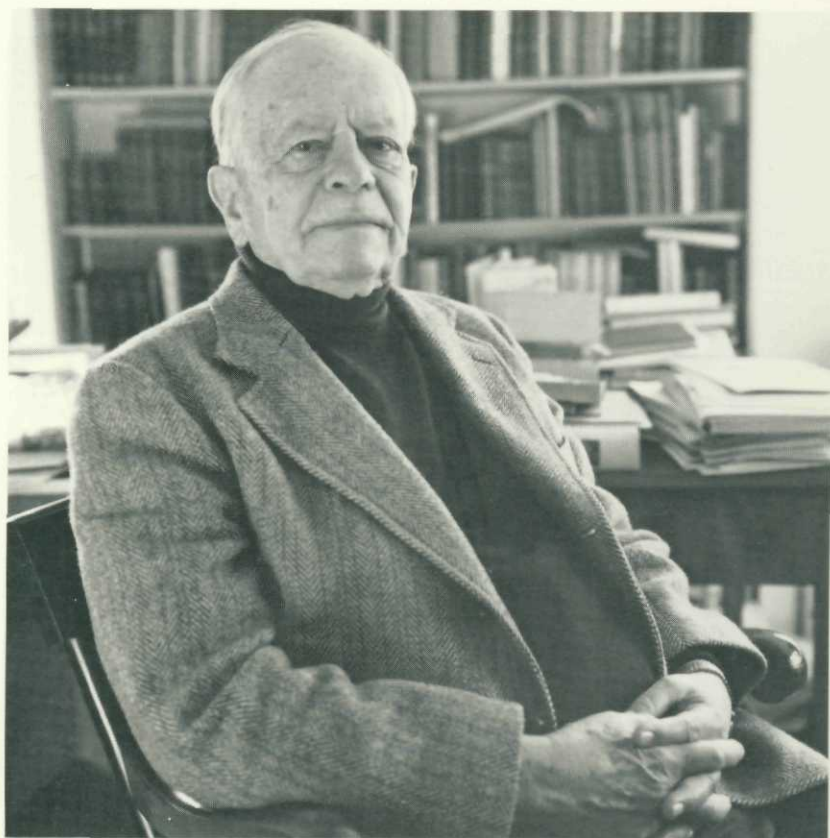


Andrew Alföldi
1895-1981

THE INSTITUTE FOR ADVANCED STUDY

Herman Landshoff



P R E F A C E

We came together on October 16, 1981, to mark the loss of our colleague Andrew Alföldi who died on February 12, 1981, and we met in a memorial gathering that was informal and familial, recalling a quarter century of fruitful and friendly association. The comments which follow reflect that quality, and as an expression of our pride in his accomplishments we have added a bibliography of Professor Alföldi's publications. Géza Alföldy, Elizabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum and James F. Gilliam were instrumental in producing and checking that extraordinary record of scholarly achievement, for which I here express the thanks not only of the Institute for Advanced Study as a whole, but the world of learning at large for whom this will prove to be an essential research tool.

HARRY WOOLF

Director

Institute for Advanced Study

Princeton
New Jersey, 1982

Memoir

Professor J. F. Gilliam

School of Historical Studies
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A considerable number of obituaries have already been prepared for Andrew Alföldi, by academies, other learned societies, and journals. Our own gathering today will be primarily a family affair, with no pretense of offering a complete and balanced statement. Most of us here have had some acquaintance with Alföldi. But only a few have known him from the time he became a Professor at the Institute in 1955, and no one would expect that even close colleagues are familiar with all his work during his twenty-five years in Princeton. Further, one must remember that in August, 1955, Alföldi became sixty years old. The greater part of his life had been spent in a setting quite different from what he found in the New World here, despite the basically international character of scholarship.

Alföldi was always ready to discuss his work and that of others when asked, but he seldom talked about his youth except in certain moods. He refused repeatedly to write a sketch of one or two dozen pages about his own life and about at least some of the many remarkable scholars whom he knew. His books and articles were what mattered. But some facts and details are in place here.

Alföldi was born on August 27, 1895, not far from Budapest. The Roman fort and city of Aquincum were very near. The walls could still be seen, and Roman coins and other small objects constantly turned up when the peasants plowed. The boy was only ten or less when he began to collect all of these he could, determined to understand what they were and what they meant. Long after, he gave his mother credit for his love of history and art, beginning with her encouragement of his collections.

His father died when Alföldi was fifteen, leaving a widow and two sons destitute. He had been a country doctor, noted for his sociable qualities and paid too often in wine. As the elder son, Alföldi had to help support the family, but he managed to finish a gymnasium and enter the University of Budapest. A generous and perceptive scholar, V. Kuzsinszky, made it possible in 1913 for him to be an assistant in the Museum of Aquincum, while remaining a student.

