

ROMAN IMPERIAL COINAGE

VOLUME II
PART 3



SPINK

THE
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COINAGE

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THE
ROMAN IMPERIAL
COINAGE

VOLUME II – Part 3

FROM AD 117-138
HADRIAN

BY
R. A. ABDY

WITH A SECTION ON MEDALLIONS
BY
P. F. MITTAG

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GENERAL EDITORS' FOREWORD

The final volume of the *RIC* series was published in 1994. That was *RIC X*, by John Kent, which completed the series. But a series which began almost a century ago (in 1923) now needs revision, as our views on the coinage issued under the Roman authorities from 31 BC to AD 476 have changed, thanks to new discoveries and new research.

Before the series was completed, *RIC I* had already been revised, in 1984, by C. H. V. Sutherland, covering the Julio-Claudian period. *RIC II*, originally published in 1926 by H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, dealt with a long period from the accession of Vespasian (AD 69) to the death of Hadrian on July 10 138 at Baiae, *invisus omnibus* ('hated by all'). This volume, poorly illustrated, was also greatly in need of revision. I. A. Carradice and T. V. Buttrey published *RIC II.1*, the Flavian period, in 2007. The rest of the original Volume II will now follow in two further parts: *RIC II.2* (Nerva and Trajan) and *RIC II.3* (Hadrian). We are happy to announce that *RIC II, 3* is now ready for publication.

The late 20th and early 21st century explosion of information and material has resulted in a much larger bigger volume for Hadrian compared with the 1926 original, and his reign now fills a single *RIC* volume. With over 3000 entries, *RIC II.3* has tripled in size. The expansion of plates is even more dramatic: now over three and a half thousand coins are illustrated (compared to the inadequate 127 coins illustrated in the original *RIC!*). Moreover, the coinage is now presented within a firm chronology and type study, which support our modern understanding of the sequences of events during the reign.

The third volume of *Roman Provincial Coinage* was published only a few years ago (2015) and the two series are now aligned in such a way the cistophoric coinage can be omitted from *RIC II, 3* since they are clearly a provincial coinage, made far from Rome and intended specifically for provincial use. Some overlaps have, however, been retained,

for the sake of clarity and ease of reference, such as the small change produced at Rome for circulation in Syria and in some mining communities. The 'loss' of the cistophori is offset by the 'addition' of Roman medallions which were omitted in the first *RIC* edition (from now on, medallions will be regularly catalogued in the series). Hadrian's reign saw a step-change in the issue of medallions, and we are delighted to welcome the collaboration of P. F. Mittag, who has provided a revised English version of his corpus for this volume.

Overlap is better than omission, but readers will note that the anonymous quadrantes (produced from Domitian to Antoninus Pius) which were included in the old *RIC III*, have not yet been considered. The intention now is that they will be catalogued at the end of their period of issue, namely in a future revised edition of *RIC III.1*, Antoninus Pius.

A last word on the new format, which changed to the larger *RPC* format: it allows a text on two columns, more comfortable to read, and fewer plates to print. This volume will be easy to handle.

Finally, we can note that several more volumes are in active preparation, including II.2 by Bernhard Woytek, IV.3 by Roger Bland, V.4 (the Gallic Empire) by Jerome Mairat, V.5 (Carausius and Allectus) by Sam Moorhead and IX by David Wigg-Wolf. We are as ever grateful to Spink and especially Emma Howard, head of publications, for their long term commitment to the *RIC* project. It is also noteworthy that the typology of earlier published volumes of *Roman Imperial Coinage* is now available online via Online Coins of the Roman Empire (www.numismatics.org/ocre) through the kind offices of the American Numismatic Society. This is already proving highly productive in giving Roman imperial coinage a major role in current developments in digital numismatics. The online version does not, however, include any of the important introductory material for which readers will still rely on the published volumes.

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

The enduring utilitarian ethos of *RIC* is to be a type study intended to be consulted by scholars and collectors alike. This has served it in good stead as it has continued to be the dominant reference source for Roman imperial coinage for almost a century, even when some parts of the series have long become outdated. Hence the need for this completely revised edition of the coinage of Hadrian. As is expected of such a work, coins are presented in groupings whose production evolution can be explained in the introductory text, but these groupings are hopefully wide enough to make searching for the type as simple as possible. The indices are a vital (but frequently overlooked) tool in this pursuit. A full corpus of known specimens for this series would be impossibly unwieldy and a full die study is only presented for the medallions which were produced in far more limited numbers than the regular coinage. Nevertheless, the works of others in die linking parts of Hadrian's coinage is certainly drawn upon – I would especially like to thank Martin Beckmann who has been magnificently generous in making his aureus die study available in advance of his own publication. To go beyond *RIC*'s original intention of a type and variety corpus would have made this decade-long project (on and off according to the author's work schedule) even longer. Therefore it cannot match *RPC*'s intention to list all known specimens of a type, a system that allows for an absolute measure of frequency (the rarity of a particular type). Instead this volume of *RIC* must resort to the more rough and ready reckoning of frequency explained in the section: 'Notes on the use of this volume'. Rarity is estimated when possible with hoard evidence and much use is made of the extensive analytical work on denarius hoards of the period by William Metcalf who has most generously made it available for *RIC*. Beyond hoard evidence we must resort to the great corpus of Hadrian's imperial coinage produced by the inter-war period German scholar, Paul Strack which notes numbers of specimens found across a great many European collections. Therefore I feel fairly confident that the frequency suggested in this catalogue is a good guide which helps not just (most obviously) collectors but those trying to understand coin production. A frequency guide helps us to see phases which may have involved very few dies producing a wide variety of types over a short period, or provide insight on minor variations of a type as the idiosyncrasy of perhaps a single die, engraver errors or production errors (the latter being hybrid pairings of obverses and reverses from different series, groups or periods). Also, it follows with this more traditional *RIC* frequency system that the number of specimens referenced for each type here is usually lower than *RPC* III. Appropriate to the international mix making up *RIC*'s general editors there is also an *entente cordiale* for the collections cited. Both a London and a Paris specimen are cited if available since these core collections have the facilities to ensure maximum public accessibility (study room systems, collection catalogues produced or planned etc). I wish to thank *RIC*'s general editors who have been immensely

helpful and supportive in the creation of this work (plus the guidance of the wider *RIC* 'team' including Bernhard Woytek and Sam Moorhead. Special thanks also go to Graham Barker, Richard Beleson and Wayne Kimber as financial sponsors of the project, and I am also extremely grateful to funding bodies who have helped in the preparation of this work – the British Museum (Scholarly Publications Support Fund), Classical Numismatic Group LLC and the Royal Numismatic Society (Casey Fund). The inclusion of a staple London reference piece for each catalogue entry (if available) also provides a concordance with the *British Museum Catalogue* by Harold Mattingly, a later and improved version of his original *RIC* catalogue. (L. reference is analogous to *BMC* number unless it is a post-catalogue acquisition requiring a museum registration number.) For common types, London and Paris specimens might be all that are listed unless there is an exceptionally well preserved specimen from another collection which can be used in the plates. The wonderful collection (both in quality and extent) of Hadrian coinage in Vienna most often provides such an additional specimen and I pay tribute to the Herculean efforts of Klaus Vondrovec to make that collection available online.

In fact, many major collections across the world have made themselves available for this new *RIC*. I especially wish to thank those curators who have allowed the author to study those collections and/ or gain images and these colleagues are listed at the end of this preface. At the author's workplace, the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum, Rachel Wilkinson has patiently assembled the vital nuts and bolts of the book (including the painstaking and specialist task of indexing and concordance creation), and there are too many supportive BM colleagues to allow me to list in this preface but I salute them all!

Strack's assiduous work was one secret weapon that was not available to the authors of *RIC* II.1 who took more than two decades to produce their volume. Strack not only provided a ready-made platform on which to build *RIC* II.3, but was also useful in eliminating as many as possible of the 'phantoms' of old *RIC*. Such erroneous entries also had to be tackled in *RIC* II.1 whose preface cogently describes the dangers of their presence in legitimising 'specious material' or misleading scholarship. *RIC*'s first edition phantoms are noticeable in the Concordance at the end of this book and were mostly copied through from its 19th century predecessor, the multi-volume catalogue by H. Cohen. Another advantage available to the present author was this century's explosion of digital imagery made available via the internet. Certainly Strack or Mattingly could never have imagined perusing material from New York and Sydney at the click of a computer mouse! In fact, the authors of *RIC* II.1 were further disadvantaged as they were forced to pause and review as internet sources became available only in the final years of their project. Many sales and auctions of coinage are available online nowadays or eventually find their way onto compilation

sites, such as CoinArchives.com, Vcoins.com or beastcoins.com. There is also much sharing of information through online forums (notably forumancientcoins.com) and I am indebted to the generosity of the private collectors who have made their rare and choice specimens available here. Those that had wished to be named can be found in the collections part of the Abbreviations section, rather than naming them all here. Many have come forward at the instigation of the magisterial forum-presence of Curtis Clay. I have learned from his scholarship since the very beginning of my studies in numismatics and have tried to follow the Clay methodology as much as I am able and within the limitations of the *RIC* format. In this I am especially lucky to have a copy of his unpublished thesis, a corpus which has fixed the chronology of coinage types of the first part of the reign of Septimius Severus, shelved a few steps from my desk. Another example of online resource is the abundance of images from various collections in Europe and North America built around *RIC*, *Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE)*. It is also quite a good guide to the frequency of types as well as a rich source of images. I wish to acknowledge the web-hosts of *OCRE*, the American Numismatic Society. The third great advantage to embarking on a new Hadrian coin catalogue now lies with our far greater understanding of the chronology and events of Hadrian's reign that was simply unavailable half a century ago. As will be related in the introduction, the historical sources for such a grand reign are actually notable by their absence. However, a definitive chronology has been built up by the *Kaisertabelle* team in Germany and I would like to record my gratitude to Werner Eck of that project whose guidance has provided so much insight into the complexity of the subject.

In addition to the index, there is another tool that has become essential in a modern *RIC* in order to look up a coin type: (near) comprehensive illustration. *RIC* II.3's plates represent a 2,700% increase on the 127 coins of Hadrian illustrated in the original *RIC* (and many of these were only of the reverse) and were arranged by Heather Dewhurst. Finally, given my career-long familiarity with the first edition of *RIC*, it remains to be said that it was personally very satisfying to be able to present the coinage of Hadrian within a firm chronology and type study which

supports our modern understanding of the sequences of events during the reign. It is with great relief that the original *RIC*'s infamous misattribution of a 'posthumous' group with the obverse legend HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P long since known to have commenced in AD 128 at the midpoint of the reign, is now rectified. Mattingly understood his mistake by the time he wrote *BMC* yet *RIC* II remained unrevised. More museums still order their collections of Hadrianic coinage by the old *RIC* rather than use *BMC* or Strack's corpus. (The invisibility of the latter is perhaps unsurprising since it is a rare German book, so much so that even many numismatic collections in Germany use old *RIC* order). The goal of a definitive chronology to the coin production under Hadrian at Rome – with its implications of the rich visual messages they convey on a notably majestic reign – has been within grasping distance yet elusive for a long time.

Collections Curators and their institutions that have supported the work of this catalogue:

With thanks to the hospitality and patience of (in roughly the order visited) Ute Wartenburg-Kagan and Andy Meadows of the American Numismatic Society; Dominique Hollard of the Bibliothèque nationale de France; Klaus Vondrovec of the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna; Claudio Parisi-Presicce and Maria Cristina Molinari of the Capitoline Museum; Eleonora Giampiccollo of the Vatican Library; Jerome Mairat and Chris Howgego of the Ashmolean Museum; Bernhard Weisser and Karsten Dahmen of the Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; Floriana Miele of the Naples Archaeological Museum. Remote image contributors to whom I am deeply indebted include Michail Piotrovsky and Vera Guruleva (Hermitage Museum); Ken Sheedy (Gale Collection, Sydney); Kay Ehling (State Coin Collection of Munich); Johan van Heesch (Royal Belgian Library); Adrian Popescu (Fitzwilliam museum); Keith Sugden (Manchester Museum); Rob Collins (Society of Antiquaries, Newcastle upon Tyne) and Donal Bateson (Hunterian Museum). Apologies to others that memory may have failed to place during so many pleasurable visits.

R. A. ABDY
P. F. MITTAG

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ABBREVIATIONS

1a *Denominational and descriptive*

As	As
Au	Aureus (AV for gold generally) ¹
D	Denarius (AR for silver generally)
Dp	Dupondius
QAu	Gold quinarius (<i>Quinarius aureus</i>)
QAr	Silver quinarius (<i>Quinarius denarius</i>)
Qd	Quadrans
Sem	Semis
S	Sestertius
dr.	draped
l.	left
laur.	laureate
obv.	obverse
r.	right
rad.	radiate
std	seated
stg	standing

1b. *Codes for bust types*

A: *heads*

A1	head only (truncation can include upper shoulder line), no drapery traces visible
A2	as A1 but traces of drapery on far shoulder visible (to front, or to front and rear, of truncation)
A3	as A1 but traces of drapery (top of a cloak or <i>paludamentum</i>) hangs on <u>near</u> shoulder

A4: *bust with bare chest (traces of drapery – probably a cloak – on far shoulder usually visible)*

B: *cuirassed busts (part of the uniform is the military cloak or paludamentum, which if present, is pushed to the far shoulder exposing breastplate)*

B1	cuirassed bust, viewed from front
B2	cuirassed bust, viewed from rear or side ²

C: *draped busts*

C1	draped bust, viewed from front
C2	draped bust, viewed from rear or side

D: *draped and cuirassed busts (cloak covers breastplate and cuirass only signified by presence of pteryges fringe on shoulder)*

D1	draped and cuirassed bust, viewed from front
D2	draped and cuirassed bust, viewed from rear or side

E: *busts of Empresses*

E1	Empress bareheaded, bust draped viewed from front
E2	Empress diademed (or stephane), bust draped viewed from front with the following fashion details for this period: E2a = double stephane with hair piled up and braided and draped E2b = wreathed, draped bust with stephane and hair in knot at nape of neck E2c = wreathed (possibly corn-wreath), draped bust with queue and stephane E2d = diademed, draped bust with queue and stephane E2e = draped bust, r., wearing single stephane with unbraided hair piled up
E3	Empress veiled, bust draped viewed from front (+ other details in introduction to relevant section of the catalogue)

Left-facing bust indicated by additional /L. For Emperor's headgear (laureate or radiate) see introduction to each section of the catalogue. For bareheaded effigies of the Emperor the + sign is added and this is standard for Caesars whose heads are always uncovered (while E1 is code-specific for Empresses). Minor embellishments on busts added at the whim of a die cutter are only noted when encountered on particular specimens: *RIC* is intended to be a typology, not a die study. These embellishments include the aegis (cloak of Jupiter and Minerva emblazoned with gorgoneion – gorgon-face – which is sometimes also seen as a decorative device on a cuirass) or balteus strap to secure a cloak pushed to the far shoulder when occasionally seen on a bare chest (but it is common equipment over a cuirass securing the military cloak or paludamentum and not noted thus in the catalogue).

2. *Collections and published catalogues*

A	Athens, Numismatic Museum
Arbury Hall	W. Seaby and S. Ireland, <i>A Catalogue of Ancient Coins in the Cabinet of Sir Roger Newdigate of Arbury Hall, Warwickshire: A Grand Tour Collection in the Warwickshire Museum</i> , (RNS special publication 41, London, 2005)
Aug	Augsburg hoard (Romishen Museum, Augsburg). L. Weber, 'Ein Schatzfund römischer Aurei in Augsburg', in <i>Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums Mainz</i> 28 (1981), 133-170

¹ Except in scientific appendix

² Not seen on the regular coinage of Hadrian but relevant in the

description of barbarous types

B	Münzkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin	LAL	L. A. Lawrence collection, many casts of which preserved in London (= BM casts)
Bol	Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico	Man	Manchester Museum
Bologna	(exhibition catalogue of Roman coins in Bologna museums and private collections) F. P. Rosati, and L. Canali, <i>La Moneta Romana Imperiale da Augusto a Commodo</i> , (Catalogo della mostra a cura di F. P. Rosati), (Bologna, 1981)	Md	Madrid, Museo Arqueológico Nacional. C. A. Asins, <i>Catalogo de las Monedas Antiguas de Oro del Museo Arqueológico Nacional</i> , (Madrid, 1993)
Bos	Boston Museum of Fine Arts	Mi	Milan, Castello Sforzesco. G. Nicodemi, <i>Catalogo delle Raccolte Numismatiche, II – Le Monete dell’Impero Romano da Adriano ad Elio Cesare</i> , (Milan, 1940)
Bourgey	Bourgey collection. S. Bourgey and J.-L. Desnier, <i>L’Empire Romain, Tome 2 (96-235 ap. J.-C.)</i> , <i>Fonds Bourgey</i> , (Paris, 1994)	Mit	Mittag 2012
Br	Brussels, Coin Cabinet of the Royal Library of Belgium	Mu	Staatliche Münzsammlung München
Bul	Bucharest, Institute of Archaeology. A. Vilcu, T. Isvoranu and E. Nicolae, <i>Les Monnaies d’or de l’Institut d’Archaeologie de Bucarest</i> , (Wetteren, 2006)	Münster	Archäologisches Museum der Westfälischen Wilhelms-Universität
Bu2	Bucharest, Romanian Academy. C. Preda and E. Petac, <i>Les Monnaies d’or de la Bibliothèque de l’Académie Roumaine. I. Monnaies grecques et romaines</i> , (Wetteren, 2006)	Mz	Mazzini Collection. M. Ratto (ed.), <i>Ing. G. Mazzini, Monete Imperiali Romane – Volume II: da Nerva a Crispina</i> , (Milan, 1957)
Ca	Musei Capitolini, Rome	Na	Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli
Co	Copenhagen, Nationalmuseet	NB	Private collection, Nicolas Bonis, France
Col	Cologne, Römisch-Germanisches Museum	N-Cal	Private collection, Northern California
Coventina	L. Allason-Jones and B. McKay, <i>Coventina’s Well</i> , (Oxford, 1985)	Nîmes	Musées de Nîmes
Cyprus hoard	W. E Metcalf, ‘A Roman Hoard from Cyprus’, in <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> 19 (1979), 26-35	NT	Museum of Antiquities, University of Newcastle upon Tyne
D	Dresden, Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen	NY	American Numismatic Society, New York City.
Du Chastel	F. de Callataÿ and J. van Heesch, <i>Greek and Roman coins from the du Chastel Collection. Coin Cabinet of the Royal Library of Belgium</i> , (Spink, London, 1999)	Ox	Oxford, Ashmolean Museum
ETB	Private collection, Netherlands	OXCMS	Oxford, County Museum Service
Fi	Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. See also S. Bani, M. Benci and A. Vanni, <i>I Medaglioni Romani provinciali e contornati del Monetiere del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze</i> , (Florence, 2012)	P	Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
Forli	Forli Collection, Piancastelli	Pad	Museo Bottacin, Padua
Fr	Freiburg, Münzsammlung des Seminars für Alte Geschichte der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität	Pisa	Pisa, Museo Nazionale
Fz	Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge	Po	Via Po, Rome hoard (now in Capitoline Museum)
G	Glasgow, Hunterian Museum	Porto	Casa Museu Eng. António de Almeida, Porto. V. S. Mota (ed.), <i>A Catalogue of the Numismatic Collection</i> (Vol. I), (Porto, 1994)
Gn	F. Gnecci, <i>I medaglioni romani</i> , (Milan, 1912)	R	Rome, Museo Nazionale Romano (Palazzo Massimo)
Go	Göttingen, Münzkabinett der Universität	Ryan	Ryan collection (sold Glendining 2/4/1952)
Gotha	Gotha, Stiftung Schloss Friedenstein, Schlossmuseum Münzkabinett	S	Sofia, National Museum (many illustrated on Strack’s plates)
Graz	Institut für Alte Geschichte und Altertumskunde, Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz	Segobriga IV	J. M. Abascal Palazón, A. Alberola and R. Cebrián, <i>Segóbriga IV: Hallazgos Monetarios</i> , (Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 2008)
L	London, British Museum	St	St Petersburg, The State Hermitage Museum
		Str	Strack 1933
		Sy	Sydney, Macquarie University
		Th	Museum für Ur- und Frühgeschichte Thüringens Roland Wehking, Oldenburg
		Trau	A. Hess, <i>Sammlung Franz Trau: Münzen der römischen Kaiser</i> , (New York, Attic Books, 1976)
		Trier	Trier hoard in Rheinische Landesmuseum Trier
		V	Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum

Va	Vatican library (Biblioteca Apostolica), Rome	Auclones	Auclones AG Basel (www.auclones.ch)
Val	Lliria hoard in Museu de Prehistòria de València	Aurea	Aurea Numismatika, Prague (www.aurea.cz)
Ve	Museo Correr, Venice	Baldwin	Baldwin's Auctions Ltd (New York auctions indicated by Roman numerals) (www.baldwin.co.uk)
Ver	Verona, Medagliere	Ball	R. Ball (Berlin)
Viggo	Private collection, San Francisco	Baranowsky	M. Baranowsky (Milan/Rome)
Wü	Martin von Wagner Museum, University of Würzburg	BeastCoins	www.beastcoins.com
Y	Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, USA	Bolaffi	Bolaffi Spa, Milan (www.bolaffi.com)
ZM	Private collection, Zhenya Marinkevich, Ukraine	Boule	Boule (Monaco), vente Numismatique et Médailles (www.boule-auctions.com)
3. <i>Coin Archives</i>			
BeastCoins	Online private archive of coin types from various sources: www.beastcoins.com	CDN	Canessa-de Nicola, Listino speciale Dec 1950 (Italy)
BM casts & BM photofile	British Museum, London, - photograph or cast	Cederlind	Cederlind lists and auctions, USA (www.tomcederlind.com)
CoinArchives	Website compilation of completed auction sales: www.coinarchives.com	cgb.fr	Comptoir Général de Bourse, Paris (www.cgb.fr)
Forum Ancient Coins	Online resources and discussion forum for ancient coins: www.forumancientcoins.com (for online publishing of modern fakes see www.forumancientcoins.com/fakes)	CNG	Classical Numismatic Group ('Triton' auctions indicated by Roman numerals), USA and UK (www.cngcoins.com)
OCRE	Online Coins of the Roman Empire (web portal based on <i>RIC</i> types): www.numismatics.org/ocre (note this can lead to many other collection-specific online catalogues such as American Numismatic Society, www.numismatics.org/search , British Museum Collections Online www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx , and Vienna Münzkabinett Online Catalogue www.ikmk.at)	Davissons	Davissons Ltd, Minnesota, USA (www.davcoin.com)
PAS	Portable Antiquities Scheme (UK finds including coins): www.finds.org.uk	DNW	Dix Noonan Webb Ltd, London (www.dnw.co.uk)
Sixbid	Website portal to online auctions: www.sixbid.com	Dorotheum	Dorotheum GmbH & Co, Vienna (www.dorotheum.com)
Vcoins	Website portal to online auctions and compilation of past online auction sales: www.vcoins.com	Drouot	Hôtel Drouot, Paris (www.drouot.com)
Wildwinds	Website recording coins in trade: www.wildwinds.com	Dupriez	Auction Dupriez, Brussels
4. <i>Auction catalogues and sale lists</i>			
51 Gallery	51 Gallery, Brussels (www.51gallery.auction.fr)	Elsen	Jean Elsen & ses Fils S.A., Brussels (www.elsen.eu)
A&C	Áureo & Calicó (www.aureo.com)	Emporium	Emporium Hamburg Münzhandelsgesellschaft mbH (www.emporium-hamburg.com)
ACR	Bertolami Fine Arts - ACR Auctions (www.bertolamifinearts.com), Rome	F&S	Freeman & Sear (New York auctions indicated by Roman numerals)
Aes Rude	(G. Casolari), Chiasso, Switzerland	Falco	G. de Falco (Numismatica), Naples
Agora	Agora Numismatiek, Netherlands (info@agora-ancientcoins.com)	FDT	Fil du Temps, Saint Etienne, France (www.ofildutemps.com)
Ancient Imports	Fort Worth (www.ancientimports.com)	Felzmann	Auktionshaus Felzmann, Düsseldorf (www.felzmann.de)
ArsC	Ars Classica, L. Naville, Geneva (www.arsclassiacoins.com)	Forum	Forum Ancient Coins (www.forumancientcoins.com)
		Frühwald	Auktionen Frühwald (www.auktionen-fruehwald.aux.de)
		G&M	Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Munich (www.gmcoinart.de)
		G&N	Pecunem Gitbud & Naumann (now Numismatik Naumann), Vienna (www.numismatik-naumann.at)
		Gadoury	Editions V. Gadoury, Monaco (www.gadoury.com),
		Gärtner	Auktionshaus Christoph Gärtner GmbH & Co. KG, Germany (www.auktionen-gaertner.de)

