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## VEXILLUM AND VICTORY

By M. ROSTOVTZEFF

(Plates iv-vi)

The square piece of linen cloth (pl. iv) which I propose to discuss in this note was acquired by V. S. Goleniščev in Egypt some years ago, and forms part of his splendid collection of Egyptian antiquities, which was subsequently incorporated into the Alexander III Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow, now the State Museum of Fine Arts. Years ago I reproduced and discussed it in a short paper (*Monuments of Alexander III Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow* iv, 1913, 149-153 (in Russian) and pl. xxiv in colour) in which I interpreted it as a military *vexillum*. My paper remained, however, unnoticed by students of military antiquities. For example, in 1923, so careful and well-informed a scholar as Kubitschek (P-W s.v. 'Signa' 2337 f.) in speaking of the inscriptions which appear on the *vexilla*, after quoting Cassius Dio xl, 18, and Vegetius ii, 13, says: 'andere Bestätigungen haben wir nicht, und (fast darf man sagen: selbstverständlich) ist auch kein *vexillum* erhalten.'<sup>1</sup>

The object under review, if really a *vexillum*, is indeed unique and deserves to be better known. For this reason I have decided to republish it and to discuss it again in the light of new evidence which has appeared since 1913.

This piece of coarse linen cloth is almost square (height, 0.47 m.; width, 0.50 m.) and, except for a few holes, is well preserved. On the left and right it is selvaged, while the lower edge is loose and shows remains of a fringe. The upper edge is hemmed, and through the hem there passes a piece of wood (reed) of exactly the same length as the width of the cloth. It is evident that the piece of cloth hung down from the transverse bar or reed, which originally was apparently fastened to a vertical pole. In colour the cloth is scarlet. On the surface is painted in brilliant gold four angle-fillers, so typical of the so-called Coptic stuffs, known as γαμμόδια, and in the centre the figure of a Victory, standing on a globe. The goddess is represented in frontal view, with the head turned slightly to the left and the eyes looking in the same direction. Her dress consists of a *chiton* and a *chlamys*; her feet are bare. She is holding in her bare right arm a large laurel wreath with a medallion containing an inset stone and long streamers hanging down. In her left hand is a palm branch. The goddess was represented apparently as if crowning someone standing on her left. The proportions of the figure are clumsy. It is hazardous to assign a definite date to such a product of pictorial industry from stylistic considerations. I would tentatively suggest the early third century A.D.

It is evident that this piece of cloth served as a standard of the type called *vexillum*. It is needless to repeat here what we know of *vexilla* and of their employment in the ancient world. A few words will suffice.

<sup>1</sup> The Goleniščev *vexillum* was mentioned 1926, 96, n. 7, but he was not able to consult by F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Europos*, my paper.

I. *Military vexilla*. The most ancient standard of the Roman army was the *vexillum*.<sup>2</sup> A *vexillum* was displayed when the Roman People was summoned to vote in the *comitia centuriata* or to perform its military duties. It was also the *vexillum*, the standard of the commander of a Roman army, which was displayed over the commander's tent as a signal of battle. As the standard of the Roman emperors the *vexillum*, held by a *vexillarius*, appears frequently on coins and some reliefs near the emperor when he is represented as performing some official act in the presence of his army (*allocutio*, sacrifice, reception of ambassadors, etc.).<sup>3</sup> Several units of the Roman army in Republican and Imperial times had the *vexillum* as their official standard. I cannot discuss in this short note the question as to which units of the Roman army used the *vexillum* as their regular standard. The point is disputed and no final solution of the problem has yet been found.<sup>4</sup>

The appearance of the military *vexillum* is well known from numerous descriptions in literary sources and from many reproductions on coins and gems, on triumphal, decorative and funerary reliefs (especially those of the columns of Trajan and of M. Aurelius), and on paintings, etc. We know from these sources that the usual form of the *vexillum* was a square piece of cloth with a fringe at the bottom hanging down from a cross-bar. It was fastened to the pole or shaft, which had the form of a lance, either by nails or it was suspended at the upper end of the shaft by means of a string attached to the two ends of the cross-bar, thus forming a triangle.

Though I do not propose to discuss in full the shape and decoration of the *vexillum*<sup>5</sup> I should point out certain details which are important for the interpretation of the object under study. In doing so I shall make ample use of the so-called painting of the Tribune found in Dura in the pronaos of the temple of Bel. The painting represents a sacrifice to the Palmyrene triad and to the Fortunes of Palmyra and Dura performed by Julius Terentius, the tribune, commander of the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, in the presence of some of his non-commissioned officers and men. Between the tribune and the gods stand in frontal view the *vexillarius* of the cohort holding in his hands the heavy *vexillum* of the *cohors* (pl. v). It is the most complete and the most instructive representation of the *vexillum* in existence. It shows not only the shape in all its details but also the colours.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> On the *vexilla* of the Roman army see A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere* (Abh. d. Arch.-ep. Sem. der Univ. Wien v, 1885), 76 ff.; Ch. Renel, 'Cultes militaires de Rome. Les Enseignes' (*Ann. de l'Univ. de Lyon*, nouv. sér. ii, fasc. 12, 1903), *passim* (see Index); Liebenam, P.-W s.v. 'Feldzeichen' 2160; A. Reinach in Daremberg et Saglio *Dict. des Antiquités s.vv.* 'Signa Militaria' and 'Vexillum'; Kubitschek P.-W s.v. 'Signa' 2338; W. Zwickler, 'Bemerkungen zu den römischen Heeresfahnen in der älteren Kaiserzeit' 27. *Ber. der Röm.-Germ. Kommission* 1937 (publ. 1939), 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> On the *vexillum* of the emperor, Zwickler *op. cit.* 15, n. 35; A. Alföldi, *Pisciculi. Festschr. F. J. Dolger (Antike u. Christentum Ergänzungsband i, 1939)* 11,

n. 37. To Zwickler's references I may add that on the column of M. Aurelius, the Emperor, when performing acts described in the text, is regularly accompanied by two *vexillarii* (S. Reinach, *Rép. de rel.* i, 300, no. 24; 319, no. 100; 320, no. 106; 321, no. 109; 323, no. 118; 325, no. 123).

<sup>4</sup> See Zwickler *op. cit.* (n. 2).

<sup>5</sup> See n. 2.

