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ALFÖLDI ANDRÁS

ISIS-SZERTARTÁSOK RÓMÁBAN  
A NEGYEDIK SZÁZAD  
KERESZTÉNY CSÁSZÁRAI ALATT

—♦—

A FESTIVAL OF ISIS IN ROME  
UNDER THE CHRISTIAN EMPERORS  
OF THE IV<sup>th</sup> CENTURY

BEING A LECTURE, GIVEN AT THE  
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BY  
ANDREW ALFÖLDI

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# HAROLDO MATTINGLY

GRATISSIMO ANIMO

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## PREFACE.

The reaction of the last representatives of the old Roman traditions against Christianity and their relentless struggle in the defence of the religion of their fathers has often been well treated by prominent historians. But one significant contemporary source for this conflict has hitherto escaped the notice of all scholars. I mean the important data, which are offered by a special coinage relating to the Egyptian gods. These coins bear the busts of all the emperors of the IV<sup>th</sup> century down to Gratian, but also the busts of Isis or Serapis, or of both.

This omission of the historians is due to the arrears of numismatic research. The evidence has never been closely studied by the specialists; they have supposed, that the busts of Serapis and of Isis are only disguised representations of Iulianus the Apostate and of his wife Helena. This erroneous conception became a hereditary commonplace, though A. Banduri in his days pointed out<sup>1</sup>, that Helena never shared in the coinage of her imperial consort, because she died before Julian obtained the sovereignty. Banduri himself did not venture to go a step further: he contented himself with the supposition, that the bust of Serapis must be a deified portrait of Julian. But a glance at our plates shows many unbearded busts of this god; how then could they be the likenesses of the bearded Apostate? And apart from this, the busts of Serapis do not reflect the features of Julian, but remind us very often of Valentinian I. and Valens, — though no identification with an emperor was intended in this series; as we shall see below, it was only the unconscious assimilation of the profile of the god to the customary object of their work by the die-sinkers that caused this effect, or the not rare „retouching“ of imperial busts for this purpose. Nor is it easily comprehensible, in what way the identification with Julian was imagined, for the insignia of the imperial person, which would be needed for it, are lacking: the laurel wreath (or diadem) of an emperor never appear on the head of Serapis and even if particulars of the imperial costume (such as the embroidered *segmenta* of the *paludamentum*, or the imperial brooch on the shoulder, etc.) do make their appearance (e. g. pl. XX, 5 and 6), it must be pointed out, that the traditional garb of the great Alexandrine god on the whole prevails and the details just mentioned must be laid to account of the engravers, unable to free themselves from their normal task.

<sup>1</sup> A. Banduri, *Numismata imperatorum Romanorum a Traiano Decio ad Palaeologos Augustos* 2, 1718, introduction (against Du Cange) and p. 435.

The difficulties of the identification with Julian did not escape the sharp eyes of Eckhel.<sup>1</sup> But he was misled by a very similar, but completely independent issue of the mint of Alexandria (pl. IV, 35—36), the signature of which he applied to the whole class, supposing, that the procurator of the Alexandrine mint under Julian is to be held responsible for this coinage in general; his result was adopted later by the distinguished French scholar, E. Babelon.<sup>2</sup> No wonder, that in the great compilation of H. Cohen, as in numismatic works almost without exception and in other scientific works too<sup>3</sup> our coins always figure as documents of the heathen reaction under Julian. Progress has been made at two points only. O. Voetter, who shared the old attribution to Julian too,<sup>4</sup> discovered, that our Serapis- and Isis-coinage were struck in Rome itself and not in Alexandria. On the other hand, L. Laffranchi<sup>5</sup> has shown, that the little series of the Alexandrine mint, to which we have just referred, is of the age of Constantine and has nothing to do with our issues.<sup>6</sup>

The numerous pagan issues of the same kind with the busts of the emperors from Diocletian till Valentinian II., on which — as we shall see — the understanding of the series just mentioned with the busts of the Egyptian deities depends, has likewise been badly neglected. Of the 47 varieties, listed in our catalogue, from Constantine and his sons, I could not find one in the voluminous work of J. Maurice on the „Numismatique Constantinienne“. O. Voetter, on the other hand, conceived the strange idea, that these imperial busts of the heathen series are posthumous „restorations“ of Julian the Apostate;<sup>7</sup> he had forgotten, that there are quite a lot of such coins, which bear the portraits of emperors, who came to the throne after Julian, and which therefore render his solution *a priori* impossible.

This state of affairs made it necessary, to collect the whole available material, which is many times as large as contained in Cohen, both for the imperial series, and the anonymous ones, as we shall name the issues with the busts of the Alexandrine gods. The great number of varieties will be grasped not so much from the descriptions, as from the numerous plates. As the single obverses of the anonymous series were always struck with several reverses — a peculiarity hitherto not noticed —, I found it necessary, to list all the slight variants of the busts of Isis and Serapis. The catalogue is based on these varieties of obverses and the plates I—X illustrate the coherence of the different reverses, as revealed by the common obverse-types. Naturally enough, very many collections are

<sup>1</sup> J. H. Eckhel, *Doctrina nummorum veterum* 8, 1798, 137. sqq.

<sup>2</sup> E. Babelon, *Mélanges numismatiques*, 4. sér., 1912, 58.

<sup>3</sup> The historical literature here followed above all the papers of W. Drexler (*Roschers Lex.* 2, 487) and the excellent book of J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, 1920, 132.

<sup>4</sup> O. Voetter, *Katalog der Sammlung P. Gerin*, 1921, 253.

<sup>5</sup> L. Laffranchi, *I diversi stili nella monetazione romana I: Le monete autonome del quarto secolo* (*Estr. della Riv. Ital. di numismatica*, 1907); cp. also the synoptic table of the same author in the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 3, 1925, facing the p. 368.

<sup>6</sup> Concerning the latter he was in error, describing them as „medaglie religiose dell'Iseum Campense di Roma“. (Il problematico segno della Croce sulle monete precostantiniane die Aquileia [*Estr. da „Aquileia nostra“* 3, 1932], 4 n. 3.)

<sup>7</sup> O. c. 237 (no. 157), 243 (no. 49), 249 (no. 64), 253.

unknown to the writer of these lines, but he hopes, that on the ground of his first classification others will be able to make useful additions. I discovered too late, that along with the specimens of brass there exist bronze coins of the same kind too; I beg those who follow me to observe this detail. Though these heathen coinage has nothing to do with the currency of the time, it is a pity, that I have not been able to collect the metrological data for the single pieces; this omission also must be made good later. The last two plates contain a series of coins, which I only collected after the arrangement of the whole material of illustrations. The catalogue is based on the materials of the following collections:

Athens (National museum)	Milan (Medagliere Milanese: municipal coll. and coll. Gerin)
Augsburg (Maximilian-Museum)	Messenger (Coll. L. G. P. Messenger, London)
Basle (Historisches Museum)	Modena (Mus.)
Berlin (Münzkabinett, Kaiser Friedrich-Museum)	Munich (Staatl. Münzensammlung)
Bologna (Medagliere Bolognese, sez. comunale and sez. universitaria)	Münzhandlung Basel (Basle)
Brescia (Medagliere dei musei civici)	Naples (Mus. Naz.)
Budapest (Hung. Nat. mus.)	Oxford (Ashmolean Mus.)
Copenhagen (National mus.)	Paris (Bibliothèque nationale)
Florence (Museo archeologico)	Parma (Galleria Estense)
Glasgow (Hunterian Mus.)	Rome (Mus. naz., all pieces from the Coll. Fr. Gneccchi)
Gotha (Herzogliche Sammlungen)	St. Florian (Stiftsammlung, Austria)
Hollschek (Coll. of Captain K. Hollschek)	Szentgáli (Coll. K. Szentgáli, Budapest)
Karlsruhe (Mus.)	Torino (Accademia; Coll. Lavy)
Kállay (Coll. Ö. Kállay, Szőny)	Trau (Coll. Franz Trau, hence dispersed)
Laffranchi (Coll. L., Milano)	Vatican (Medagliere Vaticano)
Lawrence (Coll. L. A. Lawrence, London)	Vienna (Staatl. Münzensammlung)
Leningrad (Ermitage)	Zagreb (Nationalmus.)
London (British Mus.)	Private collection in Italy (Name must not be given).

To all the Keepers of these public collections, as well as to the owners of the private ones I am very much obliged for their kind help. In particular H. Mattingly (London), K. Pink (Vienna), J. G. Milne and C. H. V. Sutherland (Oxford), Marchese C. Serafini (Vatican), J. Liegle (Berlin), P. Le Gentilhomme (Paris) and Miss A. Robertson (Glasgow) have given me valuable help in the collection of the casts, whilst A. Radnóti and E. Jónás (Budapest), M. Bernhart (Munich), E. Laur-Belart and H. Cahn (Basel), G. Galster (Kopenhagen), J. Klemenc and others have also kindly assisted. Of private collectors L. Laffranchi and L. A. Lawrence lent me especially valuable materials, and above all, the late F. Trau, whose admirable collection contained a large number of important specimens. Prof. Fr. Cumont read the historical chapters in manuscript. To this great scholar as to some excellent specialists, as to A. Dobrovits (Budapest). Th. Klausner (Bonn)

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But above all my friend Harold Mattingly, who has revised the English text and helped me in all possible ways, has a claim on my sincere gratitude. This little study is dedicated him in high esteem of his great scientific merits and as a token of friendship.



## THE PAGAN COINAGE OF THE IMPERIAL VOWS IN THE FOURTH CENTURY.

### I. The numismatic evidence.

We have already seen, that there are two series, one with imperial busts and one with the likenesses of Isis and Serapis on the obverse; we will name the latter the „anonymous“ series. Both are for the most part of brass, which was valued higher in Roman times, than the bronze. This metal is very rarely used in the coinage of the fourth century, but we know some occasional issues of the mint of Rome, struck in brass. Cp. the small quinarii, which are concerned with the VOTA VICENNALIOR(*um*) of Constantine I., pl. I, 32 e. g.; farther, several series with the busts of Rome and Constantinopolis, cp. pl. XI, 21—22.<sup>1</sup> But bronze specimens too occur; I have noticed the following examples:

- pl. II, 20 (Julianus II., AE. II.).
- pl. II, 26 (Jovianus, AE. IV.).
- pl. III, 11 (Valentinianus I., AE. IV.; the same type occurs in brass too, cp. the specimen in Paris pl. III, 12).
- pl. X, 37 (Bust of Serapis I. — The specimen in Vienna is of bronze, that of Paris of brass; pl. X, 38 with the same obverse is of brass also).
- pl. III, 31 (AE. IV with bust of Serapis).
- pl. V, 11 (Bust of Sol-Serapis, AE. III).
- pl. XII, 18 (The same bust).
- pl. VI, 7 (Bust of Sol-Serapis, AE. IV).
- pl. VIII, 9 (Bust of Isis; from the same issue as the former).

The occasional occurrence of bronze pieces does not alter the general rule, that these pagan issues are mainly struck in brass. As we shall see, they all originated in Rome, a fact which is of decisive importance from the historical point of view.

<sup>1</sup> It has been not recognized, that the small silver pieces pl. XI, 17—19 show the bust of the personification of Constantinopolis as well as Roma; cp. pl. XI, 18 with 20 and 21 on the same plate. Cohen<sup>2</sup> 7, 401, no. 287 (with note) and 337, no. 23 would erroneously identify them with the portraits of sons of Constantine.

## I. THE ISSUES WITH IMPERIAL BUSTS.

The systematic issue of such festival-coins begins with Diocletian. We know from the tetrarchies 6 pieces, which are all *unica*; it is to be supposed, that other series too were struck in the same period, which are lost. From the earliest known issue comes the specimen of Diocletian pl. I, 3, with the reverse-type of Isis with Serapis-Neptunus; the continuation of the same type is to be seen on the piece of Chlorus pl. I, 4. The latter was issued on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January<sup>1</sup> 306, for at no other time could Chlorus be mentioned as Augustus in connexion with the festival of the New Year: earlier, he had not yet reached this rank and later he was dead. The same reverse reappears on the coin of Galerius pl. XII, 3. As its die is smaller than that of the former, it must have been struck in a later year. Different in size and style from all the previous are the coins pl. I, 1—2 of Diocletian, though they too, like the former ones, show the peculiar features of the mint of Rome. The obverses of these bronzes (pl. I, 1—2) are borrowed from the common series with the legend PRO-VIDENTIA DEORVM QVIES AVGG, which were struck not only in 306, but in the subsequent years too; and as they are quite distinct from the Chlorus pl. I, 4, which was issued in 306, they must have been struck in 307, or even a little later, on the occasion of the imperial vows on the 3<sup>rd</sup> January.<sup>1</sup>

The series of the VOTA PVBLICA-coins finds its continuation under Constantine the Great. There is a considerable variety in size and in style among the specimens so far known; on the grounds of this diversity it is possible to distinguish at least ten issues, but it is evident, that far the greater part of the varieties are lost. The earliest of the specimens known to me seems to be that on pl. I, 6, which is struck with an obverse of the reduced *folles* (cp. pl. I, 5). The ship on the reverse is a careful imitation of the type, which appears on the larger *folles* of Diocletian and Herculus as *seniores Augusti* (pl. I, 1—2); it seems to have been struck in 313 in Rome. Not very much later may have been issued the specimen pl. I, 7, which shows an obverse of the common type with SOLI INVICTO COMITI. Other, small pieces, belonging to the same period (313—317 A. D.), were no longer struck with the dies of the ordinary coinage, but with special ones. Among these, the varieties pl. I, 13—14 are from the same issue; whereas pl. I, 15 and XIX, 18 seem to have been issued in another year, because two different pictures of the *navigium Isidis* can not be allowed in one and the same series. From the same period comes the *quinarius* pl. I, 16, on which appears once more (for the last time) the group of Isis and Neptunus-Serapis; also the little coin pl. I, 19. It is not yet possible to give the exact year to the *quinarii* of Constantine and Licinius, which are connected by a common reverse, pl. I, 17—18; equally uncertain is the year of issue of the other type of Licinius, pl. I, 20. Pl. I, 17 is a parallel issue with pl. XIX, 22, because the busts correspond; the reverse of the latter goes together with pl. I, 18.

The first coin portraits of Crispus on the small change of the Roman mint (pl. I, 8) reappear on the *vota*-coin pl. I, 9 and so it can be argued, that the latter was struck for the festival on the 3<sup>rd</sup> January 318; the specimen of Constantine with the same reverse is also listed in our catalogue (no. 20). The portrait-types pl. I, 10 and 12 of Crispus and Constantinus iunior also belong to the early years of their rank as Caesars.

<sup>1</sup> On the day of the *Vota* and their relation to the cult of Isis, see below, p. 42 sqq. sqq.

In the second half of the reign of Constantine only the denomination of the quinarius appears in the *vota publica*-coinage; this is to be accepted, because, it was continued as an established rule under the sons of that emperor too. There appears first of all, a very rich issue, which can be reconstructed by the chain both of identical obverses and reverses. These are: pl. I, 21—23 (Constantine), pl. I, 24—28 and Auktionskatalog der Sammlung Trau no. 4008 (Crispus), pl. I, 30—31 and 38—39 (Constantine II.). The common obverse of Crispus with a quinarius, belonging to a series struck on the occasion of the *quinquennialia Caesarum* (pl. I, 29), might point to a date about 322,— but this is only a guess. In a certain connexion with this rich series stands another group of pagan coins. The reverse pl. I, 31 reappears on pl. XIX, 25 and 26; these are linked up with the former series by the reverse pl. I, 30 too. It remains uncertain, whether the latter were issued in the same year, as the large festival issue, or whether the dies of these were only reused for a subsequent issue.

Of another similar emission I have been able to collect the specimens pl. I, 34—37. It is not without interest to remark, how the features of Crispus change in this series from those of a round-headed child pl. I, 34—36 to those of a youth pl. I, 37. There is again a link between other issues of special occasions, and ours: cp. pl. I, 35 with the type *VICTORIA CAESS*. It may be, that the die of the latter was employed once more for our pagan series.

There are also varieties with the bust of Constantine II. as Caesar. Pl. I, 40 comes from an unknown issue; pl. I, 41—42 with the same obverse from another. Both name him *VALerius*, which argues for a date in his early years (from 324 A. D.). The style of special issues of the *vicennialia* of Constantine (pl. I, 32; with the obv. of Constantius II.: Cohen<sup>2</sup> no. 333) is reflected on pl. I, 33. On the other hand, the type *VOTA VICENNALIOR(um)* has a common obverse with pl. XIX, 23 and 24; the reverse of the last mentioned piece recurs on pl. I, 33, — one more connexion with the issue of A. D, 325—326.

To a still later date belongs the diademed head of the emperor on pl. I, 11 and of no. 21 in our catalogue; these were struck after 326.

It seems, that the greater part of these pagan issues is lost: all the known species are extremely scarce and very often one specimen alone represents an issue. So, we are inclined to suppose, that under Constantine the pagan issues were still renewed every year; such a practice would also give the most plausible explanation of the fact, that this peculiar series was continued under the *christianissimus imperator* Constantius II.

It is true, that the last mentioned period (337—361 A. D.) is very scantily represented, but I am sure, that this first collection of material, given here, must miss a lot of existing but still unpublished species for this period too. But a glance on the series pl. II, 1—11 makes it evident, how different in size and style all these pieces are; apart from pl. II, 8, 9 and pl. XIX, 35—36 it can be stated, that there are as many issues as specimens. To the years before 350 falls naturally the piece with the obverse of Constans, pl. II, 1. Another, with the bust of Magnentius, pl. II, 11 (and no. 60 in the catalogue), was put into circulation on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January, 351. Those with the obverse of Gallus (pl. II, 10 and XIX, 38) go back to the year 352 or 353. The rest offer no such precise chronological indications and shows so many gaps, that we must postpone the chronological arrangement until fresh materials are available. Such an increase of our material might show also, if in the last years of Con-

stantius, when his visit in Rome involved some measures against the pagans there, our series was continued or not; the former case appears to be the more likely.

The slight series of small quinarii grows, naturally enough, into an imposing coinage, under Julian the Apostate. Besides the small quinarii (pl. II, 12—14) there are now also larger, showy bronzes appearing (pl. II, 16—23, pl. XII, 5=XIX, 28); even silver medallions were struck with the dies of these large denominations (Catal. no. 3 of the Münzhandlung Basel 1935, pl. 51, no. 1012.) With the quinarii, showing a bust facing left (pl. II, 13—14 and catal. no. 73—76) go the larger types with the same bust (pl. II, 16—19). The portraits of both are connected with those on the ordinary coins, advertising the *vota decennialia suscepta*. In a second issue both the smaller (pl. II, 12 and no. 77 in the catal.) and the larger types (pl. II, 20—23) show a bust facing right. Julianus as Augustus had only two succeeding years, i. e. he lived only to see the *annua vota* in 362 and 363; our two issues must belong then to these two years.

It is very surprising, how rich a harvest of pagan coins we earn from the ephemeral reign of Jovianus. The quinarii grow in size and weight under him (pl. II, 24—32) showing considerable differences in size (cp. pl. XIX, 39 and 40); but the larger types (pl. II, 33—35, pl. XII, 6) also not disappear. Particularly important are his coins, as we shall later see, for the determination of the exact day of our festival.

It is not less surprising, that we meet the obverses of Valentinian and Valens on such pagan coins, struck in Rome too; and that in larger quantity, than for instance under Constantius II. There occur three denominations in this period (364—375 A. D.), but it seems to be certain, that the two larger moduli were in no case issued at the same time, as the smallest. The commonest kind is again the quinarius. The largest are struck with the obverse - dies of the miliarensia (cp. pl. III, 6 with 4—5 on the same plate); but these — as well as the middle sort (pl. III, 1—3 and 7) — were produced in very small quantities.

It may be supposed, that the quinarius of Gratian pl. III, 26 also comes from an issue before the death of his father, as perhaps pl. III, 27 too. But his pieces on pl. III, 28—29 represent such denominations, as only occur once (pl. XIX, 41) in the relatively abundant material of the years 364—375 and then in different style; so they must have been struck afterwards. That they cannot come from the first issue after the death of Valentinian I., can be proved. For, we have another issue after this event, which is linked organically to the last issue of Valentinian I.: I mean, the small quinarii with obverses of Valentinian II. (pl. III, 24—25); the identification of their busts with the younger emperor of this name is illustrated by the centenionales (pl. III, 23). Their reverses are connected with the piece of Valens pl. III, 21. Only *after* the last - mentioned issue of 376 or 377, i. e. in the years 377—379, can have been struck the above analysed issue of larger size (pl. III, 28—29). Theodosius was only proclaimed after the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January 379 and so the fact, that his obverses not exist with such heathen types, can be applied as a *terminus ante quem* for the end of the imperial *vota*-coins only in 380 A. D. In spite of this, we shall soon see, that this strange coinage of the imperial vows, combined with an Isis-festival, had not yet found its end with the accession of Theodosius.

## 2. THE SERIES WITH THE BUSTS OF ISIS AND SERAPIS.

We have already seen, that there exists a great mass of pagan coins, which bear not the imperial portrait, but the likeness of Isis or Serapis. The understanding of these „anonymous“ series — as we shall name them — depends on their connexion with the imperial issues, which we shall now examine.

### a) *THE RELATION BETWEEN THE IMPERIAL AND THE ANONYMOUS SERIES.*

The first important feature of the anonymous series is, — as O. Voetter has already remarked<sup>1</sup> — that they too were struck in Rome.

This can be proved first by stylistic features. Thus the bust of Isis pl. IV, 30 was made by the same school of engravers, as that of Theodora on pl. IV, 29. The facing busts of Isis pl. VII, 2—4 mirror the style of the solidi of Constantius II., struck towards the end of his reign in Rome, cp. pl. VII, 1, though the Isis is a late and rough imitation. The finely drawn hair of Serapis on pl. VII, 21 continues a mannerism of the mint of Rome, which first makes its appearance about 350 A. D. and which tends to transform the plastical rendering into a decorative scheme,<sup>2</sup> cp. for this peculiarity pl. VII, 22. The profiles attest the retouching of numerous portraits of Valentinian I. or Valens for the busts of Serapis, with a beard added to them. This is demonstrated not only by the identical outline of profile but also by the following observation. As early as Constantius II. (cp. pl. XX, 35), but regularly under Valentinian, the engravers of the mint of Rome made a little hole in the negative die, to mark the chin of the emperor; on the coins these holes are often visible as little points, seen on the pieces pl. XX, 35—38. The same protuberances are visible under the chin of Serapis, pl. IV, 10—12. But apart from the agreement in style we can furnish an exact proof: we shall see below, that the anonymous issues made systematic use of the reverse-dies of the imperial series, and this could not happen anywhere, but in the Roman mint.

The other important problem is the chronological relation between the two kinds of pagan coins. As both are evidently concerned with one day of the year only, with the imperial *vota annua*, it is quite out of the question, that they should not bear common features, if struck in the same year. We are obliged then to make a thorough comparison between all reverse-dies of the anonymous series and those of the imperial ones. Besides the agreements found by this procedure we can observe too, that the prototypes of the anonymous reverses only appear in a certain epoch on the imperial issues; likewise the differences and parallelisms between the denominations in both groups must not be neglected.

If we begin the comparison of the imperial issues with the anonymous in the Constantinian age, we do not find any connexion with the Isis- and Serapis-coins. The types of the pagan coinage of Constantine do not recur for the most part in the anonymous group; the common types of Isis with the *sistrum* and *situla*, Isis standing in

<sup>1</sup> O. Voetter, Katalog . . . Gerin, 1921, l. c. — The sole exception is the Constantinian series from Alexandria (s. above), linked up with other series of other oriental mints and discovered by L. Laffranchi.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. my remarks in R. Delbrueck, Spätantike Kaiserporträts, 1933, 6 sqq.

a ship and Anubis are very different in their execution. Identical reverse-dies between imperial and anonymous issues do not occur under Constantius II. either. A remarkable discrepancy between the two categories lies in the fact, that the heathen coins of Constantius are without exception small quinarii (14—16 mm) and both the middle denomination (17—20 mm) and the largest one are lacking. We shall see below, that the different denominations of the anonymous issues were issued contemporaneously in parallel series and so a combination of small imperial and larger Isis- or Serapis-coins is impossible. The situation does not change under Julian and Jovianus. There are still no identical reverse-dies of imperial and of anonymous coins and the middle denomination is still lacking in the imperial group. It is relevant to point out against the older views, that the anonymous coins are *later* than Julian; this may be grasped also by the following circumstance. We have anonymous reverses corresponding with those of Julianus, in the largest denomination. The reverses of the Apostate are 23—25 mm in diameter, but the anonymous types do not exceed 20—22 mm. It is plain, that if the dies of Julian were available at the preparation of those of the other class, the latter, only a little smaller, than the former, would be superfluous. For the largest pagan types of Jovianus the reverses of Julianus were used again, -so the anonymous dies, similar to the imperial, can not still exist (cp. pl. II, 33—35) in 364 A. D.

But besides these discrepancies it must be not forgotten, that from the end of the reign of Constantius II. the inventory of types of the imperial issues slowly approximates to that of the anonymous group. Isis in the *thensa* appears now for the first time, as well as the recumbent Nile (pl. II, 3 and 11). In the representation of the *navigium Isidis* we observe, that the cabin of the helmsman beside the stern is degenerating into a second spiral end (pl. II, 8—9), —it also occurs on the corresponding species of Jovianus (pl. II, 30—31); but a coin with the bust of Serapis (pl. VII, 13=XVIII, 26), also shows the same peculiarity. It has already been mentioned, that the style of the busts of Isis and Serapis shows reminiscences of the imperial busts of the reign of Constantius; the schematized form of the ship of our anonymous series (pl. XVIII, 1. sqq.) appears likewise for the first time on coins of Constantius (pl. XI, 16). And under Iulianus the types, that form the basis of the anonymous group, first came into being. The types of Isis and Nephtis, of Isis in the car drawn by sphinxes, of the suckling Isis, of Isis and Osiris with snakelike underbody, of Isis sitting on the Sothis-dog and of Harpocrates too, all made then their first appearance.<sup>3</sup>

Under Valentinianus we meet for the first time the middle denomination of the anonymous series on imperial pagan coins, though only in a few cases. Far more important is the fact, that reverse-dies of Valentinian and Valens, Gratianus, Valentinianus II. systematically recur in the anonymous group. The single instances for this we shall treat below in the typological chapter. Here we need only add some general considerations about a problem, which now arises.

Does the common use of reverse-dies in the imperial issues of the Valentinian age and in the Isis- and Serapis-coins imply contemporaneity, or does only mean a con-

<sup>3</sup> I do not as yet know the Harpocrates-type for Iulianus, but this may be due to the defectiveness of my materials; certainly it is there under Jovianus, cp. pl. II, 32.

nexion between the groups, which follow one on other? Against the simultaneous issue of both classes bears clear witness the following circumstance. The reverse-dies of the specimens of the last imperial series are always fresh, whereas that of the anonymous coinage were used till they were used up entirely; they are often retouched, when they become worn out. This degeneration of the workmanship goes so far in the anonymous pagan coins, that the types not only deteriorate in quality, but the attributes of the deities are misunderstood, or interchanged, as will be illustrated below for the caduceus, the sistrum and the cornucopiae. This decay has not yet begun in the imperial series, so they must be earlier. But it is very significant, that the degeneration of types in the Isis- and Serapis-issues often depends — as can be established in several cases — on the reverses of the imperial coin-dies. We are justified then in taking granted, that the anonymous coinage begins at the moment, when the pagan issues of the emperors stop. This alternative function of the two categories will be clear enough, if we remember, that there is a fundamental difference between the two groups from the juridical point of view.

It sounds very strange to us, but in the late Roman Empire the effigy of a god had a much less significance, than the effigy of the emperor. For instance the perjury by the Capitoline gods was never a capital crime in Rome, but that by the emperor was a *crimen maiestatis*; thus the emperor came more and more to obscure the gods; the real bearer of the majesty of the state was the *praesens deus*, and the rulers of Olympus were becoming mere lackeys of him.<sup>4</sup> As a consequence of this system of thought, so long as the pagan coins had born the *sacra imago* of the emperor, they were documents of the state itself; but with the busts of the Egyptian gods they lost the appearance of imperial acknowledgement and their official character and they were degraded to the rank of a sort of pseudo-money.

Just as the eastern provinces, anxious to insult both Constantine and Licinius in the second war between the two, struck coins with the bust of their patron deities (pl. IV, 35—36 shows the Alexandrian issue only)<sup>5</sup> instead of the bust of either emperor, so are our anonymous coins mere substitutes for the imperial series, though made in the public mint; no longer true coins more, but „jetons“. We shall see below, who were the men, to whose account the whole pagan coinage is to be assigned, and also, that the great aim of these men was the public and political rehabilitation of the pagan religion and not the securing of the free exercise of private religious practice. For them it was enough to announce their heathendom on the reverse and far more important, as the bust of Isis or Serapis was for them the imperial portrait. There can be no doubt, that as long, as there was a possibility of making use of the imperial bust, it was not abandoned for any god. The beginning of the anonymous coinage then must be the immediate continuation of the imperial *vota*-coins, which ceased in 378—379 A. D.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> I have dealt with these problems in: *Römische Mitteilungen* 49, 1934, 1 sqq. and in the same review, 50, 1935, 1 sqq.

<sup>5</sup> L. Laffranchi, *I diversi stili nella monetazione romana* (Offprint from the *Riv. Ital. di num.*, 1907) and *Rendiconti della Pontif. Acad. Romana di arch.* 3, 1925, tables by p. 368.

<sup>6</sup> The only argument against this view is the hybrid coin, which we have described after Banduri under no. 62 in the catalogue, on which the bust of Julianus as Caesar is coupled with a bust of Isis. But this must be a forgery, so far as I can see.

b) *THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE SUCCESSION OF REVERSE-DIES*  
(PL. XIII—XIX.).

A new basis for chronology can be worked out from the observation of development in style of the types. If we can succeed in arranging the modifications of a type in the right order, as they actually occurred, we shall gain at the same time a chronological sequence, a method applied with such good effect in the prehistorical archeology. And, as we know almost the exact date, at which the anonymous series started, the relative chronology of the evolution of types has its absolute base.

One further remark must be made. The formalism of the late Empire had as one of its results that the staff of the mint paid regular attention to some trivial distinctions. One of these was the retention of the prescribed manner of dividing of the legend on the reverse. Under Valentinianus I. there are only two<sup>1</sup> variations: VOTA-PVBLICA and VOTA PV-BLICA. These ways of dividing recur in the legends of the earliest anonymous series, but the mass shows the division VOTA P-VBLICA; in the last emissions the variety VOTA-PVBLICA appears again.

### 1. THE TYPE OF ISIS WITH CHILD AT BREAST.

The details of this type in the anonymous series attest a close connection with the corresponding types of the Valentinian age. The throne of the goddess consists of rows of dots on the specimen of Valens pl. XIII, 4 and this feature returns on the anonymous pieces pl. XIII, 3. 8. 9. 10. 11. 21. 22. On the coin of Valens just mentioned (pl. XIII, 4) the back of the throne becomes broader at the top and ends in a concave curve, — a further accentuation of the design, which appears already under Julianus (pl. XIII, 1). An exaggerated reproduction of this peculiarity is given on pl. XIII, 3 with the early form of division of the legend VOTA PV-BLICA. Another anonymous piece, pl. XIII, 5 is also related to the coin of Valens by the head of the suckling goddess, which is almost facing, but is inclined to one side and by the characteristic ornament on her head. The varieties with the head in front view almost always show the early division of legend VOTA-PVBLICA; the later form VOTA P-VBLICA occurs only in one case (pl. XIII, 6), which, in spite of this, is related to the former. — The second variety represents Isis with the head looking right. This detail is already to be found in one of the last issues with imperial busts (pl. XIII, 13—14). Kindred to this reverse-die of Valentinianus II., Valens (and Gratianus) are those of the anonymous *vota*-coins pl. XIII, 12, pl. XIX, 4 and XX, 18 with the division of legend VOTA-PVBLICA; as also the varieties with the later form of bipartition of the legend (VOTA P-VBLICA) pl. XIII, 10. 11. Immediately following are the slightly debased types pl. XIII, 8—9. A reminiscence of the last imperial issues is seen in the curved outline of the back of the throne of Isis. The remaining varieties reveal deteriorations, which depend on those just discussed. We observe for example, that the type of Valens pl. XIII, 4 already contains a detail, which recurs in more and more exaggerated form on the anonymous types.

<sup>1</sup> There are a few exceptions, as pl. III, 17=XVII, 8.



That is, that the tops of the feet of the throne show thick globules, and that the right foot is higher, than the other. This is even more accentuated on pl. XIII, 7 (cp. 8) and on pl. XIII, 19—20; it occurs in a rough form by pl. XIII, 16—18. The degeneration of the type is attested in the kindred varieties pl. XIII, 21—22 by the disproportionately high back of the throne; the earlier of them must have been retouched after it had been much worn and on this occasion the letter P was duplicated in the legend. It is unmistakable then, that the evolution of the type depends on the last imperial issues.

