

## NOTES ON A NEW CAUTES STATUE FROM APULUM (JUD. ALBA/RO)

The mysteries of Mithras were one of the most widespread cults in the Roman Empire, attested in several settlements in Dacia, especially in such important conurbations as Apulum/Alba Iulia (jud. Alba/RO)<sup>1</sup>. With more than 50 monuments and 30 worshippers, the Mithraic communities of Apulum consist of the second largest civilian and military group among the Mithraic communities of the province. The recent approaches of Roman religious studies and the new archaeological discoveries in Alba Iulia offer a unique possibility and urge for the reinterpretation of the archaeological material, analysing it in a wider perspective and creating a supplement for the *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* (CIMRM)<sup>2</sup>. The Mithraic statue presented in this article is a good example for the contrast and coexistence of the local dynamics of the Mithraic community and the universalism of the iconographic programme of the cult.

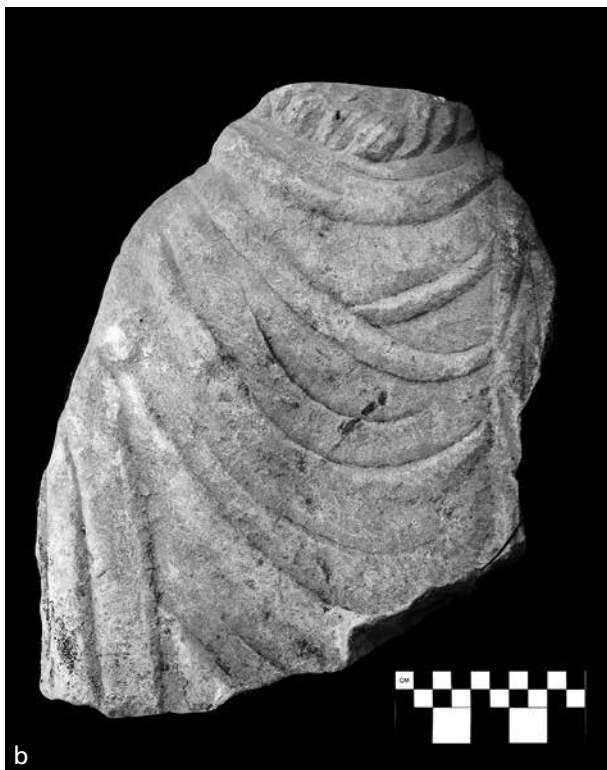
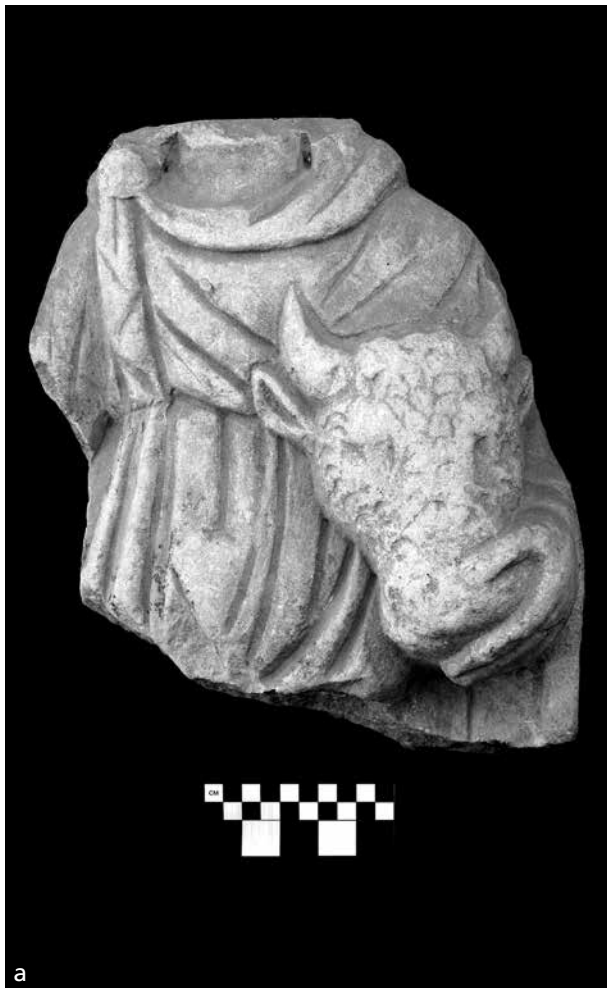
### PROVENANCE OF THE STATUE

