

CULT AND VOTIVE MONUMENTS IN THE ROMAN PROVINCES

PROCEEDINGS OF
THE 13TH INTERNATIONAL
COLLOQUIUM ON ROMAN
PROVINCIAL ART

*CORPUS SIGNORUM
IMPERII ROMANI*

CULT AND VOTIVE MONUMENTS IN THE ROMAN PROVINCES

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE 13TH INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON ROMAN PROVINCIAL ART
Bucharest – Alba Iulia – Constanța, 27th of May – 3rd of June 2013
– within the framework of *Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani* –**

Editor
Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu

Mega Publishing House
Cluj-Napoca
2015

IMAGINES

Studies in ancient arts and iconography

3

Series editor Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu

Printed with the financial support of the Romanian Academy.

Editor: Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu.

Editorial board: Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu, Liana Oța, Mihaela Mănucu-Adameșteanu.

Front cover: Fortuna relief found reused in the baths of the Roman auxiliary camp of Ilișua, Bistrița-Năsăud County (Complexul Muzeal Bistrița-Năsăud, Bistrița, inv. no. 23022; photo C.-G.Alexandrescu, ArheoMedia).

Back cover: Detail of the Fortuna and Pontos statue from Tomis (Muzeul de Istorie Națională și Arheologie Constanța inv. no. 2001; photo O. Țiței).

First published 2015.

© Institutul de Arheologie “Vasile Pârvan” & the authors.

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be reprinted or reproduced or utilised in any form or by any electronic, mechanical or other means, now known or hereafter invented, including photocopying and recording, or in any information storage or retrieval system, without the permission in writing from the author and editor.

This book is not for sale. The distribution of printed volumes is to be made through publication exchange and gift.

Descrierea CIP a Bibliotecii Naționale a României

INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON ROMAN PROVINCIAL ART (13 ; 2013 ; București ; Alba Iulia ; Constanța)

Cult and votive monuments in the Roman province : Proceedings of the 13th International Colloquium on Roman provincial art : Bucharest - Alba Iulia - Constanța, 27th of May - 3rd June 2013 : within the frame of Corpus Signorum Imperii Romani / ed.: Cristina-Georgeta Alexandrescu.

- Cluj-Napoca : Mega, 2015

Bibliogr.

ISBN 978-606-543-592-6

I. Alexandrescu, Cristina-Georgeta (ed.)

902/904(063)



EDITURA MEGA | www.edituramega.ro
e-mail: mega@edituramega.ro

CONTENT

8 Abbreviations and used guidelines within the volume

9 **FOREWORD**

CULT AND VOTIVE MONUMENTS – CASE STUDIES OF PARTICULAR DIVINITIES AND SITES

Claudina Romero Mayorga

13 A new interpretation of a mithraic sculpture in Augusta Emerita, Hispania

Jasna Jeličić-Radonić

23 The Cult of Dionysus or Liber – Votive Monuments in Salona

Marija Kolega

33 Sculptures and votive monuments of deities in Aenona

Ante Rendić-Miočević

43 A reconstruction of the central part of the Nymphaeum (fountain) at Varaždinske Toplice (*Aquae Iasae*) with a relief depiction of Nymphs

Adriana Antal

55 *Consecratio in formam Veneris* in Roman Dacia

Iphigeneia Leventi

63 The relief statue base of Nummius Nigreinos, sacred herald of the Eleusinian mysteries. The iconography of Eleusinian cult initiates and officials in Roman Imperial times

Georgia Aristodemou

73 Mars Victor, Victoria and Nemesis Invicta. Three votive reliefs from the ancient theatre of Philippi (Kavala) reconsidered

Aleksandra Nikoloska

87 The world of Dionysos on monuments from the Republic of Macedonia

Exhlale Dobruna-Salihi

97 Three significant reliefs of grapevine and forest deities in Dardania

Wolfgang Wohlmayr

107 Gottheiten und Kulte im nördlichen Teil Noricums nach Aussage der Weihedenkmäler. Ein Blick auf Iuvavum (Salzburg) und sein Umland

ICONOGRAPHY & SYMBOLISM

Ilona Skupinska-Løvset

121 Incense Altars and Visualization of Incense Offerings in Roman Syria

Sorin Nemeti

129 I rilievi dei Cavalieri Danubiani. Spunti per l'interpretazione diacronica delle varianti regionali

Mirjana Sanader

139 Der Januskult in den Provinzen des Römischen Reiches unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Ikonographie zweier Reliefs aus Dalmatien und Dakien

- Nade Proeva**
 149 Les croyances funéraires des Macédoniens: l'héroïsation et la divinisation des défunts à l'époque romaine
- Delphine Seigneuret**
 163 Les panneaux sculptés de Khirbet edh-Dharih (Jordanie centrale): remarques sur la restitution, la technique et l'iconographie
- Luca Bianchi**
 173 Edifici in miniatura ed esigenze d'apparato: l'edicola funeraria pannonic-dacica
- Maria Weiss**
 191 Der bärtige Ruhende auf den Seitenregistern der Mithrasmonumente

"AFTERLIFE" OF CULT AND VOTIVE MONUMENTS

- Piotr Dyczek**
 201 Sculptures from the "templum Aesculapii et Hygiae" in the Legionary Hospital at Novae (Moesia Inferior)
- Jutta Ronke**
 211 Fortuna-Fragmente aus der Germania superior. Zur 'antiken Glücksgöttin von der Baustelle'

