

# THE ROMAN IMPERIAL COINAGE

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VOLUME I

REVISED EDITION

FROM 31 BC TO AD 69

BY

C. H. V. SUTHERLAND

*With Introductions to the Mints and 32 Plates*

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## FOREWORD

THE publication of a completely new edition of this, the first volume of *Roman Imperial Coinage*, marks a new stage in the now quite long history of this series. The appearance in 1981 of Vol. VIII by Dr J. P. C. Kent, covering the period 337 to 364, made available a complete account of the coinage from Augustus down to the death of Theodosius I in 395 and the effective division of the empire into its eastern and western parts. It is intended that, eventually, a final volume, Vol. X, will be prepared, also by Dr Kent, to carry the account of the coinage down to the reform of Anastasius in 498.

The utility of the series is not in question, and indeed the demand for it has necessitated a number of reprintings from 1948 onwards, for the series now commands universal acceptance as the standard method of reference. The sixty years which have elapsed since the publication of the first volume in 1923 have, however, brought changes and improvements in the methods and standards of presentation, and the editors have felt that there would now be benefit to the series from the re-publication of some of the earlier volumes.

It was in the execution of this policy that for a number of reasons it was decided that the first volume to be re-worked should be Vol. I, covering the period 31 BC to AD 69. In the first place this had been the pioneer volume in which Mattingly and Sydenham, the original authors and editors, had experimented with and developed the method of presentation. Again, the coinage of the Julio-Claudians, and of Augustus in particular, has been the subject of a great deal of research and publication in the past sixty years, the results of which require to be brought together and applied to a new presentation of the coinage. It seemed appropriate also that advantage should be taken of Dr C. H. V. Sutherland's willingness to undertake this work, for it is to him that many of the contributions to the understanding of the coinage of this period are due.

It must be emphasized in conclusion that this present volume is not a mere revision of the first edition but a completely new and much expanded account of the first century of Roman imperial coinage.

R. A. G. CARSON

## PREFACE TO THE 1923 EDITION

THE object of this handbook is to present, in a form serviceable both to students and collectors, the coinage of imperial Rome, classified, as far as is possible, under mints and dates. The natural grouping under emperors takes precedence of all others and under each reign the classification by mints and dates is variously applied to suit the circumstances of each case. The time has not yet come for a full corpus of Roman coins; but this book aims at rehandling the whole material known to Cohen, correcting it where necessary and adding any coins that have been published since his date. As far as possible forgeries have been eliminated: where doubt exists as to authenticity it has been indicated in the notes. Descriptions have been cut as short as seemed compatible with clearness. A general introduction handles the chief problems of Roman numismatics, mint authorities, money system, mints, types, etc. Special introductions to each reign deal with special questions of types and arrangement.

The abandonment of the purely alphabetical arrangement of Cohen may perhaps grieve some readers. It is, however, a necessary step, if Roman coins are to be appreciated and understood. The authors, therefore, feel no need to apologise for having taken it; and they have done their best to facilitate the finding of any individual coin by supplying full indexes of types and legends, short indexes of emperors, mints and moneyers, and a general index which supplements the special indexes. They believe that if these indexes are carefully used their method of arrangement will soon win acceptance on its merits.

For a complete bibliography of the subject readers are referred to the *British Museum Catalogue (Coins of the Roman Empire vol. I)*, pp. lxxx ff., to vol. I of M. Bernhart's revised and up-to-date edition of Cohen, and to Lorenzina Cesano, *Bibliografia Numismatica per gli anni 1914-1921*.

HAROLD MATTINGLY  
EDWARD A. SYDENHAM

## PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

IN the Preface to the original edition of this volume, published in 1923, Harold Mattingly and Edward Sydenham modestly defined their work as a 'hand-book . . . to present, in a form serviceable both to students and collectors the coinage of imperial Rome, classified, as far as is possible, under mints and dates', and they rightly felt no need to apologise for the abandonment of Cohen's useful but purely alphabetical (and thus unhistorical) arrangement. Each successive volume has increasingly justified the wisdom of their stated

objective, in which the majestic growth of Mattingly's knowledge and experience ultimately came to play a dominantly formative role, turning *RIC* into something which, if less at first than a corpus, became very much more than a handbook, as Volume VIII, itself a corpus, has most recently demonstrated. The currently conceived purpose of the series is to inform both numismatists and historians of as much of the structure and detail of the Roman imperial coinage as it is possible to do with adequate justifying argument and within reasonable compass.

It is only sixty years since the original Volume I (with a total of just over 1,400 numbered entries for the Julio-Claudian era) was published. Those sixty years, however, have brought very substantial changes. A succession of penetrating studies has been undertaken for virtually every section of the Julio-Claudian period, with the result that far more is now known for certain—and more too can be reasonably conjectured—about basic material, mint-attribution, and chronological sequence, to say nothing of mint-organization, mint-technique, economic control, and the rich harvest gained from die-analysis. For these reasons it has been necessary to re-write Volume I entirely, with new introductions and over 2,300 numbered coin-entries. No concordance has been possible, however, between the old and the new volume. The old volume frequently subsumed two or more varieties under the same entry; and its references were mainly to Cohen. The new volume assigns a separate entry to each main variety; and reference is made whenever possible to the British Museum catalogue, as being the most recently comprehensive one generally available.

In writing this new volume I have tried to take proper account of the scholarly work of those others who have contributed so much in this field. Thankful acknowledgement to them will be found throughout the pages that follow. Here I would mention only the names of the late Harold Mattingly, whose brilliant *BMCRI* is still an inexhaustible treasure-house of information and wonderfully fresh ideas, and to whose memory I dedicate this volume; as well as Andrew Burnett, J.-B. Giard, Michael Grant, K. V. Hewitt, my late and much-mourned colleague C. M. Kraay, D. W. Mac Dowall, P.-H. Martin, Anne S. Robertson, and D. R. Walker. The work of all these has been of fundamental value to me: without their diverse studies no such second edition as this would have been possible. My gratitude is due also to the many museum curators (and perhaps especially those of Rome, Naples, and Milan) who have given me great help, either during personal visits or by the generous provision of casts and photographs, and to those private collectors and others who kindly responded to my request for information about unpublished material.

Much of the work in the present volume is based on the ideas developed when I was writing *The Emperor and the Coinage* during a period of quiet reflection at the Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey, in 1973—a period for which I remain very grateful.

By no means least I have to thank my long-time friend, colleague, and co-editor of *Roman Imperial Coinage*, Robert Carson, for he gave me patient support in a project which at one time seemed to lie only distantly in the future; he helped me to reduce the number of my errors (those which remain



being mine alone); and he generously provided a very large number of casts made by the skill of the British Museum staff. I also have to thank the Leverhulme Trust for the valuable assistance given me by the award of an Emeritus Fellowship, as well as the Craven Committee of the University of Oxford for further financial help.

My deepest and warmest gratitude is that which I feel towards my wife, who sadly died when the work on this volume was virtually finished. Over the years she had encouraged me at every stage and had shown a joint and lively pleasure in all stages of progress. Such as the volume now is, it owes the greatest debt to her.

Ultimately work on the volume has been enabled to proceed (in ever more difficult economic times) and to appear only as the result of the forward-looking policy of Messrs Spink and Son, who have been responsible for *Roman Imperial Coinage* ever since it first began sixty years ago. It is my hope that this present volume will act as a stimulus to fresh studies of Julio-Claudian coinage, and also that the systematic process of revision, now begun, will continue for those later periods where it is most urgently needed.

*Cumnor, Oxford,  
New Year's Day 1983*

C. H. V. S.

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# ABBREVIATIONS

## 1. *Numismatic*

### (a) Denominational

Æ, *Aes*  
℞, Silver  
A, Gold  
Au, Aureus  
AuQ, Gold quinarius  
Au4, Quadruple aureus  
℞Q, Silver quinarius  
Cist, Cistophorus  
D, Denarius  
Didr, Didrachm  
Dp, Dupondius  
Dr, Drachma  
Quad, Quadrans  
S, Sest, Sestertius  
Sem, Semis

### (b) Descriptive

cmk., countermark  
dr., draped  
ex., exergue  
l., left  
laur., laureate  
obv., obverse  
r., right  
rad., radiate  
rev., reverse  
stg., standing

## 2. *Topographical*

References are made in the coin-lists to the following major collections, mainly national, and in many cases in abbreviated form:

A(merican) N(umismatic) S(ociety, New York)  
Basel  
Berlin  
Blackburn (Lancashire)  
Budapest  
B(ritish) M(useum, London)  
Cam.(bridge, Fitzwilliam Museum)  
Cop.(enhagen)  
Gotha (dispersed)

Hague  
 Hunter (Glasgow)  
 Len.(ingrad)  
 Lisb.(on)  
 May.(enne)  
 Madr.(id)  
 Madr.(id) Real Acad.(emia)  
 Manch.(ester)  
 Mil.(an)  
 Mun.(ich)  
 Nap.(les)  
 Ox.(ford, Ashmolean Museum)  
 Par.(is)  
 Ro.(me) T.(erme)  
 Ro.(me) Vat.(ican)  
 Stockh.(olm)  
 Trier  
 Verulam.(ium, Hertfordshire)  
 Vi.(enna)  
 Zur.(ich)

### 3. Bibliographical

#### (a) Periodicals

*AIIN Atti del istituto italiano di numismatica*  
*AJPh American Journal of Philology*  
*ASFN Annuaire de la société française de numismatique*  
*BSFN Bulletin de la société française de numismatique*  
*CR Classical Review*  
*JNG Jahrbuch d. Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*  
*JRS Journal of Roman Studies*  
*MN Museum Notes (Amer. Num. Soc.)*  
*NC Numismatic Chronicle*  
*NNM Numismatic Notes and Monographs (Amer. Num. Soc.)*  
*NZ Numismatische Zeitschrift*  
*QT Quaderni Ticinesi (Numismatica e Antichità classiche)*  
*RIN, R.It. Rivista italiana di numismatica*  
*RN Revue numismatique*  
*ZfN Zeitschrift für Numismatik*

#### (b) Substantive

The following are the principal abbreviations used in both the text and (without italics) in the reference columns of the coin-lists.

ACG	C. M. Kraay, <i>The Aes Coinage of Galba</i> (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs no. 133) (New York, 1956).
AM	P.-H. Martin, <i>Die anonymen Münzen des Jahres 68 nach Christus</i> (Mainz, 1974).

- AMC, AMCRE** C. H. V. Sutherland and C. M. Kraay, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the Ashmolean Museum*, part i (Oxford, 1975).
- BMC, BMCRE** H. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. i (London, 1923).
- CA** C. H. V. Sutherland, N. Olçay and K. E. Merrington, *The Cistophori of Augustus* (Royal Numismatic Society's Special Publications no. 5) (London, 1970).
- CBN** J.-B. Giard, *Bibliothèque nationale (Paris): Catalogue des monnaies de l'empire romain*, vol. i (Paris, 1976).
- CIL** *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
- Coh.** H. Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain*, 2nd edn., vol. i (Paris, 1880).
- CNR** *Corpus Nummorum Romanorum*.
- CRIP** C. H. V. Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy* (London, 1951).
- Dio Cass.** Dio Cassius.
- E. and C.** C. H. V. Sutherland, *The Emperor and the Coinage* (London, 1976).
- ERCHM** C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson (eds.), *Essays in Roman Coinage presented to Harold Mattingly* (London, 1956).
- FITA** M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge, 1946).
- Hewitt** K. V. Hewitt, 'The coinage of L. Clodius Macer (AD 68)' (NC 1983).
- Hunter Cat.** Anne S. Robertson, *Catalogue of Roman Imperial Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow*, vol. i (Oxford, 1962).
- Hunter (Coats)**
- Hunter (C)**
- ILS** H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*.
- Mazzini** G. Mazzini, *Monete imperiali romane*, vol. i (Milan, 1957).
- Metrology** D. R. Walker, *Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage*, part i (Oxford, 1976).
- Panvini Rosati** F. Panvini Rosati, *La moneta romana imperiale da Augusto a Commodo*.
- Piancastelli** S. L. Cesano, *Catalogo della collezione numismatica di Carlo Piancastelli* (Forlì, 1957).
- Pliny, NH** Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*.
- Plut.** Plutarch's *Lives*.
- RAI** M. Grant, *Roman Anniversary Issues* (Cambridge, 1950).
- RGDA** *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*.
- RIC** H. Mattingly and E. A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. i, 1st edn. (London, 1923).
- RRC** M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge, 1974).

<i>RRCH</i>	M. H. Crawford, <i>Roman Republican Coin Hoards</i> (Royal Numismatic Society's Special Publications no. 4) (London, 1969).
<i>SACJ</i>	P. R. Coleman-Norton (ed.), <i>Studies . . . in honor of Allan Chester Johnson</i> (Princeton, 1951).
<i>SMACA</i>	M. Grant, <i>The Six Main Aes Coinages of Augustus</i> (Edinburgh, 1953).
<i>SNRHS</i>	R. A. G. Carson and C. M. Kraay (eds.), <i>Scripta Numaria Romana: Essays presented to Humphrey Sutherland</i> (London, 1978).
Suet.	Suetonius, <i>Lives of the Twelve Caesars</i> .
Tac. <i>Ann.</i> , <i>Hist.</i>	Tacitus, <i>Annals</i> and <i>Histories</i> .
<i>TNRB</i>	<i>Thesaurus nummorum romanorum et byzantinorum</i> (Vienna, 1980- ).
<i>WCN</i>	D. W. Mac Dowall, <i>The Western Coinages of Nero</i> (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs no. 161) (New York, 1979).



## NOTES ON THE USE OF THE VOLUME

### 1. *Keys to the obv. legends and to the obv. heads/busts/types*

These are shown at the beginning of the coin-lists of each mint, or of each significant sub-division of a mint, in order to make clearer essential differences between mints and/or periods.

### 2. *Legend direction*

Legends are specified as running  $\curvearrowright$ ,  $\curvearrowleft$ ,  $\curvearrowright$ ,  $\curvearrowleft$ ,  $\curvearrowright$ ,  $\curvearrowleft$ , etc. Such indications are omitted only when there are no recorded details. Where there are intermediate breaks (e.g.  $\curvearrowright$ ANNONA—AVGVSTI—CERES,  $\curvearrowleft$ VICTOR  $\curvearrowright$ AVG—VSTI) they are shown thus.

### 3. *Legend punctuation*

Because punctuation is very variable even in different examples of the same issue (cf. *BMCRE* and *Hunter Cat.*) all punctuating dots have been omitted from the coin-lists. Such dots may in theory have been deliberate marks of differentiation: equally, they may reflect no more than an engraver's whim.

### 4. *Letter variation*

Such variation is mainly confined to the letter A, sometimes shown unbarred. Where variation seems to be significant, either with A or with other letters, it has been noted.

### 5. *Weights*

No attempt has been made to define an absolute weight-norm in either theoretical or actual figures, as this involves what are often complex or controversial arguments. Instead, the weights of very substantial numbers of coins have been recorded, issue by issue; and from these a 'peak' has been defined, within which there should lie (however much obscured by varying degrees of original irregularity or subsequent wear) the norm officially followed. Although this method involves an element of approximation, it nevertheless shows quite significant results.

### 6. *Die-axes*

These are shown either as irregular or as achieving (or tending to) the regularity of  $\uparrow\downarrow$  or  $\uparrow\uparrow$ .

### 7. *Frequency*

The first edition of this volume was criticized for its lack of indication of the frequency or rarity of the coins it listed. The problem is difficult for this period owing to Nero's reform of gold and silver weights, which certainly diminished stocks of earlier gold and silver, making it scarcer now than it would otherwise have been. In the present volume, frequency-estimates of gold and silver coins

are based on the number of specimens in major collections—a rough and ready method but the only one generally possible. The frequency of *aes* in general is less difficult to judge, though unless die-production can be measured (as, for example, with Galba) the frequency-estimate of a vast and highly systematised *aes* coinage like that of Nero can only be very approximate. Degrees of common-ness have not been attempted, and so 'C' can be common, very common, or extremely common. It is easier to measure lack of frequency, and so an estimate has been attempted in terms of S(carce), R(are), R2, R3, R4, and (unique) R5, where R4 can be up to 5 specimens probably known, R3 up to about 10, R2 up to about 15, and R up to about 20 or somewhat more.

#### 8. *References*

Whenever possible, the lists in this volume provide references, for the coins described in them, to the printed catalogue of a collection or a corpus (e.g. *BMCRE*, *Hunter Cat.*, *CBN*, *WCN*, *ACG*, etc.). If this is not possible, then reference is made to a recorded museum provenance, or to items in sale-catalogues. The references to printed catalogues, as also to sale-catalogues, include a very substantial number of coins there illustrated. References are made to Cohen only when no others are available.

#### 9. *Notes to coin-lists*

Footnotes to specific coin-entries are indicated by the numbers of those entries at the foot of the page. All other notes in the coin-lists are given a separate symbol.

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### 1. *Origins of the imperial coinage*

The coinage of the Roman Empire, as conducted under Augustus and progressively developed during half a century by his successors, followed in a close and logical sequence upon that of the Republic. According to Pomponius, a lawyer of the second century AD, the year 289 BC had seen the institution in Rome of the office of the *tresviri aeris argenti auri flatores*, whose duty on behalf of the state which appointed them was to produce refined bronze, silver, and gold. These officials later appeared with the specific additional responsibility of striking the metal into coinage, as *IIIviri aere argento auro flando feriundo*, by which name these young men, members of the vigintivirate and aspirants to a senatorial career, continued to produce coinage, as ordered by higher authority, until the end of the Republic, their numbers being, temporarily, expanded to four by Julius Caesar as Dictator. Under Augustus the *collegium* of *monetales* at first reverted to the figure of three, as the coins themselves show by their legends; but Augustus himself raised the figure to four again c.5 BC. Whether the number of *monetales* thereafter remained at four or more, or sank again to three, cannot be said with certainty. What is certain is that the basic organization of the mint of Rome was continued, with working-sections defined by a plurality of moneyers, from Republic to Empire. And, as will be seen, by the end of the Julio-Claudian period the number of working-sections (or *officinae*) of the mint of Rome had briefly risen, probably to six—whatever the number by then of *monetales*, whose names disappeared from the coinage c.4 BC, though their continuing existence is otherwise attested.

There was also continuity of the central and primary mint of Rome. The earliest mint of Rome was set up in the temple of Juno Moneta ('the adviser') on the Capitoline Hill, as Suidas recorded; and there it remained throughout the Republic and into the early Empire, the site being spared in the great fire of Rome in AD 64. It is true that the mint of Rome discontinued its work c.40 BC; but this was because centrifugal political forces had led increasingly, since Sulla's time, to the emergence of powerful *imperatores*—field commanders—each with his own complement of legions, his own provincial base, his own supplies of bullion, and his own provincially situated mint or mints. The mint of Rome was indeed starved of bullion for all normal purposes after Caesar's death, when rival leaders competed for power in the face of a powerless Senate. However, with Antony (his last competitor) defeated in 31 BC at Actium, Octavian—as he still was until 27 BC—could quickly contemplate the re-opening of the mint of Rome, perhaps even as early as 28–27 BC. There was certainly no shortage of bullion now, with the immense spoils of victory gathered in. The mint of Rome continued active for gold and silver during large parts of the reigns of Augustus and (probably) Gaius, and for Claudius and Nero throughout; and it produced *aes* for the whole Julio-Claudian

period except for AD 54–62, even if *aes* coinage production was not systematically regular.

Decentralization of minting, which (as mentioned above) had begun earlier in the first century BC and had reached a climax during the first and second Triumvirates, was also continued into the Empire, for the power of the Republican *imperatores* to coin (especially gold and silver) in their *provincia* was now vested in the new *imperatores*—the *principes*—who possessed supreme *imperium*, or military power. Thus Augustus opened and closed (or continued) mints for gold and silver, and even for *aes*, as he judged useful or desirable<sup>1</sup>—at Emerita; two others seemingly in Spain; at Lugdunum; in Greece and Samos (?); at Ephesus and Pergamum. He had to unify and stabilize currency for a disjointed world, and his successors did not spread their operations so widely.<sup>2</sup> But they often made use of provincially situated mints for precious-metal issues of strategic importance, especially at Lugdunum and Caesarea in Cappadocia. Decentralization, as begun under the Republic, became a permanent feature under the Empire. These were not ‘provincial’ mints in the sense in which the adjective is often used (below, pp. 19 f.). The purpose of a truly provincial mint was to serve the immediate area around it; and this purpose was fulfilled—and almost entirely for *aes* alone—by a multiplicity of city-mints and regional mints from end to end of the empire. There were indeed city-mints which, on the face of it, produced *aes* of local character but in such abundance that they were obviously conducted as auxiliaries to the central mint of Rome. Such were the mints of Nemausus and Lugdunum under Augustus, and of Lugdunum again under Nero.

Together with the continuity of the mint of Rome and its *tresviri*, and of the decentralization of imperial minting to selected cities in the provinces, there was also continuity of two major elements in the monetary system—the gold aureus and the silver denarius. The latter denomination had first appeared in the darkest days of the second Punic war, when Hannibal’s army was in Italy, first as a coin of c. 4.5 g falling soon to 4.0 g, then settling to a later and well-maintained weight of c. 3.95 g (= 3½ scruples), at which figure it was confirmed into the first principate. It was a coin of universal acceptance within the boundaries of Roman territory, and even outside those boundaries it was to become (as under King Juba of Mauretania) the model for close imitation. Its half, the quinarius, not commonly struck during the Republic, was virtually abandoned by the Julio-Claudians. The gold coinage had begun as an emergency measure in the Hannibalic war. True aurei appeared in Sulla’s time, and again in that of Pompey; and the superior value which they represented in donatives and rewards (1 aureus = 25 denarii) recommended their more frequent production in Caesar’s time, when their weight, after some earlier uncertainty, settled at c. 8.0 g (1/40th of a Roman pound)—the figure with which Augustus began.

It was only in respect of *aes* that the Empire departed from the developing traditions of the Republic. Republican *aes* had consisted of bronze which, originally of heavy weight (with 1 as weighing 1 Roman pound), had declined to the point when the as weighed no more than c. 13.65 g, and was scarcely

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 5 f.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 6 f.

coined at all after c.80 BC. In the period of the Civil Wars some *aes* was struck, e.g. by Cn. Pompey and his party in Spain in the early 40s BC<sup>1</sup> and by Antony's representatives in the 30s;<sup>2</sup> but it was probably Caesar who pointed the way towards an improved token-coinage by experimenting with *orichalcum* (brass, i.e. copper and zinc with cadmium) struck by his *praefectus* C. Clovius in Cisalpine Gaul, perhaps at Mediolanum.<sup>3</sup> When Augustus at last addressed himself to the problem of satisfying the general need for massive supplementation of low-value small change, he turned this experiment to advantage, making sestertii and dupondii of the visually attractive and more valuable orichalcum, with asses and their fractions of pure copper. These coins were poured out for him by the mint of Rome, all marked S C; and it is likely that this mark reflected the Senate's continuing authority to draw on the public treasury (*aerarium*) for *aes*, while absolute control of stocks of gold and silver remained (until the years 54–64) in the powerful hands of the emperor.

The monetary system of the mint of Rome had started, effectively, with Greek-style didrachms of silver (chiefly for use in Southern Italy) supported by a range of bronze running from libral as (c. 324 g) down to its twelfth (*uncia*) or even twenty-fourth (*semuncia*). With the introduction of the denarius the bronze was steadily reduced until the as sank to the weight of the *uncia* or less, with consequently fewer fractions; and gold was increasingly struck in the first century BC. With the monetary dislocations of the Civil Wars after Caesar's death, the system evolved by Augustus was as follows, with theoretical weights fractionally higher than those of the coins as actually struck:

gold aureus (c. 7.96 g, 41 to the Roman pound) = 25 denarii = 100 sestertii = 200 dupondii = 400 asses = 1600 quadrantes  
 silver denarius (c. 3.99 g, 84 to the pound) = 16 asses.  
 orichalcum sestertius (c. 25 g, 13 to the pound) = 4 asses.  
 orichalcum dupondius (c. 12.5 g, 25 to the pound) = 2 asses.  
 copper as (c. 11 g, 30 to the pound).  
 copper quadrans (c. 3 g, 112 to the pound) =  $\frac{1}{4}$  as.

Augustus struck few multiples of the aureus, it would seem, for they are immensely rare (below, pp. 8 f.), and none, so far as is now known, of the denarius; and multiples of neither gold nor silver are known for his Julio-Claudian successors. Gold half-pieces (gold *quinarii*) were occasionally produced in the early empire, most notably, under Tiberius, for whom they supplied a sort of dated chronological record, though in small quantity; and silver half-pieces (silver *quinarii*) were sometimes, though rarely, struck.

## II. *Weight standards and fineness under the Julio-Claudians*

Pliny the Elder's brief summary of the metrology of the Julio-Claudian coinage (*NH* 33.3) recorded that, after the latest Republican lightening of the aureus to 1/40th of a (Roman) pound, the subsequent emperors gradually reduced its weight, Nero finally reducing it (i.e. in his reform) to 1/45th. He says nothing of either the denarius or the *aes*. In judging the adequacy of his summary we confront an obvious question. Was Pliny judging from the

<sup>1</sup> *FITA* p. 22.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 37 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 7 ff.

known weights of actual coins in currency, or from some knowledge of the theoretical norms (i.e. so many coins to the pound) which they were supposed to represent? The former must be the more probable answer; and the probability can be strengthened by seeing where a concentration of weights appears for any given denomination in any given reign. The figures emerge as follows:

	<i>Aureus</i> (g)	<i>Denarius</i> (g)	<i>Sestertius</i> (g)	<i>As</i> (g)
Augustus	7.9-7.7	3.85-3.65	26.5-24.5	12.0-9.0
Tiberius	7.9-7.65	3.85-3.6	28.25-25.5	12.0-9.5
Gaius	7.8-7.65	3.8-3.65	28.25-27.75	11.75-10.75
Claudius	7.8-7.65	3.85-3.6	29.5-27.5	11.5-10.25
Nero (pre-reform)	7.7-7.6	3.65-3.55		
Nero (post-reform)	7.4-7.25	3.5-3.2	30.00-26.00	12.50-10.50 (copper)

From this it can be seen that the upper limit of the peak for gold did in fact fall from 7.9 to 7.7 g down to pre-reform Nero, with the upper limit of the silver peak likewise falling from 3.85 to 3.65 g. Whether there was a deliberate imperial policy of marginal weight-reduction reign by reign is uncertain: the fact of upper-limit gold-stability from Gaius to Claudius, and of upper-limit silver-stability from Augustus to Claudius, makes this unlikely. It is more probable that a new emperor, in fixing his weight-standard for gold at any rate, took as his upper-limit of weight-concentration that of his predecessor's coins in circulation and thus very slightly worn. Silver, being less valuable, need not have been subject to quite the same strict consideration.

Different figures, all of them very slightly lower, are presented for the weights of Julio-Claudian denarii by D. R. Walker,<sup>1</sup> who calculated 'the mean weight of surviving specimens . . . after excluding specimens which are obviously highly worn'.<sup>2</sup> His figures are, approximately, as follows:

Augustus	c. 3.70 g
Tiberius	c. 3.72 g
Gaius	c. 3.68 g
Claudius	c. 3.56 g
Nero (pre-reform)	c. 3.57 g
Nero (post-reform)	c. 3.18 g

With the exception of Claudius and post-reform Nero, Walker's figures all lie within the concentration-peaks shown above (the differences are too slight to be at all significant), and Pliny's dictum of gradual lightening of standards, for silver as well as gold, is seen to be true.

It is of interest, however, to note that the sestertius tended to gain in weight, while the as very slightly declined. The sestertius tended also to gain in type-appeal, and so perhaps in popularity (something that would have been helped if price-structures altered), while the as continued to be the staple denomination of *aes* small change. Pliny did not concern himself with the development of the *aes* weight-system.

Nothing is known in detail of the major sources of gold, silver, brass, zinc,

<sup>1</sup> *Metrology of the Roman Silver Coinage*, part i, Augustus to Domitian, p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 2.

and copper on which the coinage at this time depended, though it is a reasonable supposition that Spain continued to be the source of the major fresh supplies of gold, silver, and copper. Nor do we know anything of the degree to which the need for new coinage required, at any given time, supplies of newly mined bullion to supplement what could be obtained by the melting down and re-use of older coins, although the very large volume of gold and silver coin needed annually, if only for military pay, can be easily seen.<sup>1</sup> Such chemical analyses as have been made—and for the aurei they are understandably very few—show that gold was struck virtually pure, and probably as pure as was then practicable. Silver, while struck less pure (often because of its naturally associated lead), was nevertheless of high quality, and D. R. Walker's figures, obtained by improved X-ray fluorescent methods (*op. cit.*, p. 18), are as follows:

	AR%
Augustus	98–96 (over a wide variety of mints)
Tiberius	98
Gaius	97.60
Claudius	98
Nero (pre-reform)	97.35
Nero (post-reform)	93.50

In other words, the Augustan standard of silver *c.* 98 per cent pure remained with minimal change until Nero's accession; and, when he reduced the weight-standard of silver, Nero sharply reduced its fineness also.

As Mattingly observed, it is not possible to distinguish brass from copper by density, as the two metals, which have a wide range, show overlapping densities. Chemical analyses have shown copper coins to be very pure, and those of brass to contain *c.* 80 per cent copper and *c.* 20 per cent zinc, with traces of iron and lead.<sup>2</sup>

### III. Principal imperial mints

*Augustus* Detailed arguments for the operation of Augustus' imperially conducted mints can be found below (pp. 24–38). Here the mints and their periods of operation down to the death of Nero can be briefly summarized:

- (i) Emerita (in the province of Lusitania)  
*c.* 25–23 BC, conducted for Augustus specifically by P. Carisius as his *legatus propraetore* for the coinage of denarii and as his *legatus Augusti* for *aes*.
- (ii)–(iii) Two mints, both very probably in Spain (Hispania Tarraconensis and Hispania Baetica), conjecturally and provisionally identified as Caesaraugusta and Colonia Patricia (Cordoba), producing imperial gold and silver, the former *c.* 19–18 BC, the latter *c.* 20–17/16 BC.
- (iv) Nemausus (Nîmes), technically a colonial mint but one which struck

<sup>1</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 91 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *BMCRE* p. lvi f.; see also Earle R. Caley, *Orichalcum and Related Ancient Alloys* (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs no. 151), pp. 77 ff., and most recently A. M. Burnett,

P. T. Craddock, and K. Preston, 'New light on the origins of orichalcum' in *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Numismatics* (Berne, Sept. 1979), pp. 263 ff.

abundant *aes* for wide western circulation c. 20 BC–AD 14. Issues of silver are still in doubt.

- (v) Lugdunum (Lyons), initially a colonial mint, but like Nemausus one which came to strike abundant *aes* for wide western circulation from c.10 BC onwards. From c.11–9 BC, if not from c.15–12 BC, it also produced imperial gold and silver extending, perhaps irregularly, until Augustus' later years.
- (vi) A small *aes* mint of brief operation at or near Treveri (?).
- (vii) Italy, uncertain mint (?Brundisium), producing imperial gold and silver c.31–27 BC.
- (viii) Rome, under the day-to-day operational control of the *tresviri monetales*, themselves directed by the quaestors, producing imperial gold and silver c.19–12 BC and *aes* for general circulation (notably among the Rhine armies) c.18–4 BC and again AD 10–12.
- (ix) North Peloponnesian mint (?), c.21 BC, striking imperial silver.
- (x) Samos(?), c.21–20 BC, striking imperial silver.
- (xi) Ephesus (provincia Asia), striking cistophoric tetradrachms (= 3 denarii) of imperial nature in 28 BC and c.25–20 BC in large numbers, the latter probably with *aes* on the Roman weight-system, and of wide circulation.
- (xii) Pergamum (provincia Asia), producing cistophoric tetradrachms (= 3 denarii) of imperial nature c.27–6 BC and in 20–19 BC, together with Roman-weight aurei and denarii c.19–18 BC. Pergamene *aes* on the Roman weight-system was struck c.28–15 BC, circulating widely.
- (xiii) Antioch (Syria), producing widely circulating *aes*, on a non-Roman weight system, in the period after 23 BC.
- (xiv) Cyrenaica (possibly Cyrene), producing rare imperial gold and silver, by the agency of L. Pinarius Scarpus, for Octavian c.31–29 BC.
- (xv) Gold, gold and silver, silver, or *aes* were produced by at least six mints not yet identified.

*Tiberius* Augustus had, over the years, stabilized the empire-wide monetary system by the issue of aurei and denarii of uniform weight and by the provision of *aes* (where locally struck supplies (below, pp. 19 f.) were not independently available), from mints generally opened on an *ad hoc* basis. Tiberius sharply contracted the 'spread', restricting coinage to the following mints, the detailed arguments for which appear below (pp. 87 f.):

- (i) Lugdunum struck massive quantities of imperial gold and silver throughout the reign. It also produced rare *aes* fractions in his earlier years.
- (ii) Rome struck *aes* in wide variety, and often great quantity, throughout most if not all of the reign.
- (iii) Caesarea (Cappadocia) produced Latin-inscribed silver drachmae in AD 32–4, most probably for military purposes.
- (iv) Commagene (mint unknown) produced rare Roman-weight *aes* dupondii in AD 19–20 after its annexation by Tiberius in AD 17.

*Gaius* There remains controversy over the periods of activity of his major mints for gold and silver (below, pp. 102 ff.). The view adopted here is:



- (i) Lugdunum produced imperial gold and silver in AD 37, being then replaced by
- (ii) Rome from 37 to 41, which also struck a full range of *aes* from 37 to 41.
- (iii) Caesarea (Cappadocia) struck imperial silver undated didrachms, and drachmae (some of 37–8).

*Claudius* The contraction effected by Tiberius and maintained by Gaius was essentially continued by Claudius, Rome being here presumed to be his sole central mint, though large quantities of unofficial *aes* were probably coined elsewhere (below, pp. 114f.).

- (i) Lugdunum struck rare *aes*, probably in 41 to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Claudius' birth there.
- (ii) Rome struck imperial gold and silver from 41 to 54, and *aes* in wide variety in the same period.
- (iii) Ephesus (provincia Asia) struck small issues of silver cistophoric tetradrachms (= 3 denarii), of imperial nature, c.41–2 and in 50–1.
- (iv) Pergamum (provincia Asia) struck small issues of silver cistophoric tetradrachms (= 3 denarii), of imperial nature, c.41–2 and c.50–1.
- (v) Caesarea (Cappadocia) struck imperial silver undated didrachms (c.45–7).

#### *Nero*

(a) Pre-reform (below, pp. 133ff.)

- (i) Rome produced imperial gold and silver (with EX S C) from 54 to 64, with no *aes* until c.62–3.
- (ii) Caesarea (Cappadocia) struck imperial silver didrachms and drachmae and hemidrachms c.54–64.

(b) Post-reform (below, pp. 136ff.)

- (iii) Rome continued imperial gold and silver (without EX S C) from 64 to 68, together with a wide and abundant range of 'reformed' *aes*.
- (iv) Lugdunum produced a wide and abundant range of closely parallel *aes* from 64 to 68.
- (v) Caesarea (Cappadocia) struck imperial silver didrachms and drachmae after 64.

#### IV. *Minting authorities*

If we take Rome, the central and best-documented mint, as an example, we have already seen that the young *tresviri monetales*, aspirants to the Senate, supervised the operations of the technical staff in day-to-day work, and that they even continued, well into Augustus' reign, the old Republican tradition of choosing types for many at least of their coins. But they were not competent to determine how much coinage should be produced, or in what metals. These were decisions for higher authority; and that authority must have lain with individual emperors working with those who were responsible for state payments, awarded state contracts, and supervised the public treasury, even if the imperial control of gold and silver was in fact absolute. Control of the

public treasury varied from time to time. Augustus in 28 BC allowed the Senate to appoint *praefecti*, changing the system in 23 BC so that praetors could be drawn by lot. Claudius reverted to the original control by quaestors in 44; and in 56 Nero changed to a system of ex-praetors.<sup>1</sup>

These variations in what was clearly a high-level office of authority are enough to show how important was the control of the *aerarium*, or public treasury, and of the minting policy laid down for the young *tresviri*. If this was so at Rome, it would be logical to suppose that a correspondingly strict control was ensured at all mints directly or indirectly serving the princeps. Two early examples of this have been noted—Scarpus in Cyrenaica and Carisius at Emerita, each of whom issued coinage as agent for Octavian/Augustus. It can hardly be doubted that such a mint as Lugdunum, possessing at times a substantial store of gold and silver bullion, would have been conducted under the control of the *legatus pro praetore* of Gallia Lugdunensis (an 'imperial' or military province), or even that mints like Ephesus and Pergamum, which, though situated in an unarmed 'public' or civilian province, struck silver in quantity, were controlled by the civilian *legatus Augusti* in that province. The co-ordination of weight-standards, fineness, and even of type-content between one mint and another, all over the empire, must lead to the conclusion that mint-policy was everywhere controlled at very high level.<sup>2</sup>

A principal aspect of that policy would be the deciding of the question of how much coinage should be struck at any given time. It could be foreseen with some accuracy how much would be needed, and in what variety of metals and denominations, for the pay of the army<sup>3</sup> in its different locations and of the various civil service departments of state. Some mints clearly existed for the primary purpose of supplying precious-metal pay easily and regularly to adjacent military concentrations, e.g. Emerita and Lugdunum under Augustus, Lugdunum again under Tiberius, and Caesarea in Cappadocia throughout. Detailed knowledge of the state of the *aerarium* would plainly be the chief factor in any such planning of currency-volume, as it is likely that it was into the *aerarium* that all cash revenues from all sources were fed (including older coin to be melted down and re-coined) or at least made the subject of book-entry. It would therefore seem probable that the detailed instructions given to peripheral mints for the production of stated quantities of coinage emanated from those in charge of the *aerarium* at Rome, working closely with the private civil servants of the princeps, who alone would know what personally initiated expenditure (e.g. on donatives, games, or public works) he was contemplating in any year.

#### v. 'Medallions' or multiples

One such item of personally initiated expenditure might have involved the production of precious-metal pieces representing multiples of smaller units: these, now often given the rather antique name of 'medallions', have been exhaustively discussed by Professor Jocelyn Toynbee.<sup>4</sup> A primary reason for

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 13. 29; Dio Cass. 53. 2 and 32.

<sup>2</sup> *QT* 1978, pp. 163 ff., and 1983 forthcoming.

<sup>3</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 91 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Roman Medallions* (ANS Num. Studies, No. 5) (New York, 1944); also Grant in *ERCHM* pp. 99 ff.

such pieces may have lain in the fact that army officers of high rank, whose level of annual pay was reckoned in thousands rather than hundreds,<sup>1</sup> could have found the inclusion of a few high-value multiples convenient. Another reason, equally probable, would have lain in the desire of an emperor to bestow a personal reward. Such precious-metal multiples are very rare indeed for the Julio-Claudian period, and are restricted to the reign of Augustus alone; and even for him, of three pieces recorded, only one—a 4-aureus piece found in excavations at Pompeii in 1759—can be easily accepted as authentic: this was plainly of Lugdunum mintage. A second 4-aureus piece, without provenance, could also be a Lugdunum product; a third, however, is of more doubtful authenticity.<sup>2</sup>

The Pompeii piece alone is enough to prove the production of gold multiples under Augustus, however sporadically. What is still uncertain is whether *aes* medallions were also the subject of deliberate Julio-Claudian issue, in order to honour those for whom a precious-metal piece would have been too extravagant a reward. It is known<sup>3</sup> that fairly numerous examples exist of normal-type sestertii, dupondii, and asses struck on outsize flans, these flans being sometimes separately rimmed to augment their diameter. Such pieces are non-monetary—their weights do not relate accurately or regularly to those of the *aes* denominational system—and, if they are therefore ornamental, they may well have been imperial gifts of some sort for those who did not merit higher reward. They differ wholly in character from those *aes* pieces which lack the normal formula S C:<sup>4</sup> such coins appeared under Gaius and Nero, though always in a minority of cases; and the probable explanation is that, while it was generally the Senate that requisitioned metal supplies for *aes* coinage,<sup>5</sup> sometimes it was the emperor himself who did so, especially if (as in the case of Gaius with his *Adlocut(io) Coh(ortium)* sestertii) that emperor was distributing to the praetorian guard a sum bequeathed to them by Tiberius and doubled by himself.<sup>6</sup> *Aes* without S C was essentially a mark of difference in approach to the *aerarium*.

## VI. Circulation and countermarks

For the Roman world, devoid of any network of banks in the modern sense, there was only one regular primary means of disseminating coinage, namely, by the annual payment of *stipendia* to the legions, of salaries to civil servants, and of wages to those employed on public works: from these recipients coinage would in turn be circulated downwards to merchants, traders, and ordinary people.<sup>7</sup> The most important, numerically, of these recipients were undoubtedly the legions: one could say, conservatively, that it was a standing army of some 150,000 men that received annually not less than 225 denarii per

<sup>1</sup> H. M. D. Parker, *The Roman Legions*, pp. 223 f.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. below, pp. 28 f.; G. Gorini, *AIIN* 1968, pp. 39 ff.; L. Lafranchi, *Historia* (1933), pp. 600 ff. The Pompeii piece was, alas, stolen in the Naples theft of 1977.

<sup>3</sup> Toynbee, *op. cit.*, pp. 24 ff.

<sup>4</sup> This category does not include coins

which, with such legends and types as SPQR OB CIVES SERVATOS, corona civica, or SPQR MEMORIAE AGRIPPINAE, carpentum, would not have required any supplementary S C.

<sup>5</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 20 f.

<sup>6</sup> Dio Cass. 59. 2. 1.

<sup>7</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 78 ff.

man<sup>1</sup>—a total of over 33 million denarii. Of this vast amount, a large proportion would be available, in any given year, from what the *aerarium* had received in taxes, etc.; but the pool of ready cash would normally need topping up with supplies of new money to make good what had disappeared in hoarding, loss, export, etc.<sup>2</sup> Army-payments in any year would presumably have been consigned partly in gold, partly in silver, and partly in *aes*, according as the required proportions were known by experience. The gold and silver, perhaps, tended to circulate outwards from military centres rather sparingly: their types are often more military than civil, and a proportion of this gold and silver would certainly have been held back as deductions for military food and equipment and as compulsory savings.<sup>3</sup> *Aes*, on the other hand, was less limited. It is known that it circulated in immense quantities in permanent military centres,<sup>4</sup> and from these centres it could and did spread into the surrounding areas among people at large, for whom the essential and striking simplicity of *aes* types was an admirably adapted medium of basic imperial information or suggestion. Only the sestertius—much more frequent in Rome and Italy—developed the greater sophistication of elaborate legends and types.

Gold did not in general circulate at all busily. Silver was busier, and had a life of perhaps fifty years or so.<sup>5</sup> *Aes* was the busiest of all, being used frequently in daily life; and its normal period of survival was perhaps about thirty or forty years, after which it became very much worn or illegible. Sometimes it was felt necessary by authority to validate the denominational value of *aes* coins thus worn, e.g. by such countermarks as BON(um), PRO(batum); sometimes the wear was such that a lower denominational value was necessarily permitted, e.g. by the countermark DVP(ondius) on a worn sestertius, or AS on a worn dupondius. However, the vast majority of countermarks on Julio-Claudian *aes* coinage are of another kind, and distinct periods can be discerned.<sup>6</sup>

In the majority of cases these countermarks are an expression—for whatever purpose—of authority, whether at lower and local level (e.g. D(ecreto) D(ecurionum) for a town's council, or Q CAS(sius) PR(aetor) in Sardinia) or, as in nearly all other instances, at imperial level; and they occur most frequently on asses, and somewhat less so (except on Claudius' *aes*) on dupondii and sestertii. The commonest countermarks on Augustan *aes* were CÆS (Caesar), IMP AV(G), TI(B) AV(G), TIB IM(P), and, on the evidence both of the issue-date of the coins countermarked and also of the sequence of countermarks when more than one was applied, these countermarks can all be shown to be of Tiberian date. The evidence of finds makes it clear that particular countermarks tended to emanate from particular areas or centres,

<sup>1</sup> Parker, *op. cit.*, pp. 214 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 91 ff.