Shortly after this triumph, he entered the army and spent four years in the infantry. Promotion as an officer, with a medal, may have been felt to be a meaningful and instructive reward for a young historian. For example, his many encounters with the Cossacks gave an opportunity to study their tactics and to prepare him later to understand the horsemen

of Northern Asia. He acknowledged readily that when the muscular, small horses of the Cossacks were captured, he was regularly thrown through the air when he tried to ride one. His best piece of luck in the army was probably a bullet through his ankle during a drawn out battle in 1917. After he was finally taken to the rear and his shoe was cut off, the foot was found to be badly infected. But when the surgeons came to cut off the leg, in order to save what was left of him, he pulled out his pistol ready to shoot anyone who tried. They were content to send him back to a larger station, and he finally reached a hospital. This episode reflects his resolute spirit in face of danger or threats, all through his life. During eight months while he remained in bed, he studied systematically the dictionaries of Western languages, from A to Z, and a large part of the ancient authors. He had also completed his modest dissertation and received his doctorate at the University of Budapest by the end of 1918.

Alföldi was immediately given a post in the Hungarian National Museum. After three years he left to become Professor of Ancient History in Debrecen, where he stayed from 1923 to 1930. He then accepted a chair in Budapest as Professor of Ancient History and Archaeology of the Hungarian territory, a position which he retained until he left the country. These titles and movements are quite significant. For several years Alföldi concentrated primarily on the archaeological materials found in the area along the Danube for which he was responsible. His dissertation had been based on clay moulds and the emperors they portrayed. But he became also a student and a teacher of Ancient History in the usual sense. There was no real conflict between archaeology and history in his approach. In fact, both were urgently needed to make either one of them intelligible. Few of the broken stones in Hungary would have interested collectors who required formal beauty and polished skill, and only an acquired taste would make the debased currency of the third and fourth century attractive, so one would suppose. On the other hand, formal histories that covered the Danubian area were scattered and inadequate. Even the inscriptions, though numerous, needed much attention.

Alföldi immediately began to study and classify local archaeological objects of various kinds and published the results in dozens of articles. One of his specialties was the coins, in which he soon became a well-known expert. But he also studied the written sources with care. The

combination became more and more fruitful. He was not a mere local antiquarian. He realized very well that in order to understand whatever he examined, its setting, the range over which it extended, its age, all needed to be known. One example of his breadth was his continuing interest in the peoples of the steppes and others outside the Empire, such as the Scythians, Sassanians, Germans, Huns, and Avars.

It is very difficult to attempt a survey of Alföldi's chief works in a few short statements. His bibliography contains about 300 items, including two dozen books. One major group concerns the crisis of the third century. Its disasters and developments remain central in the history of the Roman Empire. By the late 1930's Alföldi had become the most interesting and substantial new authority on the subject. This was Rostovtzeff's opinion. Alföldi's knowledge of the Danubian area had prepared him to grasp many of this period's problems. For instance, much of the fighting took place there, and Danubian emperors and soldiers played an important role. He had studied the barbarians carefully. Coins were essential in fixing chronology.

Many scholars may regard two large monographs published in 1934 and 1935 as his most remarkable and brilliant work. They have now been brought together in a volume. The two subjects are the emperors' ceremonial and their insignia and dress. Both are ancient and widespread in their background, though novelties were carefully added.

Another group of his studies is devoted to the fourth century. It is concerned in large part with the resistance of certain pagans to Christianity. *A Festival of Isis in Rome under the Christian Emperors* is based directly on coins. Two emperors, Constantine and Valentinian I, each have a biography. Both were written in Hungary but translated and published in Oxford after he escaped. A major work on *contorniates* as propaganda was completed in 1943. I should add that his interest in the wretched and amusing *Historia Augusta* had begun in Hungary and continued all through his stay in Princeton.

Before leaving Alföldi's Hungarian period, one should mention his *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, which contained over 40 volumes before his departure. They have a wide range, and remind us that in addition to his own work, he helped and encouraged that of others, largely to the advantage of younger scholars and his fellow countrymen. It is worth mentioning that Alföldi accepted and published two volumes by Arthur

Stein in his series in 1940 and 1944, although Stein had a Jewish background.

In 1947 Alföldi succeeded in leaving Hungary, along with his family and some of his books. The University of Bern had accepted him. Earlier he had received an offer from the University of Munich. He had many German friends and continued later to be especially close to them. But the memory of Hitler was still too vivid. The horrors of World War II had ended, but then he became a conspicuous figure for the new regime to watch. For instance, it had been his responsibility to try to protect the University and Museum when the Russians arrived in Budapest. Patriotic as he was, he needed above all freedom to think and to say what he thought.

