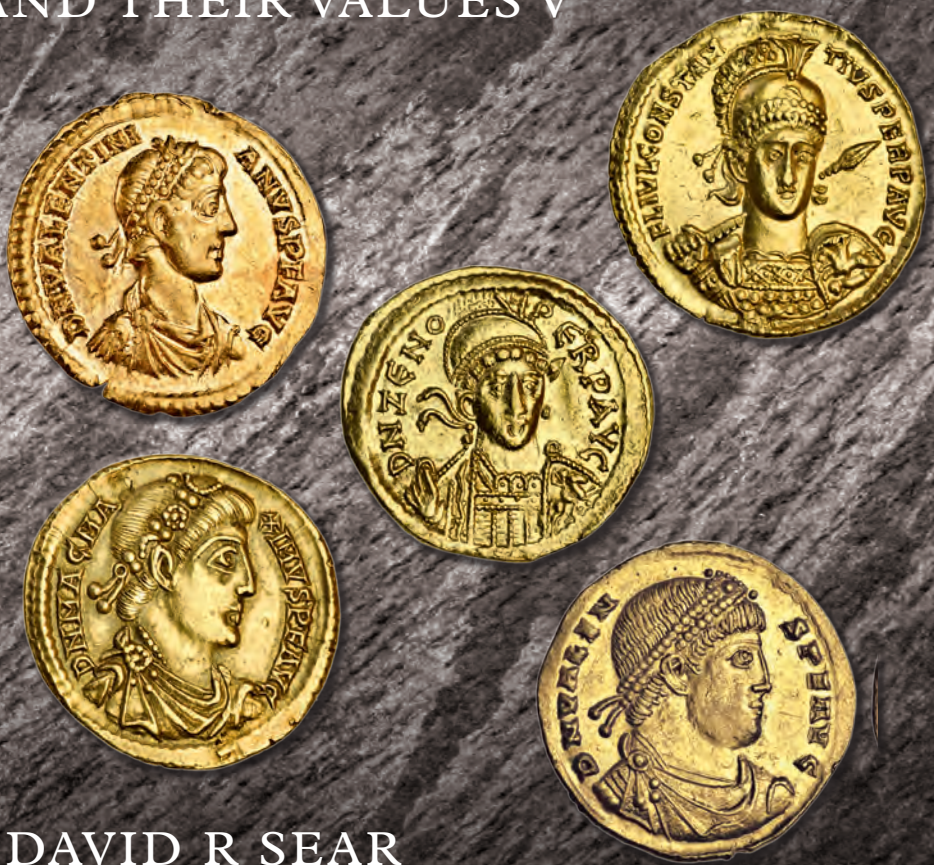
ROMAN COINS

AND THEIR VALUES V



DAVID R SEAR

VOLUME FIVE

THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE: THE LATER CONSTANTINIAN DYNASTY AND THE HOUSES OF VALENTINIAN AND THEODOSIUS AND THEIR SUCCESSORS, CONSTANTINE II TO ZENO, AD 337-491

ROMAN COINS AND THEIR VALUES

The Western Empress Licinia Eudoxia
wife of Valentinian III
depicted on a gold solidus
minted in Ravenna in AD 439
(No. 21362 in catalogue; photo by Andrew Daneman)

ROMAN COINS

AND THEIR VALUES

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Volume V

The Christian Empire: The Later Constantinian Dynasty and the Houses of Valentinian and Theodosius and their successors, Constantine II to Zeno, AD 337-491

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INTRODUCTION

The original edition of Sear's *Roman Coins and Their Values* was published by Seaby in 1964 and subsequently went through four revisions (1970, 1974, 1981 and 1988). However, the publication of Volume I of the 'Millennium Edition' in 2000 marked a radical departure from the previous traditions of this popular work. An expansion of the listings and an increase in the number of illustrations (now fully incorporated in the text) necessitated a new multiple-volume format, like the companion work on Greek coins. Originally envisioned as a two-volume work, it soon became apparent that additional volumes would be required if justice were to be done to the enormity of the subject. That number has now expanded to five in order to bring the series down to the death of the eastern emperor Zeno in AD 491.

Volume I covered a period of approximately 375 years, from the origins of the Roman coinage in the Republican period in the opening decades of the 3rd century BC down to the violent end of the second Imperial dynasty, the Flavian, in AD 96. Volume II extended coverage of the Imperial series from the accession of Nerva, the 'thirteenth Caesar' and first of the 'Adoptive' emperors, down to the overthrow of the Severan dynasty in 235. It encompassed what may justifiably be termed the 'golden age' of the Roman Imperial coinage. Volume III covered in detail the following half-century, a very different period during which the Empire came perilously close to total disintegration under the pressure of foreign invasions and seemingly interminable civil war. Volume IV began with the momentous accession of Diocletian in AD 284, with all its political, military, and economic implications, and closed with the death of Constantine the Great fifty-three years later. This was a tumultuous period for the imperial coinage, which saw the introduction of the gold solidus denomination in AD 310, the reintroduction of silver coinage, and the rapid decline of Diocletian's billon follis denomination from a coin of approximately 10 grams weight to one of only 3.50 grams, ultimately to be replaced in 318/19 by the billon centenionalis.

Volume V, which covers the final century and a half of the Roman imperial coinage, commences with the joint accession in 337 of the three surviving sons of Constantine the Great — Constantine II, Constantius II, and Constans. None of this trio was able to produce a male heir, thus condemning the Constantinian dynasty to an early extinction. Its last representative was Julian the Apostate (360-363) who made an unsuccessful attempt to restore paganism, and with his death on the battlefield Christianity finally triumphed as the Empire's official religion. In the final decades of the fourth century, the division between the eastern and western halves of the Empire became more marked. With the death of Theodosius I in AD 395 that division became permanent, though over the following six decades both halves remained under the rule of the descendants of the Theodosian dynasty. Following the deaths of Theodosius II and Valentinian III (AD 450 and 455 respectively) it rapidly became clear that the decline of Roman authority in the western provinces had gone too far for the Western Empire to recover. Within just 21 years of Valentinian's assassination the Empire ceased to exist in the West (AD 476), though the emperor in exile (Julius Nepos) survived for a further half decade. Italy itself was now in the hands of the barbarian 'king' Odovacar and later (493) he was supplanted by Theoderic, founder of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy. Fortunately, the Eastern Empire was saved from a similar fate by the wise policies of Leo I (457-474) who countered the threat of Germanic influence in the army by gradually appointing native Isaurians to the highest military posts. Constantinople and the eastern provinces then went from strength to strength, culminating in Anastasius' substantial enrichment of the imperial treasury through his prudent management of fiscal affairs. This enabled Justinian's ambitious program of military conquest (533-555) leading to the recovery of some of the territory lost to the Empire in the previous century, notably Italy and North Africa.

The imperial coinage during the period covered by this volume underwent many changes in continuation of the financial volatility that had characterized the era of Diocletian and Constantine I. The gold solidus of 4.40 grams remained the one stable element in the system, though forgery, debasement of the metal, and weight

reduction became something of a problem in the final decades of the Constantinian period. This necessitated action on the part of Valentinian and Valens that guaranteed the purity of both gold and silver coinage put into circulation. These issues, commencing about AD 368, were marked 'OB' (obryzum or refined gold) in the case of gold denominations, and 'PS' (pusulatum, refined silver) in the case of silver denominations. This now became standard practice on the part of the imperial mints for centuries to come in the case of gold and well into the following century for silver. The fractional gold denominations (semissis, or half solidus, and the enigmatic 1.5-scripulum, or 12 siliqua piece) were never coined in quantity and must have served some special purpose. In the early 380s the latter was replaced by the more convenient tremissis, or one-third solidus. The new coin was obviously very popular and soon came to be produced in much greater quantities, especially during the fifth century and beyond. In silver, good quality coinage had been reintroduced by Constantine I in the mid-320s following a hiatus of about two decades. The Constantinian siliqua of c. 3.375 grams, which was merely a revival of the argenteus of the tetrarchy period, remained in production under his sons for about two decades, until it was superseded under Constantius II by the reduced siliqua of c. 2.25 grams (AD 357). Also struck in increasing quantities was the miliarensis, now worth double the reduced siliqua. A heavy miliarensis, weighing c. 5.40 grams, was occasionally produced whilst the half siliqua was of very infrequent occurrence (as had been its predecessor the silver quinarius). In the fifth century the production of silver coinage was much reduced, though issues of siliquae and both versions of the miliarensis were still made from time to time, especially under Honorius in the West and under his nephew Theodosius II in the East. Issues continued sporadically for the remainder of the century and into early Byzantine times.

The billon and bronze denominations saw the most changes during the final century and a half of the Roman imperial coinage. The sons of Constantine had inherited the diminutive billon reduced centenionalis in 337 and this remained in production for most of the joint reign of Constantius II and Constans (AD 340-350). A major change occurred at the time of the celebration of Rome's eleven hundredth anniversary (AD 348) when the reduced centenionalis was replaced by a larger denomination, the billon maiorina. This was struck in two versions (heavy and light) though it, too, was soon reduced in size and weight and no longer had any silver content. Julian carried out yet another reform in 362 when a large and impressive billon double maiorina was introduced supplemented by a bronze centenionalis. Both denominations remained in issue following Julian's death but the double maiorina was abandoned in 365, early in the joint reign of Valentinian I and his brother Valens. However, the bronze centenionalis of c. 2.50 grams continued in issue and was struck in unprecedented quantities over the following decade and a half. From this time on the Roman billon coinage ceased altogether, all subsequent base metal issues being of bronze with no silver content. In 379 the emperor Gratian, son of Valentinian I, undertook a further reform of the base metal coinage, this time introducing two new denominations to supplement the centenionales. He revived the maiorina of c. 4.50 grams and this clearly circulated as a double centenionalis. A small half centenionalis (c. 1.25 grams) also made its first appearance at this time and this was to become an important denomination in the following century when it was more commonly termed the nummus. The only other significant change occurred in 395 around the time of the death of Theodosius I and the accessions of Arcadius in the East and Honorius in the West. The maiorina was now discontinued, later strikings being exceptional in character and usually connected with the special requirements of areas such as Spain and southern Crimea. The fifth century bronze coinage consisted in the main of centenionales and half centenionales, the latter becoming dominant in the second half of the century when it is normally referred to as a nummus. It was the bronze coinage that was radically reformed by Anastasius I in AD 498 resulting in the introduction of a whole new range of denominations, being multiples of the basic nummus. It is at this point that the Byzantine coinage is generally held to commence.

Throughout the catalogue, the current market valuations have been expressed in two currencies, pounds sterling and US dollars. Market fluctuations occasioned by the global economic crisis remain a problem in calculating a satisfactory rate of exchange, but for the purposes of this catalogue the rate of $1.75 to the pound used in Volume IV has been retained (though the current figure is closer to $1.60). For the majority of entries two grades of preservation, usually 'VF' (Very Fine) and 'EF' (Extremely Fine) have been provided. For the sake of clarity, these appear under each catalogue entry. This arrangement has the added advantage of allowing more flexibility in expressing valuations for individual types and series which may only occur in lower grades by virtue of their place of mintage or the circumstances of the issue.

Another feature not present in earlier editions is the inclusion of the mint and date for each type. Recent

scholarship has improved our understanding of the chronology of much of the Roman coinage and it is important that collectors, students, and archaeologists should be made aware of the more precise data now available on this important topic.

I have long considered the historical background information to be of prime importance in the presentation of catalogue listings of Greek, Roman, and Byzantine coinage. Accordingly, I have fully revised the biographical sketches at the commencement of each reign and under certain subsidiary headings. Additionally, readers will notice that much information has been added on the significance of individual coin types within the catalogue itself and cross-references provided to similar representations in other series. My invariable aim has been to enhance the enjoyment of the hobby of ancient coin collecting by drawing attention to its potential role as a natural gateway to the study of history. In the case of Roman coins, this can lead to a fuller understanding and appreciation of a truly remarkable civilization that lies at the very foundations of our modern culture. As we stand in the opening years of a new millennium, I believe it is vital not only to look forward to the future — exciting as that may be — but also to be keenly aware of the events of the past which have brought us to where we are today. Rome contributed hugely to that past and still exerts a powerful influence on early 21st century society in Europe and America — on our languages, our basic concepts of law and order, and on our governmental institutions. Indeed, it is hardly overstating the case to quote the words of E.A. Freeman in his Introduction to the English translation of Mommsen's History of Rome: "The history of Rome is the greatest of all historical subjects, for this simple reason, that the history of Rome is in truth the history of the world".

In conclusion, I should like to express my gratitude to all those individuals who so willingly gave of their time and expertise in order to assist in the success of this ambitious undertaking. Firstly, I should like to thank those dealers who bravely responded to my request to participate in the updating of current market values by providing their views on price levels of certain basic types within the series. I am keenly aware that this work must frequently have impinged on other more pressing business commitments, and it should serve as an indication of the unselfish attitude of many professionals in the ancient coin trade that they are prepared to make real sacrifices in the cause of disseminating information to collectors. The following is an alphabetical listing of those who cooperated in this project: Harlan Berk of Chicago, IL.; Giulio Bernardi of Trieste, Italy; Dwayne Bridges of The Roman Connection, Dallas, TX; Tom Cederlind of Portland, OR; Kirk Davis of Claremont, CA; Allan and Marnie Davisson of Cold Spring, MN; Kenneth Dorney of Redding, CA; Matt Geary of Praetorian Numismatics, Philadelphia, PA; Rob Golan of Hillsborough, NC; Ira Goldberg of Beverly Hills, CA; Jonathan Kern of Lexington, KY; Herb Kreindler of Dix Hills, NY; Gavin Manton, formerly of Lennox Gallery Ltd., London; Chris Martin of C.J. Martin (Coins) Ltd., Southgate, London; Michael Marx of M & R Coins, Palos Park, IL; David Miller of Hemel Hempstead, England; Wayne Phillips of Phillips Ranch, CA; Paul Rabin of Zürich, Switzerland; Steve Rubinger of Antiqua Inc., Woodland Hills, CA; Dr. Arnold R. Saslow of Rare Coins & Classical Arts Ltd., South Orange, NJ; Fred Shore of Schwenksville, PA; Hans Voegtli, formerly of Münzen und Medaillen AG, Basel, Switzerland; and Bill Warden of New Hope, PA. In addition, Rick Ponterio of Ponterio & Associates Inc., San Diego, CA kindly provided many original photographs from his past auctions, and Victor England and Dawn Ahlgren of CNG, Lancaster, PA kindly provided photocopies of articles from their extensive library, as did Andrea Bignasca of Antikenmuseum, Basel, Switzerland. My sincere thanks to them all!

Particular mention is due to my good friend Barry Rightman of North Hills, CA, who, over a period of several years, has given unstintingly of his time and numismatic knowledge in categorizing the enormous (but unsorted) photo library from which many of the illustrations for this book have been drawn; and to Andrew Daneman, formerly of Numismatic Fine Arts and now resident in Denmark, whose unparalleled skill as a numismatic photographer has contributed in no small part to the visual impact of these volumes. Special thanks are also due to the staff of the British Museum's Department of Coins and Medals who gave generously of their time in providing additional illustrations of coins from the National Collection. As always, my gratitude goes out to my wife Margaret for her unfailing support during the protracted creation process of this complex revision; to Russ Whittle for his prompt and accurate work in preparing the text for the printer; and finally to Philip Skingley of Spink & Son's Book Department for his untiring efforts in nursing this volume through to completion.

