

THE RELIGIOUS ICONOGRAPHY OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND HIS WIFE JULIA DOMNA

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Modern scholarship is still in dispute over the character of Septimius Severus and the overall assessment of his reign. One problem is that most of the surviving accounts of his regime present him in a negative light. The most important of these accounts are those by Dio Cassius,¹ who knew Severus personally and was a part of Julia Domna's celebrated circle,² Herodian, and the anonymous author of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, which actually dates from the fourth century. Other fourth century sources include Aurelius Victor,³ Eutropius, and the *Epitome de Caesaribus*. Although Septimius Severus was not the first provincial to become emperor, he was the first emperor to be born and raised outside of Italy.⁴ Because of his provincial origins, he was rejected by the conservative, senatorial class in Rome as boorish and uncultivated, and characterized as being hostile to the traditional Graeco-Roman culture of the Roman empire.⁵ This was an unfair characterization as the sources report that he was well versed in Greek and Latin literature, as well as being fluent in Punic.⁶ However, as Jones noted, "... our list of 'good' and 'bad' emperors is in fact the index of which emperors found favor with the senate".⁷ In the case of Severus, one of the reasons for the senatorial bias against him in our sources may result from the fact that Septimius Severus was the first Roman emperor who decided to re-

¹ For a full discussion see F. MILLAR, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, Oxford 1964.

² Recent research on Julia Domna has been critical of the tendency of earlier scholarship to assign all the significant writers and thinkers of this era to Julia's circle. See G.W. BOWERSOCK, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire*, Oxford 1969, pp. 101-109; BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, p. 168.

³ For a full discussion see H.W. BIRD, *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, Liverpool 1984.

⁴ BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, p. ix.

⁵ F. MILLAR, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, p. 184.

⁶ SHA, *Severus*, I. 4; *Epitome de Caesaribus* 20.8.

⁷ A.H.M. JONES, *The Later Roman Empire*, Norman, Oklahoma 1964, vol. i, p. 7.

define the traditional role the senatorial class played in the governance of the Roman state. More so than any previous emperor, Septimius Severus deliberately ignored the Italian patricians and offered positions and promotions to provincials and people of demonstrated talent. The equestrian order greatly benefitted from this policy. Among the provincials, Africans and Syrians were the most favored and received a large proportion of the imperial posts.⁸ Severus, being a military man, and recognizing that the empire was little more than the plaything of the armies, supposedly told his sons on his deathbed: "Enrich the army, and ignore everyone else".⁹ To ensure the loyalty of the Roman army, Severus instituted a program of cash payments to individual soldiers, expanded their legal privileges and rewarded members of the officer corps with imperial offices. The greater role allotted to equestrians, provincials and soldiers in the imperial government resulted in a corresponding drop in the prestige of the patrician class and its occupation of imperial offices.

When one considers that the authors of our sources were men who belonged to the traditional senatorial class, it is not surprising that they would paint a very negative portrait of Severus. Many senators had clearly preferred Severus' opponents during the civil wars of 193-197. Severus was not above punishing his enemies and so the persecution of the senators commenced after his defeat of Clodius Albinus and intensified throughout the course of his reign. Originally Severus had 65 senators arrested, but later freed 36 and had the remainder executed and confiscated their property. Severus placed these property confiscations into his own private fund, which allowed him to leave a much greater fortune to his sons than any previous emperor.¹⁰ In light of these facts, it is not surprising that one of our sources, the biography reputedly written by Aelius Spartianus, which is part of the notoriously unreliable *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, describes Severus as very superstitious, narrow minded and cruel.¹¹ Spartianus' biography also gives a list of the names of senators whom Severus reputedly put to death.¹² Scholars doubt that some of these names are genuine.¹³ Nevertheless, in spite of his reputation for cruelty, Severus was also regarded as a shrewd and competent leader by both his admirers and detractors.¹⁴

⁸ BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, pp. 195-196.

⁹ DIO, LXXVII.15,2.

¹⁰ SHA, *Severus* XI. 1-5; HERODIAN, III. 8, 6-8.

¹¹ For problems related to the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, see: T.D. BARNES, *The Sources for the 'Historia Augusta'*, in Collection Latomus vol. 155, Brussels 1978; ID, *The Family and Career of Septimius Severus*, in *Historia* 16, 1967, p. 103; HASEBROEK, pp. 108-109 and 147; R. SYME, *Historia Augusta Papers*, Oxford 1983, pp. 12-29. 30-45. 209-223; ID, *Emperors and Biography*, Oxford 1971, pp. 33-34. 71. 113-134.

¹² SHA, *Severus*, XIII. 1-8.

¹³ BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, p. 199.

¹⁴ *Excerpta Valesiana* 333, in E. CARY, *Dio's Roman History*, vol. ix, Cambridge 1969, p.

In addition to a capacity for cruelty, Severus was also credited with many positive accomplishments. For example, he instituted many important reforms in the Roman army. He gave the Roman soldiery their first real pay increase in almost a century and allowed the soldiers to form permanent unions with their concubines, as well as greatly improving their living quarters and material well-being. Severus also reorganized some military units, raised new legions and strengthened the frontier defenses.¹⁵ However, Herodian claims that these changes only undermined the discipline of the army.¹⁶ Severus also removed the privileged status Italians had previously enjoyed in the army. He disbanded the Praetorian Guard, previously only recruited from those of Italian birth, and replaced them with soldiers from his own Danube legions, which tended to be recruited from the provinces. He later added them with his own 2nd Parthian legion and placed it under the command of an equestrian *praefectus* rather than a senatorial *legatus*. As was noted earlier, Severus would be the first emperor who would so openly favor the *equites* at the expense of the old senatorial class in his military appointments. This also had the added effect of broadening the base of recruitment for commanding officers and the shifting of the balance of power towards the military.¹⁷

Severus' reign also witnessed a process of humanization in Roman law. Severus was an able administrator and he gathered around himself the great jurists Papinian, Ulpian and Iulius Paulus. The *Digest* of Justinian preserves a large number of his legal decisions, ranging from civil and criminal law to the rights of women, slaves and children.¹⁸ Severus also sponsored numerous building projects throughout the empire, which reflects the overall prosperity enjoyed during this period. The existing physical remains of Severus' reign are many and impressive, especially in Rome and North Africa.¹⁹ Some scholars, such as Hammond, Barnes and Haywood, have seen

153, n. 1; HERODIAN, II. 14, 2.

¹⁵ For a full discussion see R. E. SMITH, *The Army Reforms of Septimius Severus*, in *Historia* 21, 1972, pp. 481-500.

¹⁶ HERODIAN III. 8, 4-5.

¹⁷ S. N. MILLER, *The Army and the Imperial House*, in *CAH*, pp. 19-36. PLATNAUER, pp. 158-172; BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, pp. 103-107, 128-129, 169, 195-200.

¹⁸ MILLER, in *CAH*, pp. 22-23; BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, pp. 164-169; PLATNAUER, pp. 181-182.

¹⁹ For a discussion of the Severan remains in Rome, see H. W. BENARIO, *Rome of the Severi*, in *Latomus*, 17, 1958, pp. 713-722.

For a discussion of Severan building activity in North Africa, see P. MACKENDRICK, *The North African Stones Speak*, Chapel Hill - North Carolina 1980, pp. 52-80, 143-178, 232-260; A. MENEN, *Cities in the Sand*, London 1972, pp. 67-108, 137-168; J. B. WARD PERKINS, *The Art of the Severan Age in the Light of Tripolitanian Discoveries*, in *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 1951, pp. 269-305; C. POINSSOT, *Les ruines de Dougga*, Tunis 1958; F. YEGÜL, *Baths and Bathing in Classical Antiquity*, Cambridge, Mass. 1992, pp. 184-249.

For Leptis Magna see R. BIANCHI BANDINELLI, E. VERGARA CAFFARELLI and G. CAPUTO,

in all his actions a clear indication of Severus' *romanitas* and have played down the provincial orientation of his regime.²⁰ On the other hand, scholars such as Millar and Birley have moved away from this view and emphasized Severus' *Africanness*.²¹

Despite all of Severus' military, legal and architectural endeavors, he continued to be resented by the conservative Italian patricians, who tended to regard him as a coarse, provincial parvenu. Part of this contempt was incited by a snobbish objection to Severus' African accent, which he retained even in his old age.²² Septimius Severus' orientation towards the provinces was further drawn by his marriage to Julia Domna, who persuaded Severus to appoint many of her Syrian relatives to imperial posts. Even the celebrated circle of Julia Domna reflected an eastern orientation, with the Syrian members dominating this group, a fact borne out by the writings of Philostratus.²³ We have already noted that Severus also appointed a high proportion of his fellow Africans to prominent positions in his government. Severus' favoritism towards the provinces may also be seen in many of his other actions. During his campaigns in the east, Severus went to Egypt, probably in 199/200, where he visited the Serapeum in Alexandria, donated a temple of Cybele to the same city, and had the tomb of Alexander closed. Under Severan sponsorship, many other civic buildings and temples were subsequently erected in Alexandria. He also allowed some of the Egyptian cities to form their own individual councils, a privilege they had been denied since the time of Augustus, and admitted Egyptians into the senate for the first time.²⁴ While visiting Lybissa in Asia Minor, Severus venerated the memory of Hannibal at his tomb, thus making an acknowledgement of his Punic heri-

Leptis Magna, Rome 1963; M. FLORIANI SQUARCIAPINO, *Sculture del Foro Severiano di Leptis Magna*, Rome 1974; K.D. MATTHEWS, *Cities in the Sand*, Philadelphia 1957; J.B. WARD PERKINS, *Excavations at the Severan Basilica at Lepcis Magna*, *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. xx, 1952, pp. 111-121; ID., *Severan Art and Architecture at Lepcis Magna*, in *The Journal of Roman Studies* 38, 1948, pp. 59-80.

For a discussion of some of the well-known monuments of the era see R. BRILLIANT, *The Arch of Septimius Severus in the Roman Forum*, in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. xxix, 1967; P.W. TOWNSEND, *The Significance of the Arch of the Severi at Lepcis*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* vol. 42, 1938, pp. 512-524.

²⁰ M. HAMMOND, *Septimius Severus, Roman Bureaucrat*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 51, 1940, pp. 137-173; T.D. BARNES, *The Family and Career of Septimius Severus*, in *Historia* 16, 1967, pp. 87-107; R.M. HAYWOOD, *The African Policy of Septimius Severus*, in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 71, 1940, pp. 175-185.

²¹ BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, pp. ix, xi, 1, 63; F. MILLAR, *A Study of Cassius Dio*, p. 184.

²² SHA, *Severus*, XIX. 8-10; BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, p. 34 argues that it was a provincial, African accent, not foreign one.

²³ PHILOSTRATUS, *The Lives of the Sophists*, II. 62.

²⁴ SHA, *Septimius*, XVII. 1-4; MALALAS 293.

tage.²⁵ Severus also favored his home province with noble buildings and founded the *Limes Tripolitanus* to protect them, as well as conferring the *ius Italicum* on the cities of Carthage, Utica and Lepcis Magna, and made many other cities *municipia* during his visit to Africa in 202/203, at which time the arch at Lepcis Magna was also built. In 207, coins were issued honoring Africa (Cat. nos. 91-93), which may be an indication of an imperial visit at this time.²⁶

The reign of Septimius Severus encompassed a significant turning point in Roman history. Not only was the Augustan principate being replaced by a military and dynastic monarchy, but the pace

of provincial participation in the imperial government was accelerated. Despite the image of Severus as a barbaric soldier emperor, his reign was also a turning point in the orientation of the Roman world, a changeover from the traditional Italian character of the Roman state towards the development of a more cosmopolitan outlook.²⁷ Finally, in what is probably the most significant development for imperial portraiture, the Severan age brought about the introduction of eastern symbolism into the imperial iconography.²⁸

The religious policy of the Severans

The religious policy of Septimius Severus is one aspect of his reign in which the provincial orientation of his regime is most evident. Severus' religious policies reflected a renewed interest in astrology and the eastern cults throughout the Roman world. The sources describe Severus as very superstitious and keenly interested in astrology, omens and the interpretation of dreams, all of which were used in his official propaganda to prove divine sanction of his reign.²⁹ Severus was also a skillful astrologer, which led to an interest in the number seven, a number which not only refers to his name but is also related to the seven planetary spheres, suggesting a powerful astrological affiliation. In fact, Septimius Severus' plan for the Septizodium, the monumental façade which he had built at the foot of the Palatine facing

²⁵ DIO CASSIUS, XIX. 65, 2.

²⁶ BMC, pp. cli and 214, nos. 309 and 310, pl. 34, 17 and 18.

²⁷ See articles in CAH, vol. 12 by J. BIDEZ, 611 ff., A. ALFÖLDI, 165 ff., W. ENSSLIN, 352 ff., F. OERTAL, 232 ff. For cosmopolitanism of the era see J. RÉVILLE, *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, Paris 1886, pp. 6-10. See also PLATNAUER, pp. 215-218, for African and Syrian influences on his reign.

²⁸ L'ORANGE, *Studies in the Iconography of Cosmic Kingship*, Oslo 1953, pp. 143-145.

²⁹ SHA, *Severus*, II. 8-9; III. 9; IV. 2-4; DIO CASSIUS, LXXVII. 11, 1-2; HERODIAN II. 9, 5-7; Z. RUBIN, *Civil War Propaganda and Historiography*, in Collection Latomus 173, Brussels 1980, pp. 21-40.

the Appian Way, may well have reflected this astrological orientation.³⁰ L'Orange has seen in this structure, which he refers to as the 'Septizonium', an attempt by Severus to represent himself as a Cosmocrator.³¹ This palace was built and consecrated in 203. This is also the same time, according to L'Orange's reckoning, in which Severus was initiating his Sarapis portraiture. L'Orange saw this structure as resembling the palatial structures of previous Roman emperors, such as Nero, Caligula and Domitian.

Inside this palace: "...the emperor sits enthroned in a cosmic hall having points of resemblance to the rotating hall of the Domus Aurea, and modeled, like the latter, upon the royal halls of the East. In these symbolic halls the monarch assumes the role of Fate and World Judge. The same imperial idea at work within the Severan palace determines its façade as well: just as a monumental vestibule with the colossal statue Nero Helios is placed in front of the Domus Aurea, so a colossal statue of Septimius Severus among the planetary gods stands before the palace of Severus. Here, as in the inner cosmic hall, he appears as _____.

The distinguishing feature, however, of this edifice, as compared with the palaces of Caligula, Nero and Domitian, is its African orientation. While the older palaces were oriented towards the Forum Romanum and the Via Sacra – the central and sacred Rome – the palace of Septimius Severus faces the Via Appia".³²

L'Orange noted that Severus, when he built the 'Septizonium', wanted the building to attract the attention of travelers from Africa to Rome.³³

"...By the addition of the new front (the Septizonium), the old Domus Augustiana is rotated on its own axis, now turning its back on the venerable public edifices of Rome, the Capitol, the Senate, the Forum Romanum, to stand with its new frontage – where the colossal statue of Septimius Severus is encircled by the planetary gods – towards the Via Appia, the empire and, as especially emphasized by our source, Africa. This change of direction is accentuated still more by the placing of the Severan family mausoleum on the Via Appia,³⁴ by the construction of Caracalla's thermae on this road, and by all the magnificent building activities carried on in these very parts by Severan emperors from Caracalla to Alexander Severus.³⁵ Something of the political revolution enacted in the *Constitutio Antoniniana* a decade later has here, in this significant re-orientation of the imperial palace, already become a *fait accompli* in the bearing and style of his majesty.

³⁰ MCCANN, p. 52; BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, p. 164.

