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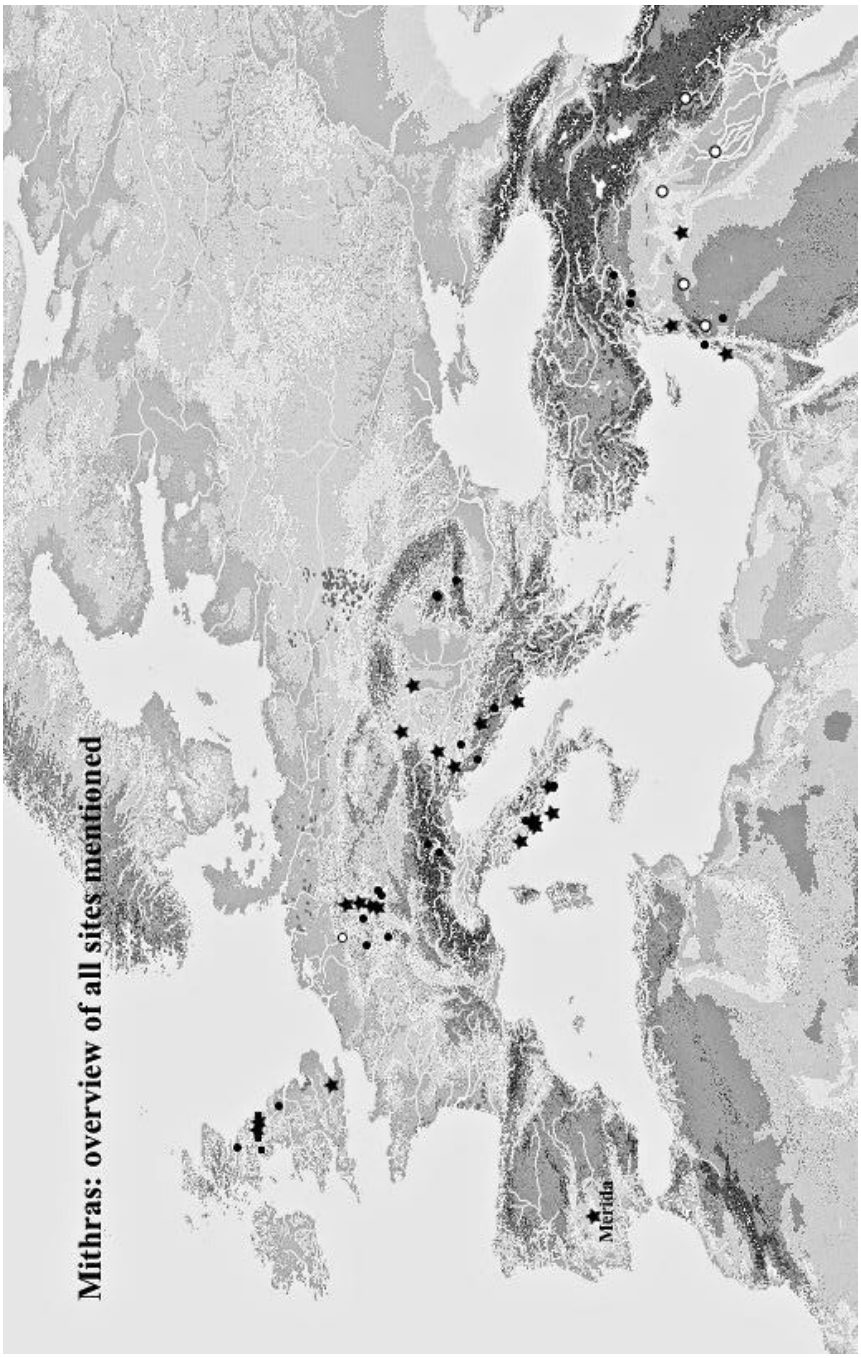
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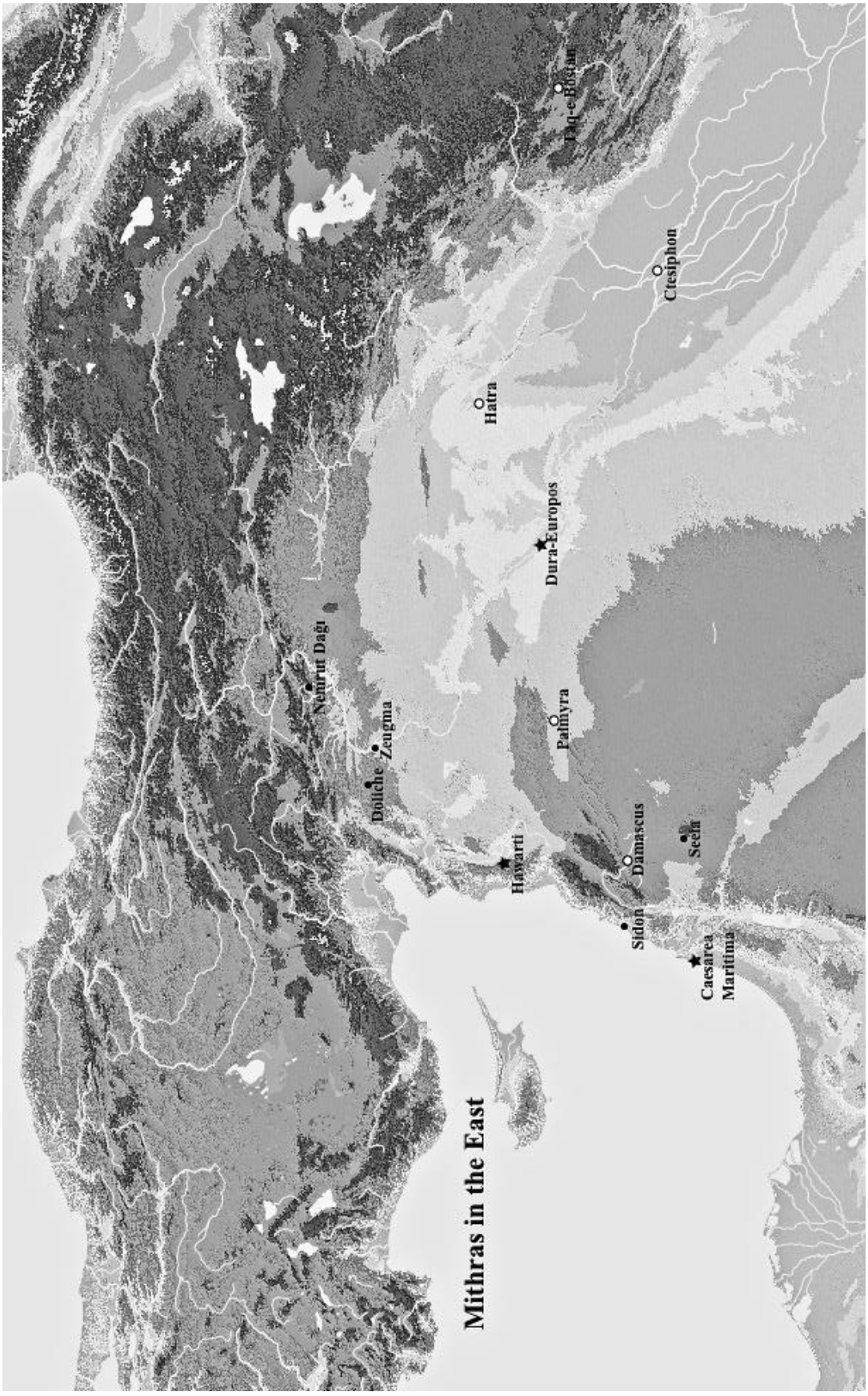
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Map key:

