

THE MYSTERY OF MITHRAS

EXPLORING THE HEART OF A ROMAN CULT

Edited by Laurent Bricault, Richard Veymiers and Nicolas Amoroso
with the collaboration of Laure Barthet, Margaux Bekas, Pascal Capus,
Alexandra Dardenay, Wolfgang David and Carsten Wenzel

MUSÉE ROYAL DE MARIEMONT 2021

THE MYSTERY OF MITHRAS. EXPLORING THE HEART OF A ROMAN CULT

Catalogue of the exhibition presented at the Musée royal de Mariemont from 20 November 2021 to 17 April 2022, at the Musée Saint-Raymond de Toulouse from 14 May 2022 to 30 October 2022, and at the Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt from 19 November 2022 to 15 April 2023.

Musée royal de Mariemont

Richard Veymiers, Director
Nicolas Amoroso, Curator of the Department of Greek
and Roman Antiquities
Laurent Bricault, Professor of Roman History at the Université
Toulouse – Jean Jaurès

Musée Saint-Raymond de Toulouse

Laure Barthet, Director
Pascal Capus, Assistant Curator and Head of the Sculpture
and Numismatic Collections
Margaux Bekas, Heritage Curator

Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt

Wolfgang David, Director
Carsten Wenzel, Curator of the Roman Provincial Collections

Publication Manager

Jean-Sébastien Balzat

Graphic Designer

Justine Periaux

Photographer

Andy Simon

Translator

Gil H. Renberg

Cover illustration: **Relief with image of Mithras killing the bull**, in gilded stucco,
c. 200 C.E. Frankfurt am Main, Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung, inv. 333.

Legal Deposit : 2021/0451/192
ISBN : 978-2-930469-86-7
PLU : 1343



Printed by Snel Grafics s.a. - November 2021



CONTENTS

7	Forewords
11	Acknowledgments
17	List of Authors
20	General Map
22	Timeline
	I. AN INTRODUCTION TO MITHRAS
27	Mithras before Rome Philippe Swennen & Laurent Bricault
39	Mithras in Roman Polytheism Corinne Bonnet
51	A Brief History of Mithraic Studies Richard Gordon
61	Mithras Today: A Roman God in the 20th and 21st Centuries Mathieu Scapin, Laurent Bricault & Richard Veymiers
73	The Avestan Hymn to Mithras Philippe Swennen
77	From the Capitoline Hill to Louvre-Lens: The Modern Journey of a Mithraic Relief Laurent Bricault & Richard Veymiers
87	Franz Cumont and Mithras Danny Praet & Annelies Lannoy
94	Catalogue (I.1-12)
	II. A FRAGMENTED MYTHOLOGY
121	The Myth of Mithras: A Reconstructed Story Jaime Alvar & Laurent Bricault
133	The Image of a Cult: The Tauroctony Dietrich Boschung
143	Coins and Gems: Mithraic Miniatures Laurent Bricault & Richard Veymiers
153	Mithras and Philosophy: The Exegesis of Porphyry Andreea-Maria Lemnaru-Carrez
163	The <i>Mithraea</i> of Poetovio Mojca Vomer Gojkovič
171	The <i>Mithraeum</i> at Sidon François Baratte
177	The <i>Mithraeum</i> at Hawarte Michał Gawlikowski
182	Catalogue (II.1-14)

III. INSIDE THE SANCTUARIES OF MITHRAS

- 215 **The Archaeology of the Sanctuaries of Mithras**
Andreas Hensen
- 227 **The *Mithraeum*: Articulation between Space and Decor**
Alexandra Dardenay & Yves Dubois
- 241 **The *Mithraeum*: Texts and Worshippers**
Manfred Clauss
- 251 **The *Mithraea* of Carnuntum**
Gabrielle Kremer
- 257 **The *Mithraeum* of Augusta Emerita and its Sculptures**
Trinidad Nogales Basarrate & Claudina Romero Mayorga
- 263 **The Inveresk *Mithraeum* and its Altars**
Fraser Hunter
- 270 **Catalogue (III.1-13)**