CONTEXT & DISPLAY. ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION

- Walburg Boppert – Christine Ertel**
 223 Ein frühkaiserzeitliches Konsolengesims aus dem Theater in Mogontiacum (Mainz, Germania superior)
- Klaus Stefan Freyberger**
 233 Funktion und Bedeutung monumentaler Steinmale in Heiligtümern der östlichen Mittelmeerwelt aus römischer Zeit

VARIA/DISPUTATIONES

- Florina Panait Bîrzescu**
 253 Local cult statues or itinerant coin-types? Some remarks on the iconography of the Western-Pontic coinage
- Manfred Hainzmann**
 263 *SAGUM* – Zu problematischen Datierungsansätzen eines keltisch-römischen Kleidungsstückes

NEW FINDS & PROJECTS

- Lea Stirling – Nejib Ben Lazreg**
 277 A new portrait of Septimius Severus in the Musée Archéologique de Lamta (Tunisia)
- Fulvia Ciliberto**
 287 Un rilievo con zodiaco nabateo a Gerusalemme
- Irina Nemeti – Luminița Săsăran – Emanoil Săsăran**
 295 Monumenti scultorei nelle collezioni del Museo Nazionale di Storia della Transilvania. Studio sulle officine e le cave di pietra della *Dacia Porolissensis*
- Alexandru Gh. Sonoc – Mihai Chiriac**
 305 Brief comments on some Roman provincial sculptures from the Sibiu County
- Adam Jakub Jarych**
 315 How the Romans looted works of art from the third to the first century B.C. – the case of Ambracia's plunder in 189 B.C.

	Filomena Limão – Miguel Pessoa
321	Sculpting Space – The iconography of the architectural sculpture in the Roman Villa of Rabaçal (Portugal)
	Judit Zöldföldi
329	Conditions for successful provenance studies on marble
	Paola Ventura – Annalisa Giovannini
343	Sorelle, spose, madri. Il mondo al femminile nei monumenti funerari di Aquileia
	Guntram Koch
359	Some Considerations on the Sarcophagi of Roman Imperial Times in the Provinces of the Balkans, especially Moesia Inferior
375	PROGRAM OF THE 13TH INTERNATIONAL COLLOQUIUM ON ROMAN PROVINCIAL ART
378	ORGANISERS
379	LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

ABBREVIATIONS AND USED GUIDELINES WITHIN THE VOLUME

The works of ancient writers are quoted using the recommendations in *Der Neue Pauly* III (1997) S. XXXVI–XLIV and *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae Index* (1900).

The abbreviations are using the guidelines of the German Archaeological Institute published on <http://www.dainst.org/publikationen/publizieren-beim-dai/richtlinien>.

Further bibliographical abbreviations are listed at the end of each contribution.

Online sources:

EDH	Epigraphische Datenbank Heidelberg http://www.epigraphische-datenbank-heidelberg.de/
uel	ubi-erat-lupa http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org/
ArheoMedia	http://www.arheomedia.ro/monumente/ .

A NEW INTERPRETATION OF A MITHRAIC SCULPTURE IN AUGUSTA EMERITA, HISPANIA

Claudina Romero Mayorga

Resumen: En el presente trabajo nos proponemos estudiar la iconografía de la escultura conservada en el Museo Nacional de Arte Romano en Mérida, España (inv. no. CE00651), así como también revisar las distintas teorías que se han propuesto desde su descubrimiento a principios del siglo XX. Se intentará aportar nuevos datos e ilustrar las diversas hipótesis de los posibles modelos iconográficos estableciendo paralelismos con otras figuras similares halladas en contexto mitraico en el Imperio romano.

The excavations carried out in Mérida in 1903–1913¹, in San Albin, proved to be extremely important to rebuild the religious life of the *Colonia Iulia Augusta Emerita*. Led by one of the first Spanish archaeologists, José Ramón Mélida, the recovered pieces still convey more questions than answers. Because of the iconography of the findings, scholars began to theorize over the possible presence of a big mithraeum or temple dedicated to oriental divinities in the provincial capital. We are going to centre our attention on one of the sculptures recovered in 1913 which has been catalogued by the Museo Nacional de Arte Romano in Mérida as “Cautopates” or “mithraic figure” (inv. no. CE00651) and it is believed to date back from the end of the second century A.D. The marble sculpture depicts a young man, almost an ephebe, of 120 cm tall with a 8 cm plinth (**fig. 1**). It stands in a soft contrapposto, resting on his right leg while his left is slightly bent, “in the posture similar to Polyclitus’s works”². He is semi-naked, only wears a chlamys fastened by a circular fibula on his right shoulder. He has a beautiful, almost Apollonian face, and his slightly curly hair seems to be prepared for the insertion of a rayed crown³. His right leg is supported by the trunk of a tree and a sitting lion. There might have been another point of support on the left flank of the sculpture, but its base has not been entirely preserved⁴. The piece has also lost the upper extremities and part of the right leg. Given the fragmentary state of the sculpture, there have been several attempts to establish the identity of the figure and understand the role that it would have played in the mithraic context. Some scholars have tried to identify him as one of the dadophors, Helios, an initiated in the cult and as Mithras himself. While Mélida dare not to label it as a mithraic character, he recognizes Cumont’s authority when considering the lion as an attribute of those initiated in the mysteries⁵. García y Bellido associates the feline with the destructive power of the divinities that embody the eternal Time⁶, while others think of it as a solar symbol that belongs to those initiated in the grade of *Leo*⁷.