DAVID R. SEAR
Los Angeles

GLOSSARY

(*For a comprehensive treatment of this subject, see John Melville Jones, 'A Dictionary of Ancient Roman Coins'*)

Abacus	a wooden tablet with moveable counters used for making arithmetical calculations. It is often identified as the object appearing as an invariable attribute of Liberalitas.
Acrostolium	the prow-stem of a warship, i.e. the curved decorative extension of the stem-post.
Adlocutio	(or allocutio), the act of addressing or haranguing a gathering of military personnel, the word normally accompanies a scene depicting the emperor atop a low platform.
Adventus	the arrival of an emperor in Rome or in one of the great provincial centres. Usually accompanying a depiction of him on horseback, but on the coinage of the much-travelled Hadrian also showing him as a standing figure, together with a personification of the region or city of his destination (ADVENTVI AVG GALLIAE, ADVENTVI AVG ALEXANDRIAE, etc.). See also Profectio.
Aegis	a small cloak, decorated with a gorgon's head at the centre, associated in mythology with Zeus (Jupiter) and his daughter Athena (Minerva). It was employed as a decorative feature of the portrait busts of many of the Roman emperors, appearing first on the coinage under Nero.
Aes	non-precious metal (copper, bronze, brass) used for the production of coinage (hence the abbreviation 'Æ').
Ancile	a shield of distinctive form (narrow central section of oval shape with broad curving extensions at top and bottom). It was a particular attribute of Juno Sospita and was associated with the Salian priesthood of Mars.
Aplustre	the curved decorative extension of the stern-post of a warship, usually of spread form composed of several frond-like elements.
Apex	the hat worn by certain Roman priests, originally referring to the rod or spike surmounting the headdress.
Aquila	(see Legionary eagle)
Aspergillum	a whisk or sprinkler associated with religious rituals, appearing on the coinage as a symbol of the Roman priesthood of the Pontifices (this word was not used by the ancient authors and is of relatively modern derivation).
Biga	a chariot drawn by a team of two animals, usually horses.
Billon	an impure alloy containing less than 50% of silver, sometimes declining to less than 5%. It is especially associated with the debased imperial tetradrachms of Alexandria and with the Roman antoninianus denomination in the 3rd century, though it is commonly encountered in the 4th century also.
Binio	a double unit, a term most commonly applied to the gold multiple aurei of the 3rd century which frequently show the emperor with a radiate crown.
Brockage	a mis-struck piece resulting from the failure of the mint personnel to remove a coin which had stuck in the reverse or upper die after minting. As a result, the next blank to be struck received the impression of the obverse of the previous coin instead of that of the reverse die, thus producing a coin with two obverses (one of them incuse and a mirror version of the other). Brockages are most commonly encountered on denarii of the Roman Republic, but

occur also on coins of all denominations in the Imperial series. Reverse brockages are much rarer and more difficult to explain as they would require a new blank to be placed on top of an existing piece which had remained in the obverse or lower die after striking.

Caduceus — the staff of Mercury, messenger of the gods, usually winged and ornamented with snakes.

Carpentum — a two-wheeled enclosed carriage permission to use which in central Rome was initially granted only to married women and, from early Imperial times, was restricted to a very select few. Carpenta appear on coins of a number of empresses in the 1st and 2nd centuries AD, drawn by mules and most frequently in connection with posthumous honours.

Christogram — the Christian monogram, consisting of the Greek letters *Chi* and *Rho* (CR = [Khr]istos).

Cippus — a squared stone pillar, usually bearing a commemorative inscription and set up as a monument or boundary marker.

Cista — (or cista mystica), a basket used for housing sacred snakes in connection with the initiation ceremony into the cult of Bacchus (Dionysus).

Cognomen — one of the three principal elements of a Roman name (*praenomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*) it indicated the family name of the individual (*e.g.* Gaius Julius CAESAR). Usually acquired by an ancestor as a nickname indicating a personal characteristic the *cognomen* was afterwards inherited, thus becoming a family designation.

Congiarium — a ceremony in which the emperor distributed money to the citizenry. On the coinage of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD it is usually commemorated by an elaborate scene depicting the emperor atop a lofty platform, sometimes accompanied by the personification Liberalitas and with the legend CONGIARIVM or an abbreviated form (see also Liberalitas).

Conjoined — (see Jugate)

Contorniate — late Roman *aes* medallions which appear to have been produced in Rome in the late 4th and 5th centuries and are characterized by an incised border surrounding the obverse and reverse types. The designs are pagan and clearly betray a close connection with the circus and amphitheatre. They may well be associated with the anti-Christian sympathies of many of the late Roman aristocracy. Their purpose is unknown, though it has been speculated that they were used as entrance tokens, as counters in a board game, or as new-year's gifts. Like the earlier non-monetary medallions they have been excluded from this catalogue as they do not form part of the Roman coinage.

Cornucopiae — (plural cornuacopiae), the horn of plenty signifying prosperity, it is usually depicted overflowing with fruits and other agricultural produce. Although occasionally shown on its own, it more commonly appears as an attribute of an allegorical personification.

Curule chair — a folding stool with curved legs, it was symbolic of the highest or 'curule' magistracies in Rome (consulship, praetorship, and curule aedileship). It was said to derive from the seat placed in the royal chariot from which the Etruscan kings dispensed justice.

Decastyle — (see Tetrastyle)

Decennalia — the tenth anniversary of an emperor's rule, marked by the redemption of previous vows (*vota soluta*) and the undertaking of new ones (*vota suscepta*). It was often commemorated on the coinage by a depiction of the emperor sacrificing at an altar or by an inscription within a votive wreath. The quinquennalia (five years) and vicennalia (twenty years) were similarly celebrated, the latter of course far less frequently (see also Vota).

Decursio — a word used to describe rapid military manoeuvres, especially equestrian. Scenes of Nero galloping on horseback, accompanied by one or more of his soldiers, feature prominently on sestertii of AD 64–7.

Designatus — qualifies an individual who has been elected to future office but has not yet taken up the appointment. Most commonly encountered on the Imperial coinage on issues belonging to the end of the year, just prior to the emperor's assumption of a new consulship on January 1st (e.g. COS II DES III P P).

Diademed — wearing a form of head-dress indicating royalty. An eastern custom adopted by the Greek kings and queens of the Hellenistic age, the diadem is not generally worn by Roman emperors until the late Roman period, commencing with Constantine (though empresses are frequently depicted diademed at a much earlier period). The late Imperial diadem was usually ornamented with pearls and/or rosettes.

Die — the stamp from which a coin blank receives its design through the process of striking. Although very few have survived from ancient times, it seems clear that Greek and Roman dies were made of bronze or of iron and bore designs engraved usually in intaglio to produce a coin type in relief. The lower or anvil die would have received the obverse design and was engraved on the flat face of a cylinder which was then inserted into a circular aperture in an anvil block. The reverse die was engraved on the flat face of a cone or wedge. The top of this would have received the hammer blow after it had been placed above the heated blank which was resting on the anvil die. It has been estimated that this simple process could have produced at least ten thousand coins from a single pair of dies, possibly far more in the case of softer precious metals.

Distyle — (see Tetrastyle)

Equestrian — relating to horse-riding, the word derives from the Latin *equus* ('horse') . In the Roman social order the *Equites* formed a class second only to the senators. They originated from men who were selected for their special military abilities and were provided with a horse for the service of the state in wartime.

Exercitus — 'army'. Encountered on Hadrian's series of coins issued to honour the provincial armies throughout his Empire (EXERCITVS SYRIACVS, EXERC BRITANNICVS, etc.). More general types celebrate the military establishment with inscriptions such as GLORIA EXERCITVS and VIRTVS EXERCITI. Also used in appeals for loyalty during unsettled times (CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM, FIDES EXERCITVVM).

Exergue — the small space (generally on the reverse of a coin) below the principal type, from which it is usually separated by the 'exergual' line. On the later Roman coinage it was utilized for the main element of the mint mark.

Fasces — literally 'faggots', it was used to describe bundles of rods bound together which, accompanied by an axe, symbolize the authority of the highest Roman magistrates.

Field — the area surrounding the principal obverse or reverse type, in which may be placed subsidiary symbols or letters (often elements of the mint mark on coins of the later Empire).

Flan — (also planchet), the metal blank of correct size and weight which has been prepared for striking between a pair of dies.

Fourrée — a plated counterfeit coin with base metal core, usually in imitation of a silver denomination, though occasionally of gold. This normally indicates an unofficial product, though some fourrée appear to have been produced from official dies at the mint.

Gens — a group of Roman families sharing a common *nomen*, indicated by the second element of a personal name. Thus, Gaius Julius Caesar and the Republican moneyer Lucius Julius Bursio both belonged to the *Gens Julia*, whilst Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus was a member of the *Gens Pompeia* (see also Nomen).

Graffiti	'scratches', letters and other marks scratched on the surface of a coin in ancient times to identify its owner.
Hexastyle	(see Tetrastyle)
Hybrid	(also mule), a coin on which the obverse and reverse designs are incorrectly combined.
Incuse	a design which is recessed into the surface of the flan rather than protruding in relief. Although frequently encountered on Greek coins this characteristic is very rare in the Roman series, being confined to the legends on certain quadrigati and denarii of the Republican series.
Janiform	two heads joined back to back in the manner of the god Janus.
Jugate	(also conjoined), two or more heads placed side by side. Not commonly encountered on Roman coins, though it does appear in both the Republican and Imperial series.
Labarum	a late Roman military standard ornamented with the Christian monogram (Christogram).
Laureate	wearing a wreath composed of laurel leaves. Originally associated with the god Apollo, and the standard head-dress of the emperors until the late Roman period.
Legend	the principal inscription appearing on the obverse and reverse of a coin, as opposed to a mint mark or mark of value.
Legionary eagle	(also aquila), the principal standard of the Roman legion. Normally affixed to a spear, the eagle was usually made of silver, this being the metal visible at the greatest distance.
Liberalitas	a ceremony in which the emperor distributed money to the citizenry. On the coinage of the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD it is usually commemorated by an elaborate scene depicting the emperor atop a lofty platform, accompanied by the personification Liberalitas and with the legend LIBERALITAS or an abbreviated form. Sometimes the figure of Liberalitas appears alone (see also Congiarium).
Lituus	a short curving staff used in religious ceremonies of divination to mark out an area for the observation of birds. It appears on the coinage as a symbol of the Roman priesthood of the Augures.
Lyre	a string instrument with a rounded sound box at the bottom, traditionally made from the shell of a tortoise, and thin curving arms forming the uprights of the frame. It was believed to have been invented by the Greek god Hermes (Roman Mercury).
Manus Dei	'Hand of God', a Christian image which appears on some coins from the late 4th century onwards in the form of a right hand holding a diadem above the emperor's head. The symbolism indicates that the temporal ruler of the Empire is receiving divine sanction for his authority.
Mappa	originally the white napkin dropped by an emperor or magistrate as a starting signal at the Circus, in late Roman iconography it came to be a used as one of the principal attributes of the consuls.
Mint mark	letters and symbols indicating the place of mintage of a coin and sometimes also the responsible workshop (*officina*) within the establishment. The precise form of the mark can often be a useful indication of chronology.
Modius	a measure of wheat, or any dry or solid commodity, containing the third part of an amphora. In form it resembled an inverted bucket standing on three legs. Serapis is usually shown wearing it on his head to denote his portrayal as god of the corn supply.
Mule	(see Hybrid)
Mural crown	(see Turreted)
Nimbate	wearing a nimbus or halo surrounding the head. Indicating an aura of glory or power, it was associated with the sun god Sol (Greek Helios) who was sometimes shown with a radiate nimbus in place of the usual radiate crown.

Antoninus Pius was the first emperor to appear nimbate (on the reverse of a sestertius) and although seen more frequently in the late Roman period it was never a common iconographic feature.

Nomen — (see also Gens), one of the three principal elements of a Roman name (*praenomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*) it indicated the clan to which the individual's family belonged (e.g. Gaius JULIUS Caesar). It was borne also by women (with a feminine ending, e.g. JULIA).

Obverse — from the Latin obversus ('turned towards') the obverse is the 'front' of a coin bearing what is considered to be the more important of the two designs struck on a flan. The earliest Greek coins bore only a single type engraved on the lower (anvil) die, whilst the upper (punch) die consisted of a simple raised square. This effectively held the flan in place during striking and produced the well known incuse which typifies the reverses of the archaic Greek coinage. The anvil die thus came to be regarded as providing the chief element of a coin's design.

Octastyle — (see Tetrastyle)

Officina — one of the separate workshops within a mint establishment. From the mid-3rd century AD the products of an officina are often identified by a letter or numeral in the reverse field or exergue. Later, they are sometimes combined with the mint name, e.g. R P = 1st officina of Roma; ANT Δ = 4th officina of Antioch.

Orichalcum — brass, a yellowish alloy of copper with zinc. It was used extensively for coinage in the Imperial period, principally for the sestertius and dupondius denominations. As the dupondius was not significantly heavier than its half, the copper as, orichalcum was clearly more highly prized, perhaps being officially overvalued to the benefit of the government.

Palladium — a statue of Pallas-Athena (hence the name) reputedly stolen from Troy and subsequently brought to Italy by Aeneas. It was held in great reverence by the Romans who, because of its renowned protective powers, regarded it as the guardian of their city.

Parazonium — a short sword or large dagger worn at the waist, it is usually depicted sheathed.

Patera — a shallow bowl or dish without handles, it was frequently used in religious ceremonies for pouring libations or scattering grain and salt. It also served as a symbol of the priesthood of the Septemviri Epulones.

Petasus — a flat hat, with or without a brim, especially associated with Mercury (Greek Hermes), the messenger of the gods. When depicted on Roman coins the petasus of Mercury is normally winged as an indication of his swiftness.

Pileus — a conical felt hat associated with the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux), twin sons of Jupiter; with Vulcan (Greek Hephaistos), god of iron and fire; and with Ulysses (Greek Odysseus), hero of Homer's *Odyssey*. The pileus was also symbolic of freedom, as it was given to former slaves who had been granted their freedom, hence its use as a symbol of Libertas.

Planchet — (see Flan)

Plated — (see Fourrée)

Praenomen — one of the three principal elements of a Roman name (*praenomen*, *nomen*, *cognomen*) it indicated the personal name of the individual within his family (e.g. GAIUS Julius Caesar). It was selected from a relatively small number of recognized *praenomina*, the most common of which were Aulus (abbreviated A.), Decimus (D.), Gaius (C.), Gnaeus (Cn.), Lucius (L.), Marcus (M.), Publius (P.), Quintus (Q.), Servius (Ser.), Sextus (Sex.), Tiberius (Ti.), and Titus (T.).