In the War and in moving to Switzerland Alföldi lost many of his unpublished papers and materials, among them a supplement to the *CIL III*, a volume of the standard collection of Latin inscriptions. Partly for this reason he turned away from Danubian subjects and began to concentrate on the early Roman state and on the Late Republic, particularly Julius Caesar's place in it. To a large degree, he had made a clean break. In two points at least, however, he followed older practices. He established another *Dissertationes*, this time the *Bernenses*. The first volume published was a work of Arthur Stein. In addition to his *Dissertationes*, Alföldi also took a large interest in Swiss archaeology.

In 1952 Alföldi moved to Basel. A more drastic step was the acceptance of an invitation to join the Institute in 1955. The move meant leaving his two children in Europe. One reason to make this choice was the state of his eyes. Two operations were needed in the end. There is no need to describe a Professor's life in the Institute. It was possible for him to concentrate on his scholarly work and to spend almost six months busily working and giving lectures in Europe, as he continued to do until the end of last summer. Of his many publications during his stay in Princeton, I will mention only *Early Rome and the Latins* (1965), which was given first as Jerome Lectures in the American Academy in Rome. The second is a study of Julius Caesar in 44 B.C., which he did not live to finish. But it will be as complete as possible and will soon be published. Professor Kolb may say more about it. I should add that Alföldi was the senior and active editor of the long *Antiquitas* series published by Habelt in Bonn.

I will not try to list Alföldi's academic honors in any detail. He received several honorary doctorates from European universities. One was given in Paris, others in the Netherlands, Belgium, and Germany. His academies included the Institut de France, as well as the Swedish, Hungarian, Lincei (Rome), Austrian, British, Munich, Mainz, Göttingen, Danish, and Bulgarian. He was an honorary member of many learned societies and received a number of special honors, of which the German order *pour le Mérite* was one. For several years he was the only "Ehrenmitglied" of the German Archaeological Institute.

A description of Alföldi as a scholar cannot be complete in a few lines, but I will make a few remarks. He had a keen eye and penetrating curiosity. His memory was very remarkable. All of us are aware of the practical attractions of a dollar bill. But many probably cannot recall exactly what the Great Seal of the United States on it contains, such as the 13 arrows and the Latin. Alföldi had an equally strong grasp of written sources. He sought to make his materials as significant as possible. His constructions and connections were often quite attractive, at times dangerous but at least stimulating.

Regarded as a man, his enormous energy and devotion to his work are obvious, as is his courage, shown in a long series of disasters in the outer world and in his own circle. Cancer hardly slowed him down. In his youth he enjoyed his rowing and sailing club greatly. Here at the Institute he could be very generous to young scholars, or to others who came to him. He enjoyed life, jokes, puns, children, and dogs. Those who knew him will not forget him.

I will not attempt to tell what Elisabeth Alföldi meant to Andrew. His friends here know well.

J. F. GILLIAM

Memoir

Dr. Frank P. Kolb

Member of the School of Historical Studies
Institute for Advanced Study
1981-1982

Professor at Kiel University

When I came to the Institute for the first time in 1970 as an assistant to Andrew Alföldi, he introduced me to my job by showing me his innumerable card-indexes which comprised the material collected in more than 50 years and explaining to me which historical problems he intended to deal with during the coming years. It amounted to at least ten books which he wanted to write. While the mere thought of trying to do this within one's own lifetime might suffice to plunge oneself into deep depression, he seemed rather to enjoy the prospect.

One has to be aware that then he was already in his 75th year, and he actually succeeded in writing six more books, in addition to about twenty he had published before, and in re-editing seven others, besides composing about forty articles. Weakened by various grave diseases, he could not have done this without the self-sacrificing love and care of his wife. But it also illustrates the incredible energy and inexhaustible richness of ideas which—even in old age—characterized this extraordinary man and made me deeply impressed by his personality. Having the opportunity to work closely with him was an invaluable experience. Being himself filled with enthusiasm about Roman history and its problems, he always felt the urgent need to communicate and share his knowledge and thoughts with others, and he was able to transfer part of his own inspiration to others. By his natural disposition and temper he was bound to be an excellent teacher and, indeed, not only in his native Hungary, but even during the rather short time he spent in Switzerland, he produced a group of disciples some of whom were to become important scholars. Another reason for his pedagogical success was his unusual talent of making history come alive by ingeniously using historical sources which one could touch and look at, particularly coins. His singular knowledge of the ancient monuments and their pictorial symbolism contributed much to the vividness of his historical reconstructions and to the fact that his ideas could be expected to be of profound originality and always stimulating—so much so that even those among his colleagues who were his professional critics would be induced to touch subjects which they otherwise would hardly have dealt with.