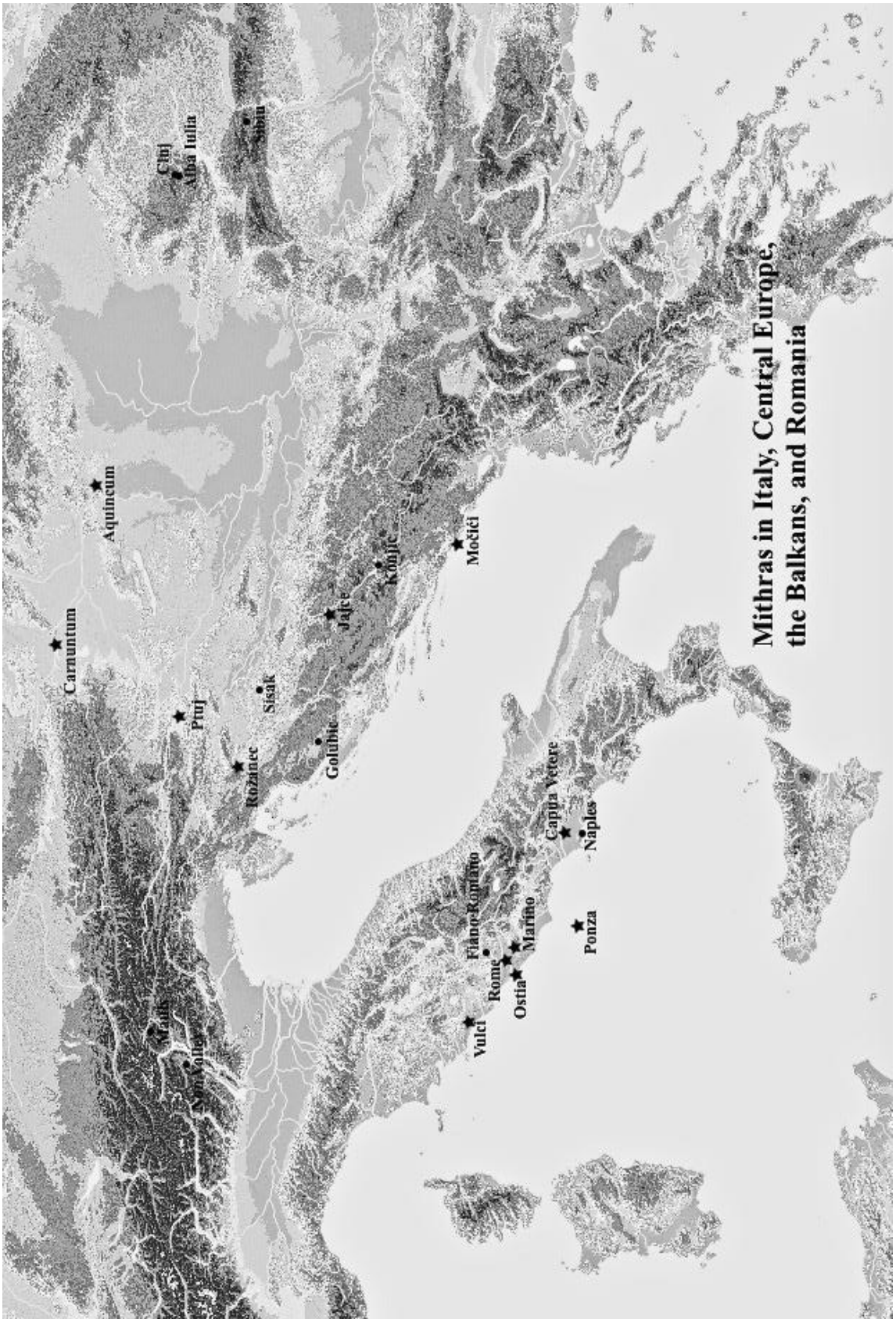
- findspot, discussed in thesis
- ○ contextual site
- ★ *mithraeum*, discussed in text
- ▪ contextual fort along Hadrian's wall