Although it is based on the iconography of Bacchus and his panther, the short curly hair has centered the researcher’s analysis: Mélida notes that it is reminiscent of Apollo⁸, detail that will also be highlighted by García y Bellido⁹. Subsequent studies emphasize the wavy hair as an attribute of the gods of light, particularly, of Helios¹⁰. This divinity embodied the sun and its qualities, such as its brightness and warmth, with its nutritious effects. The Titan’s iconography was set at a very early date, as the island of Rhodes¹¹ produced coins with the God’s effigy from the fifth century B.C. The deity is depicted as a young man, with rounded face, full cheeks and his hair resembling fire or the sunrays (British Museum, inv. no. GC18p248.201), since the rayed crown is not common in his iconography until the third century B.C.¹². From the sixth century B.C. he is usu-

¹ Mélida 1914, 439–456.

² Mélida 1914, 452.

³ Becatti 1954, 56–91; Cacciotti 2008, 172.

⁴ Cacciotti 2008, 172.

⁵ Mélida 1914, 452.

⁶ García y Bellido 1967, 31.

⁷ Muñoz García Vaso 1989, 812–813.

⁸ Mélida 1914, 452.

⁹ García y Bellido 1967, 31.

¹⁰ Francisco de Casado 1989, 41; Cacciotti 2008, 172.

¹¹ Pind. O., 7, 54.

¹² Pind. O. 7, 54; Plin. nat. 39.7.17.

ally represented in Attic pottery¹³ driving a chariot with white horses¹⁴, clothed as a charioteer or auriga with a golden nimbus that substituted the golden helmet that literary sources describe¹⁵. In the fourth century B.C. the god loses his long charioteer robe¹⁶ and his clothing is reduced to a chlamys covering part of his torso.



Fig. 1 MNAR, inv. no. CE00651.

It is in the Latin literature where the god is assimilated to Apollo and, later, to *Sol Invictus*, appearing also under the name of *Phoebus*¹⁷. This syncretism is also perceived in its iconography: Apollo takes the Helios' chariot, whose nimbus is replaced by the solar rays¹⁸. Although the Roman cult of Sol is usually associated with the oriental cults that became popular in first century A.D.¹⁹, Sol had already some properly Roman roots²⁰. He was considered the creator of the chariot²¹ and had a temple near the *Circus Maximus*²². On the other hand, philosophical ideas from the first century A.D. tended to highlight the primacy of just one god above the others: the Sun god became the divine demiurge and creator par excellence. In Orphic context, the god is assimilated to Apollo²³, since both govern over the Hours and have similar attributes (horses, bow and arrow). The God is, therefore, the ruler of the seasons²⁴. We must remember that Helios not only personified the sunlight but also embodied the passing of time. In his daily journey across the face of the earth²⁵, Helios transited through different celestial points during the year, making his way through the constellations, which represented the annual cycle in constant regeneration²⁶. In Rome, Helios continued the Hellenistic tradition in his iconography: naked, with or without chlamys, a crown with the sun rays and holding a torch, a whip, a sceptre or the celestial sphere²⁷.

¹³ Shear 1916, 289.

¹⁴ Hom. Il. 16.779.

¹⁵ H. hom 31, 9; Kerényi 1951, 192; CVA Hannover, Kestner-Museum 1, 33,4–5, pl. 22.

¹⁶ Elvira Barba 2008, 162.

¹⁷ Especially in Virgil, Ovid and Seneca: Ov. met. 2.118; 4.627; 6.480; 7.323; fast. 2.73; 3.415; Verg. georg. 1.246; 3. 349; Sen. Herc. f. 37; 125; Oed. 1; 120; Stat. Theb. 1.156; Val. Fl. 4.90; 5.408.

¹⁸ Schauenburg 1955–1957, 310–316.

¹⁹ For a better understanding of the process of “solarization” of the Roman Pantheon: Halsberghe 1972, 62; 138–148; Clauss 2000, 12–25.

²⁰ Aug. civ. 4.23; Varro. rust. 1.1.5; Cic. nat. deor. 2.27; Macr. sat. 1.9.

²¹ Hyg. astr. 2.13.

²² Tac. ann. 15.74; Cassiod. var. 3, 51, 6; Tert. spect. 8.1.

²³ Orph. H. 34. 49.

²⁴ Orph. H. 7.5.

²⁵ Hom. Il. 7.422; 8.485; Od. 3.1; 12.1; 10.80; 24.12; h. Hom. 31; Ov. met. 2.118; 4.627; 6.480; 7.323; fast. 2.73; 3.415; Verg. georg. 1.246; 3.349; Sen. Herc. f. 37 and 125; Sen. Oed. 1.120; Stat. Theb. 1.156; Val. Fl. 4.90; 5.408.

²⁶ Orph. h. 8.11.

²⁷ Elvira Barba 2008, 163.



Fig. 2 Sculpture as the god Sol. Drawing by Cristina Ramírez Bueno.