A natural curiosity and a strong impulse to discover the truth were the driving forces of his research, and he himself used to compare his work to that of a detective: to gather all the evidence, even the slightest, and put

the puzzle together as completely as possible. He wanted to reconstruct rather than be a critic of others. To be sure, he did not like his own results not to be accepted — but who does? Yet, he usually would not indulge in sharp criticism, though he proved that he was able to right at the beginning of his career, writing, at the age of 19, a devastating review of a book by a renowned Hungarian scholar. As a rule, however, he endeavored to refute other theories by trying to do better in a constructive way.

He was optimistic about the possibilities of historical reconstruction. Though being acquainted with the philosophical theories on the problems of objective knowledge and their possible implications for research, he would not regard these theories as extremely valuable and he always kept far away from a positivistic approach. Being convinced that research in Roman history might disclose general laws of human behavior and historical development and thus substantially contribute to an understanding of today's world, he always had a firm grip on essential historical and human problems, while the clarity of his mind and of his style of writing contributed to make the reading of his productions a true pleasure.

To understand his scholarly work, it is important, I think, to realize that his concept of history was deeply rooted in his political, moral, and religious 'Weltanschauung'. As in the case of other great historians, his research received a fertile actuality from his personal views of the driving political and spiritual forces of his own time. His long life enabled him to follow and study as an eye-witness the political and social upheavals from the preliminaries of the First World War on, and this in Hungary, a particularly endangered country which he saw rapidly moving from being part of the Hapsburg monarchy to an independent republic, to its occupation by the National Socialists during the Second World War and finally to a Soviet-dominated Socialist country. And he was deeply involved in political events and the fate of his country.

These personal experiences not only left in him the impression of being a witness of a turning point in world history, but even more of the irresistible power of irrational and emotional forces in human behavior and politics; and this, I think, had important repercussions on the choice of his subjects of research as well as on his explanations of political and social developments. Most of his work is concentrated around three turning points in Roman history: the formative period of the Roman

state and Roman power, the transition from the Republic to the Principate, and the conflict between paganism and Christianity within the context of the decline of the Ancient World. One might say that he developed these themes in concentric circles starting from the nucleus of his Pannonian studies. The foundations of his methodical approach and of his lines of interpretation had already been laid in the twenties and early thirties, but, of course, there was a remarkable extension of the subjects they were applied to. Early Rome and Caesar, and the Roman Republic in general, were covered by him only after the Second World War.

He has not left a coherent presentation of his concept of history, and it is probably still too early for a final evaluation of his work. Furthermore, he was a self-taught person; and though his method of combining different kinds of sources reminds one of Theodor Mommsen and Michael Rostovtzeff, *both of whom he admired, there is no direct line of connection*. But I would like to point to at least a few lines of thought which seem to me rather obvious. One would expect that he was influenced by current ideas of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries. And there is, for example, in his work the biological concept of historical entities as behaving like living organisms with all sections of life taking part in a synchronous development from birth to death. Alföldi *occasionally* applies this model, in particular where he deals with the decline of the Ancient World. And he generally liked to adduce analogies from other fields of life to explain historical processes or his own methodical approach. As far as the interpretation of coins and other objects of art is concerned, he adhered to an evolutionary concept of style and type which, according to his own testimony, was a conscious transfer of a corresponding method in the natural sciences.

There also seems to be present in his work a certain belief in predetermination in history. Constantine, Caesar, and Augustus had necessarily to act as they did, because their solutions to problems which had developed for centuries were unavoidable. One might be tempted to fit this into the biological concept of history mentioned before, but I think one would be mistaken. Alföldi's predetermination was not that of the laws of nature nor would he have subscribed to the idea of a cyclical course of history inherent in that concept, as it has been put forth from antiquity on down to Oswald Spengler. And other remarks of his on the

relationship of great men to historical processes illustrate that he allocated much space to the freedom of human decisions. His view of predetermination, I suppose, was rather of a Christian character. Alföldi was a religious man and the existence of God in history leaves room for both predetermination and human freedom.