Profectio — the departure of an emperor from Rome at the commencement of a journey or military campaign. He is usually shown mounted, though is sometimes on foot (see also Adventus).

Quadriga — a chariot drawn by a team of four animals, usually horses.

Quinquennalia — (see Decennalia)

Radiate — decorated with rays, like those of the sun, this term is usually applied to the spiky crown sometimes worn by emperors as an alternative to a wreath. Normally indicating a double denomination (dupondius = two asses, antoninianus = two denarii) it derives from the headdress of the sun-god Sol (Greek Helios) and implies an association of the emperor with the divinity. The equivalent attribute for empresses was a crescent moon behind the shoulders, symbolic of the goddess Luna (Greek Selene).

Redux — 'bringing back', this epithet was often applied to the goddess Fortuna in the sense that she was being invoked to protect the emperor on his return journey to Rome, both by sea and by land (the former represented by Fortuna's attribute of a rudder, the latter by a wheel placed beneath the seat of her throne or beside her standing figure).

Reverse — from the Latin *reversus* ('turned away') the reverse is the 'back' of a coin bearing what is considered to be the subordinate of the two designs struck on a flan. The earliest Greek coins bore only a single type engraved on the lower (anvil) die, whilst the upper (punch) die consisted of a simple raised square. This effectively held the flan in place during striking and produced the well known incuse which typifies the reverses of the archaic Greek coinage. The punch die thus came to be regarded as providing only the secondary element of a coin's design.

Rostrum — the beak or ram of a warship, often with three prongs (*rostrum tridens*). Those captured by C. Maenius from the fleet of the neighbouring city of Antium in 338 BC were used to adorn the speakers' platform in the Roman Forum. Thus, this structure acquired the name *rostra* ('beaks'), hence the word rostrum in modern English.

Serratus — *serrati* were Roman Republican denarii with notched or serrated edges, produced by chiselling the blank prior to striking. This practice was confined to specific issues and was especially common in the late 2nd century BC through the early decades of the 1st century. The reason for the contemporaneous production of *serrati* and regular denarii remains uncertain.

Signum — (see Standard)

Simpulum — an earthenware ladle with long handle used by the Pontifices for pouring wine at sacrifices. It appears on the coinage as a symbol of this important priesthood.

Sistrum — a ceremonial rattle which appears as an attribute of the Egyptian goddess Isis. It is also held by the personification of the province *Aegyptus* on Hadrian's coinage commemorating his visits to various parts of the Empire.

Standard — a military ensign (*signum*) borne by a *signifer* as an emblem of a cohort within a legion. It took the form of a pole or spear surmounted by a hand and with additional decorations on the shaft, including *phalerae* (metal discs), wreaths, and emblems commemorating the battle honours won by the unit.

Tetrastyle — used to describe a building (usually a temple) showing four columns along its façade. Also distyle (two columns), hexastyle (six columns), octastyle (eight columns), and decastyle (ten columns).

Thyrsus — the staff of Bacchus (Greek Dionysos) usually surmounted by a pine cone and wreathed with tendrils of vine or ivy.

Togate — clad in a toga, the cloak worn by Roman citizens on formal occasions.

Trident — a three-pronged fishing spear, the regular attribute of Neptune.

Triga — a chariot drawn by a team of three animals, usually horses.

Tripod — a three-legged stand, usually serving to support a seat or a large bowl (*cortina* = Greek *lebes*). It was especially associated with Apollo, because the priestess of the god at Delphi transmitted prophecies while seated on a

	tripod. At Rome, it also served as a symbol of the priesthood of the Quindecimviri Sacris Faciundis, who had charge of the Sibylline oracles.
Triskeles	(Latin *triquetra*), 'three-legs', a device comprising three human legs joined at the hip and radiating from a central point. On Roman coins it symbolizes Sicily. Because of its shape, the island was sometimes called *Trinacria* ('three-cornered').
Trophy	the arms of a vanquished enemy, attached to a vertical shaft with cross piece, set up to commemorate a notable victory and often appearing on coins with captives at its foot.
Turreted	wearing a crown in the form of a city wall with towers or battlements (normally an attribute of Cybele or a city goddess and often called a mural crown).
Vexillum	a military standard consisting of a square-shaped piece of cloth bearing a device suspended from a cross bar attached to a pole. Originally a standard of the legionary cavalry, in Imperial times it was used by auxiliary cavalry units (*alae*) and was borne by the senior standard-bearer, the *vexillarius*. It was also used by detached units (*vexillatio*). Its primary function seems to have been that of a commander's flag used for signalling. Miniature vexilla were awarded as military decorations.
Vicennalia	(see Decennalia)
Victimarius	an attendant at a ceremonial sacrifice whose task was to slay the sacrificial animal.
Vota	(plural of *votum*). A vow made to a god in order to obtain a divine favour stipulated in advance. The granting of the request obliged the vower to fulfil his promise. This usually took the form of a sacrifice to the deity or an offering to his (or her) temple. Public *vota* in Imperial times were normally for the welfare of the emperor over a stated period of time (five or ten years) and were regularly undertaken (*vota suscepta*) and hopefully paid (*vota soluta*). Sometimes they were more specific, relating to the safety of the emperor on a particularly hazardous journey or military campaign, or the current state of his health. The undertaking and fulfillment of these public vows was frequently recorded on the coinage and in the late Empire especially may provide useful evidence for the chronological arrangement of issues (see also Decennalia).

LEGEND ABBREVIATIONS

Roman coin inscriptions contain numerous abbreviations which are rarely separated by punctuation marks. The following are amongst the commonest forms and collectors should try to familiarize themselves with these before attempting to transcribe legends.

AVG = *Augustus*, the honorific title bestowed on Octavian by the Senate on 16 January 27 BC and thereafter adopted by all of his successors as an indication of their supreme authority. [On some earlier coins of the Imperatorial period the abbreviation 'AVG' may be used to designate membership of the Augures, one of Rome's four principal priestly colleges].

C or CAES = *Caesar*, originally a *cognomen* of the Julia *gens*. In 49 BC Gaius Julius Caesar (later dictator) initiated the period of civil conflict which led to the downfall of the Republic and the establishment of autocratic rule under his heir, Octavian (Augustus). After the extinction of the Julio-Claudian dynasty Caesar was adopted as an imperial title by their successors. It was also borne by the heir to the throne prior to his assumption of supreme authority.

CONOB = *Constantinopolis Obryza*, 'Pure Gold of Constantinople'. This form of mint mark, appearing in the exergues of late Roman and Byzantine solidi and fractional gold denominations, had its origins in the second half of the 4th century. 'Obryza', a word of obscure derivation, indicated that the gold from which the coin had been struck had been tested and was guaranteed pure. Initially, other mints employed a similar formula (ANTOB for Antioch, MDOB for Mediolanum, etc.) but eventually CONOB came to be utilized universally, without regard to the actual place of mintage. An important variation appearing at a number of western mints was COMOB. This may have had a slightly different meaning, the COM possibly indicating the office of *Comes Auri* ('Count of Gold'), the official charged with the responsibility of supervising the Imperial gold supplies in the western provinces of the Empire (see also under MINTS AND MINT MARKS OF THE LATER ROMAN EMPIRE).

COS = *Consul*, the highest annually elected magistracy of the Roman Republic. From 509 BC until the fall of the Republic two consuls were appointed each year to act as temporary heads of state. Consuls continued to hold office under the Imperial constitution and quite frequently the emperor himself, or his heir, occupied the position (see also under 'DATING ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS').

D N = *Dominus Noster*, 'Our Lord'. Introduced under the First Tetrarchy in the early years of the 4th century AD. Common after the middle of the century when it replaced IMP (erator) at the beginning of inscriptions.

DD NN = *Dominorum Nostrorum*, the plural of *Dominus Noster*.

III VIR/IIII VIR = *Triumvir/Quattuorvir,* 'One of Three/Four Men'. This title was used to describe the annual mint magistrates (usually three in number, but sometimes four) of the Republic and early Empire. This appointment formed an important step in the progression (*cursus honorum*) of a public career, possibly leading to an eventual consulate. The full title was *Tres Viri/Quattuor Viri Aere Argento Auro Flando Feriundo* ('Three/Four Men for the Casting [and] Striking of Bronze, Silver [and] Gold'). This sometimes appears on the coinage, notably the reformed *aes* denominations of Augustus where it is rendered as III VIR A A A F F.

III VIR R P C = *Triumvir Reipublicae Constituendae*, 'One of Three Men for the Regulation of the Republic'. The title adopted in November of 43 BC by the three Caesarian leaders (Mark Antony, Octavian and Lepidus) when they formed the Second Triumvirate to oppose the tyrannicides Brutus and Cassius.

IMP = *Imperator*, 'Commander'. Under the Republic it came to designate a victorious general whose success was enthusiastically acclaimed by his troops. For its later development as an Imperial title, see under 'DATING ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS'.

PERP or **PP** = *Perpetuus*, 'Continuous'. In the early Empire this indicated the holding of a specific office for life, e.g. **CENS**(or) **PERP**(petuus) under Domitian. However, from the late 5th century into Byzantine times it replaced the traditional '**P F**', standing on its own as an Imperial title immediately preceding that of Augustus.

P F = *Pius Felix*, 'Dutiful' (to the gods, the State, and to one's family) and 'Happy' (in good fortune and success). From the mid-3rd to the late 5th centuries AD these titles often immediately preceded that of Augustus, until superseded by '**PP**' (*Perpetuus*).

P M = *Pontifex Maximus*, 'Greatest of the Pontifices'. The sixteen Pontifices formed one of the four senior colleges of priests in Rome and were charged with the supervision of ceremonies connected with the state religion. The head of the Pontifices was the Pontifex Maximus (a title still borne by the Pope today). Augustus received the title in 13 BC on the death of its last Republican holder, the former Triumvir Lepidus. Thereafter, it was normally assumed by each emperor at the time of his accession (see also under 'DATING ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS').

P P = *Pater Patriae*, 'Father of his Country'. Augustus received this title in 2 BC and it was subsequently adopted by most of his successors at the time of their accession (see also under 'DATING ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS'). An earlier version (*Parens Patriae*) had been bestowed on Cicero after his exposure of the Catiline conspiracy in 63 BC and on Caesar in the final months of his life.

S C = *Senatus Consulto*, 'by Decree of the Senate'. Sometimes expressed more fully as **EX S C**. Referring to the authority by which the issue was made. Appears on most Imperial *aes* until the mid-3rd century, but also occasionally on precious metal issues of the Republic and early Empire.

S P Q R = *Senatus Populusque Romanus*, 'The Roman Senate and People'. The traditional formula expressing the joint authority of the conscript fathers and the common citizenry. Although having little meaning in Imperial times it continues to appear quite regularly on the coinage down to the time of Constantine the Great.

TR P = *Tribunicia Potestas*, 'Tribunician Power'. Established in the early days of the Republic, the office of Tribune of the Plebs ultimately carried with it wide ranging powers and protections, including inviolability of person. On 1 July 23 BC Augustus obtained a lifetime grant of the tribunician power, an important step in the establishment of an autocracy as it gave him the absolute right of veto as well as the authority to convene the Senate. The tribunician power was generally assumed at the commencement of each new reign, though some emperors had already received it during their predecessor's reign (e.g. Tiberius, Titus, Marcus Aurelius, etc.). It is of special interest when followed by a numeral as this allows a coin to be assigned to its precise year of issue, the tribunician power being renewed annually for the purpose of regnal dating (see also under 'DATING ROMAN IMPERIAL COINS').

THE DENOMINATIONS OF THE ROMAN COINAGE

The earliest coinage of central Italy, known as *Aes Grave*, was of bronze, the various pieces being cast and not struck. Previous to the currency of these, irregular lumps of bronze (*Aes Rude*) and cast bronze bars or ingots bearing designs on both sides (*Aes Signatum*) were in use, although these may have been used as bullion exchangeable by weight rather than as money. *Aes Grave* was first issued by the Roman Republic about 280 BC, but the Romans soon realized that in order to facilitate commerce with other Italian and and non-Italian states it was also necessary to have a more convenient coinage comprising silver denominations and struck bronzes. Accordingly, they introduced silver *didrachms* and bronze *double litrae* and *litrae* closely resembling the coinages of the cities of Magna Graecia. Some years later, between the First and Second Punic Wars, the coinage underwent certain modifications. This resulted in the introduction of a new series of *Aes Grave*, the standardized types of which were subsequently adopted as the norm for most of the later issues of Republican bronze; and a fundamental change in the design of the silver coinage, which saw the large scale production of *quadrigatus-didrachms* bearing a janiform head of the Dioscuri on obverse and Jupiter in a four-horse chariot (quadriga) on reverse. The following table shows the obverse types and relative values of the various bronze denominations, the common reverse type being the prow of a galley:

As	head of Janus	mark of value I	= 12 *unciae*
Semis	head of Saturn	mark of value S	= 6 *unciae*
Triens	head of Minerva	mark of value 4 pellets	= 4 *unciae*
Quadrans	head of Hercules	mark of value 3 pellets	= 3 *unciae*
Sextans	head of Mercury	mark of value 2 pellets	= 2 *unciae*
Uncia	head of Roma	mark of value pellet	

(The mark of value is usually shown on both sides of the coin).

Struck bronze as of 211–206 BC (no. 627)

In the closing years of the 3rd century BC the crisis of the Second Punic War was responsible for a complete restructuring of the Roman currency system. The *Aes Grave* underwent a rapid series of weight reductions and were gradually superseded by lighter struck bronze coins, the transition being complete by *circa* 211 BC. The same date also saw the abandonment of the silver *quadrigatus-didrachm* in favour of the *denarius*, a smaller and lighter piece valued at 10 *asses* (mark of value X). Seven decades later the *denarius* was re-tariffed at 16 *asses* (mark of value XVI), a value

Aes Grave as of 225–217 BC (no. 570)

Silver didrachm of 280–275 BC (no. 22)

Silver quadrigatus-didrachm of 215–213 BC (No. 32)

Silver denarius of 206–194 BC (no. 54)

Silver victoriatus of 211–206 BC (no. 49)

Silver quinarius of 211–206 BC (no. 44)

Silver sestertius of 211–206 BC (no. 46)

Gold 60-as of 211–208 BC (no. 3)

which it retained into the Imperial period. The *denarius* was destined to be the principal denomination of both the Republican and the Imperial monetary systems until its replacement by the *double denarius* (*antoninianus*) in the mid-3rd century AD. At the same time as the inauguration of the *denarius* (*circa* 211 BC) two fractional silver pieces were also introduced. However, the *quinarius* or *half denarius* (mark of value V = 5 *asses*) and the *sestertius* (mark of value IIS = 2 asses and a semis) were struck only for the first few years following the reform of *circa* 211 BC, though both were to be revived at a much later date. The *victoriatus* (so-called because of its reverse type of Victory crowning a trophy) was another new denomination resulting from the reform of *circa* 211 BC. In weight it was the same as the pre-reform *drachm* or *half quadrigatus* and was the equivalent of three-quarters of the *denarius*. Its primary purpose was for circulation amongst Greek communities, principally those of southern Italy, but with the expansion of Rome's horizons following her victory over the Carthaginians in the Second Punic War the denomination gradually lost its importance and was finally discontinued about 170 BC.