## 2. THE TYPE OF THE RECUMBENT NILE.

This type differs from the corresponding representations of the Constantinian age (pl. IV, 35—36) and from that of the autonomous coinage of Alexandria in that, in our case the god holds a ship in his hand, announcing the relation to the great festival of shipping at the beginning of the year. The whole legend is usually placed on the left side of the field, as already in the Valentinian period (pl. XIII, 26. 28—29); I know only one exception (pl. XIII, 27), which must point to another issue. The representation of the Nile-god in the early issues of the anonymous group is very fine and above the average standard of the die-engravers of the time. Compare e. g. the beautiful example pl. XIII, 23. The rough picture on pl. XIII, 24 with rough head, clumsy limbs and stiff reed in the hand, must have originated from the retouching of such a type. A similar larger die is used for the little quinarius pl. XIII, 25 too. Up to now, no identity of die of the recumbent Nile has been found between the anonymous quinarii and the last imperial ones. In spite of this, the relationship between the two is very close. Thus the piece of Valentinian I. pl. XIII, 29 is not only linked up with the Serapis-coin pl. XIII, 30 through the resemblance of the reverse, but the obverses of both are the work of the same engraver, as is proved by the outline of the profiles. The connexion with the latest imperial issues is obvious on pl. XIII, 31—32 too, a variety, which connects busts of Serapis and Isis. A similar die in a worn condition is shown on pl. XIII, 33—34. Through such wear new dies were continually required, but the old ones could only be replaced by such clumsy dies as pl. XIII, 35 and 36. The leaves of reed in the hair of the Nile are here changed into a sort of a radiate crown, the stalk in his hands is turned into as a stick. (On pl. XIII, 36 this reed is missing, as on pl. XIII, 28.) The evolution of this type reflects a coherent sequence of several issues.

## 3. THE TYPE OF THE SPHINX.

This type is completely absent from the imperial issues. It only begun with the anonymous coinage and so it is no mere chance, that the division of the legend on it is always VOTA P-VBLICA. It is also evident, that all dies with the sphinx are derived from a single pattern. The first die was soon worn out and we only know its decayed derivatives. On the examples pl. XIII, 37—38 the raised left arm is already mutilated; on pl. XIII, 39 the left foot is missing. An awkward correction of the latter defect is to be found on the pieces pl. XIII, 40. 43—44. But the right arm too is missing

in all cases, though it was certainly present on the first die. The rapidity of degeneration is illustrated by the barbarous obverse of pl. XIII, 43. The sphinx turned left occurs only exceptionally; it is simply an inverted reproduction of the same type, for the same faults disfigure it; i. e. the mutilated arm and the defective design of the raised foot.

#### 4. HARPOCRATES.

Here we can establish a solid base for the chronology by the discovery of the common dies of the last imperial and the first anonymous issues. Thus the reverse of Valens pl. XIV, 2 comes from the same die as that of a specimen with the bust of Isis, *Auktionskatalog Egger XLIII* (1913) no. 2023. Kindred are the reverses of the quinarius of Valentinian pl. XIV, 4 and the little coin with the bust of Serapis beside it (pl. XIV, 5). The division in all these pieces is VOTA PV-BLICA, as well as in the anonymous pieces pl. XIV, 3. 6. 8. We shall note further, that the most beautiful dies belong to the earliest period of the anonymous coinage; thus the variety pl. XIV, 8, as the division of its legend shows. The other early division of the legend, VOTA-PVBLICA, occurs on the common reverse of pl. XIV, 1—2. The great majority are divided in the same way, as the bulk of the anonymous group: VOTA P-VBLICA. The quick deterioration of the type can be well illustrated from the transformation of the cornucopiae of Harpocrates into a thin stick (cp. pl. XIV, 19—22). The type of Harpocrates is used for the most part on the smallest Isis- and Serapis-coins (pl. XIV, 1—29); on the larger denomination this reverse is only used at the end of the anonymous coinage. This is proved e. g. by the representation of the cornucopiae, which not only appears in the debased form of the later anonymous quinarii (pl. XIV, 31), but also develops into a medley, in which this symbol is confused with the caduceus of Anubis, cp. pl. XIV, 33—35.

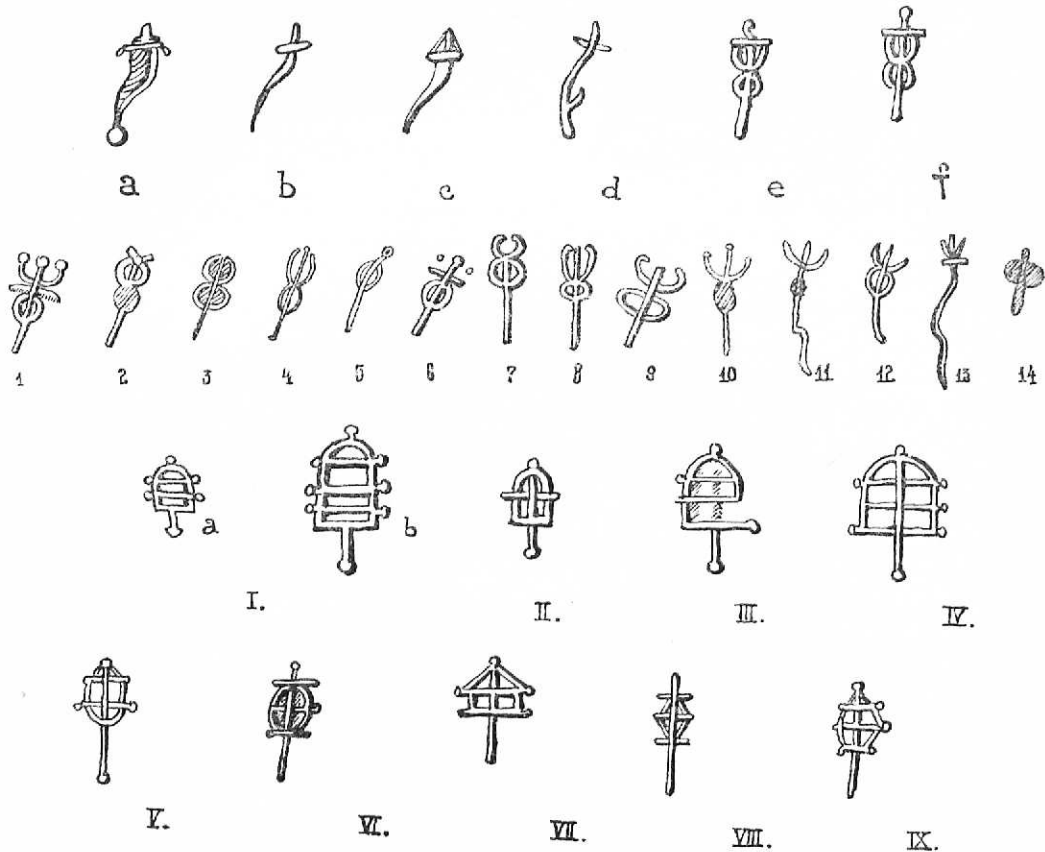
#### 5. ANUBIS WITH A PALM-BRANCH AND CADUCEUS.

This type too only begins in the later period of the anonymous heathen coinage. The division of legend is first VOTA P-VBLICA (pl. XIV, 36. 39—43) and then VOTA-PVBLICA at the end (pl. XIV, 37—38. 47—49). The single varieties, which here as always connect different obverses (cp. pl. XIV, 37 and 38; 39 and 40, 41 and 42), offer a fresh proof of what we noted in the type of Harpocrates: the symbol of Anubis, the caduceus, is confused with the cornucopiae of the son of Isis. First, the caduceus become curved, like the horn of plenty, then it was further assimilated to that emblem, but at the same time completely misunderstood for the end of the mantle, which hung from the arm of this god and which joins with the degenerated caduceus to form a single curved stick, with some leaves on its upper end (pl. XIV, 41—42; cp. 45—46).

#### 6. ANUBIS WITH SISTRUM AND CADUCEUS.

Here too we have a fixed starting point in the common reverses of imperial and anonymous coins. The reverse-die of the quinarius of Valentinian I. pl. XV, 7 recurs on pl. XV, 8 with the bust of Isis. The reverse of the quinarius of Gratian pl. XV, 9

again is identical with that of pl. XV, 10, here coupled with the bust of Serapis. The Anubis on pl. XV, 7 is also related to pl. XV, 6, which bears the bust of Isis in front-view. The legend on all these pieces is divided VOTA PV-BLICA, as on the Anubis of the largest anonymous issue, pl. XV, 38, also. The second early manner of division is preserved on pl. XV, 2—4. The abnormally broad sistrum, with a vertical line in the middle (cp. the figure in the text, no. IV) corresponds to the same symbol on the coin



of Gratian, pl. XVII, 5. It is surprising on the other hand, that the caduceus on pl. XV, 3 has become already meaningless (cp. no. 5 on the figure in text): the decay was rapid. The bulk of these Anubis types show the division of the legend VOTA P-VBLICA (pl. XV, 11—39. 43. 44. 47—48); but on the most degenerate varieties the VOTA-PVBLICA recurs (pl. XV, 40—42. 44. 46. XIV, 44—45.). — The succession of the issues can to some extent be grasped from the degree of decadence in the types. The best way to realise this phenomenon is to follow the deformation of the sistrum, which is illustrated here under no. I—IX. As the Isis-reverses show the same variations of the sistrum, this parallelism reinforces our reconstruction. The process of decadence of the caduceus is not so characteristic, though not without interest (cp. fig. no. 1—14). This

attribute is already misunderstood in the early anonymous emissions (cp. pl. XV, 3) and — as has already been stated —, it is finally confused with the cornucopiae.

Among the issues with the division of legend VOTA P-VBLICA the type pl. XV, 11—14 seems to be very early; it was struck in the small form too, cp. pl. XV, 15. Derivatives from this type will be pl. XV, 20 and 30 in the smaller and pl. XV, 18, 21, 22 in the larger denomination, in which the misshaped sistrum (cp. no. VI. and VII. on the figure in text) are also characteristic. From an early issue too comes the variety pl. XV, 16—17, with the type of the sistrum no. IV (on the fig., p. 21.) and the caduceus no. 2 (on our figure, p. 21.). The sistrum is totally misconceived on pl. XV, 25—26 (cp. already pl. XV, 39—48).

### 7. ISIS SITTING ON THE SOTHIS-DOG.

The connexion with the latest imperial emissions can be established in the case of this type too. The anonymous pagan coin pl. XVI, 2 and the coin of Valentinianus I. pl. XVI, 1 have an identical reverse, struck with the same die. All the other varieties must be later than this. Except the piece pl. XVI, 18 all specimens are closely connected with the earliest anonymous type and they can be distributed into several small groups. The commonest is the variety pl. XVI, 8—12; a second one, pl. XVI, 13—14 is so far only known from the two obverses reproduced; a third species, pl. XVI, 15 goes together with the specimen of the Vierordt collection (Auktionskatalog V., Schulman 1923, pl. 62, no. 2811). Related in style are also pl. XVI, 8 and 16. The form of the sistrum in the hand of Isis, apart from the meaningless vertical middle line, remains regular throughout and so it is evident, that our type was no longer in use, when the sistrum reached its debased form.

### 8. ISIS STANDING IN HER THENSA.

We find three sub-types. The first is characterised by its clumsy horses pl. XVI, 19—20); the specimen with the legend VOTA PV-BLICA must be earlier, than that with the division VOTA P-VBLICA; — the wheel of the car on the latter is awkwardly retouched — a fresh evidence of the wear of these dies. The second group is illustrated on pl. XVI, 21—22, with the mules, straining at the thensa, and with the small sistrum in the hand of the goddess. To the third group a specific character is given by the slender mules and the deteriorated form of the sistrum; pl. XVI, 24 and 25 show the variety no. VII (see the text-figure) of these emblem, a sign of late date.

### 9. ISIS WITH SISTRUM AND SITULA.

A firm starting point is given by the identity of the reverse-dies of the quinarius of Valentinianus I. pl. XVII, 2 and of the anonymous quinarius pl. XVII, 1. There is a relationship between the Isis-type of another small coin of Valentinian, pl. XVII, 4, and that of the piece with Isis-obverse, pl. XVII, 3. The relative chronology of that type is easy to trace by the successive stages of transformation of the sistrum, which are illustrated on fig. I. sqq. The original form of this rattle is only preserved on a single variety, pl. XVII, 9—11; a slight commencement of deterioration is marked only by the en-

largement of its lower part, presumably influenced by the reverse-die with the bust of Valentinian pl. XVII, 4. The sistrum is already exaggeratedly broad on the type of Gratian pl. XVII, 5, a feature that recurs on the anonymous pieces pl. XVII, 6—7 (no. IV. in the text-figure); there appears already the incorrect vertical middle-axis of the rattle of Isis. This same peculiarity shows us, that the beautiful type pl. XVII, 23—24 only arose after the last imperial issues, which never contain this erroneous vertical axis of the sistrum. The forms IV.—IX. of the sistrum are not based on the knowledge of this attribute, but only on the preceding grades of deformation in the type of these coins themselves, always withdrawing further and further from reality (pl. XVII, 14. 29. 32—36). We must remember, that the same degrees of development have been found in the other types of our pagan coinage too, and through this parallelism the value of these series of types for the chronological sequence is generally established.

#### 10. ISIS STANDING IN A SHIP, PUTTING HER HANDS ON THE SAIL.

Among the larger pieces, pl. XVIII, 22 with the legend VOTA-PVBLICA, must be an early specimen. The sail is put quite near to the prow, so that the scroll-end of the latter and the network-pattern of the former are mingled on the design. The same scheme is given on dies, which were subsequently used and which have already the legend VOTA P-VBLICA; I mean pl. XVIII, 13. 19. 20, and the very late reverse pl. XVIII, 21. The most frequent variety is that, which begins with pl. XVIII, 3; but the early form of the division of the legend (VOTA PV-BLICA) is already abandoned on the next for the later one (VOTA P-VBLICA) on pl. XVIII, 1. 2. 4, which are still good in execution, as likewise on the rougher pieces pl. XVIII, 5—11 naturally too. The decay in style is here accompanied by an enlargement of the pattern and by the reappearance of the distribution VOTA-PVBLICA in the legend (pl. XVIII, 11), a parallelism with the type of Isis standing (or walking) with situla and sistrum (pl. XVII, 26—29). Another style is mirrored on pl. XVIII, 12 with the disproportionately large decorative stern and prow. Further subtypes are first pl. XVIII, 14. 24 and then pl. XVIII, 33 with the gracious attitude of the hands, a trait, which often recurs on small pieces, such as pl. XVIII, 34—37. The complete decomposition of the design of the ship is reached on pl. XVIII, 15—18. How quick this process of degeneration was, is illustrated by the fact, that the obverse of the early and fine variety pl. XVIII, 3 could still be used with the debased ship on pl. XVIII, 18.

It has already been mentioned, that the ship of the quinarius pl. XVIII, 26 shows memories of older imperial reverses (pl. II, 8. 20—21). The division of the legend points in this specimen, as also in pl. XIX, 16 points too to an early dating; all other varieties contain the later form of division VOTA P-VBLICA. The ship is always going right, the *laevum omen* of the opposite direction was deliberately avoided, so that the ship turned to the left on pl. XIX, 17 must be not only an exception, but perhaps an actual mistake.

#### 11. SOME REMARKS ON RARE TYPES.

Pl. XIV, 50, on which Isis is represented with Anubis, goes with the type of Anubis holding palm-branch and caduceus (cp. pl. XIV, 30 sqq.).

Pl. XIV, 54 shows the carefully modelled picture of a priestess of Isis carrying two candelabra in the procession of her goddess, whereas the similar type with the torch-bearer (pl. XIV, 55) is very primitive. These types arose later, than the last imperial emissions. They illustrate the general rule, that soon after the commencement of the anonymous series excellent die-engravers created beautiful models for the heathen series, but the average die-sinker could not maintain the high level.

The type of Serapis, standing with raised right hand and holding the globe is preserved in several varieties. The distribution of the legend speaks for the early issue of pl. XVI, 32—33. Derivations of the Serapis looking l. on pl. XVI, 28 are pl. XVI, 26—27. 29.

The group of Isis and Nephtis is so exhibited, that of their two wings that nearest to the observer — as they are standing in profile — is sunk, the other raised. But this is correctly shown only on pl. XVI, 34. The engraver of the very fine die pl. XVI, 36 has already misunderstood the lower wings and transformed them into a folded drapery. The specimens with the late division of legend pl. XVI, 35. 37 are decadent in style.

Not without interest is the barbarous looking type pl. XVI, 39. The intention of the die-sinker was, to represent Serapis lifting up with the right hand an adoring believer. But he was not able to express this movement and substituted for it the attitude of the emperor or Victoria (which appears on coins of the end of the fourth century) seizing a barbarian by the hair.

The plate with fruits and a snake in the hand of Isis occurs in the hand of the Isis-priest of the illustrations of the kalendar of Philocalus (354 A. D.) too. Our type (pl. XVIII, 42. XIX, 6) appeared late in the series of anonymous issues, as is shown by the degenerated sistrum (no. VI and VII of our text-figure).

The type of Isis and Serapis with snake-feet (pl. XIX, 12—14) is derived from a type of Julianus (pl. II, 19), the shapeless vase and other details make one realize the secondary character and deterioration of the anonymous issue.

### c) *THE ISSUES OF THE ANONYMOUS PAGAN COINAGE.*

It is a salient feature of the Roman imperial coinage, that the obverse was always very carefully modelled and executed, whereas the reverse throughout played a secondary rôle. The legitimization is lent to the coin by the presence of the imperial portrait and imperial titulature on the obverse and on this badge of sovereignty was lavished all's the artist's skill and cunning. — This is the case with the anonymous pagan issues too ; though they do not bear the portraits of rulers and though, on the other hand the reverses are surprisingly multifarious in comparison with the shrunken series of motives on coins of the late fourth century, the character of the issues was always determined by new obverses. The reverses retained their secondary function and served the pagan propaganda, — just as the ordinary coin-types served to glorify the emperor.

The exchange of the older busts of Isis and Serapis for new ones, such as the double effigies of both of them, seems to be regular. We find, where the materials are not defective, 4 or 5 reverse-types coupled with a new obverse. The series, based on the common obverses, are illustrated on the plates III.—X., and described more thoroughly in the catalogue. So, just as the common obverses demonstrate the series of reverses, which were used

at the same time, the common reverses on the other hand must show, which busts were comprised in the same issue. — We shall see, that the first issues can actually be distinguished on this way. But for the following issues a serious difficulty arises. This is caused by the circumstance, that the new obverses are not accompanied by correspondingly new reverses, but that the old dies remain in use, as long, as they would last. — Through this continuous employment of the old reverse-dies the issues are almost inextricably interlaced. — In spite of this confusion the renewal of the obverses must be retained as a mark of the renovation of our occasional issues ; and even the uninterrupted use of the reverse-dies through a series of issues reveals the uninterrupted repetition of our pagan issues. This continuity on the one side, and, on the other side, the fact, that our coins were prepared for one day of the year only, make it clear, that our issues mark the return of the festival of the *vota publica* ; and we can now ask, how many times did our issues celebrate this festival after 379/380 A. D.? We shall do well to hold, that these coins were struck in very small quantities, for the public of a single great city, for one specific day: more than one issue a year is impossible ; the number of the issues then is at the same time the number of years! Now, as the pagan party was annihilated in Rome in 394, and as the public mint could not have stood at its disposal after this date, we must reckon with the 15 years between 379/380—395 as the epoch, in which the anonymous coinage on the whole was produced. It cannot then be a mere chance, that we find approximately as many issues, as the years contained in this space of time.

The single issues not only include different busts, but they are also composed of several denominations. There exist in general three such kinds of coins; but the three could not have been issued at once, for the following reason. The middle denomination, corresponding in size to the „third brass“, emerges as early as Valentinian I., but it only appears then as an exception; — I know no more than 3—4 pieces in all, which do not show any connexion with the anonymous series, though of the latter several hundred specimens are already known. Consequently, a certain time must have passed away after the imperial series, before this middle denomination began to be struck. How this came about, can be made plain from an examination of the largest denomination of the anonymous pagan coins.

The latter are particularly important, because they reflect to perfection the systematic renewal of the obverses. The double effigy, which characterises this largest kind of pagan coins, was at once a very difficult task for the average die-sinker of the last decades of the fourth century, who deliberately avoided any complicated problem. All the higher should we value the achievement of the excellent artists, who furnished the models for the double busts of the first issues. — For the sequence of the issues with the double „portrait“ our observations on type (above, p. 15 sqq.) have already supplied a preliminary stratification. Their approximate succession can be sketched, as follows :

I. The first series may have been pl. VII, 33—35, for its reverses show the reemployment of dies of the Valentinian age, — as was found from our examination of the single types above. I have not yet been able to discover the quinarii, which belonged to the same emission.

II. There exists a second series with double effigy, which is struck in the same size, as our first issue and, as the juxtaposition on pl. XIII, 12—14 illustrates, is also imme-

diately connected with the imperial series of the age of Valentinian I. This series is as yet only represented by pl. VII, 36=XIII, 12, but this type originally belonged to a series similar to the above. Certain quinarii here can be fixed as contemporary: a glance at the larger and smaller heads pl. XIX, 1—2 shows at once the identical style. The quinarii pl. III, 30, 32 and pl. XX, 41 belonged consequently also to this issue. Besides the quinarii with the head of Serapis one type with the bust of Isis also, it seems, belonged to the same issue; as pl. IX, 8=XVII, 32 has a reverse related to pl. III, 32, it may be assigned to this group.

Next must be placed two issues, which in style are dependent on the last imperial issues, but surprisingly fine in execution and larger in size. These showy series are :

III. First pl. VII, 21—23. The reverse of the last mentioned piece copies a type of Valentinian (cp. pl. XVII, 1—2); the early form of division of legend also points back to that age. The profile of Serapis has the outline of the face of Valentinian (or Valens), as also on the quinarii pl. III, 40—41 (cp. pl. XIII, 29—30, where the reverses again are related), — which seem consequently to belong to this issue (cp. pl. XIX, 3 and 4). The corresponding quinarii with the obverse of Isis have not yet been found. — It is significant, that no anonymous coin with the bust of Serapis or Isis alone reaches the size of the large specimens with the double effigy of this issue; thus these had not yet appeared.

IV. The same size has also another series, of which we know at the moment only the varieties pl. VII, 18—19. This fact together with the beautiful style obliges us, to place this group here. — Of the other denominations the medium-sized was — as above stated, still missing. As for the quinarii, I am disposed to look for those belonging to this issue among the pieces with busts in front view (pl. VII, 5—15), which are also linked up to the imperial issues.

It is not yet possible to determine the succession of the following issues. But closely as they are interlaced with one another, they contrast strongly with the former. They are decreasing in diameter and fall to the size of the „third brass“ pieces with the single busts of the Egyptian deities. The latter then appeared with these new issues. The division of the legend on the reverse is already VOTA - PVBLICA. — We can distinguish the following groups, the numeration of which does not pretend to give the true chronological order :

V. The decrease in diameter seems to have been continuous and we must therefore suppose, that the larger an issue is, the earlier it must be. Therefore we classify as next in order the series pl. VII, 25—27. The reverse of Isis in the *thensa* is also coupled with the bust of Isis on pl. VIII, 3. But such connexions begin at this point to lose their absolute value, owing to that reemployment of reverse-dies in successive issues, — which is illustrated for the type of Isis in ship on pl. XVIII, 1—4.

VI. The type pl. VIII, 38=XIII, 10 has already fallen to the size of the „third brass“. The reverse-type is related to the quinarius pl. XIII, 11, — so it may be, that the latter came from this issue.

VII. Some evidence for the chronological position of the type pl. VII, 39 is given by the form of the relatively large, half-round sistrum, which recurs on pl. XV, 2—4 and



XVII, 7 and is based — as already mentioned — on the sistrum of a type of Gratian (pl. XVII, 5).

VIII. On the double effigy pl. IV, 1 Serapis is already represented with the rays of the Sun-god round the head; it seems, that this particular only appeared in our later issues. The same reverse is also coupled with the likeness of Serapis alone (cp. pl. XVIII, 6 and 7); and by another reverse, (pl. V, 36—37), an obverse with the bust of Isis is also connected with the former (pl. XIII, 16—17).

With regard to the artistic level, the series just described is still fairly good in quality; and so too the next one.

IX. The series pl. VII, 28—30. The manifold connexions between the reverses of this group are illustrated on the plates XIII., XV., XVI.

X. Pl. IV, 2 and XII, 17=XVIII, 18 again shows the rays of Sol-Serapis. The degenerate reverse of the later piece (cp. pl. XVIII, 17) points to a late date.

XI. The double busts of Isis and Serapis looking left, pl. VIII, 39, were designed at a time, when the excellent masters of the first anonymous issues were no longer available in the mint of Rome. The connexion of this bust with others through the corresponding reverses is illustrated on pl. XVII, 15—18.

XII. The pair of busts pl. VII, 37—38 is not unlike our type VII. and it is not impossible, that it originated in the same year, as that.

XIII. The double bust, looking left, pl. VIII, 40—44 links up four reverses. The reverse with Isis on the Sothis-dog is inherited from a former series (cp. pl. XVI, 13—14); the Isis with child at breast is common with pl. XIII, 19—20; and so the bust of Sol-Serapis on the latter seems also to belong to this issue.

XIV. The obverse of the coins pl. VII, 31—32 no longer shows any trace of the classical type of Serapis. It is a likeness, made by a slight remodelling of an imperial portrait. The form of the sistrum points (pl. XVII, 22; cp. 14, 18, 25) to a relatively late date. The diameter of this type sunk to the lowest of all.

XV. The same decadence in style, as in the last issue, characterises this issue too. The double bust pl. IV, 5=XVII, 28, which represents this series, is linked up to the coins pl. XVII, 25—29 by its reverse. The division of the legend on the latter, VOTAPVBLICA, is a mark of the last issues.

XVI. The type of double effigy reproduced on pl. IV, 3—4 is quite barbarous, as the type of its reverse too.

XVII. Very curious is the type pl. VII, 24 = XVIII, 21, which apparently only originated after the total cessation of our heathen coinage: the old dies and the old engravers were no longer available. The reverse shows a primitive imitation of the *navigium Isidis*, quite alien to the work of the die-sinkers of the hundreds of varieties of our heathen coins. On the obverse, the barbarous features of Serapis remind us of the portraits of Honorius (pl. XX, 39); the whiskers are very similar to those of Honorius, with the horizontal notches on the curls.

Whereas the obverses with double bust enabled us to give at least a rough sketch of the issues, we are not able to attribute to single issues the pieces with the bust of Isis, or Serapis alone. We must content ourselves with some remarks about the problem.

We already know, that the medium-sized pieces only began some years after the stopping of the imperial issues, at the moment of incipient decadence. No wonder then that the single busts are no longer so clearly distinguishable as the double busts. The production was far more extensive, than in the former case and so the simple workmen, in whose hands the fine models of excellent artists at once degenerated, played a larger rôle. This deterioration can be easily grasped. The inferior imitations of the bust of Isis pl. X, 8—9 appear on pl. X, 10—17. Derivatives of the type pl. IX, 9—10 are the coins 11—15 on the same plate. The bust of Serapis pl. V, 1 is imitated pl. V, 5—6 in a better and pl. V, 2—4 in a weaker manner. — The worn out dies were not thrown away, but retouched and used again. The effigy of Sol-Serapis e. g. on pl. V, 38—39 reappears in such a repaired shape on pl. V, 40—41 ; we observe, that the number of rays around the head is increased, the face has got a beard and the folds of the mantle have been retouched. The sun-rays of the bust pl. V, 9—10 have also been retouched and still more the type V, 22—24, both on the obverse, and reverse. At the reconditioning of pl. VI, 24—26 the blunder in the legend (DEO SAP-APIDI) was not corrected, but the beard was lengthened, cp. pl. VI, 31—32. After the final wear and tear of the dies they could only be replaced by primitive designs, good examples of which are seen on pl. V, 35—36 ; the drapery of the busts pl. V, 25—27 and VI, 27—29, which suggest childish drawings, testify the same decadence.

The series collected on plates III—X. illustrates how quite a lot of bust-types are known to us, which link up 3—5 reverses. But the same reverses reappear also in later issues, as the plates XIII—XIX. abundantly show. We have preferred this method of plentiful illustration to that of elaborate discussion for the proof of these connexions. It will be sufficient then to explain here a single instance of them. The bust pl. VIII, 30—33 originally coincided with the bust of Isis pl. X, 8—9: the common reverses, which bind them together, are to be seen on pl. XVII, 23—24. Another bust of Isis, however, was also used with this bust of Serapis with raised right hand, i. e. pl. VIII, 32, which, in its turn, figures in the series pl. IV, 25—28 with another bust of the god (cp. XVII, 9—10); these two latter series are again linked together by the type of Serapis with raised hand (on the reverse), cp. pl. XVI, 32—33. On the other hand the second bust of Serapis (pl. IV, 25—28) was issued contemporaneously with the bust of Isis pl. IV, 37=VIII, 2; cp. the common reverses pl. XVIII, 19—20. The interlacing goes even farther. The type of Anubis, which occurred with these Serapis-busts, is also coupled with two other busts of Isis and with another bust of Serapis with raised right hand, cp. pl. XV, 11—14. Finally the obverses of these last-mentioned coins show reverses, which are to be found again with new obverses...

It is an almost hopeless undertaking then, to pick out the chronological succession. But the same series of links, which causes this trouble, demonstrates the very important fact, that the whole great series was made in the mint of Rome and in a restricted period, as we would once more emphasize. No one specimen,

with the exception of the already mentioned late type with double bust, can be, so far I see, withdrawn from this enchainment.

The types of quinarii that went with the larger pieces, can often be discovered by the analogy of style. Let us take a few examples:

1. The larger bust of Serapis pl. IV, 10—12 agrees with the smaller one, pl. IV, 13.
2. A repetition on a smaller scale of the bust of Serapis pl. V, 7—8 is seen in the quinarius pl. V, 29.
3. The smaller version of the bust pl. VI, 27—29 is to be found on pl. V, 25.
4. The bust of Isis pl. IX, 17—18 is reflected in the smaller ones pl. IX, 19—21.
5. In the case of pl. IX, 38 and 40 the reverses correspond, but the obverses too are related.
6. The type of Anubis pl. XV, 11—14 is copied on the small coin pl. XV, 15.
7. The Anubis of pl. XV, 47—48 is like the small variety pl. XII, 12.

We shall not treat the connexions of the quinarii among themselves, which are similar to those on the larger denomination. We refer especially to the plates XIII—XIX, on which many of the connexions are put together.

## II. THE HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK AND THE RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND.

### 1. THE POLITICAL PREMISES.

We know, that the coinage lost its pagan character in the later part of the reign of Constantine and also, that the mint of Rome followed in general the same regulations, that were obligatory in the other mints. The more surprising is it, that a festival of Isis and Serapis could continue so ostentatiously to find expression on the long series of numismatic documents, that we have just been studying. Even if it must be admitted that these occasional issues are carefully distinguished for the most part from the normal issues by metal, size and weight, yet the authentic mark of sovereignty, the imperial portrait, still lent the badge of state authority to a heathen cult till as late a date as 378/379! And even when at this moment the rulers declined to tolerate further such an astonishing abuse, they still overlooked for some fifteen years the continuation of this heathen coinage without the portrait of the regents.

These facts are in contrast to what we all know about the political evolution of the fourth century, but they are easy to explain, if we do not forget, that we are concerned with a special manifestation of the old capital of the Roman world itself. The peculiar position of the *urbs* was deeply based and was secured once more by the reorganization of Augustus. The emperors heaped honours on it the more that they deprived it of the means of political activity.<sup>1</sup> Just as the principate itself remained simple and realistic as long as it retained its *active* part in the management of the affairs of state, and was only surrounded with the splendid external signs of might, when it sank into complete *passivity*, — so was it with the city of Rome too. As the conception of the principate developed from the government of one leading statesman towards the function of a representative of a timeless universal power, so was Rome similarly transformed in the thoughts of men from a real factor of history to an everlasting symbol, which remained *invicta* even for the new peoples, who — conquered it. This attitude of ever increasingly pious submission before the eternal city became at the same time a great defence of the old Roman institutions, in spite of their pagan character.<sup>2</sup> Among such old institutions were the public vows, which are celebrated on our coins. But in this case it helped,

<sup>1</sup> E. Kornemann, Die römische Kaiserzeit (Gercke-Norden, Einleitung in die Altertumswissenschaft 33, 1933), 66 sq.

<sup>2</sup> Concerning the evolution of the imperial idea cp. Röm. Mitteilungen 50, 1935, 1 sqq.

that the custom of these occasional issues, in connexion with the *vota* had already been established under Constantine and their continuation could thus be secured through the general tolerance of that emperor. Minor collisions with the pagan party of Rome occurred under this ruler, but the first serious storm only arose under the government of the sons of Constantine.<sup>3</sup> The story of the anti-pagan campaign, which now began, has often been deeply studied.<sup>4</sup> So it will be enough here to sum up the facts briefly.