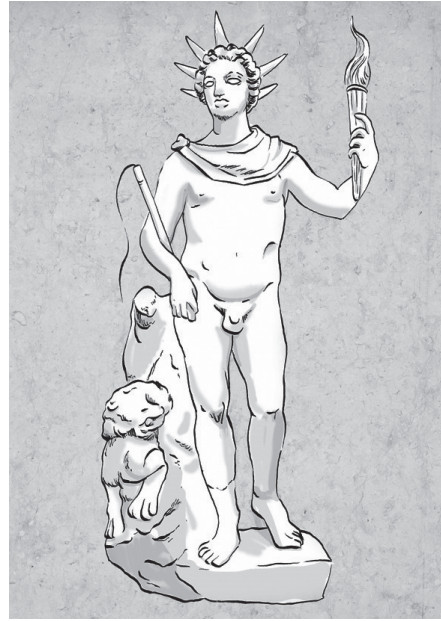


Fig. 3 Sculpture as an initiated in Mithras cult. Drawing by Cristina Ramírez Bueno.

Since its discovery and due to the formal characteristics of the piece from Mérida, scholars have related it with the iconography of Helios/Sol in mithraic context²⁸. Beyond the numerous epigraphic records we have of the association of Mithras-Sol²⁹, this divinity is usually present in the most important icons of the cult: the tauroctony and the ritual feast. In the first ones, it is usual to find Helios or Sun within a roundel, in the upper left corner, opposite Moon. He appears with wavy hair, nimbus or solar-rayed crown and with the chlamys fastened to his shoulder with a round fibula. Sometimes he may also be depicted driving his chariot, although some authors believe him to be his son, Phaeton. The so-called “panelled tauroctonies”³⁰ from Rome and the Danubian provinces, include scenes with a figure that resembles Helios: it is a naked male with chlamys fastened by a fibula, crowned with solar rays and sometimes holds a globe or a scourge³¹.

The frescoes that decorate Marino³² and Barberini³³ mithraic temples show Helios naked, with chlamys and a crown. One of the side scenes is the “Sol submission to Mithras”, which is a depiction difficult to interpret. Sol/Helios appears naked with a nimbus, kneeling before Mithras, easily spotted by his oriental clothing³⁴. Another panel highlights the “pact of friendship” or *dextrarum iunctio* between Sol/Helios and Mithras that seems to follow the episode described above. This would culminate with the “ritual feast”³⁵ and the “apotheosis” represented with Mithras commanding Helios’ chariot³⁶, who accompanies him with the solar-rayed crown and a whip in his right hand, continuing the iconographical tradition of Helios as an auriga. However, if we accept as a valid hypothesis the fact the figure from Mérida is actually a representation of the god Helios/Sun, its presence in mithraic environment constitutes a novelty since it is in round form (fig. 2). In many mithraic sites, altars dedicated to Sol/Helios have been found with the usual iconography and, possibly, the work from Augusta Emerita could resemble the sculptures found in the Mithraeum of Palazzo Imperiale and the Mithraeum of Animals, in Ostia Antica, although both are reduced to the bust type³⁷. These would have the same chronology as the sculpture that centres our attention (end of second century A.D.) and also

²⁸ Becatti 1954, 56.91; Cacciotti 2008, 172.

²⁹ More than 300 inscriptions found in all the Empire <http://db.edcs.eu:8888/epigr/epiergebnis_de> (21.02.2013).

³⁰ Kirichenko 2005, 7–9; Clauss 2000, 54–57; Gordon 1980, 200–227; Lavagne 1974, 493–496.

³¹ Gordon 1980, 208 and 223. We will centre our analysis on the monuments from Rome, as they are also from the end of the second century A.D.

³² Vermaseren 1982, fig. VIII–IX.

³³ CIMRM 389.

³⁴ Some scholars believe that this scene represents the acknowledgment of Mithra’s superiority by the Sun god, while others state that it might be an initiation ritual: Clauss 2000, 150–151; Merkelbach 1984, 378–379.

³⁵ Except for the relief in Lopodunum-Ladenburg, today in Kurpfälzisches Museum, Heidelberg (130 A.D.) where Helios is completely naked.

³⁶ CIMRM 2052 (Sarmizegetusa); CIMRM 1283 (Neuenheim); CIMRM 1740 (Alcsut); CIMRM 2171 (Romula).

³⁷ Becatti 1954, 56; 91; Cacciotti 2008, 172. Mithraeum of the Animals, Reg. IV, Insula II, 11; Mithraeum of the Palazzo Imperiale, Reg. I.

reminds of the iconography of the light/sun divinities: male young face, wavy hair, half- open lips and pierced eye pupils³⁸.

Additionally, the presence of the lion on the right flank has raised the lack of unanimity among experts in identifying the sculpture as a solar deity. The feline was considered a sacred animal in ancient Mediterranean cultures, since its aggressiveness was seen as a manifestation of its power but, at the same time, it could be channelled to develop a protective function. In the Roman world the lion often appears in funerary context, assimilating the brutality of the beast with the unbeaten death³⁹. Due to the great influence of Egyptian culture in Rome from the first century A.D., the lion became a symbol of solar power, which he resembles in his golden mane and ferocity⁴⁰. We should also remember that in the Hellenistic world, the feline is the representation of the zodiac sign of Leo: it is called in astronomy “the house of sun”, as it is the moment when the star shines at its hottest⁴¹. Therefore, we could understand the presence of the lion as a mere attribute that emphasizes the solar nature of the divinity found in Mérida. However, we have just a few previous models to consider for this iconographic prototype. Several coins were minted under Antoninus Pius rule in 144–148 A.D. where a lion is depicted along with a star (the sun) and the bust of the god Helios. This pattern is not new, as it follows the same iconography used in Miletos since the sixth century B.C. in honour of Apollo *Didymeus*⁴².



Fig. 4 Sculpture as a dadophor. Drawing by Cristina Ramírez Bueno.