³¹ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, pp. 84-85.

³² L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, pp. 83-84.

³³ SHA, *Severus*, XXIV. 3-5.

³⁴ SHA, *Geta*, VII

³⁵ SHA, *Caracallus*, IX. 4; *Elagabalus*, XVII. 8; *Alexander Severus*, XXV. 6.

...We must take into account, in our attempt to form a conception of this statue of Septimius Severus, that it does not, like the Caligula-Jupiter and Nero-Helios, face the Romans coming from the Via Sacra and Forum Romanum, but the new people from the provinces. In its type as in its orientation, the statue must evidently have been conceived as meeting the Africans".³⁶

Thus, for L'Orange, the 'Septizonium' is the single, most important symbol of the Severan political and religious program.

There are now no extant remains of this edifice, however, some knowledge of this building can be derived from the descriptions found in the sources and drawings made during the Renaissance era, when sections of it still remained.³⁷ The date for the construction and dedication of the building in 203 is confirmed by surviving inscriptions.³⁸ Birley has also followed L'Orange in interpreting this palace as a reference to the seven planetary gods, with the statue of Severus representing the sun. McCann, on the other hand, noted that L'Orange's interpretation of the building depends on the original spelling of the name as 'Septizonium' in order to be seen as a reference to the seven planetary spheres. In fact, the correct name for this structure, which is given by the *forma urbis*, the Severan marble plan of Rome, is 'Septizodium'. This changes the interpretation of this structure and it most likely represented a nymphaeum. McCann doubted that a nymphaeum may be interpreted astrologically. According to the passage in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* which describes the 'Septizonium', the statue that represented Severus as the ruler of the seven celestial spheres, which L'Orange interpreted as a Cosmocrator, was actually put there by Septimius Severus' prefect Plautianus.³⁹ This would suggest that the statue was not part of Severus' original plan and cannot be used as evidence that Severus intended to represent himself as a Cosmocrator. In addition, the fact that the inside of the palace had paintings of the stars on the ceiling does not necessarily imply that Severus wanted to create an imperial cosmic judgement hall. Birley accepted that the correct form of the name of the palace is 'Septizodium', but did not think that this would have prevented anyone from interpreting it as an astrological structure.⁴⁰

McCann offered as more convincing evidence for Severus' attempt to represent himself as a Cosmocrator an aureus of Caracalla issued in 201.⁴¹ This coin depicts Septimius Severus with the radiate crown and Julia Domna with the crescent moon, a new symbol for a Roman empress. The

³⁶ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 84.

³⁷ MCCANN, p. 52.

³⁸ CIL VI. 1032, 31229.

³⁹ SHA, *Severus*, XXIV. 3-4.

⁴⁰ DIO CASSIUS, LXXVII. 11,1; MCCANN, p. 52; BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, p. 164, n. 17.

⁴¹ BMC V, p. 204, n. 260, pl. 33.8.

date of issuance of this coin follows on the heels of Severus' victorious campaign over the Parthians. Severus, having humbled Rome's greatest enemy, was now the most powerful ruler in the Mediterranean world and may have wished to reflect this fact symbolically by representing himself as a Cosmocrator.⁴² Inscriptions from Severus' reign also provide evidence for his divine aspirations. Murphy and Hammond noted that the practice of referring to the emperor as *dominus noster* in the inscriptions commences with Severus⁴³ and Tertullian informs us that this term specifically refers to a god.⁴⁴

The Severan era coincided with a great upsurge in the popularity of the eastern mystery cults. Severus was not the first emperor to favor these cults, but they received a new impetus under his reign.⁴⁵ Most significant is the preference Severus had for the African cults, in particular, those of Isis and Sarapis from Egypt and the cult of Dea Caelestis from North Africa. The symbols associated with these gods appeared in the coinage and monuments of Severus almost as soon as his power was consolidated.

Severus himself had a deep personal interest in the cult of Sarapis. In fact, Sarapis was singularly suitable as a cult for a ruler. The god was a creation of Ptolemy Soter (323-283 B.C.), who wished to establish a cult more acceptable to the Greek population of Egypt. Since the Greeks traditionally disdained the animal worship of the Egyptians, Ptolemy, on the advice of Manetho and Timotheus, fused the names of Osiris and Apis together to form Sarapis. The Greek artist Bryaxis created the cult statue which would serve as the source of all the significant iconography associated with this god. Bryaxis depicted Sarapis with a bearded face, similar to that of Zeus, Hades or Asklepios, and sitting on a throne. On his head he wore the *modius* or *kalathos*, a symbol of fertility. In his right hand he carried a scepter, an obvious association with Zeus, while at his right side sat the three headed dog, Cerberus, as a reference to Hades. Sarapis was originally considered a god of the underworld but, in the syncretism of the Roman era, became associated with other ruler-type gods. Sarapis was also a healing god and his sanctuaries became centers for incubation healing, similar to those of Asklepios. The cult of Sarapis was closely associated with the Ptolemy dynasty of Egypt and eventually spread throughout the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and Roman eras.⁴⁶

⁴² MCCANN, pp. 52-53, pl. I, fig. 1; M.G. WILLIAMS, *Studies in the Lives of Roman Emperors*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 6, 1902, p. 280; COHEN, p. 243.

⁴³ G.J. MURPHY, *The Reign of the Emperor L. Septimius Severus. From the Evidence of the Inscriptions*, Philadelphia 1945, pp. 102-103; MASON HAMMOND, *Imperial Elements in the Formula of the Roman Emperors During the First Two and a Half Centuries of the Empire*, in *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 25, 1957, p. 59.

⁴⁴ TERTULLIAN, *Apology*, 34, 1.

⁴⁵ J. RÉVILLE, *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, Paris 1886, pp. 47-54.

⁴⁶ For more detailed discussion of the Sarapis cult see J.E. STAMBAUGH, *Sarapis Under the*

Severus came under the influence of the religion of Sarapis at a very early age, which was widespread across North Africa.⁴⁷ When he visited Egypt in 199-200, he commented that one of the things he found enjoyable during this trip was the religion of Sarapis.⁴⁸ Further evidence for Severus' interest in the cult is provided by coins (discussed below) and inscriptions.⁴⁹ McCann suggested that association with Sarapis would also play into Severus' desire to portray himself as a Cosmocrator, in this regard, as ruler of the underworld.⁵⁰ From Septimius Severus, the cult of Sarapis became a part of the Severan patrimony. Sarapis was now the tutelary deity of the imperial family, an association similar to that of the Ptolemies. This connection was especially strong during the reign of Caracalla, who not only spent time in the Serapeum in Egypt before his Parthian war, but even introduced the rites of the cult into the *pomerium* at Rome, and built a temple to Sarapis on the Quirinal and another one to Isis-Sarapis on the Caelius. Caracalla also minted a wide series of coins which carried Sarapis images on the reverses (Cat. nos. 206, 210, 211, and 212 are some examples of these types).⁵¹

From the third century onwards, the Mediterranean world witnessed a growing trend towards syncretism among the various pagan cults. The worship of Sarapis was not only adopted by other oriental religions, but also the cults of the traditional Graeco-Roman deities, such as Zeus, Helios, Hades and Asklepios. Sarapis became closely associated with the sun, which led to his adoption by the cult of Mithras.⁵² Vermaseren, for instance, found a Sarapis head in the Mithraeum under Santa Prisca in Rome. Both the Sarapis head and the Mithraeum date from the time of Severus' reign.⁵³

The port of Ostia is another place where much of this religious syncretism is evident. In fact, Ostia contains many eastern cult sites which are datable to Severus' reign.⁵⁴ The cult of Sarapis enjoyed its widest expansion

Early Ptolemies, Leiden 1972; H. ENGELMANN, *The Delian Aretology of Sarapis*, Leiden 1972; M. FRASER, *Two Studies on the Cult of Sarapis in the Hellenistic World*, in *Opuscula Atheniensia* iii, 1960, pp. 1-54; G.J.F. KATER-SIBBES, *Preliminary Catalogue of Sarapis Monuments*, Leiden 1973; H.C. YOUTIE, *The Kline of Sarapis*, in *Harvard Theological Review* 41, 1948, pp. 9-29; R. TURCAN, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde romain*, Paris 1992, pp. 78-127; F. CUMONT, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, New York 1956, pp. 73-102.

⁴⁷ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 82.

⁴⁸ SHA, *Septimius*, XVII. 4.

⁴⁹ CIL III. 1, 4560; ILS II. 1, 4356.

⁵⁰ MCCANN, p. 53.

⁵¹ DIO CASSIUS, LXXVIII. 23, 2; HERODIAN, IV. 8, 6-9; SHA, *Caracallus*, 9; L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 82. See also J. RÉVILLE *La religion à Rome sous les Sévères*, Paris 1886, pp. 54-61.

⁵² MCCANN, pp. 54-55.

⁵³ M.J. VERMASEREN and C.C. VAN ESSEN, *The Excavations in the Mithraeum of the Church of Santa Prisca in Rome*, Leiden 1965, pp. 134-135.

⁵⁴ L. ROSS TAYLOR, *The Cults of Ostia*, Baltimore 1913, pp. 66-93; M.F. SQUARCIAPINO, *I culti orientali ad Ostia*, Leiden 1962, pp. 19-59; R. MEIGGS, *Roman Ostia*, Oxford 1973, pp.

during the Severan era. Some evidence for the popularity of the cult at this time may be seen in the large numbers of lamps recovered from Carthage (Cat. nos. 83-89) which bear Sarapis and Isis images. Hornbostel noted that the greatest number of known Sarapis artifacts date from the Severan era.⁵⁵ Sarapis may also have been introduced into England during Severus' campaign in that country.⁵⁶ Under the sponsorship of the Severans, the Egyptian cults spread throughout Italy and the rest of the empire.⁵⁷

Another African cult associated with the Severans was that of Dea Caelestis, the patron goddess of Carthage. The name 'Dea Caelestis' is the Roman name for the Punic goddess Tanit. Tanit was the Carthaginian version of the Phoenician deity Astarte, the consort of Baal-Hammon. Tanit is only attested in Carthage and had a temple on the Byrsa almost since the founding of the city. Contrary to the claims of ancient historians, the first Roman contact with this deity came not after the destruction of Carthage in the Third Punic War, but later, in 122 B.C., when Gaius Gracchus founded the Roman colony of Iunonia on the site of Carthage. At that time Gracchus had her temple on the Byrsa rebuilt and conferred the Roman appellation on her. Caelestis is also known as 'Virgo Caelestis' due to the virginal character of the goddess Tanit. Tanit's most important function was as a fertility goddess and had the pomegranate, ear and dove as her symbols. Tanit also had a crescent moon as one of her symbols, which may recall her earlier manifestation as Astarte, who was the Phoenician moon goddess. The use of the crescent on the coin depicting Julia Domna with Septimius Severus, which was discussed earlier, may be an allusion to Dea Caelestis. Tanit's Roman title 'Caelestis', with its reference to heavenly dominion, resulted in her eventual association with other mother or ruler-queen divinities, such as Juno, Aphrodite, Bona Dea, Dea Syria, Artemis and Demeter. During the Roman period, Caelestis came to be closely identified with Cybele and assumed much of the religious iconography associated with this cult. The Punic connection with these two deities was probably reinforced by the fact that the cult of Cybele came to Rome at the time of the Second Punic War. Dea Caelestis, like Cybele, was regarded as the earth mother and ruler over the animal kingdom. For this reason she came to be depicted riding a lion sideways, similar to the statue of Cybele on the spina of the Circus Maximus in Rome. This image is also depicted on some of the lamps found at Carthage (Cat. nos. 80-82), which also date from the Severan era. Dea Caelestis, like

354-377. Also MINUCIUS FELIX, *Octavius*, I. 4.

⁵⁵ W. HORNBOSTEL, *Sarapis*, Leiden 1973, pp. 258-284.

⁵⁶ E. and J.R. HARRIS, *The Oriental Cults in Roman Britain*, Leiden 1965, pp. 74-95.

⁵⁷ For a more detailed discussion of the diffusion of Oriental cults in Italy see M. MALAISE, *Les conditions de pénétration et de diffusion des cultes égyptiens en Italie*, Leiden 1972; V. TRAN TAM TINH, *Le culte des divinités orientales en Campanie*, Leiden 1972; ID., *Le culte des divinités orientales a Herculanum*, Leiden 1971.

Cybele, wears the mural crown and carries the scepter and drum. The resulting similarity in iconography between these two deities makes them almost indistinguishable from one another, a fact confirmed by the numerous inscriptions which survive from this time.⁵⁸ Severan sponsorship of this cult is attested in both the literary and inscriptional evidence and, like the cult of Sarapis, became a part of the religious patrimony of the Severan dynasty. Evidence of this may be seen in the spectacular remains of the temple to Dea Caelestis at Dougga constructed during the reign of Severus Alexander (222-235 A.D.). As noted earlier, Septimius Severus dedicated a temple to Cybele in Alexandria when he visited that city. An inscription survives from Lambaesa which records the consecration of a temple to Cybele, dedicating it to the health of the imperial family. The Severans used the image of Cybele/Dea Caelestis on their coinage and the greatest number of coins with such images date to the Severan period. It was also under Severan sponsorship that the cult became more popular among the upper classes in Rome and spread throughout Italy and the western provinces.⁵⁹

Inscriptions dating from Severus' reign show that the empress Julia Domna was worshipped as Caelestis.⁶⁰ The association of Julia Domna with

⁵⁸ For a more detailed discussion of Dea Caelestis see: G. CHARLES-PICARD, *Les religions de l'Afrique antique*, Paris 1954, pp. 100-129; G.H. HALSBERGHE, *Le culte de Dea Caelestis*, in ANRW II. 17.4, 1984, pp. 2203-2223; F.O. HVIDBERG-HANSEN, *Uni-Ashtarte and Tanit-luno Caelestis. Two Phoenician goddesses of fertility reconsidered from recent archaeological discoveries*, in *Archaeology and Fertility Cult in the Ancient Mediterranean*, Amsterdam 1986, pp. 170-196.

For Cybele and her iconography see: M.J. VERMASEREN, *Cybele and Attis*, London 1977; ID., *Matrem in Leone Sedentem*, Leiden 1970; ID., *The Legend of Attis in Greek and Roman Art*, Leiden 1966; F. NAUMANN, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und der griechischen Kunst*, Tübingen 1983; F. CUMONT, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, New York 1956, pp. 46-72; R. TURCAN, *Les cultes orientaux dans le monde Romain*, Paris 1992, pp. 35-76; ID., *Numismatique romaine du culte Métrouaue*, Leiden 1983; M. BIEBER, *The Images of Cybele in Roman Coins and Sculpture*, in *Collection Latomus*, vol. 103, 1969, pp. 29-40; ID., *The Statue of Cybele in the J. Paul Getty Museum*, Malibu, 1968; J.S. CRAWFORD, *A Brass Lamp From Sardis*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 78, 1974, pp. 291-294; G.M.A. HANFMANN and J.C. WALDBAUM, *Kybele and Artemis: Two Anatolian Goddesses at Sardis*, in *Archaeology*, 1969, pp. 264-269.

⁵⁹ MALALAS, 293; C. POINSSOT, *Les Ruines de Dougga*, Tunis 1958, pp. 41-44; M. BIEBER, *The Images of Cybele in Roman Coins and Sculpture*, in *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, vol. II.I, *Collection Latomus* n. 103, Brussels 1969, pp. 29-40; G.H. HALSBERGHE, *Le culte de Dea Caelestis*, in ANRW II. 17.4, pp. 2203-2223; M. LE GLAY, *Inscriptions de Lambèse*, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris 1956, p. 300.