<sup>6</sup> Reproduced and discussed by F. Cumont, *Fouilles de Doura Europos* 95 ff and pls. 1 (in colour) and li; cf. id. *Mon. et Mém. Piot XXVI*, 1923, 1 ff. and coloured plate, and J. Breasted, *Oriental Forerunners of Byzantine Painting* 1924, pl. xxi (drawing); cf. also my remarks on the painting in general in 'Dura and the Problem of Parthian Art', *Yale Cl. St.* v, 1935, 247 f. Add to my references as regards composition

*Dimensions of the vexillum.* The *vexillum* of the Tribune allows us to calculate with certainty its dimensions. It is represented in full length. Its stake (of solid wood, apparently not sheathed with metal) ends at the top in a lance point (faintly preserved above the crown) and at the bottom it thins off into a spike (the spike is not a separate piece of metal as in most of the *vexilla*) for planting the standard in the ground. Its height is 84 or 86 cm., just about double the height of the *vexillarius* (42 cm.). Since the usual height of a man varies from 1.80 m. to 1.60 m. the actual *vexillum* corresponding to this representation would have been between 3.60 and 3.20 m. high. The same method of calculation may be applied to the piece of stuff of the *vexillum*. It is 15 by 15.5 cm., i.e. about one-third of the height of the *vexillarius*. Consequently the stuff or cloth would have measured between 64 by 67 cm. and 57 by 60 cm. Apparently by the same kind of calculation A. Reinach arrived at similar results for the Roman *vexillum* in general—between 50 cm. and 1 m. square. My own measurements of the *vexilla* of the Trajan and M. Aurelius columns, uncertain as they are, would make Reinach's maximum a little lower.

*Colour.* The *vexillum*, i.e. the square piece of stuff, in Republican and early Imperial times was red. Of this colour were the *vexilla* raised on the Capitol for the *comitia centuriata* and for the mobilisation of the army: Macrobius i, 16, 15: 'proeliares ab iustis non segregauerim, siquidem iusti sunt continui triginta dies, quibus exercitui imperato vexillum russi coloris in arce positum est' and Servius ad *Aen.* viii, 1: 'aut certe si esset tumultus . . . qui fuerat ducturus exercitum ibat ad Capitolium et exinde proferens duo vexilla, unum russeum, quod pedites euocabat, et unum caeruleum, quod erat equitum . . . alii album et roseum vexilla tradunt, et roseum bellorum, album comitiorum signum fuisse.' Of the same red colour was the *vexillum* of the commander displayed before battle and carried into battle; Plut. *Fab. Max.* xv (Battle of Cannae): ἄλλ' ὁ Τερέντιος . . . ἅμ' ἡμέρᾳ τὸ τῆς μάχης σημεῖον ἐξέθηκε (ἔστι δὲ χιτῶν κόκκινος ὑπὲρ τῆς στρατηγικῆς σκηνῆς διατεινόμενος). . . . Unfortunately we do not know the colour of the famous *vexillum* of Crassus described by Dio (xl, 18, 3) as σημεῖον δὲ τι τῶν μεγάλων, τῶν τοῖς ἰστίοις ἐοικότων, but since the inscription on it was in purple letters (φοινικᾷ γράμμασι) it was probably of a lighter colour, presumably scarlet. Red was therefore traditional. It was retained naturally as the standard colour of the *vexilla* in early and late Imperial times. This is attested by the Glossaries: *vexillum*—*ρουσσιον* (i.e. *russeum*) *φάρσος*, *Corpus Gloss.* Lat. ii, 428, 48; cf. 470, 15, and i, 209, 1, and by Vegetius (ii, 1, 1), who identifies *vexillum* with *flammula* (cf. iii, 8); the same identification will be found in Georgius Cedrenus (see below).

the 'distance slab' from Bridgeness of the time of Pius, *CIL* vii, 1088; G. Macdonald, *Roman Wall in Scotland* 1934, 362 ff., and pls. iii, 2, and lxi, and *JRS* xi, pl. 1. On the right side of this inscription is represented a sacrifice—*suovetaurilia*, performed by the commander of the *vexillatio* in the presence of his detachment headed by a *vexillarius* (inscription on the *vexillum*: *Leg. II Aug.*). To the left of this group stands a man similar to Themes, the priest

of the Dura painting, and in front the *tubicen*, the sacrificial animal and the *victimarius*(?). On Iulius Terentius, his date and his funeral epitaph see C. B. Welles, 'The Epitaph of Iulius Terentius,' *Harv. Theol. Rev.* xxxiv (1941), 96 ff. The figure of the *vexillarius* is reproduced here (pl. v) from a photograph taken by Dr. N. P. Toll, who helped me in my renewed study of the painting.

But the final and decisive proof is yielded by the Dura *vexillum*: the stuff and its fringe are painted scarlet. I may mention in this connection that around the scarlet field of the standard is seen a comparatively wide border in yellow. This colour doubtless represents gold. The border may have been a piece of gold brocade sewn to the red linen of the *vexillum*, or it may have been painted in gold like the Victory and the γαμῦδία on the red *vexillum* to which my study is devoted. I may point out *en passant* that the only representation of a *vexillum* with a richly adorned border known to me is that on a relief of Corstopitum (see below, nn. 11 and 15). It shows a *vexillum* planted in the ground between two richly decorated Corinthian pilasters, perhaps the *sacrarium* of a military camp. The *vexillum* proper ends below in a fringe, while on the other three sides it is surrounded by a wide and richly adorned border. I have no doubt that the border was made separately and was a piece of stuff with inwoven or embroidered floral ornaments. This profusion of gold on the *vexilla* probably explains Tacitus's (*Hist.* iii, 82) *fulgentia per collis uexilla*. Cf. also the inscriptions below (p. 96, n. 15).

In later times (perhaps after the middle of the third century A.D.) *vexilla* were purple (SHA *Gord. tres viii*, 3) with much gold inwoven: Georgius Cedrenus, *Historiarum Compendium* 169 (*Corpus Scr. Hist. Byz.* 1838, i, 298): "Ὅτι βιξιλατίωνες οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἱππεῖς, καὶ βίξιλα παραπετάσματα ἐκ πορφύρας καὶ χρυσοῦ εἰς τετράγωνον σχῆμα πεπιοιημένα . . . εἶεν δ' ἂν τὰ λεγόμενα φλάμουλα. Of this type was the famous *labarum* of Constantine, as described by Eusebius (*Vita Cons.* i, 31), of which more will be said presently: the colour of the *labarum* (heavy silk brocade with much gold) was probably purple and not red (Prudentius, *Contra Symm.* i, 486 f.).<sup>7</sup>

*Iconic or aniconic?* Most of the *vexilla* known from our archaeological evidence are plain pieces of cloth attached to lances, with no ornaments or figures either on the cloth or on the lance. But there are exceptions to this rule, and these exceptions are significant. They show that the plain forms of the *vexilla*, for example, on the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius, may be regarded as simplifications or conventions and do not reflect in all details the real conditions. The *vexilla* were more individual in their decoration than is shown on the columns, though certainly the *vexilla* of the columns are not *vexilla in abstracto*, but standards of individual units of the Roman army.<sup>8</sup>

*The body of the lance.* I may note the following deviations from the normal type. The top of the lance shows as a rule the lance head, but on one *vexillum* on the column of Trajan appears, instead of it, a statuette of Victory standing on a crown,<sup>9</sup> and on another, on the column of M. Aurelius, an eagle.<sup>10</sup> On the Dura *vexillum* a gold crown is placed

<sup>7</sup> On the *labarum* see below, p. 104, n. 32. Cf. Amm. Marc. xvi, 10, 2.

<sup>8</sup> See the remarks by K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule* 1926, 67, and by E. Petersen, *Die Marcussäule* 1896, 44 f., and those by I. A. Richmond, 'Trajan's Army on Trajan's Column,' *PBSR* xiii (1935), 8, and W. Zwickler *op. cit.* (n. 2), 12.

