mithras as a bull-killer. Here, behind Cautes, we can notice a *lion* in vertical position, whose head, represented frontally, is placed above a *krater*. In the upper register, under *templum caeleste* there is an *altar* which probably used to belong to a row, as well as a *he-goat* head.

28. CIMRM II 2043; MMM II 163.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 36 × 53 × 13.5 cm.

The relief is decorated in three registers. On the horizontal border that separates the central register from the lower one, there is the representation of *seven altars* that flank the snake and the scorpion. In the third register, after the funerary banquet scene where Mithras and Sol participate, there is a *lion* placed above a *krater*.

29. CIMRM II 2063; MMM II 158; O. Floca, ED 1935, 217.

Marble relief, fragmented in several pieces, D – 46 × 72–79 × 6–8.8 cm.

The killing of the bull with all the characters involved are represented at the center. A *lion* head appears between Cautes and the bull.

30. CIMRM II 2070; MMM II 145.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 4 – 7 × 6 – 10 × 2 cm.

Sol's bust is represented above the scene depicting Mithras as a bull-killer and, beyond Sol, *three* or *four altars*.

31. CIMRM II 2079; MMM II 152.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 20 × 11 × 8 cm; preserved in a private collection from Lugoj.

Within the scene representing Mithras as a bull-killer, there are *four altars* between the raven and Mithras' head.

32. CIMRM II 2084; MMM II 139.

Mithras as a bull-killer, D – 94 × 131–133 × 3.5 cm.

The image illustrates the *taurochtonia* scene, as the bull's tail ends with *wheat ears*. A tree trunk can be seen to the left and above it a *lion* that catches with its paw a *ram* head placed in front of it.

33. CIMRM II 2085; MMM II 179.

Marble relief, D – 24 × 31 × 4 cm; MB, Inv. No. 2649.

The piece presents Mithras as a bull-killer, a scene that is presided by Sol and Luna; the bull's tail ends with *wheat ears*. Near the bust of Sol, there are *seven altars* placed one on top of the other while another row of *seven altars* is placed on both sides of Mithras' head, three to the left and four to the right.

34. CIMRM 2052; MMM II 180; CIL III 7935; IDR III/2, 306.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 18.5 × 12.5 × 3 cm; MB.

Mithras as a bull-killer is presented in the central register. Our attention is drawn toward a *lion head* placed between Mithras and Cautopates as well as toward *seven stars* scattered on the surface of the piece, one on both sides of Mithras' head, two above and one beneath the lion's head, one on the bull's belly and one on Cautes' body. *Seven altars* alternated with projecting knobs in between, in the upper register, after the representation of the raven.

35. CIMRM II 2086.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 10 × 5.8 × 2 cm; MCDR.

Several minor scenes have been still preserved – the representation of the bull in the boat and behind it an *altar*.

36. CIMRM II 2110.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 11.5 × 5.2 × 2 cm; MCDR.

Next to Mithras' *petrogenitus* representation there can be seen the back leg of a lion that was probably in a vertical position.

37. CIMRM II 2125.

The marble head of a lion, D – 6.5 × 8 × 1 cm; MCDR.

A *lion* head seen frontally is preserved.

38. CIMRM II 2133.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 7 × 11 cm; MCDR.

This piece preserves the representation of a *lion* head turned partially to the right.

39. CIMRM II 2112.

Fragmented marble relief, D – 6 × 3.5 cm; MCDR.

The hands and head of a character and an *altar* are still visible.

40. IDR III/2, 287; L. Mărgăritan, SCIV 18, 1967, 4, p. 696–697.

Fragmented marble relief with inscription, D – 29 × 21 × 2.5 cm; MCDR.

In the center of the image Mithras kills the bull whose tail ends with *wheat ears*. On the upper rounded edge of this piece there can be seen several extremely flattened reliefs. We can distinguish several small size *altars* placed in a row in the left corner.

41. CIMRM II 2120 – 2121; MMM II 140, 259a; CIL III 7922; IDR III/2, 193; O. Floca, ED 1935, 219, fig. 4.

Fragmented marble statue placed on a square basis, with inscription, h – 90 cm; MCDR.

This piece represents Cautopates (the head and the right forearm are missing) wearing a short tunic and with his legs crossed in the specific posture. He holds in his right hand a torch oriented downwards and in his left hand a *scorpion*.

42. CIMRM II 2122 – 2123; MMM II 140, 259b; CIL III 7922; IDR III/2, 193; O. Floca, ED, 1935, 219, fig. 4.

Fragmented marble statue placed on a square basis, with inscription, h – 89 cm; MCDR.