⁶⁰ CIL VII. 759; CIL XIII. 6671; *L'annee Epigraphique*, 1956, p. 47, n. 144; A.V. DOMASZEWSKI, *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion*, Leipzig 1909, p. 148; ID., *Religion des römischen Heeres*, Trier 1895, p. 74. See also I. MUNDLE, *Dea Caelestis in der Religionspolitik des Septimius Severus*, in *Historia* 10, 1961, pp. 228-237 who disputes the association of this cult with Julia Domna. Furthermore, MUNDLE believes the images of Dea Caelestis on Severus' coins merely commemorate his visit to Africa in 202. MCCANN (p. 56, n. 105), however, rejects her arguments, noting the explicit identification of Julia Domna with Dea

Dea Caelestis not only acknowledges the African heritage of her husband but also her Syrian homeland. Through this association with Dea Caelestis, Julia Domna came to be identified with Dea Syria, Juno, Diana, Demeter and Cybele.⁶¹ Julia Domna was also specifically likened to Isis, the consort of Sarapis. A number of issues from the mints of Rome and Laodicea (Cat. nos. 180-193) link Julia Domna with Isis. These coins show Isis suckling baby Horus, while standing on the prow of a ship (Cat. P. 185).⁶² Julia Domna was also worshipped as Athena Polias and was given a cult statue inside the Parthenon.⁶³ Thus, Julia Domna was more highly honored than any previous Roman empress and appears in more inscriptions and coins than any woman before her.⁶⁴

The Portraiture of Septimius Severus

The first scholar to make a survey of the portraits of Septimius Severus was Bernoulli, as part of his overall discussion of Roman imperial portraiture.⁶⁵ The next and most significant treatment of Severus' iconography was done by H.P. L'Orange.⁶⁶ Sheldon Nodelman attempted the first truly complete catalogue of Severan portraiture in 1964.⁶⁷ McCann's subsequent study in 1968 is the most comprehensive to date, supplemented by that of Soechting in 1972.⁶⁸ Compared with the 83 portraits in the round catalogued by Bernoulli, McCann has expanded the list to 102, of which 51 are of the

Caelestis in the latter inscription (... *Iuliae Augustae Caelesti deae matri imperatoris Caesaris*...). See also BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, p. 185.

Vermaseren has also found inscriptions from Carthage, Numidia, and Gaul which link the Severan family with this cult; see M.J. VERMASEREN, *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque*, vol. V, Leiden 1986, nn. 95. 117. 270. 361. 392. 394 and 395.

According to J.S. Crawford, the association of Julia Domna with Dea Caelestis represents the first time any Roman empress was so honored.

⁶¹ CIL VII. 759, which links Virgo Caelestis with Dea Syria, Pax, Virtus and Ceres. See also BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, p. 185.

⁶² BMC, pp. cxxxiv and 166, n. 77, pl. 28, 18.

⁶³ J.H. OLIVER, *Julia Domna as Athena Polias*, in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, Sup. vol. I, 1940, pp. 521-30.

⁶⁴ MURPHY, *op. cit.*, pp. 103-104; M.G. WILLIAMS, *Studies in the Lives of Roman Emperors*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 6, 1902, pp. 259-305; E. KETTENHOFFEN, *Die syrischen Augustae in der historischen Überlieferung*, Bonn 1979, pp. 75-143.

⁶⁵ J.J. BERNOULLI, *Römische Ikonographie*, II. 3, Stuttgart, Berlin, Leipzig, 1894, pp. 21-35.

⁶⁶ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, pp. 73-86.

⁶⁷ SHELDON NODELMAN, *Severan Imperial Portraiture, A.D. 193-217*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1965.

⁶⁸ A. M. MCCANN, *The Portraits of Septimius Severus (A.D. 193-211)*, American Academy in Rome, 1968; DIRK SOECHTING, *Die Porträts des Septimius Severus*, Bonn 1972.

'Sarapis' type.⁶⁹ Soechting, more recently, has increased the number of 'Sarapis' portraits to 74.⁷⁰ Bernoulli originally divided Severus' portraits into two groups: those with the hanging locks over the forehead, and those without. Bernoulli mistakenly identified some portraits of Clodius Albinus as Severus, an error repeated by Nodelman.⁷¹ In addition, Bernoulli did not detect any difference in the representation of the age of Severus within these two portrait groups, nor did he arrange the portraits within a chronological sequence. He did argue that the type with the hanging locks was the earlier of the two. For years afterwards, scholars accepted Bernoulli's interpretations.⁷² However, in 1947, L'Orange compared some of the portraits of Severus with those in the datable historical reliefs and argued that those portraits with the corkscrew locks belonged to the later part of Severus' reign and attributed this characteristic to Severus' desire to represent himself as a Cosmocrator and associate himself with the cult of Sarapis. In fact, Toynbee pointed out that these corkscrew curls were unique to the portraits of Septimius Severus.⁷³ This view has been accepted by most scholars since L'Orange.

However, not all researchers accept this identification. Raeder did not detect any Sarapis features in Severan portraiture, while Baharal argued that the differences between Sarapis and Severan portraits outweigh the similarities and that Severus' interest in this cult has been exaggerated. Baharal cited as evidence in support of this argument the fact that Sarapis representations are absent from the coinage struck during Severus' reign, a point also noted by Takács and A.D. Nock, who, in turn, further stated that there were no oriental religious images on any of Severus' coins! Altheim also rejected the high level of orientalization of Roman religion that has been attributed to the Severan dynasty. These arguments not only dispute the various references in the sources to Severus' interest in eastern cults, but they are also contradicted by the fact that coins bearing the Sarapis image and those of other African deities *were* minted at Rome, Alexandria and the various regional mints during his reign.⁷⁴ McCann has pointed to a number of issues from the mint of Rome which, despite their inscription, clearly depict a Sarapis/Jupiter type wearing a modius (Cat. Nos. 202-209).⁷⁵ This type is a

⁶⁹ MCCANN, pp. 38 and 58, n. 115.

⁷⁰ SOECHTING, pp. 49-57.

⁷¹ BERNOULLI, pp. 19, 34; NODELMAN, pp. 38, 72 and 73.

⁷² MCCANN, p. 40.

⁷³ J.M.C. TOYNBEE, *Ruler Apotheosis in Ancient Rome*, in *Numismatic Chronicle* 7, 1947, p. 146.

⁷⁴ Cat. nn. 180-193, Isis reverses; nn. 194-201, Jupiter Ammon reverses; nn. 202-261, Sarapis reverses; nn. 107-133 Dea Caelestis reverses.

⁷⁵ L'ORANGE, pp. 77-86; MCCANN, pp. 53-54; SOECHTING, pp. 49-57; F. ALTHEIM, *A History of Roman Religion*, London 1938, pp. 458-65; J. RAEDER, *Herrscherbildnis und*

reflection of the religious syncretism of the time. Further evidence for the association of Sarapis with Jupiter may be seen in two inscriptions from Vindobona, one of which invokes 'Jupiter Optimus Maximus Sarapis' for the well-being of Septimius Severus and his family.⁷⁶

In his original argument, L'Orange pointed to two portraits of Severus, a head in the Glyptothek in Munich⁷⁷ and a bust in the Museo Nazionale in Naples,⁷⁸ as typical representations from the early years of Severus' reign. McCann, however, assigned these portraits to the later part of his reign. L'Orange claimed that the two sculptures seem to be related by comparing the locks of hair over the forehead and temples, the manner in which locks of the beard go around the chin in curves and form a deep cleft in the forked beard, and in the way the arrangement of the moustache forms a little hairless triangle above the middle of the upper lip. Severus appears cold and reserved. Because of the close similarity between these portraits and the reliefs of Severus on his arch at Lepcis Magna, this portrait type is known as the "Lepcis" type.⁷⁹ The Lepcis type is also similar to the private portrait types of the later Antonine period, which are known for a profuse amount of hair and a long beard.⁸⁰ Although the Lepcis Magna arch has no surviving inscription which gives the date of its dedication, it was probably constructed after 202. This date is inferred on the basis of the depiction of captives clad in Persian dress carved on the reliefs, a likely reference to Severus' Parthian campaigns of 197-202. The youthful representations of Severus' sons, Caracalla and Geta, would also seem to support that date.⁸¹ Thus, the arch at Lepcis probably dates from Severus' trip to Africa in 203, during which time he visited Lepcis Magna.⁸²

Münzpropaganda: zur Deutung des 'Serapistypus' des Septimius Severus, in *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* 107, 1992, pp. 175-196; D. BAHARAL, *Portraits of the Emperor L. Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.) as an Expression of his Propaganda*, in *Latomus*, vol. 48, pp. 565-580; NODELMAN, pp. 92-94; S.A. TAKÁCS, *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World*, Leiden 1995, pp. 114-116; A.D. Nock, *Conversion*, Oxford 1933, p. 129; A. GESSEN, *Katalog Alexandrinischer Kaisermünzen der Sammlung des Instituts für Altertumskunde der Universität zu Köln*, Frankfurt a. M., 1982, Band 3, p. 110, n. 2274 (Severus ca. 200/201), pp. 114-120, nn. 2284, 2285, 2288, 2294 and 2297 (Caracalla); Col. JAMES W. CURTIS, *The Tetrachms of Roman Egypt*, Chicago 1969, Septimius Severus issues: p. 49, n. 885, Ammon; p. 51, n. 903, Sarapis.

⁷⁶ CIL III. 4560 and CIL III. 4561; S.A. TAKÁCS, *Isis and Sarapis in the Roman World*, Leiden 1995, pp. 176-177.

⁷⁷ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 74, fig. 47; BERNOULLI, *op. cit.*, p. 27, n. 74; MCCANN, n. 101, p. 181.

⁷⁸ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 74, fig. 48; BERNOULLI, *op. cit.*, p. 24, n. 31; MCCANN, p. 179, n. 98.

⁷⁹ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 74-75, fig. 49.

⁸⁰ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 75.

⁸¹ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 76.

⁸² L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 76. For Severus' trip to Africa see BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, pp. 146-154;

L'Orange discovered another type of 'Sarapis' portrait associated with Septimius Severus: the 'inspired emperor' type, which can be seen in three examples: one, in the Vatican, (Cat. p. 46)⁸³ another in the Museo Capitolino (Cat. p. 47)⁸⁴ and, thirdly, the colossal head now in the Musée de Colonées (Cat. p. 53).⁸⁵ In these portraits, Severus has his eyes looking upward, lips parted, and seems to be radiating divine inspiration.⁸⁶ L'Orange noted that, in the Lepcis type, Severus appears fuller, even younger, which would further place this portrait type as the earlier of the two.⁸⁷ As a datable example of the 'inspired emperor' type, L'Orange referred to the relief of Septimius Severus from the Arch of the Argentarii, which was erected in 204 (Cat. p. 65)⁸⁸ and concluded that the main 'Sarapis' type portrait evolved in the period between the erection of the arches of Lepcis Magna and the Argentarii in Rome.⁸⁹

The Arch at Lepcis Magna also contains a relief which portrays Septimius Severus and his wife Julia Domna as part of the Capitoline triad. This identification can be made by the fact that the female deity has Julia Domna's characteristic hair and facial features. The seated divinity beside her can be identified as Septimius Severus on the basis of the remains of the beard and the restoration of the forehead, which was re-attached many years after the relief's discovery.⁹⁰ The figure of Minerva is too badly damaged to be able to make an association with anyone. L'Orange also noted that this group of deities lacks the symbolic attributes of the Capitoline deities, such as the eagle of Jupiter, although the animals associated with Juno and Minerva are present. In addition, the upper part of the body of the seated figure is not naked like Jupiter, but clothed like the gods of the east and the underworld. This feature is the fundamental characteristic by which Jupiter and Sarapis are usually distinguished.⁹¹ By comparing this seated figure to a replica of the Sarapis statue of Byraxis, L'Orange concluded that the two statues bear such a close similarity that it is unlikely to be coincidental.⁹²

J. HASEBROEK, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Septimius Severus*, Heidelberg 1921, pp. 132-135.

⁸³ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 75, fig. 50; BERNOULLI, *op. cit.*, p. 23, n. 26.

⁸⁴ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 75, fig. 56; BERNOULLI, *op. cit.*, p. 22, n. 1, Pl. X.

⁸⁵ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 75, Fig. 58; BERNOULLI, *op. cit.*, p. 26, n. 56, fig. 2.

⁸⁶ "...The locks of hair are even more abundant than in the Lepcis type, but instead of a Jupiter-like _____, the hair hangs in a heavy mass over the forehead, partially covering it with spiraling curls, and great locks of hair flowing down over the temples and ears..." L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 75.

⁸⁷ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 75.

⁸⁸ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 76, fig. 54; BERNOULLI, *op. cit.*, p. 28, n. 85, pl. XV.

⁸⁹ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 76.

⁹⁰ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 77; MCCANN, pp. 53. 78; BAHARAL, *op. cit.*, 1989, pp. 567-570; NODELMAN, p. 93.

⁹¹ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 77.

⁹² Like the relief on the arch at Lepcis Magna, "...Sarapis sits enthroned with the right

"...The Lepcis relief may now be collocated with the main type of the Septimius Severus portrait. In specimens of this type, the emperor is conceived as a heavenly man in inspired contact with the governing deity. But this connection with the celestial world is not only expressed in such 'inspired' portraits. Even the distinguishing mark of the type, the conspicuous mane of the locks, reflects the aspect of the deity. This time it is not Jupiter's wreath of locks that rises above the forehead and temples, but the emperor's head is adorned by the heavy, pendent mane of hair so peculiarly characteristic of Bryaxis' Sarapis statue.... If we compare the Septimius Severus on the Arch of the Argentarii (Cat. p. 65) with a replica of the Sarapis head... we find that the characteristics of the emperor's coiffure correspond to the peculiarities of the god's mane: on the

top of the head a great overhanging mass of hair, from which a number of clear-cut single locks hang down over the forehead like icicles, and along the sides of the face great waves of hair, almost entirely covering the temples".⁹³

Many other Severan portrait examples display this resemblance to Sarapis. L'Orange cited the bust of Severus in the Museo Capitolino (Cat. p. 46)⁹⁴ and the aforementioned colossal head of Severus in the Musée de Colonées (Cat. p. 53) as two examples sharing these common features with busts of Sarapis.⁹⁵ So strong was Severus' connection with this god that it was even said that Severus was regarded as a god by the Africans.⁹⁶ L'Orange attributed the origins of the Lepcis Magna arch to the syncretism of religion prevalent at that time. In this particular instance, we see the insertion of Sarapis into the Capitoline triad.⁹⁷ McCann saw another Severan example of divine allusion in the relief from the Arch of the Argentarii in Rome, in which both Severus and Julia Domna, who are turned towards the viewer, appear to be receiving a sacrifice rather than making one.⁹⁸ Palmer argued

foot advanced and the left drawn back, holding a scepter with his raised left while his right hand hangs down. He wears a short-sleeved chiton and a cloak thrown over his left shoulder and upper arm, where, falling down his back, it is drawn up from the right side, covering the lower part of the body and legs, and rolled up in a great bulge over the thighs. Only Cerberus is lacking, but he does not always accompany Sarapis". L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, pp. 77-78.

⁹³ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 79-80, fig. 54; p. 81, fig. 55.

⁹⁴ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 82, fig. 56; p. 83, fig. 57.

⁹⁵ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 84, fig. 58; p. 85, fig. 59.

⁹⁶ SHA, *Septimius*, XIII. 9 - "... *ab afriis ut deus habetur*". See also EUTROPIUS, VIII.19 and HERODIAN, IV. 2,1- 3,1.

⁹⁷ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 78.