The torso and the head were discovered accidentally by the author in August 2014 in Alba Iulia (Karlsburg/Gyulafehérvár) at Păcii Street no. 2 (formerly known as Pósta/Postgasse/Piacszeg street)<sup>3</sup>. The torso was fixed to the interior wall of one of the service apartments of the Roman Catholic Theology (*Seminarium Incarnatae Sapientiae Albae Iuliensae*; Hittudományi Főiskola és Papnevelő Intézet) built at the end of the 1990s. The torso and the head were found separately<sup>4</sup>. The excavations in 1992 in the courtyard of the institution revealed the northwestern part of the *castra legionis XIII Geminae*, discovering a *contubernium*<sup>5</sup>. The report does not mention the recently found artefacts. Based on the verbal confirmation of the fellows of the Roman Catholic Theology, we know that the torso was built into the walls of the old building, separately from the head. The torso was found between 1996 and 1998, when the medieval house was severely damaged and rebuilt in its current form. After 2000 it lays on the wall of the current building<sup>6</sup>. The head of the statue is walled in inside the basement of the school, near the above-mentioned building, severely damaged by the numerous renderings and modifications on the medieval house. The two artefacts are well known to the students of the Seminar as »Saint Luke the Evangelist« and »the head of Jesus«.

Roman material in secondary or tertiary use, reused for medieval and pre-modern buildings is attested in great numbers in Alba Iulia, where the ruins of the Roman conurbation of Apulum were looted after 1241, especially during the Renaissance (16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> centuries) and the Habsburg period (18<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>7</sup>. The earliest phase of the building represented in 1711 on the map of the medieval fort made by the Italian architect, Giovanni Morando Visconti, and rebuilt in the 1990s is dated from the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries<sup>8</sup>. The original location of the statue fragments is impossible to establish.

### THE FINDS

The torso of the statue is made of marble, most probably from a provincial quarry (fig. 1a-c)<sup>9</sup>. The stone is naturally damaged in some parts. The dimensions of the fragment are 37 cm (height) × 29 cm (width) × 6-10 cm



**Fig. 1** Apulum (jud. Alba/RO). Newly discovered torso of Cautes (a-c). – (Photos Cs. Szabó).



**Fig. 2** Apulum (jud. Alba/RO). Newly discovered head of Cautes (a-b). – (Photos Cs. Szabó).

(thickness). The thickness of the cloak is 3.5 cm. The preserved part represents the bust of Cautes, torchbearer of Mithras, holding the head of the bull in his left hand. The head, right hand and the inferior part of the torchbearer are missing. The head of the bull is carefully carved with the details of the curly hair of the animal. The left hand of Cautes is rudimentarily carved and oversized. He wears a long tunic, with a fibula on his right shoulder fastening his cloak (*chlamys*), which is partially preserved mainly on the left, and is very fragmentary on the right side. The oriental dress is decorated with carefully carved pleats. The back part of the cloak is also worked, and a small part of the tresses is preserved, which prove the statuary nature of the artefact. However, the thickness of the fragment suggests that the statue was not free-standing, but surrounded by a wall or niche, intended for a frontal view. Similar analogies from Dacia and other provinces indicate that the monument could be part of a statuary group representing Mithras Tauroctonos with the torchbearers, an individual statue of Cautes represented in a niche of the *pronaos* or standing on a statue base<sup>10</sup>.

The walled head can be examined only from the front (fig. 2a-b)<sup>11</sup>. Its dimensions (height 19 cm; width of the head 3.5-4 cm) fit the neck of the torso. The thick hair, curly tresses, rough lines of the face and the break line of the head prove its concordance with the torso. The Phrygian cap is partially preserved. The eyes and nose of the person are superficially carved or deformed due to the poor conditions of the statue. The face represents a young, beardless person with a melancholic expression, a very common iconography for the torchbearers<sup>12</sup>. The full height of the statue was approx. 90-100 cm.



