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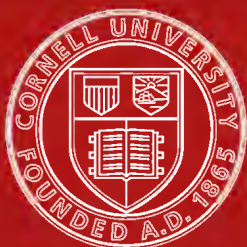
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HISTORICAL REFERENCES  
ON  
COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE



HISTORICAL REFERENCES  
ON  
COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE  
FROM AUGUSTUS TO GALLIENUS

BY

REV. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM. M. A.



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## INTRODUCTION

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The importance of the scientific study of ancient coins relative to that of history has long been recognised. In their historical aspect the coins of the Roman Empire present three phases of interest :

(1) As contemporary monuments the coins supply corroborative evidence of facts which are recorded by historians.

(2) In a number of instances the coins fill up gaps in the narrative and supply information, which historians have omitted, or which, for some reason, has been lost.

(3) There are examples of coins which make statements contrary to what is known to be historical fact. Such coins must be regarded as having been struck in anticipation of events which were expected, or hoped for, but not actually accomplished.

The first essential in drawing historical conclusions is to have an accurate chronology. The arrangement of the Roman Imperial series in chronological order has been attempted by numerous writers such as Occo, Eckhel and Hobler, not to mention more recent Numismatists, and the attempt has been, and indeed must be, fraught with considerable difficulty.

The purpose of the following notes is obviously not new. But the writer ventures to state his experience as a collector and student of Roman coins to the effect that the interest which he derived from amassing varieties of types was as nothing compared with the revelation of new interest which resulted as soon as he attempted to work out the series chronologically.

He would therefore urge on students and collectors the importance of regarding Roman coins primarily from this point of view; and the more so as he has inspected several important collections in which the types were arranged alphabetically, according to Cohen, — an arrangement which may, in certain respects, facilitate the cataloguing of a collection of coins but makes nonsense of their meaning.

To quote but one example. Two coins of Septimius Severus bear the reverse legends **ADVENT·AVGG** and **ADVENTVS AVGVSTI** which according to the alphabetical arrangement would be placed together at the beginning of the coins of Severus. But an enquiry into the date of the coins shews that the first must have been

struck at the beginning of the reign, when the Emperor and his sons made their first entry into Rome ; whereas the second, which bears on the obverse the title BRIT(annicus), must consequently be placed at the very end of the reign and probably records the entry of Severus into the city of York where he ended his days.

This is but one example amongst many which will be noticed in the course of these notes. But it may suffice to illustrate the point that coins, placed alphabetically rather than chronologically, lose more than half their meaning and interest.

It will doubtless be objected that a large number of the Imperial coins defy all attempt at chronological arrangement. This must be admitted. But at the same time, when a chronological basis has been established it is remarkable how many undated coins can be brought into line by a careful comparison of style and minor details.

The examples selected to illustrate the various points of historical importance, in the following notes, are as far as possible coins more or less frequently met with by collectors, although here and there coins of extreme rarity are unavoidably included as supplying the best, sometimes the only, allusion to a particular point.

Certain types such as IVDAEA CAPTA, VIC. DAC, REX PARTHIS DATVS &c., may be said to speak for themselves. But there are numbers of less distinct references to military achievements or social reforms which require more detailed examination before they can be correctly placed.

The whole subject bristles with difficulties which add materially to its interest. Every writer who has attempted to grapple with it has fallen into error here and there and the present writer makes no claim to be an exception. But if these notes — which are after all a mere sketch — in some measure contribute towards placing the coins of the Roman Empire in their historical setting the purpose of the writer will have been achieved.

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HISTORICAL REFERENCES

ON COINS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

AUGUSTUS TO GALLIENUS

REV. EDWARD A. SYDENHAM, M. A.

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**THE IMPERIAL COINAGE<sup>1</sup>.**

It is somewhat arbitrary to fix a date for the commencement of the Imperial Series. The year 29 B.C. is a useful date historically, but in certain respects the imperial characteristics appear several years previous to this date; whereas the formal inauguration of the imperial coinage took place about the year B.C. 15. One important feature of this Monetary reform (B.C. 15) was the distinction drawn between the currency of the bronze and that of the more precious metals. To the senate was entrusted the power of issuing the Bronze money while the Emperor reserved for himself the right of coining gold and silver. Thus we have a double series — the Imperial and the Senatorial — existing practically continuously from Augustus to the time of Gallienus with but few breaks or exceptions.

The tendency of the entire coinage through this period was towards degeneration. As time goes on the Bronze becomes gradually smaller, the Silver becomes debased in quality and the Gold reduced in weight.

*The Gold Coinage.*

The Gold coins consisted of (1) the Aureus or Gold Denarius, (2) the half Aureus or Quinarius. Throughout the history of the Empire the quality of the gold coinage is maintained at a high standard of purity i.e. an average of 96°/o of pure metal.

1. The substance of the following notes is drawn largely from Gnechi's "Elementary Manual of Roman Coins", and Mr G.F. Hill's "Historical Roman Coins", p. 153 seqq.

Originally the Aureus was struck at the proportion of 42 to the Roman Pound (327.45 grammes) but its weight gradually tended to diminish, the reduction being approximately as follows: —

In the time of Augustus the Aureus was	$\frac{4}{42}$	of a pound, i.e.	120.3 grains.
— Nero —	$\frac{4}{42}$	—	— 113.5 gr.
— Caracalla —	$\frac{4}{45}$	—	— 101.05 gr.
— Gallienus —	$\frac{4}{80}$ to $\frac{4}{70}$	—	— 84 to 72 gr.

Under Valerian (253-260 A.D.) the Triens or Tremissis, i.e.  $\frac{1}{3}$  of an Aureus, was introduced.

It should be observed that the question of weight is comparatively unimportant since the coins only conform approximately to any given standard.

### *The Silver Coinage.*

The silver consisted of (1) the Denarius (2) the Quinarius or half Denarius. The Denarius was originally struck at the proportion of 84 to the pound, i.e. about 60 grains, but in course of time not only does it diminish in weight but the silver becomes debased by an increasing percentage of alloy.

The extent to which the silver was debased fluctuated considerably. Under the same Emperor, as for example, Septimius Severus, denarii of the poorest quality occur while some are of tolerably good silver. A decided improvement takes place under Alexander Severus only to fall into worse corruption a few years later.

The following table gives an approximate idea of how the debasement was carried on.

Under Augustus the Denarius was	$\frac{4}{84}$	of a pound c.	60 grains.	c.	percentage of alloy
— Nero —	$\frac{4}{84}$	—	c. 55	—	c. 5 to 10 %.
— Trajan —	$\frac{4}{90}$	—	c. 51	—	c. 15 to 18 %.
— Hadrian —	$\frac{4}{90}$	—	c. 51	—	c. 18 to 20 %.
— M. Aurelius —	$\frac{4}{99}$	—	c. 51	—	c. 20 to 25 %.
— Commodus —	$\frac{4}{108}$	—	c. 49	—	c. 25 to 30 %.
— Sept. Severus —	$\frac{4}{105}$	—	c. 48	—	c. 30 to 55 %.

In the reign of Caracalla a new coin makes its appearance, commonly called the Antoninianus or double Denarius. It was struck in very debased metal containing only about 20 % of pure silver. At first it was coined in conjunction with the Denarii; but from the reign of Gordian III, when the Denarius disappears, until the time of Diocletian the Antoninianus becomes, with a few rare exceptions, the only semblance of silver issued. About the time of Gallienus its quality becomes so poor as to render it scarcely distinguishable from the copper coins.

Another form of base silver are the Fourré or plated coins which occur in the earlier days of the Empire. These consist of a copper

basis covered with a thin layer of silver. Unless the outer casing is fractured it is often difficult to distinguish fourré coins from those of solid silver, except that the weight of the plated coins is always less. Examples are sometimes discovered where the copper centre has been entirely destroyed by corrosion leaving merely the hollow shell of silver, which is sufficiently stout to preserve outwardly the semblance of the coin while its weight is but a few grains. To produce this kind of base money the coin must have been first struck in copper and then dipped in molten silver allowing a coating of the more valuable metal to be deposited on the copper. Consequently it will be noticed that the lettering on the fourré coins appears slightly thicker and more rounded than on the pure silver.

### *The Bronze Coinage.*

The Bronze coins which formed the basis of the monetary system inaugurated by Augustus consisted of : —

- |                |                     |                 |                          |
|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| (1) Sestertius | = 4 asses.          | commonly called | 1 <sup>st</sup> Brass.   |
| (2) Dupondius  | = 2 asses.          | }               | — 2 <sup>nd</sup> Brass. |
| (3) As         | = 1 as.             |                 |                          |
| (4) Quadrans   | = $\frac{1}{4}$ as. | —               | 3 <sup>rd</sup> Brass.   |

Of these the Sestertius and Dupondius were of Orichalcum and the As and Quadrans of Copper.

It is often difficult to distinguish between the Dupondius and the As, which are practically of the same size. At the time they were issued the difference could be easily perceived by the colour of the metal, whereas when the coins are covered with patina the metal cannot always be detected.

As a general rule the Emperor's head is represented with a radiate crown on the Dupondii while it appears either bare or laureate on the Asses. However there are exceptions to this rule.

On the Dupondii of Nero the numeral II is frequently found on the reverse, while no mark of value occurs on the copper As.

The small copper coin is sometimes described as a Semis but Mr. Grueber<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that its weight never exceeds a quarter of an As. It is remarkable that from Augustus to Claudius no coin of the size and weight answering to the Semis occurs. The reason has not been explained.

In the reign of Nero the bronze currency instituted by Augustus is somewhat extended, thus we find : —

- |                |                |                        |
|----------------|----------------|------------------------|
| (1) Sestertius | of Orichalcum. |                        |
| (2) Dupondius  | —              | with mark of value II. |
| (3) As         | —              | — I.                   |
| (4) Semis      | —              | — S.                   |
| (5) Quadrans   | —              | without mark of value. |

1. Cf *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1904, p. 241.

- |              |                                       |
|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| (6) As       | of red Copper, without mark of value. |
| (7) Semis    | — —                                   |
| (8) Quadrans | — —                                   |

This extended system was not continued *in toto* after the time of Nero, nor are the marks of value found on the Dupondius &c.

Under Trajanus Decius the double Sestertius (sometimes wrongly described as a Medallion) was struck, but the experiment was not repeated by subsequent Emperors.

The Sestertius of Augustus weighed one ounce,  $\frac{4}{12}$  of a Roman pound (327.45 grammes). This weight was maintained with tolerable consistency, until the time of Commodus. Then the bronze coins of all denominations begin to diminish in size so that the Sestertius of Gallienus is, on the average, about half the weight of the Sestertius of Augustus.

#### THE GROWTH AND DECLINE OF ART.

Considered as works of Art the Sestertii, or large Brass, claim our first attention. This series of coins is without question the most magnificent which Rome ever produced.

The Art may be divided into the following periods: —

I. Augustus to Claudius. The Ascendency of Art.

II. Nero to Domitian. Period of Fine Art.

III. Nerva to Commodus. Period of Transition.

IV. Severus to Gallienus. Period of Decline.

I. *The Ascendency of Art.* Under Augustus the coins are of pure metal and full weight but the art displayed on them is curiously unequal. Greater care both in style and execution was bestowed on the Gold and Silver than on the Bronze.

The Bronze of Augustus are singularly disappointing as works of Art (and here the distinction must be carefully made between those coins struck during the life of Augustus and those struck by Tiberius or his successors).

Under Tiberius a few finely designed types make their appearance, e.g. the seated figure of Augustus.

Under Caligula more attention is paid to the portraiture of the Emperor which henceforward becomes the principal obverse type.

II. *Period of Fine Art.* Nero was before all else an artist, and that the Emperor personally supervised the striking of the Senatorial coins is clearly seen when we examine the style of the large Brass coins of Nero. As specimens of die engraving they are the finest the world had seen since the decline of Greek Art. More detailed notes are given on the point under Nero.

III. *Period of Transition.* After the reign of Domitian a certain irregularity of style is noticeable on the coins. It is possible to single out specimens of every reign from Nerva to Commodus which are

equal to the finest Imperial coins, but along with them are found examples of vastly inferior work. Many even of the coins of Hadrian, who was a lover of art, exhibit a flatness of style and a carelessness of striking not often found on earlier coins. Under Marcus Aurelius the signs of degeneracy are still more marked.

IV. *Period of Decline.* The decline however was not consistent. Here and there coins of great beauty come like surprises amidst the growing signs of decadence. The reduced size and awkward shape of the later bronze coins tend to destroy what merit they might otherwise possess. The silver is so debased with zinc and tin, or else is merely copper washed over with silver, that the series presents a pathetic spectacle of corruption and decay.

### THE BEGINNING OF THE EMPIRE.

The Battle of Actium is justly regarded as one of the turning points in the world's history. On the downfall of Antonius, Octavian, the great nephew and heir of Caesar, was summoned by the general consent of the Roman world, wearied out with twenty years of war and anarchy, to the task of establishing a government which should, as far as possible, continue the traditions of the Republic and at the same time maintain a strong central administration necessary for the stability of the Empire.

The political system inaugurated by Octavian in B.C. 29-27 consisted of placing the constitutional power in the hands of the Senate while he retained for himself a somewhat undefined official headship. The revival of the *kingship* was impracticable; and Octavian refused the title of *Dictator*, accordingly he was acknowledged by the Senate as "*princeps Senatus*" and assumed the titular cognomen of *Augustus*, as Tacitus says in his *Annals*, "Augustus subjected the world to Empire under the title of prince".

The years 29-27 mark the transition from the Republic to the Empire. Theoretically no constitutional break occurred but in effect the oligarchy had been replaced by an absolutism which was to colour Roman history for four centuries.

The change made itself felt slowly, and the coinage of Augustus accurately reflects the development of political thought. The coins struck between 43 and 36 B.C. (the end of the Triumvirate) are purely Republican in character. Between 36 and 29 B.C. the coins shew Octavian as the acknowledged head of the state without attributing to him any imperial titles.

From the year B.C. 29 the coins gradually assume the imperial characteristics which become completely stereotyped by the successors of Augustus. But during the period c. 20 to 3 B.C. the privilege was granted to the moneyers of placing their own names on the

coins. This may have been some sort of concession to the lingering Republican spirit and was doubtless a politic act on the part of Augustus. In B. C. 2. Augustus received the title of *Pater patriae* and publicly adopted his two grandsons Caius and Lucius as his intended successors, at which point the Imperial idea may be considered completely established.

From the following table may be seen the dates at which the Imperial titles were conferred or renewed, and the years to which the coins, bearing the moneymen's names, should be attributed.

B.C.	A. U. C.	TR. POT	COS	IMP	
28	726	—	VI.	VI. VII.	IMP CAESAR AVGVSTVS. DIVI. F CAESAR. AVGVSTVS CAESARI. AVGVSTO }
27	727	—	VII.	VII.	
26	728	—	VII.	VII.	
25	729	—	VIII.	VII.	} P. Carisius, legatus, propraetore. 25-23.
24	730	—	IX.	VIII.	
23	731	TR. P	X.	VIII.	
22	732	II.	XI.	VIII.	<i>Moneymen of Augustus.</i> L. Aquilius Florus. L. Caninius Gallus. M. Durmius. P. Petronius Turpilianus. Q. Rustius. Cossus Cornelius Cn. f. Lentulus. C. Sulpicius Platorinus. C. Antistius Reginus. P. Licinius Stolo. C. Marius Tromentina. M. Sanguinius. L. Cornelius Lentulus. L. Vinicius. C. Antistius Vetus. L. Mescinius Rufus. Q. Aelius Lamia ... Annus C. Silius C. Asinius C. f. Gallus. C. Cassius C. f. Celer. C. Gallius C. f. Luperus. Cn. Calpurnius Cn. f. Piso. L. Naevius Surdinus. C. Plotius Rufus. T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
21	733	III.	XI.	VIII.	
20	734	IV.	XI.	VIII.	
19	735	V.	XI.	IX.	
18	736	VI.	XI.		
17	737	VII.	XI.		
16	738	VIII.	XI.		
15	739	IX.	XI.		



B.C.	A. U. C.	TR. POT	COS	IMP																														
14	740	X.	XI.		P. Lurius Agrippa. M. Maecilius Tullus. M. Salvius Otho. A. Licinius Nerva Silianus. C. Marcus L. f. Censorinus. Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus. ... Maianus Gallus. ... Apronius. Cornelius Sisenna Volusus Valerius Messalla } ... Galus.																													
13	741	XI.	XI.																															
12	742	XII.	XI.	X.																														
11	743	XIII.	XI.	XI	B. C. 8-3 { ... Clodius Pulcher } T. Statilius Taurus } L. Livineius Regulus. } P. Betilienus Bassus. } C. Naevius Capela. } C. Rubellius Blandus. } C. Valerius Catullus. } PATER PATRIAE.																													
10	744	XIV.	XI.	XII.																														
9	745	XV.	XI.	XIII.																														
8	746	XVI.	XI.	XIV.																														
7	747	XVII.	XI.	XIV.																														
6	748	XVIII.	DES.XII.	XIV.																														
5	749	XIX.	XII.	XIV.																														
4	750	XX.	XII.	XIV.																														
3	751	XXI.	XII.	XIV.																														
2	752	XXII.	XIII.	XIV.																														
1	753	XXIII.	XIII.	XIV.	Tiberius.																													
A.D.																																		
1	754	XXIV.	XIII.	XIV.	<table><tr><th>TR. P. VI.</th><th>IMP III.</th></tr><tr><td>VII.</td><td>III.</td></tr><tr><td>VIII.</td><td>IV.</td></tr><tr><td>IX.</td><td>IV.</td></tr><tr><td>X.</td><td>V.</td></tr><tr><td>XI.</td><td>V.</td></tr><tr><td>XII.</td><td>V.</td></tr><tr><td>TR. P. XIII.</td><td>IMP. VI. VII.</td></tr><tr><td>XX.</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>XX.</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>XXI.</td><td></td></tr><tr><td>XIV.</td><td>VII.</td></tr><tr><td>XV.</td><td>VII.</td></tr><tr><td>XVI.</td><td>VII.</td></tr></table>		TR. P. VI.	IMP III.	VII.	III.	VIII.	IV.	IX.	IV.	X.	V.	XI.	V.	XII.	V.	TR. P. XIII.	IMP. VI. VII.	XX.		XX.		XXI.		XIV.	VII.	XV.	VII.	XVI.	VII.
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XVI.	VII.																																	
2	755	XXV.	XIII.	XIV.																														
3	756	XXVI.	XIII.	XIV.																														
4	757	XXVII.	XIII.	XIV.																														
5	758	XXVIII.	XIII.	XIV.																														
6	759	XXIX.	XIII.	XV.																														
7	760	XXX.	XIII.	XV.																														
8	761	XXXI.	XIII.	XVI.																														
9	762	XXXII.	XIII.	XVII.																														
10	763	XXXIII.	XIII.	XVIII.																														
11	764	XXXIV.	XIII.	XIX.																														
				XX.																														
				XX.																														
				XXI.																														
12	765	XXXV.	XIII.	XXI.																														
13	766	XXXVI.	XIII.	XV.																														
14	767	XXXVII.	XIII.	XV.																														

### THE TRIUMPH OF OCTAVIAN.

The triple triumph, which was accorded to Octavian after his famous victory at Actium, is commemorated extensively on the coinage of the years 29 and 28 B.C. and is frequently referred to on coins issued subsequently.

The contemporary coins may be divided into two main classes bearing the legends: .CAESAR.DIVI.F. and IMP.CAESAR.

The denarii bearing the inscription CAESAR.DIVI.F belong to the series usually assigned to the period 36 to 29 B.C.; therefore it follows that the coins which refer to the victory at Actium must be placed in the last year of the period.

Those with the inscription IMP.CAESAR are placed in the years 29 to 27 B.C. The title *Imperator* was first conferred on Octavian in B.C. 43 as a military distinction; but in 29 the title became a personal praenomen, which had no direct reference to military achievements. According to Cassius Dio [lii. 41] when Octavian assumed the praenomen, *Imperator*, he dropped the old praenomen of Caius.

The following may be taken as examples of the series referring to Actium:—

1. Obv. Bare head of Octavian to r.

Rev. CAESAR.DIVI.F. Victory standing to l. on globe, holding in her r. hand a laurel wreath and bearing a palm over her left shoulder (Denarius. — Coh. 65).

2. Obv. Victory to r. on prow of galley, holding wreath and palm branch.

Rev. Octavian in a triumphal quadriga, holding a laurel branch. In exergue CAESAR.DIVI.F. (Denarius. — Brit. Mus.).

3. Obv. and Rev. similar to preceding coin but in the exergue IMP.CAESAR (Denarius. — Coh. 115).

4. Obv. Bare head of Octavian to r.

Rev. IMP.CAESAR. A naval trophy (Denarius. — Coh. 105).

The obverse type of Nos. 2 and 3 is reminiscent of the famous Tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes struck in commemoration of



his victory over Ptolemy in B.C. 306. Mr. Hill has pointed out the decadence of the type on Octavian's coin in comparison with that

which appears on the Greek Tetradrachm. Cf. "Hist. Roman Coins", p. 135.

In the year of his triumph Octavian erected an arch in the Forum and also dedicated a new temple to Minerva.

We find the arch and temple portrayed on the following Denarii, struck between 29 and 27 B.C.

5. Obv. Bare head of Octavian to r.

Rev. A single span Arch inscribed IMP. CAESAR; on the arch is a triumphal quadriga facing, driven by Octavian (Denarius. — Coh. 123).

6. Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. A temple surrounded by a low pitched colonnade or loggia. The frieze, which projects beyond the building is inscribed IMP. CAESAR. Above the architrave are statues (Denarius. — Coh. 122).



The political importance of Octavian's triumph is recorded on such as the following :

7. Obv. CAESAR. COS. VI. Bare head of Octavian to r.; behind, a praefericulum.

Rev. AEGYPTO. CAPTA. A crocodile (Denarius. — Coh. 2).

8. Obv. CAESAR. IMP. VII. Bare head of Octavian to r.



Rev. ASIA. RECEPTA. Victory to l. on a Cista mystica, holding crown and palm; on either side a snake (Quinarius. — Coh. 14).

These two coins are dated and belong to the year B.C. 28.

The Crocodile and also the Sphinx as emblems of Egypt occur on many of the later coins of Augustus and are frequently introduced as small symbols placed under the head on the obverse.

The Sphinx appears to have had more than ordinary fascination for Augustus. According to Suetonius, the Emperor was accustomed to seal both his diplomatic papers and private letters with a signet ring bearing the sphinx.

The character and policy of Augustus are, in many respects, so enigmatical that writers, baffled in their attempts to unravel the mysteries which both present, have likened him to the mystic sphinx.

Reference may be made to the following beautiful Asiatic Medallion : —

9. Obv. IMP. CAESAR. Bare head to r. ; in front, a *lituus*.

Rev. AVGVSTVS. Sphinx seated on its haunches to r. (Cohen. 31).



#### OCTAVIAN AND AGRIPPA.

In the year 28. B.C. Octavian became consul for the sixth time and associated with himself in the consular office his trusty friend and minister, Marcus Agrippa. The most important work of the year was the revision of the Senate which according to the description of Suetonius had become a shapeless and disordered mob. Accordingly Octavian and Agrippa excluded about 200 senators on the grounds of unfitness for office, thereby reducing the Senate to about 800 members. At the same time Octavian received the title of "*Princeps Senatus*".

The illegal and unconstitutional enactments of the Triumvirate were formally annulled and arrears of debt to the State were cancelled.

10. Obv. M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. III. Head of Agrippa to l. wearing rostral crown.



Rev. S.C. Between the letters, Neptune, standing, holding a trident

in his left hand, and extending his right to a dolphin. A mantle is suspended from his shoulders (2<sup>nd</sup> Brass. — Coh. 3).

The sea-god is here represented in connexion with the victory at Actium on which occasion Agrippa commanded the fleet.

## AUGUSTUS.

On January 16<sup>th</sup>, B.C. 27, the title of *Augustus* was conferred on Octavian by decree of the Senate. Three days previously, Cassius Dio tells us, laurel trees were placed before the door of the house of Octavian and an oak-wreath hung above it.

It has been thought that the golden shield of valour inscribed S(enatus) P(opulus)Q(ue) R(omanus) CL(ypeum) V(ovit), was voted to the Emperor at the same time.

A reference to the oak-wreath and laurel appears on the following aureus, struck in this year: —

11. Obv. CAESAR.COS.VII.CIVIBVS.SERVATEIS. Bare head to r.

Rev. AVGVSTVS.S.C. An eagle with spread wings, holding in his talons an oak-wreath; behind are two branches of laurel (Aureus. — Coh. 30. Struck B.C. 27).

Numerous references to both the oak-crown and shield occur on coins which, from their style, should be placed some few years later. Such as the following: —

12. Obv. CAESAR.AVGUSTVS. Bare head to l.

Rev. OB.CIVIS.SERVATOS outside an oak-wreath (Denarius. — Coh. 211).

13. Obv. CAESAR.AVGUSTVS. Bare head to r.

Rev. An oak-wreath encircling the words OB.CIVIS.SERVATOS (Denarius. — Coh. 208).

14. Obv. CAESAR.AVGUSTVS. Bare head to l.



Rev. Circular shield inscribed S.P.Q.R.CL.V. (Denarius. — Coh. 293).

The golden shield also appears on coins relating to the recovery of the standards, and on a rare coin of L. Caninius Gallus, belonging to the year B.C. 20, the act of placing the crown and laurels at the door of Octavian's house is recorded.

15. Obv. AVGVSTVS.DIVI.F. Bare head to r.

Rev. L.CANINIVS.GALLVS.III.VIR.OB.C.S. Oak-crown placed over a door, on either side of which is a branch of laurel (Aureus. — Coh. 385).

It may be observed in passing that there is no decisive evidence as to the exact date at which the golden shield was conferred, but the coins on which it is represented are of later date than the year B.C. 27.

The legend OB CIVIS SERVATOS which is of such common occurrence on the coins of Augustus appears to bear a general significance, in allusion to the increase of public security consequent on the cessation of civil war, rather than to any specific act.

#### THE ROMANISING OF SPAIN.

For centuries the Iberian peninsula had offered an alluring bait for Roman enterprise. Under the Republic army after army had met its fate at the hands of the savage tribes inhabiting Lusitania, Galicia and Cantabria, until the reduction of Spain was looked upon well-nigh with despair. Rome had indeed secured the province of Baetica in the south and a few towns on the eastern coast, such as Valentia and Tarraco, but the work of conquest rested with Augustus during the years 27 to 24 B.C., which he spent in the peninsula. On his return to Rome in 24 B.C., the Cantabrians and Asturians again broke into open revolt and, not until the year 19 B.C., when Agrippa took control of the operations, was Spain finally reduced to Roman rule.

The following coins struck by the moneyer P. Carisius may be noticed in this connexion.

16. Obv. IMP.CAESAR.AVGUST. Bare head to l.

Rev. P.CARISIVS.LEG.PRO.PR. Trophy of Spanish arms (Denarius. — Coh. 312).

17. Obv. Similar to preceding but with head to r.

Rev. P.CARISIVS.LEG.PRO.PR. Fortification inscribed EMERITA (Denarius. — Coh. 317).

These and other denarii of a victorious significance, struck by the propraetor Carisius, refer to the events of the year B.C. 25 when the city of Emerita Augusta was raised to the position of a Roman Colony.

THE RECOVERY OF THE STANDARDS FROM PARTHIA.

In the year B.C. 20 an amicable agreement was effected with Phraates, King of Parthia, according to the terms of which Augustus handed over Tiridates, who had taken refuge in Rome, on condition that the Parthian king restored certain prisoners together with the Roman standards which had been previously captured. The standards were duly received and with great pomp deposited in the Temple of Mars Ultor. •

Mr. Hill has made it clear that the Circular Temple of Mars Ultor shewn on the coins was a small shrine on the Capitol, erected as a temporary resting place for the standards until the completion of the greater Temple in the Forum of Augustus (B.C. 2).

18. Obv. CAESAR.AVGVSTVS. Head of Augustus to r.

Rev. SIGNIS.RECEPTIS. Mars walking to l., a cloak fastened round his waist; in his r. hand he holds a legionary eagle and carries a standard over his l. shoulder (Denarius. — Coh. 259).

19. Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. SIGNIS.RECEPTIS.S.P.Q.R. around a circular buckler inscribed CL.V.; on the l. a legionary eagle; on r. a standard with two medallions (Denarius. — Coh. 265).

20. Obv. CAESARI.AVGVSTO. Laureate head of Augustus to r.

Rev. MAR—VLT. Circular domed Temple, raised on three steps, in which are two military standards and a legionary eagle (Denarius. — Coh. 190).

In connexion with the ceremonial which accompanied the placing of the standards in the temple of Mars Ultor the two following denarii may be noticed: —

21. Obv. CAESARI.AVGVSTO. Laureate head to r.

Rev. A triumphal chariot of a highly ornate character drawn by four horses walking to r.; in the chariot is a legionary eagle and leaning over the front is a standard surmounted by four prancing horses. In exergue S.P.Q.R. (Denarius. — Coh. 274).

22. Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. A circular domed temple similar to that of Mars Ultor within which is the same ornamental chariot (without horses) containing the eagle and standard in the same positions as on the preceding coin. In exergue, S.P.Q.R. (Denarius. — Coh. 279).

The triumphal chariot is doubtless that in which the standards were borne through the streets of Rome. It is not recorded whether or not the chariot was one that had been previously captured from the Roman army, nor is it stated that the chariot was placed in the Temple of Mars Ultor, but the latter point is certainly suggested by the representation on the coin.

THE ARCH OF AUGUSTUS.

In order to perpetuate the triumphant recovery of the standards a triple arch was erected by Augustus in the Forum Romanum between the Temple of Castor and that of the divine Julius. The general appearance of the arch, of which only the marble bases now remain, may be gathered from the following coin: —

23. Obv. S. P. Q. R. IMP. CAESARI. AVG. COS. XI. TRI. POT. VI. Bare head to r.

Rev. CIVIB. ET. SIGN. MILIT. A. PART. RECVPER. Triumphal arch, on which is Augustus driving a quadriga. On either side is a Parthian captive, one holding the legionary eagle, the other a standard (Aureus. — Coh. 82. Struck B.C. 18).

If the representation on this coin is compared with the Denarius, n° 5, a remarkable resemblance will be noticed between the arch erected in 29 B.C. and the central portion of this later structure. So far as can be ascertained the position of the two arches appears to have been identical; it follows therefore, that, in all probability, the arch of B.C. 20 was not altogether a new structure but that the two side arches were added to the existing arch and the upper part further embellished with the statues of the Parthian captives.

THE CONQUEST OF ARMENIA.

For some years there had been considerable unrest in Armenia under the regime of Artaxias, and a petition was sent to Augustus to the effect that Tigranes, the brother of Artaxias, should be appointed as ruler. The conduct of affairs was entrusted to Tiberius, but while he and Tigranes were on their way to Armenia, Artaxias was murdered by his subjects. Armenia was consequently occupied by Tiberius without difficulty. This conquest, as it was officially termed, was regarded as a triumph second only to the recovery of the standards, and in the year 19 B.C., Augustus entered Rome in triumph.

24. Obv. AVGVSTVS. Head to r.



Rev. ARMENIA RECEPTA. Armenian tiara, bow-case with bow, quiver and arrows (Denarius. — Coh. 13. Struck c. B.C. 19).



For further notes on this and other coins referring to Armenia, cf. Hill, p. 145 seqq.

Cf. those with the legend ARMENIA CAPTA.

AUGUSTUS AND AGRIPPA.

25. Obv. IMP.DIVI.F. The laureate heads of Augustus (r.) and Agrippa (l.) back to back. P.P.

Rev. COL.NEM. A crocodile chained to a conventionally designed palm tree, at the top of which is a flower, or garland; on the r., two small serpents (2<sup>nd</sup> Brass. — Coh. 7).



This extremely well-known coin possesses several points of interest.

(1) It was struck at Nemausus (Nismes) which recalls the policy of Augustus in the province of Gallia Narbonensis of making the chief towns the centres of organization. Nemausus was constituted a colony of Veterans and endowed with numerous privileges about 22 B.C.

(2) The crocodile cannot well be associated with southern Gaul but must refer to the subjection of Egypt, and so would have a complimentary allusion to both Augustus and Agrippa.

(3) The date of this coin has been variously given. Some writers having been led astray by the letters P.P. (which, it may be observed, do not occur on all specimens). If the letters stand for Pater Patriae it would place the issue of the coin many years after the death of Agrippa; or else it would involve the assumption, which some writers are guilty of, that Augustus received the title Pater Patriae during the life of Agrippa — which is quite contrary to historical evidence. The association of Augustus and Agrippa as colleagues in the government gives only two possible dates, i.e. B.C. 28 or B.C. 18. The year 28 is too early for the issue of this coin, since Nemausus does not appear to have been made a colony until 22 B.C.

In B.C. 19 Agrippa had been very active in Southern Gaul and had succeeded in suppressing several rebellions. In the next year

Agrippa was confirmed in his office as co-regent with Augustus. It is in this year (B.C. 18) that coins were struck by the moneyer, C. Sulpicius Platorinus, bearing the portraits of Augustus and Agrippa [vid. *infra*]; therefore there appears little doubt that it is to the year 18 B.C. that the Nemausian coin refers.

The portraits of Augustus and Agrippa occur on the following coins struck in the year 18 B.C.

26. Obv. CAESAR.AVGVS TVS. Bare head to r.

Rev. M.AGRIPPA.PLATORINVS.III VIR. Head of Agrippa to r. with rostral and mural crown (Denarius. — Coh. 2).

27. Obv. Similar to preceding coin.

Rev. C.SVLPICIVS.PLATORIN. Augustus and Agrippa seated side by side (Denarius. — Coh. 529).

#### THE MONETARY REFORM OF AUGUSTUS.

c. B.C. 15.

Some reference has already been made to this important work (vid. *supra*) and for a more exhaustive account, cf. Mr. Hill's "*Historical Roman Coins*", pp. 154-157.

The chief point of interest which has an important bearing on the subsequent coinage of the Empire is the fact that Augustus granted to the Senate the privilege of striking the Brass and Copper while he reserved to himself and his successors the right of coining Gold and Silver. This system lasted until the latter part of the third Century A.D. by which time the silver had become so debased as to be scarcely distinguishable from the brass or copper.

THE MONEYERS OF AUGUSTUS.

B.C.		A.	Æ.	Sestertius.	Dupondius.	As.	Quadrans.
20	L. Aquilius Florus.....	+	+	..	..	..	..
	L. Caninius Gallus.....	+	+	..	..	..	..
	M. Durmius.....	+	+	..	..	..	..
	P. Petronius Turpilianus.....	+	+	..	..	..	..
19	Q. Rustius.....	+	+	..	..	..	..
18	Cossus Cornelius Cn. f. Lentulus.....	..	+	..	..	..	..
	C. Sulpicius Platorinus.....	..	+	..	..	..	..
	C. Antistius Reginus.....	+	+	..	..	..	..
17	P. Licinius Stolo.....	..	+	+	+	..	..
	C. Marius Troientina.....	+	+	..	..	..	..
	M. Sanquinius.....	..	..	+	+	..	..
	L. Cornelius Lentulus.....	..	+	..	..	..	..
16	L. Vinicius.....	..	+	..	..	..	..
	C. Antistius Vetus.....	+	+	..	..	..	..
	L. Mescinius Rufus.....	+	+	..	..	..	..
15	Q. Aelius Lamia.....	..	..	+	+	..	..
	... Annius.... } in conjunction.	..	..	..	..	..	+
	C. Silius.....	..	..	..	..	..	+
	C. Asinius C. f. Gallus.....	..	..	+	+	+	..
	C. Cassius C. f. Celer.....	..	..	+	+	+	..
	C. Gallius C. f. Lupercus.....	..	..	+	+	+	..
	Cn. Calpurnius Cn. f. Piso.....	..	..	+	+	+	..
	L. Naevius Surdinus.....	..	..	+	+	+	..
	C. Plotius Rufus.....	..	..	+	+	+	..
	T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus.....	..	..	+	+	..	..
	Ti. Sempronius Graccus.....	..	..	+	+	..	..
12	P. Lurii Agrippa.....	..	..	..	..	+	..
	M. Maecilius Tullus.....	..	..	..	..	+	..
	M. Salvius Otho.....	..	..	+	..	+	..
	A. Licinius Nerva Silianus.....	..	..	..	..	+	..
	C. Marcus L. f. Censorinus.....	..	..	+	+	..	..
	Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus.....	..	..	..	..	+	..
	Maianus Gallus.....	..	..	..	..	+	..
	Apronius.....	..	..	..	..	..	+
	Cornelius Sisenna.....	..	..	..	..	..	+
	Volusius Valerius Messalla.....	..	..	..	..	+	+
	Galus.....	..	..	..	..	..	+
8-3	Clodius Pulcher.....	..	..	..	..	..	+
	T. Statilius Taurus.....	..	..	..	..	..	+
	L. Livineius Regulus.....	..	..	..	..	..	+
	P. Betilienus Bassus.....	..	..	..	..	..	+
	C. Naevius Capella.....	..	..	..	..	..	+
	C. Rubellius Blandus.....	..	..	..	..	..	+
	C. Valerius Catullus.....	..	..	..	..	..	+

About the year B.C. 20 the privilege was granted to certain persons of striking money, in all metals, on which they placed their own names. It may be noted that, with the exception of P. Licinius Stolo, those who struck gold and silver coins did not also issue copper or brass and vice versâ. The privilege thus granted was not withdrawn when Augustus introduced his reform of the coinage, just alluded to, but continued until the year B.C. 3, the reason probably being, as suggested above, that it was some sort of concession to the lingering Republican spirit.