⁹⁸ "...What is particularly significant to the analysis here of Severus' background and the influence of his reign is his special choice of the Romanized Jupiter-Sarapis form... As the first emperor from Africa, Severus could symbolically portray both his adopted Roman heritage and his African background through the single, powerful image of the syncretistic Jupiter-Sarapis... Severus' choice of the African god would also appear to be a deliberate propagandistic move to strengthen his claim to power and to syncretize the varying elements of the

that the arch is devoted to the 'divinity of the dynasty'.⁹⁹ Such syncretisms were peculiar to the Severi and may also be seen in monuments from a later period. One example is a capital from the Forum Romanum, believed to have come from the temple of Elagabalus on the Palatine. In this case, the Baal-Baetulus of Emesa, depicted with Jupiter's eagle, is represented in a triad with Juno Caelestis and Minerva. In fact, a story is recounted in Herodian of the 'marriage' of the Emesan god to both Minerva and Juno Caelestis by Elagabalus.¹⁰⁰ L'Orange considered both the Forum capital and the Lepcis relief as "...significantly expressive of the political and religious situation of their time: they both exhibit Roman forms permeated with the life of the East-with Egypto-African religiosity in the Lepcis relief, and Emeso-Syrian in the Forum capital".¹⁰¹ As was noted earlier, L'Orange concluded that the deliberate association of Severus with Sarapis was part of the emperor's campaign to have himself represented as a Cosmocrator. It is for this reason that L'Orange associated the appearance of this portrait type with Severus' construction of the 'Septizonium'. Thus, the use of the Sarapis-Severus image represented the introduction of Egyptian, or Oriental, images of kingship into imperial Roman portraiture.¹⁰²

empire which he in himself represented...(p. 53). Sarapis was the great African god who through his death and resurrection might promise to the initiated a renewal of life. What more persuasive visual symbol could have been chosen by Severus to express his claim to legitimacy and the promise of his new dynasty". MCCANN, pp. 53-4. 58.

⁹⁹ R.E.A. PALMER, *Severan Ruler-Cult and the Moon in the City of Rome*, in ANRW, II. 16,2, 1978, p. 1087.

¹⁰⁰ HERODIAN, V. 6, 3-5. See also SHA, *Elagabalus*, 3,4; 6, 9.

¹⁰¹ L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 79.

¹⁰² "...It was in the time immediately before 204 that the Severus-Sarapis type came into vogue as the favorite form of the imperial portrait. This date is significant. At this time Septimius Severus has carried out the consolidation of his power by a series of continuous wars against foes at home and abroad. Clodius Albinus was defeated in 197 and the Parthian frontiers are secured and the Orient pacified in the great wars of 197-202. Septimius Severus can now assert his sole supremacy in unlimited and absolute power...

The dominant type of the Severus portrait, which we named the Severus-Sarapis, exhibits, then, precisely this kind of adaptation to the African World. The emperor appears here as a Sarapis ruler in the Alexandrine style. Thus, this type shows a striking conformity with the Severan palace and its imperial statue. We have seen too, that in all probability the type came into existence at exactly the same time. It is natural, therefore, to connect the latter with the imperial statue of the Septizonium. In this statue Septimius Severus appears in deified shape as the Cosmocrator significantly facing Africa; just as the Severus-Sarapis type shows the deified emperor, and even in an Egypto-African apotheosis. The connection between the Septizonium statue and the Severus-Sarapis type is also confirmed by external evidence. In virtue of its place and significance, the Septizonium statue must have held a supreme position among the representations of Septimius Severus, and thus it also left its mark upon literature. Similarly, the Sarapis-Severus type is represented in overwhelming numbers among the portraits of the emperor that have come down to us... (p. 84-85)

...The Alexandrine conception of the Sarapis-king has here found its way into the Roman representations of the emperor. The ruler-theology, kept alive by the great royal tradition of

As was noted earlier, almost all scholars of Severan portraiture accept L'Orange's interpretation of Sarapis-Severus images. Where these scholars do differ from L'Orange, however, is in the dating of the first appearance of these types. McCann, Soechting and Nodelman have tried to resolve the dating problem by comparing the portraits of Severus in the round with those on the coins and thereby try to establish a chronology. This procedure has also led to an expansion in the number of Severan portrait types, with Nodelman finding three, Soechting four and McCann five. McCann did not accept L'Orange's dating for the first appearance of the Sarapis types, claiming that the arch at Lepcis Magna was built during Severus' presumed second trip to Africa in 207. McCann argued that coin obverses of Severus bearing the Sarapis locks started appearing in 196/197 and continued until 206, when they are replaced by a later portrait type. Nodelman also assigned the Sarapis portraits to the middle years of Severus' reign. Soechting believed that the painted wooden tondo in Berlin (Cat. P. 1), was the first use of the Sarapis type and that this portrait dates from the time of Severus' visit to Egypt in 199/200. Soechting further asserted that the Sarapis image continued to be produced throughout Severus' reign, alongside the other portrait types.¹⁰³

The Coins of Septimius Severus

Much of the scholarship on Severan portraiture has focused on the large number of coins which were issued during this era. This is not surprising as the profiles of the emperor on his coinage enable researchers to chart the changes in portraiture which these coins reflect.¹⁰⁴ The use of coins as actual

the Ptolemies right down to the incorporation of Egypt in the Roman empire, is once again in evidence here. The ancient Osiris-pharaohs, renewed in the shape of Ptolemaic Sarapis-kings, have adapted themselves to the new Alexandrine environment. It is still the same divine triad, Osiris (=Sarapis), Isis and Horus, that keeps watch over the royal house, protecting it, supporting it and giving it luck and victory. In Egyptian-Alexandrine circles these religious ideas regarding the reigning house survive even after the Ptolemies have given place to Roman emperors: the world rulers appear as Osiris-Sarapis or Horus kings, their empresses as Isis queens, in the old traditional style. But this religion possesses, at the same time, an expansive power, its conception of a divine monarchy influencing the Roman empire as well... it found particularly characteristic manifestations around 200 A.D., above all in the later portraiture of Septimius Severus. The Severus-Sarapis type fits into a series of historically related expressions. Commodus and Caracalla both had themselves portrayed as Horus rulers in Rome... The transfigured world ruler has now acquired a different physiognomy. The gods of the east possess him and their power is manifest in his person. The Roman-Jupiter emperors are now succeeded by the African Sarapis emperor, as the imperial center of gravity shifts to the provinces". L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, pp. 84-86.

¹⁰³ NODELMAN, pp. 87-94; SOECHTING, pp. 13, 49-57 and 273; MCCANN, pp. 73-80, 109-117.

¹⁰⁴ MCCANN, p. 38.

representations of individuals is based on the widespread belief that the portraits of the emperors, both on the coinage and in the round, were incised from the same sculpted models. The portraits used on the obverse dies for these coins were probably based on a clay or plaster model of the emperor which, in turn, was sculpted from life. These models were then used by other artists for making the various statues, reliefs and busts of the emperor. The models would be changed in the course of the emperor's reign, probably to refine the propaganda message or to reflect changes in the emperor's appearance, and were then circulated throughout the empire. The inscriptions on coins allow scholars to date and chart the changes in official iconography and then use this information to date similar portraits in the round or on reliefs.¹⁰⁵ The utilization of coins as a means of dating sculpted portraits is a technique used by scholars for many years.¹⁰⁶ The symbols struck on the reverses of these coins also enable researchers to gain insight into the propaganda messages of the imperial regime. The reverses tended to change frequently, with new ones being struck alongside the old, thus creating a wide variety of coinage types. Severus himself issued over 342 different types during the first three years of his reign.¹⁰⁷

Some of the earliest coins minted by Severus announce his African identity. From 194 through 195, a series of coins were issued (Cat. Nos. 94-101) depicting Africa, standing or reclining, wearing the elephant skin headdress, and bearing symbols of prosperity, such as the cornucopia, baskets of fruit or corn. Some of these reverses (Cat. Nos. 91 and 94-101) also include a lion, either walking or sitting (a possible reference to Cybele/Dea Caelestis?). A later issue (Cat. Nos. 90-93) commemorates Severus' visit to Africa in 202. Another subsequent issue (Cat. Nos. 102-106) bearing these reverse types was minted in 207, possibly commemorating another imperial visit to Africa.

Another coin type which honors Severus' homeland is a large number of reverse types depicting Dea Caelestis (Cat. nos. 107-133), the patron goddess of Carthage.¹⁰⁸ All of these reverses depict Dea Caelestis seated on a lion, which is running to the right over flowing water, a representation similar to the statue of Cybele on the spina of the Circus Maximus in Rome, noted earlier. Dea Caelestis also carries a drum, branch, thunderbolt or scepter as her emblems. All of these coins bear the portraits of Severus or

¹⁰⁵ BMC, p. XXX; MCCANN, p. 39. See also E.H. SWIFT, *Imagines in Imperial Portraiture*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 27, 1923, pp. 286-301; M. STUART, *How Were Imperial Portraits Distributed Throughout the Roman Empire?*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 43, 1939, pp. 601-617; R.A.G. CARSON, *Coins of the Roman Empire*, London 1990, pp. 64-68, 221-227, and 276-283.

¹⁰⁶ MCCANN, p. 39; NODELMAN, p. 33.

¹⁰⁷ BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, p. 123; MCCANN, p. 39.

¹⁰⁸ BMC, pp. cxlix and 218, n. 333, pl. 35, 12 (201-210).

Caracalla on the obverses, with one exception, which has Julia Domna (Cat. P. 117). The small number of this last type is puzzling when one considers the explicit association of Julia Domna with this deity contained in some of the inscriptions noted above.

Other African deities depicted on Severan coinage are Jupiter Ammon (Cat. Nos. 194-201), who appears on coins minted at Rome, Alexandria and Cassandra in Macedonia, and Sarapis. Mattingly, in his catalogue of the imperial coinage of Septimius Severus, did not associate the image of Sarapis with that of Jupiter on coins issued at Rome between 198 and 210 (Cat. nos. 202 and 203). As noted earlier, A.D. Nock claimed that Oriental deities were totally absent from Severus' coinage.¹⁰⁹ However, this particular issue shows Jupiter standing in a temple, wearing the *modius* of Sarapis on his head, with the legend **IOVI SOSPITATORI**. This reverse is also found on coins bearing the portraits of Caracalla and Geta issued between 203 and 210 (Cat. nos. 202-204, 207-209).¹¹⁰ Sarapis also appears on coins from Alexandria and on numerous issues generated by various cities in Asia Minor (Cat. Nos. 213-261).

Other Severan issues which reflect the religious policies of the regime are the types which associate Julia Domna with Cybele (Cat. Nos. 134-164, 167 and 179) and Isis (Cat. Nos. 180-193). In addition, a few cities in Asia Minor issued coins depicting Cybele with portraits of Caracalla on the obverse (Cat. Nos. 165, 166, and 168, 177 and 178). On the Roman reverses Cybele is shown either sitting on a throne, leaning on a column or driving a quadriga. On all of these coins she wears the mural crown and carries any combination of her usual symbols, namely, the drum, patera, scepter and branch. Cybele's lions are also present on each of these reverses. A few of these issues (Cat. Nos. 152-155) portray Julia Domna herself as Cybele, the most explicit iconographic association we have between the empress and this deity. Isis is always depicted suckling the baby Horus while standing on the prow of a ship.

At the present time there is no comprehensive study of the portraiture of Julia Domna on which to base the changes in her representations. However, the two most general portrait types associated with her differ mainly in the hairstyle. The head from the Museo Nazionale in Rome is an example of the earlier of the two. This hairstyle is characterized by symmetrical waves of hair held in the back by a bun. The head from the Glyptothek in Munich is

¹⁰⁹ BMC, pp. cli and 219, n. 341; A.D. NOCK, *Conversion*, Oxford 1933, p. 129; MCCANN, p. 54.

¹¹⁰ BMC, p. 219, n. 341, pl. 35, 17 dated 206; COHEN, p. 29, nn. 245, 246 (198-201); P.V. HILL, *The Coinage of Septimius Severus and his Family of the Mint of Rome A.D. 193-217*, London 1964, p. 33, nn. 840-845 (206). For coins of Caracalla with this reverse type see BMC, p. 256, n. 507, pl. 40, 16 and p. 332, n. 826. For coins of Geta see BMC, p. 339, n. 840, pl. 50, 9; COHEN, p. 260, nn. 65 and 66.

an example of the 'helmet' style coiffure. The earlier style was used throughout Severus' reign and appears on the coins mentioned in this study. Some scholars, however, have advanced a tentative dating for the different Julia Domna portrait types. Nodelman divided her portraits into three groups. The first he dated to before 196, the second type, which is seen in her portrait on the Arch of the Argentarii, dates from 196 to 205, and the last portrait type, from the arch at Lepcis Magna, dates from 205 onwards. Scrinari, on the basis of the coinage, also divides Julia Domna's portraits into three groups and dates them accordingly: the first, from 193 to 196, the second, from 196 to 211 and the third, from 211 to 217. Hiesinger also follows this dating scheme, with a variation introduced in 205. Baharal, on the other hand, has only detected two basic portrait types. Baharal believed that the earlier of the two portrait types was used as part of Severus' campaign to associate himself with the Antonine dynasty and that this portrait was intended to associate Julia Domna with Faustina, an 'Adoption' type of portrait, similar in intent to ones used by Severus in which he resembles Marcus Aurelius. Baharal dated the earlier portrait type to the period prior to 211 and the second type after this date.¹¹¹

Conclusion

From the above survey we have seen how the sculpted portraiture and coinage from the reign of Septimius Severus reflects the use of religious symbolism to further the legitimacy of the Severan imperial family. Severus' policies also announced a shift in the focus of the Roman state. Italy, and her people, would decline in importance while the empire as a whole adopted a more cosmopolitan outlook. This development should not be surprising when one considers the ethnic background of Septimius Severus, a factor often overlooked in much of the earlier research about him. Birley's detailed study of the inscriptional evidence from North Africa has clarified many of the questions surrounding the lineage of Septimius Severus – he was definitely of ethnic Punic origin on his father's side and not a descendant of Roman settlers –.¹¹² The Punic cultural heritage was still very strong in the area of Tripolitania from which he came. The fact that his first wife

¹¹¹ D. BAHARAL, *The Portraits of Julia Domna from the Years 193-211 A.D. and the Dynastic Propaganda of L. Septimius Severus*, in *Latomus*, vol. 51, 1992, pp. 110-118; V. SCRINARI, *Le donne dei Severi nella monetazione dell'epoca*, in *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, vol. 75, 1953-55, pp. 117-135; U.W. HIESINGER, *Julia Domna: Two Portraits in Bronze*, in *American Journal of Archaeology* 73, 1969, pp. 39-44; NODELMAN, pp. 114-131. See also J. FEJER, *The portraits of the Severan Empress Julia Domna: A new approach*, in *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, vol. 14, 1985, pp. 129-138.