<sup>3</sup> The perils of such richly accumulated savings banks were to be illustrated by Saturninus' revolt in AD 88 and by Domitian's subsequent reaction.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. refs. in C. M. Kraay, *ERCHM* p. 113 n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> Cistophori of Augustus from Ephesus and

Pergamum were already worn under the Flavians, and were superseded soon after. And these were of large size.

<sup>6</sup> *BMCRE*, pp. xxviii ff.; C. M. Kraay in *ERCHM* pp. 113 ff.; K. Kraft, 'Zu den Schlagmarken des Tiberius und Germanicus', *JNG* 1950/1, pp. 21 ff.; M. Grant, *SMACA* pp. 21 ff. and 34 ff.

and it is therefore reasonable to suppose that particular authorities (e.g. Germanicus in Lower Germany) were responsible for the use of a given mark in any given place. All the marks refer, in brief, to the emperor, as *Imp*, *Caesar*, *Tiberius*, *Augustus*. The reason for this countermarking must be assumed to be either (i) a shortage of newly struck *aes* from Rome to those military areas where it was in such busy daily use as small change, or (ii) a wish to emphasize the direct imperial agency in the distribution of *donativa* to the soldiers, or both. If the first reason is correct, we should look for its basis in (a) Augustus' discontinuation of *aes* minting for fifteen years before AD 10; (b) Tiberius' sparing *aes* coinage from AD 14 until the middle of his reign; after Tiberian *aes* multiplied, it was the 'Agrippa' asses which seem to have performed the major role of circulation outside Italy.

The same was true of Gaius, although the growth of local imitations of his *aes* suggests some shortage in the provinces (perhaps aggravated by his closure of city-mints in Spain). It was, however, under Claudius that the next major crop of countermarks occurred—most commonly TI(berius) C(laudius) AV, T(I) C(laudius) AV, TIB CLAV IMP, used in his own reign; the even commoner N(ero) C(aesar) A(ugustus) PR(obavit) or P(opulo) R(omano) was used under Nero. Two important influences were working in this period. First, the output of Claudian *aes* from Rome was quite evidently not enough for western provincial needs, as is shown by the spate of local imitations; and, secondly, Nero issued no *aes* at all from 54 to c.62–3, when the revived *aes* of Rome was ultimately supplemented by that of a mint at Lugdunum. Claudian *aes* from 41 onwards had to suffice (together with local imitations) until after c.62 before it received any systematic supplementation; and it was Claudian *aes*, worn and light, that received the countermarks BO(N), PR(O)(OB), and DVP. It is not yet certainly agreed what NCAPR stood for. This countermark—not used on Nero's own *aes*—appears quite often on Claudian *aes* which is relatively fresh. Hence the suggestion<sup>1</sup> *Nero Caesar Augustus Populo Romano*, which would have been appropriate, for instance, in a *congiarium* of 57 when Nero had struck no *aes* of his own.

Nero's *aes* was countermarked, less often, with SPQR, P(opulus) R(omanus), VE(Vitellius), and VA(Vespasianus)—reflections of events in and after 68.

It would thus seem that countermarking, which virtually ceased with the Flavians, was the result of different needs and influences under the Julio-Claudians. It could arise, conceivably, through military *donativa* and civilian *congiaria*; it could attempt to remedy the shortage or weight-deficiency of older *aes* issues. Only with an annual flood of new *aes* could these latter difficulties be avoided.

## VII. Types

The majority of coins both ancient and modern have displayed a deliberately considered link between the concepts of their combined obverse and reverse types. 'Obverse' and 'reverse', indeed, are terms for which no ancient parallels existed. What we today term the 'obverse' type is generally

<sup>1</sup> Kraay, *op. cit.*, p. 133.

that which shows the mark of supreme authority, most obviously in the form of the head of a deity, state-personification, or temporal ruler; and because such heads are technically more difficult to execute (because in more planes of relief) than a figure-type, or pattern-type, or purely epigraphic type, the dies for them have generally been in the lower position, placed in the anvil, where they are less liable to damage or disintegration by shock-waves in striking. It was, perhaps, partly because the obverse die usually bore the supreme mark of state-authority, and partly because it was technically the more important, that it achieved a sort of sacrosanct quality.

(a) *Obverse*

Not all Julio-Claudian coins, however, bore an obverse portrait type. Augustus inherited many Republican conventions, and these included the use of frequent non-portrait obverses; and his Rome-struck coinage often lacked portraits—both gold and silver, and (apart from the *as*) all *aes* down to the end of the signed moneyers' issues. Mints outside Italy, by contrast, seldom lacked an obverse portrait, and much speculation has been made on the methods by which such portraits were produced.

There are two possible pointers of interest. First, in some series (under Augustus in particular) it is quite common to find the imperial portrait facing either left or right and with identical treatment; and this may suggest that the die-engravers worked from a model in the round, on either side of which they could choose at will to sit. Secondly, it is clear that different models existed in different centres of die-production: for instance, the Augustan portraits of Emerita, 'Spain 1', 'Spain 2', Lugdunum, Rome, and provincia Asia all varied strongly in their essentials of physiognomy and hair-treatment. It is also clear that we can recognize the moment when a new master-model was provided for the die-engravers. At Lugdunum, for example, an entirely new portrait-model was introduced c.11 BC; and in provincia Asia the introduction of a version of the Prima Porta portrait—henceforth to be the standard Augustan portrait—had an immediate effect upon the portraiture employed at Ephesus, Pergamum meanwhile continuing with an alternative version. There are other good examples of the effect upon die-engravers of the receipt of a new official model, e.g. the 'old' Tiberian portraits of 34–7, the sudden improvement in Claudian portraiture in the course of 41–2, and the remarkably flamboyant new portraiture of Nero from c.62 to 64. New official models were presumably installed in the various mints so that engravers could work from them.<sup>1</sup>

Portrait-bearing obverse dies were on occasion produced not only in scores, but in hundreds.<sup>2</sup> The process of continuous direct reproduction from a model must invariably lead (and, indeed, did visibly often lead) to impairment of the higher standards of execution. However, those standards on the whole were maintained at a remarkably high level of freshness and positive character; and it has often been asked if portrait dies could not have been, at

<sup>1</sup> Where such new models were not installed in the mint itself, the engravers could well have worked from official portraits in public places (cf. Meriwether Stuart, *American Journ. of*

*Archaeology* (1939), pp. 601 ff.); and large numbers of these existed.

<sup>2</sup> *CA* pp. 105 ff.

is sometimes, produced by 'hubbing', i.e. the process by which a master-punch in relief could have punched a not necessarily completed portrait into a series of dies of which the finer details could have been worked up afterwards by the engravers as they completed their individual dies by hand. There is, it should be said, no firm evidence for this; but the resemblance in size, detail, etc., between one portrait and another is so amazingly close that the possibility of hubbing must be at least contemplated.<sup>1</sup> Nor would it be surprising if no hubs have survived: the number of certainly genuine obverse dies which survive is no more than a handful,<sup>2</sup> and the hubs, if they existed, would have been far more valuable.

### (b) Reverse

The reverse types of Julio-Claudian coins, like those of the Republic before them and those of the Flavian and later periods of the empire, are astonishing in their variety. They consist either of pictorial designs with a varying number of supporting words, or (less often) of epigraphic design with no pictorial element. The consequent range of possibilities was immense. In every case, so far as can be seen, the purpose of the design was informative, or at least informatively suggestive. Opinions have varied about the degree of information that was either intended or possibly intelligible;<sup>3</sup> but there can in fact be little doubt that a system of types at once so varied and presented with such definition was followed with the express purpose of publicizing the different aspects of that imperial policy of which the coinage itself was an essential element.

Two principal strands of differentiation are to be seen in the system of Julio-Claudian reverse types. First, there was the obvious contrast between the generally extreme simplicity of type-content of the asses—the commonest coins in wide circulation—and even of many dupondii, on the one hand, and the more sophisticated type-content of the aurei, denarii, and even the developing sestertii on the other hand, in most of which the full understanding of the type would have depended upon a distinctly higher level of education and general knowledge. This contrast can be well seen in, for example, the gold, silver, and asses of Lugdunum or Rome under Augustus, or in the sestertii and asses of Rome under Tiberius, or in the gold, silver, and sestertii as compared with asses under Gaius and Claudius. To put it briefly, the types of the gold and silver, and of post-Augustan sestertii, would seem to have been designed for the appreciative intelligence of a reasonably well-educated mind accustomed to weighing the nuances of imperial policy—a mind characteristic of Rome and Italy, and so too, by extension, of a good proportion of the legionary forces. By contrast the very simple content of the types of the as was capable, in the provinces, of a wide range of interpretation at lower level: the figure of Victory or Vesta or Minerva, or an altar, or a chained crocodile, could mean many things to many people—things in all cases suggested or coloured by the imperial bust on the obverse.

<sup>1</sup> See Schwabacher in *NC* 1966, pp. 41 ff., and now also M. Crawford in *NC* 1981, pp. 176 ff., and D. G. Sellwood in *NC* 1982, *Proceedings*, pp. vi f.

<sup>2</sup> Sutherland, *Roman Coins*, pp. 188 f.

<sup>3</sup> For recent comment see A. Wallace-Hadrill in *NC* 1981, pp. 20 ff.

The second strand of differentiation is to be seen, in the earlier Julio-Claudian period at least, in the varying policies of type-direction and control as between mint and mint. The Augustan period is here most remarkable. At Emerita (c.25-23 BC) type-content of denarii was purely war-like, in the context of the Asturio-Cantabrian War. At 'Spain 1' and 'Spain 2', covering the years c.20-16 BC, the chief emphasis of gold and silver, interpreted with significant differences, was on Augustus' acceptance of constitutional powers and on his diplomatic triumph against Parthia. The gold and silver of Lugdunum, c.15 BC onwards, concentrated notably on types recording Augustus' military successes. That of Rome, c.19-12 BC, was chiefly taken up with affairs in Rome. The cistophoric silver of Ephesus and Pergamum shared certain types c.25-20 and 27-26 BC; but they also had individually suitable types of their own; and Pergamum c.20-18 concentrated on the anti-Parthian success.

The degree of community seen between the types of 'Spain 1' and 'Spain 2', or those of Ephesus and Pergamum, suggests that some controlling directive was transmitted to or exercised by the *legati* concerned with a province or closely related provinces where mints for gold and silver were situated, and that quite different directives could be given to or exercised by *legati* in other provinces, e.g. at Emerita and Lugdunum. Much the same would be true of those other and short-lived silver mints such as N. Peloponnese(?) and 'Samos(?)', where locally suitable types were chosen for a brief imperial sojourn. The agency ultimately responsible for the choice of types at any given mint is a matter of guesswork. Presumably it involved the emperor's civil servants, working almost always with the emperor himself. Not always, indeed, as the middle-period *aes* of Tiberius at Rome suggests; but it is hard to suppose that the gold and silver (and some *aes*) types of Gaius and Claudius did not involve direct imperial consultation. The sole point at which imperial participation was lacking was perhaps in the gold and silver types of Nero from 54 to 64—an austere and minimal statement of Nero's constitutional position in those controlled, early, years during which the Senate attempted to re-establish some genuine administrative power.

### VIII. Operational and artistic technique

Detailed knowledge of the technical operation of major imperial mints is lacking until the reign of Trajan, during which (in AD 115) several inscriptions were set up, on the Caelian hill in Rome, with dedications to Apollo, Fortuna, Hercules, Victoria, and the *Genius familiae monetalis*, by members of the *moneta Caesaris nostri*—the imperial mint.<sup>1</sup> From these inscriptions it is learned that, early in the second century at any rate, the following technical organization existed; and some of it may be projected back into the Julio-Claudian period:

- (i) The mint was under the technical direction of an *optio et exactor auri argenti et aeris*.<sup>2</sup>
- (ii) Under him was a second *optio*, presumably as a deputy.<sup>3</sup>
- (iii) Next in seniority came twenty-five *officinatores*,<sup>3</sup> whom we must suppose

<sup>1</sup> *CIL* vi, 42-4, 791, 239.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 44.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 43.



to have been the principal foremen of twenty-five different working-sections of the mint. The nature of these working sections can be seen, probably, from

- (iv) the *signatores* (engravers), *suppostores* (those who inserted the blanks between the dies), and *malleatores* (hammer men),<sup>1</sup> with whom should be associated the *conductores flaturae*<sup>2</sup> (the metal-melters, the metal-refiners, and possibly those who cast the flans).

There may well have been other grades: for example, mention occurs elsewhere of *aequatores* (weight-trimmers) and *scalptores* (die-sinkers); and there were clerical grades. The essential outline of production, however, is reasonably clear by analogy for the Julio-Claudian period. Higher authority (cf. pp. 7 f.) having determined the quantity of coinage to be produced in the given metals, and having formally indented for and obtained the required amounts of the metals concerned (in the form of either bars or older coin), the chief *optio* would activate the relevant orders through his subordinates, ensuring that enough dies of the correct types were produced in steady sequence, that enough blanks of correct fineness and weight were produced for day-to-day insertion between the dies, and that enough coins were actually hammered, or 'struck', from those dies each day.

The rate of production can only be a matter of speculation. Modern experiment<sup>3</sup> has shown both that the pre-heating and the striking of previously weight-adjusted cast blanks can be performed at a very high speed, with complete efficiency, and also that the number of coins that can be produced from a pair of dies without deterioration was extremely high. Production, indeed, needed to be at a fast rate: the amount of new coin required per annum could be formidably large.<sup>4</sup> Technical efficiency at the mint of Rome—and, by analogy, elsewhere—was, visibly, good; and there can be no doubt that the operatives mentioned above were expert at their different tasks. Their numbers, and the numbers of working-sections in a mint, were presumably dictated by simple experience.

These working-sections, now generally referred to as *officinae*, and very probably known as such in their own time, have in recent years received increasing attention. From the time of Philip I onwards it was not unusual for the 'silver' coins of Rome to be marked with the numbers (A, B, Γ or P, S, T, etc.) of the *officina* which produced them; and from the end of the third century this was normal for all metals at all mints.<sup>5</sup> It was a system which enabled the authorized supervisors of the coinage, and indeed its users in general, to attribute any defects—in weight, fineness, or even skill of production—to definite operatives at definite times. And even before the introduction of such numbering it seems probable that *officinae* could be identified, at least officially, by the staple reverse types on which they concentrated in their coinage-production. The groundwork in this method of *officina* analysis was performed by H. Mattingly's study of the Dorchester hoard.<sup>6</sup> Since then a number of studies have projected the method backwards

<sup>1</sup> *CIL* vi, 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 791.

<sup>3</sup> Sellwood, *NC* 1963, pp. 217 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 87 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *RIC* IV (3), pp. 54 ff. and VI, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> *NC* 1939, pp. 1 ff.

in time, through the period of Severus Alexander<sup>1</sup> and Septimius Severus<sup>2</sup> back to Trajan,<sup>3</sup> Galba,<sup>4</sup> Nero,<sup>5</sup> and the Julio-Claudians.<sup>6</sup> The introductions to individual reigns which follow later in this volume will suggest the extent to which analysis of staple reverse-types can helpfully suggest the fluctuating Julio-Claudian range of *officinae*. The method is obviously lacking in certainty; but it is not very easy to doubt that a system existed by which particular *officinae* were allotted particular reverse-types, some major, some minor, which they were ordered to strike up to a given total quantity of coin. And the fact that a given obverse die could be found associated with the reverse dies of more than one putative *officina* would indicate simply that, while reverse dies remained *in situ* in their respective *officinae*, the technically more valuable and authoritatively more important obverse dies, bearing the imperial portrait, were removed at the end of a working day to a central point of security, to be redistributed thence (though not necessarily to the same consecutive *officina*) at the beginning of the next day.<sup>7</sup>

Of all the mint-operations involved that of the die-sinkers must have been the most difficult and time-consuming, especially in relation to portrait-dies (cf. above, pp. 12 f., on hubbing). It is possible to see, in any dense series of closely related portrait coinage, that such a series often began with very fine portrait-dies, plainly the work of master-engravers, from whose initially high standards less-skilled men sooner or later deviated. Nevertheless, if we consider the number of portrait-dies required in the Julio-Claudian period, we cannot but be struck by the excellence of coin-portraiture in general—always positive, if sometimes hurried; always authoritative and essentially personal; the likenesses of real men of absolute power; often harsh, but usually clear; and set off by lettering which, if it varied curiously from time to time in its degree of elegance, was generally very well proportioned to the effigy. The sense of balance was extraordinarily good; and something approaching a universally achieved style was mastered. Style is, of course, in the proper sense the way in which an artist or craftsman of particular excellence takes a lead in the interpretation of a subject, conceptually and technically; and the degree to which other and lesser men can perpetuate the style of an original creator amounts to little more than a developing trend of treatment.

There are certain points in the Julio-Claudian period of coinage at which the emergence of new master portrait-artists can be clearly seen. For example, the 'revised' Lugdunum portraits of c. 11 BC and onwards; the new *aes* portraiture of Rome of AD 10, leading to the florescence of early and mid-reign Tiberian portraiture; the *aes* portraiture of Claudius, intensely personal, unromantic to a degree, and an essay in realism; and the flamboyant magnificence of Nero's *aes* portraits at Rome (though not at Lugdunum) from c. 62—all these mark both the provision of fine new models from a master-sculptor's hand and also the existence of master-engravers capable of sinking correspondingly fine dies.

<sup>1</sup> R. A. G. Carson in *BMCRE* vi, pp. 40 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Unpublished study by C. L. Clay.

<sup>3</sup> P. V. Hill, *The Undated Coins of Rome*, AD 98–148.

<sup>4</sup> C. M. Kraay, *Aes Coinage of Galba*, with results as amended by D. W. Mac Dowall, *NC*

1957, pp. 269 ff.

<sup>5</sup> D. W. Mac Dowall, *Western Coinages of Nero*.

<sup>6</sup> D. W. Mac Dowall in *SNRHS* pp. 32 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sutherland, *Schweiz. Münzbl.* 1962, pp. 73 ff., for a later period.

Nor did excellence die with Nero. Many of the portrait-dies of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius made at Rome show the logical continuation of the fine school of taste and execution which Nero's reign had fostered. Style became an ever-stronger element, because ever-better artists were at work on the coinage.

#### IX. Counterfeits and modern forgeries

The elusive and subjectively measured element of style must necessarily figure prominently in the assessment of certain coins of dubious authenticity. Not, however, in the case of plated silver coins, perhaps commonest under Claudius, for it seems most likely that these were usually produced by the illegal use of official dies presumably stolen, temporarily or permanently, from the mints. The method of production seems to have been somewhat as follows. A copper core of predetermined size and weight was wrapped around with a thin envelope of silver, and the whole, after being heated, was then struck between the stolen dies. The resultant product was a seemingly orthodox denarius, of the correct size though of deficient weight (copper being lighter than silver), thus giving the maker a substantial illicit profit when he passed the coin in trade. It has been suggested that plated denarii could also have been the official work of official mints—an attempt to 'stretch' supplies of silver bullion. This is not likely. Debasement of the State's coinage had never previously been the policy of Rome, and had been left to such as Antony who, cut off in the east from adequate supplies of silver for his vast 'legionary' coinage before 31 BC, *miscuit denario . . . ferrum*.<sup>1</sup> There was colossal danger to the credit of any imperial government which undermined the bona fides of an intrinsic-value currency, as that of Rome was.

It is in connection with forgeries of late medieval and modern date that the question of style arises. Not, of course, when coins have been cast, by slow pouring, in moulds made from genuine coins. Here the criterion is one of 'fabric'. Crystallographically speaking, cast metal settles slowly and lazily in comparison with struck metal, which assumes the instant and crisp impress of the dies between which it is struck. Cast coins, then, tend to feel 'oilier' and smoother than even worn struck coins. (Only with modern pressure-casting—a very dangerous means of deception, especially with gold—is this defect overcome, great centrifugal force driving the metal into the falsely moulded dies.) Moreover, the two separate faces of a cast coin have to be joined; and minute inspection will usually detect the join around the edge—or the deliberate deformation intended and needed to hide it.

Where coins have been cast from moulds or struck from dies of a post-Roman period, style will generally be the chief aid to their recognition. The Renaissance was an age in which the glories of classical culture were rediscovered and revived; and the deliberate imitation of ancient (and especially Roman) coinage was undertaken not necessarily to deceive, but to widen the available range of objects to be admired. Thus Giovanni Cavino (born in Padua in 1499), his son Vincenzo, and his friend Alessandro Bassiano produced well over 100 varieties of early imperial sestertii, covering 'the twelve Caesars'; and these rank as fine (if minor) Renaissance *objets d'art*. But in the

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *NH* 33.46.

style of portraiture, in the form of lettering, and in the actual fabric of the pieces—too thin, too round, and too flat—they are almost immediately, and almost automatically, recognizable as non-Roman creations, the product of hands and eyes of another and a different age.

In still later ages, when purely intellectual interest in the antique yielded place to interest in the monetary value of the antique, the phenomenon of true forgery arose, i.e. with the cutting of dies carefully and deliberately intended to deceive, or, less often, with the casting of coins—*aes* in particular—to fill what seemed to be numismatic lacunae. As examples of this latter practice one may cite the cast *aes* forgeries depicting such ancient heroes as Scipio Africanus or celebrating Julius Caesar (with legend *Veni Vidi Vici*)—in each case regardless of the fact that no *aes* sestertii were produced at the time in question; and for the Julio-Claudian period the false sestertii of Otho (who produced no *aes*) are prominent. More dangerous, because either more probable or indeed not automatically suspect, are the struck forgeries, of gold and silver in particular, together with a few admirably cast pieces from falsely conceived moulds, which seem to supplement the authentic harvest gathered from coin-hoards. Examples of these last are provided by such pieces as the denarii of L. Cinna, active under Augustus.<sup>1</sup> It is the struck pieces from two major master-forgers which have, however, caused most trouble. Karl Becker<sup>2</sup> worked in the early nineteenth century, when skilled collecting was on the increase. Of over 600 dies which he cut, some 136 were for Roman aurei and denarii, which he struck with great skill, taking care afterwards to give the coins an acceptable degree of both wear and patination by such means as carrying them on horseback in saddle-bags filled with dung. Becker's forgeries have too often deceived, for, while he could not always achieve the full imitation of true Roman style (e.g. in letter-forms and spacing, or in portrait-relief, or in the quasi-regularity of dotted borders), he was often very near it indeed. So too was the Italian Luigi Cigoi,<sup>3</sup> whose range of false dies for Roman coins has likewise been demonstrated, and whose productions have caused similar trouble. With these two outstanding forgers there has been a number of other and less productive but sometimes equally clever counterfeiters, some of whose falsifications were listed for our period by Mattingly.<sup>4</sup>

Unless weight or fabric (or, now, metallic composition) can point demonstrably to falseness, only the eye of experience can, without the certain help of provenance, authenticate a coin. This is a purely subjective test, and obviously not wholly satisfactory; but it has taken us a long way forward in the discarding of pieces accepted by eighteenth and nineteenth century compilers. To gain that necessary experience, the eye must observe, analyse, and 'feel' as many coins as possible which are authentic beyond any shadow of doubt. And here the only major difficulty to be encountered consists of the 'tooling up' of worn pieces to give them sharper definition of portrait, type, or legend—a process that, unwittingly or sometimes even deliberately, can lead to alteration

<sup>1</sup> *NC* 1952, pp. 139 ff., with which cf. *NC* 1955, pp. 222 f.

<sup>2</sup> See G. F. Hill, *Becker the Counterfeiter*. The British Museum contains a set of known

Becker forgeries—invaluable for comparison.

<sup>3</sup> *NZ* 1871, pp. 105 ff.; 1895, pp. 115 ff.; *ZfN* 1876, p. 603.

<sup>4</sup> *BMCRE* pp. lxxix f.

of original detail. In either case the process can usually be detected, as the only way of sharpening the relief of either the portrait, the type, or the legend must usually lie in lowering the level of the metal of the 'field' around the areas to be emphasized and clarified.<sup>1</sup>

#### x. *Provincial coinages*

This volume attempts to define and to list those coinages which, being either of gold and silver (and so subject to the imperial monopoly), or being struck in *aes* in quantities clearly designed by higher authority for circulation beyond any one city or even province, were produced by imperial authority as a matter of imperial policy, either directly exercised or delegated.

Apart from imperial gold, the only aurei to be produced were those of the dependent kings of Bosphorus.<sup>2</sup> So far as concerned silver, the imperial denarius was likewise supreme in the west, with the sole exception of the denarii of the similarly dependent kings of Mauretania.<sup>3</sup> In the east, however, where centuries of coinage had flourished in silver, there was a narrowly restricted range of silver tetradrachms, didrachms, and drachms, mainly in Asia Minor, Syria, Alexandria, and Crete.<sup>4</sup> These did not openly declare production by imperial permission; but (apart from the obvious case of Alexandria) that permission must be assumed; the granting of such permission would certainly have conferred the advantage of convenience upon the imperial government, as the coins in question were, of course, produced to a variety of traditional, local weight-standards and denominational sizes. Certain of these coinages were of substantial regional importance. The billon tetradrachms and their fractions struck at Alexandria formed an increasingly massive series,<sup>5</sup> and the less impure (though still debased) tetradrachms of Antioch, with Greek legends like those of Alexandria, were also an important element,<sup>6</sup> fulfilling a regional need.

Coinage of 'non-imperial' character in *aes* presents a much more varied picture.<sup>7</sup> Broadly speaking, *aes* appears to have been struck, at various times and in various places, (i) by imperial permission, expressly stated; (ii) by imperial deputies, whose status was expressly defined; (iii) by provincial *κοινά* set up in eastern provinces to further the worship of Roma and Augustus, and, generally, to support the imperial ideal; (iv) by Roman colonies and *municipia*, most notably in the Spanish provinces, but elsewhere (and in some bulk; cf. Paestum and Corinth) as well; (v) by a fairly large number of unprivileged towns in eastern provinces, to celebrate (with quite brief issues) the anniversary of a foundation or an imperial accession. In categories (i)–(iii) imperial authority is easily seen or detected, and its presence in (iv) is surely implicit, since the emperor Gaius could suddenly terminate the operation of the remarkable (and, surely, economically important) range of city-mints in

<sup>1</sup> Some further observations on forgeries are helpfully given in *RIC I* (1st edn.), pp. 34 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *BMC Pontus, etc.*, pp. 48 ff.

<sup>3</sup> J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *BMCRE* p. xxv.

<sup>5</sup> J. G. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian*

*Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*.

<sup>6</sup> W. Wruck, *Die syrische Provinzialprägung von Augustus bis Traian*. Nero, from c.64, struck with Latin legends.

<sup>7</sup> Grant, *FITA*, has admirably demonstrated, for Augustus, the diversity of authority behind this heterogeneous *aes*.

Spain.<sup>1</sup> Only in regard to (v) can anything like freedom of action be postulated; and it is likely that the central government simply did not concern itself with such brief and ephemeral issues, for which indeed the chief problem—the provision of the metal required—was a purely local one, perhaps solved in most cases by the benefactions of wealthy townsmen.

The picture as a whole is therefore one of great diversity, with an avoidance of any overtly rigid system, though with a nearly universal undercurrent of imperial authority. Imperially issued aurei and denarii were universal in the west and east, and the denarii, also universal in the west, could mingle, at agreed rates, with any surviving silver or billon coinages in the east. The great imperially directed *aes* mints of the west—Rome, Lugdunum, Nemausus—poured a flood of *aes* into the western provinces: their eastern counterparts, Ephesus, Pergamum, and Antioch, did the same for Syria and many areas of Asia Minor. Other provinces of the Greek east were served, either in silver or in *aes*, by a variety of mints in such areas as Achaëa, Pontus, Judaea, and Egypt, supplemented by a variety of little ephemeral issues. A veritable mass of currency must have existed throughout the empire; and the very large proportion of *aes* which is known to have existed witnesses the extent to which urban economies, at least, had by now come to depend on a varied and flexible monetary system.

In viewing this mass of Julio-Claudian currency (much of it 'imperial' in the strict sense) as state-currency, care should be taken not to regard the rest, by a fallacious dichotomy, as 'provincial'. That which was encouraged, permitted, or even condoned was all, in one sense or another, a part of the great and comprehensive imperial pattern, which saw the wide and vast mass of the Roman domains furnished with money with which to earn, buy and sell, invest, and save.

<sup>1</sup> NC 1949, pp. 93 ff.

# AUGUSTUS

## 1. *Res publica* and *principatus*

On 2 September 31 BC—one of the major turning-points in European history—the massive armada led by Antony and Cleopatra was defeated by the forces of Octavian, the great-nephew and adopted son of the Dictator Julius Caesar, assassinated thirteen years previously. The battle of Actium, fought off the eastern coast of the Adriatic, thus removed Octavian's major rival from among his colleagues in the state-preserving triumvirate lasting from 43 to 33 BC, for Lepidus, even though sacrosanct in his office of *pontifex maximus*, was inconsiderable as a political force and could be left in safe obscurity until his death in 12 BC. In the years from 31 to 27 BC, or (perhaps more truly) to 23 BC, Octavian (granted the semi-religious title 'Augustus' in January 27 BC) could therefore ponder and devise for the Roman world a revised form of central government in which his now vast power could operate without open offence.

To the modern mind this revision often appears as a more or less simple transition from Republican to Imperial institutions. But although this imagined contrast grew up as the Empire developed, it was scarcely true of Augustus' own time. He inherited a constitution whereby the state had been administered by senatorial agencies only comparatively lately dominated by military leaders. In many respects Augustus sought to preserve the old senatorial machinery of government; but he ensured two things, first, his own absolute control of the armed forces, and secondly, an adequately exercised control over the composition and decisions of the Senate—that ancient repository of traditional privilege and administrative power. Thus, having by 23 BC relinquished the consulship, accepted the powers of *tribunus plebis* without the office, and been granted *proconsulare imperium* for stated periods, he could claim that he exceeded all others in *auctoritas* but possessed no power greater than that held by any other of his magisterial colleagues.<sup>1</sup>

Among the many important functions of state which had to be maintained after 31 BC was the provision of coinage, of prime necessity for the payment of the armed forces, but required also—after the habits of three centuries—for the general economic life of the state. Under the government of the Republic, coinage had consisted, in its final stages, of a flood of silver denarii with intermittent aurei, supported by a token coinage of bronze which had become irregular in both weight and output: this *aes*, in fact, had not been produced at Rome since c.80 BC, succeeding decades having had to rely partly upon the remains of earlier *aes* issues. During the latest years of the Republic the weight of the aureus had declined from c. 1/30th of a pound of gold for Sulla (nearly

<sup>1</sup> RGDA 34. 3

11.0 g, or 9–10 scruples) to *c.* 1/36th for Pompey (*c.* 9.0 g, or 8 scruples) and then to *c.* 1/40th for Caesar (just over 8.0 g, or 7 scruples), the years of the Second Triumvirate maintaining this last weight. The denarius had remained steady at 1/84th of a pound of silver (*c.* 3.95 g, *c.* 3½ scruples). It would seem that the price of gold tended to rise, while that of silver held firm. The shortage of supporting *aes* in the dying years of the Republic was to some degree remedied locally by locally produced issues, of which the most important were those of the Pompeians in Spain in the mid-40s,<sup>1</sup> those struck in orichalcum—brass, a mixture of copper and zinc with cadmium—for Caesar by Clovius in Northern Italy,<sup>2</sup> the remarkably complete range, with naval allusions, struck for Antony by his subordinates in the earlier 30s and comprising sestertius (4 asses), tripondius (3 asses), dupondius (2 asses), as, semis (half-as), and sextans (1/6th as),<sup>3</sup> and the abundant 'Divos Iulius' *aes* of Octavian.

During the Republic the control of the central treasury, the *aerarium Saturni*, and of the central state coinage, now agreed by many to have been struck at Rome, had lain with the Senate, whose financial magistrates, the quaestors, were responsible for gathering revenues and taxes and for instructing the junior *IIIviri aere argento auro flando feriundo*<sup>4</sup> to strike a given quantity of coinage in any year. The first century BC had seen this old system weaken with the growing power of *imperatores*—military leaders who either received or assumed the right to coin in their military *provinciae*<sup>5</sup>—and it was further weakened when Caesar virtually appropriated both the resources of the *aerarium* and the running of the mint of Rome, which seems to have stopped work soon after his death.<sup>6</sup> From then onwards no trace of issues signed, as before, by the *IIIviri monetales* exists down to (or even for a few years after) the time of Actium. Much coinage was, however, struck, in gold and silver, for the rivals for power, Antony, Octavian, and Lepidus, by their subordinates, but this was produced outside Rome from the bullion supplies which they kept near them in the areas of their respective military operations.

By the time Octavian emerged supreme after the battle of Actium he therefore found the following elements in the monetary situation which faced him:

- (1) A continuing need for gold and silver, primarily for military pay and gratuities (he was left with an excessively large army), and a growing need for the long discontinued token *aes* to support it.
- (2) The comparatively long acceptance of the system whereby an *imperator*, the holder of *imperium* legally conferred by the Senate, or at least recognized by the Senate *de facto*, might strike coinage in his own name from bullion at his disposal.
- (3) The abeyance, from the end of the 40s, of the mint of Rome, previously the chief source of the coinage of the Roman state, and the fragmentation of coinage among peripherally situated mints.
- (4) The continuation in being of the Senate and its various magisterial agencies as the traditional organs of an administration that had always previously included control of the *aerarium*.

<sup>1</sup> Grant, *FITA*, pp. 22 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Grant, *FITA*, pp. 7 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Sydenham, *Coinage of the Roman Republic*, nos. 1255–70.

<sup>4</sup> Pink, *The Triumviri Monetales*, pp. 60 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Sutherland, *Roman Coins*, pp. 79 f.

<sup>6</sup> *Id.*, p. 102.



His attention to matters of coinage—its control and provision—was of course but one of a mass of claims upon him. Frontier-security, military demobilization and resettlement, the constitutional reshaping of his own and the Senate's powers, fiscal reform, provincial reform, reform of public services, the outward aspects of the state religion and public morality, and not least the conciliation of public opinion where it was needed—all these were of vital importance. But monetary control and provision, even if less spectacular, or less closely observed (because universally taken for granted), were of no less importance; and over a period of some twenty years he revised the monetary institutions, step by step, and often (it seems) in an opportunist or tentative way, leaving them finally in a form that was to shape the imperial coinage for nearly three centuries afterwards.

He did not, however, change the monetary system in respect of its denominational interrelationships, the pattern of which had steadily evolved during the Republic. That system can be summarized as follows:

Denomination	Gold quinarius	Denarius	Silver quinarius	Sestertius	Dupondius	As	Semis	Quadrans
Aureus	2	25	50	100	200	400	800	1600
Gold quinarius		12½	25	50	100	200	400	800
Denarius			2	4	8	16	32	64
Silver quinarius				2	4	8	16	32
Sestertius					2	4	8	16
Dupondius						2	4	8
As							2	4
Semis								2

Not all these denominations were to be used, at any given time, side by side, either under Augustus or later, but the equivalences were to hold good at all times down to the middle of the third century.

## II. Augustus' control of finance: the independent evidence

The official heart of the Roman state's previous financial machinery was the *aerarium Saturni* administered by the quaestors. This treasury had received, under the Republic, the state's revenues, and consequently it was the *aerarium*, through the quaestors empowered by the Senate, that bore the responsibility for all expenditure made on behalf of the state, including of course the cost of the armed forces and of public services in general. No concise definition of any such financial theory under the Republic has come down to us: however, the institutions of the time must imply such an arrangement. And indeed Augustus, when he accepted his constitutionally supreme position in 27 BC, declared that he was making over to the state not only the armed forces and the provinces but also the revenues,<sup>1</sup> without which the formal transfer of armed forces and provinces would have been impossible; and Tiberius was to repeat the theory on his own behalf.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dio Cass. 53. 9. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Cass. 56. 39. 4.

Augustus himself was, as a result of the spoils received personally from a captured Egypt, suddenly a man of vast private wealth, who was able in various ways and at various times to come to the aid of the *aerarium*. The list of his immense subventions to the state is remarkable,<sup>1</sup> and on his own reckoning amounted to 2,400 million sesterces.<sup>2</sup> In a sense therefore, the essential distinction between public financial machinery and vast private generosity was constantly blurred and weakened, and Augustus naturally gained a dominant (if invariably discreet) influence over the state's financial administration. This dominance he confirmed officially by certain overt and yet constitutionally proper steps. In 23 BC the administration of the *aerarium* was transferred from the quaestors to praetors or ex-praetors—men of marked experience—to be known as *praetores aerarii*.<sup>3</sup> In 22 BC the *cura annonae*—the office superintending the supply and distribution of grain in Rome—was similarly assigned to two ex-praetors.<sup>4</sup> The conduct of public festivals, at public expense, was made over to the praetors,<sup>5</sup> and in AD 7 state-expenditure on shows was rescinded on grounds of economy,<sup>6</sup> perhaps on the advice of a board of three ex-consuls set up in AD 6 to cut out wasteful spending.<sup>7</sup> It would be an exaggeration to say, with Dio Cassius,<sup>8</sup> that the distinction between public and private funds was removed by Augustus. It is more true to say that his own vast wealth, combined with his immense *auctoritas* and his ability to control the composition of the Senate, enabled him to suggest action with the covert force of obligation. Morally, if not with open legality, he controlled the state's finances; and it was in this spirit that he left at his death a formal balance-sheet of them.<sup>9</sup>

The Senate, then, had lost the financial pre-eminence which it enjoyed under the Republic. It administered certain branches of finance, as before, but under direction or suggestion, and without the independent freedom which it previously commanded to innovate or change policy. As we shall see, it appears to have exercised no control at all over the issuing of gold and silver coinage, the authority for which seems to have lain exclusively with the *princeps*; and even in regard to the abundant series of *aes*, marked S C, signed by the *IIIviri a.a.a.f.f.* and produced at the mint of Rome, there are good reasons for supposing that S C indicated much less than an overt claim of senatorial authority to coin.<sup>10</sup> So far as concerns the gold and silver of Rome, signed by the *IIIviri a.a.a.f.f.* in the years between c.19 and 12 BC,<sup>11</sup> it can be said that, however the *IIIviri* were appointed,<sup>12</sup> they were the nominees of senators who were themselves increasingly subject to imperial approval for their own membership of the Senate.

### III. *The major mints of Augustus*

These mints are here discussed in the order in which their coins (either certainly or provisionally attributed) are described in the lists below. The

<sup>1</sup> *AJPh* 1945, pp. 152–3.

<sup>2</sup> *RGDA* Append. I.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. *Div. Augustus* 36; Dio Cass. 53. 32. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Dio Cass. 54. 1. 3–4. The arrangement was modified and amplified four years later (Dio Cass. 54. 17. 1).

<sup>5</sup> Dio Cass. 54. 2. 3–4.

<sup>6</sup> Dio Cass. 55. 31. 4.

<sup>7</sup> Dio Cass. 55. 25. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Dio Cass. 53. 16. 1; 22. 2–4.

<sup>9</sup> Suet. *Div. Aug.* 101; Tac. *Ann.* i. 11; Dio Cass. 56. 33. 1 ff.

<sup>10</sup> See below, p. 32.

<sup>11</sup> See below, p. 34.

<sup>12</sup> See A. Burnett, *NC* 1977, pp. 40 ff.

principate of Augustus is in general widely documented—it is well covered by inscriptions, including of course the *Res Gestae*; it received attention from the historians Tacitus, Suetonius, and Dio Cassius; and major poets like Virgil and Horace make their own solid contribution. Nevertheless from the numismatic standpoint very little contemporary evidence for the existence or location of the mints is available.

(i) *Emerita* (the modern Mérida in Portugal)<sup>1</sup> (nos. 1–25)

The colony of *Emerita Augusta* was founded in Lusitania as a result of the war undertaken in 26–25 BC by Augustus to conquer north-western Spain, which the long Spanish campaigns under the Republic had not subdued. Its purpose was to serve as a colony for the reception of *emeriti*—soldiers demobilized after their periods of service had ended—and to act as a civilian but militarized strong-point in the far west of Spain. Its foundation was effected by P. Carisius, *legatus pro praetore* of the province of Lusitania and thereby holder of an *imperium* subordinate to that of Augustus. Carisius issued coinage bearing his own name (and in one case that of *Emerita* itself) with the portrait and name of Augustus. The silver (with essentially military types) styled Augustus *imperator* and Carisius *legatus pro praetore*: the non-military *aes* defined Augustus as holder of *tribunicia potestas* and styled Carisius *legatus Augusti*. It would seem that the duration of the silver and *aes* of the original ‘imperial’ issue did not extend beyond Carisius’ tenure of office, which ended c.23 BC, although colonial *aes* of local character was issued later, by permission of Augustus.<sup>2</sup> And Mattingly<sup>3</sup> gave to *Emerita* (22–19 BC) the small series of lightish denarii with reverse capricorn as a continuation of the Carisian silver.

(ii)–(iii) ‘*Uncertain Spanish mints 1 and 2*’<sup>4</sup> (nos. 26–153)

Considerable difficulty and confusion has arisen over two series of gold and silver coins, one smaller and one larger, and each differentiated from the other quite clearly by portraiture, which Mattingly,<sup>5</sup> following Laffranchi,<sup>6</sup> assigned to mints in the Spanish provinces on the ground that the *aes* of many Augustan city-coinages in Spain show the same portrait idioms,<sup>7</sup> with the suggestion that the mints in question were, respectively, Caesaraugusta (Saragossa) in Hispania Tarraconensis and Colonia Patricia (the modern Cordoba in Hispania Baetica).<sup>8</sup> It is difficult without further evidence to controvert Mattingly’s arguments; but attempts to weaken the hypothesis have been based on the discovery at Nemausus (Nîmes) of an obverse die from which seemingly genuine aurei of Mattingly’s ‘Colonia Patricia (?)’ were

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 41f.

<sup>2</sup> Grant, *FITA* pp. 119 ff., 221 ff.; *E. and C.* pp. 15, 22 ff., 42; Syme in *AJPh* 1934, pp. 293 ff.; Gil Farres, *La moneda hispánica en la edad antigua* pp. 416 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *BMCRE* p. 56. Giard in *CBN* gave them to the auxiliary mint of Col. Patricia (c.16)—less likely.

<sup>4</sup> See below, pp. 43 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *BMCRE* pp. cviii ff.

<sup>6</sup> *RIN* xxv–xxvi (1912–18), pp. 151 ff., 161 ff.

<sup>7</sup> It would, of course, be wrong to suggest that portraiture on the *aes* influenced that of the gold and silver (cf. Grant *FITA* p. 122; *SACJ* pp. 100 ff.; *SMACA* pp. 77 ff.), but in fact Mattingly specifically defined the influence as that of the wider ranging gold and silver upon the locally restricted *aes*.

<sup>8</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 42 ff.

struck,<sup>1</sup> and by the attribution, mainly on stylistic grounds, to Nemausus of a certain proportion of 'Spanish' denarii.<sup>2</sup> The circumstances in which the aureus die was found, undamaged and undefaced in the fountain at Nîmes, allow us to adduce explanations other than that it represents a Nemausus mint for gold and silver;<sup>3</sup> and, while it is true that a complete study of the 'Spanish' gold and silver is still awaited, and that even such a study will probably not succeed in defining the distribution-area of that gold and silver (because gold and silver circulated universally), it may still be noted (*a*) that Spain as a whole had long been both urbanized and commercialized, (*b*) that Baetica was pre-eminently so, (*c*) that Spain was the source of much gold and silver bullion, and (*d*) that Spain (unlike Gaul) had four legions stationed in it at this time, for which payment in the precious metals would be required. If we bear in mind the very strong resemblances in portraiture which exist between this gold and silver on the one hand and, on the other, the copious issues of civic *aes* which began in the period when this gold and silver was first circulating in quantity,<sup>4</sup> it is difficult to deny at least the plausibility of the Laffranchi-Mattingly theory, wherever the actual mints may in fact have been situated in Spain.