Fig. 5 Sculpture as Mithras. Drawing by Cristina Ramírez Bueno.

Some scholars have interpreted that the sculpture might represent an initiate in the grade of *Leo*⁴³ or *Heliodromus*⁴⁴. Even though the traditional historiography on the mysteries of Mithras has accepted the existence of seven grades of initiation into the cult that Saint Hieronymus⁴⁵ describes, there is currently a critical view about the viability of this type of structure in the cult, as well as an analytical look at the archaeological findings. Out of the thousand inscriptions dedicated by Mithra's followers, only 15% indicate the grade of the initiated⁴⁶. That is why some authors consider that this hierarchy should be applied only to a priestly

³⁸ Squarciapino 1962, 45–49.

³⁹ Koortbojian 1995, note 45; Toynbee 1971, 264; 279; Walker 1985, 30–31; Claveira Nadal 2001, 22.

⁴⁰ Wit 1951, 20 f.

⁴¹ Ael. NA 12.7; Macr. sat, 1.21.15.

⁴² Fontenrose 1988, 113.

⁴³ Cacciotti 2008, 172; Merkelbach 1984, 102; Bendala Galán 1982, 100–101; CIMRM 775.

⁴⁴ Cacciotti 2008, 172; Merkelbach 1984, 139.

⁴⁵ For a global view of the mithraic hierarchy see Bianchi 1979, 31–47; Sfameni Gasparro 1979, 365–369.

⁴⁶ Clauss 2000, 131.

ordo and not to all the followers⁴⁷. Others, however, argue that the absence of evidence does not imply the lack of grades in certain mithraic communities, just that it was not a standard practice to inform of the initiated details⁴⁸. The epigraphic record indicates that the grades of *Pater* and *Leo* are the most frequent to be found in votive inscriptions⁴⁹. Thanks to the *dipinti* preserved in Santa Prisca mithraeum⁵⁰, we know that the grade of *Leo* was under the protection of Jupiter, although it is in the literary sources where we perceive the strong relationship between this grade and fire. The absence of water in rituals, replaced by honey⁵¹, as well as the description of the fiery breath⁵², seems to allude to the ferocity of the animal that gives the name to the grade. That is why several scholars have considered the lion-headed figure to be this grade protective god⁵³. The mosaic floor of the mithraeum of Felicissimus⁵⁴ in Ostia Antica, shows the whole mithraic hierarchy with panels that contain certain symbols that would allude to each grade. The one corresponding to *Leo* has a fire shovel, a *sistrum* and Jupiter's rays, elements that evoke the fire. Nevertheless, in our opinion, associating the sculpture from Augusta Emerita with the representation of an initiated in the grade of *Leo* is imprecise, as the depictions of Mithra's followers are not only scarce, but those preserved have not resemblance with the sculpture analyzed as well. In Santa Prisca we observe two processions of figures making offerings to a *Pater*, while in the ritual feast in Konjic, Mithras and Sol are accompanied by a figure with a lion mask wearing a short tunic⁵⁵, a detail that also appears in a vase's fragment found in Biesheim mithraeum⁵⁶.

On the other hand, the grade of *Heliodromus* is protected by Helios, as its name indicates. In astronomy, *dromos* is the distance travelled by a celestial body in a certain period; hence the hierarchy would symbolize the Sun's annual journey⁵⁷. In the mithraeum of Felicissimus, the mosaic contains the god's attributes: the torch, the crown with solar rays and the scourge⁵⁸, elements repeated on the altars of Burginatum⁵⁹, Trier⁶⁰ and Köln⁶¹. The torch has been interpreted as an element of bonding/union with the dadophors, especially with Cautes, that also holds the torch upwards. On the Mainz vessel studied in depth by Beck⁶², it is believed that the triad Cautes-*Heliodromus*-Cautopates is symbolising the annual solar course, since the dadophors could represent the spring/fall equinoxes. Porphyry refers to the place of Mithras with these words⁶³:

"To Mithras they assigned his proper seat on the equinoxes. That is why he bears the sword of Aries, the sign of Mars, and why he also straddles the bull of Venus. Like the bull a demiurge and lord of genesis, he is placed on the equator, the north to his right, and the south to his left..."

According to Beck, the initiated in the grade of *Heliodromus* is easily recognizable by his headdress (despite not being a rayed crown, but a strange cap) and the whip holding upwards in his right hand⁶⁴. The sculpture of Augusta Emerita could have held a whip, but unfortunately, the upper extremities have not been preserved (**fig. 3**). Anyway, the representation of *Heliodromus* grade on the vessel wears a long robe and lacks the presence of the lion.

In the so-called "panelled tauroctonies", the lion appears near Cautes in the reliefs of Sarrebourg, Neuenheim⁶⁵ and from Dacia⁶⁶. It is also next to Cautes in the dadophor from Rusicade⁶⁷, while others claim that it would be actually an owl⁶⁸. Furthermore, several depictions from the Dacian province show the lion next to Cautes. The reconstruction of the mithraeum II in Nida/Hedderheim follows the same pattern⁶⁹, although in the mithraeum III it appears below Cautopates⁷⁰. The presence of the feline next to the dado-

⁴⁷ Clauss 1990, 183–194.

⁴⁸ Gordon 1994, 465–467; Gordon 1980, 19–99; Beck 2004, 82.

⁴⁹ See below the notes 46 and 47.

⁵⁰ CIMRM 476; Vermaseren 1965, 148–180.