Gemini	Gemini Numismatic Auctions, LLC (www.geminauction.com)	NAC	Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, (www.arsclassicacoins.com)
Glen	Glendining's London	Naumann	Numismatik Naumann (ex Pecunem Gitbud & Naumann) (www.numismatik-naumann.com)
Grün	Heidelberger Münzhandlung Herbert Grün e.K. (www.hdmhg.de)	Naville	Naville Numismatics Ltd, London (www.navillenumismatics.com)
H&A	Hauck & Aufhäuser, Munich	NFA	Numismatic Fine Arts, Beverly Hills
Hamburger	L. Hamburger, (Frankfurt)	NGSA	Numismatica Genevensis SA (www.ngsa.ch)
H-D	Hess-Divo AG, Zurich (www.hessdivo.com)	Noble	Noble Numismatics Pty Ltd, Sydney (www.noble.com.au)
Helbing	O. Helbing, Munich	Nomos	Nomos AG, Zurich (www.nomosag.com)
Helios	Helios Numismatik, Germany	Nudelman	Nudelman Numismatica - CIP Invest Ltd, Budapest (www.numismatica.hu)
Heritage	Heritage World Coin Auctions, Dallas (www.coins.ha.com)	Numismatica	Numismatica, Vienna
Hess	A. Hess, Frankfurt/ Lucerne/ Zurich	NYS	New York Sale: see also entries for Baldwin, F&S, and M&M(Sw)
HirschG	Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Munich (www.coinhirsch.de)	Palombo	Maison Palombo, Geneva (www.maison-palombo-geneve.com)
HirschJ	Jacob Hirsch, Munich	Pecunem	Pecunem GmbH (www.pecunem.com)
HJB	Harlan J. Berk Ltd, Chicago (www.hjbltd.com)	Peus	Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Frankfurt (www.peus-muenzen.de)
Inasta	InAsta S.P.A. numismatic auctions, San Marino (www.inasta.com)	Pilartz	H. Pilartz, Cologne
iNumis	Paris (www.iNumis.com)	PMA	Peter Morris Ancients, UK (www.petermorris.co.uk)
IRG	Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Los Angeles (www.goldbergcoins.com)	Pushkalavati	Pushkalavati Coins Gallery, United Arab Emirates
Jacquier	Paul-Francis Jacquier, Numismatique Antique, Kehl am Rhein (www.coinsjacquier.com)	Ratto	R. Ratto auctions, Genoa/ Milan/ Lugano
Jesus	Jesus Vico S.A., Madrid (www.jesuvico.es)	Rauch	Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Vienna (www.hdrauch.com)
K&M	Kunst und Münzen, Lugano, Switzerland	Roma	Roma Numismatics Ltd, London (www.romanumismatics.com)
Koc	Numismatik-Koc, Vienna (www.numismatik-koc.at)	S&L	Soler & Llach Subastas Internacionales, S.A., Barcelona (www.soleryllach.com)
Kölner	Kölner Münzkabinett (www.koelner-muenzkabinett.de)	Sangiorgi	M.G. Sangiorgi, Rome
Künker	Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Osnabrück (www.kuenker.de)	Savoca	Savoca Numismatik GmbH & Co. KG, Munich (www.savoca-coins.com)
Lanz	Numismatik Lanz München (www.lanz.com)	SBG	Stack's Bowers Galleries, California (www.stacksbowers.com)
Lepczyk	J. Lepczyk, East Lansing, MI, USA	SBP	Stack's Bowers and Ponterio (see SBG)
Leu	Leu Numismatik AG (www.leunumismatik.com)	Schulm	J (later R) Schulmann, Amsterdam (www.schulman.nl)
LHS	LHS Numismatik AG, = Leu Numismatik	Sincona	Sincona AG, Zurich (www.sincona.com)
London	London Coins (www.londoncoins.co.uk)	Solidus	Solidus Numismatik, Munich (www.solidus-numismatik.de)
M&S	Auktionshaus Meister & Sonntag, Stuttgart (www.ams-stuttgart.de)	Sotheby's	Sotheby's, London (www.sothebys.com)
MA-Shops	MA-Shops GmbH (www.ma-shops.de)	Spink	Spink & Son Ltd, London (www.spink.com)
Merzbacher	Dr E. Merzbacher Sales, Munich	St James	Baldwin's of St James Auctions Ltd, London (www.bsjauctions.com)
MHS	Martí Hervera & Soler y Llach, Barcelona (www.subastashervera.com)	Sternberg	Frank Sternberg AG, Zurich
MMD	Münzen & Medaillen Deutschland GmbH, Weil am Rhein (www.muenzenundmedaillen-gmbh.de)	StM	Santamaria, Rome
MMS	Münzen & Medaillen AG, Basel (New York auctions indicated by Roman numerals)	SuS	Superior Stamp and Coin Co., Los Angeles
MMUS	M&M Numismatics Ltd, Washington DC	T&F	Tauler & Fau Subastas, Madrid (www.tauleryfau.com)
MPO	MPO Auctions, Utrecht (www.mpoauctions.com/nl)	Timeline	TimeLine Originals, UK (www.time-lines.co.uk)
MzB	Münzhandlung Basel		
MzZ	Münz Zentrum Rheinland, (www.muenzzentrum.de)		

Tkalec	A. Tkalec AG, Zurich (www.coinstkalec.ch)	<i>FMRD</i>	<i>Fundmünzen der Römischen Zeit in Deutschland</i>
Tradart	Tradart, Brussels (www.tradart.be)	<i>FMRU</i>	<i>Fundmünzen der Römischen Zeit in Ungarn</i>
Triskeles	Triskeles Auctions, USA (www.triskeles-auctions.com)	Fontaine-la-Gaillard	Trésor de Fontaine-la-Gaillarde, hoard catalogue unpublished but details on file at BnF
Triton	See CNG	Garonne	R. Etienne and M. Rachet, <i>Le Trésor de Garonne</i> , (Fédération historique du Sud-Ouest, Bordeaux, 1984)
UBS	UBS Gold and Numismatics, Basel	Hastings	R. Bland and I. Carradice, 'Hastings, Sussex, 59 denarii + 92 bronze coins to AD 125' in <i>CHRB IX</i> , 34-8 (see also <i>RBCH 139A</i>)
Varesi	Varesi numismatica, Pavia (www.varesi.it)	Hebron	<i>Coin Hoards 3</i> , no. 90
Vauctions	(www.vauctions.com)	Idna	190 coins including imperial 150 denarii and 40 Second Jewish Revolt coinage, Mildenberg, <i>The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War</i> , (Aarau, 1984), 56, no. 17
Vcoins	(www.vcoins.com)		
Vinchon	Vinchon, Paris (www.vinchon.com)		
Violity	Violity online auctions, Ukraine (www.auction.violity.com)		
Wildwinds	Wildwinds, Switzerland (www.wildwinds.com)		
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Bar Kokhba Lamp	D. Hendin, 'Bar Kokhba Lamp Hoard Collection', in <i>Israel Numismatic Journal</i> 14 (2000-2), 180-114	Llíria	C. Delegido Morant, <i>Aprovisionamiento, circulación y uso de la moneda de plata en Hispania (siglos I-III d.C.): El Tesoro de Llíria</i> , (Valencia 2014)
Beit Mirsim	Beit Mirsim, Israel, 385 coins including imperial aureus, denarii, and Second Jewish Revolt coinage (30 Hadrian), L. Mildenberg, <i>The Coinage of the Bar Kokhba War</i> , (Aarau, 1984), 56, no. 19	Londonthorpe	Londonthorpe II, Lincs (BM ref.: 2018 T178), 522 AR denarii to AD c152
Birdoswald	<i>Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Transactions XXXI</i> (1931), 124-30/LIV (1955), 56f. (pot hoard = <i>RBCH 131</i> ; purse hoard = <i>RBCH 132</i>)	Mallerstang	<i>Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society Transactions XXVII</i> (1927), 205-1. See also <i>RBCH 141</i>
Boston Spa	M. Mays, 'Boston Spa, West Yorkshire: 172 denarii to AD 122', in <i>CHRB X</i> , 64-70 (see also <i>RBCH 154</i>)	Manyas	M. Arslan, 'The Manyas Hoard of Denarii', in R. Ashton (ed.), <i>Studies in Ancient Coinage from Turkey</i> , (RNS London 1996), 31-5
Castagnaro	R Luigi, <i>Riv. It.</i> (1914), 349-64 / <i>RMR Ve III/2</i> , 77-103	Monte Cuore	<i>Rivista Italiana di Numismatica RIN</i> 16 (1903), 411-8
Cave of the Sandal	H. Eshel and B. Zissu, 'Roman coins from the 'Cave of the Sandal' west of Jericho', in <i>Israel Numismatic Journal</i> 13 (1994-9), 70-77	Murabba 'At	J. T. Milik and H. Seyrig, 'Trésor monétaire de Murabba'at', in <i>Revue Numismatique</i> 6 (1958) 11-26
<i>CHRB</i>	(Various authors), <i>Coin Hoards from Roman Britain</i>	Nîmes	Nîmes Hoard (1851). See M. Christol and C. Lassalle, <i>Monnaies d'or de l'Empire Romain aux Musées de Nîmes</i> , (Nîmes, 1988)
Coin Hoards	(Various authors), <i>Coin Hoards</i> (RNS, London 1975)	North Portugal	North Portugal hoard. M. S. Centeno, 'Um Tesouro de Aurei do Norte de Portugal' in <i>Nummus 2nd series</i> , Vol. 1, (1978), 37-98
Coyanca	<i>Coin Hoards 5</i> , no. 120	Ormskirk	R. A. G. Carson, 'Roman Denarii from Ormskirk, Lancashire', in <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> 8 (1948), 232. (see also <i>RBCH 135</i>)
Cyprus	W. E Metcalf, 'A Roman Hoard from Cyprus' in <i>Numismatic Chronicle</i> 19 (1979), 26-35	Petworth	Petworth, West Sussex (BM ref.: 2007 T106), '103 AR denarii & pottery fragments to AD 130', <i>CHRB</i> forthcoming.
Didcot	R. F. Bland and J. Orna-Ornstein, 'Didcot, Oxfordshire: 126 aurei to AD 160', in <i>CHRB X</i> , 91-100	<i>RBCH</i>	A. S. Robertson, <i>An Inventory of Romano-British Coin Hoards</i> , (RNS London, 2000)
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NOTES ON THE USE OF THE VOLUME

1. *Arrangement of the coins in the catalogue*

The coins are listed by mint (starting with the mint of Rome) and then within that by the imperial family member appearing on the obverse chronologically (starting with Hadrian, then deified predecessor and dowagers grouped together followed by sections for Sabina and finally the Caesars). For each group of issues the gold and silver are listed first, followed by bronze.

2. *Arrangement of the coins in the plates*

On the plates for the mint of Rome, the bronze issues are not integrated with the gold and silver, but are grouped together after the gold and silver. Because each coin is identified on the plate by its unique catalogue number, the sequence of numbers moves back and forth between the gold and silver plates and bronze plates, though the plate location for each issue is also clearly marked in the heading for each issue group.

3. *Issue group headings*

The heading for each issue group usually contains: date, title (imperial person, denominations, key title), keys to obverse legends, bust types used (including their codes as set in Abbreviations) and reverse legends (if common across the types of the group), die-axes, and notes on die links within the issue and/or with coins from other issue groups. In some cases the recording of die links is based on systematic studies (e.g. those by Beckmann, Mittag, Strack or the Garonne hoard publication), but can also simply be observations by the author assembling that group for the catalogue.

4. *The catalogue number column*

Each coin variety (obverse and reverse legend and type combination) has a single number. One sequence of numbering is used throughout this volume but with small gaps of unused numbers between sections which has helped the construction of the catalogue and allows room for expansion in future editions. Coin varieties are defined in terms of combinations of obverse and reverse legends and designs. Minor details carried on individual dies might not get a separate entry number in order to keep the number of type varieties manageable – so long as this seems to hold no chronological significance. These minor varieties may be noted in the description and also specimen reference column if seen and a number of specimens of the same type may be carried on the plates in order to give a good impression of the range of such details. Such details include for example: traces of drapery at the neck of an effigy that is basically a head (bust codes A1-3) or whether an aegis (Gorgon head) motif forms part of that drapery or, say, on the reverse the number of figures that a particular engraver has included in a crowd scene that is otherwise intended to be the same type. Room for expansion: note there are on average ten unused catalogue numbers between each major catalogue section. Addenda coins have A suffix numbers and their images are on the final plate.

5. *The denomination column*

This is used when an issue includes more than one denomination – see Abbreviations for key.

6. *The obverse and head columns*

The obverse column is used to distinguish different obverse legends that may apply in the issue as set out in the group heading, but if there are no such varieties the column is omitted. The head column is used to distinguish different varieties of bust type with a bust code. A full key is to be found in Abbreviations, but the busts codes applicable to a particular issue are repeated in that group's heading for convenience and since they also help in identifying group characteristics.

7. *The reverse column*

This describes the legends and designs used on the reverses. On rare occasions (e.g. quadrantes or double reverse asses lacking an imperial effigy) this column may be used for descriptions of obverses, but in such instances the changed use of column will be clearly marked. Figures are described as r. or l., meaning 'facing right' or 'facing left'. When two figures stand together, the figure facing right is usually on the left and the figure facing left is on the right (the same also applies to confronted busts). Where both hands are used the object held in the right hand is described first: thus, 'Pax stg l., with branch and cornucopia' means 'Pax standing, facing to the left, holding in her right hand a branch and in her left hand a cornucopia'. If only the head of the figure faces left while the body remains frontal this would be: 'Pax stg with head l.' The large number of illustrations should help to clarify any ambiguities in descriptions of deities, persons or personifications and their attributes that may remain.

8. *Letter punctuation and variation*

Punctuation dots, legend spacing (or lack of) between words and abbreviations and breaks – where a word is divided by some part of the die design – are only noted if significant for attribution, otherwise they are ignored for ease of catalogue consultation. Ligatured letters will usually be mentioned in notes, and parts of a legend in the exergue (the lower segment of a coin often divided by the ground line of a reverse figure) may be indicated by //.

9. *The frequency column*

It is well known that counting the numbers of specimens in museum collections does not normally give a good picture of the relative frequency of different denominations and types. The approach to building this corpus antedates the harmonisation of *RIC* with the methods established with the Roman Provincial Coinage programme, so here a hybrid approach has been adopted. *Commonness* (S – scarce; C – common; C2 – very common) has been judged against the biggest possible published hoard; *rarity* (R – rare; R2 – very rare; R3 – highest rarity) against the numbers spotted in the major collections consulted

by Strack or myself (the number of specimens per *RIC* entry on www.numismatics.org/ocre is also a good guide). R3 – unique as far as can be known – that hang entirely on Strack unica in less accessible collections may well turn out to be gleaned from

inaccurate second-hand information (or perhaps in Strack was sent casts but obverse and reverse had become switched). For denarii Reka Devnia provides the biggest hoard,³ for gold the Trier (Feldstraße) and for sestertii and dupondii, Garonne.⁴

C2	Very common	>50% over the average frequency in hoard
C	Common	50% above / below the average frequency in hoard
S	Scarce	<50% below the average frequency in hoard
R	Rare	No specimens in hoard but encountered in major museum collections (or 1-2 specimens in hoard and few seen in major collections)
R2	Very rare	Only ever seen in seen in one or two major museum collections
R3	Highest rarity	One specimen known to Strack and no additions since, or unknown to Strack and single specimen recorded since

This remains subjective (especially where rare takes over from scarce) and of course only represents a relative rule of thumb within each denomination, but it is hopefully more useful to have a system beyond ‘one, two, three – many’. A ‘common’ aureus will of course be much rarer than a scarce or rare denarius, and above all it should be remembered that frequency is only one of many factors in the commercial value of a coin in the collectables trade. The system cannot work for asses and one must rely only on numbers in the collections consulted. These denominations were produced in

sporadic batches which might be shipped in their entirety to specific parts of the Empire so one hoard (or assemblage such as the Sacred Spring at Bath) cannot possibly give the correct picture.

There is a small section of this catalogue where this frequency system can be directly compared to the modern *RPC* system of core collection specimen counts. This is the small batch of orichalcum asses and semisses which seem to have been produced at Rome, AD c.124-5, especially for the small change circulation in Syria, *RPC* 3756-65:

<i>Den</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>RIC frequency code</i>	<i>Ref</i>	<i>RPC specimen count</i>
<i>as</i>	Antioch std l. on rocks	C	Str.622/ <i>RPC</i> 3756	[10]
<i>sem</i>	As last	S	Str.622/ <i>RPC</i> 3762	[4]
<i>as</i>	Seated griffin	S	Str.623/ <i>RPC</i> 3758	[4]
<i>sem</i>	As last	R2	Str.623cort/ <i>RPC</i> 3764	[0] ⁵
<i>as</i>	Springing griffin	R	Str.624/ <i>RPC</i> 3759	[3]
<i>as</i>	Springing griffin	R	Str.624/ <i>RPC</i> 3760	[2]
<i>as</i>	Lyre	C	Str.625/ <i>RPC</i> 3757	[12]
<i>sem</i>	As last	C2	Str.625/ <i>RPC</i> 3763	[29]
<i>as</i>	Roma, std l. on cuirass	C	Str.626/ <i>RPC</i> 3761	[9]
<i>sem</i>	As last	C	Str.626/ <i>RPC</i> 3765	[9]

³ Reka Devnia hoard (denarii) frequency: ave. frequency is 49.44 coins of any given *RIC* type - thus say 50. Highest frequency is 151 for (*RIC* 256), so if the average is C for common down to say below half average (25) with small safety margin, thus S for scarce is <20 and for the other direction, say >80 should therefore be C2.

For rarity we need to look beyond hoards to the numbers gathered in the Strack corpus: R for rare = no specimens in Reka Devnia but known in major museum collections (or 1-2 specimens in Reka Devnia and restricted count by Strack in museums). Found in one or two major public collections = R2. I do not believe I could judge something more common than that (certainly not the 10x suggested by *RIC* II.1 for C2). Reka Devnia does not work very well for denarii from provincial mints since they are not always identified as such in the catalogue. However, as they are inevitably rarities anyway their frequency is mostly gauged from collections presence in Strack (or King for quinarii).

⁴ Garonne (sestertii) frequency: where large groups are not closely identified due to wear (e.g. COS II / DES III / COS III) their proportions are assumed from the legible specimens in the hoard. Completely illegible coins omitted from the rough calculation. Average reverse types frequency (not differentiating busts) = 10 so 5-15 will be common and 1-4 scarce (16 and more will be very common). For dupondii average is 2.5 so will be harder to draw conclusions.

Trier (aurei) type frequency is 2.78 so again hard to draw conclusions. In the spirit of compromise, rounding this up makes 3 common and double that very common. This then leaves 2, 1, or 0 to be judged scarce or rare according to specimen numbers collected by Strack.

⁵ I.e. not in the core collections but known elsewhere such as in sales catalogues or private collections.

10. *The reference column*

Catalogue varieties are in the first place cross-referenced to the most useful type corpus. Note that this excludes reference to the original edition of *RIC* as this is to be found in the Concordance near the end of the book. Instead of the Cohen numbers used as a cross reference in old *RIC* there is now systematic reference to Strack (1933) or Mittag (2012) in the case of medallions). Other useful modern reference sources are Calicó (2003) and Banti (1983-4) for aurei and sestertii respectively and King (2007) for gold and silver quinarii. These are abbreviated at 'Str.:', 'Mit.:', 'Cal.:', and 'Ban.:' where appropriate. For semisses and quadarantes the excellent, but sadly unpublished, corpus by van Heesch (1979 thesis held in the Coins and Medals library at the British Museum) is used while *RPC* III appears in the very limited crossover with that work.

After this come the catalogue type examples and these are referenced to the most accessible specimen. The major museum collections of London and Paris are systematically included, not least because the former is published (*BMC* – thus in most cases 'L.' numbers are analogous to *BMC* numbers). Where these two core collections prove deficient (because they are absent or do not provide a suitably clear specimen) a number of other sources are used, preferably other publically accessible museum collections: note that New York and Vienna are the most comprehensively available for virtual consultation on the *OCRE* online database. Beyond this, sales catalogues, or other trade sources (such as online auctions) or private collections may be used. These are in abbreviated form: a shortened form of the company name followed by a number indicating the auction (or a date if this is not available in the form day/month/year), followed by the lot number. (The word 'lot' provides immediate recognition that an auction source is indicated.) Private collections might have initials, a code word or are otherwise indicated by 'priv. coll.:' All sources referred to by abbreviations are listed in the Catalogue Key. The authors have endeavoured to verify every referenced example, at least from an illustration if not from personal inspection. Only very rarely is an unverified source used, usually because it is an expected 'gap filler' and was once known to Strack who used similar modern standards of verification, or it will otherwise be

explained in the footnotes. Examples illustrated in the plates are indicated in bold print in the reference column, and sometimes in the footnotes. It is worth emphasising that this volume is not intended as a corpus of known examples – such a work would be impractical for the common Roman imperial issues of the this period – instead, the priority for the reference column is to provide a verifiable source or combination of sources for each coin variety.

11. *Notes to catalogue*

Additional notes on issues or specific catalogue entries are indicated by numbered footnotes on each page.

12. *Plates*

This volume is much more generously illustrated than the first edition, as would be expected of a modern coin catalogue. We have attempted to illustrate as many varieties as possible. The choice of examples has been determined by a number of factors, including clarity of legend or type and availability. For convenience we have made great use of the collections in London and Paris, but we have also included many finer examples from other sources where practicable. By necessity some of the rarest varieties may be illustrated – if at all – with a poor example (sometimes the only one known or available). Thus the plates include examples covering the whole range of conditions seen in the surviving Roman coinage.

13. *Concordance*

A concordance is provided with *RIC* II first edition, enabling users to find the new *RIC* numbers and noting why varieties in the first edition have been excluded (ancient plated copy, modern false, etc.). Notes on the coins of uncertain or disputed authenticity are also provided throughout the catalogue in the form of footnotes. The absence of varieties published in Cohen but now rejected has not systematically been explained – but any such coins that were retained in *RIC*'s first edition will appear in the Concordance. Information on dubious varieties has not systematically been repeated if already available in *BMC*, though any disagreements on earlier judgements will be explained.