The strength of the pagan party in Rome revealed itself at the moment when Constantians appealing to the authority of his father, forbade the sacrifices in Italy in A. D. 341 (Cod. Theod. 16, 10, 2). In the next year he was constrained to make concessions for Rome itself. Though he lays stress on the fact, that his efforts are directed against the whole of paganism, he expressly guarantees the unmolested existence of the sanctuaries outside the walls of the city (Cod. Theod. 16, 10, 3). His line of argument betrays a motive which he did not wish to state in so many words: *Nam cum ex nonnullis (sc. templorum, quae extra muros sunt posita) vel ludorum vel circensium vel agonum origo fuerit exorta, non convenit ea convelli, ex quibus populo Romano praebeatur prisca sollemnitatis voluptas.* The *plebs urbana* was really enamoured of the games, as Boissier<sup>5</sup> so attractively shows it, but the discontent of this crowd, which had so long lost its political weight, was not enough to modify the will of an emperor. The appeal to it is only a pretext. It was not the ill-humour of the population of Rome, but the blending of the *priscae sollemnitates* with the time-honoured conception of the Roman state, that checked the aggressiveness of the Christian empire at its own ideal centre. And this hereditary conception of state was guarded and supported not by the *misera plebs contribuens*, but by the old aristocracy; whereas the former lacked any influence at court, the latter could exercise a very effective pressure on it. That is the reason, that the first measures against paganism were quite ineffective in Rome.<sup>6</sup>

While in other cities the secular magistrates proceeded against the *sepulchrorum violatores*, an edict of the year 349 (Cod. Theod. 9, 17, 2) authorizes the *praefectus praetorio Italiae cum pontificibus* to act in such cases in Rome. The administrative functions of the priests of the old state-religion were consequently not completely abolished. Similarly, it is not improbable, that among the numerous senators (συγκλητικῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι), who were designated by Constantius II. in 351 to compose an ecclesiastical controversy,<sup>7</sup> there were heathens too, as in other similar missions. And even in these very years (350—351 A. D.) Rome was in the possession of Magnentius, who strongly favoured the pagans<sup>8</sup> and under whose protection all restrictions vanished, which had

<sup>3</sup> For the first actions against the paganism of Rome under Constantine: Zosim. 2, 29, 5. Cp. G. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*<sup>8</sup>, 56.

<sup>4</sup> J. Geffcken, *Der Ausgang des griechisch-römischen Heidentums*, 1920, 97 sqq. V. Schultze, *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* 1, 1887, 68 sqq. G. Boissier, *La fin du paganisme*, 8<sup>me</sup> éd., 1, 79 sqq. O. Seeck, *Geschichte des Untergangs der antiken Welt* 4, 29, 50, 134. P. Allard, *Julien l'Apostat* 1<sup>3</sup>, 1906, 54 sqq. Cp. also the literature quoted below.

<sup>5</sup> L. c. 80.

<sup>6</sup> G. Boissier, 1. c. 84. J. Geffcken, 1. c. 97.

<sup>7</sup> Socrat., *h. e.* 2, 30. Cp. Fr. Kauffmann, *Aus der Schule von Wulfila* 1899, 117 (ad p. 90, 5).

<sup>8</sup> J. Geffcken, o. c. 98. — Cp. for the chronology L. Laffranchi, *Atti e memorie dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 6, 1930, 173 sq.

hitherto been imposed on the polytheistic cults. Naturally, after the failure of Magnentius, this licence disappeared and we know the edict of Constantius of the 23 Nov. 353: *Aboleantur sacrificia nocturna Magnentio auctore permessa et nefaria deinceps licentia repellatur* (Cod. Theod. 16, 10, 5). Yet even this prohibition demonstrates, that — apart from the forbidden nocturnal ceremonies — the sacrifices still flourish. We can therefore take literally the statements of the writer of the *expositio totius mundi*<sup>9</sup> about Rome: *Sunt autem in ipsa Roma et virgines septem ingenuae et clarissimae, quae sacra deorum pro salute civitatis secundum antiquorum morem perficiunt et vocantur virgines Vestae . . . Habet autem et senatum maximum virorum divitum . . . Colunt autem deos ex parte, Iovem et Solem: necnon et sacra Matris deum perficere dicunt: et aruspices ad eos (subsistere) certum est.*

It would be a mistake, on the other hand, to think that the victory of the Church had no consequences in Rome. The effects of the altered situation are easily to be seen in the calendar of the so-called Chronographer of the year 354. His lists still contain beside the festival days of the emperors and the days of games an enumeration of pagan feasts with certain modifications. Beside the consuls and the prefects of the city stands the list of popes, and beside the *feriale ecclesiae Romanae* and the *cyclus paschalis* the old pagan festivals,<sup>10</sup> but the pagan element still preponderates. Mommsen, who made a penetrating study on this work, thought that this almanac was „ohne Zweifel der offizielle Kalender, wie er im römischen Reiche galt“,<sup>11</sup> but it reflects in a far higher degree the special situation in Rome, just as its catalogue of Christian feasts<sup>12</sup> or as the catalogue of heathen feasts in the *Feriale Campanum*<sup>13</sup> displays also local colouring. G. Wissowa has already demonstrated, that the selection of heathen festivals in this calendar goes back to a time-honoured series of feasts, specially fitted for Rome.<sup>14</sup> Mommsen also underestimated the practical value of the calendar of 354. He writes that „die eigentlichen Opfer und heidnischen Zeremonien sind aus demselben gestrichen, und die ursprünglich dem Kultus der Götter bestimmten Tage nur als *dies feriati* ohne religiöse Bedeutung beibehalten, namentlich aber die Spiele unverändert geblieben . . . Die Bezeichnung der Tage als *fasti* und *nefasti* u. s. f. ist verschwunden, wofür die Tage des *senatus legitimus* angemerkt sind“ and that „alle Beziehungen auf den eigentlichen Kultus fehlen“.<sup>15</sup> Yet the continuous series of our heathen coins, which is connected with a festival of Isis, shows abundantly, that the feasts of Isis, registered in the calendar, were not

<sup>9</sup> *Exp. tot. mundi* 55 (p. 120 Riese), — already quoted by Schultze, o. c. 117. — Cp. on this work A. A. Vasiliev, *Seminarium Kondakovianum* 8, 1936, 34 sq.

<sup>10</sup> Th. Mommsen, *Mon. Germaniae hist., auct. ant.* 9, 15 sqq., 62 sqq., 70 sqq.

<sup>11</sup> Th. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* 7, 543.

<sup>12</sup> Cp. J. P. Kirsch, *Der stadtrömische christliche Festkalender im Altertum* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen H. 7/8), 1924, 5 sqq., 15 sqq., 96 sqq. and *Die Kirche in der antiken griechisch-römischen Kulturwelt* 1, 1930, 511 sqq. with other literature. E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums* 1, 1930, 132 sqq.

<sup>13</sup> Mommsen, *Ges. Schriften* 8, 14 sqq.

<sup>14</sup> G. Wissowa, *Apophoreton der Graeca Halensis*, 1903, 49 sqq.

<sup>15</sup> Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* 7, 543 and 8, 23 sq. — Cp. already G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* 2, 1912, 97 Anm. 2.

formal relics without religious content and that the picture, that characterises the month of November with the priest of Isis<sup>16</sup> is no mere artistic commonplace.

The struggle against paganism however was always directed against paganism as a whole<sup>17</sup> and about the middle of the fourth century this tendency became a growing danger for Rome. A law published at the end of 356<sup>18</sup> accentuates so emphatically the general validity of the measures directed against paganism that it must have been intended principally to strike the exceptions hitherto tolerated: *placuit omnibus locis adque urbibus universis claudi protinus templa et accessu vetito omnibus licentiam delinquendi perditis abnegari. Volumus etiam cunctos sacrificiis abstinere*. The punishment provided for disobedience is death and loss of goods; the *rectores provinciarum*, who do not rigorously apply the edict, are to be punished in a corresponding way; this means, above all, a heavy blow at the members of the great families of Rome.<sup>19</sup> Such severe measures, which encouraged the fanatics to destroy so much heathen temples elsewhere,<sup>20</sup> did not reach their aim in Rome. How mighty the force of the great tradition there was, can be realized from the effect that it exercised on the bigoted Constantius II., when he paid a visit to the city in 357. He could not shake off the feelings of awe before the representatives and relics of such a great past: *cumque urbi propinquaret* — writes Ammianus (16, 10, 5) — *senatus officia, reverendasque patriciae stirpis effigies ore sereno contemplans, non ut Cyneas ille Pyrrhi legatus, in unum coactam multitudinem regum, sed asylum mundi totius adesse existimabat. Proinde Romam ingressus* — as he relates a little later (16, 10, 13) — *imperii virtutumque omnium larem, cum venisset ad rostra, perspectissimum priscae potentiae forum, obstipuit, perque omne latus quo se oculi contulissent, miraculorum densitate perstrictus, adlocutus nobilitatem in curia, populumque e tribunali, . . . laetitiam fruebatur optata*. Ammianus calls special attention to the fact, that the emperor was charmed by the heathen sanctuaries too: *conlustrans . . . Iovis Tarpei delubra, quantum terrenis divina praecellunt, . . . Pantheum velut regionem teretem speciosa celsitudine fornicatam: elatosque vertices scansili suggestu concharum, priorum principum imitamenta* (i. e. the portraits of the *divi*, so hateful to the Christian mind!) *portantes, et Urbis templum*<sup>21</sup> . . . Quite in accordance with this description is the picture given of the same imperial visit by a leader of the pagan party of Rome near the end of the century. *Nihil ille* — states Symmachus in his famous third relation (3, 7) of Constantius — *decerpsit sacrarum virginum privilegiis, replevit nobilibus sacerdotia, Romanis caerimoniis non negavit impensas, et per omnes vias aeternae urbis laetum secutus senatum vidit placido ore delubra, legit inscripta fastigiis deum nomina, percontatus templorum originem est, miratus est conditores, cumque alias religiones ipse sequeretur, has servavit imperio*. — Indeed, Constantius did no more to appease the undoubtedly discontented Christian clergy, than to put away the altar of Victoria, which stood before the famous

<sup>16</sup> J. Strzygowski, Die Kalenderbilder des Chronographen vom J. 354 (Jahrb. d. Deutschen Archäol. Inst., Ergänzungsheft 1), 1888, T. 30.

<sup>17</sup> V. Schultze, o. c. 1, 1887, 28 sqq.

<sup>18</sup> So O. Seeck, Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste, 1919, 41 and 203. — Another date is proposed by Mommsen-Meyer, *Theodosiani libri XVI*, 1, 898 (ad. l. 1.).

<sup>19</sup> Cod. Theod. 16, 10, 4.

<sup>20</sup> J. Geffcken, o. c. 98 sq.

<sup>21</sup> Amm. 16, 10, 14.

statue of the goddess in the curia and so to suspend the custom of a pagan sacrifice which had always up till then opened the sessions of the senate.<sup>22</sup> What a violent reaction was let loose by this relatively slight amputation of ancient privileges, we shall see later.

It should not surprise us then that in spite of threatening edicts, a considerable part of the population fostered almost undisturbed the religion inherited from their forefathers. A considerable series of dedicatory inscriptions, dating from the second half of the century attests, that the senators of Rome still exhibited with ostentatious piety their attachment to the heathen cults.<sup>23</sup> They firmly believed that their faithfulness would be fruitful. In 359 e. g. when the corn-fleet, hindered by great storms, could not enter the port of Ostia, the prefect of the city, Tertullus, performed the traditional sacrifice to the Dioscuri, and it made a great impression, when, *divino arbitrio numinis*,<sup>24</sup> the ships came in and the famine was overcome. This general state of affairs justifies the supposition, that there was no interruption in the festival-coinage, which we are examining and that it is only the scarcity of its documents, that forbids us determining all its issues.

The short-lived triumph of paganism under Julianus is mirrored among other things in the fine issues of the *vota*-coinage. The next ruler Jovianus owe to appease the flare of passion by a sincere tolerance<sup>25</sup> and thus the Roman nobles were able to delight the people by bestowing on it the customary festival-coins on the day of the *Vota*. These *sparsiones* were, of course, a sort of propaganda in the modern sense. The period of tolerance lasted on under Valentinian, who<sup>26</sup> *inter religionum diversitates medius stetit*;<sup>27</sup> our pagan coinage bears witness again to his well-known attitude. Moreover, if it were doubtful who was managing this pagan manifestation, the long maintenance of it under Christian rulers, and the steady use of a public factory for pagan purposes would make it plain, that a most influential group of men stood behind it. Thus the *vota*-coins are fresh documents of the great reaction of the conservative aristocracy of Rome. The leaders of this movement, Quintus Aurelius Symmachus, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, Virius Nicomachus Flavianus and the others are well known. We need not describe the system of religious philosophy, which they opposed to the Christian teaching, nor their political conceptions and their efforts in defence of classical culture, for we possess brilliant works upon these special problems.<sup>28</sup> These *nobiles*, whose estates were spread over the whole

<sup>22</sup> Symm., rel. 3, 5—6. Ambros ep. 18, 32.

<sup>23</sup> It suffices to refer to Geffcken, o. c. 101, 281 sq.

<sup>24</sup> Amm. 19, 10, 1.

<sup>25</sup> O. Seeck, o. c. 4, 358 sq. J. Geffcken, o. c. 141 sq. E. Stein, Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches 1, 1928, 265. V. Schultze, o. c. 1, 181 sqq., etc.

<sup>26</sup> G. Boissier, o. c. 2, 254 sqq. V. Schultze, o. c. 1, 196 sqq. E. Stein, o. c. 268. A. Solari, La crisi dell'impero romano 1, 1933, 52 sqq. 68 sqq. J. Geffcken, o. c. 142 sqq. W. Heering, Kaiser Valentinian I. (Diss. Jena 1927), 60 sqq., etc.

<sup>27</sup> Amm. 30, 9, 6.

<sup>28</sup> J. Geffcken, o. c. 103 sqq. and Kaiser Julianus (Das Erbe der Alten 8), 1914, passim. J. Bidez, La vie de l'empereur Julien, 1930. P. de Labriolle, La réaction payenne, 1934, 335 sqq. A. D. Nock, Sallustius concerning the gods and the universe, 1926, XVII sqq. G. Wissowa, Religion und Kultus der Römer 2, 1912, 98 sq. M. Schanz, Geschichte der röm. Literatur 4<sup>3</sup>, 1914, 90 sqq. 529 sqq. 537. — J. Wytzes, Der Streit um den Altar der Viktoria, 1936, 26 sqq. brings not much new after these great forerunners.



empire *a primo ad ultimum solem*,<sup>29</sup> who *vile esse quicquid extra urbis pomerium nascitur, aestimant*,<sup>30</sup> regained much of their old political weight in this period through their economical power. They secured for themselves the permanent possession of the highest dignities in the civil service and made unscrupulous use of their infinite financial means to secure the position of their families.<sup>31</sup> Their imposing struggle in the defence of the *Romanae caerimoniae* had not so much a religious, as a political end; they feared that the collapse of the state would follow the twilight of the gods. They imagined, — as did the bulk of the Christians of this age of decay, — that the will of the deity manifests itself in a continuous and immediate meddling with all petty businesses of men; therefore the endless bickering over the catastrophes of the age, as to which religion should be held responsible for them.<sup>32</sup>

Thus these *principes religiosorum* and *sacrorum omnium praesules* united a strong religious ardour to their patriotic conviction. And, while in the foreground of their political actions is placed the defence of the ritual of their ancestors, their fervour and devotion turned towards the oriental cults.<sup>33</sup> Both the efforts for the preservation of the ancient religious institutions of Rome and the practice of oriental religion are united in the *vota publica* of the epoch, — as our coins will attest.

As already stated, the ostentatious practice of pagan religion in Rome had not yet been forbidden under Valentinianus. It might happen, that the art of the *haruspex* served as a pretext for calumnies, and was severely punished as a machination against the health of the sovereign;<sup>34</sup> but the senate was appeased even in such cases by the emperor: *Haruspicinam ego nullum cum maleficiorum causis habere consortium iudico, neque ipsam, aut aliquam praeterea concessam a maioribus religionem genus esse arbitror criminis. Testes sunt leges a me in exordio imperii datae, quibus unicuique, quo animo inbibisset, colendi libera facultas tributa est. Nec haruspicinam reprehendimus, sed nocenter exerceri vetamus*.<sup>35</sup>

But on the liberality of these wealthy aristocrats depended also the *plebs urbana*, always discontented and ready to riot for lack of food,<sup>36</sup> but easily to be drugged by the excitements of the games,<sup>37</sup> which filled the half of every year. To win the favour of these masses, the rich senators not only arranged as magistrates brilliant displays on stage, circus and amphitheatre, but they made *sparsiones* of small change too; for such purposes and as means of pagan propaganda<sup>38</sup> our coins were in all probability struck.

<sup>29</sup> Amm. 14, 6, 10.

<sup>30</sup> Amm. 14, 6, 22.

<sup>31</sup> F. Lot, *La fin du monde antique et le début du moyen-âge*, 1927, 147 sqq. J. Sundwall, *Weström. Studien*, 1915, 39 sqq. 150 sqq.

<sup>32</sup> The last study on these is that of J. R. Palanque, *Revue des Études anciennes* 33, 1931, 346 sqq.

<sup>33</sup> J. Geffcken, o. c. 144.

<sup>34</sup> The picture of the cruelty of Valentinianus by Seeck, o. c. 5, 15 sqq., based on Ammian, is exaggerated. — Further literature on the intercourse of Valentinian and the senate is to be found by W. Ensslin, *Byz. Zeitschr.* 36, 1936, 439.

<sup>35</sup> Cod. Theod. 9, 16, 9 (29. V. 371).

<sup>36</sup> Amm. 26, 3, 6; 27, 3, 5, etc.

<sup>37</sup> Amm. 14, 6, 26: *mentibus ardore quodam infuso*.

<sup>38</sup> Ammianus 28, 1, 29 tells us, that the *procurator* of the mint of Rome was condemned to death in 370; we regret, not to learn more about this personality.

The privileged position of paganism in Rome lasted then till Gratian, as Ambrosius, the great bishop of Milan explicitly states in his famous epistles to the younger Valentinian (ep. 17, 5 and 18, 19): *At cum per totum fere orbem a pluribus retro principibus inhibita interdictaque sint (sc. privilegia gentilium), Romae autem a fratre clementiae tuae augustae memoriae Gratiano verae fidei ratione sublata et datis antiquata rescriptis. — Et certe ante plurimos annos templorum iura toto orbe sublata sunt, —* he again asserts, — only the *urbicorum sacerdotum dispendia* are still in debate.

How the clouds gathered over the pagans of Rome, can still be perceived. The leader of the pagan party, Symmachus, is still full of good hopes on the New Year of 376 A. D. concerning the government of Gratian.<sup>39</sup> The young emperor still stood under the influence of his tutor Ausonius, who professed the same late Roman rhetorical learning, that animated the senatorial class and, though Christian, was very much inclined towards the bearers of the national tradition.<sup>40</sup> In his *gratiarum actio* (2, 7) Ausonius still praises his pupil as an *indulgentissimus imperator*, and illustrates this quality through the *securitas erroris humani*, — which must mean first of all the absence of reprisal for religious aberrations.<sup>41</sup> This speech was destined for the New Year of 379 A. D.; yet the pious soul of the young ruler was very soon subdued by the decisive influence of the great bishop of Milan.<sup>42</sup> The prohibition of the use of the imperial portrait on our heathen coinage seems already to be the action of Ambrose. The substitution for the imperial effigy of the busts of Serapis and Isis mirrors on the other hand the counter-action of the pagan party, which was enabled by this modification to celebrate the imperial vows in the old way, even against the will of the emperor himself. This attempt is very significant as a symptom: it is the first manifestation of the great reaction of the Roman tradition against the menace of Christianity. — The continuation of the *vota publica*-coinage without the imperial effigy, though executed in the public mint, was perhaps only a clandestine and private enterprise, the costs of which had to be supplied by the wealthy senators, who lavished great sums for such purposes in the subsequent years.

It is highly probable, that the veto of the sovereign was not accidental, but only one sign the more of the change in the general attitude of the court towards the pagans in Rome. It seems to me, that the abdication of Gratian from the dignity of *pontifex maximus* also occurred about the same time; it is evidently directed against the same group as the withdrawal of any imperial character from the *vota publica*-coinage; the members of the *collegium pontificum* were of course aristocrats of Rome. Gratian accepted the title of *pontifex maximus* on the occasion of his proclamation in 367<sup>43</sup>; unfortunately we do not know exactly, how long he tolerated it. Modern historians fix his renunciation either in 375/6, or in 382/3.<sup>44</sup>

<sup>39</sup> Symm., ep. 1, 13.

<sup>40</sup> E. Stein, o. c. 1, 284. J. R. Palanque, Saint Ambroise et l'empire romain, 1933, 41 sqq.

<sup>41</sup> So already H. Richter, Das weströmische Reich, besonders unter den Kaisern Gratian, Valentinian II. und Maximus, 1865, 371.

<sup>42</sup> H. Richter, o. c. 302. G. Costa, Religione e politica nell'impero romano 1923, 304 sqq. H. v. Campenhausen, Ambrosius von Mailand als Kirchenpolitiker, 1929, 168. J. R. Palanque, o. c. 39 sqq. E. Caspar, o. c. 1, 1930, 267 sqq. F. Homes Dudden, The Life and Times of St. Ambrose 1, 1935, 257 sqq.

<sup>43</sup> Cp. CIL. VI, 1175.

<sup>44</sup> In favor of 375/6 are: E. Gibbon, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, ed. by J. B. Bury 3, 188 sq. V. Schultze o. c. 1, 212 sqq. G. Rauschen, Jahrbücher der christlichen

But the truth in this case too lies between the two extremes. Ausonius still names Gratian in the already mentioned thanksgiving, which was destined for the New Year of 379 and certainly prepared not long before that moment, *pontifex maximus: Gratianus, potestate imperator, virtute victor, Augustus sanctitate, pontifex religione, indulgentia pater, aetate filius, pietate utrumque*.<sup>45</sup> This rhetorical play with the titulature of the ruler could not possibly include the word *pontifex*, if this pagan rank had already been abandoned: a writing addressed to the emperor himself and certainly shown him<sup>46</sup> could not make such mistakes; Ausonius was well enough acquainted with these delicate affairs, for not to hurt his master's feelings. — On the other hand, since Theodosius never used or refused this title, the removal of it must have been before the 19<sup>th</sup> of January 379. A sudden change then must have taken place about the beginning of 379. This is very likely on other grounds too. H. von Campenhausen has already shown,<sup>47</sup> that the turning-point of the religious policy of Gratian fell in these months. As late as the autumn of 378 he published a decree, which secured the free practice of religion to almost all christian sects, but in 379 he resigned the policy of tolerance, we may suppose, not only towards the sectarians, but towards the pagans as well.

Thus the imperial busts disappear from the *vota publica*-coins at the very moment, at which the anti-pagan measures of Gratian begin. The further stages of this campaign are well known<sup>48</sup> and have often been treated and we can therefore content ourselves with a brief sketch of the principal events. In A. D. 381, the edicts, which outlawed non-christian subjects, also inflicted a heavy blow on the pagans of the old capital. In 382 the altar of Victory (restored under Julian) was again removed from the *curia* and incense was no more burned before the symbol of the invincibility of Rome, the magnificent statue of Victory, once brought from Capua. The privileges of the old Roman colleges of priests were abolished, the public subsidies they enjoyed, as well as their estates were confiscated. But this hard stroke, which drew the natural conclusions from a situation, which had long been maturing, still did not threaten the very existence of the old worship. „Roman paganism was disconnected from its official association with the State“, but the corporations of the priests were allowed to possess and acquire fortunes and celebrate their ritual duties at their own expense.<sup>49</sup> The heathen majority of the senate<sup>50</sup> displayed an imposing

Kirche 1897, 120 note 4. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*<sup>2</sup>, 1912, 97 sq. Th. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*<sup>3</sup> 1887, 1108. E. Stein, o. c. 1, 309. F. Homes Dudden, o. c. 1, 257, etc. In favour of 382/383 are: G. Boissier, o. c. 2, 258 sqq. A. Solari, *La crisi dell'impero romano* 2, 1933, 14 sqq. J. R. Palanque, *Byzantion* 8, 1933, 41 sqq. J. Wytzes, *Der Streit um den Altar der Viktoria* 1936, 3. H. v. Campenhausen, o. c. 167 note 1 and others. O. Seeck, *Untergang* 5, 186 sq. does not discuss the date. Cp. also M. Martroye, *Bull. de la Soc. nat. d. Antiquaires de France* 1928, 192 sq.

<sup>45</sup> Auson., *grat. act.* 7, 32, cp. 9, 42. Cp. also J. R. Palanque, *Byzantion* 8, 1933, 44.

<sup>46</sup> Contrastly V. Schultze, o. c. 1, 213 note 2.

<sup>47</sup> H. v. Campenhausen, o. c. 42 sqq. J. R. Palanque, *St. Ambroise* etc. 61 sqq.

<sup>48</sup> Seeck, o. c. 5, 217 sqq. J. Geffcken, *Ausgang* 145 sqq. H. v. Campenhausen o. c. 166 sqq. A. Solari, o. c. 2, 31 sqq. J. R. Palanque, o. c. 113 sqq. R. Rauschen, o. c. 179 sqq., 184 sq. E. Stein, o. c. 1, 313 sq. G. Boissier, o. c. 2, 231 sqq. V. Schultze, o. c. 1, 209 sqq. F. Homes Dudden, o. c. 241 sqq.

<sup>49</sup> J. R. Palanque, o. c. 117 note 200. F. Homes Dudden, o. c. 258.

<sup>50</sup> That the pagans were more numerous in the senate, than their opponents, is quite certain despite of the contrary statement of Ambrosius. Cp. the whole modern literature in H. v. Campenhausen,

firmness. Though Gratian declines under the overwhelming influence of Ambrose their petitions for revocation of the anti-pagan edicts, they are still treated with a peculiar respect. And the Arians, who had weighty protectors in court-circles, planned to find support in the heathen senators of Rome on the oecumenical synod, projected in these years.<sup>51</sup>

After the death of Gratian a new deputation from the senate was sent to the young Valentinian in 384, to intervene once more for the repeal of the oppressive measures; though Ambrose won the upper hand again, his victory was hard won. And the highest positions in the imperial civil service were at the same time bestowed on the leaders of the pagan party: Symmachus became *praefectus urbi*, Vettius Agorius Praetextatus *praefectus praetorio*.<sup>52</sup> We can now understand, how our heathen coinage could flourish. And it is not a mere chance, that the most beautiful issues are contemporaneous with the culmination of the pagan opposition. The representatives of the Roman tradition achieved in those years a reverent revival of classical spirit, already seen in the political field, in science and literature and in the plastic arts,<sup>53</sup> and recognisable now on our little numismatic documents, as for example pl. VII 5—7, 9—16, 18, 21, 28. These latter are not insignificant from the historical point of view, because they show the genesis and the whole evolution of this phenomenon more clearly, than other sources. The sudden emergence of such fine types, as pl. VII, 18 gives an opportunity of measuring the surprising intensity of the pagan renaissance; the classic plastic modelling of pl. VII, 18 and the fine linear design of pl. VII, 21, based on the portrait-style of the age of Constantius II., demonstrate the tendencies and sources of the movement.<sup>54</sup> But we see too, that the amazing rise of level is due to a very restricted number of artists, to the same artists, I imagine, whose skill is mirrored on the ivory diptychs and on the products of toreutic design and who saved the treasure of classical motives and conceptions for the following centuries. The average die-sinker was no longer able to keep pace with them and the attractive power of the far inferior majority very soon drew down to it the thin layer of prominent workers; we have palpably realized this reduction to one level of incompetence.

to whose list we must add: G. B. de Rossi, *Bull. di arch. crist.* 6, 1868, 71 sqq. J. R. Palanque, o. c. 132 note 43. P. de Labriolle, *La réaction paienne* 1934, 340 sq. F. Homes Dudden, o. c. 258. J. Wytzes, o. c. 132 sqq.

<sup>51</sup> Diss. Maximini 139 (Fr. Kaufmann, *Aus der Schule des Wulfila* 1899, 90): *Certe tibi quam Damaso provincia est Italia, genetrix Roma, quae videre passiones apostolorum et reliquias eorum sanctas meruit possidere, sed et habere viros, qui cunctis ad sapientiam honestatemque sunt exempla — si confidentiam ullam fidei geritis, aput senatum ipsius urbis fidem continuis triginta vel quadraginta diebus secundum scribaturarum omnium auctoritatem conscribitis tractatibus profiteamur*, etc. The author returns later in a more detailed form to the question, why it should be necessary to hear *inter cristianos etiam gentilitatis cultores*. — Cp. also Fr. Kauffmann, o. c. 117 and H. v. Campenhausen 81 and 182.

<sup>52</sup> Besides the works already cited the article of O. Seeck in the *Realencyclopädie* of Pauly-Wissowa, 4A, 1148 should be consulted.

<sup>53</sup> The manifestations of the „Theodosian renaissance“, — as it is called — are only noted by the historians of art in the last years. Cp. e. g. E. Weigand, *Berichte zur kunstgeschichtlichen Literatur* 1930/31, 33 sqq. *Byz. Zeitschr.* 32, 1932, 63 sqq.; 34, 1934, 158 sqq.; 35, 1935, 429 sqq. F. Gerke, *Riv. di archeol. crist.* 12, 1935, 119 sqq. H. U. v. Schoenebeck, *Der Mailänder Sarkophag* 1935, 1 sqq., 104 sqq. J. Kollwitz, *Gnomon* 1936, 604 sq. — In these papers all farther literature is noted.

<sup>54</sup> Is the striking resemblance of the Serapis-bust pl. VII, 16 to the first bearded effigies of Christ a mere chance? I would it not think.

The eyes of the defenders of the old beliefs then turned from every direction towards Rome. Libanius, the celebrated Greek 'rhetor' of that epoch maintains, that the efficacy of the time-honoured worships of Rome for the public security (ἐν ταῖς ἐκεῖ θυσίαις κεῖται τὸ βέβαιον τῆς ἀρχῆς) is acknowledged by the persecutors of paganism, since they do not dare to destroy them. He could still write in the summer of 390,<sup>55</sup> that the old sacrifices were admitted in the ancient capital. The situation of the pagans was, in general, better in the western half of the Empire, than in the East;<sup>56</sup> the treatment of Rome, however, was quite a special case, taken by itself. And in Rome itself, there was a difference in the method of procedure against the different cults<sup>57</sup>; Geffcken has already called special attention to the fact, that the pressure on the state-cults did not yet weigh on the oriental religions in Rome, whose continuity is attested by relatively numerous votive stones in the eighties and nineties of the century.<sup>58</sup> These inscriptions come on the whole from the pagan aristocrats and are loud political posters rather than pious offerings, closely akin in their intention to our propaganda-coins.<sup>59</sup>

The position of the pagan party grew worse through the death of Praetextatus and the retirement of Symmachus<sup>60</sup> in 385, but Ambrose too fell in disgrace and was involved in a serious quarrel with the court of Milan,<sup>61</sup> where the Arians then outweighed the catholic bishop; that these heretics were ready to cooperate with the pagan nobles, we know already. A sign of such an approach is seen for example in the fact, that Symmachus *iussu d. n. Valentiniani cum multis amplissimae curiae proceribus accitus* participated at the New Year of 387 in Milan in the solemn pomp of the *processus consularis* of the young emperor.<sup>62</sup> Magnus Maximus, who occupied Italy in this year, also treated the heathen aristocracy with distinction, as did likewise Theodosius, who in 388 overcame the usurper and who — as E. Stein has argued — may perhaps have been captivated on his arrival by the force of the Roman tradition, like Constantius before him<sup>63</sup>. It even seemed for a moment, that the pagan *proceres* would get the upper hand, as Nicomachus Flavianus became *praefectus praetorio Italiae* in the summer of 390 and Symmachus was designated consul for 391.

<sup>55</sup> Liban., or. 30, 33—35 (ed. Foerster 3, p. 104 sq.) — For the chronology cp. O. Seeck, o. c. 5<sup>2</sup>, 527 sq. and R. van Loy, Byzantion 8, 1933, 11 sqq. with the whole modern literature.

<sup>56</sup> As H. v. Campenhausen, o. c. 168 already stressed.

<sup>57</sup> J. Geffcken, o. c. 145 and 153.

<sup>58</sup> J. Geffcken, o. c. 295, note 31; 296, note 33; 297, note 73.

<sup>59</sup> On an other occasion I hope to prove, that the so-called contorniates came from the same milieu. The bust of Julianus, on an issue of the fifth century, heathen gods and scenes of the classical mythology, portraits of philosophers, writers etc., allusions to the distributions of food and money, interwoven for the most part with references to the games, — all these particulars reflect the train of ideas in the decaying *urbs aeterna*. — There is also a bust of Serapis on the contorniates (Cohen<sup>2</sup> 8, 273 sq., no 1—2; cp. also Sabatier pl. 12, 8 = Cohen<sup>2</sup> 8, 301 no. 229), which seems to be an imitation of our *vota publica*-coinage: if this guess can be proved, we shall have a direct connection between the two groups.

<sup>60</sup> O. Seeck, RE 4A, 1148 sq.

<sup>61</sup> E. Caspar, Gesch. d. Papsttums 1, 1930, 271 sqq. J. R. Palanque, o. c. 139 sqq. H. v. Campenhausen, o. c. 189 sqq. F. Homes Dudden, o. c. 222 sqq., 270 sqq.

<sup>62</sup> Symm. ep. 3, 52. 63. O. Seeck, o. c.

<sup>63</sup> O. Seeck, o. c. E. Caspar, o. c. 278. E. Stein, Gesch. d. spätröm. Reiches 1, 1928, 321 sq. O. Seeck, Gesch. d. Untergangs der antiken Welt 5, 217 sqq. G. Boissier, o. c. 2, 293 sqq. G. Rauschen, o. c. 299, 316, 338, 394. V. Schultze, o. c. 1, 275 sqq. H. v. Campenhausen, o. c. 225 sqq. J. Geffcken, o. c. 154 sqq. J. R. Palanque, o. c. 221 sqq. F. Homes Dudden, o. c. 345 sqq., 379 sqq.