IV. AMONG THE WORSHIPPERS OF MITHRAS

- 299 **Being a Member of the Cult: Individuals and Communities**
Alison B. Griffith
- 309 **Integrating the Cult: “Mysteries” and Initiations**
Nicole Belayche
- 319 **Practicing Cult: Rituals and Banquets**
William Van Andringa
- 331 **Mithraic Rituals in the Christian Mirror**
Francesco Massa
- 343 **The Cult of Mithras in Apulum**
Csaba Szabó
- 349 **The *Mithraea* of Ostia and their Worshippers**
Françoise Van Haepere
- 357 **The Mithraic Community of Dura-Europos and its Practices**
Lucinda Dirven & Matthew McCarty
- 368 **Catalogue (IV.1-15)**

V. MITHRAS IN THE WESTERN PROVINCES

- 401 **Mithras in the Gallic Provinces**
Philippe Roy
- 411 **Mithras in the Iberian Peninsula**
Claudina Romero Mayorga
- 421 **Mithras in Germany and Raetia**
Wolfgang David
- 431 **The *Mithraeum* at Tienen**
Marleen Martens
- 439 **The *Mithraeum* at Septeuil**
Marie-Agnès Gaidon-Bunuel
- 445 **The *Mithraeum* at Angers**
Jean Brodeur

455	The <i>Mithraeum</i> at Bordeaux Marie-Agnès Gaidon-Bunuel
461	The <i>Mithraeum</i> at Mariana Ophélie de Peretti
467	The <i>Mithraeum</i> at Mérida Rebeca Rubio
473	The <i>Mithraea</i> of Nida Wolfgang David
479	The <i>Mithraea</i> of Göglingen Ines Siemers-Klenner
485	The <i>Mithraeum</i> at Kempraten Regula Ackermann
490	Catalogue (V.1-13)

VI. THE TWILIGHT OF A GOD

519	The Cult of Mithras and Christianity Aleš Chalupa
531	General bibliography
563	Photographic credits
567	General index



FOREWORDS

“You know that I am wearing a pointed cap and a robe embroidered with stars.” It was with this comment full of self-deprecating humour that the Belgian scholar Franz Cumont responded on 2 June 1918 to his friend Alfred Loisy, who had become accustomed to addressing him by calling him “My dear Mithras”.

The author of fundamental publications on Mithras and his cult, Cumont was at the time the greatest expert in the world on this subject. His intellectual authority was such that he left a mark on all research into Mithraic materials lasting for several generations. And this is still the case today, even if archaeological progress has made available a vast quantity of new information. Year after year, new discoveries come to light. Most recently, sanctuaries were revealed at Angers in France’s Maine-et-Loire region, Inveresk in Scotland, Kempraten in Switzerland and Mariana on Corsica! Such excavations are restoring the cult of Mithras within the contexts to which it belonged, putting us in contact with individuals who had practiced it, and gradually leading to a renewal of approaches and the posing of new questions.

Born from an idea of Laurent Bricault and enriched by the analytical frameworks that we and our colleagues have developed over the last fifteen years for Isis and her family, this exhibition is informed by the most recent research and aims to bring a new focus to Mithras and his cult. The Musée royal de Mariemont was the ideal setting to host it, recalling the special connection between its founder, Raoul Warocqué, and Cumont at the beginning of the previous century. It is to the Belgian historian’s expert advice that we owe a large portion of the Mediterranean antiquities preserved at the museum.

Dealing with a subject that is at the same time fascinating and novel, for which attestations are found throughout Europe, this exhibition project rapidly drew the interest of other museum



Meeting of the organisers of the exhibition at the Domaine de Mariemont, 22 November 2019.

institutions desiring to host it. An exceptional partnership thus was formed with the Musée Saint-Raymond de Toulouse and Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt, directed, respectively, by Laure Barthet and Wolfgang David. The representatives of the three museums gathered at the Domaine de Mariemont on 22 November 2019 for a crucial meeting that gave birth to a project of cooperation that in 2020 gained the support of the European Union as part of the Creative Europe programme.