Rather frequently there are value judgments in his work. For example, he shows respect and even admiration for the pagan aristocrats in their resistance to the Christian Emperors, as long as their motivation appears honorable; but there is condemnation, when they seemingly turn out to be merely selfish reactionaries. The same label is attached to the republican opponents of Caesar, as Cato, Cicero, Brutus and their friends; while Valentinian I, the Pannonian Emperor, is defended against the literary sources slandering his memory. As far as Pannonian Emperors, officers, and troops and their accomplishments in the service of the Roman state are concerned, one may occasionally perceive a touch of Hungarian patriotism, but never obtrusive or even distorting the facts. Alföldi was a patriot, but not a nationalist. In fact, a cosmopolitan who had command of the four most important modern European languages and had many friends all over Europe, he was an adherent of supranational political organization and regretted the downfall of the Hapsburg 'Vielvoelkerstaat' which he considered as a unifying and stabilizing element. He deeply admired the Roman Empire. While Mommsen, involved in the republican and democratic movement of nineteenth century Germany, was fascinated by the republican 'Freistaat' and only late and hesitatingly had dealt with that unique process of unification of the Mediterranean World, Alföldi regarded the Pax Romana of the Emperors as the culmination of Ancient History.

One might assume that he turned to the history of Early Rome in order to explain the causes of the incredible rise of this city and of its Empire. But, in fact, he rather seems to have approached the subject by three other lines of research: one resulted from his Pannonian work, the other two from his preoccupation with the Roman aristocracy and Roman insignia. Pannonian archaeology left in him the deep impression of the rapid movement and fluctuation of tribes in ancient times and made him an adherent of the theory of migration in contrast to those who rather believe in the gradual formation of cultures and peoples, for example of the Etruscan and Latin civilization on Italian soil. Furthermore, his work

in Pannonia revealed to him basic ways of thinking among the herdsmen-tribes of the steppes. He observed that these tribes, fluctuating in their ethnic composition, had the roots of their existence in certain patterns of mythological explanation of the world and of their own history, patterns which were common to the Indo-European and Asiatic tribes once settling close together in the steppes of Central Asia. Similar to the Swiss scholar Karl Meuli, Alföldi applied the results of ethnology to the classical world, in this case to the mythical traditions on the origin of Rome. And, even more important, in his book on the structures of pre-Etruscan Rome, myth and religious institutions were evaluated as reflections of political and social structures of primitive Roman society.

Interest in the Roman aristocracy and the insignia were combined in his book on the early Roman cavalry which he identified as the patricians, the leading group of the early Republic. From there he went on to analyze the political and social structures of Rome in the sixth, fifth and fourth centuries B.C. as well as its relations with its neighbors. Many of his results are contained in his important book *Early Rome and the Latins*, where his method of collecting and combining all available kinds of sources for the reconstruction of a coherent historical picture is perhaps best exemplified. In this book Alföldi refutes the Roman annalistic tradition about a great Rome under the Kings; instead, he conceived a Rome which, dominated by Etruscan condottieri, was a rather unimportant Latin city in the sixth century and rose to power only after exhausting and costly fighting with its immediate neighbors during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

Alföldi has worked on almost all periods of the Republic, usually starting from the coins. But the focus of his attention was centered on Caesar and the transition to the Principate. The basic ideas he followed in dealing with the subject were those of his famous articles on ceremonial and insignia of the Roman Emperors. There he had supplemented Mommsen's juridical and systematic approach, which had resulted in a rather static concept of the Principate, by elucidating the contribution of irrational and emotional forces to the gradual elevation of the Emperor far above all his subjects. He found the same forces already in existence at the beginning of the so-called Roman Revolution, illustrated by symbols on coins of the Gracchan era and mirroring the yearning of the masses for a savior; and he found them playing an important part in

Caesar's experiment of founding a monarchy at Rome, which — according to his opinion — would not have been possible without the support of the masses who regarded him as their savior. The attention which Alföldi paid to the anguish and needs of the masses seems to correspond with certain personal views of his characterized by himself as socialistic, but in the biblical, not in the Marxist sense. And Caesar, in taking care of the masses, had his full sympathy; he regarded his mild rulership as a necessary and beneficent alternative to the moral and political corruption of the republican aristocracy. It was the clemency of Caesar that most fascinated him and which is the main subject of his last and unfinished book on Caesar; and those who have observed how passionately he struggled and exhausted all his physical resources in order to finish this book know that Caesar and his clemency were more to him than just an object of research.

At first sight this may surprise us in a man who could appear and in fact be tough and uncompromising; naturally, these are not the qualities with which one is going to make all people one's friends. But he had by far more friends than enemies, and this was largely due to just the same qualities. He was a man of principle, of courage, and of clemency, who helped friends in need and was helped by them in return. He did not change his moral and political opinions under the pressure of the brown and red socialists nor did he pay tribute to changing modes of thought in the safety of Western democracies. And his firmness and toughness were most happily combined with a genuine simplicity and unpretentiousness, a deep sensitivity for the plain pleasures of life and a delicious humor. A much traveled man with a great variety of interests, an excellent sportsman in his youth and a superb cartoonist, he never adopted the sometimes drab and irksome attitudes of scholarship, but with his inexhaustible treasure of anecdotes, full of self-irony, he was an enrichment for any social gathering.