The duration of activity of 'Spain 1' and 'Spain 2' cannot be exactly defined. 'Spain 1'—the less productive of the two<sup>5</sup>—struck types attributable mainly to c.19–18 BC: references to the Parthian–Armenian concession are viewed in the general context of Augustus as the saviour of Rome who was honoured by the *clupeus virtutis* and the *corona civica*. 'Spain 2' coined much more profusely, perhaps from c.20 to c.17/16 BC. Here too references to Parthia and Armenia abound, again within the context of Augustus as the state's saviour, but dated types and explicit reference to the Ludi Saeculares (17 BC) carry 'Spain 2' certainly down to 17 BC.

At 'Spain 1', with only one exception, the types of the aurei and denarii are distinct. This was not the case at 'Spain 2'. In other respects the two mints have important elements in common—gold weight-peak c. 7.90–7.75 g, silver weight-peak c. 3.85–3.65 g, and a tendency (with some irregularities) to die-positions ↑ ↓. Although their time-span may not have been exactly the same in each case, and though they differed in output and the choice and variety of types (obverse as well as reverse) the two mints obviously had much in common—as much, perhaps, as would have been the case if two mint-controllers were operating at the same general period in adjacent provinces.

#### (iv) *Nemausus* (Nîmes)<sup>6</sup> (nos. 154–61)

If we exclude from consideration the precious-metal issues attributed to Nemausus by some,<sup>7</sup> Nemausus was not strictly an 'imperial' or state mint.

<sup>1</sup> Le Gentilhomme, *RN* 1946, proc.-verb. p. ii; Giard, *CBN* p. 12; Grant in *SACJ* pp. 102 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Giard, *CBN* nos. 1330 ff., and p. 13. This attribution is difficult to maintain in the absence of anything like firm evidence, and it has been disregarded in the lists below (pp. 45 ff.), where all the coins in question are

assigned to 'Spain 1' and 'Spain 2'.

<sup>3</sup> *E. and C.* p. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Vives, *La moneda hispánica*; *AMCRE* plates 22–6.

<sup>5</sup> For production estimates of 'Spain 1' and 'Spain 2' cf. *QT* 1978, pp. 169 f.

<sup>6</sup> See below, pp. 51 f.

<sup>7</sup> See above on 'Spain 1' and 'Spain 2'.

Nevertheless, as has been well observed, its *aes* was so abundant as to earn this distinction.<sup>1</sup>

Nemausus became a colony (*iuris Latini*) fairly early under Augustus, its position commanding the land-route between Italy and Spain; and, apparently because it received a settlement of men involved in the conquest of Egypt,<sup>2</sup> it chose as its civic badge the captive crocodile and palm-branch, a device still to be seen in use there. As well as a small (initial?) issue of heavier brass coins, it poured out a series of lighter brass pieces in three sections.<sup>3</sup> The denominational value of the two main groups is uncertain: the heavier pieces, with a peak c. 17.50 g, are heavy for dupondii, while the lighter pieces, between 14.00 and 11.75 g (and of brass), do not correspond with the norm of asses of the time. They were presumably struck according to local requirements;<sup>4</sup> but this did not inhibit their very wide circulation in the west and along the Rhine.

The dating of the Nemausan *aes* has been disputed, but hoard-evidence appears to be quite decisive in assigning it to the period c.20 BC–AD 14, in three main stages distinguished by differences of type and legend.<sup>5</sup> As the series extended it became less abundant (though still common) with the steady expansion of the 'Altar' *aes* of Lugdunum from c.10 BC onwards (see below). The basic types remained without change throughout—heads of Augustus and of Agrippa, his great coadjutor, back to back on obverse, and crocodile and palm-branch on reverse. Volume, distribution, and types all proclaim this *aes* from a colonial mint to have been of special importance in the imperial coinage-system.

(v) *Lugdunum* (Lyons)<sup>6</sup> (nos. 162–248)

Lying in a magnificent position at the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône, and thus dominating the highly Romanized area of Provence and lying adjacent to the Alps and the headwaters of the Rhine, Lugdunum was founded as a colony (Colonia Copia Felix Munatia) in 43 BC. After a small foundation-issue it struck a quantity of purely colonial *aes* in the 30s BC,<sup>7</sup> and it became the ceremonial centre of the *concilium Galliarum* concerned with the cult of Rome and Augustus.

Because of this, it was at Lugdunum that Augustus chose to erect the famous Altar of the cult, which he personally dedicated in 10 BC. This in turn led to the issue from Lugdunum<sup>8</sup> of the 'First Altar' *aes* coinage in great abundance, comprising sestertii, asses, and quadrantes on the Roman weight-system, all but the quadrantes with reverse altar,<sup>9</sup> ROM(*ae*) ET AVG(*usto*), and widely diffused in the west as a whole,<sup>10</sup> where they tended to displace the

<sup>1</sup> Grant, *SMACA* pp. 18 ff., 116 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Grant, *SMACA* p. 120. It was Grant who first emphasized the importance of these vast and widespread issues; see also C. M. Kraay in *NC* 1955, pp. 75 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Below, pp. 51 f.

<sup>4</sup> The civic *aes* of Spanish towns, and also the early colonial issues of Lugdunum and Vienna in Gaul, often hover around the same weights: for Tarraco, see most recently *QT* 1977, pp. 139 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Kraay, *NC* 1955, pp. 75 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Below, pp. 52 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Grant, *FITA* pp. 206 f.

<sup>8</sup> Also perhaps at secondary mints; cf. Giard in *RN* 1967, pp. 119 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Whether the object shown on the coins is the face of the altar itself, or a part of the altar-enclosure, is uncertain. It seems more probable that it is the altar itself.

<sup>10</sup> Grant, *SMACA* pp. 20 f., 127 ff.

slightly earlier *aes* of Nemausus (see above, pp. 26 f.). The laureate portraiture of this Lugdunese *aes*—of a new and strongly individual character—is seen also on a conspicuous series of gold and silver, where c.11–9 BC (IMP XII) it displaced an earlier bare-headed style of c.15–12 BC (IMP X). Moreover, the ‘Second Altar’ *aes* series, styling Augustus *pater patriae* (i.e. from 2 BC), bears portraiture plainly parallel with that of later gold and silver, including the vast ‘C. L. Caesares’ issues (not before 2 BC). It can therefore be strongly argued that Lugdunum produced not only the first and second Altar *aes* issues from 10 BC and after 2 BC, but also gold and silver, certainly from c.10 BC (and very possibly from c.15 BC) and extending to Augustus’ later years.

Support for this view can be drawn from a passage of Strabo,<sup>1</sup> who, writing under Tiberius, spoke of Lugdunum as a large and commercially busy city where the ἡγεμόνες of the Romans (emperors, or less probably governors) struck the coinage of gold and silver.<sup>2</sup> We know, too, that Tiberius had a mint-official at Lugdunum,<sup>3</sup> and that an urban cohort was on mint-guard there early in the principate.<sup>4</sup> It would have been natural if the conservative Tiberius maintained Augustan arrangements; and it would thus appear probable that, Augustus having at length centralized his gold and silver minting at Lugdunum, Tiberius was content to continue the policy. Certainly the gold and silver of Tiberius is an intimately related successor to the gold and silver of Augustus. Both series were, without doubt, struck at Lugdunum, that of Augustus being accompanied by the profuse ‘Altar’ *aes*, which dwindled and died under Tiberius.

The types on the Augustan gold and silver accord with a great mint not far removed from the military focus of Gallia Comata and the Rhine armies in Germany. Victories at Naulochus (Diana of Sicily) and Actium (Apollo of Actium)—the triggers which set Augustus on his course; soldiers; the bull of the Rhône(?); Victory (on gold quinarii); C. Caesar’s first Gallic campaign; the two young Caesars, Caius and Lucius (from 2 BC); and, from AD 13, Tiberius—these are the staple themes of the great mint in Gaul, a province visited by Augustus in 16 BC, 10 BC, and 8 BC.

It may be that certain of these themes were used also on the reverses of gold multiples struck at Lugdunum under Augustus. Three such multiples have been recorded, all of 4-aureus weight.<sup>5</sup> One (no. 204 below), of impeccable authenticity, was found during excavations at Pompeii in 1759 (30.70 g); the reverse was Diana, IMP XV (AD 2) SICIL, similar to Lugdunese aurei of preceding years (cf. no. 196 below, of 11–10 BC).<sup>6</sup> A second multiple (31.30 g), without archaeological provenance, is in the Museo Archeologico di Este near Padova (no. 205 below): the reverse is the ‘two Caesars’ type of the abundant aurei and denarii (nos. 206 ff. below) from c.2 BC to AD 4 or beyond. Each of these two pieces shows an unmistakably normal Lugdunese portrait; but while the first is undoubtedly authentic, the second cannot be said to be secure. The third piece (31.97 g), in the Museo Arqueologico at Madrid (no. 546 below), shows a non-Lugdunese portrait, with a little capricorn beneath, and

<sup>1</sup> iv. 3. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 46 f.

<sup>3</sup> *CIL* xiii, 1820.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 1499.

<sup>5</sup> Gorini, *AIIN* 1968, pp. 39 ff.

<sup>6</sup> This passed to the Museo Nazionale at Naples, whence it was stolen in 1977.

a surprising reverse with AEGYPTO CAPTA, hippopotamus, and must raise some doubts. All three have been included in the lists which follow, and Lugdunum can claim the first with absolute confidence as being genuine and the second without excessive doubt about its authenticity: the third must go in the 'incerta'. The interest of the first two is that they show the production of gold multiples, of wholly appropriate type, at the mint which, at the time concerned, was the single great central mint for precious-metal coinage, at which not only the main stream of aurei and denarii was struck but also, and naturally, those special pieces, either for high-level pay or for reward, for which multiple weight would have been suitable.

On the *aes*, as we have seen (pp. 27 f. above), there are two main portrait-styles, earlier (*Pont. Max.*) and later (*Pater Patriae*). The reverse type is constant throughout—ROM ET AVG and altar, the details of which are of interest. Flanked on each side by a column bearing a lofty, wreath-bearing Victory, the altar-face bears a central *corona civica* between two laurel-branches (the honorific emblems displayed at the entrance to Augustus' house in Rome),<sup>1</sup> these symbols being placed between two naked male figures, indistinguishably stylized on almost all specimens but very occasionally recognizable on larger denominations: these figures have been identified as the Lares of the house by A. Alföldi.<sup>2</sup> When *aes* was coined for Tiberius also, from c.AD 10, the reverse type for *aes* remained unchanged.

In the 'First Altar' series the sestertii are of orichalcum (as also the uncommon quadrantes), while the asses are of copper. Of the 'Second Altar' coins, the sestertii, dupondii, and semisses are of orichalcum, and the asses of copper. The brass quadrantes do not bear the altar reverse, but types of eagle and bull.

The aurei of Lugdunum cluster at a peak of c. 7.95–7.70 g—slightly wider than at 'Spain 1' and 'Spain 2'—and the denarii at a peak c. 3.90–3.65 g, within 0.05 g of the margins in Spain. The sestertii cluster at c. 26.00–24.00 g, the dupondii at c. 13.00–11.00 g (both very slightly lighter than at Rome), the asses at c. 12.00–10.00 (about the same as at Rome), and the quadrantes c. 3.00 g (lighter than at Rome). Dies start without adjustment, but tend later to be  $\uparrow\downarrow$  or  $\uparrow\uparrow$ , as at Rome from c.6 BC.

(vi) *Treviri* (?) (no. 249)

A not unsubstantial group of small brass coins—possibly to be regarded as quadrantes, with a weight-peak around 3 g—has some claim to be regarded as a local issue put out with imperial permission. The single reverse type is based upon a Lugdunese prototype, the butting bull, current under Augustus from 15 BC onwards. The obverse type is that of a diademed head, sometimes said to reflect the lineaments of Augustus, but in fact showing the quite different and indeed markedly personalized features of another man, presumably identified by the reverse legend as *Germanus Indutilli L.*<sup>3</sup> It has been shown that the distribution-area of these coins is centred in Gallia Belgica, and very possibly

<sup>1</sup> RGDA 34. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus, p. 37.

<sup>3</sup> The last letter has often been misread as

F (= *filius*). A. Blanchet (*Traité des monnaies gauloises*, p. 254) interpreted the letter L as standing for *libertus*.

around Treveri.<sup>1</sup> In view of this distribution-area, and of the *terminus post quem* of the reverse type, it is not unreasonable to regard this issue (which, with such limited type-range, can only have been of brief duration) as an auxiliary regional coinage circulated in the name of a local authority by imperial permission.

(vii) *Italy, uncertain mints* (nos. 250–77)

It can scarcely be doubted that the war-coinage of Octavian, for the payment of his troops both before and after the battle of Actium, consisted successively of the 'Caesar divi f.' and 'Imp. Caesar' aurei and denarii (with both interlinking and internal linking of dies) and the 'Asia Recepta' quinarii, all previously—though not universally—assigned to eastern mints, and that these coins were struck in Italy, probably at a point near Octavian's naval headquarters, and possibly at Brundisium (Brindisi) itself.<sup>2</sup> Argument to this effect must be based on the following main grounds. (i) The 'Caesar divi f.' series (the earlier)<sup>3</sup> with pre-Actian types could not have been struck in the east, which Antony held firmly. (ii) The later 'Imp. Caesar' series, with frequent allusions to the victory at Actium and the fruits of that victory, and more abundant than the 'Caesar divi f.' series, was required urgently in Italy, where Octavian had to demobilize and settle great numbers of soldiers—Antonians as well as his own—when he reduced his combined legions from  $\pm 60$  to  $\pm 30$ . In addition to these arguments it should be pointed out (iii) that the 'Imp. Caesar' portraiture is of wholly Italian feeling, and is to be seen on the final COS VI denarii and on the COS VII aurei, which latter adopted the style 'Augustus' and were perhaps struck in Rome itself.

The specimens so far examined and compared in these two series give the following totals of dies.

*Caesar divi f.*

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Total of specimens</i>
<i>A</i>	20	18	36
<i>AR</i>	124	152	286

*Imp. Caesar*

	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Total of specimens</i>
<i>A</i>	13	16	32
<i>AR</i>	216	227	402

This would in general suggest that the silver struck after 29, when Octavian received the *praenomen imperatoris*,<sup>4</sup> was about twice the volume of the 'Caesar divi f.' silver; and this would accord with the fact that the great booty from captured Egypt reached Italy in 30 BC, causing a glut of money and a cut in interest-rates of two-thirds.<sup>5</sup> This silver war-coinage was struck (like that of the Rome mint afterwards) slightly less pure than that of Spain and Gaul,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. Todd in *Schweiz Münzbl.* Feb. 1965, pp. 3 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *E. and C.* pp. 49 ff.; *QT* 1976, pp. 129 ff. The corresponding war-coinage of Antony consisted of the well-known

'legionary' issues.

<sup>3</sup> *QT* 1976, pp. 141 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Dio Cass. 52. 41. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Dio Cass. 57. 21. 5; cf. Suet. *Div. Augustus* 41. 1.



at c. 96.80 per cent fine: its weight, again like that of Rome a little later, was c. 4.00–3.65 g, with the aurei at c. 8.00–7.85 g—once more the future figure for Rome.

The pre-29 BC types emphasized Octavian as the protégé of a strong Venus (foundress of the Julian line), as the leader who promises peace, as the winner of victory (especially naval), as the devotee of Apollo. After 29 we see the results of victory in the trophy, the ceremonial rostral column celebrating the capture of Antony's ships, the city-foundation, the adornment of temples, the return of civilian rule, honours to Mars, Apollo, and Diana, and finally the ceremonial honours of January 27 BC.<sup>1</sup> All of these types are western in conception: none has particular reference to the east, where indeed the Roman system of denominations did not apply (see below, pp. 35 f.). The same is essentially true of the very common silver quinarii struck between 29 and 26 (IMP VII) with reverse *Asia Recepta*, Victory standing on *cista mystica*—the Asian type-device of earlier years used both by Antony and by Octavian on Asian cistophori (below, p. 35). Quinarii had no place in the monetary system of Asia Minor, but they told Italy a discreet tale of the rightful recovery of territory previously dominated by Antony, and they are found in considerable quantity in the west.<sup>2</sup>

(viii) *Rome*<sup>3</sup> (nos. 278–471)

The attribution of coinage of Augustus to the mint of Rome (closed since ± 40 BC, though possibly used for the latest issues of Octavian's post-Actian coinage: above, p. 30) rests fundamentally and strongly upon the appearance on this coinage of the names of successive *IIIviri a.a.a. f.f.*, in a revival of Republican tradition. As before, the *IIIviri* (they were increased in number to *IVviri* c. 5 and c. 4 BC after which time no moneyers' names appeared on the coins)<sup>4</sup> operated as a *collegium*. They were young aspirants to a senatorial career, assigned<sup>5</sup> to one or other of the various activities performed by the *XXviri* as a preliminary to senatorial election; and it is plain from what is known later of the administrative and technical staff of the mint of Rome<sup>6</sup> that the task of those assigned to the mint was in the main a supervisory one, in which, while they implemented the details of monetary policy laid down from above by the quaestors, they retained the long-enjoyed freedom to choose (to some extent) their particular coin-types and acquired the probable obligation<sup>7</sup> to place their names on the coins they issued.

Only one of the monetary *collegia* active under Augustus is specifically dated—that of L. Mescinius Rufus, L. Vinicius and C. Antistius Vetus in 16 BC. Certain of the others can be given probable dates from their type-content, e.g. that of Turpilianus, Florus, and Durmius with its emphasis on Parthian concessions, that of M. Sanquinus, P. Licinius Stolo, and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, which with its references to the *Ludi Saeculares*

<sup>1</sup> For full comment on the types cf. *QT* 1976, pp. 147 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Crawford, *RRCH* nos. 478–82.

<sup>3</sup> Below, pp. 61 ff.

<sup>4</sup> The subsequent normal number was three, as shown by later inscriptions.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. A. Burnett, *NC* 1977, pp. 37 ff., who

comments on the possible consular influence exerted in the selection of men as *IIIviri monetales*.

<sup>6</sup> Carson in *ERCHM* pp. 233 ff.; and *BMCRE* pp. lvii ff.; also *BMCRE* ii, pp. xvi ff.; and above, pp. 14 f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Sutherland, *QT* 1982, pp. 188 f.

presumably belongs to 17 BC, and that of C. Marius, C. Sulpicius Platorinus, and C. Antistius Reginus, which with its allusion to joint eminence held by Augustus and Agrippa must allude to their association in *tribunicia potestas* in 13 BC. But for the rest chronology is a matter of conjecture. Mattingly<sup>1</sup> made the moneyers' coinage—it included gold, silver, and *aes*, though not every *collegium* struck in all metals—begin with *aes* c.23 BC, gold and silver being deferred until c.19 BC. More recently the prosopographical method followed by Mattingly has been rigorously reconsidered, with more systematic attention given to the probable interval between a man's service as *IIIvir monetalis* and his attainment of high senatorial office independently recorded and dated; and K. Kraft's revised sequence of *collegia*,<sup>2</sup> followed by A. Bay<sup>3</sup> and J.-B. Giard,<sup>4</sup> has been adopted here, although it is not universally accepted.<sup>5</sup> Its advantage—if advantage it truly is—is to start the moneyers' series with gold and silver, then add *aes* issues (sestertii and dupondii) in orichalcum, and finally add copper asses—all this to be followed a good deal later by abundant issues of quadrantes. Even now the proposed chronologies are all, in one way or another, conjectural, and the problem remains.

If the sequence of Kraft, here followed, is accepted, one further and stubborn difficulty is perhaps diminished. The essential difference between the moneyers' *aes* bearing the large letters S C and the moneyers' gold and silver bearing no such formula has for long stimulated argument,<sup>6</sup> including the recent theory<sup>7</sup> that the letters S C called public attention to the Senate's decision to introduce a new *aes* coinage in two metals, brass and copper. For various reasons it is difficult to accept this view,<sup>8</sup> and indeed, on Kraft's rearrangement, S C began before the brass/copper distinction was introduced. It seems more likely that, just as Augustus claimed the right (effective since Julius Caesar) to call upon stocks of gold and silver bullion for coinage, so the Senate, for long the literal key-holder of the *aerarium*, visibly authorized the withdrawal of stocks of coinage *aes* from that repository by marking the coins made from it.<sup>9</sup> This was a polite and harmless fiction which could continue without change for some three centuries to come.

One other major difference exists between the moneyers' gold and silver and the moneyers' *aes*. The latter (apart from what seems to be a sub-group, highly problematical, issued by the *collegium* of Cn. Piso, L. Naevius Surdinus, and C. Plotius Rufus—the subject of a separate note on p. 71 below—and apart also from the so-called 'Victory' coinage of c.7 BC)<sup>10</sup> show rigidly unvarying types throughout,<sup>11</sup> denomination by denomination, until variation comes with the quadrantes in the dying years of the moneyers' *aes*. By contrast, their gold and silver show wide type-variety. Not only did the types, obverse and reverse, change from *collegium* to *collegium*, but they varied from moneyer to moneyer within any given *collegium*. For example, in the *collegium* of P. Petronius Turpilianus, L. Aquillius Florus, and

<sup>1</sup> *BMCRE* pp. xciv ff., 28 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Mainz. Zeitschr.* 1951/2, pp. 28 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *JRS* 1972, pp. 111 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *CBN*, pp. 41–3.

<sup>5</sup> See A. Burnett, *NC* 1977, pp. 48 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Summarized and discussed at length in E. and C. pp. 11 ff.

<sup>7</sup> A. Bay, *JRS* 1972, pp. 111 ff.

<sup>8</sup> E. and C. p. 20.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.* p. 21.

<sup>10</sup> *QT* 1978, pp. 175 ff.; and below, p. 75.

<sup>11</sup> Save for the obv. head to l. or r. on the asses—surely a matter of the die-engraver's convenience and aptitude; see above, p. 12.

M. Durmius c.19 BC it is possible to list over forty substantive variations, of which Turpilianus, possibly the senior of the three,<sup>1</sup> had over twenty. Conceivably such differentiation served a deliberate purpose by identifying the metal-batch and the probity of minting staff within a definite period, for it is worth remarking that the quadrantes of c.5 BC struck by the *IVviri* Apronius, Sisenna, Galus, and Messalla show no fewer than eleven different combinations and permutations of their names, perhaps suggesting deliberate differentiation over an eleven-month period.<sup>2</sup> In general, however, it was the more valuable gold and silver coinages that were subject to this variation, incidentally giving the moneyers freedom, as between the *princeps* and themselves, in their choice of types. From this variation it may be possible to learn, one day, more about the moneyers' division of labour, i.e. whether they coined simultaneously or in succession, and for equal or unequal periods.

They certainly coined in great quantity, and tentative calculations suggest that the output of aurei and denarii between c.19 and 12 BC was as abundant as that of any mint save 'Spain 2'.<sup>3</sup> And the output of *aes* was so great that it spread widely outside Italy, especially into Switzerland and along the Rhine.<sup>4</sup> It was indeed so great that the mint, under pressure, had to employ relatively unskilled die-engravers, whose painfully recognizable work has prompted the theory that there were subsidiary mints outside Rome to help that of Rome.<sup>5</sup> This view is scarcely tenable.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from the 'Numa head' issues of Piso/Surdivinus/Rufus, mentioned above and the subject of comment later (p. 71), only the 'Victory' coinage of *aes* requires special mention. Struck by M. Maecilius Tullus, P. Lurii Agrippa, and M. Salvius Otho, and showing the head of Augustus being crowned by Victory, these copper coins may have appeared c.7 BC to celebrate (as Mattingly proposed)<sup>7</sup> the triumph awarded to Tiberius in that year for his victories in Illyricum, Pannonia, and Germany under Augustus' auspices. The difficulty lies in their weight, which ranges (over the two sections with and without globe at the point of the neck) from 17.00 to less than 10.00 g—plainly very heavy for asses. Because of this, and because they are free from the countermarks seen on so many hundreds of normal Augustan *aes* coins, it may be that we should follow the suggestion<sup>8</sup> that these pieces were medallic and undenominational.

In general the weights of the coins of Rome were well defined—aurei c. 8.00–7.85 g, denarii c. 4.00–3.65 g, sestertii and dupondii (both of orichalcum) at c. 26.50–24.25 and c. 13.50–11.50 g respectively, and asses and quadrantes (both of copper) at c. 12.00–9.00 and c. 3.35–2.90 g. The purity of the silver in the denarii was c. 96.25 per cent.<sup>9</sup>

Apart from the 'Numa Head' *aes* of c.15 BC, already mentioned for its inherent problems, and the 'Victory' *aes* of c.7 BC, the moneyers' *aes* of Rome was, as has been said, rigidly uniform in its limited range of types. In the gold

<sup>1</sup> For the question of senior *IIIviri* cf. Pink, *The Triumviri Monetales*, pp. 60 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *QT* 1978, p. 172.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 168 f.

<sup>4</sup> Kraay, *Vindonissa*; Grant, *SMACA*, pp. 16 f.

<sup>5</sup> *SMACA* pp. 137 ff.

<sup>6</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 40 f.

<sup>7</sup> *BMCRE* p. xcvi.

<sup>8</sup> Grant, *RAI* p. 21; followed by Giard, *CBN* pp. 119 ff.

<sup>9</sup> D. R. Walker, *Metrology*, p. 7.

and silver, however, there was much more flexibility, and it would seem that, while there was strict control of *aes* types, by higher authority perhaps, the *III viri* devised the choice of types for what was in a more direct and effective sense the imperial state-coinage. The main trends of the gold/silver types can be summarized:

Petronius/Florus/Durmius (c.19 BC)	Parthia; honours of 27 BC; triumph; Victory; 'family' types
Rustius (c.19 BC)	Augustus' return from East
Sanquinius/Stolo/Graccus (c.17 BC)	Secular games
Rufus/Vinicius/Vetus (16 BC)	Secular games; monumental and epigraphic types in honour of Augustus; Sibylline books
Marius/Platorinus/Reginus (13 BC)	Augustus the priest; Augustus and Agrippa; Julia and her sons; 'family' type
The two Lentuli/Gallus (12 BC)	Agrippa; Augustus' honours

The variety here is noteworthy, although it is fair to say that, compared with the much more restricted militarism of the types of Lugdunum and Emerita on the one hand, and the more generally ecumenical approach of the types of 'Spain 1' and 'Spain 2' on the other, the types of the gold and silver of Rome looked steadily inward to Rome itself. These were metropolitan types selected by metropolitan agency.

After the cessation of aurei and denarii at Rome c.12 BC, and of *aes* c.4 BC, the mint produced no further coinage until c.AD 10–12, when asses of a new type, without moneyers' names, were struck in considerable quantity in the names and with the portraits of both Tiberius (IMP V, AD 8–10) and Augustus (IMP XX, AD 11–12). By now a new, cleaner, and more sophisticated portraiture and lettering had been evolved, and die-adjustment at  $\uparrow \uparrow$  or  $\uparrow \downarrow$  was more generally observed. No gold or silver accompanied this late *aes* of Rome, it being left to Lugdunum to advertise the impending succession of Tiberius with prominent reverse types (nos. 221 ff.).

(ix) (?) *North Peloponnesian mint* (nos. 472–4)

Two series of denarii,<sup>1</sup> now known to be linked by common obverse dies, together with silver quinarii, have for long been of uncertain attribution. But there is a good case for assigning them to a mint in the north Peloponnese, c.21 BC, when Augustus passed through Greece on his way to Samos and the east.<sup>2</sup> One of the series of denarii, with reverse IOVI OLV(M) and hexastyle temple, had previously been assigned to Athens; but, even though we now know much more clearly than before the extent to which die-engravers could modify or 'simplify' an architectural design,<sup>3</sup> there are strong arguments against the recognition here of the temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens and in favour of the recognition of his hexastyle temple at Olympia itself. The second, and die-linked, series of denarii bears an anepigraphic reverse with *corona rostrata*—

<sup>1</sup> Below, p. 79.

<sup>2</sup> RN 1974, pp. 49 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Price and Trell, *Coins and their Cities*, pp. 19 ff.

surely a reference, like the Victory on prow of the quinarii, to the Actian victory a decade earlier.

This twin denarial series was a relatively small one: its weight-peak was lower than that found further west; and it could well have been issued, together with the quinarii of identical portrait style, by Augustus *en route* with his train from Italy to the east.

(x) (?) *Samos* (no. 475)

Denarii with a portrait similar to (though not identical with) that of (ix) above, and of the same weight, bear the reverse of a young bull standing with head erect—not a heifer or even a cow, as sometimes previously supposed.<sup>1</sup> These are perhaps a little less uncommon than the coins of (ix) above, with twenty-four obverse and reverse dies recorded. They must be distinguished from the magnificent aurei of uncertain mintage (nos. 536 ff.)<sup>2</sup> which show what is undoubtedly a heifer, with head lowered, and there are grounds for supposing that these ‘young bull’ denarii, which have points in common with the denarii of (ix), were struck in Samos, where the age-old cult of Poseidon was associated with bulls and where Augustus wintered in 21–20 BC. A reference to Poseidon ten years after the naval victory at Actium seems appropriate in an island which ranked him as one of its two major deities, the other being Hera. And Augustus, during a sojourn of some months, would certainly have needed ‘Roman’ money with which to pay his Roman staff. An organization of minting more careful than in (ix) is suggested by the strong tendency to die-adjustment at ↑↑.

(xi) *Ephesus* (nos. 476–86)

This was one of two mints which issued an abundant coinage of silver tetradrachms<sup>3</sup> in and after 28 BC. The first and clearly very profuse issue, now known from not less than fifty obverse and seventy reverse dies,<sup>4</sup> was struck in 28 BC (COS VI), with reverse PAX, Pax standing on *cista mystica*; and, if Antony’s double-portrait cistophori were struck at Ephesus, as seems likely, then Octavian’s ‘Pax’ cistophori almost certainly belong to Ephesus as well.<sup>5</sup> Nor would Ephesus be in any way a questionable choice as a mint. Asia Recepta needed Octavianic currency now, not Antonian; and Ephesus was one of its major cities.

The second Ephesian issue of cistophori is beyond doubt, being made certain by the altar and hinds (= Artemis) of one of the three reverses (the other two show the capricorn, Augustus’ birth-sign, and the corn-ears of plenty), all interlinked by the use of common obverse dies; twenty-five obverse and forty-one reverse dies were used for this triple series (c.25 BC), which was quickly followed by another triple series (c.24–20 BC), with the same reverse types (similarly interlinked), developing portraiture, and very large output (176 obverse and 242 reverse dies). Incidentally the first and the second triple

<sup>1</sup> Below, p. 79; *RN* 1974, pp. 58 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *BMCRE* pl. 16, nos. 5–7.

<sup>3</sup> Below, pp. 79 f. Normally known as ‘cistophori’, because the *cista mystica* had for long been the standard reverse type in previous

decades, these tetradrachms (of c. 12.00–11.90 g) were equivalent in value to three Roman denarii.

<sup>4</sup> *CA passim*.

<sup>5</sup> *CA* pp. 86 ff.

series share a die in common, thus making the sequence certain.<sup>1</sup> This very large coinage of silver, combined with that of Pergamum (below, pp. 81 f.), could have amounted to some millions of coins, a cause of the very slight coinage of cistophori in Asia Minor during succeeding reigns until the great recoinages under Trajan and Hadrian. Cistophoric silver was in fact the fundamental coinage of the region.<sup>2</sup>

It was almost certainly accompanied by *aes* from Ephesus, on the Roman weight-system of sestertii and asses. These bear no indication of mintage, but portrait-treatment seems decisive.<sup>3</sup> The reverses are given up to the themes of *corona civica* and *corona rostrata*, the symbols of the action by which Augustus had restored Asia to the Roman dominions. This *aes* is now scarce, and may have had a principally local role to play.

(xii) *Pergamum*<sup>4</sup> (nos. 487–526)

The last of three distinct groups of silver cistophoric tetradrachms was quite certainly struck at Pergamum, for one of its three reverse types (all interlinked) shows the temple of Rome and Augustus with the legend COM(mune) ASIAE, and Pergamum, as we know,<sup>5</sup> was privileged in possessing that temple. The other two types of this particular group, with their dates (IMPIX, TR P IV and V, = 20–19 BC) and allusions to the Parthian concessions, tie it firmly to that time. It involved a recorded 71 obverse and 136 reverse dies, and it was accompanied by a fairly substantial issue of aurei and denarii with obverse dies plainly engraved by the engravers of the cistophori<sup>6</sup> and reverse types (interlinked for both gold and silver) wholly devoted to the successful events in Parthia and Armenia. The aurei come from a recorded 10 obverse and 22 reverse dies, the denarii from 18 obverse and 20 reverse dies; and these coins of western denomination (as distinct from the Asian cistophori) were presumably produced for the Roman forces confronting Parthia.

Two other cistophoric groups, each of relatively small size, may be conjecturally assigned to Pergamum.<sup>7</sup> It is easier to disprove their attribution to other mints than to prove them Pergamene, but in general it can be argued that, if both Ephesus and Pergamum coined cistophori, as they did, before the principate, they were not unlikely to coin in parallel afterwards as well.<sup>8</sup> The types—triply interlinked in both of these conjecturally Pergamene groups of cistophori, dated perhaps 27–26 BC—were in each case the capricorn and the corn-ears already seen at Ephesus, together with a seated sphinx, a type later to be found on the certainly Pergamene aurei (see above).

Combined coinage of cistophori at Ephesus and Pergamum, from a known total today of some 360 obverse and 570 reverse dies and from an original total certainly much higher, would have run into many millions of coins, and a consumption of very large amounts of silver.

<sup>1</sup> *CA* p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> *CA* pp. 105 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *E. and C.* p. 56, as against *BMCRE* p. 117 and *CBN* p. 150, which favour Pergamum. Asian *aes* of Augustus has most recently been examined, with some possibly inconclusive results, by C. J. Howgego in *NC* 1982, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Below, pp. 81 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Dio Cass. 57. 20.

<sup>6</sup> *RN* 1973, pp. 129 ff., esp. pp. 139 f.

<sup>7</sup> *CA* pp. 94 ff. They come, respectively, from not less than 14 and 15 obv. dies and 37 and 38 rev. dies.

<sup>8</sup> *CA* p. 98.

Pergamum, like Ephesus, appears to have struck *aes* (in this case sestertii, dupondii, asses, and semisses) on the Roman denominational system, extending from perhaps c.28 BC to c.15 BC.<sup>1</sup> The attribution must be based on the appearance of the letters C(ommune) A(siae) as a main element in the reverse types.<sup>2</sup> This *aes*, like that of Ephesus, is distinctly scarce today, though it may originally have been more profuse. The reverse types emphasize the *corona civica* and *corona rostrata*, as at Ephesus. Addition of the (?)numerals A T on one issue has so far remained unexplained.

(xiii) *Antioch* (nos. 528–30)

A fairly large issue of *aes*, after 23 BC (i.e. with TR POT titulature), was made in two denominations, units and halves, from an eastern-style and eastern-focus mint which, in view of the long continuation of the reverse type used and its later association with Syrian Antioch, may reasonably be attributed to that great metropolis.<sup>3</sup> Portrait-style at first is reminiscent of Pergamum or (more rarely) Ephesus, and later of the widespread aurei and denarii of Lugdunum from the turn of the century. The SC in *corona civica* of the reverse of this Antiochene *aes* presumably reflects approval of the honours voted to Augustus at Rome in and after 27 BC.<sup>4</sup>

These issues have not normally been included in any previous corpus of 'imperial' coinage.<sup>5</sup> But they were produced in great quantity, and circulated very widely,<sup>6</sup> and surely constituted a more than narrowly regional coinage, playing a major part in the 'imperial' monetary scheme, as did the *aes*, for example, of Nîmes and Lyons.

(xiv) *Cyrenaica* (nos. 531–5)

L. Pinarius Scarpus was in charge of the province of Cyrenaica under Antony, before the battle of Actium. After that battle he transferred his allegiance to Octavian, as is shown by the very rare aurei (only one recorded) and rare denarii and quinarii struck for Octavian, but also in part bearing his own name as well: these all have the reverse type theme of Victory, the obverses showing either the hand of reconciliation or the topically appropriate head of Jupiter Ammon. The sequence of issues must be:

*Obverse*

*Reverse*

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| 1. Name of Scarpus                          | <i>Caesari divi f.</i>                  |
| 2. Name of Scarpus with <i>Imp. Caesari</i> | <i>Divi f. Aug(uri) Pont(ifici)</i>     |
| 3. Scarpus' name absent                     | <i>Imp. Caesar divi f.</i> <sup>7</sup> |

It would seem that this small series extended from c.31 to 29 BC when the *praenomen imperatoris* was introduced for Octavian (above, p. 30). The uncertain status of the issue is perhaps indicated not only by the type-

<sup>1</sup> Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 115) and Giard (*CBN* p. 149) accepted Pergamum as the mint for this *aes*.

<sup>2</sup> *E. and C.* p. 56. Grant's earlier suggestion of C(aesaris) A(uctoritate) (*FITA* pp. 107 ff.) has not gained support. See also C. J. Howgego in *NC* 1982, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Below, pp. 83 f.; *E. and C.* pp. 58 f. See also C. J. Howgego in *NC* 1982, pp. 1 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 16, 18, 27.

<sup>5</sup> e.g. in *BMCRE* or *Hunter Cat.*

<sup>6</sup> *SMACA* pp. 7 f., 17, 124 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *QT* 1976, pp. 142 f. (amended).

instability but also by the weight-instability of the silver—from 4.24 to 3.00 g.<sup>1</sup> It is to be presumed that the mint was situated at Cyrene itself, though that cannot be regarded as certain.

(xv) *Uncertain mints* (nos. 536–50)

1. The handsome aurei with reverse heifer with lowered head, to l. or r., have not yet been assigned to any certain, or very probable mint. Style and execution are very fine, and suggest eastern rather than western craftsmen. There is a difference of obverse heads which may indicate difference of mint, or at least of date (they are all after 27 BC): the two variant obverses are not linked by any common reverse die.<sup>2</sup> Grant<sup>3</sup> proposed a mint around or near the Black Sea for these aurei, which he mistakenly associated with the 'young bull' denarii here given to Samos (p. 35). A total of 5 obverse and 7 reverse dies has been recorded for these aurei.

2. The aurei and denarii with 'candelabrum' reverse appear to commemorate the Ludi Saeculares of 17 BC.<sup>4</sup> They have been found in hoards as widely apart as France, Sardinia, and Romania,<sup>5</sup> and, although they seem to suggest eastern portrait treatment, this may well be illusory. It is probable that only distribution will help in the identification of the mint of origin.

3. Denarii, of lightish weight, struck after 27 BC with reverse capricorn, with or without star, possibly came from two mints: there are two variants of the obverse and of the reverse. No probable mint can yet be suggested.

4. Denarii with *Imp Caesar divi f.* arranged around circular shield are fairly frequent: they were assigned by Mattingly<sup>6</sup> to Emerita c.22–19 BC, and by Giard<sup>7</sup> to Spain c.27–26 BC. If the coins fall after 27 BC, it is not easy to explain the absence of the solemn new title 'Augustus'. The reverse type is certainly a militaristic one. These coins might precede (as *Italian* issues) his war-coinage in Italy c.32–27 BC, or they might conceivably have been connected with his cleaning-up operations in the Balkans after Actium.

5. Very rare gold and rare silver of 28–27 BC (Cos VI and VII) show reverse AEGVPT(O) CAPTA, crocodile. They might or might not be connected with the remarkable Madrid four-aureus piece, of which the authenticity is plainly a problem.<sup>8</sup> Pergamum has been proposed, rather improbably, for the denarii:<sup>9</sup> it seems best for the moment to leave open the question of the attribution of denarii and aurei alike.

6. A rare and conspicuous issue of sestertii and dupondii, of good weight, and falling after 23 BC (TR POT), may have come from an eastern mint: the portraiture and the form of the obverse legend (cf. Antioch) suggest this, but not the lettering. Their attribution must be left open for the time being.

IV. *Synopsis of the probable sequence of activity of the Augustan mints for major gold, silver, and aes issues*

It has been seen, mint by mint, how Augustus, once the fragmented

<sup>1</sup> The solitary aureus known weighs only 7.10 g.

<sup>2</sup> CBN p. 157.

<sup>3</sup> NC 1949, pp. 6 ff.

<sup>4</sup> CR 1944, pp. 46 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Crawford RRCH nos. 506–7; also Giard

in CBN pp. 11 f., n. 9. Mr Crawford has informed me by letter of the existence of a specimen at Sofia.

<sup>6</sup> BMCRE p. 56.

<sup>7</sup> CBN p. 159.

<sup>8</sup> See pp. 28 f.

<sup>9</sup> CBN p. 146.



constitutional government of the 40s and 30s BC had been ended, set about the provision of coinage in the various metals, and for different purposes, from end to end of the Roman world. Although the chronological activity of the individual mints is in many cases uncertain, it will be helpful to summarize (if the arguments of the previous section are accepted) the way in which a piece-meal and perhaps opportunist system gave way in time to a stable system.

It would appear that Augustus first replenished supplies of western gold and silver coins from his original base in Italy. After 26 BC, with the expansion and opening up of the Spanish provinces, western gold and silver coinage was provided substantially by Spanish mints down to c.16 BC, with help from (mainly) Rome, which also supplemented the abundant *aes* of Nemausus: in the east, cistophori were produced at Ephesus and (probably) Pergamum (together with some western-weight gold and silver coinage from Pergamum, and western-weight *aes* from both). From c.15 to c.10 BC, with the armies extending northwards, Nemausus and Lugdunum provided the *aes*, and Lugdunum the bulk of the gold and silver coinage. From c.9 BC, the *aes* (mainly small) of Rome supplanted that of Lugdunum, with Nemausus still in production; and gold and silver was centralized at Lugdunum. From about the turn of the century this pattern continued, though Lugdunum resumed *aes* coinage from c.AD 10 (?) onwards, and Rome from c.AD 10–12.

#### v. *Weight-standards and fineness*

The weight of gold and silver coins under Augustus was very closely controlled, and that of the *aes*, if less closely, at any rate noticeably.<sup>1</sup> The peak-weight for aurei (8.00–7.70 g) is very near (and even occasionally higher than) 7.96 g = 7 scruples = 41 coins to the pound: where the peak extends over an area of  $\pm 0.20$  g the difference between the top and the bottom of the peak is only  $\pm 1$  grain = less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  scruple =  $\pm 2$  per cent or 3 per cent of the 7 scruple standard. 'Italy' and Rome struck at the fullest standard: 'Spain 1' and 'Spain 2' at the least full. For the silver the weight-peak (4.00–c. 3.60 g) suggests a standard of 3.99 g =  $3\frac{1}{2}$  scruples = 84 coins to the pound. Latitude with silver was greater than with the more precious gold, and may have been up to 7 per cent: such latitude is least apparent in the extreme west. The ratio of value, gold:silver, appears to be the entirely normal and respectable figure of 1:12 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

*Aes* weights were more variable, as was natural in a token coinage. The sestertius lay at c. 26.50–24.00 g (1/13th lb.), the dupondius at c. 13.50–11.00 g (1/26th lb.), the as at c. 12.00–9.00 g (1/30th lb.), and the quadrans at c. 3.30–2.90 g.