The embassy of the senate came once more to beg for the restitution of the altar of Victoria and the restoration of the privileges of the sacerdotal corporations. But Ambrose triumphed again. Not only was the legation rejected, but a new offensive against paganism began. On February 24, A. D. 391 an edict was sent to the *praefectus urbi*, which not only prohibited the bloody sacrifices, but also the frequenting of the sanctuaries in Rome and provided for special punishments of the dignitaries, who might infringe this imperial mandate (Cod. Theod. 16, 10, 10). The pagan nobles were further hit by the decree against the apostates: *Si quis splendor conlatus est in eos vel ingenitus dignitatis, qui fide devii . . . sacrosanctae religionis cultu descivissent ac se sacrificiis mancipassent, pereat, ut de loco suo statuque deiecti perpetua urantur infamia ac ne in extrema quidem vulgi ignobilis parte numerentur.*<sup>64</sup>

It is of no avail, when the senators addressed their petition in 392 to the young Valentinian instead of to Theodosius, who had returned to the East.<sup>65</sup> The ghost of Ambrose remained victorious; though the tutor of the emperor, the Frank Arbogast, stood on their side. The inefficacy of so many efforts embittered the pagans and they therefore joined the usurper Eugenius, a creature of Arbogast.<sup>66</sup> Rome displayed once more — for the last time — her pagan pomp. An enthusiastic mood transported the nobility; they waited for wonders of their gods.<sup>67</sup> Perhaps, it may be possible to pick out the issues of *vota*-coins in this last revival of paganism in Rome in 393 and 394. Valuable historical details about those stirring days are preserved in some invectives in verse,<sup>68</sup> written by exultant Christians after the victory of Theodosius, autumn 394. If we remove from these scornful pamphlets the commonplaces of apologetical literature, it becomes evident, that besides the art of the *haruspices*, which was dreadful in the eyes of this superstitious age, there are only two cults, dangerous to Christianity: that of Magna Mater<sup>69</sup> and that of Isis.<sup>70</sup> The rôle of the latter is seen in a fresh light from our special coin-issues.

<sup>64</sup> *Cod. Theod.* 16, 7, 5. Cp. O. Seeck, *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste*, 1919, 104, 15.

<sup>65</sup> V. Schultze, o. c. 280 sqq. J. Geffcken, o. c. 159 sqq. E. Stein, o. c. 1, 324 sq. H. v. Campenhausen, o. c. 256. J. R. Palanque, o. c. 250 sqq.

<sup>66</sup> O. Seeck, *Gesch. d. Unterg.* 5, 246 sqq. E. Stein, o. c. 324 sqq. A. Solari, o. c. 2, 105 sqq. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* 7, 495 sqq. H. v. Campenhausen, o. c. 245 sqq. V. Schultze, o. c. 1, 284 sqq. G. Elmer, *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 1936, 43. O. Seeck, *Symmachus*, praef. p. CXVI sqq. G. Rauschen, o. c. 367, 412 sq. J. R. Palanque, o. c. 277 sqq. J. Geffcken, o. c. 160 sq. F. Homes Dudden, o. c. 412 sqq.

<sup>67</sup> Cp. the well-known passage of Augustine, *conf.* 8, 2: *Sacrorum sacrilegorum particeps, quibus tunc tota fere Romana nobilitas inflata, spirabat prodigia, etc.*

<sup>68</sup> The one is the *carmen contra Flavianum*, the best text of which is that of M. Haupt, to be found in Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.* 7, 489 sqq; cp. M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 4<sup>2</sup>, 1914, 221 sqq. — The other is the poem *contra senatorem ad idolorum servitatem conversum* (cp. Hartel in *Corpus Script. Eccles. Lat.* III/3, 302 sqq. and Peiper, in the same series, XXIII, 227 sqq.). Cp. Schanz, o. c. 222 sq. and Labriolle, o. c. 353. — The third poem of the kind is the so-called *poema ultimum*, preserved among the poems of Paulinus Nolanus; cp. C. Morelli, *Didaskaleion* 1, 1912, 481 sqq. Schanz, o. c. 262 sq.

<sup>69</sup> H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle, mère des dieux* (Bibl. des Écoles Fr. d'Athènes et de Rome, fasc. 107) 1912, 534 sqq. (with further lit.).

<sup>70</sup> *Carmen c. Flav.* 50. 91 sqq. (Cp. especially v. 98: *Pharia sistrifera*). — The *carmen contra senatorem* etc. almost exclusively attacks these two worshipers; the invective against Isis is given in v. 21 sqq. and 63 sqq. — In the *poema ultimum* of Ps.-Paulinus v. 116 sqq. and 122 sqq. are directed against these gods.

Nicomachus and his friends no doubt renewed the issue of the solemn vows in 394. On the eve of 395, however, the pagan propaganda was already eradicated in its last refuge, in Rome. The events had shown, that the ancient gods could not help and the conqueror pardoned only those, who became converted to the Christian faith.<sup>71</sup> It can be clearly seen on this occasion, — and this is of importance for us — that the paganism of Rome only broke at this very last moment: *tunc primum senio docilis sua saecula Roma erubuit*.<sup>72</sup> Most of the great families submitted to baptism<sup>73</sup> as did the *plebs urbana*, dependent on them.<sup>74</sup>

But we have seen, that one single coin exists, which must be later; the effigy of Serapis bears on it (pl. VII, 24) the stylistic features of the bearded portraits of Honorius. And in fact, paganism was not yet totally suffocated in Rome. There still existed in the senate an avowedly heathen minority and there must have been still more senators, who concealed their pagan sympathies.<sup>75</sup> Stilicho was still moved to spare the old-fashioned mentality of the nobles.<sup>76</sup> In the curia still stood in 404 A. D. the famous statue of the Victory of Capua,<sup>77</sup> placed there by Augustus:

*Affuit ipsa suis ales Victoria templis  
Romanae tutela togae: quae divite penna  
Patricii reverenda fovet sacraria coetus.*<sup>78</sup>

And not only in the continuous celebration of pagan rites and festivals and in the writings of Macrobius and others have we clear proofs of the survival of the old pagan tradition in the city: the whole series of types of the contorniate-medallions, which were all made in Rome, offer a highly interesting picture of the heathen and nationalist train of ideas.<sup>79</sup>

<sup>71</sup> G. B. de Rossi, Bull. di arch. crist. 6, 1868, 69 sqq. V. Schultze, o. c. 1, 294 sqq. G. Rauschen, o. c. 412 sq. O. Seeck, o. c. 257 sqq. J. Geffcken, o. c. 160 sqq. E. Stein, o. c. 1, 335. J. R. Palanque, o. c. 286 sqq. A. Solari, o. c. 2, 105 sqq. F. Homes Dudden, o. c. 434 sqq.

<sup>72</sup> Prudent. c. *Symm.* 1, 511 sqq.

<sup>73</sup> L. c. 544 sqq., 566 sqq. and Prudent., *Peristephanon* 2, 517 sqq.

<sup>74</sup> Prudent., *contra Symm.* 1, 578 sqq., 587 sqq.

<sup>75</sup> Prudent., *contra Symm.* 1, 1 sqq., 197 sqq., 395 sqq., 573 sqq., 593 sqq., 616 sqq. — J. Wytzes quotes also Paulinus Nol. 8, 37 sqq. and 13, 15 sqq. Cp. for the date of these P. Reinelt, Studien über die Briefe des hl. Paulinus von Nola (Diss. Breslau 1903), 59.

<sup>76</sup> E. Stein, o. c. 1, 347 sq.

<sup>77</sup> The statue of Victory is confounded in the modern literature with her altar, though Symmachus (*rel.* 3, 3. 4. 5.) and Ambrosius (*ep.* 17, 8—9. 10. 17; *ep.* 18, 1. 7. 10. 31. 32) speak exclusively of the altar, and the church disapproved only of the sacrifice and its instrument, the altar, not of the statue. Cp. the words of Theodosius in Prudent., *contra Symm.* 1, 502 sqq. about the idols: *o proceres! liceat statuâs consistere puras, artificum magnorum opera* etc. The figure of Victory continued for long to adorn the coins in the Western and Eastern Empire, and the Church found no fault with it. The doubts of H. v. Campenhausen, o. c. 171 note 6 are therefore not admissibles as against J. Geffcken, o. c. 181, O. Seeck o. c. 5, 298 sqq. and Th. Birt, Cl. Claudianus, praef. p. LVIII.

<sup>78</sup> Claudian., *paneg. de VI. cons. Honorii* 597 sqq. Cp. *de cons. Stil.* 3, 202 sqq.

<sup>79</sup> Cp. above, p. 39, note 59. — The contorniates begin in the fourth century, as do the *vota publica* — coins, but a large part of them belongs to the fifth. — Their practical use may have been that of game-counters, as has been suggested; but they seem to have been little *strenae* for the *plebs urbana*, — distributed also on the 3<sup>rd</sup> of Jan. as gifts of the nobles, who presided over the games. — The survivals of paganism in the fifth century are treated in: S. Dill, Roman Society in the last Century of the Western Empire, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., 1925.

When in Italy confidence in the Christian religion was shaken by the catastrophes of the invasions of Radagaisus and Alarich, the latent pagan movement again broke through. The official assistance, necessary to the issue and the distribution of the heathen *vota*-coins was naturally only within reach in 409—410, when the pitiful emperor Priscus Attalus reigned in Rome, and the heathen Tertullus was consul.<sup>80</sup>

The long fight was not fought in vain. The mighty conflict adapted and assimilated the two adversaries one to another. The high-spirited poetry of Prudentius, the marvellous political activity of Ambrose (a very Roman figure), the sublime philosophical conceptions of Augustine, all ripened as antitheses to the activity of Symmachus and his fellows. It can be no mere chance, that the universal aspirations of papacy broke through at the time, when the pagan tradition of Rome was suppressed. The leaders of Western Christianity, imbued with Roman thought, maintain the primacy of Rome and propagate the *pax Romana* beside the *pax Christi*: they carry on the torch of humanism, received from the hands of their fallen opponents.

## 2. THE FESTIVAL OF THE NAVIGIUM ISIDIS AND THE IMPERIAL VOWS.

a) The importance of the Alexandrine cults for the pagan religious reaction is not attested by our coins only. The ideal of the theurges of this exuberantly religious epoch was the mystic wisdom of Egypt. The Roman aristocracy was, however, not only attracted by the romantic and fanciful picture drawn by the Neo-pythagoricians and Neo-platonists of that Eastern country.<sup>81</sup> It was of great value for them in their contest with Christian theology, that the priests of Isis had long ago announced the unity of the deity amidst its multifarious appearances. It was, of course, the general vitality of this religion, which gave it such exceptional efficacy in Rome too: the Serapeion of Alexandria was the second great bulwark of paganism besides Rome, which defied the new state-religion till 391, when its destruction stirred up the whole Empire.<sup>82</sup>

No mean evidence of the power of this *peregrina superstitio* in Rome is offered by the bitter combat of patristic literature against it.<sup>83</sup> The inscriptions reveal the fact, that the

<sup>80</sup> Oros. 7, 42, 8. Interesting is the scoff at the *latrans Anubis* in Prudent., *apoth.* 186 sqq. — Cp. on these events: V. Schultze o. c. 1, 355 sqq. O. Seeck, o. c. 3<sup>a</sup>, 369 sq. 5, 400. 404. 412. E. Stein, o. c. 1, 389. J. Geffcken, o. c. 178 sqq., etc.

<sup>81</sup> J. Geffcken, o. c. 111 sqq. The influence of Egyptian astrologers is also to retain. F. Cumont points to the fact, that such a man wrote in Rome in A. D. 379, mentioning Isis, Serapis et Anubis (Cat. codd. astrol. 5/1, 1904, 194 sqq.)

<sup>82</sup> V. Schultze, o. c. 1, 262 sqq. G. Rauschen, o. c. 301 sq. O. Seeck, o. c. 5, 233 sq. 533 sqq. Roeder, Pauly—Wissowa, Realenc. 1 A, 2411. P de Labriolle, o. c. 365, etc.

<sup>83</sup> A few examples must suffice. — Ambrose ep. 58, 3: *Et cum ipsi capita et supercilia radunt, si quando Isidis suscipiunt sacra, si forte Christianus vir attentior sacrosanctae religioni vestem mutaverit, indignum facinus appellant.* (The argument comes from the classical literature, cp. Zeitschr. f. Numismatik 38, 1928, 156). — An interesting altercation of Ambrose with the pagans of Rome is preserved in ep. 18, 19: *Propterea nec assueto cursu Nilus intumuit, ut urbicum sacerdotum dispendia vindicaret, qui non vindicavit suorum?* — The old Roman aversion against Oriental cults is used by Augustine (*confess.* 8, 2), when he speaks of the pagan reaction in Rome; he castigates with the words of Vergil (Aen. 8, 698 sqq.) the *la rator Anubis*. — Cp. also Prudent., *c. Symm.* 2, 865 sqq. *Ps. Augustini quaest.* 114, 11 (*Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat.* 50, 308) etc., — especially the invectives in verse, quoted above.



heathen nobles took over priesthoods in the congregation of the believers of Isis. C. Rufius Volusianus is named *profeta Isidis*,<sup>84</sup> Ulpius Egnatius Faventinus was *sacerdos Isidis* according to a stone, dedicated in 376 A. D.<sup>85</sup>; the wife of Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, Fabia Aconia Paulina is designated (among others) as *Isiaca* on an inscription, erected later than 384 A. D.<sup>86</sup>; Caecinia Lolliana is named *Isidis sacerdos* in 390.<sup>87</sup> It is not, as in the Early Empire, when only simple Orientals and the humble crowd gathered for the processions of Isis; in the late epoch, with which we are concerned, the flower of the Roman aristocracy participated in them, — as we now see. The splendour of these parades is mirrored with great liveliness in a description of Claudian (398 A. D.):<sup>88</sup>

... sic numina Memphis

*In vulgus proferre solet; penetralibus exit  
Effigies, brevis illa quidem: sed plurimus infra  
Liniger imposito suspirat vecte sacerdos  
Testatus sudore deum; Nilotica sistris  
Ripa sonat Phariosque modos Aegyptia ducit  
Tibia; summissis admugit cornibus Apis.*

The functionaries of these processions are to be found on our coins too: there appears the bearer of the pole with the cow of Isis (pl. V, 4)<sup>89</sup>, the women with two candelabra (pl. X, 27)<sup>90</sup> or two torches (pl. VI, 39),<sup>91</sup> another woman with a basket on her head (pl. X, 31)<sup>92</sup> and the worshipper on her knees (pl. V, 7); the *thensa*, i. e. the carriage, on which the idol of the goddess paraded, is also often illustrated (pl. XVI, 19—25).<sup>93</sup> Another very characteristic figure of the Isis-processions is Anubis, so often depicted on our series of *vota*-coins, once in the cuirass of the emperor, in other cases in the military peace-costume of the sovereign. *Nec mora* — writes Apuleius in the description of the solemn defile of the *navigium Isidis* (II, 11) — *cum dei dignati pedibus humanis incedere prodeunt, hic horrendus*

<sup>84</sup> CIL VI 846=Dessau, ILS 4413. Cp. Seeck, by Pauly—Wissowa, Realenc. 3, 1858 sqq from this family.

<sup>85</sup> CIL VI 504=Dessau, ILS 4153.

<sup>86</sup> CIL VI 1780=Dessau, ILS 1260.

<sup>87</sup> CIL VI 512=Dessau, ILS 4154.

<sup>88</sup> Cl. Claudian., *paneg. de IV. cons. Honorii* 570 sqq.

<sup>89</sup> Apuleius, met. II, 11: *Huius (i. e. of Anubis) vestigium continuum sequebatur bos in erectum levata statum, bos, omniparentis deae fecundum simulacrum, quod residens umeris suis proferebat unus e ministerio beato gressu gestuosus*. Cp. G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*<sup>2</sup>, 1912, 357.

<sup>90</sup> Cp. the sculptured column of the *Iseum Campense* in: H. St. Jones, *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures, preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino* pl. 92, 14.

<sup>91</sup> Cp. Apuleius, met. II, 9: *magnus praeterea utriusque sexus numerus lucernis, taedis, cereis et alio genere facticii luminis* . . .

<sup>92</sup> Cp. the well known painting of Herculaneum, e. g. in Angelos I, 1925 Taf. 3—4, on which is kneeling a woman with a basket.

<sup>93</sup> Such a *thensa* of the fourth cent. is preserved in the Capitoline Museum; for the date cp. (H. v. Schoenebeck and) St. Paulovics, *Archaeologiai Értesítő* n. s. 48, 1935, 89. Ph. Magi, *Demareteion* 2, 1935, 42.

*ille superum commeator et inferum, nunc atra, nunc aurea facie sublimis, attollens canis cer-  
vices arduas, Anubis, laeva caduceum gerens, dextera palmam virentem quatiens.*

The function of the *Anubiaci*, who paraded with the mask of this god,<sup>94</sup> was often undertaken in Rome by the nobles. The invective in verse against Nicomachus Flavianus raises the reproach (v. 95): *quid tibi sacrato placuit latrator Anubis* and even more explicitly does the poem of Ps.-Cyprian scold his senator; verses 21 sqq. deserve our special atten-  
tion:

*Nunc etiam didici, quod te non fecerit aetas  
Sed tua religio calvum, caligaque remota  
Gallica sit pedibus molli redimita papyro.  
Res miranda satis delectaque culmine summo:  
Si quis ab Isiacis<sup>95</sup> consul procedat in urbem  
Risus or(b)is erit: quis te non rideat autem,  
Qui fueris consul, nunc Isidis esse ministrum?  
Quodque pudet primo, non pudet esse secundo,  
Ingeniumque tuum turpes damnare per hymnos  
Respondente tibi vulgo et lacerante senatu,  
Teque domo propria pictum cum fascibus olim,  
Nunc quoque cum sistro faciem portare caninam  
An haec humilitas? est humilitatis imago.  
Aedibus illa tuis semper monumenta manebunt.*

The Christian reproach, that the ritual-wear of the Oriental religions humiliates the Roman high dignitaries, occurs again in Prudentius.<sup>96</sup> This accusation is not new; it is borrowed from famous examples of the ancient rhetoric. The special prototype seems to be the story, preserved by Valerius Maximus 7, 3, 8: *M. Volusius aedilis pl(ebis) proscriptus adsumpto Isiaci habitu per itinera viasque publicas stipem petens . . . in M. Bruti castra pervenit. Quid illa necessitate miserius, quae magistratum populi Romani abiecto honoris praetexto alienigenae religionis obscuratum insignibus per urbem iussit incedere! o nimis aut hi suae vitae aut illi alienae mortis cupidi, qui talia vel ipsi sustinuerunt, vel alios perpeti coegerunt!* — When the author points out on the other hand, how comical it would be, if one should proceed as consul, coming from a festival of Isis, he seems to be thinking of a real feature of the Isis-procession of March, at which *nec deerat, qui magistratum fa(s)cibus luderet* (Apul. met. 11, 8).

Did not the pagans of Rome react to these assaults? It was no longer possible to reply openly; but it seems to me, that we still possess a hidden pagan polemic against the Christian pamphlets in question. I allude to the *Historia Augusta*. That this work contains, under the veil of an historic account a great deal of anti-Christian interpolation and distortion of facts, has already been well shown by J. Geffcken; I hope that I have reir forced

<sup>94</sup> G. Wissowa, o. c. 357 note 10.

<sup>95</sup> Var.: *Isiaco*.

<sup>96</sup> Prudent., *contra Symm.* 1, 349 sqq. Cp. Ambrose, ep. 58, 3.

his thesis with other arguments.<sup>97</sup> Now, the *vita Commodi* states (9, 4), that this emperor, like the apostatizing senator of the poem just quoted, who became *calvus* to satisfy his religion and dared *cum sistro portare faciem caninam*,<sup>98</sup> similarly *sacra Isidis coluit, ut et caput raderet et Anubim portaret*. This cannot be true. What was done by the senators of the late fourth century in defence of polytheism, was not equally well admissible in an emperor of the second. We can, however, readily admit, that the frenzy of the last years of Commodus *could* have evoked such extravagancies, but the monuments speak clearly against such a supposition<sup>99</sup>: that Commodus had not clipt his curly locks, is well illustrated by his numerous portraits.<sup>100</sup> Further, we can prove, that the compiler of the „Augustan History“ based his statement on a misunderstood literary account. He had mistaken the expression *Anubim* (or *faciem caninam*) *portare*: he did not know, that this only means, to wear the mask of A.<sup>101</sup> and therefore asserts a little later (9, 6) to demonstrate the *studium crudelitatis* of the emperor: *cum Anubin portaret, capita Isiacorum graviter obtundebat ore simulacri*.<sup>102</sup> — And there are symptoms, that the author of the *Historia Augusta* actually turned the point of the invective of Pseudo-Cyprianus, above quoted. He returns on other occasions to the point and not only asserts that Commodus participated in the Isiac procession, but has also in view the saying of the anonymous Christian poet: *Teque domo propria pictum cum fascibus olim, nunc quoque cum sistro faciem portare caninam*; he tries to make us believe, that high personalities of the Roman past allowed themselves to be portrayed in the habit of the *ministri Isidis*. Pesc. Nig. 6, 8—9: *hunc in Commodianis hortis in porticu curva pictum de musio inter Commodi amicissimos videmus sacra Isidis ferentem; quibus Commodus adeo deditus fuit, ut et caput raderet et Anubim portaret et omnis pausas expleret*.<sup>103</sup> Again, when he romances about the statesmen, depicted in their own houses

<sup>97</sup> J. Geffcken, *Hermes* 55, 1920, 279 sqq. A. Alföldi, *A gót mozgalom és Dácia pusztulása* (The Gothic advance and the lost of Dacia), offprint from the *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 1929/1930, 24 sqq.

<sup>98</sup> The most common nick-name of Anubis was 'the dogs-head'. Cp. Prudent. *apotheos*. 195 sqq. (*caniformem latrantemque Anubem*) and *contra Symm.* 2, 354 sq. 532 (*latrator Anubis*), farther peristeph. 10, 258. Arnobius, *adv. gentes* 6, 25 (*Anubis canina cum facie*). Firm. Matern., *de errore prof. rel.* 2, 2. Sedulius, *carm. pasch.* 1, 245 sq. etc. (Already *Minucius Fel.* 21!).

<sup>99</sup> The reproach was levelled at Otho, that he done this as a private citizen, before his accession. He was, however, censured for this too and Suetonius reports it to illustrate his loose morals: *sacra etiam Isidis saepe in lintea religiosaque veste propalam celebrasse* (Otho 12, 1). — The cult of Magna Mater was very much earlier romanized and even in it the participation of the nobles in the processions seems only to date from the time of Severus. Cp. H. Graillot, o. c. 165. — The devotion of the noble women towards the Oriental divinities manifested itself certainly earlier before the public, as that of the man. Cp. Juven. 6, 525 sqq.

<sup>100</sup> For Otho no such alterations were necessary: he was bald and had no beard, but a wig, which could be removed and replaced easily (cp. Suetonius, *l. c.*).

<sup>101</sup> The above-cited story of the aedil Volusius is related by Appian b. c. 4, 47 too, who tells expressedly *καὶ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς κεφαλὴν ἐπέθετο*.

<sup>102</sup> The *obtundere* perhaps comes from the expression, often applied to the Isis-believers: *tundere pectus* (Cp. Lactantius, *de div. inst.* 1, 21. Firm. Matern., *de errore profan. rel.* 2, 3, etc.); so already J. M. Heer, *Der historische Wert der vita Commodi*, 1901, 158 note 366.

<sup>103</sup> Cp. also *Anton Carac.* 9, 11. The same tendency manifests itself in the fiction v. Sev. Alex. 26, 8, where his ideal ruler *Isium et Serapium decenter ornavit additis signis et deliacis et omnimodis mysticis*. — Cp. also *quadr. tyr.* 8, 2—4, perhaps also a reply to the anonymous christian poem. — Con-

in ceremonial wear, Isis still haunts his imagination, *trig. tyr.* 25, 4: *Tetricorum domus hodieque extat in monte Caelio inter duos lucos contra Isium Metellinum pulcherrima, in qua Aurelianus pictus est utrique praetextam tribuens et senatoriam dignitatem... pictura est de museo...*<sup>104</sup>

This passionate debate helps us also to realise how deeply the Alexandrine religion affected and animated the thought of the pagan reaction in the epoch, in which the anonymous Isis- and Serapis-coinage arose. The Isis-romance of Apuleius was at that time again in vogue<sup>105</sup> in Rome and the theosophical literature of the epoch often occupied itself with the doctrine of the worship of Isis.<sup>106</sup>

b) We must now determine the festival, at which the ceremonies of Isis, represented on our coins, were performed. The very first issues of the vota-coins under Diocletian call special attention to the power of Isis at sea, representing her with Neptunus-Serapis. There soon follows the picture of Isis in the sacred ship (pl. I, 1-6. XII 3-4), which remains the most characteristic type, till the general propaganda of the Alexandrine religion with its various divine persons and ritual scenes begins to obscure the prominent function of the *navigium Isidis* under Julian. But even after that the goddess, laying her hands on the bellying sail (pl. XVIII, 1-38) continues to appear. — The anonymous series holds fast the importance of that reverse-type; besides it, the figure of the recumbent Nile also holds a ship in his hand (pl. XIII, 23-36), both obviously alluding to the launching of the sacred ship, the principal ceremony on the fifth of March, the day of the *navigium Isidis* throughout the Empire.<sup>107</sup> A further allusion to this rite is given in the

cerning the *pausas explere* cp. Ps. Paulin. Nolan. c. 32, 117 sq.: *quid quod et Isiaca sistrumque caputque caninum non magis abscondunt sed per loca publica ponunt?* Cp. the picture by Philocalus (J. Strzygowski, *Jahrb. d. Deutschen Arch. Inst., Ergänzungsband* 1, 1888., pl. 30.)

<sup>104</sup> This connexion should reinforce my conviction about the dating of the *Historia Augusta*. Cp. the contrary opinion of E. Hohl, *Klio* 27, 1934, 149 sqq., based on the researches of the excellent English historian, N. H. Baynes. — Hohl did not yet know the date I obtained for the *vita Aureliani* 1, 1 (*Römische Mitt.* 49, 1934, 109 note 1) and the other corresponding data, set out in my paper on the Gothic advance and the abandonment of Dacia (*Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* 1929/1930, to be edited in German by the Römisch-Germanische Kommission in Frankfurt.)

<sup>105</sup> A noble man, named Sallustius revised the text of this work in 395 and 397 A. D. Cp. H. J. Marrou, *Mélanges d'arch. et d'hist.* 44, 1932, 93 sqq. P. de Labriolle, o. c. 355. — Cp. also the bust of A. on the contorniates!

<sup>106</sup> Cp. the symbolic rôle of Isis Pharia in Numenius: H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* 367. — Plotinos and the Egyptian religion: Fr. Cumont, *Mon. et Mém.*, fond. Piot 25, 1921/22, 77 sqq. J. Cochez, *Rev. néo-scholastique de philosophie* 1911, 328 sqq. and *Mélanges Ch. Moeller* 1913. (for the antecedents).

<sup>107</sup> E. Lersch, *Bonner Jahrbücher* 9, 1846, 109 sqq. Mommsen, *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>, p. 311. G. Lafaye, *Dict. des Antiquités* 3, 580 sqq. and *Hist. du culte des divinités alexandrines* 1884, 120 sq. 255-320. W. Drexler, *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* 13, 1885, 298 and Roschers *Lex.* 2, 477 sqq. E. Ziebarth, *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.* 1916, 385 sqq. L. Deubner, *Ath. Mitt.* 37, 1912, 180 sqq. J. Leipoldt, *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*, Lieferung 9/11, 1926, Abb. 19. J. Leipoldt—K. Regling, *Angelos* 1, 1925, 126 sqq. F. Cumont, *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*<sup>4</sup> 1929, 243. G. Roeder, *Pauly-Wissowa*, *Realenz.* 1A, 2421 sq. J. Berreth, *Studien zum Isisbuch in Apuleius' Metamorphosen* (Diss. Tübingen, 1931), 85 sqq. — Cp. also: W. Weber, *Drei Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch-griechischen Religion*, 1911. E. Guimet, *L'Isis romaine* (C.—R. de l'Académie des Inscr. 1896, 155 sqq.) Fr. Bilabel, *Die gräko-ägyptischen Feste* (*Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 1929), 1 sqq.

constant use of the surname *Faria* (*Pharia*) on the obverses, characterising Isis as the goddess of ports.

The vivid and varied description of this festival in the *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius (II, 8 sqq.) is well known; notorious also is its popularity in the Late Empire. We remember, that it is still marked in the calendar of the Chronographer of 354 A. D.; some decades later the poem of Ausonius *de feriis Romanis* still speaks of the *natalis ratis Isiacae* (v. 24). It is unquestionable too, that the religious part of the ceremonies on the fifth of March may have lasted longer in Rome, as elsewhere.<sup>108</sup> The extraordinary tenacity of popular practices and entertainments<sup>109</sup> there was powerfully seconded by the protection and liberality of the nobles, who ostentatiously observed all kinds of feasts. When Flavianus calls the attention of Symmachus to such an occasion, the latter answers: *desine memorem commonere. Notae nobis sunt caerimoniae deorum et festa divinitatis imperata* (ep. 2, 53).

The first shock in Rome was not felt till the 7<sup>th</sup> of August of 389, when an edict (Cod. Theod. 2, 8, 19) degraded the holidays of the paganism to simple working-days. Though Eugenius revived the *feriae* and *iustitia*,<sup>110</sup> the prohibition was definitely established in 395: *Sollemnes paganorum superstitionis dies inter feriatos non haberi olim lege reminiscemur imperasse* (Cod. Theod. 2, 8, 22). Yet, like some other pagan festivals,<sup>111</sup> the *navigium Isidis* outlived this edict. Vegetius still writes under Theodosius II., that the *natalis navigationis sollemni certamine publicoque spectaculo multarum urbium celebratur* (4, 39); and an often quoted passage of Lydus<sup>112</sup> establishes the fact, that about the middle of the sixth century that day was still a favourite festival of sailors: Τῇ πρὸ τριῶν Νωνῶν Μαρτίων ὁ πλοῦς τῆς Ἰσιδος ἐπετελεῖτο, ὃν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τελοῦντες καλοῦσι πλοιαφέσια.

c) The legend of the reverse is always — with one single exception — VOTA PVBLICA on our coins and the same expression — that is the vows for the health and good luck of the emperor — very often recurs on the obverses of the anonymous issues too. The connexion of the public vows and the *navigium Isidis* is explained by Apuleius. He relates, that in the procession of the day there was a *lectissimae iuventutis chorus*, the members of which sang, *carmen venustum iterantes, quod . . . argumentum referebat maiorum antecantamentum votorum* (II, 9). What he means by the *maiora vota*, may be seen a little later, when he describes the last act of the ceremonies (II, 17): *tunc ex his unus, quem cuncti grammatea dicebant, pro foribus assistens coetu pastophorum . . . velut in contionem vocato indidem de sublimi suggestu de libro de litteris fausta vota praefatus principi magno senatuique et equiti totoque Romano populo, nauticis nautisque navibusque, quae sub imperio mundi nostratis reguntur, renuntiat sermone ritum Graeciensi πλοιαφέσια.*

These solemn vows can not be of Roman origin,<sup>113</sup> but they must represent a continuation of the Ptolemaic tradition, as Fr. Cumont has already guessed.<sup>114</sup> A survival from

<sup>108</sup> In the enumeration of Ausonius we still find also the *Floralia*, v. 25 sq. That this feast actually survived till 395, is proved by the *Carmen contra Flavianum* v. 112 sqq.

<sup>109</sup> Cp. G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus*<sup>2</sup> 1912, 101.

<sup>110</sup> *Carmen contra Flavianum* v. 32 sq.

<sup>111</sup> Cp. G. Wissowa, *Apophoreton der Graeca Halensis* 1903, 47 sqq. J. Geffcken, *Ausgang* 194 sqq.

<sup>112</sup> Lydus, *de mens.* 4, 45 (p. 101 Wuensch).

<sup>113</sup> As J. Berreth, o. c. 89 and 92 believes.

<sup>114</sup> Fr. Cumont, *Les religions orientales*<sup>4</sup> 1929, 74. Cp. *Röm. Mitt.* 49, 1934, 101 sq.

the Egyptian liturgy seems to be the un-Roman term *princeps magnus*, probably the translation of the μέγας βασιλεύς, transmitted with the Greek ritual to imperial times. — These Hellenistic antecedents are very significant from more than one point of view. First, they make it obvious, that the vows for the ruler did not only begin with the official reception of the Alexandrine gods as patrons of the Roman state, but that they were already offered before this, in the same way, as Christianity even in the early days of suppression already gave the emperor his due and prayed for him even during the persecutions.<sup>115</sup> The *Iseum Campense* of Rome, which had an outstanding authority in the world of the followers of Isis,<sup>116</sup> may have had some share in the adaptation of the vows for the Ptolemaic ruler to the Roman emperor. We must not forget the fact, that the official acknowledgment of this cult was already accomplished under Caligula<sup>117</sup> and that still earlier, in 43 B. C. the senate already decided to build a sanctuary for Isis and Serapis;<sup>118</sup> though this intention was not realised,<sup>119</sup> it must have helped to give a Roman touch to the Egyptian worship. The *Iseum Campense* was already in 71 A. D. the starting point of the triumphal march of Vespasian and the Flavians, greatly indebted to the Egyptian priests, solemnly recognize the Alexandrine deities as their patrons.<sup>120</sup> The significance of the festival of the *navigium Isidis* for the government is thus established. In the imperial coinage we find the first direct allusion to it on the coin of Faustina iunior pl. XX, 1.<sup>121</sup>

Important data for the connexion of the *navigium Isidis* and the imperial vows are to be found on coin-types of Commodus, — hitherto misunderstood. First of all the reverse pl. XI, 1, on which we see among all kinds of vessels — warships, transports, boats — a sailing vessel with Serapis, the protector of the sailors besides Isis, identified with Neptunus.<sup>122</sup> The scene has hitherto been interpreted as the arrival of a corn-fleet;<sup>123</sup> but the picture of a port with various types of vessels under the protection of Serapis simply illustrates the might of that god: καὶ ἐν θαλάττῃ μέγας οὗτος ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὀλκάδες καὶ τριήρεις ὑπὸ τούτῳ κυβερνῶνται.<sup>124</sup> As the rites at the festival of the beginning

<sup>115</sup> An interesting parallel is given by the connexion of the worship of Magna Mater with regular sacrifices for the health of the Emperor; cp. H. Graillot, s. v. „Empereurs“ in his index. H. Hepding, o. c. 165. 199.