**Fig. 3** Apulum (jud. Alba/RO).  
Fragment of a Cautes statue. –  
(Photo Cs. Szabó).

### ICONOGRAPHY AND ANALOGIES

Cautes was one of the torchbearers of Mithras, depicted in various ways in Roman iconography<sup>13</sup>. As one of the most widely represented divinities of the Mithraic pantheon, he appears mainly related to the scene of the tauroctony, but in some cases also as an individual divinity with his own dedications<sup>14</sup>. In Roman Dacia, the torchbearers appear in 103 iconographic depictions and three epigraphic sources up to now<sup>15</sup>. In the great majority of cases, Cautes is represented on reliefs with raised torch, oriental dress and crossed legs to the left of Mithras<sup>16</sup>. However, there are some exceptional cases where he appears on the right side of Mithras with various attributes<sup>17</sup>. These particularities show the existence of local (provincial or even micro-regional) iconographic programmes and different narratives, which prove the flexibility of the universal »Mithras doctrine« and the artistic freedom and possibilities of the local workshops and communities<sup>18</sup>.

There are few, full-size Cautes statues in the Roman Empire<sup>19</sup>, some of them intended to be viewed from multiple angles, others standing on statue bases, and some representations to be viewed only from the front. The new find from Apulum belongs to the third category. The different types represent the various positions and functional role of the torchbearers inside of the sanctuary, positioned either in front of the podium, near the entrance<sup>20</sup>, in a niche<sup>21</sup>, or as a part of a statuary group of the tauroctony<sup>22</sup>. From Dacia, we know four statues of the torchbearers<sup>23</sup>, two of which are from Apulum (fig. 3), found in the so-called Mithraeum I in 1930, at the territory of the Municipium Septimium Apulense<sup>24</sup>. The two statues from Ulpia Traiana Sarmizegetusa (jud. Hunedoara/RO) came to light in 1882-1883 during the excavation of the largest mithraeum of the province (fig. 4). A fifth statue, discovered at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century and known from the drawings of P. Köppen (1823) and J. von Hammer-Purgstall (1833) today, is missing but it may have come from Apulum<sup>25</sup>. The function of the four extant statues, and their position inside sanctuaries are not known; however, the rest of the archaeological material from the sites suggests that the torchbearers were erected in the *pronaos* of the buildings<sup>26</sup>. A statue base with a fragmentary part of the statue discovered in Apulum in 2003 in the shrine of Liber Pater is dedicated to Cautes<sup>27</sup>. Its function in the sanctuary – like the other Mithraic finds from the area – is not yet clear<sup>28</sup>.

A particularity of the statuary representations of the torchbearers in Dacia is their specific iconography. Cautes is depicted in all of the cases<sup>29</sup> holding the head of the bull in his left arm, wearing a long cloak and an oriental dress, while Cautopates holds the scorpion. The statue from Apulum – as the twin statue suggests – had uncrossed legs, wearing the *bracca Persica* or *anaxyrides*<sup>30</sup> and the examples from Sarmizegetusa appear with crossed legs without the *bracca Persica*.

Cautes holding the head of the bull appears very rarely in the Mithraic iconography<sup>31</sup>. In R. Beck's notion of celestial star talk – or the sacred geography of the sanctuary – he represents the southern tropic (winter solstice) as a gate for ascent into *apogenesis*<sup>32</sup>. It also means the visible hemisphere and the *Anabibazon*, the ascending node, many times associated with Aldebaran in the Alpha Tauri<sup>33</sup>. If the tauroctony and its elements represent constellations, Cautes is Taurus and Cautopates is Scorpius. This particular iconography depicts exactly this: holding the head of the bull, Cautes represents Taurus as a northern sign, through which the Sun ascends in the spring of the year<sup>34</sup>. In some very rare cases however, Cautopates appears



**Fig. 4** Statue of Cautes from Sarmizegetusa (jud. Hunedoara/RO). – (Photo O. Harl, lupa 17592).

with the bull and Cautes with the scorpion<sup>35</sup>. We think, that these differences indicate not necessarily two types of sacred landscapes (the celestial map and the celestial view<sup>36</sup>) but regional interpretations – or even misinterpretations – of a common, universal language which changed slightly. The flexibility of the »doctrine« is represented in these iconographic differences. From all the statuary examples, the new piece is the best-preserved and most carefully worked example. It is also the only marble of its category. As a thick statue intended only for frontal view, it could have been placed against a wall, pillar or niche in the *pronaos* of the sanctuary or near a marble statue of Mithras Tauroctonos in the central nave. We know of only one other marble statue of this kind in Apulum and in Roman Dacia<sup>37</sup>.