The fineness of the aurei has not been extensively tested, for understandable reasons, but such tests as have been made indicate a very high degree of purity indeed—probably as high as refining methods could make it, i.e. absolutely pure apart from irremovable trace-metals. The silver has been extensively studied by improved X-ray fluorescence methods,<sup>2</sup> which show that normal fineness lay between c. 96.25 and c. 98.00 per cent—a remarkably high figure, which emphasizes the fact that an imperially controlled monopoly of

<sup>1</sup> *QT* 1978, pp. 164ff.

<sup>2</sup> D. R. Walker, *Metrology* pp. 1ff.

precious-metal coinage is deeply dependent for its stability upon a high and unvarying standard of purity.

#### vi. *Regional and civic issues*

The term 'provincial coinages' can now best be dismissed: it has been seen how great a part was played by the *aes* of Nemausus, Ephesus, Pergamum, and Antioch, to say nothing of the silver cistophori, once regarded as 'provincial', in the monetary system as a whole. There were, however, certain other coinages of importance, which on the one hand were not merely small local issues and on the other hand were less than 'state' issues for large areas of the empire. Alexandria produced its own coinage, base and greatly overvalued for the 'closed' province of Egypt. Client kings, like those of Thrace, Pontus, Cappadocia, Judaea, and Mauretania, coined often in abundance, and even in silver. The numerous cities of the Spanish provinces issued profuse *aes*. And many colonies and municipalities, especially in the eastern provinces, issued *aes* of clearly district importance. All of these, co-existing in a loose harmony with the major 'coinages of state', helped to ensure a sufficiency of small change for local trade throughout the vast empire; and all, it may be safely presumed, were authorized by the provincial governors.

#### vii. *Imperial control of major aes issues*

Augustus' indirect control of the S C *aes* of Rome has already been mentioned (above, pp. 24, 32): control of the Senate gave him control of what the Senate nominally controlled, and in the choice of type, weight, volume of production, and periodicity Augustus would certainly have been able to suggest what he desired the Senate to do. The other major *aes* mints fall into two categories—those in 'military' provinces (Emerita, Lugdunum, Antioch) and in 'public' (or unarmed) provinces, like Nemausus. *Aes* mints in military provinces could naturally be controlled, directly or indirectly, by the provincial *legatus* holding subordinate *imperium* under Augustus. The case of Nemausus is exceptional, and it must be assumed that this colony began an *aes* coinage, which, quickly acquiring an economic importance, was developed on a great scale as a result of special arrangements made between the *princeps* and the colony.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Grant, *SMACA* pp. 51 ff.

# AUGUSTUS

## EMERITA

(signed by P. Carisius)

### I. Denarii and quinarii, c.25-23 BC

- Obv. legends: 1. AVGVST (☿ with head r., ♀ with head l.)  
 2. IMP CAESAR — AVGVST (♂☿ with head r., ☿♀ with head l.)  
 3. ♀IMP CAESAR (AVGVSTV  
 4. IMP CAESAR — AVGVSTVS (♂☿ with head r., ☿♀ with head l.)

- Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.  
 B. Augustus, bare, l.

Weight-peaks, denarii c. 3.95-3.70 g, quinarii c. 1.80-1.55 g. Dies not adjusted. Linear borders.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 1) 1a	ARQ	1A	☿P CARIS—I ♀LEG Victory stg. r. crowning trophy; dagger and curved sword at base	C	BMC 293
b	ARQ	1B	"	C	BMC 295
Pl. 1) 2a	D	2A	☿P CARISIVS LEG PRO PR Round shield with central boss and decoration; to l., spear-head; to r., curved sword	S	BMC 278
b	D	2B	"	S	BMC 279
3	D	4A	"	S	BMC 277
(Pl. 1) 4a	D	2A	☿P CARISIVS ♀LEG PRO PR Trophy (of helmet, cuirass, shield, javelins) on heap of shields, lances, etc.	C	BMC 283
b	D	2B	"	C	BMC 284
5	D	3A	"	R	Coh. 403
(Pl. 1) 6	D	2A	♀P CARISIVS ☿LEG PRO PR Trophy resting on head of kneeling captive	S	BMC 287
7a	D	2A	♀P CARISIVS LEG PRO PR Helmet between dagger and bipennis	C	BMC 281
Pl. 1) b	D	2B	"	C	BMC 282
Pl. 1) 8	D	3A	☿P CARISIVS LEG PRO PR As no. 7	C	BMC 280
9a	D	2A	☿P CARISI—VS LEG — PRO PR Circular city-wall with EMERITA inscribed above gate	C	BMC 289
Pl. 1) b	D	2B	"	C	BMC 291
10	D	3A	"	R	Coh. 397

### II. Aes dupondii (?) and asses, c.25-23 BC

Obv. legends (all) ☿☿ with head r., ☿♀ with head l.):

1. AVGVST TRIB — POTEST
2. CAESAR AVG — TR POTEST
3. CAESAR AVG — TRIB POT
4. CAESAR AVG — TRIB POTEST

2b. On the rev. PRO may appear as IRO.

5. Confirmation needed; Coh. may have read or transcribed the obv. legend wrongly.

8. BMC n. \* to no. 280, records a hybrid denarius in Copenhagen combining this rev. with obv. CAESAR AVGVSTVS, head laur. l.

9. The rev. may show the city-name as EMERITA, IMERITA (AMCRE 7), IMIRITA (BMC 288).

10. Confirmation needed; see on no. 5 above.

Obv. legends (all ⌐ with head r., ⌐ with head l.) (cont.):

5. CAESAR AVG — TRIBVN POTES
6. CAESAR AVG — TRIBVN POTES
7. CAESAR AVG — TRIBVNI POTES
8. CAESAR AVG — TRIBVNIC POTES
9. CAESAR AVGV — TRIB POTES
10. CAESAR AVGV — TRIBVN POTES
11. CAESAR AVGV — TRIBVN POTES
12. CAESAR AVGVST — TRIB POTES
13. CAESAR AVGVST — TRIBVN POTES
14. CAESAR AVGVST — TRIBVNI POTES

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.

B. Augustus, bare, l.

Weight-peaks, dupondii, c. 10.20–9.20 g(?); asses, c. 11.50–10.00 g. Dies not adjusted. Dotted borders.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
11a	Dp	1A	⌐ P CARISIVS, LEG (ex.), ⌐ AVGVSTI As no. 9	R	CBN 1077
b	Dp	1B	"	R	CBN 1078
12	As	4A	P CARISIVS/LEG in two lines	R	BMC 303
13	As	2A	P CARISIVS/LEG/AVGVSTI in three lines	R/S	CBN 1084
14	As	3A	"	R/S	AMC 328
(Pl. 1) 15a	As	4A	"	R/S	BMC 298
b	As	4B	"	R/S	AMC 329
(Pl. 1) 16	As	5B	"	R	BMC 302
17	As	6A	"	R	Coh. 390
(Pl. 1) 18	As	7A	"	R/S	AMC 334
19	As	8A	"	R/S	Hu. 3667
20	As	9A	"	R/S	AMC 330
21	As	10B	"	R	Coh. 392
22	As	11A	"	R	Coh. 393
23	As	12A	"	R/S	CBN 1085
24	As	13A	"	R/S	AMC 333
25	As	14A	"	R	Coh. 394

11. Classed by Giard as dupondii, presumably on grounds of metal. The BM has an example of no. 11a, analysed as being of orichalcum.

12. Unusual rev. legend: could AVGVSTI be omitted in error by the engraver? The style is

very poor, and the coin may be imitative.

17, 21–2, 25. Confirmation needed: Cohen's readings of worn coins (and the *aes* of Carisius is often very much worn) may sometimes have been erroneous.

## SPAIN, 'Uncertain mint 1' (Colonia Caesaraugusta?)

Aurei and denarii, c. 19–18 BC\*

- Obv. legends: 1. None.  
 2.  $\curvearrowright$ AVGVSTVS  
 3.  $\curvearrowright$ CAESAR  $\curvearrowright$ AVGVSTVS

- Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.  
 B. Augustus, bare, l.  
 C. Augustus, oak-wreathed, r.  
 D. Augustus, oak-wreathed, l.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.90–7.75 g; denarii, c. 3.85–3.65 g. Dies strongly tending to  $\uparrow\downarrow$ . Borders almost invariably dotted.

## (i) Aurei

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
26a	Au	1C	CAESAR /AVGVSTVS in two lines between laurel-branches	R4	CBN 1282
b	Au	1D	„	R4–5	CBN p. 189 no. $\uparrow$
27	Au	2B	(?) $\downarrow$ IOV (to l.), (?) $\uparrow$ TON (to r.) Hexastyle temple	R4–5	Hoffmann, 20. 2. 1888 (Belfort), 243
<b>(Pl. 1)</b> 28	Au	2A	$\downarrow$ MARTIS (to l.), $\uparrow$ VLTORIS (to r.) Circular domed temple showing four columns and containing figure of Mars, helmeted, stg. l., r. holding aquila, l. standard over l. shoulder	R4	BMC 315
29a	Au	2A	OB/CIVIS/SERVATOS in three lines in oak-wreath	R4	BMC 314
b	Au	2B	„	R4	CBN 1279
30a	Au	2A	$\curvearrowright$ OB CIVIS, $\curvearrowright$ SERVATOS Shield, inscribed SPQR/CLV in two lines, in oak-wreath	R4	ANS (CBN pl. 51, a)
b	Au	2B	„	R4–5	Coh. 216
31	Au	2A	SP—QR on either side of Victory flying r. holding wreath above shield inscribed CLV and resting against tall column	R4–5	BMC 316
32	Au	2A	SP—QR on either side of Victory flying r. about to hang shield inscribed CLV on column	R4–5	Ro.(T.)

## (ii) Denarii

33a	D	1C	CAESAR/AVGVSTVS in two lines above and below two laurel-branches	R2	CBN 1283
<b>(Pl. 1)</b> b	D	1D	„	R2	BMC 319

\* For the attribution, dating, and classification of these coins see above, pp. 25f. The present author's earlier study in *NC* 1945, pp. 69 ff., provided a classification now in need of amendment, and that of Giard (*CBN* pp. 48 and 188 ff.) has here been followed.

26b. Confirmation needed: stolen from the Paris collection in 1831.

27. Confirmation needed.

30b. Confirmation needed: noted by Mattingly in *BMC* but omitted by Giard's *CBN*.

32. Possibly the same as 31. The two aurei noted by Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 57 n. \*, (d), from Coh. 286, and *R.It.* 1889, p. 434) seem to be of Spanish 'uncertain mint 2'.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
34	D	1B	CAESAR/AVGVSTVS in two lines above and below shield inscribed CL V	R4	Rollin and Feuardent 7. 5. 1888 (de Quelen), 570
35	D	1D	"	R4	BMC 321
36a	D	1C	CAESAR/AVGVSTVS in two lines above and below two laurel-branches flanking arranged around shield inscribed CL V	R3	Ha
(Pl. 2)	b D	1D	"	R3	BMC 322
(Pl. 2) 37a	D	3C	DIVVS—IVLIVS to l. and r. of eight-rayed comet with tail upwards	S	BMC 323
b D	3D	"	"	S	BMC 326
38a	D	3C	DIVVS/IVLIVS in two lines above and below comet as on no. 37	R2	CBN 1305
b D	3D	"	"	R	BMC 328
39a	D	3A	↓MARTIS (to l.) ↑VLTORIS (to r.) As no. 28 above	R4	BMC 329
b D	3B	"	"	R4	TNRB iii, 665
Pl. 2, rev.) 40a	D	3A	OB CIVIS/SERVATOS in two lines above and below oak-wreath, its ties erect in centre	R2	BMC 330
b D	3B	"	"	R3	BMC 331
Pl. 2, rev.) 41	D	3A	(SIGNIS)RECEPTIS (or ↓SIGNIS to l., ↑RECEPTIS to r.) Mars, helmeted and cloaked, stg. facing, head r., r. holding aquila, l. standard over shoulder	R4	BMC 332; CBN 1310
(Pl. 2) 42a	D	3A	S P Q R/CL V in two lines on shield	S	BMC 334
b D	3B	"	"	S	BMC 335
43a	D	3A	S P/Q R in two lines above and below shield inscribed CL V	R	BMC 336
b D	3B	"	"	R2	CBN 1323
44	D	3B	S P/R Q As no. 43	R4	BMC 339
45	D	3A	S P—Q R to l. and r. above Victory flying r. holding wreath above shield inscribed CL V and resting against tall column	R3	BMC 340
46	D	3D	"	R3	BMC 341
46A	D	3C	S P Q R CL V above Victory as on no. 45, but with shield uninscribed	R4	Tur.; CBN pl. 54, a
47a	D	3A	S P Q R to l. of Victory alighting r., both hands holding shield inscribed CL V, r. also holding laurel-branch	R3	BMC 342
b D	3D	"	"	R3	BMC 343
48	D	3D	S—P Q R to l. and r. of Victory flying l., holding wreath above shield inscribed CL V and resting against tall column	R4	CBN 1327

34. Confirmation needed.

36. Variants with plain shield are recorded, due almost certainly to wear. The Hague coin (with worn shield) weighs 3.49 g.

39. The BM coin is plated (3.08 g) and could well be unofficial, though it may suggest a genuine original: however, it could have been

counterfeited from the aureus dies of no. 28 above.

43. The shield sometimes appears to be uninscribed owing to wear on the letters CL V. Gnechi (*R.I.* 1889, p. 435) recorded an example with obv. laur. r., probably in error, as the laur. head is not characteristic of this mint.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
49	D	3D	S P—Q R to l. and r. of Victory stg. facing, holding shield	R4	Cardim coll., Seville

## SPAIN, 'Uncertain mint 2' (Colonia Patricia?)

Aurei, gold quinarii, and denarii, c.20/19–17/16 BC\*

## (i) Aurei and denarii, c.20–19 BC

Obv. legend: None

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, laur., r.  
 B. Augustus, laur., l.  
 C. Augustus, bare, r.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.90–7.80 g; denarii c. 3.85–3.75 g. Dies strongly tending to ↑ ↓. Obv. borders dotted or linear; rev. borders linear.

Pl. 2) 50a	Au	A	CAESAR (above), AVGVSTVS (below) laurel-branches	Two	R3	BMC 351
b	Au	B	"		R4	Coh. 46
51	D	A	"		R	BMC 352
52a	Au	A	CAESAR (above), AVGVSTVS (below) laurel-branches flanking S P Q R arranged round circular shield inscribed CL V	Two	R3	BMC 353
b	Au	B	"		R4	Coh. 52
53a	Au	A	FORT RED/CAES AVG/S P Q R inscribed in three lines on rectangular altar		R3	BMC 358
b	Au	B	"		R3	CBN 1343
54a	D	A	"		R2	BMC 359a
b	D	B	"		R2	BMC 360
Pl. 2) 55	Au	B	FORTVN REDV/CAESARI AVG/S P Q R	As	R3	BMC 361
			no. 53			
56a	D	A	FORTVN REDVC/CAESARI AVG/S P Q R	As	R4	ANS; CBN, pl. 54, d
			no. 53			
b	D	B	"			Tur.; CBN, pl. 54, c
57	D	C	IOVI/VOT SVSC/PRO SAL/CAES AVG/S P Q R		R3	BMC 430
			in five lines in oak-wreath			

\* For the attribution, dating, and classification of these coins see above, pp. 25f., with NC 1945, pp. 58ff., and *contra* Giard, CBN pp. 46–50, who gives the present group (i) to Nemausus on grounds that appear to need stronger foundation than a single aureus die found at Nîmes.

49. This coin (3.75 g) probably, though not certainly, shows oak-wreathed obv.; the shield on the rev. may originally have shown CL V.

50b. Cf. BMCRE p. 63, note to no. 351 (formerly Paris): confirmation needed.

52b. Confirmation needed, as also for Coh. 53, a similar denarius.

53–4. RIC i (1st edn.), no. 273, cites this rev. for A' and R' with obv. 'oak-wreathed to l.' (Coh. 105–6): this does not seem to exist for A' and was perhaps a misinterpretation by Cohen of partly worn coins; TNRB iii, 661 appears to supply the R'.

57–8. Dating of these issues is difficult. The anepigraphic obv. of no. 57 may link it to group (i), and its bare head to group (ii): the rev. would refer either to vows for Augustus' continued health after his return from the East

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
58	D	C	↓SIGNIS (to l.), ↑RECEPTIS (to r.) Mars, helmeted and cloaked, stg. l., head facing, r. holding aquila, standard over l. shoulder	R3	BMC 413

## (ii) Aurei and denarii, c.19 BC

Obv. legends: 1. ♂AVGVSTVS  
2. ♂CAESAR ♂AVGVSTVS

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.  
B. Augustus, bare, l.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.90–7.80 g; denarii, c. 3.80–3.65 g. Dies tending (though with irregularities) to ↑↓. Obv. border dotted; rev. mainly linear, though usually dotted on nos. 59–62.

## (a) With obv. legend 1

59	Au	1A	↓IOVIS (to l.), ↑TONANTIS (to r.) Jupiter stg. l., r. holding thunderbolt, l. leaning on sceptre, in hexastyle temple	R4-3	CBN 1090
60	Au	1A	↓SIGNIS (to l.), ↑RECEPTIS (to r.) As no. 58	R4-3	BMC 411; CBN pl. 44, a
61	Au	1A	S P—Q R flanking Victory flying r. with wreath above shield inscribed CL V and leaning against column	R4-3	CBN 1091
62	Au	1A	S P Q R above Victory, facing and with wings spread, holding shield inscribed CL V	R3	CBN 1092

## (b) With obv. legend 2

(Pl. 2, rev.) 63a	Au	2A	IOV—TON flanking type as on no. 59	R3	BMC 362
b	Au	2B	„	R4-3	ANS; CBN pl. 44, d
64	D	2B	„	R3	Hu. 154
65	D	2B	[IOV]IS TON (ex.) As no. 63	R4-3	AMC 49
66	Au	2A	↓IOVIS (to l.), ↑TONANT (to r.) As no. 63	R3	BMC 364
67	D	2A	„	R4	BMC 365
(Pl. 2, rev.) 68	Au	2A	MAR—VLT to l. and r. of round domed temple with four columns; within, Mars, helmeted and cloaked, stg. l., r. holding aquila, trophy(?) over l. shoulder	R3	BMC 366

in 19 BC or before his journey to Gaul in 16 BC. Portrait treatment may incline us to regard this as a transitional issue c.19 BC: it can, incidentally be of fine style (cf. *AMCRE* no. 46), not far removed from that of no. 58, which may be classed, purely tentatively, as the earliest of the 'Colonia Patricia' types celebrating the Parthian success. However, no. 58 may originally have borne AVGVSTVS below the neck-truncation: if so, it would accompany no. 60 below.

59–62. These issues, in which there are interesting die-links (cf. *CBN* p. 166), appear to form a transitional group, possibly of gold

alone (though see note on no. 58 above), preceding those with the fuller obv. legend which show the same rev. types.

63 ff. The temple of Jupiter Tonans, commemorating Augustus' escape from lightning in the Cantabrian campaign, was dedicated near the Capitol c.22 BC (cf. Suet. *Div. Augustus* 29, 91).

65. Worn and chipped, and light at 2.97 g, but there is no reason to doubt the coin.

66. It seems doubtful if Coh. 186, an aureus with IOVIS TONANTIS and type of no. 59 above (*RIC* i, 1st edn., no. 279), exists.



No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
69a	D	2A		R3	BMC 367
b	D	2B	"	R3	BMC 369
70a	D	2A	MART VLT (ex.) As no. 68	R3	BMC 370
b	D	2B	"	R3	Hu. 155
71	D	2A	MART VLTO (ex.) As no. 68	R3	CBN 1106
72	D	2A	↓ MARTIS (to l.), ↑ VLTORIS (to r.) As no. 68	R3	CBN 1104
73	Au	2A	MART VLT (ex.) As no. 68, but in hexastyle temple	R5-4	Coh. 197
74a	D	2A	"	R3	CBN 1113
b	D	2B	"	R3	CBN 1114
Pl. 2) 75a	D	2A	↪ (or →) OB CIVIS, ↪ (or →) SERVATOS above and below oak-wreath, its ties erect in centre	S	BMC 376
b	D	2B	"	S	CBN 1170
76a	Au	2A	OB/CIVIS/SERVATOS in three lines in oak-wreath, its ties bent upwards	R3	Ro (T.)
b	Au	2B	"	R3	CBN p. 171, †
77a	D	2A	"	C	BMC 378
b	D	2B	"	S	CBN 1162
78	Au	2A	↪ OB CIVIS, ↪ SERVATOS above and below oak-wreath enclosing shield inscribed SPQR/CL V in two lines	R3	CBN 1131
79a	D	2A	"	C	CBN 1147
Pl. 2) b	D	2B	"	S	BMC 383
80a	Au	2A	↓ SIGNIS (to l.), ↑ RECEPTIS (to r.) As no. 58 above	R3	CBN 1095
b	Au	2B	"	R3	BMC 410
2. rev.) 81	D	2B	"	R	BMC 412
82a	D	2A	As no. 80, but Mars' head turned r.	R	BMC 414
b	D	2B	"	R	Hu. 163
83	D	2A	SIGNIS (above), RECEPTIS (ex.) As no. 82	R2	BMC 415
84	D	2A	SIGNIS—RECEPTIS to l. and r. of type as no. 82	R3	AMC 69
(Pl. 2) 85a	Au	2A	SIGNIS (above), RECEPTIS (below) Aquila (on l.) and standard (on r.) flanking S P Q R arranged around shield inscribed CL V	R3	BMC 416
b	Au	2B	"	R3	Ro (T.); Coh. 266
86a	D	2A	"	C	BMC 418
b	D	2B	"	C	BMC 420
87a	D	2A	As no. 86, but standard on l. and aquila on r.	S	BMC 422
b	D	2B	"	R	BMC 423
88	Au	2A	S P—Q R to l. and r. of Victory as on no. 61; CL V on shield	R3	CBN 1096
89	D	2A	S P Q R (ex.) As no. 61; CL V on shield	R2	BMC 408
1. 2. rev.) 90	Au	2A	S P Q R/CL V in two lines on shield leaning against column; Victory flies r. above, with wreath	R3	BMC 403
91	Au	2A	S P Q R (ex.) As no. 61, but Victory holds shield inscribed CL V in r., branch in l.; no column	R3	CBN 1097

73. Formerly in Paris.

75. The rev. legends are perhaps most often curved.

76a. *BMCRE* p. 66 n. \*, cites Gneccchi in *R.II.* 1896, p. 155, as recording this rev. with SERVATOS (*sic*).

79. Silver of this type may show the rev.

legend as on no. 78 or in straight lines above and below (cf. *CBN* 1144-6, 1150).

80. A transitional type linking groups (i) and (ii).

85b. Given by *CBN* p. 198 n. \*, to Giard's mint of Nemausus.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
92	D	2A	S P Q R CL V below Victory flying r., holding plain shield	R2	BMC 407
(Pl. 2) 93	D	2A	S P Q R/CL V in two lines on shield held by facing Victory, wings spread	R3	BMC 409
94	D	2A	S P Q R above Victory flying r. with wreath above shield inscribed CL V and leaning against column	R3	AMC 80
95	D	2A	SP — Q R to l. and r. of Victory as on no. 94	R3	CBN 1128

## (iii) Aurei and denarii, c. 18 BC\*

- Obv. legends: 1. (CAESAR) AVGVSTVS  
 2. (CAESARI) AVGVSTO  
 3. S P Q R PARE (above), CONS SVO (below)  
 4. S P Q R PAREN (above), CONS SVO (below)  
 5. S P Q R PARENT (above), CONS SVO (below)  
 6. S P Q R PARENTI (above), CONS SVO (above)

- Obv. types: A. Augustus head, laur., r.  
 B. Augustus head, laur., l.  
 C. Toga picta over tunica palmata between aquila (on l.) and wreath (on r.)

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.90–7.85 g; denarii, c. 3.85–3.70 g. Dies tending (though with irregularities) to ↑↓; ↑↑ less frequent. Obv. borders mainly dotted; rev. borders dotted or linear.

96	D	3C	CAESARI AVGVSTO (ex.) Slow quadriga r., its panels ornamented, surmounted by four miniature galloping horses	R	AMC 92
97	D	4C	CAESARI AVGVSTO above type as no. 96	R	CBN 1198
98	D	4C	CAESARI AVGVSTO (ex.) As no. 96, but to l.	R2	CBN 1199
(Pl. 2) 99	D	5C	CAESARI (above), AVGVSTO (ex.) As no. 96	S	BMC 397
100	D	5C	CAESARI AVGVSTO (ex.) As no. 96	S	BMC 401
101	D	6C	CAESARI (above), AVGVSTO (ex.) As no. 96	S	BMC 400
102	D	1A	DIVVS — IVLIVS to l. and r. of eight-rayed comet with tail upwards	S	BMC 357
103	D	1A	MAR — VLT to l. and r. of domed temple with six columns; within, aquila between two standards	R3	BMC 371
(Pl. 2, rev.) 104	Au	2A	"	R3	BMC 372
105a	D	2A	"	S	BMC 373
b	D	2B	"	S	BMC 375
106	D	2B	MART — VLTO As no. 103	R3	AMC 83
107a	Au	2A	S P Q R (ex.) Slow quadriga r., its panels ornamented, containing aquila and surmounted by four miniature galloping horses	R4	Hu. 174
b	Au	2B	"	R4	BMC 390
108a	D	2A	"	R2	AMC 90
b	D	2B	"	R2	CBN 1184
109	Au	2A	As no. 107, but without aquila	R4	CBN 1173
110	D	2A	S P Q R (above) As no. 107	R2	AMC 91

\* Obv. legend no. 1 presumably shows transition from group (ii) to group (iii), in the latter of which (except for the 'toga picta' issues) the laureate head supplants the bare head. Differences in weight-peaks are so slight as to lack significance.

96. Plated specimens in Ox. and Bruss.

100. Gneccchi (*RIN* 1889, p. 422) cited a

variant with CAESARI (above), AVGV (ex.) BMC 402, with CAESARI AVG in ex., has an imperfect obv. reading.

102. Assigned by Giard in *CBN* p. 196 to Nemausus. This comet may well have helped to stimulate the holding of the Ludi Saeculares in 17 BC.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
111	Au	2B	S P Q R (ex.) As no. 107, but quadriga to l.	R4	BMC 395
112	Au	2A	S P Q R (above) As no. 111	R4	Mil
113a	D	2A	"	R3	CBN 1185
b	D	2B	"	R3	BMC 396
114	Au	2A	S P Q R (ex.) Domed tetrastyle temple, in which triumphal currus stands r., shaft up, containing aquila and four miniature galloping horses	R3	CBN 1218
115	D	2A	"	S	BMC 389
116	Au	2B	"	R3	BMC 387
117	D	2B	"	S	BMC 388
118	Au	2A	S P—Q R to l. and r. of type as no. 114	R3	BMC 384
(rev.) 119	D	2A	"	S	BMC 385
120	D	2B	"	S	CBN 1215
120A	D	2A	As no. 118, but with hexastyle temple	R3	Panvini Rosati 43

## (iv) Aurei (with halves) and denarii, c. July 18 BC–17/16 BC

- Obv. legends: 1. None.  
 2. AVG—VST to l. and r. of head.  
 3. (CAESAR)AVGVSTVS  
 4. (S P Q R IMP)CAESARI  
 5. (S P Q R CAESARI)AVGVSTO  
 6. (S P Q R IMP CAESARI AVG COS XI TR POT VI (27 June 18 BC–26 June 17 BC)  
 7. (S P Q R IMP CAESARI AVG COS XI TRI POT VI (Date as legend 6.)

- Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.  
 B. Augustus, bare, l.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.90–7.75 g; denarii, c. 3.85–3.70 g. Dies tending (though with irregularities) to ↑↓. Obv. and rev. borders mainly linear, except for no. 122, where obv. (and occasionally rev.) borders are dotted, and for nos. 123–8, where obv. and rev. borders are dotted.\*

(Pl. 2) 121	AuQ	2A	No legend. Victory, dr., stg. r. on globe, r. holding branch down, l. aquila up	R4	BMC 424
122	AuQ	2A	No legend. Victory, dr., stg. facing, head l., on globe, r. holding wreath, l. standard over shoulder	R4	BMC 425
123	AuQ	2A	No legend. Victory, dr., stg. facing, head r., on globe, r. holding palm, l. trophy	R4	BMC 426
123A	AuQ	1B	AVG—VST to l. and r. of Victory stg. facing, head l., r. holding aquila, l. signum(?)	R5	CNR iv, p. 53
(Pl. 2) 124	D	1B	AVGVSTVS below Aurora(?) or Zephyr(?), radiate, hovering r., horizontally, with outstretched veil; above, capricorn r. with oar	R3	CBN 1358

\* Giard gives these, respectively, to an auxiliary mint of 'mint 2' and to Nemausus. Portraiture, together with the differences of border, may well justify some degree of mint-differentiation. Here, for the sake of simplicity, they are combined.

111. Plated denarius (3.16 g) of these types, but with no obv. legend, in the Hague.

121–3A. The existence of four varieties of undated gold quinarii suggests production in

at least three years, 18–16 BC.

124. This issue includes numerous plated coins: the unplated coins seem to come from only 3 obv. and 2 rev. dies (cf. CBN pp. 20 ff.). Mattingly regarded the hovering figure as Aurora, in reference (with the capricorn) to the time of day and season of Augustus' birth. J. P. A. van der Vin (*Scripta Archaeologica Groningana* 6, pp. 601 ff.) presents a detailed case for interpreting the figure as Zephyr, the west wind.

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
	125	Au	1A	AVGVSTVS below capricorn r., holding globe attached to rudder; cornucopia above its back	R4	CBN 1264
	126	D	1A	"	R2	BMC 347
	127	Au	1A	As no. 125, but capricorn l.	R4	BMC 344
(Pl. 3)	128	D	1A	"	R2	BMC 345
	129	Au	1B	As no. 125, with capricorn r.	R4	Nap.
	130	D	1B	"	R2	CBN 1354
(Pl. 3)	131	Au	6A	☉ CIVI ET SIGN (or SI—GN) MILIT A PART (or PA—RT) RECVP Facing quadriga on central part of triumphal arch; figures on l. and r. hold, respectively, standard, and aquila and bow	R3	BMC 427
	132	D	6B	"	R3	Coh. 85
	133	Au	6A	As no. 131, but RECVP	R4	TNRB iii, 682
	134a	D	6A	As no. 131, but RECVP (or RECV—P—E—R)	R2	BMC 428–9
	b	D	6B	"	R3	Hoffmann 20.2.1888 (Belfort), 199
	135	Au	7A	As no. 131 (RECVP)	R4	Hu. 182
	136	D	7A	"	R3	CBN 1229
	137	D	7A	As no. 133 (RECVP)	R3	Hu. 183
(Pl. 3)	138	Au	3A	IMP above altar inscribed LVDI/SAEVL in two lines and flanked by two figures, that on l. togate and veiled, that on r. (a herald) long-draped, helmeted, and holding caduceus; all in oak-wreath	R4	BMC 431
	139	D	3A	"	R4	Coh. 188 (Cop.)
(Pl. 3, rev.)	140	Au	4A	☉ QVOD ☽ VIAE MVN SVNT Augustus, crowned by Victory, in elephant-biga on double arch on viaduct	R3	BMC 432
	141	Au	4A	QVOD (ex.), ☽ VIAE MVN SVNT Augustus, crowned by Victory, in elephant-biga on square arch between roofed porticoes	R3	CBN 1262
	142	D	4B	QVOD/VIAE/MVN/SVNT in four lines between two arches on viaduct, each bearing equestrian statue and trophy	R4	BMC 435
	143	Au	5A	QVOD (ex.), ☽ VIAE MVN SVNT As no. 141, but with arcades to l. and r. of round central arch	R4	AMC 101
	144	D	5A	☉ QVOD ☽ VIAE MVN SVNT Augustus, crowned by Victory, in horse-quadriga on double arch (adorned with rostra) on viaduct	R3	BMC 433
	145	D	5B	"	R4	BMC 434
	146	D	4A	☉ VOT P SVSC PRO SAL ET RED I O M SACR Mars, helmeted and cloaked, stg. l., r. holding vertical vexillum, l. parazonium over shoulder	R3	CBN 1246

131. *Civibus et signis militariibus a Parthis recuperatis*; standards were lost by Crassus at Carrhae in 53 bc, by Decidius Saxa in 40, and by Antony in 36 (cf. *RGDA* 29, 1, ed. J. Gagé with his p. 135). Restitution by Parthia took place in 20 bc.

132, 133, 134b. Confirmation needed.

140. Bronze core(?) in Naples without obv. legend. The relative frequency of aurei among

these 'road-building' (MVN) issues is remarkable; so, too, the choice of a finite rev. legend.

142. Plated example in CBN 1263.

145. The aureus of this variety recorded in *RIC* i (1st edn.), no. 318, from Cohen has yet to be confirmed.

146ff. The legend of the rev. (*Vota publica suscepta pro salute et reditu Iovi optimo*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Denom.	Ref.
147	Au	4A	As no. 146, but Mars' head turned r.	R4	Coh. 320 (Cop.)
148	D	4A	"	R3	BMC 441
149a	Au	5A	As no. 146	R3	BMC 437
b	Au	5B	"	R3	CBN 1252
150a	D	5A	"	R2	BMC 438
b	D	5B	"	R4	Ro. (T.)
151	Au	5A	As no. 146, but —SALVT	R3	CBN 1239
152	D	5A	"	R3	BMC 440
153	D	5A	VOT P SVSC above Mars, as on no. 146, flanked by PRO—SAL ET/RED—I O M/SA—CR in two columns of three lines	R3	BMC 442

## NEMAUSUS\*

*Aes dupondii*(?) and asses(?), † c.20 BC–c.AD 14(i) *Dupondii*(?), c.20–10 BC

Obv.: IMP/DIVIF above and below heads of Agrippa (to l.) and Augustus (to r.) back to back, that of Agrippa wearing combined rostral crown and laurel wreath, that of Augustus bare.

Weight-peak, c. 17.50 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
154	Dp	COL—NEM to l. and r. of palm-shoot, its tip to r., behind chained crocodile; above palm-tip, wreath with long ties	S	AMC 410

(ii) *Asses*(?), c.20–10 BC

Obv.: As for group (i)

Weight-peak, c. 14.00–11.00 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

155	As	As no. 154, but normally two wreaths above palm-tip	C	AMC 411
156	As	As no. 155, but with legend COL—NIM	R	AMC 412
157	As	As no. 155, but with legend COL—NEM	R	AMC 413

(iii) *Asses*(?), c.10 BC–AD 10

Obv.: as for group (i), but Augustus is oak-wreathed.‡

Weight-peak, c. 14.00–11.75 g. Dies not adjusted, though showing tendency to †† or †‡. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

158	As	As no. 154	C	AMC 425
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*maximo sacrum*) may or may not show a break after SVSC.

\* To this mint are here given only the *aes* coinages first analysed by Grant (*FITA* pp. 70ff. and *SMACA* pp. 10ff., 116ff.) and later dated more securely by Kraay (*NC* 1955, pp. 75ff.; cf. *AMCRE*, pls. 10–11). The gold and silver attributed to Nemausus by Giard (*BN* pp. 195ff.) are so assigned on grounds which require firmer justification.

† Identification of the denominations can be no more than hypothetical, and may indeed depend upon the degree to which the denominations of Rome were recognized in the provinces.

‡ Cf. *AMCRE* pl. 10 as against *NC* 1955, p. 75. The distinction between oak and laurel is often very slight, but in general the leaves of Augustus' wreath in this group are short ovals rather than (as in group (iv)) long ellipses and in some cases quite plainly represent oak.

## (iv) Asses(?), c.AD 10-14

Obv.: as for group (i), but Augustus is laureate; P—P to l. and r. of the heads.

Weight-peak, c. 13.50-11.75 g. Dies not adjusted, though showing tendency to ↑↑ or ↓↓. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 3) 159	As	COL—NEM to l. and r. of palm-shoot with short, dense, fronds and its tip to l., behind chained crocodile; to l. of palm-tip, wreath with long ties	C	AMC 441
160	As	As no. 159, but the palm-shoot has long, vertical fronds	C	AMC 448-55
161	As	As no. 160, but COL—NEM	S	AMC 456-8

## LUGDUNUM

## I. Aurei (with a multiple and halves) and denarii

## (i) IMP X, 15-13 BC\*

Obv. legend: 1. (AVGVSTVS)DIVI F

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.

B. Augustus, bare, l.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.95-7.80 g; denarii c. 3.90-3.70 g. Dies not adjusted, but showing tendency to ↑↓. Obv. borders dotted; rev. borders more often linear.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
162a	D	1A	IMP X (ex.) Soldier with parazonium giving branch to Augustus seated l. on stool on platform	S	CBN 1361
b	D	1B	"	S	CBN 1364
163	Au	1B	"	R3	Hu. 194
(Pl. 3) 164a	Au	1A	IMP X (ex.) As no. 162, but with two soldiers, each with parazonium and branch	R2	BMC 443
b	Au	1B	"	R2	BMC 447
165a	D	1A	"	S	BMC 446
b	D	1B	"	R	BMC 448
166a	Au	1A	IMP X (ex.) Bull butting r.	R2	BMC 450
b	Au	1B	"	R2	BMC 454
167a	D	1A	"	C	BMC 451
(Pl. 3) b	D	1B	"	S	BMC 455
168	Au	1A	IMP X (ex.) Bull butting l.	R2	BMC 457
169	D	1A	"	S	BMC 458
170	Au	1A	IMP—X to l. and r. of Apollo Citharoedus, in long drapery, stg. l., r. holding plectrum, l. lyre; ACT in ex.	R	BMC 459
(Pl. 3) 171a	D	1A	"	C	BMC 461
b	D	1B	"	R3	AMC 134

\* Giard, in *CBN* pp. 50f., 199ff., assigned *Imp X* coins to 15 BC only.

162. Giard in *CBN* identified the soldier as Drusus and the branch as laurel.

164. Giard in *CBN* identified the two soldiers as Drusus and Tiberius, and the branches as laurel.

170. The A of ACT is sometimes unbarred.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
172	Au	1A	IMP—X to l. and r. of Diana, in short hunting tunic, stg. half-l., head r., r. leaning on spear, l. holding bow; dog stg. l. at her feet; SICIL in ex.	R3	CBN 1391
Pl. 3, rev.) 173a	D	1A	„	S	BMC 463
	b D	1B	„	R2	BMC 464

## (ii) IMP XI, 12 BC

Obv. legend: 1. (AVGVSTVS)DIVI F

Obv. head: A. Augustus, bare, r.

Weight-peak as for group (i) silver. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

174	D	1A	IMP XI below capricorn r., holding globe	S	BMC 465
175	D	1A	IMP—XI As no. 172, with SICIL in ex.	R4	Mil

## (iii) Bare head with IMP XII or TR POT XIII, 11–10 BC

Obv. legend: 1. (AVGVSTVS)DIVI F

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.

B. Augustus, bare, l.

Weight-peaks as for group (i) gold and silver. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

176a	Au	1A	IMP XII (ex.) Bull butting r.	R3	BMC 468
b	Au	1B	„	R4	Nap.
177	Au	1A	As no. 176, but bull butting l.	R4	BMC 475
178a	D	1A	„	R2	BMC 476
b	D	1B	„	R4	Ro. (T.)
179	Au	1A	IMP—XII to l. and r. of Apollo Citharoedus as no. 170; ACT in ex.	R3	CBN 1417
Pl. 3, rev.) 180	D	1A	„	R2	BMC 478
	181	Au	IMP—XII to l. and r. of Diana, as no. 172; SICIL in ex.	R4	Ro. (T.)
182	D	1A	„	R2	CBN 1414
183	D	1A	As no. 181, but with SICIL	R3	BMC 487
184	AuQ	1A	IMP XII Victory, dr., seated r. on globe, hands on lap	R4	CBN 1421
(Pl. 3) 185	AuQ	1A	TR POT XIII As no. 184	R4	BMC 467

## (iv) Laur. head with IMP XII, 11–10 BC

Obv. legend: 1. (AVGVSTVS)DIVI F

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, laur., r.

B. Augustus, laur., l.

Weight-peaks as for group (i) gold and silver. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted (rev. sometimes linear).

\* Giard (*CBN* p. 205) placed this group in 10 BC (*Imp. XIII* fell in 9 BC), and his view may be justified by the fact of Augustus' visit to Gaul in 10 BC, when a new laur. portrait head could have been introduced. *BMCRE* made no such distinction of date. In addition Giard dated the new types nos. 192–3, 196–7, later in

10 BC than the others.

175. The aurei and denarii with IMP XI ACT, and the aurei with IMP XI SICIL (*Coh.* 148–50; *RIC* i (1st edn.), 331–2) do not seem to exist, though the last of these is made less improbable by the Milan coin. Cf. *BMCRE* p. 80 n. \*

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
	186a	Au	1A	IMP XII (ex.) Bull butting r.	R2	BMC 471
	b	Au	1B	"	R3	Ro. (T.)
(Pl. 3)	187a	D	1A	"	S	BMC 474
	b	D	1B	"	R4	Coh. 157
(Pl. 4)	188a	Au	1A	As no. 186, but bull butting l.	R2	BMC 477
	b	Au	1B	"	R4	Coh. 160
	189a	D	1A	"	R2	CBN 1422
	b	D	1B	"	R2	CBN 1424
	190a	Au	1A	IMP—XII to l. and r. of Apollo Citharoedus as no. 170 above; ACT in ex.	R3	CBN 1429
	b	Au	1B	"	R3	CBN 1430
	191	D	1B	"	R4	BMC 480
(Pl. 4)	192a	Au	1A	IMP—XII to l. and r. of Apollo Citharoedus stg. r. in long drapery, r. extended (with plectrum?), l. holding lyre	R3	BMC 481
	b	Au	1B	"	R3	BMC 485
	193a	D	1A	"	R	BMC 484
	b	D	1B	"	R2	BMC 486
(Pl. 4, rev.)	194a	Au	1A	IMP—XII to l. and r. of Diana as on no. 172 above; SICIL in ex.	R3	BMC 488
	b	Au	1B	"	R3	CBN 1428
	195	D	1A	"	R3	CBN 1427
(Pl. 4, rev.)	196	Au	1A	IMP—XII to l. and r. of Diana, in long drapery and with polos on head, advancing r., r. taking arrow from quiver, l. holding bow; SICIL in ex.	R3	BMC 489
	197a	D	1A	"	R2	BMC 490
	b	D	1B	"	R4	Cardim coll., Seville

## (v) TR POT XV, 9–8 BC

One unconfirmed gold quinarius is quoted from Mionnet by Coh. 312 with obv. **AVGVSTVS DIVI F**, head laur. r., and rev. **TR POT XV**, Victory as on no. 184 above. The existence of this piece is not impossible, but it does not seem to have been recorded since. Conceivably Mionnet misread a specimen of no. 202 below.

## (vi) TR POT XVI, 8–7 BC, or IMP XIII, 8 BC, or undated\*

Obv. legend: 1. **AVGVSTVS DIVI F**

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, laur., r.

B. Augustus, laur., l.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.90–7.75 g; denarii c. 3.85–3.70 g. Dies not adjusted, but tending to ↑ ↓.

Obv. and rev. borders dotted, the obv. more coarsely.

(Pl. 4)	198	Au	1A	↘ <b>CAES</b> , <b>AVGVS F</b> (ex.) C. Caesar galloping r., r. holding reins, l. sword and shield; behind, eagle between two standards	S	BMC 498
	199	D	1A	"	C	BMC 500

\* The undated *C. Caesar Augustus F* gold and silver are die-linked to the *Imp XIII* gold and silver; cf. Giard, *CBN* p. 208.

187b. Confirmation required.

188b. Confirmation required.