This piece represents Cautes (the head of the torchbearer is missing) wearing a short tunic and with his legs crossed in the specific posture. He holds in his right hand a torch oriented upwards and in his left hand a *bull* head.

Slăveni

43. CIMRM II 2167; MMM II 137 b; C. C. Petolescu, Dacia 20, 1976, p. 262, nr. 4; idem, Apulum 14, 1976, p. 461, nr. 4.

Fragmented marble relief; MNIR.

A *lion* oriented toward the right is represented in the lower register together with the specific narrative scenes.

Turda (Potaissa)

44. CIMRM II 2198 – 2199; MMM, II, 255a; CIL III 901; V. Wollmann, Potaissa 1, 1978, p. 47, nr. 15. Marble relief with inscription; D – 39.2 × 34.5 × 3.5 cm; MNIT, Inv. No. 2587 = V. 1135.

This piece presents the scene of the bull killing, whose tail ends with *wheat ears*. Mithras as a bull-killer is flanked by the two torchbearers; *two trees* are represented above them – according to F. Cumont, two cypresses. A *lion* head is represented between the busts of Sol and Luna, above Mithras' head.

Unknown place of discovery

45. C. C. Petolescu, StCl 17, 1977, p. 155–157.

Medallion of clay, D – 5.7 × 5 × 0.4 cm; MNIR.

Sol is represented on this piece in *quadriga* and between the representation of the god and the edge of the piece there are also placed the face of a *feminine character*, a *lion* toward the left and beyond it a *crab* – probably the Virgin, the Lion and the Cancer – three of the twelve zodiacal signs.

Unknown place of discovery (Oltenia)

46. CIMRM II 2180; MMM II 131.

Fragmented limestone relief, D – 31.5 × 39–34 × 7 cm; MNIR, Inv. No. 678.

Mithras as a bull-killer accompanied by the usual characters is represented in the central register. The snake (from the bull's killing scene) and a *lion* walking toward the right appear in the lower register.

Unknown place of discovery (Oltenia or Dobrogea?)

47. C. C. Petolescu, StCl, 1977, p. 154–155.

Fragmented brick, D – 27 × 12 × 5–7 cm; MNIR.

The sacrifice of the bull is presented at the center and on the edge of the cave were scratched *two altars* and *two trees* that belong to a longer row (probably of seven).

Unknown place of discovery (Transilvania?)

48. CIMRM II 2187; MMM II 211.

Marble medallion, D – 15 × 12 cm; the Opperman collection, Paris.

The central scene presents Mithras as a bull-killer; under this scene there are specific mythical-narrative representations among which a *lion* head.

49. CIMRM II 2186; MMM II 208; R. Merkelbach, Mithras, Haine 1984, p. 388, nr. 157.

Marble altar, D – 100 × 34–44 × 29–34 cm; Brukenthal Museum, Inv. No. 7274.

On the main side of the piece is represented Cauter-Lucifer riding a bull, turned toward the right, holding a torch in his right raised hand (*Heliodromus*).

50. CIMRM II 2185; MMM II 212.

Statue belonging to Cauter who is standing, wearing Oriental dress; his legs are not crossed. He holds the torch in his right hand and a *bull head* in the left.

Bibliographical Abbreviations

AO	= Arhivele Olteniei, Craiova.
CIMRM	= M. J. Vermaseren, Corpus Inscriptionum et monumentorum religionis mithriacae, Hague, I, 1959; II, 1969.
ED	= Ephemeris Dacoromana. Annuario de la Scuola Romana di Roma, București.
JMS	= Journal of Mithraic Studies, London.
MMM	= F. Cumont, Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, I-II, Paris, 1896.
OmCD	= Omagiu lui Constantin Daicoviciu la cea de-a 60 a aniversare, București, 1960.

RM	= Revista Muzeelor și monumentelor, Seria Muzee, București.
RHR	= Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Paris.

Museums

MB	= Muzeul Banatului, Timișoara
MBM	= Muzeul Banatului Montan, Reșița.
MCDR	= Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva.
Brukenthal Museum	= Muzeul Brukenthal, Sibiu.
MIA	= Muzeul de Istorie Aiud.
MPF	= Muzeul Regiunii Porțile de Fier, Drobeta Tr. Severin.
MNIR	= Muzeul Național de Istorie a României, București.
MNIT	= Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca.
MUAI	= Muzeul Unirii, Alba Iulia.