Reference to the table above will show (1) that the right of coining gold and silver was withdrawn about the time of the monetary reform; (2) the right of coining brass and copper appears to have been dropped gradually, the latest moneyers being restricted to the issue of copper *quadrantes*.

#### GERMANIA AND PANNONIA.

In the vast work of pacification and organization the untiring genius of Augustus was taxed to the utmost. But he ever proved himself equal to the occasion. His chief power lay in devising what line of policy should be adopted and how the minute details of administration should be carried out. As a general he was weak, but fortune favoured him in having two able stepsons, Tiberius and Drusus, to whom he could entrust the military command with all confidence.

Through the years 16-13 B.C. the success of Augustus, as the director, with the cooperation of Tiberius and Drusus, as men of action, shewed itself in the reduction of the German tribes on the Rhine, and the whole district of Switzerland and Tyrol.

In B.C. 12, Tiberius established the frontier line along the Danube including the provinces of Mœsia and Pannonia, while Drusus forced the line of the Weser and the Elbe.

The type which appears on the following denarius seems to summarise the achievements of Tiberius and Drusus.

28. Obv. AVGVS TVS. DIVI. F. Bare head to r.

Rev. IMP. X̄. Two soldiers presenting olive-branches to Augustus who is seated to l. on a raised dais (Denarius, struck in B.C. 12. — Coh. 133).

The two soldiers may either be intended for Tiberius and Drusus or they may represent the two-fold successes in Germania and in Pannonia.

#### COINS STRUCK AFTER THE DEATH OF AGRIPPA, B.C. 12.

The following well-known series of Denarii, characterised by the inscriptions IMP. X̄, XI and XII, belonging to the years B.C. 12-

10, should be taken together. At first sight they appear to refer to events in nowise connected with their year of issue, and they are as a matter of fact commemorative rather than contemporaneous in their allusion. The treatment of the head of Augustus is remarkable, portraying him with short curly hair and with less refined features than on coins struck either before or after this date.

29. Obv. AVGVSTVS.DIVI.F. Bare head to r.

Rev. IMP.X.SICIL. Diana standing, holding bow and arrow; in front of her is a dog (Denarius. — Coh. 145).

30. Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. IMP.X.ACT. Apollo of Actium in long tunic, holding a lyre and plectrum (Denarius. — Coh. 144).

31. Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. IMP.XI. A Capricorn holding cornucopiae, rudder and globe (Denarius. — Coh. 147).

32. Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev.IMP X. or IMP.XII. Bull butting either to r. or to l.

No. 29 refers to the defeat of Sextus Pompeius in B.C. 36, when he was driven out of Sicily by Agrippa.

No. 30 contains a reference to the victory at Actium B.C. 31, as, shortly before the battle, Augustus had become a devotee of Apollo, to whose beneficent auspices he ascribed his victory.

Both these coins were struck B.C. 12, the year in which Augustus lost his friend and counsellor, M. Agrippa. The types recall the two conspicuous triumphs for which Agrippa was chiefly responsible, so that it is natural to regard them as public reminders of the greatness of the man who had just passed away.

The types which occur on Nos. 31 and 32 must be taken in connexion with the preceding.



But first to consider the types in detail. The Capricorn or sea-goat appears on the coins of Augustus belonging to various dates. It is found for example placed beneath the head on the obverse of a denarius struck in B. C. 27, bearing the Reverse legend AEGYPTO.CAPTA. and on some of the memorial Sestertii struck in the reign of Tiberius.

The opinion that Augustus was born under the auspices of the constellation Capricornus was certainly held by his contemporaries; and numerous stories, more or less apocryphal, circulate around the event. The account of the philosopher Theogenes of Apollonia, who leaped from his chair and worshipped the young Octavian on learning the hour of his birth, is well-known. Without attributing an undue amount of superstition to Augustus, there seems every probability that he was a firm believer in his horoscope; and that the coins bearing the capricorn were struck as a testimony to his faith in the successful career predicted for him by the astrologers.

The butting bull on No. 32 is obviously copied from the famous Di-staters of Thurium (B.C. 350) and its significance must probably be sought in a reference to the character of Augustus himself and the determination of the policy he was pursuing.

Taking the whole series together we are able to see the purpose for the issue of these particular types; first, to remind the Roman people of the great deeds of Agrippa, whose death they lamented, and, secondly, to inspire public confidence in the government of Augustus, guided by the hand of an auspicious fate, and carried forward with undaunted determination despite the loss of a powerful colleague.

#### THE ALTAR OF LYONS, B.C. 10.

According to the system of organization carried out by Augustus during his sojourn in Southern Gaul between the years 16 and 13 B.C., the chief centre of administration was fixed at Lyons. Here on August 1st, B.C. 10, was inaugurated the great Altar in honour of Roma and Augustus. A series of Bronze coins of all sizes was struck giving a representation of the famous Altar. Since the various questions relating to these coins have been carefully dealt with in Mr. Hill's book it is only necessary to give them a passing reference in order to fill up the chronology of the coins of Augustus.

33. Obv. CAESAR. PONT. MAX. Laureate head to r.



Rev. The Altar of Lyons decorated with sculptures; on either side,

a column surmounted by a Victory holding wreath and palm branch.

In the exergue ROM. ET. AVG. (Dupondius. Struck c. B.C. 10. — Coh., 240).

34. Obv. CAESAR. AVGVSTVS. DIVI. F. PATER. PATRIAE. Laureate head to r.

Rev. Similar to preceding (Dupondius. Struck c. B.C. 2. — Coh., 237).

The same type occurs frequently on the coins of Tiberius.

#### THE DEATH OF DRUSUS, B.C. 9.

In the year B.C. 11, Drusus began his great invasion of Germany proper. The Chatti were conquered and the Marcomanni driven into Bohemia; but at the height of his success the valiant young Drusus was thrown from his horse and died, Sept. 14, B.C. 9. A triumphal arch was erected to his honour in Rome and he received the title of Germanicus. The arch and title appear on the following coins: —

35. Obv. NERO. CLAVDIVS. DRVSVS. GERMANICVS. IMP. Laureate head of Drusus to l.

Rev. Triumphal arch inscribed DE. GERM.; above the arch is an equestrian statue of Drusus, and on either side the figure of a captive supporting a trophy (Aureus. — Coh. 1).

36. Obv. Similar to preceding.

Rev. DE. GERMANIS. A vexillum between two shields (Aureus. — Coh. 5).

The date at which these coins were struck is uncertain; they are usually attributed to the reign of Claudius, although they refer to events of B.C. 9. The Arch of Drusus was not erected till some time after his death.

37. Obv. NERO. CLAVDIVS. DRVSVS. GERMANICVS. IMP. Bare head of Drusus to l.

Rev. TI. CLAVDIVS. CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. S. C. Drusus seated to l., holding a branch; at his feet an incense pot and on the ground various German arms (Sestertius. — Coh. 8. Struck by Claudius).

#### CAIUS CAESAR, c. B.C. 5.

Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa and Julia, were adopted by Augustus in B.C. 17. In B.C. 8, Caius accompanied Tiberius on his campaign against the Sugambri. In B.C. 5, Caius received the *toga virilis* and Lucius three years later; in this year Caius was

designated consul. In the year B.C. 1, Augustus despatched the young Caius Caesar in command of an important mission to the East against Artavasdes, King of Armenia. The object of this campaign, so it was said, was to settle affairs in Armenia and to effect the conquest of Parthia and Arabia. The story of the campaign is shrouded in mystery; there was no war with Parthia or Arabia, and the only result was the restoration of Armenia to the sphere of Roman influence. Lucius died after an illness in the year A.D. 2; and in the following year Caius was treacherously wounded in Armenia and died at Limyra, February 21st, A.D. 4.

The following coin, which occurs in Gold and Silver is usually attributed to Caius. The reasons for so doing and also for placing it in the year B.C. 5 will be found ably set forth in Mr. Hill's "Historical Roman Coins", pp. 165-168, q. v.

38. Obv. CAESAR. Head of Caius Caesar to r. The whole surrounded by an oak-wreath.

Rev. AVGVST. An incense altar, with lions' feet and rams' heads as decoration; around, a wreath containing flowers, paterae and bucrania (Aureus. — Coh. 1. Denarius. — Coh. 2).

The coin is not of Roman fabric and was not improbably struck in the East.

The youthful Caius is also represented on the following : —

39. Obv. AVGVSTVS.DIVI.F. Laureate head of Augustus to r.

Rev. C.CAES.AVGVST.F. Caius Caesar on horseback, galloping to r.; behind are two military standards and legionary eagle (Aureus. — Coh. 39. Denarius. — Coh. 40).

This coin, for the same reasons as No. 35, should be assigned to the year B.C. 5. It cannot be as late as B.C. 2 since no reference is made to the designation of Caius to the Consulship nor does the title *Pater Patriae* appear on the obverse in connexion with Augustus. The military aspect in which Caius is portrayed suggests a reference to his expedition in company with Tiberius in B.C. 8, and after his return, the occasion on which he received the *toga virilis* would be suitable for the public recognition of his military achievement.

#### AUGUSTUS PATER PATRIAE.

Augustus received the title of *Pater Patriae* on Feby 5, B.C. 2. This crowning honour was conferred on him by the Senate on the proposal of M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus. Caius Caesar was designated to enter upon his Consulship on January 1<sup>st</sup> A.D. 1. The following coin must therefore have been struck between Feby 5, B.C. 2 and December 31<sup>st</sup> B.C. 1.

40. Obv. CAESAR.AVGVSTVS.DIVI.F.PATER.PATRIAE. Laureate head to r.



Rev. C.L. CAESARES . AVGVSTI . F. COS . DESIG . PRINC . IVVENT. Caius and Lucius standing, each togate and veiled, holding spear and shield ; above, sacrificial ladle and lituus (Aureus. — Coh. 42 and Denarius. Coh. 43).

Mommsen has pointed out that the attainment of the dignity of Princeps Juventutis was equivalent to nomination as successor in the principate. These coins were struck in large numbers and were very widely circulated, their purpose apparently being to proclaim the choice of Augustus to the Roman world.

The coins struck between the assumption of Pater Patriae and A.D. 14 are not easily placed chronologically. Judging from their rarity we may conclude that the issue of Sestertii (Æ<sup>1</sup>) was greatly restricted. The greater number of large Brass coins bearing the portrait or figure of Augustus were struck as Commemoration coins by Tiberius, when the Tribunitian date is usually given, or else they are *Restitutio* pieces struck by subsequent Emperors bearing the abbreviation REST.

#### THE MILITARY ACTIVITY OF TIBERIUS.

The last nine years of the reign of Augustus were mainly occupied with wars waged on the Rhine and Danube frontier. In A.D. 5 Tiberius, who was in command of the Rhine army, commenced an aggressive movement with the object of establishing a continuous frontier from the Elbe to the Danube. Since the campaign of Drusus hostilities in this quarter had been suspended. But the Marcomanni whom he had driven into Bohemia, now became a power which threatened danger to the Roman lines.

The operations of Tiberius and C. Sentius Saturninus appear to have been at first successful ; for we find the following coins struck in A.D. 6 and 7 with evident reference to victories.

41. Obv. AVGVSTVS . DIVI . F. Laureate head to r.

Rev. TR . POT . XXVIII. Victory seated on globe, holding a crown (Gold Quinarius).

It may be noted that Cohen enumerates examples of this type with TR . POT . XIII . XV . XVI, XVII, XXVII, XXVIII, XXX, and XXXI ; so that the earlier specimens would refer to the victories of Tiberius and Drusus in Germania and Pannonia, B.C. 17-9, while the later would bear reference to the campaign of A.D. 4-7.

#### THE LAST YEARS OF AUGUSTUS.

The events of the next three years were by no means so favourable to the Roman arms. A widely organized revolt broke out in the Illyrian Provinces, Pannonia and Dalmatia. Fresh legions were

despatched from Rome under Germanicus and reinforcements were sent from the East to the aid of Tiberius. By the year A.D. 10, the dangerous revolt had been quelled and a triumph accorded to



Tiberius, which, however, he did not celebrate until three years later owing to the overwhelming disaster which befell the three legions under the command of Quinctilius Varus.

The triumph of Tiberius over the Illyrian insurgents is recorded on the following denarius which bears the date of A.D. 13.

42. Obv. CAESAR. AVGVSTVS. DIVI. F. PATER. PATRIAE. Laureate head of Augustus to r.

Rev. TI. CAESAR. AVG. F. TR. POT. XV. Tiberius in a triumphal quadriga to r., holding a laurel-wreath and a sceptre surmounted by an eagle (Denarius. — Coh. 300).

#### AUGUSTUS AND TIBERIUS.

The premature deaths of Caius and Lucius had left Augustus practically no alternative but to choose Tiberius as his successor. This he did in A.D. 5. After his Triumph in A.D. 13, mentioned above, Tiberius was granted the Tribunitia Potestas for life, and equality with the Emperor in the command of the army. This is recorded on a series of coins struck within the last twelve months of the reign of Augustus.

43. Obv. TI. CAESAR. AVG. F. TR. POT. XV. Bare head of Tiberius to r.

Rev. CAESAR. AVGVSTVS. DIVI. F. PATER. PATRIAE. Head of Augustus to r. (Denarius. — Coh. 2).

The Tribunitian date places this coin in the latter part of A.D. 13 or the earlier part of A.D. 14.

On some specimens a star is placed over the head of Augustus and there is no Tribunitian date. It is probable that these were struck somewhat later, i. e. after the death of Augustus.

#### DIVUS AUGUSTUS.

The title *Divus* is found on a large number of large and middle sized Bronze coins, which have no inscription to prove that they were struck by Tiberius. Some writers on Numismatics consider

that these coins were issued during the life of Augustus. But if we are to accept the statement that Augustus permitted no worship of himself apart from that of Roma it is impossible to reconcile so large an issue of coins, unmistakably proclaiming the divinity of Augustus, with the principle which he seems to have consistently followed. In support of the view that all the coins with the legend DIVVS. AVGVSTVS. PATER should be attributed to the reign of Tiberius the following points may be considered.

(1) The bronze coins of Tiberius which have no reference to Augustus are extremely few, considering the length of his reign. It seems highly probable therefore, that, during a great part of his reign, coins were struck with the portrait or seated figure of Augustus sometimes with, and sometimes without, the titles of Tiberius.

(2) The portraits which occur in conjunction with the epithet DIVVS differ from the earlier portraits which unquestionably belong to the lifetime of Augustus. The Emperor wears a radiate crown and the features are considerably idealized. There is no attempt to portray a man of sixty years and upwards, but rather a type of face which might in itself be taken for Apollo while still retaining the more youthful characteristics of Augustus.

If the portraits of Augustus on the Dupondii and Asses, restored by Titus, are compared with those on the coins of DIVVS. AVGVSTVS. PATER, it will be seen that the style is almost identical. Whereas the portrait on the DIVVS type differs considerably from that on the Sestertius of B.C. 2 on which the title PATER. PATRIAE first occurs.

(3) The standard bronze money in circulation during the last thirty years of Augustus would naturally be that which was inaugurated by the monetary reform of B.C. 15.

44. Obv. OB. CIVIS. SERVATOS within a laurel-wreath; a branch of laurel on either side.

Rev. S. C. in centre, around A. A. A. F. F. and moneyer's name.

This type of coin with certain modifications occurs as Sestertius, Dupondius, As and Quadrans — i. e., the large S. C. always forms the reverse type, and the letters A. A. A. F. F. (aere, argento, auro, flando feriundo) are invariably found. The coins of this class are generally found in a very worn condition, and collectors invariably experience considerable difficulty in obtaining really fine specimens. But the fact seems to point to their long period of circulation.

#### MEMORIAL COINS OF AUGUSTUS STRUCK BY TIBERIUS.

The following coins belong to the class struck to the memory of the deified Augustus, but bearing on the Reverse the titles and Tribunitian date of Tiberius.

45. Obv. DIVVS.AVGVSTVS.PATER. The deified Augustus with radiate crown, seated to l. on a square stool, holding in his r. hand an olive-branch and in his l. a hasta pura; before him a square altar.

Rev. TI. CAESAR.DIVI.AVG.F.AVGVST.P.M.TR.POT. XXIII.; in field. S.C. (Sestertius, struck in A.D. 22. — Coh. 309).

According to Tacitus [Ann. iii. 64] Julia Augusta (Livia) dedicated a statue to Divus Augustus, near the Theatre of Marcellus in the year A.D. 22. This corresponds with the date of this coin and it is reasonable to infer that the seated figure on the Obverse is copied from the Statue.

This type is found restored by Titus — with the legend IMP.T. CAES. DIVI. VESP.F.AVG.P.M.TR.P.P.P.COS.VIII — REST.

46. Obv. DIVO.AVGVSTO.S.P.Q.R. Quadriga of elephants to r.; on the car is seated Augustus in radiate crown, holding olive-branch and hasta pura.

Rev. TI. CAESAR.DIVI.AVG.F.AVGVST.P.M.TR.POT. XXXVI; in centre, S.C. (Sestertius. Struck in A.D. 34. — Coh. 306).

Some varieties of this coin represent Augustus holding a globe instead of an olive-branch, and with the Quadriga to l., also the Tribunitian dates XXXVII and XXXIIX occur.

The dates of these coins place them too long after the death of Augustus to be reasonably connected with his funeral obsequies. They refer with greater probability to the celebration of the Circensian games on which occasion the images of the gods and deified Emperors were carried on cars with great pomp.

47. Obv. DIVO.AVGVSTO.S.P.Q.R. A shield inscribed OB. CIVES.SER. surrounded by oak-wreath; below, two capricorns and globe.

Rev. TI. CAESAR.DIVI.AVG.F.AVGVST.P.M.TR.POT. XXXVI. around S.C. (Sestertius. struck in A.D. 34. — Coh. 303) Also with dates TR.P. XXXVII and XXXIIX.

The type is reminiscent of the famous recovery of the standards and prisoners in B.C. 20. No event was more widely proclaimed on the coinage of Augustus than this, and Tiberius, or rather the Senate in the reign of Tiberius, desired apparently to remind the Roman people of it. For the significance of the Capricorn cf. the note on N° 31.

### TIBERIUS.

The character of Tiberius presents one of those curious psychological problems which has never been satisfactorily explained. His

memory has been branded with every infamous epithet by later writers. Monster and tyrant are the terms with which he is usually described, but it must be admitted that the verdict is based partly on the testimony of a prejudiced historian and partly on popular rumours invented to explain the secluded life of the Emperor which irritated and perplexed his subjects.

As a young man he was a soldier of preeminent ability, and remarkable for his generous and sympathetic treatment of friend or foe. But, if hideous stories of lust and cruelty cloud the record of his later years, it is only fair to recall the many things that had tended to embitter his soul and shake his confidence in human nature. He had been compelled by Augustus to divorce the only woman he ever loved; his only son, Drusus, died at the time of his greatest promise; year by year he grew more unpopular with the Senate and people; his favourite Seianus proved a traitor; haunting suspicion and hopeless cynicism made the last years of his life a prolonged agony. Many important details necessary for the reconstruction of his life are lost, but such as we have tend to shew Tiberius less worthy of condemnation than of pity as one of the figures of history bereft of the glamour of romance but with all the elements of human tragedy.

LIST OF TRIBUNITIAN AND OTHER TITULAR DATES OF TIBERIUS.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Tribunitia potestate.	Consul.	Imperator.
14	767	TR. P. XV. XVI.	COS. II.	IMP. VII.
15	768	TR. P. XVI. XVII.	COS. II.	IMP. VII.
16	769	TR. P. XVII. XVIII.	COS. II.	IMP. VIII.
17	770	TR. P. XVIII. XIX.	COS. DES. III.	— VIII.
18	771	TR. P. XIX. XX.	COS. III.	— VIII.
19	772	TR. P. XX. XXI.	COS. III.	— VIII.
20	773	TR. P. XXI. XXII.	COS. DES. IV.	— VIII.
21	774	TR. P. XXII. XXIII.	COS. IV.	— VIII.
22	775	TR. P. XXIII. XXIV.	— IV.	— VIII.
23	776	TR. P. XXIV. XXV.	— IV.	— VIII.
24	777	TR. P. XXV. XXVI.	— IV.	— VIII.
25	778	TR. P. XXVI. XXVII.	— IV.	— VIII.
26	779	TR. P. XXVII. XXVIII.	— IV.	— VIII.
27	780	TR. P. XXVIII. XXIX.	— IV.	— VIII.
28	781	TR. P. XXIX. XXX.	— IV.	— VIII.
29	782	TR. P. XXX. XXXI.	— IV.	— VIII.
30	783	TR. P. XXXI. XXXII.	COS. DES. V.	— VIII.
31	784	TR. P. XXXII. XXXIII.	COS. V.	— VIII.
32	785	TR. P. XXXIII. XXXIV.	— V.	— VIII.
33	786	TR. P. XXXIV. XXXV.	— V.	— VIII.
34	787	TR. P. XXXV. XXXVI.	— V.	— VIII.
35	788	TR. P. XXXVI. XXXVII.	— V.	— VIII.
36	789	TR. P. XXXVII. XXXVIII.	— V.	— VIII.
37	790	TR. P. XXXVIII.	— V.	— VIII.

THE MUTINY IN PANNONIA. A.D. 14.

The reign of Tiberius opened with a military crisis. The legions stationed in Pannonia and the Rhine districts struck for higher pay and increased pensions; at the same time the disaffected troops endeavoured to induce Germanicus to strike a blow for the supreme power. Greatly to his credit Germanicus declined to countenance the suggestion, and, with the cooperation of Drusus, the revolt was successfully smoothed over. This attempt on the part of the legions to set up a rival Emperor is the first of many that occurred in the history of the Empire. In this case the loyalty of Germanicus prevented a revolution, but in after years, as will be seen, this revolutionary assertion of power on the part of the army involved the Empire in political chaos.

The following coin appears to have been struck in allusion to the restoration of military order through the instrumentality of Germanicus and Drusus.

48. Obv. TI. CAESAR. AVG. F. AVG. VSTVS. Laureate head of Tiberius to r.

Rev. TR. POT. XVI. IMP. VII. Tiberius in a slow quadriga holding a sceptre surmounted by an eagle (Aureus, struck A.D. 14. — Coh. 45).

The same type occurs with TR. P. XVII.



THE TRIUMPH OF GERMANICUS. A.D. 17.

Having pacified the discontented troops, as has just been stated, Germanicus lost no time in leading them into German territory in search for plunder. The campaign was completely successful, the Roman arms avenged the losses of Varus [A.D. 12], and the lost standards were recaptured.

In the year A.D. 17, Germanicus celebrated a brilliant triumph which is recorded on the following coin :

49. Obv. SIGNIS. RECE. DE. VICTIS GERM. S. C. Germanicus in military dress standing l., holding sceptre surmounted by an eagle.

Rev. GERMANICVS.CAESAR. Germanicus, holding sceptre, in triumphal quadriga to r. (Dupondius, struck A.D. 17. — Coh. 7).

The well-known Dupondius bearing the head of Germanicus was struck by his son Caligula. The legend on the Reverse being : — C.CAESAR.AVG.GERMANICVS.PON.M.TR.POT. around S.C.

After his triumph Germanicus was sent to the East where he succeeded in effecting the investiture of Zeno, a descendant of M. Antonius, to the throne of Armenia with the consent of the King of Parthia. While in the East, Germanicus died at Antioch. It was alleged that he was poisoned by Cn. Piso, the governor of Syria.

#### DISTURBANCES IN NORTH AFRICA. A.D. 17-24.

50. Obv. TI.DIVI.F.AVGUSTVS. Laureate head to r.

Rev. TR.POT.XVII. Victory seated to r. on globe, holding a diadem (Gold Quinarius, struck in A.D. 15. — Coh. 49).

Cohen further enumerates varieties of this gold quinarius with the following dates. TR.P.XX.XXII.XXIII.XXV.XXVI.XXVIII.XXVIII.XXX.XXXI.XXXII.XXXIII.XXXV.XXXVI.XXXVIII.

This type of Gold Quinarius, reissued in various years, may be compared with the similar coin of Augustus No. 41, mentioned above. It would appear that this type was adopted as being a convenient way of keeping the Roman victories before the eyes of the public, without making reference to any specific military achievements.

#### THE DEATH OF DRUSUS A.D. 23.

The crowning disaster of the reign was the death of Drusus, the only son of Tiberius, murdered, as subsequent events show, by L. Ælius Seianus. Not only did this frustrate Tiberius' plan for the succession in the principate but it cleared the way for the treacherous Seianus to perpetrate his schemes for power.

Drusus, commonly designated Drusus Junior to distinguish him from his uncle, Nero Claudius Drusus, is represented on a rather limited series of coins.

51. Obv. DRVSVS.CAESAR.TI.AVG.F.DIVI.AVG.N. Bare head of Drusus to l.

Rev. PONTIF.TRIBVN.POTEST.ITER. around S.C. (Dupondius. — Coh. 2).

From the Tribunitian date we may infer that this coin was struck in the year in which Drusus died.



52. Obv. DRVSVS. CAES. TI. AVG. COS. II. TR. P. Bare head of Drusus to l.

Rev. TI. CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. XXXV. Laureate head of Tiberius to r. (Denarius, minted at Caesarea in Cappadocia).

The Tribunitian date places this coin in the year A. D. 33 or the tenth anniversary of the death of Drusus.

A well-known coin of Drusus in large Brass gives the portraits of his twin children, Tiberius Gemellus and Germanicus(?). Of these the first mentioned was marked out by Tiberius as a possible successor, but he died at the age of 19 in the year A. D. 37., a victim of the jealousy of Caligula. The other son died in infancy.

53. Obv. Two Cornucopiae, in saltire, surmounted by the busts of the twin sons of Drusus, between them a winged Caduceus.

Rev. DRVSVS. CAESAR. TI. AVG. F. DIVI. AVG. N. PONT. TR. POT. II. around S. C. (Sestertius. — Coh. 1).

#### THE RESTORATION OF THE ASIATIC CITIES.

Tacitus tells us (Ann. II. 47) that in the year of Rome 770 (A. D. 17) a number of cities in Asia Minor had been destroyed by an earthquake. Twelve of these cities were rebuilt by Tiberius at his own expense. The following, which is one of the best known large brass coins of Tiberius, records the gratitude of the Senate for the Emperor's munificence in the matter.

54. Obv. CIVITATIBVS. ASIAE. RESTITVTIS. Tiberius seated to l. on curule chair holding patera and sceptre.

Rev. TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVST. P. M. TR. POT. XXIII. S. C. in field (Sestertius. — Coh. 3).

It will be seen from the Tribunitian date that this coin was struck in the year A. D. 22 by which time we may assume that the work of rebuilding the cities was completed.



SETTLEMENT IN ARMENIA.

Notwithstanding the fact that Tiberius spent the last six years of his life in seclusion at Capri, he never relaxed his hold of the government of the Empire. When the throne of Armenia became vacant on the death of Zeno (A.D. 35) an expedition was immediately sent out under L. Vitellius which succeeded in establishing Mithridates, the Iberian, as king of Armenia, and at the same time peace was concluded with Parthia. This successful result was probably the occasion with which the following coin should be connected.

55. Obv. TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVST. P. M. TR. POT. XXXIII. S. C in field.

Rev. Quadriga to r. decorated with wreath and trophies (Sestertius, struck in A.D. 36. — Coh. 67).

It may be noticed that this type occurs with the dates TR. P. XXIII. XXXVI XXXVII as well as XXXIX.

THE TEMPLE OF CONCORD.

One of the public acts of Tiberius was the restoration of the Temple of Concordia, which was burnt down in the reign of Augustus. This temple, the remains of which are to be seen at the foot of the Capitol, was originally built by M. Furius Camillus in B.C. 366. As rebuilt by Tiberius it was considerably enlarged and embellished with statuary. The temple appears to have been used as a sort of Museum for works of art. Representations of the Temple of Concord are found on coins of Tiberius struck in the years A.D. 34 to 36, although the work of restoration had apparently been completed several years previously.

56. Obv. A large octastyle Temple adorned with statues on the roof.

Rev. TI. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. AVGVST. P. M. TR. POT. XXXVI XXXVII or XXXIX. In the field S. C. (Sestertius. — Coh. 68. 69. 70).

CALIGULA.

No attempt was made to disguise the public delight the moment the death of Tiberius was made known in Rome. The son of Germanicus was greeted with wild enthusiasm by the Senate and people and the powers of the principate were conferred on him. It required but a few months to elapse before they discovered their mistake and after four years of misrule the Roman world rejoiced when it learnt that Caligula had fallen a victim to the sword of an assassin.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Trib. pot.	Consul.	Imperator.
37	790	TR. P.	COS.	IMP.
38	791	TR. P. I. II.	COS. II.	IMP.
39	792	TR. P. II. III.	COS. II.	IMP.
40	793	TR. P. III. IIII.	COS. III.	IMP. II.
41	794	TR. P. IIII.	COS. IIII.	IMP. II.

Although the coinage of Caligula offers but few types of historical interest, it is remarkable in two particulars : —

(1) The art displayed on Caligula's coins is considerably in advance of that of either of his predecessors in the Empire. On the large Brass, particularly, considerable care is expended on the Imperial portrait, which henceforth becomes the chief Obverse type, A greater variety of devices on the Reverse come into existence which are frequently suggestive of Greek style and execution.

(2) Caligula's coins are remarkable for the number of portraits other than those of the Emperor himself which occur, notably in the case of the Gold and Silver coins.

Of the family portraits the following may be selected as examples : —

#### AUGUSTUS.

57. Obv. C. CAESAR. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. POT. Laureate head of Caligula.

Rev. DIVVS. AVG. PATER. PATRIAE. Radiate head of Augustus (Aureus. — Coh. 1; Denarius. — Coh. 2).

#### GERMANICUS.

58. Obv. C. CAESAR. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. POT. Laureate head of Caligula.

Rev. GERMANICVS. CAES. P. C. CAES. AVG. GERM. Bare head of Germanicus (Aureus. — Coh. 1; Denarius. — Coh. 2).

The dupondius bearing the head and titles of Germanicus, and on the Reverse the titles (without head) of Caligula has already been referred to (*supra*, p. 410).

#### AGRIPPINA, sen.

59. Obv. C. CAESAR. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. POT. Laureate head of Caligula.

Rev. AGRIPPINA. MAT. C. CAES. AVG. GERM. Bust of Agrippina (Aureus. — Coh. 1; Denarius. — Coh. 2).

NERO and DRUSUS.

60. Obv. NERO.ET.DRVSVS.CAESARES. Nero and Drusus on horseback to r.

Rev. C.CAESAR.AVG.GERMANICVS.PON.M.TR.POT. In field S.C. (Dupondius. — Coh. 1).

Nero and Drusus were the elder brothers of Caligula; Nero fell a victim to the machinations of Seianus, and Drusus died in prison in A.D. 33.

CALIGULA'S SISTERS.

One of the most artistic coins struck by Caligula is the Large Brass on the reverse of which are representations of the Emperor's sisters Agrippina, Drusilla and Julia. The scandalous relationship which existed between Caligula and Drusilla is well known. On her death in A.D. 38 Drusilla was deified by her brother. Agrippina and Julia were banished in consequence of their having been implicated with Lentulus and Lepidus against Caligula.

61. Obv. C.CAESAR.AVG.GERMANICVS.PON.M.TR.POT. Laureate head of Caligula to l.

Rev. AGRIPPINA.DRVSILLA.IVLIA—S.C. The three sisters of Caligula represented as Constancy, Piety and Fortune respectively (Sestertius. — Coh. 4).

The foregoing coins were all struck apparently in the first or second years of the reign of Caligula.

There are but few references to contemporary events on the coins of Caligula. Shortly after his accession he courted popularity by proclaiming an amnesty to political exiles: *Exsules cuivis generis revocantur: restituuntur reges* Agrippa in Judaeam, Antiochus in Commagenen. This recall of the exiles appears the reason for the issue of the following: —

62. Obv. C.CAESAR.AVG.GERMANICVS.PON.M.TR.POT. Laureate head to l.

Rev. S.P.Q.R—P.P—OB.CIVES—SERVATOS. in four lines within oak-wreath (Sestertius. — Coh. 24. Struck in A.D. 37 or 38).

The same type is repeated on coins struck in the year A.D. 40 with the Obverse legend: C.CAESAR.DIVI.AVG.PRON. (*pronepos*) AVG.P.M.TR.P. III. P.P.

THE LUDI SAECULARES.

The Saecular Games were extravagantly celebrated in the latter part of the year 37. Caligula exhausted the treasury with reckless

donatives, so that within one year he had squandered all the amassed wealth of Tiberius.

The Emperor subsequently decreed that divine honours should be paid to himself.

The celebration of the Ludi is recorded on the following:—

63. Obv. C. CAESAR. AVG. GERMANICVS—P. M. TR. POT. In exergue PIETAS. Piety seated to l. holding patera.

Rev. DIVO—AVG. S—C. The Emperor sacrificing, with two attendants, before a hexastyle temple adorned with statues and garlands (Sestertius. — Coh. 9).



64. Similar types but with the obverse legend:— C. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. F. PRON. AVG. P. M. TR. P. III. P. P—PIETAS (Sestertius. — Coh. 10).

The temple which appears in the background is probably intended for the Temple of the divine Augustus, built in the reign of Tiberius.

#### CALIGULA'S REMISSION OF TAXES.

65. Obv. C. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. PRON. AVG. Cap of liberty between S. C.

Rev. COS. DES. III. (or COS. TERT.) PON. M. TR. P. III. P. P. In field R CC (Copper Quadrans. — Coh. 14 and 15).

The initial letters R CC (remissa ducentesima) refer to the abolition of a tax in A. D. 39. Augustus had imposed a tax of one denarius in a hundred on all sales. Tiberius has reduced the tax to one half i. e. one denarius on two hundred (A. D. 17). But in the year 39 the whole tax was taken off by Caligula as the inscription Remissa CC testifies.

#### THE PRETENDED EXPEDITION TO BRITAIN.

In the year A. D. 40 Caligula led a large army, equipped at enormous expense, to Gessoriacum (Boulogne) with the alleged

intention of making an attack on Britain. The story is that the troops were bidden to fill their helmets with shells on the Gallic shore, as the spoils of the Ocean. The inauguration of the Campaign is recorded on the following : —

66. Obv. C. CAESAR. DIVI. AVG. PRON. AVG. P. M. TR. P. III. P. P. Laureate head to l.

Rev. ADLOCVT. COH. The Emperor standing on a raised dais addressing five soldiers, four of whom carry military standards (Sestertius. — Coh. 2. Struck A. D. 40).

On some specimens the Obverse legend reads C. CAESAR. AVG. GERMANICVS. P. M. TR. POT. which would suggest that they were struck in the first year of Caligula. A review of the troops shortly after his accession would be a natural thing to expect. But only those bearing TR. P. III can definitely be considered to refer to the *adlocutio* which preceded the expedition to northern Gaul.

It is probable, however, that the moneyers of Caligula were guilty of some laxity in the use of the expression TR. POT. and that coins thus inscribed may in reality have been struck in the second or third year of the reign. One is led to this conclusion by the fact that TR. P. II. is not found on Caligula's coins, whereas there is every reason to suppose that coins were issued in each year.

This is the first time that the famous *Adlocutio* type occurs on the large Brass coinage. The same composition with certain alteration of detail is found on the Sestertii of Nero, Galba, Domitian, Hadrian, &c.

### CLAUDIUS.

Despite the sneers and satires whereby contemporaries sought to belittle the character of Claudius, recent writers have come to the conclusion that there was in the man, if not greatness, at any rate an ability and farsightedness, which the critics of his own day seem to have overlooked. We cannot well judge of his personal peculiarities, but an undying record of his aims and achievements may be found in some of the remains of his work which come down to us.

He carried out the unaccomplished design of Augustus by planting the Roman legions in Britain and setting on foot a systematic conquest of the Island. In this he shewed a far-seeing policy; he seems to have clearly grasped the fact that Britain, if unconquered, would be a constant menace to the provinces of Northern Gaul and Lower Germany, whereas Britain, reduced to Roman rule, would become an important outpost of the Empire.

Perhaps the most striking monument of the works of Claudius exists in the great aqueduct, stretching for miles over the Cam-

pagna, by means of which an excellent water supply from the Alban hills was brought to Rome. One cannot fail to contrast the public utility of such a piece of engineering with the insane uselessness of Caligula's bridge from the Palatine to the Capitol. Claudius also constructed two main roads through Central Italy, restored the high way over the Brenner, and reconstructed the Port of Ostia.