191. A denarius with obv. legend 1A might be expected.

198. Coh. 41 cites variant with obv. 1B; possible, though later confirmation seems to be lacking.



No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
200	Au	1A	IMP XIII (ex.) Augustus, togate, seated l. on stool on platform, extending r. to infant held out by cloaked figure	R2	BMC 492
4, rev.) 201a	D	1A	"	R	BMC 494
b	D	1B	"	R4	CBN 1456
202	AuQ	1A	TR POT XVI As on no. 184 above	R4	BMC 496

## (vii) TR POT XVII, 7-6 BC

Obv. legend: 1. (AVGVSTVS)DIVI F

Obv. head: A. Augustus, laur., r.

Gold quinarius only, weights 3.99, 3.89 g (= aureus of 8.00-7.80 g). Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

4, rev.) 203	AuQ	1A	TR POT XVII As on no. 184 above	R4	BMC 497
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(viii) Gold multiples, aurei, gold quinarii, and denarii of 2 BC-(?)AD 4 or beyond,\* including TR POT XXIII, XXV, and XXVII (AD 1-2, 2-3, and 4-5)

Obv. legends: 1. (CAESAR AVGVSTVS)DIVI F PATER PATRIAE  
2. (AVGVSTVS)DIVI FObv. heads: A. Augustus, laur., r.  
B. Augustus, laur., l.

Weight-peaks, aurei 7.90-7.70 g; denarii 3.85-3.65 g. Dies not adjusted, but tending to ↑↑ or ↓↓. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

4, rev.) 204	Au4	1B	IMP—XV, SICIL As no. 196 above	R5	AIIN 1968, pp. 42 ff. with pl. II, 1; CBN pl. lxvi, a; formerly Nap.; 30.88 g
205	Au4	1A	C L CAESARES (ex.), (AVGVSTI F COS DESIG PRINC IVVENT Gaius and Lucius Caesar, on l. and r., stg. front, each togate and resting hand on shield; behind each shield, a spear; above, on l., simpulum r., and on r., lituus l.	R5	AIIN 1968, pp. 49 ff. with pl. II, 2; 31.30 g
206	Au	1A	"	R2	BMC 515
(Pl. 4) 207	D	1A	"	C	BMC 533

\* For discussion of the lower date see p. 28 above. The abundance of issues for C. and L. Caesar has prompted speculation that the output of Lugdunum was supplemented by auxiliary mints; cf. Giard, *CBN* pp. 52, 226.

204. This magnificent four-aureus multiple, found originally at Pompeii and of undoubted authenticity, was stolen from the Museo

Nazionale in Naples in 1977. It was unique.

205 and ff. For the four-aureus multiple, see introduction, pp. 9, 28 above. In the C L CAESARES series as a whole, the unbarred A (Λ) is normal. For imitations of these types see *BMCRE* pl. 14, 5-7; *AMCRE* 181-4; *Hunter Cat.* 222-4; *CBN* 1669-77. Such imitations are of widespread provenance.

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
	208	D	1A	As no. 207, but simpulum, on l., to l., and lituus, on r., to r.	C	BMC 536
(Pl. 4, rev.)	209	Au	1A	As no. 205, but lituus, on l., to r., and simpulum, on r., to l.	R3	BMC 539
	210	D	1A	"	S	BMC 540
(Pl. 4, rev.)	211	D	1A	As no. 205, but with X below simpulum and lituus	S	BMC 537
	212	D	1A	As no. 209, but with X below lituus and simpulum	R	BMC 538
	213	AuQ	2A	↘TR POT ↗XXIII (July AD 1–June AD 2) As no. 184	R4	Flor. (BMC p. 86 n. *)
	214	AuQ	2A	↘TR POT ↗XXV (July AD 2–June AD 3) As no. 184	R4	ASFN 1884, p. 44 (BMC p. 86 n. *)
	215	AuQ	2A	↘TR POT ↗XXVII (July AD 4–June AD 5) As no. 184	R4	CBN 1678

## (ix) Gold quinarii of AD 6–9, with TR POT XXVIII, XXX, and XXXI

Obv. legend: 1. (AVGVSTVS)DIVIF

Obv. head: A. Augustus, laur., r.

Weight-peak etc. as in group (viii)

216	AuQ	1A	↘TR POT ↗XXVIII (July AD 6–June AD 7) As no. 184	R5	BMC 504
217	AuQ	1A	↘TR POT ↗XXX (July AD 7–June AD 8) As no. 184	R3	BMC 505
218	AuQ	1A	↘TR POT ↗XXXI (July AD 8–June AD 9) As no. 184	R5	Coh. 318

## (x) Aurei and denarii of AD 13–14

Obv. legend: 1. (CAESAR AVGVSTVS)DIVIF PATER PATRIAE

Obv. head: A. Augustus, laur., r.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.85–7.70 g; denarii, c. 3.85–3.65 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

219	Au	1A	↗PONTIF (MAXIM Draped female figure seated r. on low-backed chair, r. leaning on vertical sceptre, l. holding branch	R3	BMC 544
(Pl. 4) 220	D	1A	"	R2	BMC 545
221	Au	1A	↘TI CAESAR (ex.), ↗AVG F TR POT XV (July AD 13–June AD 14) Tiberius, laur., stg. r. in triumphal quadriga, r. holding laurel, l. eagle-tipped sceptre; the horses' heads all face r.	R2	BMC 511
	222	D	"	R	BMC 512
(Pl. 4) 223	Au	1A	As no. 221, but two horses face l.	R3	BMC 508
	224	D	"	R2	BMC 510
	225	Au	↗TI CAESAR AVGVSTVS ↘F TR POT XV (July AD 13–June AD 14) Bare head of Tiberius r.	R3	BMC 506
(Pl. 4) 226	D	1A	"	R2	BMC 507

216. A specimen with TR POT XXVIII presumably remains to be found.

217. Also in Paris (2), Rome (Terme), Milan, and Naples.

218. Confirmation required.

219–20. This rev. type has been variously

interpreted, e.g. by Mattingly as 'Livia (?) as Ceres' on the ground that the figure may hold a bunch of corn-ears, and by Giard as Justitia; cf. introductory p. 87. A date for these issues late in Augustus' reign is strongly suggested by Tiberius' continuation of the type afterwards.

## II. Aes sestertii, dupondii, asses, semisses and quadrantes\*

- (i) Earlier sestertii, asses, and quadrantes from c.15 BC until after 10 BC and including the 'Altar I' series†

Obv. legends: 1. (IMP) CAESAR  
 2. (IMP) CAESAR  
 3. ( or ↓ CAESAR ) PONT MAX

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.  
 B. Augustus, laur., r.

Weight-peaks, sestertii, c. 26.0 g; asses, c. 11.0-9.0 g; quadrantes, c. 3.0 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
<b>Pl. 4)</b> 227	Quad	1B	↪ AVGVSTVS above eagle stg. facing, head l., wings spread	S	BMC 563
228	Quad	2A	AVGVSTVS (above), DIVI F (ex.) Bull butting l.	R	BMC 564
229	S	3B	ROM ET AVG (ex.) Front elevation of the Altar of Lyons, decorated with the corona civica between laurels, these being flanked by nude male figures (usually stylized); to l. and r., Victories on columns, facing one another	R2	CBN 1632
<b>Pl. 4)</b> 230	As	3B	„	C	BMC 550

- (ii) Later sestertii, dupondii, asses and semisses c.AD 9-14, comprising the 'Altar II' series‡

Obv. legends: 1. ○ CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE  
 2. ○ TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT V (AD 8-10)  
 3. ○ TI CAESAR AVGVSTI F IMPERATOR V (AD 8-10)  
 4. ○ TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT VI (AD 11)  
 5. ○ TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT VII (AD 12-)  
 6. ○ TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERATOR VII (AD 12-)

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.  
 B. Augustus, laur., r.  
 C. Augustus, laur., l.  
 D. Tiberius, bare, r.  
 E. Tiberius, bare, l.  
 F. Tiberius, laur., r.  
 G. Tiberius, laur., l.

Rev. ROM ET AVG Front elevation of Altar of Lyons as no. 229 above.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
231a	S	1B	S	BMC 565
b	S	1C	R3	AMC 373

\* For the possible attribution of 'Lugdunese' aes to subsidiary or auxiliary mints cf. Giard in *RN* 1967, pp. 119ff.

† The quadrantes in this group are of orichalcum, as also the sestertii; asses are of copper. For countermarks on this group cf. *BMCRE* p. 93; *AMCRE* pl. 8; *CBN* pp. 211 ff.; and Kraay, *Münzfunde von Vindonissa*, pp. 45f.

‡ Sestertii, dupondii, and semisses in this

group are of orichalcum; the asses are of copper. For the abundant countermarks see references cited under group (i) above.

229. Giard, *CBN* p. 211, follows A. Alföldi, *Die zwei Lorbeerbäume des Augustus*, p. 37, in identifying the two nude figures as Lares.

231. Exceptional examples at Oxford (*AMCRE* 374) and Glasgow (*Hunter* 237) clearly show the nude figures on the altar-panel.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Denom.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
232	Dp	1B	R	BMC 566
233	As	1B	S	AMC 378
234	Sem	1A	R3	Ha
235	Dp	2E	R3	CBN 1741
236a	Dp	2F	S	BMC 575
b	Dp	2G	S	CBN 1753
(Pl. 4) 237	As	2E	S	BMC 576
238a	As	2F	S	CBN 1760
b	As	2G	S	CBN 1754
239	Sem	2E	R	AMC 388
240	S	3E	R	CBN 1739
241a	S	3F	R2	AMC 405
b	S	3G	R2	AMC 375
242	As	4D	R4	AMC 389
243	Sem	4D	R4	BMC 578
244	Dp	5F	S	BMC 583; AMC 390
245	As	5F	C	BMC 585; AMC 393
246	Sem	5F	C	BMC 588; AMC 398
247	S	6E	R3	BMC 579
248a	S	6F	R	BMC 580; CBN 1761
b	S	6G	R4	Mil

## TREVERI (?)\*

Small *aes* (quadrantes?), perhaps of the later half of Augustus' reign

Obv. legend: None

Obv. head: Male, diademed r.

Weight-peak, c. 3.00 g. Dies tending to ↑↑ or ↑↓. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Denom.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
(Pl. 4) 249	Quad?	GERMANVS (above), INDVTILLIF (ex.) Bull butting l.	S	AMC 459 ff.

\* See introduction, pp. 29f. above, and *AMCRE* pl. 11.

234. This very light coin (2.05 g) might conceivably be of Tiberius: its condition is worn.

242-3. The as, of adequately clear reading,

is of slightly abnormal style. Mattingly (cf. *BMCRE* p. 95n.) was less certain of the reading of the semis.

248a. *ASFN* 1884, p. 46, recorded IMPERAT instead of IMPERATOR for this sestertius.

# ITALY, UNCERTAIN MINTS (Brundisium and Rome ?)\*

Aurei, denarii, and quinarii

## I. With *Caesar divi f.*, c.32-29 BC

Obv. legend: None

Obv. head/bust or type: A. Octavian head, bare, r.  
B. Octavian head, bare, l.  
C. Pax bust r., dr., wearing stephane; cornucopia behind; olive-spray in front.  
D. Venus bust r., wearing stephane and necklace.  
E. Victory bust r., wings spread.  
F. Victory, dr., r. holding wreath, l. palm, stg. r. on prow.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 8.00-7.75 g; denarii, c. 3.90-3.70 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders linear, except for nos. 252-3, where they are dotted.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
<b>PL 5)</b> 250a	D	A	CAESAR — DIVI F to l. and r. of Venus stg. turned r., half-dr., leaning against column, r. holding helmet, l. transverse sceptre; shield bearing eight-rayed star leans against column to l.	S	BMC 599
b	D	B	"	S	BMC 601
<b>PL 5)</b> 251	D	D	CAESAR — DIVI F to l. and r. of Octavian in military dress, cloak flying behind, adv. l., r. extended, l. holding transverse spear	S	BMC 609
<b>PL 5)</b> 252	D	A	(CAESAR) DIVI F Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding olive-branch, l. cornucopia	S	BMC 605
<b>PL 5)</b> 253	D	C	CAESAR — DIVI F to l. and r. of Octavian stg. r. in military dress, r. raised in act of <i>adlocutio</i> , l. holding spear over shoulder	S	BMC 612
254a	D	A	CAESAR — DIVI F to l. and r. of Victory, dr., stg. l. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	S	BMC 602
b	D	B	"	S	BMC 603
<b>PL 5)</b> 255	D	B	As no. 254, but Victory stg. r.	S	BMC 604
256	D	E	CAESAR — DIVI F to l. and r. of naked male figure (Neptune?) stg. l., r. foot on globe, r. holding aplustre, l. vertical sceptre	S	BMC 615
<b>PL 5)</b> 257	D	A	CAESAR — DIVI F to l. and r. of naked male figure seated r. on cloak on rock, petasus slung behind, both hands holding lyre	C	BMC 597
258	Au	B	CAESAR DIVI F (ex.) Triumphal quadriga slow l., the panels ornamented, surmounted by four miniature galloping horses	R2	BMC 591
<b>PL 5)</b> 259	Au	B	As no. 258, but quadriga r.	R3	BMC 590
260	Au	A	CAESAR DIVI F below Victory, dr., in biga galloping r., r. holding wreath, l. reins and palm	R2	BMC 592
261	Au	A	As no. 260, but r. holding long palm, l. reins	R3	BMC 593
<b>PL 5)</b> 262	Au	A	CAESAR DIVI F below Octavian on horse prancing l., r. raised	R2	BMC 594

\* Cf. introduction, pp. 30f. above, and *QT* 1976, pp. 129ff.

260. Coh. 68 records variant with obv. B as being formerly in Paris.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 5) 263	D	F	CAESAR DIVIF (ex.) Octavian stg. in ornamented slow quadriga r., r. holding branch, l. reins	R4	BMC 616

## II. With *Imp. Caesar*, c.29–27 BC

- Obv. legends:
1. None
  2. IMP
  3. (CAESAR IMP VII (29–26 BC)
  - 4a. (CAESAR )COS VI (28 BC)
  - 4b. )CAESAR (COS VI (28 BC)
  5. (CAESAR COS VII )CIVIBVS SERVATEIS (27 BC)

- Obv. heads/busts or types:
- A. Octavian head, bare, r.
  - B. Octavian head, bare, l.
  - C. Octavian head, bare, r., lituus behind
  - D. Octavian head, bare, l., lituus behind
  - E. Augustus head, bare, r.
  - F. Apollo head, laur., r.
  - G. Diana bust, dr., r., quiver at shoulder
  - H. Mars head, helmeted r.
  - J. Terminus head, laur., r., thunderbolt behind
  - K. Victory, dr., stg. r. on prow, r. holding wreath, l. palm

Weight-peaks as in group I above. Dies not adjusted. Linear borders.

264	D	1K	IMP CAESAR (ex.) As no. 263	C	BMC 617
(Pl. 5, rev.) 265a	D	1A	IMP—CAESAR to l. and r. of military trophy, its base crossed with rudder and anchor and set on prow r.	S	BMC 625
b	D	1B	"	C	BMC 626
(Pl. 5, rev.) 266	D	1A	IMP CAESAR on architrave of temple with colon-naded base; Victory on globe at apex of pediment, and warriors at the angles	C	BMC 631
(Pl. 5, rev.) 267	D	1A	IMP CAESAR on architrave of arch surmounted by facing quadriga bearing Octavian	C	BMC 624
268	Au	1A	IMP—CAESAR to l. and r. of Victory, dr., stg. facing on globe, head l., wings spread, r. holding wreath, l. vexillum over shoulder	R	BMC 622
(Pl. 5, rev.) 269a	D	1A	IMP—CAESAR to l. and r. of laur. terminal figure set facing on winged thunderbolt	S	BMC 628
b	D	1B	"	R2	BMC 630
270	D	1J	IMP—CAESAR to l. and r. of Octavian, togate, seated l. on curule chair, r. holding Victoriola	S	BMC 637
(Pl. 5) 271	D	1F	IMP—CAESAR to l. and r. of rostral column surmounted by cloaked(?) figure (of Octavian?), r. holding spear, l. parazonium	S	BMC 633
(Pl. 5) 272	D	1F	IMP CAESAR (ex.) Octavian, veiled and laur., ploughing with yoke of oxen to r., l. holding whip	C	BMC 638

265. Cf. no. 273 below.

266. The building is possibly the Curia Julia, dedicated in 29 BC and surmounted by the golden figure of Victory previously owned (cf. Dio Cassius 51, 22, 1) by the Tarentines. The same Victory appears on aurei, no. 268.

267. Probably the triumphal arch erected in the Roman forum c.30 BC (cf. Dio Cassius, 51, 19, 1). For die-links in this series cf. *QT* 1976,

pp. 129 ff.

269–70. These comprise paired issues; cf. *QT* 1976, p. 150, for the view that the laur. terminal figure is that of Terminus, honoured after the due recovery of the full extent of Rome's dominions. Conceivably the figure is that of Octavian as Vejovis.

272. Attributed by Kraft, *Zur Münzprägung des Augustus* (Sitzungber. der Wiss.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
273	Au	1G	IMP CAESAR on architrave of tetrastyle(?) temple enclosing military trophy on naval base; triskelis in pediment	R3	BMC 643
(PL. 5) 274	D	2H	CAESAR on rim of round shield, with eight-rayed star at centre, lying on crossed spear and sword	C	BMC 644
The following are to be associated with nos. 264–74 on grounds of type-content, style, and specific dating:					
275a	D	4aC	AEGVPTO (above) CAPTA (below) Crocodile stg. r.	S	BMC 650
b	D	4bD		S	BMC 652
276	Q	3A	ASIA (on r.), RECEPTA (on l.) Victory, dr., stg. l., r. holding wreath, l. palm, on cista mystica between two snakes	C	BMC 647
(PL. 5) 277	Au	5E	AVGVSTVS above eagle, with head l. and wings spread, stg. facing on oak-wreath flanked by S—C; two laurel branches behind	R	BMC 656

## ROME

## I. Aurei, denarii, and aes, c.19–4 BC,\* with moneyers' names

- (i) c.19 BC P. Petronius Turpilianus†  
 L. Aquillius Florus  
 M. Durmius  
 with the addition of  
 Q. Rustius (not styled *IIIvir monetalis*)‡

## Aurei and denarii

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 8.00 (or higher)–7.85 g; denarii, c. 4.00–3.65 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Univ. Frankfurt/Main, Bd. 7, Jahrg. 1968, 5), pp. 211 ff., to Nicopolis as a foundation issue, but these coins are certainly Italian in style, and also in fabric.

\* For the attribution to Rome, resting fundamentally upon the continuing Republican tradition by which successive *collegia* of *IIIviri monetales* are named on the coins, see introductory pp. 1, 7f., 31 ff. above, where the internal chronology of the group is also discussed. The arrangement here followed is in general that of K. Kraft (*Mainz Zeitschr.* 1951/2, pp. 28 ff.); see also A. Bay in *JRS* 1972, pp. 111 ff., and Giard in *CBN* pp. 41–3, 73 ff.

† To judge by the variety of his coinage, as expressed by the number of dies used and by the wide range of obv. legends, Turpilianus was the chief moneyer of this *collegium* (in

which the association of Florus and Durmius is shown by the interlinking of aureus dies: cf. Giard in *CBN* p. 73). Turpilianus has six basic legend-variations, perhaps recognizable as deliberate 'differences' for work-periods of one or two months each. Legend-variations for Florus and Durmius are far fewer.

‡ The type-content of the triple *collegium* looks squarely to Parthia/Armenia. That of Rustius looks to Augustus' return from the East in 19 BC, and his issues may have been struck to mark special manifestations of triumph and gratitude; cf. the S C and EX S C on the reverses.

273. Cf. no. 265 above.

275–7. Attributed by Giard (*CBN* p. 44 with pl. XXXV) to Ephesus, these issues can scarcely belong outside Italy, or indeed Rome itself, to which in fact Giard assigned all the other issues in Groups I and II above.

## A. Coinage of P. Petronius Turpilianus

## Aurei and denarii

- Obv. legends: 1. )TVRPILIANVS(IIIVIR  
 2. (TVRPILIANVS)IIIVIR ↪ FE—RON (or FER—ON or FER—O or F—ERO)  
 3. )TVRPILIANVS(IIIVIR ↪ FER—O (or FER—ON or F—ERO)  
 4. )P PETRON TVR(PIILIAN IIIVIR  
 5. )P PETRON TVRP(ILIILIAN IIIVIR  
 6. (P PETRON T)VRPILIAN IIIVIR ↪ FER—O(?)  
 7. (P PETRON)TVRPILIAN IIIVIR ↪ FER—O (or FER—O)  
 8. (CAESAR)AVGVSTVS

- Obv. heads/busts: A. Liber head, ivy-wreathed, r.  
 B. Feronia bust, diad., dr., r.  
 C. Augustus head, oak-wreathed r.  
 D. Augustus head, bare, r.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 5) 278	Au	1A	AVGVSTO/OB C S in two lines in oak-wreath	R3	BMC 5
279	Au	2B	"	R3	CBN 109
280	D	2B	↪ AVGVSTVS (above), CAESAR (ex.) Augustus stg. in elephant-bigal., r. holding laurel, l. sceptre	R3	CBN 117
281	D	3B	"	R3	BMC 9
282	D	4A	"	R3	CBN 113
(Pl. 5) 283	D	5A	"	R3	BMC 7
284	D	7B	"	R3	BMC 8
285	Au	(?)3A	↪ CAESAR ↪ AVGVSTVS above and below two laurel-branches flanking oak-wreath enclosing O C S	R5	Riccio, <i>Mon. fam.</i> <i>rom.</i> p. 166 with pl. 36, 13
286	Au	3B	"	R3	BMC 6
287	D	1A	○ CAESAR — AVGVSTVS SIGN RECE Bare-headed Parthian kneeling r., r. extending standard with X-marked vexillum attached, l. held out low	S	BMC 10
(Pl. 5, rev.) 288	D	2B	"	S	BMC 14
289	D	6B	"	R3	CBN 139
290	D	1A	○ CAESAR DIVI F ARMĒ CAPT Armenian, wearing tiara and long robe, kneeling r., both hands extended	R2	BMC 18
291	D	3B	"	R3	BMC 21
292	D	4A	"	R3	BMC 19
293	Au	8C	↪ P PETRON TVRPILIAN IIIVIR Lyre, its body a tortoise-shell	R3	CBN 106
294	D	8D	↪ P PETRON TVRPILIAN III—VIR Pan stg. l., r. holding syrinx, l. pedum	R3	CBN 168

278–9. Tall T in AVGVSTO. The Paris coin no. 279 has FER—ON.

280. With F—ERON.

281. With F—ERO, FER—O, FER—ON.

285. Obviously needs confirmation, though Bahrfeldt, *NZ* 1897, p. 33, argued in its favour.

286. With FER—O.

287. The X can appear as ::.

288. With FER—O, FER—ON, or (much

more often) FE—RON.

289. The obv. legend after III, including that below the bust, is not visible. Some form of the word FER—O(N) may be safely assumed.

290. Never with CAPTA, as in *RIC* i (1st edn.), no. 101f.

291. With F—ERO and F—ER[ ]

294. Worn, and only 3.16 g, but probably genuine.



No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
295	D	8D	☉ P PETRON TVRPILIAN III VIR Young satyr seated r. on ground, chin on l. hand, two flutes between his crossed legs	R3	CBN 167
(Pl. 5, rev.) 296	D	8D	☉ P PETRON TVRPILIAN III—VIR Winged siren stg. l., flute in each hand	R3	BMC 27
297	D	8D	☉ P PETRON TVRPILIAN (or A—N) III VIR Pegasus walking r.	R2	BMC 23
(Pl. 6) 298	Au	8C	☉ TVRPILIANVS III VIR As no. 293	R3	BMC 22
(Pl. 6, rev.) 299	D	8D	☉ TVRPILIANVS ☿ III VIR Tarpeia, long-haired, facing, half-buried by shields, hands raised	R	BMC 29
300	D	8D	☉ TVRPILIANVS III VIR Six-rayed star above crescent	R	BMC 32

### B. Coinage of *L. Aquillius Florus*

#### Aurei and Denarii

- Obv. legends: 1. ☉ L AQVILLIVS FLORVS III VIR (or L—O or O—R or R—V or V—S or S—III)  
 2. ☉ L—AQVILLIVS ☿ FLORVS—III VIR  
 3. ☉ CAESAR ☿ AVGVSTVS

- Obv. heads/types or busts: A. Sol head, rad., r.  
 B. Triskelis, with winged Medusa head in centre and with winged legs  
 C. Virtus bust, dr. and in feathered helmet, r.  
 D. Augustus head, oak-wreathed, r.  
 E. Augustus head, bare, r.

301	D	1C	☉ AVGVSTVS (above), CAESAR (ex.) As no. 280 above	R2	BMC 36
(Pl. 6, obv.) 302	Au	2B	☉ CAESAR ☉ AVGVSTVS Two laurel-branches flanking oak-wreath enclosing OCS	R3	BMC 35
303	D	1A	☉ CAESAR AVGVSTVS (above), S C (ex.) Slow quadriga r. with modius-shaped car in which are three (?) ears of corn	R2	BMC 38
304	D	1A	☉ CAESAR—AVGVSTVS SIGN RECE As no. 287 above	R2	BMC 40
305	D	1C	☉ CAESAR—DIVI F " ARME CAPT As no. 290 above	R4	CBN 176
306	D	1C	☉ CAESAR—DIVI F /ARM—INIA/CAP—TA in three lines to l. and r. of Armenian, wearing tiara and cloak, stg. facing	R2	BMC 43
307	D	1C	☉ CAESAR—DIVI F /ARM—INIA/CAP—TA in three lines to l. and r. of Armenian, wearing tiara and cloak, stg. facing	R4	BMC 44
(Pl. 6) 308	Au	3D	☉ L AQVILLIVS FLORVS III VIR Open six-petalled flower	R3	BMC 45
309	D	3E	☉ L AQVILLIVS FLORVS III VIR " " " "	R2	BMC 47
310	D	3E	☉ L AQVILLIVS FLORVS III VIR, SICIL (ex.) Warrior with shield stg. facing, head r., raising half-prostrate female (Sicilia)	R2	BMC 50

295. Haebler coll. no. 3252 (3.83 g) was not plated. The examples in Paris (2.96) and Glasgow (*Hunter* 10, 3.00) are plated. Munich has a base core (2.57).

303. Giard, *CBN* 172, illustrates an example with three uncertain vertical objects in the car.

305. This coin, perhaps unique, is plated: it could represent a genuine original or an unofficial hybrid.

310. The rev. legend may be unbroken, or may show L—O. The rev. type is reproduced from that of Manius Aquillius in 71 bc (cf. Crawford, *RRC* no. 401), which referred to his

C. Coinage of *M. Durmius*

## Aurei and denarii

- Obv. legends: 1.  $\text{M DVRMIVS CIIIVIR}$   
 2.  $\text{M DVRMIVS CIIIVIR HONORI}$   
 3.  $\text{M DVRMIVS IIIVIR C HONORI}$   
 4.  $\text{CAESAR AVGVSTVS}$

- Obv. heads/busts: A. Honos head r. between two six-rayed stars  
 B. Honos head r. (no stars)  
 C. Young Hercules bust r., diad. and with lion's skin; club over r. shoulder  
 D. Augustus head, oak-wreathed, r.  
 E. Augustus head, bare, r.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
311	D	2A	$\curvearrowright$ AVGVSTVS (above), CAESAR (ex.) As no. 280 above	R2	BMC 53
312	Au	3A	AVGVSTO/OB C S in two lines in oak-wreath	R4	BMC 51
(Pl. 6) 313	D	2A	$\curvearrowright$ CAESAR AVGVSTVS (above), S C (ex.) As no. 303 above	R2	BMC 55
314	D	1C	$\text{CAESAR} - \text{AVGVSTVS SIGN RECE}$ As no. 287 above	R3	BMC 59
315	D	2A		R	BMC 58
(Pl. 6, rev.) 316	Au	4D	$\curvearrowright$ M DVRMIVS $\text{CIIIVIR}$ above and below crab holding butterfly	R4	BMC 60
317	D	4E	$\curvearrowright$ M DVRMIVS (above), IIIVIR (ex.) Boar stg. r., pierced by spear	R	BMC 61
(Pl. 6, rev.) 318	D	4E	$\curvearrowright$ M DVRMIVS (above), IIIVIR (ex.) (or continuously $\text{C}$ ) Lion l. attacking stag	R	BMC 63
319	D	4E	$\text{M DVRMIVS IIIVIR}$ Victory flying r. with crown above man-headed bull r.	R3	BMC 66
320	D	4E	$\text{M DVR} - \text{MIVS} - \text{IIIVIR}$ Victory adv. r., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R4	BMC 68

D. Coinage of *Q. Rustius* (not named as IIIVir)

## Aurei and denarii

- Obv. legends: 1.  $\curvearrowright$  Q RVSTIVS (above),  $\text{FORTVNÆ}$  (below)  
 2.  $\curvearrowright$  Q RVSTIVS - FORTVNÆ (above), ANTIAT (below)

- Obv. types: A. Opposing heads of Fortuna Victrix (to r., wearing round helmet) and Fortuna Felix (to l., diad.)  
 B. Jugate busts, dr., r., of Fortuna Victrix (the nearer) wearing round helmet, r. holding patera, and of Fortuna Felix, diad., above bar with ram's head finials

(Pl. 6) 321	Au	1A	$\text{CAESAR} - \text{I AVGVSTO}$ Victory tilted l., placing shield inscribed S C on cippus	R3	BMC 1
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namesake, the proconsul of Sicily in 101 BC, who terminated the second Servile War.

312. Tall T in AVGVSTO.

314. Dies for this issue are often rather coarse.

316. *RIC* i (1st edn.) no. 135 gives this issue as being in silver also, but no such denarius seems to be recorded.

318-19. Dr Andrew Burnett has suggested

to me that these two reverses, together with obv. C of this series, since they repeat third-century types of Rome, Neapolis, and Velia, may reflect the discovery of an earlier hoard.

320. This BM coin, weighing only 2.99 g, is plated. Mattingly inclined to regard it as an ancient forgery. The obv. (and its portrait-style) is more convincing than the rev.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 6) 322	D	2B	☉ CAESARI AVGVSTO, EX S C (ex.) mented rectangular altar inscribed FOR RE	R2	BMC 4

(ii) c.18 BC Q. Aelius Lamia  
C. Marcius Censorinus  
T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus } as *IIIviri*  
monetales

### Sestertii and dupondii

Obv. legends and types: *Sestertii*, ☉ OB, CIVIS in oak-wreath flanked by two laurel-branches, ☉ SERVATOS\*  
*Dupondii*, AVGVSTVS/TRIBVNIC/POTEST in three lines in oak-wreath.†

Weight-peaks, sestertii c. 26.25–24.50 g; dupondii, c. 13.50–10.50 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

### A. Coinage of Q. Aelius Lamia

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
323	S	☉ Q AELIVS L F LAMIA III VIR AAAFF round S C	R	CBN 229
324	Dp	☉ Q AELIVS LAMIA III VIR AAAFF round S C	S	CBN 236

### B. Coinage of C. Marcius Censorinus‡

325	S	☉ C MARCI L F CENSORIN AVG III VIR AAAFF round S C	R2	CBN 265
(Pl. 6) 326	Dp	☉ C CENSORINVS L F AVG III VIR AAAFF round S C	R	CBN 267

### C. Coinage of T. Quinctius Crispinus Sulpicianus

(Pl. 6, obv.) 327	S	☉ T QVINCTIVS CRISPINVS III VIR AAAFF round S C	R3	BMC 181
328	S	☉ T QVINCTIVS CRISPINVS SVLPIC III VIR AAAFF round S C	R4	AMC 542
329	S	☉ T QVINCTIVS CRISPIN SVLPIC III VIR AAAFF round S C	R2	CBN 248
330	S	☉ T QVINCTI CRISPIN SVLP III VIR AAAFF round S C	R3	BMC 183
331	Dp	☉ CRISPINVS AAAFF round S C	R3	BMC 186
332	Dp	☉ or ☉ T CRISPINVS III VIR AAAFF round S C	R2	BMC 189–90
333	Dp	☉ T CRISPINVS SVLPICIAN III VIR AAAFF round S C	R2	CBN 253

\* Tall letters I in CIVIS.

† Tall T in AVGVSTVS.

‡ Possibly asses also were struck for this moneyer; cf. *BMCRE* p. 36 n. \*, and *CBN* 272—said to be imitative pieces, but imitating what?

322. Rev. abbreviated for *Fortuna* (or *-ae Redux* (or *-duci*)).

324. *Hunter* 79 has obv. —POTES. *BMCRE* p. 35, note to no. 176, cites coin in Museo Capitolino with obv. —TRIBVNI—. *CBN* 245 is imitative, with obv. AVGVSTV/

TRIBVNIC/POTIE.

326. *Coh.* 453 lists without —LF—; not otherwise recorded?

327–8. Other and variant rev. readings from Cohen and Willers are listed with some doubt by Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 36 n. §): only those of nos. 327 ff. have been so far confirmed.

330. *BMC* 183 prints the rev. legend as beginning TI, surely in error.

331 ff. The number of rev. legend variants, and the scarcity of these dupondii, suggest uncertainty in a perhaps initial series; cf. also Mattingly, *BMCRE* p. 37 n. \*.

No.	Denom.	Rev.		Frequ.	Ref.
334	Dp	UT CRISPINVS SVLPICIANVS IIIVIR AAAFF SC	round	R2	CBN 254
335	Dp	UT QVINCTIVS CRISPINVS IIIVIR AAAFF	round S C	R4	Hu. 83
336	Dp	UT QVINCTIVS CRISPINVS IIIVIR AAAFF	round S C	R3	BMC 184

(iii) c.17 BC\* M. Sanquinius  
P. Licinius Stolo  
Ti. Sempronius Graccus } as *IIIviri*  
monetales

### Aurei, denarii, sestertii, and dupondii

Obv. legends for aurei and denarii: 1. AVGVSTVS DIVI F  
2. AVGVSTI VI F LVDO SAE  
3. AVGVSTVS TR POT

Obv. heads/types for aurei and denarii: A. Augustus head, bare, r.  
B. Augustus, laur. and cloaked, on horseback r., r. holding patera  
C. Herald, in long robe and feathered helmet, stg. l., r. holding winged caduceus, l. round shield on which six-pointed star

Obv. legends and types for sestertii and dupondii: As for Lamia, Censorinus, and Crispinus (p. 65)

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.90 g†; denarii c. 4.00–3.65 g; sestertii c. 26.50–24.25 g; dupondii c. 13.50–11.50 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

### A. Coinage of M. Sanquinius

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
337	Au	1A	M SANQVI C NIVS IIIVIR Youthful head, laur., r. (Julius Caesar deified); above, comet showing four rays and tail	R4–5	NNM 153, pl. I, 1
338	D	1A	"	R2	BMC 71
339	Au	2C	"	R4–5	BMC 69
(Pl. 6) 340	D	2C	"	R2	BMC 70
341	S		M SANQVINIVS Q F IIIVIR AAAFF round SC	R	CBN 281
342	Dp		U (or O) As no. 341	S	CBN 287–8

### B. Coinage of P. Licinius Stolo

343	D	3A	P STOLO (above), IIIVIR (below) Apex between two studded <i>ancilia</i>	R2	BMC 74
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\* The date of this *collegium* (in which Graccus struck *aes* only) is well fixed by the types of Sanquinius and Stolo which refer explicitly or implicitly to the Secular Games of 17 BC.

† This peak is difficult to establish, as aurei are extremely rare.

337. This very rare coin, recorded in private ownership in 1965, was discussed at length by A. A. Boyce, who inclined to regard the rev. head as that of the Genius Saeculi Novi; cf. *NNM* 153, p. 11.

339–40. Coh. (Julius Caesar) 5–6 gave SAEC in error for the obv. legend; Giard

(*CBN* p. 87f.) affords no foundation from Paris for this reading.

341. *BMCRE* 192 shows the rev. reading SAQVINIVS.

342. Blundered examples are listed in *BMCRE*, note to no. 194, and in *CBN* nos. 292–4. *CBN* no. 295 is an imitative as, presumably devised after 17 BC. The Hague has a very light as (5.94 g), twice countermarked, regarded by van der Vin as a possible semis: its types are against this.

343–4. Mattingly regarded as false the aureus (parent of the BM electrotpe) with obv. P LICIN STOLO IIIVIR, Ceres head

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 6) 344	D	3B	„	R3	BMC 76
345	S		UP LICINIVS STOLO IIIVIR AAAFF round S C	S	CBN 302
346	Dp		„	R3	CBN 310
347	Dp		UP STOLO IIIVIR AAAFF round S C	R2	CBN 311

*C. Coinage of Ti. Sempronius Graccus*

348	S		UTI SEMPRONIVS GRACCVS IIIVIR AAAFF round S C	R2	CBN 319
349	Dp		„	R3	CBN 324

(iv) 16 BC L. Mescinius Rufus  
 L. Vinicius  
 C. Antistius Vetus } as *IIIviri monetales*\*

Aurei and denarii

Obv. legends: 1. None.

2. AVGVSTVS (TR POT VII (July 17 BC–June 16 BC)
3. AVGVSTVS (TR POT VIII (July 16 BC–June 15 BC)
4. CAESAR AVGVSTVS TR POT
5. CAESAR AVGVSTVS TR POT
6. IMP CAESAR (TR POT IIX
7. IMP CAESAR AVG (TR POT VIII
8. IMP CAESAR AVGVS (TR POT VIII
9. IMP CAESAR AVGVS (TR POT IIX
10. C ANTISTI VETVS (IIIVIR
11. C ANTISTIVS VETVS (IIIVIR
12. SC OB R P CVM SALVT IMP CAESAR AVGVS CONS

July 16 BC–  
June 15 BC

- Obv. heads/busts or types:
- A. Augustus head, bare, r.
  - B. Augustus head, laur., r.
  - C. *Imago clipeata* of Augustus, bare-headed three-quarters r., within laurel-wreath
  - D. Venus bust, diad., dr., r.
  - E. Victory bust, winged, dr., r.
  - F. S P Q R / IMP / CAES in three lines on pedestal of equestrian statue (of Augustus) stg. r. in front of city-walls and gate
  - G. I O M / S P Q R V S / P R S IMP CAE / Q V O D P E R E V / R P I N A M P / A T Q T R A / S E in seven lines in oak-wreath.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.95 g; denarii c. 4.00–3.65 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

*A. Coinage of L. Mescinius Rufus*

(Pl. 6) 350	Au	6B	LM E—SCI—NIVS, AVGSVF P (ex.) Augustus, togate, seated l. on stool on platform inscribed LVD S, giving <i>suffimenta</i> to one of two togate figures	R4	BMC 85
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corn-wreathed and diad., and rev. CAESAR AVGVSTVS, priestly symbols between laurels.

\* For the significance of the types of this firmly dated *collegium* (TR POT VII–VIII, with COS IX) see NC 1943, pp. 40 ff.

350, 354–5. Commemoration of the Ludi Saeculares of the previous year, celebrated by Augustus as *XVvir sacris faciundis*: the XVviri distributed purifying *suffimenta* to the citizens.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
351	D	1B	☾ L MESCINI ☾ VS RVFVS Mars, helmeted and cloaked, r. holding transverse spear, l. parazonium, stg. l. on pedestal inscribed S P Q R / V PR RE / CAES in three lines	R	BMC 86
352	D	4B	☾ L MESCINIVS ☾ RVFVS "	R2	BMC 87
353	D	4B	☾ L MESCINIVS ☾ RVFVS IIIVIR As no. 351, but pedestal inscribed S P Q R V P / SPR S ET / RED AVG	R4	BMC 88
354	D	4B	☾ L MESCINIVS ☾ RVFVS IIIVIR Cippus inscribed IMP / CAES / AVG / LVD / SAEC in five lines, with XV—S F to l. and r.	R2	BMC 89
355	D	5B	"	R3	CBN 339
(Pl. 6) 356	D	12C	As no. 353	R2	BMC 90
357	D	12C	☾ L MESCINIVS ☾ RVFVS IIIVIR Cippus inscribed IMP / CAES / AVGV / COMM / CONS in five lines, with S—C to l. and r.	R4	CBN 344
(Pl. 7) 358	D	G	"	R	BMC 92

### B. Coinage of L. Vinicius

359	D	1A	L VINICIVS (ex.) Triumphal arch inscribed S P Q R / IMP CAE in two lines and surmounted by facing quadriga bearing Augustus, r. holding laurel-branch, l. sceptre; smaller arch on either side, surmounted (on l.) by archer and (on r.) by (?) slinger	R2	CBN 348
360	D	2A	☾ L VINICIVS ☾ L F IIIVIR Cippus inscribed S P Q R / IMP CAE / QVOD V / M S EX / EA P Q IS / AD A DE in six lines	R3	BMC 79
361	D	3A	"	R2	BMC 80
(Pl. 7) 362	D	F	"	R	BMC 82

### C. Coinage of C. Antistius Vetus

(Pl. 7, rev.) 363	D	8A	☾ C AN—TIST VETVS Two veiled priests stg. r. and l. holding pig over lighted and garlanded altar; in field centrally, FOE / DVS / P R in three lines; QVM (ex.); ☾ GABINIS	R4	BMC 96
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351. *BMCRE* p. 16, no. 86, note, cites Belfort (*ASFN* 1884, p. 45) for a variant (Montigne coll.) with obv. L MESCINIVS RVFVS IIIVIR, rev. —P RED—. Confirmation needed. Expansion of the rev. legend of no. 351 is *Vota pro reditu Caesaris*.

352. There may be a variant with —P RED—; see *BMCRE* p. 16, no. 87, note (Belfort sale). Confirmation needed.

353. *Vota publica suscepta pro salute et reditu Augusti*. The first variant in *RIC* i (1st edn.), no. 156, with —V S PRO S ET RED— (Coh. 464), has not been traced. The legends of nos. 351–3 refer to Augustus' expedition to Gaul in 16 bc.

359. The function of the side-figure on r. is uncertain; cf. *BMCRE* p. 14, no. 77 and n. †.

360. *Senatus populusque Romanus impera-*

*tori Caesaris quod viae munitae sunt ex ea pecunia quam is ad aerarium detulit* or, as suggested by Giard, *CBN* p. 95, *quae iussu senatus ad aerarium delata est*.

362. Both Mattingly and Giard regarded the equestrian type as the technical obv., but the Oxford coins *AMCRE* 291–3 with their notably cupped flans make it likely that it came from the upper (i.e. reverse) die.

363. Giard (*CBN* 366) had doubts about authenticity; *BMCRE* 97 and *CBN* 367, of the same types, are plated. Significantly, perhaps, *Hunter* 43, from the same dies as no. 363, has exactly the same invisibility of GABINIS. Casting may be suspected, with use of an obv. derived from *CBN* 365, for nos. 364 and 363 above show the same obv. die.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
364	D	8A	As no. 363, but with $\cup$ C ANTIST VETVS FOED P R CVM GABINIS	R4	CBN 365
365	D	9A	$\zeta$ C ANTIST $\zeta$ V—ETVS IIIVIR Apollo, laur. and in long robe, stg. l. on platform ornamented with three <i>foruli</i> between two anchors, r. sacrificing from patera over altar, l. holding lyre; to l. and r., APO—LLINI; in ex., ACTIO	R4	CBN 362
1. 7, rev.)	366	D	9A	R4	BMC 95
(Pl. 7)	367	D	11D	R2	CBN 370
			COS/IMP CAESAR AVGV/XI in three lines between simpulum (to r.) and lituus (to l.) above and tripod (on l.) and patera (on r.) below		
	368	D	11D	R3	AMC 299
	369	Au	10E	R4	BM (CBN pl. XVII, b)
			As no. 367, but —AVGVS $\curvearrowright$ PRO VALETVDINE—CAESARIS, S P Q R (ex.) Veiled priest stg. l., r. holding patera over lighted and garlanded altar, to which <i>victimarius</i> , knife in hand, leads a bull		

(v) 16 BC C. Asinius Gallus  
C. Cassius Celer  
C. Gallius Lupercus } as *IIIviri monetales*\*

### Sestertii, dupondii, and asses

Obv. legends and types: for sestertii and dupondii, as for Lamia, Censorinus, and Crispinus (p. 65)  
for asses,  $\zeta$  CAESAR AVGVSTVS  $\zeta$  TRIBVNIC POTEST, Augustus head, bare, r.