Having thus taken on a European dimension, the exhibition inspired an infectious excitement that generated an impressive international mobilisation involving more than 20 countries. Archaeologists, historians, artists, collectors and professionals from the museum world have all shared their expertise for the benefit of this academic and cultural project that was conceived with the purpose of generating public interest.

Richard Veymiers

Director, Domaine et Musée royal de Mariemont

Established in the very heart of Toulouse within the brick walls of a 16th-century university college classified as a historical monument, the Musée Saint-Raymond is at the same time a museum of archaeology and a site in its own right. It features collections from Antiquity to the Middle Ages, the majority coming from regional excavations, and its basement preserves in place the traces of an early Christian necropolis associated with the first great Basilica of Saint-Sernin.

The Saint-Raymond Museum is principally known for its very important collection of antiquities, among which there stands out the exceptional group of Roman sculptures from the villa of Chiragan. The ancient Mediterranean worlds constitute a privileged area of exploration in our permanent collections and programming of temporary exhibitions. This is the reason for the significant attention given to this project dedicated to the Roman cult of Mithras, which has left numerous pieces of evidence in southwestern Gaul. Along with our two European partners, we hope to present an exhibition rich in meaning and ambitious from a scholarly perspective, while seeking to make it accessible to the broader public. Following *Age of Classics* in 2019, and then *Wisigoths, rois de Toulouse* in 2020, the Musée Saint-Raymond is proud to present “The Mystery of Mithras: Exploring the Heart of a Roman Cult”, beginning 14 May 2022.

Laure Barthet

Director, Musée Saint-Raymond de Toulouse



The south side of the Musée Saint-Raymond.



Roman antiquities at the Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt.

The Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt was split off from the Historisches Museum Frankfurt in 1937. Since 1989, the museum has been housed in the old, Gothic monastery of the Carmelites, to the west of the historic city centre. The Church of Saint Mary attached to the monastery was built at the end of the 13th century and then enlarged in the 15th century in Late Gothic style. After having been deconsecrated at the beginning of the 19th century and then destroyed in 1944 during the war, it was reconstructed and given an extension in Postmodernist style by Josef Paul Kleihues (1933-2004) in order to be used as a museum.

Under a single roof have thus been reunited collections devoted to Prehistory, Protohistory, and provincial Roman archaeology from the Rhine-Main Metropolitan Region, but also to classical Mediterranean antiquity, the ancient Near East and Egypt. A good part of the collections come from excavations undertaken in Frankfurt's Heddernheim and Praunheim quarters. It was at this location that from the 1st to the 3rd century was found Roman Nida, the capital of the Civitas Taunensium and administrative, economic and religious centre for the countryside of Germania Superior's *limes*.

Since 1827, four (or even five) temples of Mithras have come to light in the Roman settlement. Their supraregional importance was revealed internationally as early as the 19th century thanks to the joint research efforts of Georg Wolff (1845-1929) and Franz Cumont (1868-1947). It is in this spirit of cross-border collaboration that the museums at Mariemont, Toulouse and Frankfurt in 2019 embarked on a collective and convivial project seeking to present to the broader public in Belgium, France and Germany the latest results of international research undertaken into the cult of Mithras.

Wolfgang David

Director, Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The exhibition “The Mystery of Mithras: Exploring the Heart of a Roman Cult” and the scholarly catalogue that accompanies it are part of a European cooperation project supported by the Creative Europe programme (2014-2020), which is overseen by the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency (EACEA) of the European Commission. Our deepest gratitude goes to Roberto Carlini, Director of the EACEA, as well as Barbara Gessler and Walter Zampieri, the administrators of the Culture sub-programme of Creative Europe.

Entitled “MITHRA: Mobility and Intercultural Dialogue for the Transmission of Heritage from Roman Antiquity”, this project directly meets the objectives of the European Union’s cultural policy: encouraging the circulation of cultural heritage and its promotion before large numbers, while fostering creativity and innovation. It is necessary to thank here Max Godefroid, Coordinator at the Creative Europe Desk of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation, for his helpful advice during the grant application process. The project, which runs from 2020 to 2023, has been benefitting from the expert support of Vincent Roels (EACEA) and Kathleen Louw (MRM) as European Grant Managers.