¹¹² BIRLEY, *African Emperor*, pp. 212-229.

was of Libyan-Phoenician origin and that his second wife was a Syrian woman of royal lineage shows that he was more comfortable with his Semitic identity. However one regards Severus' promotion of the eastern cults, they are definitely an expression of their non-Roman origins. These eastern cults were not only important for the religious ideas they represented, but were also symbols of the areas from which they originated. Religion in antiquity tended to have a political complexion and cults were often identified with a particular group of people. The promotion of the oriental cults by the Severan dynasty represented the 'arrival' of the conquered peoples of the empire at the highest offices of the state. The Severan affinity for the provincials was genuine, despite the critical attitude of some ancient historians. Caracalla's grant of universal citizenship to all free born people in the empire was probably not as cynical as the sources have made it out to be. Caracalla's interest in the welfare of the provincials may have been sincere, despite his other personal failings. That the affection was mutual is amply attested in the archaeological evidence from sites such as Palmyra and Sardis, where many new citizens celebrated their status by adding the imperial name to their own. Fustel de Coulanges regarded the Antonine Constitution as the culmination of a long historical process of inclusion of new peoples within the state, for the identification of Roman citizen now transcended that of city, tribe or nationality and acknowledged that the empire represented a world-wide commonwealth of all its peoples.¹¹³

The surviving physical evidence from the Severan period gives us the clearest proof of Severus' propaganda program. The literary sources are not always the most reliable place for this information since they may contain inaccuracies, omissions or biases. However, the evidence of a coin or a sculpture is unequivocal. The disparity in the picture one gets between the written sources and the archaeological remains is probably greater for Severus' reign than that of any other emperor. The Severan era must serve as an object lesson to historians for the need to look beyond the literary sources and consider the physical evidence as well.

¹¹³ NUMA DENIS FUSTEL DE COULANGES, *The Ancient City*, Eng. trans., Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore 1980, pp. 378-380.

CATALOGUE

Septimius-Sarapis Types

1. *Tempera on wood tondo, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.*
MCCANN, p. 79, pl. XXI; SOECHTING, p. 172, n. 55; K.A. NEUGEBAUER, *Die Familie des Septimius Severus*, *Die Antike* 12, 1936, pp. 155-172; L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 76; W. ENSSLIN, *The End of the Principate*, in CAH, p. 364.
2. *Bronze head, Vatican Museum, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 23, n. 11; MCCANN, p. 155, n. 46, pls. LIV, LV; SOECHTING, p. 207, n. 107; NODELMAN, p. 85, pl. 20.
3. *Marble head, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.*
MCCANN, p. 156, n. 47, pl. LVI; SOECHTING, p. 183, n. 73; V. POULSEN, *Les portraits romains*, vol. ii, pp. 131-132, n. 130, Cat. 722, pls. CCVI and CCVII; NODELMAN, p. 80.
4. *Marble head, Pier Tozzi Galleries, New York.*
MCCANN, p. 156, n. 48, pl. LVI; SOECHTING, p. 195, n. 90.
5. *Marble bust, Newby Hall, Yorkshire.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 67; MCCANN, pp. 156-157, n. 49, pl. LVII; SOECHTING, p. 194, n. 89; NODELMAN, p. 82.
6. *Marble bust, Palazzo Riccardi, Florence.*
BERNOULLI, p. 24, n. 38; MCCANN, p. 157, n. 50, pl. LVII; SOECHTING, p. 177, n. 62; C. SALETTI, *Ritratti Severiani*, Rome 1967; NODELMAN, p. 80.
7. *Marble head, Villa Doria Pamphili, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 23, n. 19; MCCANN, p. 157, n. 51, pl. LVIII; SOECHTING, p. 209, n. 111, pl. 10a.
8. *Marble bust, Palazzo Pitti, Museo degli Argenti, Sala di S. Giovanni.*
BERNOULLI, p. 24, n. 34; MCCANN, p. 158, n. 52, pl. LVIII; SOECHTING, p. 177, n. 63; C. SALETTI, *Ritratti Severiani*, Rome 1967, p. 17, n. 2, pls. V and VI.
9. *Marble bust, Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 62; MCCANN, p. 158, n. 53, pl. LVIII; SOECHTING, p. 186, n. 78.
10. *Marble bust, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.*
BERNOULLI, p. 28, n. 80; MCCANN, p. 158, n. 54, pl. LIX; SOECHTING, p. 216, n. 123.
11. *Marble bust, Musée Saint Raymond, Toulouse.*
MCCANN, p. 159, n. 55, pl. LIX; SOECHTING, p. 212, n. 117; NODELMAN, p. 86, pl. 22.
12. *Marble bust, Staatliche Museen, Berlin.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 77; MCCANN, p. 160, n. 56, pl. LX; SOECHTING, p. 173, n. 56; NODELMAN, p. 78.
13. *Marble bust, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznan.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 78; MCCANN, p. 161, n. 57, pl. LX; SOECHTING, p. 199, n. 96.
14. *Marble bust, Museo Nazionale, Rome.*
MCCANN, p. 161, n. 58, pl. LX; SOECHTING, p. 204, n. 102.
15. *Marble bust, Louvre, Paris.*

- BERNOULLI, p. 26, n. 54; MCCANN, p. 161, n. 59, pl. LXI; SOECHTING, p. 195, n. 91.
16. *Marble bust, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.*
BERNOULLI, p. 28, n. 81; MCCANN, p. 162, n. 60, pl. LXI; SOECHTING, p. 216, n. 124.
17. *Marble bust, Petworth House, Sussex.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 68; MCCANN, p. 162, n. 61, pl. LXII; SOECHTING, p. 199, n. 95; NODELMAN, p. 83.
18. *Bronze statue, Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire, Brussels.*
BERNOULLI, p. 23, n. 23; MCCANN, p. 162, n. 62, pl. LXIII; SOECHTING, p. 174, n. 58; NODELMAN, p. 79.
19. *Marble bust, Hermitage, Leningrad.*
MCCANN, p. 163, n. 63, pl. LXIV; SOECHTING, p. 186, n. 77; NODELMAN, p. 81, pl. 13.
20. *Marble bust, Uffizi Gallery, Florence.*
BERNOULLI, p. 24, n. 32; MCCANN, p. 163, n. 64, pl. LXIV; SOECHTING, p. 179, n. 65; C. SALETTI, *Ritratti Severiani*, Rome 1967, p. 18, n. 4, pls. IX and X.
21. *Marble bust, Houghton Hall, Norfolk.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 64; MCCANN, p. 164, n. 65, pl. LXIV; SOECHTING, p. 182, n. 71; NODELMAN, p. 81.
22. *Marble statue, Gallerie delle Statue, Vatican Museum, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 23, n. 10; MCCANN, p. 164, n. 66, pl. LXV; SOECHTING, p. 205, n. 105; NODELMAN, p. 85, pl. 19.
23. *Marble statue, Museo Torlonia, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 24, n. 25; MCCANN, p. 165, n. 67, pl. LXV; SOECHTING, p. 205, n. 104; NODELMAN, p. 84.
24. *Marble head, Musée des Antiquités, Guelma, Algeria.*
MCCANN, p. 165, n. 68, pl. LXVI; SOECHTING, p. 180, n. 67; NODELMAN, p. 81.
25. *Marble bust, Museo Torlonia, Rome.* Bernoulli, p. 24, n. 26; McCann, p. 165, n. 69, pl. LXVII; SOECHTING, p. 204, n. 103; NODELMAN, p. 84.
26. *Plaster head, Frankfurter Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt-am-Main.*
MCCANN, p. 166, n. 70, pl. LXVII; SOECHTING, p. 179, n. 66.
27. *Marble bust, Louvre, Paris.*
BERNOULLI, p. 26, n. 55; MCCANN, p. 166, n. 71, pl. LXVII; SOECHTING, p. 197, n. 93.
28. *Marble head, Antiquarium, Santa Maria Capua Vetere.*
MCCANN, p. 167, n. 72, pl. LXVIII.
29. *Marble head, Palazzo Ducale, Mantua.*
BERNOULLI, p. 25, n. 43; MCCANN, p. 167, n. 73, pl. LXIX; SOECHTING, p. 190, n. 83.
30. *Marble bust, British Museum, London.*
BERNOULLI, p. 26, n. 60; MCCANN, p. 168, n. 74, pl. LXX; SOECHTING, p. 187, n. 79, pls. 8 c and d; NODELMAN, p. 82.
31. *Marble bust, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.*
MCCANN, p. 168, n. 75, pl. LXX; SOECHTING, p. 184, n. 74; V. POULSEN, *Les portraits romains*, vol. ii, p. 131, n. 129, Cat. 723, pls. CCIV-CCV; NODELMAN, p. 80.

32. *Marble bust, Museo Capitolino, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 23, n. 4; MCCANN, p. 169, n. 76; pl. LXXI; SOECHTING, p. 202, n. 99; NODELMAN, p. 83.
33. *Marble bust, Castle Howard, Yorkshire.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 65; MCCANN, p. 169, n. 77, pl. LXXI; SOECHTING, p. 182, n. 72; NODELMAN, p. 80, pl. 12.
34. *Marble statue, Glyptothek, Munich.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 71; MCCANN, p. 169, n. 78, pl. LXXII; SOECHTING, p. 192, n. 86.
35. *Marble bust, Collection of Mr. L. Twombly, Rome.*
MCCANN, p. 170, n. 79, pl. LXXII; SOECHTING, p. 210, n. 113.
36. *Marble statue, Holkham Hall, West Norfolk.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 63; MCCANN, p. 170, n. 80, pl. LXXIII; SOECHTING, p. 181, n. 70.
37. *Marble bust, Museo Archeologico, Venice.*
BERNOULLI, p. 32, n. 34; MCCANN, p. 171, n. 81; pl. LXXIV; SOECHTING, p. 215, n. 122.
38. *Marble head, Museo Nazionale, Rome.*
MCCANN, p. 171, n. 82, pl. LXXIV; SOECHTING, p. 203, n. 101.
39. *Marble and red porphyry bust, Palazzo Lancelotti, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 23, n. 17; MCCANN, p. 171, n. 83, pl. LXXIV; SOECHTING, p. 208, n. 110.
40. *Marble bust, Musée Saint Raymond, Toulouse.*
BERNOULLI, p. 26, n. 58; MCCANN, p. 172, n. 84, pl. LXXV; SOECHTING, p. 213, n. 118; NODELMAN, p. 86.
41. *Marble bust, Palazzo Pitti, Florence.*
BERNOULLI, p. 24, n. 35; MCCANN, p. 173, n. 85, pl. LXXV;
SOECHTING, p. 178, n. 64; C. SALETTI, *Ritratti Severiani*, Rome, 1967, p. 18, n. 3, pls. VII and VIII.
42. *Marble statue, Palazzo Altieri, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 23, n. 12; MCCANN, p. 173, n. 86, pl. LXXV; SOECHTING, p. 207, n. 108.
43. *Marble head, Glyptothek, Munich.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 72; MCCANN, p. 174, n. 87, pl. LXXVI; SOECHTING, p. 193, n. 88; NODELMAN, p. 95, pl. 25.
44. *Marble head, Musée des Antiquités, Guelma, Algeria.*
MCCANN, p. 174, n. 88, pl. LXXVII; SOECHTING, p. 180, n. 68.
45. *Marble head, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.*
MCCANN, p. 174, n. 89, pl. LXXVII; SOECHTING, p. 173, n. 57; NODELMAN, p. 79, pls. 10 and 11.
46. *Marble head, Museo Chiaramonti, Vatican, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 23, n. 6; L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, pp. 75 and 76, Fig. 50;
MCCANN, p. 175, n. 90, pl. LXXVII; SOECHTING, p. 206, n. 106; NODELMAN, p. 85, pl. 21.
47. *Marble head and green alabaster bust, Museo Capitolino, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 22, n. 1, pl. X; L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, pp. 75, 79 and 82, Fig. 56; MCCANN, p. 175, n. 91, pl. LXXVIII; SOECHTING, p. 201, n. 98; NODELMAN, p. 84, pls. 17 and 18.

48. *Marble head, Santa Pudenziana, Rome.*
MCCANN, p. 176, n. 92, pl. LXXIX; SOECHTING, p. 210, n. 112.
49. *Marble head, Glyptothek, Munich.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 73; MCCANN, p. 176, n. 93, pl. LXXIX; SOECHTING, p. 193, n. 87.
50. *Marble head, Bardo Museum, Tunis.*
MCCANN, p. 176, n. 94, pl. LXXX; SOECHTING, p. 214, n. 119; NODELMAN, p. 86.
51. *Marble head, Bardo Museum, Tunis.*
MCCANN, p. 177, n. 95, pl. LXXXI; SOECHTING, p. 214, n. 120.
52. *Marble head, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.*
MCCANN, p. 178, n. 96, pl. LXXXI; SOECHTING, p. 181, n. 69.
53. *Colossal head, Musée des Colonées, Paris.*
BERNOULLI, p. 26, n. 56, fig. 2; L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, pp. 79 and 84, Fig. 58; MCCANN, p. 178, n. 97, pl. LXXXII; SOECHTING, p. 198, n. 94; NODELMAN, p. 83, pl. 16.
54. *Upper part of larger-than-life head, Dion, Museum, Macedonia.*
SOECHTING, p. 175, n. 59.
55. *Marble head, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 75; SOECHTING, p. 176, n. 60; MCCANN, p. 136, n. 16, pl. XXXIV.
56. *Larger-than-life head, Schloss Fasanerie, Fulda.*
SOECHTING, p. 176, n. 61, pl. 7 d.
57. *Miniature marble head in relief, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen.*
MCCANN, p. 139, n. 22, pl. XXXVII; SOECHTING, p. 185, n. 75.
58. *Marble head, Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen.*
SOECHTING, p. 185, n. 76, pls. 8 a and b.
59. *Small bronze bust, British Museum, London.*
BERNOULLI, p. 28, n. 83 a; MCCANN, p. 139, n. 21, pl. XXXVII; SOECHTING, p. 188, n. 80.
60. *Marble head, Boonefantennmuseum, Maastricht.*
SOECHTING, p. 189, n. 81, pls. 9 a and b.
61. *Marble head, Mactar.*
SOECHTING, p. 190, n. 82, pl. 9 c.
62. *Marble bust, Marbury Hall, Cheshire.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 66; MCCANN, p. 187, Ap. I C; SOECHTING, p. 191, n. 84.
63. *Marble bust, Museum of Archaeology, Merida.*
MCCANN, p. 196, Ap. III P; SOECHTING, p. 191, n. 85.
64. *Marble bust, Louvre, Paris.*
BERNOULLI, p. 25, n. 50; MCCANN, p. 192, Ap. III A, pl. XCVII; SOECHTING, p. 196, n. 92; NODELMAN, p. 82, pl. 15.
65. *Relief, Arch of the Argentarii, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 28, n. 85; L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, pp. 76 and 80, fig. 54; MCCANN, p. 73, pl. XV; SOECHTING, p. 200, n. 97.
66. *Marble bust, Museo Nazionale, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 24, n. 27; MCCANN, p. 188, Ap. I G, pl. XCIII; SOECHTING, p. 202, n. 100.
67. *Marble bust, Palazzo Colonna, Rome.*

- BERNOULLI, p. 23, n. 14; MCCANN, p. 141, n. 24, pl. XXXIX; SOECHTING, p. 208, n. 109.
68. *Marble bust, Palazzo Sciarra, Rome.*
BERNOULLI, p. 24, n. 24; MCCANN, p. 188, Ap. I, J; SOECHTING, p. 211, n. 114.
69. *Marble bust, Sammlung Somzée, Ehemels.*
SOECHTING, p. 211, n. 115, pl. 10 c.
70. *Marble head, Musée du Temple Païen, Tébessa (Algeria).*
MCCANN, p. 142, n. 25, pl. XXXIX; SOECHTING, p. 212, n. 116; NODELMAN, p. 97.
71. *Bronze bust, Sala dei Bronzi, Museum, Turin.*
SOECHTING, p. 215, n. 121, pl. 10 d.
72. *Marble bust, Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna.*
BERNOULLI, p. 25, n. 44; MCCANN, p. 137, n. 17, pl. XXXV; SOECHTING, p. 217, n. 125.
73. *Marble bust, Wilton House, Wiltshire.*
BERNOULLI, p. 27, n. 69; MCCANN, p. 193, Ap. III C, pl. XCVIII; SOECHTING, p. 218, n. 126.
74. *Marble bust, Woburn Abbey, Bedfordshire.*
BERNOULLI, p. 25, n. 70; MCCANN, p. 137, n. 18, pl. XXXV; SOECHTING, p. 218, n. 127.
75. *Marble bust, Schloss, Festsaal, Wörlitz.*
SOECHTING, p. 219, n. 128, pl. 11 a.
76. *Marble head, Kunsthandel, Zürich.*
SOECHTING, p. 219, n. 129, pl. 11 b.