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. *Hadrian's coinage (some background observations)*

In the year AD 117 the Roman Empire stood at its greatest extent, a state stretching from southern Scotland to the Persian Gulf. Only one mint, based at the capital, supplied the western half of this vast area with the circulating currency so vital to its economy. Indeed the Roman mint was an important supplier to the other half, although in much of the East it was supplemented with local civic coinage, usually small change but less commonly silver, and this bewildering patchwork of community money is covered in *RIC*'s sister volume *RPC* (Roman Provincial Coinage – vol. III for this era). Nowhere is this joint contribution more starkly illustrated than when Rome inadvertently supplied its own enemy with coinage: in the Second Jewish Revolt of AD 132-6 the rebel *sele'im* were overstruck on Romano-Syrian tetradrachms while their quarters or *zuz'im* were likewise formed from denarii minted at Rome. These three numismatic-cultural systems are to be found nestling together in hoards secreted in the cave systems of the Judean wilderness.

The Roman west had been supplied by a branch mint at Lyon in the previous century but Nero did his best to eclipse it – and the remaining local coinage producers in the west – with the massive revamp of the mint of Rome in AD 64. The product of the capital's revitalised mint marked a step change in the quality of production: engraving detail, attention to composition and much innovation in the visual language of the medium as expressed in the variety of its messages. All this was still relevant up to the reign of Hadrian, that great patron of the arts, and it has left us coins with a stunning variety of messages and designs. Nevertheless, subtle changes which hint at less careful production in the course of the reign seem to herald that we are reaching the end of an apogee: spread and satisfyingly rounded denarii and sestertii give way to those struck on less regular flans.

From surviving inscriptions of c.AD100 found on the Caelian Hill we know more about the mint of Rome in this period and its personnel than any other time. As this falls within the reign of Trajan the mint operation will be fully discussed by Woytek in *RIC* II.2, but it is worth bearing in mind that this is of great relevance for the reign of Hadrian too.¹ Suffice to say that Woytek notices that the coinage of Trajan at Rome can sometimes be seen to be grouped into five parallel production lines.² A similar pattern can occasionally be seen with Hadrian, for example in the denarii produced at the point of the adoption of P P into the titlature, 127-8. In the following century we can see workshop or *officina* numbers appearing under Philip I (AD 244-9), at which point there were six *officinae*. These six workshops each seemed to 'own' a reverse type which they struck in gold, silver and aes (*RIC*'s generic term for brass and

copper), although we can never be certain since the mintmark only appeared on Philip's base silver radiates. Of course that makes things simple for quality control, but it would also be perfectly possible for a workshop to produce several reverse types in parallel resulting in a cycle of types which were sometimes shared across denominations and sometimes not. Alternatively, one workshop could have theoretically specialised in gold only and sometimes employed reverse types used at the same time by the other workshops making the lower denominations. It would just make for more complicated record keeping – which we can never know about since Roman mint records do not survive. What is certain is that it is not easy to apply the simplicity of the coinage of Philip back to the more majestic time of Hadrian, leaving us to note parallel production lines only as and when they are obvious. Thus, tantalisingly, it is the very artistic diversity which makes Hadrianic coinage fascinating that has hampered our understanding of its production sequence for so long. This work hopes to go some way towards rectifying this.

2. *Monetary system*

The system Hadrian inherited in AD 117 had been long established. The full range of denominations was issued in the following metals:

Gold <i>aureus</i>	=	25 <i>denarii</i>
Gold <i>quinarius aureus</i>	=	12.5 <i>denarii</i>
Silver <i>denarius</i>	=	16 <i>asses</i>
Silver <i>quinarius</i>	=	8 <i>asses</i>
Brass <i>sestertius</i>	=	4 <i>asses</i>
Brass <i>dupondius</i>	=	2 <i>asses</i>
Copper <i>as</i>	=	4 <i>quadrantes</i>
Brass <i>semis</i>	=	2 <i>quadrantes</i>
Copper <i>quadrans</i>		

Their production throughout the reign could be sporadic to some degree – indeed it is probable that at least some production batches could be mostly fulfilled in the earlier part of the year.³ We can say that the *least* sporadically-produced coinage (i.e. enjoying seemingly continuous production) was the denarius, no doubt due to its ubiquity in the Roman state's taxation and expenditure. Going upwards, aureus production could be said to be more prolific in times of imperial largess (*liberalitas*) and even more so can be said of the small gold and silver half denominations, the quinarii, whose appearance peaks around the time of those donative events but is very scarce indeed at other times. The issuance of lower denominations is also noticeably more sporadic, most acutely so with semisses and quadrantes, while even the copper asses – which can be thought of as the basic

¹ Outside of *RIC*, an excellent up to date discussion is to be found with: Woytek 2012.

² Woytek *ibid*, 116.

³ Data gathered from more closely datable coinage prior to the reign of

Hadrian in Hellings & Spoerri Butcher (2017). Most notable is the coinage of Nerva for 97 with a rapid turnover of titles which divide the year into four successive phases.

base-metal unit – are sporadically produced too in comparison to the brass coins. Following the pattern seen in the reign of Trajan there are discrete batches of aes produced at Rome in a format that seems to be intended specifically for Eastern circulation. This will be discussed in the Types section below, as will the batch nature of western style asses which will be looked at in detail on the subject of ‘coins of British association’. Some of the rarest of the mint’s products are the medallic pieces which get their own catalogue and discussion section in this volume.

On the subject of semisses and quadrantes, to differentiate these near-identically tiny base metal coins this *RIC* volume will follow a practical convention that might not prove strictly accurate. Since mineralised surfaces formed from archaeological burial obscure brass and copper equally, those types that can attain a module close to denarius size (c.18mm) are classified as semisses – whether or not they bear the Emperor’s head – and only those consistently smaller (c.15mm) as quadrantes. This convention leaves us with only one clear issue of quadrans intended for western circulation, the Hercules and Boar type of c.AD 122-3, and thus easily the most sporadic of denominations under Hadrian.⁴ Indeed with similar-sized dies involved in the production of different denominations there is always the chance that semisses dies could have inadvertently created copper quadrans and vice-versa,⁵ just as we know that sometimes aureus dies occasionally struck denarii⁶ or an obviously orichalcum dupondius was made with an obverse die bearing a laureate effigy when the issue was normally radiate. When the radiate image is discontinued in AD 128 (also around the time aes Empress coinage appears and this is never radiate), dupondius and as by convention become one category for cataloguing purposes – ‘dp./as’ (although the user in antiquity would have had no problem so long as metal colour could be seen).

3. *Weight standards and fineness*

There is much continuity with the reign of Trajan in this area as befits a period of stable and long-established regimes. The weight of the aureus had held steady since the time of Nero at an average of about 7.27g, or close to Pliny the Elder’s assertion of one forty-fifth of a Roman pound.⁷ Although the aureus remained a pure bullion coin as fine as was technologically possible in antiquity, the denarius had suffered debasement in its fineness then and after Trajan’s further debasement (AD 100) would have stood in AD 117 at 80% fine and have an average weight of about 3.40g.⁸ Brass (orichalcum) sestertii were struck at 12 to the pound, with the later dumpy specimens in Hadrian’s reign falling slightly to 12¼ – a fall in quality also reflected in the gentle Trajan-Hadrian drop of some 14½% zinc in the orichalcum mix down to 13%.⁹ Roman copper in this period remained as refined as was technologically possible (the high 90s percent) but such care was not taken at provincial mints where far more mixed copper alloys

were produced. As part of this *RIC* project a small number of Hadrianic coins were analysed for their metallurgy in the BM lab and presented in the appendix (report by Quanyu Wang).

4. *Mints*

Almost 95% of the material in this volume of *RIC* is concerned with the mint of Rome, the branch operation at Lyon having long since ceased production. Given that extensive output of Cistophoric tetradrachms (an Eastern denomination unfamiliar in Italy and the West) which had occupied the first edition of *RIC* has now been definitively moved to *RPC*, our only non-Rome material are the denarii produced at various mints throughout Asia Minor and the Levant (many of which would have also produced Cistophori). The easiest group to understand is a distinct series made in the style of Antioch tetradrachms which follow denarius types made at Rome in the earliest years of Hadrian’s reign. This is followed by more dispersed groups largely covering the time of the regular imperial appearances in the East, AD 123-133 (again also the time of Cistophori production). These Eastern denarii mostly copy the types made at Rome in these years and are of a very heterogeneous (but un-Roman) style which sometimes mismatch obverse and reverse legend groups. Following *RIC* convention they are listed at the earliest possible juncture the pairing could have occurred (i.e. from the time the latest partner die could have been produced). Note that the stylistic recognition of these types can be hard to discern and many may prove in the long run to be ‘barbarous’ issues.

5. *Barbarous coins, plated coins, hybrids, mules, tooled coins*

The term ‘barbarous imitations’ has been used to describe ancient forgeries, often of crude style and with blundered legends. These are very different from modern forgeries, which, because that are usually made to deceive collectors, tend to copy the good style of the originals. Barbarous imitations are genuinely ancient coins, but since they are unofficial products they should not be classified into a catalogue of officially minted coins. Some irregular types that might potentially be confused (or have done so in the past) with official coins are footnoted for reference, but in the fullness of time some more of these may well be found erroneously attributed as official coins in this work.

Plated denarii are a subset of irregular types prepared on a flan where a base core is concealed within a thin silver layer. Those of convincing type as well as good style and preservation were particularly dangerous to the cataloguer in days when specimens were recorded with a plaster cast. For example *BMC* 673 (denarius type LIBERALITAS AVG VII) has a distinctive bare-headed and bare-chested effigy which Strack (*Str.249 / RIC* 2219fn) too accepted as genuine. However it and a Paris specimen from identical dies (P.4867) can clearly be seen to be plated with

⁴ Following Van Heesch (1979, 126).

⁵ E.g. see the scientific appendix on one anomalous piece – BM reg. no. 1850,0326.124 – which is apparently quadrans size but testing proved it to be made of brass.

⁶ I.e. up to 128 when denarius die spans noticeably shrink.

⁷ *Naturalis Historia*, 33, 15.

⁸ Butcher and Ponting 2014, 460. See also Duncan-Jones (1994, 217) who places the number of denarii per Roman pound at just over 102.

⁹ Duncan-Jones 1994, 236-7 – using Garonne hoard data.

the core showing through in patches. Such is the benefit of easily enlargeable digital photography, but the present writer is under no illusions that it is still perfectly possible to be fooled.

Hybrids / mules are genuine products of the mint but made in error. Mismatching die pairs from different production groups are a rare but regular feature of Hadrianic coinage. As Mittag notes in the medallions section of this volume, the dies from small batches (as is typical of medallions) can even be reused in subsequent reigns. In this period dies at the mint of Rome were not used until they were worn out, but instead must have been put aside whilst their detail still remained crisp and useable in order for the inadvertent appearance of hybrids to occur. With aurei in particular (the easiest denomination to survey for die studies) the ratio of obverse dies to reverse dies in the second century is surprisingly close at 1:1.2.¹⁰ Reverse dies wear out faster so obverse dies would normally be expected to partner more reverses without a conscious policy to set aside underused dies. So, for example, aureus *RIC* 1055 uses an older obverse die (with P P on the obverse – a brief production run unlikely to have outlasted AD 128) combined with a reverse die of the succeeding period (with P P on the reverse). Now known from three specimens, it must have escaped the mint workers' attention for repeated striking (easily done as it was also missed by Strack who catalogued it as a non-hybrid (Str.329)). When the opportunity arose, there was also confusion with dies in contemporary production batches. Aureus *RIC* 12 combines an obverse intended to partner pairings featuring Hadrian's family members at the outset of the reign. It squeezes all his titulature on to the obverse into a more abbreviated form with the intention to free up the reverse to convey the names of the family member depicted on the reverse (e.g. PLOTINA AVG reverse type *RIC* 26). Except that as a hybrid, *RIC* 12 carries a contemporary Concordia reverse with titulature intended to be read in continuity from the obverse. (A similar situation is seen in the chronologically close 'Hadrian Caesar' aureus produced from a mismatched die pairing listed and discussed under Trajan in *RIC* II, pt 2.)

Looking beyond aurei, for another hybrid example of confusion between family and Emperor coinage we can see from later in the reign a Sabina denarius *RIC* 2508 which has a reverse of the Emperor (INDVLGENTIA AVG P P // COS III). Surprisingly for a mistake, several specimens are known (it is still a rare type though) and is catalogued at the earliest point that its Sabina obverse format appears. This is reckoned to be AD 130 at the earliest so it has probably been paired with slightly earlier obsolete reverse die of the Emperor's coinage of AD 129/30. It is certainly worth including verifiable (with extant image) hybrids in the catalogue since they can be illuminating for helping to structure the coinage. For example, dupondius obverse die with as reverse of Honos (*RIC* 266) helps to place this as issue at a time when the format of asses diverges from sestertii and dupondii. Perhaps the most extreme hybrid pairing noted so far is a unique sestertius, *RIC* 825, with obverse die from the period AD 124-7 paired with a very old

LIBERALITAS AVG reverse die of AD 118 (COS II). Possibly – although this must remain an educated guess – the error was made when the issue for LIB III was being prepared in AD 125 (i.e. with a seven year old reverse die) so it has been listed alongside this standard type. (Note that double obverse and double reverse coins are not hybrids but medallions.) These are discussed further in the following introductory sections and are listed in the main catalogue rather than the medallions section which is concerned with those larger types whose themes are less intimately connected to the coinage.

Tooling is the modern restoration of worn detail on an ancient coin in a vain attempt to make it more marketable. Thus the hair on the higher points of the bust – which is likely the first detail to be worn off in circulation – may be filled in by a desperate modern engraver with varying degrees of aptitude. The temptation is always present in such an endeavour to go a step further and invent detail that was never there in the first place in order to create a new type to attract collectors. It is the scourge of Hadrian's coinage in particular since it has a great variety of types and messages running along parallel themes. For example the ADVENTVI AVG BRITANNIAE type has delighted British cognoscenti keen to illustrate the imperial visit to the island since at least the nineteenth century.¹¹ However, as we will see in the Types section, it was tooled (doctoring both the legend and the figures) from a genuine ADVENTVI AVG BITHYNIAE reverse so never actually existed in Hadrian's time. The most complete change created by tooling might well be an as held in Paris (P.5767) with a simple yet striking reverse of Hercules's club. This plausible yet curiously unique type was again described as far back as Cohen (C.444) and listed by Strack who illustrated its plaster cast in his plates (Str.615; Taf.IX). However, inspection of the actual specimen reveals the ghostly figure of the common type of Aequitas-Moneta outlined in the corrosion product. This feature clearly never showed up in plaster casts and stands as a cautionary tale of their use in disseminating numismatic research.

6. Die studies

In addition to hybrids and mules, shared obverse dies can help to confirm group affinity between reverse types. *RIC* is not intended to be a die study (such a work for the entire reign of Hadrian would take a very long time), and with this in mind many die-specific details such as legend breaks, minor bust adornments (e.g. aegis or the balteus strap securing a cloak) or the number of figures in the depiction of a crowd, etc. are ignored or otherwise if of visual interest included only as notes within one type entry. However, *RIC* is keen to pick up die-links where possible to help structure the coinage and these are noted at the head of each group section. Die links may be spotted during the cataloguing process or already be published: e.g. in the Garonne hoard catalogue or the Strack corpus and *RIC* is particularly grateful to receive advanced information on the forthcoming die study of Hadrianic gold by Martin Beckmann (noted as 'Beckmann (*forthcoming*)').

¹⁰ Beckmann (*forthcoming*). Interestingly, it was only a little higher in the Antonine period with an obverse to reverse ratio of 1:1.5. See

Beckmann (2012b, 9).

¹¹ Described by Cohen: C.28.

7. Hoards and circulation

There is no comprehensive corpus of Hadrianic hoards supplied in this volume for the reign is not a period of great finds of hoards in the West, while some of the most interesting Hadrianic coin hoards fall out with both the scope of *RIC* and *RPC* – the deposits left behind by the doomed Bar Kochba rebels in the AD 130s. These are often from desiccated Judean desert cave systems which have preserved fantastic archives of organic remains.¹²

By coincidence the two of the three greatest extant Hadrianic hoards come from Austria. Rennweg (nr Vienna) and Erla (nr Linz), which along with Castagnaro (Verona) on the other side of the Alps are of statistically useful size (close to either side of the 1,000 mark) and are of course consulted at various points throughout the work.¹³ However, hoards with the greatest concentration of Hadrian's coinage actually come from the giants of the Antonine and Severan/ post-Severan ages. This latter was a time when the biggest hoards of the Roman principate make an appearance. From Reka Devnia,¹⁴ at the remains of Marcianopolis in Bulgaria over 80,000 denarii were recovered between the World Wars.¹⁵ The Garonne Antonine shipwreck yielded its cargo of circulated coinage (probably bound for Britain), numbering some four thousand aes pieces in the 1970s and was the subject of a magnificent study in the following decade.¹⁶ Most recent was the stunning assemblage of two and a half thousand aurei found in a bronze bucket at Feldstrasse in Trier at the end of the last century. It is convincingly argued in its recent publication and display (at Trier Landesmuseum) as funds abandoned in the siege of the city during the Severan Wars of Succession.¹⁷

The age of Hadrian ushered in an age of stability for coin circulation in the Roman West. After the c. AD 100 reform of the silver currency, the better quality denarii (mostly pre-AD 64) that were still circulating can be seen to fade away. Thus the Rennweg hoard which closed around AD 130, comprised 1/3 Republican coins.¹⁸ Yet they are almost absent from the mid AD 130s Erla hoard,¹⁹ setting the pattern for Antonine and later denarius hoards. On Creighton's modelling of 'normal' profiles for Romano-British denarius hoards, the drop-off in the Republican and pre-AD 64 imperial component of hoards terminating between AD 120 and 140 is vertiginous.²⁰ Interestingly, the Castagnaro hoard – terminating a year or so before Rennweg – had no pre-Neronian material, suggesting a more rapid clear-out of the older denarii south of the Alps.

Turning to aes coinage, Hopley has shown that sestertii had come to dominate the aes circulation over the lower aes denominations by the time of Trajan.²¹ In Britain we are well

into the time of regular supply of aes to the island noted by Walker²². Clay subsequently identified this sense of regular supply as probably due to shipments of pre-circulated aes from Gaul.²³ Such a shipment can be seen in the Antonine Garonne shipwreck whose cargo consisted mainly of circulated brass sestertii and dupondii. Special inputs of copper asses will be discussed later under 'coins of British association'. The politically stable second century (up to AD 193) consisted of one reign per generation (two decades) and it has been noted that it took a generation for one Emperor's coinage to dominate the circulation at this time.²⁴ Thus with the coinage of the single period site of the Antonine Wall (AD 140s-160s) the most common coin finds were Hadrianic,²⁵ a dominance likewise to be seen with the contents of the Antonine Garonne shipwreck.

8. Types in general

The significance of as many types as possible will be discussed in the Types section to follow. However, they will often not be discussed from first principles and some of the more generic types will be cursorily treated. For an encyclopaedic reference instead I recommend the *Dictionary of Ancient Roman Coins* by J. M. Jones. Hadrian's coinage has a sophisticated visual language so this *RIC* will try to bring a lot of the coin messages together with overarching themes. Of course this includes the famous and beguiling provinces cycle(s) of the Roman territories visited by this most peripatetic of the Emperors of the Principate. However, there are other coordinated attempts, no less fascinating to define the reign as a Golden Age and a second age of Augustus and also to imbue Hadrian with the divine aura of the travelling huntsman-god Hercules. There is an extensive run of coinage for the Empress Sabina during the second half of the reign, helping boost Hadrian's tenuous dynastic claim to power as the family tree below will show.

A final thought – do Roman imperial coin types function as a sort of newspaper headline? No. But they are inspired by imperial events. A case in point is the *Adventus* message (showing Hadrian greeting Roma) on COS II dupondii of AD 118, no doubt referencing the arrival of the new minted Emperor to the capital in July of that year. The workshop had fulfilled its order before the final months of the year when Hadrian became *consul designatus* again (and it did not produce the type in combination with COS DES III title). However, when a new batch of aes was required for the start of AD 119 the workshop had received no new type instructions and reproduced the *Adventus* subject in conjunction with COS III – half a year after the event had passed.

¹² Yadin 1972 and Opper 2008.

¹³ See Hoards and Finds section for bibliographic information.

¹⁴ Mouchmov 1934.

¹⁵ Interestingly, Reka Devnia terminates with issues just prior to the time of the nearby Roman rout of Atritus in AD 251.

¹⁶ Etienne and Racht 1984.

¹⁷ Gilles 2013.

¹⁸ Rennweg: 379 out of a total of 1268 denarii were pre-AD 64 – excluding the 476 Mark Antony legionary denarii which are the one Republican type which remained in circulation until almost the end of the denarius period.

¹⁹ One Republican and three Mark Antony denarii were the only pre-AD 64 coins in Erla (which had 671 denarii and 103 aurei).

²⁰ See Normal Hoard profile fig. 2A (= denarii of the Republic plotted against hoard tpg) and 2D (denarii up to Nero), in Creighton (2014).

²¹ Ratio of aes denominations under Trajan (Hopley 1998, 38).

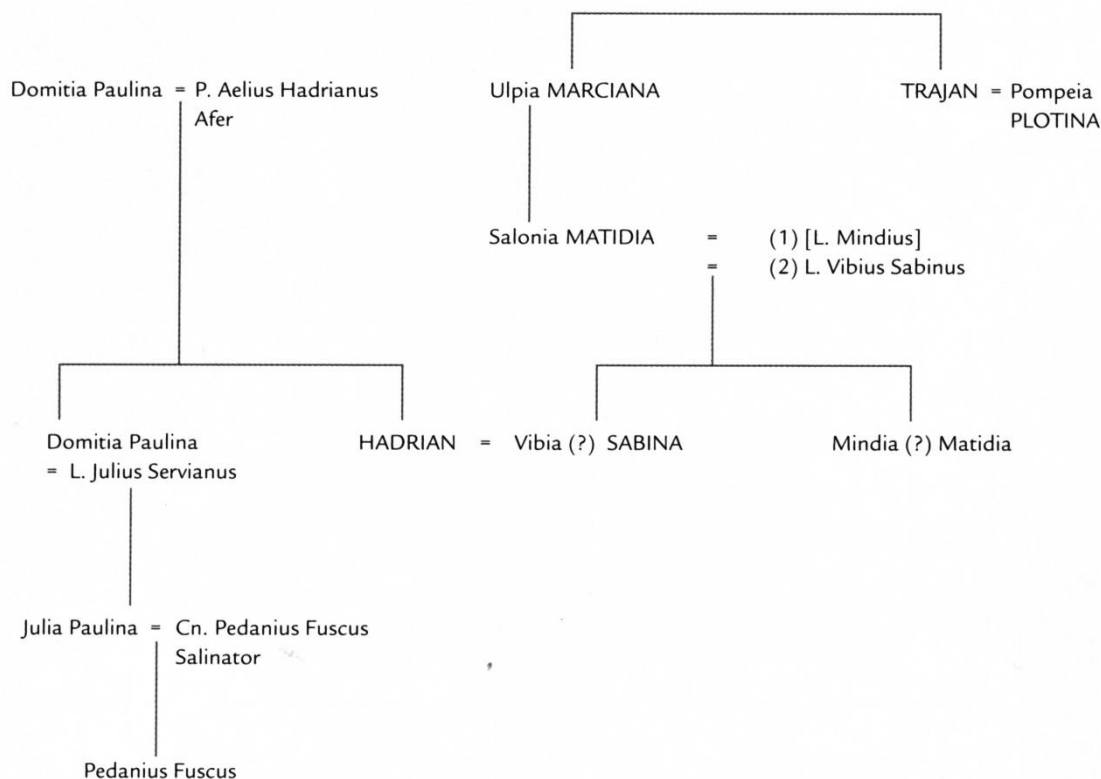
²² Walker 1988.