Weight-peaks, sestertii c. 26.25–24.50 g; dupondii, c. 13.50–11.50 g; asses c. 11.50–10.00 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.†

### A. Coinage of C. Asinius Gallus

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
370	S	$\cup$ C ASINIVS C F GALLVS IIIVIR AAAFF round S C	R	CBN 372
371	Dp	"	R3	BMC 160
372	Dp	$\cup$ (or $\odot$ ) C ASINIVS GALLVS IIIVIR AAAFF round S C	S	CBN 380–1
373	As	$\cup$ "	C	CBN 384

\* This *collegium* introduced the as, struck in copper, into Augustus' monetary scheme if the present sequence of *collegia* is followed.

† The dots are often coarse and merge by wear into something resembling a continuous line.

364. Mattingly noted variant with obv. —AVG— and rev. —VETVS IIIVIR (*RIN* 1896, p. 12; *ASFN* 1884, p. 44). Confirmation needed.

365–6. For the reference to Augustus and the Sibylline Books cf. H. A. Cahn in *Mus. Helvet.* i (1944), pp. 203ff. and J. Gagé in *Apollon romain: essai sur le culte d'Apollon*...

à Rome des origines à Auguste, Paris, 1955 (*BÉFAR* 182), p. 545. The *foruli* are the cases in which the books were placed; cf. Suet. *Div. Augustus* 31, 1 and Juvenal 3, 219.

372. *CBN* 383 (cf. *BMCRE* p. 32, no. 158, note, and *Hunter* 70) shows the rev. legend C ASSINIVS L F GALLVS etc. The Paris coin looks orthodox; that in Glasgow is said to be tooled.

373. A countermarked and rather battered as in the Hague with rev. legend MAIANIVS GALLVS [IIIVIR AAA]FF, 9.51 g; cf. *CBN* 393 and *Coh.* 451. These seem to be imitative pieces.

## B. Coinage of C. Cassius Celer

No.	Denom.	Rev.		Frequ.	Ref.
374	S	☉	C CASSIVS C F CELER IIIIVIR AAAFF round S C	S	CBN 394
375	Dp	☉	C CASSIVS CELER IIIIVIR AAAFF round S C	S	CBN 404
376	As		..	C	CBN 409

## C. Coinage of C. Gallius Lupercus

377	S	☉ C GALLIVS C F LVPERCVS IIIIVIR AAAFF round S C	S	CBN 415
378	Dp	☉ C GALLIVS LVPERCVS IIIIVIR AAAFF round S C	S	CBN 422
(Pl. 7) 379	As	☉	C	CBN 428

(vi) 15 BC Cn. Piso Cn. F  
 L. Naevius Surdinus } as *IIIviri*  
 C. Plotius Rufus } *monetales*

## Sestertii, dupondii, and asses\*

Obv. legends and types: as for group (v) above (p. 69)†

Weight-peaks, sestertii c. 26.50–24.50 g; dupondii c. 13.50–11.50 g; asses c. 11.50–9.50 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders almost always dotted, but occasionally (cf. CBN 444 rev.) linear.

## A. Coinage of Cn. Piso Cn. F

380	S	☉ or ☉ CN PISO CN F IIIIVIR AAAFF round S C	R	CBN 434–5
381	Dp	☉	R	CBN 439
382	As	☉ or ☉	C	CBN 448, 450

## B. Coinage of L. Naevius Surdinus

383	S	☉ or ☉ L NAEVIVS SVRDINVS IIIIVIR AAAFF round S C	R	CBN 460, 463
384	Dp	☉ L SVRDINVS IIIIVIR AAAFF round S C	R	CBN 467
385	As	☉ L NAEVIVS SVRDINVS IIIIVIR AAAFF round S C	R3	CBN 480
386	As	☉ or ☉ L SVRDINVS IIIIVIR AAAFF round S C	C	CBN 483

\* For the very rare and controversial asses of this *collegium* with Numa-head rev. see below.

† Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 29 n. \*) called attention to the differing forms of the encircling wreath on sestertii and dupondii of the moneyers' *aes* series, the one certainly of oak (cf. CBN 434, 440), the other larger-leaved and of less obvious nature (cf. CBN 441, 463, 491). Noting that the two forms were used side by side he concluded, rightly, that both represented oak.

375. Blundered specimen in Museo Capitolino quoted by Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 33, no. 166, note) with AVGVSTS and TRIBVNI.

377. Specimen on large flan and mounted (39.00 g), CBN 414; cf. also Copenhagen.

381. Imitative pieces show legend-variants; cf. *BMCRE* p. 29, no. 135, note, and CBN 446–7.

384. The variant quoted by Willers with L NAEVIVS etc., would seem to have been an error of reading.



## C. Coinage of C. Plotius Rufus

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
387	S	☉ C PLOTIVS RVFVS III VIR AAAFF round S C	R	CBN 491
388	Dp	☉ or ☉ C PLOTIVS RVFVS (or RVVS) III VIR AAAFF round S C	S	CBN 498-9
389	As	☉ or ☉ „	C	CBN 503, 512

## D. The 'Numa-head' asses lacking S C

This group has disconcerting features—a wide weight-range; inconsistency of type-content in what can have been only a brief series; curious variation in the size of the heads, in the form of the borders, and to some extent in lettering; a minimum number of die-identities (nos. 391-2, obverses); and a fabric which in some cases shows tooling (e.g. no. 393), though this might not in any event be unexpected. K. Pink (NZ 1946, p. 115) expressed unequivocal doubt about the whole group, and included among the factors of doubt the absence of S C. It may be more prudent to suppose that some, at least, of these very rare pieces are authentic, bearing witness to an emission of *aes* c. 15 BC which, as this *collegium* produced no gold or silver, attempted to give a new stimulus to the *aes* of the kind given to gold and silver in 16 BC (cf. pp. 34 and 67 ff. above). But there can be little doubt that tooling, and even perhaps some invention, have seriously blurred the true outlines of such an attempt, if it was in fact made. The recorded varieties are here listed without prejudice. Reference may be made to NC 1977, pp. 48 ff., and QT 1978, pp. 173 ff., for fuller comment.

It may be noted that the *gens Calpurnia*, to which Piso belonged, traced (or rather claimed) descent from Numa's son Calpus, a fact to which the senior moneyer of the three could well direct attention.

## (a) In the names of all three moneyers

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Ref.
390	☉ CAESAR DIVI F ☉ AVGVST Augustus head (small), (?) laur., r., linear border	☉ CN PISO L SVRDIN C PLOT RVF Bearded head of Numa Pompius, diad., r.; linear border	BM; 6.06 g; ↑↑
391	☉ CAESAR DIVI F AVGVST Augustus head (flat-topped), bare, r.; linear border	As no. 390	Berl.; Willers, pl. XII, 1 (with d'Este cmk.); 12.65 g
392	As no. 391 (same die)	☉ CN PISO C PLOT L SVRDIN As no. 390	Berl. (ex Sambon); Willers, pl. XII, 2; 9.24 g
393	As no. 391, but possibly with AVGVSTVS; coarse linear border	☉ CN PISO C PLOTIVS L SVRDIN As no. 390, but coarse linear border	Hall 741 (ex Egger 43 (1913), 285, ex Hirsch 11 (1904)); 11.16 g

## (b) In the name of Cn. Piso only

394	☉ CAESAR AVGVSTVS ☉ TRIBV- NIC POTEST Augustus head (large), bare, r.; linear border	☉ CN PISO CN F III VIR AAAFF As no. 390, but large; dotted border	Mazzini 379 (ex Ryan); 14.92 g; ↑←
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389. It is doubtful whether CBN 512 is, as Giard thought, an imitation. An almost certainly imitative piece is the Turin coin cited by Mattingly (BMCRE p. 31, no. 153,

note) with obv. head l. and POT.

390-1. Same rev. die.

394-5 Same dies.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Ref.
(Pl. 7) 395	As no. 394, but no border	As no. 394	CBN 433; 12.13 g; ↑↓
396	As no. 394, but with smaller head	As no. 394, but with (?) double linear border	AMC 469 (ex Glendining 3. 4. 1952 (Ryan), 2697); 8.67 g; ↑↓

(vii) 13 BC\* C. Marius C F Tro (mentina tribu) } as *IIIviri*  
                                   C. Sulpicius Platorinus } *monetales*  
                                   C. Antistius Reginus }

## Aurei and denarii

Obv. legends: 1. )AVGVSTVS  
                   2. )AVGVSTVS( DIVIF  
                   3. )CAESAR AVGVST  
                   4. (CAESAR )AVGVSTVS

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.  
               B. Augustus, bare, r., the whole in oak-wreath  
               C. Augustus, bare, r., lituus to l. behind  
               D. Augustus, bare, r., lituus and simpulum behind  
               E. Augustus, laur., r.  
               F. Augustus, oak-wreathed, r.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 8.00–7.90 g; denarii c. 3.95–3.70 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

## A. Coinage of C. Marius C F Tro

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
397	D	1C	(C MARIVS (CF)TRO, IIIVIR (ex.) Augustus (laur.) and Agrippa (wearing combined mural and rostral crown), both togate, stg. on l. and r., each holding roll, with <i>capsa</i> at feet	R3	CBN 521
398	D	1C	(C MARIVS C F)TRO IIIVIR Augustus, veiled and togate, stg. half-left, r. holding simpulum	R3	BMC 100
399	D	1C	(C MARIVS C F)TRO IIIVIR Quadriga galloping r., bearing erect palm-branch	R2	BMC 101
(Pl. 7) 400	D	2B	(C MARIVS (CF)TRO, IIIVIR (ex.) As no. 397	R3	BMC 107
401	D	2B	(C MARIVS CF)TRO IIIVIR As no. 398	R2	CBN 527
402	Au	3D	(C MARIVS, TRO IIIVIR (ex.) Augustus, veiled and togate, ploughing r. with two oxen before city-walls	R4	Turin; CBN pl. 25, a
(Pl. 7) 403	D	1C	(C MARIVS TRO (IIIVIR Diana bust, diad., r., quiver at shoulder	R3	BMC 104
(Pl. 7, rev.) 404	D	1C	(C MARIVS TR—O (III—VIR Julia head r., wreath above, between heads of Caius and Lucius Caesar, both r., above ex. line	R3	BMC 106
405	D	2B	"	R2	BMC 109

\* In 13 BC Augustus and Agrippa were renewed in the tribunician power for five years: Agrippa died in the following year. Two of the three moneyers of this *collegium* emphasized Agrippa's prominence, and it may be safely dated to 13 BC.

398. Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 22 n. \*) observed the recording of this rev. with the obv. of no. 402 below (Turin, Gnechchi; *NZ* 1897, p. 17, and *RIN* 1896, p. 17).

404. Giard regarded *CBN* 526 as doubtful. BM also has a plated specimen.

B. Coinage of *C. Sulpicius Platorinus*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
406	D	4A	☾ C SVLPIC ☾ PLATORIN Augustus and Agrippa, bare-headed and togate, seated half-left on <i>bisellium</i> on platform ornamented with <i>rostra</i> ; on l., upright staff or spear	R4	CBN 539
407	D	4A	As no. 406, but with — SVLPICIVS —	R2	BMC 115
408	D	4A	☾ M AGRIPPA ☾ PLATORINVS IIIVIR Agrippa head, bare, r.	R2	BMC 114
Pl. 7, rev.) 409	Au	4F	☾ M AGRIPPA ☾ PLATORINVS IIIVIR Agrippa head r., wearing combined mural and rostral crown	R3	BMC 110

C. Coinage of *C. Antistius Reginus*

410	D	4A	☾ C ANTISTIVS REGINVS, IIIVIR (ex.) Sim-pulum (to r.) on l. and lituus (to l.) on r. above, respectively, tripod and patera	R	BMC 120
(Pl. 7) 411	Au	4F	☾ C ANTIST REGIN, FOE/DVS in two lines in high centre, P R QVM (ex.), ☾ GABINIS Two veiled priests confronted over garlanded altar over which they hold pig	R3	BMC 118

(viii) 12 BC Cossus Cornelius Lentulus } as *IIIviri*  
 L. Lentulus } *monetales*  
 L. Caninius Gallus }

## Aurei and denarii

Obv. legends: 1. ☾ AVGVSTVS  
 2. ☾ AVGVSTVS ☾ COS XI (23–6 BC)  
 3. ☾ AVGVSTVS ☾ DIVI F

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.  
 B. Augustus, oak-wreathed, r.

Weight-peaks, aurei (?) c. 8.00–7.90 g; denarii, c. 3.95–3.70 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

A. Coinage of *Cossus Cornelius Lentulus*

Pl. 7, rev.) 412	D	1A	☾ COSSVS ☾ CN F LENTVLVS Equestrian statue (of Agrippa), helmeted and with trophy, to r. on pedestal ornamented with two prow	R2	BMC 123
413	Au	3A	(?) COSSVS LENTVLVS (?) RES PVB AVGVST Augustus, togate, stg. l. extending r. to Respublica kneeling before him	R5	<i>Numis-matica</i> 1960, pp. 5–11, fig.
414	D	2B	☾ M AGRIPPA — COS TER ☾ COSSVS LENTVLVS Agrippa head r., wearing combined mural and rostral crown	R2	BMC 121

408. In *RIC* i (1st edn.), no. 169, this type is listed as being in gold also: a misprint is evident, as 'Au' is lacking for the entry below it.

409. Plated denarii from the obv. die of BMC 110, combined with a rev. of L. Mescinius Rufus, are in Paris (CBN 532) and

Vienna (CBN pl. XXV, c).

414. *Hunter* 53 is a plated denarius with obv. ☾ CAESAR ☾ [AVGVSTVS], oak-wreathed head, and rev. as no. 414: perhaps an unofficial hybrid combining an obv. of issue (vii) with a rev. of issue (viii).

B. Coinage of *L. Lentulus*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 7, rev.) 415	D	1A	↷ L LENTVLVS FLAMEN ↷ MARTIALIS Augustus, (?) laur. and togate, stg. facing on r., l. resting on shield inscribed CV, r. placing star on half-clad figure (?Julius Caesar) stg. facing on l., r. holding Victoriola, l. spear	R2	BMC 124

C. Coinage of *L. Caninius Gallus*

416	D	1A	↷ L CANINIVS ↷ GALLVS IIIVIR Long-haired, bearded and cloaked barbarian kneeling r., r. offering vexillum	S	BMC 128
417	D	1A	↷ L CANINVS GALLVS IIIVIR, ↷ AVGVSTVS <i>Bisellium</i> with apparitor's staff erect on r.; TR POT above	R3	BMC 131
418	D	1A	↷ L CANINIVS ↷ GALLVS IIIVI—R Cippus in- scribed C C/AVG/VS/TI in four lines	R3	CBN 567
(Pl. 7) 419	Au	3A	↷ L CANINIVS GALLVS, ↷ OB—C S Laurel- wreath above double closed door flanked by laurel-branches	R5	BMC 126

(ix) 9 BC Lamia }  
Silius } as *IIIviri monetales*  
Annius }

## Quadrantes only

Obv. types: ↷ LAMIA SILIVS ANNIVS with  
1. Clasped r. hands holding caduceus  
2. Simpulum (to r.) on l., lituus (to l.) on r.  
3. S—C to l. and r. of cornucopia

Weight-peak, c. 3.35–2.95 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

420	Quad	1	↷ IIIVIR AAAFF round S C	C	CBN 568
421	Quad	2	↷ IIIVIR AAAFF round S C	S	BMC 201
(Pl. 7) 422	Quad	3	↷ IIIVIR AAAFF round garlanded altar	C	CBN 593

415. The star on the rev. may be of six or fewer rays. Giard (*CBN*, ad loc.) regarded the starred figure as being that of Julius Caesar; Mattingly had rejected this interpretation in favour of Agrippa. Cf. *BMCRE* p. cvii, and S. Weinstock, *Julius Caesar*, p. 102.

416. The rev. type is reminiscent of (but not similar in detail to) one in issue (i); Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. cviii) suggested a German, with reference to the *Res Gestae* (cf. J. Gagé on *RGDA* 26, 2).

417. Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. cviii) regarded the *bisellium* as reflecting Agrippa's death; cf. the related type of no. 406 in issue (vii).

418. Interpreted by Mattingly (*BMCRE* pp. cvii f.) as *Comitia Caesaris Augusti*, i.e. a

reference to Augustus' election in 12 BC as Pontifex Maximus.

419. The door is that of Augustus' house, given by him as public property when he became Pontifex Maximus and inhabited by him thereafter.


420. Specimen on large flan (8.14 g) in Vienna.

422. Specimen on large flan (8.64 g; *CBN* 600) in Paris. Such coins may be trial-pieces.



There must be some doubt whether the S C side of this and the following issue constitutes the obv. or the rev. It may be that, on non-portrait coins, no such distinction was considered.

(x) 8 BC Pulcher  
                   Taurus  
                   Regulus } as *IIIviri monetales*

### Quadrantes only


Obv. Types:  PVLCHER TAVRVS REGVLVS with  
 1. Clasped r. hands holding caduceus  
 2. Simpulum (to r.) on l., lituus (to l.) on r.  
 3. S—C to l. and r. of cornucopia

Weight-peak, c. 3.35–2.95 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Freq.	Ref.
(Pl. 7) 423	Quad	1	 IIIVIR AAAFF round S C	S	BMC 204
424	Quad	2	"	S	CBN 606
425	Quad	3	 IIIVIR AAAFF round garlanded altar	R	CBN 614



(xi) 7 BC P. Lurius Agrippa  
                   M. Maecilius Tullus  
                   M. Salvius Otho } as *IIIviri monetales*

### Copper (?)dupondii\* and asses

Obv. legend:  CAESAR AVGVS T PONT MAX TRIBVNIC POT (broken R—I or I—B or B—V or V—N or N—I on (?) dupondii and sometimes C—P on asses)

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.  
 B. Augustus, bare, l.  
 C. Augustus, laur., l., crowned by Victory behind bearing cornucopia in l.  
 D. As last, but with globe at point of neck-truncation

Weights,† (?) dupondii with globe, irregular from 16.75 g or more to 10.00 g; (?) dupondii without globe, irregular from 17.00 g. or more to 9.25 g; asses, peak c. 12.00–9.00 g. Dies not adjusted, but with some tendency to ↑↑ or ↑↓. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

426	Dp(?)	C	 P LVIRIVS AGRIPPA IIIVIR AAAFF round S C	R	CBN 620
426A	Dp(?)	D	"	R	CBN 616
427	As	A	"	C	CBN 623
428	As	B	"	C	CBN 640
429	Dp(?)	C	 M SALVIVS OTHO IIIVIR AAAFF round S C	R	CBN 685
430	Dp(?)	D	"	R2	AMC 609
431	As	A	"	C	CBN 687
432	As	B	"	C	CBN 708

\* It is not clear how these heavier copper pieces fitted into the monetary system (cf. introductory p. 33 above). Mattingly (*BMCRE* pp. xlix, 41) inclined against the view that they were asses and in favour of dupondii (p. xcvi), though he also called them 'triumphal coinage', relating the obv. figure of Victory to Tiberius' triumph of 7 BC. Giard (*CBN* pp. 119 ff.) preferred to call them 'medallions', though it may be wondered if the concept of a medallion of purely monetary style would have been possible. Imitative coins with dupondially

correct types occur (cf. *BMCRE* p. 44 n. \*); *AMCRE* 610; and *CBN* 648–9), but these must be regarded as being later in time, with confusion in type-derivation. Asses of this group are very frequently countermarked; cf. *CBN* pp. 120 ff. and *AMCRE* 576 ff.

† Mattingly (*BMCRE* pp. 40 ff.) gave averages of weight, with consequently misleading peak-figures.

425. See note on no. 422.

431–2. Blundered specimens exist, e.g. at Milan and in the Capitoline.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 8) 433	Dp(?)	C	☉M MAECILIVS TVLLVS IIIVIR AAAFF SC	round R	AMC 590
434	Dp(?)	D	"	R	CBN 650
435	As	A	"	C	CBN 654
436	As	B	"	S	CBN 674

(xii) 6 BC A. Licinius Nerva Silianus  
Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus } as *IIIviri*  
Volusus Valerius Messalla } *monetales*

Asses only\*

Obv. legend: ☉CAESAR AVGVST PONT MAX TRIBVNIC POT† (sometimes C—P)

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.

B. Augustus, bare, l.

Weight-peak, c. 12.00–10.00 g. Dies not adjusted, but with some tendency to †† or †‡. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

437	As	A	☉A LICIN NERVA SILIAN IIIVIR AAAFF round SC	C	CBN 717
438	As	B	"	R4	ASFN 1884, p. 45
439	As	A	☉SEX NONIVS QVINCTILIAN IIIVIR AAAFF round SC	S	CBN 725
440	As	B	"	R3	CBN 736
441	As	A	☉VOLVSVS VALER MESSAL IIIVIR AAAFF round SC	S	CBN 738
442	As	B	"	R3	CBN 747–8

(xiii) 5 BC Apronius  
Galus } as *IVviri monetales*‡  
Messalla  
Sisenna }

Quadrantes only

Obv. legends:	1. ☉APRONIVS MESSALLA IIIVIR	} around SC
	2. ☉APRONIVS SISENNA IIIVIR	
	3. ☉GALVS APRONIVS IIIVIR	
	4. ☉GALVS MESSALLA IIIVIR	
	5. ☉GALVS SISENNA IIIVIR	

\* This group is very frequently counter-marked; cf. CBN pp. 128 ff.

† Coh. by error gave PTEST for his nos. 437 and 538, and AVGVVS for his no. 538. Occasionally variants with PO instead of POT have been recorded, probably due to the squeezing of POT beneath the bust with consequent illegibility of the last letter.

‡ All four moneyers are named (curiously, as *IIIviri*) in various permutations of order

on all the coins of this group, except for occasional specimens (cf. C. E. King in NC 1975, p. 61) from mis-paired dies. For the possible significance of the 11 obv. and 11 rev. permutations see introductory p. 33 above, together with QT 1978, p. 171.

442. An oddity of the two Paris specimens is the effacement of the obv. legend. The type is recorded also by Willers, *Gesch. der röm. Kupferprägung*, no. 187.

- |  |              |
|--|--------------|
| 6. $\bigcirc$ MESSALLA APRONIVS IIIVIR | } around 5 C |
| 7. $\bigcirc$ MESSALLA GALVS IIIVIR    |              |
| 8. $\bigcirc$ MESSALLA SISENNA IIIVIR  |              |
| 9. $\bigcirc$ SISENNA APRONIVS IIIVIR  |              |
| 10. $\bigcirc$ SISENNA GALVS IIIVIR    |              |
| 11. $\bigcirc$ SISENNA MESSALLA IIIVIR |              |

- |             |   |   |
|-------------|---|---|
| Rev. types: | A. $\bigcirc$ APRONIVS GALVS AAAFF                          | } around altar, its top either<br>(a) bowl-shaped,<br>or<br>(b) flat-shaped |
|             | B. $\bigcirc$ APRONIVS MESSALLA AAAFF                       |   |
|             | C. $\bigcirc$ APRONIVS SISENNA AAAFF                        |   |
|             | D. $\bigcirc$ GALVS APRONIVS AAAFF                          |   |
|             | E. $\bigcirc$ GALVS MESSALLA AAAFF                          |   |
|             | F. $\bigcirc$ GALVS SISENNA AAAFF                           |   |
|             | G. $\bigcirc$ MESSALLA APRONIVS AAAFF                       |   |
|             | H. $\bigcirc$ (or rarely $\bigcirc$ ) MESSALLA GALVS AAAFF* |   |
|             | J. $\bigcirc$ MESSALLA SISENNA AAAFF                        |   |
|             | K. $\bigcirc$ SISENNA APRONIVS AAAFF                        |   |
|             | L. $\bigcirc$ SISENNA GALVS AAAFF†                          |   |
|             | M. $\bigcirc$ SISENNA MESSALLA AAAFF                        |   |

Weight-peak, c. 3.30 (or above)–3.00 g.† Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
443	Quad	1	Fa, b	C	CBN 757, 759
444	Quad	1	La, b	S	CBN 764-5
445	Quad	2	Ea, b	C	CBN 767, 769
446	Quad	2	Ha	S	CBN 772
447	Quad	3	Ja	C	CBN 775
448	Quad	3	Mb	S	CBN 779
449	Quad	4	Cb	S	CBN 782
450	Quad	4	Ka, b	S	CBN 785, 787
451	Quad	5	Ba	S	CBN 791
452	Quad	5	Ga	S	CBN 793
453	Quad	6	Fa	S	CBN 797
454	Quad	6	La	C	CBN 804
455	Quad	7	Ca, b	C	CBN 806-7
456	Quad	7	Ka, b	S	CBN 810, 812
457	Quad	8	Aa	R2	CBN 815
458	Quad	8	Da, b	S	CBN 818, 820
459	Quad	9	Ea, b	R	CBN 821, 824
460	Quad	9	Ha, b	S	CBN 826, 828
461	Quad	10	Ba, b	R	CBN 832, 835
462	Quad	10	Ga	S	CBN 836, 839
463	Quad	11	Aa	R	CBN 842
464	Quad	11	Da, b	C	CBN 845, 849

\* Apparently the sole instance in which a clockwise legend appears as an alternative form.

† Found wrongly combined with obv. 9; cf. C. E. King, *NC* 1975, p. 61.

‡ Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. lvi) gave an average weight of 3.12 g for 35 specimens, and cited Willers' average of 3.06 g for 220. C. E. King's average of 2.42 g for 269 specimens from the Tiber presumably reflects loss of weight through corrosion. The peak of weight here given (c. 3.30–3.00 g) is that of 128 specimens: the centre of the peak lies around 3.20–3.15 g, appreciably higher than the 2.73 g which is

one-eighth of the uncia. Conceivably this is because the coining of such small pieces as a 2.73 g peak involved would have been difficult and disproportionately costly.

446. With obv. legend clockwise.

447. *CBN* 777-8 lists as imitations two coins with *AAAFF* on *Galus Apronius* obv. and *IIIVir* on rev. with, respectively, *Messalla Sisenna* and *Sisenna Messalla*. These do not look obviously imitative, and the transposition of *AAAFF* and *IIIVir* may be due to simple confusion in minting a thoroughly permuted series.

(xiv) 4 BC	P. Betilienus Bassus	} as <i>IVviri</i> <i>monetales</i> *
	C. Naevius Capella	
	C. Rubellius Blandus	
	L. Valerius Catullus	

## Quadrantes only

- Obv. types: 1.  $\overline{\cup}$ P BETILIENVS BASSVS round S C†  
 2.  $\overline{\cup}$ C NAEVIVS CAPELLA round S C  
 3.  $\overline{\cup}$ C RVBELLIVS BLANDVS round S C  
 4.  $\overline{\cup}$ L VALERIVS CATVLLVS round S C

Rev. type:  $\overline{\cup}$ IIIVIR AAAFF round garlanded altar with bowl-shaped top.

Weight-peak, c. 3.25 (or above)–2.80 g.† Dies not adjusted, but perhaps with some tendency to †† or †↓. Obv. and rev. borders dotted, often coarsely.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
456	Quad	1	C	CBN 858
466	Quad	2	S	CBN 864
467	Quad	3	S	CBN 868
468	Quad	4	S	CBN 874

## II. Aes, AD 10–12, without moneyers' names

## Asses only

- Obv. legends: 1.  $\overline{\cup}$ TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERAT — V (AD 8–10)  
 2.  $\overline{\cup}$ TI CAESAR AVGVST F IMPERA — TOR V (AD 8–10)  
 3.  $\overline{\cup}$ IMP CAESAR DIVI F AVGVSTVS IMP XX (AD 11–12)

Obv. heads: A. Tiberius, bare, r.  
 B. Augustus, bare, l.

Weight-peak, c. 11.25–10.50 g. Dies mainly †† or †↓, or near. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 8) 469	As	1A	$\overline{\cup}$ PONTIFEX TRIBVN POTESTATE XII (AD 10–11) round S C	C	BMC 271
470	As	2A	"	R2	CBN 882
471	As	3B	$\overline{\cup}$ PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POT XXXIII (AD 11–12) round S C	C	CBN 883

\* As in the preceding group (xiii), *four* moneyers are named as *IIIviri*. Their coinage, again of quadrantes only, is, however, simpler, with no permutations and combinations of names; and perhaps for that reason each issue is more frequent.

† Mattingly (*BMCRE* pp. 49f.) regarded the S C type as the obv.; not so, however, Giard in *CBN* pl. XXXIII, though he gave it as the obv. in *CBN* pp. 138ff. In *AMCRE* pl. 17 the S C type was classed as the rev.

‡ The weights in this group are markedly irregular.

469. Specimen in Milan overstruck on earlier moneyers' *aes* of Rome.

471. Specimen in Brussels with rev. — TRIBN — (10.57 g), an engraver's error. These asses of Augustus are not infrequently countermarked (cf. *CBN* p. 140), in contrast to those of Tiberius. Coh. 226 gives POTE2T in error for POT. Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 50, no. 275, note) rightly dismissed as apocryphal Coh. 224–5 with obv. CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F PATER PATRIAE and rev. PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POTEST XXIX (AD 6–7), XXX (AD 7–8), and XXXI (AD 8–9) round S C.



# (?)NORTH PELOPONNESIAN MINT, c.21 BC\*

## Denarii and quinarii

Obv. legend:  $\zeta$ AVGVSTVS or AVGVST—VS

Obv. head: Augustus, bare, r.

Weight-peak, c. 3.85–3.60 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 8) 472	D	IOVI—OLVM (sometimes OLV) to l. and r. of hexastyle temple with round shield in pediment and palmettes on top	S	BMC 666
(Pl. 8) 473	D	No legend. Laur. wreath intertwined with prows ( <i>corona rostrata</i> ), the ties arranged centrally	S	BMC 669; Hu. 280
(Pl. 8) 474	Q	No legend. Victory stg. l. on prow, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R	BMC 670

# (?)MINT OF SAMOS, c.21–20 BC†

## Denarii only(?)

Obv. legend:  $\zeta$ CAESAR

Obv. head: Augustus, bare, r.

Weight-peak, c. 3.85–3.60 g. Dies tending to ††. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

(Pl. 8) 475	D	$\zeta$ AVGVSTVS Young bull stg. r., head erect	C	BMC 663
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## EPHESUS

### Silver Cistophori, 28–c.20 BC‡

#### (i) With COS VI (28 BC)

Obv. legend:  $\zeta$ IMP CAESAR DIVI F COS VI (or  $\overline{\text{VI}}$  or rarely  $\overline{\text{VI}}$ ) LIBERTATIS P R VINDEX

Obv. head: Octavian, laur., r.

Weight-peak, c. 12.00–11.95 g. Dies mainly ††. Obv. border dotted.

(Pl. 8) 476	Cist.	Pax stg. half-left on parazonium or torch, r. holding caduceus; in field r., snake emerging from <i>cista mystica</i> ; in field l., PAX; all in laurel-wreath	C	CA nos. 1–72; BMC 691
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\* See RN 1974, pp. 49 ff.

† See RN 1974, pp. 58 ff.

‡ For the attribution and dating of these cistophori see introductory pp. 35 f. Reference here given (CA) is to Sutherland, *The Cistophori of Augustus* (Royal Numismatic Society's Special Publication no. 5), 1970.

472–3. Two portrait-forms occur; cf. RN 1974, pp. 50, 52.

475. Mattingly (*BMCRE* no. 662, note) referred to an aureus of these types in the Feuadent (Engel-Gros) catalogue, 17. 12. 1921, no. 72: confirmation required, though the illustration raises no obvious doubts.

476. In the view of Giard (*CBN* p. 144, citing Grenade in *BÉFAR* 197, pp. 62–6) Pax stands upon a torch.

(ii) *c.*25 BC (?)

Obv. legend: ☉IMP CAE—SAR

Obv. head: Augustus, bare, r.

Weight-peak, *c.* 12.10–11.95 g. Dies mainly ↑↑. Obv. border linear.

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
477	Cist.	AVGVSTVS below capricorn r., head l., bearing cornucopiae on its back; all in laurel-wreath	S	CA nos. 154–73
478	Cist.	AVGV—STVS to l. and r. of six bunched corn-ears; dotted border	R	CA nos. 174–89; AMC 682
479	Cist.	AVGVSTVS above garlanded altar sculpted with two confronting hinds; linear border	R2	CA nos. 190–6

(iii) *c.*24–20 BC

Obv. legend: as in (ii) above.

Obv. head: as in (ii) above.

Weight-peak, *c.* 12.00–11.90 g. Dies mainly ↑↑. Obv. border linear.

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
480	Cist.	As no. 477	C	CA nos. 197–274
(Pl. 8) 481	Cist.	As no. 478	C	CA nos. 275–343
482	Cist.	As no. 479	C	CA nos. 344–445

## EPHESUS (?)

Sestertii and asses from *c.*25 BC\*

Obv. legends: 1. ☉CAISAR  
 2. ☉CAESAR  
 3. ☉IMP CAESAR

Obv. head: Augustus, bare, r.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 8) 483	S	3	AVGV/STVS in two lines in laurel-wreath	R4	BMC 729
484	S	3	As no. 483, but the laurel-wreath is combined with rostra	R4	CBN 962
(Pl. 8) 485	As	1	As no. 483	R	AMC 713
486	As	2	AVGVSTVS in one line in laurel-wreath	S	AMC 707

\* For the attribution and dating of this *aes* see introductory p. 36; *E. and C.* p. 56; and *AMCRE* pl. 18. Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 117) and Giard (*CBN* p. 150) assigned these issues

to Pergamum.

486. Coh. 35 cited variant with obv. legend 1, not yet confirmed.

# PERGAMUM

## I. Silver Cistophori, c.27–26 BC

Obv. legend: ☾ IMP CAESAR

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r., lituus in front.

B. Augustus, bare, l., lituus in front.

C. Augustus, bare, r., no lituus.

Weight-peak, c. 12.05–12.00 g. Dies mainly ↑↑. Borders (except for capricorn rev.) dotted on obv. and rev.

### (a) With lituus on obv.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
487	Cist.	A	☿ AVGVSTVS Sphinx seated r.	R3	CA nos. 77–82
488	Cist.	A	AVGVSTVS below capricorn r., head l., bearing cornucopia; all within laurel-wreath	R2	CA nos. 87–98
489	Cist.	B	„	R4	CA nos. 83–4
490	Cist.	A	AVGV—STVS to l. and r. of six bunched corn-ears	R2	CA nos. 106–15
(Pl. 9) 491	Cist.	B	„	R3	CA nos. 99–105; BMC 700

### (b) Without lituus on obv.

492	Cist.	C	As no. 487	R3	CA nos. 116–22; AMC 677
(Pl. 9) 493	Cist.	C	As no. 488	R2	CA nos. 123–36
494	Cist.	C	As no. 490	R	CA nos. 137–53

## II. Aes sestertii, dupondii, asses, and semisses, c.28–15 BC\*

Obv. legends: 1. None

2. ☾ CAISAR

3. ☾ IMP CAISAR

4. ☾ AVGVSTVS

5. ☾ AVGVST ☾ TR POT

Obv. head: Octavian/Augustus, bare, r.

Weight-peaks, sestertii, c. 26.50–24.50 g; dupondii, c. 12.50–10.00 g; asses, c. 11.00–9.50 g; semisses, c. 5.00–4.00 g. Dies ↑↑ or near. Obv. and rev. borders dotted (on sestertii normally thus) or linear.

495	As	1	CA in linear circle in laurel-wreath	R2	BMC 712
496	S	2	CA in linear circle in wreath of laurel-leaves and rostra	R3	Hague
497	Dp.	2	„	R2	BMC 707

\* For attribution and dating cf. *E. and C.* p. 56 and *AMCRE* pl. 18. Pergamene attribution was accepted by Giard (*CBN* p. 149) as also by Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 115), who called attention to Regling's finds at Pergamum. Although this attribution is not yet proved conclusively, it is highly likely.



492. One die (CA no. 119) reads AVGTVSVS by a die-engraver's error.

493. Double-striking is not uncommon in this issue.

494. Certain of these coins show elaborately worked corn-ears with very long awns, widely fanned, and with short stalks and smallish lettering.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
498	Sem.	2	As no. 496, but without rostra	R2	BMC 708; AMC 695
(Pl. 9) 499	Dp.	3	As no. 496	R2	AMC 691
500	As	3	As no. 496, but without rostra	R2	AMC 693
501	S	4	CA in dotted circle in laurel-wreath	S	AMC 698
502	Dp.	4	CA in dotted circle in wreath of laurel-leaves and rostra	S	BMC 721
503	As	5	CA in linear circle in laurel-wreath	R2	BMC 740
(Pl. 9) 504	As	5	AT above CA in linear circle in laurel-wreath	R	AMC 718

### III. Silver Cistophori, c.19–18 BC

Obv. legends: 1.  IMP IX (sometimes  $\bar{I}\bar{X}$ ) TR PO IV  
2.  IMP IX TR PO V

Obv. head: Augustus, bare, r.

Weight-peak, c. 12.00–11.90 g. Dies mainly  $\uparrow\uparrow$ . Linear borders on obv. and rev.

(Pl. 9) 505	Cist.	1	COM—ASIAE to l. and r. of hexastyle temple inscribed ROMET AVGVST	R	CA nos. 479–82; AMC 688
506	Cist.	2	„	C	CA nos. 483–535
(Pl. 9) 507	Cist.	2	MART—VLTO to l. and r. of circular domed temple containing vexillum	C	CA nos. 536–88; BMC 704
(Pl. 9, rev.) 508	Cist.	1	S P R / SIGNIS / RECEPTIS in three lines in opening of triumphal arch inscribed IMP IX TR PO IV and surmounted by charioteer in quadriga; aquila on each side-wall	R2	CA nos. 446–7; BMC 703
509	Cist.	2	As no. 508, but with IMP IX TR PO V	R4	CA no. 474
510	Cist.	2	As no. 508, but with IMP IX TR POT V	S	CA nos. 448–73

### IV. Aurei and denarii, c.19–18 BC

Obv. legends: 1. None  
2.  AVGVSTVS (sometimes broken)

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.  
B. Augustus, bare, l.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.95–7.80 g; denarii, c. 3.80–3.50 g. Dies not systematically adjusted, though with tendency to  $\uparrow\uparrow$  or  $\uparrow\downarrow$ . Linear borders.\*

511	Au	2B	No legend. Sphinx seated l.	R2	Hu. 276
(Pl. 9) 512	Au	2B	As no. 511, but sphinx seated r.	R	BMC 682
513	Au	2B	ARMENIA, CAPTA (ex.) Sphinx seated r.	R2	Vi.; RN 1973, pl. xiv

\* Except on imitative pieces.

502. One Oxford example reads AVGVSTV, by error.

504. Attribution of these coins, bearing the numerals(?) AT, is uncertain. Although the

portraiture differs from that of the other coins with CA, they are here provisionally assigned to Pergamum. Grant (*FITA* p. 344) gave them to Phoenicia.

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
<b>Pl. 9, rev.)</b>	514	Au	2A	☾ or ☿ ARMENIA, CAPTA (ex.) Victory r. cutting throat of recumbent bull held by the horn; tail up or down	R	BMC 671; Mazzini 8
	515	D	1A	ARMENIA (above), CAPTA (below) Tiara on l., quiver and bow-case on r.	S	BMC 673
	516	D	2A	"	C	BMC 672
<b>Pl. 9, rev.)</b>	517	D	2A	As no. 515, but with RECEPTA	R	BMC 675
	518	D	1A	CAESAR — DIVI F ARMEN — RECE IMP — VIII in three lines divided by Armenian stg. facing, r. holding spear, l. resting bow on ground	R2	Berl.
<b>(Pl. 9)</b>	519	D	1A	As no. 518, but with CAPTA instead of RECE	R	BMC 678
	520	D	2A	"	R	BMC 676
	521	Au	2A	SIGNIS (above), RECEPTIS (below) Capricorn r.	S	BMC 680
	522	Au	2A	☾ SIGNIS PARTHICIS — RECEPTIS As no. 521	R2	BMC 679
	523	D	2A	SIGNIS/PARTHIC/RECEPT in three lines	R	Glendining 2. 4. 1952, 1994
	524	D	2A	SIGNIS/PARTHIC/RECEPTIS in three lines	R2	AMC 311
	525	D	1A	SIGNIS/PARTHICIS/RECEPTIS in three lines	R2	BMC 681
	526	D	2A	"	S	CBN 992

## PROVINCIA ASIA, Uncertain Mint, soon after 27 BC

## Silver Cistophori

Obv. legend: ☾ (or ☿ to l.) IMP CAESAR

Obv. head: Augustus, bare, r.

Weight-peak, c. 12.00–11.95 g. Dies mainly ↑↑. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

<b>(Pl. 10)</b>	527	Cist.	☿ or ☾	AVGVSTVS Sphinx seated r.	R4	CA nos. 73–6; BMC 702
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## ANTIOCH

## Aes units and halves, after 23 BC\*

- Obv. legends: 1. ☾ IMP AVGVST ☾ TR POT  
 2. ☾ AVGVST ☾ TR POT  
 3. ☾ AVGVST ☾ TR POT (sometimes PO)

- Obv. heads: A. Augustus, laur., r.  
 B. Augustus, bare, r.

\* Cf. introductory p. 37, and *E. and C.* p. 59. These issues are not included in *BMC RE* or *Hunter Cat.* (though see *CBN* p. 156). Their date is uncertain: they probably began no earlier than the middle of Augustus' principate.

514. Coh. 9 gives this with obv. B (head l.): very doubtful.

515. Sometimes ARMENIA in a slightly

curved line. One rev. die shows the final 1A of ARMENIA ultimately erased (cf. *RN* 1973, p. 135, no. 33).

517. Imitations of this issue (in Berlin and Copenhagen) listed and shown in *RN* 1973, p. 136, nos. 46–7, with plate XV.

525. Imitations of this issue (in Lyon and P. V. Hill colln.) listed and shown in *RN* 1973, p. 138, with plate XV.

Weight-peaks, units *c.* 18.50–16.75 g; halves, *c.* 11.00–9.50 g. Dies ††. Obv. border dotted, rev. linear.

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 10)	528	Unit	1A	S C in linear circle in laurel-wreath	C	AMC 735
	529	Half	2A	"	S	AMC 746
	530	Half	3B	"	R	AMC 750

## CYRENAICA, in the name of L. Pinarus Scarpus and afterwards, *c.* 31–30/29 BC\*

### Aurei, denarii, and silver quinarii

Obv. legends: 1. SCARPVS (above), IMP (below)  
2. IMP CAESARI (above), SCARPVS IMP (below)  
3. (AVGVR)PONTIF

Obv. types: A. Open r. hand, to l.  
B. Horned head of Jupiter Ammon r.

Weight-peaks, aurei, not definable;† denarii, not definable (weights from 4.24 to 3.00 g). Dies tending to ††. Obv. and rev. borders normally dotted.

	531	D	1A	↓ CAESARI (on r.), ↓ DIVI F (on l.) Victory stg. r. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R3	CBN 891
	532	ARQ	1A	↓ CAESARI in two lines on r. Victory stg. r., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R2	CBN 893
	533	Au	2A	↓ DIVI F (on r.), ↓ AVG PONT (on l.) As no. 531	R5	Narbonne; Bahrf. 111
(Pl. 10)	534	D	2A	"	R3	BMC 689
(Pl. 10)	535	D	3B	IMP—CAESAR DIVI—F in two lines to l. and r. of Victory as on no. 531	R3	BMC 690

## UNCERTAIN MINTS

### (i) Aurei, after 27 BC†

Obv. legends: 1. ↓ CAESAR (on r.)  
2. (CAESAR

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.  
B. Augustus, laur., r.