Gems

77. *Sardonyx gem, Cabinet des Médailles, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.*
L'ORANGE, *Apotheosis*, p. 77, Fig. 51; MCCANN, p. 159, f., pl. XCI; SOECHTING, pp. 66 and 238, Cat., 2, n. 6.
78. *Carnelian ringstone, Metropolitan Museum, New York.*
MCCANN, p. 171, g., pl. XCI; SOECHTING, pp. 68 and 237, Cat. 2, n. 4.

Lamps

79. *Cybele sitting on a throne between two lions.*
J. DENEAUVE, *Lampes de Carthage*, p. 189, n. 878.
80. *Juno Caelestis sitting on a lion, moving to the right.*
J. DENEAUVE, *Lampes de Carthage*, p. 196, n. 931; The design of this lamp resembles the reverse of Severus' coin, Cat. 116.
81. *Juno Caelestis sitting on a lion.*
J. DENEAUVE, *Lampes de Carthage*, p. 211, n. 1042.
82. *Juno Caelestis sitting on a lion moving to the left.*
J. DENEAUVE, *Lampes de Carthage*, p. 218, n. 1092.
83. *Sarapis and Isis.*
J. DENEAUVE, *Lampes de Carthage*, p. 194, n. 913.
84. *Sarapis and Isis.*
J. DENEAUVE, *Lampes de Carthage*, p. 222, n. 1124.

85. *Bust of Sarapis, facing left.*
J. DENEAUVE, *Lampes de Carthage*, p. 181, n. 823.
86. *Sarapis and Isis, facing right.*
J. DENEAUVE, *Lampes de Carthage*, p. 202, n. 981.
87. *Head of Sarapis wearing modius with sunburst.*
J. DENEAUVE, *Lampes de Carthage*, p. 215, n. 1068.
88. *Head of Sarapis, facing left.*
J. DENEAUVE, *Lampes de Carthage*, p. 217, n. 1078.
89. *Bust of Sarapis.*
J. DENEAUVE, *Lampes de Carthage*, p. 219, n. 1101.

Coins

Africa Reverses

90. Denarius, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
o. Head of Severus with laurel crown facing right, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG**
r. Africa standing, facing right, wearing elephant skin headdress and holding a fruit basket on the left arm, **P M TR P XV COS III P P**
RIC, p. 19, n. 61, pl. 6.
91. Denarius, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
o. Head of Severus with laurel crown facing right, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG**
r. Africa standing, facing right, wearing elephant skin headdress and holding a scorpion in left hand with a lion walking to the right, **AFRICA**
RIC, p. 21, n. 82, pl. 7; COHEN, p. 6, n. 25; BMC, p. 214, n. 309, pl. 34.17.
92. Denarius, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
o. Head of Severus with laurel crown facing right, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG**
r. Africa, reclining, facing left, wearing elephant skin headdress and holding a scorpion with cornucopia on a rock and basket of corn-ears on left, **AFRIC A**
RIC, p. 22, n. 83, pl. 7; COHEN, p. 6, n. 31; BMC, p. 214, n. 311.
93. Denarius, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
o. Same as n. 91.
r. Africa, reclining, facing left, wearing elephant skin headdress, holding scorpion in right hand and cornucopia in left and resting elbow on rock: in front, basket with ears of corn, **A FRI CA**
BMC, p. 214, n. 310, pl. 34.18; COHEN, p. 6, n. 31.
94. Sestertius, Rome, 194 A.D.
o. Bust of Severus facing right with laurel crown and drapery on shoulder, **L SEPT SEV PE RT AVG IMP III**
r. Africa, standing, facing right, wearing elephant skin headdress with left hand holding drapery and lion at feet facing right, **AFRICAS C**
RIC, p. 26, n. 122, pl. 8; COHEN, p. 6, n. 26; BMC, p. 127, n. 504, pl. 22.4.
95. Sestertius, Rome, 194 A.D.
o. Bust of Severus facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP III**
r. Same as n. 94.
COHEN, p. 6, n. 27.
96. Sestertius, Rome, 194-195 A.D.

- o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, **L SEPT SEV PE RT AVG IMP IIII**
r. Africa, as in n. 94, **A FRICA SC**
BMC, p. 129, n. 514; COHEN, p. 6, n. 28.
97. Sestertius, Rome, 194-195 A.D.
o. Same as n. 96.
r. Africa, as in n. 94, **[A] FRICA SC**
BMC, p. 129, n. 515.
98. Sestertius, Rome, 194-195 A.D.
o. Bust of Severus, facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **L SEPT SEV PERT AVG IMP IIII**
r. Africa, as in n. 94, **A [F] RICA SC**
BMC, p. 129, n. 516; COHEN, p. 6, n. 29.
99. Sestertius, Rome, 194-195 A.D.
o. Same as n. 98.
r. Same as n. 94, **A FRIC [A] SC**
BMC, p. 129, n. 517, pl. 22.6.
100. Dupondius, Rome, 194-195 A.D.
o. Head of Severus, facing right with radiate crown, **L SEPT SEV PE RT AVG IMP IIII**
r. Africa, as in n. 94, **A FRICA SC**
BMC, p. 130, n. 523, pl. 22.10; COHEN, p. 6, n. 30.
101. Dupondius, Rome, 194-195 A.D.
o. Same as n. 100.
r. Same as n. 100.
BMC, p. 131, n. 524.
102. Denarius, Rome, 207 A.D.
o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG**
r. Africa, standing front, head turned right, wearing elephant skin headdress and holding vertical spear in left hand with lion standing at right, **P M TR P XV C OS III P P**
BMC, p. 262, n. 530, pl. 41.11.
103. Denarius, Rome, 207 A.D.
o. Same as n. 102.
r. Africa, same as p. 102, but holding a basket of fruit.
COHEN, p. 52, p. 493.
104. Bronze, Rome, 207 A.D.
o. Same as n. 102.
r. Africa, same as n. 103.
COHEN, p. 52, n. 494.
105. Denarius, Rome, 207 A.D.
o. Same as n. 102.
r. Africa, same as n. 102 but holding drapery in other hand.
BMC, p. 263, n. 531.
106. Denarius, Rome, 207 A.D.
o. Same as n. 102.
r. Same as n. 105.
BMC, p. 263, n. 532.

Dea Caelestis Reverses

107. Aureus, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
 o. Profile of Severus with laurel crown facing right, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG**
 R. Dea Caelestis, seated and facing front with head turned to the right, holding thunderbolt and scepter, riding on a lion running to the right, over water flowing from rock on the left, **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH**
 RIC, p. 22, n. 88, pl. 7; COHEN, p. 27, n. 227.
108. Denarius, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
 o. Same as n. 107.
 r. Dea Caelestis riding lion as on n. 107, **INDVLGE NTIA AVGG IN CARTH**
 RIC, p. 22, n. 89, pl. 7; COHEN, p. 27, n. 222.
109. Sestertius, Rome, 203 A.D.
 o. Bust of Severus, facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG P M TR P XI**
 r. Same as n. 108 with **S C**
 COHEN, p. 27, n. 223.
110. Aureus, Rome 201-210 A.D.
 o. Bust of Severus facing right with cuirass and laurel crown, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG**
 r. Dea Caelestis riding lion as on n. 107, with head facing front, **INDVLGEN TIA AVGG IN CARTH**
 RIC, p. 22, n. 90, pl. 7.
111. Aureus, Rome, 203 A.D.
 o. Bust of young Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG**
 r. Dea Caelestis, holding thunderbolt and scepter, sitting on a lion running to the right over water flowing from a rock, **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CART**
 COHEN, p. 153, n. 96.
112. Denarius, Rome, 201-206 A.D.
 o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG**
 r. Dea Caelestis, seated and facing front, holding thunderbolt and scepter, riding on a lion running to the right over water flowing from a rock, **INDVLGEN TIA AVGG IN CARTH**
 RIC, p. 55, n. 37; COHEN, p. 153, n. 97; BMC, p. 208, n. 281.
113. Denarius, Rome, 201-206 A.D.
 o. Same as n. 112.
 r. Same as n. 112, but **INDVLGE NTIA AVGG**
 RIC, p. 55, n. 38, pl. 17; COHEN, p. 153, n. 97; BMC, p. 208, n. 280, pl. 34.3.
114. Denarius, Rome, 201-206 A.D.
 o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG**
 r. Dea Caelestis, seated on lion running right, right hand on drum and transverse scepter in left, **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH**
 BMC, p. 209, n. 282.
115. Aureus, Rome, 201-206 A.D.
 o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **ANTONINVS PIVSAVG**
 r. Dea Caelestis, as on n. 114, **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH**

- BMC, p. 208, n. 279; pl. 34.2
116. Aureus, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
o. Bust of Severus, facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG**
r. Dea Caelestis, as on n. 114, **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH**
BMC, p. 218, n. 333, pl. 35.12, COHEN, p. 26, n. 217.
117. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, **IVLIA AVGVSTA**
r. Dea Caelestis, as in n. 116 above (hybrid), **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH**
COHEN, p. 112, n. 80.
118. As, Rome, 203 A.D.
o. Same as n. 116 with **P M TR P XI**
r. Same as n. 116 with **S C**
BMC, p. 334, n. 830, pl. 50.1; COHEN, p. 27, n. 218.
119. Denarius, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG**
r. Same as n. 116.
BMC, p. 218, n. 334, pl. 35.13.
120. Denarius, Rome, 204 A.D.
o. Same as n. 119.
r. Same as n. 116, but without the scepter.
COHEN, p. 27, n. 219.
121. Sestertius, Rome, 204 A.D.
o. Bust of Severus, facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG P M TR P XII**
r. Same as n. 116, but holding a thunderbolt with **S C**
COHEN, p. 27, n. 220.
122. Denarius, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
o. Same as n. 119.
r. Same as n. 116, but with lightning bolt, **INDVLGEN TIA AVGG IN CARTH**
BMC, p. 218, n. 335, pl. 35.11; COHEN, p. 27, n. 222.
123. Denarius, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
o. Same as n. 119.
r. Same as n. 122, **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH**
BMC, p. 218, n. 336, pl. 35.14.
124. Denarius, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
o. Same as n. 119.
r. Same as n. 122, **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH**
BMC, p. 218, n. 337.
125. Denarius, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
o. Same as n. 119.
r. Same as n. 124.
BMC, p. 218, n. 338.
126. Sestertius, Rome, 203 A.D.
o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG PONT TR P VI**

- r. Dea Caelestis seated on lion running to the right over water flowing from a rock and holding branch and drum, **INDVLGENTIA AVG IN CARTH [S C]**
BMC, p. 334, †, COHEN, p. 153, n. 98.
127. As, Rome, 202-204 A.D.
o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right, with laurel crown and cuirass **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG PONT TR P VI**
r. Dea Caelestis, seated and facing front, holding drum and scepter, riding on a lion running to the right over water flowing from rock, **INDVLGENTIA AVG G IN CARTH S C**
RIC, p. 60, n. 78, pl. 19; COHEN, p. 153, n. 99, with no **S C**; BMC, p. 335, n. 832, pl. 50.3.
128. Dupondius, Rome, 203 A.D.
o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with radiate crown and cuirass, **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG PONT TR P VI**
r. Same as n. 127, **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH SC**
BMC, p. 235, n. 831, pl. 50.2; COHEN, p. 153, n. 100, with n. **S C**.
129. Sestertius, Rome, 204 A.D.
o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG PONT TR P VII**
r. Dea Caelestis as on n. 127, but holding thunderbolt instead of drum, **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH S C**
BMC, p. 343, *.
130. As, Rome, 204 A.D.
o. Bust of Severus, facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG P M TR P XII**
r. Dea Caelestis, as on n. 127, but holding thunderbolt instead of drum, **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH SC**
BMC, p. 342, n. 844, pl. 51.1; COHEN, p. 27, n. 226; n. 221 without scepter.
131. Aureus, Rome, 204 A.D.
o. Bust of Severus, facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG P M TR P XII**
r. Dea Caelestis, riding on a lion over water flowing from a rock and holding thunderbolt and scepter, **INDVLGENTIAAVGGINCARTH**
BMC, p. 248, *; COHEN, p. 27, n. 224.
132. As, Rome, 202-211 A.D.
o. Head of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG**
r. Dea Caelestis, seated on lion galloping to the right over water flowing from a rock and holding a drum and scepter, **INDVLGENTIAAVGGINCARTH [S C]**
BMC, p. 332 *; COHEN, p. 153, n. 101.
133. Sestertius, Rome, 204 A.D.
o. Bust of Severus, facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG P M TR P XII.**
r. Dea Caelestis riding on lion running to the right over water flowing from a rock and holding thunderbolt and scepter, **INDVLGENTIA AVGG IN CARTH S C.**
BMC, p. 341, †, COHEN, p. 27, n. 225.

Cybele Reverses

134. Sestertius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
o. Bust of Julia Domna, **IVLIA AVGVSTA**.
r. Cybele in a quadriga of lions, **AETERN AVGG**.
COHEN, p. 106, n. 7.
135. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
o. Bust of Julia Domna facing right with hair in horizontal ridges and flat coil at back of head, **IVLIA AVGVSTA**.
r. Cybele, wearing mural crown, seated on throne facing left with feet on stool, holding branch and scepter, with left arm on drum. Lions seated on either side of throne, **MATER DEVM**.
RIC, p. 42, n. 11, pl. 14; COHEN, p. 115, n. 123; BMC, p. 163, n. 52.
136. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
o. Same as n. 135.
r. Same as n. 135.
RIC, p. 42, n. 12, pl. 14; COHEN, p. 115, n. 123; BMC, p. 163, n. 52.
137. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
o. Same as n. 135.
r. Same as n. 135.
RIC, p. 42, n. 13; COHEN, p. 115, n. 123; BMC, p. 163, n. 52.
138. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
o. Same as n. 135.
r. Same as n. 135.
RIC, p. 42, n. 14; COHEN, p. 115, n. 123; BMC, p. 163, n. 52.
139. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
o. Same as n. 135.
r. Same as n. 135, **MATE R DEVM**.
BMC, p. 163, n. 51, pl. 28.7; COHEN, p. 115, n. 123, similar, with scepter in left hand.
140. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
o. Same as n. 135.
r. Cybele, wearing mural crown, seated on throne facing left and holding branch with left arm on drum(?). Throne on car drawn by four lions moving left, **MATER AVGG**.
RIC, p. 43, n. 28, pl. 14; COHEN, p. 115, n. 117; BMC, p. 163, n. 48, pl. 28.4.
141. Aureus, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
o. Same as n. 135.
r. Same as n. 140.
BMC, p. 163, n. 47, pl. 28.3; COHEN, p. 114, n. 116.
142. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
o. Same as n. 135.
r. Cybele, with mural crown, standing with head turned left, holding branch in extended right hand and drum in left. Lion at left. **MATER DEVM**.
BMC, p. 163, n. 49, pl. 28.5; COHEN, p. 115, n. 128.
143. Aureus, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
o. Same as n. 142.
r. Same as n. 142.

COHEN, p. 116, n. 129.

144. Aureus, Rome, 195-211 A.D.

o. Same as n. 135.

r. Cybele, with mural crown, sitting on throne facing left, holding branch in extended right hand, left elbow resting on drum. Lions seated on either side of throne, **MA TER DEVM**.