⁵¹ Porph. antr. 7.

⁵² Tert. adv. Marc. 1.13–14.

⁵³ Aloe Spada 1979, 645.

⁵⁴ CIMRM 299; Laeuchli 1967; Laeuchli 1968, 73–99. The mithraeum of Felicissimus is situated in the Regio V, Insula IX, 1 and dates back to the second half of the third century A.D.

⁵⁵ CIMRM 1896.3, fig. 491.

⁵⁶ Clauss 2000, 117.

⁵⁷ Beck 2004, 67.

⁵⁸ CIMRM 299; Laeuchli 1967; Laeuchli 1968, 73–99; Clauss 2000, 137

⁵⁹ Gordon 1998, 233–237; Horn 1985, 151–155.

⁶⁰ CIMRM 986–987; Schwertheim 1974, 190; Gordon 1998, 232.

⁶¹ Schwertheim 1974, 17–18; Gordon 1998, 234.

⁶² Beck 2004, 55–74; Gordon 1998, 244–245; Horn 1994, 21–66.

⁶³ Porph. antr. 24.

⁶⁴ Beck 2000, 156–157.

⁶⁵ CIMRM 966; 1283; Gordon 1980, 213–214.

⁶⁶ CIMRM 1935; 1972.

⁶⁷ CIMRM 124, Cacciotti 2008, 172.

⁶⁸ Lissi Carona 1986, 33.

⁶⁹ Clauss 2000, 50.

⁷⁰ Clauss 2000, 53; CIMRM 1128.

phor could be understood as symbol of fire, heat, since Cautes is represented with the torch upwards and, according to ancient sources, he favoured the ascent of the souls to immortality through his warmth⁷¹. Some authors claim that the fragment also found in the Cerro de San Albin could belong to our sculpture: it is a left arm whose hand holds a cylindrical element, possibly a torch⁷². Nonetheless, if we analyse the data provided by John R. Hinnells in his work⁷³, we would find that there is not a single attribute that is specific to one or the other dadophor: both share the same iconography. Elements such as *pedum*, cock, tree, bow, bull, ear of wheat, krater, pelta and others are almost interchangeable between them. Besides, very few examples of naked⁷⁴ dadophors are known, as the most frequent iconographic attribute for Cautes and Cautopates is the Phrygian clothing⁷⁵ (fig. 4). Dadophors from the Mithras temple at Güglingen (Römermuseum) are wearing Phrygian cap and torches, and their legs are crossed: nudity in this case is an anecdotal detail that does not prevent the identification of the icon⁷⁶. Also, the dadophors present in the tauroctony of Güglingen follow the iconographical tradition and wear the Eastern outfit.



Fig. 6 MNAR, inv. no. CE00086.

Other scholars consider that the sculpture could represent Mithras himself⁷⁷. The Phrygian clothing not only is an attribute present in cult monuments, but it is also mentioned in ancient literary sources. The Magical Papyrus of Paris refers to the white robe, the red chlamys and the trousers, being the latter a garment reserved for the barbarians and eastern divinities. Moreover, the papyrus also mentions the god's "locks of fire", an allusion to the golden and wavy hair present in the light divinities⁷⁸. On the other hand, Saint Augustin alludes to the *pileus*⁷⁹, the Phrygian cap that is usually present among divinities of Eastern origin. Although nudity is not a common feature in the iconography of the god⁸⁰, except in the *petra genetrix* icon, there are some isolated cases where it is possible to observe Mithras without the oriental attire. In the tauroctonies from the Lower Danube⁸¹, from Gaganica (Thrace)⁸², from Santa Prisca⁸³, from Italy⁸⁴ and from Lopodunum (Germania)⁸⁵, Mithras is depicted nearly naked, covered with a small kilt but maintains the chlamys, perhaps in order to emphasize the fact that he is performing a heroic act while killing the bull⁸⁶. However, we ignore the existence of a sculpture of the same size as the Augusta Emerita one that represents Mithras totally naked, without taking part of the sacrifice or with a lion at his feet (fig. 5).

Perhaps the only parallel we can find with the same characteristics as the one that centre our analysis is the Chronos – Aion in MNAR (inv. no. CE00086) that, according to Bendala Galán, represents the triumph and birth of Mithras⁸⁷ (fig. 6). It depicts a young man with wavy hair and the mask of a lion on his chest, surrounded by other attributes that often appear in the divinities present in the mithraic cycle. Yet, nudity is only common in mithraic iconography when it comes to the subject of his birth, the *petra genetrix*, where the god appears naked, wearing the Phrygian cap rising from a rock and holding a torch or a knife. Nevertheless, some researchers believe that

the lion might be the "symbol" of Mithras himself. Beck leads this theory by accepting the tauroctony is, in fact, a star map that describes the position of the constellations recorded a long time ago. The author explains

⁷¹ Beck 2000, 157–165; Beck 1976, 95–98.

⁷² Mélida 1914, no. 10; Mélida 1925, no. 1087; García y Bellido 1948, no. 4; García y Bellido 1949, 122; García y Bellido 1967, no. 11; CIMRM 775; Francisco de Casado 1989, 41–43; Cacciotti 2008, 172.

⁷³ Hinnells 1976, 45 f.

⁷⁴ CIMRM 951; CIMRM 337.

⁷⁵ Mélida 1914, 452. He admits that in most of the representations, dadophors are not naked, but wear Phrygian clothing, just like Mithras. Hinnells 1976, 50.