²³ Clay 1989.

²⁴ Reece 1987, 58-60.

²⁵ Abdy 2002.

9. Hadrian's family tree



This family tree shows the personages named or portrayed on the coinage in upper case (but note that Marciana only appears on Trajanic coinage).²⁶

Key

Domitia Paulina Sr = Hadrian's mother, born at Gades (Cadiz), d. AD 86

P. Aelius Hadrianus Afer = Hadrian's father and Trajan's first cousin, a senator born at Italica (nr Seville), d. AD 86

Ulpia MARCIANA = Trajan's sister, d. AD 112

TRAJAN = Emperor, AD 98-117

Pompeia PLOTINA = Trajan's Empress, d. AD 123

Salonia MATIDIA = daughter of Marciana, d. AD 119

L. Vibius Sabinus = senator and second husband of Matidia and father of Sabina, d. before AD 98

Domitia Paulina Jr = Hadrian's older sister, d. 130

L. Julius Servianus = thrice consul and Hadrian's brother in law, d. 136/8²⁷

HADRIAN = Emperor AD 117-38

SABINA = daughter of Sabinus and Matidia, Hadrian's Empress and second cousin, d. AD 137/8

Mindia Matidia = Sabina's sister (survived well into the Antonine era)

Julia Paulina = Hadrian's niece, d. shortly after 118

Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator = Consul for 118 (and died shortly thereafter), husband of Julia Paulina

Pedanius Fuscus = Son of Julia Paulina and Fuscus Salinator and last natural candidate for heir to the throne, d. 137/8

10. General studies on the reign of Hadrian

There have been many attempts to piece together the scattered and fragmentary sources of Hadrian's reign.²⁸ There is also a dedicated study of Hadrian's Empress by Adembri.²⁹ The events and chronology of the reign are listed in the essential *Römische Kaisertabelle*—the last word in 'Kaiserchronologie',

and naturally, H. Halfmann's 1986 study of imperial travels comes into its own for the chapter on Hadrian. In 2008 there was a major exhibition at the British Museum on Hadrian (*Hadrian – Empire and Conflict*, prompting research on this volume of *RIC*) which left a lasting legacy in the wide ranging accompanying publication by T. Opper.

²⁶ Family tree after Opper 2008, 34.

²⁷ Servianus's demise is mentioned twice in *SHA* (Hadrian 23 & 26) – the first prior to the adoption of Aelius (136) and the second after the adoption

of Antoninus (138).

²⁸ Sources listed in Birley 1997, 7-9.

²⁹ Adembri 2007.

HADRIAN

Titular Dates³⁰

Year	TR P	COS	IMP	Other titles	Notes
108		COS			Suffect consul
117	TR P (to 9 December)-TR P II	COS COS DES II	IMP	<i>Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Pater Patriae</i> + other titles appropriated from Trajan. Coins by end of year: IMP CAESAR <u>TRAIAN(VS)</u> HADRIANVS AVG ³¹	Antioch = initial imperial HQ. Adoption day = 9 August <i>Dies imperii</i> = 11 August (<i>SHA Hadrian</i> 4) Accession notification appropriating Trajan's titles sent direct from Antioch to Egypt (P.Oxy.55.3781; 25 August) but rescinded prior to DES II coinage. (<i>Pater Patriae</i> rescinded too.) Trajan's posthumous triumph given at some point after this (late 117 or 118). Hadrian gives up recently conquered territories of Armenia, Assyria and Mesopotamia.
118	TR P II-TR P III	COS II COS DES III			Hadrian's Adventus in Rome 9 July. Four consulars executed for sedition and first (double) liberality issued (<i>SHA Hadrian</i> 7).
119	TR P III-III	COS III			Death and deification of Matidia. 900 mil. HS tax remission (late 119 or early 120).
120	TR P III-V				Liberalitas III (?counting initial double liberality as I & II) ³² late 120 or more likely early 121.
121	TR P V-VI			Mid 121: IMP CAESAR <u>TRAIAN</u> HADRIANVS AVG... ³³	Festive (? <i>quinquennalia</i>) climax on 21 April: 'Parilia-Natalis Urbis' and inauguration of temple of Roma and Venus. Before end of travelling season Hadrian sets off for winter HQ at Lyon. ³⁴
122	TR P VI-VII				Inspection of Gaul and Germany includes short visit to Britain during sailing season of 122, returning before news of the death of the Apis bull. (Prior to Egyptian new year in August.) While in Britain possible inspection of frontier and plans set for Hadrian's Wall. Winter HQ in Tarraco (Spain).
123	TR P VII-VIII				Death of Plotina during Emperor's absence (no commemorative coinage issued) followed by her consecration and the interment of her ashes in Trajan's column. ³⁵ Hadrian's tour of Spain interrupted by voyage to the East for urgent conference on the Euphrates.

³⁰ Mostly following Kienast *et al* (2017), except where noted. Also see Halfmann (1986) for detailed itineraries (only headline destinations are given here).

³¹ i.e. Au and Ar: IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG; aes: IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG.

³² Contra Kienast *et al* 2017.

³³ i.e. sestertii and dupondii (mid 121 onwards): IMP CAESAR TRAIAN

HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III also other denominations, plus sestertii and dupondii from 122 or 3: IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG.

³⁴ Pre-modern travel was weather-dependent and thus the 'sailing season' was traditionally within the equinoxes, April-September.

³⁵ Or the imperial remains may even have been held in a separate adjacent structure – see Claridge 2013, 6.

Year	TR P	COS	IMP	Other titles	Notes
124	TR P VIII-VIII			HADRIANVS AVGVST(VS)	Emperor remains in the East: Hadrianothraeae founded; August in Ephesus; September / October in Eleusis for Eleusinian mysteries. Winter HQ Athens.
125	TR P VIII-X				Emperor returns to Rome during sailing season and is writing from Tivoli. Liberalitas IIII upon Adventus.
126	TR P X-XI				– no data for this year –
127	TR P XI-XII				Hadrian tours Italy. The <i>Fasti Ostienses</i> records the return to Rome on 1 August, but 10-day decennial games are not held until 20 October. Sabina first appears on coinage at Rome just prior to take-up of P P.
128	TR P XII-XIII			HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P	Sailing season: visit to Sicily and Africa. Lambaesis address: 1 July brief return to Rome and possible Liberalitas [V] ³⁶ before heading to winter HQ in Athens.
129	TR P XIII-XIII			(P P later moved to reverse)	Another visit to the Eleusinian mysteries. Hadrian now <i>Olympios</i> in the East. ³⁷ Then winter HQ in Antioch (via Ephesus).
130	TR P XIII-XV			Late 130: HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P	To Alexandria via Jerusalem (refounded as Aelia). Nile expedition and Libyan lion hunt. Death of Antinous. Foundation of Antinoopolis, 30 October Winter HQ in Alexandria (via Oxyrhynchus).
131	TR P XV-XVI				Sailing season: voyage up to and around Asia Minor. Winter HQ Athens.
132	TR P XVI-XVII				Given title of <i>Panhellenios</i> in East. Second Jewish Revolt (autumn). ³⁸ Hadrian in the field.
133	TR P XVII-XVIII				Hadrian relinquishes field command (possibly even before Julius Severus's arrival from Britain). <i>Damnatio memoriae</i> of Judaea. Liberalitas VI for final Adventus to Rome. ³⁹
134	TR P XVIII-XVIII				Jewish Revolt continues.

³⁶ Liberalitas types of this period are unnumbered but lie chronologically between the explicitly labelled Lib IIII and Lib VI. However, the possibilities around Lib V and the lack of a standalone Lib II are discussed in the commentary.

³⁷ The title only appears on the provincial series and is listed in *RPC* III, p. 847. The evidence suggests the title came about while the imperial party were based in Athens in 129 and its great temple of Olympian Zeus

completed (an unfinished building project of some six centuries), but *RPC* cautions the exact circumstances are unknown.

³⁸ Last peacetime letter in the Barbata archive dated to 19th August 132 (Yadin 1971, 249-52).

³⁹ See Eck *et al.* 2010, 189-200. The placing of Liberalitas VI here is contra Kienast *et al.* 2017 (who propose one of the options for Lib V around this period) but the coinage seems to relate to the Adventus.

Year	TR P	COS	IMP	Other titles	Notes
135	TR P XVIII-XX				Dedication of (still incomplete) temple of Roma and Venus. Jewish Revolt continues to late this year or even into next.
136	TR P XX-XXI		IMP II		Second imperial title taken for conclusion of the Jewish Revolt (<i>CIL</i> X, 7855). ⁴⁰ Aelius, already consul for this year, is adopted (mid-136) and sent to govern Pannonia. Liberalitas VII (closely related to Victory themes) is probably the 300 mil. HS for Aelius's accession (<i>SHA</i> Aelius 6).
137	TR P XXI-XXII				Aelius now full imperial colleague (TR P COS II) and appears on coinage. <i>Vicennalia</i> games held 13 Dec 137. Coup attempt of Fuscus.
138	TR P XXII				Aelius dies 1 January. Antoninus adopted as heir and colleague, 25 February, but has to find his own promised accession liberality later (<i>SHA</i> Pius 4). ⁴¹ Hadrian retires from direct rule. Further purge of candidates for the succession (but some saved by Antoninus). Sabina predeceases Hadrian, who dies in retirement at Baiae, 10 July. Both deaths followed by deification. Thus three imperial deaths within months are followed by the internment of ashes in Hadrian's mausoleum. Late commemorative coinage for Matidia suggests she may also have been retrospectively honoured at this time.

⁴⁰ For reconstruction of this important inscription with TR P XX and IMP II see Oppen 2008, 92-3 (after Eck and Förster 1999).

⁴¹ Contra Kienast *et al.* 2017 who places Lib VII with the adoption of February 138.

CHRONOLOGY

1. *Accession and realignment of the imperial family*
(*RIC 1-105 & 2447-2464*)

When he heard the news of Trajan's death at Selinus in Cilicia, Hadrian was headquartered 340 miles (547 km) away at Antioch as governor of the key Eastern military province of Syria. His official adoption day as Trajan's heir was 9 August 117. Hadrian was the Emperor's cousin, but full adoption had to be confirmed through a death-bed whisper to the soon-to-be dowager Empress Plotina. The other potential witness was the freedman servant of the bedchamber who turned up dead a few days later,⁴² and the dubious rapidity of the issue of the 'Hadrian Caesar' adoption coin is covered in *RIC* II pt. 2. In any case, Hadrian took his *dies imperii* marking the start of his reign from his acclamation by the troops on 11 August – which was what really counted – and Plotina's reward for stage-managing a usefully protracted narrative of the Emperor's demise would be a continuing position of honour in the imperial family.

Plotina's plotting aside, Hadrian's accession can be viewed through female lineage – Trajan's niece Matidia was the mother of Hadrian's Empress Sabina. For regular coin types, Sabina must wait until the second half of the reign (following the precedent of Trajan and his Empress's coinage at Rome, although the provinces are a different matter with Sabina coinage produced from 117 at Gaba in Judaea: *RPC* III 3951). However, the two imperial matriarchs, Plotina and Matidia each receive a token recognition in the initial gold coinage. This is amongst the earliest coinage of Hadrian, with Plotina reverses pairing Emperor coin obverses carrying a version of his initial titulature (discussed below) but all abbreviated onto the obverse in order to devote the reverse to the family member. Sometimes the same Plotina reverse die pairs a Matidia obverse. A hybrid aureus, (same die pair known for both specimens in Paris and Didcot hoard no.70, now London) shows they are contemporary with the initial output of Hadrian's coinage. Matidia dies during the Emperor's presence in Rome at the end of 119 and Diva Matidia receives a more extensive coinage, including not just an aureus type but also denarii. By mid-121 (on a coin struck after April but presumably before Hadrian's departure later that year) her deification temple is celebrated (perhaps not in the finished state shown) on a medallion piece dedicating the building to the deified mother-in-law (SOCRVI).

In contrast, Plotina died when the Emperor was away (123). Since the imperial presence was apparently the deciding factor in the honour of a commemorative coinage, there is little in the way of Diva Plotina coinage around the time of her death, yet we hear the Emperor held a nine-day mourning period for her (Dio LXIX, 10). Instead, after the initial family coinage of 117, there is a gold quinarius lifetime Plotina issue with the reverse TRAIANI PARTHICI referencing her husband's posthumous award of a

Parthian triumph, and likely part of the quinarii issue of 118.⁴³ Next a joint Divus Trajan / Diva Plotina aureus might have been struck at the time of her death in 123,⁴⁴ but lacking a bust of Hadrian as point of reference it is difficult to date. It could just as easily be much later – from around the time the deified couple appear together on the reverse as DIVIS PARENTIBVS with Hadrian on the obverse of an aureus of the 130s. Both coin types including Diva Plotina share a deification star next to each bust of the new god and goddess – a feature absent on the initial coinage of Divus Trajan.

Although the imperial women were clearly important to secure Hadrian's dynastic position, the deified Trajan's memory is slightly more extensive on the coinage in order to best reinforce his direct successor's rule. Initially he is just divine father, DIVO TRAIANO PATRI AVG, but the posthumous Parthian triumph is soon recognised on his coinage. To judge by the DIVVS TRAIAN AVG PARTH PATER sestertius reverse type (depicting the sort of Jupiter-like effigy of the dead Emperor that would have graced the triumph), it took place even before Hadrian's arrival at Rome. This sestertius type die-links standard reverses with COS DES II titulature, indicating the final months of 117 when the new consul designates were revealed. Unfortunately it also die-links into COS II reverses that must have been produced in the New Year of 118. The date of Trajan's posthumous triumph must remain 'late 117-early 118'. Following *RIC* convention, without any further external evidence the coin is inserted at the earliest possible point in the list: under the COS DES II coinage of late 117.

2. *Problem titulature of 117 (RIC 1-105)*

While still at Antioch, Hadrian had notification of his elevation sent round the empire. Notification survives from Oxyrhynchus, Egypt in the form of P.Oxy.55.3781; dated 25th August:

*...know that for the salvation of the human race,
Imperator Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Optimus
Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus has taken
over the leadership from his divine father...*

It could not have come via Rome in such a short period,⁴⁵ but the proclamation received at Oxyrhynchus mirrors the titulature on the initial coinage produced at Antioch and Rome: IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIAN(O) OPT AVG GER DAC ~ PARTHIC DIVI TRAIAN AVG F P M TR P COS P P. On aes: IMP CAES DIVI TRAIAN AVG F TRAIAN HADRIAN OPT AVG GER ~ DAC PARTHICO P M TR P COS P P; S C. It looked like the new Emperor was directly claiming his predecessor's victory titles and 'Optimus' (the best) epithet without achievement. The timescale of the Oxyrhynchus proclamation shows the Emperor clearly was the source of this formula but whether he came to recognise the potential

⁴² Birley 1976, 52. This work includes the most accessible translation of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (*SHA*), but the chapter on Trajan is a construct written by Birley who draws from other sources.

⁴³ Although later quinarius issues are possible the Parthian triumph

would have become old news by the COS III period.

⁴⁴ Legends: DIVO TRAIANO AVGVSTI PATRI / DIVAE PLOTINAE AVGVSTI MATRI.

⁴⁵ As noted by Parsons (2007, 62).

political embarrassment or it had to be pointed out to him once officialdom at Rome realised the error is unknowable.

Titulature was swiftly corrected, certainly well in advance of the COS DES II group at the end of 117. *RPC* shows the welter of rapidly changing titulature at other provincial mints and notes the simplification of the imperial name on subsequent papyri by 23rd October 117 (although Optimus is the last spurious title to go and is still seen in a papyrus of 1st December).⁴⁶ When the designated consuls for the New Year were announced is not known, but it must have been a long enough period to make preparations and to produce a short run of coinage conveying the information. Hadrian's corrected titulature now stood as IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANO AVG DIVI TRA~ PARTH F DIVI NER NEP P M TR P COS on the denarii with varieties of the same theme on the other denominations. The familiar formula of Hadrian's early period name emerges – Imperator Caesar Traian(us) Hadriano(us) Augustus. Dynastic pedigree now runs: 'son of the divine Trajan Parthicus, grandson of the divine Nerva'. *Pontifex Maximus* (P M) is retained but *pater patriae* (P P) is dropped as if it were one of the personal titles of Trajan, but this was an unnecessary hypercorrection and Hadrian perhaps to make a point would wait a decade before assuming the title.⁴⁷ This is a very useful chronological aid, dating all coins with COS III and P P to the second half of the reign, 128-38 (but note the anomalous TR P IIII // COS III P P medallion, below).

During the short run of the COS DES II coinage, the obverse legends were changed yet again, moving to a form that would be current up to c.120: IMP CAESAR TRAIAN(VS) HADRIANVS AVG. It is such a brief period that this group's second phase was not listed in the first edition *RIC*. This brevity is illustrated in the asses of the period. At this time, they are sporadically produced compared to the higher aes denominations – there is only one normal as type for 117 and this is to be found in the earliest legend group. There is also a curious double-headed as type with obverse legend for the second group coinage. These double-headed asses, together with ordinary asses, seem often (but not exclusively) to be related to the New Year gift giving, the double-headed coin of the same individual appropriate to the time of year of the double-headed god Janus. (The link with later double-bust asses pairing Emperor with family member is not so apparent especially with Antoninus Caesar whose office did not straddle New Year.) Furthermore, the only regular as type with the same obverse legend – IMP CAES DIVI TRA PARTH F DIVI NER NEP TRAIANO HADRIANO AVG – actually has the COS II reverse of 118. This latter type skips the progression of the obverse legend during the *designatus* period of 117. The explanation seems to be the manufacture of asses in advance to anticipate demand at New Year – with the change in obverse

legend catching the mint out.⁴⁸ In fact, the COS II asses with the anachronistic legend are more common than these with the proper legend of aes in 118: IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG. Nevertheless, Strack (Str.518) lists the anachronistic obverse legend as the main variety. The double-bust asses share aspects common to Roman medallions since they lack the S C mark of regular aes denominations and have a special commemorative purpose. However, asses and lower medallion denominations will be listed with the coins in this section of *RIC* and larger medallions, which are often less directly related to the regular coinage and certainly benefit specialist discussion of their types, are discussed in their own section of this work.

3. 118, slow return to Rome, terror and largesse (*RIC* 106-179)

It is easy to see the continuation of types from 117 in the New Year of 118. For example Fortuna Reduci (FORT RED) expressing the hope of the absent Emperor's return to Italy continued to be appropriate. The Emperor had wended his way slowly from Antioch. Perhaps it was in order to be seen amongst the soldiers of the key military regions of the Danube provinces, but he was certainly preoccupied with the pressing need to settle the Eastern and Danubian frontiers after the military overstretch of Trajan's conquests.⁴⁹ Hadrian's Adventus (ceremonial imperial arrival) at Rome did not occur until 9 July 118, just a month short of his first year in power. Adventus types replace 'fortune the homebringer' and – sometime between then and the COS DES III group of late 118 – the Emperor is depicted presiding over his first official Liberalitas.

'Liberalitas I' was to be a double donative, even though a normal donative of three aurei (75 denarii) per head had already been distributed before his arrival (*SHA* Hadrian 7). One can only assume that some money had been handed out during Trajan's posthumous triumph late in 117 or early 118 (see above). In the midst of this imperial spending binge, *SHA* (*loc. cit.*) gives the impression that the Emperor was feeling insecure, having already shocked Rome by executing four men of consular rank for sedition so early in his reign. However, this first double handout might not have been a single act of extravagance as such, but marked a long-term change in the going rate of imperial donatives. If *The Chronography of 354* is to be believed, a recipient of donatives received a thousand denarii in such bonuses during the course of Hadrian's reign, meaning some or all of his later liberalities (up to the final Lib VII) must have been similarly doubled or more. 75 denarii + 150 denarii + six subsequent payments of the 'normal' 75 denarii comes to only 675 denarii, leaving us considerably short of the stated total sum.⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *RPC* III, pp. 845-6.

⁴⁷ The point established by Augustus's precedent that P P was a suitable title for an established Emperor. Augustus took the title in February of 2 BC, a quarter of a century after beginning the piecemeal process of constructing the office of Emperor (taking the name-title Augustus in January 27 BC and Tribunician power in June 23 BC).

⁴⁸ See Abdy 2015. Themes much indebted to the thoughts expressed online and C. Clay *pers. comm.*

⁴⁹ Opper 2008, 67 – also map of travels on p20.

⁵⁰ *The Chronographer of AD 354*: 'Hadrian was Emperor for 20 years, 10 months and 14 days. He gave a congiarium [i.e. total of all his donatives] of 1000 denarii'.

Liberalitas aside, the other messages on the coinage from mid-118 onwards make clear the joy that loyal citizens should feel upon the Emperor's arrival (Felicitas) as well as Hadrian's duty to stay and protect their wellbeing whatever the cost: Pietas, Aeternitas and Salus make their appearance in mid-118 and continue into the *designatus* period and beyond.

4. *119-23, from final consulship to the (first) great expedition (RIC 190-689)*

Hadrian took his final consulship for the first four months of 119 before handing it over to a suffect-substitute. This was a common practice and *SHA* (Hadrian 8) was prepared to admit the Emperor's diligence to the office in that period. It was to be his last consulship – meaning that, in the absence of TR P dating (see below), Hadrian's coinage is from now on only intrinsically dated in two extensive incontestably fixed periods: COS III (119-128) and COS III with P P (128-138).⁵¹ We must now turn to identifying production runs and die-links to break this down into more practical chronological stages, and inevitably these will be much wider than the clarity of the COS I and II years.

4a. *119-20, before the quinquennialia (RIC 190-295)*

In the initial phase of 119 we can clearly see continuation of silver and aes types of the second half of 118. The defiant post-conspiracy comments from the end of the previous year (Aeternitas etc) are joined by the elaborate sestertius scene labelled LIBERTAS RESTITVTA. It is less easy to explain the revival of the Adventus dupondius type now with a COS III legend (it had not otherwise continued into the *designatus* period of 118). To modern eyes with simplistic 'newspaper headline' expectations of Roman coin types it seems to be a gross error to repeat an event six months out of date. It is in fact an anomalous rarity, unknown to Strack, and should probably be explained in the sporadic nature of the production of aes in batches. We have already seen the problem of the asses produced in the New Year of 118. The workshop must have been required to start up production without receiving instructions on a new type, and the error was quickly remedied. The same workshop (or another workshop under the same circumstances) presumably produced the rare Liberalitas sestertius with COS III. Here we have a small issue repeating the exact detail of a type of 118 but carrying the third consulship. The implication is that this should not be interpreted as a record of a second donative event with the Liberalitas III of 120/1 and therefore presumably counting Hadrian's first official double donative of mid-118 as I and II.⁵²

⁵¹ Thrice consul was evidently of sufficiently prestigious status for Hadrian – witness the still-extant inscription on his Pantheon to the previous builder Agrippa which gives great prominence to the title COS TERTIVM. The days of almost annual consulships seen in the Flavian period were certainly over. Trajan had taken six, while Hadrian's successors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius took four and three respectively – making Commodus's seven consulships seem immodest only in comparison since

it was nowhere near Domitian's seventeen.