CLAUDIUS.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. pot.	Consul.	Imperator.
41	794	TR. P.	COS.	IMP.
42	795	TR. P. I. II.	COS. II.	IMP. III.
43	796	TR. P. II. III.	COS. II.	IMP. IV. V. VI.
44	797	TR. P. III. IV.	COS. III.	IMP. VII. VIII. IX.
45	798	TR. P. IV. V.	COS. III.	IMP. IX. X.
46	799	TR. P. V. VI.	COS. DES. IV.	IMP. XI.
47	800	TR. P. VI. VII.	COS. IV.	IMP. XII. XIII. XIV. XV.
48	801	TR. P. VII. VIII.	COS. IV.	IMP. XV.
49	802	TR. P. VIII. IX.	COS. IV.	IMP. XVI. XVII.
50	803	TR. P. IX. X.	COS. DES. V.	IMP. XVIII. XIX. XX. XXI.
51	804	TR. P. X. XI.	COS. V.	IMP. XXII. XXIII. XXIV.
52	805	TR. P. XI. XII.	COS. V.	IMP. XXV. XXVI. XXVII.
53	806	TR. P. XII. XIII.	COS. V.	IMP. XXVII.
54	807	TR. P. XIII. XIV.	COS. V.	IMP. XXVII.

THE RECALL OF THE EXILES.

One of the first acts of Claudius was the recall to Rome of those who had been exiled by Caligula; amongst the number were Agrippina and Julia.

This may have been the occasion for the issue of the following coins, struck probably in the year A. D. 41. which may be compared with the early coins of Caligula.

67. Obv. TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. Laureate head to r.

Rev. EX. S. C. OB. CIVES. SERVATOS. in three lines within an oak-garland (Aureus. — Coh. 34; Denarius. — Coh. 35).

The legend EX. S. C. refers, apparently, not to the issue of the coin, as is the case with the Bronze, but to the recall of the exiles, since the action was sanctioned by the Senate.

The same type is repeated in the year A. D. 46.

68. Obv. TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TR. P. VI. IMP. XI. Laureate head to r.

Rev. S. P. Q. R. P. P. OB. C. S. within wreath.

Also with the dates, TR.P.  $\overline{X}$ . IMP.  $\overline{XVIII}$  (A.D. 50).

TR.P.  $\overline{XI}$ . COS  $\overline{V}$  (A.D. 51).

It may be observed that the frequency with which this type occurs on the coins of Claudius and his successors, Nero and Galba, points to a more general interpretation. It may in the later examples have merely borne a complimentary allusion to the public safety enjoyed under the Imperial government.

# THE CONQUEST OF BRITAIN. A. D. 43.

The most important achievement of the reign of Claudius in the matter of foreign policy was the conquest of Britain. Four legions led by A. Plautius Silvanus landed on the coast of Kent in the year A. D. 43 and drove the inhabitants beyond the Medway. The Emperor arrived shortly afterwards, and, after the fall of Camulodunum, received the submission of eleven British chieftains. In this campaign the name of T. Flavius Vespasianus is conspicuous. The military operations were principally in the Southern part of the Island, but the Roman Eagle was firmly established and the Roman occupation of Britain had begun.

After a sojourn of sixteen days in the island Claudius returned to Rome where he celebrated a triumph.

69. Obv. TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TR. P.  $\overline{VI}$ . IMP.  $\overline{XI}$ . Laureate head to r.

Rev. Equestrian statue of Claudius to l. between two trophies, above a triumphal arch inscribed DE BRITANN (Denarius.—Coh. 17. Struck A.D. 46).



The coins bearing the inscription DE BRITANN were issued from time to time during the years following the triumph of Claudius (A.D. 44) and are found with the following dates : —

TR. P. $\overline{VIII}$ .	IMP. $\overline{XVI}$ .	A. D. 49.
	IMP. $\overline{XVII}$ .	— 49.
	IMP. $\overline{XVIII}$ .	— 50.
TR. P. $\overline{X}$ .	IMP. $\overline{XVIII}$ .	— 50.
TR. P. $\overline{XI}$ .		— 51.

### AGRIPPINA THE YOUNGER.

Messalina, after repeated incestuous intrigues, died in A. D. 49. In the same year Claudius married his niece, Agrippina<sup>1</sup>, the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina the elder. Agrippina and her son Nero had been banished by Caligula but recalled in the first year of the reign of Claudius. It was universally acknowledged that Agrippina contrived the murder of Claudius in order to secure the empire for her son.

Coins with portraits of Agrippina and Claudius occur in gold and silver.

70. Obv. AGRIPPINAE.AVGVSTAE. Laureate bust of Agrippina to r.

Rev. TI.CLAVD.CAESAR.AVG.GERM.P.M.TRIB.POT. P.P. Laureate head of Claudius to r. (Aureus. — Coh. 3; Denarius — Coh. 4).



This coin is another example of the laxity in the use of the TRIB. POT. alluded to previously. Some writers<sup>2</sup> have no hesitation in placing this coin in the year A.D. 41 because there is no numeral following TRIB. POT. But very little consideration shews the impossibility of such a date, as the title of AVGVSTA was not conferred on Agrippina until after her marriage with Claudius (A. D. 50) and to have placed her portrait on a coin in conjunction with that of Claudius during the life of Messalina would have been an intolerable outrage. In spite of the fact that no numeral follows the Tribunitian title, these coins must be placed in or after the year A.D. 50; and on a dupondius with the head of Agrippina is the legend TI.CLAVD.CAESAR.AVG.P.M.TR.P.X.IMPXII. fixing the date at A.D. 50.

1. Pactum inter Claudium et Agrippinam matrimonium iam fama, iam amore illicito firmabatur; necdum celebrare sollemnia nuptiarum audebant, nullo exemplo deductae in domum patruī fratris filiae (Tacit., *Ann.*, XII, 5).

2. Cf. Hobler's, *Roman Coins*, vol. I, p. 103.



## NERO.

The coinage of Nero possesses a peculiar interest, and, in certain respects, stands alone in the Imperial series. Regarded as historical monuments the coin-types are somewhat bewildering and lacking in definite allusions, but, as works of art, in an age when Roman art was at its best, they stand preëminent. Nero, in his tastes and aspirations, was essentially Greek. His artistic perception may have been superficial and his bearing theatrical, but, nevertheless, he conceived great schemes for the beautifying of Rome, and his idealism is forcibly reflected in the coins. It is not too much to say that, since the days of Euainetos, Eucleides and Kimon no such work had appeared on coins as is found on the Large Brass of Nero. Both in design and execution the monetary art of Rome rises to its highest point of perfection.

The *monetary system* of Nero has been described as "the most important and the most complete of all the known monetary systems of antiquity". It was indeed the logical extension of the reform inaugurated by Augustus. We are left in no doubt as to the denominational value of the various brass coins. The Sestertius, as the unit of reckoning, required no distinguishing mark. But we find the Dupondius, As and Semis, of orichalcum, frequently bearing the symbols, II. I and S respectively. In addition to these the As, Semis and Quadrans were struck in copper, without marks of value. The duplicated issue of the As, Semis and Quadrans (i. e. in both brass and copper) is somewhat difficult to explain satisfactorily. It is possible, however, that the double series facilitated inter-provincial exchange which certainly appears to have been one of the reasons for Nero's elaborate monetary system.

There is considerable difficulty in placing the coins of Nero in chronological order. In many cases it is impossible. The Tribunitian dates appear on the Gold and Silver issued from 54-63. A. D., but very few of the types in the series possess any historical allusions. Dates occur but rarely on the Bronze, and never on the Gold or Silver struck after the year 63. And it is to this later period that nearly all the important coin types must be assigned.

Some difficulty arises, too, in the matter of the Tribunitian date. Nero began his reign on Oct. 13, A. D. 54, and renewed the Tribunitian power on Oct. 13 in each successive year. In A. D. 60, however, he appears to have changed the date from Oct. 13 to Dec. 4 or 10, but the coins apparently continued the old reckoning

until A.D. 63 when the TR.P disappears. The dates TR.P. XII, XIII, and XIII which occur on the Bronze fall into the revised system.

The following table gives the Tribunitian dates as found on the coins, together with Nero's titles of Consul and Imperator.

A.D.	A.U.C.		Trib. Pot.	Consul	Imperator
54	807	Oct. 13.	TR.P.	COS.DES.	IMP.
55	808	Jany. I to March 1.	...	COS.	...
		Oct. 13.	TR.P. II.	...	...
56	809	Oct. 13.	TR.P. III.	...	...
57	810	Jan. 1 to July 1.	...	COS. II.	IMP. III.
		Oct. 13.	TR.P. IV.	...	...
58	811	Jan. 1 to May 1.	...	COS. III.	...
		Oct. 13.	TR.P. V.	...	...
59	812	Oct. 13.	TR.P. VI.	...	IMP. VI.
60	813	Jan. 1 to July 1.	...	COS. III.	IMP. VII.
		Oct. 13.	TR.P. VII.	...	...
61	814	Oct. 13.	TR.P. VIII.	...	IMP. VIII.
62	815	Oct. 13.	TR.P. IX.	...	IMP. IX.
63	816	Oct. 13.	TR.P. X.	...	...
64	817	Oct. 13.-Dec. 9.	[TR.P. XI.]	...	...
		Dec. 10.	TR.P. XII.	...	...
65	818	Dec. 10.	TR.P. XIII.	...	...
66	819	Dec. 10.	TR.P. XIV.	...	IMP. XI.
67	820	Dec. 10.	[TR.P. XV.]	...	IMP. XII.
68	821	Jany. 1. —	...	COS. V	...

#### THE PORTRAIT OF NERO.

The coinage presents three varieties of Nero's portrait, by which his coins may be divided into three clearly marked periods :—

I. The youthful bust which appears on Gold and Silver coins struck under Claudius. 51-53 A.D.

II. The slightly older portrait, which is found exclusively on the dated Gold and Silver 54-63 A.D. [TR.P to TR.P X]. This portrait, which is without crown or laurel wreath, first appears in conjunction with that of Agrippina Junior. After A.D. 60 a difference of style is noticed and the features and general treatment of the portrait is coarser.

III. The portrait of fine style, with maturer features, and more developed about the chin and neck, which is found, laureated, on the undated Gold and Silver (63-68 A.D.) and on all the Bronze coins either laureated, with radiate crown or bare headed.

The fact that portrait II is not found on any bronze coins presents

a difficulty. Their style of portrait corresponds entirely with that of the undated Gold and Silver; and the inference naturally is that they belong to the period after 63 A.D. This theory makes it very difficult to explain some of the types on the Bronze coins historically; and, at the same time, it is remarkable that there should have been practically no issue of Bronze money for the first nine years of the reign. However the evidence from the coins, in favour of the late date, is so strong, that the following arrangement of coin types is based on this assumption. Two exceptions however may be made: — (1) the series of copper Quadrantes, bearing the symbols of Minerva, i.e. owl, helmet and olive-branch, which may be reasonably placed in the early years of the reign; and (2) the Copper Semisses struck to record the institution of the *Neronia* (cf. *infra*), which may be as early as 60 or 61 A.D.

COINS OF NERO STRUCK UNDER CLAUDIUS.

71. Obv. NERONI·CLAVDIO·DRVSO·GERM·COS·DESIGN.  
Youthful bust of Nero to r.

Rev. EQVETER·ORDO·PRINCIPI·IVVENT, inscribed in four lines on a circular buckler, behind which is a spear (Aureus. — Coh. 96. Denarius. — Coh. 97).



72. Obv. II·CLAVD·CAESAR·AVG·GERM·P·M·TRIB·  
POT·P·P. Laureated head of Claudius to r.

Rev. NERO·CLAVD·CAES·DRVSVS·GERM·PRINC·IVVENT.  
Youthful bust of Nero to l. (Aureus. — Coh. 4. Denarius. — Coh. 5).

Nero was adopted by Claudius in A.D. 50, and on March 4<sup>th</sup> A.D. 51, he was admitted to the Equestrian Order with the title of *Princeps Juventutis*; he was designated for the Consulship and became an honorary member of the four priestly orders, viz, Pontifices, Augures, Quindecimviri Sacrorum and Epulones. It seems fairly certain that the bestowal of the title *Princeps Juventutis* amounted to a tacit, if not a formal, recognition of Nero as heir to the Principate. On these coins the name *Drusus* appears but after Nero's accession to the Empire the name was dropped and the title *Imperator* substituted.

THE QUINQUENNium NERONIS. A.D. 54-59.

Trajan was wont to say that the first five years of Nero's reign excelled the government of all the Emperors. During this period, which coincides with the domination of Agrippina the younger, Nero was under the guidance of his tutor, Seneca, and Afranius Burrus, two of the worthiest characters in Roman history. Nero shewed himself a lenient and constitutional ruler, and no disturbances arose to break the general prosperity of the empire, except in the Far East. Yet even over these auspicious years is cast the shadow of deeds to come in the murder of the ill-fated Britannicus, and, finally, with the downfall and subsequent murder of Agrippina.

73. Obv. NERO. CLAVD. DIVI. CLAVD. F. CAESAR. AVG. GERM. Laureated head of Nero to r.

Rev. DIVOS. CLAVD. AVGVST. GERMANIC. PATER. AVG. Laureated head of Claudius to r. (Silver medallion. — Cohen. 1).

74. Obv. AGRIPP. AVG. DIVI. CLAVD. NERONIS. CAES. MATER. Busts of Agrippina and Nero en regard.

Rev. NERONI. CLAVD. DIVI. F. CAES. AVG. GERM. IMP. TR. P. Oak crown within which is inscribed EX. S. C. (Aureus. — Coh. 6. Denarius. — Coh. 7).



75. Obv. NERO. CLAVD. DIVI. F. CAES. AVG. GERM. IMP. TR. P. COS. Jugate busts of Agrippina and Nero to r.

Rev. AGRIPP. AVG. DIVI. CLAVD. NERONIS. CAES. MATER. EX. S. C. Augustus and Livia seated to l. on a triumphal car drawn by four elephants. Augustus holds a sceptre surmounted by an eagle, and Livia a sceptre (Aureus. — Coh. 3. Denarius. — Coh. 4).

These three types may be taken as representative of the coins struck in the first year of Nero's reign. Taking them together, we notice two points: (1) The evidences of Agrippina's influence. (2) The evidences of Nero's policy as avowedly a continuation of that of Augustus and Claudius.

In the year A.D. 54 Agrippina was at the height of her power. She had achieved her ambition; the claims of Britannicus, the son of Claudius, had been passed over, and her own son established in

the principate. For the moment she was dictator, and her head is placed on the obverse of the coins in conjunction with that of the reigning Emperor, a thing hitherto unprecedented. Almost immediately, however, Seneca and Burrus began to play their game of check-mating her influence. Counter attractions were presented to the young Emperor with consummate skill, and, at the end of five years, Agrippina's position and reputation were shattered.

Nero, by a legal fiction, claimed to be the son and heir of Claudius, as we read on the Medallion No. 73. "Nero Claudius, son of the divine Claudius &c". While on the Reverse is proclaimed the fact that divine honours are paid to the late Emperor (cf. Tac., *Ann.*, XII. 69). On the occasion of the obsequies of Claudius, Nero himself pronounced the funeral oration.

Nero wished, above all things, to make it clear to the public that his government was to be regarded as the continuance of the regime of Augustus. In order to further emphasize the point he and his mother paid divine honours to the memories of Augustus and Livia which seems to be the explanation of the Reverse type of No. 75.

The quadriga of elephants is evidently copied from the memorial coin struck by Tiberius (cf. *supra*, No. 46). Some doubt has been expressed as to what personages are represented seated on the triumphal car. That they represent Augustus and Livia seems the most plausible suggestion. In fact it is difficult to fix upon any others who would be thus honoured. Nero and Agrippina are out of the question since the type is obviously of a memorial character (cf. Note on the coin, No. 46 *supra*). It is equally unlikely that Claudius and Messalina would have been honoured while the public commemoration of Augustus fits in completely with Nero's scheme of policy at the beginning of his reign.

#### THE FIRST PARTHIAN WAR. 55-59 A.D.

The military interest during the early years of the reign of Nero is confined to the East, where two successive campaigns (55-59 and 60-63) were carried on by the able general Cn. Domitius Corbulo against the kingdom of Parthia. The point at issue was the question of the relations of Rome and Parthia respectively to the kingdom of Armenia. In A.D. 54 Mithridates, the king of Armenia, and a friend of Rome, had been murdered, and Vologases, the newly appointed and vigorous king of Parthia, seized the opportunity of placing his brother, Tiridates, on the Armenian throne. Within a few months the Roman influence in Armenia was shattered and her position on the Eastern frontier seriously imperilled. The his-

tory of the campaign which followed is an unfolding of the genius of Corbulo. With an utterly inefficient army and a treacherous foe he gained his advantage by postponing hostilities until his army was in readiness and then by the promptness of his attack. The first war closed in A.D. 59 with a decisive victory for Corbulo and Rome.

The only definite reference to the Parthian war of 55-59 is found on a Quinarius, probably struck at Caesarea in Cappadocia.

76. Obv. NERO. CLAVD. DIVI. CLAVD. F. CAESAR. AVG. GERMANI. Laureated head of Nero to r.

Rev. ARMENIAC. Victory to r. holding a palm and crown (Silver Quinarius. — Coh. 32).

It is probable that two other Quinarii (Coh. 351, 352) with the same obverse legend as the preceding and with the Reverse types of Victory standing with shield, and Victory seated on a globe, both without legend, refer to the Parthian war.

The extensive series of Dupondii and Asses with the Victory type (*vid.* No. 81) may to some extent refer to this war, although the coins themselves appear to have been issued subsequently to the year 63. A.D.

#### THE "NERONIA". A.D. 60.

In the year A.D. 60 Nero inaugurated the Ludi Quinquennales under the name of the *Neronia*. The occasion may well be said to mark the turning point in the history of Nero. In the preceding year Agrippina met with her miserable end. Nero now began to throw off all restraint, giving free play to his inordinate vanity and degraded tastes, which at first amused and finally exasperated the Roman people past endurance. The Games were held with unprecedented magnificence. Musical, gymnastic and equestrian contests, in imitation of the Greek games, were included amongst other attractions, in which Nero himself took part.

The Quinquennalia are mentioned on a series of Semisses struck in copper and brass, with the legend "Certamen quinquennale Romae constitutum" variously abbreviated.

77. Obv. NERO. CAES. AVG. IMP. Laureated head of Nero to r.



Rev. CER. QVINQ. ROM. CO. In ex. S.C. A gaming-table on which are a vase and crown. Beneath the table S (semis). (Coh. 47. Cf. also Coh. 46-65.)

Amongst the popular entertainments of the Neronia one of the most noteworthy was the equestrian contest known as the *Decursio* which forms the type of some of Nero's finest Sestertii. The *Decursio* type will be noticed among the coins of A.D. 65, to which year it almost certainly belongs, although in itself the type is equally applicable to the Quinquennialia of A.D. 60.

#### THE "ANNOA" TYPE.

78. Obv. NERO CLAVDIVS.CAESAR.AVG.GER.P.M.TR.  
P.IMP.P.P. Laureated head of Nero to r., with ægis.

Rev. ANNOA.AVGVSTI.CERES.S.C. Ceres seated to l. on a square stool; in her l. hand she holds a torch and in her r. some ears of corn; in front of her stands Abundance with a cornucopia; between them is a square altar, decked with garlands, on which is a modius; in the background appears the prow of a corn-ship (Sestertius. — Coh. 16. Also cf. Coh. 14-26).

The Annona type may in all probability be assigned to A.D. 64 but its particular reference is somewhat uncertain. It may be a merely general allusion to the annual corn supply, which was one of Rome's most pressing and ever-recurring problems. Tacitus tells us (*Ann.*, XV. 18) in A.D. 62. "Quin et dissimulandis rerum" "externarum curis Nero frumentum plebis vetustate corruptum in" "Tiberim jecit, quo securitatem annonae sustenaret; cujus pretio" "nihil additum est; quamvis ducentas ferme naves portu in ipso" "violentia tempestatis et centum alias Tiberi subvectas fortuitus" "ignis absumpsisset". Such a wholesale destruction of shipping was calculated to cause a panic, and Nero, ever suspicious of the mob, appears to have resorted to this extreme measure in order to keep up the public confidence in the corn supply, while at the same time no advance in the price of corn was permitted.

As an example of coin designing the Annona of Nero ranks amongst the finest of the entire Imperial series. The pose and general modelling of the figures is equal to Greek art at its best, and the composition, though full of detail, is not over-crowded.

#### THE SECOND PARTHIAN WAR 61-63 A.D.

The settlement of the Armenian question was of brief duration. Tigranes, whom Nero had placed on the Armenian throne, speedily proved his incapacity, and blundered in his policy towards Parthia. The Roman general, L. Caesennius Paetus, was worse than useless, threw away what chances he had, and ignominiously surrendered to Vologases. Corbulo once more came to the rescue and, after a wearisome campaign of over three years, succeeded in making satis-

factory terms with Tiridates and Vologases. Corbulo's ability as a diplomat was equal to his skill as a strategist, and the Armenian difficulty was finally settled by a stroke of diplomatic statecraft, the credit of which is due partly to Nero himself.

#### THE ARCH OF NERO.

79. Obv. IMP. NERO. CAESAR. AVG. PONT. MAX. TR. POT. P. P. Laureated head of Nero to l.

Rev. S—C. Triumphal arch, consisting of four main piers, with side columns supporting a round headed arch.

On the platform above, is a quadriga, facing, driven by Nero, who holds a palm-branch; on l. is the standing figure of Peace, and on r. a winged Victory; at the angles of the entablature are soldiers in running attitudes, bearing trophies; the front of the arch is decorated with sculptures in bas-relief, arranged in four tiers, and a garland is suspended across the opening. On the l. side, between the columns, is a colossal statue of Mars (Sestertius. — Coh. 309. Also cf. Coh. 306-310).



Tacitus tells us [*Ann.*, XV. 18] that in the year 62 while the war was still in operation, an arch with trophies on account of victories over Parthia, was decreed by the Senate and erected on the Capitoline hill. The Arch which appears on this series of Sestertii is probably the arch in question, although the coins seem to date from about A. D. 64.

Amongst the numerous architectural types which occur on Roman Coins, the portrayal of Nero's Arch must be reckoned as one of the most successful in point of composition.

#### THE TEMPLE OF JANUS.

80. Obv. NERO. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. Laureated head of Nero to r., with globe beneath.



Rev. PACE.P.R.TERRA.MARIQ.PARTA.IANVM.CLVSIT  
—S.C. The Temple of Janus, closed, with door on r. (Sestertius.  
— Coh. 146. Also cf. Coh. 114, 115; 132 to 177).



The Temple of Janus is one of the few historical types of Nero which can be unquestionably placed in its proper year of issue in relation to contemporary events.

The Parthian war came to an end at the close of A.D. 63, and the Temple of Janus was closed in 64 in token that peace reigned throughout the Empire.

Moreover, since a few of the *Temple of Janus* coins are dated, we are left in no doubt as to their reference. The date TR.P.XII. (A.D. 64-65) is found on Coh. 143 and TR.P.XIII (A.D. 65-66) on Coh. 139, 140 and 169.

Several varieties of the type exist. The fact that on some coins the door is placed on the right while others show it on the left, depends, of course, on the position of the spectator. The designers of the type made practically no attempt at perspective and have drawn the side and end of the building on the same plane; on some specimens, however, an indication of the angle between the two may be observed.

#### THE VICTORY TYPE.

81. Obv. NERO.CLAVDIVS.CAESAR.AVG.GERM.P.M.  
TR.P.IMP.P.P. Radiate head of Nero to r.

Rev. VICTORIA.AVGVSTI.II.S.C. Winged Victory advancing to l., holding wreath and palm-branch (Dupondius. — Coh. 349. Also cf. Coh. 337-350; 288-305).

The extensive series of the Victory type, consisting of Dupondii and Asses, of which there are numerous varieties, probably belong to the years following A.D. 64. Their reference is primarily to the two Parthian wars of Corbulo, and the coins were presumably issued about the same time as the *Arch of Nero* and *Temple of Janus* types. There had also been considerable military activity in Britain,

in quelling the revolt instigated by the patriot queen *Boudicca*; and it is by no means improbable that some allusion to the British wars is intended as well.

### THE "ROMA" TYPE.

The event above all others, which has stamped itself on the popular mind in connexion with the reign of Nero, is the great fire, which broke out on July 19<sup>th</sup> A.D. 64, laying two thirds of the city in ruins. A tragic picturesqueness has been imparted to the calamity by the story of Nero singing an *aria* of his own composition on the burning of Troy as he watched the flames doing their work of destruction. Perhaps this, as much as anything, has given rise to the charge of callousness on the part of Nero, and has even imputed to him the authorship of the crime. In the conflagration most of the monuments of ancient Rome perished, including Luna's temple on the Aventine, the Shrine of Hercules, Romulus' temple of Jupiter Stator, Numa's palace and the Aedes Vestae. [Tac., *Ann.*, XV. 41.]

Of the rebuilding of the city after the fire we find no direct record on the coins. But a large number of coins bearing the Reverse type of *Roma* seated were issued during the years 65 to 67 A.D., when the work of rebuilding was going on, and the *Roma* type may have had the significance of *Roma renascens*, or *Roma resurgens*, although it rested with a future Emperor to apply the term.

82. Obv. IMP. NERO. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. XIII. P. P. Laureated head to r., with ægis.

Rev. ROMA. S. C. *Roma* seated to l. on a cuirass, holding a spear, and supporting a buckler on which is a representation of the Wolf and Twins. Behind, a hexagonal buckler and a helmet (Sestertius. — Coh. 284).

The *Roma* type occurs on all sizes of Bronze Coins and also on the Gold and Silver (cf. Coh. 257-287).

A certain number are dated TR. P. XIII. (Coh. 283-287) and on one variety is TR. P. XIII. (Coh. 260).

### THE SHRINE OF VESTA.

83. Obv. NERO. CAESAR. AVGVSTVS. Laureated head of Nero to r.

Rev. VESTA. A circular domed temple raised on four steps; within is the figure of Vesta, holding spear (Aureus. — Coh. 334. Denarius. — Coh. 335).

The small circular shrine which contained the sacred hearth of Vesta held an unique position in Rome. This, amongst other important buildings, was restored after the fire; and it is not difficult to surmise that it would be one of the first to be rebuilt, since the hearth of Vesta was the symbol of Roman patriotism, and the cult of Vesta embodied all that was noblest in Roman mythology.

Some interesting notes on the *Ædes Vestae* and the cult of Vesta will be found in Spink's *Numismatic Circular*, Vol. XVI, p. 10661 seq.

The type VESTA may be assigned to the years 65 and 66 A.D.

#### THE PORT OF OSTIA.

84. Obv. NERO.CLAVDIVS.CAESAR.AVG.GER.P.M.TR.  
P.IMP.P.P. Laureated head of Nero to r.

Rev. AVGVST. (above) PORT.OST, between S—C. (below).  
View of the port of Ostia; at the top, a pharos surmounted by a statue of Neptune; below, reclining figure of the Tiber, holding a rudder and dolphin; in the centre eleven ships (Sestertius. — Coh. 33. Cf. also. Coh. 34-41, and the same type with legend PORT. AVG., Coh. 250-254).



The credit of constructing a new basin to the harbour of Ostia belongs to Claudius, although the work was barely completed at the time of his death. Nero's PORT.OST. coins may possibly refer to the formal opening of the Claudian harbour in the year 54 A.D. But since the style of the coins suggests that they were struck some ten years after this event some other occasion must be sought as the origin of the type. Nero evolved great engineering schemes of his own in connexion with Ostia, which it is far more probable he wished to record, than the work of his step-father. His project was to cut a canal 125 miles in length and broad enough for two quinqueremes to sail abreast, from lake Avernus to Ostia,

thereby opening up a navigable passage from the Bay of Naples to the Tiber and thence to Rome. This colossal undertaking was actually commenced in 64 A.D., although it was never completed. It seems probable therefore that Nero's canal scheme was really the occasion to which the *Port of Ostia* coins refer. They may be assigned accordingly to the years 64 or 65 A.D.

The type though one of the most interesting on the series of Nero can scarcely be considered a success as a work of art.

#### NERO AS A MUSICIAN. A.D. 65.

85. Obv. NERO·CLAVDIVS·CAESAR·AVG GERMA. Lau-  
reated head to l.

Rev. PONTIF·MAX·TR·P·IMP·P·P. (without S.C) Nero,  
laureated, standing to r., in female attire, singing to his own



accompaniment on the lyre (Copper As. — Coh. 196. Cf. also Coh. 191; 197-203; 241-249; 354, 355).

Not content with displaying his talents in poetry and music before a select audience of personal admirers, Nero, above all things aspired to enter the lists of professional competition and become a public performer. In A.D. 64 Nero made his debut on the theatre at Naples and received the first prize. In the following year, on the second celebration of the Quinquennalia, he publicly appeared on the stage in Rome, when, as a foregone conclusion, the honours of the day were conferred on the Imperial 'artiste'.

#### THE "DECURSIO" TYPE.

It is to the same year (A.D. 65) that in all probability the well-known *Decursio* type should be assigned.

86. Obv. NERO·CLAVDIVS·CAESAR·AVG·GER·P·M·TR·  
P·IMP·P·P. Laureated head of Nero to r.

Rev. DECVRGIO—S.C. Nero on horseback to r., followed by  
a mounted attendant holding a lance (Sestertius. — Coh. 83).

For the numerous varieties of the type, cf. Coh. 83-95.

This type, as clearly as any, emphasizes the unmistakably Greek style which influenced Nero's coins of this period. The coins are generally struck in very high relief in the style of Greek art of the 4<sup>th</sup> Century B.C. The flan is made slightly convex on the obverse and concave on the reverse, which was an essentially Greek method of coin striking. As has already been stated the *Decursio* type might refer to the contests of A.D. 60, equally with those of A.D. 65. But in point of style it undoubtedly belongs to the later year.

#### THE ALTAR OF LYONS.

87. Obv. NERO. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. GERM. Radiate head of Nero to l. ; beneath, globe.

Rev. ROM. ET. AVG. Altar between two columns, each surmounted by a Victory (As. — Coh. 256. Struck at Lyons. A.D. 65).

The year A.D. 65 was marked with disaster. Pestilence spread through Rome ; southern Italy was devastated by hurricanes which ruined crops, orchards and villages, and Lyons, the richest and most prosperous town in Gaul was completely destroyed by fire. In order to assist towards the rebuilding of the City, Nero sent back to the citizens of Lyons the generous gift of four million sesterces, which they had contributed towards the rebuilding of Rome after the fire in A.D. 64 (Tac., *Ann.* xvi, 13). It seems highly probable that this coin was issued to record Nero's munificence. Not only was the famous altar one of the principal adornments of the city but it must ever have been regarded in the light of a graceful recognition of the Emperor or Rome (cf. The Altar of Lyons. — Coins of Augustus. *Supra*).

Since this is the last appearance of the Altar of Lyons on the Roman coinage it seems probable that this famous monument perished in the fire of A.D. 65. Judging from the extreme rarity and worn condition of the coins it is possible that this type of Nero was issued during the temporary disorganisation of the mint, at the time of the fire, and that old dies of Tiberius were used.

#### NERO'S VISIT TO GREECE, A.D. 66-67.

The following are amongst the more important types connected with Nero's visit : —

#### THE " ADLOCUTIO " TYPE.

88. Obv. IMP. NERO. CAESAR. AVG. PONT. MAX. TR. POT. P. P. Laureated head of Nero to l. ; beneath, a globe.

Rev. ADLOCVT.COHO—S.C. Emperor with attendant on suggestum addressing three soldiers; two of them carry standards. In the background a circular domed temple (Sestertius. — Coh. 6. Also cf. Coh. 1-13).

This type has been assigned to various occasions. (1) Some of the older writers have considered it as referring to Nero's inaugural address to the pretorians on his accession to the principate, and have seen in the prefect who stands by, the Emperor, no less a person than Burrus himself. (2) The late style of the coins, however, makes it far more probable that the type refers to Nero's journey to Greece in A.D. 66. Here two possible occasions present themselves. Either Nero's address to the soldiers when he set out from Rome; or his address to the pretorians in Corinth at the inauguration of his project of cutting a canal through the Isthmus—a work which he entrusted primarily to the pretorians.

On referring to the coins of Corinth a number occur with the legend ADLO.AVG, struck by the magistrates Cleander and Piso (cf. Coh. 376-378; 396) who held office in A.D. 66.

This parallelism enables us to fix the ADLOCVTIO type in this year and the occasion must have been either Nero's departure from Rome or his arrival in Greece.

#### THE "ADVENTUS" TYPE.

89. Obv. NERO.CLAVD.CAESAR.AVG.GERM.IMP. Laureated head of Nero.

Rev. ADVENTVS.AVG.COR. Vessel with rowers (Æ3. — Coh. 403. Struck at Corinth).

The *Adventus* type unquestionably refers to the arrival of Nero in various parts of Greece. The coins bearing the legend are of the mints of Corinth and Patrae and are assigned to the years 66 and 67 A.D., since the name of the magistrate Polyaeus, as well as of Cleander and Piso, occurs.

There is a Second Brass coin, presumably of Roman mintage, with the type of a Ship (no reverse legend) which may be naturally associated with the *Adventus* coins of Corinth and Patrae (cf. Coh. 359).

Of Nero's journey to Greece, Cassius Dio says (lib. 63, p. 719) Nero went thither, "not as his warlike ancestors and predecessors had done; but that he might drive the chariot, sing to his own playing on the harp, fill the office of herald at public games, and perform in tragedies."

A number of coins struck in Corinth and Patrae record Nero's achievements in the Circus and on the stage.

THE ADULATION OF THE GREEKS.

Two interesting types may be noticed as forming a conclusion to the series relating to Nero's visit to Greece.

90. Obv. IMP. NERO. CAESAR. AVG. P. P. Laureated head of Nero to r.

Rev. IVPPITER. LIBERATOR. Jupiter seated to l., holding fulmen and sceptre (Aureus. — Coh. 124).

91. Obv. NERO. CAESAR. AVGVSTVS. Laureated head to r.

Rev. AVGVSTVS. AVGVSTA. *Augustus* with radiate crown, holding sceptre and patera; *Augusta*, veiled, holding patera and cornucopiae; both standing (Aureus. — Coh. 42; Denarius. — Coh. 43).

The crowning incident in Nero's visit to Greece was the proclamation of the *liberty* of *Hellas* on Nov. 28 A.D. 67.

It happens that an inscription has been preserved to us which contains the Emperor's speech, and vote of thanks passed by the Greeks on this occasion. Incidentally this record throws considerable light upon the meaning of the types *Juppiter Liberator* and *Augustus Augusta* which in themselves are somewhat obscure. In the "vote of thanks" Nero is referred to as *Zeus, our Liberator*, and amongst other marks of honour, an altar was dedicated with the inscription: —

"Unto Zeus, our Liberator, even Nero, for ever and ever."

The Greeks further proceeded to dedicate statues to Augustus Nero and the Goddess Augusta (Messalina) to be placed along with those of the ancestral Gods of Corinth.

The entire inscription is given by W. Henderson in his "Life and Principate of the Emperor Nero", p. 391, q. v.

There seems little question, however, that these types find their explanation in the extravagant honours accorded to Nero and Messalina at the close of the year 67 A.D.

THE CIVIL WARS 68-69 A.D.

The years 68 and 69 were marked by political chaos, which shook the constitution of the Roman Empire to its very foundations. The pent-up hatred and discontent, felt in consequence of the misrule and degrading extravagance of Nero, burst into open expressions of revolution in two directions. In Southern Gaul, Julius Vindex gathered together a force of 100,000 men and prevailed upon L. Sulpicius Galba, who was in command of the legions in Spain, to proclaim himself general of the State and Roman people. Shortly afterwards Clodius Macer, commander of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Legion in Numidia, broke off his allegiance to Nero and proclaimed himself Proprietor

of Africa. Treachery prevailed in Rome itself; and Nero, deposed by the Senate and tricked by the prefect, Sabinus, ended his life by an act of cowardice.

Thus the Julio-Claudian dynasty crumbled away and, in its fall, revealed the elements of weakness in the Imperial system and the subversive forces which lurked behind it.

The Constitution had broken down, and it was immediately evident that the real source of power lay not with the Senate but with the Army. Secondly, in spite of the theory of the principate, which had been carefully fostered for upwards of three quarters of a century, the old republican spirit once more asserted itself. To restore the Republic was out of the question but nevertheless the spirit was strongly in evidence.

Here then were the elements of civil war which seethed in continuous turmoil until repressed by the establishment of the Flavian dynasty.

Scarcely any period of Roman history is more vividly reflected on the coinage than that of the Civil war of the years 68 and 69.

The coins of this period present numerous problems of interest as regards place of mintage, date of issue and their bearing on contemporary history. As it is with the latter point that we are chiefly concerned we will consider the coins in the following groups : —

I. The Coins of Clodius Macer.

II. "Autonomous" coins, connected with Galba.

III. Coins of Galba.

IV. Coins of Otho.

V. "Autonomous" Coins, connected with Vitellius.

VI. Coins of Vitellius.

These main groups will require further subdivision; and, as they stand, are not strictly chronological; e.g., The autonomous coins (II) would include examples issued previous to those of Macer (I) and would also overlap those of Galba (III).

It is convenient, however, first to consider the coins of Clodius Macer, since they form a definite group by themselves.