BMC, p. 163, n. 50, pl. 28.6; COHEN, p. 115, n. 122.

145. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.

o. Same as n. 135.

r. Same as n. 144, **MATER DEVM**.

BMC, p. 164, n. 53.

146. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.

o. Same as n. 135.

r. Same as n. 144, **MA ETR DEVM**.

BMC, p. 164, n. 54.

147. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.

o. Same as n. 135.

r. Same as n. 144, **MATER DEVM**.

BMC, p. 164, n. 55.

148. Sestertius, Rome, 196-211 A.D.

o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right with hair in ridges and flat coil at back of head, **IVLIA AVGVSTA**.

r. Cybele with mural crown, seated on throne facing left with feet on stool and holding a branch and a scepter with left arm on drum. A lion seated on either side of throne, **MA TER DEVM S C**.

RIC, p. 46, n. 45; COHEN, p. 115, n. 124, BMC, p. 309, nn. 772 and 773, pl. 47.4.

149. Dupondius, Rome, 196-211 A.D.

o. Same as n. 148.

r. Same as n. 148.

COHEN, p. 115, n. 125.

150. Aureus, Rome, 196-211 A.D.

o. Same as n. 148.

r. Same as n. 148, but without scepter.

COHEN, p. 115, n. 126.

151. Dupondius, Rome, 196-209 A.D.

o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, hair in five ridges and held in back by bun, **IV L I A AVGVSTA**.

r. Same as n. 148, **MAT[ER] DEVM S C**.

BMC, p. 313, n. 791, pl. 47.10; COHEN, p. 115, n. 127.

152. Dupondius, Rome, 196-209 A.D.

o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, hair in four ridges, **IV L I A AVGVSTA**.

r. Same as n. 148, **MAT ER DEVM S C**.

BMC, p. 313, n. 792.

153. Sestertius, Rome, 196-209 A.D.

o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, hair in vertical waves and fastened in queue at back, **IV L I A AVGVSTA**.

r. Julia Domna (as Cybele) wearing mural crown, seating in a quadriga of lions

- moving left, holding branch and drum, **MATER AVGG S C.**
BMC, p. 308, *; COHEN, p. 115, n. 118 (illus.).
154. Sestertius, Rome, 196-202 A.D.
o. Same as n. 153.
r. Same as n. 153, **MATRI MAGNAE S C.**
BMC, p. 309 *, COHEN, p. 117, n. 141.
155. Dupondius, 196-209 A.D.
o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, hair in six vertical ridges and fastened by a bun, **IV L I A AVGVSTA.**
r. Julia Domna as Cybele, wearing mural crown, seated on throne being drawn to the left by four lions and holding branch in extended right hand and resting left on drum, **MATER AVGG.**
BMC, p. 312, n. 788, pl. 47.9; COHEN, p. 115, n. 119.
156. Denarius, Rome, 211-217 A.D.
o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right with hair in horizontal ridges and flat coil at back of head with plait on neck, **IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG.**
r. Cybele, with mural crown standing, facing left, with legs crossed, leaning on a column and holding drum and scepter. Lion sitting at feet on left, **MATRI DEVM.**
RIC, p. 98, n. 7, pl. 30; COHEN, p. 116, n. 137; BMC, p. 432, n. 14.
157. Denarius, Rome, 211-217 A.D.
o. Same as n. 156.
r. Same as n. 156, without lion.
COHEN, p. 116, n. 138.
158. Denarius, Rome, 211-217 A.D.
o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, **IVLIA DOMNA.**
r. Same as n. 157.
COHEN, p. 116, n. 139; BMC, p. 170, judges this coin a forgery.
159. Sestertius, Rome, 211-217 A.D.
o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, **IVLIA DOMNA AVG.**
r. Cybele, wearing mural crown, sitting on throne between two lions, facing right and holding drum, **MATRI MAGNAE S C.**
COHEN, p. 116, n. 140; BMC, p. 124, judges this coin a forgery.
160. Denarius, Rome, 211-217 A.D.
o. Same as n. 156.
r. Same as n. 156.
RIC, p. 98, n. 8; COHEN, p. 116, n. 137; BMC, p. 432, n. 14.
161. Denarius, Rome, 211-217 A.D.
o. Same as n. 156.
r. Same as n. 156, with fold of drapery over column.
BMC, p. 433, n. 15.
162. Denarius, Rome, 211-217 A.D.
o. Same as n. 156.
r. Same as n. 161.
BMC, p. 433, n. 16, pl. 67.15.
163. Denarius, Rome, 211-217 A.D.
o. Same as n. 156.
r. Same as n. 161.

- BMC, p. 433, n. 17.
164. Denarius, Rome, 211-217 A.D.
 o. Same as n. 156.
 r. Same as n. 161, **MATRIDEVM**.
 BMC, p. 433, n. 18.
165. Bronze, Amastris.
 o. Bust of Caracalla, facing left with laurel crown, **ANT_NINOC AYGOYC-TOC**.
 r. Cybele, sitting on throne, facing left, holding patera and drum. Lions on either side of throne, **AMACTPIAN*N**.
 RGAM, p. 178*, n. 144, pl. XXI, fig. 7.
166. Bronze, Sinope, 207 A.D.
 o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right, wearing laurel crown and cuirass, **IMP C M AVR ANTONINVS A**.
 r. Cybele, sitting on throne, facing right, holding a drum. Lions on either side of throne, **C I F SINOP ANN CCLII**.
 RGAM, p. 204*, n. 131 a., pl. suppl. P, fig. 10.
167. Bronze, Bithynium.
 o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, **IOYLIA *OMNA CE**.
 r. Cybele, wearing mural crown, sitting on throne, facing left, holding patera and drum. Lion at the side of the throne, **BIQYNIE_N A_PIAN_N**.
 RGAM, p. 273, n. 36, pl. XLII, fig. 14.
168. Bronze, Juliopolis.
 o. Bust of young Caracalla, facing right, **M AYP ANT_NINOC K**.
 r. Cybele, wearing mural crown, sitting on throne, facing left, holding patera and drum. Lion at her feet, **IOYLIO_OLEIT_N**.
 RGAM, p. 388, n. 23, pl. LXIII, fig. 18.
169. Bronze, Marcianopolis.
 o. Bust of Severus, facing right, wearing laurel crown and cuirass, **AUL_E_TI_EUHRO_**.
 r. Cybele, sitting on throne, facing left, holding patera and drum, two lions at her side, **UFAU_TINIANO U MARKIANO_OLI T_N**.
 MPR, p. 579, n. 1233.
170. Bronze, Marcianopolis.
 o. Same as n. 169
 r. Same as n. 169, **UFAU_TINIANO U MARKIANO_O LIT_N**.
 MPR, p. 579, n. 1234.
171. Bronze, Marcianopolis.
 o. Same as n. 169
 r. Same as n. 169, **UFU_TINIANO U MARKIANO_OLIT_N**.
 MPR, p. 579, n. 1235.
172. Bronze, Marcianopolis.
 o. Bust of Severus, facing right, wearing laurel crown and cuirass, **AUKL_E_T_EUHRO_**.
 r. Cybele, sitting on throne, facing left, holding patera and drum, two lions at her side, **UFLOUL_IANOUMARKIANO_OLIT**.
 MPR, p. 582, n. 1245.
173. Bronze, Attuda.

- o. Busts of Severus, wearing laurel crown, facing right and Julia Domna, facing left, **AUT K L _E_ T _EOYHPO_ _EP IOYL_ OMVA _EBA_**.
 r. Cybele, standing, facing front, with two lions at her sides, **M OY KAP KLAY_**.
I AVO_ A_ I APXAV AT TOY _E_ V.
 MPR, p. 603, n. 1317.
174. Bronze, Hypaepa.
 o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, **IOULIA _EBA_ TH.**
 r. Cybele, seated, facing left and holding patera and drum, **E_ MEVAV_ P Y_ AI_ HV_ V.**
 MPR, p. 608, n. 1338.
175. Bronze, Tabala.
 o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, **IOYLIA _EBA_ TH**
 r. Cybele, seated, facing left and holding patera and drum with a lion at her side, **T ABA LE_ V**
 MPR, p. 612, n. 1349.
176. Bronze, Eucarpia.
 o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, **IOYLIA _EBA_ TH.**
 r. Cybele, standing and facing front with lion behind her, **EYKAP _E_ V.**
 MPR, p. 614, n. 1357.
177. Bronze, Prusa.
 o. Bust of young Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANT_ NINOC.**
 r. Tyche or Cybele, wearing mural crown, sitting, facing left, holding scepter and patera, **_POYCAE_ N.**
 RGAM, p. 588, n. 98, pl. CI, fig. 8.
178. Bronze, Prusias.
 o. Bust of Geta, facing right, **_ CE_ TIMOC GETAC K.**
 r. Cybele, wearing mural crown, sitting between two lions, facing left, holding patera and drum, **_POYCIE_ N _POC Y_ I_.**
 RGAM, p. 610, n. 55.
179. Billon, Alexandria, 199/200 A.D.
 o. Julia Domna, **IOYLIA _OMNA CEB MHTH CTPA.**
 r. Cybele enthroned, **GH.**
 VOGT, p. 115; HASEBROEK, p. 169; CURTIS, p. 53, n. 915.

Isis Reverses

180. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
 o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right with hair in horizontal ridges and flat coil at back of head, **IVLIA AVGVSTA.**
 r. Isis, standing, facing right, foot on prow, holding breast and infant. On left, a rudder in front of an altar, **SAECVLI FELICITAS.**
 RIC, p. 42, n. 19, pl. 14; COHEN, p. 119, n. 174; BMC, p. 166, n. 76.
181. Bronze, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
 o. Same as n. 180.
 r. Same as n. 180.
 COHEN, p. 120, n. 175.
182. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.

- o. Same as n. 180.
- r. same as n. 180.
- RIC, p. 42, n. 20; COHEN, p. 119, n. 174; BMC, p. 166, n. 76.
- 183. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
 - o. Same as n. 180.
 - r. Same as n. 180.
 - RIC, p. 43, n. 21; COHEN, p. 119, n. 174; BMC, p. 166, n. 76.
- 184. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
 - o. Same as n. 180.
 - r. Same as n. 180.
 - BMC, p. 166, n. 75.
- 185. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
 - o. Same as n. 180.
 - r. Same as n. 180.
 - BMC, p. 166, n. 77, pl. 28.18.
- 186. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
 - o. Same as n. 180.
 - r. Same as n. 180.
 - BMC, p. 166, n. 78.
- 187. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
 - o. Same as n. 180.
 - r. Same as n. 180.
 - BMC, p. 167, n. 79.
- 188. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
 - o. Same as n. 180.
 - r. Same as n. 180.
 - BMC, p. 167, n. 80.
- 189. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
 - o. Same as n. 180.
 - r. Same as n. 180.
 - BMC, p. 167, n. 81.
- 190. Denarius, Rome, 195-211 A.D.
 - o. Same as n. 180.
 - r. Same as n. 180.
 - BMC, p. 167, n. 82.
- 191. Denarius, Eastern Mint (Laodicea?), 196-202 A.D.
 - o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right with hair in horizontal ridges, flat coil at back of neck and annulet on cheek, **IVLIA AVGVSTA**.
 - r. Isis, standing with foot on prow, facing right, holding Horus. Rudder on left, **SAECVLI FE LICITAS**
 - RIC, p. 49, n. 67, pl. 16; BMC, p. 279, n. 618, pl. 43.6.
- 192. Aureus, Eastern Mint, Laodicea ad Mare, 196-202 A.D.
 - o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, hair waved vertically in seven ridges and fastened in bun on back, loops on cheek and neck, **IVLIA AVGVSTA**.
 - r. Same as n. 191, **SAE CVLI FELI CITAS**.
 - BMC, p. 279, n. 617, pl. 43.5.
- 193. Sestertius, Rome, 196-209 A.D.
 - o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, hair in vertical waves, held in back by bun,

IVLIA AVGVSTA

r. Isis, standing with foot on prow, facing right, holding Horus at her breast; behind, an altar with rudder leaning up against it, **SAECVLI FELICITAS S C.**
BMC, p. 310, †; Cohen, p. 120, n. 176 (illus).

Jupiter Ammon Reverses

194. Aureus, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
 - o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG.**
 - r. Head of Jupiter Ammon, facing front, **IOVI VICTORI.**BMC, p. 219, *, COHEN, p. 30, n. 249.
195. Bronze, Cassandra, Macedonia.
 - o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, **IMP L SEPT SEVER.**
 - r. Bust of Jupiter Ammon, **COL IVLI AVG CASS.**COHEN, p. 83, n. 802.
196. Bronze, Cassandra, Macedonia.
 - o. Same as n. 195, **IMP C L SEP SEVER AVG.**
 - r. Same as n. 195, **C IVL AV CASSAN.**COHEN, p. 83, n. 802.
197. Bronze, Cassandra, Macedonia.
 - o. Bust of young Caracalla, facing right, **M AVR ANTONINVS.**
 - r. Bust of Jupiter Ammon, facing right, **COL IVL AVGG CASS.**COHEN, p. 278, n. 237.
198. Bronze, Cassandra, Macedonia.
 - o. Bust of Geta, facing right with laurel crown, **P SEPT GETAS CA.**
 - r. Bust of Jupiter Ammon, facing right, **C IVL AVG CASS.**COHEN, p. 278, n. 237.
199. Billon, Alexandria, 195/196 A.D.
 - o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, **AYT K L CE_ CEYH EYCE _EPT CEB APA A_I.**
 - r. Head of Jupiter Ammon, **L_.**VOGT, p. 114; HASEBROEK, p. 167; CURTIS, p. 49, n. 885.
200. Billon, Alexandria, 196/197 A.D.
 - o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, **AYT K L CE_ CEYH EYCE _EPT CEB APA A_I.**
 - r. Head of Jupiter Ammon, **LE.**VOGT, p. 114; HASEBROEK, p. 168.
201. Bronze, Alexandria, 203/204 A.D.
 - o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, **AYT K L CE_ CEOYHPOC EYCE _EPT CEB APA A_I _AP MEG.**
 - r. Head of Jupiter Ammon, **LIB.**VOGT, p. 116; HASEBROEK, p. 171.

Sarapis Reverses

202. Denarius, Rome, 201-210 A.D.
 - o. Head of Severus, facing right, with laurel crown, **SEVERVS PIVS AVG**
 - r. Jupiter (Sarapis), standing front, holding scepter (wearing modius?), in shrine,

IOVI SOSPI T A TORI

MCCANN, p. 54; BMC, p. 219, n. 341, pl. 35.17; COHEN, p. 29, n. 245.

203. As, Rome, 198-201 A.D.

o. Bust of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, **L SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS PIVS AVG.**

r. Sarapis, standing in a temple, **IOVI SOSPITATORI AVG S C.**

COHEN, p. 29, n. 246.

204. Denarius, Rome, 206-210 A.D.

o. Head of Caracalla, facing right and wearing laurel crown, **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.**

r. Jupiter (Sarapis), standing in shrine and holding scepter, **SOSPI TA TORI IOVI.**

MCCANN, p. 54; BMC, p. 256, n. 507, pl. 40.16; COHEN, p. 154, n. 108.

205. Dupondius, Rome, 204-208 A.D.

o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **M AVR ANTONINVS PIVS AVG.**

r. Jupiter (Sarapis) standing in a temple, holding thunderbolt and scepter, **IOVI SOSPITATORI S C.**

COHEN, p. 154, n. 109.

206. Sestertius, Rome, 210-213 A.D.

o. Head of Caracalla, with laurel crown, **M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT.**

r. Same as n. 205.