This European cooperation project brings together three museum institutions from Belgium, France and Germany: the Musée royal de Mariemont (MRM), research establishment of the French Community of Belgium, as the lead coordinator, and the Musée Saint-Raymond de Toulouse (MSR) and Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt (AMF) as co-partners. The authorities overseeing our three museums are to be thanked for supporting the successful undertaking of this scholarly and cultural project: Bénédicte Linard, Minister of Culture and Vice-President of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation Government, and Freddy Cabaraux, Administrator-General of Culture of the Wallonia-Brussels Federation’s

Ministry; Jean-Luc Moudenc, Mayor of the city of Toulouse, and Pierre Esplugas-Labatut, Deputy Mayor in charge of museums; and Peter Feldmann, Mayor of the city of Frankfurt, and Ina Hartwig, City Councillor in charge of culture.

The launching of this European cooperation project mobilised our institutions as early as 2019, but its implementation is the result of a group effort on the part of personnel from all three museums. We are deeply grateful to the curators and assistant curators who have devoted themselves to this project at Mariemont, Toulouse and Frankfurt: Nicolas Amoroso, Curator of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities (MRM); Pascal Capus, Assistant Curator and Head of the Sculpture and Numismatic Collections (MSR), and Carsten Wenzel, Curator of the Roman Provincial Collections (AMF). We must likewise thank all of the members of the production teams who have contributed their expertise to this project and have done so with enthusiasm, professionalism and energy:

MRM: Jean-Sébastien Balzat, Head of Publications; Daphné Bourgoing, Projects Manager; Maxime Callewaert, Head of Operations; Jennifer Durieux, Head of Visitor Reception and Merchandising; Nicolas Gauthier, Registrar of Exhibitions; Alice Herman, Head of Communications; Marie-Aude Laoureux, Head of Cultural Mediation; Marine Libert, Cultural Mediator; Mélanie Thiry, Communications Officer; Alexis Sonet, Projects Coordinator; Jérémie Troonen, Coordinator of the Infrastructure and Engineering Department; and Valérie Vander Osieren, Cultural Mediator (to list only core members of the project team).

MSR: Margaux Bekas, Heritage Conservator; Jean-Baptiste Cyrille-Lytras, Exhibitions Coordinator; Virginie Gimat, Registrar; Christelle Molinié, Information Resources Manager; Lydia Mouysset, Head of the Office for Public Communication; Mathieu Scapin and Loussia Da Tos, Mediators.

AMF: Josef Engelmann, Research Assistant to the Director; Thomas Flügen, Restorer (stone and metal objects); Tessa Maletschek, Head of Collections; Maria Meßner, Head of Cultural Mediation; Sara Martin, Cultural Mediator; Sigrun Martins, Restorer (non-ferrous metallic objects and organic materials); Eike Quednau, Graphic Designer; Andreas Sattler, Editor; Birgit Schwahn, Restorer (precious metals and glass objects); Elizabeta Tiemann, Executive Secretary; Tomaš Zachar, Documentalist (photographs).

Lastly, we salute the valuable support of our respective societies of Friends: the Cercle royal des Amis de Mariemont (Philippe Fontaine, President, and Graham Cuvelier, Coordinator), the Association des Amis du Musée Saint-Raymond, and the Friends of the Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt.

The initial inspiration for this project came from Laurent Bricault, Professor at the Université de Toulouse – Jean Jaurès, a specialist in the history of the religions of the ancient world, who never stopped supporting us and giving us the benefit of his learned expertise. He thus is serving as co-curator of the exhibition, along with Alexandra Dardenay, Lecturer at the same institution. Thanks to their assistance, the top specialists in the field were alerted to this project and involved in the catalogue, leading to a wonderful scholarly undertaking that is reflected in the list of authors featured in the following pages.