<sup>116</sup> Apul., met. 11, 26. 30.

<sup>117</sup> G. Wissowa, o. c. 353 sq. — An interesting sign of the official reception of this *peregrina superstio* is given by the Isiac wall-paintings of the same date, found on the Palatine. Cp. G. E. Rizzo, Le pitture dell'aula Isiaci di Caligola (Monum. della pittura antica scop. in Italia, sez. 3, Roma, fasc. 2), 1936. Fr. Cumont, Revue d'hist. des religions 114, 1936, 126—129.

<sup>118</sup> Cass. Dio 47, 15, 4.

<sup>119</sup> G. Wissowa, o. c. 351 sq.

<sup>120</sup> W. Drexler, Roschers Lex. 2, 403. H. Dressel, Sitzungsberichte der Preuss. Akad. 1909, 640 sqq. W. Weber, Drei Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch—griechischen Religion 1911, 16 and Ein Hermes-tempel des Kaisers Marcus (Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akad., phil.-hist. Kl. 1910, 7 Abhandlung), 5. 9 sqq., further: Josephus und Vespasian 1921, 250 sqq. A. v. Domaszewski, Röm. Mitt. 17, 1902, 333. G. Wissowa, o. c. 352 sqq. J. Vogt, Die alexandrinischen Kaisermünzen 1924, 17 sq., 29 sqq., 44. K. Scott, The Imperial Cult under the Flavians 1936, 9 sqq., 19. 90. 92., etc.

<sup>121</sup> Cohen<sup>2</sup> 299=Fr. Gnecci, I medaglioni Romani pl. 151, 4.

<sup>122</sup> W. Drexler, Zeitschrift für Numismatik 13, 1885, 298. G. Roeder, Pauly—Wissowa, Realenc. 1A, 2421 sq.

<sup>123</sup> W. Froehner, Revue numismatique 1903, 358. J. Vogt, o. c. 155.

<sup>124</sup> Ael. Aristid. 1, p. 91 Dind.

of shipping are performed *de novi com meatus prospera navigatione* (Apul. met. 11, 16), so the imperial sacrifice illustrated here is not carried out for a special event, but for a general occasion. They propitiate Serapis, who with Isis is the bringer of the εὐπλοία,<sup>125</sup> with the same purpose, as our *vota*-coins. This is attested first by the circumstance, that Serapis in a sacred ship with a sail, filled with wind, reappears on our series under Diocletian (pl. I, 1—2). The *vota felicia* of the medaillon of Commodus are consequently identical with the *vota publica* of the issues here analysed. — The adjective *felicia* is further reinforced on the piece of Commodus by the unusual emphasis laid on the *pius felix* of the obverse. The luck of the emperor is to be obtained through these vows, a point, that is still more explicitly expressed on a medaillon of Commodus from the same issue: the type pl. XI, 2 shows Commodus sacrificing to Neptunus-Serapis, commented on by the legend *pio imperatori omnia felicia*, — a good wish, expressing the idea of the renewal of the Golden age, to be brought about by the emperor.<sup>126</sup>

The fusion of the imperial vows with the cult of Isis and Serapis then was already complete under Commodus, — which is not surprising, if we bear in mind the great rise of oriental religions under his rule.<sup>127</sup> It must be stressed, that these vows differ in an essential point from those described by Apuleius: the latter are offered „from below“, by the worshippers of Isis to the state, whereas the coin-types of Commodus attest an aspiration to the sanction of the Alexandrine gods „from above“: it is no longer humble *ministri Isidis*, but the head of the Roman state who is sacrificing there, no mere Egyptian religious practice, but true *vota publica*. Now the imperial vows had their fixed place in the Roman calendar from Augustus onwards: partly at a fixed day of the year, partly at the periodical celebrations of every reign. There is no sign, that these dates were altered through the coalescence with the Alexandrine festival of shipping and, on the other hand, the *navidium Isidis* also continued to be solemnized on the fifth March. Thus the amalgamation of the two must have taken place on one of the already existent feast-days; it remains only to be asked, which of the several possibilities prevailed.

There are some indications, that the Alexandrine gods had played some rôle at the *vota quinquennialia*, or *decennialia*: on the reliefs of the arch of Galerius in Salonica Isis and Serapis appear on the stage with the Dioscuri, as protectors of the tetrarchy.<sup>128</sup> On the other hand, in 190 A. D., the very year of our coin-type, the *vicennialia* of Commodus were announced; with this would harmonize the sacrifice of the bull and the emphasis on the *felicitas*, which is common on coins of the year.<sup>129</sup> — But it is not only in 190 A. D.

<sup>125</sup> J. Leipoldt, Bilderatlas, o. c. fig. 19. — Cp. A. Höfler, Der Serapishymnus des Ailios Aristides (Tübinger Beitr. z. Altertumswiss. 27), 1935, 100 sq.

<sup>126</sup> Cp. Numismatic Chronicle 1929, 270.

<sup>127</sup> Cp. W. Drexler in Roschers Lex. 2, 405. J. Vogt, o. c. 156. J. M. Heer, Der historische Wert der Vita Commodi etc., 1901, 156. W. Weber, Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen 170, 1908, 390 and Probleme der Spätantike 1930, 67 sqq. M. Rostovtzeff, Journ. of Roman Studies 13, 1923, 91 sqq.

<sup>128</sup> Cp. the new publication of the arch, prepared by the writer of this lines and H. U. v. Schoenebeck. Cp. also Röm. Mitt. 49, 1934, 99.

<sup>129</sup> W. Weber, who has made some valuable remarks on the coinage of this epoch in Gött. gel. Anz. 1908, 991 sq., interprets the act as the *vota soluta pro salute populi Romani* on account of the pestilence; the accentuation of the *felicitas* and the *saeculum (Commodi aureum)*, however, speaks clearly against this solution and in favour of periodical vows. — Cp. also the medaillon Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 992. — Characteristic for

that the coin-issues proclaim the auspicious alliance between the emperor and Isis and Serapis (pl. XII, 24); they are still doing so in 192 (pl. XII, 25), — too late for the proclamation of the *vicennalia*.<sup>130</sup>

The balance of evidence favours the surprising fact, that the ceremonies of the *navium Isidis* were regularly renewed on the day of the imperial vows, on January the third. First, it is to be remembered, that the obverse of the medallion of Commodus with the *vota felicia* is shared with the types commemorating the sixth *processus consularis* of the ruler,<sup>131</sup> i. e., both are struck for the New Year. The *vota* of the emperors on the third of January<sup>132</sup> were celebrated with increased pomp, if the sovereign had assumed the consulate, — hence the magnificent series of medallions. In favour of the *vota* at the beginning of the year is also the renewal of the type of the *vota felicia* with the port-scene under Diocletian (pl. XI, 3): the obverse shows this ruler in the triumphal costume, which in the Late Empire became an almost exclusive badge of the *processus consularis*,<sup>133</sup> in other words: of the New Year. Moreover, the title *felicissimus* on the *vota*-coins of Diocletianus and Herculus (pl. I, 1—2) is equivalent to the *felicia vota* of the former types.<sup>134</sup> Thus the immediate connexion with our later series is established. The consular costume also appears on pieces of Constantius II. (pl. II, 4, 7; XII, 27), witnessing to the *vota* of the New Year; most important, however, is the consular garb on several types of Jovianus (pl. II, 33—34; XII, 6; XIX, 29). This regent was proclaimed on the 27<sup>th</sup> of June 363 and died on the 17<sup>th</sup> of February 364, so that the date in March has no possible application to him; and if it should be suggested, that the coins of the *vota publica* were prepared for the 5<sup>th</sup> of March and put into circulation on that day, because the news of the death of Jovianus did not arrive in time to stop them, the suggestion can easily be refuted: not only the costume, but also the legend of the obverse with the title *co(n)s(ul)* testify unmis-

the rôle of *Felicitas* on such occasions is the series of Postumus, reconstructed by G. Elmer and Fr. Mayröder in *Deutsche Münzblätter* 54, 1934, 97 sqq., pl. 139. — A synopsis of the periodical vows of Commodus is to be found in: H. Mattingly—E. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* 3, 1930, 163 sq.

<sup>130</sup> The periodical vows and the *vota annua* could be coupled (G. Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium* 1874, 105 sq.) and as we shall see, that the latter feast is meant here, this combination too must be considered.

<sup>131</sup> Fr. Gnecci, I, *medaglioni Romani*, pl. 85, 2—3.

<sup>132</sup> Cp. J. Marquardt, *Staatsverwaltung* 3<sup>2</sup>, 266. Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* 2<sup>3</sup>, 811 and *Gesammelte Schriften* 8, 18. A. Müller, *Philologus* 68, 1909, 470 sq. G. Henzen, *Acta fratrum Arvalium* 1874, 89 sqq. M. P. Nilsson, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 19, 1916/1919, 54 sqq. F. Schneider, *Archiv f. Rel. — Wiss.* 20, 1920/1921, 82 sqq., 360 sqq. A. Alföldi, *Röm. Mitt.* 50, 1935, 80 sqq. — A new impetus and importance came to the cult of Isis in Rome under Caracalla (G. Wissowa, o. c. 355. Fr. Cumont, *Les religions orientales*<sup>4</sup> 1929, 79.). Not without interest for this are the coins, on which Caracalla as a new Anubis (cp. G. Lafaye, *Hist. du culte des divinités alex.* 1884, 291 note 96), setting his foot on a crocodile, receives corn-ears from Isis (pl. XII, 26). — The problem of the date of the imperial vows and the shipping of Isis is not touched by J. Berreth, o. c. 89 sq., 92.

<sup>133</sup> Cp. *Röm. Mitt.* 50, 1935, 32 sqq.

<sup>134</sup> Though these observes were originally prepared for the types *Providentia deorum*, *Quies Augustorum*, their special application here is nevertheless deliberate. We must suppose, that Chlorus and Galerius had parallel pieces, now lost. — The *Quies Augustorum* does not mean the „retirement of the old Augusti“, but the peaceful rest of the world, due to the *providentissimi principes*. Cp. M. P. Charlesworth, *Harvard Theol. Rev.* 29, 1936, 120.



kably, that the issue was intended from the first for the 3<sup>rd</sup> of January and perhaps distributed at the consular games of that day.

Here an objection arises. In what way could it be possible to arrange a naval festival in a season, which does not allow of sailing? The answer is given in a New Year speech of Libanius,<sup>135</sup> where he writes: ἀνθεὶ δὲ ἐν ἅπασιν μὲν ἡ ἑορτὴ πεδίοις, ἐν ἅπασιν δὲ γηλόφοις, ἐν ἅπασιν δὲ ὄρεσι καὶ λίμναις καὶ ποταμοῖς, ἐν οἷς πλοῖά τε καὶ πλέοντες, καὶ ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ δ' ἄν, εἰ μὴ ἄπλους ἦν ὑπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἡ θαλάττα, ναυτῶν τε καὶ ἐμπόρων τεμνόντων τε ὁμοῦ τὰ πελάγη καὶ ἑορταζόντων. We can be certain, then, that the sailors had their part in the New Year celebrations, nor is this hard to understand. It is a universal trait of primitive mentality, preserved to our own days, — the effort to insure the happiness of an space of time by a happy beginning. The *navigium Isidis* was a magic performance for that purpose; and, when the commencement of the year was transferred to the first of January, it was no extravagant idea to transfer the rites of happy beginning to the same date. A striking parallel is furnished by the transference of the festival of the first of March to the first of January,<sup>136</sup> long ago observed. And it is no mere chance, that Augustine discusses before all others the Egyptian gods in his *homelia de Kalendis Ianuariis contra paganos*.<sup>137</sup>

The imperial vows of the third of January were obligatory expressions of loyalty. They therefore retained their significance in spite of their pagan origin even under the Christian emperors.<sup>138</sup> *Forum et basilicae* — writes Ausonius to Gratian — *olim negotiis plena, nunc votis pro tua salute susceptis*.<sup>139</sup> Theodosius refers in an edict (Nov. 382) to the great artistic value of the statues in a sanctuary of Osrhoene, which delight the public, — an idle pretext, — as he prescribes, that the vows shall be celebrated in a splendid way (*ut conventu urbis et frequenti coetu videantur* and: *omni votorum celebritate servata*), only without sacrifices.<sup>140</sup> How difficult it was, to eradicate such manifestations of the imperial cult, is illustrated by a decree of Theodosius of A. D. 386, which exempts the Christians from the imperial priesthood (*archierosyne*), with the motivation, that they must not be offended by the *templorum cura* and the *templorum sollemnia*<sup>141</sup>; the institution itself, however, was still maintained. Such a priest of the emperor, a *sacerdos provinciae* of Campania,

<sup>135</sup> Libanius or. 9, 5 = I p. 394 Foerster.

<sup>136</sup> F. Schneider, Arch. f. Religionswiss. 20, 1920/1921, 379 sqq. (with lit.), 397 sqq.

<sup>137</sup> Augustine, homel. 197 (Migne, P. Lat. 38, 1021 sqq.). — M. P. Nilsson, Archiv. f. Religionswiss. 19, 1916/1919, 70 note 1 is too sceptical about these connexions. — On the continuation of the festival in the Middle Ages cp. below.

<sup>138</sup> It must also be mentioned, that the coalescence of the *vota publica* with the *navigium Isidis* has left traces not only in Rome, but in the provinces too. The terra-cotta moulds of honey-cakes from Pannonia with representations relating to the imperial cult (Archaeologiai Értesítő n. s. 38, 1918/1919, 1 sqq), probably distributed on the third of January, show parallels to the busts of Isis and Serapis, which may point in the same direction (Cp. the inscription CIL III 3637, set up by an governor to Serapis-Neptunus). The medaillon of Diocletian pl. XI, 3 was also struck in Siscia (Pannonia).

<sup>139</sup> Auson., *grat. act.* 1, 3. Cp. also Pacat., *paneg.* 6, 4: *talem esse debere, qui gentibus adoratur, cui toto orbe terrarum privata vel publica vota redduntur, a quo petit navigaturus serenum, peregrinaturus redditum, pugnaturus auspicium.*

<sup>140</sup> *Cod. Theod.* 16, 10, 8.

<sup>141</sup> *Cod. Theod.* 12, 1, 112. Cp. L. Bréhier—P. Batiffol, *Les survivances du culte impérial romain* 1920, 11 sq., 15.

drew up on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of November A. D. 387 a list of the festivals<sup>142</sup> still tolerated, — among them the *vota publica* in January. And when two years later a general revision of the holidays took place and the pagan feasts were for the most part suppressed,<sup>143</sup> the public vows were spared: *Kalendariorum Ianuariorum consuetos dies otio mancipamus*, says the law.

The extirpation of the vows was bound to be difficult for other reasons than that they asserted loyalty to the state through the devotion to its ruler; the government was constrained to maintain them on more prosaic grounds. This festival, like the *quinquennalia* and the *decennalia*, had brought to the treasury a regular income. The obligatory offerings on this occasion were especially considerable in Rome, where an edict of A. D. 395 still regulated, how many *solidi* should be delivered for each pound of gold, *quando votis communibus felix annus aperitur*.<sup>144</sup>

The emperors of course strove not only to preserve the *vota*, but simultaneously to put aside their pagan ceremonies, — as the edict of 382 already attested. The *vota*-coinage betrays the fact, that this latter tendency did not prevail in Rome till A. D. 395. But the old customs and rites persisted in other countries too; an edict, directed to an *proconsul Africae* still urges in 399: *absque ullo sacrificio atque ulla superstitione damnabili exhiberi populo voluptates secundum veterem consuetudinem, iniri etiam festa convivia, si quando existunt publica vota, decernimus*.<sup>145</sup> — Prudentius laments in the same time in Rome: *Iano etiam celebri de mense litatur auspiciis epulisque sacris, quas inveterato — heu miseri! — sub honore agitant et gaudia ducunt festa kalendarum*.<sup>146</sup> — The government persevered in the idea, that after the removal of the pagan rites the popular rejoicing of the day might be left intact: *festos conventus civium et commune omnium laetitiam non patimur submoveri*.<sup>147</sup> The consuls are still making efforts about the year 400, as centuries before, to delight the people of Rome with theatrical and musical amusements, races and combats of gladiators, processions, — still vividly depicted by Claudianus.<sup>148</sup> But the βότα πούβλικα are still mentioned by Lydus (*de mens.* 4, 10) in the sixth century and the *concilium Trullanum* in 692 still forbids (*can.* 62) the Christians the celebration of τὰ λεγόμενα βότα.<sup>149</sup>

d) We shall now examine more closely the idea underlying the *vota publica*. „Die Anlässe zu den *vota publica* sind eben so mannigfacher Art, wie die der zahlreichen aus den Weiheinschriften uns bekannten Privatgelübde“ — writes Wissowa.<sup>150</sup> This variety is mirrored on the coins of the Early Empire too. This legend for the most part alludes

<sup>142</sup> Dessau, ILS. 4918. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* 8, 16 sq.

<sup>143</sup> *Cod. Theod.* 2, 8, 19. — It is interesting to note, that where the imperial anniversaries come in collision with the requirements of Christian cult, they are nevertheless carried out. *Cp.* *C. Theod.* 2, 8, 20 and 23.

<sup>144</sup> *Cod. Theod.* 7, 24, 1. — Symmachus *ep.* 10, 7 and 15 also mentions the *strenae*, which are offered as *anni novi auspices* to the emperor.

<sup>145</sup> *Cod. Theod.* 16, 10, 17; often quoted.

<sup>146</sup> Prudent. *c. Symm.* 1, 237 sqq. *Cp. Carm. c. Flav. v.* 38 sqq. Joh. Chrys. *contra Julianum* 8 = Migne, *P. Graec.* 49/50, 544 sq.

<sup>147</sup> *Cod. Theod.* 16, 10, 17.

<sup>148</sup> Claudian., *paneg. d. Manlio Theodoro cons.* 270 sqq.; *paneg. de IV. cons. Hon.* 294 sq.; *de cons. Stil.* 3, *praef.* 21 sqq.; *paneg. de VI. cons. Hon.* 537 sqq.

<sup>149</sup> Often quoted; e. g. A. Müller, *Philologus* 68, 1908, 471.

<sup>150</sup> G. Wissowa, *o. c.* 382 sq.

to the periodic vows, but it is also used for the vows at the proclamation of a Caesar,<sup>151</sup> on the occasion of imperial marriages,<sup>152</sup> etc. Quite different is the case in the later epoch: the *vota publica* then mean solely the periodic vows for the health and happy reign of the ruler. These vows under the „Bas-Empire“ gradually developed into a heavy financial burden. Not only did the spontaneous oblations of the *aurum coronarium* to the emperor<sup>153</sup> become an obligatory duty, but on the other hand, also the spontaneous gifts of the sovereign on solemn occasions (above all to the army) developed into a regular charge, which could not be abolished. The *sacrae largitiones*, which supplied the name and described the sphere of the late-Roman minister of finances, „führen ihren Namen wahrscheinlich von den Geldgeschenken, welche die Soldaten neben ihrer regelmässigen Naturalverpflegung bei festlichen Gelegenheiten, namentlich bei den Quinquennalfiern, empfangen (Proc., hist. arc. 24, p. 71 A). Sie stehen daher in Gegensatz zur *arca* der *praefecti praetorio*, aus der die Ernährung der Truppen zu bestreiten war . . . Dieser kommen die *annonarii tituli*, d. h. die Naturalsteuer, zu . . . während die *largitionales tituli* . . . vorzugsweise in Gold . . . oder Silber zu zahlen waren“.<sup>154</sup> To the remuneration of the soldiers at the periodic vows is due the fact, that the greater part of the reverse-types and legends of silver and gold coins, struck under the Christian emperors of the fourth century, are concerned with the *vota*-festivals. A principal feature of these solemn days of vows was the splendid games, which were made of such importance, that the *solidi* of the age of Valentinian and Theodosius (pl. X, 2; XII, 20—21) represent the emperors as presidents at these displays, throwing down the *mappa*, the sign to start the races.<sup>155</sup>

<sup>151</sup> H. Mattingly—R. E. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* 3, 1930, 334 no. 1515.

<sup>152</sup> O. c. 75 no. 402; 81 no. 434; 176 no. 1253; 177 no. 1269; 276 no. 790, 792.

<sup>153</sup> For representations of these oblations under the Early Empire: cp. J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* 1934, 144 sqq. Under Constantine: J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantinienne* 1, 1908, 466 no. XIX. and 464 no. XIV (not exactly described; the chronology not yet correct). A. Alföldi, *Journ. Roman. Studies* 22, 1932, 20 sqq., no. 12, 29. — The motif of this scene is taken over by Christian art, cp. J. Kollwitz, *Röm. Quartalschrift* 44, 1936, 59.

<sup>154</sup> O. Seeck, *Pauly—Wissowa, Realenc.* 4, 671 sq.

<sup>155</sup> These *solidi* have been collected by J. W. E. Pearce, *The Roman Coinage from A. D. 364 to 423*, London 1933, 14 (no. 16), 18 (no. 20), 44 sq., 69 (no. 55), 85 (6), 91 (15). — Two excellent connoisseurs of the late Roman coinage, G. Elmer (*Num. Zeitschr.* 1936, 31) and L. Laffranchi (*Le monete milanesi del tempo Santambrosiano, Estr. dalla riv. mensile „Milano“*, agosto 1933, 4 sq.) state, that these *solidi* commemorate the consulships of the emperors. But there is a slight difference: the triumphal costume was not completely restricted for the *processus consularis* in this age, it was also in use for the presidency of the sovereigns at the games; the latter occasion is meant here, as the *mappa* (impossible at the *processus*) demonstrates it. — Besides this, this type (pl. XII, 21) was struck e. g. under Valentinian I. in several mints at once, evidently on the ground of one and the same government order; they cannot then be connected with the travels of the emperors, as Elmer thought. — On the costume of the emperors cp. my remarks in: *Röm. Mitt.* 50, 1935, 34 sq., 57. We must now add the earliest appearance of the *mappa*, which had escaped my notice, pl. I, 32. — There would, of course, be no difficulty, in admitting theoretically the possibility of special issues for the *sparsiones* of the first January (cp. A. Müller, o. c. 468. J. Formigé, *Bull. Soc. Ant. de France* 1925, 254 sqq. W. Ensslin, *Hist. Jahrb. d. Görres—Ges.* 1936, 502 sq.); yet, the declared purpose of the series in question is different. — It is to be regretted, that the exact description or reproduction of the bronze-quinarius of Constantinus iunior, Cohen<sup>2</sup> no. 269 (= D'Ennery) with the legend *vota publica* is missing; perhaps it was a type, referring both to the vows, and to an imperial consulate; the two do not exclude one another, the consular games being celebrated on the third of January.

These *solidi* present us in this way with the official interpretation of the *vota publica*, which are seen to consist of pomp and amusements, connected with material advantages and burdens, but totally deprived of their original religious content. How differently do the pagan party in Rome conceive the *vota publica*, giving prominence to their religious basis on the festival-coins too! The deliberate contrast is obvious. This clash on the point of religions corresponds to the embittered political debate, which was echoing through the whole Roman world; it will suffice here, to touch some chords of it. *Quid iuvat saluti publicae castum corpus (Vestaliū) dicare et imperii aeternitatem caelestibus fulcire praesidiis* — writes Symmachus (rel. 3, 14) — . . . *pro omnibus efficacia vota suscipere, et ius cum omnibus non habere? Nemo me putet tueri solam causam religionum : ex huiusmodi facinoribus orta sunt cuncta Romani generis incommoda* (l. c. 15). The ancient gods, — so he advises the emperor, *vos defendant, a nobis colantur* (l. c. 19). The *vota publica* consequently meant for hem, that the cult of the gods must be continued in the interest of the rulers. — The answer of Ambrose brings out the essential factor still more powerfully : *ait enim : vos defendant, a nobis colantur. Hoc est, fidelissimi principes, quod ferre non possumus, quia exprobrant nobis vestro se nomine diis suis supplicare . . .*<sup>156</sup> And again (ep. 17, 1) : *Aliter enim salus tuta esse non poterit, nisi unusquisque Deum verum, hoc est Deum Christianorum . . . veraciter colat.* — Which divinity is the right and efficacious protector of the *salus Augusti*? — that is the question. The answer of our coins is: Isis and Serapis.

e) The wish and promise of prosperity at the New Year was just as natural in the antiquity, as it is to-day; but the primitive and literal means of securing the happiness of the coming year were still alive. Such a magical operation was the *navigium Isidis*. The launching of the sacred ship, originally destined to put into effect the *prospera navigatio*, became later, — as we have seen — the main symbol of the vows for happiness in Rome. — It is not without value briefly to follow up this evolution.

We remember on the well-known description of Apuleius, who sketches the rite of launching just mentioned, as follows: *Inter haec et festorum votorum tumultum paulatim progressi iam ripam maris proximamus . . . ibidem simulacris rite dispositis navem faberrime factam picturis miris Aegyptiorum circumsecus variegatam summus sacerdos taeda lucida et ovo et sulphure, sollemnissimas preces de casto praefatus ore, quam purissime purificatam deae nuncupavit dedicavitque. huius felicitis alvei nitens carbasus litteras votorum<sup>157</sup> intextas progerebat : eae litterae votum instaurabant de novi commeatus prospera navigatione. iam malus insurgit pinus rutunda, splendore sublimis, insigni carchesio conspicua, et puppis intorta chetisco, bracteis aureis vestita fulgebat omnisque prorsus carina citro limido perpolita florebat. tunc cuncti populi tam religiosi quam profani . . . libant, . . . donec muneribus largis et devotionibus faustis completa navis, absoluta strophis ancoralibus, peculiari serenoque flatu pelago redderetur.*<sup>158</sup>

<sup>156</sup> Johannes Chrysostomos also has a relevant passage, where he acknowledges, that the pagans are defending their religion in the interest of the state and of the emperor: *Contra Iulianum* 7 = Migne, P. Graec. 49/50, 544. — Cp. also Prudent., c. *Symm.* 1, 390 sq., etc.

<sup>157</sup> The text is corrupt here; the emendation *votorum* involves the least alteration, I think; for other conjectures see the third ed. of Helm.

<sup>158</sup> For the ceremony cp. L. Deubner, Athen. Mitt. 37, 1912, 180 sqq. Fr. Cumont, *Les religions orientales*,<sup>1</sup> 1929, 243 note 94. Cp. also the relief of the coll. Torlonia by K. Lehmann—Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (Klio Beih. 14) 1923, 235 sq.

We have, on the other hand, some support for the assumption, that the ship was also regarded as a symbol of happiness in Rome, without any relation to Isis. Its image on the asses of the Republic, which were a customary gift for the New Year in the imperial epoch, was interpreted as an allusion to the Golden Age of Saturn, — as Ovidius states.<sup>159</sup> A *felix alveus* is often found without any allusion to the Isis-cult on the coinage of Hadrian, with the legend FELICITATI AVG(VSTI); some varieties are shown on pl. XI, 4—5. The type recurs on the coins of Verus (pl. XI, 6), and also on those of Marcus and Commodus as Caesar (pl. XI, 7—9). The ship represented here is an imperial flag-ship;<sup>160</sup> on its prow appears, as a rule, Neptune, though the goddess of *sapientia*, Minerva, and Victory too occur, — sometimes also a Triton. It has usually been considered, that the type commemorates imperial voyages.<sup>161</sup> At the first glance, this explanation seems to be very plausible for Hadrian and would fit the case of Verus too.<sup>162</sup> Marcus and the young Commodus, however, were not travelling, when these coins were struck. They were implicated in a long and terrible war in the Carpathians and the basin of the Danube, — so that the 'luck of the ruler', announced there, can only be understood as an euphemistic proclamation of the coming 'Age of luck' of the Emperors.<sup>163</sup> It is not a real incident, but a theoretical idea, that is mirrored there, — as is shown at once by the splitting up of the 'felicity' into a *Felicitas Augusti* and a *Felicitas Caesaris*.

Is the abstract sense of *Felicitas* also valid for the coins of Hadrian and Verus, or was there a change in the interpretation, as so often in the second century, the realm of the reality being supplanted by the sphere of abstraction? Such changes are not without parallel: the same scene, that represents the arrival of Hadrian in Alexandria (pl. XII, 23 Vienna), is used under Commodus (pl. XII, 24—25, same coll.) to illustrate the alliance of the Egyptian gods with the emperor. Nevertheless, other arguments witness clearly against this transformation. The dative *Felicitati* must be taken as a formula of dedication, easier to understand in connexion with an abstract idea, such as the vows.<sup>164</sup> And is it a mere

<sup>159</sup> Ovid., *fast.* I, 219, 229 sqq.: *Tu tamen auspiciam si sit stipis utile, quaeris, curque iuvent vestras aera vetusta manus? ... cur navalis in aere altera signata est ...? ... causa ratis superest: Tuscum rate venit in amnem ante pererrato falcifer orbe deus. hac ego Saturnum memini tellure receptum.*

<sup>160</sup> The prototype is to be found on coins of Sextus Pompeius, cp. J. Liegle, *Die Antike* 12, 1936, 215. E. Babelon, *Rev. num.* 1907, 37 sq.

<sup>161</sup> P. L. Strack, *Untersuchungen zur röm. Reichsprägung* d. 2. Jh. 2, 1933, 126 sq., 135. L. Laffranchi, *Num. Zeitschr.* 1926, 116. H. Mattingly, *Roman Imp. Coinage* 2, 1926, 326 and *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Mus.* 3, 1936, p. CXLV. — All the varieties of the type are catalogued in these works.

<sup>162</sup> H. Mattingly—E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imp. Coinage* 3, 1930, 319 sq. no. 1325 sqq. — It must also be pointed out, that these coins were struck in 163, whereas the voyage of Verus was over a year earlier.

<sup>163</sup> H. Mattingly—E. A. Sydenham, o. c. 307 sq., 334. 337 (no. 1192 sqq. 1513. 1550). Marcus and Commodus visited the East in the preceding year (A. D. 176); yet they travelled not much by ship, cp. H. M. D. Parker, *A History of the Roman World from A. D. 138 to 337*, 1935, 25.

<sup>164</sup> Naturally we must also consider, whether the dedication to *Felicitas* may not have been made on the occasion of vows for the travels of the Emperor, as P. L. Strack has already supposed (o. c. 2, 126 sq.). — The *vota pro itu et reditu* are made in general to *Iuppiter Optimus Maximus* and to *Salus Augusti* or *Fortuna redux*. But Strack (o. c. I, 174 note 750) is able to quote an *as* of Vespasian with the legend *Felicitas redux* and the *Fratres arvales* made sacrifices to *Felicitas pro salute et reditu Neronis* (Henzen, o. c. 84), *ob adventum eius* (l. c. 85), *pro salute et adventu Vitellii* (l. c.

chance, that the legend FELICITATI AVG is some times written on the bellying sail (pl. XI, 5 Vienna), exactly as we read by Apuleius: *eae litterae votum instaurabant de novi com-  
meatus prospera navigatione?* Perhaps not. It was not enough in the eyes of the ancients, that the *turgida vela* should be signs of the *ventus secundus* (to use the words of Horace), but they sought everywhere the activity of divinities; and Isis, who invented the sail (Cassiod., var. 5, 17, 4) and whom *Zephyrus favet ac Cyllenius ales* (Claudian., *carm. min.* app. 11, 5), was well qualified for this rôle.<sup>165</sup>

Thus, the symbol of the 'ship of Felicity' may have been associated with the *navigium Isidis* early in the second century; but, so far, this is only a guess. More certain is this connexion from Commodus onwards. Serapis already stands then behind Neptunus (pl. XI, 2; cp. pl. I, 3—4 and XI, 15). Isis putting her foot on a prow is represented on coins of Domna (pl. XI, 10, Vienna) and Victorinus (pl. XI, 11 Paris), as the bringer of the *saeculi felicitas*. — The imperial flag-ship figures as the badge of the *Felicitas temp(orum)* on coins of Elagabalus (pl. XI, 3) and Postumus;<sup>166</sup> it symbolises the Golden Age, and in no other sense can we understand the renewal of the Hadrianic type under Gallienus<sup>167</sup> (pl. XI, 14), or the ship with the legend *Felicitas* under Carausius;<sup>168</sup> even under the sons of Constantine, the coin-types announcing the *Fel(icium) temp(orum) reparatio*<sup>169</sup> represent the ruler, with the phoenix on his hand, standing in the ship of felicity (pl. XI, 16). Especially relevant in this context, if I am right, are the reverses of Severus, on which the combats of the amphitheatre and the races of the circus are grouped around an disproportionately large ship; this too must be the 'ship of felicity', the token of the *Laetitia temporum*, which the legend proclaims (pl. XI, 12).<sup>170</sup> Similarly, the ships on coins of Postumus<sup>171</sup> and Allectus,<sup>172</sup> with the legend *Laetitia* or *Laetitia Augusti*, are concerned with this symbolism, — which is also not alien to the symbolical representations of private life.<sup>173</sup>

121). — These cases however, seem to be exceptions. — On *Felicitas* in general: G. Wissowa, o. c. 266 sqq. L. Berlinger, Beiträge zur inoffiziellen Titulatur der römischen Kaiser (Diss. Breslau, 1935), 2 sqq. W. Weber, *Princeps* 1, 1936, 24 note 119, 120, 135 etc.