Gold aureus of Brutus, 42 BC (no. 1430)

Gold quinarius of Tiberius (no. 1761 var.)

Gold coins were seldom issued and formed no part of the regular coinage in the Republican period. They were struck usually for military purposes at times of emergency and all types are now rare. In the period of civil strife following the assassination of Julius Caesar on the Ides of March, 44 BC, gold was issued by and for many of the contenders for political power, notably the Triumvirs Mark Antony and Octavian and the Republican leaders Brutus and Cassius. The gold issues of Octavian (later Augustus) eventually evolved into the first Roman Imperial gold coinage.

No regular Republican bronze was issued after about 82 BC, but once Augustus had achieved supreme power and restored peace to the Roman world he resumed the large scale production of *aes* as part of his re-organization of the currency system (*circa* 18 BC). Authority for the minting of gold and silver was retained by Augustus, but the orichalcum (brass) and copper coins were issued under the nominal control of the Senate, as evidenced by the ubiquitous formula 'S C' (*Senatus Consulto*). Initially, the names of the responsible moneyers appeared prominently on the Augustan *aes* (as on the coinage of the Roman Republic), but this practice ceased after about 4 BC.

Gold issues now became a regular part of the coinage and the various denominations of the reorganized system are shown in the following table:

Gold *aureus*	=	25 silver *denarii*
Gold *quinarius*	=	$12\frac{1}{2}$ silver *denarii*
Silver *denarius*	=	16 copper *asses*
Silver *quinarius*	=	8 copper *asses*
Brass *sestertius*	=	4 copper *asses*
Brass *dupondius*	=	2 copper *asses*
Copper *as*	=	4 copper *quadrantes*
Brass *semis*	=	2 copper *quadrantes*
Copper *quadrans*		

Copper as of Tiberius (no. 1770)

Copper quadrans of Augustus (no. 1693)

The *dupondius* and *as*, though of similar size, could be distinguished by the colour of the metal (yellow brass, red copper), the radiate head of the emperor only coming into use as a regular feature of the former coin at a later date. Other than a small early Augustan issue the silver *quinarius* was not struck during the Julio-Claudian period. It was revived by Galba in AD 68 and thereafter its production continued under the Flavian emperors and their successors.

Silver cistophorus of Claudius (no. 1838)

Brass semis of Nero (no. 1979)

At certain Asian mints – notably Ephesus and Pergamum – Augustus and some of his successors continued to strike the large silver pieces known as *cistophori*, equal in value to three *denarii*. Coins of this size and value, bearing as one of their types the Dionysiac snake-basket or *cista mystica*, had been the chief currency of the kingdom of Pergamum in Asia Minor (later the Roman province of Asia) from early in the 2nd century BC. Although in the Imperial period the types of the *cistophorus* were more in accord with the general style of Roman issues the coin was still recognizable to the people of *provincia Asia* and readily passed current.

Nero (AD 54–68), who, with all his faults, was a man of innovation and artistic appreciation, took a keen interest in the Imperial coinage and this led him to institute the experimental issue of an *as* and a *quadrans* struck in orichalcum (brass) in addition to those of copper. Whether his ultimate intention was to discard copper altogether is uncertain, but with the exception of a few isolated issues the experiment did not survive his suicide in AD 68 which ended the Julio-Claudian dynasty.

Brass *sestertii* of the 1st and 2nd centuries AD are amongst the most attractive of all the coins in the Roman series. They frequently bear interesting types which, because of the large size of the flan, are rendered in great detail, thus adding to the visual impact of these handsome pieces. When in the finest condition *sestertii* are much sought-after by collectors and consistently realize high prices. Although their smaller flans do not provide the same scope, the *dupondii* and *asses* also are

Brass sestertius of Hadrian

Brass dupondius of Vespasian

Silver quinarius of Domitian

often beautiful examples of the Roman engraver's art. In the 3rd century, however, the weight and the artistic level of the *sestertius* and its fractions underwent a decline. In fact, by the time the Emperor Trajan Decius (AD 249–51) introduced his experimental *double sestertius*, showing the emperor wearing a radiate crown, the coin weighed little more than many of the *sestertii* of the Julio-Claudian era. Although not continued by Decius' immediate successors, the *double sestertius* was incorporated into his *aes* coinage by the Gallic usurper Postumus (AD 260–268).

Brass double sestertius of Trajan Decius

Gold aureus of Nero (no. 1927)

The weight of the *aureus* and the *denarius*, as well as the fineness of the latter, were reduced by Nero as part of his currency measures undertaken in AD 64. Successive emperors – always pressed for money – carried on the evil process until, by the reign of Caracalla, the *denarius* contained barely 40% silver. This emperor further debased the coinage by introducing a new denomination of similar metal which, although only equivalent in weight to about one and a half *denarii*, was

Silver denarius of Trajan

Silver antoninianus of Pupienus

apparently officially tariffed as the equivalent of two. This new piece, which we know as an *antoninianus* (after Caracalla's official name Antoninus), always shows the emperor wearing a radiate crown instead of the laurel-wreath of the *denarius*. In the case of empresses, the larger silver denomination is distinguished by the addition of a crescent placed beneath the bust.

Silver antoninianus of Otacilia Severa

Billon antoninianus of Aurelian

By the middle of the 3rd century the *antoninianus* had driven the *denarius* out of circulation. With the acute political and economic crisis which was afflicting the Empire at this time the *antoninianus* became increasingly debased until, by the latter part of the sole reign of Gallienus (AD 260–68), it was reduced to a mere base metal coin of diminished size with only a tiny silver content. Aurelian, in his reform of the coinage (*circa* AD 273), restored the *antoninianus* to something like its original size and fixed the silver content at about 5% (perhaps indicated by the 'XXI' mark which it frequently bore in the exergue). He also revived the *denarius* (struck in the same metal as the *antoninianus*) and attempted to reintroduce *aes*, principally *asses*. Prior to this reform *antoniniani* of Gallienus' successor Claudius II Gothicus (AD 268–70) and of the Gallic usurper Tetricus (AD 270–73) had been extensively imitated by unofficial mints in the West, chiefly in Britain and Gaul. Although sometimes reasonably competent copies of the originals, many of these *'barbarous radiates'* are quite grotesque as well as being much smaller than the officially minted coins. With Aurelian's reconquest of the Gallic Empire and his subsequent measures to regularize the currency these imitations were demonetized and quickly disappeared from circulation.

Silver argenteus-siliqua of Diocletian

Billon follis of Diocletian

Thus, by the closing decades of the 3rd century, Rome's Imperial coinage bore little resemblance to the system instituted by Augustus almost three centuries before. The silver coinage had become hopelessly debased; *aes* production had virtually ceased, despite Aurelian's attempt to

restore it in AD 273; and gold, though still retaining its fineness, was no longer struck on a consistent weight standard. The time was ripe for radical reform and, beginning about AD 294, the Emperor Diocletian undertook a series of measures with the object of restoring confidence in the Imperial coinage. The most important of the changes was the introduction of two new denominations: the *siliqua* (commonly referred to as the *argenteus*), a silver coin of approximately the same weight and fineness as the reformed Neronian *denarius*; and the *follis*, a large billon coin containing about 5% silver. Production of the *antoninianus* was now discontinued, though a coin of similar appearance remained in issue for about a decade following the reform. This piece no longer bore the mark '**XXI**' on the reverse and it contained no trace of silver. It is referred to in this catalogue as a *post-reform radiate*.

Bronze post-reform radiate of Diocletian

Gold solidus of Constantine I

Constantine the Great (AD 307–37) made further changes to the monetary system. In place of the *aureus*, which was currently being struck at 60 to the pound of gold (5.4 grams), he introduced into the western provinces a new and lighter coin called the *solidus*, which was produced at 72 pieces to the pound (4.5 grams). With the defeat of Constantine's eastern rival Licinius (AD 308–24) production of the *solidus* became universal throughout the Empire. The *aureus* was still occasionally struck thereafter, but its issue was generally confined to the celebration of special occasions. Two gold fractional denominations accompanied the *solidus*, though they were never produced in the same quantities as the larger piece. The *semissis* was the equivalent of a *half solidus*, while the *9–siliqua* piece (also called the *one and a half scripulum*) was the equivalent of three-eighths of a *solidus*. Before the end of the 4th century this curious and seemingly inconvenient denomination was replaced by a *one-third solidus* or *tremissis*.

Silver argenteus-siliqua of Constantius II

Silver miliarensis of Constans

In AD 325 Constantine resumed production of the Diocletianic *siliqua* or *argenteus* which had lapsed after about AD 310. At the same time he introduced the larger silver *miliarensis* which was one-third heavier than the *siliqua* (four scruples instead of three) and the same weight as the gold *solidus* (4.5 grams). A few years later, after the death of Constantine, a heavier version of the *miliarensis* was introduced. This *'heavy miliarensis'* was struck at 60 to the pound, the same weight as the old gold *aureus* (5.4 grams). Both versions of the *miliarensis* remained in issue over a considerable period of time, extending even into the Byzantine period. The *siliqua*, however, soon underwent some fundamental changes. About AD 357 Constantius II, the last surviving son of Constantine I, reduced the weight of the *siliqua* from 1/96 of a pound (3.375 grams or three

scruples) to 1/144 pound (2.25 grams or two scruples). In consequence, the lighter version of the *miliarensis* now became a *double siliqua*.

Silver reduced siliqua of Julian II

Billon centenionalis of Constantine II

The late Roman bronze coinage presents many problems. The billon *follis* denomination, introduced by Diocletian in the final decade of the 3rd century, soon began to decline in size and weight. Its original weight of about 10 grams was, by *circa* AD 318, down to about one-third of that level and it became clear to Constantine that measures needed to be undertaken to stabilize the situation. Accordingly, a new billon coin, weighing a little over 3 grams, was introduced at this time at the mints under the western emperor's control. This was extended to all the mints of the Empire after the defeat of Licinius in AD 324. The name of this new coin is not certainly known, though it appears likely that it was called a *centenionalis* (most cataloguers refer to it simply as *'Æ 3'*). In AD 330 the weight of the *centenionalis* itself began to decline, just as its predecessor had done, and by AD 336 its weight was down to a mere 1.7 grams. With the political troubles consequent on Constantine's death in 337 remedial measures were delayed for more than a decade and it was not until about AD 348 that Constantius II and Constans reformed the bronze coinage by introducing

Billon maiorina of Constantius II

Billon half maiorina of Constans

several new denominations to replace the *centenionalis* – the billon *maiorina*, struck on two weight standards (5.2 grams and 4.5 grams) and a *half maiorina*, weighing about 2.6 grams. Once again, the nomenclature is not certain and the *maiorina* has frequently been referred to in previous catalogues as a *centenionalis*. Unfortunately, the new arrangement was destined to have the same chequered history as its predecessors, with a rapid decline in size and weight culminating in a tiny billon piece weighing only 1.9 grams by the end of Constantius' reign in AD 361. The picture was further complicated by the issues of a western usurper Magnentius (AD 350–53) who, in obvious financial straits towards the end of his reign, attempted to replace the billon *maiorina* with a larger bronze piece. This initially weighed over 8 grams, but underwent a series of rapid reductions as the rebel regime neared its violent end.

A final brave attempt to revive the ailing late Roman bronze coinage was made by Julian II late in his reign (AD 363). Interestingly, the introduction of a large billon piece weighing about 8.25 grams looks remarkably like an attempt to restore the Diocletianic *follis*, inviting speculation that the pagan emperor had the deliberate intention of reverting to the last coinage reform of pre-Christian times. The experiment was, of course, short-lived and the denomination was soon abandoned by his Christian successors. More lasting was another denomination introduced by Julian – a bronze *'Æ 3'* weighing just under 3 grams and closely resembling the Constantinian billon *centenionalis* of AD 318. This revived *centenionalis* survived into the 5th century and although, like

Billon restored follis of Julian II

Bronze restored centenionalis of Julian II

other 4th century bronze denominations, its weight tended to decline with the passage of years there was actually an attempt to restore it to its original level in AD 395. Another bronze denomination which appeared in the closing decades of the 4th century was an *'Æ 2'* introduced by the western emperor Gratian *circa* AD 379. Although struck in bronze rather than billon, this piece was otherwise reminiscent of the *maiorina* introduced three decades before and may be considered a revival of that denomination. It was to last until AD 395 when it was demonetized under the terms of a rescript preserved in the *Codex* Theodosianus (ix. 232), though there were still a few isolated

Bronze restored maiorina of Theodosius I

Bronze half centenionalis
or nummus of
Magnus Maximus

issues of *'Æ 2s'* during the course of the 5th century. Also appearing about AD 379 was a new *'Æ 4'* denomination, presumably representing the half of the revived *centenionalis*. This diminutive coin was to have a much longer history, eventually becoming the only bronze denomination in regular issue as the disastrous 5th century progressed. Also known as the *nummus*, the latest miserable examples of the *'Æ 4'* frequently weigh less than 1 gram, being almost indistinguishable from imitations produced by the various barbarian tribes who were now invading and occupying former Roman territory. Unofficial 'barbarous' copies of late Roman bronze coinage had been produced from Constantinian times onwards, many of them imitated from the post-348 *maiorinae* of Constantius II with reverse legend FEL TEMP REPARATIO and type soldier spearing fallen horseman.

Gold semissis of Zeno

Gold tremissis of Leo I

In AD 498 the Emperor Anastasius carried out a sweeping reform of the bronze coinage. This introduced a whole new range of denominations, each being a multiple of the old *nummus* and bearing its mark value conspicuously on the reverse (*e.g.* M = *40 nummi*, K = *20 nummi*, I = *10*

nummi, etc.). As the introduction of these novel coins marks an almost complete break with the traditions of the Roman coinage, the Anastasian *aes* reform has been considered a convenient point at which to commence the Byzantine series, though no adjustments to the precious metal coinage were made at this time.

THE REVERSE TYPES OF THE IMPERIAL COINAGE

Although most collectors of Roman Imperial coins begin by attempting to acquire a selection of portraits of the emperors and their families, it is in the remarkable array of reverse types that the unique interest and historical value of the series will be found. Moreover, a sound knowledge of these types will often make it possible to attribute a coin even when the legends are obscure (especially important when coins from excavations are being used as archaeological evidence).

I. DEITIES AND PERSONIFICATIONS

In the following notes it is proposed briefly to outline the more important types (the chief deities of the Roman pantheon and a few other divinities which achieved great popularity in the Roman World) and their customary attributes, after which the principal personifications, which constitute the majority of the reverse types, will be dealt with.

As of Caracalla

Aesculapius. The god of medicine and healing, he is shown as a man of mature years, holding a staff about which a snake twines. He is often accompanied by a small figure representing his attendant, Telesphorus.

His image appears on Roman Provincial ('Greek Imperial') coins at a number of mints, including Epidaurus, where the great temple of **Asklepios** was situated, and Pergamum, where there was a celebrated sanctuary of the god (the Asklepieion) which was greatly embellished during the reign of Hadrian.