### I. CLODIUS MACER.

The revolt of Clodius Macer was primarily directed against the government of Nero, but he refused to throw in his lot with Vindex and Galba. The account of his actual achievements is somewhat obscure. It is said that he intended to starve Rome by keeping back the corn fleet and so pave the way for his election to the principate. He certainly organized a fresh legion which he called after his own name *Legio I. Macriana*. He may have so far succeeded as to make himself master of Carthage, although such an achievement



is highly improbable, and it is certain that he never held Sicily. The remarkable example No. 95, with the bust of Carthage and the *triskelis*, appears to have been issued in anticipation of a triumph over Carthage and Sicily which he never actually accomplished. His rebellion was a short-lived affair, and he was speedily crushed by Garutianus, the Imperial procurator in Africa.

The following examples may be taken as illustrative of the revolt of Macer : —

92. Obv. L. CLODIVS. MACER. S. C. Bare head to r.

Rev. PROPRAE. AFRICAE. A galley (Denarius. — Coh. 13).

93. Obv. L. CLODI. MACRI. S. C. Bust of Victory.

Rev. LIB. AVG. LEG. III. Legionary eagle between two military standards (Denarius. — Coh. 4).

94. Obv. L. CLOD. MACRI. LIBERATRIX. S. C. Head of Africa.

Rev. MACRIANA. LIB. LEG. I. Three military standards (Denarius. — Coh. 8).

95. Obv. L. CLODI. MACRI. CARTHAGO. S. C. Draped bust of a turreted female to r.; behind, a cornucopia.

Rev. SICILIA. A triskelis with a Medusa head in the centre (Denarius).

The occurrence of S. C on the denarii of Clodius Macer is remarkable since the coins themselves could not conceivably have been issued ex Senatus consulto. It is possible that Macer's office of Propraetor had been renewed to him, after the death of Nero, by the Senate. However, since Macer's attitude appears to have been that of a revolutionary adventurer, opposed alike to the government of both Nero and Galba, the symbol S. C may have been adopted as an expression of his nominal loyalty to the Senate with a view to re-establishing its old Republican status. Several features of Macer's coins seem to have been inspired by traditions of the Republic; e.g., the types of the ship and the standards (cf. denarii of M. Antonius), the triskelis (cf. denarius of L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus, B.C. 49), and the archaistic use of the genitive.

#### THE "AUTONOMOUS" COINS.

This remarkable series known as *Autonomous*, or, less correctly, coins of the *Interregnum*, has furnished material for innumerable speculations on the part of numismatists. The result of more recent investigations is given by Mr. H. Mattingly in an article which appeared in the *Numismatic Chronicle* [Vol. XIV, 4<sup>th</sup> series] where the involved question of mintage is carefully discussed. No attempt will be made in the present notes to reproduce Mr. Mattingly's arguments, but merely to refer to such examples of the series as have historical bearing.

The autonomous coins possess the following characteristics.

(1) They omit any reference to the emperor either by portrait or inscription.

(2) They present curious varieties both of style and fabric characteristic of the mints of Spain and Gaul. The coins are frequently ill struck and sometimes almost barbarous in style.

(3) The types are largely reminiscent of those of the Republican coins. The inscriptions breathe a spirit of republican liberty and military government.

(4) Of the types a certain number are closely connected with the coins of Galba, while others are connected with Vitellius.

In the article referred to above, the "Autonomous" coins are assigned exclusively to the mints of Spain, Gaul and higher Germany while none are assigned to Rome. In support of this contention the author urges the following arguments: —

"I can hardly believe that the Senate could have dared to usurp the right of coinage and deliberately omit all reference to the emperor, whom it had itself adopted. On this point we must be quite clear; there was, strictly speaking, no interregnum at Rome in 68; the same meeting of the Senate that deposed Nero bestowed the imperial office on Galba. If, then, the Senate struck "Autonomous" coins, it did so in defiance of an acknowledged emperor; and this is really an impossible hypothesis.

"It was only in the provinces that there was something like an interregnum, i. e. a period of uncertainty, during which men felt that the power of Nero was over, yet did not know his successor and could not tell to whom their allegiance was due".

## II. AUTONOMOUS COINS CONNECTED WITH GALBA.

The earliest of the Autonomous coins appear to have been struck in Spain and Gaul during the period following the revolutionary outbreak led by Julius Vindex in March A.D. 68 to the death of Nero in the following June. On April 3<sup>rd</sup> Galba was saluted *Imperator* by the Spanish legions at Carthago Nova, although, as Suetonius tells us, he refused to accept the title and declared himself the Legatus of the Senate and Roman people. Meanwhile, various Gallic tribes, amongst whom were the Arverni and Remi, supported Vindex who was promptly opposed by Verginius Rufus and the legions under his command. Vindex laid siege to Lugdunum, which offered a stout resistance and remained firm in its loyalty to Nero. In May, after an ineffectual meeting between Verginius and Vindex at Vesontio, hostilities broke out between the rival armies which resulted in the death of Vindex and the

complete destruction of his army. Galba, alarmed at the news of the failure of Vindex, and uncertain of the attitude of Verginius, retired to Clunia and at the same time declared his intention of abandoning all further attempts to seize the Empire. At this critical juncture news was brought to Galba, about the middle of June, of the death of Nero and of his own appointment by the Senate.

The following may be selected as examples of the Autonomous coins issued during this period : —

(a) *Spanish*. [Mainly from the mint of Tarraco. Certain coins may possibly have been struck at Clunia and Carthago Nova.]

96. Obv. BON.EVENT. Diademed head of Bonus Eventus to r.

Rev. ROM.RENASC. Roma in military dress standing to r. holding a spear surmounted by an eagle, and a Victory (Aureus. — Coh. 397 (var.).)

Obv. GENIO.P.R. Rev. MARTI.VLTORI.

Obv. BON.EVENT. Rev. PACI.P.R.

Obv. LIBERTAS. Rev. P.R.RESTITVTA. Daggers and cap of Liberty.

Obv. LIBERTAS.RESTITVTA. Rev. S.P.Q.R. on shield.

Obv. DIVVS.AVGVSTVS. Rev. SENATVS.P.Q.ROMANVS.

Obv. ROMA. Rev. PAX.P.R.

Obv. MONETA. Rev. SALVTARIS.

(b) *Gallic*. [probably struck at Narbo and Augustodunum].

Obv. VOLKANVS.VLTOR. Rev. GENIO.P.R.

97. Obv. MARS.VLTOR. Helmeted head of Mars r.

Rev. SIGNA.P.R. Eagle holding a crown in its beak, between two military standards and a lighted altar (Denarius. — Coh. 406).

98. Obv. SALVS.GENER.HVMANI. Victory to l. on globe, holding palm and crown.

Rev. S.P.Q.R. in two lines within an oak-wreath (Denarius. — Coh. 428).

Obv. PAX ET LIBERTAS. Rev. S.P.Q.R. in oak-wreath.

Obv. SALVS ET LIBERTAS. Rev. —

The following points may be noticed in connexion with the foregoing.

(1) The strongly marked republican sentiments involved in such legends as *Libertas*, *Libertas restituta* and the frequent reference to the Roman people (P.R.).

(2) The reproduction of certain republican types such as Bonus Eventus (cf. Denarius of P. Scribonius Libo, B.C. 54) the Cap of Liberty between two daggers (cf. Coins of Brutus).

(3) The different combinations of legend.

(4) The connexion with the coins of Galba of such legends as, *Roma renascens*, *Libertas restituta*, S.P.Q.R., *Salus generis humani*.

With the accession of Galba in June A.D. 68 the Autonomous coins apparently cease until the renewal of disturbances at the instigation of Vitellius towards the close of the year or early in A.D. 69. I would, however, suggest that a small group of Autonomous coins seems to form an exception; and that the following may probably be assigned to Lugdunum during the months of June and July A.D. 68: —

Obv. VIRT. Rev. IVPITER.CVSTOS. Jupiter seated with fulmen.

Obv. ROMA.RESTITVTA. Rev. IVPITER.LIBERATOR.  
[Same type.]

Obv. ROMA . RESTITVTA. Rev. IVPITER . CONSERVATOR. [Same type.]

The Reverse types and legends of these three examples are closely connected with the coins of Nero issued at the end of his reign. The first and second occur on coins struck in the years 67 and 68 A.D., probably from the mint of Lugdunum; while the legend IVPITER CONSERVATOR is so closely associated with the other two that it cannot be excluded from the group.

During the revolt of Vindex, as was mentioned above, Lugdunum remained loyal to Nero and continued to issue his coins — notably the Denarii with the *Eagle and standards type*. But as Galba was regarded as the patron of Vindex, Lugdunum refused to acknowledge him as Emperor until the Senate's offer had been formally made and accepted at Narbo in July A.D. 68. During this brief period it seems probable that Lugdunum issued this series of coins with reverse types reminiscent of Nero while they omit any reference to Galba.

### III. THE COINS OF GALBA.

The coins of Galba fall into three periods which may be distinguished by the forms of Obverse legend.

Period 1. June (middle) and July A.D. 68. Denarii and Aurei of Spanish and Gallic mints distinguished by the title Imperator.

The legends GALBA IMP, GALBA IMPERAT or IMPERATOR belong, for the most part to Spain; while IMP SER GALBA, SERV GALB, or SER GALBA IMPERATOR belong to Gaul.

Period 2. From the end of July to December A.D. 68, i.e. from Galba's formal appointment by the emissaries of the Senate at Narbo till his public acknowledgment at Rome. To this period belong coins of all metals, struck principally at Rome and Lugdunum, on which occur the titles CAESAR, AVG, P.M., and TR.P. About 45 variations of Obverse legend are known.

Period 3. From January 1<sup>st</sup> to 15<sup>th</sup> A.D. 69; during which period coins were issued with PP in addition to the Imperial titles.

Galba's public recognition by the Senate, people and army in Rome [Jan. 1<sup>st</sup> A.D. 69] appears to have been the occasion on which he assumed the distinction of *Pater patriae*.

The earliest coins of Galba are those without his portrait but with a representation of the Emperor on horseback.

99. Obv. GALBA.IMP. Galba on horseback. Rev. HISPANIA. and Obv. SER. GALBA IMP, with Rev. ROMA RENASCENS; VIRTVS etc.

100. Obv. SER. SVLPICIUS. GALBA.IMP. AVG. Laureate bust of Spain, to r.; below, a buckler; behind, two ears of corn.

Rev. S.P.Q.R. A buckler and two spears (Denarius. — Coh. 284).

(b) Next in order must be placed those which bear the portrait of Galba.

101. Obv. IMP. SER. GALBA. CAESAR. AVG. Laureate head of Galba to r.

Rev. HISPANIA. Spain to l. holding buckler, two spears and ears of corn (Denarius. — Coh. 85).

The alliance of the provinces of Southern Gaul and Spain in the support of Galba finds reference in the legends.

GALLIA; HISPANIA; CONCORDIA. PROVINCIARVM; TRES GALLIAE (i. e. Aquitania, Lugdunensis and Belgica).

(c) The group of coins referring to the support accorded to Galba by the army comprises the following types: —

102. Obv. SER. SVLP. GALBA.IMP. CAESAR. AVG. Laureate head of Galba to r.

Rev. ADLOCVTIO. — S.C. The Emperor with attendant standing on a low suggestum addressing a number of soldiers, some carrying standards and one on horseback (Sestertius. — Coh. 2).

103. Obv. IMP. SER. GALBA. AVG. P.M. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. FIDES. MILITVM. Two hands joined, holding a military standard (Denarius. — Coh. 69).

104. Obv. SER. GALBA. IMP. CAES. AVG. TR. P. Laureate head to r.

Rev. S.C. Victory advancing to l. holding palm branch and Victoriola (Sestertius. — Coh. 256).

105. Obv. SER. GALBA. IMP. CAES. AVG. TR. P. Laureate head to r.

Rev. S.C. Three military standards, embellished with medallions and crescents, the centre one surmounted with an eagle, each standing on the prow of a vessel (Dupondius. — Coh. 267).

This last obviously records the allegiance of the navy.

(d) The next group expresses the popular satisfaction at the accession of Galba. Revolutionary sentiments seem to have been in the air, as was noted on the "Autonomous" coins; and Galba

seems to have assumed the rôle of champion of Liberty, as the following coins testify : —

106. Obv. GALBA. IMPERATOR. Laureate head to r.

Rev. LIBERTAS. RESTITVTA. Diademed head of Liberty to r. (Denarius. — Coh. 132).

107. Obv. SER. GALBA. IMP. CAESAR. AVG. TR. P. Laureate head to r.

Rev. LIBERTAS. PVBLICA—S—C. Liberty standing to l. holding hasta pura and cap of Liberty (Sestertius. — Coh. 108).

108. Obv. GALBA. IMP. Laureate head to r.

Rev. ROMA. RENASCENS. Roma in military dress, walking to r. holding spear and a Victory (Aureus. — Coh. 214).

109. Obv. IMP. SER. GALBA. CAESAR. AVG. Laureate head to r.

Rev. SALVS. GEN. HVMANI. Salus to l. holding patera and rudder, her r. foot resting on a globe (Denarius. — Coh. 241).

As may be expected during the short reign of Galba there are but few public actions to record. However the following examples claim notice.

110. Obv. IMP. SER. GALBA. AVG. TR. P. Head of Galba to r. wearing oak-wreath.

Rev. S. P. Q. R. OB. CIV. SER. inscribed in three lines within an oak-wreath (Sestertius. — Coh. 303).

Mr. Hobler has pointed out (Hobler's *Roman Coins*, p. 142) that the oak-wreath encircling the head of the emperor occurs only on the coins of Augustus and Galba. The civic crown of oak was a special distinction conferred on those who had saved the life of a citizen. In the case of Galba it is probably a complimentary type on account of his having saved the Roman people from the tyranny of Nero.

111. Obv. SER. GALBA. IMP. AVGVSTVS. Laureate head to l. beneath a globe.

Rev. QVADRAGENS. REMISSAE. S. C. A Triumphal arch surmounted by two equestrian statues; three prisoners to l. and fourth under the arch (Dupondius. — Coh. 165. var.).

It has been suggested that the particular tax here alluded to is the "Quadragesima Galliarum" or customs-duty, which appears to have been remitted amongst other Gallic taxes. This remission of taxes was presumably an effort on the part of Galba to regain his popularity which had suffered considerably owing to his policy of retrenchment in the matter of donatives, mentioned by Tacitus.

These coins of Galba, however, give no indication that the Quadragesima is in any way connected with Gaul; and many examples of the type are undoubtedly of Roman mintage. It seems far more probable that the tax referred to is the remission of  $\frac{1}{40}$ , or

2 $\frac{1}{2}$  p. c., which Caligula imposed on the amount in dispute in all courts of law. [Suet. Cal. 4]. This explanation certainly makes the Reverse type more intelligible, inasmuch as the building may be regarded as the entrance of a Basilica into which prisoners and litigants are entering. Along with this type should be classed the coins with R. XL on the Rev.

The globe under the bust has been considered by some to characterise the mint of Lugdunum, but it must be admitted that evidence from the coins only partially supports the theory.



III<sup>a</sup>. HISPANIA. CLVNIA. SVL. S. C. Galba seated l., holding parazonium; before him stands a woman, wearing turreted crown; in her l. hand she holds a cornucopia and in her r. a Victory. [Sestertius. Coh. 86-88.]

This type, in some respects one of the most interesting found on Galba's coins, refers to an event of minor historical importance. The city of Clunia seems to have had a special attraction for Galba. Hither he retired on learning of the defeat of Vindex, which presaged disaster to his own cause; and here he received news of Nero's opportune death and of his own appointment as Emperor. Consequently he conferred upon the city, amongst other benefits, the name of Clunia Sulpicia, which is alluded to by this Reverse type. Suetonius, in mentioning the favourable auspices at the time of Galba's appointment, tells the story of a virgin of noble birth who, under divine inspiration, uttered certain prophetic verses to the effect that Spain should give to the world a Lord and Master. It chanced moreover that the priest of Jupiter at Clunia, admonished by a dream, discovered in the recesses of the temple similar prophetic verses, which had been uttered by an inspired girl some two centuries before. Some writers have considered this type as an illustration of the story of Suetonius. It is far more probable, however, that the standing figure with the turreted crown represents Clunia, and the legend CLVNIA SVLPICIA is an allusion to the name conferred on the city.

#### IV. OTHO.

The feeling of general dissatisfaction grew apace, and fresh rivals appeared to contest the Empire with Galba. The German legions in particular declared their resentment at the existing administration. Accordingly L. Calpurnius Piso was elected as destined successor to Galba. This aroused M. Salvius Otho, who regarded himself as the most fitting candidate. The support of the legions was purchased by a handsome largesse; and on January 15<sup>th</sup> A.D. 69 Otho was proclaimed Emperor by the Praetorians, while Galba and Piso were promptly assassinated. But the German legions were still dissatisfied and proclaimed Aulus Vitellius. The ninety days of Otho's reign were spent in civil war, until Otho, brought to bay at Cremona, committed suicide, April 17<sup>th</sup> 69.

The coins of Otho, which exist in Gold and Silver, possess comparatively little of historical interest, and belong to the Roman mint.

112. Obv. IMP. OTHO. CAESAR. AVG. TR. P. Bare head to r.  
Rev. VICTORIA. OTHONIS. Victory flying to r. holding palm and crown (Denarius. — Coh. 27).



113. Obv. IMP. M. OTHO. CAESAR. AVG. TR. P. Bare head to r.

Rev. PAX. ORBI. TERRARVM. Peace standing to l. holding caduceus and olive-branch (Denarius, — Coh. 3).

114. Obv. IMP. OTHO. CAESAR. AVG. TR. P. Bare head to r.  
Rev. SECVRITAS. P. R. Security standing to l. holding crown and sceptre (Aureus. — Coh. 14).

The legend VICTORIA. OTHONIS refers to Otho's momentary triumph after the murder of Galba, and forms a parallel with the type VICTORIA. GALBAE which was struck a few months before.

There is a grandiloquence in the assumption PAX. ORBI. TERRARVM and SECVRITAS Populi Romani which expresses the hope, rather than the realization, of the state of affairs under Otho.

No senatorial Bronze (i.e. of Roman mintage) are known of Otho. Various reasons have been advanced to account for this. The statement that Otho never received the recognition of the Senate will not stand, since his coins bear the title of Augustus and shew



that he received the *Tribunicia potestas*. Also Tacitus tells us : “*Decernitur Othoni tribunicia potestas et nomen Augusti et omnes principum honores* ‘...’” There seems therefore no technical reason why the Senate should not have issued coins of Otho and the question still awaits a satisfactory solution.

## V. AUTONOMOUS COINS CONNECTED WITH VITELLIUS.

A number of Denarii attributed to Upper Germany appear to have been struck in connexion with the military rising which placed Vitellius on the throne.

The chief characteristics of the series are : —

- (1) The prevalence of military allusions.
- (2) The close connexion of the legends with the coins of Vitellius.
- (3) The varying combination of legend.

The following are examples : —

115. Obv. *FIDES EXERCITVVM*. Two hands clasped.

Rev. *FIDES PRAETORIANORVM*. Two hands clasped (*Denarius*. — *Coh.* 363) (*Galba*).

Obv. *FIDES EXERCITVVM*. Rev. *FIDES EXERCITVVM*.

Obv. *FIDES EXERCITVVM*. Rev. *CONCORDIA PRAETORIANORVM*.

Obv. *VESTA P. R. QVIRITIVM*. Rev. *FIDES EXERCITVVM*.

Obv. *VESTA P. R. QVIRITIVM*. (Bust.) Rev. *I. O. M. CAPITOLINVS* (seated figure).

Obv. *VESTA P. R. QVIRITIVM*. Rev. *SENATVS P. Q. ROMANVS*.

Obv. *I. O. M. CAPITOLINVS*. (Bust.) Rev. *VESTA P. R. QVIRITIVM* (seated figure).

Obv. *DIVVS AVGVSTVS*. Rev. *SENATVS P. Q. ROMANVS*.

The type of the clasped hands, which frequently recurs on this series, seems to illustrate a passage from Tacitus where he alludes to the friendly overtures made to Vitellius by the Lingones. “*Miserat civitas Lingonum vetere instituto dona legionibus dextras, hospitii insigne.*” [*Hist.* I. 54.]

## VI. VITELLIUS.

Two days after the death of Otho, Aulus Vitellius was acknowledged as Emperor by the Senate (April 19<sup>th</sup> A.D. 69). He never adopted the cognomen of *Caesar*, and for some time refused the title of *Augustus*, preferring the style of *Perpetual Consul* as more suggestive of republican ideals. But amidst the growing avarice and

1. Tac. *Hist.*, I, 47.

corruption of the army and the disorganization of the constitution it required not a republic but a strong dynastic government to restore law and order. The peace which followed the death of Otho was of short duration; Vitellius lost respect on account of his bestiality and extravagance, and the army of the East directed their hopes to their trusted leader, Vespasian. On July 1<sup>st</sup> Vespasian was proclaimed Emperor at Alexandria and Antioch and within a month he was acknowledged throughout the East.

The remainder of the reign of Vitellius was a continuous struggle, and once again the Empire was ablaze with civil war. The final scene was enacted in Rome itself when street fights turned the city



into a great arena of bloody combat and the mob was let loose to burn and pillage. Vitellius would have abdicated, but pressed by his supporters he remained until the victorious Flavians dragged his mangled corpse with every indignity, through the streets of Rome.

The coins of Vitellius display but few types of a distinctly historical character. The first point of interest lies in the close connection between certain types of Vitellius and those of the *Autonomous* coins just mentioned.

116. Obv. A. VITELLIVS. GERMANICVS. IMP. Bare head to r.  
Rev. FIDES EXERCITVVM. Two clasped hands (Denarius. — Coh. 36).

117. Obv. A. VITELLIVS. GERM. IMP. AVG. TR. P. Laureate head to r.

Rev. LIBERTAS. RESTITVTA. Liberty standing to r. holding sceptre and cap of Liberty (Denarius. — Coh. 47).

118. Obv. A. VITELLIVS. IMP. GERMAN. Laureate head to r.  
Rev. VESTA. P. R. QVIRITIVM. Vesta seated to l. holding a patera and torch (Denarius. — Coh. 90).

119. Rev. I. O. MAX. CAPITOLINVS. Jupiter seated to l. in a temple of two columns (Denarius. — Coh. 39).

#### THE LUDI APOLLINARES

120. Obv. A. VITELLIVS. GERM. IMP. AVG. TR. P. Laureate head to r.

Rev. XV. VIR. SACR. FAC. Tripod; above a dolphin, a crow (Aureus and Denarius. — Coh. 110, 116).

The legend on the reverse refers to the *Quindecim viri sacris faciundis* a select body who had charge of the Sibylline books and who were appointed to organize the Ludi. The Quindecim viri were priests of Apollo and each of them had in his house a brazen tripod sacred to the god. The tripod and other emblems of Apollo are represented on this series of coins. [Cf. Tacit., *Ann.*, VI, 12. Dio, LIV 19, also Adam's *Roman Antiquities*, p. 279 and *Rom. Antiq.*, Ramsay and Lanciani, p. 378.]

### THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY.

Under the Flavian Emperors a systematic method of placing dates on the coinage was adopted which makes it possible to attribute the coins to their particular year of issue with tolerable accuracy. By this means there is comparatively little doubt about what historical event is referred to by the various types which occur. The surest indication of the date is in all cases to be gained from the numerals which record the conferring of the Tribunitian power. But where these numerals are omitted, as frequently happens on the coins of Domitian, the number of the Consulate fixes the date of issue within the limits of one or two years.

Since Vespasian associated his two sons, Titus and Domitian, with himself in the regency in the year A.D. 71, coins of the younger Caesars appear from that date onwards contemporaneously with those of Vespasian.

The dates at which the Tribunitian power was conferred, together with the titles of Consul and Emperor may be seen from the following table : —

### TABLE OF COIN DATES OF THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY.

#### VESPASIAN.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. Pot.	Consul.	Imperator.	
69	822	TR. P.	COS. DES. II.	IMP. I. II. III.	CENS.
70	823	TR. P. I. II.	COS. II. DES. III.	IMP. IV. V.	
71	824	TR. P. II. III.	COS. III. DES. IV.	IMP. VI. VII. VIII.	
72	825	TR. P. III. IV.	COS. IV.	IMP. IX.	
73	826	TR. P. IV. V.	COS. IV. DES. V.	IMP. X. XI. XII.	
74	827	TR. P. V. VI.	COS. V.	IMP. XIII.	
75	828	TR. P. VI. VII.	COS. VI. DES. VII.	IMP. XIV.	
76	829	TR. P. VII. VIII.	COS. VII. DES. VIII.	IMP. XV. XVI. XVII.	
77	830	TR. P. VIII. IX.	COS. VIII.	IMP. XVIII.	
78	831	TR. P. IX. X.	COS. VIII. DES. IX.	IMP. IX.	
79	832	TR. P. X.	COS. IX.	IMP. XX.	

TITUS.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. Pot.	Consul.	Imperator.	
71	824	TR. P.	COS.	IMP.	CENS.
72	825	TR. P. I. II.	COS. II.	IMP. II. III. IV. V.	
73	826	TR. P. II. III.	COS. II. DES. III.	IMP. VI. VII.	
74	827	TR. P. III. IV.	COS. III. DES. IV.	IMP. VIII.	
75	828	TR. P. IV. V.	COS. IV. DES. V.	IMP. IX. X.	
76	829	TR. P. V. VI.	COS. V. DES. VI.	IMP. XI.	
77	830	TR. P. VI. VII.	COS. VI.	IMP. XII.	
78	831	TR. P. VII. VIII.	COS. VII.	IMP. XIII. XIV.	
79	832	TR. P. VIII. IX.	COS. VII. DES. VIII.	IMP. XV.	
80	833	TR. P. IX. X.	COS. VIII.	IMP. XV. XVI. XVII	
81	834	TR. P. X. XI.	COS. VIII.	IMP. XVII.	

DOMITIAN.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. Pot.	Consul.	Imperator.	
71	824	—	COS.		PRINCEPS JUVEN- TUTIS.
72	825	—	COS. DES. II.		
73	826	—	COS. II.		
74	827	—	COS. III.		
75	828	—	COS. IV.		
76	829	—	COS. V.		
77	830	—	COS. VI.		
78	831	—	COS. VI.		
79	832	—	COS. VI. DES. VII.		
80	833	—	COS. VII.		
81	834	TR. P.	COS. VII.	IMP. I. II.	
82	835	TR. P. I. II.	COS. VIII.	IMP. III. IV. V.	
83	836	TR. P. II. III.	COS. IX.	IMP. V.	CENS. PERP. GERMANI- CUS.
84	837	TR. P. III. IV.	COS. X.	IMP. V.	
85	838	TR. P. IV. V.	COS. XI.	IMP. VI. VII. VIII. IX.	
86	839	TR. P. V. VI.	COS. XII.	IMP. X. XI. XII. XIII.	
87	840	TR. P. VI. VII.	COS. XIII.	IMP. XIV.	
88	841	TR. P. VII. VIII.	COS. XIV.	IMP. XV. XVI. XVII. XVIII. XIX.	
89	842	TR. P. VIII. IX.	COS. XIV.	IMP. XX. XXI.	
90	843	TR. P. IX. X.	COS. XV.	IMP. XXI.	
91	844	TR. P. X. XI.	COS. XV.	IMP. XXI.	
92	845	TR. P. XI. XII.	COS. XVI.	IMP. XXI. XXII.	
93	846	TR. P. XII. XIII.	COS. XVI.	IMP. XXII.	
94	847	TR. P. XIII. XIV.	COS. XVI.	IMP. XXII.	
95	848	TR. P. XIV. XV.	COS. XVII.	IMP. XXII.	
96	849	TR. P. XV. XVI.	COS. XVII.	IMP. XXII.	

On July 1<sup>st</sup> A.D. 69 Titus Flavius Vespasianus was saluted *Imperator* by the legions at Alexandria, and by the 15<sup>th</sup> of the month all the legions of Syria and the eastern frontier had pledged themselves to the new aspirant. On December 21<sup>st</sup> Vespasian was formally adopted by the unanimous voice of the Senate but it is from July 1<sup>st</sup> that Vespasian dates his accession.

The determination of Vespasian to found a dynasty is shewn in the early years of his reign by his action in conferring upon his two sons, Titus and Domitian, positions in the state and titles which marked them out unmistakably as his successors in the principate. In A.D. 69 the title of *Caesar* was bestowed on both his sons. In A.D. 71 Titus received the title of *Imperator designatus*, a title which in itself was a somewhat bold innovation. On July 1<sup>st</sup> of the same year he received the *Tribunitia Potestas* and Domitian the title of *Princeps Juventutis*.

Coins in Gold, Silver and Bronze were issued in the first three years of Vespasian's reign bearing portraits of the Emperor and his sons, which form a record of this feature of Vespasian's policy.

The following examples may be taken as illustrative of the series: —

121. Obv. IMP. CAES. VESPASIANVS. AVG. Laureate head of Vespasian.

Rev. TITVS. ET. DOMITIANVS. CAESARES. PRINC. IVVENT. The two brothers on horseback in the character of the Dioscuri (struck in A.D. 69). Varieties of this type occur in all metals.

122. Obv. IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIANVS. AVG. Laureated head of Vespasian to right.

Rev. CAESAR. AVG. F. COS. CAESAR. AVG. F. P. R. The heads of Titus and Domitian vis à vis (Denarius struck in A.D. 70).



123. Obv. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. P. COS. III. Laureate bust of Vespasian to right.

Rev. CAESAR. AVG. F. DES. IMP. AVG. F. COS. DES. II. S. C. Titus and Domitian standing side by side in the character of the Dioscuri (Sestertius, struck in A.D. 71. — Coh. 51).

THE JUDEAN TRIUMPH.

The first event of the reign of Vespasian, which has assumed a world-wide importance and is rich in historical records, was the campaign carried on against the Jewish Zealots who, under the leadership of John of Giscala and Simon of Gerasa, had revolted against the Roman authority, and cut to pieces the Roman garrison at Jerusalem (A.D. 64-66). The campaign, led first by Vespasian and completed by Titus, slowly but decisively crushed the insurgents and Jerusalem was destroyed in A.D. 70. The following year was marked by a brilliant Triumph, which Titus and Domitian shared with the Emperor. Some idea of the pageant and costly spoils taken from the Temple at Jerusalem may be gathered from the famous frieze of the Arch of Titus, which spans the Via Sacra at the south-east extremity of the Roman Forum. The Jewish Spoils were subsequently deposited in the Temple of Peace.

The Judean Triumph is commemorated by an extensive and well-known series of coins, which for the most part tell their own story.

The series, which consists of coins of all metals, may be divided into two groups.

(1) Those which bear definite reference to the event, with the legends, IVDAEA, IVDAEA CAPTA, DE IVDAEIS, IVDAEA DEVICTA, etc.

(2) Coins struck about this date without the word IVDAEA but which evidently refer to this event.

The following Reverses may be taken as examples of Group 1.

124. IVDAEA.CAPTA.S.C. Palm-tree with standing male



captive on one side and seated female captive on the other (Sestertius of Vespasian struck in A.D. 71 (COS III). — Coh. 232).

125. IVD.CAP. across field. S.C. in exergue. Palm-tree, to right a Jewish captive, shield and helmet; to left seated Jewess in



attitude of grief (Sestertius of Titus struck in A.D. 78 (COS. VII). — Coh. 113).

The following are examples of group 2.

126. VICTORIA.AVG.VSTI. In exergue S.C. A palm-tree on left, to which a shield is affixed inscribed by Victory, standing; her left foot rests on a helmet lying on the ground. On left of palm tree is seated a female captive weeping (Sestertius of Vespasian, struck in A.D. 71 (COS III).

127. PON.MAX.TR.P.COS.VI. Victory to left on prow (Denarius of Vespasian struck in A.D. 75. The type is usually considered to refer to the naval operations on the Lake of Galilee. With this may be compared coins bearing the legends, VICTORIA.NAVALIS and IVDAEA NAVALIS).

128. Obv. CAES.AVG.F.DOMIT.COS.II. Laureate head of Domitian to right.

Rev. Domitian on horseback galloping to left (Denarius of Domitian struck A.D. 73. In the Judæan Triumph Domitian was conspicuous, riding on a white horse. An equestrian statue may have been erected to him, alluding to this occasion, previous to that which was placed in the Forum in A.D. 89).

129. Obv. IMP.CAESAR.VESPASIANVS.AVG.TR.P. Laureate head of Vespasian to r.

Rev. TRIVMP.AVG. Vespasian in a quadriga, to r., holding a laurel-branch and crowned by Victory: in front a soldier and naked captive, with hands bound; behind, a man blowing a long trumpet (Aureus. — Coh. 567).

The long trumpet (tuba) which appears conspicuously on the above Aureus may be compared with the similar instrument which is depicted on the frieze of the Arch of Titus. Not improbably it was one of the silver trumpets taken amongst the spoils from Jerusalem.

The recovery of the standards, which had been captured by the Jewish zealots in A.D. 64-66, is recorded on the following : —

130. Obv. IMP. CAESAR. VESPASIANVS. AVG. P. M. TR. P. Laureate head of Vespasian to r.

Rev. SIGNIS. RECEPTIS. S. C. Victory to r., holding a palm and presenting a Roman eagle to Vespasian, who is standing on an estrade (Sestertius. — Coh. 510).

For a fuller list of the coins struck in connexion with the Judaean campaign and triumph, cf. the Rev. Edgar Rogers' "Handy Guide to Jewish Coins" which contains numerous interesting historical notes.

Incidentally he mentions the type of the *Capricorn*, which is found on the reverse of several coins of Vespasian and Titus, as bearing a probable allusion to Judaea. The reasons for the connexion scarcely appear convincing. In the first place the coins of the Capricorn type were struck in the year A.D. 79, eight years after the Judaean triumph had been celebrated, when the attention of the Roman world had been drawn to other campaigns of no less importance to the Empire. It seems probable, moreover, that the Capricorn possesses a totally different significance. It will be remembered that the type first made its appearance on the coins of Augustus (cf. *supra*, p. 26); that it should have been revived by the Flavians is not unnatural as it would bear a flattering allusion to the reign of Vespasian as a return to the golden age of Augustus.

#### THE OCCUPATION OF THE BLACK FOREST.

The sparsely populated district of the Neckar valley, between the Rhine and Danube, known as the Black Forest formed an inlet on the Northern Frontier. This tract of country Vespasian decided to occupy so as to establish the Roman frontier in a direct line between Strassburg and Windisch. Throughout the years 73 and 74 considerable military activity was carried on in this district, the details of which are somewhat obscure.

The district thus added to the Imperial territory was re-peopled by the "Tenants of Caesar" who paid tithe for the land (*agri decumates*).

Numerous coins appear to bear references to this campaign of which the following may be taken as examples.

131. COS. VIII. Two cows yoked together to left. — Coh. 133. (Denarius of Vespasian struck in A.D. 77. The allusion is apparently to the district newly colonised by the Tenants of Caesar).

132. COS. VIII. The Emperor in full military dress crowned by Victory (Aureus of Vespasian, struck in A.D. 77. — Coh. 130).



Some reference to the general peace and prosperity which the Romans enjoyed during the reign of Vespasian may be found in the PAX type which occurs with great frequency on the coins of Vespasian and Titus. The numerous improvements which were effected in Rome itself in matters of municipal government and erection of public buildings have been placed on record in such legends as ROMA and ROMA RESURGENS.

#### THE APOTHEOSIS OF VESPASIAN.

The reign of Vespasian marks an advance in the development of the Imperial theory. Amongst other points, the divine character of the Emperor was clearly emphasised. In this respect it was the logical continuation of the Augustan theory. Testimony to this is found in the following example which forcibly recalls the memorial coin of Augustus No. 43, and also the coins struck by Nero and Agrippina No. 71.

133. Obv. DIVO . AVG . VESP. In exergue S . P . Q . R. Vespasian holding spear and Victoriola, seated on a memorial car drawn by four elephants to r. ; the elephants are driven by men seated on their necks.

Rev. IMP . T . CAES . DIVI . VESP . F . AVG . P . M . TR . P . P . P . COS . VIII ; in centre of field S . C. (Sestertius, struck by Titus. A.D. 80. — Coh. 205.206).

#### THE COLOSSEUM.

The vast amphitheatre, commenced in the early years of Vespasian's reign and opened in the last year of the reign of Titus with extravagant exhibitions of wild beast shows and gladiatorial contests, is so well-known as to need no description. An interesting account of the history and associations of the massive ruin, which so deeply impresses every visitor to the Eternal City, may be read in Hare's "Walks in Rome" Vol. I, pp. 207-220. A representation of the Colosseum occurs on a limited series of Bronze Coins.

134. Obv. IMP . T . CAES . VESP . AVG . P . M . TR : P . P . P . COS . VIII. Titus seated.

Rev. The Colosseum, with meta sudans on l. and portion of the "Golden House" of Nero on r<sup>t</sup> (Sestertius of Titus, struck A.D. 80. — Coh. 400).

135. Obv. DIVO . AVG . T . DIVI . VESP . F . VESPASIAN . S . C. Titus seated to left on Curule chair, around him war implements.

Rev. As on preceding coin. Sestertius of Titus struck in A.D. 81, immediately after the Emperor's death. — Coh. 399).