<sup>165</sup> An Egyptian would without doubt see in this type the cult of the *Καίσαρ ἐπιβατήριος*, which flourished in Alexandria. Cp. pl. XX, 4 (Vienna) and: G. Lumbroso, *L'Egitto dei Greci e dei Romani*,<sup>2</sup> 1895, 185 sqq. Blumenthal, *Archiv f. Papyrusforschung* 5, 1913, 317 sqq. S. Eitrem, *Symbolae Osloenses* 14, 1935, 62 note 2. J. Gagé, *Mélanges d'Archéol. et d'Hist.* 53, 1936, 88 sq. — Cp. the fragmentary port-scene on a bronze-relief published by L. Nagy, *Pannonia* 2, 1936, 13, fig. 5. too.

<sup>166</sup> J. de Witte, *Recherches sur les empereurs, qui ont régné dans les Gaules*, 1868, pl. 4, 46—47.

<sup>167</sup> *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 38, 1928, 197 sqq.

<sup>168</sup> P. H. Webb, *The Roman Imp. Coinage* 5/2, 1933, pl. 16, 4.

<sup>169</sup> H. Mattingly, *Num. Chron.* 1933, 182 sqq.

<sup>170</sup> Hitherto misinterpreted. For the dating cp. K. Pink, *Num. Zeitschr.* 1933, 43. — An exact replica of this type occurs on an intaglio: A. Furtwängler, *Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steine im Antiquarium* 1896, pl. 53, no. 7097.

<sup>171</sup> P. H. Webb, o. c. 338, 343, 354 (no. 26, 73, 207). J. de Witte, o. c. pl. 9, 132 sqq.

<sup>172</sup> P. H. Webb, o. c. 569 (no. 124 sqq). — Cp. also the contorniate, Sabatier pl. 15, 11. — It is a pity, that we have no exact information about the little marble ships, which were offered as ex-votos to Isis Pharia, e. g. in Rome, and of the continuation of the custom, evident in the church of S. Maria in Navicella. Cp. G. Lafaye, *Hist. du culte des divinités alex.* 1884, 200 sqq.

<sup>173</sup> W. Deonna, *Rev. arch.* 1927, 2, 255. — Cp. also A. Höfler, *Der Sarapis-Hymnus des Ailios Aristeidēs* (Tübinger Beitr. z. Altertumswiss. 27, 1935) 61 (Menas-lamps).

f) The connexion of the *ploiaphesia* with the imperial vows throws a new light upon the interesting and often treated problem of the ancient roots of the carnival.<sup>174</sup>

The day of the *vota* is also named *dies auspicium* in the late epoch (Polem. Silv.); that is, the public did everything, that *auspicio felix totus ut annus eat*.<sup>175</sup> Now, we have seen, that the symbolism of the New Year culminated in the presentation of the 'ship of felicity'. The other main feature of the festival was the mummery, inherited from the *navigium Isidis* (we remember again on the splendid picture of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*, XI, 8, with the detailed description of the *oblectationes ludicrae popularium*). — Both traits recur in the carnivals of the Middle ages. The ship, carried on a carriage, is attested as early, as the twelfth century, as the principal feature of the carnival-procession and the „barconi“ of the Italian carnivals,<sup>176</sup> like the ship-carriages on the Rhine, lasted on into our own day. We are justified in seeing in them the successors of the ship-carriages of Isis, familiar in her cult,<sup>177</sup> as Dieterich has already seen long ago.<sup>178</sup> — On the other hand, the farces and the mummery of the *vota*, transmitted to the Middle Ages, evidently have their roots in the Isis-feast of the *ploiaphesia*, as the threads, that we have followed, reveal.<sup>179</sup>

It can no longer be doubted, that the gay festival of our own days is a survival of the Roman festival of the *vota publica*, blended with that of the *navigium Isidis*. Consequently,

<sup>174</sup> The literature is to be found in three treatises, which are themselves the most important contributions to this problem: C. Clemen, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 17, 1914, 148 sq. M. P. Nilsson, in the same rev. 19, 1916/1919, 76 sqq. F. Schneider, in the same rev. 20, 1920/1921, 82 sqq. 360 sqq. in the same rev. 19, 1916/1919, 76 sqq. F. Schneider, in the same rev. 20, 1920/1921, 82 sqq. 360 sqq.

<sup>175</sup> Ovid., *fast.* I, 26; cp. 168.

<sup>176</sup> Count Gianluigi Cornaggia informs me, that the cars in the carnival-procession in Milan were still called by this name in his childhood.

<sup>177</sup> For representations of ship-carriages of the Isis-cult on Alexandrine coins cp. G. Dattari, *Nummi Augg. Alexandrini* 1901, pl. 27, no. 3557; pl. 30, no. 1158. — For the diffusion of the symbol of the ship-carriage among the Celtic and German peoples we must take into account the early dissemination of the Isis-cult among them. The Isis of the *Suebi*, with her idol *in modum liburnae figuratum*, the basin in the cult of Isis Noreia (perhaps the *navale* of Mars Latobius too) must be carefully considered in this connexion; perhaps also the goddess, standing in ship, published by A. Blanchet, *Monum. et Mém. Piot* 34, 1934, pl. 4—5; an analysis of this evidence might demonstrate the existence of Celtic and German traits, mixed up with the Oriental stock. — Cp. W. Drexler, *Roschers Lex.* 2, 548 sq. K. Helm, *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* (Germ. Bibl., hrsg. von W. Streitberg, 1 Abt., 5 Reihe, 2 Band = *Religionswiss. Bibl.*, hrsg. von W. Streitberg und R. Wunsch 5, 1913) 309 sqq. G. Wissowa, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 19, 1916/1919, 18. W. Drexel, 14. *Bericht der Röm.-Germ. Komm.* 1922, 5. 41. C. Clemen, *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 17, 1914, 149 sqq. Fr. Jostes, *Sonnenwende* 2, 1930, 217 sqq. (a phantastic picture). H. Usener, *Sintflutsagen* 115 sqq. R. Egger, *Anzeiger der Wiener Akademie* 1927, 16 sq. A. Lesky, *Mitt. d. Vereins der klass. Philol. in Wien* 2, 1925, 14 sqq. H. v. Petrikovits, *Jahreshefte d. Österr. Archäol. Inst.* 28, 1933 Beibl. 151. — For the idol of Nehalennia cp. M. Ihm, *Roschers Lex.* 3, 79, fig. 3 (Th. Schreiber, *Die antiken Bildwerke d. Villa Ludovisi in Rom* 1880, 246, no. 303.) — Cp. also the Isis-Fortuna standing in a ship from Pompeii: E. Babelon, *Rev. num.* 1907, 23, fig. 13. Boyce, *Mem. of the Amer. Acad. in Rome* 14, 1937, pl. 20.

<sup>178</sup> A. Dieterich, *Abraxas*,<sup>2</sup> 104.

<sup>179</sup> J. Berreth, o. c. 53 sq. rightly stresses, that the mummery of the fifth of March were also a „Jahresanfangstreiben“. — For the particulars see M. P. Nilsson, o. c. 80 sqq. F. Schneider, o. c. 90, note 2 (where he thinks of relations to the cult of Isis), 125 sqq. (the continuation in Rome itself). Fr. Bünger, *Geschichte der Neujahrsfeier in der Kirche* 1910, 12 sqq. — C. Cecchelli, *Enc. Ital.* s. v. Roma. J. v. Schlosser, *Präludien* 1927, 13.

the ship-carriage of the carnival is derived from the ship-carriages of that festival. We repeat this, because, once established, it throws a fresh light on the much debated origin of the word carnival. „Wenn mich nich alles täuscht — wrote L. Lersch in 1846<sup>180</sup> — hat Hermann Müller richtig gesehen, wenn er (Nordisches Griechentum S. 334-338) in Carneval kein *carne vale*, sondern ein *car naval* oder *char naval*, ein Landschiff erkannte. Vermutlich ist daher das Isisschiff als Feier aus heidnisch-römischen Zeiten im deutschen Volke übrig geblieben und unsere Fastnachtsfeier keineswegs aus den Saturnalien, ... hervorgegangen.“ This view has often been repeated though in the last decades it has lost its vogue. C. Merlo<sup>181</sup>, who collected full materials for the names of Shrovetide, succeeded in proving, that in the Middle Ages the sense of the word was connected with the keeping of Lent. We must, however, ask, if the interpretation of the name in the Middle Ages really gave the original sense?! Is it not merely an attempt of the church, to tone down the pagan associations of the ancient festival? The *carrus navalis*, wich was — as we have seen — the true centre of the procession, is in favour of this view. The final judgement — of course — rests by the linguists.

Besides the carnival there are also other traces of Egyptian influence in the calendar of the Middle Ages, such as the observation of the so-called *die Aegyptiaci*<sup>182</sup>. The amalgamation of the rites of the *navigium Isidis* with the imperial cult is also no mere chance. The Roman monarchy in general assumed a Hellenistic aspect since Commodus and it becomes always clearer, that the worship of the Ptolemies and their court served as model in Rome<sup>183</sup>.

<sup>180</sup> L. Lersch, Bonner Jahrbücher 9, 1846, 115.

<sup>181</sup> C. Merlo, Wörter und Sachen 3, 1912, 88 sqq. Cp. L. Deubner, Jahrbuch d. Deutschen Arch. Inst. 42, 1927, 173 sq. — Meyer—Lübke preferred *carne vale* to *carne levare* (by Merlo, l. c. 92 note 3).

<sup>182</sup> Cp. A. Bouché—Leclerq, Astrologie grecque, 485. Boll—Bezold—Gundel, Stern Glaube,<sup>4</sup> 1931, 184, 186 (both references I owe to F. Cumont). Fr. Bünger, Geschichte der Neujahrsfeier in der Kirche (Diss. Jena 1910), 17.

<sup>183</sup> Cp. my remarks in: Hermes 65, 1930, 369 sqq. and Römische Mitteilungen 50, 1935, 68 sqq.



### III. A PRELIMINARY CATALOGUE OF THE FESTIVAL-COINS OF THE VOTA PUBLICA.

#### A) THE COINS WITH IMPERIAL BUSTS.

##### DIOCLETIANUS.

1. AE. II. — Obv.: IOVI DIOCLETIANO AVG Bare bust l., with the mantle of Jupiter on the left shoulder, and hanging from the right arm; with the sceptre in the r. hand, and wearing the radiate crown. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Neptune standing r. setting his l. foot on a prow and holding the trident and dolphin. Opposite to him Isis, standing l., with sistrum and sacred vessel in her hands. — Vatican, pl. I, 3.  
Gnecchi, I medaglioni rom. 3, 1912, 78 No. 40 = Pl. 158, 11.

2. AE. I. (Follis). — Obv.: D N DIOCLETIANO FELICISSIMO SEN AVG. Bust of the emperor with laurel wreath r., in triumphal costume, holding a branch and a roll. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis and Serapis in a ship, going r. Isis is standing by the prow, holding a bellying sail and looking back; Serapis is seated by the stern, holding the rope of a second sail. — Copenhagen, pl. I, 1.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 528. — The AE Med with a similar reverse, described by Banduri (Num. imp. Rom. 2, 1718, 15) and Eckhel (Doctr. numm. 8, 15) after Vaillant, seems to me of doubtful authenticity.

##### MAXIMIANUS HERCULIUS.

3. AE. I. (Follis). — Obv.: D N MAXIMIANO FELICISSIMO SEN AVG. Bust of Herculus, as Diocletian, No. 2. — Rs.: As No. 2. — Paris, pl. I, 2.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 667.

##### CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS.

4. AE. II. — Obv.: IMP CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Bust of Chlorus r. with cuirass, covered by *aegis*, and with a lance and a shield in his hands; on the head the radiate crown. — Rs.: As on No. 1. — Paris, pl. I, 4 = XII, 4.  
Gnecchi, I medaglioni rom. 3, 1912, 84 No. 12 = pl. 158, 30.

## GALERIUS MAXIMIANUS.

5. AE. II. — Obv.: VIRTVS MAXIMIANI AVG. Similar bust, as on no 4, but in the l. hand beside the shield are two arrows. — Rs.: As on no. 1. — Roma, Mus. naz. (coll. Gneccchi), pl. XII, 3 = XIX, 27.

Gnechi, I medaglioni rom. 3, 1912, 81 No. 34 = pl. 158, 24 (as Hercules.)

## LICINIUS.

6. AE. IV. — Obv.: IMP LICINIVS P F AVG. Bust with laurel-wreath, seen from back, with paludamentum. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis standing l., with the sistrum in raised right hand and with situla in left. The embroidered stripe on her robe is drawn from the left shoulder to the right elbow. — Copenhagen, pl. I, 17; Vatican.

7. AE. IV. — The same type with a different portrait; the goddess on the rev. has a shorter robe, which does not cover the ankles and is more plastically modelled. — Wien, pl. I, 20; Paris; Münzhandlung Basel, pl. XIX, 33.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 203.

## CONSTANTINE I.

8. AE. II. — Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG. Cuirassed bust with laurel-wreath r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis in a ship, standing r. and looking back the inflated sail of which she is holding with both hands; her mantle is blown up by the following wind. The type of the ship depends on the earlier representation pl. I, 1-2. — Vienna, pl. I, 6.

Cohen, —.

9. AE. III. Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS P F AVG. Bust r. with laurel-wreath and paludamentum on the cuirass. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis standing l. in a ship, looking back; she holds the bellying sail with both hands. The sail shows a design of horizontal strips, divided with vertical strips into small squares. The round tent of the helmsman is covered by a net of horizontal and vertical lines. The side of the ship is decorated with a row of dots and globules, under which a series of oars is visible, without the rowers. — Oxford, pl. I, 7; Berlin.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 721.

10. AE. III. — Obv.: As on no. 9, but the diameter of this denomination is smaller. — Rs.: A similar type to no. 9, but Isis does not turn back. — Vatican, pl. I, 13.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

11. AE. III. — Obv.: As no. 10. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis standing l., holding a branch (?) and caduceus. — Copenhagen, pl. I, 14.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 726 describes Anubis with *sistrum* and caduceus.

12. AE. IV. — Obv.: As no. 10. Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis standing l. in a ship with sistrum in raised right hand, and situla in left. The sail is tied on the cross-beam. Beneath the goddess there are four rowers. — Copenhagen, pl. I, 15.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 722.

13. AE. IV. — Obv.: As no. 11. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis sitting r. on the prow of a sailing ship, holding sistrum and wearing a long female robe. — Turin, pl. XIX, 18.

Museo numismatico Lavy 2, 1840, 386 no. 4911.

14. AE. IV. — Obv.: As no. 10. — Rs.: As no. 1=pl. I, 3-4. — Paris, pl. I, 16; Berlin, 2 pieces.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 719.

15. AE. IV. — Obv.: As no. 9-12. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis standing l. with sistrum and situla; the same type (and die), as the specimen of Licinius pl. I, 17. — Berlin, pl. I, 18; Vatican; Milano (once Gerin).

Cohen<sup>2</sup> 724 var.

16. AE. IV. — A slight variety of the last; there is a difference in the representation of Isis. — Vienna, pl. I, 19; Copenhagen.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 724 var.

17. AE. IV. — Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS PF AVG. Bust with paludamentum seen from the back, with laurel-wreath r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis with sistrum and situla standing l. — Parma, pl. XIX, 22.

18. AE. IV. — Obv.: CONSTAN-TINVS AVG. Head with laurel-wreath r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis standing with the sistrum and situla l., as before, but her long robe is differently arranged; its end hangs over her left arm. — Vatican, pl. I, 21.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

19. AE. IV. — Obv.: As no. 18. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA (sic!). Isis in the ship, in the same manner, as on no. 9=pl. I, 7. — Paris, pl. I, 22; Vienna; Copenhagen.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 720.

20. AE. IV. — Obv.: As no. 18. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Exactly similar to the last type with the *navigium Isidis*, but the goddess looks forward. — Oxford, pl. I, 23.

Cohen<sup>2</sup> 720 var.

21. AE. IV. — Obv.: Similar to no. 18. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis standing l. with palm-branch and caduceus (a type closely connected with pl. I, 31 and XIX, 25). — Private coll. (in Italy), pl. XIX, 26.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

22. AE. IV. — Obv.: CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG. Draped bust r. with the diadem in the form of a wreath of flowers and leaves. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis standing l., holding branch and caduceus. — Bologna, pl. I, 11.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

23. AE. III. — Obv.: IMP CONSTANTINVS PF AVG. Draped bust r., with laurel-wreath. — Rs. VOTA PVBLICA. Isis sitting in a ship, which is going r., holding sistrum (cp. pl. I, 9). — Rome (once Gneccchi) pl. XIX, 19.

Banduri, Num. imp. Rom. 2, 1718, 292 sq.=Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 723. (Cp. also Tanini, Num. imp. Rom. suppl. 1791, 275.)

24. AE. III. — Obv.: CONSTANTINVS MAX AVG. Draped bust r., with diadem. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis standing l., with sistrum and situla. Banduri, l. c. (knows two pieces). = Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 725.

## CRISPUS.

25. AE. III. Obv.: CRISPVS NOBIL CAES. Cuirassed bust with laurel-wreath r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. A ship, represented in the manner of pl. I, 1—2, with an additional projection on the bow for Isis, who is sitting there, with the sistrum in the hand. Before her three rowers, who do not hold the oars, which inorganically hang from the under-part of the ship. — Lawrence, pl. I, 9; Vatican; Vienna; Trau. (Sammlung Fr. Trau, Auktion Gilhofer u. Ranschburg-Hess 1935, pl. 46, 4005.) Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 187.

26. AE. III/IV. — Obv.: As no. 25. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis with sistrum and situla standing left. The embroidered decorative stripe on her robe is knotted on the breast and hangs from middle of her body. — Paris, pl. I, 10. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 186.

27. AE. IV. — Obv.: CRISPVS NOB CAES. Bust r. with laurel-wreath and paludamentum on the cuirass. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis with sistrum and situla, as on the type no. 16=pl. I, 21 of Constantine. — Vatican, pl. I, 24; Copenhagen pl. I, 25. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 185.

28. AE. IV. — Obv.: As no. 27. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA, with the *navigium Isidis*, as on no. 19=pl. I, 22 (Constantine). — Vienna, pl. I, 26. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

29. AE. IV. — Obv.: As no. 27. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis with branch and caduceus standing l. — Trau (Sammlung Fr. Trau, Auktion Gilhofer u. Ranschburg-Hess 1935, pl. 46, no. 4008.) Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 184.

30. AE. IV. — Obv.: As no. 27, but with another portrait-type. — Rs.: As no. 28.— London, pl. I, 27; Copenhagen, pl. I, 28; Vatican; Laffranchi. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

31. AE. IV. — Obv.: CRISPVS NOB CAES. Laureate bust r., with paludamentum on cuirass. The portrait shows a third type in addition to the types pl. I, 24—26 and pl. I, 27—29. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis clothed in *tunica* and *paludamentum*, standing l., with branch and caduceus in his hands. — Berlin, pl. I, 34. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 184.

32. AE. IV. — A variety of the former type, in which the portrait differs (see above, p. 13). — Vienna, pl. I, 36. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 184.

33. AE. IV. — Another variety with a fourth mode of portrait; the rs. comes from the same die, as no. 32. — Paris, pl. I, 37.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 184.

34. AE. IV. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 188 (after D'Ennery and Tanini): „CRISPVS NOB CAES. Son buste lauré et drapé à droite. — VOTA PVBLICA. Isis debout sur un vaisseau, tenant son voile et sa robe“.

I think, that this type is wrongly descibed and should actually correspond to the reverse of Constantine pl. I, 15.

#### CONSTANTINUS IUNIOR, AS CAESAR.

35. AE. IV. — Obv.: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB CAES. Laureate bust r. with paludamentum, seen from back. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Rome, pl. I, 12.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

36. AE. IV. — Obv.: CONSTANTINVS IVN NOB C. Laureate bust r. with paludamentum on cuirass. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis, as above, but holding a branch and caduceus. — Copenhagen, pl. I, 31; Parma, pl. XIX, 25 (with another portrait-type).  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 268.

37. AE. IV. — Obv.: The same type, with the cuirassed bust r. — Rs.: as above. — Milano (once Gerin).

O. Voetter, Katalog... Gerin, 1921, 243, no. 49.

38. AE. IV. Obv.: As above (with cuirass). — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis stading l. with branch and caduceus (the same rs. from Constantius II. as Caesar: pl. I, 33). — Private coll. in Italy, pl. XIX, 24.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup> 268 var.

39. AE. IV. — Obv.: As above, with cuirassed bust r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis with situla and sistrum standing l. — Turin, pl. XIX, 23.  
Museo numismatico Lavy 2, 1840, no. 5022.

40. AE. IV. — Obv.: As no. 36 (same die). — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis with sistrum and situla standing left, closely connected in type with the types of Constantine and Crispus pl. I, 21. 24. 25. — Lawrence, pl. I, 30.  
Cp. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 267. Isis descibed as holding the sistrum and „un disque“, after the specimen of Torino no. 39. — Katal. Niklovits (L. Hamburger, 1925), pl. 66, no. 1887.

41. AE. IV. — Obv.: As no. 36. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA (sic!). The *navigium* *Isidis*, from the same die, as the quinarius of Constantine, pl. I, 22. — Paris, pl. I, 38.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 266, not correctly described.

42. AE. IV. — The same, but with cuirassed bust; on the rs. only the letters VOTA PV are legible. — Laffranchi, pl. I, 39.  
Cp. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 266.

## CONSTANS.

43. AE. IV. — H. Tanini, Numm. Imp. Suppl., 1791, 295: „D N CONSTANS P F AVG. Caput . . . margaritis ornatum sinistrorsum (=right!), humeris paludatis.“ — VOTA PVBLICA. Isis stans in triremi malo et velo instructa.”  
(=Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 195.)

44. AE. IV. — Obv.: [D N CONSTAN]-S P F AVG. Draped bust r. with diadem of leaves and flowers. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis with branch and caduceus; on the branch, blossoms. — Berlin, pl. II, 1.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

## CONSTANTIUS II. (CAESAR AND AUGUSTUS.)

45. AE. IV. — Obv.: FL IVL CONSTANTIVS NOB C. Laureate and cuirassed bust r. — VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis with branch and caduceus, standing l. — Vienna, pl. I, 33.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

46. AE. IV. — Obv.: FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB C. Laureate bust r. with paludamentum on cuirass, seen from back. — Rs.: Anubis with branch and caduceus standing l. — Vienna, pl. I, 40; Budapest; Milano (once Gerin), pl. XIX, 34.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 332, after a specimen of Rollin.

47. AE. IV. — Obv.: FL VAL CONSTANTIVS NOB. C. Laureate bust l., with paludamentum on cuirass. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis stands l. holding branch and caduceus. — London, pl. I, 41.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

48. AE. IV. — Obv.: The same die, as no. 47. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis in the ship standing l. and looking back; she holds the sail in both hands. (A slight variety of the rs.-type pl. I, 22. 26—28. 38—39.) — Budapest, pl. I, 42.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

49. AE. III/IV. — Obv.: D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Bust with diadem of pearls and paludamentum on cuirass r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis in ship standing l. and looking back, holding the sail in both hands. — Berlin, pl. II, 2.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

50. Obv.: DN CONSTANTIVS PF AVG. Bust with cuirass and diadem r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis in ship standing l., holding in both hands the sail. — Rome, pl. XIX, 37.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

51. AE. IV. — Obv.: [D N FL] CONSTANTIVS AVG. Bust with the consular mantle and the diadem of leaves and flowers holding sceptre in right hand. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis in the ship l., holding the sail in both hands. — Vatican, pl. II, 7.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

52. AE. IV. — Obv.: D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Bust r. with cuirass and the pearl-diadem, holding sceptre. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis in a ship r., looking back and holding the sail. — Rome, pl. II, 8=pl. XII, 8; Vienna, pl. II, 9. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

53. AE. IV. — Obv.: As above. — Rs. VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Torino, pl. XIX, 35; private coll. (Italy), pl. XIX, 36. Museo numismatico Lavy 2, 1840, no. 5092.

54. AE. IV. — Obv.: D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Bust r. with pearl-diadem and with paludamentum on cuirass. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis standing l. with sistrum and caduceus. — Vienna, pl. II, 5. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

55. AE. IV. — Obv.: above, but the whole piece is larger, and the portrait of a different kind. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis standing left with caduceus and palm-branch. — Laffranchi, pl. II, 6. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

56. AE. IV. — Obv.: D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Bust of the emperor in the consular toga (i. e., the old triumphal dress), with the pearl-diadem; holding in right hand the *scipio* and in left another object (a branch?). — Rs.: Without a legend. Isis standing in the *thensa*, drawn by two mules, l. and holding sistrum. — London, pl. II, 4; Bologna, pl. XII, 27. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 348, erroneously described.

57. AE. IV. — Obv.: D N CONSTANTIVS P F AVG. Bust r. with pearl-diadem and paludamentum. — The same reverse, as above. — Vienna, pl. II, 3. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

#### CONSTANTIUS GALLUS.

58. AE. III/IV. — Obv.: D N FL CL CONST[ANTIVS NOB CAES]. Draped bust r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis standing in ship r., looking back. — Copenhagen, pl. II, 10. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 51; the obverse wrongly described.

59. AE. IV. — Obv.: D N FL CL CONSTANTIVS NOB CAES. Draped bust r. — Rs.: The god of the Nile lying l. on the ground, with reeds in his hair, holding a relatively big ship on his right hand and leaning his l. elbow on his urn. The rs. demonstrates the use of the dies, engraved for the issue of Magnentius (cp. pl. II, 11). Milano (once Gerin), pl. XIX, 38.

H. Tanini, Numm. Imp. Rom. Suppl., 1791, 316 = Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 52. — O. Voetter, Katalog... Gerin, 1921, 253, no. 10.

#### MAGNENTIUS.

60. AE. IV. — H. Tanini, o. c. 312: „CAE MAGNENTIVS AVG. Caput Magnentii nudum, sinistrorsum (=to right!) humeris paludatis, absque litteris in area. — VOTA PVBLICA. Isis stans in navi velum tenet“. — Coll. Boncompagni. (=Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 84.)

61. AE. IV. Obv.: [IMP] CAE MAGNENTIVS P F AVG. Draped bust r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. The god of the Nile lying l., with reeds in his hair, holding a ship on his right hand and leaning his l. elbow on his urn. — Bologna, pl. II, 11=pl. XII, 10.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

### IULIANUS APOSTATA.

a) As Caesar.

62. AE. A. Banduri, Num. Imp. Rom. 2, 1718, 434: „D N IULIANVS NOB CAES. Caput nudum, ad pectus cum paludamento; a dextris in area N. — ISIS FARIA; Caput . . . corona ex gemmis cinctum, ad pectus cum paludamento“. If this specimen were genuine, it would be an important document for the issue of anonymous series between 355—360 a. D., because it would be a hybrid, combining an Isis-obverse with the bust of Julian. But as the general evidence is against this view (s. above, p. 16), I must regard this piece as a forgery, or the description as unreliable.

b) As Augustus.

63. Ar. Med. — Obv.: D N [FL CL IULIANVS P F] AVG. Diademed and cuirassed bust of Julianus l., holding in r. hand globe with a little Victoria on it; in the left a shield, with the representation of the suckling twins with the shewolf. — Rs.: VOTA [PVBL] ICA. Anubis holding sistrum (or palm-branch) and caduceus standing in front view, looking l. — Once in the coll. of the Prince Waldeck. Münzhandlung Basel, Vente publique no. 3, 1935, pl. 51, 1012.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, no. 116 and Fr. Gnecci, I medaglioni 1, p. 73, no. 13 have (after Tanini) wrongly described the legend of the obv.; the exact restoration is shown by the identical obverses in bronze (cp. below).

64. AE. II. — Obv.: D N FL CL IULIANVS P F AVG. Bearded bust r. with the pearl-diadem and paludamentum on cuirass. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis suckling Horus; she is seated on a throne with high back. — Copenhagen, pl. II, 21; Paris; Vatican.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 91.

65. AE. II. — The same type, but Isis on the rs. is represented without the head-gear of the former piece.—Münzhandlung Basel, pl. II, 22.

This variety possibly depends on an alteration of the modern engraver, who retouched the coin.

66. AE. II. — Obv.: As before. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis sitting with sistrum and sceptre on the back of the dog Sothis, who is running r. and turns his head back. — Vienna pl. II, 20.; Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Mus.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 99.

67. AE. II. — Obv.: The same, as before. — Rs. VOTA PVBLICA. Isis and Nephthis standing one facing another. They wear the head-gear with the Uraeus-snake. In their symmetrically raised arm they hold an object, resembling a snake; in the other hand, also symmetrically held, they have a knife (?). Under their raised arms is on



each hand visible a wing, which must belong to themselves, in spite of the fact that the lowered wings are erroneously rendered. — Copenhagen, pl. II, 23.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 129, wrongly described.

68. AE. II. — Obv.: D N FL CL IVLIANVS P F AVG. Cuirassed bust l. with the pearl-diadem, holding in left hand globe, on which stands a little Victory; his left shoulder is covered by his shield, on which the she-wolf with the twins. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis and Serapis with bodies — though their upper part is clothed — ending in snakes, facing one another. They mutually support a sacred vase, from which emerges a serpent. — Trau, pl. II, 19; Vienna.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 114.

69. AE. II. — Obv.: As above. — Rs. Isis standing in front view, looking r. and holding branch in her upraised right hand, a little disc (?) in left. — Oxford, pl. II, 16.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

70. AE. II. — The same obverse. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis suckling Horus, as on no. 52. — Vienna, pl. II, 18.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

71. AE. II. — The same obverse. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Two naked deities in front view, both emerging from a calyx of lotus, holding in their inner arms a snake each; in the other (raised) arm they hold a short object. Between them in the field a sacred vessel with the uraeus-snake. — Rome, pl. XII, 5=XIX, 28.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

72. AE. II. — The same obverse. — Rs.: Without a legend. Isis in front view in a carriage, drawn by two sphinxes, with sistrum and a little disc (?) in her hands. Beneath the goddess stands Horus, his right forefinger on his mouth, and cornucopiae (?) in the left arm. Before the carriage the Sothis-dog, turning his face to Isis; round his head a radiate disc. Below, the waves of the sea. — Münzhandlung Basel, pl. II, 17; Firenze; Vatican.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 168. — The casts of all these pieces show the peculiarity, that the eyebrow is not marked by a hollow circle, but is represented in relief. — This is in contrast to the methods of the die-sinkers of this period. But even, if these specimens are suspect, the type must be held authentic.

73. AE. IV. — Obv.: FL CL IVLIANVS P F AVG. His bust to l., with cuirass, helmet and shield, seen from back; on the helmet the pearl-diadem. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis with sistrum and situla standing l. — Bologna, pl. II, 13=XII, 11.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

74. AE. IV. — The same obverse. — Rs. VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus advancing l. — Copenhagen, pl. II, 14.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

<sup>1</sup> These attributes seem to be misunderstood; there also lacks the object or person, protected by the two goddesses.

75. AE. IV. — The same obverse. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis with sistrum standing in her *thensa* drawn by two mules, going l. — Coll. Tanini. Tanini, o. c. p. 320=Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 105.
76. AE. IV. — A similar piece, but with Anubis, accompanying the carriage (cp. for the type the rs. of Jovian, pl. II, 28). — Coll. Tanini. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 106, after Tanini, l. c.
77. AE. IV. — Obv.: FL CL IVLIANVS P F AVG. His bearded bust with pearl-diadem and paludamentum on cuirass r. — VOTA PVBLICA. Isis in her *thensa*, drawn by two mules, driving l. — Berlin pl. II, 12. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.
78. AE. IV. — Obv.: D N IVLIANVS P F AVG. „Caput . . . diadematum, humeris paludatis.“ — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. „Isis in navi ad velum.“ — Tanini after the written catalogue of the count Verità of Verona. Tanini, o. c. p. 321=Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 112.

## JOVIANUS.

79. AE. II. — Obv.: D N IOVIANVS P F AVG COS. Bust of the emperor in consular dress, with the *scipio* and the *globus* in his hands and the pearl-diadem on his head. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis suckling the Horus-child. From the same die, as the bronze of Julian pl. II, 21. — Vatican, pl. II, 33; Rome, pl. XII, 6. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 24.
80. AE. II. — The same obverse. — Rs. VOTA PVBLICA. Isis and Osiris, clothed, but with snake-feet, facing one another and holding the sacred vessel, out of which emerges a snake. (Apparently from the same die, as the piece of Julian pl. II, 19.) — Vatican, pl. II, 34. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 25.
81. AE. II. — Obv.: D N IOVIANVS [P F] AVG. Draped bust r. with the pearl-diadem. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis and Nephthis as above no. 67. — Leningrad, pl. II, 35. (The letters retouched on both sides.) Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.
82. AE. II. — Obv.: D N IOVIANVS P F AVG. Diademed bust with paludamentum r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis with sceptre and sistrum sitting on the back of the Sothis-dog, looking r.; the dog is running r., turning his head back. Milano (once Gerin), pl. XIX, 30. O. Voetter, Katalog der Sammlung . . . P. Gerin, 1921, 255, no. 4.
83. AE. IV. — Obv. D N IOVIANVS P F AVG. Diademed bust with paludamentum r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis sitting on a throne in front view, suckling the Horus-child. — Paris, pl. II, 24. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

84. AE. IV. — The same obverse. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis in her *thensa*, going l., and holding sistrum; her carriage is drawn by two mules. — Vatican, pl. II, 25; Vienna, pl. II, 26; Naples, pl. II, 27; Catal. 211 of A. Hess (Coll. F. A. Walters and P. H. Webb), 1932, pl. 29, no. 2703.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 26.