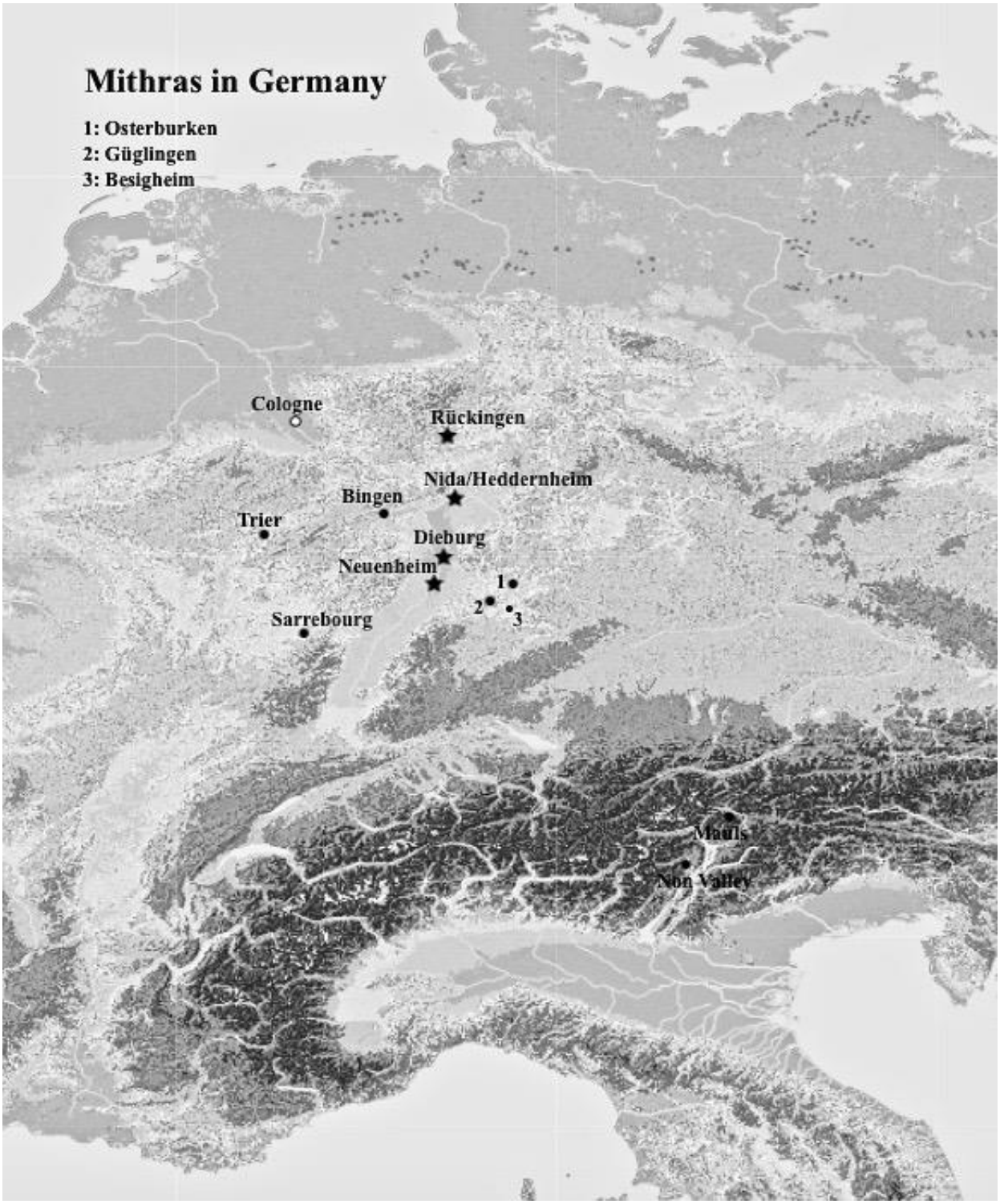
Map 2. Mithras in the East



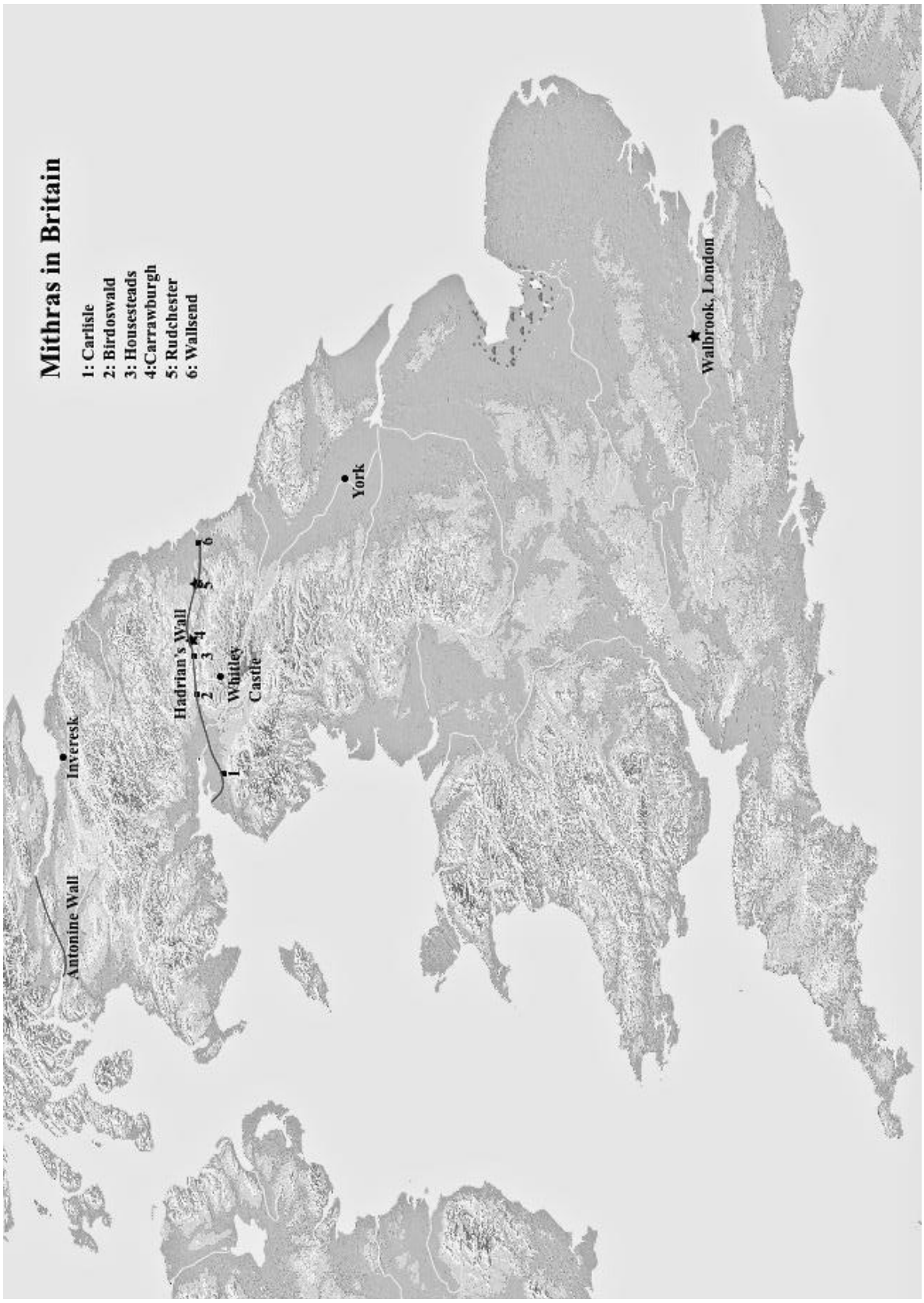
Map 3. Italy, Central Europe, the Balkans, and Romania



Map 4. Mithras in Germany



Map 5. Mithras in Britain



Plan 1. Plan of Dura Europos, showing the location of the *mithraeum*.
Image: Robert Bracey.

Plan 2. *Mithraea* in Ostia
From Becatti 1954, 132.

Plan 3. *Mithraea* in Rome
From Bjørnebye 2005, 226.
Map: Margaret M. Andrews.

Table I. *Mithraea* in Ostia.
After White 2012, 441-443.