Hardly any contemporary scholar in his field received as many honors as Alföldi. And I am proud that my own country — to which he always had many close contacts — has particularly acknowledged his exceptional accomplishments by rendering him the highest distinction it can bestow upon a scholar, that is the rare decoration of the 'Pour le Mérite für Wissenschaften und Künste'. In this honor he succeeded not only Theodor Mommsen, but also two former members of the Institute,

Albert Einstein and Erwin Panofsky. Just as these great scholars, Alföldi has left us a legacy, as a scholar and as a man. He himself formulated it in his inaugural lecture at Basel in 1953 which was entitled 'The Philosopher as witness of truth and his opponent, the tyrant'. In this paper he emphasized the uncompromising confessor of truth as the common heritage of classical antiquity and Christianity. Alföldi himself, as a scholar and as a man, was always a witness of truth and unyielding to tyranny.

FRANK P. KOLB

Memoir
Dr. Pierre Bastien

I have been asked to recall, in this ceremony devoted to the memory of Professor Alföldi, the part which he played in the development of numismatic studies during the last sixty years.

However my thoughts turn first to the man rather than to the scholar. Professor Alföldi was a man whom it was a pleasure to know. He was friendly with his interlocutors and always ready to accept their ideas, though he discussed them in the light of his own knowledge, which was immense, not only in the field of classical antiquity but also in that of modern history and politics. The physical and spiritual trials which he had suffered had made him indulgent to others, but this did not prevent him from passing lucid judgments, sometimes tinged with subtle irony. The kindness which was evident in every act of his everyday life was accompanied by a lively sensibility. Professor Alföldi suffered when he saw his work neglected or underestimated. Being an honest man, he accepted constructive criticism, but he took the view that one cannot express an opinion on the work of a researcher without first studying it down to the last detail. He deplored assertions based on a superficial reading. This same sensibility led him also to judge severely the egotistic and materialistic trend of our modern world and to condemn any domination of the mind by political systems of any description. He was very loyal to his friends. And if his death has made his friends inconsolable, one can imagine the sorrow felt by the woman who was both his beloved companion and his collaborator. Elisabeth Alföldi-Rosenbaum knows how deeply we understand and respect her grief.

Professor Alföldi's achievement in numismatics was considerable. In fact there is scarcely one of his works in which numismatics does not play an important part, as for example in his two famous monographs of 1934 and 1935 on the origins and development of the ceremonial of the imperial court and on the insignia and clothes of the Roman emperors. Indeed, for Professor Alföldi, coins cannot be separated from history. They form part of it, and all through his life he tried to prove that historians and archaeologists cannot neglect them. He knew the classical and epigraphical texts better than anyone, but took the view that one must always put them alongside the numismatic evidence. He once replied to a historian of Roman religion who complained of the lack of written documents for certain periods "But these documents exist, they are coins".

This conviction led him right from the start of his career as a scholar to devote a large proportion of his time to numismatic studies, and he made it his business to visit the coin collections of Europe, from which he gathered a considerable body of evidence. All his life he was a great traveller, seeking out material dispersed in public and private collections. Eighteen months before his death he was in Modena, examining contorniates which did not appear in his corpus of 1976 and which he intended to publish, together with a batch of bronze coins inscribed *Divos Iulius*. He was writing an article on the latter when death overtook him, an article which will be completed by Jean-Baptiste Giard. At the same time he was gathering casts and photographs of *nummi* issued by Maxentius at Aquileia, with a view to proving that the cross which adorns the pediment of the temple or *Urbs Roma* on certain specimens is a Christian sign. Thus up to the very end of his life, although he was writing a book on Caesar which he regarded as his testament as a scholar, numismatic concerns were never far from his thoughts.

The numismatic achievement of Professor Alföldi must be admired, not only because of the number and variety of subjects with which he dealt, but also because of the new paths for research which he marked out. The interpretations of the obverses and reverses of coins, that is, of the religious, historical or political information supplied by coins, has always attracted the attention of scholars, but Professor Alföldi gave the subject new dimensions, both by the minute analysis of these representations and by comparing them with the historical and archaeological data. Another innovation which has since been widely adopted was the large number of illustrations in his studies of coins. He was the first to make people realize how much the extensive reproduction of the material added to our knowledge, by enabling us to characterize individual engravers, to follow the evolution of a style and to compare dies. All kinds of chronological deductions can be made from these details. And for the last twenty years he had acquired the habit of illustrating his work with numerous enlargements of coins, in order to interest archaeologists more in this kind of research.