Weight-peak, *c.* 7.95–7.90 g. Dies ††. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

	536	Au	1B	↷ AVGVSTVS above heifer slowly pacing l., head lowered	R4	CBN 1007
	537	Au	1B	As no. 536, but heifer to r.	R4	BMC 661
(Pl. 10)	538	Au	2A	As no. 536	R4	BMC 660

\* See introductory pp. 37f.

† The Narbonne aureus weighs only 7.10 g.

‡ See introductory p. 38.

528. The units are often countermarked; cf. *AMCRE* pl. 19 and *BMC* Antioch.

530. The bare head of the obv. distinguishes this issue from nos. 528–9. Conceivably it is earlier: the portrait is reminiscent of the cisto-

phori of the later 20s.

533. The last letter of PONT appears as Γ.

536–7. From 1 obv. and 2 rev. dies; cf. *CBN* p. 157.

538. From not less than 4 obv. and 5 rev. dies; cf. *CBN* p. 157.

## (ii) Aurei and denarii, c. 17 BC\*

Obv. legend: CA—ES—AR

Obv. head: Youthful head, bare, r., within oak-wreath.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.95–7.90 g; denarii, c. 3.80–3.70 g. Dies not regularly adjusted, but tending strongly to ††. No outer borders.

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
<b>Pl. 10</b> 539	Au	<b>AVG—VST</b> to l. and r. of candelabrum, ornamented with rams' heads and surmounted by crescent, within wreath entwined with bucrania and paterae	R4	BMC 683
540	D	„	R2	BMC 684

## (iii) Denarii, after 27 BC†

Obv. legend: None.

Obv. head: Augustus, laur., r.

Weight-peak, c. 3.80–3.60 g. Dies normally ††. Obv. border dotted, rev. linear.

<b>Pl. 10</b> 541	D	<b>AVGVSTVS</b> below capricorn r., with cornucopiae on back and holding globe; rudder attached below	R2	BMC 664
542	D	<b>AVGVSTVS</b> below capricorn r.; star above	R3	CBN 1011

## (iv) Denarii, before 27 BC (?)‡

Obv. legend: None.

Obv. heads: A. Octavian, bare, r.

B. Octavian, bare, l.

Weight-peak, c. 3.95–3.80 g. Dies tending to ††. Obv. and rev. borders linear.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
<b>Pl. 10</b> 543a	D	A	<b>IMP</b> (above), <b>CAE—SAR</b> (to l. and r.), CA DIVI F (below). Round shield with three concentric rows of studs and central boss	S	BMC 309
b	D	B	„	S	BMC 313

## (v) Gold multiple(?), aurei, and denarii, 28–27 BC§

Obv. legends: 1. CAESAR DIVI F COS VI (28 BC)  
 2. CAESAR DIVI F COS VII (27 BC)  
 3. IMP CAESAR DIVI F AVGVST COS VII (27 BC)

Obv. head: Augustus, bare, r.; small capricorn r. below neck.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 8.00 g or higher; denarii, c. 3.85–3.65 g. ¶ Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

\* See introductory p. 38.

† The portraits have a youthful look, but no firm evidence for dating can be discerned. See introductory p. 38.

‡ The portraits show young and immature features. See introductory p. 38.

§ See introductory p. 38. The four-aureus piece, if authentic, is only the third multiple

known for Augustus.

¶ These coins are very rare, and it is difficult to fix a firm peak.

541–2. Difference in the size of portrait between these two issues, together with the difference in rev. type, may indicate the work of different mints.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
544	Au	2A	AEGVPT/CAPTA in two lines above and below crocodile r.	R4	BMC 655
(Pl. 10) 545	D	1A	As no. 544, but AEGVPTO	R3	BMC 653
546	Au4	3A	AEGYPTO/CAPTA in two lines above and below hippopotamus r. (? with head of rhinoceros)	R5	Madrid; <i>AIIN</i> 1968, p. 54 (31.97 g)

## (vi) Denarii from 27 BC\*

Obv. legend: None.

Obv. heads: A. Augustus, bare, r.

B. Augustus, bare, l.

Weight-peak, c. 3.85–3.65 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. border dotted, rev. linear.



547a	D	A	AVGVSTVS below capricorn r. holding globe attached to rudder and bearing cornucopia	S	BMC 305
(Pl. 10) b	D	B	"	R2	BMC 307
548	D	A	As no. 547, but capricorn l.	R3	CBN 1278

## (vii) Aes sestertii and dupondii, after 23 BC†

Obv. legend: IMP AVGVST TR POT

Obv. head: Augustus, bare, r.

Weight-peak, sestertii c. 24.00–22.50 g; dupondii c. 13.60 g. Dies ↑↑ or near. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 10) 549	S	Oak-wreath in linear circle between two laurel-branches; above,  OB; central, CIVIS; below,  SERVATOS; dotted border	R3	BMC 737
550	Dp	Laurel-wreath enclosing AVGVST	R4	BM

\* Given by Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 56) to Emerita from 22 to 19 BC and by Giard (*CBN* p. 187) to an auxiliary Spanish mint c. 16 BC. Portraiture is certainly reminiscent of that of Spain, but there can be no certainty of Spanish mintage.

† See introductory p. 38. No probable mint has yet been proposed for these coins, which

are of fair sestertius weight. They may be eastern rather than western, to judge from obv. portraiture and legend, though not from the lettering.

544. Coh. 1 gave AEGVPTO, needing confirmation.

545. Given by Giard (*CBN* p. 156) to Pergamum.



# TIBERIUS

## I. *General policy*

It was not the usual habit or wish of Tiberius to introduce administrative change without sheer necessity. For him, *semel placita* could remain, and he was always uneasy *ne composita turbarentur*. The financial arrangements of Augustus therefore remained in force, and with them the monetary system as well. There was not a single administrative innovation in the imperial coinage under Tiberius: indeed, so far from making innovations, he contracted the Augustan scheme in some important respects, and his distribution of mints was very sparing indeed. The only new feature in the coinage of Tiberius was the sharp diminution, amounting to virtual extinction, of information-content in the precious-metal coinage, accompanied by a very remarkable increase in the information-content of the *aes*.

## II. *The major mints*

### (a) *Lugdunum* (nos. 1-32)

Little doubt can remain that the passage of Strabo (iv. 3. 2.), referred to at length in the preceding discussion of Augustus' coinage (pp. 27-29)<sup>1</sup> is satisfactory evidence for the existence under Augustus and Tiberius of their principal precious-metal mint at Lugdunum. From this mint was issued the stream of Tiberius' gold and silver which, after a year or two of types honouring both Divus Augustus and Tiberius' military success, and apart from an annual series of rare gold *quinarii* (which now began to form a precedent with their precise tribunician dating), settled down to the profuse and ubiquitous 'Pontif. Maxim.' series—one of the commonest in the Roman imperial coinage. Barbarous copies of the *denarii* of this type indicate its circulation well beyond the imperial frontiers.<sup>2</sup> As a type, the 'Pontif. Maxim.' design was far from informative. Modern scholars are not agreed upon its interpretation, some regarding the seated female figure as Livia in the guise of Pax, some as Pax-Justitia, some simply as the priestess Livia, revered as the wife of the first imperial *pontifex maximus* and the stepmother of the second.<sup>3</sup> Its significance in the ancient world can hardly have been much more immediate than it is to the modern; and it was probably viewed as a type suggesting (in association with the legend) nothing more definite than sanctity.

In the course of this vast 'Pontif. Maxim.' series, of which the output must have run into many millions of coins, there were changes in detail. The features of Tiberius became increasingly old, and the throne upon which the

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *E. and C.* pp. 46 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *BMCRE* p. 126 n. \*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *BMCRE* p. cxxx; Grant *RAI* pp. 25,

39 f.; B. Lichocka, *Justitia sur les monnaies impériales* (Warsaw, 1974), pp. 87 f.

female figure sits was varied in its decoration. Mattingly<sup>1</sup> divided this great issue into three main sections in the light of these variations, and no doubt rightly: a coinage produced with some regularity from AD 14 to 37 could scarcely be free from change in minor detail over a period of twenty-three years of bulk-emission. Some, however, have postulated a plurality of mints to justify such variation. All that can be said of this theory is that there is no external evidence to support it, while the literary evidence of Strabo is strong for the identification of Lugdunum as the sole mint for Tiberius' gold and silver. The fact that apparently authentic dies for 'Pontif. Maxim.' coins have been found in Gaul at Auxerre and elsewhere<sup>2</sup> is probably explicable by the theft and pillaging of the mint's stock of dies by disaffected troops or others.

In addition to this massive series of gold and silver there was a very small and chronologically restricted issue of *aes* fractions (certainly including quadrantes, and probably a larger denomination) presumably struck in or near Lugdunum with the continuing ROM ET AVG Altar type begun under Augustus (above, pp. 27 f.). Mattingly<sup>3</sup> saw this issue as having been terminated as a result of the Gallic uprising of AD 21 led by Julius Florus and Julius Sacrovir,<sup>4</sup> and in view of Tiberius' known inclination towards the control of other than strictly imperial coinage in the west this view is certainly plausible.

(b) *Rome* (nos. 33–83)

*Aes* coinage in all three of the larger denominations—sestertii, dupondii, and asses—and bearing the formula S C (though without moneyers' names) continued to be struck from what was undoubtedly the mint of Rome, reopened for *aes* without moneyers' names by Augustus in AD 10–12 (above, pp. 34, 78). Tiberius' *aes* fell into two main sections. (1) Undated coins in honour of Divus Augustus produced probably c. 15–16 (asses), 22–3 (dupondii), 22–6 and after (dupondi and asses), and 34–7 (asses): these can be arranged with fair chronological certainty by analysis of portrait-treatment and die-axis.<sup>5</sup> Many of these Divus Augustus issues were very abundant, especially in the years after 22, and it is likely that they represented a significant proportion of Tiberian *aes* output from Rome. (2) Dated or approximately dated *aes* in the name of Tiberius himself produced in AD 15–16 (asses), (?) 16/22 (dupondii), 20–1 (asses, very rare), 22–3 (sestertii, dupondii, and asses), and 34–7 (sestertii and asses). The view that the issues of 22–3, with TR POT XXIII, could have continued after that date, on the supposition that the tribunician date was the date of authorization and not of issue, has been disproved.<sup>6</sup> These coins dated 22–3 were in fact not so abundantly produced that they could not have been fairly comfortably issued in that period of time.

The only major disputed problem in the *aes* of Tiberius concerns the date of issue of the twin series of die-linked dupondii with reverses CLEMENTIAE and MODERATIONI. These have been assigned to a wide variety of dates—AD 16 (B. M. Levick, in *The Ancient Historian and his Materials*, pp. 123 ff.), AD 22 (Sutherland, *JRS* 1938, pp. 129 ff.), AD 34–7 (H. Gesche, *Jahrb. f. Num.*

<sup>1</sup> *BMCRE* pp. cxxx, 124 ff.

<sup>2</sup> J. Lafaurie, *BSFN* June 1970, pp. 544 ff., and Carson in *QT* 1981, p. 311.

<sup>3</sup> *BMCRE* p. cxxx.

<sup>4</sup> Tac. *Ann.* iii. 41 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *NC* 1941, pp. 97 ff., and below, pp. 98 f.

<sup>6</sup> Sutherland, *CRIP* pp. 191 ff.

u. *Geldgesch.* 1971, pp. 37 ff.), and on different grounds A. Biasoli (*Numismatica e Antichità classiche: Quaderni Ticinesi* 1977, pp. 177 ff.). Very careful consideration of the artistic characteristics of the coins themselves, as distinct from the possible historical interpretations of the *imagines clipeatae* on the reverses, must lead without much serious doubt to the conclusion that the date of issue was comparatively early in Tiberius' reign—a view more in accord with Levick and incidentally with Mattingly:<sup>1</sup> the year 22 still seems most likely.

One final question remains. When were the enormously common asses in the name of M. Agrippa produced? In their day, whenever that was, they must have formed a solid proportion of the *aes* in circulation. Two main views have recently been propounded, and on precise grounds of analysis and argument: first, that they began under Tiberius c. 22–8, continuing under Gaius and Claudius,<sup>2</sup> and secondly that they belong to the years 37–41 under Gaius alone, possibly with some Claudian continuation.<sup>3</sup> For the moment absolute certainty seems impossible, but the later date, 37–41, seems to present a slightly greater margin of probability, and in consequence these asses have not been listed here under Tiberius.

(c) *Caesarea Cappadociae* (nos. 84–8)

Comparison with Tiberian Greek-inscribed drachmae of this mint, with reverse Mons Argaeus, and with later coins of this series, shows Caesarea to have been the mint of a smallish but varied issue of Latin-inscribed drachmae of AD 32–4, the reverses of which are given up to the commemoration of Tiberius' son Drusus, whose poisoning at the hands of Sejanus in 23 was revealed only after Sejanus' death in 32. As Mattingly observed,<sup>4</sup> the issue may well have been prompted as part of L. Vitellius' military campaign against Parthia.<sup>5</sup>

(d) *Commagene* (nos. 89–90)

In 17 Tiberius annexed the province of Commagene,<sup>6</sup> and in 19–20 dupondii were issued with a reverse type common in that district.<sup>7</sup> The issue was small, and cannot have lasted for more than a year or two. Commagene was restored to native rule in 37.

(e) *Uncertain* (nos. 91–5)

A number of dupondii and asses exist which, if authentic, may be experimental or trial pieces, or semi-medallic. They are listed simply to show what possibilities exist: further specimens might strengthen the arguments for authenticity in some cases.

### III. *Weight and fineness*

The later Augustan aurei of Lugdunum had a weight-peak of 7.90–7.70 g, and the denarii one of 3.85–3.65 g. For Tiberius the comparative figures are

<sup>1</sup> *BMCRE* p. 132; see now Sutherland in *NC* 1979, pp. 21 ff.

<sup>2</sup> S. Jameson, *NC* 1966, pp. 95 ff.

<sup>3</sup> J. Nicols, *MN* 19 (1974), pp. 65 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *BMCRE* p. cxlii.

<sup>5</sup> *Tac. Ann.* vi. 33.

<sup>6</sup> *Tac. Ann.* ii. 42.

<sup>7</sup> Mowat, *RN* 1911, pp. 423 ff.

respectively 7.90–7.65 and 3.85–3.60.<sup>1</sup> This would seem to show that the norm was slightly more closely observed at the top than at the bottom. For the *aes* of Rome<sup>2</sup> the figures for Augustus and Tiberius are:

	<i>Augustus</i>	<i>Tiberius</i>
Sestertii	26.50–24.50	28.25–25.50
Dupondii	13.50–11.50	15.50–13.50
Asses	12.00– 9.50	11.50–10.00

These confirm the calculations made, on the basis of averages, by Mattingly,<sup>3</sup> who showed Tiberius' norm for weights of larger *aes* to be slightly higher than those of Augustus. Tiberius, then, not only maintained the Augustan system of monetary weights but even marginally increased the weights of *aes*. Moreover the fineness of silver under Tiberius, about 98 per cent,<sup>4</sup> is at least as good as it was under Augustus, and possibly a fraction better.<sup>5</sup> The fineness of gold, it may safely be assumed, remained as it was under Augustus and after Tiberius—i.e. very nearly 100 per cent pure. No sign of monetary deterioration can thus be observed during this frugal period of the principate: indeed, the opposite is true.

#### IV. *Volume*

It is in general very difficult to make any plausible estimate of the volume of Tiberius' gold and silver. Under Augustus, there had been a multiplicity both of mints and of types, from which some comparative statistics can be extracted.<sup>6</sup> With Tiberius, however, one mint produced what for the great part of the reign was one single type; and all that can be said is that this 'Pontif. Maxim.' coinage was issued in very great quantity, surviving now as what is probably the most common pre-Neronian imperial denarius. Tiberius did not require great sums of money for public works, but the army, the main consumer of imperial gold and silver, continued to exert an annual and perhaps growing necessity for precious-metal coinage.

Estimate of the volume of Tiberian *aes* is no less difficult. It included no such profuse and ubiquitous issues as Augustus' COL NEM, 'Altar', and moneyers' S C issues (above, pp. 51 f., 57 f., 65 ff.), of which indeed the last continued in common currency in the northern frontier district, counter-marked with Tiberian stamps, for some years after AD 14.<sup>7</sup> *Aes* struck in Tiberius' name, while certainly not all rare, is certainly not all common, and there is reason to suspect, from the nature of the types which it bore, that much of it was intended for circulation in Rome rather than in the empire at large. Commoner, it would seem, and bearing types of a general simplicity and universal nature that would have appeal in the provinces, were some sections

<sup>1</sup> Slightly different figures are given by Walker, *Metrology*, p. 14, who takes mean weight and not frequency peak.

<sup>2</sup> Note that there are no quadrantes.

<sup>3</sup> *BMCRE* p. liv.

<sup>4</sup> Walker, *Metrology*, p. 14.

<sup>5</sup> Walker, *op. cit.*, pp. 5 ff. (Rome, c. 96.5

per cent; Emerita 97.6 per cent; 'Spain 1', 98.08 per cent; 'Spain 2', 97.44 per cent; Lugdunum, 97.79 per cent).

<sup>6</sup> *QT* 1978, pp. 163 ff.

<sup>7</sup> Kraay in *ERCHM* pp. 113 ff.; and above, General Introduction, pp. 9 ff.

(e.g. the 'Provident', Eagle, and Thunderbolt asses: below, p. 98 f.) of the great *Divus Augustus Pater* series of Tiberius. These, beyond doubt, were the primary Tiberian *aes* for the military and related areas.

What then of the famous financial crisis of AD 33, described at some length by Tacitus?<sup>1</sup> In fact, this may not be very relevant to the question of volume. Credit had got out of hand, and creditors were now obliged to secure a major part of their capital in Italian estates. A scarcity of money developed, much current coin being immobilized in the imperial *fiscus* or the 'public' *aerarium*; and Tiberius alleviated this by distributing 100 million sesterces through the banks and allowing interest-free loans, solidly secured, for three years. None of this affects *aes* coinage exclusively, or even perhaps substantially. It is true that dated *aes* reappeared from 34 to 37, but not (it would appear) in more than normal amounts. But the essence of Tiberius' action seems to have been the liberation and diffusion of immobilized stocks of coinage, much (perhaps most) of which would have been of gold or silver. We look in vain for any sign, in or after 33, of a great outburst of coinage.

### v. Types

Enough has been said of the types of Tiberius' gold and silver to show that he (or his officials at Lugdunum) altogether declined or omitted to use them as primary information-pieces, as Augustus had done. They declared little, but declared it universally, namely, the succession of Tiberius to Augustus.

The *aes* of Rome presents a different phenomenon altogether. Augustan *aes* had given minimal information: that of Tiberius was rich in both pictorial and verbal information. As well as the great series glorifying the consecrated *princeps* whom he had followed, with a number of other single types on the same theme, there were references to Livia, Drusus, Drusus' twin sons, the imperial virtues of *Justitia*, *Pietas*, *Salus*, *Clementia*, and *Moderatio*, and to Tiberius' relief of earthquake-stricken cities in Asia. And these references were all the more emphatic and prominent because a new school of engravers and designers had suddenly arisen at the mint of Rome, bringing the arts of lettering, portraiture, and balanced design to a height never before reached, with particular care paid to the newly pictorial sesterius.

How this new school originated we shall probably never know. How the revolution in the choice of types for *aes* came about is equally unknown. The suggestion has been made<sup>2</sup> that the arresting new repertoire of *aes* types was due to the machinations of Sejanus, who, as *praefectus praetorio* in a reign when the *princeps* himself (often, indeed, absent from Rome) from the very first abjured and avoided personal advertisement, succeeded in causing the mint to maximize the virtues of the reign as a preliminary to his own plotted succession to Tiberius. This may or may not be wide of the mark. All that must be said is that the *aes* of Tiberius, who was personally as strongly conservative and undemonstrative as were the gold and silver types of Lugdunum, was outstanding for its abrupt change to types of highly relevant topicality. And this topicality would have been far more sharply felt in Rome and Italy than further afield.

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Ann.* vi. 16–17; see also Rodewald, *Money in the Age of Tiberius*, pp. 1 ff., 70 f.

<sup>2</sup> *CRIP* pp. 91 ff.

When regular (and regularly dated) coinage in *aes* resumed from 34 to 37 the obverse types, now showing a distinctly ageing portrait of Tiberius, were accompanied by reverses of conventional nature—the globe and rudder of imperial power, the winged caduceus of communication, and the large S C of the wholly epigraphic design. These appeared at the same time, it would seem, as the latest *Divus Augustus Pater* asses showing eagle and thunderbolt. The types of Tiberius' final *aes* therefore drew quietly to an end after the dramatic changes in the middle of the reign.

#### VI. *Mint organization*

The system by which the vast output of Tiberius' gold and silver issues was organized at the mint of Lugdunum is something that must await future research on the basis of die-study, of analysis of small variations in the types themselves, and also indeed of careful analysis of weights. In regard to the *aes* of Rome, however, some progress seems to be possible. Mac Dowall has pointed out<sup>1</sup> that this may suggest, period by period, the operation of four *officinae* each responsible at any one time for one distinguishing reverse type. Thus, for the sestertii of 22–3, he has pointed to the production of nos. 42, 48, 49, and 50 (with 51) in the lists below. For those of 34–7 we see nos. 54, 55, 56, and 57. Very much the same four-type structure can be postulated for the smaller *aes*. It would seem a strong possibility that an *officina*-system based on type-distinction—something that was to become a plainly standard practice later on—was now being developed.

#### VII. *Technique*

The technical standard of the gold and silver was little more than mediocre. Portraiture was weak in execution, even if it did succeed, rather brutally, in indicating age or increasing emaciation; and the lettering, too, lacked strength and firm sense of proportion. The *aes* by contrast—coming from a different mint, and one staffed by the inheritors of long tradition—displayed excellent portraiture<sup>2</sup> and lettering of superb quality, together with types of splendid dignity and balance.

At Lugdunum the die-axes were not adjusted, but at Rome the *aes* developed something of a regular system, with ↑↑ dominant in the early years, ↑↑ or ↑↓ both used in the middle period, and ↑↑ again dominant in 34–7. These differences are important in certain chronological arguments.

#### VIII. *Major non-imperial coinages*

The city-coinages of Spain continued in operation, possibly without the decrease in numbers previously claimed;<sup>3</sup> and the Greek mint of Alexandria, reformed by Augustus, maintained its work, its output being not inconsiderable,<sup>4</sup> although these *Alexandrian coins were of course restricted in circulation to the province of Egypt*.

<sup>1</sup> *SNRHS* pp. 32 ff., esp. pp. 34–7.

<sup>2</sup> Most notably in the case of Drusus: Tiberius himself was seldom portrayed after c. 22–3.

<sup>3</sup> Grant, *NC* 1949, pp. 94 ff.

<sup>4</sup> J. G. Milne, *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins in the Ashmolean Museum*, p. xx.

# TIBERIUS

## LUGDUNUM\*

### I. Dated aurei, gold quinarii, and denarii, AD 14-37

Obv. legends†: 1. )TIDIVI F(AVGVS TVS  
2. )TI CAESAR DIVI F(AVG F AVGVS TVS

Obv. head: Tiberius, laur., r.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.90-7.65 g; gold quinarii, c. 3.95-3.80 g; denarii, c. 3.85-3.60 g. Dies not adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.‡

#### AD 14-15

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
1	Au	2	)TR POT XVI, IMP VII (ex.) Tiberius, laur. and cloaked, stg. in slow quadriga r., r. holding laurel-branch, l. eagle-tipped sceptre; the horses' heads all turned r.	R2	BMC 1
2	D	2	„	R2	Ro. (T.)

#### AD 15-16

<b>Pl. 11)</b> 3	Au	2	As no. 1, but XVII	R2	BMC 2
4	D	2	„	R2	BMC 8
<b>1, rev.)</b> 5	Au Q	1	)TR POT )XVII Victory seated r. on globe, holding wreath in both hands, her l. wing not visible	R3	BMC 12

#### AD 18-19

6	Au Q	1	As no. 5, but XX	R3	BMC 14
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#### AD 20-1

7	Au Q	1	As no. 5, but XXII	R5	Coh. 51
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#### AD 22-3

8	Au Q	1	As no. 5, but XXIII	R3	BMC 16
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#### AD 23-4

9	Au Q	1	As no. 5, but XXV	R3	BMC 17
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#### AD 24-5

10	Au Q	1	As no. 5, but XXVI, and l. wing visible	R4	BMC 19
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\* For mint-attribution see introductory p. 87.

† The letter A is frequently unbarred on the Lugdunum coinage of Tiberius; cf. *Hunter Cat.* pp. lix, 64 ff.

‡ Thus regularly henceforth, unless noted

otherwise specifically.

7. Apparently known only from Coh. (cf. *BMCRE* p. 121 n. \*), but the sequence of the gold quinarii is such that he may have been correct. Confirmation is needed, however, in case there was a misreading.

## AD 25-6

<i>No.</i>	<i>Denom.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
11	Au Q	1	As no. 10, but XXVII	R4	BMC 20

## AD 26-7

12	Au Q	1	As no. 10, but XXVIII	R4	BMC 21
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## AD 27-8

13	Au Q	1	As no. 10, but XXVIII	R5	Coh. 56
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## AD 28-9

14	Au Q	1	As no. 10, but XXX	R4	Ox
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## AD 29-30

15	Au Q	1	As no. 10, but XXXI	R5	BMC 22
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## AD 30-1

16	Au Q	1	As no. 10, but XXXII	R4	BMC 23
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## AD 31-2

17	Au Q	1	As no. 10, but XXXIII	R4	Hu. 6
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## AD 32-3

18	Au Q	1	As no. 10, but XXXIII	R4	BMC 24
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## AD 33-4

19	Au Q	2	As no. 10, but XXXV	R4	BMC 25
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## AD 34-5

(Pl. 11, rev.) 20	Au Q	2	As no. 10, but XXXVI	R4	BMC 26
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## AD 35-6

21	Au Q	2	As no. 10, but XXXVII	R5	Ars et Nummus 2 (1963), no. 59
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## AD 36-7

22	Au Q	2	As no. 10, but XXXVIII	R5	Ro. (T.)
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## II. Undated aurei and denarii, c.AD 14-37

Obv. legend: )TI CAESAR DIVI (AVGF AVGSTVS




Obv. head: Tiberius, laur., r.

Weight-peaks, etc.: As for Section I preceding.\*

\* As in section I preceding, the letter A is again often unbarred.

13. Apparently known only from Coh. (cf. *BMCRE* p. 122 n. \*); see on no. 7 above.




	No.	Denom.	Rev.		Frequ.	Ref.
 (Pl. 11)	23	Au	̄DIVOS AVGVST ̄DIVI F	Bare head of Augustus r.; star above.	R3	BMC 28
	24	Au		As no. 23, but Augustus' head laur.	R3	BMC 29
 (Pl. 11)	25	Au	̄PONTIF ̄MAXIM	Female figure seated r., r. holding long vertical sceptre, l. branch, on chair with plain legs above double line	R2	BMC 30
	26	D		"	C	BMC 34
	27	Au		As no. 25, but inverted spear instead of sceptre, the chair-legs ornamented, and a triple line below	R2	BMC 39
	28	D		"	S	BMC 45
	29	Au		As no. 25, but sceptre instead of spear, and single line below	R	BMC 46
 (Pl. 11)	30	D		"	C	BMC 48

### III. Undated *aes*, c. AD 14–21(?)\*

Obv. legend: ̄TI CAESAR DIVI ̄AVG F AVGVSTVS

Obv. heads: A. Tiberius, bare, r.  
B. Tiberius, laur., r.

Weight-peaks uncertain through rarity of specimens, but quadrantes c. 3.50 g. Dies not adjusted.

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.		Frequ.	Ref.
	31	Æ2	B	ROMET AVG (ex.)	Front elevation of the Altar of Lyons decorated with the corona civica between laurels, these being flanked by stylized figures; to l. and r., Victories on columns, facing each other	R4	Coh. 40
 (Pl. 11)	32	Quad.	A	"		R2	BMC 62

## ROME

### I. Dated *aes*, sestertii, dupondii, and asses, AD 14–37

Obv. legends:† 1. None.  
2. ̄CIVITATIBVS ASIAE ̄RESTITVTIS  
3. DIVO/AVGVST/S P Q R in three lines

\* See introductory p. 88.

† There is some doubt about which type should today be regarded as the obv. or rev. of certain of the sestertii and dupondii of this group. Mattingly in *BMCRE* and Anne S. Robertson in *Hunter Cat.* have in many cases assigned to the obv. types bearing the formula S C, although the final *aes* coinage of Augustus (above, p. 78), much of that of Tiberius, and most of that of Gaius (below, pp. 110ff.) appear to place S C on what would to the modern eye seem to be the rev. The probable answer is that no hard and fast distinction between obv. and rev. had yet been defined for *aes* of Tiberius' time. In the lists that follow here, the side with S C has, for the sake of visual uniformity and thus convenience of reference, been classed as the rev.

23–4. It is doubtful whether silver of these types, as listed in *RIC* i (1st edn.), exists. The aurei themselves were almost certainly struck soon after Tiberius accession, no. 24 being (on grounds of portrait-treatment) a little later than no. 23.

25–30. See introductory pp. 87f. for comment on this massive coinage. Lafaurie, commenting on dies of these issues found at Auxerre (*BSFN* June 1970, pp. 544 ff.), speculated on the possibility of the pillage of a Roman mint or mints by disaffected troops of Gaius.

31. Quoted by Coh. 40 as Æ 2, this coin, if genuine, could be either a dupondius or an as: confirmation in any case is needed. For the representation of the Altar, see introductory p. 29 above.

Obv. legends  
(cont.)

4. DIVO/AVGVSTO/SPQR in three lines
5. ↪DIVO AVGVSTO SPQR
6. ↪DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER
7. ↪DRVSVS CAESAR TI AVGF DIVI AVGN
8. ↪IVSTITIA
9. ↪PIETAS
10. ↪SALVS AVGVSTA
11. SPQR/IVLIAE AVGVST in two lines
12. SPQR/IVLIAE/AVGVST in three lines
13. ↪TI CAESAR DIVI AVGF AVGVST IMP VII
14. ↪TI CAESAR DIVI AVGF AVGVSTVS IMP VII
15. ↪TI CAESAR DIVI AVGF AVGVST IMP VIII

Obv. heads/busts:

- A. Tiberius head, bare, r.
- B. Tiberius head, bare, l.
- C. Tiberius head, laur., l.
- D. Drusus head, bare, l.
- E. Justitia bust, diad. and dr., r.
- F. Pietas bust, veiled and diad., r.
- G. Salus bust, dr., r., hair in knot behind.

Obv. pictorial types:

- H. Augustus, rad., seated l., feet on stool, r. holding laurel-branch, l. long sceptre; altar in front.
- J. Tiberius, laur., seated l., feet on stool, r. holding patera, l. long sceptre.
- K. Confronting heads of two little boys on crossed cornucopias, with caduceus between.
- L. Carpentum drawn r. by two mules, its front and sides ornamented with Victories and other figures.
- M. Quadriga of elephants l., with riders; figure of Augustus, rad., in the car, r. holding laurel-branch, l. long sceptre.
- N. Empty horse-drawn quadriga r., its side ornamented with trophy, Victory and trophy, and captive.
- O. Hexastyle temple with flanking wings; Concordia seated within, r. holding patera, l. cornucopia; Hercules and Mercury stand on flanking podia; Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, Victories, and other figures above pediment.
- P. Shield inscribed OB/CIVES/SER in three lines in oak-wreath supported by capricorns; globe below.

Weight-peaks, sestertii c. 28.25–25.50 g; dupondii c. 15.50–13.50 g; asses c. 11.50–10.00 g. Dies virtually always ↑↑ or ↑↓.

#### AD 15–16 (dies mainly ↑↑)

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 11) 33	As	13A	↪PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POTEST XVII; S—C to l. and r. Draped female figure seated r., feet on stool, r. holding patera, l. long sceptre	R3	BMC 65
34	As	13B	"	S	BMC 68
35	As	14A	"	R2	BMC 66
36	As	14B	"	R4	Hu. 14
37	As	13A	↪PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POTEST XVII; S—C to l. and r. Wreath above facing chair	R4	Par.

33. For the identity of the seated rev. figure see introductory p. 87.

37. This coin is listed here with serious

doubt of its authenticity. At best it may represent a lost but more convincing original.

## c.AD 16-22 (dies ↑↑ or ↑↓)

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(PL 11) 38	Dp.	15C	☉ CLEMENTIAE; S—C to l. and r. Small facing bust, laur., dr. (Tiberius?), within laurel-wreath on round shield edged with raised circle of 'petals' within outer circle of palmettes and dots	S	BMC 85
(PL 11) 39	Dp.	15C	☉ MODERATIONI; S—C to l. and r. Small facing bust, bare (Tiberius?) within circle of 'petals' within foliate and dotted outer circle	R	BMC 90
40	Dp.	15C	☉ MODERATIONIS; S—C to l. and r. As no. 39	R4	Par.; JRS 1938, pl. 13, 8

## AD 20-1

41	As	14A	☉ PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POTEST XXII; S—C to l. and r. As no. 33	R4	Ox
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## AD 21-2

None certainly known

## AD 22-3\* (dies ↑↑ or, perhaps dominant, ↑↓)

(PL 11) 42	S	1K	☉ DRVSVS CAESAR TI AVG F DIVI AVG N PONT TR POT II round S C	S	BMC 95
IL 11. obv.) 43	Dp.	9F	☉ DRVSVS CAESAR TI AVGVSTI F TR POT ITER round S C	S	BMC 98
44	As	15B	☉ PONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POTEST XXIII round S C	C	BMC 91
IL 11. obv.) 45	As	7D	☉ PONTIF TRIBVN POTEST ITER round S C	C	BMC 99
IL 11. obv.) 46	Dp.	8E	☉ TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVG TR POT XXIII round S C	S	BMC 79
47	Dp.	10G	"	S	BMC 82
IL 11. obv.) 48	S	2J	☉ TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVST P M TR POT XXIII round S C	S	BMC 70
49	S	6H	"	R	BMC 74
50	S	11L	"	R	BMC 78
IL 12. obv.) 51	S	12L	"	S	BMC 76

## AD 34-5 (dies mainly ↑↑)†

52	As	15C	☉ PONTIF MAX TR POT XXXVI; S—C to l. and r. of rudder placed vertically across banded globe; small globe at base of rudder	R2	BMC 104
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\* For the controversy about the significance of coins dated TR P XXIII (cf. Grant, *FITA* p. 447 f., *RAI* pp. 31 ff., and Sutherland, *CRIP* pp. 191 ff.) see introductory p. 88.

† The sestertii of these years are not infrequently countermarked NCAPR.

38-40. For the controversial date and significance of these issues see introductory pp. 88 f. Nos. 38-9 are in any case contemporary as they are intimately die-linked; cf. *JRS* 1938, pp. 129 ff.

43. Coh. 2 (obv. legend to l. of head) and Coh. 3 (no obv. legend) can be regarded, with

Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 133 n. \*), as dubious.

45. Example in brass in Milan. Example in Oxford with ITR for ITER. Greatly worn example in Hamburg (*Kunsthalle Cat.* 576) of BMC 101.

48. Die-linked to nos. 49-50. Hamburg (*Kunsthalle Cat.* 560) has example with TR POT XXXV—presumably a hybrid from a die years old.

49. Paris variant (cf. Coh. Aug. 310) with obv. showing patera *vice* branch in r. hand.

52. Coh. 12 gave TRIBVN POTEST in error: see also on nos. 58 and 64. Hamburg

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
53	As	15C	ϸPONTIF MAXIM TRIBVN POTEST XXXVI; S—C to l. and r. of vertical winged caduceus	R2	BMC 107
54	S	1N	ϸTI CAESAR DIVI AVGF AVGVST P M TR POT XXXVI round S C	R2	BMC 103
(Pl. 12, obv.) 55	S	1O	”	R3	Hu. 33
56	S	4M	”	R3	BMC 102
57	S	5P	”	R4	Ox.

## AD 35–6 (dies mainly ↑↑)

(Pl. 12)	58	As	15C	As no. 52, but XXXVII	R2	BMC 117
	59	As	15C	As no. 53, ”	C	BMC 120
	60	S	1N	As no. 54, ”	R	BMC 113
	61	S	1O	As no. 55, ”	R2	BMC 116
	62	S	4M	As no. 56, ”	R	BMC 108
	63	S	5P	As no. 57, ”	R2	BMC 109

## AD 36–7 (dies mainly ↑↑)

	64	As	15C	As no. 52, but XXXIIX	S	BMC 135
	65	As	15C	As no. 53, ”	R	BMC 120
	66	S	1N	As no. 54, ”	S	BMC 130
(Pl. 12)	67	S	1O	As no. 55, ”	R	BMC 133
	68	S	4M	As no. 56, ”	R	BMC 125
	69	S	5P	As no. 57, ”	R2	BMC 129

II. Undated *aes*, dupondii and asses, AD 14–37\*

- Obv. legends:
1. ϸDIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER
  2. ϸDIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER
  3. ϸDIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER
  4. ϸDIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER
  5. ϸDIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER
  6. ϸDIVVS AVGVSTVS PAT ϸER

- Obv. heads:
- A. Augustus, rad., r.
  - B. Augustus, rad., l.
  - C. Augustus, rad., l., star above, thunderbolt in front.

Weight-peaks as for section I (p. 96). Dies ↑↑ for nos. 70–3; mainly ↑↓ for nos. 74–9; and mainly ↑↑ for nos. 80–3.

(*Kunsthalle Cat.* 558) has example with small globe below main globe and rudder.

\* These issues in honour of Divus Augustus are here given the chronological arrangement proposed in *NC* 1941, pp. 97 ff. and now generally accepted (e.g. by Anne S. Robertson in *Hunter Cat.* p. lv; see introductory pp. 88, 92 above).

53. See *BMCRE* p. 138, note to no. 106, for misreadings and a possible hybrid.

56. Oxford has variant with obv. reading AVGVST (legend 3) for AVGVSTO.

58. See *BMCRE* p. 138, note \*, for Mattingly's rejection of Gnechi's recorded obv. reading TI CAESAR DIVI AVGF AVGVSTVS. Coh. 13 gave TRIBVN POTEST in error: see also on nos. 52 and 64.

64. Example in Glasgow (*Hunter* (Coats) 3689) with XXX·IIX. Coh. 14 gave TRIBVN POTEST in error: see also on nos. 52 and 58. At this point in the reign the rev. detail is sometimes changed, with the globe now banded from r. to l. instead of from l. to r. and with the basal globe on l. instead of r.

## c.AD 15-16, asses

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
70	S?	3C	No legend. Bare head of Tiberius l. surrounded by oak-wreath	R5	Cop.; <i>NC</i> 1941, pl. I, 11
71	As	2C	S—C to l. and r. of draped female figure seated r., feet on stool, r. holding patera, l. long sceptre	R3	<i>NC</i> 1941, pl. I, 8-9
(Pl. 12) 72	As	3C	"	C	BMC 151; <i>NC</i> 1941, pl. I, 1
73	As	6C	"	R4	<i>NC</i> 1941, pl. I, 10

## c.AD 22-3, dupondii

(Pl. 12) 74	Dp.	1B	S—C to l. and r. of sharply domed roof of round temple (six columns showing) surmounted by stg. figure and flanked by bases bearing calf (on l.) and lamb (on r.)	S	BMC 142; <i>NC</i> 1941, pls. I, 14 and II, 6
75	Dp.	4B	"	R2	<i>NC</i> 1941, pls. I, 12 and II, 1
76	Dp.	5B	"	S	<i>NC</i> 1941, pls. I, 13 and II, 2
(Pl. 12) 77	Dp.	1B	S—C to l. and r. of Victory alighting l., r. resting oval shield inscribed S P Q R on cippus	R	BMC 141; <i>NC</i> 1941, pls. I, 14 and II, 9
78	Dp.	5B	"	R2	Vi.; <i>NC</i> 1941, pls. I, 13 and II, 3

## c.AD 22/23-(?)26, dupondii

(L 12, obv.) 79	Dp.	1B	S C in oak-wreath	C	BMC 143; <i>NC</i> 1941, pl. III, 1-7
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## c.AD 22/23-(?)30, asses

80	As	1A	S—C to l. and r., PROVIDENT (ex.) Altar-enclosure with double panelled door; uncertain ornaments on top	R4	Vi.; Ox.; <i>NC</i> 1941, pl. III, 19
81	As	1B	"	C	BMC 146; <i>NC</i> 1941, pl. III, 8-18

## c.AD 34-7, asses

(L 12, rev.) 82	As	1B	S—C to l. and r. of eagle stg. on globe, head r., wings half-spread.	S	BMC 155; <i>NC</i> 1941, pl. iv, 8-19
(L 12, rev.) 83	As	1B	S—C to l. and r. of winged thunder-bolt, upright	C	BMC 158; <i>NC</i> 1941, pl. IV, 1-7

70. Above sestertius weight at 29.50 g, this apparently authentic piece is possibly of medallion character. It may (as the *corona civica* of the rev. suggests) have celebrated Tiberius' accession. If it is not medallion, its denomination is quite uncertain. ANS possesses another specimen, from the same dies (*ANS Annual Report* 1979, p. 15, fig. 9).

71-3. The rev. type associates these coins with the dated nos. 33-6 above.

74. Occasionally the calf is shown on r. and the lamb on l.; cf. *NC* 1941, pl. II, 14.

74-8. These issues are intimately connected by die-links (cf. *NC* 1941, p. 113) and must therefore be strictly contemporaneous.

82-3. One shared obv. die has been noted for these two issues (cf. *NC* 1941, pl. IV, 5 and 18): they must therefore be broadly contemporary. Milan has specimen of no. 82(?) on very large flan (pierced).

## CAESAREA IN CAPPADOCIA

Silver drachmae, AD 32-4\*

- Obv. legends: 1.  $\text{TI CAES AVG P M } \zeta \text{ RP XXXIV}^\dagger$  (AD 32-3)  
 2.  $\text{TI CAES AVG P M } \zeta \text{ RP XXXV}$  (AD 33-4)  
 3.  $\text{TI CAESAR AVG } \zeta \text{ P M RP XX}---$

Obv. head: Tiberius, laur., r.

Weight-peak, c. 3.45 g.  $\ddagger$  Dies  $\uparrow\uparrow$ 

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
84	Dr.	1	$\text{DRVSVS CAES TI AVG F COS II P IT}$ Drusus head, bare, l.	R4	Coh. (D. and T.) 1
85	Dr.	1	$\text{DRVSVS CAES TI AVG F COS II RP}$ As no. 84	R4	Windisch-Grätz coll. 606
(Pl. 13) 86	Dr.	2	$\text{DRVSVS CAES TI AVG F COS II RP IT}$ As no. 84	R2	BMC 171
87	Dr.	2	$\text{DRVSVS CAES TI AVG F COS II RP As}$ no. 84	R2	BMC 173
88	Dr.	3	No legend. Type as no. 84	R4	Ro. (T.)

## COMMAGENE

Aes dupondii, AD 19-21§

Obv. legend:  $\text{TI CAESAR DIVI AVGVSTI F AVGVSTVS}$ 

Obv. head: Tiberius, laur., r.

Weight-peak, c. 17.00-16.00 g. Dies  $\uparrow\uparrow$ 

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
89	Dp.	$\text{PONT MAXIM COS III IMP VII TR POT XXI}$ Upright caduceus between two crossed cornucopias framing two crossed branches	R3	Ox.; Hamburg ( <i>Kunsthalle Cat.</i> 561)
(Pl. 13) 90	Dp	As no. 89, but <b>XXII</b>	R2	BMC 175-6

\* See introductory p. 89.