<sup>9</sup> Fröhner, pl. 32; Cichorius, pl. vii;

Lehmann-Hartleben, pl. 6 (scene iv); cf. A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen* 78, fig. 98.

<sup>10</sup> Reinach, *Rép. de Reliefs* i, 300, no. 24. Cf. the five eagles on the transverse bar of the *vexillum* held by Virtus on the Arch of Trajan at Beneventum; see my *Stor. Ec. e Soc. d. Imp. Rom.* pl. lxxviii, and p. 413, n. 6 (= *Gesellschaft u. Wirtschaft im römischen Kaiserreich* (1931) ii, pl. 52, 1).

below the spear head, and a crown is seen on the top of a *vexillum*-pole on a relief found at Benwell (Condercum) on Hadrian's Wall in Britain, and on another represented on a relief found at Corbridge.<sup>11</sup> These variations in decoration may be explained as a kind of distinction granted by the emperors to certain military units, a sort of *dona militaria*. The same may be said of the various types of *phalerae*. They appear regularly on the *signa* but very rarely if at all on the *vexilla*. In fact I know of no certain case of *phalerae* attached to the stake of a *vexillum* of the usual form. But we may interpret as a special type of *vexilla* a standard of an unusual form, which appears in the right hand of a standard-bearer on a funeral relief in Ragusa Vecchia (fig. 10). The standard's top shows a tranverse bar with two streamers, below it a crown, and at a certain distance on the stake an openwork *phalera*, a crown enclosing a bust (emperor or deity?).<sup>12</sup> I may mention in addition the *labarum* of Constantine as described by Eusebius, about which more will be said below. According to Eusebius, below the *vexillum* itself were fastened *phalerae* with portraits of Constantine and his sons.<sup>13</sup>

*The surface of the vexillum.* Our literary evidence often mentions inscriptions appearing on it, which may have been either painted, or inwoven or even embroidered. There is no need to produce and discuss the evidence once again.<sup>14</sup> The inscriptions were of two kinds: the name of the commander of the army in Republican times, and that of the ruling emperor after Augustus, and the name of the military unit of which the *vexillum* was the standard. On monuments the first never appear, while the second have been noticed on several representations of the *vexilla*.<sup>15</sup> As regards

<sup>11</sup> A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen*, fig. 94 (Condercum), and F. Haverfield, *Arch. Ael.*<sup>3</sup> iv, 1908, 264 ff., fig. and 9, *Eph. Ep.* ix, 1147 (Corstopitum); just a little fragment of the crown remains. I have not had in my hands a photographic reproduction of the relief from Benwell which is now in the British Museum, but the reproduction in Bruce, *Lapidarium Septentrionale* 33, no. 33—hence Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen* 77, fig. 94—shows on the top of it a crown and not a hand; for the inscription on the standard see *CIL* vii, 517, and below, n. 15.

<sup>12</sup> A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen* 74, fig. 87. A better reproduction from a photograph will be found in H. Hofmann, *Römische Militärgrabsteine der Donauländer* (*Sonderschr. d. Öest. Arch. Inst.* v, 1905) 72, no. 58, fig. 50, and in a good drawing (fig. 10) by (Sir) A. J. Evans, *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot*, 1875 (ed. 2, Longmans 1877), 387, hence *Archaeologia* xlviii, 1885, 7, fig. 1.

We are indebted to the Executors of Sir Arthur Evans and to the Keeper of the Ashmolean Museum for permission to reproduce the drawing in fig. 10, no scale to which can be given because no measurements are mentioned in any publication.—Ed.

<sup>13</sup> Below p. 104, n. 32.

<sup>14</sup> See bibliography p. 93, n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Vexilla* with the name of the legion inscribed on them appear occasionally in

Britain. See, for instance, on the inscribed slabs which commemorate a building operation carried out by a *vexillatio*—from Benwell (Condercum) and the Bridgeness 'distance slab' both mentioned above (p. 94, nn. 6 and 11)—the name, *leg. II Aug.*, is written on both *vexilla*. Cf. above n. 11 for the richly adorned *vexillum* standing between two Corinthian pilasters on a fragmentary relief from Corbridge (Corstopitum); on the *vexillum* the inscription: *vexillus leg. II Aug.* The elaborate decoration of this *vexillum* especially of its border adorned with embroidery (above, p. 95) may suggest that the inscription was, like the ornaments of the border, inwoven or painted in gold. It is interesting to note that all the *vexilla* with inscriptions found in Britain are standards of *vexillationes* of the *leg. II Aug.*, cf. Zwickler *op. cit.* (in n. 2) 12, n. 19. I may mention in addition the distance slab from Braidfield (near Duntocher on the Antonine Wall in Scotland) richly adorned with sculptures. Under the *tabella ansata* supported by two Victories stand to the left of the Victories Mars and to the right Virtus Augusti. The last holds a *vexillum* with the inscription *Vir(tus) Aug(usti)* (G. Macdonald, *op. cit.* (in n. 6) 384, f. pl. lxvi, 2; *CIL* vii, 1135). Outside Britain there are, for example, the funeral-stele from Pettau (*CIL* iii, 4061; A. v. Domaszewski, *Die Fahnen* fig.

ornaments, figures, or images our literary sources are silent. But archaeological evidence shows that they were not absent altogether. Two instances are known to me: the *vexillum* of the *ala Longiniana* with the emblem of the unit (bull's head), painted or inwoven on the *vexillum*



FIG. 10. RAGUSA VECCHIA: TOMBSTONE OF A *vexillarius* WALLED INTO A COTTAGE YARD (1875)  
From a drawing (in the Ashmolean Museum) by the late Sir Arthur Evans  
published in 'Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on Foot'.

proper,<sup>16</sup> and the imperial *vexillum* of Licinius, as shown on the cameo (sardonyx) of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, representing the triumph of Licinius: two busts appear on the surface of this *vexillum*—either Constantine and Licinius, or Licinius and his son.<sup>17</sup>

II. *Religious vexilla*. In discussing briefly the form and some leading features of the adornment of the military *vexilla*, I have not mentioned or made use of some peculiar representations of *vexilla* found in Dura,

95; Abramič *Führer durch Poetovio*, 1925, 139, no. 149, with poor illustration), and the *vexilla* represented on coins of Rhessaena in Mesopotamia (Alexander Severus) with the name of the *leg. III Parthica*, of which a part was stationed at Rhessaena (G. F. Hill, *BMC Arabia*, etc. 126, no. 9, pl. xviii, 6; cf. p. cxi); more often the name of the legion appears on the right and left of the *vexillum* (*ibid.* 125, nos. 2 and 3, pl. xviii, 2 and 3). For a list of legionary standards on coins see *Mostra Augusta Catal.* 1937-8. *App. bib.* (1939), p. 120, R. xvii, 201. *A propos* of inscriptions inwoven or painted in gold or other colours, they appear frequently on pieces of stuff found in South Russia and Egypt and are

occasionally mentioned in our literary tradition (e.g. Pliny *NH* xxxv, 9 (62)—Zeuxis' *pallium*).