Antoninianus of Trebonianus Gallus (Apollo)

Apollo. The sun-god, Apollo, was also god of music and the arts, of prophecy, and the protector of flocks and herds: he is usually depicted with a lyre. Amongst his titles are CONSERVATOR, PALATINVS (as protector of the imperial residence on the Palatine), and PROPVGNATOR. He appears at intervals on the Imperial coinage from Augustus to Carausius and then, like most pagan types, falls out of use in the 4th century.

On Roman Provincial coins Apollo is a frequent type, appearing on the Alexandrian series as Apollo Aktios or Pythios, and on coins of Ephesus with the title Hikesios, indicating his role as protector of suppliants. On colonial bronzes of Apamea he is named APOLLO CLARIVS, after his sanctuary at Clarus near Colophon. More commonly encountered are depictions of the god without name or title.

Denarius of Septimius Severus

Bacchus. Under his ancient Italian name of **Liber,** the god of wine occasionally appears as a coin type. He is generally shown holding a wine-cup and thyrsus and is accompanied by his attendant panther. Sometimes his head only is depicted, crowned with vine or ivy leaves. On a coin of Gallienus the panther appears on its own, with the legend LIBERO P CONS AVG. Few emperors, however, adopted Bacchus as a coin type.

In the Roman Provincial series, however, **Dionysos** was a very popular type and occurs on the coins of many cities.

Dupondius of Claudius

Ceres. In the 1st and 2nd centuries AD Ceres appears frequently as a coin type and is generally shown holding ears of corn to symbolize her function as presiding goddess of agriculture. Sometimes she bears a torch to signify her search in the darkness for her lost daughter Proserpina, who had been abducted to Hades by Pluto. The epithet most most commonly applied to her is Frugifera ('bearing fruits').

On Roman Provincial coins she appears as the goddess **Demeter,** sometimes accompanied by her daughter Persephone (the Greek name for Proserpina).

Aureus of Julia Domna (Cybele)

Cybele. Of Asian origin, the Mother of the Gods was not commonly depicted as a Roman coin type, except in the 2nd and early 3rd centuries AD. She is usually shown wearing a turreted crown and holding a tympanum (small drum or tambourine), and is either in a car drawn by lions or enthroned between the animals. The accompanying legend is normally MATER DEVM or MATRI MAGNAE, or a similar variant.

Many Greek cities have **Kybele** on their coins during the Imperial period, her cult being very popular in Asia Minor.

Sestertius of Faustina Junior

Diana. The sister of Apollo, Diana was regarded as the moon-goddess and is sometimes represented with a lunar crescent above her forehead. When given the title of LVCIFERA ('the light-bringer') she is depicted holding a long torch, symbolic of moonlight. She was also protectress of the young and deity of the chase. In the latter role she is equipped with bow and arrows and is sometimes accompanied by a hound or deer. Her other titles include CONSERVATRIX and VICTRIX. As DIANA EPHESIA she appears as a cultus-figure on Asian cistophori of the reigns of Claudius and Hadrian.

The most famous shrine of Diana (or **Artemis** as she was called by the Greeks) was the celebrated Artemision at Ephesus, one of the Seven Wonders of the World. It is mentioned in the *Acts of the Apostles* (19, 27) and some of the local issues of the city show the statue of Artemis Ephesia either alone or within a representation of the famed temple. The cult of Artemis Ephesia was widespread and was honoured on the coinages of many cities, utilizing similar types.

Follis of Maxentius

The Dioscuri. The twins Castor and Pollux, sons of Jupiter and Leda, appear frequently on the Republican coinage and their mounted figures galloping side by side was selected as the exclusive type for the denarius during its initial phase of issue and the principal type for the first seven decades. Invariably, their headdress is the conical pileus, often surmounted by a star to denote divinity. In Imperial times, however, the Dioscuri are rarely featured. Castor alone stands beside his horse on gold of Commodus and silver of Geta, whilst both figures make a final appearance on the early 4th century coinage of Maxentius.

On the Roman Provincial coinage the **Dioskouroi** appear on the issues of a number of cities, notably the Ionian mint of Phocaea, and sometimes they are represented solely by their pilei surmounted by stars.

Aureus of Carausius

Hercules. Son of Jupiter by the mortal Alcmene, Hercules was a popular coin type from the 1st century AD until the time of Constantine the Great. He can always be recognized by his splendid physique and by his constant attributes of club and lion's skin. Commodus, who regarded Hercules as his tutelary deity and even, in his final years, appears to have believed himself a reincarnation of the demi-god, struck many medallions and coins bearing either the figure of Hercules or types relating to him. At a later date, Postumus issued a series bearing types alluding to the various 'labours'. The titles of Hercules are many, and include CONSERVATOR, DEFENSOR, ROMANVS, and VICTOR.

Many Roman Provincial mints depicted **Herakles,** especially those named Heraclea after the demi-god. Under Antoninus Pius the mint of Alexandria issued a remarkable series of bronze hemidrachms illustrating the deity's extraordinary exploits.

Small bronze of the time of Julian II

Isis. Of purely Egyptian origin, Isis, the wife of Osiris, became one of the most popular deities with the Romans and even had several temples dedicated to her in the Imperial capital. She rarely appears, however, on the Imperial coinage, though she is sometimes shown in the company of Serapis. Her normal attribute is the sistrum (rattle), but on a coin of Julia Domna she nurses the infant Horus.

Isis also appears on a number of Roman Provincial issues, especially, of course, on the coinage of Alexandria. Sometimes her head only is shown, and sometimes she is represented as Isis Pharia, holding a sail billowing in the wind, with or without a representation of the celebrated Pharos (lighthouse) of Alexandria.

As of Hadrian (Janus)

Janus. Although the double head of Janus was the regular obverse type of the Republican *as* throughout almost the entire period of its issue, the deity very seldom appears on any of the issues of the emperors. He was the god of beginnings, looking both to past and future, and the first month of the year was named after him. He appears at infrequent intervals as a reverse type – a full-length figure holding a sceptre – and the *Ianus Geminus* ('Twin Janus') features on an extensive issue of *aes* under Nero. When there was peace throughout the Empire the doors of this small shrine were ceremonially closed – an event sufficiently rare to warrant commemoration on the coinage.

Aureus of Julia Soaemias

Juno. The sister and consort of Jupiter is depicted as a tall matron, either seated or standing, holding a patera and a sceptre. She is frequently accompanied by a peacock and on certain posthumous issues of empresses the bird may appear alone, either standing or in flight, bearing the deceased Augusta to heaven (the same role fulfilled by Jupiter's eagle in the case of deified emperors). The temple of Juno Moneta on the Capitoline Hill was of special importance from a numismatic standpoint as the Roman mint was established in its vicinity in Republican times. Eventually, this led to the use of the word *moneta* to mean 'mint' and later 'money', though its original meaning as an epithet of Juno is unknown. Her titles include REGINA, LVCINA (referring to her role as the presiding deity of childbirth), CONSERVATRIX, and VICTRIX.

The representations of **Hera** on Roman Provincial issues are far less frequent than those of her consort Zeus, though she does appear at Chalcis in Euboea and at the Bithynian mint of Nicomedia. On an Alexandrian tetradrachm of Nero the veiled bust of Hera Argeia (Hera of Argos) is shown, identified by the accompanying legend HPA APΓEIA.

Sestertius of Domitian

Jupiter. Jove, or Jupiter, Optimus Maximus ('the Best and Greatest), is usually depicted as a tall bearded man in the prime of life, nude or semi-nude, holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Sometimes standing, sometimes enthroned, the figure of the Father of the Gods must have been a familiar sight to every Roman from the numerous statues erected in his honour in Rome and in all the principal cities of the Empire. On some coins he is depicted holding a small figure of Victory, or his attendant eagle, instead of a thunderbolt: often the eagle is shown standing at his feet. He may also be represented by an eagle alone, both on regular issues and on posthumous coins of deified emperors. The titles of Jupiter are numerous: they include CONSERVATOR, CVSTOS (Protector of the emperor), LIBERATOR, PROPVGNATOR, STATOR (the Stayer of armies about to flee), TONANS (the Thunderer), TVTATOR, and VICTOR. One unusual representation of the god is as a child seated on the back of the nymph Amalthea's goat, with the legend IOVI CRESCENTI, "to the Growing Jupiter". This appears on a coin of the young Caesar

Valerian, son of Gallienus, and clearly implies a comparison between the young prince and the young god.

On Roman Provincial coins representations of **Zeus** are legion and often are accompanied by one of his many titles, such as Kapetolios (referring to the Roman Capitoline Jupiter), Kasios (referring to his worship on Mount Casium in Syria), and Olympios (at Alexandria).

Antoninianus of Gallienus

Luna. The moon-goddess is usually equated with Diana Lucifera and only appears with her own name on coins of Julia Domna and Gallienus.

Her Greek counterpart, **Selene,** appears rather more frequently on the Roman Provincial coinage and sometimes her head is shown conjoined with that of the sun-god Sol.

The crescent-moon, which is symbolic of Luna, sometimes occurs as a type, usually in association with a number of stars. In the 3rd century the crescent of Luna appears at the empress's shoulders on the obverses of *antoniniani* and *dupondii* to indicate the double value of these denominations (cf. also under Sol).

Antoninianus of Elagabalus

Mars. The god of war – always a popular deity with the Romans – appears frequently as a coin type down to the time of Constantine the Great. He is usually shown with his spear and shield, or with a trophy instead of the latter indicating success in a military campaign. He is sometimes nude, except for a helmet and cloak, and sometimes in full armour. When given the title of PACIFER he bears the olive-branch of Peace, though in this connection one remembers the words which Tacitus puts into the mouth of a British chieftain who, referring to the Romans, says 'They make a desert and call it peace'. Amongst the other titles of Mars are CONSERVATOR, PROPVGNATOR (the Champion of Rome), VLTOR (the Avenger), and VICTOR.

Mars, known to the Greeks as **Ares,** appears on a few Roman Provincial issues, but his name or titles are rarely given.

Sestertius of Herennius Etruscus (Mercury)

Mercury. The messenger of the gods was reverenced as the patron of artists, orators, travellers, merchants and, curiously, thieves. He is one of the least frequent of the major deities to appear as a coin type in Imperial times, though his head had been the standard obverse type for the *sextans* and *semuncia* denominations on the Republican coinage. He is generally depicted wearing the winged cap or petasus and carrying a purse and a caduceus. The latter is occasionally used alone as a coin type, notably on the smaller denominations.

On Roman Provincial coins the Greek **Hermes** was only adopted as a type by some half-dozen cities, appearing without name or title.

As of Claudius

Minerva. The counterpart in Roman mythology of the Greek **Pallas Athene,** Minerva frequently appears on coins, particularly those of Domitian who regarded her as his special tutelary deity. A war-like goddess, she usually bears a spear and a shield and is equipped with helmet and aegis. Sometimes she holds a small figure of Victory or is accompanied by her attendant bird, the owl. Minerva guided men in the dangers of war, where victory is gained by prudence, courage, and perseverance. She was also goddess of wisdom and patroness of the arts. Amongst her titles are PACIFERA, bringer of Peace, and VICTRIX.

On the Roman Provincial issues she is sometimes named as Athena, with perhaps an additional title such as Areia (at Pergamum), Ilias (at Ilium), and Argeia (at Alexandria).

Denarius of Claudius

Nemesis. Originally associated with the concept of rightful apportionment, Nemesis came to be regarded as the avenger of crimes and punisher of wrong-doers. Her complex character led to many local interpretations of her role as a goddess and sometimes she was associated with other deities, such as Aequitas, Pax, and Victory, who appeared to be able to assist her in the fulfillment of her various functions. Nemesis makes comparatively few appearances on the Imperial coinage. When she does, she is depicted winged, holding a caduceus or olive-branch, and sometimes with a snake at her feet. A curious gesture especially associated with this goddess is the drawing out of a fold of drapery from her breast. This has been explained as expressing the idea of aversion by spitting upon her bosom inside the opened garment. It was said that humans could avoid her anger by making this same gesture.

Depictions of Nemesis on the Roman Provincial coinage are rather more frequent. Here, she is not always winged and is typically shown holding a bridle or cubit-rule with a wheel at her feet. Occasionally, two Nemeses may appear standing face to face. This relates to a legend in which the twin Nemeses of Smyrna appeared in a vision to Alexander the Great commanding him to refound the city.

As of Agrippa

Neptune. The god of the sea had appeared only infrequently on the later Republican coinage, the first occasion being on a silver *quinarius* of the moneyer L. Rubrius Dossenus in 87 BC. In Imperial times his depictions were more varied, though they remained sporadic. He is usually represented holding a dolphin and a trident, but sometimes holds an acrostolium (the prow ornament of a galley) instead of the former. The prow itself may be shown beside him, sometimes with his right foot resting on it.

Poseidon, the Greek counterpart of Neptune, is of rare occurrence as a type on the Roman Provincial coinage. However, he does appear at Rhodes, with the name Poseidon Asphaleios ('bringing safety'), and at Alexandria as Poseidon Isthmios (referring to the Isthmus of Corinth).

Sestertius of Nero

Roma. The goddess who personified the city of Rome (and in a wider sense the Empire which she had conquered) is usually represented helmeted and in armour, holding a small figure of Victory, or a wreath, and a parazonium. She is often seated on a pile of arms representing the spoils of war. When the Roman Empire became Christian, the type continued in use as a personification of the city or the state, much as the figure of Britannia is regarded today.

Roma also appears on the coinage of Alexandria, identified by the accompanying legend ΡΩΜΗ.

Alexandrian tetradrachm of Hadrian

Serapis. This deity was a creation of Ptolemy I of Egypt who wished to establish a cult in which his native Egyptian subjects and their new Greek rulers could participate together, thereby fostering a spirit of national unity. Thus, the Egyptians would be able to recognize the characteristics of Osiris and the Greeks would see Zeus, Hades, and Asklepios. The idea appears to have been a resounding success, as Serapis quickly became established as a major deity and later achieved enormous popularity in Rome and throughout the Empire, many splendid temples being erected in his honour.

He appears intermittently on the Roman Imperial coinage from the time of Hadrian onwards and is usually shown raising his right hand and holding a sceptre. On his head he frequently wears a modius and the triple-headed dog Cerberus, guardian of the infernal regions, sometimes sits at his feet. Late in the 2nd century the Emperor Commodus invoke his special protection on a remarkable series inscribed SERAPIDI CONSERV AVG, and the early Severan emperors also showed great favour to the cult of Serapis, Septimius himself being of African birth.

Serapis appears on the coins of a number of Roman Provincial mints, principally, of course, on those of Alexandria. Sometimes his bust is shown conjoined with that of the Egyptian goddess Isis, the consort of Osiris.

Antoninianus of Aurelian

Sol. The sun-god frequently appears as a type during the 3rd century and the early decades of the 4th, down to the advent of Christianity under Constantine. He is usually depicted nude, or almost so, wearing a radiate crown and holding a globe or a whip. Sometimes he is shown in his chariot drawn by four lively horses and occasionally his bust only occurs as a type. His titles include COMES ('Companion') and INVICTVS ('Unconquered'). When he is styled ORIENS, a name which properly refers to the eastern or rising sun, it may be taken as alluding to the rising fortunes of the emperor using the type.