COHEN, p. 154, n. 110.

207. As, Rome, 202-211 A.D.

o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **M AVR ANTONI N VS PIVS AVG.**

r. Jupiter (Sarapis), standing in temple and holding scepter, **SOS[P]TA TORI IOVI S C.**

MCCANN, p. 54; BMC, p. 332, n. 826.

208. Sestertius, Rome, 205-209 A.D.

o. Bust of Geta, facing right, with cuirass, **P SEPTIMIUS GETA CAES.**

r. Jupiter (Sarapis), standing in temple holding scepter, **SO S P I TA TOR IOVI S C.**

MCCANN, p. 54; BMC, p. 339, n. 840, pl. 50.9; COHEN, p. 260, n. 66.

209. Sestertius, Rome, 205-209 A.D.

o. Bust of Geta facing right, **P SEPTIMIUS GETA CAES.**

r. Jupiter (Sarapis) standing in a temple between two columns, **IOVI SOSPI-TATORI.**

MCCANN, p. 54; COHEN, p., 260, n. 65.

210. Denarius, Rome, 211-212 A.D.

o. Head of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT.**

r. Sarapis, standing, facing left, holding scepter in right hand, **P M TR P XV COS III P P.**

RIC, p. 82, n. 6; BMC, p. 437, n. 39.

211. Denarius, Rome, 214-217 A.D.

o. Head of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG**

GERM.

- r. Sarapis, standing, facing left and holding transverse scepter, **P M TR P XVII COS III P P**.
RIC, p. 85, n. 26; COHEN, p. 169, n. 241; BMC, p. 449, n. 97, pl. 70.2.
212. As, Rome, 212 A.D.
o. Head of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT**.
r. Sarapis, standing, facing left and holding transverse scepter, **P M TR P XVI COS III P P S C**.
RIC, p. 91, n. 74, pl. 27; COHEN, p. 166, n. 214; BMC, p. 478 n. 257, pl. 75.8.
213. Bronze, Amasis
o. Bust of Severus, facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **AY K L CE_T CEOYHPOC**.
r. Hades-Sarapis sitting, facing front, with Cerberus at his feet, **A_P CEY AMACI MH NE GP _O ET CH**.
RGAM, p. 40, n. 41.
214. Bronze, Amisus, 213 A.D.
o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right, wearing laurel crown and cuirass, **AY KA M AYP ANT_NINOC**.
r. Hades-Sarapis standing, facing left and holding scepter, **AMICOY ELEY-QEPAC ET CME**.
RGAM, p. 88, n. 117a.
215. Bronze, Trapezus.
o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right, wearing laurel crown and cuirass, **AY K M ANT_[NEINOC]**.
r. Hades-Sarapis standing, facing left, holding crown and scepter, **TPA_ESOYNTI**.
RGAM, p. 151, n. 22, pl. XV, fig. 23.
216. Bronze, Germanicopolis, 208/209 A.D.
o. Bust of Severus
r. Sarapis, standing, facing left, raising a crown in his right hand with a bull at his feet, **GEPMANIKO_OLE_C ET CIE**.
CMSD, p. 240, n. *IVC 35.
217. Bronze, Germanicopolis.
o. Bust of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, **A KAI L CE_ CEOYHPOC AY**.
r. Hades-Sarapis, sitting, facing left, right hand on Cerberus with left hand holding scepter, **APX _AF GEPMANIKO_OLIC ECTIA QE_N ET C_I**.
RGAM, p. 188, n. 6, pl. XXII, fig. 5.
218. Bronze, Germanicopolis.
o. Same as N. 217.
r. Sarapis, standing, right hand raised and holding scepter in left, **GEP-MANIKO_OLE_C ET CEI**.
RGAM, p. 188, n. 11, pl. XXII, fig. 10.
219. Bronze, Germanicopolis, 209-210 A.D.
o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, **IOYLIA _OMNA AY**.
r. Sarapis, standing with head turned to the right, extending right hand and holding scepter in left, **APX _A GEPMANIKO EC QE_ ET CEI**.

RGAM, p. 191, n. 32, pl. XXII, fig. 23.

220. Bronze, Germanicopolis.

o. Young head of Caracalla, facing right and wearing laurel crown, **AYT K M AYP ANT_NIN.**

r. Sarapis, standing, facing left, right hand extended and holding scepter in left, **GEPMANIKO_OLE_C ET.**

RGAM, p. 185*, n. 45.

221. Bronze, Ptolemais, Galilee.

o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, **IMP C L SEP SEVERVS.**

r. Bust of Sarapis, facing right, **COL PTOL.**

COHEN, p. 95, n. 928.

222. Bronze, Ptolemais, Galilee.

o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **IMP CAE M AVR ANTON.**

r. Bust of Sarapis, facing right, in front of a scepter, **COL PTOL.**

COHEN, p. 236, n. 900.

223. Bronze, Deultum, Thrace.

o. Head of Caracalla, facing left, **M ANTON.**

r. Bust of Sarapis, **COL FL.**

COHEN, p. 215, n. 694.

224. Bronze, Sinope, 194 A.D.

o. Bust of Severus, facing right, wearing cuirass and laurel crown, **IMPM LSEV EROPERAVG.**

r. Sarapis, seated, facing left, holding patera and scepter with Cerberus at his side, **C I F S ANN CCLXIII.**

MPR, p. 617, n. 1370.

225. Bronze, Sinope, 198 A.D.

o. Bust of Geta, facing right, **L SEPTIMIO GETAE CA.**

r. Bust of Sarapis, facing right and wearing modius, **C I F S AN CCLXVIII.**

RGAM, p. 203**, n. 122c.

226. Bronze, Sinope, 207 A.D.

o. Bust of Severus with laurel crown, **IMP C L SEP SEVERVS AVG.**

r. Sarapis, sitting on a throne, facing front, holding a small bust of Caracalla in extended right hand and drapery in left; on either side, a Genie holding a flame, **C I F SINOP ANN CCLII.**

COHEN, p. 90, n. 875.

227. Bronze, Sinope, 207 A.D.

o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right and wearing cuirass and laurel crown, **IMP C M AVR ANTONINVS A.**

r. Sarapis, lying on couch, facing left, holding an eagle and a scepter, **C I F SINOP ANN CCLII.**

RGAM, p. 204**, n. 128, pl. XXVIII, fig. 1; COHEN, p. 222, n. 763.

228. Bronze, Sinope, 207 A.D.

o. Head of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **IMP CAES M.**

r. Same as n. 227, **C I AV SINOP ANN CCLII.**

COHEN, p. 222, n. 764.

229. Bronze, Sinope, 212 A.D.

o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG**

CEB.

r. Same as n. 227, **C I F S ANN CCLVIII.**

COHEN, p. 222, n. 765.

230. Bronze, Sinope, 212 A.D.

o. Head of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANTONINVS AVG.**

r. Same as n. 227, **C I F SINOP.**

COHEN, p. 222, n. 766.

231. Bronze, Sinope, 207 A.D.

o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right, wearing laurel crown and cuirass, **ANTONINVS PIVS AVG CEB..**

r. Sarapis, as above, n. 227, **C I F S ANN CCLII.**

RGAM, p. 204**, n. 129.

232. Bronze, Sinope, 206-207 A.D.

o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right and wearing laurel crown and cuirass, **IMP C M AVR ANTONINVS.**

r. Hades-Sarapis, sitting on throne, facing right, left hand extended. Cerberus at right side of throne, **C I F SINOP ANN CCLI.**

RGAM, p. 205**, n. 132a.

233. Bronze, Sinope, 210 A.D.

o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right, wearing laurel crown, **ANTONINVS AVG CEB.**

r. Sarapis, same as n. 227, **C I F S ANN CCLV.**

RGAM, p. 205**, n. 133, pl. XXVIII, fig. 3.

234. Bronze, Sinope.

o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown and cuirass, **M AVR ANTONINVS P A BA.**

r. Sarapis, as in n. 227, **C I F S ANN CC.**

RGAM, p. 205**, n. 133a.

235. Bronze, Sinope, 210 A.D.

o. Head of Geta, facing right and wearing laurel crown, **IMP C L SEPT GETA A[VG].**

r. Sarapis, standing, facing left, raising right hand and holding scepter in left, **C I F SINOPE ANN CCLV.**

RGAM, p. 206**, n. 136, pl. XXVIII, fig. 6; COHEN, p. 281, n. 267.

236. Bronze, Sinope, 210 A.D.

o. Head of Geta, facing right and wearing laurel crown, **IMP C P SEPT GET A AV[IG].**

r. Bust of Sarapis, facing right, wearing modius, **C I F SINOPE ANN CCLV.**

RGAM, p. 206**, n. 137, pl. XXVIII, fig. 7.

237. Bronze, Sinope.

o. Bust of Geta, facing right and wearing laurel crown, **[IMP] C P SEPT GETA.**

r. Hades-Sarapis, sitting, facing left, Cerberus at his feet, **C I F SINOPE ANN CC.**

RGAM, p. 206**, n. 139.

238. Bronze, Kios.

o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right and wearing laurel crown with cuirass, **ANT_NINOC AYGOYCTOC.**

- r. Hades-Sarapis, sitting on a throne, facing left, wearing the modius, holding scepter in left hand and extending his right to Cerberus, who is at his feet, **KIAN_N**.
RGAM, p. 322, n. 64, pl. LI, fig. 17.
239. Bronze, Cretia-Flaviopolis.
o. Bust of Julia Domna, facing right, **IOYLIA_OMNA CEB**.
r. Head of Sarapis, facing right, **KPHTIE_N FLAOYIO_O**.
RGAM, p. 335, n. 14, pl. LIV, fig. 4.
240. Bronze, Nicaea.
o. Head of Caracalla, facing right and wearing laurel crown, **ANT_NINOC AYGOYCTOC**.
r. Zeus-Sarapis, standing, facing right, wearing modius, holding scepter, **NIKAIE_N**.
RGAM, p. 450, n. 409, pl. LXXVII, fig. 25.
241. Bronze, Nicaea.
o. Same as n. 240 with head facing left.
r. Same as n. 240.
RGAM, p. 450, n. 410, pl. LXXVII, fig. 26.
242. Bronze, Nicaea.
o. Bust of Geta, facing right and wearing laurel crown and cuirass, **AYT K_CE_TI GETAC AYG**.
r. Sarapis, standing, holding scepter, **NIKAIE_N**.
RGAM, p. 465, n. 529, pl. LXXXI, fig. 1.
243. Bronze, Nicomedia.
o. Head of Severus, facing right with radiate crown, **AYT L CE_C EYHPOC_C**.
r. Hades-Sarapis, sitting on throne, facing left and wearing modius, extending right hand and holding scepter. Cerberus at his feet, **NIKOMH_E_N_IC NE_KOP_N**.
RGAM, p. 538, n. 169, pl. XCIII, fig. 2.
244. Bronze, Nicomedia.
o. Head of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANT_NEINOC AYGOYCTOC**.
r. Sarapis, standing, facing left, wearing modius and holding scepter, **NIKOMH_E_N_IC NE_KOP_N**.
RGAM, p. 542, n. 205, pl. XCIII, fig. 27.
245. Bronze, Nicomedia.
o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANT_NEINOC AYGOYCTOC**.
r. Sarapis, standing, facing left and holding scepter, **NIKOMH_E_N_IC NE_KOP_N**.
RGAM, p. 542, n. 206, pl. XCIII, n. 28.
246. Bronze, Prusa.
o. Bust of Caracalla, facing right with laurel crown, **ANT_NEINOC AYGOYCTOC**.
r. Sarapis, standing, facing front, head turned to the left, wearing modius, holding scepter, **_POYSAE_N**.
RGAM, p. 588, n. 93, pl. CI, fig. 4.

247. Bronze, Tios.
 o. Head of Geta, facing right with laurel crown, **AYT K _CE_T**.
 r. Sarapis, standing, facing left, holding scepter, **TIAN_N**.
 RGAM, p. 632, n. 128, pl. CIX, fig. 22.
248. Bronze, Odessus.
 o. Head of Severus, facing right and wearing laurel crown, **P O _EPTIVA**.
 r. Sarapis, standing, facing left and holding cornucopia and patera, **O _H _EIT_V**.
 MPR, p. 586, n. 1260.
249. Bronze, Odessus.
 o. Bust of Severus, facing right, wearing cuirass and laurel crown, **AYKL_E _EYHPO_**.
 r. Sarapis, standing, facing left and holding cornucopia and patera and sacrificing at an altar, **O _H _EIT_V**.
 MPR, p. 586, n. 1261.
250. Bronze, Odessus.
 o. Same as above.
 r. Same as above, **O _H _EIT_V**.
 MPR, p. 587, n. 1262.
251. Bronze, Odessus.
 o. Same as above, **_EU HPO_**.
 r. Same as above, **O _H _EIT_V**.
 MPR, p. 587, n. 1263.
252. Bronze, Odessus.
 o. Bust of Geta, facing right, wearing cuirass and laurel crown, **AYK_O_E _TGETA_**.
 r. Sarapis, standing and facing the front, holding cornucopia and patera and sacrificing at an altar, **O _H _EIT_V**.
 MPR, p. 587, n. 1265.
253. Bronze, Odessus.
 o. Same as above, **AYTK_O_E _TIMGETA_**.
 r. Sarapis, standing and turned towards the front, head facing the left, holding cornucopia and patera and sacrificing at an altar, **O _H _EIT_V**.
 MPR, p. 587, n. 1266.
254. Bronze, Anchialus.
 o. Bust of Severus, facing right, wearing cuirass and laurel crown, **AYKL_E _EYHPO_**.
 r. Sarpis, standing in a temple, facing left, holding a scepter with Cerberus at his side, **OYL_IA V_VAG XIALE_V**.
 MPR, p. 589, n. 1271.
255. Bronze, Juliopolis.
 o. Bust of Severus
 r. Sarapis, standing, facing left, holding a scepter in left hand and raising his right, **IOVLIO_OLEIT_V**.
 CMSD, p. 193, n. IVB 52.
256. Bronze, Olba.
 o. Severus (?)
 r. Sarapis, standing, turned towards the right, holding a scepter in his left and

- raising his right, A_P ANT OLBE_N MH.
CMSD, p. 193, n. IVB 53.
257. Bronze, Alexandria, 195/196 A.D.
o. Julia Domna, IOYLIA_OMNA CEB.
r. Bust of Sarapis, L_
Vogt, p. 114; Hasebroek, p. 168.
258. Billon, Alexandria, 196/197 A.D.
o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, AYT K L CE_ CEYH EYCE
_EPT CEB APA A_I
r. Sarapis enthroned, LE
VOGT, p. 114; HASEBROEK, p. 168; CURTIS, p. 51, n. 903.
259. Billon, Alexandria, 197/198 A.D.
o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, AYT K L CE_ CEYH EYCE
_EPT CEB APA A_I
r. Sarapis enthroned, LZ.
VOGT, p. 114; HASEBROEK, p. 169; CURTIS, p. 51, n. 903.
260. Bronze, Alexandria, 200/201 A.D.
o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, AYT K L CE_ CEOYHPOC
EYCE _EPT CEB APA A_I _AP MEG.
r. Alexandria standing with bust of Sarapis, LQ.
VOGT, p. 115; HASEBROEK, p. 170; GEISSEN, p. 110, n. 2274.
261. Bronze, Alexandria, 201/202 A.D.
o. Head of Severus, facing right with laurel crown, AYT K L CE_ CEOYHPOC
EYCE _EPT CEB APA A_I _AP MEG.
r. Alexandria standing with bust of Sarapis, LI.
VOGT, p. 116; HASEBROEK, p. 170.

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