## BETWEEN LOCAL AND UNIVERSAL: THE PROBLEM OF THE WORKSHOPS

From nine examples where Cautes appears with the bull in his hand, six are from Roman Dacia, two as reliefs and four as statues. Two or three of the statues and one relief came from Apulum. This high proportion was observed already by F. Cumont and later by M. J. Vermaseren, who supposed a local variation and development of this particular iconography spread from Dacia to the other provinces<sup>38</sup>. G. Sicoe suggested that the representation of the torchbearers with the head of the bull and scorpion or with the trees symbolising the spring and the autumn could be formed in Rome<sup>39</sup>. Indeed, the presence of this iconography on two Italian reliefs<sup>40</sup> indicates the development of this type in Italy. On a relief from Sarmizegetusa<sup>41</sup>, in place of Cautopates, appears a tree, similar to the above-mentioned Italian analogies. It could suggest that this type – and the iconographic programme – came from Rome to Sarmizegetusa and not the inverse. G. Sicoe's argument, that Ampliatius *Augusti nostri dispensatoris* and Lucius Aelius Hylas were inspired by the reliefs from Rome due to their economic and administrative role, is plausible<sup>42</sup>. The epithets »Nabarze« and »Deus Genitor« mentioned on the monuments of Lucius Aelius Hylas prove, however, not only the external influence but also the provenience from Sarmizegetusa of the relief found in Doştat (jud. Albo/RO) in the Teleki collection<sup>43</sup>. The active presence of the *dispensatores* and other members of the *publicum portorium Illyrici* in the Mithraic communities in Dacia is an argument for the dynamic and mobile nature of these groups. The hierarchy of the staff of the *portorium* and the interprovincial relations created a highly mobile social network between the Illyrian provinces. Recent studies on the social network of the Mithraic communities show that the Rome – Aquileia – Poetovio – Sarmizegetusa – Apulum road was not only an essential artery of the *portorium*, but also the path of the cult of Mithras, where the procuratorial functionaries and staff of the *publicum portorium Illyrici* (*vicarius, adiutor tabularii, salariarius, arcarius, dispensator*) played an important role<sup>44</sup>. However, the role of the civilians in the spread of the cult getting more importance in the scholarship, the significant role of the militaries must be highlighted in some cases, especially in the case of Dacia<sup>45</sup>.

Another analogy was found in Bodobrica/Boppard (Rhein-Hunsrück-Kreis/D) between 1939 and 1941 (fig. 5)<sup>46</sup>. The statue has similar features as those from Apulum and Sarmizegetusa, Cautes being represented also in this case with a *bucranium*. The late Roman fort from Bodobrica is dated to the 4<sup>th</sup> century; it is possible that the statue came from an earlier phase of the settlement, although the cult of Mithras is present in Rome and in Pannonia even in the Late Antiquity<sup>47</sup>. The statue represents Cautes standing in front of a tree or rock, both of them being a well-known Mithraic symbol. The tree and the *bucranium* appear also on the relief of Zeno from Rome<sup>48</sup>. The similitude between the statues and the rarity of this iconographic type show clearly a strict relationship between Bodobrica and Dacia, but without the exact context of discovery we cannot reconstruct a more precise iconographic and historical relationship between the two regions.



**Fig. 5** Statue of Cautes from Bodobrica/Boppard (Rhein-Hunsrück-Kreis/D). – (Photo J. Vogel, LVR-LandesMuseum Bonn; with the special permission and kindly help of Dr. Andrea Bussmann and Dr. Jost Mergen).

In this context, the statues and the relief representing Cautes with the head of the bull from Apulum could have been created in Sarmizegetusa where the original Italian iconographic programme was slightly changed. The grotta type Kultbild also suggests the strict relationship between the Mithraic communities from Apulum and Sarmizegetusa<sup>49</sup>. It is possible that the first communities from Apulum were formed in the period when the civilian settlement (*pagus Apulensis*) was administratively a part of the territorium of Sarmizegetusa between 106 and 168<sup>50</sup>.