In addition to this group of experts, the exhibition has aroused a genuine spirit of international cooperation, effectively facilitated by the support of the Creative Europe programme. We must therefore thank all of those – and they are many in number – who have contributed to this project, whether it be by providing photographs or information, works specially conceived for the exhibition, or ancient objects transported over long distances for display at one or more of the three museums. This group of partners includes the following:

In Austria: Eva Pimpel, Museum Carnuntinum, Bad Deutsch-Altenburg; Christian Wieser and Helmo Dolenz at Landesmuseum Kärnten, Klagenfurt; Sandra Gerstl and Ilse Jung, Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien; Ortolf Harl, Wien.

In Belgium: Evelyne Gillet and Claude Demarez, Archéosite et Musée d'Aubechies-Beloeil; Tom de Bruyker and Kathy Sas, Familia Brickia, Deurne; Dries Moreels and Femke Van der Fraenen, Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent; Céline Piret, Jodoigne; Pierre Paquet and Jean-Luc Schutz, Grand Curtius, Liège; Fabien Pêcheur, Musée communal d'Archéologie, d'Art et d'Histoire, Nivelles; Lutgart Vrancken, Museum Het Toreke, Tienen; Bart Demarsin, Gallo-Romeins Museum, Tongeren; Hedwig Snoeckx, Zephyr, Tongeren; Jean-François de Cumont, Château de Wanlin.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina: Mirsad Sijarić and Ana Marić, Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo; Ljubiša Veljković, Muzej Istočne Bosne, Tuzla.

In Canada: Nicola Woods, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto; Matthew McCarty, University of British Columbia, Vancouver.

In Croatia: Ante Jurčević and Nino Švonja, Arheološki muzej, Split; Ivan Radman-Livaja, Arheološki muzej, Zagreb; Inga Vilogorac Brčić, Sveučilište - Prirodoslovno-matematički fakultet, Zagreb.

In France: Xavier Delestre and Josianne Rebuffat, Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles, Provence-Alpes-Côte d'Azur, Aix-en-Provence; Marc Dubreuil, Claude Grapin and Patricia Janeux, MuséoParc Alésia, Alise-Sainte-Reine; Romy Wyche and Alain Charron, Musée départemental Arles Antique, Arles; Véronique Beirnaert-Mary and Pierre-Antoine Lamy, Forum antique de Bavay – Musée archéologique du Département du Nord; Laurent Védrine and Isabelle Hoarau, Ville de Bordeaux –

Musée d'Aquitaine; Élodie Drouard, Office de Tourisme du Rhône aux Gorges de l'Ardèche, Bourg-Saint-Andéol; Philippe Fleury and Sophie Madeleine, Université de Caen; Christine Martin and Eléonore Markus, Musées et patrimoine de Dijon – Musée archéologique; Jean-Luc Collart, Alice Dananai and Laetitia Maggio, Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles, Hauts-de-France/ Musée-Parc archéologique Arkéos, Douai; Michel Hue, Conservation départementale du patrimoine et des musées du Gers, Abbaye de Flaran; Justine Saillard, Château de Fontainebleau; Patrice Moreau and Anne Grésy-Aveline, Musée de l'Hospice Saint-Roch, Issoudun; Fabienne Gateau, Musée Départemental de la Céramique, Lezoux; Claire Iselin, Lugdunum – musée et théâtres romains, Lyon; Philippe Brunella and Françoise Clemang, Musée de la Cour d'Or – Metz Métropole; Sandrine Lefevre, Service Archéologique interdépartemental des Yvelines et des Hauts-de-Seine, Montigny-le-Bretonneux; Isabelle Bollard-Raineau, Jean-Philippe Bouvet and Rachel Touzé, Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles, Pays de la Loire, Nantes; Pascal Dupretz and Orion Frossard, Opixido, Nantes-Paris; Bertrand Roussel and Audrey Recouly, Musées d'Archéologie de Nice; Jean-Pascal Marron, Musée de la Romanité, Nîmes; Laurence des Cars, Musée du Louvre, Paris; Françoise Gaultier and Cécile Giroire, Musée du Louvre – département des Antiquités grecques, étrusques et romaines; Ariane Thomas, Musée du Louvre – département des Antiquités orientales; Laurence Engel and Mathilde Avisseau-Broustet, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Département des Monnaies, médailles et antiques, Paris; Ernest Pignon-Ernest and Julie Deffrenne, Galerie Lelong & Co., Paris; Diégo and Guite Masson, Comité André Masson, Paris; Nadia Bouzid, Archives nationales de France, Pierrefitte-sur-Seine; Rose-Marie Mousseaux, Daniel Roger, Hélène Chew and Delphine Peschard, Musée d'Archéologie nationale et Domaine national de Saint-Germain-en-Laye; Paul Lang and Mathilde Villette, Musée archéologique de la Ville de Strasbourg; Hélène Dupuy and Magali Vène-Lefebvre, Bibliothèques de Toulouse, Bibliothèque d'Étude et du Patrimoine; Olivier Payer (Olivox), Toulouse.