Sanctuary	Year established	Year of excavation	Size (m)	Community	Other functions of building	Water basin
Mitreo dei Pareti Dipinte, *CIMRM* 264.	ca. AD 162	1939-40	17.75 x 4	21-28	Domestic quarters and peristyle of house.	Yes
Mitreo delle Sette Sfere, *CIMRM* 239.	ca. AD 170-180	1802-04	11.2 x 4.95	27-32	Room annexed to Domus del Apuleio.	Yes
Mitreo delle Sette Porte, *CIMRM* 288.	ca. AD 170-180	1938-42	7.05 x 5.8	22-28	*Cella* of converted *horreum*.	Yes
Mitreo degli Animali, *CIMRM* 278.	ca. AD 198	1867	16.3 x 4.5	15-18	Next to precinct of Magna Mater.	No
Mitreo del Palazzo Imperiale, *CIMRM* 250.	ca. AD 193-200	1860-61	16.7 x 5.35	33-40	Rectangular hall off the peristyle.	No
Mitreo della Planta Pedis, *CIMRM* 272.	ca. AD 204-211	1939-40	12 x 8.5	20-23	Loggia adjacent to *horreum* and near Serapeum.	Yes
Mitreo di Lucrezio Menandro, *CIMRM* 224.	3rd Century	1938-42	8.15 x 4.2	15-20	Rooms in *domus*.	No
Mitreo delle Terme del Mitra, *CIMRM* 229.	3rd Century	1939	15.37 x 4.55	27-31	Service corridor beneath baths. Divided into two parts by arch 6.55 metres from entrance.	No
Mitreo dei Fructosus, *CIMRM* 226.	Second half of 3rd Century	1938-42	5 x 6	14-17	Vaulted room beneath *collegia* sanctuary.	No
Mitreo presso Porta Romana, *CIMRM* 238	Second half of 3rd Century	1919	14.96 x 5.9	30-38	Part of *horreum*.	Yes
Mitreo del Caseggiato di Diana, *CIMRM* 216.	Second half of 3rd Century	1914-15	8 x 6.1	22-28	Two rooms in ground floor of *insula*.	Yes
Mitreo di Felicissimus, *CIMRM* 299.	Second half of 3rd Century	1940	10.35 x 11.1	26-33	Rooms in *domus*.	Yes
Mitreo dei Serpenti, *CIMRM* 294.	Second half of 3rd Century	1940	11.97 x 5.15	32-38	*Taberna*.	No.

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Figure 1: Dura-Europos mithraeum; hunting fresco. CIMRM 52.
Location: Yale University Art Gallery.
Photo: Author.

Figure 2: Dura-Europos mithraeum; Ethpeni relief. CIMRM 37.
Location: Yale University Art Gallery.
Photo: Author.

Figure 3: Dura-Europos *mithraeum*; Zenobius relief. *CIMRM* 40.
Location: Yale University Art Gallery.
Photo: Author.

Figure 4: Dura-Europos *mithraeum*; Zenobius relief, detail of patron. *CIMRM* 40.
Location: Yale University Art Gallery.
Photo: Author.

Figure 5: Dura-Europos *mithraeum*; series of frescoes. *CIMRM* 42.
Location: Yale University Art Gallery.
Photo: Author.

Figure 6: Dura-Europos *mithraeum*; detail of banquet with raven attendant. *CIMRM* 42.
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Photo: Author.

Figure 7: Dura-Europos *mithraeum*; outer arch – Mithras, Cautes, Cautopates. *CIMRM* 45.
Plate: Baur, Rostovtzeff & Bellinger (1929-1944) plate XVIII 2.

Figure 8: Dura-Europos *mithraeum*; *patres* frescoes. *CIMRM* 44.
Location: Yale University Art Gallery.
Photo: Author.

Figure 9: Dura-Europos, Temple of Palmyrene Gods; fresco of Conon sacrificing.
Location: National Museum, Damascus.
Photo: Public domain.

Figures 10 and 11: Seeia; tauroctony relief 1. *CIMRM* 88; Seeia; tauroctony relief 2. *CIMRM* 89.
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Plate: Frothingham (1918) plate III; Will (1952) plate VI 2.

Figures 12 and 13: Sidon; statue of Cautes. *CIMRM* 82; Sidon; statue of Cautopates. *CIMRM* 83.
Location: Musée du Louvre.
Photo: Author.

Figure 14: Israel Museum in Jerusalem; tauroctony relief.
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Photo: Gordon 2001b, 1.

Figure 15: Naples Archaeological Museum; tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 172.
Location: Naples Archaeological Museum.
Photo: Author.

Figure 16: Hawarti *mithraeum*; fresco of lions.
Photo: Gawlikowski 2007, 343.

Figure 17: Hawarti *mithraeum*; fresco of white horse and rider.
Gawlikowski 2007, 343.

Figure 18: Hawarti *mithraeum*; fresco of city of darkness.
Gawlikowski 2007, 344.

Figure 19: Hawarti *mithraeum*, fresco of gigantomachy.
Gawlikowski 2007, 345.

Figure 20: Hawarti *mithraeum*; fresco of a series of divine figures.
Gawlikowski 2007, 345.

Figure 21: Konjic; tauroctony relief – banquet side. *CIMRM* 1896.
Location: National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Vermaseren 1956-1960, II. Fig. 491.

Figure 22: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia. *CIMRM* 299.
Photo: Author.

Figure 23: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia; whole mosaic. *CIMRM* 299.

Figure 24: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia; detail of basin. *CIMRM* 299.
Photo: Author.

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Figure 26: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia; *krater* and helmets. *CIMRM* 299.
Photo: Author.

Figure 27: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia; *corax*. *CIMRM* 299.
Photo: Author.

Figure 28: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia; *nymphus*. *CIMRM* 299.
Photo: Author.

Figure 29: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia; *miles*. *CIMRM* 299.
Photo: Author.

Figure 30: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia; *leo*. *CIMRM* 299.
Photo: Author.