In the next phase of 119 we see ongoing denarii themes and aes continuing in the same obverse legend format, but paired with an expanded variety of bust types. (The first phase of aes of 119 in particular seems restricted to a three-quarter length bust with bare chest draped with cloak (*paludamentum*) only on the far shoulder.) The four sestertius types exhibit die-link connections. The BRITANNIA as is harder to place since it cannot die-link to the sestertii, but it probably belongs here or at least this is the earliest point it could fit in the sequence. It has two bust types and this represents an expansion on the first phase of 119 (represented by the Victory as with its single bust type). Thus the first depiction of Britannia could appear before the end of 119, or failing that, during the following year or so (however, the convention of listing types at the earliest point they can appear will be followed).

Unlike the lower denominations, there are no directly continuing gold types from 118 to 119 so for the aurei that are placed at the start of 119 we must rely entirely on the die-links identified by Beckmann in the COS DES III gold: GEN P R together with a type of Bonus Eventus without any descriptive legend (Bonus Eventus with altar appears a year or two later on denarii but Strack heaped these together in his corpus). The Bonus Eventus in particular could be seen as a continuing comment on the good outcome (for the Emperor) in quashing the plot of the four consulars. Note that Pietas, Aeternitas and Salus themes continue on the denarii in this period. A standing Jupiter aureus with a wide variety of busts could be a second phase together with denarii also indicating similar expansion of bust options. There is actually a die shared between the Jupiter aureus and a Pax type denarius. The few new types introduced alongside the continuing Aeternitas, Concordia, Felicitas themes were probably in tribute to the passing of Matidia – her own consecration coinage (aurei as well as denarii) and the comment on the reverse of the Emperor coinage, PVDIC(itia), probably passing the matriarchal torch to Sabina (see Types section). These two new types were possibly produced in the workshops formerly given over to Salus and Pietas. Aeternitas demonstrates the interesting tweaks to the format that must have helped define successive production batches of denarii otherwise stuck on the same theme: as the bust options expand its descriptive legend expands to AETER AVG and then, along with even more bust options, Aeternitas becomes a completely undescriptive reverse type. The Jupiter aureus is also possibly related to the seated Jupiter sestertii and magnificent silver medallion of the same subject and legend format. Another second phase sestertius is the Roma type – seated on a very varied and detailed selection of arms and armour – which is the latest coin in the Monte Cuore hoard and indeed the only COS III coin type present.⁵³

it was nowhere near Domitian's seventeen.

⁵² As if to prove the point of the potential of confusion at the mint there is a hybrid from the HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS period of 124-7 with the Liberalitas reverse die of the COS II year (!) – presumably employed by mistake during the production of the sestertii with the Lib. IIII distribution scene in 125.

⁵³ Monte Cuore (Italy) hoard catalogue = *RIN* 16 (1903), 411-8.

If Hadrian was feeling impecunious after the double handout the previous year (118) and needed to save for the *quinquennialia* or fifth year milestone celebration, he certainly came up with an innovative way of continuing to bribe the citizenry without handing over any physical money at all. This was the celebrated episode of the burning of the tax receipts (*RIC* 262-268). Two monumental fragments bear testament to their burning in Trajan's Forum (*SHA* Hadrian 7). Chatsworth House preserves a freeze of praetorians transporting boxes of tax documents, presumably towards their destruction in the Roman forum.⁵⁴ These records of tax arrears are also explained in the inscription fragment *CIL* VI 967 which expands similar information given on the sestertii:

QVI PRIMVS OMNIVM PRINCIPIVM ET SOLVVS
REMITTENDO [SESTERTIVM NOVIES] MILIES
CENTENA MILIA

It has also been reconstructed in *CIL* as TR P II COS II – contra the coinage which is certainly COS III, but this can be discounted as *CIL*'s own drawing shows it is reconstructed text far outside the area of the surviving fragment (thus TR P III(I) COS III or even, as on the coinage, TR P COS III would be more likely). *CIL*'s reconstruction is probably influenced by the discussion in *SHA* (Hadrian 7) of the tax giveaway in advance of Hadrian's third consulship.⁵⁵ The size of the vast 'giveaway' (actually unrealised tax arrears and so much of what the Emperor was writing off was probably bad debt anyway) valued at 900 million sestertii, was equivalent to the fortunes of 900 senators or three times the value of Hadrian's final donative (of real money) in 136.⁵⁶ It provides a unique occasion for a sestertius sum (using the HS sestertius symbol) to appear on an imperial period sestertius: RELIQUA VETERA HS NOVIES MILL ABOLITA.⁵⁷ It seems to invite the bearer of the coin to imagine 900 million of them! The legend accompanies a scene involving variations of a lictor torching a heap of bonds with or without an enthusiastic crowd of onlookers. The reverse legend of these sestertii is purely descriptive (S C mark aside) and to accommodate this, the obverse legend of the new production group has now changed to: IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III. It was possible for some sestertii to be hybridised with the old obverse bearing what would be for this pairing an incomplete obverse legend (BM specimen L.1206), confirming that it is part of a follow-

on group. Perhaps we are already into the New Year of 120, there seems no way to be sure. At the very least, we should now be quite far on into 119 – the format change possibly a response to the legend immobilisation threatened by the lack of new *designatus* period now that the Emperor had ceased to take up further consulships. The early phase of this new sestertius group features a return to very restricted bust varieties, perhaps understandable with the need to completely replace all obverse dies. The obverse legend of the asses does not change, but luckily there is an unexpected hybrid between dupondius with the new obverse legend and as reverse type with old unchanged format. The reverse is of the hitherto uncommon reverse subject of Honos, note that the existing obverse die stock with its wider bust options can be used for asses.

4b. *Mints, Rome and Antioch (early years up to 119), and the past problems of TR P reckoning*

Aside from the main output at Rome, Hadrianic denarii were also produced in the style of the tetradrachm coinage at Antioch (*RIC* 2959-2972).⁵⁸ They roughly follow Rome types and titulature for COS I.⁵⁹ COS II at Antioch diverges from Rome convention with COS II indicated as COS ITERO and the SPQR familiar from Trajan's coins and inscriptions.⁶⁰ There is even an apparently unique coin of this group directly commemorating the old Emperor, a Divus Trajan denarius with the DIVI NER TRAIAN OPT FIL titulature otherwise used in Hadrian's COS ITERO legends. It confirms Trajan's coinage commemoration carried into the New Year at least in Antioch (and thus perhaps in Rome too). The COS III denarii follow the convention in Rome on the obverse: IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG but on the reverse expand TR P with P M TR POTES COS III. The final issue at Antioch carries the full TR P date P M TR POTES III COS III. This combination should only run to 9 December 119. Perhaps this series started late in the year when the consuls designate for 120 had been announced and it was clear Hadrian was not seeking a fourth consulship. Enumerating the TR P would certainly have provided a futureproof system for future years' production, but it was not to be, for no TR P III coins are known. The imperial style denarii of Antioch therefore ceased – seemingly along with silver tetradrachms⁶¹ – before 120.

One long-disputed aspect of Hadrian's titulature is the tribunician power renewal. Although it rarely appears on

⁵⁴ Opper 2008, 57.

⁵⁵ For another example of events listed out of sequence in *SHA* see below on the death of Servianus – occurring close to the death of Sabina – mentioned both in advance of Aelius's adoption in 136 and also just before Hadrian's own demise in 138.

⁵⁶ Note Strack (1933, 60) and *BMC* (p. clxv) correctly understands the sum, HS NOVIES MILL(ies), as 900 million sestertii. Birley (1997, 98) does not ('nine million'). See Melville Jones (1990, 288) for an explanation of how the multiplied reckoning worked.

⁵⁷ Although convenient to type HS, in reality the sestertius symbol was IIS with a strikethrough to represent the old redundant value of a sestertius at two asses and one semis – for two and a half centuries since it has stood at four asses.

⁵⁸ Strack (Taf. XX; *5a) knew a unique Antioch aureus type but this is almost certainly a modern concoction.

⁵⁹ IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIANO OPT AVG GER DAC moves to IMP CAE DI TRA PAR F DI NER NEP TRA HADRIANO AVG (and reverse drops P P).

⁶⁰ The marching Virtus type of the group looks directly inspired from Trajanic issues – B. Woytek *pers. comm.*

⁶¹ See *RPC* III, p. 449. The information I had supplied at this point for *RPC* followed Mattingly's TR P system with TRP III running from August 119-August 120, allowing the coinage to run into early 120. In the light of Prof Eck's guidance this does not seem to be the case and TRP ran only until December 119.

Hadrian's coinage, it is the closest gauge of an Emperor's regnal years and vital to date the appearance of other titles (P P and IMP II) when they appear on more extensive monumental inscriptions. The first Emperor Augustus, in constructing his façade of Republican power, had taken *tribunicia potestas* as one of his key titles (often TR P or TR POT on coins and inscriptions). Derived from the office of tribune of the plebs, and useful for its personal inviolability, Augustus could only take the *power* of the tribune, not the plebeian office itself as he was an aristocrat of patrician rank. Republican tribunes were elected annually on the 10 December and most modern authorities (viz Kienast *et al.* 2017) view the adoptive Emperors from Trajan onwards as adhering to this tradition and synchronising from accession with a short TR P first year catch-up. However, Augustus himself and his first century successors ignored the Republican date and renewed TR P annually on the *dies imperii*, the Emperor's observed accession day.

BMC's chronology table listed TR P renewal based around an August-August *dies imperii*, but noted the ambiguous inscriptional evidence early in the reign as to which convention Hadrian had followed.⁶² Today our understanding is greatly enhanced through the increasing body of military diplomas, mostly found through metal detecting. These bronze documents take the form of duplicated contracts sealed by witnesses, and formally prove the Emperor's decree of honourable discharge. The recipient was normally an auxiliary soldier for whom such an event also carried the award of Roman citizenship after 25 years' service. The information they provide is invaluable. When fully preserved, diplomas carry (unlike Hadrian's coinage) the full titles of the Emperor, together with the day / month date and the year implied from the consular pairing, the traditional method found in the most useful Roman inscriptions. The imperial title PRO COS is used when the Emperor is outside Italy and this has helped to construct a far more accurate picture of the chronology of Hadrian's travels than was available to Mattingly and Strack in the 1930s.⁶³ Interestingly, *CIL* XVI 69 (= BM 1930,0419.1), a diploma issued to a soldier serving in a British regiment is one of a number dated 17th July 122, during the window of opportunity for Hadrian to visit to the island. This has led to the interesting hypothesis that discharge could be saved up to take advantage of the honour of a mass ceremony in the imperial presence.⁶⁴ The recipient of *CIL* XVI 69 was a Pannonian auxiliaryman called Gemellus, and after its award in Britain he presumably used it to register as a Roman citizen in his home community near Brigetio (Ószony, Hungary) where the diploma was found. Hadrian is listed as PRO COS (i.e. out of Italy) and TR P VI.

The many extant military diplomas confirm Hadrian's TR P renewal years begin and end in December. However, it is a mistake to think they provide a spot-check on TR P progress as ordinary inscriptions might – a possible source of much of the confusion of earlier *RIC* and *BMC* chronology tables for

this period. Instead they have to be studied in total in order to discern the pattern. The reason for this is that each diploma is actually two inscriptions which are related but not necessarily contemporary: the copy of the Emperor's decree (with TR P date) and the contract (with consular / calendar date). The decree had to occur first and then the contract created bearing its copy, with some unknowable gap of weeks or even perhaps months between them. Thus *RMD* V, 354, a diploma created in late December 119 copies down Hadrian as TR P III when this had ended on 9 December. Diplomas a decade later illustrate the gap very well: two survive from February 129 with Hadrian as TR P XII while for a further four from March 129 onwards it is TR P XIII, respectively copying decrees from pre and post 10 December 128.⁶⁵ This obviously makes a confused picture for diplomas created around the ends of each year.

Furthermore and perhaps understandably given the mass production of such volumes of text onto bronze, copying errors do occur, most obviously between the duplicates. Diploma *ZPE* 165, 2008, 213 gives Hadrian as TR P IIII with a contract dated to late April 121. TR P IIII would have ended 9th December 120 and if not in error it seems a very long gap between decree and contract production. It is interesting to note that it covers the period pertinent to Hadrian's only TR P dated product from the mint of Rome: medallions *RIC* 2803 and 2811. The medallion also gives TR P IIII – but it is a confused type which erroneously gives Hadrian the P P title he dropped in 117 and would not revive on coins until 128. *RIC* 2803 shows the pairing of the TR P IIII reverse with the obverse legend format IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III. This is contemporary with sestertii and medallions of the *parilia* festival held on 21st April 121 – Rome's 'birthday' – in the year 121. These *parilia* coins give the year these particular city birthday celebrations were held with the unprecedented accuracy of *ab urbe condita* year: ANN DCCCCLXXXIII NAT VRB (i.e. after the founding of Rome, AUC date being the equivalent of our modern AD or Common Era dating system). Year (annus) 874 = AD 121. Next, *RIC* 2811 sees the pairing of the same TR P IIII reverse with an obverse legend only current after the April 121 *parilia* coins ceased production. IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III. If it was a hybrid struck in 121 employing an out-of-date reverse type which should have been retired in December 120 then the medallion is an example of the old problem bedevilling numismatic typologies and particularly acute with Hadrian's medals. If not, then perhaps it was an error calculated from the old TR P dating system which after all had only been changed in the previous reign and mistaken mintworkers (already using the P P title in error on this piece) thought they could use the TR P IIII die up to the *dies imperii* in August 121. This scenario would suggest the change in obverse legends on the aes coinage (contracting TRAIANVS to TRAIAN) occurred between April and August 121. In any case, the TRAIAN contraction had

⁶² See also Mattingly 1930.

⁶³ Eck *et al.* 2010.

⁶⁴ Birley 1997, 127-8. Of course the document would need to have been made virtually on the spot, recording the Emperor's decree 'live' since the

window of opportunity to coincide with Hadrian's visit would be lost if it was transported from Rome.

⁶⁵ W. Eck *et al.* 2010, 197 (table) and W. Eck, *pers. comm.*

certainly occurred by the time the subsequent great expedition was underway – to judge by the appearance of the FORTVNAE REDVCI dupondii, *RIC* 614-617, bearing only this obverse legend formula and marking imperial progress.

4c. *Run up to quinquennalia, 120-1: evolving depiction of chest and cuirass busts (RIC 293-487)*

The *parilia sestertius*, as opposed to the *parilia aureus* which requires an eccentric obverse legend format which precludes die sharing with other types, is very useful in helping us to understand the next period. This is the run-up to the Emperor's fifth anniversary in office. The April 121 celebrations could certainly have formed a celebratory focus (or one of many), but the traditional period for commemoration and celebration could perhaps be reached after the fourth *dies imperii* had passed, leaving a year to anticipate the fifth: August 120-August 121. Alternatively, the April 121 focus would still fall within a quinquennial period framed within TR P V (December 120-December 121), but there seems no way to be certain. The *parilia sestertius* is part of a group of aes with descriptive reverse legends which feature expanding bust options returning to and even surpassing the bust choice just before the initial phase of descriptive-only reverses were introduced. The *quinquennalia*-period sestertii show the mint striking an impressive cycle of numerous types with many die-links demonstrated by the Garonne hoard catalogue. Among them are LIBERALITAS AVG III S C and related theme with novel hyperbole reminding the public of money already spent, LOCVPLETATORI ORBIS TERRARVM S C – 'enricher' of the [Roman] world,⁶⁶ while the Moneta theme is also prevalent at this time of largesse. The Moneta and the 'enricher' types among others continue after the contraction to IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III of mid-121 or later, but significantly Lib III itself and the closely dated *parilia* type of April 121 do not. Thus there was a late or post *quinquennalia* period where some of the more generic festive themes carried on from spring into summer and beyond, long after coins recording the specific events of the games and donative had ceased production.

The gold and silver of the *quinquennalia* period is less unusual in character than the aes. The unhelpful obverse legend of the *parilia aureus* (with a format precluding die-links to other aureus reverses) has already been mentioned and the only other directly corresponding types to the aes are the LIBERAL AVG III denarii, the Aequitas-Moneta gold and silver and the VS PRO RED aurei. There are a number of aureus die links available, however, which give us a picture of a substantial gold output of interesting types as we would expect in a period of largesse. The dramatic facing-Virtus aureus eludes a die link but is stylistically close to a facing Mars type (which die-links to Aequitas-Moneta). A Minerva Promachus (of stiff, maybe even Archaic style, perhaps representing the Palladium) completes a trio of dramatic facing deities. Other

unrelated denari types are placed here as their bare chest busts now seem to be a rarer option amongst heads and draped and/or cuirassed busts and, when they do occur, the chests often look to be of later style with less convincingly corporeal physique. The subtle transition during this period from the more gracile, finely-chiselled earlier chest has previously been observed by Strack.⁶⁷ Interestingly the denarius themes that fall into this group include various expressions of the joy of the Roman people at this auspicious moment of the reign as well as their enrichment through the Lib III donative, while war and peace, Mars and Pax seem more balanced than the mainly belligerent deities on the contemporary aurei. As for the otherwise unrelatable quinarii, the bulk are assumed for convenience to be around this period.

Late- / post-*quinquennalia* denarii (*RIC* 355-402) can carry cuirassed busts cropped of their pteryges ('B1 crop') as can now be seen on the aes exhibiting the contracted TRAIAN form of obverse legend. There is, however, a lag before cropped cuirasses appears on aurei since late phase *quinquennalia* gold such as VS PRO RED resolutely continue the form of draped and cuirassed bust (D1; D2) and avoid cuirass-only ones (with or without pteryges). This is most obvious on the Aequitas-Moneta type produced in gold and silver but only the denarii have the cropped B1 busts.

4d. *Post-quinquennalia period: 121 (late) - 123 (RIC 497-689)*

We now come to the second COS III (no P P) period, beginning around the time of Hadrian's departure on the great journey which would see him winter in Gaul and Germany before the British visit in the sailing season of 122. He subsequently wintered in Tarraco, Spain (122-3) before traversing the length of the Mediterranean to parley with the Parthians on the Euphrates in 123. Both aurei and denarii include cuirassed (B1) busts now always cropped of their pteryges. Travel themes are much in evidence: Fortune the home-bringer (even a type with the figure of Hadrian taking on Fortuna's attributes) together with ships and Oceanus. It is tempting to think that the ships, Oceanus and Fortune the home-bringer (FORT RED / FORTVNAE REDVCI on the aes) refer to the British trip in 122 since the first part of the expedition was inland to Gaul and Germany. Of course with a bit more overlap in the vague evolutionary trend towards late denarius forms in this period they could always be references to the great Mediterranean crossing of 123. However, I think this is unlikely since the successor to the FORT RED type is Hadrian-as-Fortuna – it seems part of a later phase of denarii which will be described shortly. The syncretic Emperor-as-personification is an unusual type and seems to comment on an unusual situation as the Emperor hurriedly sailing across the Roman world to make peaceful settlement with Parthia (but clearly ready for war given the Hadrian-Fortuna's battledress). The Janus aureus is another unusual type of the period and

⁶⁶ Appropriately enough for an empire encircling the Mediterranean the Roman world is described as the 'circle of lands'.

⁶⁷ 1933, 7-11. His 'Portättypen ε' being the equivalent of 'A4' bare chest busts in this work. Hill (1970) illustrates the two styles on pl. II, nos. 1 and 2.

could refer to the turn of the year 122 or 123 (to be followed by the same deity repeated on asses for the turn of 124 which by then have changed to the obverse legend of the next period).

On the late phase silver, Spes, Concordia, and Roma (standing in her Amazon-guise) follow through to the next period (i.e. these types will also appear on the HADRIANVS AVGVST denarii). Sometimes the A1 busts show a tendency to be quite closely cropped back from the shoulder-line and thus presage the next period. Note that confusingly, Concordia is a reprise of the type from 119-20 (a perennially favourite theme which had initially continued in the form seen in 118 with exergue legend CONCORD before switching to a type without any descriptive legend over the course of 119-20). The Concordia of 123 has the late busts seen on the other types of this year. The cornucopia under Concordia's seat seems to be predominantly absent by 123 if this was intended as some sort of production indicator, but if so mint staff had forgotten that this was not enough when they revived the type with exergual descriptive legend. They are inevitably subjectively divided in this typology by bust type. The gold forms a very distinct late-phase group with many die links evident and we can see the development of bust forms are more extreme than the denarii. Busts on the aurei are either close to the truncated heads of the following period or a new, compact form of cuirassed bust with pteryges. The Hercules theme continues from the previous phase but here expanded into a number of elaborate and intriguing designs. One type is helpfully labelled HERC(ules) GADIT(anus) – i.e. of Gades/Cadiz – and the Spanish theme is continued with Minerva and rabbit (the animal familiar of representations of Hispania). Together with aurei of Neptune and a river-god holding rudder (evidently a navigable river such as the Euphrates) these gold types seem to refer to the epic dash from Spain to the Euphrates in 123.

On the aes of the post *quinquennalia* period, descriptive types continue in late 121 (also including Fortune the home-bringer) with obverse: IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III, moving in the course of 122 or 123 to IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG and thus all denominations now follow the same obverse format. Prominent in this late phase is the evocative EXPED AVG Hadrian on horseback type. Representing the Emperor on his imperial progress, it is carried through to the HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS reverses of c.124 (along with the Virtus sestertii type). Strack started the HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS coinage period in 123 along with a theory that it represented the 150th anniversary of Octavian's adoption of the name-title Augustus.⁶⁸ This sounds a rather arbitrary Roman anniversary to me, but the 110 year *saeculum* (an Etruscan century held as an interval of time no lifespan could surpass) since the deification of Augustus in 14 would seem more suitably portentous. Both options are of

course equally unverifiable, although Mattingly's proposed production hiatus in order to begin HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS in 125-6 can be ruled out as unnecessarily fanciful.⁶⁹ Whether the next period began late 123 or with the New Year of 124, Hadrian was still only part way through his great expedition.

5. HADRIANVS AVGVST(VS), 124-7 (RIC 708-899)

This next period of COS III (no P P) is defined by the radical change to the curt legend HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS which brings to equal prominence the name of the first Emperor alongside that of Hadrian. It was a bold format last employed on the late aurei of Domitian, and stands in stark contrast to the desperate proclamations of immediate dynastic lineage on the first Hadrianic issues back in 117. Chronology is less boldly defined in this period and it needs to be bracketed by the *circa* dates of 124-7. That is to say, types of this group follow on from the previous period that certainly runs up to 123 (to judge by the themes covered) and in turn ends with types which continue into the next period (with P P) which Kienast *et al.* feel had certainly arrived by early 128.⁷⁰ *SHA* becomes compressed in its narrative by this point. Whereas the British visit of 122 is sandwiched between the first overwintering of the trip in the Gallic and German provinces (121-2)⁷¹ and the second at Tarraco (122-3), the convoluted return leg from the Parthian frontier is compressed and runs into the second brief expedition of 128 before embarking in the same year on the much more substantial third. We have evidence of Hadrian's writing activity at his magnificent villa outside Rome at Tivoli in mid-125, following a return from the East which involved winter HQs in Asia Minor (123-4) and Athens (124-5).⁷² With Hadrian's return, the main source for his *Decennalia* activity is the *Fasti Ostienses*, indicating his tour around Italy in 127 and the decennial games held late in the year. The delay between return to Rome (1st August) and the games (20th October) seems protracted and may be due to illness/injury. From the Salus types dedicated to the Emperor's well-being which appear on the coinage straddling the award of P P (i.e. 127-8), Birley cogently ascribes a recorded but otherwise undated hunting injury (broken collar-bone: Dio LXIX, 10).⁷³ Note that the games for the *vicennalia* would be even later in its respective year, but by then Hadrian was suffering his terminal illness and / or awaiting the return of his Caesar from Pannonia.