In Germany: Carsten Amrhein and Anna Langgartner, Römerkastell Saalburg – Archäologischer Park, Bad Homburg; Andreas Scholl and Glenda Moor, Antikensammlung – Staatliche Museen, Berlin; Thomas Langewehr, Projekt Ager Sonus, Bonn; Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn; Frank Haus and Maria Porzenheim-Schäfer, Museum Schloss Fechenbach, Dieburg; Gita Yegane Arani, Frankfurt; Carole Raddato, Frankfurt; Philipp Demandt, Liebieghaus Skulpturensammlung, Frankfurt; Ulrich Heckmann and Enrico De Gennaro, Römermuseum der Stadt Güglingen; Wolfgang and Beate Skoluda, Sammlung Skoluda, Hamburg; Eckart Köhne and Susanne Erbelding, Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe; Dirk Schmitz and Alfred Schäfer, Römisch-Germanischen Museum der Stadt Köln; Dieter Cölln, Köln; Claus Wolf and Martin Kemkes, Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg, Konstanz; Andreas Hensen, Lobdengau-Museum der Stadt Ladenburg; Alexandra W. Busch, Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum, Leibniz-Forschungsinstitut für Archäologie, Mainz; Jen Dolota, Generaldirektion Kulturelles Erbe Rheinland-Pfalz, Direktion Landesarchäologie, Außenstelle Mainz; Rupert Gebhard and Bernd Steidl, Archäologische Staatssammlung München; Astrid

Fendt and Jannis Zyganitidis, Staatliche Antikensammlungen und Glyptothek, München; Ulf Buschmann, Artothek Bildagentur der Museen, Spardorf; Alexander Schubert and Melanie Herget, Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer; Matthias Ohm, Nina Willburger and Birgit Baeurle, Landesmuseum Württemberg, Stuttgart; Marcus Reuter, Korana Deppmeyer and Annegret Butz, Rheinisches Landesmuseum Trier.

In Greece: George Kavvadias, Ethniko Archaologiko Mouseio, Athina.

In Hungary: Anna Váradi and Krisztina Lovas, Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum, Budapest; Anita Kirchhof and Quittner Zoltán, Aquincumi Múzeum, Budapest.

In Ireland: Wael Amr, Studio Frogwares, Dublin.

In Israel: Yael Shinar and Yael Barschak, The Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

In Italy: Mario Iozzo and Claudia Noferi, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze; Ute Dercks, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz – Max-Planck-Institut, Firenze; Simona Antolini, Università degli Studi di Macerata; Giulia Lansarotti, Milano; Sabine van Sprang and Charles Bossu, Academia Belgica, Roma; Francesca Cappelletti and Maria Giovanna Sarti, Galleria Borghese, Roma; Stéphane Verger and Agnese Pergola, Museo Nazionale Romano, Roma; Claudio Parisi Presicce, Angela Carbonaro and Annarita Martini, Musei Capitolini, Roma; Serenella Di Gregorio, Basilica San Clemente, Roma; Margherita Bolla, Museo di Castelvecchio, Verona; Giorgio Di Dato, Biblioteca Nazionale “Vittorio Emanuele III”, Napoli; Marina Lo Blundo, Parco Archeologico di Ostia antica; Ida Gennarelli and Daniela Maiorano, Museo Archeologico dell’Antica Capua, Santa Maria Capua Vetere.