<sup>16</sup> Gravestone of Vellaunus, *equus* of the *ala Longiniana*, found in Bonn published by H. Lehner, *Bonn. Jahrb.* 117 (1908), 279 ff., Taf. 1; Zwickler, *op. cit.* (in n. 2), 10 and pl. i, 1.

<sup>17</sup> E. Babelon, *Bibl. Nat. Cat. des Camées* no. 308; *Bibl. Nat. Les Pierres gravées* 1930, p. 104, no. 308, pl. xxv; R. Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrywerke* 1932, p. 127, pl. 60a; A. Grabar, *L'Empereur dans l'Art Byzantin* (Publications de la Fac. des Lettres, Univ. de Strasbourg, fasc. 75, 1936), 10 ff., and 239, n. 4.

and on some coins of Heliopolis. At first glance they appear to be ordinary military standards. But a closer scrutiny of the scenes in which they appear and of their form and ornamentation reveal such peculiarities that a more detailed study than is possible here seems required if their character and purpose is to be fully understood. A few remarks however are necessary.

The *vexilla* under review do not stand alone. Various forms of standards of the type of legionary or auxiliary *signa* appear in Roman Syria and in Mesopotamia in compositions similar to those characteristic of the *vexilla*. These standards, like the *vexilla*, are always closely associated with temples and statues of oriental gods of Syria and Mesopotamia. What I refer to are the well known representations of standards, very similar to Roman legionary *signa*, on coins of Hierapolis (Bambyce) of the time of Caracalla, Alexander Severus, and Julia Mamaea, on which a single standard is shown in a special *aedicula* between the statues of seated Hadad and Atargatis, and on the coins of Carrhae minted under Septimius Severus, where two standards are seen in the chief temple of the city, that of the Moon-god, planted in the ground on both sides of the aniconic image of the god. Also, in the temple of Atargatis in Dura, a temple which was a reduced copy of the temple of Hierapolis, there was found a relief which shows the standard between the statues of seated Hadad and Atargatis, a variation of the scene on the coins of Hierapolis save for the separate *aedicula* of the standard.<sup>18</sup> Connected with these in some respects are the scenes represented sometimes on the triangular metal plaques in the Dolicheneia, where a statue of the god or a Victory, or even an altar, is shown between two standards. These last, however, call for a special monograph.<sup>19</sup>

The standards represented on the coins of Hierapolis and Carrhae and on the Dura relief have been commonly regarded as Roman military *signa*<sup>20</sup> and it must be admitted that they are similar to them, similar but in no case identical. Though several minor differences, which have been pointed out by various modern scholars (see n. 25), raise a suspicion as to their identification, yet no modern scholar has ever asked the questions how, why, with what intention, were Roman military *signa* placed in oriental temples,<sup>21</sup> and these questions are not irrelevant. On an answer to them depends the character of the standards. Let me formulate briefly the various aspects of this question.

First, what is the nature of the military standards appearing in the temples of Hierapolis and Carrhae? We must not forget that the standards of the Roman army were standards of particular military units and were intimately connected with them. The loss of the standard meant the end of

<sup>18</sup> The coins and the relief are reproduced by P. V. C. Baur, *Dura Rep.* iii, pl. xviii, 6-8 (coins), and pl. xiv (reliefs); cf. H. Stocks, *Berytus* iv, 1937, 1 ff. and pl. i (coins), pl. ii (relief). The coins are rare and generally badly worn.

<sup>19</sup> A. S. Hoey, *Trans. APA* lxx, 1939, 471 f.

<sup>20</sup> The bibliography will be found in G. F. Hill, *BMC Arabia*, etc., p. xcii.

<sup>21</sup> It must be emphasised that the temples

in which the *signa* appear in Hierapolis and Carrhae cannot possibly be the military temples or chapels in the headquarters building of a camp, like the temple represented on the coins of Rhessaena of Trajan Decius and Herennia Etruscilla with the legionary eagle inside it (*BMC Arabia* etc. pp. cx f., 127 f.—nos. 15-20, pl. xviii, 8 and 9—and p. 133, no. 40, pl. xviii, 17). Their form and their cult-statues exclude such an idea.



the unit in question. No such thing as an abstract standard, a standard in general, existed except as a symbol of the greatness of the Empire in the hands of a deity or personification (A. Reinach, Daremberg et Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq. s.v.* 'Signa militaria'). The *signa* which appeared in the temples were therefore in all probability not symbolical abstract *signa* but standards of particular military units. Were they *signa* of military units of the Roman army on active service? It is difficult to accept this suggestion. Hierapolis was never important from the military point of view. There was no reason to keep a permanent garrison there. Moreover, it never became a Roman colony, as happened to almost all the important military centres of Syria and Mesopotamia in the time of Severus and after. As regards Carrhae, its military importance was considerable, and it was accordingly a Roman colony from the time of Septimius Severus. It probably had a permanent garrison like Rhessaena, Nisibis, and Dura, though it is strange that there is no mention of this fact on its abundant coins, while Rhessaena is never tired of emphasising this fact on its coins.<sup>22</sup> It is therefore—and for other reasons which will be mentioned below—highly improbable that active units of the Roman army transferred their *signa* from their camps to the temples of Hierapolis and Carrhae.

It has been suggested that it was effected by Roman veterans or descendants of Roman veterans.<sup>23</sup> It is difficult to accept this explanation for Hierapolis. Single veterans may have settled there, but not a more or less compact body of them as, for example, in Heliopolis. Otherwise the city would have had the title of Roman colony. The situation in Carrhae was different. It was a Roman colony, and in all probability not a titular but a real one, with a body of colonists settled in it. We may think with Sir George Hill that these colonists, when first settled, put up in the chief temple copies of the standards of the units to which they belonged. But, we may ask, what is the evidence for the veterans carrying on the cult of their standards after they had received their *honesta missio* and had become civilians?

However, if in spite of these difficulties we assume for a moment that either soldiers on active service or, more probably, veterans dedicated their standards in oriental temples, what does it mean from the point of view of public law? It could not have happened by the decision of either active soldiers or veterans. The standards in question were public standards and not their private concern. The soldiers or veterans must have received permission to do it from their officers, that is to say ultimately from the emperor. Have we the right to suppose that such permission was granted by Septimius Severus and his successors? It is certain that no such permission could ever be granted to soldiers on active service. We know from the *Feriale Duranum* how conservative and traditional was the religion of the Roman camps in the time of Alexander Severus. No celebrations in honour of oriental gods, even those officially recognised in Rome, appear in the *Feriale Duranum*.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> See the coins with the *vexillum* of the *vexillatio* of the *leg. III Parthica* stationed at Rhessaena quoted above, p. 96, n. 15.

<sup>23</sup> G. F. Hill, *JRS* vi, 1916, 153; *id.* *BMC Arabia* etc. p. xcii f. Cf. R. Dussaud,

*Syria* xix, 1938, 367 f.

<sup>24</sup> R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey, and W. F. Snyder, 'The *Feriale Duranum*, *Yale Cl. St.* vii, 1941, 205 ff.