Figure 31: Turowite; tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 2338.
Location: National Museum, Plovdiv.
Merkelbach 1984, 392.

Figure 32: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia; *Perses*. *CIMRM* 299.
Photo: Author.

Figure 33: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia; *heliodromus*. *CIMRM* 299.
Photo: Author.

Figure 34: Mainz cup; procession scene.
Location: Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt.
Photo: Author.

Figure 35: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia; *pater*. *CIMRM* 299.
Photo: Author.

Figure 36: Mitreo di Felicissimus, Ostia; dedicatory inscription. *CIMRM* 299.
Photo: Author.

Figure 37: Mitreo degli Animali, Ostia. *CIMRM* 278.
Photo: Author.

Figure 38: Mitreo degli Animali, Ostia; '*leo-Perses*'. *CIMRM* 279.
Photo: Author.

Figure 39: Santa Prisca *mithraeum*, Rome; fresco of seven grades. *CIMRM* 480.
Figure: Vermaseren & Van Essen 1965, fig. 8.

Figure 40: Santa Prisca *mithraeum*, Rome; fresco of the cave. *CIMRM* 483.
Photo: Bianchi 1979, Appendix I, Table X.

Figure 41: Mitreo delle Pareti Dipinte, Ostia; fresco of a veiled woman. *CIMRM* 268.
Photo: Eric Taylor, from http://www.ostia-antica.org/regio3/1/1-6.htm.

Figure 42: Mitreo delle Pareti Dipinte, Ostia; fresco of two men. *CIMRM* 268.
Photo: Eric Taylor, from http://www.ostia-antica.org/regio3/1/1-6.htm.

Figure 43: Mitreo delle Pareti Dipinte, Ostia; fresco of Cautopates. *CIMRM* 268.
Photo: Eric Taylor, from http://www.ostia-antica.org/regio3/1/1-6.htm.

Figure 44: Capua Vetere *mithraeum*; *CIMRM* 180.
Photo: Author.

Figure 45: Capua Vetere *mithraeum*; ceiling. *CIMRM* 180.
Photo: Author.

Figure 46: Capua Vetere *mithraeum*; fresco of Cautes. *CIMRM* 182.
Photo: Author.

Figure 47: Capua Vetere *mithraeum*; fresco of Cautopates. *CIMRM* 183.
Photo: Author.

Figure 48: Capua Vetere *mithraeum*; fresco of initiation? *CIMRM* 187.
Photo: Vermaseren 1956-1960, fig. 57.

Figure 49: Capua Vetere *mithraeum*; fresco of initiation? *CIMRM* 188.
Photo: Vermaseren 1956-1960, fig. 58.

Figure 50: Capua Vetere *mithraeum*; fresco of initiation? *CIMRM* 191.
Photo: Vermaseren 1956-1960, fig. 59.

Figure 51: Capua Vetere *mithraeum*; fresco of initiation? *CIMRM* 194.
Photo: Author.

Figure 52: Capua Vetere *mithraeum*; fresco of initiation? *CIMRM* 193.
Photo: Author.

Figure 53: Mainz cup; scene of initiation?
Location: Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt.
Photo: Author.

Figure 54: Riegel sword.
Location: Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe.
Photo: Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe.

Figure 55: Besigheim relief. *CIMRM* 1301.
Photo: Vermaseren 1956-1960 II, Fig. 345.

Figure 56: Walbrook *mithraeum*, London; original excavation photograph.
Photo: MOLA 2017, 87.

Figure 57: Mitreo dei Serpenti, Ostia. *CIMRM* 294.
Photo: Author.

Figure 58: Vulci *mithraeum*.
Photo: Author.

Figure 59: Nida/Heddernheim *mithraeum*, reconstruction.
Location: Stadtmuseum Wiesbaden.
Photo: Stadtmuseum Wiesbaden.

Figure 60: Mitreo delle Terme del Mitra, Ostia. *CIMRM* 229.
Photo: Author.

Figure 61: Mitreo delle Terme del Mitra, Ostia; tauroctony statue. *CIMRM* 230.
Photo: Author.

Figure 62: San Clemente *mithraeum*, Rome. *CIMRM* 338.
Photo: Author.

Figure 63: Mitreo delle Pareti Dipinte, Ostia. *CIMRM* 264.
Photo: Author.

Figure 64: Mitreo presso Porta Romana, Ostia. *CIMRM* 238.
Photo: Author.

Figure 65: Atimetus tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 546.
Location: Vatican Museum.
Photo: Author.

Figure 66: Mauls tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 1400.
Location: Südtiroler Archäologiemuseum in Bozen.
Merkelbach 1984, 368.

Figure 67: Konjic tauroctony relief; tauroctony side. *CIMRM* 1896.
Location: National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.
Photo: National Museum of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Figure 68: Mitreo del Caseggiato di Diana, Ostia; niche. *CIMRM* 261.
Photo: Author.

Figure 69: Močići *mithraeum*. *CIMRM* 1882.
Photo: Adrych et al. 2017, fig. 3.8. Image courtesy of Bruno Bijidija.

Figure 70: Rožanec *mithraeum*. *CIMRM* 1481.
Photo: Public domain.