⁷⁶ Kortüm – Nath 2002, 116–121.

⁷⁷ Paris 1914, 5–6; Cacciotti 2008, 172.

⁷⁸ PGM IV. 635; 700–705.

⁷⁹ Aug. in Joh. tract. 7.6.

⁸⁰ Bendala Galán 1982, 100.

⁸¹ CIMRM 2196.

⁸² CIMRM 2327.

⁸³ CIMRM 476.

⁸⁴ CIMRM 201. Its origin is unknown.

⁸⁵ CIMRM 1275.

⁸⁶ Clauss 2000, 95.

⁸⁷ Bendala Galán 1982, 104.

that Cautes and Cautopates are the designated boundary markers to west and east, representing the signs/constellations of Taurus and Scorpion. Based on Porphyry, who assigns “his proper seat on the equinoxes”, Beck establishes Mithras’ place in the middle, representing *Leo*⁸⁸.

The comprehensive analysis of the possible attributes of this sculpture has allowed us to establish certain comparisons with other figures of similar characteristics, both in the rest of the Empire as in Lusitania. Even if it is not possible to reach a conclusive result given its fragmentary state, we need to emphasize that its attributes are shared by the deities that embody the powers and benefits of the Sun: nudity, wavy hair and chlamys are elements present in the iconography of Helios, Apollo, Sol and Mithras. Although the hypothesis that postulates that we are in the presence of a representation of an initiate in the *Leo* grade offers a logical explanation for the iconography of the piece, we cannot ignore that it would constitute an exceptional finding in the mithraic archaeological record in the whole Empire. Besides, if we accept the possibility of the Hispanic findings in Cerro de San Albin actually being a whole mithraic iconographic programme, we must not disregard the recurrence of the lion. The feline is also present in the Lion-headed god and the Chronos-Aion figure, a symbol that suggests a special relation among the works mentioned. There is at least one iconographic prototype in the Mithraic mysteries that shows the connection between one god and the lion: it is the bas-relief from Villa Altieri⁸⁹, in Rome, where Mithras is shown in triumph. He is standing on the dead bull holding a knife and the globe, as depicted in several *petra genatrix*. In the superior angles we can find the busts of Sol (left) and Luna (right) accompanied by a lion and a bird, possibly a rooster. Therefore, after this study, we have to take into consideration that the only deity that follows the same iconographic pattern in the mithraic art in the whole empire is, in fact, the sun god, Sol.

Abbreviation used

MNAR Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aloe Spada 1979

C. Aloe Spada, Il Leo nella gerarchia dei gradi Mitriaci, in: U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae. Atti del Seminario Internazionale su “La specificità storico-religiosa dei Misteri di Mithra, con particolare riferimento alle fonti documentarie di Roma e Ostia”*. Rome and Ostia 20–31 March 1978 (Leiden 1979) 639–648.

Becatti 1954

G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia, I Mitrei, II* (Roma 1954).

Beck 2004

R. Beck, *Beck on Mithraism: collected works with new essays* (Hampshire 2004).

Beck 2000

R. Beck, Ritual, Myth, Doctrine and Initiation in the Mysteries of Mithras: New Evidence from a Cult Vessel, *JRS* 90, 2000, 145–180.

Beck 1994

R. Beck, In the place of the lion: Mithras in the Tauroctony, in: J.R. Hinnells (ed.), *Studies in Mithraism*. Paper associated with the Mithraic Panel organized on the occasion of the XVIth Congress of the International Association for the History of Religions, Rome 1990 (Roma 1994) 29–50.

Beck 1976

R. Beck, The seat of Mithras at the equinoxes: Porphyry, *De antro nymphaeum* 24, *JMithrSt* 1, 1976, 95–98.

Bendala Galán 1982

M. Bendala Galán, Reflexiones sobre la iconografía mitraica de Mérida, in: J. Arce (ed.), *Homenaje a Sáenz de Buruaga*, Institución Cultural Pedro de Valencia (Badajoz 1982) 99–108.

Bianchi 1979

U. Bianchi, The initiation structure of the Mithra’s mysteries, in: U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae. Atti del Seminario Internazionale su “La specificità storico-religiosa dei Misteri di Mithra, con particolare riferimento alle fonti documentarie di Roma e Ostia”*. Rome and Ostia 20–31 March 1978 (Leiden 1979) 31–47.

Cacciotti 2008

B. Cacciotti, Culti orientali in Spagna: alcune osservazioni iconografiche, in: J.M. Noguerra Celdrán – E. Conde Guerri (ed.), *Escultura romana en Hispania V* (Murcia 2008) 163–186.

⁸⁸ Beck 1994, 45.

⁸⁹ CIMRM 334.

CIMRM

M.J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Inscriptionum et Monumentorum Religionis Mithriacae* – CIMRM (The Hague 1956).

Claveira Nadal 2001

M. Claveira Nadal, El sarcófago romano. Cuestiones de tipología, iconografía y centros de producción, in: J.M. Noguera Celdrán – E. Conde Guerri (eds.), *El sarcófago romano. Contribuciones al estudio de su tipología, iconografía y centros de Producción. Actas de las Jornadas de Estudio de la Universidad de Murcia*, 8–17 de mayo 2000 (Murcia 2001) 19–47.

Clauss 2000

M. Clauss, *The Roman Cult of Mithras* (London 2000).

Clauss 1990

M. Clauss, Die sieben Grade des Mithras-Kulte, *ZPE* 82, 1990, 183–194.

Elvira Barba 2008

M.A. Elvira Barba, *Arte y Mito* (Madrid 2008).