It may have been easier to grant such permission to veterans. They were after all civilians and most of them natives of Syria and Mesopotamia. And yet I hesitate to accept such a solution of the problem. How could the same emperors, who never permitted cult-ceremonies of oriental gods to become an official part of the religion of their army, sanction the presence of Roman *signa*, the highest expression of Roman supremacy, in oriental temples as σύνναοι θεοί, worshipped in the oriental fashion? Though occupying in the temples a place of honour, they were in fact secondary objects of cult. Such an assumption appears unacceptable to me even if the standards were not individual standards, but standards *in abstracto*, symbols of the Roman Empire; for such abstract standards nevertheless still remained symbols of the Roman army and of the Roman State. Even the Severi could hardly go so far in their orientalising tendencies.

If the standards in the temples of Hierapolis, of Carrhae, and probably also in the Dolicheneae were not military standards, what were they? I am inclined seriously to consider the view of those scholars who, though guided by somewhat different considerations, assume that these standards were religious banners, that is fetishes of the deity, and not military standards. A discussion of the many and various problems connected with such an interpretation of the *signa* would far exceed the limits and the plan of this paper,<sup>25</sup> but there is one among the many problems involved in it which must be mentioned. Assuming that the *signa* of these temples were religious banners, why have the oriental religious banners of the third century A.D. in Syria almost the exact shape of the military *signa*? It can hardly be explained by the assumption of a local evolution of religious banners which led to the creation of a type of banner similar to that of the Roman military *signa*. We know nothing of such an evolution. The religious banners of Syria and Mesopotamia in Persian and Hellenistic times have not survived either in representations or in originals. Of course, the form of a standard cannot vary greatly. The constituent parts of it remain the same in all countries and at all times: the shaft, the divine symbol or the figure of the deity at the top, symbols or images of deities attached to the shaft itself. But granted this, it is hard to believe that an independent development of these elements should have led in the Roman army and in oriental temples to exactly the same results and created exactly the same type of standards.

I am inclined, therefore, to believe that there was behind this similarity a conscious amalgamation of the two types. Since we are able to follow the development of the Roman *signa* for centuries, and cannot detect during its evolution many borrowings from oriental sources (though no serious study of this problem has ever been made), I prefer to think that it was the oriental banners which were consciously re-shaped in order to

<sup>25</sup> On the problem of the σημήιον in Hierapolis see the recent contributions of A. L. Frothingham, *AJA* xx, 1916, 208; P. V. C. Baur, *Dura Rep.* iii, 120 ff.; Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Rev. des Arts Asiatiques* xi, 1937, 75 ff.; C. Clemen, *Lukians Schrift über die Syrische Göttin (Der Alte Orient* xxxvii, Heft 3/4, 1938) 42 f.; H. Stocks, *Berytus* iv, 1937, 1 ff.; cf. C. Clemen,

*Pisciculi. Festschr. F. J. Dölger (Antike u. Christentum, Ergänzungsband i, 1939), 66 ff.* In these papers the reader will find references to the previous studies of the problem. On the Carrhae standards P. V. C. Baur and H. Stocks in works cited in n. 18. On the Dolicheneae A. S. Hoey, *Trans. APA* lxx, 1939, 471 f.

make them resemble as closely as possible Roman military standards. It is perhaps not too fanciful to suggest that it was done by the oriental priests, and done for a special purpose. Instead of showing, like their cousins the Hebrews, a fierce hostility to Roman military fetishes, they were eager to assimilate their standards to those of the Roman army. It was in this way easier for the soldiers and veterans of the Roman army to pray to the Syrian and Mesopotamian gods, whose symbols were so much like those which they were accustomed to worshipping in their camps. As regards the Syrian priests and population this act would have been another sign of the far-reaching and steadily developing loyalty to the Roman State, and of their readiness and eagerness to incorporate their gods into the Roman official Pantheon.<sup>26</sup>

Like the *signa*, some representations of the *vexilla* in Syria and Mesopotamia, especially in Heliopolis and Dura, appear in scenes of religious character. I may begin with Dura. I have mentioned above the painting which represents the sacrifice of the tribune Julius Terentius (pl. v), and I have described the *vexillum* which appears in this scene. There is no doubt that this *vexillum* was either the *vexillum* or one of the *vexilla* of the XXth Palmyrene Cohort. It should be noted that the sacrifice of the tribune, though directed chiefly to the military gods of Palmyra and to the two Tychai of Dura and Palmyra, referred to the *vexillum* also, as the military and religious standard of the cohort.<sup>27</sup> Different in this respect is the scene or scenes (pl. vi, 2, 3) scratched by an amateur hand on the four sides of a little gypsum altar (height 18 cm.) found in 1928 hidden under a thick coat of plaster in the passage of the main gateway of Dura. Limits of space prevent me from entering into a detailed analysis of the religious scene or scenes represented on this altar; but no completely satisfactory interpretation of them has yet been given. Cumont's contention that it was a scene of the military religious life of Dura I cannot accept, while that of Du Mesnil du Buisson, though correct, inasmuch as he tries to interpret the objects represented on the altar as religious objects, is also unacceptable to me in several respects which I cannot go into now.<sup>28</sup> But I may indicate in a few words my own tentative interpretation of the scratchings.

<sup>26</sup> The history of the religious banners and of their connection with the military standards has never been carefully studied. This study ought to be a comparative one in the light of the results achieved in some valuable but incomplete investigations devoted to the religious and military standards in various countries and at various times. A bibliography here is out of place. A partial one will be found in a paper by Professor K. Lehmann-Hartleben which will shortly appear in *Dura Rep.* ix, in connection with an interesting bronze object found at Dura which the author regards as the top of a standard. Very little is known of the evolution of standards in Syria and Mesopotamia in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, as well as in early Roman times. The forms of religious standards in those periods certainly varied. Those

few, however, which are known are not of the type of the Roman *signa*. I may quote for example a Palmyrene clay *tessera* in possession of Abbot Jean Starcky which shows on the obverse a sacrifice by a certain Ogilô to a deity hidden in a tent on camel-back, and on the reverse a figure of a priest in front view holding two standards with statues of deities on the top of each, see Abbot Jean Starcky, *Palmyre, Guide archéologique (Mél. de l'Univ. St. Joseph xxiv, 1941)*, 11, figs. 5 and 6.

<sup>27</sup> A. S. Hoey, 'The Feriale Duranum', *Yale Cl. St.* vii, 1941, 117, and *Trans. APA* lxx, 1939, 488 f.