Here I recall only the principal stages in the work of Professor Alföldi. For many years his attention was concentrated on the coinage of the third century and late Empire. Later, during the fifties, it turned more to the end of the Republic and especially to the coins issued by Caesar.

Professor Alföldi's first important numismatic work appeared in 1921. He was then 26 years old, and the work was the publication in the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* of the hoard of Nagytétény. The classification by mints of this deposit of 10,585 Constantinian coins may be regarded as a model, often imitated since and still consulted. In 1927 came an article in the *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* attributing to the usurper Aureolus the coinage struck in the name of Postumus at the Milan mint. 1928 saw the publication in the *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, of a study which was to become a classic, of Danubian imitations of Constantine's coinage. There followed, from 1929 to the beginning of the Second World War, an impressive series of publications. The first ones dealt with the coinage of the Siscia mint: in 1929, in the *Numismatic Chronicle*, with the gold issues of the Tetrarchs; in 1931, in the *Numizmatikai Közlöny*, with the coinage of Gallienus; in 1938 with that of Claudius and Quintillus; in 1939 with that of Probus and in 1940 with that of Tacitus and Florian. These articles, particularly those devoted to Gallienus, Claudius and Quintillus, which are abundantly illustrated, are still utilized constantly. It is the same with the two fundamental studies which appeared in *Berytus* in 1937 and 1938 on the eastern coinage of Valerian, Gallienus and Claudius Gothicus.

In 1937 there appeared in the *Dissertationes Pannonicae*, a series founded by himself, "A Festival of Isis in Rome", a very important article which connected the *vota publica* of the third of January with the *navigium Isidis*. It is illustrated so exhaustively that only a very few new specimens of these issues have been found since that time.

During the years between the two Wars numerous other articles also appeared: for example the one on the numbering of the Victories of the emperor Gallienus and of the loyalty of his legions in the *Numismatic Chronicle* of 1929 and the one on the christogram on Constantine's helmet in the *Journal of Roman Studies* of 1932.

During the war the Master's activities were naturally reduced, but in 1940 he published in the *Journal of Roman Studies* "The reckoning by regnal years and Victories of Valerian and Gallienus" and in the *Festschrift Dölger* "Hoc signo victor eris". However, the masterwork of his period was the publication in 1942 and 1943 of the first edition, in two volumes illustrated with 71 plates, of the *Contorniates*. He shows in this work that, from the reign of Constantius the second onwards, these bronze disks continue the traditional issues of medallions and reflect the program of

pagan reaction, desired by the Roman aristocracy, against Christianity.

Professor Alföldi's departure from Hungary in 1947 marked a turning point in his numismatic work. It is true that he remained attached to the coinage of the third to the fifth centuries, as is provided by a whole series of works. Let me cite by way of example his return to the problem of the christogram on Constantine's helmet in the *Festschrift Johnson* of 1951, his study of Constantine's sceptre with a cross in the *Schweizer Münzblätter* of 1954, the study of the portrait of Julian in the *American Journal of Archaeology* of 1962 and the articles on the coins issued by Tacitus from the Ticinum mint in *Quaderni Ticinesi* of 1976. And we must lay particular emphasis on the two volumes of the monumental second edition of the *Contorniates*, published in collaboration with Elisabeth Alföldi and Curtis L. Clay. This work provides such a mass of evidence (over two thousand specimens are reproduced) that fresh light is shed upon the problems of this coinage.

However, during the last period of Professor Alföldi's life it was the coinage of the Republic that especially preoccupied him. Let me cite, among others, the series *Redeunt Saturnia regna*, published in the *Revue Numismatique* and *Chiron* from 1971 to 1979, which shows the progressive evolution of ideas towards the monarchy or the Savior-King who was to bring back the Golden Age; the numerous articles in the *Schweizer Münzblätter* between 1951 and 1971 on Caesar's issues; and the work published in 1974 in the series *Antiquitas* on the coinage of the dictator in 44 B.C. Let me remind you that Caesar was the subject of Professor Alföldi's last lecture in this Institute in December 1980 and that he distributed to his audience numismatic documentation on the subject.

This rapid survey of Professor Alföldi's principal numismatic work gives only a poor reflection of his considerable achievement, which was far from ended when he died. Besides the articles in progress which I have cited, he was preparing a study of the first denarius coinage of the Republic in conjunction with Jean-Baptiste Giard, who will publish this joint work. And the third volume of the *Contorniates*, on which he was working, will be completed by Elisabeth Alföldi.

I recalled earlier that Professor Alföldi was afraid that his ideas were not always understood. I often reassured him. He introduced new methods of research, published a considerable body of material, and in the most diverse areas of Roman numismatics he expressed original opin-

ions and shed light on many obscure problems. An achievement like that will always live on and stimulate researchers for many generations.