Fontenrose 1988

J.E. Fontenrose, *Didyma, Apollo's Oracle, Cult and Companions* (California 1988).

Francisco de Casado 1989

M.A. Francisco de Casado, El culto a Mithra en Hispania. Catálogo de monumentos esculpidos e inscripciones (Granada 1989).

García y Bellido 1967

A. García y Bellido, *Les Religions orientales dans l'Espagne Romaine* (Leiden 1967).

García y Bellido 1949

A. García y Bellido, *Esculturas romanas de España y Portugal* (Madrid 1949).

García y Bellido 1948

A. García y Bellido, El culto a Mithras en la península ibérica, *BACRHist* 122, 1948, 283–349.

Gordon 1980

R. L. Gordon, Panelled complications, *JMithrSt* 3, 1980, 200–227.

Gordon 1994

R. L. Gordon, Who worshipped Mithras?, *JRA* 7, 1994, 459–474.

Gordon 1998

R. L. Gordon, Viewing Mithraic Art: the altar from Burginatum (Kalkar), *Germania Inferior*, *ARYS* 1, 1998, 227–258.

Halsberghe 1972

G. H. Halsberghe, *The Cult of Sol Invictus* (Leiden 1972).

Hinnells 1976

J. R. Hinnells, The iconography of Cautus and Cautopates I: the data, *JMithrSt* 1, 1976, 36–67.

Horn 1994

H. G. Horn, Das Mainzer Mithrasgefäß, *Mainzer archäologische Zeitschrift* 1, 1994, 21–66.

Horn 1985

H.G. Horn, Eine Mithras-weihe vom Niederrhein, *Ausgrabungen im Rheinland 1983/84* Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Bonn, *Kunst und Altertum am Rhein*, 122, 1985, 151–155.

Kerényi 1951

C. Kerényi, *The Gods of the Greeks* (London 1951).

Kirichenko 2005

A. Kirichenko, The structure of Mithraic cult images with multiple panels, *Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft*, 8, 2005, 1–15.

Koortbojian 1995

M. Koortbojian, *Myth, Meaning and Memory on Roman Sarcophagi* (Berkeley 1995) <<http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft4199n900&chunk.id=d0e2883&toc.depth=1&toc.id=ch2&brand=ucpress>> (20.02.2013).

Kortüm – Nath 2002

K. Kortüm – A. Nath, Römer im Zabergäu. Ausgrabungen im vicus von Güglingen, Kreis Heilbronn, AAusgrBadWürt 2002, 116–121.

Laeuchli 1968

S. Laeuchli, Urban Mithraism, *The Biblical Archaeologist* 31, 1968, 73–99.

Laeuchli 1967

S. Laeuchli, Mithraism in Ostia. Mystery Religion and Christianity in the Ancient Port of Rome (Evanston 1967).

Lavagne 1974

H. Lavagne, Les reliefs mithriaques à scènes multiples en Italie, *Mélanges de philosophie, de littérature et d'histoire ancienne offerts à Pierre Boyancé*, Publications de l'École Française de Rome, 1974, 481–504.

Lissi Carona 1986

E. Lissi Carona, *Il Mitreo dei Castra Peregrinorum*: S. Stefano Rotondo (Leiden 1986).

Mélida 1914

J.R. Mélida, Cultos Emeritenses de Serapis y de Mithras, *BACRHist* 64, 1914, 439–456.

Mélida 1925

J.R. Mélida, *Catálogo Monumental de España. Provincia de Badajoz (1907–1910)* (Madrid 1925).

Merkelbach 1984

R. Merkelbach, *Mithras* (Hain 1984).

Muñoz García Vaso 1989

J. Muñoz García Vaso, *El culto de Mithra en Hispania: caracteres específicos* (Ph.D. diss. UNED, Madrid 1989).

Paris 1914

P. Paris, Restes du Culte de Mithra en Espagne. Le Mithraeum de Mérida, *RA* 1914, 1–31.

Schauenburg 1955–1957

K. Schauenburg, *Helios. Archäologisch-mythologische Studien über den antiken Sonnengot* (Berlin 1955–1957).

Schwertheim 1974

E. Schwertheim, *Die Denkmäler orientalischer Gottheiten im römischen Deutschland*, *EPRO* 40 (Leiden 1974).

Sfameni Gasparro 1979

G. Sfameni Gasparro, *Il mitraismo: una struttura religiosa fra tradizione e invenzione* in: U. Bianchi (ed.), *Mysteria Mithrae. Atti del Seminario Internazionale su “La specificità storico-religiosa dei Misteri di Mithra, con particolare riferimento alle fonti documentarie di Roma e Ostia”*. Rome and Ostia 20–31 March 1978 (Leiden 1979) 349–384.

Shear 1916

T. L. Shear, Head of Helios from Rhodes, *AJA* 20/3, 1916, 283–298.

Squarciapino 1962

M.F. Squarciapino, *I culti Orientali ad Ostia* (Leiden 1962).

Toynbee 1971

J.M.C. Toynbee, *Death and burial in the Roman world* (London 1971).

Vermaseren 1982

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

Vermaseren 1965

M.J. Vermaseren, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca* (Leiden 1965).

Walker 1985

S. Walker, *Memorials to the Roman Dead* (London 1985).

Wit 1951

C. Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leiden 1951).