A similar representation is found on coins of Domitian struck in A.D. 81.

#### DOMITIAN'S CAMPAIGNS IN THE RHINE DISTRICTS AND DACIA.

In the year 83 Domitian led an expedition to the Black Forest district in order to push forward the frontier line marked out by Vespasian. Of the military operations of the campaign little is known beyond the fact that a well devised chain of defences, consisting of forts and towers, was constructed from Kesselstadt on the Main to Rheinbrohl on the Rhine, a distance of about 120 miles. Otherwise the result appears to have added but small credit to the Roman arms. In the following year (A.D. 84) Domitian celebrated a triumph and assumed the title of *Germanicus*.

Amongst the numerous coins, struck at this period, which bear direct or indirect reference to this campaign the following Reverse types may be mentioned: —

136. GERMANICVS. COS.  $\overline{X}$ . Woman, half nude, sitting in attitude of grief on German shield (Aureus struck in 84. A.D.).

137. GERMANICVS. Triumphal Quadriga in which is the Emperor holding sceptre. On Obv. COS.  $\overline{XI}$  (Denarius, struck in 85. A.D.).

138. GERMANIA. CAPTA. S.C. Trophy with standing captive on one side and seated figure of Germania on the other, in an attitude of grief (Coh. 136). (Sestertius, struck in 85. A.D.)

In A.D. 85 the Dacian tribes, under the able and powerful leader, Decebalus, crossed the Danube and overran the province of Mœsia, defeating the Roman garrison stationed there. Domitian thereupon led an army against the Dacians and temporarily checked their advance. Domitian involved himself in a quarrel with the Marco-

manni and Quadi which resulted in a serious reverse to the Roman arms. Fearing a renewal of hostilities with the Dacians, Domitian concluded an inglorious peace by which Decebalus obtained advantageous terms (A. D. 89). Domitian nevertheless celebrated a double



triumph, and a colossal equestrian statue was erected to him in the Forum.

No direct mention of Dacia is made on the coinage of the period and Domitian himself refused the proffered title of Dacicus.

The following may be taken as examples bearing reference to his triumph : —

139. GERMANICVS. COS. XIII. (Coh. 148) same type as No. 136 (Aureus struck in A. D. 89).



140. GERMANICVS. COS. XIII. Triumphal chariot driven by the Emperor (Aureus, struck in A. D. 89).

The same type and legend occurs but with COS. XV, COS, XVI.

141. S. C. The Emperor standing, in military dress, holding spear and fulmen, crowned by Victory who holds a palm branch. On Obv. COS. XV (Sestertius, struck in A. D. 90. — Coh. 113).

142. S. C. The Emperor on horseback, raising his right hand. Probably the Equestrian statue placed in the Forum on Obv. COS. XVII (Sestertius, struck in A. D. 95).

PALLAS ON DOMITIAN'S COINS.

An extensive series of coins bearing the standing figure of Pallas must be ranked amongst the best known of Domitian's coins. The type is found with certain variations which may be classified thus : — (1) Pallas, helmeted, holding spear and fulmen, on the ground behind her a shield. (2) Pallas, helmeted, holding spear, without fulmen or shield. (3) Pallas, in warlike attitude, brandishing spear and standing on the prow of a galley. The inscriptions accompanying the type usually give the date of the particular issue but throw no light on its precise significance. The type of Pallas would naturally suggest some military reference, but, since the coins cover a range of several years and there are no specific allusions to any of the campaigns of Domitian, they cannot be connected with any victories or triumphs. The most probable interpretation of the type is that it refers to the elaborate system of frontier defence carried out by the Flavian Emperors. The coins of types (1) and (2) may well refer to the military defences on the northern frontier; while type (3) has reference to the fleet stationed on the Danube. This fleet was in existence as early as the year A.D. 50 (vid. Tac. Ann. XII. 30) but was reorganized by Vespasian who named it the *Classis Flavia*.

As has been already noticed, the work on the Danubian frontier undertaken by Vespasian was continued and extended by Domitian.

THE SÆCULAR GAMES A.D. 88.

These games, the most celebrated in Roman times, were instituted in compliance with the Sybilline Oracles, to the honour of Pluto, Proserpine, Juno, Apollo, Diana, Ceres, and the Parcæ and according to the oracle, were to be celebrated every 110 years.

For a detailed description of the Ceremonial see Hobler "Roman Coins" vol. I, p. 220.

An extensive series of coins records this Celebration. The chief inscriptions and types are as follows.

143. COS. XIII. LVD. SAEC. FEC. S. C.

(1) The Emperor standing to right, before him a lighted altar, behind which two musicians are standing; beside the altar a victimarius about to slay a hog; in the foreground a female half nude reclining, having on her left arm a cornucopie (Sestertius).

(2) Emperor sacrificing, two musicians, bearded male figure reclining, Temple in back ground (Dupondius).

(3) Salian priest with helmet, shield and short sceptre, advancing to left (Denarius).

(4) A cippus inscribed LVD.SAEC.FEC.

#### THE PORTRAIT OF DOMITIAN.

A cursory glance at the coins of Domitian suffices to reveal a curious variation of portraiture such as is not found on the coins of any Emperor since Augustus. So great indeed is the discrepancy



between the earlier and later portraits of Domitian that it is difficult to believe that they represent the same man. The coins struck as early as A.D. 73 portray Domitian with coarse features closely resembling those of his father and brother. After the year A.D. 85 the coins exhibit the Emperor with extremely refined features, while the somewhat elongated neck gives the effect of strength and dignity to the well poised and handsome head. Which is to be regarded as the true portrait of Domitian? Historians are unanimous in describing Domitian as a man whose character degenerated year by year into the depths of senseless depravity. This being so it is scarcely to be expected that his features would develop inversely towards refinement. But if one thing more than another characterised the insane emperor it was his inordinate vanity. Vespasian and Titus had maintained the divine character of the Emperor, although the divine recognition came after their death; but the vanity of Domitian led him to assert his divinity while he lived and to style himself *Dominus* et *Deus*. While we can with tolerable certainty find the man's true portrait on the earlier coins where the unmistakable family likeness to the Flavians comes out, it seems not unreasonable to see, in the highly flattering representation on the later coins, not the portrait of Domitian as a man, but the idealized creation of Domitian as *Dominus* et *Deus*, acquiesced in by a servile Senate.

#### NERVA.

The brief reign of M. Cocceius Nerva was marked by two interesting features. (1) A peaceful relationship was established

between the Emperor and the Senate, and at the same time the good will of the army was secured. (2) Considerable efforts were made in the direction of social and fiscal reform. The name of Nerva has received unqualified commendation from both ancient and modern historians not only on account of his peaceful administration but for his gentle strength of character.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. pot.	Consul.	Imperator.	
96	849	TR.P.	COS II.DES.III.	IMP.	P.P.
97	850	TR.P.II.	COS.II.DES.IV.	IMP.II.	
98	851	TR.P.II.	COS.IV.	IMP.II.	

Nerva was not merely a soldier but a man of some literary attainments and possessed of statesmanlike qualifications. However, the point of vital importance was that the pretorians entirely approved of his election as Emperor.

The good will of the army is emphasized on coins of all metals struck at Nerva's accession and reissued at intervals during his reign.

144. Obv. IMP.NERVA.CAES.AVG.P.M.TR.P.COS.II.  
P.P. Laureate head of Nerva to r.

Rev. CONCORDIA.EXERCITVVM. Two hands, joined, holding a legionary eagle resting on a prow (Aureus. — Coh. 24).

#### THE SOCIAL POLICY OF NERVA.

The following types may be taken as illustrating Nerva's policy of social reform. They possess a peculiar interest as bearing legends which occur on the coins of Nerva alone.

145. Obv. IMP.NERVA.CAES.AVG.P.M.TR.P.COS.III.  
P.P. Laureate head to r.

Rev. PLEBEI.VRBANAE.FRUMENTO.CONSTITVTO.—  
S.C. A modius in which are 6 ears of corn and a poppy (Sestertius. — Coh. 127).

The legend explains itself. This gratuitous distribution of food to the poorest classes in Rome was distinct from the more general largesses recorded on the usual *Liberalitas* coins. The charitable organisations of Nerva were intended to benefit various sections of the poorer classes of Italy. An important part of the scheme was the arrangement whereby considerable sums of money were advanced to small land-owners at a low rate of interest to encourage the farming industry. Although the result of this must have been highly beneficial, no record of it appears on Nerva's coins.

146. Obv. IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. P. M. COS. III. P. P. Laureate head.

Rev. TVTELA. ITALIAE. The Emperor seated, extending his hand to a female figure, representing Italy, accompanied by a boy and girl (Sestertius. — Coh. 142).

The State aid given to poor children was inaugurated by Nerva. The profits arising from the interest on the money advanced to the small farmers was devoted to this purpose. Special commissioners known as *prefects of the alimenta* were appointed to carry out the organization of the scheme, but it would appear that the scheme was not in full working order until the reign of Trajan. Cf. the type of Trajan, ALIMENTA ITALIAE.

147. Obv. IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P. Laureate head to r.

Rev. VEHICVLATIONE. ITALIAE. REMISSA. — S. C. Two mules grazing; behind are the pole and traces of a chariot (Sestertius. — Coh. 143).

The cost of the Imperial posting which had hitherto been borne by the Italian states was transferred to the *Fiscus*. Consequently the states were relieved from the obligation of supplying mules, posting horses and chariots, whenever persons travelled officially on state business.

148. Obv. IMP. NERVA. CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. II. P. P. Laureate head to r.

Rev. FISCO. IVDAICI. CALVMNIA. SVBLATA. — S. C. A palm-tree (Sestertius. — Coh. 54).

When Jerusalem was overthrown by Vespasian the Jews were ordered to pay an annual tax of one didrachm, not to the temple of Jerusalem as they had done previously, but to the worship of Jupiter Capitolinus. [Cf. *Josephus de Bell. Jud.*, VII, c. 6, § 6.] Under Domitian the tax had been rigorously exacted and inquisitorial



methods had been employed to prevent any evasion of it. At first sight the legend on this coin suggests that the tax was abolished (*sublata*); but, since we find records of the tax being paid in later

years, it seems that what was abolished by Nerva was the system of false accusation (*calumnia*) employed in collecting the tax, and not the tax itself. That is to say, exemption from the tax in question was henceforth secured to all who did not admit themselves to be Jews, and their names no longer entered on the fiscal lists as belonging to that nation. An interesting note will be found in this connexion in *Stevenson's Dictionary of Roman Coins*, p. 491.

### TRAJAN.

Owing to the fact that, in the majority of cases, the numerals relating to the Tribunitian power are omitted on the coins of Trajan it is frequently impossible to assign his coins to particular years. The number of the consulate is almost invariably given, and occasionally that of receiving the title *Imperator*, but since the Fifth Consulship lasted from the year 104 to 111 and the Sixth from 111 to the end of his life there is a rather wide range within which to assign the coins.

The following table gives the dates at which the various Imperial titles were bestowed.

A. D.	A.U.C.	Trib. pot.	Consul.	Imperator.	
97	850	Tr.P.	COS.	IMP.	GERM.
98	851	Tr.P.I.II.	COS.II.	IMP.II.	
99	852	Tr.P.II.III.	COS.II.	IMP.II.	
100	853	Tr.P.III.IV.	COS.III.	IMP.II.	} DACICVS.
101	854	Tr.P.IV.V.	COS.IV.	IMP.II.	
102	855	Tr.P.V.VI.	COS.IV.	IMP.III.	
103	856	Tr.P.VI.VII.	COS.IV.DES.V.	IMP.IV.	
104	857	Tr.P.VII.VIII.	COS.V.	IMP.IV.	
105	858	Tr.P.VIII.IX.	COS.V.	IMP.IV.	
106	859	Tr.P.IX.X.	COS.V.	IMP.V.	
107	860	Tr.P.X.XI.	COS.V.	IMP.V.	
108	861	Tr.P.XI.XII.	COS.V.	IMP.VI.	
109	862	Tr.P.XII.XIII.	COS.V.	IMP.VI.	
110	863	Tr.P.XIII.XIV.	COS.V.	IMP.VI.	PARTHICVS.
111	864	Tr.P.XIV.XV.	COS.VI.	IMP.VI.	
112	865	Tr.P.XV.XVI.	COS.VI.	IMP.VI.	
113	866	Tr.P.XVI.XVII.	COS.VI.	IMP.VI.	
114	867	Tr.P.XVII.XVIII.	COS.VI.	IMP.VII.	
115	868	Tr.P.XVIII.XIX.	COS.VI.	IMP.VIII.IX.	
116	869	Tr.P.XIX.XX.	COS.VI.	IMP.IX.	
117	870	Tr.P.XX.	COS.VI.	IMP.X.	



TRAJAN'S DACIAN WARS.

*The First Dacian War.* A.D. 101-102.

Decebalus, the famous Dacian leader, who had secured considerable advantages after Domitian's ill-devised truce, determined on further opposition to the Roman rule and made overtures to the King of Parthia. On March 25<sup>th</sup> 101, Trajan left Rome for the Danube and after much hard fighting, in which the fortunes of war were by no means entirely on the Roman side, Decebalus was forced to surrender and acknowledge the suzerainty of Rome. The conditions imposed on him by Trajan were of a moderate character. At the close of 102 Trajan returned to Rome, celebrated a triumph and assumed the title of *Dacicus*.

*The Second Dacian War* A.D. 105.

Decebalus was not long in manifesting his dissatisfaction with the Roman conditions and in A.D. 105 commenced an aggressive movement against the Roman provinces south of the Danube. Trajan at once advanced against the Dacians. The events of the Dacian wars are graphically depicted on the famous Column of Trajan — aptly described as “an epic in stone” — which is one of the chief sources of information in the absence of contemporary documentary evidence. One of the last scenes in the series portrays Decebalus, brought to bay by a Roman horseman, and plunging his sword into his throat.

References to the Dacian wars are very numerous on the coins of Trajan, but it is not always possible to determine to which of the two campaigns a particular coin refers. A somewhat limited number of coins bearing the title DACICVS struck during Trajan's fourth consulate can only refer to the first campaign. The far more numerous series struck during his fifth consulate, which lasted from A.D. 104 to 111, may refer to either campaign, although in the majority of cases the types are more appropriate to the second and final subjection of the Dacians.

Of the coins which unquestionably refer to the first Dacian war the following may be noted : —

149. Obv. IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIAN. AVG. GERM. Laureate head to r.

Rev. DACICVS. COS. IIII. P. P. Victory, on prow of vessel, holding a crown and palm (Denarius, struck A.D. 102. — Coh. 128).

150. Obv. (similar to preceding).

Rev. DACICVS.COS.III.P.P. Hercules standing (Denarius. — Coh. 129).

Numerous coins of Trajan's fourth Consulate exist which most probably refer to the events of the first campaign, although they omit any specific reference to Dacia. The following are examples:—

151. Obv. IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIAN. AVG. GERM. Laureate head of Trajan, to r.

Rev. P.M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P. Victory standing, half nude, holding palm-branch and laurel-wreath (Denarius, of which several varieties exist).

152. Obv. IMP. CAES. NERVA. TRAIAN. AVG. GERM. TR. P. VI. Laureate head of Trajan to r.

Rev. IMP. III. COS. III. DES. V. P. P. S. C. Female seated on throne to l. holding an olive-branch and hasta pura (Sestertius, struck in A.D. 103, doubtless with reference to the truce concluded with Decebalus).

The following may be selected from the numerous Reverse types occurring on coins of Trajan's fifth Consulate.

153. COS. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. In exergue DANVVIVS. The River-god reclining to l.; his right hand resting on a boat, his robe is floating round him in form of an arch (Denarius, alluding to the crossing of the Danube; on other specimens may be seen a representation of the famous bridge constructed by Trajan over the Danube).

154. Obv. IMP. CAES. NERVAE. TRAIANO. AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. Laureate bust of Trajan to r.

Rev. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. S. C. Emperor fully armed on horseback to r. riding over semi-prostrate Dacian (Sestertius. — Coh. 503. It is not improbable that the fallen enemy is a representation of Decebalus himself. If this type is compared with the group on Trajan's Column depicting the death of Decebalus the points of similarity will be sufficiently obvious).

155. S P Q R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. Dacian seated in mournful attitude; below, a curved sword (Denarius. — Coh. 529).

156. COS. V. P. P. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINC. In exergue DAC. CAP. Dacian captive with his hands bound behind his back, seated on a pile of weapons (Denarius. — Coh. 120).

157. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. S. C. Victory, half nude, standing to r. inscribing a shield VIC. DAC (Sestertius. — Coh. 444).

#### THE PARTHIAN CAMPAIGN 113-117 A.D.

Axidares, who had been invested by Trajan with the principality of Armenia, was deposed by his uncle Chosroes, while the latter

placed his own son, Parthamasiris, on the throne (A.D. 113). Trajan arrived at Antioch on January 7<sup>th</sup> 114 and, refusing to accept the overtures of Parthamasiris, marched with an army up the valley of the Euphrates. There appears to have been hostile action on the part of the Parthians and some treasonable correspondence between the Parthian King, Pacorus, the predecessor of Chosroes, and Decebalus, which may go some way towards explaining Trajan's apparently arbitrary action.

The following Sestertius struck about 114 A.D. records the beginning of the Parthian Campaign :

158. Obv. IMP. CAES. TRAIANO. OPTIMO. AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. Laureate and draped bust to r.

Rev. PROFECTION. AVG. S. C. Emperor on horseback to r. holding spear, in front of him a soldier holding spear and shield, and behind him three others (Coh. 311).

At Satala, north of Erzinjan, Trajan held a durbar at which the tributary kings of Albania and Iberia, in the Caucasus, did homage. Coins in Gold, Silver and Bronze struck in A.D. 115 of the following type appear to allude to this event.

159. IMPERATOR. VIII. The Emperor and two attendants on a lofty estrade, before which is a group of soldiers and two personages mounted on horseback.

In 115 Trajan directed his forces towards the acquisition of Mesopotamia, which he succeeded in adding to the Roman provinces.

In the following year he crossed the Tigris and annexed the district lying between the Tigris and Euphrates.

Trajan's final act was to place the crown of Parthia on the head of Parthamaspatēs, the son of Chosroes.

160. Obv. IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO. OPTIMO. AVG. GER. DAC. PARTHICO. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. Laureate and draped bust to r.

Rev. REX. PARTHIS. DATVS. S. C. The emperor seated on a stage with officer and crowning a King; before him, Parthia kneeling (Sestertius, struck in A.D. 116. — Coh. 328).

In 117 Chosroes returned to Parthia and at the same time a revolt against the Roman supremacy occurred in Mesopotamia, Cyprus, Egypt and Cyrene. Trajan on his way from the East died at Selinus in Cilicia on August 8<sup>th</sup> 117. The Parthian Conquest was celebrated after his death.

A small Brass coin struck in A.D. 116 or 117 records Trajan's victories over both Dacia and Parthia.

161. Obv. IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO. OPTIMO. AVG. GERM. Head of Trajan to r. wearing radiate crown.

Rev. DAC. PARTHICO. P. M. TR. POT. XX. COS. VI. P. P.  
A crown of laurel, in the centre of which is S. C. (Coh. 122).

#### THE ARCHITECTURAL WORKS OF TRAJAN.

It has been customary to extol the age of Trajan as one of the happiest in the history of civilization. Such a sweeping criticism may border on rashness but there is little question that the reign of Trajan is the highwater mark in the history of the Roman Empire. Not only were the limits of the Imperial territory pushed to the furthest extent ever ruled over by a single Emperor, but the city of Rome itself was enlarged, and embellished with public buildings such as had not been seen before. Trajan thought and acted on a large scale and, as subsequent history shows, the very magnitude of his ideas became a source of weakness.

The coinage bears abundant testimony to the numerous public works and magnificent buildings of Trajan.

(1) The FORUM TRAIANUM. An Aureus shews the Façade of what was an elaborate mass of buildings. This façade is surmounted by a chariot with six horses; in the chariot is the Emperor crowned by Victory, on either side is a trophy and Victory.

The coin dates from Trajan's 6<sup>th</sup> Consulship.

The colossal Equestrian statue which was one of the chief embellishments of Trajan's Forum is also portrayed on a number of coins of the 6<sup>th</sup> Consulship, probably A. D. 113.

(2) The BASILICA ULPIA. A representation of this imposing edifice occurs on several coins in gold and First Brass. It presents a façade somewhat resembling that of Trajan's Forum consisting of eight columns supporting an elaborately sculptured Frieze.

(3) Trajan's COLUMN stands on the North side of the Basilica. This is one of the most remarkable relics handed down to us from Imperial times. The spiral design is a pictorial narration of the incidents in the Dacian wars, containing about 2500 figures sculptured apparently by the same artist.

A representation of the famous column appears on numerous coins struck in A. D. 113 and 114.

(4) The VIA TRAIANA was the great road between Beneventum and Brundisium, and was the most famous of the numerous roads either constructed or repaired during Trajan's reign. The VIA is symbolised on the coins by a female figure, partly draped, who reclines against a bank, holding a branch in her left hand and with her right supporting a chariot wheel.

The type is found on coins of all three metals.

(5) TRAJAN'S HARBOURS. Three noteworthy pieces of har-

bour construction were carried out by Trajan. (1) The enlargement of the Port of Ostia by the addition of an inner basin octagonal in shape. (2) The construction of a new harbour at Centumcellæ (Cività Vecchia). (3) The enlargement of the harbour of Ancona.

Several coins of Trajan, with the legend *PORTVM TRAIANI*, represent a harbour, octagonal in shape, with ships moored, surrounded by various buildings curiously devoid of perspective (*Æ*<sup>1</sup>. — Coh. 305).

As to whether the representation described as *PORTVM TRAIANI* is to be identified with the additions made to the harbour of Ostia or whether it refers to one of the other great harbours is a question discussed at length in Hobler's *Roman Coins*, Vol. I, p. 280 seq. Hobler makes the curious mistake of asserting that the coins represent a hexagonal and not an octagonal harbour. It is clear that the octagonal harbour of Trajan's coins cannot be identified with the round harbour constructed by Claudius and depicted on the *PORT. OST.* coins of Nero, but the weight of argument seems in favour of regarding Trajan's Port as a basin added to the existing harbour of Claudius.

#### CIRCUS and TEMPLES.

Amongst the numerous architectural works of Trajan portrayed on his coins should be included the *Circus Maximus* and the splendid temples erected in honour of Jupiter.

Of the latter the most remarkable is the famous Temple of Trajan represented as an Octastyle temple, elevated on four steps, having on each side a columnar arcade, extending from the temple in an oblique direction; in the centre is Jupiter seated; on the tympa-



num, Jupiter seated between two kneeling figures; on the roof is a statue holding a spear, between two Victories holding trophies; the side porticoes are embellished with numerous sculptures.

The portrayal of this elaborate building on the coins is in itself a work of art (*Æ*<sup>1</sup>. — Coh. 549).

Another temple also dedicated to Jupiter is hardly less remarkable as an example of Trajan's architectural achievements. The façade is represented in the form of a triumphal arch; above the central portion is a chariot with six horses facing, led by two Victories; on the frieze I. O. M. (*Jovi optimo maximo*); the portions of the building on either side of the entrance are decorated with sculptures, apparently in bas relief (*Æt.* — Coh. 547).

## HADRIAN.

Although the reign of Hadrian is, in many respects, one of the most important in the History of the Roman Empire, the coins struck during the period are amongst the most difficult to arrange with chronological accuracy. The reasons being; (1) a large proportion of Hadrian's coins make no reference to any historical event but have a purely general application to the beneficence of Hadrian's rule. (2) For the most part the coins are undated.

The numerals which state the renewal of the Tribunitian power are almost invariably absent and the number of the Consulship is the only indication of date given. But since Hadrian received his Third Consulship in A.D. 119 and never renewed it the legend COS. III. covers the whole of his reign with the exception of the first two years.

During Hadrian's reign there were no military campaigns of any importance. The brief war against the Roxolani and Sarmatii in the year 119 was easily settled. It is with this comparatively unimportant campaign that all the coins bearing victorious types must be associated.

The reign of Hadrian was preeminently an age of peace and prosperity as is clearly evident from the enormous variety of coins which bear testimony to the political and civil advantages enjoyed by the Roman people. The following reverse types which occur throughout the reign and, in many instances, may have been repeated from year to year will suffice by way of illustration: —

PROVIDENTIA . FORT<sup>una</sup> RED<sup>ux</sup>. CONCORDIA . FELICITAS . HILARITAS . TRANQVILLITAS . LIBERTAS PVBLICA . PAX . PIETAS . ÆQVITAS . ROMA FELIX . IVSTITIA . FIDES PVBLICA . CLEMENTIA . SECVRITAS . P . R . TELLVS STABILIS .

The usual type of LIBERALITAS AVG, shewing the Emperor seated on a raised platform in the act of distributing largesse, is repeated on successive occasions with the addition of the numerals II. III. IIII.

The obverse types and legends display but little variety. One feature is however worth noticing. On the coins struck in the

earlier years of the reign the Emperor's head is smaller, frequently with the bust partly draped, and executed in fine style; also the legend includes the title of Trajan — IMP. CAESAR. TRAIAN. HADRIANVS. AVG.

On the later coins the head is larger and generally in lower relief, while the legend appears in the simple form, HADRIANVS. AVGVSTVS. Between these must be placed the legend HADRIANVS. AVG. COS. III. P. P.

The greater part of his reign Hadrian spent in touring through almost every province of the Empire. It is in the record of these travels that the chief interest of the reign lies, and they must be taken as the chronological basis for the arrangement of the extensive series of coins relating to them.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. pot.	Consul.	Imperator.
117	870	TR. P.	COS.	IMP.
118	871	TR. P. II.	COS. II. DES. III.	IMP. II.
119	872	TR. P. III.	COS. III.	IMP. II
120	873	TR. P. IV.	COS. III.	IMP. II.
to	to	to		
138	891	TR. P. XXI.		

A. D. 117.

On August 9<sup>th</sup> 117, while in command of the army in Syria, Hadrian received the news of Trajan's death, and two days later of his adoption as successor in the principate. Hadrian immediately manifested his intention of relinquishing Trajan's policy with regard to Parthia, which was in a state of considerable unrest, and provided an honourable retreat for Parthamaspates.

162. Obv. IMP. CAES. DIVI. TRAIAN. AVG. F. TRAIAN HADRIAN. OPT. AVG. GER DAC. Laureated and cuirassed bust to r.

Rev. DAC. PARTHICO. P. M. TR. P. COS. P. P—S-C. Trajan and Hadrian standing supporting a globe (Sestertius. — Coh. 523. referring to Hadrian's adoption by Trajan, and the peaceful relations which had been established in the East).

163. Obv. IMP. CAES. TRAIAN. HADRIANO. AVG. DIVI. TRA. Laureate and draped bust.

Rev. IVSTITIA. PARTH. F. DIVI. NER. NEP. P. M. TR. P. COS. Justice seated holding patera and sceptre (Denarius. — Coh. 874).

A.D. 118.

In this year Hadrian arrived in Rome and immediately gained the support of both the Senate and the Army. His first official act was to set the finances of the Empire on a satisfactory footing. He found that nine hundred millions of sesterces (about £ 9,000,000) were owing to the Imperial treasury.

This enormous sum he entirely wiped off and at the same time organized more efficient methods for the collection of taxes and the assessment of property.

In connexion with the events of the year 118 the following coins may be noted : —

164. Obv. IMP. CAES. TRAIANVS. HADRIANVS. AVG. Laureate head to r.

Rev. PONT. MAX. TR. POT. COS. II. In exergue ADVENTVS. AVG. S. C. Roma seated to r. on cuirass, behind which is a shield ; holding spear in her left hand and extending her right to the Emperor who stands before her (Sestertius struck in A.D. 118. — Coh. 91).

165. Obv. IMP. CAESAR. TRAIANVS. HADRIANVS. AVG. P. M. TRP. COS. III. Laureate head to r.

Rev. RELIQUA. VETERA. HS. NOVIUS. MILL. ABOLITA. S. C. A lictor bearing axe and fasces ; in his right hand he holds a torch, with which he is setting fire to a pile of papers (Sestertius. — Coh. 1210, struck in the early part of A.D. 119).

A.D. 119.

In the year 119 A.D. there occurred a rising of the Roxolani and Sarmatii, whose territory bordered on the Danube ; and Hadrian deemed it advisable to advance against them in person. The war, which is the only military operation of the reign, was of short duration and was satisfactorily terminated within the year. Hadrian, however, returned to Rome during the course of the war on account of a conspiracy supposed to have been organized by Lusius Quietus and Cornelius Palma, two of the ablest commanders in the Roman army. Quietus and Palma were condemned to death without trial.

The coinage affords examples of various types of a victorious character, which in all probability refer to this brief campaign.

166. Obv. HADRIANVS. AVG. COS. III. Bare head to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. AVG. Victory standing to r. holding branch. (Denarius. — Coh. 509).



167. Rev. VICTORIA .AVGVSTI. Victory flying to r. bearing a trophy.

168. Rev. P .M .TR .P .COS .III. across field VIRT-AVG .S—C. Soldier standing, holding parazonium in his right hand and spear in his left. His right foot rests on a helmet placed on the ground (Sestertius. — Coh. 1465).

The following coin is placed by some writers at the end of Hadrian's journeys. The legend on the Reverse certainly appears appropriate as a sort of crowning touch to the record of his visitation of the provinces, but the style and Obverse legend belong to the early years of the reign, before he commenced his travels. The crushing of the Roxolani obviously therefore seems to have been the occasion on which it was struck.

169. Obv. IMP .CAESAR .TRAIANVS .HADRIANVS .AVG .P .M .TR .P .COS .III .P .P . Laureate head to r.

Rev. RESTITVTORI .ORBIS .TERRARVM—S .C. The Emperor raising a kneeling female, who wears a mural crown and supports a globe on her left knee (Sestertius).

#### HADRIAN'S TRAVELS. 120—134 .A .D.

For the space of fourteen years (i. e. 120—134) Hadrian was engaged almost incessantly in visiting the provinces of the Empire. The details and chronology of these journeys are alike involved in considerable obscurity, and trustworthy historical evidence is strangely lacking. In many of his tours Hadrian appears to have followed no fixed plan of travel. Occasionally some pending crisis or local disturbance diverted his attention to a particular quarter, where he personally acted as mediator, thereby altering whatever preconceived plan he may have had. He appears to have been actuated partly by a desire to strengthen the unity and cohesiveness of the Empire by his presence and benefaction in distant provinces, partly by a restless curiosity to see the world, and partly as a dilettante of Art. Athens and Egypt seem to have possessed a peculiar attraction for him, and to these treasure houses of Art and Romance he paid frequent and prolonged visits. So that during this period of fourteen years Rome saw but little of the Emperor.

The large series of coins relating to the journeys of Hadrian displays a remarkable uniformity of design and legend. They fall into four main types only differing in point of adjunct symbols, details of costume &c.

(1) The name of the province. The type is a personification of the particular province accompanied with appropriate symbols.

(2) The ADVENTVS type. Here the Emperor, dressed in a toga,

is always standing, and extends his right hand towards the figure symbolising the province, who pours a libation from a patera on to a small altar placed between the figures. Near the altar is an animal intended for sacrifice.

(3) The RESTITVTOR type. The Emperor stands and with his right hand raises the figure symbolising the Province who kneels on one knee before him.

(4) The EXERCITVS type. The Emperor is on horseback, and, with his right hand uplifted, addresses three foot soldiers, two of whom carry military standards and the third a legionary eagle.

These types will be found repeated in connexion with the various countries visited by Hadrian although in most cases all four types are not known to exist. The Geographical coins occur in Gold and Silver but principally in large Bronze.

The following arrangement of the coins relating to Hadrian's travels is as far as possible chronological, but at best it does not profess to be anything more than approximate.

With reference to this series of coins the following points are worth noticing.

The legend on the obverse reads HADRIANVS.AVG.COS.III. P.P. Now Hadrian received the title of *Pater Patriae*, according to Jerome, in the year 126, or according to Eusebius in 128, and whichever of these dates we may adopt would place the issue of many of the geographical coins several years after the particular journeys recorded. It must be admitted, however, that the evidence of the coins themselves does not corroborate the statements of either Jerome or Eusebius. There are examples of P.P. occurring along with the title *Trajanus* on coins which must be placed very early in the reign. However, the legend HADRIANVS.AVG.COS.III. P.P. certainly belongs to a later date than 120. A.D. Secondly, the style of the entire series is so uniform that it is impossible to believe that the coins were issued on a variety of occasions extending over a period of fourteen years. Thirdly, although the coins bear allusion to almost every province of the Roman Empire they possess no local interest, inasmuch as they are, without exception, of Roman mintage. The conclusion to be drawn from these points is that the Geographical coins cannot be regarded as exactly contemporary records of Hadrian's travels, but must be considered in the light of commemoration coins struck after the year 132 A.D. as a record of the Emperor's work.

#### 120-121 A.D.

In the latter part of the year 120 Hadrian commenced his journeys, travelling northwards to Gaul, from thence through Raetia

and Noricum to Germania, where he strengthened the frontier defences extending from the Rhine to the Danube, as marked out by the Flavian Emperors, with a palisade and numerous stone forts. Returning to Gaul, he crossed the channel to Britain in the following year, where he appears to have arrived just in time to prevent an outbreak on the part of the northern inhabitants of the island. The famous wall from the Tyne to Solway was begun in this year and still bears the name of "Hadrian's Wall" although its present characteristics were largely the work of Antoninus Pius.

The following types refer to the travels of 120 and 121 : —

EXERCITVS.RAETICVS. Type 4.

ADVENTVI.AVG.NORICI. Type 2.

EXERC.NORICVS. Type 4.

GERMANIA. Type 1.

EXERCITVS.GERMANICVS. Type 4.

ADVENTVI.AVG.GALLIAE. Type 2.

RESTITVTORI.GALLIAE. Type 3.

BRITANNIA. Type 1.

ADVENTVI.AVG.BRITANNIAE. Type 2.

EXERC.BRITANNICVS. Type 4.

#### 122 A.D.

From Britain Hadrian crossed to Gaul and travelled southwards to Nismes, where he built the famous amphitheatre and other public buildings. Thence he travelled to Spain and at Tarraco built the temple of Augustus. Here it was that Hadrian narrowly escaped assassination by a madman. Towards the end of the year Hadrian returned to Rome.

HISPANIA. Type 1.

ADVENTVI.AVG.HISPANIAE. Type 2.

RESTITVTORI.HISPANIAE. Type 3.

EXERC.HISPANICVS. Type 4.



From Spain Hadrian crossed the Mediterranean to the province of Mauretania, which had never yet been honoured with the presence of a Roman emperor. Here he personally settled disturbances which had broken out apparently through the treasonable intrigues of Lusius.

MAVRETANIA. Type 1.

ADVENTVI. AVG. MAVRETANIAE. Type 2.

EXERCITVS. MAVRETANICVS. Type 4.

We next hear of Hadrian in Parthia, which is an instance of the surprising rapidity with which the emperor travelled from end to end of his dominions as occasion demanded. The policy of Chosroes, it seems, was dubious, and the state of the eastern provinces was at this moment precarious.

Hadrian preferred to adopt a policy of personal intervention rather than of hostility ; and his diplomatic efforts appear to have been successful in establishing a friendly understanding with the Parthian King.

EXERCITVS PARTHICVS. Type 4.

# 123 A. D.

From the East Hadrian returned homewards through the provinces of Asia Minor to Athens, where he appears to have spent the winter of 123. At Athens he ordered the erection of numerous edifices for the adornment of the city and received initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries.

ASIA. Type 1.

ADVENTVI. AVG. ASIAE. Type 2.

RESTITVTORI. ASIAE. Type 3.

ADVENTVI. AVG. CILICIAE. Type 2.

CAPPADOCIA. Type 1.

EXERC. CAPPADOCICVS. Type 4.

ADVENTVI. AVG. BITHYNIAE. Type 2.

RESTITVTORI. BITHYNIAE. Type 3.

ADVENTVI. AVG. PHRYGIAE. Type 2.

RESTITVTORI. PHRYGIAE. Type 3.

RESTITVTORI. NICOMEDIAE. Type 3.

RESTITVTORI. ACHAEA. Type 3.

# 124 A. D.

On quitting Athens Hadrian travelled to Rome, stopping on the way for a brief visit to Sicily.

SICILIA. Type 1.

ADVENTVI. AVG. SICILIAE. Type 2.

RESTITVTORI. SICILIAE. Type 3.

ITALIA. Type 1.

ADVENTVI. AVG. ITALIAE. Type 2.

RESTITVTORI. ITALIAE. Type 3.

From Rome Hadrian travelled to Carthage and spent a few months in Africa. He is said to have conferred numerous benefits on the African province. To the auspicious event of his arrival was even ascribed the copious rain-fall after five years drought. [Spartian. Had. 13. 2<sup>2</sup>]. From Africa Hadrian returned to Rome.

AFRICA. Type 1.

ADVENTVI.AVG.AFRICAE. Type 2.

RESTITVTORI.AFRICAE. Type 3.

RESTITVTORI.LIBYAE. Type 3.