In Malta: Clifford G. Thring.

In the Netherlands: Wim Hupperetz, Gerard Nijsten and Sarina Vergeer, Allard Pierson Museum – Universiteit van Amsterdam; Wim Weijland, Marianne Stauthamer and Robert Ritter, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden; Miguel John Versluys, Universiteit Leiden.

In Portugal: António Carvalho and Filomena Limão, Museu Nacional de Arqueologia, Lisboa.

In Romania: Felix-Florin Marcu, Victoria Barabas and Irina Nemeti, Muzeul Național de Istorie a Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca; Ioan Piso and Dan Deac, Universitatea Babeș-Bolyai, Cluj-Napoca; Adriana Ardeu, Liliana Țolaș, Catalin Cristescu and Oana Tutila, Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva; Sabin Adrian Luca and Raluca Teodorescu, Muzeul National Brukenthal, Sibiu.

In Russia: Mikhail Piotrovsky, Anna Trofimova, Anastasia Mikliaeva, Mariam Dandamaeva and Olga Ilmenkova, The State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg.

In Slovenia: Aleksander Lorenčič and Iva Ciglar, Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj – Ormož.

In Spain: Dolores Baena Alcántara, Museo Arqueológico de Córdoba; Trinidad Nogales Basarrate and Claudina Romero, Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida.

In Switzerland: Léonard Gianadda, Fondation Pierre Gianadda, Martigny; Pascal Ruedin, Musées cantonaux du Valais, Sion; Pierre-Yves Nicod, Musée d'histoire du Valais, Sion.

In the United Kingdom: Adrian Popescu, The Fitzwilliam Museum, University of Cambridge; Richard Dabb, Museum of London; David Hill, The Glassmakers, Quarley/Andover; David Thorold, St. Albans Museums.

In the United States: Gil Renberg, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (Mich.); Britt Bowen, Harvard Art Museums, Cambridge (Mass.); Jeffrey B. Spier, The J. Paul Getty Museum – Getty Villa, Los Angeles (Cal.); Megan Doyon, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven (Conn.); Jane DeRose Evans, Temple University, Philadelphia (Penn.).

At the Vatican: Barbara Jatta, Rosanna Di Pinto and Cristina Gennaccari, Musei Vaticani, Città del Vaticano.

Lastly, we cannot conclude without thanking all of the members of the public who support our respective institutions and give meaning to our work and activities.

Richard Veymiers

Director, Domaine et Musée royal de Mariemont

Laure Barthet

Director, Musée Saint-Raymond de Toulouse

Wolfgang David

Director, Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt

LIST OF AUTHORS

Regula Ackermann

Kantonsarchäologie St. Gallen

Jaime Alvar

Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

Nicolas Amoroso

Musée royal de Mariemont

Carsten Amrhein

Römerkastell Saalburg

François Baratte

Université Paris-Sorbonne (Paris-IV)