Helios, the Greek equivalent of Sol, appears in the Roman Provincial series on the coins of a number of Greek cities. Sometimes his head is shown conjoined with that of the moon-goddess Selene (Roman Luna).

The radiate crown, which the emperor is usually shown wearing on the *dupondius* and *antoninianus* denominations (as well as the rare *double sestertius*), may be taken as an allusion to his position as the earthly personification of the sun-god. Similarly, from the time of Julia Domna to the end of the 3rd century, the empress is normally depicted on the same denominations with a crescent at her shoulders, this being a reference to the moon-goddess Luna. In both instances these distinctions also indicated the double value of the denomination (two *asses*, two *denarii*, and two *sestertii* respectively).

Colonial bronze of Deultum in Thrace

The Three Graces. The Gratiae, or Charites (Euphrosyne, Aglaia, and Thalia), were minor deities who personified the ideals of beauty, gentleness, and friendship. They were attendants of Aphrodite (Roman Venus) and they especially favoured poetry and the arts. Their images, consisting of a standing group of three nude female figures, do not appear on the Imperial coinage. However, the type was used by a number of mints in the Roman Provincial series, including Marcianopolis, Argos, Itanus, Naxos, and Magnesia ad Maeandrum, as well as the colonial mint of Deultum in Thrace. Statues of the Graces were popular throughout the Roman world and the Museum at Cyrene possesses one of the Hadrianic period. The type inspired Italian medallists as late as the 16th century.

Denarius of Julia, daughter of Titus

Venus. The goddess of beauty and love was a favourite Roman coin type from Republican times until early in the 4th century. Amongst her titles are CAELESTIS, FELIX, GENETRIX, and VICTRIX, and she is usually depicted fully, or almost fully, clothed. Sometimes she holds an apple, sometimes a helmet and a sceptre, and occasionally she is accompanied by Cupid (Greek Eros). In those instances where she is shown semi-nude she is usually posed with her back modestly turned towards the spectator. Julius Caesar, who claimed descent from the goddess, depicted her on many of his coins, generally holding a small figure of Victory.

On Roman Provincial coins the goddess **Aphrodite** was sometimes adopted as a coin type, often because in or near the issuing city there was an important temple dedicated to the deity. In a few cases, such as at Corinth and Cnidus, the representation of the goddess is known to have been copied from a statue for which the issuing city was famous.

As of Caligula (Vesta)

Vesta. One of the most honoured deities of the Romans, Vesta was the special protectress of the family hearth and was worshipped as a goddess of the Roman state as well as by individuals as the guardian of family life. Following a number of appearances on the later Republican coinage (including a depiction of her temple in the Forum) she was represented on the coins of many emperors, from Caligula to Gallienus, as a matron holding a patera and a sceptre, or a torch, a simpulum, or the Palladium. The well-known *as* of Caligula, with a seated figure of the goddess, is perhaps one of the best examples of her image as a coin type. The distinctive circular temple of Vesta also appears from time to time, often in connection with its restoration following some disastrous fire. The titles of Vesta include MATER and SANCTA.

Her Greek counterpart **Hestia** rarely appears on the Roman Provincial coinage, despite the universality of her cult in the Greek world. One of the few possible exceptions is the city of Maeonia in Lydia, where coins were issued depicting both the goddess and her temple (she is not named, however, and the identification has been contested).

Antoninianus of Valerian

Vulcan. The Roman god of iron and fire was of Italic origin and was regarded as the chief deity of smiths and ironworkers. He seldom occurs as a coin type, but when featured he wears a conical hat (pileus) and holds attributes appropriate to the blacksmith's trade, such as a hammer and tongs. His earliest appearance had been on bronze *dodrantes* of 127–126 BC on which his head was shown as the obverse type, wearing a pileus and with tongs over his shoulder. The last appearance was on *antoniniani* of the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, on which the god appears at work within a tetrastyle temple, accompanied by the legend DEO VOLKANO. These coins were minted in Gaul where the cult of Vulcan was especially popular.

It was natural that the Roman Vulcan should be equated with the Greek **Hephaistos,** the son of Hera and Zeus and husband of Aphrodite. He appears at a number of Greek mints in the Roman Provincial series and is sometimes depicted seated on a rock, forging the shield of Achilles, as described by Homer.

We can now proceed briefly to summarize the chief allegorical personifications which appear on the Imperial coinage. In the following list, the Latin name of each is given first, followed in brackets by the Greek equivalent (where used on a provincial issue). Then comes the closest English rendering of the name, and finally the attributes normally associated with the personification. Feminine names are listed first, in alphabetical order, followed by the masculine, which are far fewer in number.

FEMALE

Abundantia
(Severus Alexander)

Aequitas (Macrianus)

Aeternitas (Faustina Sr.)

Abundantia (Euthenia). Abundance, Plenty. Holds cornucopiae and corn-ears, or is shown emptying the former.

Aequitas (Dikaiosyne). Equity, Fair Dealing. Holds scales and cornucopiae or sceptre.

Aeternitas. Eternity, Stability. Holds globe, torch, phoenix, or sceptre, or the heads of the Sun and Moon.

Annona
(Antoninus Pius)

Clementia (Hadrian)

Concordia
(Julia Paula)

Annona. The Annual Grain Supply of Rome. Holds corn-ears and cornucopiae, usually with modius and ship's prow beside her.

Clementia. Clemency, Mercy. Holds branch and sceptre, and sometimes leans on a column.

Concordia (Homonoia). Concord, Harmony. Holds patera and cornucopiae or sceptre. As Concordia Militum, holds two standards.

Constantia
(Claudius)

Fecunditas
(Faustina Jr.)

Felicitas (Julia Mamaea)

Constantia. Constancy. Her right hand raised to her face. Sometimes in military attire, also holding spear. [Confined to the coinage of the reign of Claudius].

Fecunditas. Fertility (of an empress). Holds child, or children, and sceptre. Sometimes the children are depicted standing at her feet.

Felicitas (Eutycheia). Happiness, Prosperity. Holds caduceus and cornucopiae or sceptre. Sometimes depicted leaning on a column.

Fides Militum
(Maximinus I)

Fortuna (Domitian)

Hilaritas (Hadrian)

Fides. Good Faith, Loyalty, Trustworthiness. Holds patera and cornucopiae or corn-ears and basket of fruit. As Fides Militum, holds two standards or standard and sceptre.

Fortuna (Tyche). Fortune. Holds rudder, sometimes resting on globe, and cornucopiae; a wheel may be shown beside her. Sometimes her attributes include an olive-branch or a patera.

Hilaritas. Rejoicing. Holds long palm and cornucopiae, sceptre or patera; is sometimes accompanied by one or two children.

Indulgentia
(Antoninus Pius)

Justitia (Nerva)

Laetitia
(Gordian III)

Indulgentia. Indulgence, Mercy. Holds patera and sceptre.

Justitia. Justice. Holds olive-branch, or patera, and sceptre; rarely (on posthumous coins of Constantine) she holds a pair of scales.

Laetitia. Joy, Gladness. Holds wreath and sceptre, or occasionally rudder on globe in place of the latter, or may rest her left hand on an anchor.

Liberalitas (Severus
Alexander)

Libertas (Claudius)

Moneta (Domitian)

Liberalitas. Liberality. Holds tessera (or abacus) and cornucopiae.

Libertas (Eleutheria). Freedom, Liberty. Holds pileus (conical hat) and sceptre.

Moneta. Mint, Money. Holds scales and cornucopiae. Sometimes represented as the Three Monetae (gold, silver and *aes*), each with a pile of metal (or coins) at her feet.

Nobilitas (Geta)

Ops (Antoninus Pius)

Pax (Severus
Alexander)

Nobilitas. Nobility, High Birth. Holds Palladium and sceptre.

Ops. Power, Prosperity, Aid. Holds sceptre or corn-ears. [Confined to the coinages of Antoninus Pius and Pertinax].

Patientia. Endurance, Patience. Holds sceptre.

Pax (Eirene). Peace. Holds olive-branch and sceptre, cornucopiae or caduceus.

Pietas (Julia Maesa)

Providentia (Caracalla)

Pudicitia (Herennia Etruscilla)

Pietas (Eusebeia). Piety, Dutifulness. Often veiled, holds patera and sceptre; sometimes shown sacrificing at an altar and holding a box of incense.

> *'Roman piety unites in one whole, reverence for the gods, devotion to the Emperor, affection between the Augusti or between the Augustus and the people, tenderness of parents to sons, respect or affectionate care of the latter for their parents, and in general, love of one's neighbour, or in one word Religion'* (Gnecchi).

Providentia (Pronoia). Foreseeing. Holds rod, with which she sometimes points to a globe at her feet, and sceptre. In the 3rd century she is often shown holding the globe. The legend may also accompany types which express the concept of *providentia* in more symbolic ways.

Pudicitia. Modesty, Chastity. Holds sceptre and is usually veiled.

Salus (Maximinus I)

Securitas (Antoninus Pius)

Salus (Hygieia). Health, Safety, Welfare. Holds sceptre and patera from which she feeds a snake coiled round an altar; or holds the snake in her arms and feeds it from the patera.

Securitas. Security, Confidence. Holds patera or sceptre, and may be depicted leaning on a column, legs crossed; sometimes sits back at ease in a chair.

Spes (Claudius)

Uberitas (Trajan Decius)

Victoria (Antoninus Pius)

Spes (Elpis). Hope. Holds flower, and is usually shown walking and slightly raising the drapery of her dress behind.

Uberitas *or* **Ubertas.** Fruitfulness, Abundance. Holds cornucopiae and purse or bunch of grapes (possibly even a cow's udder).

Victoria (Nike). Victory. Winged, holding a wreath and a palm; may be shown with a shield, which she sometimes inscribes, or erecting a trophy.

MALE

Bonus Eventus (Antoninus Pius)

Genius (Hadrian)

Bonus Eventus. Good Outcome. Holds patera over altar, and cornucopiae.

Genius. Spirit. Holds patera and cornucopiae, sometimes with altar at feet. Most frequently appears as Genius of the Roman People (GENIVS POPVLI ROMANI), but is represented in a variety of other forms, such as Genius of the Senate (bearded and togate), Genius of the Emperors (and Caesars), and Genius of the Army (with military standard). In the early 4th century he sometimes holds the head of Serapis.

Honos (Marcus Aurelius)

Virtus (Hadrian)

Honos. Honour. Holds olive-branch or sceptre and cornucopiae. Sometimes appears in association with another male personification, Virtus.

Virtus. Valour, Bravery. Usually depicted in complete armour, holding Victory or parazonium and spear, or with spear and shield. Sometimes appears in association with another male personification, Honos.

It should be emphasized that the foregoing notes do not pretend to do anything like justice to the subject, about which, indeed, a lengthy book could be written. It is hoped, however, that the information provided, although brief, will be found of interest and may lead collectors of the series to study the subject in more detailed works.

II. REPRESENTATIONS OF THE EMPEROR AND HIS FAMILY

In addition to monopolizing the obverses of Roman Imperial coins, the emperors and their families also make frequent appearances as reverse types.

Agrippa as a reverse type of Augustus

Nero on horseback

Augustus set the precedent by authorizing his representation as the victor of Actium and conqueror of Egypt riding in a triumphal quadriga on the reverse of a denarius issued in the autumn of 30 BC. Several other types of Augustus followed during his long reign, including several of 13 BC depicting both the emperor and his trusted friend and colleague, Marcus Agrippa. With the exception of Tiberius, the Julio-Claudian emperors made increasingly frequent appearances on the

reverses of their coins. Nero, the last representative of the dynasty, is depicted distributing gifts to the people, haranguing his troops, taking part in military exercises on horseback, and even singing to his own accompaniment on a lyre, in the guise of Apollo.

Titus in triumphal procession

Domitian sacrificing during Secular Games

In the Flavian period, Vespasian and Titus appear most frequently in connection with two main themes – the quelling of the Jewish Revolt and the recovery of the Roan State following the Civil Wars of AD 68–69. Vespasian is shown raising a kneeling female figure (the State) on one of his *aurei*, and both father and son are depicted riding in their chariots in the triumphal procession which celebrated the victory in Judaea. Domitian appears as conqueror of the German tribes on a *sestertius* which shows him standing in military attire, a personification of the Rhine reclining at his feet. This emperor's most interesting appearances, however, are in connection with the Secular Games of AD 88, when he is depicted as a participant in various ceremonies, often with the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus as a backdrop.

Hadrian arriving in Mauretania

Antoninus Pius crowning the king of Armenia

The Golden Age of Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonine emperors produced a great variety of interesting reverse types depicting the emperor. Trajan, the great warrior, is shown at full gallop thrusting his spear at a Dacian enemy, whilst Hadrian's famous peregrinations spanning his vast Empire are fully documented on the coinage. Antoninus' stature as a statesmen is suitably illustrated by a *sestertius* which shows a togate figure of the emperor in the act of creating a new king of Armenia by placing a diadem on the head of the monarch. With the recurrence of bitter frontier wars under Marcus Aurelius, he, and his co-emperor Lucius Verus, are frequently depicted in military scenes. One type shows Aurelius standing amidst four standards, whilst on a coin of Verus the emperor spears a fallen eastern enemy as he gallops past. The first joint reign in the history of the Empire is commemorated by a type showing togate figures of the two emperors clasping right hands.

The megalomania of Commodus is quite evident on several of his reverse types, as well as on the obverses which show his head clad in the lion's skin of Hercules. A type common to both

sestertius and *as* feature the emperor dressed as a priest and ploughing with a yoke of two oxen, symbolic of his insane notion to refound the city of Rome and give to it the new name of *Colonia Lucia Antoniniana Commodiana*.

Elagabalus as priest of the sun-god

Severus Alexander in consular procession

The military anarchy which crippled the Empire for a large part of the 3rd century led to a decline in the representation of the emperor in any guise other than as commander-in-chief of the armed forces. Septimius Severus is shown togate, as *Fundator Pacis* ('Founder of the Peace'), on one type, but he and his sons usually appear in scenes of military significance. Elagabalus, who was far from being a soldier, is often depicted in his role as Chief-Priest of the Syrian Sun-God, providing a brief interlude in this martial period. Elagabalus' cousin and successor, Severus Alexander, wears the civilian toga while sacrificing over a tripod-altar, but most of his representations are military in character. Over the next few decades the Roman citizen, observing the reverses of the coins he handled, saw his ruler represented only in a few rather stereotyped poses, usually standing in military attire or mounted on horseback. Few other types break the monotony, although Gallienus, the type content of whose coinage is generally more interesting than that of other emperors of the period, is depicted in a greater variety of poses. In one of these, he raises a kneeling figure representing the Gallic provinces. Soon after this type was struck, however, the region was lost by Gallienus to the usurper Postumus and remained independent of the central government for the following fourteen years.