Figure 71: Jajce *mithraeum*. *CIMRM* 1901.
Photo: Adrych et al. 2017, fig. 3.7. Image courtesy of Dževad Hadžihasanović.

Figure 72: Marino *mithraeum*; tauroctony fresco.
Photo: Author.

Figure 73: Capua Vetere *mithraeum*; tauroctony fresco. *CIMRM* 181.
Photo: Author.

Figure 74: Barberini *mithraeum*, Rome; tauroctony fresco. *CIMRM* 390.
Photo: Author.

Figure 75: Caesarea Maritima *mithraeum*.
Photo: Carole Raddato 2014, https://www.flickr.com/photos/carolemage/15474922579/.
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Figure 76: Doliche *mithraeum* 1.
Photo: Lenk 2017, fig. 3.10. Image courtesy of Forschungsstelle Asia Minor, Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität Münster.

Figure 77: Sisak tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 1472.
Location: Archaeological Museum Zagreb.

Photo: Tom Ljevar 2014.

Figure 78: Trier tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 985.
Location: Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier.
Photo: Merkelbach 1984, 336.

Figure 79: Ponza *mithraeum*; zodiac stucco.
Photo: From http://www.ponzaracconta.it/2012/08/04/il-mitreo-di-ponza-e-il-culto-di-mitra-spunti-dal-libro-di-silverio-lamonica/.

Figure 80: Mitreo delle Sette Sfere, Ostia. *CIMRM* 239.
Photo: Author.

Figure 81: Diagram of astrological layout of Mitreo delle Sette Sfere.
Diagram: Gordon 1976, 127.

Figure 82: Mitreo delle Sette Porte, Ostia. *CIMRM* 288.
Photo: Bill Storage.

Figure 83: Cassia Priscilla relief.
Location: Naples Archaeological Museum.
Photo: Grabar 1967, fig. 72.

Figure 84: Neuenheim tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 1283.
Location: Badisches Landesmueum Karlsruhe.
Photo: Merkelbach 1984, 354.

Figure 85: Dieburg *mithraeum*; tauroctony relief, hunting side. *CIMRM* 1247.
Location: Kreismuseum Dieburg.
Photo: Merkelbach 1984, 359.

Figure 86: Dieburg *mithraeum*; tauroctony relief, hunting side, top panel. *CIMRM* 1247.
Location: Kreismuseum Dieburg.
Photo: Merkelbach 1984, 360.

Figure 87: Sibiu tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 1935.
Location: Brukenthal National Museum, Sibiu.
Photo: Merkelbach 1984, 383.

Figure 88: Cluj tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 1920.
Location: National Museum of Transylvanian History, Cluj.
Photo: Merkelbach 1984, 382.

Figure 89: Alba Iulia tauroctony relief 1. *CIMRM* 1958.
Location: National Museum of the Union, Alba Iulia.
Photo: Merkelbach 1984, 384.

Figure 90: Alba Iulia tauroctony relief 2. *CIMRM* 1972.
Location: National Museum of the Union, Alba Iulia.
Photo: Merkelbach 1984, 385.

Figure 91: Fiano Romano relief, tauroctony side. *CIMRM* 641.
Location: Musée du Louvre, Lens.
Photo: © 2007 RMN / Hervé Lewandowski.

Figure 92: Fiano Romano relief, banquet side. *CIMRM* 641.
Location: Musée du Louvre, Lens.
Photo: © 2007 RMN / Hervé Lewandowski.

Figure 93: Nida Heddernheim *mithraeum* I; reconstructed relief, tauroctony side. *CIMRM* 1083.
Location: Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt.
Photo: Author.

Figure 94: Nida Heddernheim *mithraeum* I; reconstructed relief, banquet side. *CIMRM* 1083.
Location: Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt.
Photo: Author.

Figure 95: Nida Heddernheim *mithraeum* I; relief, comparison of both sides. *CIMRM* 1083.
Location: Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt.
Photo: Author.

Figure 96: Rückingen relief, tauroctony side. *CIMRM* 1137.
Location: Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe.
Photo: Merkelbach 1984, 364.

Figure 97: Rückingen relief, banquet side. *CIMRM* 1137.
Location: Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe.
Photo: Merkelbach 1984, 365.

Figure 98: Castra Praetoria relief, tauroctony side. *CIMRM* 397.
Photo: Cumont 1902, 11.

Figure 99: Castra Praetoria relief, banquet side. *CIMRM* 397.
Photo: Cumont 1902, 11.

Figure 100: Santa Prisca fresco, detail of raven's head. *CIMRM* 483.
Photo: Bianchi 1979, Appendix I, Table X.

Figure 101: York tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 835.
Location: Yorkshire Museum.
Plate: Wellbeloved 1842, Plate IX.1.

Figure 102: Carrawburgh *mithraeum*; altar. *CIMRM* 847.
Location: Great North Museum, Newcastle on Tyne.
Photo: Janet E. Davis.

Figure 103: Inveresk; Sol altar.
Location: National Museum of Scotland.

Photo: AOC Archaeology Group.

Figure 104: Carnuntum *mithraeum* III; rock-birth. *CIMRM* 1687.
Location: Museum Carnuntinum, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg.
Photo: kisstamas36 2010.