## CONCLUSION

The new Cautes statue from Apulum is one of the four currently existing statuary representations of the torchbearer holding the bull in the Roman Empire. Its rare iconography helps us to identify the relationship of the Mithraic communities from Apulum with the so-called Sarmizegetusa workshop, the most important regional centre of this kind in the Danubian provinces. The rare representation of Cautes shows the dynamic mobility of the Dacian communities as well as the universalism of the »Mithras doctrine« – which surely existed as a narrative and religious theory, but not necessarily as a fixed and conservative iconographic programme. The slight variation of Cautes holding the bull is another example of the flexibility of the »Mithraic doctrine« also proving the astrological knowledge of the Mithras worshippers from Dacia.

## Notes

- 1) I must most grateful to Gino Canlas for his thoughtful correction of my English. – About the cult of Mithras in Apulum see: Carbó-García 2010, 113-180; Szabó 2013a; forthcoming. – On the bibliography on the cult of Mithras in Dacia see: Boda/Szabó 2014, 110-115.
- 2) On the new approaches of the scholarship see: Bonnet/Briault 2013; Mastrocinque 2013. – On the recent discoveries see: Klenner 2012; Szabó 2013b; Szabó/Bounegru/Sava 2014; Rustoiu et al. 2013.
- 3) The street was attested since the 18<sup>th</sup> century, probably previously known as Piacszeg street. On the first maps of the fortress (G. M. Visconti, 1711) appears the street with two significant buildings at the beginning, the place of the discovery marked with a small entrance between the these two. The late Gothic, Renaissance and pre-modern houses of the street were severely damaged in the 1990s when new buildings were erected. Some of the oldest architectural elements, such as a Gothic window and late Renaissance casement, are still visible on the outside façade of the building, restored by Tamás Emődi. Information by the kind courtesy of Prof. András Kovács (Central European University, Budapest). On the Renaissance history of the street see: Kovács 2011.
- 4) There is no further information on when or why the parts of the statue were separated.
- 5) Moga 1990-1993, 209-221; 1998, 34.
- 6) Verbal confirmation of László Koncsag and Róbert Lukács.
- 7) Kovács 1992. – Szabó 2014, 54.
- 8) The majority of the inscriptions and Roman material decribed in the 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> centuries by the first collectors came from the territory of the Municipium Septimium Apulense, but the monumental buildings from the Colonia Aurelia Apulensis were also looted even in medieval times (Szabó 2014, 54-58).
- 9) Müller et al. 2011, 19-23.
- 10) For comparisons of high reliefs and frontal statues in Mithraic context see: CIMRM 94, 123, 124, 125, 476, 491, 636, 1085, 1110, 1125, 1146, 1163, 1249, 1290, 1347, 1770, 1794, 2063, 2120, 2122. – See also: Läng 2008, 572.
- 11) The head is severely damaged by the multiple layer of modern plaster. The head could be examined after a proper restoration.
- 12) CIMRM 82, 123, 951, 1090, 1125, 1823.
- 13) On the role of the torchbearers in the cult of Mithras see: Malandra 1990; László/Nagy/Szabó 2005, 136-142; Beck 2006, 200-206. – On the iconographic variations see: Hinnells 1976; Volkommer 1992.
- 14) CIMRM 317, 738, 875, 1427, 1499, 1724, 1751, 1977. – AÉ 1905, 28; 1982, 845; 1999, 1329. – IJug II, 1145. – RIU VI, 1531. – Miočević 2011, 331 f. – Sicoe 2014, no. 22.
- 15) Veliciu 2004, 2. – Sicoe 2014, 52 f.
- 16) Beck 2006, 112.
- 17) CIMRM 2000, 2025; Sicoe 2014, no. 56, with two torches (CIMRM 1922, 2130, 2136, 2073), uncrossed legs (CIMRM 1974, 1975, 2000, 2006, 2079, 2172), a *pedum* (CIMRM 1974, 2000, 2015, 2042, 2063, 2149, 2168) or without the Phrygian cap (CIMRM 1974).
- 18) On the so-called Mithras doctrine see: Nagy 2012; Dirven/McCarty 2014. – On the local workshops see: Sicoe 2004; 2014, 59-70.
- 19) CIMRM 80, 82, 83, 95, 123, 165, 227, 254, 296, 431, 477, 504, 506, 849, 857, 875, 918, 951, 1565, 1688, 1770, 1956, 2122, 2185. – Their identification with Cautes was based mainly on the direction of the torches, an argument contested by J. R. Hinnells (1976) and later by R. Beck (2006, 206 ff.). – There are numerous statue fragments representing young, beardless persons with the Phrygian cap which identification is problematic: CIMRM 202, 903, 993, 999, 1274, 1560, 1567, 1987, 1988, 2103; see also: CIMRM 2092; Sicoe 2014, nos 252-256.
- 20) CIMRM 477, 1057, 1167.
- 21) CIMRM 849.
- 22) CIMRM 1770. – On the inside structure and sacred geography of the sanctuaries see: Gordon 1976; Claus 2000, 42 ff.; Beck 2006, 102 ff.; Szabó 2012.
- 23) CIMRM 1956, 1957, 2120, 2122.