<sup>28</sup> F. Cumont, *Dura Rep.* i, 68 ff., and pls. iv, 2, and v and cf. pp. 20 and 45, and Du Mesnil du Buisson, *Rev. des Arts Asiatiques* xi, 1937, 75 ff. Similar to the cult-scenes represented on the little altar

The front of the altar (indicated as such by the inscriptions engraved on the top and the right of it, pl. vi, 3) shows an *aedicula* or an entrance into a sanctuary (cf. the *aedicula* painted on the Aphlad sanctuary, see n. 28). In the centre of the sanctuary stands a *vexillum* planted in the ground. It has the form of a regular military *vexillum*, but shows some peculiarities which never occur on the regular military *vexilla*. The top of its shaft is crowned by a crescent moon (or an incomplete disc) with two circles attached to it, probably medallions with inset precious stones or *phalerae* (metal discs). On the square piece of stuff suspended from the shaft, enclosed in a border (like that of the *vexillum* of the painting of the tribune) and with a heavy fringe below, are engraved six circles of varying size, again in all probability representing either inset stones or metal discs. To the left of the *vexillum* there is a stepped and perhaps horned altar, with a bird, probably an eagle (not a dove) above it facing left. (Cf. the similar altar and eagle of the painting in the sanctuary of Aphlad mentioned above.) To the right a similar bird facing left is shown above a large *crater*. Above the arch of the door or *aedicula* is a double palm-branch with streamers. On the right side of the altar (taking the side described above to be the front) a Victory holding a palm branch is seen flying towards the cult-objects described above. On the left is an enigmatic scene: another eagle in front view, head to left, holding a crown or a globe in its claws, and near the eagle a naked man, upper part of the body in front view, the legs to left. Above, over the arched frame, is scratched another *vexillum* almost identical with the first (pl. vi, 2), but on the stuff are shown seven, not six, circles. Finally on the back of the altar a fragmentary scratching shows a stepped base, on which is planted a high pole crowned with a crescent moon and a globe (sun and moon). This standard is either fastened to the ground by two ropes attached to two transverse bars nailed to the pole of the standard, or else the pole is shown standing before a tent-like building (a tent-sanctuary of Nomads).

The figures described above are deeply scratched on the altar and the scratched lines are coloured red. An inscription made by the same hand and in the same manner in three lines fills the front attic of the altar or *thymiaterium* (pl. vi, 3):  $\mu\nu(\eta\sigma\theta\eta) \tau\eta \Sigma\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha \mid \mu\nu(\eta\sigma\theta\eta) \text{'}\text{Ρουμ\acute{\alpha}\varsigma \mid \mu\nu(\eta\sigma\theta\eta) \text{Βα}\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta\varsigma$ . The first line was first correctly read by Du Mesnil. It contains the name of a deity after the known formula  $\mu\nu\eta\sigma\theta\eta$ .<sup>29</sup> There follow in the next lines the names of two men, probably dedicants, the formula  $\mu\nu\eta\sigma\theta\eta$  being repeated before their names. Such inscriptions occur hundreds of times in Dura. The two dedicants wished to be remembered by the goddess  $\Sigma\eta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ . The inscription on the right side of the front of the altar (in a different hand) is difficult to read and to interpret. After a more

is that drawn on the wall to the left of the cult-niche of the *naos* of Aphlad in Dura. We see an arched temple and in the temple a horned altar with an eagle crowned by a Victory (Hadad's bird? Note that Aphlad was regarded as the son of Hadad). Before the altar a priest is performing a sacrifice: a little below the scene we find a representation of a *vexillum*. C. Hopkins, *Dura*

*Rep.* v, 104 ff., pl. xxxvii, and my *Dura and Parthian Art* 249.

<sup>29</sup> Usually in similar inscriptions the formula  $\mu\nu\eta\sigma\theta\eta$  (or similar) is followed by the formula  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$  or  $\epsilon\pi\iota$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\nu$  or  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\upsilon\varsigma$  in general or the name of a given god (e.g.  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\tau\acute{o}\nu$   $\text{'Απ\acute{o}\lambda\lambda\omega\nu\alpha}$ ); see *Dura Rep.* ii, 165; v, 16 f., and 122, no. 426; vi, 133, no. 655, 657; vii-viii, 130, no. 868.

careful examination I cannot now maintain the reading and interpretation I gave in 1928.

Without entering into a discussion of the meaning of ἡ στυμ(ε)ία, it is clear that a divine being is meant. The natural interpretation would be to take ἡ στυμ(ε)ία as the standard below and regard this standard itself (whoever the god or goddess represented by it was) for the equivalent or the symbol of a deity. But fellow scholars who do not believe that the στυμῆιον of Lucian (see n. 25) has anything to do with a standard will certainly quote the enigmatic Sime or Sima of Pseudo-Melito and of several inscriptions more or less similar with the not less enigmatic god Simios (see the bibliography in C. Clemen's book quoted in n. 25). The interpretation of the inscription does not, however, affect the general interpretation of the scratchings. What is represented on the altar is the sanctuary of a solar trinity. The standard occupies the centre: it represents the chief deity, the two other members of the triad being represented probably by the eagles above the altar and above the crater.

A more detailed interpretation must be reserved for a special discussion. What concerns me now is the fact that the standards, the *vexilla* of this altar, cannot be Roman military *vexilla*. They are no doubt religious banners. No military *vexilla* crowned by a crescent moon or disc are known: in no military *vexilla* is the flag attached so low, and none of them shows the flag literally covered with inset precious stones or metal discs which certainly symbolise the luminaries of the sky, in all probability the planets. (Cf. the description of the statue of Atargatis by Lucian *de dea Syria* 32, the breast plate of Jupiter Heliopolitanus and that of the Jewish arch-priest.) These heavy ornaments show that the flag is not a floating piece of stuff. It cannot be that. It is probably a piece of heavy material, a kind of brocade, rigid and stiff. This is a feature which does not characterise the Roman military standards before the creation of the *labarum*.

The *vexilla* of the altar of Dura find a striking parallel in some coins of Heliopolis struck under Gallienus (pl. vi, 4). They are very rare. Two of them are in the British Museum, one (?) in Paris. But the best specimen is in the possession of Rev. Abbot Nicholas Karam and was recently published and illustrated by the late S. Ronzevalle, S.J.<sup>30</sup> On the reverse of these coins we see a bust of the youthful Helios<sup>31</sup> with radiate head and crowned with a *calathos* shown on an arm-chair or a *ferculum*. (Cf. the Helios of Hierapolis, Lucian *de dea Syria* 34). To the right and left of it are two *vexilla* planted in the ground. These *vexilla* have a peculiar decoration. On Abbot Karam's specimen the top of the pole is crowned by a globe, and two other globes are shown on the ends of the transverse bar. On the specimens of the British Museum the staff of the *vexillum*

<sup>30</sup> *BMC Galatia* etc. 294, no. 29, pl. xxxvi, 11; for a more exact description and more probable interpretation of the reverse, S. Ronzevalle, S.J., *Mél. Univ. St. Joseph* xviii, 1934, 142 ff., and pl. vi, 3 (hence our pl. vi, 4). For a less well-preserved specimen in the possession of Abbot N. Karam, see S. Ronzevalle, *Jupiter Heliopolitain nova et*

*vetera* (*ibid.* xxx, 1), 1937, 27, pl. iii, 4 and 129 f., pl. xxxvii, 3a and b.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. H. Seyrig, 'Heliopolitana,' *Bull. du Musée de Beyrouth* i, 1937, 91 ff., and his substantial paper, 'La triade Héliopolitaine et les temples de Baalbek,' *Syria* x, 1929, 314 ff.

ends apparently in a lance-head. The surface of the *vexillum* proper with fringes below is won on the Karam specimen, but on the better preserved coin in the British Museum, it is adorned by a *quincunx* of five globes, a striking parallel to the Dura *vexilla* (pl. vi, 4). Whoever the god may be, it is certain that the *vexilla* are religious banners and not military *signa*. They probably represent the two other members of the Heliopolitan triad. It is clear also that the banner was a square piece of heavy stuff adorned with jewels or discs. The three globes above may again represent symbolically the Heliopolitan triad.