Early issues of denarii and aurei of the period 124-7 seem to have two phases: the shortened HADRIANVS AVGVST which quickly settles into the more familiar HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. Although the denarius types continue their themes from 123, the gold types do not and this tweak to the new legend format is useful in fixing the early gold (the die-linked Sol in chariot and the wolf and twins badge of Rome).

⁶⁸ '... das hundertundfünfzigste Jahr seit der Begründung des Principats.' (Strack 1933, 13).

⁶⁹ *RIC* II, p. 315 & 323. With *BMC* Mattingly moved the commencement of the HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS obverse period to 124-5 but still preferred 125 (*BMC*, p. cxvi).

⁷⁰ Kienast *et al.* 2017, 123: '1 H [erste Hälfte] 128'.

⁷¹ Halfmann (1986, 197) hypothesises Lugdunum as the winter HQ of 121-2.

⁷² See Halfmann (1986, 191-2) who also suggests Nicomedia and Nicaea as winter HQs for 123-4; Halfmann (1986, 202), the Emperor's letter (to Delphi) was written at Tivoli sometime between 14 August and 12 September of 125.

⁷³ Birley 1976, 199.

Very rarely seen on aurei around the time of the Adventus of 125 (group 5) and sometimes too towards the end of the period on aes with some sort of medallion character is the inversion AVGVSTVS HADRIANVS. This might simply be a mistake of the bust engraver carving the design upside down between the two equally spaced (almost equally sized) words following the legend engraver's work (or vice-versa). If it is intentional I have no firm explanation for it although its appearance during the heightened sense of occasion of the Adventus might be to give prominence to the return of the new Augustus. The bust types of the initial group of the period (group 4, 124-5) often show a transitional level of cropping and the neck is not quite fully truncated from the shoulder-line. There is also a silver quinarius with such an early bust that we can place in the second phase of the group: the Capricorn badge of the Emperor Augustus hinting at the inspiration for the fundamental legend format change.⁷⁴

On the corresponding aes we find the continuing EXPED AVG type together with a common hybridisation of the VIRT AVG sestertius from the previous period. Diana and Neptune are likewise honoured (as on the denarii), while the smaller denominations include notable new types of Pegasus and Janus for the dupondii and asses respectively. The Janus can have the very early bust form, indeed it is almost whole-chest like on Paris specimen P.5742. To me this suggests the transition to the new legend had occurred in the New Year, with Janus commemorating January of this significant year of image change or perhaps just heralding the start of a peaceful New Year following truce with Parthia. (There is also a repeated bust as in this group with equally early style bust which could conceivably have been produced for the same New Year.) This particular Janus differs from the earlier aureus type in that the as version is clearly four-faced Janus Quadrifrons (the fourth face being at the rear of the head).

Although a splendid type, the significance of the Pegasus remains mysterious, although Strack tentatively connected it to the consecration of Plotina in 123.⁷⁵ Strack also sees the type of the Emperor on the rostrum performing an oration before a temple as a eulogy for the dead Empress but this was vehemently countered by Mattingly who notes the gap of years before Hadrian would return to Rome to give it.⁷⁶ In any case, explicit reference to Plotina's death and consecration is ignored on the coinage, so why should there be any subtle allusion to

it? Instead the Pegasus probably just represents a mythical beast from the East (Hadrian could have been in the vicinity of the Pegasus-town of Corinth by autumn of 124 according to Halfmann's itinerary)⁷⁷ and the temple type must belong to a later group when Hadrian was back in Rome in order to appear in front of the citizenry from 125 onwards.

5a. *Special aes groups minted at Rome for Eastern circulation (RIC 750-760)*

Thinking again of the Pegasus as, another reason for its presence might well be as a familiar of Sol⁷⁸ – being part of a group that includes the elegant aureus type of Sol mounting quadriga. So Pegasus might not just be here for its Eastern associations only, but if it was it was in good company as this period also sees the production of a batch of orichalcum asses and semis intended for circulation in Syria and also featuring Eastern bestiary. The springing griffin type in particular is stylistically very similar to Pegasus (but note the griffin's leonine tail in contrast to Pegasus's horsetail) and also sometimes has the III of COS III placed in the exergue and overlined; a habit seen on the legends of this early group of the period (c.124).⁷⁹ Other reverses of this special group include a sitting griffin as well as Antioch's badge of the city Tyche above the personification of the river-god Orontes –identifying the provincial destination of this batch of small change. Antioch was producing locally a suite of aes denominations at this time in leaded bronze:⁸⁰ as, semis, trichalkon, and the tiny chalkous.⁸¹ The Roman pieces match the first two sizes but are made of orichalcum.⁸² There is even a hybrid with an obverse die intended for Roman denominations in the form of a dupondius preserved in Vienna,⁸³ proving production at the mint of Rome. This issue struck by the Hadrianic mint for Syria follows the precedent of an earlier batch of Antioch-style aes sent from Rome about the time of Trajan's *vicennalia* (TR POT XX).

Date of manufacture for Hadrian's orichalcum asses and their related semisses is given here as c.124-5 on the stylistic grounds already mentioned, but also, working under the *RPC* assumption that imperial proximity often seems to have boosted concern for coin production in the area, since Hadrian was in the East at this time (see below on decentralised Eastern denarius production c.123-33).⁸⁴ However, this latter point might be irrelevant given that the coinage was being sent as a batch from Rome to the provinces. It might

⁷⁴ Hadrian's devotion to Augustus was personal too: Hadrian kept his effigy amongst his household gods and his signet ring bore an image of the first Emperor (Opper 2008, 54-5).

⁷⁵ Strack 1933, 120.

⁷⁶ Strack 1933, 114. *BMC* p. clxviii.

⁷⁷ The winged horse cannot be a reference to the death of his favorite mount Borysthenes, whose equine tomb was honoured with an inscription (surviving as *CIL* XII, 1122) at Apte in Gallia Narbonensis: see Dio LXIX,10. Hadrian had left Gaul far behind in 122.

⁷⁸ Andrew Brown *pers. comm.*

⁷⁹ McAlee (2007, 224, fn.19) notes the stylistic similarity of the springing griffin to the Pegasus types.

⁸⁰ See Wang appendix for some XRF tests on British Museum material.

⁸¹ Curiously a chalkous of Antioch manufacture found its way into *BMC* (no. 1833) in error as an 'uncia'(!).

⁸² McAlee (2007) covers this series in great detail. The plate (2007, 223) is especially illuminating as it allows comparison between the sizes of (native) Antioch and Rome denominations.

⁸³ There may also once have been a copper as hybrid in a private collection too although this is unconfirmed beyond a listing in the original edition of *BMC* (#1349† – but now confused with an unrelated (non-hybrid) coin #1349A in the most recent *BMC* edition).

⁸⁴ See *RPC* III, pp.870-2. Also a good case study is the imperial visit to Judaea early in the travelling season of 130, which coincided with the resumption of coinage at Gaba (Gaba year 189 = 129-30, i.e. the first half of 130), as well as neighbouring Geresá (Jerash) and Philadelphia (*RPC* III, 507).

be simpler to see the orichalcum asses (and semisses) as an Eastern equivalent of the batches of copper asses sent to boost the North Western provinces' circulation of small change now recognised as 'coins of British association' (discussed in the section on Types). In the case of the batch of aes sent to Syria, tailor-made denominations were required to match the local coin circulation. The Trajan and Hadrian batch shipments are most commonly found in the Levant but do crop up in the west.⁸⁵ A good case study is the important aes assemblage from the Sacred Spring at Bath. The Sacred Spring yielded four specimens of the Hadrianic Rome-for-Syria asses (and even one of native Antioch manufacture). Furthermore, Bath demonstrates the relative scale of the Trajanic and Hadrianic batches: twenty Trajan pieces were found in the Sacred Spring (plus one type of native Antioch manufacture). One of these even had an Eastern countermark demonstrating extensive circulation in the East before reaching the opposite end of the empire. Indeed, D R Walker, the cataloguer of the Sacred Spring assemblage, looked at site finds of the Trajan pieces from across the western provinces and even makes the interesting point that, because of their slightly smaller module (especially noticeable when worn), these orichalcum asses may have found a place in the western aes circulation as semisses (which otherwise reached Britain in negligible quantity).⁸⁶

See Types for discussion of other groups of low denomination aes of the 120s minted at Rome for provincial circulation (Cappadocia, Cyrenaica and mining communities).

5b. *Return voyage from the great expedition and Adventus at Rome in 125 (RIC 772-835)*

The impressive sestertius of Hadrian haranguing the citizens in the forum has already been mentioned as probably an elaborate Adventus type associated with the Emperor's return to Rome at some point running up to August of 125. With it in this second group of the period goes the type of the fourth Liberalitas which seems to share an obverse die with the forum/Adventus scene (displaying a bare head cropped and enlarged to take up most of the flan) or is otherwise very close in style. Mattingly notes that 'the fourth Liberalitas was probably given in AD 125 in honour of Hadrian's arrival in Rome'⁸⁷ and I see no reason to contest this assertion given the precedent of the first Adventus-liberalitas in 118. Hadrian has still spent the first half of 125 travelling (voyaging to Rome from Greece via Sicily) and the aes coinage for this group does have some travel types in the form of Neptune sestertii both with and without the extra legend NEP RED showing the sea-god's role as homebringer of the Emperor. The later phase of Neptune sestertii are devoid of descriptive legend and die-link with the forum/Adventus scene. There is also a galley type as to continue the nautical theme. It is concurrent with a Minerva as (Hadrian was returning home having been wise in his dealings

with his Parthian adversaries) – sometimes sharing the same curious double reverse coins which are even rarer than their double-bust counterparts.⁸⁸

The denarius types – no longer exhibiting the early bust form – belonging to the second group of the period notably show themes of Roma, a resting Hercules with Victory (seemingly alluding to Hadrian's triumphal return after a prolonged period of adventures) and the emblems of priesthood. The Neptune aureus matches the denarii but no other gold types do, so the gold principally rests here on the same grounds: new types no longer exhibiting early bust forms. The Adventus scene (Roma greeting Hadrian) gold quinarius must surely belong with this group to mark the return of 125. Thus the main aureus theme should be the Adventus and the arriving Hadrian on pacing horse with his arm aloft in gesture of address and greeting. These die-link the aureus type of Hadrian on horseback with spear. The Emperor hunting or on manoeuvres seems a less obvious theme – unless there is much overlap with the post Adventus events of 126-7 which seemed to include hunting and the internal expedition around Italy. Interestingly, one obverse die that links them has the inverted legend AVGVSTVS HADRIANVS mentioned above.

Strack notices the similarity of theme between the emblems of priesthood denarius type and the emblems of Virtus on the aureus since they are adjacent on his catalogue.⁸⁹ The emblems of priesthood – usually the sacrificial implements used in pagan religion, but in one instance include the Roman priests' apex or spiked headdress – are a stock Roman coin type to impart the idea that the Emperor was also the Pontifex Maximus or chief priest of the state religion. The emblems of Virtus include her helmet and parazonium dagger in bulbous-ended scabbard which the female personification often holds in a suggestively phallic pose. They are a novel way to impart the Emperor's secular duties, the courageous prowess requisite for an effective commander in chief. This aureus type die-links into the Adventus-rider type as well as those showing Hadrian on manoeuvres (or hunting), which is the more conventional way of displaying the Emperor's virtue. To judge by the common types, the closely de-linked gold output of the Adventus and liberalitas of 125 must have been prodigious. However, it also uses up all the remaining aurei types prior to the P P coinage leaving a gap in the period 126/7 for any gold production – unless the overlap between gold of group 5 and 6 is far greater than that of the lower denominations.

5c. *Final groups of the first HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS period (without P P), c.126-7 (RIC 845-899)*

The final group (group 6) of this period exhibits types and/or themes that transition into the succeeding HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P obverses. There is no way of knowing how far the previous group, group 5, documenting the Adventus year of 125, might have extended into 126 (especially the gold as

⁸⁵ Butcher 2004, 411-2.

⁸⁶ Walker 1988, 289.

⁸⁷ Also *BMC* p. clxviii.

⁸⁸ See Abdy 2015.

⁸⁹ Str.189-192.

discussed), but its successor, group 6, appears quite prolonged to judge by the denarii which go through at least three phases. Five parallel production lines of denarii are evident. Four each produce a type that involves a standing figure moving to the same figure seated without, and then with, a globe exergual mark (Annona, Pudicitia, Victory, and Virtus). The fifth employs a particularly charming crescent moon and star(s) reverse and this moves from seven stars (*septentriones*) to a single star (or sun and moon?), again without and with globe below. In cases where an engraver has taken the trouble to make the globe exceptionally clear it appears to represent an armillary sphere rather than a mere punctuation mark.⁹⁰

Any aurei of group 6 shared with group 5 could well include the prolific type of the Emperor galloping with readied spear. There seems to be marked out a separate production run with the move of the COS III reverse legend to the exergue beneath the horse's ground line but the die links with group 5 coinage are too closely entwined to be certain. This exergue

repositioning of the reverse legend titlature also occurs with the group's *septentriones* denarius, although here also the significance is not clear to me, especially as one obverse die (with bare-headed effigy) is clearly shared between both varieties of legend positioning. However repositioning of the COS III legend grouping will become a way to denote successive production batches over the course of the next two periods (when the silver and aes would eventually come to follow this system), and indeed beyond when it moves uniformly to the obverse to create the extensive period of the descriptive types.

Apart from the occasional AVGVSTVS HADRIANVS obverse first seen on the Adventus gold of 125, in general the group 6 base metal denominations are less remarkable other than to note the connection between the dupondius and as type of Salus through another curious double reverse pairing. Some aes types show the trend to an elongated neck which is developed more in the succeeding period.

Summary for period 119-27 – COS III without P P

<i>Date</i>	<i>Aurei</i>	<i>AV notes</i>	<i>Denarii</i>	<i>AR notes</i>	<i>Sestertii/ dupondii</i>	<i>Aes notes</i>		
119	IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG ~ P M TR P COS III				IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG ~ PONT MAX TR P COS III S C			
	GEN PR and Bonus Eventus	<i>Die links from 118; B1 / D1 busts only.</i>	AET AVG; CONCORD; FEL AVG; SALVS AVG; VOT PVB	<i>Busts with bare chests only. (GEN PR types from aurei dies)</i>	ADVENTVS AVG; LIBERALITAS AVG; ANNONA AVG; LIBERTAS RESTITVTA	<i>Some types continuing from 118; note redundant messages. Victory as type here?</i>		
120 early	Diva Matidia; Jupiter stg.	<i>Increasing variety of Hadrian busts. Fewer gold types - possibly lower production due to tax write-off in this period?</i>	AETER AVG; CONCORD; Felicitas; Salus; Pietas	<i>Increasing variety of busts. Continuing themes alternated with changes to/removal of descriptive legend.</i>	SECVR AVG; Felicitas; Jupiter; Roma-Victrix	<i>Increasing variety of busts – incl. Britannia as type. (+ Fortuna as?)</i>		
			Diva Matidia; Aeternitas; Concordia; FELIC AVG; Pax		IMP CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III (+ desc. revs & S C)			
					PROVIDENTIA DEORVM; RELIQVA VETERA HS...;		<i>Return to restricted bust variety. New obverse format <u>not</u> followed by asses.</i>	
ANNONA & VIRTVTI AVGVSTI; SALVS PVBLICA		<i>Increasing variety of busts as new obverse format established.</i>						

⁹⁰ For fine e.g. of globe with lines of armillary sphere see Meister & Sonntag 9, lot 150: coinarchives.com permalink = <http://www.coinarchives.com/a/>

openlink.php?!=364399|657|150|42b8ff9169ecb543cb7acdd5dcf72c30

Date	Aurei	AV notes	Denarii	AR notes	Sestertii/ dupondii	Aes notes
120/1 (quin-quennalia year running from August-August)	1.SAEC AVR & 2.Minerva (front); 3.Mars; 4.Virtus; 5.Parilia	<i>Large gold output with early form B1 bust discontinued. 1 & 2 die-link; 2-4 frontal types form stylistic set. 5 = coin dated April 121</i>	FEL PR; HILAR PR; LIB III; PVDIC; Mars; Libertas	<i>Increasing variety of busts. New repertoire; some with Festive/donative theme. Chest bust less frequent and of the later; thicker-set form.</i>	AETERNITAS AVGVSTI; CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM; PIETAS AVGVSTI; LIBERTAS PVBLICA; VICTORIA AVGVSTI; LIB III; MONETA AVGVSTI; LOCVPLETATORI & RESTITVTORI ORBIS T.; Parilia	<i>Denarius themes continue to be passed on to aes. Many die-links.</i>
	LIB PVB & VS PRO RED & Hadrian & Jupiter (die-linked); Genii of senate and PR; Aequitas-Moneta	<i>Moneta type die-links to above and below.</i>	Bonus Eventus (+altar); LIB PVB; SAL AVG; Aequitas-Moneta; Fortuna; Victory	<i>Cropped B1 busts appear on denarii (some of which will be types continuing from above – esp. Moneta)</i>	IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG P M TR P COS III	
121 late	Hercules (std front) & Roma-Victrix (die-linked)	<i>Some die-links from previous. Cropped B1 busts now appear on gold.</i>	CLEM; Fort Red; Minerva; Oceanus; Ship; Genius; Roma-Victrix	<i>Nautical/ Homebringer theme for British voyage?</i>	FELICITAS AVGVSTI; FORTVNAE REDVCI	<i>Asses now have identical obverse legend to AV & AR</i>
	Std Jupiter and Janus (die-linked); Virtus std r.	<i>Janus for January (122)</i>				
122	HERC GADIT; also large interlinked late group with truncated head busts: Hercules (temple), Minerva, Neptune, River-god	<i>Truncated heads and new style cuirassed busts with pteryges</i>	<u>CONCORDIA</u> (no corn. below seat); Hadrian-Fortuna; Minerva (altar); SAL AVG (stg Salus); PRO AVG; Pax-Victrix; <u>Roma-Amazon</u> ; <u>Spes</u> ; Victory	<i>Truncated heads tendency. Underlined types carried into succeeding period.</i>	IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG ~ P M TR P COS III S C	
			FORT RED; Ceres; Minerva; Spes; EXPED AVG; VIRT AVG		<i>All denominations now have same main obverse & reverse legend format.</i>	
123						
124	HADRIANVS AVGVST (initially);				HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS	
	thereafter: HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS					
	She-wolf and twins; Sol in quadriga	<i>Cropped and enlarged heads fill more of flan, but early style less truncated (often with short AVGVST obverse legend)</i>	Spes; Concordia; Diana; Libertas; Roma-Amazon; Genius	<i>Continuation of denarius themes + Diana (time of hunt at Hadrianotherae ?) Early style busts include Capricorn quinarius for Augustus connection.</i>	EXPED AVG; Diana; Virtus; ANNONA AVG; Pegasus	<i>Early style busts include Janus as (for January 124?) Stylistically close to special batch of aes intended for Syria.</i>

Date	Aurei	AV notes	Denarii	AR notes	Sestertii/ dupondii	Aes notes
125	Neptune; Emperor on pacing horse; Galloping Emperor	+Adventus quinarius = summer 125 to mark return to Rome following sea-crossing	Hercules; ⁹¹ Neptune; Minerva; Roma; Eagle; Modius; Priestly emblems	Neptune gives way to post-travel types	NEP RED; Neptune; Minerva; Lib III; Hadrian in Forum (?Adventus speech); Aequitas-Moneta	Ship theme on asses to complement Neptune. 125 Adventus and donative.
126						
127	Galloping Emperor (COS III in exergue); Emblems of Virtus	Types continue into P P period (128).	Annona, Pudicitia, Victory, Virtus, Crescent with star(s)	Five denarius types go through three phases: standing figures (+seven stars) are supplanted by seated figures with/without globe in exergue (+ single star). This system continues into succeeding period.	Fides; Roma; Salus	Types continue into succeeding period.

(Note: capitals indicate types which have additional descriptive legend)

6. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P, 128-9 (RIC 911-999)

Hadrian's brief flirtation with the Pater Patriae title in the first weeks of his reign notwithstanding (or the curious TR P IIII medallion mentioned above), P P had become a regular feature of the titulature on coinage and inscriptions from at least the early part of 128. *SHA* (Hadrian 5) claims that Hadrian delayed taking up the title in pious imitation of Augustus (who had waited until 2 BC).

6a. Denominational changes: denarius and dupondius

Denarius dies shrink in relation to aureus dies in this period (and become noticeably smaller to the eye) and for the rest of the history of the denarius (over a century) this will be the case. The shrunken denarius dies also seem to be intended for a slightly reduced target weight which holds for the rest of the reign.

	117-8	c.124-7	128-9 (P P obverse)	c.129- 30(P P rev)	c.130 (1st desc group)	137-8 (Caesars)
AV	ave.17.2mm (ave.7.14g)	ave.17.7mm (ave.7.21g)	ave.17.8mm (ave.7.22g)	ave.17.3mm (ave.7.08g)	-	ave.17.0mm (ave.7.25g)
AR	ave.17.1mm (ave.3.22g)	ave.16.9mm (ave.3.27g)	ave.15.4mm (ave.3.16g)	ave.15.6mm (ave.3.12g)	ave.15.6mm (ave.3.11g)	ave.15.8mm (ave.3.11g)

Average of 10 BM specimens per group (except: 6 for P P on obverse (AV) and 5 for P P on rev(AV)) measured with callipers & weighed: maximum diameter to inner edge of beading. Step down in denarius module occurs with HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P group (in bold).

Another denominational alteration is the disappearance of the radiate effigy as indicator of the dupondius. It would be absent for the subsequent part of Hadrian's reign until the revival of the radiate dupondius under Antoninus Pius. *RPC* notes Hadrian's avoidance of the radiate image at Rome brings it into line with the provincial series which had begun to avoid such portraits under the previous reign.⁹² Although slightly heavier than the as, both it and the dupondius were typically of similar module,

hence the need from this part of the *RIC* catalogue onwards to have a dupondius or as (dp./as) category. Most specimens do not retain bare metal surfaces that show whether they are made of orichalcum or copper. Metal would have been the visual distinguishing factor in antiquity before Nero's regular use of the radiate bust on dupondii (from AD 64).⁹³ The first signs of the disappearance of the radiate dupondius occur during the later stages of the HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P obverses.

⁹¹ Hercules with distaff, 124-5, gives way to Hercules with Victory.

⁹² *RPC* III, p.848.

⁹³ One is reminded of the well-known Pompeian fresco of a treasury replete with moneybags and account tablets from the house of Julia

Felix, now in Naples Archaeological Museum. The fresco also shows two piles of coins, one of mixed gold and silver and one of mixed copper and orichalcum – no details are rendered on these discs but the artist was careful to distinguish them with the correct colour.

The period includes the sailing season of 128 and the brief return African voyage to judge by the fortune the homebringer and Adventus types. In addition to the reprise of the type of the imperial Adventus on horseback, there is also a new type of the arriving Emperor on foot and a group scene of the Emperor in the company of Roma and a representative (genius?) of the senate. Although the latter might be an Adventus scene, it could equally show departure from Rome since the turnover of events in 128 is remarkably rapid with one Adventus and two departures.