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Bibliography of Andrew Alföldi

List of Abbreviations

AJA — *American Journal of Archaeology*

ArchErt — *Archaeologiai Értesítő*

Bjb — *Bonner Jahrbücher*

BHAC — *Bonner Historia Augusta Colloquium (Antiquitas, Reihe 4)*

CAH — *Cambridge Ancient History*

Diss. Pann. — *Dissertationes Pannonicae*

EPhK — *Egyetemes philologiai közlöny (Archivum philologicum)*

JbAChr — *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*

JRS — *Journal of Roman Studies*

MusHelv — *Museum Helveticum*

NumKözl — *Numizmatikai Közöny*

RM — *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*

RN — *Revue numismatique*

SchwMbl — *Schweizer Münzblätter*

SchwNR — *Schweizerische Numismatische Rundschau*

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Chronological List

- 1914: No. 271
1915: No. 162
1918: No. 196
1919: No. 163
1920: No. 116
1921: No. 146
1922: Nos. 138, 146, 147, 148, 149, 164, 165, 166, 175, 273, 274
1923: Nos. 150, 151, 194, 195, 231
1924: Nos. 126, 232, 275, 276, 277
1925: Nos. 126, 176, 196, 246
1926: Nos. 79, 125, 126, 152, 167, 177, 181, 197, 200, 215, 276
1927: Nos. 1, 178, 182, 197, 216, 274, 278, 279, 280
1928: Nos. 153, 197, 198, 199, 247, 281
1929: Nos. 154, 155, 200, 201, 202
1930: Nos. 80, 127, 159, 202, 248, 282, 283
1931: Nos. 249, 250, 255, 283, 284
1932: Nos. 1, 179, 217, 251, 252, 253, 254
1933: Nos. 80a, 128, 256, 285, 286
1934: Nos. 81, 106, 257, 258
1935: Nos. 82, 107, 129, 139, 168, 287
1936: Nos. 130, 156, 160, 169, 183, 259, 288, 289, 290
1937: Nos. 84, 108, 130, 169, 204, 207, 233, 256, 291, 292, 293
1938: Nos. 9, 85, 158, 170, 180, 205, 206, 207, 208, 260, 294
1939: Nos. 8, 10, 117, 131, 132, 140, 171, 184, 185, 186, 209, 210, 218
1940: Nos. 3, 8, 141, 142, 157, 172, 187, 211, 260, 295, 296, 297
1941: Nos. 143, 189, 261, 298
1942: Nos. 133, 134, 190, 219
1943: Nos. 4, 135, 144, 161, 192, 220, 234
1944: Nos. 187, 188, 191, 193, 262
1945: Nos. 173, 221
1946: Nos. 5, 6, 174, 222, 235
1947: Nos. 2, 5, 118
1948: Nos. 5, 119, 136, 223, 263, 264
1949: Nos. 118, 120, 236, 265
1950: Nos. 86, 87, 121, 212, 266
1951: Nos. 32, 88, 122, 224, 237, 238, 267, 268, 299, 300
1952: Nos. 7, 14, 89, 91, 109, 121, 123, 239, 267, 269
1953: Nos. 41, 42, 89, 225
1954: Nos. 33, 43, 44, 89, 92, 226, 227, 267, 300
1955: Nos. 93, 301
1956: Nos. 34, 77, 137
1957: Nos. 11, 15, 110, 270
1958: Nos. 35, 45, 46, 47, 94

1959: Nos. 47, 48, 111, 112, 228, 229, 302
1960: Nos. 16, 17
1961: Nos. 18, 19, 36, 96
1962: Nos. 20, 49, 240
1963: Nos. 21, 22
1964: Nos. 50, 51, 52, 113, 124, 241, 242
1965: Nos. 23, 24, 37, 53, 78
1966: Nos. 38, 54, 55, 96, 97
1967: Nos. 25, 26, 213
1968: Nos. 27, 56, 57, 58, 59, 243
1969: Nos. 39, 60, 61, 223, 271
1970: Nos. 83, 303
1971: Nos. 12, 40, 62, 90, 98
1972: Nos. 28, 63, 100, 137, 230, 304
1973: Nos. 65, 99, 114
1974: Nos. 29, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 218
1975: Nos. 73, 101, 244, 305
1976: Nos. 30, 74, 75, 102, 214, 223, 245
1977: Nos. 23, 31, 103
1978: No. 115
1979: Nos. 14, 15, 104
1980: Nos. 13, 76, 105
In progress or in the press: Nos. 71, 72, 245

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