# 125-128.A.D.

Hadrian paid several visits to Athens during the years 125 to 128 and appears to have made a second journey to the East. For some considerable time he was in Antioch and Alexandria, where he was joined by his wife Sabina. His residence in the Egyptian capital can be fixed with tolerable certainty in the years 130 and 131.

# 129-130.A.D.

During these years Hadrian was in Egypt. One of those gloomy incidents, which cloud the memory of Hadrian, is connected with this visit. In the latter year Antinoüs, the idolised favourite of the Emperor, was mysteriously drowned in the Nile. The exact circumstances will probably never be known, but ever afterwards in the gloomy solitude of his declining years Hadrian appeared obsessed with a morbid veneration for the beautiful youth.

AEGYPTOS. Type 1.

NILVS. Type 1.

ALEXANDRIA. Type 1.

ADVENTVI.AVG.ALEXANDRIAE. Type 2.

# 131-132 A.D.

In the year 131 Hadrian quitted Egypt and visited Thrace, Macedonia and Athens, where he stayed till 132. The disturbances in Judaea seem to have been the occasion for a journey to Syria. The presence of the Emperor however proved unavailing to suppress the Jewish insurgents. While in Syria Hadrian opened further negotiations with Parthia.

ADVENTVI.AVG.THRACIAE. Type 2.

ADVENTVI.AVG.MOESIAE. Type 2.

EXERC. MOESIACVS. Type 4.  
ADVENTVI. AVG. MACEDONIAE. Type 2  
RESTITVTORI. MACEDONIAE. Type 3.



IVDAEA. Type 1.  
ADVENTVI. AVG. IVDAEAE. Type 2.  
ADVENTVI. AVG. ARABIAE. Type 2.  
RESTITVTORI. ARABIAE. Type 3.

In the following year Hadrian returned to Athens for a final visit and thence to Rome. The rest of his life was spent principally in his luxurious villa near Tivoli.

In addition to the foregoing series there are various types which contain allusions to Hadrian's travels but which cannot be assigned to any particular year. Amongst such is the following.

170. Obv. HADRIANVS. AVGVSTVS. Laureate head to r.

Rev. EXPED. AVG. COS. III. S. C. Hadrian in military dress on horseback to l. raising his rt. hand and holding a spear (Sestertius. — Coh. 589).

The style and legend on the Obv. place this coin in the later years of the reign. The allusion may be purely general, or it may refer to one of his later journeys.

The following well-known and interesting types have been variously placed by Numismatists ; but since they are applicable to several occasions it is arbitrary to assign them to any particular year.

171. FELICITATI. AVG. COS. III. P. P. S. C. A large galley with rowers. A pilot gives directions from the stern. Sometimes there are military standards and acrostolium.

Hadrian travelled frequently by sea, and as the good wishes of the Roman people doubtless sought public expression there are numerous occasions to which this type applies.

172. COS. III. NEP. RED. S. C. Neptune nude, holding a trident in his right hand, and in his left an acrostolium, or dolphin ; he rests one foot on a ship's prow. The type appears to be copied from a Tetradrachm of Demetrius Poliorcetes.

Since there was no naval victory in Hadrian's reign, the type may have a general reference to Hadrian's having control of the sea as his Geographical coins refer to his dominion on land. Or since maritime symbols occur on the coins of the provinces of Asia Minor



some reference to them may be intended. It will be remembered moreover that amongst the buildings erected by Hadrian was the famous temple in Rome dedicated to Neptune. No specific reference to the temple occurs on any of Hadrian's coins, although the figure of the sea-god occurs frequently. These may possibly have been struck about the time the Temple was dedicated.

#### THE JEWISH REVOLT.

A.D. 132.

This year is marked by the last desperate rising of the Jews against the Roman power. It would appear that Hadrian decreed that a colony should be established at Jerusalem in 131. During the revolt which was led by a priest, Eleazar, and a fanatical bandit surnamed Bar-Cochba, the city was destroyed (132). The rebellion lasted until the year 135 and in the following year the new city, to which Hadrian gave the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, was finished. The story of the revolt tells of a succession of distressing incidents in which the last despairing cry of a people blinded by fanaticism is stifled by the relentless force of an iron hand.

No coins of Roman fabric have any reference to this devastating campaign, but the following bronze coin of Colonial mint alludes to the founding of *Aelia Capitolina*.

173. Obv. IMP. CAES. TRAIANO. HADRIANO. Laureate bust of the Emperor wearing paludamentum.

Rev. COL. AEL. KAPIT. COND. Colonist ploughing with two oxen; behind, a standard.

The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus which Hadrian erected on the site of the Jewish Temple is shewn on the following Reverse : —

174. COL.AEL.CAP. A Temple with two columns supporting a triangular pediment, in which is the seated figure of Jupiter between the standing figures of Pallas and the Genius of the city.

### L. ÆLIUS CÆSAR.

About the year 135 Hadrian was seized with a painful and incurable disease which clouded the last years of his life, rendering him suspicious and morose. Shut up within the confines of his luxurious villa, near Tivoli, the failing Emperor withdrew himself from public life to seek for solace amidst the fantasies of his own creation. In 136 he adopted L. Ceionius Commodus, better known as L. Ælius Caesar, as his successor. Ælius was apparently devoid of every qualification requisite for the position, a man given to vice and brutality with merely a superficial bearing of culture. He received the Tribunitian power in 136 and was placed in command of the army of the Danube. At the close of 137 he returned to Rome and, before he could deliver his congratulatory speech to the Senate, died suddenly from heart failure on January 1<sup>st</sup> 138.

The coins of Ælius, which are few in number and belong to the year 137, are practically devoid of historical references. The one exception is the following which bears allusion to the military command entrusted to Ælius in the Danubian provinces.

175. Obv. L.ÆLIVS.CÆSAR. Bare head to r.

Rev. TR.POT.COS.II. Across the field PAN—NONIA.S.C.  
Female standing holding a vexillum in her right hand (Sestertius.  
— Coh. 24).

### ANTONINUS PIUS.

Shortly before his death Hadrian nominated T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus as his successor. Historians and biographers have united in drawing a picture of Antoninus in which all the qualities of intellectual strength, culture, beneficence and gentle courtesy seem to be equally balanced so that to the world he has ever been known as Pius.

But unbroken eulogy is apt to become dull; and the complacent uprightness of the Emperor seems to be reflected in the even tenor of his reign, which is admittedly the duller twenty three years of Roman history.

Antoninus possessed the tastes of a country gentleman rather than of a political ruler and was ever ready to take things as they were rather than make changes. Both the Emperor and the Empire seemed to be resting satisfied with the laurels of the past and



showed no ambition for future achievements. Such complacency was fatal to political life, and, as a result, the inevitable signs of retrogression soon began to manifest themselves.

No political events of any importance occurred to break the calm contentment of the reign, consequently the coin types, with but few exceptions, consist of the usual personifications of virtues in accord with the uneventful prosperity of the days of Antoninus.

A few minor disturbances arose from the Moorish and Dacian tribes, the people of Britain and even from the Jews, but in none of these cases was the military command taken by the Emperor. Antoninus trusted to his powers as a diplomat to settle questions of foreign policy, but in this he was only partially successful, and his life closed amidst evil forebodings of gathering war clouds.

There is little difficulty in assigning the coins of Antoninus to their years of issue as the majority are dated.

The following table gives the dates at which the various imperial titles were conferred on Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, during the reign of the former.

### ANTONINUS PIUS.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Trib. pot.	Consul.	Imper.	M. Aurelius.	
138	891	Tr.P.	COS.DES.II.	IMP.		
139	892	Tr.P.II.	COS.II.	IMP.II.		
140	893	Tr.P.III.	COS.III.	IMP.II.	—	COS.
141	894	Tr.P.IV.	COS.III.	—	—	—
142	895	Tr.P.V.	COS.III.	—	—	—
143	896	Tr.P.VI.	COS.III.	—	—	—
144	897	Tr.P.VII.	COS.DES.IV.	IMP.II.	—	COS.DES.II.
145	898	Tr.P.VIII.	COS.IV.	—	—	COS.II.
146	899	Tr.P.IX.	—	—	—	—
147	900	Tr.P.X.	—	—	Tr.P.	—
148	901	Tr.P.XI.	—	—	Tr.P.II.	COS.II.
149	902	Tr.P.XII.	—	—	Tr.P.III.	—
150	903	Tr.P.XIII.	—	—	Tr.P.IV.	—
151	904	Tr.P.XIV.	—	—	Tr.P.V.	—
152	905	Tr.P.XV.	—	—	Tr.P.VI.	—
153	906	Tr.P.XVI.	—	—	Tr.P.VII.	—
154	907	Tr.P.XVII.	—	—	Tr.P.VIII.	—
155	908	Tr.P.XVIII.	—	—	Tr.P.IX.	—
156	909	Tr.P.XIX.	—	—	Tr.P.X.	—
157	910	Tr.P.XX.	—	—	Tr.P.XI.	—
158	911	Tr.P.XXI.	—	—	Tr.P.XII.	—
159	912	Tr.P.XXII.	—	—	Tr.P.XIII.	—
160	913	Tr.P.XXIII.	—	—	Tr.P.XIV.	COS.II.DES.III.
161	914	Tr.P.XXIV.	—	—	Tr.P.XV.	COS.III.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE CROWNS. A.D. 139.

As a mark of special esteem Antoninus, shortly after his accession, received presentations of golden crowns from those provinces in alliance with Rome. This not only demonstrated the acceptableness of Antoninus to the Roman world but tends to emphasise the wisdom of Hadrian's policy of travelling through the Provinces, since it is only natural to believe that the presence of the Emperor did much towards strengthening the union of the allied states with the central government.

The presentation of the crowns is recorded on a series of coins struck during the second consulship of Antoninus (A.D. 139).

In each case the reverse type is a standing female figure, symbolising the province, in the act of presenting a crown or a casket. Various attributes appropriate to each province accompany her.

Obv. ANTONINVS.AVG.PIVS.P.P. Laureate head of Antoninus.

Rev. AFRICA.COS.II.S.C.	[Symbol.]	Cornucopia.
ALEXANDRIA.COS.II.S.C.	»	Ibis.
ASIA.COS.II.S.C.	»	Anchor and prow.
CAPPADOCIA.S.C.	»	Vexillum.
DACIA.COS.II.S.C.	»	Spear.
MAVRETANIA.COS.II.S.C.	»	Spear.
PARTHIA.COS.II.S.C.	»	Bow and palm-tree.
PHOENICE.SC.	»	Spear and palm-tree.
SICILIA.COS.II.S.C.	»	—
SYRIA.COS.II.S.C.	»	Cornucopia and small figure.

AURELIUS ADOPTED BY ANTONINUS.

In accordance with the dying wishes of Hadrian, Antoninus adopted his nephew M. Annius Verus (M. Aurelius) and also L. Ceionius Commodus (Verus). Marcus was invested with the Consulship in the year 140 and was made Consul for the second time in 145 in which year he married Faustina the daughter of Antoninus. In this latter point Antoninus reversed the plan of Hadrian who had intended that Faustina should be betrothed to L. Verus.

A series of coins, in all metals, struck in either 140 or 141, records the association of the young M. Aurelius with Antoninus.

176. Obv. ANTONINVS.AVG.PIVS.P.P.TR.P.COS.III. Laureate head of Antoninus to r.

Rev. AVRELIVS . CAESAR . AVG . PII . F . COS . S . C . Draped bust of M. Aurelius, bare-headed to r. (Sestertius. — Coh. 28).

#### ACTIVITY IN BRITAIN.

The only serious military operation in the reign of Antoninus was caused by the rising of the Brigantes in Yorkshire and Derbyshire. The rising was successfully crushed by the Governor, Q. Lollius Urbicus. A lasting monument to the Roman operations exists in the famous wall from the Tyne to Solway, which, although still bearing the name of Hadrian's wall, was reconstructed in its present form under Antoninus. No more remarkable example of frontier defence can be found on any of the Roman *limites* than this massive line of fortification which traverses the hills and dales of Northumberland. [A careful description of the wall may be read in Mr Scarth's "Roman Britain", p. 73 seqq.]. About the same period improvements were made in the boundary wall, between the Forth and the Clyde.

Of the coins relating to Britain the following may be taken as examples: —

177. Obv. ANTONINVS . AVG . PIVS . P . P . TR . P . COS . III. Laureate head of Antoninus to r.

Rev. BRITANNIA . S . C . Britannia seated to l. on a pile of rocks holding standard and spear, and leaning on shield (Sestertius. — Coh. 116).



178. Obv. [Similar].

Rev. BRITANNIA . IMPERATOR . S . C . Britannia seated on globe upon waves, holding standard and sceptre (Sestertius. — Coh. 119).

This remarkable type suggests possibly the earliest indication of Britain's sovereignty of the sea.

179. Obv. [Similar].

Rev. VICTORIA . AVG . S . C . Victory in a quadriga to r. which she drives at full speed (Sestertius. — Coh. 1082).

Since these were struck during the 3<sup>rd</sup> Consulship of Antoninus the victory referred to must have fallen within the period from 140-143 A.D.

There seem to have also been disturbances in Britain in or about the year 155, for we have the following coin in Second Brass struck in that year.

180. Obv. ANTONINVS.AVG.PIVS.P.P.TR.P.XVIII. The laureate head of Antoninus.

Rev. BRITANNIA.COS.III.S.C. Britannia in mournful attitude seated on a rock, with shield and vexillum. Shortly afterwards we find a further reference to a victory.

181. Obv. ANTONINVS.AVG.PIVS.PP.IMP.II. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. TR.POT.XX.COS.III. Victory advancing to l. holding a laurel crown (Aureus. — Struck A.D. 157).

#### AEDES FAUSTINAE.

In the year 141 Antoninus lost his wife Faustina, and erected to her memory the Temple of the divine Faustina, beside the Via Sacra, within the portico of which the mediæval church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda has been built.

The façade consists of six Corinthian columns supporting a sculptured pediment. On the architrave is the inscription : —

#### DIVO ANTONINO ET DIVAE FAVSTINAE EX S.C

of which the first three words were inserted after the Emperor's death. Several coins give representations of this temple.

182. Obv. DIVA.FAVSTINA. Bust of Faustina to r.

Rev. AED.DIV.FAVSTINAE. Temple with six columns, in the middle a statue of Faustina seated: on either side, in front of column, a figure holding a spear (Denarius. — Coh. 1).

183. Obv. DIVA.AVG.FAVSTINA. Bust to r.

Rev. PIETAS.AVGVST. Temple but without statue or figures; on the left corner of the roof is a crescent supported on a short pole (Denarius. — Unpublished).

The majority of Faustina's coins are of a commemorative character and were struck after her death, but a limited number appear to have been struck during her life. Her coins, with the exception of the types described above are without historical allusions and are of course undated.

ANTONINUS AS A DIPLOMAT.

Two coins bearing references to definite events concerning which historians are silent belong to the years of the 3<sup>rd</sup> Consulship (A. D. 140-144).

184. Obv. ANTONINVS . AVG . PIVS . P. P. TR. P. COS . III. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. REX . QVADIS . DATVS . S. C. The Emperor or his legate standing shaking hands with a bearded personage (Sestertius. — Coh. 687).

185. Obv. [Similar].

Rev. REX . ARMENIIS . DATVS . S. C. The Emperor or his legate placing a crown on the head of the Armenian King (Sestertius. — Coh. 686).

More or less continuous trouble arose from the provinces bordering on the Danube and although no important military operations are recorded in the reign of Antoninus there appears to have been considerable restlessness in that quarter. The same is probably true of Armenia which Hadrian restored to its former condition of a Kingdom in alliance with the Empire. Antoninus never visited either of these provinces in person, but the two coins record a political settlement in each case similar to that made between Trajan and Parthamaspatēs in Parthia.

These may therefore be regarded as instances of the ability of Antoninus in the art of diplomacy rather than in the art of war.

In the year 147 Antoninus celebrated the 900<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of Rome. Although a number of Medallions were struck on this occasion it is perhaps surprising that no coins, issued in this year, make any direct reference to it. The familiar type of the Wolf and Twins, which is found on the coins of Antoninus, though appropriate to this anniversary, occurs some years earlier during his 3<sup>rd</sup> Consulship. It was in this year that M. Aurelius first received the Tribunitian power.

THE TEMPLE OF THE DIVINE AUGUSTUS.

Tiberius built a temple to the memory of the deified Augustus, somewhat south of the Temple of Castor. The Temple was completed and dedicated by Caligula, but by the time of Antoninus the building had become dilapidated. Accordingly he set to work to restore the Temple ; and the work must have been completed in the year 158 or 159 for the coins recording the event bear the dates [TR. P. XXI and XXII].

186. Obv. ANTONINVS . AVG . PIVS . P . P . TR . P . XXI or XXII. Laureate head to r.

Rev. TEMPLVM . DIVI . AVG . REST. In exergue COS . IIII—S. C. A temple of eight columns, supporting an elaborately carved frieze. Between the columns are two sedant figures probably representing ROMA and AVGVSTVS. (Sestertius. — Coh. 803-804).

It will be remembered that the inscription on the famous Altar of Lyons was ROM . ET . AVG.

The Temple is shewn on coins of all metals, the legend on the Reverse being variously rendered TEMPL. or AED . DIVI . AVG . REST.

#### THE APOTHEOSIS OF ANTONINUS.

The series of coins struck to the memory of the deified Antoninus is greater in point of number and variety than those of any of the preceding emperors. The divine character of the Emperor was first emphasised by Augustus, but since his immediate successors earned for themselves either the hatred or disgust of the Senate and people the idea had practically no public recognition until it was revived by the Flavians. Vespasian and Titus both received divine honours and Domitian did much to bring the whole thing into disrepute by his insane insistence on his divinity. Hadrian, the greatest genius in the whole list of Roman Emperors, received no divine recognition on the coinage. The apotheosis types of Antoninus include : —

CONSECRATIO. An elaborately constructed mausoleum, or according to some opinions, a funeral pyre, of four tiers surmounted with a quadriga.

CONSECRATIO. An eagle standing on a cippus ornamented with festoons of laurel.

CONSECRATIO. An eagle on globe.

DIVO . PIO. A square Altar.

— Antoninus seated in the attitude of Jupiter, holding a branch in his right hand, and a long sceptre in his left.

— The Antonine Column, erected by M. Aurelius and originally surmounted by a statue of Antoninus. The column was of red granite and rested on a base of white marble. Of this monument only the base remains, and should not be confused with the column of Aurelius (known as the Antonine Column) which stands in the Piazza Colonna.

M. AURELIUS.

L. VERUS.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Trib. Power.	Consul.	Imperator.	Trib. Power.	Consul.	Imperator.
161	914	Tr.P.XV.	COS.III.	IMP.	Tr.P.	COS.II.	IMP.
162	915	Tr.P.XVI.	COS.III.	IMP.II.	Tr.P.II.	COS.II.	IMP.II.
163	916	Tr.P.XVII.	COS.III.	IMP.II.	Tr.P.III.	COS.II.	IMP.II.
164	917	Tr.P.XVIII.	COS.III.	IMP.II.	Tr.P.IV.	COS.II.	IMP.II.
				ARMENIACUS.			ARMENIACUS.
165	918	Tr.P.XIX.	COS.III.	IMP.III.	Tr.P.V.	COS.II.	IMP.III.
				PARTHICUS.			PARTHICUS.
166	919	Tr.P.XX.	COS.III.	IMP.IV.	Tr.P.VI.	COS.II.DES.III.	IMP.IV.
167	920	Tr.P.XXI.	COS.III.	IMP.IV.	Tr.P.VII.	COS.III.	IMP.IV.
168	921	Tr.P.XXII.	COS.III.	IMP.V.	Tr.P.VIII.	COS.III.	IMP.IV.V.
169	922	Tr.P.XXIII.	COS.III.	IMP.VI.	Tr.P.IX.	COS.III.	IMP.V.
170	923	Tr.P.XXIV.	COS.III.	IMP.VI.			
171	924	Tr.P.XXV.	COS.III.	IMP.VI.			
172	925	Tr.P.XXVI.	COS.III.	IMP.VI.			
173	926	Tr.P.XXVII.	COS.III.	IMP.VI.			
				GERMANICUS.			
174	927	Tr.P.XXVIII.	COS.III.	IMP.VII.			
175	928	Tr.P.XXIX.	COS.III.	IMP.VIII.			
				SARMATICUS.			
176	929	Tr.P.XXX.	COS.III.	IMP.VIII.			
177	930	Tr.P.XXXI.	COS.III.	IMP.VIII.IX.			
178	931	Tr.P.XXXII.	COS.III.	IMP.IX.			
179	932	Tr.P.XXXIII.	COS.III.	IMP.X.			
180	933	Tr.P.XXXIV.	COS.III.	IMP.X.			

### MARCUS AURELIUS.

The personality of Marcus Aurelius has ever proved so fascinating a study that historians almost invariably allow the interest of the Imperial hero to overshadow the importance of his reign. Aurelius has been described as the last great character of the old world, and his reign the turning point ere Rome started on the road of decline and ultimate dissolution. It is the thoughts rather than the deeds of Aurelius that live. While the Golden House of Nero has become a well nigh obliterated ruin, and the golden deeds of Roman Conquest have been eclipsed by those of Rome's conquerors, the Golden Book of Marcus Aurelius has become an imperishable monument to the loftiest thoughts of Rome's greatest thinker. Fate dragged him from the sphere of mysticism and philosophy into the sordid turmoil of politics and years of active military service. It was the side of life for which he was least fitted. In what he was forced to do he succeeded imperfectly; where he was really great he had insufficient time for development — and the world has been the poorer for it. The natural trend of his mind is never more clearly seen than when we picture him during the brief interludes of military service, wearied after a forced march, in the midnight

solitude of his soldier's tent jotting down those thoughts, so far removed from mundane things, which are contained in his *Meditations*.

The coins of Aurelius for the most part bear the Tribunitian date and can be easily arranged chronologically. The examples taken to illustrate particular historical events represent in each case a considerable series of coins or varieties of the type.

#### THE JOINT EMPERORS.

The first act of Aurelius was to raise L. Verus to the position of Colleague in the Principate (A.D. 161). A more ill-matched pair cannot well be conceived. Verus was in all points the antithesis of Aurelius. The formation of a joint government marks a step in development of Roman Imperialism. Vespasian had raised his sons to the position of Caesar and had given them a considerable share in the government, but the co-equality of Aurelius and Verus was without precedent. In subsequent history we see the idea developed and in most cases fraught with disastrous consequences.

The coinage records this act of partnership by a large number of examples, in all metals, with the portraits of both Emperors. The following will serve as illustrations : —

187. Obv. IMP. CAES. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS. AVG. P. M. Laureate bust of Aurelius.

Rev. CONCORD. AVGVSTOR. TR. P. XV. COS. III. S. C. Aurelius and Verus standing hand in hand (Sestertius. Struck in A.D. 161. — Coh. 45).

188. Obv. IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. VERVS. AVG. Bare head of Verus.

Rev. CONCORD. AVGVSTOR. TR. P. II. COS. II. S. C. (Similar type to above) (Sestertius struck in A.D. 162. — Coh. 36).

#### ARMENIA.

It has already been mentioned that Antoninus Pius succeeded in staving off the outbreak of hostilities in the provinces by diplomatic skill without resorting to force of arms. But the elements of discontent had grown until war became inevitable. The Parthians never forgot the dishonour of Trajan's last campaign and Volagases III, who had ascended the throne of Parthia in 148, determined to reopen the question of the independence of Armenia. Armenia was nominally under the suzerainty of Rome but its actual position appears to have been left somewhat vague. Volagases with his army overran Armenia and placed Pacorus on the throne. Thereupon P. Ælius Severianus, Governor of Cappadocia, crossed the Euphrates but his army was signally defeated and he himself committed suicide. At the same time the Parthians invaded Syria



and gained a further victory over the Roman army which was commanded by L. Avidius Cornelianus.

Aurelius immediately took the matter in hand and Verus was despatched from Rome in 162 in command of the troops.

Verus arrived at Antioch where he spent the time in luxury and dissipation, relegating the conduct of the war to his generals.

In 163 Statius Priscus recovered Armenia and Sohaemus, a Parthian prince, but a vassal of Rome, was placed on the throne.

Hereupon the Emperors Aurelius and Verus assumed the title of *Armeniacus*.

The main events of the Armenian Campaign are recorded on the following coins :—

189. Obv. IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. VERVS. AVG. Bare head of Verus to r.

Rev. PROPECTIO. AVG. TR. P. III—COS. II—S. C. Verus on horseback to r. holding a spear in his right hand (2<sup>nd</sup> Brass. 163 A.D.).

190. Obv. L. VERVS. AVG. ARMENIACVS. Bare head of Verus to r.

Rev. TR. P. III. IMP. II. COS. II. In ex., ARMEN. Reclining figure of Armenia with shield and military banner (Denarius, 163 A.D.).

191. Obv. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS. AVG. ARMENIACVS. P. M. Laureate bust of M. Aurelius to r.

Rev. VICT. AVG. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. III—S. C. Victory standing to r. holding a trophy transversely; at her feet a seated captive wearing pointed cap (Sestertius. 164 A.D.).

192. Obv. L. AVREL. VERVS. AVG. ARMENIACVS. Laureate head of Verus to r.

Rev. TR. P. IIII. IMP. II. COS. II—S. C. Mars advancing to r. bearing a trophy over his shoulder and holding a spear in his r. hand (Sestertius, 163 A.D.).

193. Obv. (similar to preceeding coin).

Rev. REX. ARMENIIS. DATVS. IMP. II. TR. P. IIII. COS. II. S. C. Verus seated on camp stool with three attendants. The emperor points to a personage who stands with his back to him (Sestertius, 164 A.D.).

#### PARTHIA.

Before the campaign in Armenia was concluded war broke out in Parthia. The command was given to Avidius Cassius in 164 who proved his ability as a general by many a hard fight and succeeded in driving the Parthians beyond Seleucia and Ctesiphon. Verus in the meantime remained a safe distance from the scene of action,

preferring to gratify his depraved tastes with every kind of self indulgence. In the next year Marcus Aurelius gave his daughter Lucilla to Verus in marriage. The latter glad of a fresh diversion travelled to Ephesus to meet his bride, and temporarily shelved all responsibility in the conduct of the war. Cassius, who probably managed his affairs better in the absence of his nominal Commander-in-chief, brought the war to a successful issue, and peace was concluded in the year 166.

Aurelius and Verus both received the title of *Parthicus Maximus* and celebrated a brilliant triumph for the victories which they had taken no part in securing.

References to the Parthian war are very numerous on the coins of Aurelius and Verus. The following may be taken as examples :—

194. Obv. L. VERVS. AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Laureate bust of Verus to r.

Rev. TR. POT. V. IMP. III. COS. II—S—C. A trophy at the foot of which is a female captive, representing Parthia or Armenia, in an attitude of grief (Sestertius. — Coh. 190. Struck in 165 A.D.).

195. Obv. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS. AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Laureate head of Aurelius to r.

Rev. TR. POT. XX. IMP. IIII. COS. III.—S. C. Victory standing holding a palm-branch and inscribing the words VIC. PAR. on a shield affixed to a palm-tree (Sestertius. — Coh. 807. Struck in 166 A.D.).

196. Obv. M. ANTONINVS. AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. Laureate head of Aurelius.

Rev. TR. P. XXI. IMP. IIII. COS. III—S. C. Three trophies of arms symbolising the triple victories over Armenia, Parthia and Media (Æ². — Coh. 884. Struck in 167 A.D.).

In addition to the titles *Armeniacus*, *Parthicus*, and *Maximus* the Emperors also received the title *Medicus*, which however never appears on the coinage. It has been aptly pointed out that the Senate would not have permitted so equivocal a term as *Medicus* any more than it would have tolerated a type of an obscene character on the coins.

#### GERMANIA.

The troops required for the Parthian war had weakened the defences on the Danubian frontier, a fact which the northern tributary nations were not slow to take advantage of. Chief of these were the Marcomanni in Bohemia and the Quadi in Moravia, under the vassal king appointed by Antoninus Pius. Joined with these were the Sarmathian Jazyges who inhabited the plain of Hungary. Beginning with sporadic raids the outbreak soon assumed

alarming proportions. Vast masses of the barbarians swept southward across the Danube to the shores of the Adriatic and threatened Italy itself. The army under Furius Victorinus which was first despatched against them suffered complete defeat. In the early part of 167 Aurelius and Verus took command in person. A few months of hard fighting turned the tide of the barbarian inroads and the officers T. Claudius Pompeianus and M. Claudius Fronto secured the upper region of the Danube.

During 168 the chief centre of war was in the neighbourhood of Dacia. The Emperors set out for Rome in the beginning of the following year, but on the way Verus was seized with an attack of apoplexy and died.

The war continued for eight years during which period Aurelius was almost entirely absent from Rome.

The war falls into two periods known as the *bellum Germanicum* and the *bellum Sarmaticum*. Aurelius assumed the title of *Germanicus* in 173 and that of *Sarmaticus* in 175. The war was not concluded when a rising in the East under Avidius Cassius, who suddenly proclaimed himself emperor, called Aurelius away from the Northern provinces leaving matters only temporarily settled.

The following examples may be taken as illustrative of the war in Germania. —

197. Obv. M. ANTONINVS. AVG. TR. P. XXIII. Laureate head of Aurelius.

Rev. COS. III. In exergue PRO FECTIO. AVG. S. C. The Emperor in military costume on horseback; in front, a foot soldier with spear and shield; behind, two foot soldiers carrying standards (Sestertius struck in 169 A. D. — Coh. 500).

198. Obv. M. ANTONINVS. AVG. TR. P. XXIII. Laureate head of Aurelius.

Rev. ADLOCVT. AVG. S. C. The Emperor with attendant, addressing three soldiers carrying standards (Sestertius struck in 170. A. D. — Coh. 1).

199. Obv. M. ANTONINVS. AVG. TR. P. XXVI. Laureate head of Aurelius.

Rev. IMP. VI. COS. III. S. C. Victory inscribing VIC. GER on a shield affixed to a tree (Sestertius struck in 172 A. D. — Coh. 272).

The following Reverses occur in the year 173.

VICT. GERM. IMP. VI. COS. III. S. C. within laurel-wreath.

GERMANIA. SVBACTA. IMP. VI. COS. III. S. C. Trophy and seated captive.

GERMANICO. AVG. IMP. VI. COS. III. S. C. Trophy with two captives.

The partial settlement brought about when Aurelius was called to the East is recorded on the following coins struck in 177 A. D.

200. Obv. M. ANTONINVS . AVG . GERM . SARM . TR . P .  
XXXI. Laureate head of Aurelius to r.

Rev. IMP . VIII . COS . III . S . C . DE . GERMANIS. A pile of arms,  
including cuirass, shields, spears, banners, trumpets, etc.



Similar types and legends but with DE . SARMATIS or DE  
SARM.

The revolt in the East brought about by the treasonable action  
of Avidius Cassius was an affair of short duration and on the news  
of the Emperor's approach the usurper was murdered by his  
soldiers.

The voyage of Aurelius to the East is recorded on coins similar  
in type to those of Hadrian : —

201. Obv. M. ANTONINVS . AVG . GERM . SARM . TR . P .  
XXXI. Laureate head of Aurelius.

Rev. FELICITATI . AVG . P . P (in field) IMP . VIII . COS . III .  
S . C . A galley with rowers, a pilot giving directions from the prow  
(2<sup>nd</sup> Brass struck in 177 A.D. — Coh. 188).

The peace concluded with the Northern nations was of short  
duration and the Marcomanni renewed their invasions. Aurelius  
and his son Commodus set out for the Danube in 178 and once  
more the Barbarians were repulsed before the Roman Legions. In  
the Spring of 180 the Emperor was stricken by the plague and  
died.

The following coin struck in the beginning of 180 A.D. may  
not unnaturally be taken as referring to this last Campaign in the  
life of Marcus Aurelius.

202. Obv. M. AVREL . ANTONINVS . AVG . TR . P . XXXIII .  
Laureate head of Aurelius.

Rev. VIRTVS . AVG . IMP . X . COS . III . P . P . S — C . Roma  
seated to r. holding spear and parazonium (Sestertius. Struck,  
A.D. 180. — Coh. 1002).

#### APOTHEOSIS OF AURELIUS.

A considerable number of CONSECRATIO coins were struck to  
the memory of Aurelius bearing the following types : — Rogus or  
funeral pyre ; Eagle standing on square casket or altar ; Eagle on

globe; Aurelius seated on the back of an eagle; Funeral car drawn by four elephants.

### COMMODUS.

With the death of Marcus Aurelius the greatness of the Roman Empire began to fade. A succession of Emperors, strong in personality and imbued with a keen sense of the responsibility of the Imperial office had held together the heterogeneous factors of the Empire with a band of iron. But the Empire made up according to the words of prophecy, of iron mingled with clay, soon began to shew signs of those disintegrating forces when once the strong head of a centralised government was removed. The weak son of Marcus was the worst possible successor to the principate and no one has yet arisen who has attempted to whitewash his character, fouled by all that is loathsome and despicable.

The coinage begins to shew further symptoms of degeneration. The debasement of the silver which began in the reign of Marcus was increased and the Bronze Coins are frequently of much poorer style and smaller size than in previous reigns.

The Tribunitian dates are found on most of the Coins of Commodus.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. pot.	Consul.	Imper.	
176	929	TR. P. I. II.		DES. IMP.	
177	930	TR. P. II. III.	COS.	IMP. II.	
178	931	TR. P. III. IV.	COS. DES. II.	IMP. III.	
179	932	TR. P. IV. V.	COS. II.	IMP. IV.	
180	933	TR. P. V. VI.	COS. II. DES. III.	IMP. IV.	
181	934	TR. P. VI. VII.	COS. III.	IMP. IV.	
182	935	TR. P. VII. VIII.	COS. DES. IV.	IMP. V.	
183	936	TR. P. VIII. IX.	COS. IV.	IMP. VI.	Pius.
184	937	TR. P. IX. X.	COS. IV.	IMP. VII.	BRITANNICUS.
185	938	TR. P. X. XI.	COS. DES. V.	IMP. VII.	FELIX.
186	939	TR. P. XI. XII.	COS. V.	IMP. VIII.	
187	940	TR. P. XII. XIII.	COS. V.	IMP. VIII.	
188	941	TR. P. XIII. XIV.	COS. V.	IMP. VIII.	
189	942	TR. P. XIV. XV.	COS. DES. VI.	IMP. VIII.	
190	943	TR. P. XV. XVI.	COS. VI.	IMP. VIII.	
191	944	TR. P. XVI. XVII.	COS. DES. VII.	IMP. VIII.	
192	945	TR. P. XVII. XVIII.	COS. VII.	IMP. VIII.	

The portrait of Commodus first appears in conjunction with that of his brother Annianus Verus on a medallion struck about the year 166, when both the sons of Marcus received the title of *Caesar*.

In the year 173 the title *Germanicus* was bestowed on Commodus, and we find the inscription COMMODVS.CAESAR.GERM.ANTONINI.AVG.GERM.FIL.

In 175 Commodus was admitted to the pontificate and in the same year to the equestrian order.

203. Obv. COMMODO.CAES.AVG.FIL.GERM.SARM. Youthful head of Commodus to r.

Rev. PRINC(ipi) IVVENT(utis). S. C. Commodus in military dress holding spear and olive branch. At his left side a trophy. (Æ2. — Coh. 615.)

Also EQVESTER.ORDO.PRINCIPI.IVVENT—S. C. within a wreath.

A number of the earlier coins of Commodus run parallel to those of M. Aurelius, such for example as the series of types which refer to the campaign against the Germani and Sarmatii, 175 to 176 A. D.

204. Obv. IMP.L.AVREL.COMMODVS.AVG.GERM.SARM. Youthful bust to r.

Rev. TR.P.II.COS.P.P.DE.GERMANIS.S.C. Pile of arms. (Similar to the type which appears on the coins of M. Aurelius.) (Sestertius. — Coh. 79.)

Also similar types but with DE GERM or DE SARMATIS on the reverse.



The titles *Germanicus* and *Sarmaticus* were dropped after 177.

The following example has no direct parallel among the coins of M. Aurelius but belongs to the series of Commodus struck before his accession. The reference is to his return from the East in company with his father 176 A. D.

Obv. COMMODO.CAES.AVG.FIL.GERM.SARM. Youthful bust to r.

Rev. ADVENTVS.CAES. Commodus on horseback r. raising his right hand (Aureus. — Coh. 1.2).

In March 180, Commodus, fearful of contagion from the plague, left the death-bed of his father with disrespectful haste and travelled to Rome, where he was received with public acclamation. His entrance into Rome is recorded on the following: —

205. Obv. L.AVREL.COMMODVS.AVG.TR.P.V. Youthful and laureated head to r.

Rev. ADVENTVS.AVG.IMP.III.COS.II.S.C. Commodus on horseback raising his right hand (Sestertius. — Coh. 3. Struck 180. A.D.)

The first act of Commodus on his arrival in Rome was to celebrate a triumph on account of the victory over the Marcomanni which was the last achievement of Aurelius.

The references on the coinage to this triumph are not numerous; the following may serve as an example : —

206. Obv. M.ANTONINVS.COMMODVS.AVG. Laureate and draped bust r.

Rev. TR.P.VI.IMP.III.COS.III.P.P.S.C. Commodus in quadriga to l. holding sceptre surmounted by an eagle; Victory crowning a trophy (Sestertius A.D. 181. — Coh. 813).