The transformation of the military *vexillum* into a religious banner or, better, an amalgamation of the two finds a striking parallel in the *labarum* of Constantine as described by Eusebius and represented on coins. Without discussing the *labarum* at length,<sup>32</sup> I may point out that as created by Constantine after his famous vision, it was a synthesis of the Roman imperial military *vexillum*, emphasised by the *phalerae* with the portraits of Constantine and his sons, and of a religious banner of the new religion of the Emperor and the Roman State. This was clearly and triumphantly indicated by the abbreviated name of Christ, included in a crown at the top of the *labarum*.<sup>33</sup> The form of the new standard-banner of Constantine was almost exactly the same as that of the oriental religious *vexilla* of the third century A.D.: the religious symbol at the top, and below it the rigid piece of heavy brocade inset with precious stones, symbol of the sky. This coincidence in form is striking. It suggests that in shaping his *labarum* Constantine was intentionally modelling it on the religious banners of the solar religion of the East, which was well known to him. We must not forget his devotion to *Sol Invictus*. I may cite in this connection, after Alföldi, the coin from Vetrano, on the reverse of which is seen the statue of Constantine with the *labarum* crowned by *Sol Invictus*.<sup>34</sup> As a detail let me mention also that the *labarum*, as represented on the well-known coin of Constantius Junior (pl. vi, 5), is adorned in the same way as the *vexilla* of Heliopolis: five globes on the *vexillum* proper disposed in a *quincunx*, and globes at the ends of the cross and of the transverse bar.<sup>35</sup>

To conclude this rather long excursus on the religious standards, I may mention another example of a religious *vexillum* found in Dura, differing in many respects from those of the little altar. It was scratched on one of the walls (of room 32) of a private house. This house (D) was one of those which adjoined on the west the temple of Adonis and Atargatis. The east wall of the *diwan* (room 30) forms in fact a part of the

<sup>32</sup> An excellent bibliography on the *labarum* will be found in N. H. Baynes, 'Constantine the Great and the Christian Church,' *Proc. Br. Ac.* xv, 1929, 398 ff.; for a list of more recent works on the subject see A. Alföldi in *Pisciculi. Festschr. F. J. Dölger (Antike und Christentum, Ergänzungsband i, 1939)* 8 n.

<sup>33</sup> I regard the reconstruction of J. Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, i, 33 ff and iii, pl. 51, 2, as the most probable of those which have been suggested; cf. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, *Studi Romani* i, 1913, 161 ff., and ii, 1914, 216 ff.

<sup>34</sup> Alföldi, *op. cit.* 7, pl. i, 1.

<sup>35</sup> J. Maurice, *Numismatique Constantienne* ii, 538, no. xiii (pl. xv, 10) and Alföldi, *op. cit.* pl. ii, 2 (after H. V. Schoenebeck, in 'Beiträge zur Religionspolitik des Maxentius u. Constantin' to be published as a *Klio* Beiheft; if this work has appeared, it is not yet available in U.S.A. or England). Cf. the well-known coin of Constantine (*Spes Publica*), Maurice, *op. cit.* ii, 506, no. vii (pl. xv, 7) where three *globuli* are seen on the *labarum* (certainly not the busts of Constantine and his sons).

back wall of the court of the temple. Several scratched figures were found there on plaster from the walls of room 30 and 32. One (pl. vi, 1) (fragmentary below), shows the upper part of the body of a man in front view, clad in a tunic with indications of lacing or embroidery down the front. With his right hand he holds the tall staff of a *vexillum*. The top of the *vexillum* shows a crescent moon on which is perched a bird, probably a dove (note the dove on top of the σημήιον in Lucian *de dea Syria* 33). Down below, attached to the staff, are two or three circles—*phalerae*, one larger, another smaller. Then farther down comes a square fringed piece of stuff, on the surface of which I see faint traces of four circles. To the left of this figure stands a man in front view, legs turned right, clad in a long tunic, holding in his right hand a long staff. Facing him to the right a bird with a crown in its beak. The *vexillum* has been interpreted as a Roman military standard by F. E. Brown, yet no military *vexilla* show a crescent moon on the top, or *phalerae* on the upper part of the shaft, or the flag so far below. I am sure that we have again the representation of a sacred standard, probably of Atargatis, the bearded figure to the right of the standard being perhaps Hadad.<sup>36</sup>

III. *Vexilla of Corporations.* In concluding this survey of the rôle of the *vexillum* in Roman life I may point to the important part played by *vexilla* in the corporative life of professional, and probably also religious, associations of the Roman Empire. We hear that in processions in honour of the emperors, both at Rome and in the provinces, the professional *collegia* appeared with their banners called *vexilla*.<sup>37</sup> Such a collegiate *vexillum* rarely appears in our archaeological evidence. I may cite without aiming at completeness two instances referring to the *collegia* of boys and young men. In the famous Ostia paintings, which show religious processions of boys, we see in one section boys carrying *imagines*, and in the other a boy holding a large *vexillum* of grey colour—probably not the original one—with three busts on the transverse bar.<sup>38</sup> Another procession, this time of *iuvenes*, members of the *iuventus Manliensium* at Virunum in Noricum, represented on a fragmentary relief from Virunum, shows the *iuvenes* on horseback. One of them carries a short cavalry *vexillum*.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>36</sup> F. E. Brown, *Dura Rep.* vii-viii, 77 f. and pl. lvii and plan, fig. 43 (facing p. 150). Though in my short survey of religious *signa* and *vexilla* I have limited myself to Syria and Mesopotamia, religious standards were probably used elsewhere. I may mention, for example, the enigmatic σημαφόροι(ς) τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτου Ἀπόλλωνος in Hierapolis in Phrygia. I agree with Judeich (*Alt. von Hierapolis* no. 153) in regarding them as an association of standard-bearers of the temple of Apollo, but see W. M. Ramsay, *Cities, etc.*, 1895, i, 115, no. 19, and F. Poland, *Gesch. d. gr. Vereinswesens* (Preissschriften herausg. von der Fürstlich Jablonowskischen Gesellschaft. zu Leipzig xxxviii, 1909), 573, inscr. B 433 and p. 562 s.v. σημαφόροι. In Russian churches to be a banner-bearer

used to be a high distinction.

<sup>37</sup> The literary and epigraphical evidence will be found in an article by Kornemann in P-W s.v. 'Collegium' 414; cf. Ch. Renel, 'Cultes militaires de Rome.' *Les Enseignes* (*Ann. de l'Univ. de Lyon*, n.s. ii, fasc. 12, 1903), 305 f.

<sup>38</sup> B. Nogara, *Le Nozze Aldobrandine*, etc. (Collez. arch. artistiche e numis. dei Palazzi Apostolici ii, 1907), pls. xlvii-xlix; cf. my *A History of the Ancient World* ii, 267, pl. lvii.