Nicole Belayche

École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris

Corinne Bonnet

Université Toulouse – Jean Jaurès / Institut Universitaire de France

Dietrich Boschung

Universität zu Köln

Laurent Bricault

Université Toulouse – Jean Jaurès / Institut Universitaire de France

Jean Brodeur

Institut National de Recherches Archéologiques Préventives

Pascal Capus

Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse

Aleš Chalupa

Masarykova univerzita, Brno

Hélène Chew

Musée d'Archéologie nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye

Manfred Clauss

Freie Universität Berlin

Fabienne Creuzenet

Université de Bourgogne, UMR 6298 ARTEHIS

Graham Cuvelier

Cercle royal des Amis de Mariemont

Alexandra Dardenay

Université Toulouse – Jean Jaurès / Institut Universitaire de France

Wolfgang David

Archäologisches Museum Frankfurt

Enrico De Gennaro

Römermuseum Güglingen

Fabrice Delrieux

Université Savoie Mont Blanc, Chambéry

Korana Deppmeyer

Rheinisches Landesmuseum, Trier

Lucinda Dirven

University of Amsterdam

Heimo Dolenz

Landesmuseum für Kärnten, Klagenfurt

Ozren Domiter

Arheološki muzej u Zagrebu

Yves Dubois

Université de Lausanne

Susanne Erbeding

Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe

Marie-Agnès Gaidon-Bunuel

Direction Régionale des Affaires Culturelles Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes, Site de Lyon

Michał Gawlikowski

Uniwersytet Warszawski

Richard Gordon

Universität Erfurt

Claude Grapin

MuséoParc d'Alésia

Alison B. Griffith

University of Canterbury – Te Whare Wananga o Waitaha

Brigitte Haas-Gebhard

Archäologische Staatssammlung München

Andreas Hensen

Lobdengau-Museum, Ladenburg

Melanie Hergert

Historisches Museum der Pfalz Speyer

Fraser Hunter

National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh

Hana Ivezić

Arheološki muzej, Zagreb

Martin Kemkes

Archäologisches Landesmuseum Baden-Württemberg

Gabrielle Kremer

Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut / Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien

Pierre-Antoine Lamy

Université de Bourgogne

Anna Langgartner

Römerkastell Saalburg

Annelies Lannoy

Universiteit Gent

Olivier Latteur

Université de Namur/Université catholique de Louvain

Andreea-Maria Lemnaru-Carrez

Université Paris-Sorbonne, Centre Léon Robin de Recherches sur la Pensée Antique

Filomena Limão

Universidade Nova de Lisboa

Ana Marić

Zemaljski muzej Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

Marleen Martens

Flanders Heritage Agency

Francesco Massa

Université de Fribourg

Matthew McCarty

University of British Columbia, Vancouver

Simone Michel-von Dungern

Museum Malerwinkelhaus, Marktbreit

Gheorghe Vasile Natea

Muzeul de Istorie, Sibiu

Irina Nemeti

Muzeul de istorie al Transilvaniei, Cluj-Napoca

Trinidad Nogales Basarrate

Museo Nacional de Arte Romano, Mérida

Fabien Pêcheur

Musée Communal de Nivelles

Ophélie de Peretti

Musée archéologique de Mariana

Maria Porzenheim-Schäfert

Museum Schloss Fechenbach Dieburg

Danny Praet

Universiteit Gent

Silvia Radbauer

Archäologischer Dienst GesmbH, St. Pölten

Claudina Romero Mayorga

University of Reading, Ure Museum of Greek Archaeology

Philippe Roy

Université Toulouse – Jean Jaurès

Rebeca Rubio

Universidad de Castilla-La Mancha

Mathieu Scapin

Musée Saint-Raymond, Toulouse

Dirk Schmitz

Römisch-Germanisches Museum der Stadt Köln

Jean-Luc Schütz

Grand Curtius, Liège

Ines Siemers-Klenner

Universität Hamburg, Institut für Vor- und Frühgeschichtliche Archäologie

Nino Švonja

Arheološki muzej u Splitu

Philippe Swennen

Université de Liège

Ádám Szabó

Magyar Nemzeti Múzeum

Csaba Szabó

Lucian Blaga University of Sibiu

Oana Tutilă

Muzeul Civilizației Dacice și Romane, Deva

William Van Andringa

École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris / Institut Universitaire de France

Ben Van den Bercken

Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden

Françoise Van Haepelen

Université catholique de Louvain

Richard Veymiers

Musée royal de Mariemont / Université de Liège

Mathilde Villette

Musée archéologique de Strasbourg

Mojca Vomer Gojkovič

Pokrajinski muzej Ptuj-Ormož

Nina Willburger

Landesmuseum Württemberg

Anne Zieglé

Musée d'Aquitaine, Bordeaux