The vanity of Commodus was only exceeded by the vulgarity with which he exhibited his powers before the public. In particular he prided himself on his physical strength, assuming the role of Hercules and posing as a professional gladiator.

The general disgust felt at these miserable exhibitions as utterly degrading to a Roman Emperor contributed largely to bring about the assassination of Commodus.

An example of this sort of vanity appears on a coin struck as early in his reign as 181 when the Emperor's follies were only beginning to be discovered.

207. Obv. M.ANTONINVS.COMMODVS.AVG. Bare head, bearded, to r.

Rev. VIRTVTI.AVGVSTI.TR.P.VII.IMP.III.COS.III.P.P.S.C. Commodus on horseback to r. spearing a lion (Sestertius. — Coh. 973.)



In the year 182 a conspiracy against the life of Commodus was formed by his sister Lucilla, her cousin Quadratus, and Claudius Pompeianus Quintianus. The plot failed and the three conspirators were immediately executed.

The Emperor's escape may not improbably be the occasion on which the following coin was struck.

208. Obv. M.COMMODVS.ANTONINVS.AVG.PIVS. Laureate head to r.

Rev. SALVS.AVG.TR.P.VIII.IMP.VI.COS.III.P.P—S.C. Hygeia seated to l. holding hasta pura, and feeding a snake (Sestertius, struck in the early part of 183. — Coh. 691.)

AFFAIRS IN BRITAIN.

The only serious military activity during the reign of Commodus occurred in Britain. The Caledonii broke through the northern wall and pushed their attack southwards to the wall of Antoninus.

The rising assumed dangerous proportions and Ulpius Marcellus was sent against the invaders. Having succeeded in crushing the northern revolt Ulpius was recalled and his services appear to have been ill repaid by Commodus, who nevertheless assumed the title of *Britannicus*.

The following coin bears allusion to the defeat of the Caledonii.

209. Obv. M.COMMODVS.ANTON.AVG.PIVS.BRIT. Laureate and bearded head to r.

Rev. VICT.BRIT. (in exergue) P.M.TR.P.X.IMP.VII.COS.III.P.P—S.C. Victory seated to r. on shields, holding palm and shield (Sestertius, struck in A.D. 184. — Coh. 946).



Tigidius Perennis, who really held the reins of government at this time, took the unpopular step of placing men of equestrian rank in command of the armies. Considerable dissension arose in consequence particularly amongst the armies stationed in Britain. In 185 a deputation from the army of Britain marched to Rome protesting against the appointment of generals of equestrian rank and at the same time demanded the head of Perennis. Commodus in alarm granted their request and at the same time assumed the title of *Felix* — thereby glossing over a cowardly act by a fresh exhibition of personal vanity.

210. Obv. M.COMMODVS.ANT.P.FELIX.AVG.BRIT. Laureate head to r.



Rev. P. M. TR. P. XI. IMP. VII. COS. V. P. P. In exergue CONC. MIL—S. C. Female holding a military standard in each hand (Sestertius, struck in 185 A. D. — Coh. 57).

Types and legends pandering to the vanity of Commodus exist in numerous varieties.

211. Obv. L. AEL. AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL. Laureate head to r.

Rev. HERCVLI. ROMANO AVG. S. C. Commodus as Hercules, nude, holding club and lion's skin, his right hand resting on a trophy.

212. Obv. L. AELIVS. AVRELIVS. COMMODVS. AVG. PIVS. FELIX. Head of Commodus wearing a lion's scalp.

Rev. HERCVLI. ROMANO. AVG. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. VII. P. P. Hercules standing, resting his left hand on a club.

Medallion struck in the last year of the Emperor's reign. The disgust caused by the undignified appearance of Commodus in the arena aroused his three favourites Marcia, Eclectus and Æmilius Laetus to bring about his assassination on the Kalends of January 193.

The crowning piece of extravagance, amongst the many follies of Commodus, was the re-naming of Rome "*Colonia Commodiana*", and even this is recorded on a coin struck in the last year of his reign.

213. Obv. M. COMMOD. ANT. P. FELIX. AVG. BRIT. P. P. Laureate head r.

Rev. COL. L. AN. COM. (Colonia Lucia Antoniniana Commodiana) P. M. TR. P. XV. IMP. VIII. COS. VI. S. C. Commodus driving two oxen to r. (Sestertius. A. D. 190. — Coh. 39).

## PERTINAX AND DIDIUS JULIANUS.

The events of the year 193 prove conclusively, if proof were needed, the deplorable state into which the Empire had fallen as a result of the incompetence and extravagance of Commodus. Nothing was secure; the Senate possessed merely nominal power, the treasury was empty, the power of the army alone remained; and the army in Rome, which had been pampered and rendered inactive through the reign of Commodus, was fickle and undisciplined.

Æmilius Laetus, one of the conspirators against Commodus, was master of the situation and promptly invited P. Helvius Pertinax to assume the purple, to which the servile senate readily agreed.

Pertinax, though a distinguished soldier, was decidedly unpopular with the Pretorians, and as soon as he had arrived in Rome Laetus commenced to plot against him. On March 28<sup>th</sup> he was murdered by the Guards, after a reign of less than three months.

The appointment of a successor to Pertinax is one of the most pitiable incidents of Roman history. It is a picture of shameless avarice on the part of the Pretorians; of contemptible vanity on the part of Didius Julianus, who gambled away his fortune for a brief taste of power, for which he was entirely unfitted; it was the violation of good taste and an insult to the name of Rome. Julianus succeeded in outbidding Flavius Sulpicianus for the Principate and public discontent was soon diffused from the centre to the frontiers of the Empire. Three competitors arose simultaneously as rivals to the miserable Julian, all of them soldiers of distinction and backed by the legions under their command. Clodius Albinus was governor of Britain; Pescennius Niger commanded the Syrian army; and Septimius Severus the army of Illyricum and Pannonia. Severus, the most formidable of the three, took prompt measures and, with the Danubian army, approached Rome demanding vengeance on the murderers of Pertinax.

Didius Julianus was formally deposed and murdered June 1<sup>st</sup> 193. A.D.

The coins of Pertinax and Julianus possess but little historical interest and make no direct reference to any event which occurred during their brief reigns.

Viewed in the light of what actually took place there seems a strong touch of irony in several of the legends and types which occur. For example: —

On the Reverse of Pertinax.

214. LAETITIA.TEMPORVM.COS.II. Whatever joyfulness was felt at the accession of Pertinax, who was in many respects a welcome contrast to his predecessor, was too short lived to have been very widely appreciated.

On a Reverse of Didius Julianus: —

215. CONCORD.MILIT.S.C. (Concord holding two military standards). Since it cost Julian 6250 denarii per man to secure the approval of the Pretorians, by whom he was regarded with contempt, this reference to the good will of the army seems curiously ironical.

216. RECTOR.ORBIS (Julian holding a globe in his right hand). The extravagance of such an epithet applied to a man, whom the very populace openly derided, must have raised a smile of mingled pity and contempt amongst Julian's contemporaries.



## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND HIS RIVALS.

### (1) *Pescennius Niger.*

Severus made it clear that he stood as the representative of the Legions. On the strength of the army he laid claim to the principate and by the power of the army he determined to maintain it.

His first business was to get rid of Pescennius Niger who had been proclaimed Emperor by the Legions in Syria; accordingly he marched to the East. In order to be free to prosecute his object he made terms with Albinus, offering him the title of Caesar with a prospect of succession in the Empire. Albinus fell into the trap and, by refraining from immediate action, lost for ever his chance of securing the sovereignty. The troops commanded by Niger were no match for those of Severus and after brief hostilities Niger was forced to escape towards the Euphrates, where he was overtaken and slain. A.D. 194.

The coins of Pescennius Niger, which are of foreign fabric, bear but few historical allusions and have little importance.

On the Reverse of several Denarii is found the type of Victory holding a crown and palm-branch; or Victory inscribing a shield, with the legends VICTORIAE, VICTORIAE AVG, and VICTOR. IVST. AVG.



The Victory or Victories of Niger alluded to must have occurred while he was in command of the Syrian army, i. e. before he was proclaimed Emperor at Antioch. They cannot well apply to any of his encounters with the army of Severus.

The Reverse legends BONAE SPEI or BONI EVENTVS may not improbably express the gratification felt by his supporters on his being proclaimed Emperor, since Niger was personally popular both in Rome and in Syria.

In the legend INVICTO. IMPERAT. we seem to be confronted by an epithet which, if not in itself ironical, was speedily shewn to be so by subsequent events.

(2) *Clodius Albinus*.

Clodius Albinus was not only a distinguished soldier but a man of noble family, claiming descent from some of the most illustrious names of the old Republic. He was moreover popular with the Legions in Britain, who proclaimed him emperor with enthusiasm. Severus by a cleverly devised piece of diplomacy secured his neutrality, as was noted above, but no sooner was Pescennius Niger disposed of than Severus turned his attention to crushing Albinus. A series of engagements took place in 196 when the advantage was on the side of Albinus; but a stubbornly fought battle on the plain north of Lyons turned the scale of fortune, and Albinus perished, probably by his own hand on February 19<sup>th</sup> 197.

The activity of Albinus was confined to Gaul and Britain and his coins are for the most part of Gaulish mintage.

There are a few historical references to his short career on the coins of Albinus; amongst which the following are worth notice:—

217. Obv. D.CLOD.SEPT.ALBIN.CAES. Unlaureate head of Albinus to r.

Rev. CONCORDIA.S.C. Concordia seated to l. holding a patera, and bearing a cornucopie on her left arm (Sestertius, struck in 103 or 194 A.D. — Coh. 7). The allusion is to the agreement between Severus and Albinus.

218. Obv. IMP.CAES.D.CLO.SEP.ALB.AVG. Laureate head of Albinus to r.

Rev. FIDES.LEGION.COS.II. Clasped hands holding a legionary eagle (Denarius, struck in 195.— Coh. 22).

In 195 Albinus proclaimed himself *Augustus*, which seems to have formed technical grounds for Severus to march against him. The coin records the fidelity of the Gallic Legions, upon which Albinus relied. This type may not improbably have been issued at the request of the Legionaries.

**SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.**

The coins of Septimius Severus and also of Caracalla and Geta are easily arranged chronologically by means of the Tribunitian dates which occur on the majority of specimens. The dates at which the Tribunitian and other titles were conferred are given in the following tables.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. Pot.	Consul.	Imperator.	
193	946	Tr. P	COS.	IMP. I. II.	PARTH. MAX.
194	947	Tr. P. I. II.	COS. II.	IMP. III. IV.	
195	948	Tr. P. II. III.	COS. II.	IMP. IV. V.	
196	949	Tr. P. III. IV.	COS. II.	IMP. VI. VII. VIII.	
197	950	Tr. P. IV. V.	COS. II.	IMP. VIII. IX. X.	
198	951	Tr. P. V. VI.	COS. II.	IMP. X.	
199	952	Tr. P. VI. VII.	COS. II.	IMP. X. XI.	
200	953	Tr. P. VII. VIII.	COS. II.	IMP. XI.	
201	954	Tr. P. VIII. IX.	COS. II. DES. III.	IMP. XI.	
202	955	Tr. P. IX. X.	COS. III.	IMP. XI.	
203	956	Tr. P. X. XI.	COS. III.	IMP. XI.	
204	957	Tr. P. XI. XII.	COS. III.	IMP. XI.	
205	958	Tr. P. XII. XIII.	COS. III.	IMP. XI.	
206	959	Tr. P. XIII. XIV.	COS. III.	IMP. XI.	
207	960	Tr. P. XIV. XV.	COS. III.	IMP. XII.	
208	961	Tr. P. XV. XVI.	COS. III.	IMP. XII.	
209	962	Tr. P. XVI. XVII.	COS. III.	IMP. XII.	BRITANNICUS
210	963	Tr. P. XVII. XVIII.	COS. III.	IMP. XII.	
211	964	Tr. P. XIX.	COS. III.	IMP. XII. XIII.	

CARACALLA.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. Pot.	Consul.	Imperator.	
198	951	Tr. P	—	—	PARTH. MAX.
199	952	Tr. P. I. II.	—	—	
200	953	Tr. P. II. III.	—	—	
201	954	Tr. P. III. IV.	COS. DES.	—	
202	955	Tr. P. IV. V.	COS.	—	
203	956	Tr. P. V. VI.	COS.	—	
204	957	Tr. P. VI. VII.	COS. DES. II.	IMP.	
205	958	Tr. P. VII. VIII.	COS. II.	IMP.	
206	959	Tr. P. VIII. IX.	COS. II.	IMP.	
207	960	Tr. P. IX. X.	COS. II. DES. III.	IMP. II.	BRITANNICUS.
208	961	Tr. P. X. XI.	COS. III.	IMP. II.	
209	962	Tr. P. XI. XII.	COS. III.	IMP. II.	
210	963	Tr. P. XII. XIII.	COS. III.	IMP. II.	
211	964	Tr. P. XIII. XIV.	COS. III.	IMP. II.	
212	965	Tr. P. XIV. XV.	COS. III.	IMP. II.	
213	966	Tr. P. XV. XVI.	COS. III. DES. IV.	IMP. II.	
214	967	Tr. P. XVI. XVII.	COS. IV.	IMP. III.	GERMANICUS.
215	968	Tr. P. XVII. XVIII.	COS. IV.	IMP. III.	
216	969	Tr. P. XVIII. XIX.	COS. IV.	IMP. III.	
217	970	Tr. P. XIX. XX.	COS. IV.	IMP. III.	

GETA.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Trib. Pot.	Consul.	Imperator.	
198)	951)				
to	to	—	—	—	CAESAR.
203)	956)				
204	957	—	COS. DES.	—	
205)	958)				
to	to	—	COS.	—	PONT.
207)	960)				
208	961	TR. P.	COS. II.	—	
209	962	TR. P. I. II.	COS. II.	—	
210	963	TR. P. II. III.	COS. II.	—	BRITANNICUS.
211	964	TR. P. III. IV	COS. II.	IMP.	P. P.
212	965	TR. P. IV.	COS. II. DES. III.	IMP	

Severus was an African by birth and by profession a soldier. His government was essentially a military despotism. The Senate he regarded merely as a name with only a shadow of power. He was skilful as a diplomat and merciless towards his opponents.

The following coin appears to have been struck out of compliment to the Emperor's nationality. As its date is 194 A.D. it cannot be connected with the Emperor's visit to Africa which took place eight years later.

219. Obv. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. IIII. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. AFRICA. S. C. Africa wearing elephant-skin head-dress, standing, carrying a sheaf of wheat. A lion walks at her side (Sestertius. — Coh. 26).

By a political fiction Severus declared himself the son of Marcus Aurelius and brother of Commodus, A.D. 195.

Reference to this is found on the following coin struck in 196.

220. Obv. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VII. Laureate head to r.

Rev. DIVI. M. PII. F. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P. — S. C. Roma seated to l., holding globe on which is a victoriola and holding a spear. [Divi Marci Pii filius.] (Sestertius. — Coh. 127.) For other examples of this legend, cf. Coh. 123-132.

An interesting example of the importance attached by Severus to the army as the prime factor in his scheme of government may be seen in the series of coins struck in honour of certain Legions. The coins appear to have been struck shortly after his accession and have the following types.

221. Obv. IMP. CAE. L. SEP. SEV. PERT. AVG. Laureate head to r.

Rev. LEG. II. ITAL. TR. P. COS, a legionary eagle between two military standards (Denarius. — Coh. 261).

The Legions referred to on this particular series of coins are LEG. I. II. III. IV. V. VII. VIII. XI. XIII. XIV. XXII and XXX. It would appear that these were the Legions which supported Severus against his rivals, Niger and Albinus.

In adopting a military policy Severus shewed his wisdom, since it was probably the only way to save the Empire after the havoc that had been wrought with its chief institutions during the reign of Commodus.

But the military policy of Severus necessarily involved a vast expense which was a constant drain on the Imperial Treasury. This probably explains the extraordinary debasement of the silver coinage which took place; for we find fifty and even sixty per cent. of alloy was mixed with the pure metal.

#### SEVERUS IN THE EAST.

The defeat and death of Pescennius Niger took place towards the end of the year 194. Severus punished without mercy all who had supported his rival and spent the following year (195) in inflicting severe blows on the Eastern nations.

The following coin records the military activity of Severus during 195 : —

222. Obv. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. V. Laureate head to r.

Rev. PART. ARAB. ADIAB. COS II. P. P. S. C. Trophy between two seated captives (Sestertius. — Coh. 367).

The particular nations referred to on this coin are the Parthians, Arabians and Adiabeni. Volagases IV had preserved friendly relations with Niger and had assisted him against Severus; also he allowed the people of Adiabene to join with Abgar VIII of Orrhoene in a revolt against Rome. Severus forced the submission of Mesopotamia and converted Nisibis into a Roman Colony.

The following type refers to the same event.

223. Obv. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VIII. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. II. PP—S. C. Victory to l. holding palm and wreath (Sestertius. — Coh. 420. Struck A. D. 196).

On June 2<sup>nd</sup> 197 Severus entered Rome having disposed of both his rivals. His position in the Empire was now securely established. His first act was to punish the supporters of Albinus with relentless severity. His arrival in Rome is recorded on the following coin : —

224. Obv. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP VIII. Laureate and cuirassed bust to r.

Rev. ADVENTVI. AVG. FELICISSIMO. S. C. The Emperor on horseback to r., a soldier bearing a standard leads the Emperor's horse (Sestertius struck in A. D. 167. — Coh. 8).



SEVERUS AND HIS SONS.

In the same year Severus associated his two sons with himself in the Government. Antoninus (known as Caracalla) received the title of *Imperator designatus* and Septimius Geta was raised to the rank of *Caesar*. Several coins struck in Gold and Silver bear the portraits of Severus and his two sons.

225. Obv. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. P. M. TR. P. VIII. Laureate head of Severus to r.

Rev. AETERNIT. IMPERI. Busts facing of Caracalla, laureated and Geta, bare-headed (Aureus struck A. D. 197. — Coh. 4 var.).

On several specimens the bust of the Empress Julia Domna appears as well as those of the sons of Severus.

226. Obv. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. P. M. TR. P. VIII. Laureate head of Severus to r.

Rev. FELICITAS. SAECVLI. Bust of Julia facing between the busts of Caracalla to r. and Geta to l. (Aureus struck in A. D. 197. — Coh. 1).

#### THE PARTHIAN CAMPAIGN.

In the autumn of 197 Severus once more set out for the East. The Parthians under Volagases IV invaded Mesopotamia and laid siege to Nisibis, where Laetus was in command. But on the approach of Severus the Parthians retired. Severus, however, was determined to exact vengeance; and following a plan devised by Trajan, dredged out the old Naarmalca canal, through which his ships sailed into the Tigris and took the Parthians by surprise. Seleucia and Coche were deserted by their inhabitants, Ctesiphon was taken with terrible



slaughter at the close of 199. Severus did not push his victory further on account of famine and dysentery, but led his army up the Tigris. At Atra Severus met with a severe check and after a prolonged siege the Emperor was compelled to quit the Arab stronghold and journey westwards. The campaign did little to add to the Roman prestige in the East, but Severus, nevertheless, assumed the title of *Parthicus Maximus*.

227. Obv. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VIII. Laureate head r.

Rev. PROPECTIO. AVG. The Emperor on horseback r. (Denarius. — Coh. 580. Struck 197 A.D.).

228. Obv. SEVERVS. AVG. PART. MAX. Laureate head r.

Rev. P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. II. P. P. Victory flying to l., in front of her is a shield placed on a cippus (Denarius. — Coh. 457. Struck 200 A.D.).

229. Obv. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. Laureate head r.

Rev. PART. MAX. P. M. TR. P. VIII. Trophy of arms with seated captive on either side (Denarius. — Coh. 370. Struck 201 A.D.).

#### SEVERUS AT CARTHAGE.

In A.D. 202 Severus left Syria and paid a visit to Egypt and Northern Africa. He bestowed a charter of self government on the city of Alexandria. He also conferred benefits on Carthage and Utica.

230. Obv. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. Laureate head to r.

Rev. INDVLGENTIA. AVGG. IN. CARTH. Cybele seated on a lion rushing to r. (Denarius. — Coh. 219).

#### THE ARCH OF SEVERUS.

In the later part of 202 A.D. Severus returned to Rome when he refused the Triumph offered to him by the Senate, but permitted the erection of the famous Triumphal Arch which stands at the North-west corner of the Forum. On this Arch are represented various episodes in the Eastern wars of Severus. The Arch is portrayed on a rare 2<sup>nd</sup> Brass coin of Severus, struck in A.D. 204.

231. Obv. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. P. M. TR. P. XII. Laureate and cuirassed bust to r.

Rev. ARCVS. AVGG.—S. C. The Arch of Severus (Coh. 53).

The year 204 A.D. was marked by the celebration of the Ludi Saeculares. The allusions on the coinage of Severus to this celebration are scanty contrasted with the similar celebration which was held in the reign of Domitian (q. v.).

The following may be taken as an example : —

232. Obv. SEPT. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. P. M. TR. P. XII. Laureate and cuirassed bust to r.

Rev. COS. III. LVD. SAEC. FEC. S. C. Hercules standing to l. with club in his right hand. Bacchus standing to r. holding vase and thyrsus; at his foot is a panther (2<sup>nd</sup> Brass. — Coh. 106).

During the six years from 202-208 A. D. the Empire enjoyed comparative peace. Severus turned his attention to home policy and questions of finance. A victory however is recorded on a Denarius struck in 207, or early in 208, with the usual type of Victory inscribing a shield suspended on a palm tree, the legend being P. M. TR. P. XV. COS. III. P. P. (Coh. 489).

It seems not improbable that this refers to some victory gained in Britain previous to the Emperor's arrival in 208, since he dispatched troops some months before he himself set out.

#### SEVERUS IN BRITAIN 208-211.

The last three years of Severus' reign were occupied with affairs in Britain and were years of more or less continuous military activity although the details of the campaign are veiled in obscurity. In 208 news arrived in Rome that the Caledonii had again broken through the Roman fortifications and were harrassing Northern Britain. Severus immediately undertook the command in person, accompanied by his two sons. Geta was put in command of the Southern part of Britain, while Severus and Caracalla advanced northwards into Scotland. The result of the campaign appears to have been favourable to the Roman arms, and the Caledonii were driven beyond the line of the "Picts' Wall", which Severus seems to have considerably strengthened. A large number of inscriptions discovered in Britain date from the reign of Severus; and his work of building fortifications and strengthening the Roman position generally must have been considerable. In the year 210 A. D. Severus assumed the title of *Britannicus Maximus*. The Emperor died at York on February 4<sup>th</sup> 211 A. D. There are numerous references to the campaign in Britain on the coins struck during 210 and in the earlier part of 211, of which the following may be noticed.

233. Obv. L. SEPT. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. Laureate head r.

Rev. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. III. P. P. S.—C. The Emperor and his two sons standing on a platform addressing several soldiers bearing legionary eagle and standards (*Adlocutio* type) (Sestertius. — Coh. 459. Struck 210 A. D.).

234. Obv. L. SEPT. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. Laureate head r.

Obv. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. III. P. P. S. C. The Emperor and his two sons standing; behind are two soldiers carrying standards;

at the feet of the Emperor is a seated captive (Sestertius. — Coh. 558. Struck 210 A.D.).

235. Obv. L. SEPT. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. Laureate head r.

Rev. VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE—S—C. Two Victories attaching a shield to a palm tree, at the foot of which are two captives (Sestertius. — Coh. 732).



Since these coins were struck before Severus assumed the title of *Britannicus* they apparently refer to victories gained in the earlier part of the campaign.

236. Obv. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. BRIT. Laureate head r.

Rev. VICTORIAE. BRIT. Victory inscribing shield affixed to a palm tree (Denarius. — Coh. 729. Struck 210 A.D.).

All the Victory types of the dates TR. P. XVII. XVIII. XIX whether accompanied by the word BRIT or not, must be referred to this campaign.

The following Denarius struck probably in the last year of the reign is worthy of notice: —

237. Obv. SEVERVS. PIVS. AVG. BRIT. Laureate head to r.

Rev. ADVENTVS. AVGVSTI. The Emperor on horseback to l. (Coh. 14).

The title BRIT on the obverse shews that the coin cannot refer to the Emperor's approach to Britain in 208, and since Severus never left the Island it cannot refer to an arrival elsewhere. The most natural application for this type therefore must be to his arrival at York, after defeating the Caledonii, that is to say, it refers to the closing episode in the life of Severus.

### CARACALLA AND GETA.

The year which followed the death of Severus was a year of plots and factions. The brothers were utterly irreconcilable and the struggle for power became inevitably a fight to the death. By a deceptive promise of effecting a reconciliation Caracalla persuaded Julia Domna to invite both her sons to a meeting for this purpose. The plot was successful and Geta was treacherously murdered by Caracalla's orders in the very presence of Julia (Feby. 212).

The portraits of the two brothers, as shewn on the coinage, exhibit a strong family likeness and may be divided into three periods.

(1) 196-202. A very youthful bust with the hair arranged in closely hanging locks. Geta is represented without laurel wreath, while the head of Caracalla appears laureate after the year 197.

(2) 202-210. The bust is larger and more fully developed about the chin and neck. The hair is represented curly. There are also slight traces of a beard and side whiskers.

(3) In the year 210 the title of *Britannicus* was conferred on Caracalla and Geta along with their father. The brothers are represented with closely curled beards and more mature features.

The coins of Caracalla and Geta struck during the lifetime of Severus naturally coincide in historical references with those of their father, which have already been noticed. Thus we find the Parthian victories of 201 A.D. commemorated on coins of both Caracalla and Geta. In 203 the type *INDVLGENTIA IN CARTH.* appears on coins of Caracalla. In 204 references to the *Ludi Saeculares* are found. Similarly the victories in Britain during the campaign of 208-211 are recorded on the coins of Caracalla and Geta by the same types and legends as appear on the coins of Severus.

None of the coins of Geta bear any historical allusions which are not found on the coins of either Severus or Caracalla.

After the murder of his brother, Caracalla reigned for five years as sole Emperor. During his government he followed his father's policy of ruling by means of the army. He has been described as "the common enemy of mankind", but, though his character and conduct could inspire neither love nor esteem, he was secure from rebellion as long as his vices were beneficial to the armies.

#### CARACALLA IN GERMANIA.

In the year 213 A.D. Caracalla left Rome, on account of an outbreak on the northern frontier on the part of the Alamanni and a confederation of German tribes. In this campaign Caracalla was victorious and assumed the title of *Germanicus Maximus*.

The following types may be noticed in connexion with this campaign.

238. Obv. *ANTONINVS PIVS AVG BRIT*. Laureate head of Caracalla to r.

Rev. *PROFECTIO AVG*. Caracalla in military dress to r. holding a spear; behind him are two ensigns (Denarius, struck in 213 A.D. — Coh. 508).

239. Obv. *M AVREL ANTONINVS PIVS AVG GERM*. Laureate head to r.

Rev. P. M. TR. P. XVII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P—S. C. Caracalla and two attendants standing on a raised platform. The Emperor addressing soldiers who hold standards (Sestertius, struck in 214 A. D. — Coh. 252).

240. Obv. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG. GERM. Laureate head to r.

Rev. P. M. TR. P. XVII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P.—S. C. Victory to l. bearing a trophy of arms; at her feet is a small figure kneeling in an attitude of supplication (2<sup>nd</sup> Brass, struck in 214. A. D. — Coh. 268).

#### CARACALLA'S JOURNEY TO THE EAST.

In the year 214 Caracalla passed a few months in Rome after the Germanian campaign and then set out for the East from whence he never returned. He took his journey towards Greece having first inspected the defences on the Danube. In consequence of physical debility he sought for healing at the shrine of Asklepios at Pergamum.

241. Obv. M. AVREL ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG. GERM. Laureate and cuirassed bust to r.

Rev. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P.—S—C. Æsculapius standing, leaning on a staff, or thyrsus; on his right is Teléphorus (Sestertius, struck in 215. A. D. — Coh. 329).

After wintering in Nicomedia Caracalla paid a visit to Egypt (215. A. D.). At Alexandria, in consequence of his not receiving from the citizens as great an ovation as he had expected, Caracalla caused many thousands of them to be indiscriminately massacred by his soldiers.

242. Obv. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG. GERM. Laureate and cuirassed bust to r.

Rev. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P.—S—C. Caracalla with his foot on a crocodile, holding sceptre and extending his hand to Africa coming towards him, and holding a Sistrum and ears of corn (Sestertius, struck in 215. A. D. — Coh. 334).

243. Obv. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG. GERM. Laureate head to r.

Rev. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. IIII. P. P.—S—C. Serapis standing with head turned to l. holding hasta pura (Aureus, struck in 216. A. D. — Coh. 347. Cf. Coh. 348-351).

In 216 Caracalla treacherously seized the King of Armenia and also Abgar IX of Edessa. Henceforth Edessa became his headquarters. Caracalla was murdered at the instigation of Opellius Macrinus on April 8<sup>th</sup> 217.

THE ANTONINIANUS.

One feature of the coinage of Caracalla is the appearance in the later years of his reign of a new coin known as the Antoninianus. It has sometimes been described as a *double* Denarius, but it seems probable that its value was equal to one and a half Denarii. Its weight was about 80 grains [5.45 grammes] and was more debased than any silver coin yet produced in the history of the Empire, since it contained only 20-40 per cent. of pure metal.

The excessive debasement of the silver under Septimius Severus as a result of his military policy has already been referred to. Caracalla continued the policy of his father but exceeded him in reckless extravagance by the over payment of the legions.

The Antoninianus was probably invented with the object of temporarily warding off the bankruptcy of the Imperial exchequer by a system of token money of little intrinsic value.

MACRINUS AND DIADUMENIANUS.

After the murder of Caracalla and the extinction of the family of Severus the choice of the army fell somewhat reluctantly upon M. Opellius Macrinus as Emperor. Macrinus was doomed to failure from the start. He was the first man to be raised to the supreme position in the government who was not of Senatorial rank, thereby calling forth an indignant protest from the aristocracy and from all those who aimed at upholding the dignity of the Imperial station. His birth was obscure and he had never distinguished himself in any matter of public service. Reports soon spread amongst his enemies that he was born a slave and trained as a gladiator, and also his complicity in the murder of Caracalla leaked out. Worse than all, so far as the fortunes of Macrinus were concerned, the army became disaffected owing to his scheme for increased economy in finance. His brief and unsatisfactory reign proved conclusively that the wrong man had been chosen for Emperor.

In the year 218 Macrinus, though no general, was obliged to take the field against the Parthian King, Vologases who had invaded Mesopotamia. The result was indecisive and Macrinus was forced to conclude an inglorious peace with the Parthians.

This is the only political event of the reign and is recorded on the following coin :—

244. Obv. IMP . CAES . M . OPEL . SEV . MACRINVS . AVG.  
Laureate and cuirassed bust of Macrinus to r.

Rev. VICTORIA . PARTHICA . S - C. Victory seated to r. on a pile of arms, inscribing a shield (Sestertius. — Coh. 133).

This is the only type on the Coinage of Macrinus which bears any historical allusion. Of the unfortunate Diadumenian, who was raised to the post of Augustus, there are only two coin types, neither of which is of historical interest.

### ELAGABALUS.

After the murder of Caracalla, his aunt, Julia Maesa, sister of Julia Domna, was permitted to retire to Emesa where the cult of Elagabalus — “God of the mountain” — was carried on with all the splendour of Oriental mysticism. Maesa had two daughters, Soëmias and Mammaea, who were respectively the mothers of M. Aurelius Antoninus (Elagabalus) and Alexander Severus. In the gorgeous temple of the unconquered Sun God the young Antoninus officiated as high priest. A numerous body of troops was stationed at Emesa; and, as the soldiers strongly resented the severe discipline of Macrinus, they very soon directed their hopes towards the handsome young pontiff in whom they recognised the true descendant of the house of Severus. At length, on May 16<sup>th</sup> 218, Antoninus was proclaimed Emperor at Emesa. The forces of Macrinus and Elagabalus met near Antioch (June 8<sup>th</sup> 218) when Macrinus threw away his last chance of retrieving his position by a precipitate flight from the battle field. He and his son Diadumenian were murdered by orders of Elagabalus shortly afterwards.

The reign of Elagabalus is a record of unworthy and trivial incidents amidst which the emperor shewed himself an object of puerile contempt and effeminate depravity.

His victory over Macrinus is recorded on the following coins.

245. Obv. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG.  
Laureate head to r.

Rev. FIDES. EXERCITVS. S—C. Female seated to l. holding a military standard and an eagle; in front of her is a standard fixed in the ground (Sestertius, struck in 218. A. D. — Coh. 35).

246. Obv. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG.  
Laureate head to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. ANTONINI. AVG. —S—C. Victory to r. holding wreath and palm branch (Sestertius, struck in 218. A. D. — Coh. 297).

Elagabalus made his entry into Rome in the Spring of A. D. 219. He arrived in his sacerdotal robes of silk and gold, after the loose flowing fashion of the Medes and Phœnicians; his head was covered with a lofty tiara, his numerous collars and bracelets were adorned with gems of inestimable value. His eye-brows were tinged with black and his cheeks painted with an artificial red and white. In the procession the sacred black stone of Emesa was solemnly borne in a chariot drawn by milk white horses, and deposited in the sumptuous temple on the Palatine surrounded by the sacred emblems of the ancient Roman religion.

In this connection the following coins may be noticed : —

247. Obv. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. ADVENTVS. AVGVSTI.—S—C. The Emperor on horseback to l. He is in military costume, with right hand raised, and holding in his left a sceptre, his cloak flying from his shoulders (Sestertius, struck 219. A.D. — Coh. 6).

248. Obv. IMP. ANTONINVS. PIVS. AVG. Laureate and cuirassed bust to r.

Rev. CONSERVATOR. AVG. Quadriga to l. on which is placed the sacred conical stone of Emesa adorned with an eagle; in the field a star (Aureus, struck in 219. A.D. — Coh. 18).

References to the peculiar Oriental cult which Elagabalus introduced into Rome and of which he was the high pontiff are frequent on his coins, of which the following Reverses are examples:—

249. INVICTVS. SACERDOS. AVG. The Emperor in pontifical robes standing to l., pouring a libation from a patera over a lighted altar. In the field, a star (Denarius. — Coh. 61).

250. SACERD. DEI. SOLIS. ELAGAB. The Emperor standing to r., holding a closely cut laurel branch, sacrificing. Star above (Denarius. — Coh. 245).

The star, as it is usually described, which occurs with great frequency on the coins of Elagabalus, is probably intended as an emblem of the sun, which would appropriately symbolise the Emperor's favorite cult.

### ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

Towards the close of the reign of Elagabalus the dominant figure in Roman politics was Julia Maesa, the Emperor's grandmother. Her position was without precedent in the annals of the Empire for she was allowed to participate officially in the deliberations of the Senate. At her instigation Elagabalus was prevailed upon to adopt his cousin, Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, as Caesar [July 10, 221].

The popularity of the young Alexander with the army aroused the suspicions of the Emperor, who immediately made designs on his life. The guards, however, took Alexander under their protection and on March 11<sup>th</sup> 222 A.D. murdered the wretched Elagabalus together with his mother and his ministers.

Alexander was in every respect a welcome contrast to his predecessor, and historians agree in bestowing on him the highest praise on account of his many amiable virtues. His reign was, for the most part, a period of uneventful calm. Alexander acted the part of a social and political reformer with considerable moderation. But the abuses which had crept into the army, not only tended to disor-



ganise the troops but also acted as a drain on the Imperial finances. To effect any real reform in this direction was a task which would have baffled the powers of a greater man than Alexander.

The coins of Alexander whilst eminently symbolical of Roman piety have few historical allusions. The Tribunitian dates are frequently omitted and consequently many of his coins cannot be placed with chronological exactness.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. pot.	Consul.	Imperator.	
221	974				CAESAR.
222	975	Tr. P.	COS.	IMP.	
223	976	Tr. P. II.	COS.	IMP.	
224	977	Tr. P. III.	COS.	IMP.	
225	978	Tr. P. IV.	COS. DES. II.	IMP.	PIUS.
226	979	Tr. P. V.	COS. II.	IMP.	
227	980	Tr. P. VI.	COS. II.	IMP.	
228	981	Tr. P. VII.	COS. II. DES. III.	IMP.	
229	982	Tr. P. VIII.	COS. III.	IMP.	
230	983	Tr. P. IX.	COS. III.	IMP.	
231	984	Tr. P. X.	COS. III.	IMP.	
232	985	Tr. P. XI.	COS. III.	IMP.	
233	986	Tr. P. XII.	COS. III.	IMP.	
234	987	Tr. P. XIII.	COS. III.	IMP.	
235	988	Tr. P. XIV.	COS. III.	IMP.	

#### RELIGIOUS REFORMS OF ALEXANDER.

Having appointed a select Council of sixteen worthy Senators to act as advisers, one of the first acts of Alexander was to purge the city of the superstition and follies of his contemptible predecessor.

The oriental cult of Elagabalus was discontinued, and the older Roman deities restored to their position of veneration.