Figure 105: Aquincum *mithraeum* II; rock-birth. *CIMRM* 1756.
Location: Aquincum Archaeological Park.
Photo: Public domain.

Figure 106: Güglingen; rock-birth.
Location: Römisches Freilichtmuseum Hechingen-Stein, St-Schmidt-Lawrenz
Photo: Römisches Freilichtmuseum Hechingen-Stein, St-Schmidt-Lawrenz

Figure 107: Bingen altar. *CIMRM* 1241.
Location: Museum am Strom.
Photo: Merkelbach 1984, 361.

Figure 108: Inveresk; Mithras altar.
Location: National Museum of Scotland.
Photo: AOC Archaeology Group.

Figure 109: Inveresk; Mithras altar, inscription.
Location: National Museum of Scotland.
Photo: AOC Archaeology Group.

Figure 110: Inveresk; Mithras altar, griffin side.
Location: National Museum of Scotland.
Photo: AOC Archaeology Group.

Figure 111: Inveresk; Mithras altar, lyre side.
Location: National Museum of Scotland.
Photo: AOC Archaeology Group.

Figure 112: Merida; statue of Mercury. *CIMRM* 780.
Location: Museum of Roman Art, Merida.
Photo: Author.

Figure 113: Nemrut Dağı; statue head. *CIMRM* 29.
Photo: Dalglish 2017b, fig. 6.5. Image: Klearchos Kapoutsis, Creative Commons Licence.

Figure 114: Nemrut Dağı; stele. *CIMRM* 30.
Photo: Dalglish 2017b, fig. 6.3. Image courtesy of Miguel John Versluys.

Figure 115: Sofraz Köy stele.
Location: Gaziantep Museum, Turkey.
Photo: Dalglish 2017b, fig. 6.9. Image courtesy of Charles Crowther.

Figure 116: Rudchester *mithraeum*; altar 1. *CIMRM* 841.
Location: Great North Museum, Newcastle on Tyne.

Figure: Per Lineam Valli.

Figure 117: Rudchester *mithraeum*; altar 2. *CIMRM* 842.
Location: Great North Museum, Newcastle on Tyne.
Photo: Per Lineam Valli.

Figure 118: Rudchester *mithraeum*; altar 3. *CIMRM* 843.
Location: Great North Museum, Newcastle on Tyne.
Photo: Per Lineam Valli.

Figure 119: Rudchester *mithraeum*; altar 3, various readings. *CIMRM* 843.
Roman Inscriptions of Britain 1397.

Figure 120: Rudchester *mithraeum*; altar 4. *CIMRM* 839-840.
Location: Great North Museum, Newcastle on Tyne.
Photo: Per Lineam Valli.

Figure 121: Whitley Castle altar, Apollo *Citharoedus* side?
Location: Great North Museum, Newcastle on Tyne.
Photo: Hunter, Henig, Sauer & Gooder 2016, fig. 25. Scans by NU Digital Heritage, Newcastle University, by courtesy of Dr R. Collins.

Figure 122: Whitley Castle altar, sun-god side?
Location: Great North Museum, Newcastle on Tyne.
Photo: Hunter, Henig, Sauer & Gooder 2016, fig. 25. Scans by NU Digital Heritage, Newcastle University, by courtesy of Dr R. Collins.

Figure 123: Whitley Castle altar, libation side?
Location: Great North Museum, Newcastle on Tyne.
Photo: Hunter, Henig, Sauer & Gooder 2016, fig. 25. Scans by NU Digital Heritage, Newcastle University, by courtesy of Dr R. Collins.

Figure 124: Whitley Castle altar, torchbearer side?
Location: Great North Museum, Newcastle on Tyne.
Photo: Hunter, Henig, Sauer & Gooder 2016, fig. 25. Scans by NU Digital Heritage, Newcastle University, by courtesy of Dr R. Collins.

Figure 125: Carrawburgh *mithraeum*; statue. *CIMRM* 850.
Location: Great North Museum, Newcastle on Tyne.
Photo: Hunter, Henig, Sauer & Gooder 2016, fig. 26. (© Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle upon Tyne/Great North Museum).

Figure 126: Merida; statue of Mithras? *CIMRM* 773.
Location: Museum of Roman Art, Merida.
Photo: Peter Stewart, 2009. Creative Commons Licence.

Figure 127: Merida; statue of Oceanus. *CIMRM* 778.
Location: Museum of Roman Art, Merida.
Photo: Peter Stewart, 2009. Creative Commons Licence.

Figure 128: Sidon; tauroctony statue. *CIMRM* 76.
Location: Musée du Louvre.
Photo: Author.

Figure 129: Sidon; leontocephaline statue. *CIMRM* 78.
Location: Musée du Louvre.
Photo: Author.

Figure 130: Sidon; hekateion. *CIMRM* 84.
Location: Musée du Louvre.
Photo: Author.

Figure 131: Sidon; tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 75.
Location: Musée du Louvre.
Photo: Author.

Figure 132: Walbrook *mithraeum*; head of Mithras. *CIMRM* 815.
Location: Museum of London.
Photo: MOLA 2017, 98.

Figure 133: Walbrook *mithraeum*; tauroctony relief. *CIMRM* 810.
Location: Museum of London.
Photo: MOLA 2017, 99.