The first phase of both the silver coinage and the aes continue the types of the previous period. However, gold for the Emperor seems absent at the start of 128, possibly displaced by the initial output of aurei for Sabina, her reverse types begin with Ceres and Vesta – the production of her coinage from the outset was seemingly doubled up on two parallel production lines. The final phase of denarii seems to be distinguished by the move of the COS III from the main reverse legend to the exergue – presaging the movements of this part of the legend in the next period. This phase of denarii also sets the pattern of the next group with their cycle of imperial virtues continuing on the silver and spreading to the aes. Liberalitas appears among them and endures for several phases in this period and the next. This appearance on the coinage occurs between the overtly numbered Lib III and Lib VI coin types, but on this occasion she does not carry the expected number V. A donative after the return from Africa in mid-128 would fit Hadrian’s usual pattern although it seems odd that Liberalitas persists here simply as one of many generic virtues (in this case the virtue of generosity). The only other unnumbered Liberalitas should be Lib II, whose existence I have already argued against. We do not know any such detail about amount paid out for the fourth liberality, but it is worth pondering whether Lib V existed at all as a separate event or was the political trick so familiar of modern times of re-announcing money already spent.

7. *HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS with P P on reverse, c.129-30 (RIC 1009-1387)*

This period could start late in 128 since the Emperor’s return voyage to Africa and his departure on the much more prolonged third expedition occurred within the same sailing season.⁹⁴ However, in terms of output, hoards (see table at end of chapter) suggest it is even shorter than the previous period, despite the great number of types which proportionally fill more pages of catalogue, an overburdened typology also seen in the succeeding period of the ‘Provinces cycle’. A sensible way forward here seems to be to follow the apportionment through the types’ survival rates in hoards, used for example in *RIC* II.1 to apportion six changes of imperial titulature in the years 88-89.⁹⁵ As there is less than three years possible between the adoption of the P P title early in 128 and the onset of the descriptive coinage phase by late 130, ‘c.129’ seems the only sensible start date for coinage with P P on the reverse. However, given this crude method of apportionment I would hesitate to suggest whether this occurred at the beginning, middle or end of 129. Indeed, perhaps evidence will be found to push the adoption of P P into the final months of 127 (i.e. around the time of the autumnal *decennalia* celebrations) thus lengthening the timespan of the *HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS* P P obverse in the other direction.⁹⁶

When the P P title did move to the reverse, it could be found placed at the end of the descriptive reverse legend (= a) or grouped together as COS III P P in either the exergue or main legend (= b), together with quite a repetitive cycle of reverse types (see Types section on the ‘virtues cycle’). I think these represent successive phases of production with the denarii of (a) having the closest evolutionary correlation with the *HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS* P P denarii (with the addition of the ship type no doubt to represent the departure on the third expedition). A further check is provided by the Castagnaro hoard which terminates with a single denarius of section (a) of this period (and also an anepigraphic reverse of Sabina – see below).

	117*	118	c.119-23**	124-7	128-9 (P P obverse)***	c.129 (P P rev pt. (a))
AV	3	-	3	2	-	-
AR	15	28	161	125	36	1

* Including family coins; ** Including Matidia denarius; *** Including single anepigraphic reverse Sabina

Findspot	Contents	tpq
Castagnaro (Verona), Italy	20 AV & 1129 AR	c.129

Less clear with section b is whether the mint subsequently coordinated the repositioning of the grouping of COS III and P P or if individual production lines followed their own pattern of alternations, thus depriving us of the neat structure that the

distinctive reverse legend groupings seem to promise. In any case, despite the complexity of legend variations, the period as already noted is very short: perhaps only stretching from mid-129 to mid-130 before we move into the next fundamental legend change.

⁹⁴ *SHA* (Hadrian 13,6) is satisfyingly direct on this point: ‘...when he had returned to Rome from Africa, he set out at once for the East, travelling by way of Athens.’

⁹⁵ *RIC* II.1, 251-2.

⁹⁶ The decennial celebrations were held October 20th and there is currently a gap in finds of military diplomas dating to between mid October 127 and the spring of the following year (Prof. W. Eck *pers. comm.*).

8. *HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P (130-8), the period of 'descriptive types' (RIC 1397-2438)*

The final arrangement of COS III P P was to move it to the end of the obverse legend, making space by reducing AVGVSTVS to AVG. This left the reverse dedicated to a bold descriptive legend, and rare anepigraphic reverses aside (but which still have the common obverse legend), such 'descriptive' types are the format for the rest of the reign. This provides quite a problem as it seems to encompass Hadrian's reign throughout the 130s. Strack noted that this period provided particular difficulties in understanding the sequence and provided a *stempelgleichheit* die-study to the aurei.⁹⁷ This allowed some types to hang together but main groups/periods were still presented out of order by him.⁹⁸

8a. *Egypt, summer 130 – spring 131 (RIC 1397-1464)*

The best clue to the start of the descriptive series comes from the medallions, the type of Hadrian's famous lion hunt during the expedition into the Libyan Desert in autumn-130. It is a feat we hear in poetry undertaken with Antinous,⁹⁹ presumably one of the Emperor's *eromenoi*, if we are to understand the emotional attachment to this young imperial hunting attendant when he subsequently drowned in the Nile on 24th October of that year.¹⁰⁰ Antinous seems to have drowned while sacrificing the blood of the Libyan lion in the river.¹⁰¹ The lion hunt reverse is of the descriptive type (VIRTVTI AVGVSTI – to the courage of the Emperor) but it is also paired with dies of the first two obverse groups of the P P series suggesting it is close to the transition. Since leaving Rome the Emperor had made winter headquarters in Athens (128/9) and then Antioch (129/30) before arriving in Alexandria in the summer of 130 via Jerusalem. This latter was to be refounded in the Emperor's name as Aelia Capitolina and since the reconquest of the city in the First Jewish Revolt (AD 70) the Temple tax had been diverted to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome. This insensitivity was compounded with a ban on circumcision, a rite so central to the Jewish religion.¹⁰² As the seeds of a new revolt were being sown, the coinage seems to celebrate these events with a new type alongside the continuing virtues and

ships of the initial stages of the descriptive coinage: ROMVLO CONDITORI – to Romulus 'the founder'. *RPC* also notes the same epithet occurring on the Latin legends of the local coinage of Aelia Capitolina, but it should be borne in mind that the well-travelled Hadrian was a prolific founder of cities and local coinage of other Hadrianic foundations carry the Greek equivalent to *conditori*, KTICTHC.¹⁰³ Indeed, the other notable foundation in 130 was given equal prominence in historical sources: Antinoopolis, founded on the spot of Antinous's drowning in the Nile.

The Nile trip seems to be commemorated initially by the anepigraphic type of its river god; Beckmann's forthcoming study seems to suggest it is at the head of the complex web of die-links of the Provinces types. Through the sestertii the anepigraphic Nilus die-links to another anepigraphic type: Hadrian in the guise of Horus with crocodile underfoot. Thus these two types form a progression on the first descriptive group, just as the old ships-and-virtues series dies out. As if his big-game hunting exploits were not enough, Hadrian was only the third Emperor to visit Egypt, a province which was almost magical in the Roman literary imagination as well as the visual arts. Types relating to the visitation of Egypt seem to kick off the provinces cycle (Nilus becomes an epigraphic type and is joined by Aegyptos) – which in turn run up to themes relating to the Adventus to Rome types of 133.

8b. *The 'provinces cycle' and later coinage of the descriptive series (RIC 1475-1969)*

Two major denarius hoards from Austria just stretch into the descriptive coinage and helps us to breakdown this huge block of mint output stretching from 130 until the end of the reign in 138. Rennweg (near Vienna) ends before the Provinces types begin while Erla (near Linz) carries on a little later but does not include the types associated with Hadrian's final Adventus to Rome in 133.¹⁰⁴ Mallerstang, Cumbria and Swaby, Lincolnshire, the two largest British hoards ending within the reign in the 130s have been closely catalogued and provide useful comparanda, but they are more modest in scale than their Austrian counterparts.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁷ Strack 1930, 33-7.

⁹⁸ For his interspersed groups of HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS with HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P see Strack 1933, 27-9 (= Strack 1933, nos 323-53; 816-44). He seems to be over-reliant on special cases of medallion double-bust pairings and rare hybrid types. For an example of the latter, the ROMVLO CONDITORI type (*RIC* II.3, 1422-31 + medallions #2891-2) is placed late in the sequence of the descriptive reverses by Strack. In this *RIC* it is treated as one of the earliest descriptive reverse types from its presence in the Rennweg hoard (i.e. c. 130), making its hybrid pairings with obverses of 128-30 understandable.

⁹⁹ See Opper (2008, 173-4) for translation of the whole Lion Hunt poem.

¹⁰⁰ Coinage commemorating Antinous is confined to the Provincial series, so is only to be found in *RPC* and not *RIC*.

¹⁰¹ P.Oxy.4352 frag. 5, verses 10-14 – a work-related accident for a hunting attendant.

¹⁰² See Smallwood 1959.

¹⁰³ *RPC* III, pp.847-8.

¹⁰⁴ Note that Strack and Mattingly's catalogues made various stabs at the date of the final adventus since they did not have the benefit of modern scholarship gleaned from recent finds of Roman military diplomas.

¹⁰⁵ British denarius hoards occur more commonly from the Antonine and Severan periods.

<i>Findspot</i>	<i>Contents</i>	<i>tpq</i>
Rennweg, Austria	7 AV & 1261 AR	130
Erla, Austria	106 AV & 671 AR	133
Mallerstang, UK (<i>RBCH</i> 141)	138 AR	137
Swaby, UK (<i>RBCH</i> 165)	178 AR	137/8

The descriptive format coinage, groups 3-7 of COS III with P P, present in Rennweg, Erla, Mallerstang and Swaby (all denarii unless noted as AV)

<i>Group 3, c.130</i>	<i>Provinces, c.130-3</i>	<i>Adventus / Lib VI, 133-5</i>	<i>c.136 Lib VII</i>	<i>Final group, 137-8</i>	<i>Rennweg</i>	<i>Erla</i>	<i>Mallers-tang</i>	<i>Swaby</i>
DIVIS PARENTIBVS (AV, Str.354)					–	x	–	–
FELICITATI AVG (ship, Str.235)					x	x	–	–
FORTVNAE REDVCI (Str.240)					x	x	x	–
PIETAS AVG (Str.256)					x	x	x	–
ROMA FELIX (Str.262)					x	x	–	–
ROMVLO CONDITORI (Str.263)					x	x	x	–
AEGYPTOS (Str.294/5)					–	x	–	–
AFRICA (Str.297)					–	x	–	–
ASIA (Str.299)					–	–	x	–
NILVS (Str.306)					–	–	x	–
RESTITVTORI GALLIAE (Str.320 ¹⁰⁶)					–	x	–	–
RESTITVTORI HISPANIAE (Str.322)					–	x	–	–
MARTI (Str.250)					–	x	–	–

¹⁰⁶ Str.240 = sole coin of descriptive series present in the Petworth hoard (2007 T106). However final denarius of the Wendlebury hoard is

FELICITAS AVG (Felicitas & H), Str.222 from Adventus of AD 133 but with only eight denarii there is not a full statistical picture here.

<i>Group 3, c.130</i>	<i>Provinces, c.130-3</i>	<i>Adventus / Lib VI, 133-5</i>	<i>c.136 Lib VII</i>	<i>Final group, 137-8</i>	<i>Remnweg</i>	<i>Erla</i>	<i>Mallers -tang</i>	<i>Swaby</i>
		ADVENTVS AVG (H. & Roma, Str.219)			–	–	x	–
		ADVENTVS AVG (Roma & H, Str.220)			–	–	–	x
		FORTVNA AVG (Str.239)			–	–	x	–
			MONETA AVG (Str.251)		–	–	–	x
				VOTA PVBLICA (Str.288)	–	–	x	–
				SALVS AVG (str.265)	–	–	–	x
				VENERIS FELICIS (Str.276)	–	–	–	x

8c. *Die axis changes in the years around 130, evidence from the Garonne sestertius hoard*

The default die-axis for the coinage of the reign of Hadrian is 6 o'clock (↓). That is to say if the coin was turned over, the reverse would be inverted in its orientation to the obverse. In contrast for the medallions of Hadrian, a 12 o'clock (↑) die axis trend holds sway for much of the reign. However, a brief trend to 12 o'clock is cogently ascribed to the mainstream coinage in the years around 130 in the study of the massive Garonne shipwreck hoard – in spite of the Garonne research team's

use of the slightly mixed-up Strack sequence to catalogue the hoard's 1,655 Hadrianic coins.¹⁰⁷ To this can be added the observation that this trend was repeated in 138 during the coregency with Antoninus Caesar. In Garonne, more than half the issues of c.129-30 (with P P on reverse) have a die axis of 12 o'clock. The situation is similar with the provinces cycle. In the case of the sestertii the 12 o'clock trend occurs for all reverse types. However, even though the trend occurs roughly from 129-133 it remains just that: a trend that is never 100% in the groups with useful statistical population of this period.¹⁰⁸

<i>Date</i>	<i>Strack number / section</i>	<i>group</i>	<i>qty</i>	<i>group qty</i>	<i>% ↑ die axis*</i>
c.129-130	(Types with P P on reverse)	8	70	70	57
130	667	9	1	3	100
	737-8	9	2		100
130-3	(Provinces, cities, river (11 types))	10	29	67	62
	(Adventus (10 types))	10	11		72
	(Restitutor (8 types))	10	21		57
	(Exercitus (3 types) + 657 (Disciplina))	10	6		17

The provinces cycle is very complex. It looks like a huge output from the extensive list of catalogue types but many of these are represented by only one or two reverse dies (e.g. the revived Britannia last seen in 119-20). Thus, looking at the proportions of specimens present in Garonne

it would seem reasonable to fit it into a couple of years, say by the end of 130 at the earliest to the sailing season of 133. I do not understand how the provinces cycle is arranged internally – there is clearly much overlap at either end with the preceding and succeeding groups. For example

¹⁰⁷ *Garonne hoard*, p.355. Note that the Hadrianic component of Garonne consisted of 1537 sestertii and 118 dp./asses.

¹⁰⁸ With emphasis on the latter point since, looking at the Garonne

sestertii of the initial descriptive group, we can see 100% trend towards 12 o'clock because the sample in the hoard for two of the types is vanishingly small.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Strack number / section</i>	<i>group</i>	<i>qty</i>	<i>group qty</i>	<i>% ↑ die axis*</i>	
133-5/8	642	11	1	166	0	
	643	11	2		0	
	645	11	12		0	
	646	11	18		0	
	648	11	2		0	
	661	11	12		0	
	670	11	34		0	
	674	11	1		0	
	680	11	1		0	
	681	11	7		0	
	751	11	4		0	
	665	11	1		0	
	671	11	2		0	
	686	11	16		0	
	694	11	1		0	
	698	11	3		0	
702	11	49	0			
136-8	668	12	13	115	0	
	650	12	19		0	
	662	12	16		0	
	663	13	38		0	
	673	12	3		0	
	677	12	17		0	
	679	13	6		0	
	704	12	3		0	
	669	13	20		0	
	682	13	9		0	
	683	13	1		0	
	687	13	9		22	
	691	13	4		0	
	697	13	15		7	
	Aelius	13	42		0	
	Antoninus Caesar	13	9		43	
					109	

the anepigraphic Nilus type (which die-link the sestertius type of Hadrian-Horus) connects into the province cycle with AEGYPTOS and NILVS, as already mentioned, but in addition it also die-links with ADVENTVI AFRICAE and RESTITVTORI AFRICAE. It is thus obvious that the

provinces cycle which is neatly divided into user-friendly catalogue sections was not produced in any such clear-cut sequence.

If Egypt, the last corner of the Empire on Hadrian's travel list prompted this retrospective celebration of

¹⁰⁹ BM acc. no. 1934,1018.26.

the ‘Emperor-everywhere’ it did not stop exactly when he returned to Rome in 133. For example, the type of ADVENTVI AVG ITALIAE is appropriately closely die-related with aurei of the Adventus to Rome group (and so would seem more of a current commentary on events than the other province types). As for the aes, the British Museum has an overstruck dp./as.¹⁰⁹ It is a HISPANIA dp. /as overstruck on a FELICITAS AVGVSTI undertype depicting the ‘joyful’ homecoming of the Emperor. Furthermore Paris has a NILVS dp./as overstriking a HISPANIA!¹¹⁰ It seems possible from the relatively lower 12 o’clock die axis trend that the EXERCITVS (army) types celebrating the military garrisons of the provinces are relative latecomers to the series. From the military theme, one could imagine that they began with the commencement of hostilities of the Second Jewish Revolt in the autumn of 132. Certainly Judaea had been dropped as a location for the EXERCITVS types. The disgraced province would soon suffer *damnatio memoriae* and to be subsumed within Syria (Syria-Palestina).¹¹¹ Writing in the 1980s, Mildenberg cogently noted that those Provinces types which do have reference to Judaea can only logically date to the few years between the 130 visitation and the 132 rebellion.¹¹² Army types with their complex arrangements of figures are not best suited to the smaller flans of aurei and denarii although the DISCIPLINA type (showing a ‘conga’-line of soldiers on the march) exists as an aureus (both the DISCIPLINA sestertii and aurei strongly link into the provinces cycle). Possibly the Mars denarius type stands in for things military on the smaller frame of the denarii (Mars seems to be a type of the early 130s according to the hoard evidence from Erla).

8d. *Bar Kokhba (Second Jewish Revolt, 132-6): coin hoard/ assemblage contexts with Hadrianic denarii*

The Bar Kokhba revolt (derived from the messianic *nom de guerre* of its leader Simon ben Kosiba) appeared to have at least two minting centres producing its own coinage by overstriking silver and bronze Roman coins. This had occurred from the beginning of the revolt in late 132 to judge by the presence of coinage dated to *year one of the redemption of Israel* (but only the first two revolt years are dated). Syrian tetradrachms were repurposed as sela’im and Roman denarii (which had become plentiful in the aftermath of the First Revolt with the influx of the legions) became zuzim.¹¹³ However, non-overstruck denarii are also found in Bar Kokhba contexts. The coin types of the Second Jewish Revolt fall outside *RIC* (just as they also fall outside *RPC*)¹¹⁴ but the Roman denominational relationship of 1:4 between the Syrian and Roman types were maintained as one financial document from the Cave of the Letters archive helpfully tells us: *Eleazar receives for the lease twelve silver zuzim which are three sela’im*.¹¹⁵ It is intriguing to note the denarii (and some aurei) of Hadrian (and his predecessors) found alongside issues of his stubborn enemies run up to the late 120s. However, no descriptive format types of the 130s have so far been found to bring them any closer to the eve of the war which had broken out at the end of summer or the autumn of 132.¹¹⁶ The list of known hoards with both Roman and Revolt coinage is not large (those known as incomplete assemblages in trade may have quickly become separated from their Roman components). The latest known to Mildenberg was the Idna (1965) hoard which remains unpublished in detail but contained a specimen of the Diana type of 124 (*RIC* 729).¹¹⁷ Discoveries since the 1960s have pushed this only a little later:

Denarii/aurei in sizeable (and usefully recorded) Bar Kokhba coin hoards (c.132-6)

	<i>Hebron (1976)</i> ¹¹⁸	<i>Shephelah</i> ¹¹⁹	<i>Cave of the Sandal</i> ¹²⁰	<i>Zabar Cave</i> ¹²¹	<i>Te’Omim Cave C</i> ¹²²
Pre-Hadrian	33	16	9	5	10 (incl. 5 AV)
<i>Hadrian: Cos I</i>	-	-	1	-	-
Cos II	1	-	-	-	-
Cos III (119-23)	4	1	1	-	2
Cos III (c.124-7)	-	-	2	-	1
HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P (128-9)	-	-	-	1	-

¹¹⁰ BnF acc. no. P.5890.

¹¹¹ Opper 2008, 92-3.

¹¹² Mildenberg 1984, 98.

¹¹³ The British Museum has one zuz with the clear undertype of a denarius of Hadrian, the standing figure of the reverse is uncertain but the legend period would have been HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS ~ COS III (i.e. c.124-7). BM ref. CM 1888,0512.36.

¹¹⁴ See introduction to the Judaea section in *RPC* III, pp.506-7.

¹¹⁵ Yadin 1971, 178.

¹¹⁶ Not counting the curated Bar Kokhba coins of an individual who clearly outlasted the revolt found in the Antonine ‘Lamp Hoard’ from near Hebron: Hendin 2000-2, 7 aes, 4 aurei, 5 denarii to 152.

¹¹⁷ Mildenberg 1984, 54-7.

¹¹⁸ *Coin Hoards* 3, no. 90. 4 Bar Kokhba aes, 5 tetradrachms, 1 tridrachm, 6 drachmae, a dozen zuzim and 38 denarii (seen in trade and possibly only a sample of original hoard)

¹¹⁹ Meshorer 1985. It consists of 5 tetradrachms, 1 didrachm, 5 zuzim, and 17 denarii

¹²⁰ Eshel and Zissu 1994-9. Three groups totalling 9 aes, 4 drachmae, 13 denarii. One of the Hadrian denarii is from the rare HADRIANVS AVGVST obverse group (Libertas reverse = Str. 142).

¹²¹ Porat *et al.* 2003-6. 1 sela, 2 zuzim and 6 denarii. Note the other hoard was aes only. Hadrian coin of 128-9 is Pudicitia seated left (Str. 207).

¹²² Zissu and Hendin 2012. Hoard C: 4 aes, 2 zuzim, 5 tetradrachms, 8 denarii and 5 aurei. Note hoard A was the largest Bar Kokhba hoard yet found but contained no Roman coins, hoard B 9 Ar and 1 Ae only contained Roman coins up to Trajan.

8e. *Final return of the Emperor to Rome (133) – mid-130s*
(RIC 1977-2182)

Since departing Egypt in spring 131, Hadrian had journeyed through Asia Minor again before establishing winter headquarters at Athens for one last time.¹²³ The outbreak of the second Jewish revolt later in 132 clearly required the presence of the Emperor,¹²⁴ but this was not to be for long given that Hadrian returned to Rome in the following year's sailing season. The Emperor's replacement was Julius Severus, governor of Britain, who hurried across the Roman world to become field commander and fighting governor of 'Syria-Palestina'.¹²⁵

The Adventus at Rome in 133 was to be Hadrian's final return since he would never leave Italy again.¹²⁶ A cycle of Adventus types flourishes, showing the Emperor greeting Roma or Felicitas or Fortuna. As already mentioned, the ADVENTVI AVG ITALIAE type of Hadrian greeting Italia acts as a gateway type from the Provinces cycle. Public vows are made (ADVENTVI AVG ITALIAE links VOT PVB and VOTA PVBLICA aurei) and the event is celebrated with largesse (LIBERALITAS AVG VI aurei are linked to FORT REDVCI – to Fortune the homebringer). Moving on from the Adventus there are several types forming a secondary section to this group without any die-links noted to the first. They are placed here since, by a process of elimination, they too must be of the middle years of the decade (c.133-6): (1) they solidly exhibit 6 o'clock die axis which suggests a date of 133 or later, (2) there are no die links in evidence to the next group of the victory and adoption year of 136, (3) nor do they share features of the time of the Caesars beyond that. Interestingly, there is a focus on the Emperor's health and wellbeing or seeking the special protection of his divine counterpart (SALVS AVG, IOVI CVSTODI), so presumably Hadrian's health lay behind the reason the Judaean command was relinquished with the fighting still raging. The *SHA* (Hadrian 23) hints at a bedridden period after the completion of his travels, with the Emperor's declining health compelling his protracted search for an heir.