Magnus Maximus and Flavius Victor enthroned

Arcadius trampling on captive

Towards the end of the 3rd century successive emperors were often shown receiving a figure of Victory from the hands of Jupiter and this type continued in use into the early years of the 4th century. With the adoption of Christianity by Constantine and the subsequent slow demise of pagan traditions coin types in general became more limited in number and monotonous in content. The emperor usually appears as the champion of the new faith, holding a labarum (Christian standard) and a figure of Victory (which was now becoming equated with the Christian Angel). The Victory-Angel also appears on a series of later 4th century post-Constantinian gold *solidi*, hovering

between two emperors enthroned side by side. By this time the Empire had become more or less permanently divided into eastern and western halves, with at least two emperors reigning simultaneously.

The grandsons of Augustus

The sisters of Caligula

Representations of empresses and princes (and in a few rare instances deceased parents) as reverse types occur throughout most of the period, although there were very few Imperial heirs (as opposed to youthful co-emperors) after the Caesarship of Julian II (AD 355–60). In the early Empire, the emperor's relatives appeared most often on the reverses of his own coins, as their own coinages were very small, where they existed at all. Thus, we see Gaius and Lucius Caesars standing side by side on the reverse of their grandfather Augustus' most prolific issue of *aurei* and *denarii*, and the Empress Livia seated on the reverse of her son Tiberius' principal precious metal type (the 'Tribute Penny' of the Bible). Caligula, on one of his *sestertii*, has a most interesting reverse type depicting his three sisters, Agrippina, Drusilla and Julia. On the reverses of some of his *aurei* and *denarii* Claudius featured the portraits of his fourth wife, Agrippina, and his step-son, Nero; whilst the brief reign of Vitellius in AD 69 produced several interesting family types depicting the emperor's young children and his deceased father, the celebrated Lucius Vitellius.

Hostilian as 'Prince of the Youth'

Faustina Junior as 'Mother of the Camps'

From the Flavian period, the princes (or 'Caesars') began issuing substantial coinages in their own right, and from the early part of the 2nd century the empresses also were given a much larger share of the total output of the mint. The Caesars, where they appear on the reverses of their own coins, are usually represented as 'Prince of the Youth' (PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS). The Caesar Marcus Aurelius, who served an unprecedented term of over two decades as heir under Antoninus Pius (AD 139–161) was accorded an extensive coinage of his own, and additionally his head appears as the reverse type on a whole range of denominations of Antoninus himself. Empresses appear in a variety of roles as reverse types, often in the guise of some female deity. Faustina Junior, wife of

Marcus Aurelius, features on a number of types as 'Mother of the Camps' (MATER CASTRORVM), a reference to her devotion to the interests of the soldiers during her husband's arduous military campaigns, the hardships of many of which she shared. Another reverse type seen frequently on the coinages of empresses, particularly in the early decades of the 3rd century, shows the Augusta and the Augustus clasping hands, often in commemoration of the actual imperial nuptials.

Septimius Severus and his family

Before closing this brief survey of imperial representations as reverse types, mention should be made of the uniquely extensive series of 'dynastic coins' issued under Septimius Severus (AD 193–211). These depict his wife, Julia Domna, his daughter-in-law, Plautilla, and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, as well as himself. All these pieces are in the *aureus* and *denarius* denominations and all are rare or very rare. The obverses usually show a single bust, though occasionally two are represented, whilst the reverses have one, two, or even three imperial portraits. Perhaps the most celebrated coin in this series is the *aureus* of Severus issued in AD 201 displaying as its reverse type a remarkable facing portrait of the empress between the confronted busts of her two sons. But despite the seeming promise of continuity, this phase of the Severan dynasty was destined to be extinct within a mere sixteen years of this issue.

III. TYPES OF MILITARY CONQUEST AND VICTORY

During the five centuries of its existence the Roman Empire was involved in numerous wars and campaigns, some expansionist, some defensive, and some domestic. Many of these were commemorated on the coinage, one of the earliest instances being a type of Octavian (Augustus) with crocodile reverse and legend AEGYPTO CAPTA. This refers to the defeat of Antony and Cleopatra in 30 BC and the subsequent annexation of the former Ptolemaic kingdom to the Empire of Rome.

Claudius triumphing for his British conquest

Captive Judaea (Vespasian)

Captive Germania (Domitian)

The invasion of Britain in AD 43 was well recorded on the gold and silver coinage of Claudius, with a type depicting the arch erected in Rome to commemorate the conquest. The great Jewish Revolt, which began under Nero in AD 66, was a serious embarrassment to the Romans, coming, as it did, at a time of acute political upheaval in the Empire which saw the rapid succession of four

emperors during the years AD 68 and 69. The rebellion in Judaea was actually crushed by the general Vespasian and his son Titus who used their success in this campaign to seize the Imperial throne and establish a new dynasty, the Flavian. Vespasian gave great publicity to his victory in the East on a large output of coins in all metals, known collectively as the 'Judaea Capta' series. One of the commonest types appears on *aurei* and *denarii* and depicts a captive Judaea seated at the foot of a Roman trophy. The German wars of Vespasian's younger son, Domitian, are also commemorated by a large number of types, one of which shows a female German captive in despair seated upon a shield.

Captive Dacia
(Trajan)

Captive
Armenia
(Lucius Verus)

Pile of Sarmatian arms
(Marcus Aurelius)

Trajan's expansionist policy in the early 2nd century led to prolonged campaigns in several widely separated theatres of war. Undoubtedly, his greatest achievement was the conquest of Dacia. This received considerable publicity on the coinage, with no fewer than twelve main types alluding to the event. The eastern wars of AD 163–5 also received extensive notice on the coinages of the joint emperors Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus. A notable type in this series shows captive Armenia seated amidst arms. Much of the final decade of Aurelius' rule was taken up with warfare on the harsh northern frontier, and a *sestertius* struck in AD 177 depicts a large pile of arms, symbolic of the successful conclusion of the German and Sarmatian Wars.

Commemoration of victory in northern Britain (Caracalla) and in Germany (Maximinus I)

Septimius Severus' numerous campaigns in both the East and West are well documented on the Imperial coinage, but perhaps the series of greatest interest to British students is the one which commemorates the events of AD 208–11. During this period Severus and his elder son Caracalla campaigned on the northern frontier in Britain and restored Hadrian's Wall, which appears to have suffered damage in the troubled period more than a decade before. Caracalla's Parthian 'war' received some notice on the coinage, and even Macrinus' inglorious encounter with Artaban of Parthia was celebrated as a VICTORIA PARTHICA on coins of all metals. More deserving of

commemoration were Maximinus' victories in Germany in AD 235 and *aes* of the following year shows the emperor being crowned by Victory.

The second half of the 3rd century was a disastrous period for Roman arms, with large parts of the Empire succumbing to foreign attack and much of what remained being rent by internal rebellion. Miraculously, however, the situation was restored by a succession of short-lived but very strong military rulers, known collectively as the 'Illyrian' emperors, foremost amongst whom were Claudius Gothicus (AD 268–70), Aurelian (270–75) and Probus (276–82). A coin of this period struck by Aurelian's ephemeral successor, Tacitus, celebrates a victory over the Goths with the inscription VICTORIA GOTTHI.

Victory over the Goths (Tacitus)

Captive Alamanni (Crispus)

In the 4th century commemorative reverse types became increasingly rare. One of the last to be issued depicts a personification of the Alamanni (a confederation of Germanic tribes) seated in captivity at the foot of a trophy. This appears on a gold *solidus* of Crispus Caesar, eldest son of Constantine, issued at Trier in AD 319–20. The young prince had led a successful campaign against the Alamanni in 318. A similar contemporary type bears the legend FRANCIA instead of ALAMANNIA and records success against the Franci (Franks), another Germanic people who were later to conquer Gaul and give it the name of France.

IV. LEGIONARY TYPES, ETC

The 'legionary' series forms a compact group within the Roman coinage, most of it having being issued by just five rulers over a period of about 325 years, from the battle of Actium to the late 3rd century AD. Those of Mark Antony (issued 32–31 BC) and Septimius Severus (AD 193) are similar in that both have the same basic reverse type – a legionary eagle between two standards. In contrast, the later 3rd century issues of Gallienus, Victorinus and Carausius interestingly bear the actual badges of the various legions, e.g. a lion for the *IIII Flavia* and a capricorn for the *XXII Primigenia*. The primary reason for the issue of these exceptional types was to inspire the loyalty of the troops whose legions were being honoured. Curiously, in some cases those troops appear not to have been under the command of the emperor issuing the coins. In such instances it must be assumed that what we are seeing is a very artful use of the propaganda value of the coinage, *i.e.* an attempt to win over the loyalty of an opponent's army by means of flattery.

Standards of Legio XIV Gemina (Severus)

Badge of Legio XXII Primigenia (Gallienus)

Another series of exceptional interest is the 'Army' coinage produced by Hadrian (AD 117–38) in the closing years of his reign. This honoured the army comprising the legionary garrison of each military province (EXERC BRITANNICVS, EXERCITVS SYRIACVS, etc.) and was mostly confined to the large *sestertius* denomination. It was connected with the emperor's keen interest in the military establishment, and in particular the strengthening of the defences of the frontier regions (the policy which led to the construction of Hadrian's Wall in Britain and the German *limes*). These coins, all of which are very rare today, depict the emperor addressing his soldiers from a platform, or saluting them whilst mounted on horseback. Related types of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius refer to military discipline and are inscribed DISCIPLINA AVG.

In addition to calls for allegiance and discipline aimed at specific legions and armies there were also pleas for loyalty addressed to the military in general. This sometimes came at times when that loyalty was in doubt. Thus, on coins of Nerva (AD 96–8), whose brief regime was very unpopular with the soldiers, we see clasped hands holding a legionary eagle set on a prow, accompanied by the legend CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM; whilst much later, the short-lived Gallic usurper Marius (AD 268) used a similar type on his coinage, though on this occasion clasped hands only were shown encircled by the legend CONCORDIA MILITVM. The 'valour of the soldiers' (VIRTVS MILITVM) was proclaimed on a large issue of silver *argentei*, or *siliquae*, issued under the rulers of the First Tetrarchy at the end of the 3rd century; and the 'renown of the army' (GLORIA EXERCITVS) was celebrated on an extensive series of small billon *centenionales* introduced in the closing phase of Constantine's reign and carried on for some years after his death by his sons.

Appeal for loyalty to the military (Nerva)

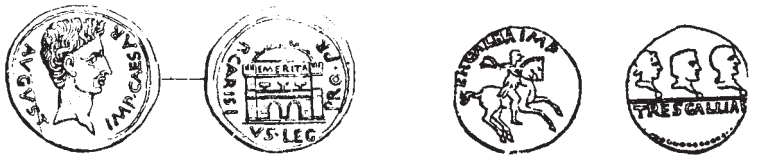
Captured German shields (Domitian)

Many other types of military and naval significance may be found amongst the reverses of the Roman coinage. Noteworthy are a *denarius* of Octavian (Augustus) displaying a naval trophy; a *dupondius* of Domitian depicting two German shields crossed over a vexillum, trumpets and spears; and a coin of Trajan, of the same denomination, with a fine representation of a cuirass (body-armour). Naval power, in the form of a war-galley, was featured in the later 3rd century on coins of the Gallic usurper Postumus and on those of the British usurpers Carausius and Allectus.

V. GEOGRAPHICAL TYPES

The Roman Empire was a unique association of peoples and cultures, such as the Mediterranean World had never seen before and has not witnessed since. What had formerly been a patchwork of Hellenistic monarchies, independent city states and Celtic tribes was miraculously transformed by the genius of Rome and her code of laws into one great political entity, and held together not so much by force of arms as by the *Pax Romana*.

Female personifications of many of the provinces within this vast State were depicted on several coin series during the Imperial period, and even particular cities and rivers receive occasional notice (the latter normally appearing as a bearded male figure in a reclining attitude).



Denarii of Augustus and Galba featuring the city of Emerita and heads of the 'Three Gauls'

An early *denarius* of Augustus' reign shows the city gate and defensive walls of *Emerita* in Spain, a colony which was founded in 25 BC and populated by Roman soldiers whose term of service had expired (*emeritus*). Galba, in AD 68, issued a remarkable type showing three small female heads accompanied by the legend TRES GALLIAE. These represented the three great divisions of the province of Gaul – Narbonensis, Aquitania and Lugdunensis –in recognition of the support which he received from the western provinces during his revolt against Nero's tyrannical rule. Dacia, the province added to the Empire by Trajan, is commemorated on *sestertii* and *dupondii* of that emperor, identified by the legend DACIA AVGVST PROVINCIA. The type shows Dacia seated on a rock, accompanied by two children, symbolic of future generations of Dacians who could now look forward to an era of peace under the protection of omnipotent Rome.

Germany, Cappadocia, Egypt and the Nile, all featured on the coinage of Hadrian

The coinage of Hadrian provides us with a far more complete geographical survey of the Roman World than that of any other emperor. His extensive travels all over his vast Empire were commemorated on several remarkable series of coins, mostly issued towards the end of his reign when he had finally returned to Italy. In addition to honouring most of the provinces, two cities (Alexandria and Nicomedia) receive special attention, as does the River Nile (NILVS). The following is a list of the provinces whose personifications appear on Hadrian's coinage: Britain; Spain; Gaul; Germany; Italy; Sicily; Noricum; Dacia; Macecdonia; Moesia; Thrace; Achaea; Asia; Bithynia; Phrygia; Cilicia; Cappadocia; Judaea; Arabia; Egypt; Africa; Mauretania.

Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, also issued a 'provincial' series of coins, in this case to celebrate the remission of half of the *aurum coronarium* ('crown-gold'). This was a demand made by the emperor on the communities of the Empire (and sometimes even on foreign states) at the time of his accession and on certain anniversaries of his rule. Antoninus' remission of half of this burdensome tax at the time he came to the throne was greeted with much enthusiasm and led to the production of an extensive series of *aes* coinage depicting crown-bearing personifications of various provinces (and even of the Parthian kingdom). The advancement of the Roman frontier in Britain to the line of the new Antonine Wall prompted the issue of several attractive Britannia types on *sestertii* of AD 143. This was followed more than a decade later by another type (mostly on *asses*) depicting the personification of the island province in an attitude of dejection and commemorating the quelling of a serious tribal uprising. An elegant personification of Italy, seated on a globe, appeared on a variety of denominations in AD 140, possibly in anticipation of the celebration of Rome's 900th anniversary in 147.

Britannia and Asia on sestertii of Antoninus Pius

Geographical types are less commonly encountered on coins struck in the second half of the 2nd century. Marcus Aurelius has an *as* showing a reclining figure of the River Tiber, whilst Commodus issued two *sestertius* types, one with Italia seated on a large globe, the other a very rare depiction of a standing Britannia. At the very end of the century, Clodius Albinus, in rebellion against Septimius Severus, struck a *denarius* featuring the Genius of the City of Lugdunum in Gaul.