<sup>39</sup> R. Egger, *Jahresh. d. Oest. Arch. Inst.* xviii (1915), 165 ff., fig. 65 and *Führer durch die Antikensammlung des Landes-museums in Klagenfurt* 1921, 24; and my *Storia Ec. e. Soc. d. I. R.* 54.

To return now to the *vexillum* found in Egypt from which we started. We may ask: was it a military *vexillum*, or a religious banner, or even the standard of an association? I do not hesitate to regard it as a military banner. It has the same form as the military *vexilla*, the same dimensions, the same colours. The Victory painted on its surface suits a military standard very well. It may be explained as a special distinction bestowed on a military unit after a victorious expedition. It has in any case probably the same meaning as the statuette of Victory on the top of a *vexillum* represented on Trajan's Column (above, p. 95). Unfortunately we do not know where the *vexillum* was found—in the ruins of a temple, or a Roman military camp, or in a private house or a grave. This last is the most probable source. If this is so, it cannot be a genuine *vexillum* of a military unit. It must be a *donum militare*. It is well known that the *vexilla* as *dona militaria*<sup>40</sup> were reserved for officers and that we have them reproduced on the well-known tombstone of S. Vibius Gallus from Amastris. The *dona militaria* were jealously kept in their houses by those who received them, and some of them may have accompanied the decorated man to his grave. I may remind the reader of the silver *phalerae* from Lauersfort, found in a copper chest lined with silver, and the curious bronze *phalerae* with glass medallions found in various places, some of them presumably in graves, on the Rhine and on the Danube.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>40</sup> *Vexilla* as *dona militaria*, P. Steiner, 'Die dona militaria,' *Bonn. Jahrb.* 114/5, 1906, 29 ff. The two altars of Sex. Vibius Gallus *CIL* iii, 13648 (and 14187, 3), and 14187, 4 and 5 (= *ILS* 2663 and 4081). Excellent reproductions of the reliefs with the representation of the *dona militaria*, *CIL* iii, 13648; cf. E. Kalinka, *Festschr. O. Benndorf* 1898, 215 ff., and Steiner, *op. cit.* 33, 35, figs. 22 and 23 (time of Septimius

Severus). On the *dona militaria* in general and on the *vexillum* as *donum militare* in particular see A. v. Domaszewski, 'Die Rangordnung d. röm. Heeres' (*Bonn. Jahrb.* 117, 1908), 137 f.

<sup>41</sup> Lauersfort, *Germania Romana*<sup>2</sup>, 1930, v, pl. xxxvi, 1, 2-4; the glass *emblemata* or *phalerae*, *ibid.* and F. Drexel, 'Ein Bildnis der älteren Agrippina,' *Antike Plastik. Festschr. W. Amelung* 1928, 67 ff.





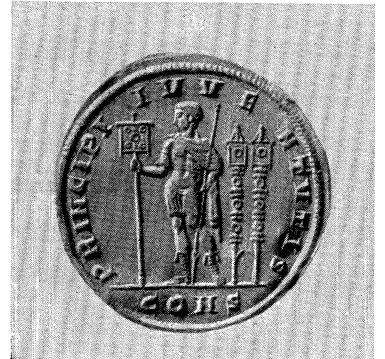
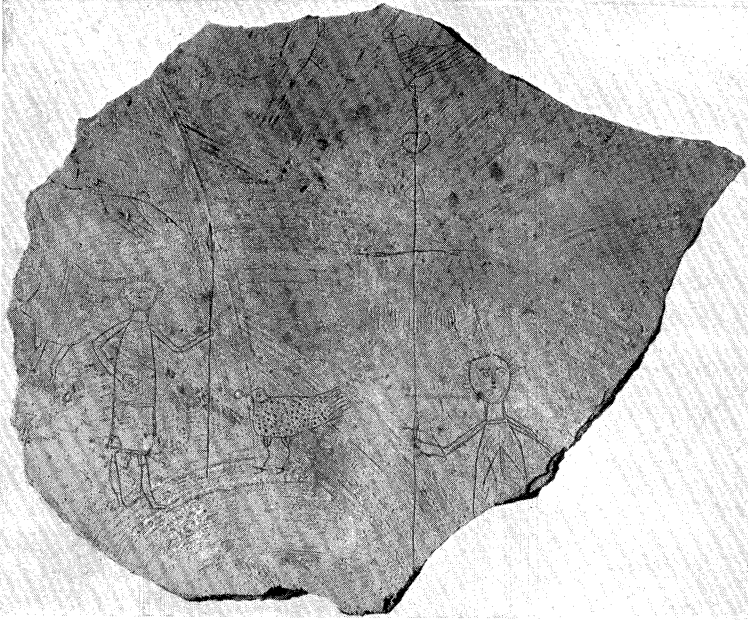
THE LINEN FLAG OF A *vexillum* FOUND IN EGYPT AND NOW IN THE STATE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, MOSCOW. c.  $\frac{1}{4}$  (see p. 92 ff.)

From "Monuments of Alexander III Museum of Fine Arts in Moscow" iv, 1913, plate xxiv



DURA-EUPOPOS : *vexillarius* ON THE TRIBUNE PAINTING NOW IN THE GALLERY OF FINE ARTS, YALE UNIVERSITY. c.  $\frac{1}{4}$  (see p. 93 ff.)

*Photograph by Dr. N. P. Toll*



1, 2, 3. DURA-EUROPUS : 1. WALL-PLASTER WITH A *vexillarius* SCRATCHED ON IT, FROM A PRIVATE HOUSE (L5-D32), c.  $\frac{1}{3}$  (p. 105) ; 2, 3. GYPSUM *thymiaterium*, c.  $\frac{1}{2}$ , DISPLAYING A *vexillum* ON THE FRONT AND ANOTHER (2, c.  $\frac{1}{4}$ ) ON THE UPPER PART OF THE LEFT SIDE, FOUND IN 1928 UNDER THE PLASTER OF THE MAIN (PALMYRA) GATEWAY ; BOTH NOW IN THE GALLERY OF FINE ARTS, YALE UNIVERSITY (see p. 101 ff.). 4. REVERSE,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , OF A BRONZE COIN OF GALLIENUS STRUCK AT THE *colonia* OF HELIOPOLIS, SHOWING A BUST OF HELIOS ON AN ARM-CHAIR OR *ferculum* AND, ON EACH SIDE, A STANDARD DISPLAYING A *quincunx* OF GLOBES, NOW IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM (see p. 103 f.). 5. REVERSE,  $\frac{1}{2}$ , OF A 5-SOLIDUS PIECE OF GOLD OF CONSTANTINUS II AS CAESAR, c. A.D. 335-7, IN THE COIN CABINET OF THE K.-FRIEDRICH-MUSEUM, BERLIN (see p. 104).

1, 2, 3 from photographs and drawing by Dr. N. P. Toll, 4 from 'Mél. Univ. St. Joseph' xviii, pl. vi, 3, and 5 from J. Maurice, 'Numismatique Constantinnienne', ii, pl. xv, 10