8f. *136 – Year of Victory and final largess* (RIC 2198-2301)

There was just one final liberalitas left of the reign: LIBERALITAS VII (seen on aurei and sestertii). The *SHA* (Aelius 6) tells us it was spent on the adoption of the ill-fated Aelius in mid-136. The sum was 300 million sestertii, or a third of the tax giveaway of 119/20. But this time round it was real money: the Emperor's subsequent lament (*SHA* *ibid.*) at its loss when Aelius died prematurely preserves the sum for posterity. The Emperor's second choice of heir would need to retrospectively find his own accession bonus (*SHA* Pius 4), and the coinage records no further liberalities. *SHA* omits to tell us that there was a further event meriting celebration in that summer of 136. Hadrian was now IMP II for the tribunician year TR P XX – the Jewish revolt was finally quashed. Like Vespasian and Titus with the first Jewish revolt

back in the summer of 70, Hadrian had added an imperial iteration to his titlature rather than a victory name (such as *Judaicus*) since it was an internal conflict rather than a fresh conquest. Besides, the name Judaea had long since suffered *damnatio memoriae*. Unlike his Flavian predecessors, Hadrian's coinage does not include the imperial or tribunician iteration, and we must rely on a fragmentary monumental inscription from an arch near Tel Shalem in the Jordan valley.¹²⁷ LIBERALITAS AVG VII aurei die-link IOVI VICTORI (to victorious Jupiter) and more generic victory types with VIC(TORIA) AVG. Themes of fortune, hope and security also play their part to judge by further die links, together with commemorations to eternal Rome and the spirit of the Roman people (ROMA AETERNA and GENIO *Populi Romani*). FIDES PVBLICA (representing the good faith of the state) forms part of the aureus link and also connect to MONETA AVG through sestertii. Moneta (seen in both aes and aurei) is an appropriate type in a year of largesse. But there is also a more sinister sentiment at play: IVSTITIA AVG reappears but not necessarily in the context of Justice as an imperial virtue. The main denarius and aes types with the VICTORIA AVG slogan (legend on denarii only – the aes with the same theme is anepigraphic) feature an unusual winged Victory superstitiously lifting drapery to spit on her own chest to ward off ill-fortune and syncretised with Pax in holding the branch of peace. This is the type of Nemesis (fate) which along with Justitia can be read as the Roman view of giving Bar Kochba and his rebellion their 'just deserts'.

Nemesis-Victory admittedly does not die link into the group but thematically it is clearly linked to the events of 136. In the same vein are two dp./as types which otherwise currently lack the certainty of physical die-links: an anepigraphic Minerva (patron of those who pursue warfare wisely) and that of Victory's wreath on its own (enclosing the SC mark). On the sestertii the variety of busts simplifies in this late period. The chest bust apparently disappears (to be revived on sestertii of Aelius) and there is a tendency for the wreath-fall to look increasingly stiff in its drop but with a mannered flourish at its ends. A good example of this is another simple type of inscription within wreath, a very rare sestertius (perhaps a medallic sestertius – but unusually with SC mark). It reads SPQR / AN F F / HADRIANO / AVG P P / S C, a happy and prosperous New Year wish from the senate and people of Rome (*ANnum Novum Faustum Felicem*). If made in the post victory glow of winter 136-7, it would be the penultimate New Year the Emperor would see. The 'Happy New Year' sestertius could well be contemporary with the wreath asses – although the sestertius admittedly differs in having an unusual lotus-wreath. The importance of asses at the New Year has already been discussed, and the section includes some repeated bust asses which are subsequently paired with double-bust asses of both Aelius and then Antoninus Caesar.

¹²³ Halfmann 1986.

¹²⁴ Oppen (2008, 90), considers the significance of the inscription term *expeditio Judaica* as indication of the imperial presence.

¹²⁵ See Eck (2003, 168) for the Julius Severus / Syria Palestina inscription.

¹²⁶ Eck *et al.* (2010) having definitively fixed the Adventus year as 133.

¹²⁷ For the arch inscription reconstructed from five sparse fragments see Oppen (2008, 92-3: drawing after Eck who also discusses the reconstruction of the inscription in detail in Eck 2003).

8g. *Time of the Caesars: 137-July 138 (RIC 2311-2438)*

Although appointed to the position in the summer of 136, the new Caesar Aelius does not appear on the coinage until his second consular year of 137. Something odd occasionally happens to the coinage of these years in that Hadrian sometimes appears to be morphing into his lieutenants – an implication on the chronology of Hadrian’s issues already cogently noted by Laffranchi in the 1940 Milan collection catalogue.¹²⁸ Laffranchi thought the legend engravers had added Hadrian legends to the wrong busts, but it is not actually a complete metamorphosis for the Emperor only seems to share a similar outline to Aelius and Antoninus and not identical hairstyles. Perhaps a credible explanation lies in the use of hubs.¹²⁹ This time-saving die-producing technique involves creating a large hollowed out area on the obverse die to minimise the engraving process – especially useful on a prominent area of high relief such as the bust in this period. There is no credible direct evidence for hubbing at official mints in antiquity, but in theory a bust-shaped punch could be applied to the raw die prior to engraving the detail.¹³⁰ The hub for the Empress’s bust would look unmistakably different in outline. However, a roughly shaped hub for Emperor and Caesar might well be confused, leaving the engraver to improvise by stretching Hadrian’s features and hairstyle over the chinless outline of Aelius (caused by his bigger beard) or the squarer head of Antoninus. Whatever the technical reason for it (we can really only guess and ‘hub’ is a convenient shorthand here), the sloppy work at the mint allows us to define the coinage of the last year and a half of the reign and some of this is confirmed with the reprise of the 12 o’clock die axis tendency seen in the sestertii of Antoninus Caesar (die axis tabled using Garonne hoard sestertii above).

The coinage of 137 seems to confirm the chronology of events: gold and silver VOTA SVSCEPTA and VOTA PVBLICA types match the *vicennalia* games believed to have been held on 13th December this year.¹³¹ This would be some months after the anniversary year had technically ended running up to the twentieth *dies imperii*, and even more tardy than the decennial games which had been held in October of 127. Thus in terms of TR P years, the games for the *decennalia* had occurred in TR P XI and that for the even more belated *vicennalia* in TR P XXII (which had begun a few days earlier). We can only speculate at the concerns that delayed these successive anniversary celebrations – perhaps these later anniversaries

were less urgent to a fully established emperor, or maybe the emperor was indisposed through illness. A hunting accident has already been mooted above for the *decennalia* and, in the case of the *vicennalia*, the protracted illnesses known to frame his later years or the timing of the return of Aelius from Pannonia at the end of 137 could have likewise caused delay. However, it should be borne in mind that the *quinquennalia* could not have been delayed to the autumn / winter of 121 due to the departure on expedition in the travelling season of that year. The coinage of 137 commemorates the imperial vows with simpler designs than the vows fulfilled upon the Emperor’s return to Rome four years previously. The simplification trend in the coinage as we approach the Antonine age has already been noted in the section for 136.

Interestingly the coinage of 137 revives the type of Aeternitas, last seen as a repost to the attempted coup of 118 (see above). Indeed, the ailing Emperor unleashed a reign of terror in his final months not seen since that earlier event at the beginning of his reign. It certainly sealed the animosity of the senate towards his memory, but like the earlier ‘affair of the four consulars’¹³² the purges were probably a response to real threats. The adoption of Aelius as Caesar had passed over Pedanius Fuscus, the most eligible candidate of the blood for the succession (now that Fuscus’s grandfather Julius Servianus was in his 90s). The *SHA* is reticent about the source of the enmity between Hadrian and Fuscus but scholars sense some sort of failed coup attempt occurred.¹³³ The sensible window of opportunity to plot such a coup in 137 would have been between the times Aelius relinquished his command of the Pannonian legions to return home late in the year and his unexpected death from natural causes in Rome a few weeks later on the 1 January 138. Shortly thereafter Servianus was compelled to commit suicide in a purge that also involved a number of other individuals – some eventually saved by the intervention of the new Caesar Antoninus who had been appointed on 25 February 138. The death of Servianus is significant in the dating of the death of Sabina. In the *SHA*, eager to (probably unjustly) cast the Empress’s death as part of the purge the two deaths are reported as near contemporary.¹³⁴ However, Servianus’s demise is mentioned twice (*SHA* Hadrian 23 & 26) – the first prior to the adoption of Aelius (136) and the second after the adoption of Antoninus (138). Thus in the wake of this confusion many textbooks give the death of Sabina as 136,¹³⁵ but this is directly

¹²⁸ Laffranchi 1940. This has some well observed areas in the later part of the reign such as the start of the descriptive series during the Egypt visit, (although the provinces cycle is wrongly placed after the final Adventus – dated to 132 in this case before the year became clear through military diploma evidence). For Hadrian’s coinage at the time of his Caesars: catalogue nos. 3372-3411. The converging portraiture between emperor and his lieutenants noted on p. XIV: ‘Varie monete recano sostituzioni di effigi: Elio, e quindi Antonino...’.

The Milan catalogue represents a refinement of his earlier thoughts: Laffranchi 1906. At that point there was less understanding of the chronological framework of the reign, for example Hadrian’s final return is placed in 135 following the Egypt trip dated to 132.

¹²⁹ Sam Moorhead, *pers. comm.*

¹³⁰ Not that this needed to be confined to obverse use. A hub for

Republican victoriate reverse dies is thought to be preserved in Madrid. See Jones 1990, 140. This has since been reevaluated as a forger’s tool: see Stannard 1988.

¹³¹ P Oslo 3 77, 15f. – gives only the date of 13 December leaving the year a mystery. Kienast *et al.* assigns this to December 137. The coinage seems to confirm this did indeed occur during the year of coinage for Aelius Caesar (137).

¹³² Opper (2008, 217), suggests that Hadrian may even have sought some sort of closure with the earlier purge with the adoption of Aelius – who was the stepson / son in law of one of the conspirators.

¹³³ Birley 1976, 291-2 and Opper 2008, 217.

¹³⁴ *SHA* Hadrian 23 (Birley 1976).

¹³⁵ E.g. Opper (2008, 205) gives Sabina’s death as ‘136 or early 137.’

contradicted by dated silver coinage of Amisus in Asia Minor which struck in the name of the living Empress up to the year running from autumn 137 – autumn 138.¹³⁶ The coinage of Amisus is less well known than the extensive dated series at Alexandria which compounds the confused picture by omitting coinage in her name for 136-/7 (instead producing coinage of the deceased Antinous in that year). Kienast *et al.*'s suggestion of Sabina's death as after December 137 therefore pays heed to the period when the coup could have occurred, but it could perhaps be firmed up a little more into the New Year of 138 given the evidence still to be considered in the section on Sabina's coinage below.¹³⁷

The optimistic messages on the coinage of 137 were dashed by the premature death of Aelius. The Emperor's bitter chagrin is expressed in his regret at spending the 300 million sestertii for Aelius's adoption donative (*SHA* Hadrian 23). However, the message of hope is not lost since SPES P R continues into the time of Antoninus Caesar to judge by die-links and the revived die-axis trend of 138. Hadrian's coinage of 138 is again differentiated by shared obverse hubs.¹³⁸ The period that Hadrian's issues potentially shared hubs with the coinage of Antoninus Caesar is less than half that of Aelius. Among the restricted number of themes is that of Roma and Venus – the connection between the pair being Hadrian's great double-ended decastyle temple also in evidence on the contemporary sestertii (see Types). If the coinage marks the temple opening for business in the intervening years since its precinct was ceremonially laid out as part of the *Parilia* celebrations in 121,¹³⁹ it was only just in time to be viewed by its creator – assuming Hadrian had not already departed for his retirement and deathbed at Baiae.

9. Summary of main coin periods at Rome under Hadrian and comparison with hoards

The reign of Hadrian is broadly assumed to have been a time of steady production output at the mint – certainly denarii were not subject to the dramatic changes in fineness seen during the Flavian period.¹⁴⁰ There is no need to embark on the extensive studies of differential survival rates seen in *RIC* II.1: the shrinking of the denarius dies in 128 only resulted in a small overall weight drop, while at the same time the removal of the radiate image as the distinguishing feature of dupondii over asses is probably only of inconvenience to the modern viewer confronted with a patinated copper alloy coin. This part of the second century has long been recognised as a good example of stable output with hoard studies demonstrating that the maximum circulation presence of each two-decade reign

is reached during the reign of the immediate successor.¹⁴¹ This applies to single finds too as seen in the exceptional case of the (single period) Antonine Wall forts: the dominant coinage was of Hadrian.¹⁴² Likewise the largest component of the Garonne hoard, from an Antonine shipwreck is the coinage of Hadrian. In the table below, Garonne, as the largest aes hoard assemblage of Hadrianic coinage is compared to the largest gold and silver hoards, but these are much later (Severan and mid-third century respectively). The later hoards actually better match the period proportions of the reign since the whole of the reign had reached its maximum presence in the circulation. (If anything the bias will be the other way as the older coins face increasing odds of being lost from circulation over time.)

Working under the assumption of a relatively steady mint output, what then makes a rare or common coin type?

- Sometimes there is a naturally short period before change is required such as in the times of the designated consulship or what are probably confused instructions on how to present the Emperor's name and titles seen at the beginning of the reign.
- Short lived types / changes occurring at the beginning of the year may be more common than those made at the end of the year due to the mint output cycle over the year.¹⁴³
- Sometimes many types need to be crammed into a relatively short period. With the provinces cycle, the basic messages of the Emperor's visits and interactions are multiplied up by the number of provinces so that each province might only get a couple of dies each per theme. The length of the catalogue list is therefore out of proportion to the length of the period.
- The same might happen when there are many minor options in the engraver's arrangements, as in the period c.129-30 when the basic types of virtues and a ship can be presented with a number of embellishments. E.g. the details and orientation of the ship can vary together with several permutations of reverse legend arrangement. At the same time the imperial effigy can be laureate or bare-headed, drapery present or absent, likewise cuirass, viewable from front or back etc.
- Mint errors such as engraving mistakes or hybridisation to give an inappropriate obverse / reverse pairing (the latter often at a time when the obverse group is changing over or when coinage of family members is also in production).

The Roman Imperial coinage of Hadrian can be broadly apportioned to seven main periods (A-G). With only 117 and 118 being clearly datable single years on the titulature (COS and COS II = period A and B on the following table), the catalogue

¹³⁶ *RPC* III, p. 850 (which also notes dated coins for Sabina in this year from Epiphanea). *RPC* III, 1274. Amisus year 169 (137/8). Besides the coinage of the emperor, this year also has coinage in the name of Aelius and Antoninus Caesar.

¹³⁷ Kienast *et al.* 2017, 126 notes of her death: '...vielleicht erst nach Dez. 137.'

¹³⁸ I.e. occasionally shared Antoninus-shaped hubs but also there is the impression some of the obverse dies might have been prepared with old Aelius hubs.

¹³⁹ Opper 2008, 126.

¹⁴⁰ Butcher and Ponting 2012. They record a significant drop in 118 and then a recovery during the rest of the reign but one wonders if the subsequent wider chronological periods iron out further fluctuations.

¹⁴¹ Reece 1987, 58-60. (Using denarii of Antoninus Pius surviving in later- and post-Antonine hoards in Britain). This has now been charted in detail by Creighton 2014.

¹⁴² Abdy 2002.

¹⁴³ See Hellings and Spoerri Butcher (2017, 66).

naturally divides along main obverse legend groups. Period C is COS III coinage with the longer obverse legend IMP CAESAR TRAIAN(VS) HADRIANVS AVG. D is COS III coinage using the legend HADRIANVS AVGVST(VS). In 128 the title P P is added to the obverse (period E) and this subsequently moves to the reverse (period F) before finally returning to the obverse to

allow full descriptive reverse legends (period G with obverse legend HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P).

These periods can be tested to confirm – by rule of thumb rather than any absolute measure¹⁴⁴ – their chronological distribution against the biggest hoards (i.e. those containing the largest component of Hadrianic coinage).

Group proportions and coin survival rates in the largest post-Hadrianic hoards (AV, AR and Aes)

Period	Approx. yrs	Approx. % of reign	AV Trier (Feldstrasse)		AR Reka Devnia*		aes - Garonne	
			n.	%	n.	%	n.	%
A: 117	0.5	2	7	3	158	2	23	1
B: 118	1	5	12	6	483	7	33	2
C: 119-23	5	24	49	24	1735	26	662	40
D: 124-7	4	19	37	18	1013	15	251	15
E: 128-9	1.5	7	8	4	340	5	108	7
F: 129-30	1	5	5	2	146	2	70	4
G: 130-8	8	38	88	43	2862	42	508	31
Tot.	21		206		6,737		1,655	

* Not all types of Eastern mintage identifiable within catalogue

Findspot	Contents	tpq
Trier (Feldstrasse), Germany	2518 aurei	196
Garonne river, France (part of an Antonine period shipwreck)	3,663 sesterii, 374 dupondii / asses	161
Reka Devnia, Bulgaria	80,112 denarii, 888 radiates, 50 other/Eastern ¹⁴⁵	251

Notes: Family coinage is included within these period groups. Thus G (130-8) includes both Caesars and the descriptive types of Sabina, while the Empress's earlier anepigraphic coinage is mostly part of E (128-9), with only a small amount of her denarii potentially part of F (129-30).¹⁴⁶ Garonne is Antonine and therefore much earlier than the gold and silver giants: it shows a marked circulation bias towards the earlier periods.

Averaged percentage across three hoards: A = 2%; B = 5%; C = 30%; D = 16%; E = 5.3%; F = 2.6%; G = 38.7%

10. Provincial denarii reprised – decentralised Eastern minting c.123-mid.130s (RIC 2982-3204)

We have already looked at the denarii of Antioch produced in the first three years or so of the reign but it is useful to consider a later, much more complicated group(s) of Eastern denarii now that the structure of the coinage at Rome has been set out. These provincial denarii were produced in the East, many probably at various mints throughout Asia Minor to judge by the affinity of their style with the silver cistophoric tetradrachms of the region. Indeed some of the denarii copy the designs of cistophori, although the majority of types copy denarii of Rome and hybridisation between obverse and reverse

period formats is very common.¹⁴⁷ In addition to their Eastern style, just like the cistophori and the Antioch denarii their silver content shows a distinctly higher level of trace gold than silver made at Rome (see Wang appendix). The tests by Wang also usefully remind us that some types assigned to official Eastern mintage on their anomalous style might simply be irregular or 'barbarous' coins made in antiquity as forgeries intended to deceive (e.g. BMC 1024, with <47% silver). In the fullness of time some of the Eastern types listed in this catalogue will doubtless be reassigned as barbarous as scientific testing becomes widespread for it is the fate of all written catalogues to be superseded.

¹⁴⁴ Hellings and Spoerri Butcher (2017, 73) concede that a large hoard such as Reka Devnia provide a 'useful starting point' although they cogently demonstrate many caveats with very narrow treatment of the evidence (e.g. fractions of a year show wide discrepancies of output).

¹⁴⁵ Note c.20,000 of the coins were dispersed before they could be catalogued (Hellings and Spoerri Butcher 2017).

¹⁴⁶ Only four denarii in Reka Devnia (of the anepigraphic Venus Victrix type) could arguably be part of period F. Not a statistically important sample.

¹⁴⁷ Some types, such as Aequitas (HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P ~ COS III) seem to be more common in Eastern mintage (= Str.*27) than their Rome mint prototype (C. Clay pers. comm.).

Assuming these Eastern mints did not lag behind too much in their adoption of the format of the coinage produced at Rome, production seems to commence shortly before the HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS production period (i.e. before 124) and extend into the HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P coinage of the AD 130s. They do not include coinage for the Caesars nearer to the end of that decade. Envisaging the imperial presence as stimulus for provincial minting, *RPC* sets production of silver cistophori at c.128-30.¹⁴⁸ This date is approximate and probably finishes a little too soon given the occasional use of HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P obverse legends on cistophori. *RPC* also notes that cistophori without P P produced at Mint A/Cnidus might predate 128. In any case the production of cistophori seems narrower than the production of Eastern denarii. It is even possible that the limited production of Eastern denarii types of the format current at Rome, 119-23, signal a brief burst of local denarius production when the imperial party returned to Syria in AD 123 en route to the peace conference on the Euphrates (SAL AVG (standing Salus) and PRO AVG, plus rarer Spes type). There is disagreement between Strack and *BMC* as to Rome or Eastern attribution of some of these types. All of the suspicious specimens that were able to have XRF testing at the British Museum suggested Eastern (i.e. non-Roman) silver, which vindicated Mattingly in listing some of the *BMC* types under both Rome and the East. SAL AVG (standing Salus) and PRO AVG seem unrelated to subsequent provincial denarii and one wonders if they relate to the brief flourishing of silver tetradrachm production at Laodicea. These tetradrachms are of a more polished style compared to the distinctively coarser-featured busts seen on the Antioch silver and usefully carry dates of between AD 121/2 and AD 125/6 (*RPC* III, 3803-7). Interestingly, *RPC* III, p. 483 notes that ‘production of Laodicea started when Antioch stopped producing tetradrachms’. That subsequent production of silver moved to the cistophorus-producing mints of Asia Minor might account for the relative isolation of the early Eastern denarii (AD c.123).

The obverses and reverses of subsequent Eastern denarius groups’ obverses and reverses can be mixed together: e.g. *BMC* 1026 (= *RIC* 2995) with reverse COS III, shares an older format obverse die of peculiar style originally partnered with P M TR P COS III. However, they are catalogued according to the earliest possible production of the hybrid pairing, so a coin with both 119-23 and 124-7 group characteristics such as *RIC* 2995 will be assumed to be struck in 124-7. However, the possibility remains that newer and older designs of denarii alike were copied by the cistophoric mints later, perhaps

during the time of the Emperor’s presence in the East on his expedition between 128 and 133. This would help to explain the mix and match approach to the obverse and reverse designs copying various periods of COS III production at the mint of Rome. The bulk of the provincial denarii include the P P title from 128 onwards, particularly HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P since the production of Eastern denarii with P P on the reverse is small. Hadrian had departed Asia Minor in 129 (wintering in Antioch at the end of the year) and would not return until 131 by which time HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P obverses held sway. Production might already have wound down with the Emperor’s final departure in 133 but the latest type seems to be TELLVS STABIL – produced at Rome in the middle of the decade. As already noted, production had certainly ended prior to the time of the Caesars (137-8) who make no appearance on this series. It remains to be said that cataloguing the provincial denarii seems almost as fruitless a task as listing irregular coins (whose production was of course even more decentralised) so numerous are the possible permutations caused by loose copying and hybridisation.

11. *Main COS III (119-38) obverse legend groups RIC (2nd ed.) versus previous typologies*

Understanding the structure of Hadrian’s coinage has been a long and torturous process and is probably best summarised with a table. The main 19th century typology by Henri Cohen avoided this with an alphabetical listing and its use in older hoard catalogues (such as the Reka Devnia catalogue) necessitating considerable work to achieve a meaningful sequence.¹⁴⁹ Later typologies have floundered on the arrangement of the two large groups: COS III without P P (119-28) and with P P (128-38). Both Strack and Mattingly, as already discussed, placed sections of these groups out of sequence since hoard evidence, die links and even just the logical observation of production evolution have all led to modifications of their order of issues. The most egregious error was Mattingly’s proposal in his *RIC* that HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS P P was a posthumous coinage.¹⁵⁰ This was apparently based on little more than a historian’s hunch around the protracted efforts of Hadrian’s successor to persuade the senate to agree to deification. Although he was persuaded by the work of Strack to change this when it came to the production of the catalogue of the British Museum’s collection, the damage had been done and the flawed 1st edition *RIC* remained the most widespread type-reference even into the 21st century.

¹⁴⁸ See *RPC* III, p.157; pp.808-10.

¹⁴⁹ For the details of Cohen see abbreviations: ‘C’ is sometimes used for concordance.

¹⁵⁰ *RIC* II, pp. 316-7, where he additionally moots the ‘great recoinage’ of cistophori with the same legend as attributable to Antoninus Pius!