Although the number of deities which appear on the Reverse of Alexander's coins is small, the frequency with which Jupiter, in his various aspects, is represented may be taken as an indication of this desire on the part of Alexander to restore the ancient Roman worship.

Thus we find for example: — IOVI. CONSERVATORI; IOVI. VLTORI; IOVI. PROPVGNATORI; IOVI. STATORI.

#### THE MONETARY REFORMS OF ALEXANDER.

One of the reforms undertaken by Alexander was to restore the Silver coinage, which had become hopelessly debased under Severus and his successors, to something approaching its original purity.

This was not altogether carried into effect, although a smaller proportion of alloy was used than in the previous reigns. But the *Antoninianus* disappears and far greater care is bestowed upon the workmanship of the Denarii. The high relief in which the head of Alexander appears on the Denarii is readily noticeable in comparison with the coins of the Emperors who preceded and followed him.

251. Obv. IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER. AVG. Radiate head of Alexander to r.

Rev. RESTITVTOR. MON.—S.C. The Emperor in military dress standing, holding in his left hand a *hasta pura*, and in his right a coin (?) (Dupondius. — Coh. 516).

252. Obv. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER. AVG. Laureate head to r.

Cev. MONETA. AVGVSTI. S—C. Juno Moneta standing, holding a pair of scales; on her left arm rests a cornucopia; on the ground is a pile of money (Coh. 178-179. *Æ.* and *Æ.*).

253. Obv. IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER. AVG. Radiate head to r.

Rev. MON. RESTITVTA. S.C. Juno Moneta standing to l. (Dupondius. — Coh. 180).

Certain coins struck in the year 229 (TR. P. VIII) make allusion to military operations and victories of that or the preceding year concerning which historians are silent. It would appear that one of those numerous outbreaks on the Northern frontier had occurred and that some of the German tribes had been repulsed. Alexander had no triumph accorded to him but the coins seem to have been struck in recognition of the success of the Roman arms.

254. Obv. IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER. AVG. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P. Alexander holding a branch, accompanied by Victory in a quadriga. Two soldiers are leading the horses (2<sup>nd</sup> Brass. Struck in A. D. 229. — Coh. 386).

255. Obv. IMP. SEV. ALEXAND. AVG. Laureate head to r.

Rev. P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P. Alexander in Quadriga to r., holding sceptre surmounted by an eagle (Denarius. — Coh. 376. A. D. 229).

The type of Alexander in a victorious quadriga occurs with numerous variations on coins struck in this year. Cf. Coh. 278-386.

#### THE PERSIAN WAR.

On the fall of the Arsacid kingdom of Parthia the ambitious prince, Ardashir, son of Pábak, seized the opportunity of re-establishing the Persian kingdom. On April 28<sup>th</sup> A. D. 227 he conquered Artabanus and shortly afterwards made himself master of Ctesiphon and Babylonia.

The successful Ardashir then crossed the Euphrates, overran the Roman Mesopotamia and laid siege to Nisibis.

In A.D. 231 Alexander and his mother set out for the East and the campaign opened under the personal command of the Emperor in the following year. The danger which was threatened from the newly created Persian kingdom was temporarily averted and Alexander celebrated a triumph on his return to Rome in September A.D. 233.

Owing to the absence of the Tribunitian dates from the coins of Alexander it is impossible to attribute them accurately to their year of issue. The following, however, may with tolerable certainty be connected with the Persian campaign.

256. Obv. IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER. AVG. Laureate head to r.

Rev. ADLOCVTIO. AVGVSTI. S—C. The Emperor, with two attendants, addressing several soldiers who bear military standards (Sestertius. — Struck probably 231 A.D. — Coh. 3).

257. Obv. IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER. AVG. Laureate head to r.

Rev. PROTECTIO. AVGVSTI. S—C. The Emperor on horseback to r. preceded by Victory holding wreath and palm-branch (Sestertius. — Struck probably 231 A.D. — Coh. 492).

258. Obv. IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER. AVG. Laureate head to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. AVGVSTI. S—C. Victory standing to r. inscribing VOT. X. on a shield affixed to a palm tree, her left foot resting on a helmet (Sestertius. — Coh. 567).

The legend VOT. X. would place the issue of this coin in 231 or 232 A.D. while the war against Persia was still going on. The reference may possibly be to some initial successes gained by the Emperor.

259. Obv. IMP. ALEXANDER. PIVS. AVG. Laureate head to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. AVG. Victory standing to l. (Aureus. — Coh. 557. Cf. Coh. 555-574).

In the year 234 Alexander was summoned to the Rhine to take the field against the German tribes who had renewed their invasion of the territory. Instead of facing an engagement he made terms with the enemy, thereby exasperating his troops, who were growing tired of the policy of Alexander and his mother.

In March A.D. 235 the Emperor and his mother were murdered at Mainz and Caius Julius Verus Maximinus, a Thracian peasant was saluted as Emperor by the Legions.

### MAXIMINUS.

Maximinus possessed no qualification for the Imperial office; and his only recommendation for distinction was his huge physical strength and brutal courage. He was originally a herdsman and

enlisted in the Roman army. He was noticed by Severus on account of his gigantic stature and thus rose from the ranks to the position of Centurion.

Maximinus assumed the Tribunitian power in 235 A.D. but comparatively few of his coins bear the Tribunitian dates.

Since Maximinus was elected solely by the favour of the troops the following coin may naturally be placed amongst the earliest of his reign : —

260. Obv. IMP. MAXIMINVS. PIVS. AVG. Laureate head of Maximinus to r.

Rev. FIDES. MILITVM. S—C. Female figure, representing military fidelity, holding a standard in each hand (Denarius. — Coh. 7).

The same type occurs on coins bearing the title GERMANICUS on the obverse, which must have been struck in, or after, the year 236 A.D.

#### MAXIMINUS IN GERMANIA.

The first act of Maximinus was to prosecute the war against the German barbarians, with whom Alexander had weakly come to terms. This he did with brutal vigour and the Germans were thrust beyond the line of frontier defences. Maximinus received the title of *Germanicus* in the year 236.

261. Obv. MAXIMINVS. PIVS. AVG. GERM. Laureate head to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. GERMANICA. S—C. Victory standing, holding wreath and palm-branch. A bound captive is seated on the ground at her feet (Sestertius. — Struck c. 236 A.D. — Coh. 109).

262. Similar legend on obverse.

Rev. VICTORIA. GERMANICA. S—C. The Emperor standing, crowned by Victory. A captive is seated on the ground (Sestertius. — Struck C. 236 A.D. — Coh. 114).

#### MAXIMINUS AND MAXIMUS.

The Emperor associated his son Maximus with him on his elevation to the Imperium and conferred on him the title of *Caesar*. The coins of Maximus are without historical references, and possess little interest beyond the portraiture of the young Caesar. The following coin alludes to the association of father and son in the government.

263. Obv. MAXIMINVS. PIVS. AVG. GERM. Head of Maximinus to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. AVGVSTORVM. S.C. Maximinus in military dress hand in hand with Maximus, who is togated. An attendant

stands on either side. Two captives are seated face to face beneath a Victoriola (Sestertius. — Coh. 104).

#### THE CIVIL WAR OF 238.

During the year 238 A.D. no fewer than seven individuals aspired to hold the principate. Dissatisfaction with the barbarisms of Maximinus soon found expression; and in February, M. Antonius Gordianus Africanus and his son were proclaimed joint Emperors by the rebels in Africa. Their rule was speedily terminated. The younger Gordian was killed in a battle against Capellianus, the Legatus of Numidia, whom the Gordians had attempted to oust from his command in Africa. Whereupon Gordianus Senior committed suicide. The Senate declared Maximinus a public enemy, and elected M. Clodius Pupienus and D. Coelius Balbinus as colleagues in the Empire, giving the government of Rome to Balbinus, while Pupienus was entrusted with the command against Maximinus. The renewed brutality of Maximinus produced a revulsion amongst his troops and he and his son Maximus were murdered near Aquileia. Pupienus at once received the submission of the army of Maximinus and returned to Rome. Here the vox populi demanded that the youthful grandson of Gordianus should be elected as co-emperor, and the Senate, fearing a popular disturbance, acceded to the demand. Even so the disturbing factions were not satisfied and the Pretorians were not slow in shewing their resentment at the Senatorial policy. During the celebration of the Capitoline Festival in June, Pupienus and Balbinus were seized by the Guards and assassinated. Thus Gordianus Pius became sole Emperor about the middle of 238.

#### THE TWO GORDIANS.

During the troubled months of the first half of the year 238, coins were struck bearing the portraits of all the short lived Emperors; but as may be expected, the coins contain but scanty references to the turmoil of civil strife.

*Gordianus Africanus Senr.*

264. Obv. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS. AFR. AVG.  
Laureate head of the elder Gordian to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. AVGG. — S—C. Winged Victory to l., holding wreath and palm-branch (Sestertius. — Coh. 14).

*Gordianus Africanus Junr.*

265. Obv. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS. AFR. AVG.  
Laureate head of the younger Gordian to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. AVGG. Winged Victory to l., holding wreath and branch (Denarius. — Coh. 12).

Since the Gordians were both signally defeated by Capellianus at the opening of hostilities there was no semblance of a victory to be attributed to them. The above coins must therefore have been struck in anticipation by their adherents in Africa.

The same type of **VICTORIA.AVGG.** occurs on the coins of both Pupienus and Balbinus. In their case the reference is to the fall of Maximinus at Aquileia, which was accomplished by the revengeful Parthian soldiers rather than through the military tactics of Pupienus. Balbinus, it will be remembered, remained in Rome at the time.

### **PUPIENUS AND BALBINUS.**

A number of coins bear reference to the joint government of the two Emperors. The type adopted is two right hands clasped, accompanied by the legends, — **CONCORDIA.AVGG**; **FIDES MVTVA.AVGG.**; **PIETAS MVTVA.AVGG**; **CARITAS MVTVA AVGG.**; **AMOR MVTVVS AVGG.** From such it might be inferred that the most cordial relationship existed between the colleagues, which however is not corroborated by historians. During the brief period of their residence in Rome their mutual jealousy became notorious.

The same type of the clasped hands is also found with the legend **PATRES SENATVS** (Antoninianus of Pupienus. — *Coh.* 21).

The establishment of the government of Pupienus and Balbinus was purely the creation of the Senate. It marks the last political achievement of the Senatorial as opposed to the Pretorian party. The downfall of the two Emperors was the outcome of the determination on the part of the Pretorians to assert their authority in the matter of Imperial elections, rather than of any dissatisfaction with either Pupienus or Balbinus personally.

During this period the Antoninianus reappears although the Denarius continued to be coined down to the early part of the reign of Gordian III., after which it practically ceases until the monetary reform of Diocletian. Having thus established a manifestly base coin to pass for silver, the future stages in its degeneration follow in rapid succession.

### **GORDIANUS III. PIUS.**

The coins of Gordian III. comprise but few types of historical interest and are for the most part undated. They may however be divided into three periods, according to the Imperial titles which are employed consistently.

(1) Coins with the unlaureate head of Gordian, and the legend **M.ANT.GORDIANVS.CAES.** were struck in the earlier part of

the year 238, during the joint government of Pupienus and Balbinus.

(2) On his accession as sole Emperor in June 238, Gordian adopted the style IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS. AVG. which is found on all coins struck between June 238 and the end of 239.

(3) In the early part of the year 240 the additional titles of *Pius* and *Felix* were conferred on Gordian. From this date onwards his style appears as IMP. GORDIANVS. PIVS FELIX [or FEL.] AVG.

Notwithstanding the shortness of the reign of Gordian III., his coins portray him with evident signs of increasing age. Those on which he is styled GORDIANVS CAES represent an extremely youthful portrait. During his reign he is portrayed first as a young man, then with side whiskers, and on some of his later coins, with a slight beard.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. Pot.	Consul.	Imperator.	
238	991	Tr. P.	COS.	IMP.	M. ANT. GORDIANVS. CAES. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS. AVG.
239	992	Tr. P. I. II.	COS.	IMP.	
240	993	Tr. P. II. III.	COS.	IMP.	PIVS FELIX.
241	994	Tr. P. III. IV.	COS. II.	IMP.	
242	995	Tr. P. IV. V.	COS. II.	IMP.	
243	996	Tr. P. V. VI.	COS. II.	IMP. II.	
244	997	Tr. P. VI. VII.	COS. II.	IMP. II.	

The reign of Gordian III. is lacking in any events of a definite character either for good or ill. There was military activity on three sides of the Empire but little actual achievement. In the year 240 a revolution broke out at Carthage headed by Sabinianus; on the Danube frontier the Germanic tribes once again invaded Roman territory and harassed lower Moesia; and in the East the Persian monarch, Shapur I., who succeeded Ardashir, took aggressive measures against the Roman frontier provinces. The Carthaginian trouble was disposed of without much difficulty; Tullius Menophilus succeeded in checking the inroads of the Northerners; and in 242 A. D. Gordian himself took the command in the East. The Persians were forced to retreat and by a decisive victory Edessa and Nisibis fell once more into the hands of Rome. This is the only definite success which is recorded in the reign of Gordian, for he was killed in a mutiny near Circensium in February 244 A. D.

The coin types of Gordian III. are for the most part such as might be expected from a period devoid of definite incidents.

Period 1 (238 A.D.) is characterised by the PIETAS type with the added reference to the Emperors Pupienus and Balbinus in the word AVGG.

Period 2 (later part of 238 and 239 A.D.) abounds in the more ordinary devices such as. FIDES MILITVM — CONCORDIA — PROVIDENTIA — ABVNDANTIA — ROMAE AETERNAE — PAX — LIBERALITAS — SALVS — AETERNITAS.

In this period two types referring to military successes occur.

266. Obv. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS. AVG. Laureate head to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. AVG. — S. C. Victory to l., holding a wreath and palm-branch (Sestertius. Struck in A.D. 239. — Coh. 358).

267. Obv. (Similar to preceding).

Rev. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. — S. C. The Emperor standing in Quadriga going to l., in his r. hand a sceptre surmounted by an eagle (Sestertius. Struck in A.D. 239. — Coh. 221).

Period 3 (240 to 244 A.D.) comprises a large number of types which have merely a general significance, e. g. CONCORDIA. MILIT. — IOVI. STATORI — LIBERTAS — SECVRITAS — LIBERALITAS — VIRTVS — FELICITAS TEMPORVM — LAETITIA — FORTVNA REDVX — SALVS — MARS PROPVG NAT — PAX AETERNA — PIETAS — AEQVITAS — MARTI. PACIFERO — PROVIDENTIA — ORIENS — &c.

#### THE PERSIAN WAR OF GORDIANUS III.

Gordian's expedition to the East in the year 242 and the victories gained over the Persians are recorded on the following examples:—

268. Obv. IMP. GORDIANVS. PIVS. FELIX. AVG. Laureate and draped bust to r.

Rev. ADLOCVTIO. AVGVSTI. S. C. Gordian, in military dress, on an estrade, addressing three soldiers who carry standards (Sestertius. — Coh. 13).

269. Obv. IMP. GORDIANVS. PIVS. FELIX. AVG. Laureate and cuirassed bust to l.

Rev. PROPECTIO. AVG. Gordian in military dress, on horseback to l., holding sceptre; he is preceded by Victory holding a crown and palm, and a soldier holding a standard. Behind him are three soldiers (Bronze medallion. — Coh. 294. Struck 242 A.D.).

270. Obv. IMP. GORDIANVS. PIVS. FEL. AVG. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. TRAIECTVS. AVG. Ship with five rowers and four soldiers, two of whom carry standards, and two with bucklers and spears (Dupondius. — Coh. 343. Struck 242 A.D.).



271. Obv. IMP.GORDIANVS.PIVS.FEL.AVG. Radiate bust to r.

Rev. VICTORIA.GORDIANI.AVG. Victory to r., holding wreath and palm-branch (Denarius. Struck c. 243. — Coh. 380).

272. Obv. IMP.GORDIANVS.PIVS.FELIX.AVG. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. VIRTVS AVGVSTI—S—C. Gordian seated to l. on cuirass, holding a spear, and crowned by victory, who holds a palm (Dupondius. Struck c. 243. — Coh. 400).

### PHILIP I AND II.

Philip the Arabian was proclaimed Emperor in February 244 and his election was immediately ratified by the Senate. In 245 he gained some successes against the Carpi, a tribe allied to the Dacians. The most remarkable event of the reign of Philip was the Celebration of the one thousandth anniversary of the foundation of Rome, on which occasion the Ludi Sæculares were held with unprecedented magnificence (April 21<sup>st</sup> A.D. 248). Later in the year the feeling of unrest again manifested itself when the Danubian Legions set up Marinus Pacatianus as Emperor. Philip dispatched against him Q. Trajanus Decius and, on the murder of Pacatianus, Decius was proclaimed Emperor by the troops. Hereupon Philip himself took the command against his fresh rival but was defeated and killed at Verona (249 A.D.) and his son was subsequently murdered by the Pretorians at Rome.

#### PHILIP SEN<sup>r</sup>.

#### PHILIP JUNIOR.

A.D.	A.U.C.	Trib. Pot.		Trib. Pot.	
244	997	TR. P.		TR. P.	
245	998	TR. P. II.	COS. I.	TR. P. II.	
246	999	TR. P. III.	COS. I.	TR. P. III.	
247	1000	TR. P. IV.	COS. II.	TR. P. IV.	COS. I.
248	1001	TR. P. V.	COS. III.	TR. P. V.	COS. II.
249	1002	TR. P. VI.	COS. III.	TR. P. VI.	COS. II.

The following types may be taken as examples of coins bearing reference to the principal events of the reign.

273. Obv. IMP.M.IVL.PHILIPPVS.AVG. Radiate bust of Philip I to r.

Rev. ADVENTVS.AVGG. Emperor on horseback to l. raising his r. hand (Ant. Struck A.D. 245. — Coh. 3).

The reference is to the arrival of Philip and his son in Rome after the death of Gordian III.

274. Obv. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS. AVG. Radiate bust to r.  
Rev. VICTORIA. AVG. Victory running to r. holding wreath and palm; and another with Rev. VICTORIA. AVGG. Victory standing to l. holding wreath and palm (cf. Coh. 224 to 237).

No tribunitian date is given to fix the exact year in which the victories took place. The use of the singular AVG on the former of the two would seem to suggest that the reference is to the victory or more accurately the truce made with Persia in 244. The second coin with the legend AVGG would more naturally apply to the successes gained over the Carpi in 245 or possibly to the defeat of the usurper Pacatianus.

On the following example is a specific reference to the victory over the Carpi.

275. Obv. IMP. PHILIPPVS. AVG. Radiate bust to r.  
Rev. VICTORIA. CARPICA. Victory advancing to r. holding a crown and palm (Ant. — Coh. 238. Struck 247 A.D.).

#### THE MILLENNARY CELEBRATION. A.D. 248.

The Ludi Saeculares, held on the occasion of the thousandth anniversary of the founding of Rome, are recorded on a large and interesting series of coins. The actual ceremonial of the Ludi is not depicted on the coins of Philip, but representations occur of various animals, the exhibition of which formed one of the chief features of the celebration. Gordian III had collected an entire menagerie including sixty lions, thirty-two elephants, ten tigers, ten elks, ten hyænas, numerous antelopes, one hippopotamus, one rhinoceros, forty wild horses, twenty wild asses, ten giraffes, etc., all of which Philip exhibited for the public entertainment.

The following types occur in this connexion : —

SAECVLARES. AVGG. A cippus inscribed  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{COS} \\ \text{III} \end{smallmatrix}$ .

SAECVLVM. NOVVM. An octastyle or hexastyle temple, within which is a seated figure. The temple here represented is probably that of Jupiter Capitolinus.

MILIARIVM. SAECVLVM. A cippus inscribed  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{COS} \\ \text{III} \end{smallmatrix}$ .

The animal types are arranged in sequence, and on the silver coins (Antoniniani) the numerals I to VI appear in the exergue. The legend in each case being, SAECVLARES AVGG.

I. Lion to r.

II. Wolf and Twins to l.

III. Gazelle.

IV. Hippopotamus.

V. Stag to r.

VI. Antelope to l.

The tiger, elephant, hyæna, rhinoceros and giraffe are not found on any known examples of the coins of Philip.

#### THE COMMEMORATION COINS.

A curious series of commemorative coins bearing the portraits of various Emperors from Augustus to Alexander Severus occurs about this period. The coins which are of the Antoninianus type have frequently been termed "Restitutions of Gallienus". But there seems no satisfactory ground for this attribution. The style of work and quality of the metal are alike too good for the period and suggest an earlier date.

The Millenary Celebration of Philip would be the most appropriate occasion on which to revive the memory of Rome's greatest Emperors and the general style of the *Restitutio* coins well accords with the date 248 A.D.

The Reverse legend of the entire series is CONSECRATIO and the type is an eagle or an altar.

On the Obverse are portraits of the following Emperors represented wearing the radiate crown, the legend being DIVO &c.

Augustus. (1) An eagle. — Coh. 504. (2) An altar. — Coh. 505.

Vespasian. (1) An eagle. — Coh. 509. (2) An altar. — Coh. 510.

Titus. (1) An eagle. — Coh. 319. (2) An altar. — Coh. 321.

Nerva. (1) An eagle. — Coh. 126. (2) An altar. — Coh. 127.

Trajan. (1) An eagle. — Coh. 552. (2) An altar. — Coh. 550.

Hadrian. (1) An eagle. — Coh. 1162. (2) An altar. — Coh. 128 (suppl.).

Antoninus. (1) An eagle. — Coh. 987. (2) An altar. — Coh. 988.

M. Aurelius. (1) An eagle. — Coh. 820.

Commodus. (1) An eagle. — Coh. 868. (2) An altar. — Coh. 869.

Sept. Severus (1) An eagle. — Coh. 668.

Alexander Severus. (1) An eagle. — Coh. 463.

#### TRAJANUS DECIUS. 249-251. A.D.

The disruptive forces which were finally to work the ruin of the Roman Empire shew themselves with ominous distinctness in the latter half of the third century. There was no strong centralised administration, the Senate was a mere shadow, the successive Emperors chosen at the caprice of the army met with their untimely end at the hands of those who had pushed them into office. But more serious still; Rome's great enemy in the north was daily gathering

strength, and slowly but surely the great Gothic races, warlike and uncivilized, rolled southwards upon the Roman world weakened by its own corruption.

The brief reign of Decius was occupied with a campaign against the formidable Goths, under their king, Cniva. Decius, having conferred the rank of Caesar on his two sons, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilianus, took the command in the province of Moesia. The result of the campaign proved disastrous to the Roman arms. Decius was routed at Philippopolis, and in a second attack near the Dobrudsha he and his elder son, Herennius, were defeated and slain. (A.D. 251).

The coinage of Decius bears ample reference to the scene of military activity although there are but few Roman victories to record.

276. Obv. IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANVS. DECIVS. AVG. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. DACIA. S. C. Figure of Dacia standing, holding in her r. hand a long staff surmounted by an ass's head (Sestertius. — Coh. 18).

277. Obv. (Similar).

Rev. PANNONIAE. S. C. Two figures, representing the two districts of Pannonia Superior and Pannonia Inferior, each holding standards (Sestertius. — Coh. 87).

278. Obv. (Similar).

Rev. GENIVS. EXERCITVS. ILLYRICIANI. S. C. Semi-nude figure of Genius standing to l. holding patera and cornucopia; behind him is a military standard fixed in the ground (Sestertius. — Coh. 65).

The above types are found on the silver as well as on 1st and 2nd Brass.

The following coin which records a victory cannot reasonably be considered as referring to any of the operations against the Goths, but must be regarded as an allusion to the fall of Philip at Verona in 249 A.D.

279. Obv. IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANVS. DECIVS. AVG. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. AVG. S. C. Victory advancing to l. holding wreath and palm-branch (Sestertius. — Coh. 117).

The following type which is found on the coins of Decius and his sons Herennius and Hostilian records a victory gained over the tribes of Germania. The only success gained by Decius against the barbarian invaders was at Nicopolis in Bulgaria, which may have been the occasion for the issue of the following type :

280. IMP. CAE. TRA. DECIVS. AVG. Radiate bust to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. GERMANICA. Decius in military dress on

horseback to l. holding sceptre; preceded by Victory who holds palm and crown (Ant. — Coh. 122).

#### THE DOUBLE SESTERTIUS.

The most remarkable feature of the coinage of Decius is the appearance of the double Sestertius. This would appear to have been an attempt to restore the rapidly declining Bronze coins to something of their ancient grandeur. However, the experiment was not repeated. The double Sestertius exists in two varieties.

281. Obv. IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANVS. DECIVS. AVG. Radiate bust to r.

Rev. FELICITAS. SAECVLI—S—C. Standing figure of Happiness holding cornucopia and long caduceus (Coh. 39).



282. Obv. [Similar].

Rev. VICTORIA. AVG. S. C. Victory to l. holding wreath and palm (Coh. 115).

It would appear that these large pieces were struck early in the reign of Decius. The type of the first suggesting the anticipation of happiness after the death of the unpopular Philip, while the second must be connected with the Sestertius described above, No. 279. The style of the *Felicitas* type is of far greater artistic merit than the *Victoria*, and appears to have been struck in larger numbers than the latter.

#### HERENNIUS AND HOSTILIAN.

The coins of Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian possess no distinctive historical types apart from those of Decius. Thus on the coins of Herennius we find, GENIVS EXERCitus ILLYRICIANI, Coh. 6., PANNONIAE, Coh. 9., VICTORIA GERMANICA, Coh. 41.

And on the coins of Hostilian, PANNONIAE, Coh. 17., VICTORIA AVG, Coh. 67., VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM, Coh. 69., VICTORIA GERMANICA, Coh. 70.

# TREBONIANUS GALLUS AND VOLUSIAN.

On the death of Decius the choice of the legions fell on Trebonianus Gallus who was accordingly proclaimed Emperor. The first act of Gallus was to raise Hostilianus to the position of co-emperor and to confer on his son, Volusianus, the title of Caesar. But, as Hostilianus died of plague a few months afterwards, Volusian was raised to the position of Augustus in conjunction with his father.

283. Obv. IMP. CAE. C. VIB. TREB. GALLVS. AVG. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. II. COS. II. S. C. Treb. Gallus and Volusian seated in quadriga, facing; between them Victory crowning the emperor. Three soldiers are in attendance (Æ<sup>2</sup>. Coh. 97. Struck 252 A. D.).

Gallus then retired to Rome leaving M. Æmilianus in command against the Goths. In 253 Æmilianus scored a victory over the invaders and was immediately proclaimed Emperor by the enthusiastic troops. Then followed a repetition of the struggles of the year 249. Gallus summoned the Rhine army, under P. Licinius Valerianus, to his assistance; but in an engagement at Terni he and Volusian perished. Æmilianus speedily shared the fate of those who owed their exaltation to the whim of the army and was murdered in the camp at Spoleto by his own soldiers. Valerian thus in the year 254 found himself sole Emperor.

The coins of the ill-fated Emperors, Trebonianus Gallus, Volusianus and Æmilianus possess little historical interest. The following type appears for the first time on the coins of Gallus and Volusian.

284. Rev. IVNONI. MARTIALI—S—C. A circular domed temple raised on three steps, festoons of flowers are suspended from the columns on either side, and beneath the dome is a seated figure of Juno with a shield. Sometimes she is accompanied by a peacock (Coh. 52).

Coins bearing the legend VICTORIA AVG or AVGG with the usual Victory types exist of both Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian. The reference being probably to the successes gained in Lower Moesia.

The following coin of Æmilianus records the victory which he gained over the Goths in A. D. 253.

285. Obv. IMP. CAES. AEMILIANVS. P. F. AVG. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. VICTORIA. AVG. —S—C. Victory to l. holding wreath and branch (Sestertius).

VALERIANUS.

GALLIENUS.

A. D.	A. U. C.	Trib. Pot.	Consul.	Trib. Pot.	Consul.	
253	1006	Tr. P.	COS.	Tr. P.		
254	1007	Tr. P. I. II.	COS. II.	Tr. P. I. II.	COS.	
255	1008	Tr. P. II. III.	COS. III.	Tr. P. II. III.	COS. II.	
256	1009	Tr. P. III. IV.	COS. III.	Tr. P. III. IV.	COS. II. P. P.	GERMANICUS.
257	1010	Tr. P. IV. V.	COS. IV.	Tr. P. IV. V.	COS. III.	
258	1011	Tr. P. V. VI.	COS. IV.	Tr. P. V. VI.	COS. III.	
259	1012	Tr. P. VI. VII.	COS. IV.	Tr. P. VI. VII.	COS. III. P. M.	
260	1013	—	—	Tr. P. VII. VIII.	COS. III.	
261	1014	—	—	Tr. P. VIII. IX.	COS. IV.	
262	1015	—	—	Tr. P. IX. X.	COS. V.	
263	1016	—	—	Tr. P. X. XI.	COS. V.	
264	1017	—	—	Tr. P. XI. XII.	COS. V.	
265	1018	—	—	Tr. P. XII. XIII.	COS. VI.	
266	1019	—	—	Tr. P. XIII. XIV.	COS. VII.	
267	1020	—	—	Tr. P. XIV. XV.	COS. VII.	
268	1021	—	—	Tr. P. XV. XVI.	COS. VII.	

VALERIANUS.

In so revolutionary an age it was at least remarkable that Valerianus was innocent of complicity in the murder of his predecessor. He was a man of no mean ability, and, had his lot been cast in more propitious times, Valerian might have ranked amongst Rome's great Emperors. The task of coping with the overwhelming forces which menaced the Empire on the north and east was beyond the power of any but a superlative genius.

Valerian's first scheme was to found a dynasty and so make the succession to the principate secure. His son, P. Licinius Gallienus, was immediately raised to the position of Augustus and his two grandsons, Valerianus Junior and Saloninus, were marked out as future rulers. The scheme was rendered futile on account of the sheer incompetency of Gallienus, who lacked all sense of responsibility, and was better suited to be a stage manager than an emperor.

Valerian soon found his resources taxed to the utmost. The determined northern tribes, the Goths, the Marcomanni and the Carpi, finding their advance checked by the Roman legions on the Danube, took a fresh direction by way of the Tauric Chersonese to the Bosphorus and thence to the defenceless province of Bithynia.

In the East, Shapur, the ambitious king of Persia, made a desperate onslaught on the fortresses of Armenia with the object of securing Mesopotamia. Nisibis and Carrhæ were again captured by

the Persians and Antioch was betrayed. Valerian, who personally commanded the troops in the East, appears to have gained some initial successes and regained Antioch. But on his way to the relief of Edessa his army suffered a crushing defeat and he himself was taken prisoner (A.D. 259).

Historical allusions on the coinage of Valerian are few in number. The following type makes its first appearance and occurs also on the coins of Gallienus and Claudius Gothicus.

286. Obv. IMP.C.P.LIC.VALERIANVS.AVG. Radiate bust to r.

Rev. VOTA.ORBIS. Two Victories placing on a palm tree a shield inscribed S.C. (Ant. — Coh. 279).

The feeling of gratification on the election of Valerian was by no means confined to the army, or the populace, but was shared almost unanimously by the Roman world, so that the framers of this legend may be exonerated from undue hyperbole.

The seeming extravagance of such legends as *Restitutori orbis*, *Restitutori generis humani* or *Restitutori orientis*, is certainly more excusable on the coins of Valerian than in the case of many of the Emperors on whose coins these or similar expressions occur. Stress of circumstances rather than lack of ability doomed the fair promise of Valerian to failure.

Successes gained by Valerian and Gallienus against the Marcomanni, Carpi and Goths, 255 A.D.

287. Obv. IMP.C.P.LIC.VALERIANO.AVG. Radiate bust to r.

Rev. VICTORIA.GERMANICA. Victory standing to r. with shield and palm; at her feet a captive (Ant. — Coh. 252).

288. Obv. IMP.C.P.LIC.VALERIANVS.P.F.AVG. Laureate bust to r.

Rev. VICTORIA.AVGG.S.C. Victory standing to l. holding wreath and palm-branch (Sestertius. — Coh. 219).

The victory referred to is probably that gained against the Goths on the Danubian frontier (A.D. 255). The command of the forces was nominally in the hands of Gallienus. In this connexion the following type which occurs on both the coins of Valerian and Gallienus may be noticed : —

289. Obv. IMP.C.P.LIC.VALERIANVS.P.F.AVG. Radiate bust.

Rev. VICTORIAE.AVGG.II.GERM. Victory standing holding branch, a captive at her feet (Ant. — Coh. 242).

The miserable end of Valerian at the hands of Shapur, king of Persia, has been variously recorded by historians. Unquestionably the Persian advance was a crushing blow to the Roman arms. It is



difficult however to account for the existence of the following type which has no correspondence with the facts of history.

290. Obv. IMP. VALERIANVS. P. F. AVG. Radiate bust to r.

Rev. VICT. PART and VICTORIA PARTHICA. (Coh. 255, 256.

We might compare with this the Victory types of Gordian I and II.

### GALLIENUS (260-268 A.D.)

With characteristic indifference Gallienus made no effort to rescue his father nor did he do anything to check the Persian advance. For eight years after the capture of Valerian, Gallienus continued to hold the office of Emperor though it cannot be said that he ever ruled the Empire. His reign is chiefly remarkable for the number of usurpers who were successively proclaimed as rivals in the government, while amidst the general misrule the Barbarians and the Persians were pouring in from the north and east and the Roman legions were left to grapple with the danger as best they could. Ingenuus, the governor of Pannonia, was proclaimed Emperor at Sirmium shortly after the fall of Valerian, and no sooner was he disposed of than Regalianus and then Aureolus appeared in the field. In the East, Cyriades, Macrianus, Balista and Odoenathus set up rival governments, while sporadic attempts were made by Saturninus, Trebellianus, Piso, Valens, Æmilianus, and Celsus, besides the more solid usurpation in the west known as the Empire of the Gauls.

The coinage of Gallienus is remarkable (1) for the degenerate character of the silver and bronze. The so-called silver is the most debased that was issued at any period during the Empire and the Antoninianus becomes a copper coin thinly washed over with an alloy of silver and tin. The Bronze is small in size and irregular in shape and the Sestertius finally disappears altogether.

(2) The large number of deities which form the Reverse types. Examples of the following occur : — Apollo, Bacchus, Cybele, Hercules, Æsculapius, Janus, Jupiter, Juno, Mars, Mercury, Minerva, Neptune, Roma, Sol, Venus, Vesta and Vulcan. Also a number of mythological representations are found, such as Pegasus, Centaur, Capricorn, &c.

### THE EMPIRE OF THE GAULS.

The most important event during the reign of Gallienus was the founding of an imperium in imperio known as the Empire of the Gauls. After gaining some successes against the Franks, who had

invaded the province of Gaul, Postumus was proclaimed Emperor in A.D. 258. This coup differed essentially from the numerous bids for supreme power made by various usurpers already mentioned. Postumus and his adherents do not appear to have aimed at overthrowing Gallienus, but rather to mass together the Romano-Gallic people into a self governed province. This Imperium was continued by a succession of Emperors, Laelianus, Victorinus, Marius, Tetricus (father and son), Carausius and Allectus.

The type on the following coin, which is reminiscent of those of Hadrian and M. Aurelius, possesses a peculiar interest as referring not merely to benefits conferred by the Emperor upon the Gauls but to the establishment of the Gallic Imperium.

291. Obv, GALLIENVS.P.F.AVG. Radiate bust to r.

Rev. RESTIT.GALLIAR. The Emperor standing to l. and extending his right hand to the kneeling figure of Gallia (Coh. 895).

#### THE WARS OF GALLIENUS.

During the eight years of the reign of Gallienus, consequent on the capture of Valerian, numerous military operations were carried on, partly against the various usurpers who appeared on all sides, and partly against the barbarian tribes from the north, who swept over the Black Forest district and from thence crossed the Alps ravaging the plain of Northern Italy. Gallienus, despite his luxurious and vicious proclivities, took his share in personally commanding the army. The Alamanni were defeated near Milan in 262 and the usurpers were in turn successfully quashed.

The coinage bears abundant testimony to the military successes gained by Gallienus in such legends as VICTORIA GERMANICA, VIRTVS GALLIENI AVG., VICT.GAL.AVG., VICTORIA AVG., &c.

It is, however, arbitrary to assign the victories to any particular year. Those legends which contain the plural attribution AVGG may possibly refer to the earlier victories gained by Gallienus and his father, while those in the singular may refer to the victories of Gallienus as sole emperor.

#### THE MILITARY COINS OF GALLIENUS.

The keen interest displayed by Gallienus in the Army is abundantly illustrated on his coins. Not only do we meet with the more commonplace legends, CONCORDIA EXERCITuum, FIDES MILITVM, FIDES EXERCITVS, and FIDEI EQVITVM, but certain warlike legends make their appearance for the first time; such as DEO MARTI.

In addition to these legends of somewhat general import there exists a large series of military coins, struck in base silver or billon, on which various legions and divisions of the Roman army are commemorated and their respective badges or crests portrayed.

Thus LEG.II.ADI.VII.P.VII.F. is represented by a pegasus; LEG.II.PART.V.P.V.F. by a centaur; LEG.II.PART.VII P.VII.F. by a hippocamp; LEG.X.GEM.VI.P VI.F by a bull, &c.

The entire series comprises most of the legions from I to XXX.



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