85. AE. IV. — A similar type, but Anubis accompanies the *thensa* of Isis, looking back and holding a branch. — Vatican, pl. II, 28.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 27.

86. AE. IV. — The same obverse. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis standing l., with sistrum and caduceus. — Vatican, pl. II, 29; London; Milano (once Gerin), pl. XIX, 39.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 29.

87. AE. IV. — The same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis in ship, sailing r., looking back and holding the top of the sail. — Vatican, pl. II, 30; Berlin, pl. II, 31; Parma (similar to the Vatican specimen); Milano (once Gerin), pl. XIX, 40; Lawrence; Laffranchi; Auktion Weber (Hirsch, 1909), No. 2716.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 28.

88. AE. IV. — The same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Harpocrates standing l., setting his right forefinger to the mouth and holding on his left arm a *cornucopiae*. — Vatican, pl. II, 32.

Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 30.

#### VALENTINIANUS I.

89. AE. II. — Obv.: D N VALENTINIANVS P F AVG. Draped and diademed bust r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis sitting in front view, suckling the Horus-child. A. Banduri, o. c. 2, p. 462. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

90. AE. II/III. — Obv.: D N VALENTINIANVS P F AVG. Draped and diademed bust r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis sitting on the Sothis-dog, who is running r. and looks back; Isis holds sistrum and sceptre. — Paris, pl. III, 1 = pl. XII, 16. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 62. A. Banduri, o. c. 2, 455, delineated.

91. AE. III. — Obv.: D N VALENTINIANVS P F AVG. Cuirassed and diademed bust r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis standing in front view and looking right, with sistrum and situla. — Trau, pl. III, 2 = Napoli, pl. III, 3; Leningrad, pl. III, 7. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

92. AE. III. — Obv.: As above. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis suckling Horus. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 61 after Mionnet.

93. AE. IV. — Obv.: As above. Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Harpocrates standing l., setting right forefinger on his mouth, and holding a *cornucopiae* in his left hand. — Vatican, pl. III, 16. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 63.

94. AE. IV. — The same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis standing l. with sistrum and caduceus. — London, pl. III, 9; Vienna, pl. III, 8.

95. AE. IV. — The same type, with another form of the caduceus of Anubis. — Trau, pl. III, 10.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.
96. AE. IV. — The same obverse. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. The god of the Nile, holding on his right palm a ship and leaning with his right elbow on his urn. — Trau, pl. III, 11; Vienna.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.
97. AE. IV. — Exactly similar type, but the figure of the Nile holds in his r. hand a reed. — London, pl. III, 12.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.
98. AE. IV. — The same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis l., with sistrum and situla. — Vatican, pl. III, 12.  
Tanini, o. c., p. 329. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.
99. AE. IV. — The same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis standing in front view and looking r., holding sistrum and a dish; cp. pl. II, 16. — Laffranchi, pl. III, 15.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.
100. AE. III/IV. — The same obv. — VOTA PVBLICA. Harpocrates, as above. — Parma, pl. XIX, 41.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 63, var.

## VALENS.

101. AE. II. — Obv.: D N VALENS P F AVG. Paludate and diademed bust r. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. „Isis cani insidens.“  
Tanini, o. c., p. 332, after D'Ennery = Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 76.
102. AE. II. — The same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis standing in front view and looking l., holding sistrum and a dish of fruits. — Copenhagen, pl. XIX, 31.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 77.
- 102a. AE. II. D N VALENS P F AVG. Cuirassed and diademed bust r. — Rs.: As no. 103. — Trau, pl. III, 6.
103. AE. IV. — Same obv., as before. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis sitting front, looking r., suckling the Horus-child. — Paris, pl. III, 21.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 78.
104. AE. IV. — Same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis standing l., with sistrum and caduceus (?). — Vienna, pl. III, 20.  
Cp. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 79.
105. AE. IV. — Same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Harpocrates standing l., setting his r. forefinger on his mouth and holding *cornucopiae*. — Oxford, pl. III, 17.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 80.
106. AE. IV. — The same type with another kind of portrait. — Vatican, pl. III, 18.
107. AE. IV. — The same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. The god of the Nile lying on the ground, holding a ship on his right hand and leaning his left arm on his urn. — Vatican, pl. III, 19; Berlin; Milano (once Gerin), pl. XX, 27.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 81.

108. AE. IV. — The same type, but the Nile holds in the l. hand a stalk of reed-grass. — Berlin, pl. III, 22.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

### GRATIANUS.

109. AE. III/IV. — Obv.: D N GRATIANVS P F AVG. Bust r. with pearl-diadem and paludamentum. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis standing front, looking r., with sistrum and situla. — Vatican, pl. III, 28; Oxford, pl. III, 29.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 58.

110. AE. IV. — The same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Oxford, pl. III, 26.  
Cp. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 60; his no. 61, described after Banduri, o. c. 2, p. 483 seems to be the same type, only misinterpreted.

111. AE. IV. — The same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis in her *thensa*, drawn by two mules, going l., holding the sistrum. — Vatican, pl. III, 27.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 59.

### VALENTINIANVS II.

112. AE. IV. — Obv.: D N VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG. Bust of the young emperor (cp. pl. III, 23) with diadem, and paludamentum on cuirass. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Isis sitting front, looking r., suckling the Horus-child. — Vienna, pl. III, 24; Trau, pl. III, 25.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

113. AE. IV. — The same obv. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Rollin.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 64.

## B) THE ANONYMOUS COINAGE.

### I. Bust of Sarapis to right.

#### a) The smallest denomination (AE. IV.).

I. GROUP: Obv.: VOTA PVBLICA. Bearded bust r., with a wreath of curls round the face; the hair is undulating on the back of the head also. Serapis wears a *tunica* and above it a mantle, with a large folded stripe (*contabulatio*) on the right shoulder. Pl. III, 30. 32. — I know the following reverses, connected with this bust:

114. Isis in *thensa* going l. — Paris, pl. III, 30.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 104.

115. Isis with sistrum and situla standing l. — Copenhagen, pl. III, 32.  
Cohen<sup>2</sup>, —.

- II. GROUP: Obv.: VOTA PVBLICA. Similar bust, but the the hair is more curly on the back of the head, exactly as on the larger piece, pl. VII, 36, which comes from the same engraver. — Reverses, connected with this bust:
116. The god of the Nile lying l., leaning on his urn, holding a ship and a reed-stalk. — Milano (once Gerin), pl. XX, 41 = Sammlung E. F. Weber (Auktion Hirsch, 1909), pl. IL, 2708.
- III. GROUP: Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. A similar bust to that above described, but the hair is rendered only with short straight lines and around the face is a padded roll. The profile is characterised by the aquiline nose. — Reverses:
117. Isis with sistrum and situla standing in front view, looking l. — Paris, pl. III, 31. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 92, with a defective drawing.
118. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Trau, pl. III, 33.
- IV. GROUP: Obv.: DEO SER-APIDI. A similar bust with a more accentuated beard; the locks of hair fall on his neck. — Reverses:
119. Anubis standing l. with sistrum and caduceus. — Oxford, pl. III, 34.
- V. GROUP: Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. A similar bust, to the last. — Reverses:
120. Harpocrates standing l., with his r. forefinger on his mouth, holding a cornucopiae. (The die connected with pl. IV. 30). — Trau, pl. III, 35.
- VI. GROUP: Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. A similar bust, with a more idealized profile. — Reverses:
121. The Nile-god with ship and reed-stalk in the hands, leaning on his urn. — Paris, pl. III, 36. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 121.
- VII. GROUP: DEO SA-RAPIDI with the same bust. — Reverses:
122. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Copenhagen, pl. III, 37; Paris, pl. III, 38; Oxford; Glasgow; Milano (once Gerin); Münzhandlung Basel; Slg. Niklovits (Versteigerung L. Hamburger, 19. X. 1925), pl. 67, no. 1941. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 120.
123. The same type, but Anubis seems to hold a branch with blossoms, and not the sistrum in the r. hand. — Paris, pl. III, 39.
- VIII. GROUP: VOTA P-VBLICA on the obv., with the bearded bust r. Characteristic are the straight long nose, narrow cheeks, the curled locks of hair round the face and the long, curling lock on the neck; also the pointed beard. — Reverses:
124. Isis suckling the Horus-child. — Vatican, pl. III, 40.
125. The Nile-god, as above. — Oxford, pl. III, 41.
- IX. GROUP. — A similar obv., but the nose is shorter, the beard not pointed, and no lock on the neck. — Reverses:
126. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus (?), standing l. — Copenhagen, pl. III, 42. Cp. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 122.
127. The same rev., but the sistrum of Anubis is smaller. — Coll. Kállay, pl. III, 43. (This specimen is found in Szöny-Brigetio).

128. Isis in a ship going l.; she holds the sail and looks back. — Vatican, pl. III, 44.
- X. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. A kindred bust, but the hair is more roughly rendered with short lines; the beard is small and the locks round the face only slight. — Reverses:
129. Harpocrates, as above. — Berlin, pl. III, 45.
- XI. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. Bust of Serapis with a round face and short hair, drawn with little strokes; the beard is also short. — Reverses:
130. Harpocrates, as above. — Vatican, pl. III, 46.
131. Sphinx, sitting on its hind legs, the r. forefoot raised. — Trau, pl. III, 47.
- XII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. The bust of Sarapis r., with a small head; the locks of hair around the face fall vertically down. — Reverses with varieties of this head-type:
132. Isis in ship r., looking back. — Vatican, pl. III, 48.
133. Sphinx r., as above. — Gotha, pl. III, 49.
134. Anubis, l. standing, with sistrum and caduceus. — Lawrence, pl. III, 50.
- XIII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Bust of S. r., with a round, almost childish face; the hair represented only by oblique dots. — Reverses:
135. Anubis standing l. with palm-branch and caduceus. — Vatican, pl. III, 52.
- XIV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. A similar bust, clothed with a mantle, like a *paludamentum*. — Reverses:
136. Sphinx r., as above. — Lawrence, pl. III, 51.
- XV. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. A similar bust, with a slight beard; the mantle not assimilated to the imperial dress. — Reverses:
137. Serapis standing in front view, looking l., raising right hand and holding globe in the left. — Basel, pl. III, 53.
- XVI. GROUP. — Obv.: Exactly similar, but the bust larger. — Reverses:
138. Harpocrates, as above. — Bologna, pl. III, 54.
- XVII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO S-ERAPI (sic!). Bust of Serapis r., with a smooth face, closely akin to the Sol-Serapis, pl. VI, 39, with the same protruding nose and receding chin; characteristic too are the two locks that lie horizontally on the neck (cp. pl. VI, 1-11.). — Rs.:
139. Harpocrates, as above. — Basel, pl. III, 55.
- XVIII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. Bearded bust of S. r., closely connected with the heads of the larger pieces, pl. IV, 10-12. Characteristic are the wreath of locks around the head and the beard, which has two rows. — The mantle of S. has on the l. shoulder two embroidered stripes. — Rs.:
140. Harpocrates, as above. — Vatican, pl. IV, 13.
- XIX. GROUP. — Obv.: A variety of the former. — Rs.:
141. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus, standing l. — Vatican, pl. IV, 14; Glasgow.
142. Isis in ship, going r. — Laffranchi, pl. IV, 15.

143. Harpocrates standing l. — Paris, pl. IV, 16; private coll. in Italy, pl. XX, 34. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 120.

XX. GROUP. — Obv.: The legend is erroneously retrograde: DEO SE (or SA)-RAPIDI. The bust with the small beard closely akin to the Sol-Serapis, pl. VI, 34. The god is represented with the imperial paludamentum. — Rs.:

144. The legend erroneously retrograde here also. Anubis standing l. with palm-branch and caduceus. — Vienna, pl. VI, 35. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 123.

XXI. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. A comparatively large head, with a curly beard. The hair on the back of the head is shown by horizontal lines; the folds of the *tunica* and the broad stripe on the right shoulder well marked. — Rs.:

145. Isis sitting in front view, suckling the Horus-child. — Berlin, pl. VI, 37.

XXII. GROUP. — Serapis is represented with a full face; the beard rendered by dots, as also are the locks round the face. Legend: DEO SA-RAPIDI. — Rs.:

146. Serapis standing in front view, looking l., raising right hand and holding globe in l. — Vatican, pl. VI, 38.

XXIII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. This small face of S. has only a little beard; the hair is drawn with almost horizontal lines, with a long lock falling on the neck. — Rs.:

147. Harpocrates, as above. — Berlin, pl. VI, 40.

The following few varieties are a little larger, than those hitherto listed.

XXIV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Bearded bust r., cp. pl. IV, 17. — Reverses:

148. Sphinx r. — Berlin, pl. IV, 17.

XXV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. Bust with beardless face, inspired by the types of Sol-Serapis, pl. VI, 1-7, 10-11. The clothing assimilated to the imperial paludamentum. — Rs.:

149. Harpocrates, as above. — Oxford, pl. VI, 8.

150. Isis as mummy, advancing l., holding sceptre and laying raised left arm on breast. — Oxford, pl. VI, 9.

b) The larger denomination (AE. III.) with the bust of Serapis r.

I. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Bust of Serapis (as always, with the modius on the head) r. A purely classical type, with a copious mass of hair, compact beard and moustache. — Rs.:

151. Isis in ship r. — Oxford, pl. IV, 6; Vienna; Paris; Lawrence. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 109.

152. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Berlin, pl. IV, 7.

II. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. The hair is drawn with short horizontal lines; round the face a small stripe of hair, combed back. The clothes imitate the drapery of the paludamentum. — Rs.:



153. Isis riding on the Sothis-dog, which is running r. and looks back; the goddess holds sistrum and sceptre. — Oxford, pl. IV, 9.

III. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. A similar bust. On the r. shoulder are two embroidered stripes of the mantle, which leave the tunic open on the breast. The modius represented only in outline. — Rs.:

154. Isis suckling Horus. — London, pl. IV, 10.

155. Isis in ship r., holding the sail, looking back. — Vatican, pl. IV, 12.

156. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Rome, pl. IV, 11.

IV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SER-APIDI. A similar bust, with a round face, without a moustache; the mantle assimilated to the paludamentum. — Rs.:

157. Serapis standing front, looking l., raising r. hand and holding globe. — Vatican, pl. IV, 18; Glasgow.

V. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. Another type of bust, characterised by the hanging locks of the beard and the curious form of the modius. Rs.:

158. Isis in a *thensa*, drawn by two mules, holding sistrum, going l. Berlin, pl. IV, 19; Paris; Vatican; Vienna; Trau, pl. IV, 20. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 102.

159. Isis in ship r., holding the sail and looking back. — Oxford, pl. IV, 21; Gotha; Glasgow.

VI. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. The bust is characterised by richer, wavy hair, shorter beard and square modius; the moustache is represented by little vertical dots. — Rs.:

160. Isis on the Sothis-dog, as above. — London, pl. IV, 22; Vatican; Rome.

VII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SER-APIDI. A very portrait-like bust. The beard does not appear, the hair is slightly curly, falling on the neck. The tunic has an embroidered horizontal stripe as bordering. — Rs.:

161. Isis suckling Horus. — Oxford, pl. IV, 23; Berlin, pl. IV, 24; Trau; Vatican.

VIII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SER-APIDI. The bust has some special features: e. g. the large roll of hair, combed back from the face, the pointed beard, with its curved locks, the little, triangular modius, etc. — Rs.:

162. Isis in ship r., holding the sail and looking back. — Gotha, pl. IV, 25.

163. Isis with sistrum and situla l. — Vienna, pl. IV, 26.

164. Sol-Serapis standing front, raising right hand and holding globe in left. — Oxford, pl. IV, 27.

165. Anubis standing left with sistrum and caduceus. — Bologna, pl. IV, 28; Berlin.

IX. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. A somewhat similar profile to pl. IV, 23—24; the beard is divided in hanging locks, as on pl. IV, 19—21. — Rs.:

166. Isis on the Sothis-dog, as above. — Coll. Vierordt (Auction Schulman, Amsterdam, 1923) pl. 62, no. 2811.

X. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Bust of Isis (sic!) r. with the lotus-shaped ornament on the head, and a necklace. — Rs.:

167. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus, standing left. — Copenhagen, pl. IX, 7; Paris; Glasgow.

168. Isis in ship r., holding the sail. — Turin (Museo num. Lavy 2, 1840, no. 5169), pl. XX, 8.

## II. Bust of Serapis to left.

a) The smallest denomination. (AE. IV.)

I. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. Bust with a thick beard. — Rs.:

169. Sphinx r. — Copenhagen, pl. X, 37; Paris; Vienna. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 135.

170. Harpocrates, as above. — Vatican, pl. X, 38; Trau.

II. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE (or SA) -RAPIDI. Bust with a dishevelled beard and a pad of hair around the face. — Rs.:

171. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus l. — Hollschek, pl. XII, 12.

b) The larger denomination. (AE. III.)

I. GROUP. — Obv.: The legend starts from the modius: DEO SEP-APIDI (sic!).  
A rather portrait-like head-type. — Rs.:

172. Isis on the Sothis-dog. — Rome, pl. X, 33.

173. Isis with sistrum and situla going l. — Trau, pl. X, 34; Milano (once Gerin).

## III. Bust of Serapis in front view.

a) The smallest denomination (AE. IV.).

I. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA PVBLICA. A small head, with a rather pointed beard, apparently dependent (*in ultima analysi*) on similar heads in front view (without a beard) of Constantius II., cp. pl. VII, 8 (Paris). — Rs.:

174. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Vienna, pl. VII, 12; Milano (once Gerin), pl. XX, 32.

175. Isis in ship going r., holding the sail. — Oxford, pl. VII, 13; Copenhagen.

II. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. A classical type of head, with long hair, square face, executed on good old models. — Rs.:

176. The god of the Nile lying l. and holding a little ship on the r. hand, a reed-stalk in the l.; he leans on his urn. — Lawrence, pl. VII, 14; Trau, pl. VII, 15; Vatican.

## IV. Bust of Serapis with raised right hand.

I only know pieces of the larger denomination (AE. II/III.)

I. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. The dress of the god is completely assimilated to the imperial costume. He wears the paludamentum, held together by the round brooch on the right shoulder. The richly embroidered *tunica manicata* shows the round shoulder-piece, as do coins of the mint of Rome some decades earlier, under the sons of Constantine (cp. pl. XX, 5-6). — Rs.:

177. Anubis standing l. with sistrum and caduceus. — Copenhagen, pl. VIII, 36; Paris; Vatican. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 117.

II. GROUP. — Obv.: The gesture of the hand seems to prove, that there was a ship in the right hand on the original model, but this was not understood by the engravers.  
DEO SA-RAPIDI. — Rs.:

178. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus, standing l. — Trau, pl. IV, 8.

179. Isis and Nephthis as above. — Rome, pl. VIII, 35.

V. Radiate bust of Sol-Serapis to right.

a) The smaller denomination (AE. IV.)

I. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SER-APIDI. Beardless bust, with the dishevelled hair-locks of the Sun-god. — Rs.:

180. The Nile lying l. on the ground. He holds on his raised right hand a ship and leans with his left arm on his urn; in his hair are reed-leaves. — Oxford, pl. VI, 2; Vatican.

II. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. A closely similar bust to the non-radiate type pl. VI, 8—9, — beardless also. — Rs.:

181. Harpocrates, as above. — Paris, pl. VI, 3. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 87.

III. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SER-APIDI. A slight variety of the former. — Rs.:

182. Harpocrates, as above. — Copenhagen, pl. VI, 4.

IV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. A variety with smaller head; the long curved lock, falling on the neck, is a particular feature of this bust-type. — Rs.:

183. Isis with sistrum and situla l. — Vatican, pl. VI, 5.

V. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. A similar bust, with differences in the treatment of the hair and in the representation of the rays. — Rs.:

184. Harpocrates, as above. — Vatican, pl. VI, 6; Münzhandlung Basel, pl. V, 33.

185. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Bologna, pl. VI, 7.

VI. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Lengthy head with a small beard. — Rs.:

186. Harpocrates, as above. — Leningrad, pl. VI, 21.

187. Isis with sistrum and situla standing. — Paris, pl. VI, 33. — Cohen<sup>2</sup> 93.

VII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO S[E]R- (or: S[A]R)-APIDI. Bearded bust; the dress only roughly indicated by vertical lines. — Rs.:

188. A sea-monster, with the upper-body of a bull and a fish-tail, moving r.; on its back is Cupid with a whip. Below, a dolphin. — Oxford, pl. VI, 36.

VIII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO S-ERAPI (sic!). A beardless face, with protruding nose, wearing a paludamentum. — Rs.:

189. A participator in the Isis-procession, the upper-body apparently naked, standing in front view and holding two burning torches. London, pl. VI, 39.

IX. GROUP. Small head; beard in cheek, shown in horizontal lines. — Rs.:

190. Sphinx r., as above. — Paris, pl. VI, 34; Oxford, pl. V, 31; Milano (once Gerin). — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 136.

- X. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Bearded bust, with roughly marked drapery. — Rs.:
191. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus r. — Oxford, pl. V, 25.
- XI. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. Bearded bust with strands of beard hanging vertically and a roughly sketched mantle, drawn with vertical lines. — Rs.:
192. Isis in front view, looking r. and raising both hands; in the right a sistrum? — Vienna, pl. V, 26.
193. Anubis standing l. with sistrum and caduceus. — Gotha, pl. V, 27.
194. The Nile-god lying l. on the ground. — Vatican, pl. V, 30; Rome, pl. XII, 13.
- XII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. A bearded type, closely akin to the larger pieces pl. V, 7—8. The tunic is marked with horizontal lines. — Rs.:
195. Anubis standing l. with palm-branch and caduceus. — Oxford, pl. V, 28; Vatican, pl. V, 29.
- XIII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. Short beard, but large head. — Rs.:
- 195/a. Isis standing l., holding in r. sistrum, in l. hand another object. — Laffranchi, pl. V, 32.
- XIV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. The modius on the head of the god is very small, his beard also. — Rs.:
196. Harpocrates, as above. — Gotha, pl. V, 34; Rome; London; Paris; Trau. The following type is larger, than the former, but smaller, than the following:
- XV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. The god has a curved nose and a long beard. — Rs.:
197. Sphinx, as above. — Vatican, pl. V, 35.
198. Harpocrates, as above. — Private coll. in Italy, pl. XX, 15.
- XVI. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. The god has a square face, surrounded by a crown of locks of hair and a beard. — Rs.:
199. VOTA PVBL-ICA. Isis in ship going r., looking back. — Dresden, pl. XX, 17.

b) The larger denomination (AE. III.).

- I. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Beardless type, with fluttering locks of hair on the neck. — Rs.:
200. Isis as goddess of the sea, lying on the ground, leaning on an urn, out of which flows water in abundant waves. The upper-part of her body is naked, her hair is decked with reeds. She holds in both hands a large *cornucopiae*, — typical for the art of these times (cp. the silver dish of Parabiago, the *missorium* of Madrid, etc.). — Paris, pl. VI, 10; Oxford, pl. VI, 11. Cp. the piece of the British Museum, pl. VI, 12, with the same reverse, but a smaller obv. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 131 (wrong description of the rs.).
201. Anubis standing l., holding palm-branch in right hand and an object in the left, which seems to be a confused mixture between *caduceus* and *cornucopiae*. — Oxford, pl. VI, 16.

II. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. A variety of the former bust, with a broader modius and with a horizontal bordering of the tunic. — Rs.:

202. Anubis with palm-branch and caduceus, standing l. — Lawrence, pl. VI, 13; Vatican, pl. VI, 14.

III. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-ARIDI (sic!). A similar bust to the last type, but with very short hair. — Rs.:

203. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Trau, pl. VI, 15.

204. Isis with sistrum and situla, standing l. — Paris, pl. VI, 17. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 94.

IV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Beardless, large face, with fluttering locks of hair around the face. — Rs.:

205. Isis in ship r., holding the sail and looking back. — Trau, pl. V, 36.

206. Isis suckling Horus. — Trau, pl. V, 37.

V. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. The head is smaller, than the last; the drapery of the god is paludamentum, fixed by a brooch on the right shoulder. — Rs.:

207. Isis standing in a *thensa*, drawn l. by two mules and holding in her raised r. hand the sistrum. — Oxford; Vienna, pl. V, 39; Paris. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 103.

208. Isis sitting in front view and looking r. on the Sothis dog, which is running r. and turns back his head; Isis holds sistrum and sceptre. — Glasgow, pl. V, 38.

Va. GROUP. — The same obverse - die has been retouched by the engravers and supplied with a short beard. — Rs.:

209. Isis in *thensa*, as above. — Vatican; Glasgow, pl. V, 40.

210. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Vatican, pl. V, 41.

VI. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. The bust is characterised by the slight beard and the fluttering hair. — Rs.:

211. Isis with sistrum and situla standing l. — Vatican, pl. VI, 1.

VII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Serapis is represented here with a small head, aquiline nose, small beard and paludamentum-like mantle; typical too is the wreath of locks round the head. — Rs.:

212. Isis suckling Horus. — Oxford, pl. VI, 18.

213. Isis standing in a ship, which is going r.; the goddess holds the sail with both hands and is looking back. — Trau, pl. VI, 19; Vatican, pl. VI, 20; Berlin; Münzhandlung Basel.

VIII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. A similar bust (pl. XX, 10.). — Rs.:

214. Isis in a ship, holding in both hands the sail, r. — Private coll. in Italy, pl. XX, 10.

IX. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAP-APIDI (sic!). A similar bust with larger head. — Rs.:

215. Isis in ship, as above. — Vienna, pl. VI, 24.

216. Harpocrates, as above. It is interesting to observe, that the die-sinker confuses the cornucopiae of H. with the caduceus of Anubis. — Oxford, pl. VI, 25; Rome, pl. VI, 26.

- X. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAP-APIDI (sic!). A, similar bust with a larger beard. — Rs.:
217. Harpocrates, as above. — München, pl. VI, 31; Vatican, pl. VI, 32.
- XI. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. A similar type of bust with slight beard and paludamentum. — Rs.:
218. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — München, pl. VI, 27; Berlin, pl. VI, 28; Münzhandlung Basel.
219. Osiris and Isis with snake-like underbody, holding between them a sacred vase. — Gotha, pl. VI, 29.
- XII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Bust with short hair, without the usual locks of hair; the tunic of the god has a horizontal border of two parallel lines. — Rs.:
220. Anubis with palm-branch and caduceus, standing l. — Trau, pl. VI, 22.
221. Isis with sistrum and situla standing l. — London, pl. VI, 23.
- XIII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO S-ERAPI (sic!). Bearded bust. — Rs.:
222. Isis with sistrum and situla l. — Münzhandlung Basel, pl. VI, 30.
- XIV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SER-APIDI. The bust has a classical shape, with exuberant locks of hair and beard. — Rs.:
223. Anubis with palm-branch and caduceus, Isis with sistrum and situla, both advancing l. — Trau, pl. V, 1.
224. Isis suckling Horus. — Münzhandlung Basel, pl. V, 2.
- XV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SER-APIDI. A further development of the former type, in which the profile and the hair-dressing of the deities appear in a more accentuated form. — Rs.:
225. Isis suckling Horus. — Berlin, pl. V, 5; Copenhagen, pl. V, 6.
- XVI. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. This bust also is derived from the type pl. V, 1; the hair-dress is differently arranged. — Rs.:
226. A standard-bearer of the Isis-procession walking r., with a cow (?) on the top of the pole. — Vatican, pl. V, 4. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 107 after Tanini, who described this same specimen from the Borghesi coll.
227. Isis (?) standing front, looking l., and raising her r. hand in blessing. — Copenhagen, pl. V, 3; Trau.
- XVII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Bearded bust with hanging locks of hair and a characteristic nose. — Rs.:
228. Devotee of Isis kneeling l. in the act of adoration, with his hands outstretched; she wears a peculiar head-gear. — Vatican, pl. V, 7; Oxford; Milan, pl. XX, 7.
229. Anubis with palm-branch and caduceus standing l. — Vienna, pl. V, 8; Glasgow; Catalogue no. 211 of A. Hess (Coll. F. A. Walters and P. H. Webb), 1932, pl. 29, 2686.
- XVIII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Whereas the beard is rich and well modelled, the hair on the back of the head is not shown. — Rs.:
230. Isis as sea-goddess, lying with the *cornucopiae*, held in both hands and leaning on her urn; as above. — Berlin, pl. V, 9; Vatican; Trau, pl. V, 10; Brescia.

- XIX. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SEP (?) -APIDI. A kindred bust. — Rs.:
231. Harpocrates, as above. — Paris, pl. V, 11. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 84.
232. Isis in ship r., holding the sail with both hands. — Trau, pl. V, 12; Milan. — Another variety: Augsburg, pl. XII, 18.
233. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Lawrence, pl. V, 15. (Cp. pl. V, 17 [Laffranchi] and 18 [Berlin], with kindred busts.)
- XX. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. A similar bust. — Rs.:
234. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Oxford, pl. V, 14.
235. Isis with sistrum and situla standing l. — Karlsruhe, pl. V, 16; Milan, pl. IV, 41.
- XXI. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. A similar bust. — Rs.:
236. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Münzhandlung Basel, pl. V, 19.
237. Isis suckling Horus. — Roma, pl. V, 20; St.-Florian, pl. V, 21.
- XXII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. A similar, but larger bust. — Rs.:
238. Isis and Osiris standing face to face and holding a sacred vessel, on the top of which is coiled a snake; both deities have snake-feet. — Roma, pl. V, 22.
- XXIII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. The beard of Serapis has long, hanging curls; the tunic is roughly marked by vertical lines. — Rs.:
239. Isis and Osiris with snake-feet, holding a sacred vase, on which is coiled a snake. — Paris, pl. V, 23; Gotha, pl. V, 24. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 113.
- XXIV. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. A bearded bust, closely connected in type with pl. V, 12 and 14. — Rs.:
240. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus, standing l. — Paris, pl. V, 13. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 121.

VI. Radiate bust of sol-Serapis to left.

a) The smallest denomination.

- I. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Bearded bust with a roll of hair round the face. — Rs.:
241. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Budapest, pl. X, 39.
242. Isis in ship standing r. and looking back, holding the sail in both hands. — Oxford, pl. X, 40; Copenhagen.

VII. Radiate bust of sol-Serapis to r., with raised right hand.

Struck only in the larger denomination. (AE. II/III.)

- I. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. Bust with locks of hair all over the head and a similarly drawn beard. Characteristic is the long, straight nose. He wears the imperial paludamentum, with a round brooch on the r. shoulder, and the embroidered *tunica manicata*, with the richly decorated shoulder-piece. — Rs.:

243. Isis with sistrum and situla standing l. — St.-Florian, pl. VIII, 29; Berlin, pl. VIII, 30; Oxford, pl. VIII, 31 (with a variety of Rs.-type). — Cp. Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 220.

244. Serapis standing front, looking r., raising r. hand and holding globe in l. — Vatican, pl. VIII, 32.

II. GROUP. — The obv. is a derivation from the type we last described, but the head has become larger, the nose aquiline and the hair is differently arranged. — Rs.:

245. Isis and Nephthis, as above. — Münzhandlung Basel, pl. VIII, 33; Oxford; Laffranchi.

246. Isis riding on the Sothis-dog r. and looking back, holding sistrum and sceptre. — Berlin, pl. VIII, 34.

VIII. Radiate bust of sol-Serapis in front view.

(Only the larger denomination is known. (AE. II/III.)

I. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. The undulating locks of hair, framing the square face, the *contabulatio* of the mantle on the r. shoulder of the god are to be noted. — Rs.:

247. Isis suckling Horus. — Trau, pl. VII, 16.

IX. Bust of Isis to right.

(If otherwise not stated, she always wears the lotus-symbol on the top of her coiffure.)

a) The smaller denomination. (AE. IV.)

I. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The dress of Isis is assimilated to the wear of Serapis. In the hair is a diadem of two rows of pearls. — Rs.:

248. Isis in front view, looking l. She holds in the r. hand a sistrum and in the left an object, which may be a little ship, or a dish of fruits. — Vatican, pl. IV, 31.

249. Isis in ship r., holding the sail. — Münzhandlung Basel, pl. IV, 32; Catal. 211 of A. Hess (Coll. F. A. Walters and P. H. Webb), 1932, pl. 29, no. 2700.

II. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The bust is very like that of Theodora, pl. IV, 29. Antiquated dies of the empress, preserved in the mint, furnished the model. — Rs.:

250. Harpocrates, as above. — Rome, pl. IV, 30.

III. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. Bust with a Serapis-like dress of *tunica* and mantle. In the hair is a diadem of a double row of pearls; on the neck three curly locks. — Rs.:

251. Harpocrates, as above. — Paris, pl. VIII, 28.

IV. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. A similar bust. — Rs.:

252. The Nile lying l., leaning on his urn; he holds a ship and a stalk of reed. — Gotha, pl. VIII, 27.



V. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The hair forms a twisted roll around the face. The mantle of the goddess has a broad seam, which is drawn from the left shoulder to the right armpit, as Apuleius describes the dress of Isis; she wears a necklace. — Rs.:

253. Harpocrates, as above. — Berlin, pl. VIII, 9.

254. Sphinx r., as above. — Vatican, pl. VIII, 10.

255. Anubis l. standing with sistrum and caduceus. — Vienna, pl. VIII, 11.

VI. GROUP. — The obv. a variety of the former: the nose of Isis has no protuberance; on the neck three curly locks. — Rs.:

256. Anubis, as above. — Berlin, pl. VIII, 12.

VII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The bust is similar, but the hair more freely modelled; the seam shows an embroidered decoration. — Rs.:

257. Anubis, as above. — London, pl. VIII, 13; Münzhandlung Basel, pl. VIII, 14.

258. The Nile, lying l. on the ground, holding a ship and a reed and leaning on his urn. — Torino (Museo Lavy 2, 1840, no. 5173), pl. XX, 26.