- 24) The first publisher of the Mithraic finds does not mention the statues of the torchbearers: Christescu 1927-1932; Daicoviciu 1937-1940. – They appear for the first time as part of the material only in the corpus of M. J. Vermaseren (1978). Today one of the statues is severely damaged (CIMRM 1956). On the discovery of the finds and the so-called Mithraeum I from the field of Oancea see: Szabó 2014, 64f.
- 25) CIMRM 2185. – J. von Hammer-Purgstall (1883) mentions in his monograph that he personally saw the statue in the Brukenthal Museum. All of the Mithraic pieces in that collection came from Alba Iulia, some of them found by Franciscus Kaftal in 1785 (Szabó 2014, 58).
- 26) The sanctuary on the field of Oancea contains eleven important Mithraic pieces, the »Kultbild« represented by a complex relief (CIMRM 1958). The statues should stand in the entrance to the central nave. – Another opinion about the finds: Gordon 2009. The case of the Sarmizegetusa mithraeum is much more difficult, the high number of the statues, their position could suggest the presence of a workshop or a massive spolia cache.
- 27) Sicoe 2014, no. 22.
- 28) On the excavation see: Haynes 2005; Diaconescu et al. 2013, 100.
- 29) CIMRM 1957, 2122, 2185 and our piece. – Since both of the two statues of the torchbearers from Mithraeum I are missing their arms, their identity could be determined only by comparisons and statistics. All the other representations of the torchbearers holding the head of the bull from Dacia are associated with Cautes holding an upraised torch and not with Cautopates, as happens in other analogies (Beck 1977, 4). – R. Volkommer (1992, 618 nos 601-602) introduced the statues as »unsure«.
- 30) CIMRM 1956. See also: D'Amato 2005, 15-17.
- 31) CIMRM 335, 693, 1938, 1957, 1973, 2006, 2122, 2185; Schwertheim 1974, no. 51. – Beck 1977, 4. – Volkommer 1992, 618f. – Possibly also the recently rediscovered CIMRM 1938, where the object in Cautes' left arm could be a *bucranium*.
- 32) Nagy 2012, 53.
- 33) László/Nagy/Szabó 2005, 136ff.; Beck 2006, 207f.; Nagy 2012, 38. – On the critiques and analyses of R. Beck's notion of star talk see: Chalupa 2012.
- 34) Beck 2006, 196, 208.
- 35) CIMRM 124, 408, 694.
- 36) Beck 2006, 208.
- 37) CIMRM 1947. – Szabó 2013a, 47 especially note 12.
- 38) Cumont 1896. – Vermaseren 1978, 41.
- 39) Sicoe 2014, 73-76.
- 40) CIMRM 335, 693. – The exact findspot of the relief from Bononia/Bologna is unknown; it could be also from Rome.
- 41) CIMRM 2084.
- 42) Sicoe 2014, 76.
- 43) CIMRM 2006. – Nemeti 2012, 148; Sicoe 2014, no. 188.
- 44) Carbó García 2010, 165. – Szabó forthcoming. – See also: Beskow 1980.
- 45) Gordon 2009.
- 46) Schwertheim 1974, 56 no. 51. – Merkelbach 1984, 207. E. Schwertheim cites the first publication of W. Haberey mentioning that the monument was found on the Hindenburg street no. 48, which represents the southern part of the late Roman fort. W. Haberey supposed also the existence of a sanctuary there, however there were no systematic excavations. E. Schwertheim cites as analogy CIMRM 1965 and CIMRM 2122.
- 47) Although the topography and some parts of the wall of the late Roman fort was identified, the vicus and the history of the settlement is barely known. The name of the settlement appears also on the *Itinerarium Antonini* (MP XVIII) but it was attested also in the Severan age (CIL XVII 2, 564). About the topography and history of the settlement see: Scharf 2005, 264 note 140 with all the bibliographic references. See also: Haupt 2010, 51. – About the Mithraic finds from the 4<sup>th</sup> century see: Clauss 2000, 28-31.
- 48) Vermaseren 1978, 64.
- 49) CIMRM 2006, 1973.
- 50) Piso 2005. – A possible approach to the dating of the reliefs: Sicoe 2014, 126.