Genius of Lugdunum (Clodius Albinus)

Dacia and the Pannoniae on sestertii of Trajan Decius

During the course of the 3rd century there was a continued decline in the frequency of geographical references on the Imperial coinage. Septimius Severus makes mention of Italy, Africa and Carthage, and half-way through the century Trajan Decius honours the provinces of Dacia and the two Pannoniae with standing figures of their personifications. Dacia appears again on coins of Claudius Gothicus and Aurelian, and the Pannonian provinces are commemorated by Quintillus, Aurelian and Julian. The city of Siscia receives special notice on *antoniniani* of both Gallienus and Probus, and a reclining figure of the Rhine is depicted on coins of the Gallic usurper Postumus. Britannia makes her final appearance on the Roman coinage clasping hands with the late 3rd century rebel Carausius, who had succeeded in temporarily detaching the island-province from the rule of the central government.

The late Roman coinage of the 4th and 5th centuries contain very few geographical references amongst their reverse types. Africa and Carthage occur on *folles* of several of the emperors and usurpers in the early years of the century, and one of the last types of any geographical significance is found on the Constantinopolitan silver and billon coinage of the unfortunate young prince Hanniballianus (AD 335–7). This shows a reclining figure of the river-god Euphrates and its appearance at this time is made all the more remarkable by comparison with the general lack of imagination being shown in the selection of reverse types in the closing years of Constantine's reign.

Africa (Diocletian)

The Euphrates
(Hanniballianus)

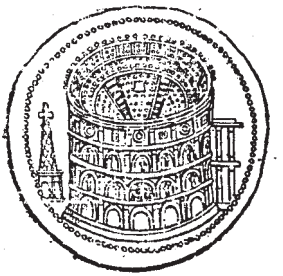
VI. ARCHITECTURAL TYPES

The Romans were great builders, a fact attested by the many splendid examples of their architecture which are still to be seen in countries all over the Mediterranean World and in northern Europe. Many of the emperors took a special pride in adorning the capital, and other cities, with edifices which were not only functional (such as the great market of Nero and Trajan's *Basilica Ulpia*), but often possessed considerable architectural merit as well. Doubtless, Rome's autocrats were also well aware of the excellent potential for long-term survival of such structures and saw them as a means of perpetuating their prestige in people's minds. A number of these buildings were displayed on the coins (usually at the time of their construction or renovation) and these reverse types form one of the most sought-after groups within the Roman coinage.

Augustus issued a number of architectural types, a very early example being the temple of Divus Julius depicted on *aurei* and *denarii* of 36 BC, when the building was still under construction. Also appearing on his pre-27 BC coinage is a representation of the *Curia Julia* (the Senate House in the Forum) which was dedicated by Augustus on 28 August 29 BC. On the later Augustan coinage a variety of architectural types are featured, mostly on *denarii*: these include the *Arcus Augusti*, which replaced the earlier Actian arch; the temples of Jupiter Tonans and of Mars Ultor (both on the Capitol); the *Porta Fontinalis* and part of Rome's Servian Wall; and another depiction of a city-gate and defensive walls, this time of the colonial foundation of Emerita in Spain. The celebrated Altar of Lugdunum, dedicated by the emperor in 10 BC, forms the sole reverse type of the Lugdunese *aes* coinage which was produced in considerable quantity in the latter part of the reign.

Temple of Divus
Julius (Octavian)

The 'Twin Janus' (Nero)



The Colosseum (Titus)

As one of his *sestertius* types Tiberius has a depiction of the temple of Concord in the Forum. This building was used to house antique sculpture and is shown adorned with a variety of statues. Caligula features an elaborate representation of the temple of Divus Augustus, also on a *sestertius*; whilst Claudius shows the arch spanning the *Via Flaminia* which was constructed to commemorate

his conquest of Britain. Nero, last of the Julio-Claudian emperors, has a number of architectural types which are depicted principally on his handsome *aes* coinage: the *Macellum Magnum*, or Great Market, which was completed in AD 59; the celebrated *Ianus Geminus* ('Twin Janus'), the doors of which were closed with great ceremony to celebrate peace throughout the Empire; an elaborate arch which has since disappeared without trace, probably the one erected to commemorate Corbulo's eastern victories; a remarkable aerial view of the harbour of Ostia, improved under Claudius and Nero; and (on precious metal only) the domed temple of Vesta in the Forum, restored by Nero following its destruction in the great fire of AD 64.

Later emperors eagerly continued the tradition of architectural reverse types. The great Flavian Amphitheatre, known today as the Colosseum, appears on a *sestertius* of Titus under whom the famous edifice was completed and dedicated. A *cistophorus* of Domitian shows the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, together with the legend CAPIT RESTIT, a reference to that emperor's rebuilding of the famous temple following the devastating fire of AD 80. Domitian also has a rare series of *denarii* depicting various temples, identified by Hill as those of Serapis, Cybele, Minerva Chalcidica, and Jupiter Victor, in addition to the Capitoline temple itself. Trajan's coinage has many types of architectural interest, such as the Circus Maximus, restored by Trajan *circa* AD 103; Trajan's celebrated Forum and Basilica; Trajan's Column, erected to commemorate the conquest of Dacia; the 'Danube' bridge (in all probability the *Pons Sublicius* in Rome); a triumphal arch inscribed I O M; and two octastyle temples, one of which may be that of Divus Nerva.

Trajan's Column (Trajan)

The 'Danube' bridge (Trajan)

Temple of Roma (Antoninus Pius)

The great temple of Venus and Roma, designed by Hadrian himself, appears both on the coinage of its architect's reign and on that of his successor, Antoninus Pius, under whom it was completed. Antoninus also depicts the temple of Divus Augustus, in commemoration of his restoration of the famous edifice (now disappeared without trace). The temple which Antoninus built in honour of his wife Faustina (later dedicated to his memory also) is shown on *denarii* of the deified empress. The ruins of the shell of this structure, enclosing the church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda, are still to be seen in the Roman Forum. A temple of Mercury, of very unusual form, appears on a *sestertius* of Marcus Aurelius, accompanied by the legend RELIG AVG; whilst a coin of Commodus of the same denomination features a distyle shrine of Janus.

The famous Arch of Severus, which still stands in all its ancient majesty in the Roman Forum, is depicted on the coinages of both Septimius and Caracalla. A representation of the Circus Maximus, very similar to the one of Trajan, occurs also on *sestertii* of Caracalla struck in AD 213 to commemorate yet another restoration of the structure. Under Severus Alexander several fine architectural types appear, including the Colosseum on an *aureus* and *aes* of AD 223; the Nymphaeum (a monumental fountain at the terminal of the *Aqua Alexandrina*) the ruins of which may still be seen in the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II; and a very elaborate depiction of the Temple of Jupiter Ultor (or Victor).

Throughout the remainder of the 3rd century architectural reverses occur rather less frequently and are confined in the main to conventional representations of temples, often containing a statue

Temple of Faustina (Faustina Senior)

Circus Maximus (Caracalla)

Temple of Juno Martialis (Volusian)

of Roma. Exceptions to this include a very interesting circular temple dedicated to Juno Martialis, appearing on coins of Trebonianus Gallus and his son Volusian; and a triumphal arch on *aes* of the Gallic usurper Postumus.

With the advent of Christianity as the official state religion in the early part of the 4th century pagan temple types disappear entirely from the coinage. The only subsequent reverses which have any claim to be architectural are the 'camp gate' types, usually on small billon and bronze denominations of the Constantinian era and later; the plan of a military camp on billon *centenionales* of Thessalonica; a bridge over a river on a reduced *centenionalis* of Constantinople; and a distyle shrine with arched roof which occurs on silver *miliarenses* under a number of emperors from Constantine to Valentinian and Valens.

VII. ANIMALS, ETC

For several centuries before the rise of Rome there had been a tradition of featuring animals, birds, fish and insects (as well as various mythological beasts) on the coinages of many of the Greek city-states. Rome inherited this tradition, and although the representation of fauna is less frequent and varied than on coins of the Greek series, they nevertheless form a most appealing group within the Roman coinage.

Crocodile and heifer on the coinage of Augustus

Capricorn (Vespasian)

Eagle (Domitian)

Crocodile, heifer, bull, wild boar, lion attacking stag, eagle, crab and butterfly, capricorn, Pegasus and Sphinx all appear on the coinage of Augustus, who was the inheritor of the late Republican tradition of great diversity in the selection of coin types. However, during the course of his long reign that tradition was gradually superseded by a more conservative approach to the type content of the new Imperial coinage. Accordingly, the coinages of the later Julio-Claudian emperors feature virtually no representations of animals, other than the elephants drawing the car of

Divus Augustus on a *sestertius* issued by Tiberius, and the eagle appearing on the reverse of a Divus Augustus *as*. The Flavian revival of earlier coin types led to a reintroduction of the tradition of animal depiction on the Imperial coinage. A particularly interesting reverse of this period shows a goat being milked by a goat-herd and another has a sow with its young.

Sow (Antoninus Pius)

In the 2nd century the Pegasus and the griffin appear on several *aes* denominations of Hadrian, whilst his successor Antoninus Pius struck *asses* showing an elephant and a sow suckling its young beneath an oak tree, both types probably having reference to the celebrations connected with the 900th anniversay of the foundation of Rome. An attractive representation of a dove appears on an *aureus* of Antoninus' daughter, the younger Faustina, and elephants occur on an *as* of Commodus and a *denarius* of Septimius Severus.

Elephant, lion and stag on the coinage of Philip I

Hippopotamus
(Otacilia Severa)

The 'king of beasts' is depicted on the coinage of Caracalla, wearing a radiate crown and holding a thunderbolt in its jaws, and several decades later the lion reappears as part of the 'Saeculares' series of Philip I. Similarly, the elephant was popular as a coin type during the first half of the 3rd century, appearing on pieces of Caracalla, Geta, and Philip I. To celebrate Rome's thousandth anniversary in AD 247–8 Philip I staged magnificent games in which many wild beasts were exhibited in the arena of the Colosseum. This resulted in a series of coins featuring the hippopotamus, antelope, stag, and goat, in addition to the lion already mentioned. The city's emblem, the she-wolf suckling the twins Romulus and Remus, also appears as part of this series.

A few years later, during the sole reign of Gallienus (AD 260–68), an extensive series of 'animal' reverses was featured on the debased *antoninianus* denomination. Subsequent to this date such types appear far less frequently and are, in the main, restricted to the 'legionary badge' issues of the usurpers Victorinus in Gaul and Carausius in Britain. The charismatic British usurper also has types showing the milking of a cow, a griffin, and the traditional wolf and twins device.

In the late Empire, the wolf and twins appear on coins of another usurper, Maxentius (AD 306–12), whose policy was to try to revive the past glories of the Imperial capital; and several decades later on small billon pieces (reduced *centenionales*) of the time of Constantine and his successors. In the mid-4th century a phoenix is shown on *half maiorinae* of Constantius II and

Phoenix (Constans)

Bull (Julian II)

Constans; and a very fine representation of a bull, sometimes accompanied by an eagle, occurs on large billon pieces of Julian II towards the end of his short reign (AD 360–63). One of the last animal representations on the Roman coinage is on a tiny bronze *nummus* of the eastern Emperor Leo I (AD 457–74) where a lion appears as a punning allusion to the emperor's name.

VIII. TYPES OF PROPAGANDA

There can be little doubt that the emperors of Rome were fully aware of the value of the Imperial coinage as a tool of propaganda, it being one of the most effective means of mass communication available to them. Everyone, from the provincial governor down to the peasant working the land, was likely to take notice of the ever-changing messages appearing as reverse types on the money which they were daily handling. The government of the day was thus able to present itself and its achievements in surprising detail to almost all of the inhabitants of the vast Empire. However, as it was a means of communication on which the government had a complete monopoly, the propaganda sometimes only told half the truth or was even, on occasions, a complete misrepresentation of reality.

A very large proportion of reverses could be included under the heading of 'Types of Propaganda'. Even the ubiquitous personifications were often intended to proclaim the virtues of the emperor or the good fortune of the age which was lucky enough to witness his enlightened rule. In this brief survey, therefore, mention is made only of those types which have a specific message to convey regarding the wisdom, beneficence and achievements of the emperor.

Augustus early established the propaganda role for the Imperial coinage when he gave extensive coverage to his victory over Cleopatra's Egyptian kingdom which left him sole master of the State and provided the financial resources to carry through his program of reforms. A decade later he produced a whole range of types on his precious metal coinage designed to extract the maximum publicity value from his great diplomatic achievement which led to the restoration in 20 BC of the Roman standards of Crassus and Antony captured years before by the Parthians.

An elegant *sestertius* type of Tiberius proclaims the munificence of the emperor in a reference to the restoration, at his own expense, of several cities in western Asia Minor which had been badly damaged by a severe earthquake in AD 17. Nero publicized his care for the annual corn supply from Egypt on a very attractive *sestertius* type showing an artistic grouping of Annona standing before a seated Ceres, with a ship's stern in the background. The enlightenment and benevolence of Nerva's brief rule is amply attested by his choice of coin types. One *sestertius* shows two mules and a cart, with a legend referring to the measures taken by the emperor to transfer the cost of Imperial posting on the main roads in Italy from the taxpayer to the exchequer. Another represents a distribution scene, or *Congiarium*, depicting the emperor bestowing gifts on the citizenry; whilst others commemorate a special distribution of corn to the urban poor, and the correction of abuses in the collection of the poll tax levied on Jews (*fiscus Iudaicus*).

Restoration of the Roman standards (Augustus)

Care for Rome's corn supply (Nero)

Funding of Imperial posting, corn distribution to the poor, and reform of Jewish poll tax, all on sestertii of Nerva

A further example of the humanitarianism of this period is to be found on coins of Trajan publicizing the *Alimenta* system. Under this scheme wealthy philanthropists (including emperors from the time of Nerva) made substantial gifts to communities, both in Italy and the provinces, for the purpose of providing sustenance for needy children through agricultural investment. Trajan's successor, Hadrian, in an attempt to gain popularity after having come to the throne under somewhat dubious circumstances, made a grand gesture of cancelling all debts due to the state treasury – a sum equivalent to many millions of pounds. Not surprisingly, this extraordinary act of liberality received full publicity on the coinage, with a remarkable *sestertius* type showing a lictor setting fire to a heap of documents in the presence of three joyful citizens. The notes and bonds were, in fact, publicly destroyed in Trajan's Forum. The orphanage for girls which Antoninus Pius founded in honour of his deceased wife (*Puellae Faustinianae*) is recorded on posthumous *aurei* and *denarii* of Faustina Senior. Antoninus' great stature as a statesman is portrayed on a *sestertius* type where he is shown bestowing a new king on the Quadi, a barbarian tribe who inhabited territory on the left bank of the Danube.

In addition to those already mentioned there are so many other examples of propaganda types on the Roman Imperial coinage that it is simply not possible to do justice to the topic in an article of this scope. It is hoped, however, that many readers will be sufficiently stimulated to pursue on their own the study of this fascinating subject. In the later period the types are generally of a less specific nature, as typified by the *antoniniani* of the joint Emperors Balbinus and Pupienus (AD 238). These all feature clasped right hands accompanied by one of six different forms of legend (e.g. AMOR MVTVVS AVG, CARITAS MVTVA AVGG, etc.) the common aim being to create a public impression of perfect harmony between the ill-matched and, ultimately, ill-fated rulers.