VIII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. Isis has a prominent aquiline nose. In the hair a row of pearls, bound up on the neck by a stitch, like the imperial diadem. Three curly locks fall on the neck. Under the decorated seam, which goes from the left shoulder to the r. armpit, shown in error, a paludamentum. — Rs.:

259. The Nile with a ship and a reed-stalk, as above. — Berlin, pl. VIII, 15; Copenhagen.

260. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus, standing l. — Trau, pl. VIII, 16.

IX. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. A similar bust, with a double row of pearls in the hair and a necklace. — Rs.:

261. Isis or Serapis standing front, looking l., raising r. hand. — Vatican, pl. VIII, 17.

X. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. In the hair of Isis are two rows of pearls. On the neck hang down „corkscrew“ locks. The decorated ribbon, which falls from the left shoulder, is also to be noted. — Rs.:

262. Anubis with palm-branch and caduceus standing l. — Vatican, pl. VIII, 19.

XI. GROUP. — A very similar bust. In the hair is a striped ribbon, as diadem. The long curly locks reach down to the breast. — Rs.:

263. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. The caduceus is misunderstood and has a curved shape. — Münzhandlung Basel, pl. VIII, 20.

264. Isis standing in her *thensa*, which is drawn by two mules r.; she holds the sistrum. — Milano (once Gerin)=Slg. E. F. Weber (Auktionskatalog J. Hirsch 24, 1910, pl. 49, no. 2710), pl. XX, 30.

265. Isis in ship, which is going r.; she lays both hands on the bellying sail. — Vatican, pl. VIII, 21.

XII GROUP. — Obv.: The same legend with a similar bust. — Rs.:

266. Harpocrates, as above. — Basel, pl. VIII, 23; Parma, pl. XX, 24.

- XIII. GROUP. — A similar obverse, but the mantle differently arranged. — Rs.:  
 267. Harpocrates, as above. — Vatican, pl. IX, 23.
- XIV. GROUP. — A similar obv., but the hair of Isis falls in a single bun on her neck; she wears a double row of pearls as diadem; the lotus-head-gear is placed lower, than usual. — Rs.:
268. Harpocrates, as above. — Lawrence, pl. XX, 31.
- XV. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. — A similar bust with curls falling on the neck of the goddess. — Rs.:
269. Harpocrates, as above. — Zagreb, pl. VIII, 22. Cp. the specimen of the Vatican, pl. IX, 22.
- XVI. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. A similar bust-type with a very small face. — Rs.:
270. The recumbent Nile-god holding a ship and a reed-stalk, as above. — Berlin, pl. VIII, 24.
- XVII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The embroidered seam of the mantle is drawn from the l. shoulder, but the stripe, coming from the right, is also accentuated. On the neck fluttering locks. — Rs.:
271. Isis in ship r., looking back, holding the sail. — Lawrence, pl. IX, 24.
- XVIII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. In the hair is a double row of pearls. Numerous perpendicular locks hang down and cover the neck. The broad embroidered seam of the mantle is crossed symmetrically on the breast. — Rs.:
272. Sphinx sitting to left. — Vatican, pl. IX, 19; Berlin, pl. IX, 20.
273. Isis in ship, as above. — London, pl. IX, 21.
- XIX. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The hair-dress of Isis has the peculiarity, that the lock of hair does not fall freely, but forms a bend and is bound back. The seam of the mantle is crossed symmetrically on the breast. The neck is thin. — Rs.:
274. Isis in ship r., as above. — Trau, pl. IX, 13; Lawrence, pl. IX, 14.
275. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Copenhagen, pl. IX, 15.
- XX. GROUP. — The obv. is a variety of the former. Isis wears a necklace. — Rs.:
276. Isis with sistrum and situla going l. — Budapest, pl. VIII, 18.
- XXI. GROUP. — A similar obv., but with a larger head. — Rs.:
277. Isis in a ship, as above. — Bologna, pl. IV, 39 = XII, 15.
- XXII. GROUP. A similar bust, with a different hairdress. — Rs.:
278. Anubis with a palm-branch and a misunderstood caduceus. — Coll. P. Vautier—  
 M. Collignon, Auction Lucerne (Naville), 1922, pl. 55. no. 1801.
- XXIII. GROUP. A similar bust, but the legend begins on the right side at the top and contains a mistake: ISIS F-AIRA (sic!). — Rs.:
279. Harpocrates, as above. — Coll. Szentgáli, pl. XX, 22.

XXIV. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The neck is covered with locks hanging free. The embroidered seam of the mantle is crossed on the breast. — Rs.:

280. Harpocrates, as above. — Leningrad, pl. IV, 33.

XXV. GROUP. — A very simple form of head-dressing. The embroidered seam of the mantle is crossed symmetrically on the breast. The goddess wears a necklace. — Legend, as before. — Rs.:

281. Isis in ship r., as above. — Vatican, pl. IX, 40.

XXVI. GROUP. — Obv.: The hair-dress completely simplified; long, thin locks hang down to the shoulders. — Rs.:

282. Isis with situla and sistrum, looking l. (The same type, as pl. III, 31.) — Münzhandlung Basel, pl. IX, 41.

XXVII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. A well proportioned bust, with a coil of hair wound round the face. — Rs.:

283. Isis with sistrum and situla, advancing l. — Vatican, pl. IX, 8; Vienna; Trau.

XXVIII. GROUP. — Obv.: The legend is beginning by the lotus-head-dress of Isis. ISIS F(?)-. . RA. A similar type of bust to the larger pieces pl. IX, 28—30. — Rs.:

284. Isis in ship r., as above. — Gotha, pl. IX, 31.

XXIX. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. A kindred bust. — Rs.:

285. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Oxford, pl. IX, 32.

XXX. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS-E-ARIA (sic!). A type of bust, which goes together with the larger pieces pl. IX, 33—34. — Rs.:

286. Harpocrates, as above. — Vatican, pl. IX, 35.

XXXI. GROUP. — Obv.: The legend begins above: ISIS F-ARIA. A similar bust. — Rs.:

287. Harpocrates, as above. The cornucopiae is absolutely misunderstood. — Vatican, pl. IX, 36.

XXXII. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. Characteristic is the attribute on the top of the head, which seems to consist of stalks like grass; also the profile and the accentuation of the embroidered seam of the mantle on the right shoulder. On the neck a series of long locks. — Rs.:

288. Sol-Serapis standing r. with raised r. hand and with globe in left hand. — Paris, pl. VIII, 25; Berlin. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 30.

XXXIII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. A similar bust, with loose locks on the neck. — Rs.:

289. Isis in ship r., as above. — Paris, pl. VIII, 26.

XXXIV. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. A relatively large head, with simplified coiffure. — Rs.:

290. Anubis standing l.; the attributes not visible. — Vatican, pl. IV, 34.

XXXV. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The bust is related to pl. VIII, 13, but the seam of the mantle is crossed on the breast. — Rs.:

291. Isis standing in a ship r., holding the sail. — Milano (once Gerin), pl. XX, 21.

XXXVI. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The bust is a new variety of the types reproduced on pl. IX., with three locks of hair hanging down on the neck; cp. pl. XX, 25. — Rs.:

292. Anubis standing l. with a branch and caduceus. — Private coll. (Italy), pl. XX, 25.

XXXVII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The bust pl. XX, 23. — Rs.:

293. Anubis in cuirass, standing l., holding palm-branch and cornucopiae, — the latter being a mistake for caduceus. — Private coll. in Italy, pl. XX, 23.

b) The larger denomination. (AE. III.)

I. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. A double row of pearls on the head; four long curls fall down in the neck. The richly embroidered seam of the mantle is drawn from the l. shoulder to the r. armpit. — Rs.:

294. The Nile-god lying on the ground l. and leaning on his urn. He holds in his r. hand a ship, in his l. a reed-stalk. — Paris, pl. VIII, 1. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 38.

II. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The same coiffure, but the seam of the mantle has a different decoration. Peculiar is the half-round seam on the r. shoulder (for which cp. also pl. VIII, 20—21). — Rs.:

295. Isis in ship, as above. — Paris, pl. VIII, 2. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 20.

296. Isis with sistrum and situla, advancing l. — Glasgow, pl. IV, 37; Parma.

III. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The same head-dress, but the seam of the mantle has a different pattern. The bust is a little larger, than the average. — Rs.:

297. Isis in *thensa* l., as above. — Gotha, pl. VIII, 3.

IV. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. The same head-dress; on the r. shoulder a half-round figure (*segmentum*? cp. pl. VIII, 2. 20. 21). — Rs.:

298. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — London, pl. VIII, 4; Vatican; Berlin; St.-Florian.

V. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. The face is framed by a pad of hair wound round it, from which hang below the ear three short curls. On the back of the head is apparently a head-cloth. The seam of the mantle is drawn from the left shoulder, as before. — Rs.:

299. Anubis, as before. — Vienna, pl. VIII, 5.

VI. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The coiffure is quite simple: a coiled pad of hair surrounds the face, with no hanging locks. Isis wears earrings. The embroidered seam of the mantle comes from the left shoulder and crosses the breast. — Rs.:

300. Isis in a carriage drawn by two sphinxes in front view, holding a sistrum and another object. Before her, but on a lower level, Harpocrates in his customary attitude, with a cornucopiae; still lower the Sothis-dog, running r. and looking up, the head sur-

rounded by an radiate disc. Below, waves, — as e. g. on the coins of Probus with the quadriga of the Sun-god. — Gotha, pl. VIII, 6; Messenger, pl. VIII, 7; Oxford.

VII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. Isis has a similar hair dress, but the pad of hair is coiled below and from the coil hang some single wavy hairs. — Rs.:

301. The specimen in Oxford pl. VIII, 8 has the obv. on both sides.

302. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Private coll. (in Italy), pl. XX, 11.

VIII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The following varieties are characterised by the arrangement of the mantle of Isis, the embroidered seam of which is symmetrically crossed on the breast, — as on the coins of Galeria Valeria etc. — In this case, the borders are lined with rows of pearls, and the goddess wears a necklace too. The hairs are fluttering, as are those of Sol. — Rs.:

303. Anubis with palm-branch and *caduceus* standing l. — London, pl. IX, 2; Oxford.

304. Anubis with sistrum and *caduceus* standing l. He wears armour with the imperial girdle and not the military peace-dress, as e. g. on pl. VII, 21. — Vatican, pl. IX, 1.

IX. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. Isis has a coiled pad of hair, from which hang down wavy locks. The mantle has broad borders, crossing on the breast. — Rs.:

305. Isis in *thensa* l., holding sistrum and another object (a little ship, or a fruit-dish). — Vatican, pl. IX, 3; Oxford.

306. Isis sitting on the Sothis-dog, which is running r. She looks l., holding sistrum and sceptre. — Trau, pl. IX, 4.

X. GROUP. — A similar obverse; the head smaller. — Rs.:

307. Isis with the sistrum and the situla advancing l. — Vienna, pl. IX, 5.

XI. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. Isis has a broad pad of hair. — Rs.:

308. Serapis standing front, looking r. He raises his r. hand in sign of blessing and holds in l. globe. — Vatican, pl. IX, 6.

XII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The hair is marked on the back of the head by arched lines, as on other varieties (pl. IX, 25—31. 33—36. 37, and especially, pl. VIII, 5); around the face floating locks. Isis wears a necklace and has two crossed mantle-seams on breast. Under the left shoulder, the bust ends along the border-line of the mantle-seam, forming a characteristic concave truncation. — Rs.:

309. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Oxford, pl. IX, 9.

310. Isis as sea-goddess lying l. on the ground, with a large cornucopiae, leaning on an urn, from which water flows in waves. — Paris, pl. IX, 10; Berlin. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 38.

311. Anubis in cuirass advancing l. with sistrum and *caduceus*. — Turin (Museo num. Lavy 2, 1840, no. 5171), pl. XX, 9.

XIII. GROUP. — A degenerate variety of the former bust, with a smaller head. — Rs.:

312. Anubis with cuirass and paludamentum standing l. with sistrum and *caduceus*. — Hamburger, Catal. of the sale of 19. X. 1925, pl. 67, no. 1942. — Lawrence, pl. IX, 11; Gotha, pl. IX, 12; Glasgow.

XIV. GROUP. — Obv.: DE(*ae*) I-SIDI. Isis wears a necklace and a diadem of a double row of pearls; the borders of her mantle are crossed lower, than as on the varieties so far enumerated. On the top of her head, a head-dress of five leaves. — Rs.:

313. Isis in ship r., as above. The ship has a degenerate, simplified form, which recurs in other varieties too, so e. g. pl. XII, 17, cp. X, 29. — Vatican, pl. IX, 16.

XV. GROUP. — Obv.: DE(*ae*) IS-IDI. The bust is akin to pl. IX, 30. — Rs.:

314. The god of the Nile, as above. — J. Roman, *Annuaire de la Soc. Fr. de Numismatique* 1, 1866, 105 and pl. III, 9; Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 39.

XVI. GROUP. — Obv.: DE(*ae*) ISIDI. The exact shape not known. — Rs.:

315. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Coll. Tourlet. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 11.

XVII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. Isis wears a diadem of a double row of pearls, under which emerges a bunch of curly locks. — Rs.:

316. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Budapest, pl. IX, 17; Vatican, pl. IX, 18.

XVIII. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The hair of the goddess is marked by curved lines; from the pad of hair wound round the face hang two freely waving locks. — It is characteristic of this variant, as of the following two also, that the decoration of the border of the mantle is only (or mainly) shown on the left (i. e. on the r. side of Isis) with dots. — Rs.:

317. The rs. is missing, because the piece has been used as a counter and on the polished surface has been engraved in concave letters: XIII — Basel, pl. IX, 25.

XIX. GROUP. — Obv.: A similar bust, but on the neck only three short locks; with a necklace; the clothes involuntarily imitate the imperial paludamentum. — Rs.:

318. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Trau, pl. IX, 26.

XX. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS E-ARIA (*sic!*). A similar bust with a necklace and the usual double diadem of pearls. — Rs.:

319. Isis in ship, which is going r.; she looks back and holds the sail in both hands. — Trau, pl. IX, 27.

XXI. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. A similar bust with three short locks on the neck, without a diadem. — Rs.:

320. Serapis (?) standing in front view and looking l., raising r. hand and holding in l. globe. — Gotha, pl. IX, 28; Vatican, pl. IX, 29.

XXII. GROUP. — Obv.: A variety of the former, with three longer locks on the neck. — Rs.:

321. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Lawrence, pl. IX, 30.

XXIII. GROUP. — Obv.: The legend begins top right and goes downwards: ISIS F-AIRA (*sic!*). A similar bust, with short locks on the neck and a necklace; the rendering of the embroidered stripes by rows of dots is also characteristic. — Rs.:

322. Harpocrates, as above. — Paris, pl. IX, 33. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 4.

- XXIV. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. A similar bust. — Rs.:
323. Isis with sistrum and situla standing in front view, looking l. — Paris, pl. IX, 34. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 9.
- XXV. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The coiled pad of hair of Isis ends quite low on the neck; curly locks hang from it. In the hair is a threefold pearl-band as diadem; the mantle-seam is embroidered. The profile shows some connexion with the type pl. VIII, 2. — Rs.:
324. Isis suckling the Horus-child. — Vatican, pl. IX, 37.
- XXVI. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS E-ARIA (sic!). The coiled pad of hair of Isis ends in dishevelled locks, covering the neck. — Rs.:
325. Isis in ship going r., looking back and holding the sail in both hands. — Vatican, pl. IX, 38.
326. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Bologna, pl. IX, 39.

*X. Bust of Isis to left.*

*a) The small denomination. (AE. IV.)*

- I. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The back of the head is covered by a headcloth, which falls down to the shoulder in the same manner, as on the coins of the Hellenistic queens; that this headcloth as artistic motive was still in use in late Roman times, can be proved from the similar representation of Olympias on the contorniates. Isis holds in raised r. hand the sistrum; her robe has decorated horizontal stripe below the neck. — Rs.:
327. Anubis standing l. with sistrum and caduceus. — Oxford, pl. X, 35.
328. Isis in ship going r., as above. — Vatican, pl. X, 36.
329. The Nile lying l., as above. — Coates Coll., Hunterian Mus., Glasgow, pl. XIII, 27. (Another ex. from the same die.: Catal. of the Vautier and Collignon collections, Lucerne (Naville), 1922, pl. 55, no. 1802); Torino (Museo num. Lavy, 2, 1840, no. 5174).
- II. GROUP. — Obv.: DEA ISIS FARIA. Bust of Isis, holding sistrum in r. hand. — Rs.:
330. Isis in ship r. — Once coll. Tanini. — Tanini, o. c., p. 322 and pl. 6 (= Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 25.).

*b) The larger denomination. (AE. III.)*

- I. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. Bust of Isis with embroidered mantle, which is decorated with an embroidered seam, crossing on the breast. She has floating hair and holds in raised r. hand the sistrum. — Rs.:
331. Isis suckling Horus, as above. — Vatican, pl. X, 3; Berlin; Vienna; Lawrence.
332. Isis standing l. and embracing Anubis. She holds in raised l. hand the sistrum, Anubis holds in r. hand *caduceus*. — Paris, pl. X, 4; Trau, pl. X, 5. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 37.

333. The god of the Nile stretched out in a carriage l., holding in r. hand a *cornucopiae* and leaning on the car with the l. — Paris, pl. X, 6. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 18.

334. Isis in ship, as above. — Vatican, pl. X, 7.

II. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. The goddess has a pad of hair coiled round her face, from which hang down a number of curly locks. She holds in her raised r. hand the sistrum and in the left an object, which looks like a dish, with a snake on it. — This bust has still a touch of classical form and it was the prototype for a series of secondary types, which follow below. — Rs.:

335. Isis with situla and sistrum advancing l. — Paris, pl. X, 8; London, pl. X, 9; coll. Hollschek.

III. GROUP. — The obverse is a derivative of the last; the embroidered border of the mantle on the l. shoulder and the double necklace are additions of the engraver. — Rs.:

336. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus l. — London, pl. X, 10.

337. Isis sitting in front view on the Sothis-dog, which is running r. and looking back; the goddess holds sistrum and sceptre and looks to l. — Vienna, pl. X, 11; Oxford.

IV. GROUP. — The obv. is a further degeneration of the last type. — Rs.:

338. Isis in ship r., as above. — Leningrad, pl. X, 12.

V. GROUP. — The obv. is a further variety of the above described type. Isis has a coiffure called in German „Melonenfrisur“, but with curly locks hanging on the neck. The object held in the l. hand seems to be a dish of fruits. Isis wears an earring. — Rs.:

339. Isis in *thensa* l., as above. — Trau, pl. X, 13.

340. Isis suckling Horus. — Münzhandlung Basel, pl. X, 14; Gotha.

VI. GROUP. — A similar obv., but the left hand of Isis does not appear. — Rs.:

341. Isis suckling Horus. — Vatican, pl. X, 15; Copenhagen.

VII. GROUP. — The obv. goes back directly to the type pl. X, 8—9; the head has become larger and the proportions are thereby lost. — Rs.:

342. Isis in ship r., as above. — Firenze, pl. X, 16; Traun.

343. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Gotha, pl. X, 17.

VIII. GROUP. — The obv. is another variety of the same type. Isis wears a pearl-diadem and a necklace. — Rs.:

343/a. Isis in a *thensa* drawn by two mules, going l.; she holds in her raised r. hand the sistrum. — Paris, pl. X, 19; Milano (once Gerin). — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 14.

344. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus advancing l. — Rome, pl. X, 18.

IX. GROUP. — Another variety of the same obverse-type. Isis has locks, floating on the neck. — Rs.:

345. Serapis standing in front view, looking l., raises his r. hand and holds in l. a globe. — Copenhagen, pl. X, 20.



346. Isis in ship r., looking back, holding the sail in both hands. — St.-Florian, pl. XII, 19.

X. GROUP. — A similar obv., but Isis has a coiled pad of hair. — Rs.:

347. Isis sitting on the Sothis-dog, which is running r., and turns his head back; the goddess looks r. holding sistrum and sceptre. — Berlin, pl. X, 21; Laffranchi.

348. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Paris, pl. X, 22. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 31.

349. Isis in ship r., holding the sail in both hands. — Vatican, pl. X, 23.

XI. GROUP. — A similar type of bust. The pad of hair of Isis ends in a knot, from which hang some short locks. The embroidered seam of her mantle is shown on her left side only; she wears a necklace. In her left palm is an object, like a fruit-dish or a little ship. — Rs.:

350. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Lawrence, pl. X, 24; Trau, pl. X, 25.

XII. GROUP. — A kindred type to the former. The tunic of Isis shows a horizontal border. — Rs.:

351. Isis on the Sothis-dog, as above. — Paris, pl. X, 26. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 16.

352. A devotee of Isis walking r., holding in each hand a candelabrum. — Oxford, pl. X, 27.

XIII. GROUP. — The same type of obv., with small hands badly drawn. — Rs.:

353. Isis in ship r., laying her hands on the sail. — Gotha, pl. X, 29; private coll. (in Italy).

XIV. GROUP. — A slight variety of the former obv.; the head is a little larger. — Rs.:

354. Isis in ship r., looking back, laying her hands on the sail. — Copenhagen, pl. X, 32.

355. Isis with raised r. hand standing front, looking l. (as on pl. V, 3 and IX, 29). — Catal. 211 of A. Hess (Coll. F. A. Walters and P. H. Webb), 1932, pl. 29, no. 2694.

XV. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. A similar bust to that last described. — Rs.:

356. Isis on the Sothis-dog, as above. — Vatican, pl. X, 30.

357. Devotee of Isis holding on her head with both hands a large basket. — Rome, pl. X, 31. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, Julianus 128.

358. Isis in ship r. — Once, Coll. Tanini. — Tanini, o. c., p. 321 and pl. 6.

XVI. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS FA-RIA. Isis is clothed in a mantle and tunica, which are arranged in the same manner, as the triumphal dress on the coins of the emperors of the second half of the III. century. She holds in raised r. hand the sistrum; the left hand is not visible. — Rs.:

359. Serapis standing in front view, looking r., holding in left hand a globe (?) and raising right hand. — Lawrence, pl. X, 28 = XX, 13; Paris (2 ex.). — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 29.

360. Isis and Nepthis, as above. — Milan, pl. IV, 40 = XX, 14.

I have not seen the following variety described in Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 42 (of Helena II.) as coming from the „Vente du cabinet Fontana, 1860.“:

361. Obv.: ISIS FARIA. Buste d'Isis à mi-corps avec la fleur du lotus sur la tête, tenant le sistre. — Rs.: VOTA PVBLICA. Deux divinités africaines? debout, tenant une statue.

### XI. Bust of Isis in front view.

#### a) The smallest denomination. (AE. IV.)

I. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. Bust of Isis in  $\frac{3}{4}$  front view with a diadem of pearls, which is decorated in the centre with corn-ears and poppy-heads. On her neck long, curly locks; she wears a paludamentum, fixed with a brooch on the r. shoulder; in her r. hand a sistrum. — Rs.:

362. Harpocrates, as above. — Paris, pl. VII, 5. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 5.

363. The legend of this rs. is exceptionally DEO SA-RAPIDI. Serapis sitting in front-view on his throne, holding in r. hand two corn-ears and in left long sceptre. — Copenhagen, pl. VII, 6.

II. GROUP. — The obv. is a variety of the last. The head-gear is composed of leaves of different kind. The head is in full front view. — Rs.:

363/a. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus advancing l. — Gotha, pl. VII, 7.

III. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. Isis does not wear the paludamentum, but her customary mantle with broad border. Her head-gear is a half-moon with a disc in the centre; she wears a necklace and holds the sistrum, as in the former variants. — Rs.:

364. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Oxford, pl. VII, 9.

365. Harpocrates, as above. — Egger, Auktionskatalog XLIII, 1913, no. 2023, pl. 32; Turin (Museo num. Lavy 2, 1840, no. 5172), pl. XX, 19.

366. Isis sitting in front view and looking l., suckling Horus. — Lawrence, pl. XX, 18.

IV. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. A similar bust in three-quarter front view, in execution inferior to the former. — Rs.:

367. VOTA PVBLICA. Harpocrates. — Auktions-Katal. no. 211 of A. Hess (Coll. P. H. Webb), no. 2698, pl. 29.

V. GROUP. — The obv. related to type III., but the head larger. — Rs.:

368. Harpocrates. — Lawrence, pl. VII, 10; Vienna, pl. VII, 11; London.

#### b) The larger denomination. (AE. III.)

I. GROUP. — Obv.: ISIS F-ARIA. Bust of Isis in almost full frontal view, with the lotus-symbol on the top of the head and freely undulating hairs. The border of the mantle with its embroidered decoration is only represented from the left shoulder downwards, not on the right side. — Rs.:

369. Isis in ship r., as above. — Vatican, pl. VII, 2; Paris, pl. VII, 3; Berlin; Turin; Glasgow. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 23. (Museo num. Lavy 2, 1840, no. 5170.)

369a. Isis sitting on the Sothis-dog, as above. — Oxford, pl. VII, 4.

*XII. Joint busts of serapis and Isis to right.*

Struck only in the largest denomination of the series (AE. II and II/III.).

I. GROUP. The luxuriant hair of Serapis is combed in a smooth surface; only around the face is a roll wound; the beard is broken up into single locks. The god wears a decorated modius and is clothed with a tunica and a mantle over it. Of Isis we see only the profile with the lotus-head-dress, and the outline of her shoulder. — Rs.:

370. Isis and Nephthis as above. The outer wings (below the lowered arms) are misconceived and represented as clothes. — Paris, pl. VII, 18; Vatican; Trau; Oxford; Copenhagen. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 11.

371. Isis on the Sothis-dog, looking r., with sistrum and sceptre; the dog turns its head back. — Paris, pl. VII, 19; Vatican; Turin (Mus. num. Lavy 2, 1840, 5166).

II. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SER-APIDI. Similar bust. The head of Serapis is surrounded by a wreath of curly locks; his beard is composed of similar locks. His tunica has a wavy double borderline. — Rs.:

372. Isis in ship, as above. — Paris, pl. VII, 25. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 8.

373. Isis in *thensa* going l., as above. — Basel, pl. VII, 26.

374. Isis suckling Horus, looking r. — Vienna, pl. VII, 27.

III. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. Similar busts, but the head of Serapis is not so broad, as in the last type; his hair is dishevelled, the beard is divided into curly locks. — Rs.:

375. Isis suckling Horus, looking r. — Vatican, pl. VII, 28.

376. Isis with sistrum and sceptre on the back of the Sothis-dog, which is running r. and turning his head back. — Budapest, pl. VII, 29.

377. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Lawrence, pl. VII, 30.

IV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. Similar bust. Serapis has again different features, hair-dress and form of beard. — Rs.:

378. Isis with sistrum and situla standing front, looking r. — London, pl. VII, 33; Oxford.

379. Isis on the back of the Sothis-dog, as above. — Vienna, pl. VII, 34.

380. Isis suckling Horus, looking three quarters front. — Trau, pl. VII, 35.

V. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. A type, which is kindred to the busts pl. VII, 28—30. The bristly hair consists of short curly locks. — Rs.:

381. Isis suckling Horus, looking r. — Oxford, pl. VII, 36 (with another similar piece); Paris; Milano; Catal. no. 211 of A. Hess (Coll. F. A. Walters and P. H. Webb), 1932, pl. 29, no. 2690.

VI. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. Similar busts. Serapis has smooth locks of hair. — Rs.:

382. Isis on the back of the Sothis-dog, looking r. — Laffranchi, pl. VII, 37; London, pl. VII, 38; Catal. no. 211 of A. Hess (Coll. F. A. Walters and P. H. Webb), 1932, pl. 29, no. 2689.

VII. GROUP. — A similar obv. — Rs.:

383. Isis with situla and sistrum standing in front view, looking r. — Paris, pl. VII, 39; Vatican. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 4.

VIII. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. Similar busts, but Serapis has different features and coiffure. — Rs.:

384. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Oxford, pl. IV, 5.

All these varieties are very variable in size, the following being the smallest:

IX. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. The bust of Serapis has completely lost its classical shape; he has hair cut short and a pointed beard. (Perhaps connected with coin-portraits of Eugenius.) — Rs.:

385. The Nile lying, as above. — Glasgow, pl. VII, 31; Paris; Athens. — Cohen,<sup>2</sup> 16.

386. Isis going with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Copenhagen, pl. VII, 32.

The following issue is again larger, than all the preceding:

X. GROUP. — Obv.: VOTA P-VBLICA. The hair of Serapis consist of wavy locks; and the beard also. The long prominent, straight nose is borrowed from the portraits of Valentinian. In front of the bust of Isis the sistrum is represented. — Rs.:

387. Anubis in *tunica*, *paludamentum* and imperatorial shoes standing l. with sistrum and caduceus. — London, pl. VII, 21; Laffranchi; Glasgow.

388. Isis with sistrum and situla standing in front view and looking r.; she holds in l. hand a dish of fruits or a little ship. — Gotha, pl. VII, 23; Vatican.

389. Isis in ship going r., looking back. — Vienna, pl. VII, 22; private coll. (Italy), pl. XX, 12.

### XIII. Jugate busts of Serapis and Isis to left.

I. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. Serapis with rather short hair and a pointed beard. — Rs.:

390. Isis with sistrum and situla advancing l. — Vatican, pl. VIII, 38; Paris; Vienna; Münzhandlung Basel. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 5.

II. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SE-RAPIDI. Serapis appears with raised r. hand, Isis with sistrum in right hand. — Rs.:

391. Isis on the back of the Sothis-dog, as above. — Oxford, pl. VIII, 39; Bologna.

392. Anubis with sistrum and caduceus standing l. — Vienna, pl. VIII, 40. — C.<sup>2</sup>, 13.

393. Isis sitting in front view on her throne and looking r., suckling Horus. — Copenhagen, pl. VIII, 41; Glasgow.

394. Isis standing in front view, looking r., holding sistrum in r. hand and a fruit-dish with a snake in left. — Firenze, pl. VIII, 42; London, pl. VIII, 43.

*XIV. Bust of Serapis and Isis facing one another.*

(Only in the larger denomination, AE. II/III.)

I. GROUP. — Obv.: . . . I. SARA[PIDI]. — Rs.:

395. Isis suckling Horus, looking r. — London, pl. VIII, 37; Paris. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 3.

*XV. Jugate busts of sol-Serapis and Isis to right.*

(Only in the larger denomination, AE. II—III.)

I. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-ADIDI. (sic!). A very awkward pair of busts. Serapis has a short beard. — Rs.:

396. Isis in a ship r., holding the sail in both hands. — Oxford, pl. VII, 24.

II. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SA-RAPIDI. A fine production. Serapis has long beard and wears tunic and mantle; of Isis only the profile is visible. — Rs.:

397. Isis in ship r., looking back, holding the sail in both hands. — Vatican, pl. IV, 2; Bologna, pl. XII, 17.

III. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. A roughly drawn pair of busts; Serapis has a beard and his customary dress; the drapery of Isis is shown too. — Rs.:

398. Serapis standing front, with long sceptre in left hand and grasping with the hand the head of a devotee, who is kneeling before him. — Berlin, pl. IV, 3; Paris, pl. IV, 4. — Cohen<sup>2</sup>, 12.

IV. GROUP. — Obv.: DEO SAR-APIDI. The bust of Serapis represents the beardless Sol, with his customary coiffure and paludamentum. Of Isis only the profile is shown. — Rs.:

399. Isis in ship, as above. — Paris, pl. IV, 1.  
I have not seen the following specimen:

400. Cohen<sup>2</sup>, „Julien et Hélène“ no. 1.: DEO SERAPIDI ou SARAPIDI. Têtes accolées de Sérapis et d'Isis avec leurs attributs. — SANCTO NILO. Le Nil couché, portant un vaisseau sur la main droite et un roseau dans la gauche. (After Mionnet.)

A kiadásért felelős : Dr. Alföldi András.

25.335. — Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda Budapest. (F. : Thiering Richárd.)



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A kiadásért felelős : Dr. Alföldi András.  
25.335. — Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda Budapest. (F. : Thiering Richárd.)





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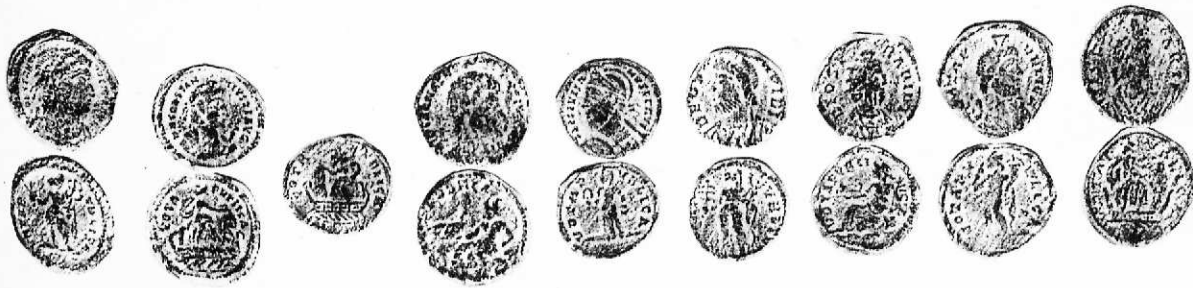


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