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### Zusammenfassung / Summary / Résumé

#### Bemerkungen zu einer neuen Statue eines Cautes aus Apulum (jud. Alba/RO)

In diesem Artikel werden zwei neu entdeckte Stücke des Mithraskultes präsentiert, die Cautes, den Fackelträger von Mithras, darstellen. Die Statuenfragmente wurden in Zweitverwendung aufgefunden; sie schmückten die Innenwand eines Hauses in Alba Iulia (Karlsburg, Gyulafehérvár). Die Darstellung eines Cautes, der einen Stierkopf hält, ist nur in fünf Beispielen im Römischen Reich bekannt und damit in der Mithrasikonographie sehr selten; vier dieser Funde stammen aus der Provinz Dakien. Eine nähere Untersuchung der Fundzusammenhänge zeigt, dass dieser Bildtypus in Italien auftritt und dann vor allem in der Kolonie Sarmizegetusa sowie der Siedlungsagglomeration Apulum. Hintergrund hierfür ist die Mobilität des Personals des *publicum portorium Illyrici*, das eine Schlüsselrolle in der Verbreitung des Kultes in der Provinz und in der Herausbildung lokaler Werkstätten spielte.

#### Notes on a New Cautes Statue from Apulum (jud. Alba/RO)

In this article the author presents two recently found Mithraic objects, representing Cautes, the torchbearer of Mithras. The statue fragments were discovered in a secondary position, decorating an interior wall of a house in Alba Iulia (Karlsburg, Gyulafehérvár). The depiction representing Cautes holding the head of a bull (*bucranium*) appears very rare in Mithraic iconography, being known only from five examples from the Roman Empire – four of them from the province of Dacia. A detailed contextual analysis shows that this iconographic type appeared in Italy and became popular especially in colonia Sarmizegetusa and the conurbation of Apulum, due to the mobility of the staff of the *publicum portorium Illyrici*, who played a key role in the spread of the cult in the province and in the formation of local workshops.

#### Notes à propos d'une nouvelle statue de Cautes en provenance d'Apulum (jud. Alba/RO)

Dans cet article, l'auteur présente deux objets mithraïques découverts récemment, ils représentent Cautes, le porteur de flambeau de Mithra. Les fragments de statue ont été découverts dans un contexte secondaire, décorant un mur intérieur d'une maison à Alba Iulia (Karlsburg, Gyulafehérvár). Les représentations de Cautes portant la tête d'un taureau (bucrane) sont rares dans l'iconographie mithraïque, seules cinq occurrences dans tout l'empire romain – dont quatre dans la province de Dacie. Une étude de contexte détaillée montre que ce type iconographique apparaît en Italie et devient populaire essentiellement dans la colonie Sarmizegetusa et la conurbation d'Apulum, à cause de la mobilité des personnels du *publicum portorium Illyrici* qui jouaient un rôle clé dans la diffusion du culte dans les provinces comme dans la formation d'ateliers locaux.

Traduction: L. Bernard

### Schlüsselwörter / Keywords / Mots clés

Rumänien / römische Kaiserzeit / Mithras / römische Religion / Ikonographie  
 Romania / Roman Principate / Mithras / Roman religion / iconography  
 Roumanie / empire romain / Mithra / religion romaine / iconographie

#### Csaba Szabó

Universität Erfurt  
 Max-Weber-Kolleg für kultur- und sozialwissenschaftliche Studien  
 Nordhäuser Str. 74  
 99089 Erfurt  
 szabo.csaba.pte@gmail.com

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