$\dagger$  This and the following obv. legends usually present the appearance of RP, but the intention was obviously to produce a ligature,  $\text{TRP}$ . Other orthographic errors include the  $\text{COC II}$  (for  $\text{COS II}$ ) of *Numismatic Fine Arts*, vi, 620.

$\ddagger$  Cf. D. R. Walker, *Metrology*, p. 37.

§ See introductory p. 89.

84. The rev. was probably misread for  $\text{TRP}$ . IT: confirmation required.

85. Conceivably the final IT of the rev. legend was omitted through illegibility.

86. Obv. reading imperfect: probably XXXV.

87. The final IT of the rev. legend does not appear, though there is space for it.

88. This Gnechi coin (for which cf. *BMCRE* p. 144 n. \*), if carefully examined, reads clearly, if also faintly, XX with illegible characters following. It could be XXXIV or XXXV.

89. For this variety with date XXI cf. *BMCRE* no. 174, with note.

90. BMC 175 omits the P of PONT, unless we are to read XXI IONT.

## UNCERTAIN MINTS

## Aes dupondii(?) and asses\*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
91	Dp.	TI CAESAR AVGVSTVS Tiberius head, bare, l.	DIVVS AVGVSTVS PAT ER Augustus head, rad., r.; star above, thunder- bolt in front.	R4-5	Coh. 5
92	Dp.	"	As no. 91, but head l.	R4-5	Coh. 6
93	As	Q TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVG PONT MAX Tiberius head, bare, l.	Q DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER PATRIAE Augus- tus head, rad., l.; star above	R4-5	BMC 177
94	As	Q TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F AVGVSTVS Tiberius head, bare, l.	PONTIF/MAX in two lines in oak-wreath	R4-5	Par.; BMC p. 145, no. †
95	As	No legend. Tiberius head, bare, l., surrounded by laurel-wreath	Q TI CAESAR DIVI AVG F IMP VIII around TRIB POT /XXXVIII/PON MAX in three lines	R4-5	Hu. 51

[See also no. 70 above]

\* These coins are listed simply to show what possibilities exist. Small estimate can be made of their reliability.

91-2. To be viewed with reserve, though some features relate to no. 93.

93. Dr Andrew Burnett considers this to be a cast, and unacceptable.

95. Weight 11.15 g. *Hunter Cat.* p. lxvi terms it a copper as. Cf. *BMCRE* p. 145 n. \*, on Coh. 44.

# GAIUS

## 1. *General monetary policy*

Gaius left the denominational and the other main essentials of the monetary structure, as transmitted by Augustus and Tiberius, undisturbed, although there were some changes in emphasis: for example, he struck a number of quadrantes, and the type-content of his coinage was sharply different from what had preceded it. And he did not in any conspicuous way change the system of weights which had prevailed under his predecessors. His aurei show a peak at c. 7.80–7.65 g (compared with Augustus' 7.90–7.70 and Tiberius' 7.90–7.65); that is to say, in coining new gold he may well have taken as his upper weight-limit that of previous aurei now slightly lighter (by about 0.10 g) through circulation. Likewise with his denarii, which show a peak c. 3.80–3.65 g (compared with Augustus' 3.85–3.65 and Tiberius' 3.85–3.60 g). His sestertii are most numerous on the frequency-table c. 28.25–27.25 g—a peak higher than that of Augustus, and firmer than that of Tiberius, while his dupondii (if the suggestion of a peak at or just above 16.00 g is reliable) seem to have aimed at a norm heavier than that of Tiberius, and markedly heavier than that of Augustus. His asses, on the other hand, c. 11.75–10.75 g, roughly correspond with the less strictly controlled weight-norms of both Augustus and Tiberius. His quadrantes cluster around a peak of c. 3.50–3.10 g.

The major problem in estimating Gaius' general policy with regard to coinage lies in the question of where his chief mint for gold and silver was ultimately situated. Mattingly<sup>1</sup> proposed the thesis that the striking of imperial gold and silver at Lugdunum, which had been a permanent feature under Tiberius (above, pp. 87 f.), was transferred thence to Rome probably in AD 37–8. He based his theory on a number of differentiating features seen in Gaius' earlier and later issues (all dated), i.e. the change from bare to laureate head, the change of lettering from a rather untidy and ill-proportioned to a neater form with serifs, and the closer parallelism which developed between gold and silver on the one hand and *aes* on the other: all this, he felt, supported the historical probability that the new young *princeps* would have taken the opportunity of centralizing precious-metal production at Rome. Mattingly's analysis of differentials between the earlier bare-head gold and silver and the later laureate-head series was reinforced by a later study<sup>2</sup> in which a good many more differentials were noted, some very considerable. However, J.-B. Giard has more recently argued<sup>3</sup> that there was no transference at all and that Lugdunum continued in operation as before. His argument was based principally upon the finding of two dies of Gaius, each with laureate head, at

<sup>1</sup> *BMCRE* p. cxlii (cf. *RIC* i (1st edn.), pp. 4, 112); *Roman Coins* (2nd edn.), p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> Sutherland, *E. and C.* pp. 64 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *RN* 1976, pp. 69 ff.



Paray-le-Monial (Saône-et-Loire) 'fairly near to Lugdunum'; and, briefly if not summarily dismissing as incidental variations the observed differentials between the bare-head and the laureate series, he regards these dies, with which he has associated coins struck from them (one of AD 37-8, one of AD 40), as 'vestiges of the mint of Lyons, of which the apparatus was apparently pillaged, and then scattered around the town in the course of the first century AD'.<sup>1</sup>

The relationship of ancient dies, when found, to the mints to which they originally belonged, is still a matter of difficulty and some doubt: it seems unsafe to draw absolutely firm topographical conclusions from them. Though they are strongly persuasive, they do not provide fully conclusive evidence. Nor has Giard attempted to answer the corollary question of when (if not under Gaius) Rome *did* take over the coining of gold and silver from Lugdunum.<sup>2</sup> It had almost certainly done so by AD 64, and there is little indication of transference under Claudius.<sup>3</sup> One may argue (a) for transference under Gaius, or (b) transference under Nero before AD 64. In favour of (a) there are the differentials in Gaius' gold and silver noted above, and, perhaps of no less importance, the observation by D. W. Mac Dowall<sup>4</sup> that a four-*officina* system (most obviously tried with Augustus' named *IIIIviri a.a.a.* f.f.—pp. 76ff. above) is plausibly discernible in the mint of Rome under Tiberius. The first two (i.e. certainly Lugdunese) issues of Gaius' gold and silver (bare head, AD 37) suggest, respectively, one (possibly two, including gold quinarius) and three *officinae*: thereafter until the year of his assassination (41), when only two appear, and for silver only, there appear to be four. Giard's argument would of course have been greatly helped if die-links were known between one emission and another. This is not the case, however, at any point. Internal links appear in most emissions, either in a given metal or between gold and silver of the same emission. But the absence of any link between any two emissions must suggest that the dies of any one emission were destroyed before another was prepared; and this in turn tends to throw some doubt on the original authenticity of the Paray-le-Monial dies, however skilfully they may have been made. One could even suggest that they were in fact made after the production of gold and silver had been transferred from Lyons to Rome, and made indeed because of that transference, in order to maintain a locally satisfactory level of 'locally produced' precious-metal coinage after an unbroken run of some fifty years.

This question cannot yet be solved with certainty. In the lists that follow, therefore, Gaius' first two emissions of gold and silver (nos. 1-12) are attributed to Lugdunum, and the later ones (nos. 13-31) to Rome. Mattingly's view that the relatively quiet period of constitutionalism in Gaius' first year<sup>5</sup> would accord with a decision to leave the precious-metal mint at Lugdunum

<sup>1</sup> Giard might have added to strengthen his case, that dies are unadjusted in *all* gold and silver, whereas the *aes* (the Roman mintage of which has not been doubted) regularly shows  $\uparrow\downarrow$ . He might also have argued, to explain the considerable differentials noted above, that new staff was sent out from Rome to operate

the Lugdunum mint.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Sutherland in *QT* 1981, pp. 297 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 62 f., 69.

<sup>4</sup> *SNRHS* pp. 34 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius*, pp. 24 ff.

before moving it to Rome is a reasonable one, even if proof for it is still lacking. After 37, however, things changed, and the degree of imperial centralization and autocracy steadily increased. Gaius was only twenty-five when he succeeded; he could well have spent his first months as *princeps* in learning what autocracy meant.

## II. The mint of Rome

### (a) Gold and silver (nos. 13-31)

On the assumption that coinage of gold and silver was transferred from Lugdunum to Rome in 37-8, one may say that the initial Lugdunese range of gold and silver types was both transferred and expanded. Lugdunum had started with a single reverse (the anepigraphic Divus Augustus) apart from the Victoria type by now normal for gold quinarii, adding two more—the Agrippina and Germanicus reverse heads—in its second issue, and specifically naming Divus Augustus. This range was taken over by Rome in 37-8 with the addition of the *corona civica* 'accession' type, SPQR PP OB CS, thus making it possible that there were four *officinae* striking the precious metals. In 38-9 only gold quinarii were struck, but in 40 the fourfold structure reappeared, with the same four types. Once more, in 40-1, only gold quinarii were struck, until 41 (Gaius was killed on 24 January) when two out of the previously normal four types were issued, in silver only.

The type-content of this gold and silver of Rome contrasts strongly with the immobilized character of that of Tiberius, although it is not in any way dramatic. Honour to Divus Augustus was almost a constitutional necessity for his immediate successors, and Gaius, through his mother Agrippina, was great-grandson of Augustus; and, with Augustus and Agrippina, he must also honour Agrippina's husband—his own father—the great Germanicus, adopted as son by Tiberius in AD 4 and avenger in AD 17 of Varus' German defeat. Gaius had a double claim, Julian as well as Claudian, to the principate; and the recognition came with his advancement to it and his acceptance of the *corona civica*, the fourth type. This range of types, save for the gold quinarii with their now normal types, continued unchanged on gold and silver until his death early in 41.

In quantity, the coinage of Rome appears to have been small, to judge by what survives now. Giard has shown<sup>1</sup> that the maximum number of aureus obverse dies known for any one of its sections (a)-(e) is no more than ten, and this would seem to suggest that the original number is unlikely to have been more than  $10 \times 1\frac{1}{2}$  or at the most  $10 \times 2$ . Very much the same relative infrequency may have characterised the silver. It is natural that the silver of AD 41 (struck only until 24 January, and with no accompanying gold yet recorded) is now very markedly rare.

### (b) Aes (nos. 32-58)

The basic pattern of the dated *aes* types of Gaius struck at Rome is a comparatively simple one. In both 37-8 and 39-40 four sestertius types were struck, three with Gaius' obverse portrait and legend, and with respectively,

<sup>1</sup> RN 1976, pp. 69 ff.

the *Adlocutio*, 'three sisters', and *corona civica* reverses, the fourth bearing his obverse legend only, with *Pietas* type, and with *Divo Aug* (temple) reverse. These are all now uncommon. Together with these sestertii, dupondii were struck with Nero-Drusus legend and equestrian obverse, and asses with Germanicus' obverse legend and portrait, both more frequent than the sestertii, and both with Gaius' legend on the reverse. Finally, Gaius' obverse portrait and legend appeared on the *Vesta* asses—very common in 37-8, less so in 39-40. The intervening period, 38-9, saw quadrantes struck in 39 recording the *remissa ducentesima* (RCC).

This range of types, like that of the gold and silver, shows (though in a quite different way) a notable change from the spirit of Tiberius' *aes* types. The emphasis now was upon the unity of the imperial house ('three sisters' and *Vesta*) and Gaius' lineage (Germanicus, Nero and Drusus, Divus Augustus), together with the essential importance of the praetorian cohorts, to whom the remarkable sestertii lacking S C may have been given in part-payment of Tiberius' bequest.<sup>1</sup> Only the RCC quadrantes, recording the welcome abolition of the tax of  $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent (originally 1 per cent under Augustus) on sales can be regarded as a purely topical type.

In 40-1 the basic pattern was unchanged save for the dropping of the 'three sisters' sestertii consequent upon the suspicion of disloyalty which had fallen in AD 39 on Julia and Agrippina, and the inclusion of RCC quadrantes. In general the coins of 40-1 appear to be less scarce than those of 39-40, while still less frequent than those of 37-8: the *Vesta* asses, very common in 37-8, but much less so in 39-40, are scarce for 40-1.

Undoubtedly the *Vesta* asses were the most abundant of the dated *aes* coins. They were fairly nearly matched in frequency by the undated sestertii (*Memoriae Agrippinae*)<sup>2</sup> and dupondii (*Divus Augustus/Consensu Senat et Eq Ordin P Q R* and Germanicus' German triumph of AD 17). But they were heavily outnumbered, if recent theory<sup>3</sup> is correct, by the vast coinage of asses with Agrippa obverse, which may even have lasted beyond Gaius' death and which were certainly subject to imitation outside Italy. The 'Agrippa' asses—a single type—must have played under Gaius the part played under Augustus by the signed moneyers' *aes* from the series of *tresviri*.

The artistic technique of the *aes* of Rome under Gaius was good if not remarkable: it was less accomplished than that of the mid-reign *aes* of Tiberius and probably that of the *aes* of Claudius. Portraiture was hard without being (as in later reigns) sensitive, and the impression is gained of engravers who, anxious to produce strong effect, neglected subtlety in detail or in the planes of relief. The gold and silver, as usual in this period, were inferior in artistic technique to the *aes*, being limited by a smaller field and more cramped opportunities in lettering, though the portraits often equalled those of the *aes* in their almost brutally strong character. The great school of designers active under Tiberius had momentarily faded a little.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Dio Cass. 59. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Agrippina died in AD 33; cf. Tac. *Ann.* vi. 25.

<sup>3</sup> J. Nicols, *MN* 19 (1974), pp. 65 ff. Note

that Agrippa was son-in-law of Augustus and also Gaius' grandfather through his mother, Agrippina the elder.

III. *Mint-organization and technique of Rome*

This can be scrutinized in detail only at Rome, where (probably) the bulk of Gaius' gold and silver, and (virtually certainly) all his *aes* was struck. Lugdunum had produced, in AD 37, two, and then three, substantive types, perhaps corresponding to two and then three *officinae*. After gold and silver coinage was (as is here accepted) transferred to Rome, the following scheme<sup>1</sup> emerges, in which the hypothetical allocation of a substantive type to an individual *officina* is again the basis of argument.

<i>Gold and silver</i>			<i>Aes</i>		
37-8	4 off.	(Agrippina, Divus Aug., Germanicus, SPQR, etc.)	37-8	6 off.	(Adloc., Sisters, Nero and Drusus, Divus Aug., SPQR, etc., Vesta)
38-9	1 off.	(Gold quin.)	39	1 off.	(RCC quadrantes)
40	4 off.	As for 37-8	39-40	6 off.	As for 37-8, with RCC quadrantes
40-1	1 off.	(Gold quin.)	40-1	5 off.	(Adloc., Nero and Drusus, Divus Aug., SPQR, etc., Vesta)
41	2 off.	(Silver only; Agrippina, Divus Aug.)			

If the equation 1 main type = 1 *officina* is correct (and it later became a standard though not perpetual practice), this analysis suggests that there were at any given time up to six *officinae* at work for Gaius' coinage of Rome, with the gold and silver employing up to four and the *aes* overlapping into these four for what was numerically the more abundant branch of coinage, including as it did up to six main types with quadrantes in addition. The fact that a full range of gold and silver types was never accompanied simultaneously by a full range of *aes* types makes this hypothesis more likely still. In 41, of course, the mint had less than a month in which to operate before Gaius' death.

In regard to weight we have seen already (p. 102) that the Augustan-Tiberian standard for gold and silver was closely (if not quite exactly) followed, while Gaius' sestertii are a little heavier, and his dupondii markedly heavier, than their predecessors, the asses being approximately as before. Die-axes are strictly adjusted  $\uparrow\downarrow$  for *aes* but are, curiously, unadjusted for gold and silver. And it is odd, too, that while obverse and reverse legends for gold and silver are anti-clockwise, the reverses of the *aes* show (with almost complete regularity) a clockwise arrangement. Doubtless there was some reason for this, in the organization of the mint, but its nature eludes us.

The volume of Gaius' coinage was perhaps not abundant. Only dubious attention can be given to the report<sup>2</sup> that Gaius' coinage was somehow demonetized after his death: its size would have made this, economically, almost impossible, and such an action would have conflicted sharply with

<sup>1</sup> Which owes much to D. W. Mac Dowall in *SNRHS* pp. 32 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Dio Cass. 50. 22; Suet. *Div. Claudius* 11.

Roman practice: Antony's 'legionary' denarii continued to circulate for two centuries. There may, of course, have been some symbolic *damnatio* of Gaius' coins—a ceremony affecting no more than a few chosen examples.

#### IV. *Caesarea Cappadociae* (nos. 59–63)

Tiberius had established a mint at Caesarea in Cappadocia, presumably for military purposes, striking drachmae in AD 32–4 (above, pp. 89 and 100), and Gaius continued to operate it, for didrachms (undated) and drachmae (some of AD 37–8). Those attributable to this date bear Gaius' supplementary (including priestly) titles on the reverse, with TR POT and priestly emblems. Of the other coins, one didrachm recalls on its reverse Germanicus' setting up of Artaxias as a Roman vassal in Armenia twenty years earlier,<sup>1</sup> in AD 18; and drachmae with obverse bearing the portrait and titles of Germanicus refer by their reverse portrait to Divus Augustus. Most of these coins are scarce or rare, but presumably they were enough to serve the military establishment in the province.

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Ann.* ii, 56.

# GAIUS

## LUGDUNUM









Dated aurei, gold quinarii, and denarii, AD 37\*

- Obv. legends: 1.  C CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR POT COS (AD 37-8)  
 2.  C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS  
 3.  C CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR POT (AD 37-8)

Obv. head: Gaius, bare, r.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.75-7.65 g; gold quinarii c. 3.90-3.80 g; denarii c. 3.80-3.60 g. Dies not adjusted.

### (a) First issue

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
	Au	1	No legend. Augustus head, rad., r., between two stars	R2	BMC 1
(Pl. 13) 2	D	1	 DIVVS AVG  PATER PATRIAE As no. 1, but without stars	R	BMC 4
3	Au	3	"	R4	Ro. (T.)
4	D	3	"	R4	Ro. (T.)
(Pl. 13) 5	Au Q	2	 PMTR  POT COS Victory, dr., seated r. on globe, holding wreath in both hands; l. wing visible behind	R3	BMC 6
(b) Second issue					
6	D	3	No legend. Augustus head, rad., r., between two stars	R5	Coh. 9 (Par.)
(Pl. 13) 7	Au	3	 AGRIPPINA MAT C CAES AVG GERM Agrippina bust, dr., r., her hair falling in queue down her neck	R2	BMC 7
8	D	3	"	R	BMC 8
9	Au	3	 DIVVS AVG  PATER PATRIAE As no. 3 (without stars)	R3	Vi. (RN 1976, pl. 8, 9)
(Pl. 13, rev.) 10	D	3	"	R2	BMC 10
11	Au	3	 GERMANICVS CAES P C CAES AVG GERM Germanicus head, bare, r.	R2	BMC 11
(Pl. 13, rev.) 12	D	3	"	R2	BMC 13

\* For the controversial question of the initial role of the mint of Lugdunum under Gaius see introductory pp. 102-4.

1. On some examples (e.g. BMC 1 and specimen at Milan) the features on the rev. head resemble those of Tiberius. In general the coins of this issue portray Augustus, though

Mattingly noted that the Montagu sale (1896) specimen showed features unlike both Augustus and Tiberius. Naples has a specimen with *three* stars arranged \*†.

3-4. These very rare coins were ex Gnechi. Coh. (Calig. and Aug.) 4-5 gave no authority.

## ROME

## I. Dated aurei, gold quinarii, and denarii, AD 37-41\*

- Obv. legends: 1. ☉ C CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR POT (AD 37-8)  
 2. ☉ C CAESAR AVG PON M TR POT III COS III (AD 40)  
 3. ☉ C CAESAR AVG PON M TR POT IIII COS IIII (AD 41)  
 4. ☉ C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS

Obv. head: Gaius, laur., r.

Weight-peaks and die-positions as for Lugdunum above.

## (a) AD 37-8

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
13	Au	1	☉ AGRIPPINA MAT C CAES AVG GERM As no. 7 above	R2	BMC 14
14	D	1	☉	R	BMC 15
15	Au	1	☉ DIVVS AVG ☉ PATER PATRIAE As no. 9 above	R2	BMC 16
16	D	1	☉	R2	BMC 17
17	Au	1	☉ GERMANICVS CAES P C CAES AVG GERM As no. 11 above	R2	BMC 18
18	D	1	☉	R2	BMC 19
19	D	1	S P Q R / P P / O B C S in three lines in oak- wreath	R3	BMC p. 396, no. ' 20 bis

## (b) AD 38-9

20	Au Q	4	☉ P M TR ☉ POT ITER As no. 5 above	R3	BMC 21
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## (c) AD 40

21	Au	2	☉ AGRIPPINA MAT C CAES AVG GERM As no. 7 above	R2	BMC 22
22	D	2	☉	R2	BMC 23
23	Au	2	☉ DIVVS AVG ☉ PATER PATRIAE As no. 9 above	R3	BMC 24
rev.) 24	D	2	☉	R3	BMC 25
25	Au	2	☉ GERMANICVS CAES P C CAES AVG GERM As no. 11 above	R3	BMC 26
26	D	2	☉	R3	BMC 28
rev.) 27	Au	2	S P Q R / P P / O B C S As no. 19 above	R3	BMC 29
28	D	2	☉	R3	Hu. 13

## (d) AD 40-1

29	Au Q	4	☉ P M TR ☉ POT IIII As no. 5 above	R3	BMC 31
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\* See introductory pp. 102 ff.

27-8. Riccio (*Per. di num. e sfrag.* i, 1868, p. 77, no. 8) recorded an aureus of this type from the Cumae hoard with obv. head l., and Coh. 23 (Gosselin sale, 1864) a similar

denarius. Both must be regarded as doubtful. Coh. 22 recorded such an aureus as being in the BM, but this coin (Cracherode gift, 1799) is low in both weight and specific gravity (cf. *BMCRE* p. 150 n. \*), and is probably a cast.

(e) AD 41\*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
30	D	3	☉ AGRIPPINA MAT C CAES AVG GERM As no. 7 above	R4	Ox.; Mazzini p. 113, 7 ( <i>RN</i> 1976, pl. 10, 20)
(Pl. 13) 31	D	3	☉ DIVVS AVG ☉ PATER PATRIAE As no. 9 above	R4	Ox. ( <i>RN</i> 1976, pl. 10, 19)

## II. Dated sestertii, dupondii, asses, and quadrantes, AD 37-41

- Obv. legends: 1. ☉ C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS P M TR POT with PIETAS in ex. (AD 37-8)  
 2. ☉ C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS PON M TR POT (AD 37-8)  
 3. ☉ C CAESAR DIVI AVG PRON AVG (AD 39-41)  
 4a. ☉ C CAESAR DIVI AVG PRON AVG P M TR P III P P (AD 39-40)  
 4b. As 4a, but with PIETAS in ex. (AD 39-40)  
 5a. ☉ C CAESAR DIVI AVG PRON AVG P M TR P III P P (AD 40-1)  
 5b. As 5a, but with PIETAS in ex. (AD 40-1)  
 6. ☉ GERMANICVS CAESAR TI AVGVST F DIVI AVG N (AD 37-41)  
 7. ☉ NERO ET DRVSVS CAESARES (AD 37-41)

- Obv. heads/types: A. Gaius head, bare, l.  
 B. Gaius head, laur., l.  
 C. Germanicus head, bare, l.  
 D. Nero and Drusus Caesar riding r., cloaks flying.  
 E. Pietas, veiled and dr., seated l., r. holding patera, l. arm resting on small facing figure, dr., on basis.  
 F. Pileus between S—C

Weight-peaks, sestertii c. 28.25-27.25 g; dupondii c. 16.00 g; asses c. 11.75-10.75 g; quadrantes c. 3.50-3.10 g. Dies regularly ↑↓.

(a) AD 37-8

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
32	S	2B	ADLOCVT (above), COH (ex.) Gaius, bare-headed and togate, stg. l. on platform before low stool, r. extended to five soldiers, helmeted and with shields and parazonia; the two rearmost pairs of soldiers carry an aquila	S	BMC 33
(Pl. 13) 33	S	2B	↑ AGRIPPINA (on l.), ☉ DRV SILLA (above), ↓ IVLIA (on r.) Gaius' three sisters stg. facing, dr.; Agrippina holds cornucopia in r., resting on column (Securitas), with l. on shoulder of Drusilla, who holds patera in r. and cornucopia in l. (Concordia); Julia holds rudder with r. and cornucopia in l. (Fortuna); S C in ex.	R	BMC 37
34	Dp	7D	☉ C CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS PON M TR POT round S C	S	BMC 44
35	As	6C	„	C	BMC 49

\* Giard has observed (*RN* 1976, p. 81 n. \*) that *BMC* 32, with rev. S P Q R / P P / O B C S, was misread with tribunician dating IIII for III on the obv., and actually belongs to issue (c); as Mattingly noted, the end of the legend is almost off the flan.

circulation is reflected by the imitations that exist; cf. *BMC* RE 52-3, with note \* thereto. Mattingly (*ibid.* p. 155 n. \*) felt that Coh. (Germanicus) 2 (= *RIC* i (1st edn.), no. 45), with obv. AVG for AVGVST, might be a genuine variant.

35. The relative frequency of these coins in



No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
<b>(Pl. 13)</b> 36	S	1E	DIVO—AVG S — C to l. and r. of hexastyle garlanded temple surmounted by quadriga, before which Gaius, veiled and togate, sacrifices with patera over garlanded altar; one attendant leads bull to the altar; a second holds patera	R	BMC 41
37	S	2B	S P Q R / P P / OB CIVES / SERVATOS in four lines in oak-wreath	R	BMC 38
38	As	2A	VESTA (above); S—C to l. and r. of Vesta, veiled and dr., seated l. on ornamental throne, r. holding patera, l. long transverse sceptre	C	BMC 46

## (b) AD 39

<b>(Pl. 14)</b> 39	Quad.	3F	UPON M TR P III P P COS DES III round RCC	S	BMC 57
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## (c) AD 39–40

40	S	4aB	ADLOCVT (above), COH (ex.) As no. 32	R2	Hu. 27
41	S	4aB	↑AGRIPPINA (on l.), ↘DRVSILLA (above), ↓IVLIA (on r.) As no. 33	R4	Mil.
42	Dp	7D	UC CAESAR DIVI AVG PRON AVG P M TR POT III P P round S C	R3	Hu. (C.) 3720; BMC p. 156 n. ‡
43	As	6C	"	R2	BMC 60; Ox.
44	S	4bE	DIVO—AVG S — C As no. 36	R	Mil.; BMC pl. 28, 9 (Hall coll.)
45	Quad.	3F	UPON M TR P III P P COSTERT round R C C	S	BMC 63
<b>14. rev.)</b> 46	S	4aB	S P Q R / P P / OB CIVES / SERVATOS As no. 37	R2	BMC 58
<b>(Pl. 14)</b> 47	As	4aA	VESTA (above), S—C to l. and r. As no. 38	S	BMC 59

## (d) AD 40–1

<b>14. rev.)</b> 48	S	5aB	ADLOCVTIO (above), COH (ex.) As no. 32	S	BMC 68
<b>(Pl. 14)</b> 49	Dp	7D	UC CAESAR DIVI AVG PRON AVG P M TR POT III P P round S C	R2	BMC 70
50	As	6C	"	S	Hu. 35
51	S	5bE	DIVO—AVG S — C As no. 36	R	BMC 69
52	Quad.	3F	UPON M TR P III P P COS TERT round R C C	C	BMC 64
53	S	5aB	S P Q R / P P / OB CIVES / SERVATOS As no. 37	R2	Par. (BMC pl. 29, 13); BM
54	As	5aA	VESTA (above), S—C to l. and r. As no. 38	R	BMC 72

38. Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 154 n. \*) rightly doubted the Gréau coll. variant with obv. —PON M IMP. *Hunter Cat.* 19 shows these Vesta types on a sestertius flan of 28.75 g.

40. *BMCRE* p. 156 n. \* (Hall coll.) misprinted the obv. legend as running anti-clockwise: the plate (28, 7) shows the correct direction.

41. The Milan coin is perhaps a little tooled, but the reading seems plain.

44. Mattingly regarded the BM example as being from modern dies. The Hall and Milan specimens (the latter from worn dies) are not in doubt.

45. 1 Jan.–18 March AD 40.

52. 18 March–31 Dec. AD 40. 'Proof' on large flan at Naples.

54. The BM coin is on a large flan (22.36 g). *Hunter Cat.* 34 and *Hunter Cat.* (Coats) 3725–6 are on normal flans.

## III. Undated sestertii, dupondii, and asses

- Obv. legends: 1.  $\odot$  AGRIPPINA M F MAT C CAESARIS AVGVSTI  
 2.  $\odot$  DIVVS AVGVSTVS, S—C to l. and r.  
 3. GERMANICVS/CAESAR in two lines across field.  
 4.  $\odot$  M AGRIPPA L F COS III

- Obv. heads/types: A. Agrippa head l., wearing rostral crown.  
 B. Agrippina bust, dr., r., her hair falling in queue down her neck.  
 C. Augustus head, rad., l.  
 D. Germanicus, bare-headed and cloaked, stg. in ornamented slow quadriga r., l. holding eagle-tipped sceptre.

Weight-peaks and die-positions as for group II above.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 14) 55	S	1B	S P Q R (above), MEMORIAE / AGRIPPINAE (in two lines high l. in field) Carpentum drawn l. by two mules, the cover supported by stg. figures at the corners, and with ornamented side.	C	BMC 85
(Pl. 14) 56	Dp	2C	$\odot$ CONSENSV SENAT ET EQ ORDIN P Q R Augustus (?), laur. and togate, seated l. on curule chair, r. holding branch, l. against side SIGNIS — RECEPT	C	BMC 90
(Pl. 14) 57	Dp	3D	DEVICTIS — GERM in three lines to l. and r. of S — C Germanicus, bare-headed and cuir. with tunic, stg. l., r. raised, l. holding aquila	C	BMC 94
(Pl. 14) 58	As	4A	S—C to l. and r. of Neptune stg. l., cloaked, r. holding small dolphin, l. vertical trident	C	BMC (Tib.) 161

## CAESAREA IN CAPPADOCIA

Silver didrachms and drachms, c.AD 37–8

- Obv. legends: 1.  $\odot$  C CAESAR AVG  $\odot$  GERMANICVS  
 2.  $\odot$  GERMANICVS CAESAR  $\odot$  TI AVGV F COS II  
 3.  $\odot$  GERMANICVS CAES TI AVGV F COS II  $\Gamma$  M\*  
 4.  $\odot$  GERMANICVS CAES TI AVGV COS II  $\Gamma$  M  
 5.  $\odot$  GERMANICVS CES TI AVGV COS II  $\Gamma$  M

- Obv. heads: A. Gaius, bare, r.  
 B. Germanicus, bare, r.  
 C. Germanicus, bare, r., bearded.

Weight-peaks, didrachms c. 7.40–7.25 g;† drachms c. 3.60–3.25 g. Dies †† or very near.

\*  $\Gamma$  M appears to stand for IMP.

† The rarity of the didrachms makes it difficult to determine their weight-peak. For the drachms D. R. Walker, *Metrology*, pp. 37–8, has calculated a mean weight of c. 3.60–3.50 g for two groups.

55. The wheel of the carpentum usually shows six spokes, less often eight.

56. H. von Kaenel, *Schweiz. Münzblätter*, May 1978, p. 39, has suggested that the rev.

type shows Gaius, r. holding laurel, l. globe. *BMC RE* p. 396, no. 92 *bis*, is an example (13.47 g) with obv. countermark PRO and rev. countermark AS.

58. For the controversial dating of these overwhelmingly common asses see introductory pp. 89, 105 above. Many hybrids (*BMC RE* p. 143, no. 170, and n. \*) and imitations (*ibid.* p. 143, no. 169) exist, in both cases extending over a considerable period of time.

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
<b>PL 15)</b>	59	2Dr	2B	↓ (on l.) ARTAXIAS, ↓ (on r.) GERMANI- CVS Germanicus (on r.) stg. nearly facing, l. holding spear, r. placing tiara on head of Artaxias stg. facing, r. raised	R2	BMC 104
<b>PL 15)</b>	60	Dr	4C	⌊DIVVS ⌋AVGVSTVS Augustus head, rad., l.	R	BMC 105
	61	Dr	5C	⌊DIVVS AVG ⌋VSTVS As no. 60	R	BMC 106
	62	Dr	3C	⌊DIVVS ⌋AVGVSTVS As no. 60	R4	F. Schlessinger list xi (1938), 1152
	63	Dr	1A	⌋IMPERATOR PONT MAX AVG TR POT Simpulum (on l.) and lituus (on r.)	R2	BMC 102 (AD 37-8)

61. Coh. (Gaius and Aug.) I cited rev. with DIVO AVGVSTO: confirmation required. The normal rev. DIVVS AVGVSTVS with head *laur.* l. (Windisch-Grätz 619) is cited in

error by *BMCRE* p. 162 n. \*: the catalogue gives a rad. head, but the obv. reading of —AVG F T II is questionable.

# CLAUDIUS

## 1. *General monetary policy*

Claudius, when he was brought dramatically to the principate on 25 January 41 by the praetorian guard after the assassination of Gaius on the previous day,<sup>1</sup> had had no previous preparation for the imperial task. Born at Lugdunum on 1 August 10 BC—the very day of the inauguration there of the great Altar of Rome and Augustus—he was now 49, a scholarly antiquarian, perhaps pedantic, though certainly shrewd, but without personal or practical experience of imperial administration. However, his lineage stood him in good stead. Son of the great Nero Claudius Drusus, and through him grandson of the revered Livia, wife of Augustus, and related by the marriage of his brother Nero Claudius Germanicus to the Julian line, he combined powerful strands of dynastic power and prestige.

It was inevitable that he should rely upon the professional skill of that class of imperial civil servants which had begun to grow up, and had indeed by now become established, in the imperial household—clever freedmen who had learned the business of administering the continuity of personal business and thus inevitably of wider imperial policy: hence the prominence under Claudius of such men as Pallas and Narcissus, and hence, too, perhaps, the fact that the imperial coinage, first moulded by Augustus, and confirmed by Tiberius and (with changes) by Gaius, remained essentially in the same mould. The weights of the various denominations were scarcely affected by the change of emperor. For the aurei, we find a frequency peak at *c.* 7.80–7.65 g (as for Gaius), and for denarii one *c.* 3.85–3.60 g, (slightly wider than Gaius' 3.80–3.65 g). The *aes* is less even, with sestertii at a peak *c.* 29.50–27.50 g (28.25–27.25 under Gaius), dupondii *c.* 16.25–15.00 g ( $\pm$  16.00 under Gaius), asses *c.* 11.50–10.25 g (11.75–10.75 under Gaius), and quadrantes *c.* 3.50–3.00 g, falling fractionally lower than those of Gaius. But these *aes* figures should not be taken too strictly. Many of Claudius' *aes* coins suffered from great wear: Nero struck no *aes* from 54 to *c.* 62/3, and it is certain that this factor has tended to lower the general estimate of Claudius' *aes* weight-standards, quite apart from the fact that many coins regarded as official issues are probably very capable imitative issues (see below).

Nor were there changes in minting arrangements. If it is true that Gaius transferred the gold and silver work of the Lyons mint to Rome (above, pp. 102 ff.), it is to be accepted that Rome now continued the gold and silver output established there by Gaius, together with continued output of S C *aes*. However, much of the *aes* issued under Claudius was not of Roman mintage at all. The relative frequency of 'Claudian' *aes* of non-Roman origin but based

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *Div. Claudius* 10.

on Roman prototypes has long been recognized, many examples having been found in the Rhineland, Gaul, Spain, and Britain;<sup>1</sup> and it seems likely that the production of these imitations lasted until the end of (and even beyond) Claudius' principate.<sup>2</sup> Imitation of coinage in antiquity was normally a sign of local desire to augment official monetary supply, and one might therefore suppose, reasonably, that after the closure of the Lyons mint, and of many city-mints in Spain, the abundance of the former 'Agrippa' asses (above, p. 105) and of Gaius' fairly common *Vesta* asses was not enough to satisfy local demand even when supplied with Claudius' new *aes*, especially his S C Minerva asses. The particular minting-centres from which the 'Claudian copies' were issued have not been and probably cannot be determined, and it can be said only that they must have varied greatly in skill, since the copies (which include sestertii and dupondii as well as the far commoner asses, especially S C Minerva) range from the very skilful to the very barbarous, and from those of full weight to the very lightest. Some scholars have suggested that Claudius' government condoned, or connived at, this non-official augmentation of *aes* monetary supply. However this may be (and imperial acceptance of a breached imperial monopoly is not easy to understand), Nero's establishment of an *aes* mint at Lugdunum (below, p. 142) coincided with the virtual extinction of *aes* imitation.

Possibly the supervision of coinage as a whole was less efficient under Claudius than it had been previously. For the occurrence of plated denarii, by no means unknown under his predecessors, now became much more common. It has sometimes been thought that these were official productions, intended to 'stretch' supplies of silver bullion by what was in effect a devaluation of Claudius' silver currency as a whole. However, the bankers of the time readily responded by punching the surface of denarii to test for their silver solidity; and if suspicion had arisen that the government was debasing its silver so clumsily, imperial credit would have been seriously affected—and not least in the army. More probably, plated Claudian denarii were the products of clever forgers who gained secret and illegal access to official dies, for the dies which struck these pieces look orthodox enough.

## II. *Mint of Lugdunum* (no. 1)

Rare quadrantes—they are heavier, it seems, than Claudius' Rome-struck quadrantes but too light for semisses<sup>3</sup>—bear the ROM ET AVG Altar of Lyons type first used by Augustus, who dedicated the Altar on 1 August 10 BC, the day of Claudius' birth at Lyons. If struck in 41, this little issue would have commemorated Claudius' fiftieth birthday in a manner calculated to please Lugdunum and its citizens.

<sup>1</sup> *E. and C.* p. 71, n. 53.

<sup>2</sup> It should be remembered that much Claudian *aes* continued to circulate under Nero, often becoming worn and under-weight: hence in part the frequency of the N(ero) C(aesar) A(ugustus) PR(obavit) or P(opulo)

R(omano), NE(ro), PRO(batum), and BON(um) countermarks (cf. *BMCRE* pp. xliif.).

<sup>3</sup> So too *RIC* i (1st edn.), no. 70, with reservations.

III. *Mint of Rome* (nos. 2-116)(a) *Organization*

It is perhaps possible to obtain a glimpse, however imperfect, of the internal structure of the mint of Rome, to which, as has already been stated (above, p. 114), it is here accepted that the task of coining the gold and silver of the central imperial series had by now been transferred. D. W. Mac Dowall has already postulated, for Claudius' *aes*, a fairly specific number of *officinae*, or working sections, based on the proposition, increasingly valid as time went on, that each *officina* was responsible for coining a given *aes* type or closely linked group of types.<sup>1</sup> Examination of Claudius' gold and silver bears out his general thesis, and the more so since a substantial proportion of that gold and silver bears annual dates. If we take, at first, the dated gold and silver alone, and equate each major type with the operation in any one year of a specific *officina*, we get the following parallel result:

	Gold	Silver
41-2	6 types/ <i>officinae</i>	6 types/ <i>officinae</i>
42-3	None	None
43-4	3 types/ <i>officinae</i>	3 types/ <i>officinae</i>
44-5	3   "   "	3   "   "
45-6	None	None
46-7	6 types/ <i>officinae</i>	6 types/ <i>officinae</i>
47-8	None	None
48-9	None	None
49-50	4 types/ <i>officinae</i>	4 types/ <i>officinae</i>
50-1	3   "   "	3   "   "
51-2	2   "   "	2   "   "

With this dated gold and silver we have also to consider the not inconsiderable undated issues. Up to c.45 aurei and denarii were struck, each in two types, in the name of Antonia, and, each in three types, in the name of Nero Claudius Drusus; and it is not unreasonable to place these in 43-4 and 44-5, when the dated issues claimed only three *officinae*. Similarly, there is a spate of undated gold and silver from 50 to 54—one type for Agrippina (gold only recorded), two for Nero (each in gold and silver), one for Claudius and Agrippina (in gold and silver), and one for Claudius and Nero (in gold and silver). It is not possible to give any even vague chronological attribution for these, but plainly, after the 'dated coinage' *officinae* had dwindled first to three and then to two in 50-1 and 51-2, there was adequate capacity in at least two years for an additional five gold and silver types.

So far as gold and silver alone are concerned, a reasonable pattern emerges in relation to the main events which are known to have called for good money supplies in these metals. If we accept the equation 1 type = 1 *officina*, in 41-2 the consequences of accession, in terms of donatives and other largesse, kept six *officinae* at work, from which the praetorian guards and splendid games and shows could be paid. In 43-4 and 44-5 the invasion of Britain and the

<sup>1</sup> *SNRHS* pp. 32 ff.

subsequent celebratory games called for fresh supply, and 3+2 (or 3+3) *officinae* were active. Six were needed in 46-7 to prepare for outlay on the Secular Games of 47; and from 50 onwards the popularization of Claudius' marriage to Agrippina and adoption of her son Nero called for a fresh supplementation, in a total of five new types: there was also military activity in the East in 51 and 52.

Mac Dowall has proposed, for *aes*, the normal operation of four *officinae* for Claudius. Here we are confronted by the inherent difficulties of classifying this *aes* chronologically. Recent argument, accepting the proposal of C. M. Kraay, has suggested that Claudius' *aes* should 'be viewed as extending more or less regularly over the period 41-50, and very possibly for a year or two after 50', with the clear understanding that *aes* without the title P P could have been produced at any time from 41 to 50.<sup>1</sup> The preceding analysis of the possible *officina* system for gold and silver allows us to see when the *aes* (which was of great volume) could have been produced.

The four years, 42-3, 45-6, 47-8, and 48-9 are devoid of dated gold and silver. Here, surely, were the occasions when the non-P P *aes* of Rome could have been mainly struck. It is true that room has to be found, not only for a total of about twelve *aes* types (of widely varying frequency) but also for dated quadrantes, some common, in 41-2 and 42-3. Many of these quadrantes, however, were struck in what seem to have been small quantities, and possibly a month or two of work in each of two *officinae* would have sufficed for them. And for the main bulk of non-P P *aes* it must be remembered that, apart from the obvious years 42-3, 45-6, 47-8, and 48-9 noted above, a probable total of only four *officinae* can be supposed for gold and silver in 49-50, when two *officinae* would therefore have been available for *aes*.

The absence of dated gold and silver between 51-2 and 54 makes any hypothetical reconstruction of an *officina* system impossible then. One type was struck, in both gold and silver, for Claudius and Agrippina, and one, again in both gold and silver, for Claudius and Nero. Two types, each in gold and silver, appeared for Nero alone, and one (so far recorded only in silver—the gold may remain to be found) for Agrippina alone. All these issues are distinctly scarce or rare, and it is possible that one year's output—say, 52-3—would have sufficed, leaving 53-4 and 54 (until 13 October, when Claudius died) for the issues of P P *aes*, of which indeed some (see nos. 103, 107-8) may not be of Roman mintage at all, and certain others (see nos. 105, 112, 114) are relatively scarce. It has for long been noted that the non-P P *aes* is much more abundant (and for that reason more readily copied) than that with P P.

### (b) Types

#### (i) Gold and Silver (nos. 2-83)

41-2. Six *officinae*. Three reverse types (*Ex SC Ob Cives Servatos, Imper Recept, and Praetor Recept*) allude in simple form to the Senate's acceptance of the emperor chosen by the praetorians. Two more refer to Claudius' personal policy—*civil Constantia*, and *Paci Augustae*, with its overtones of

<sup>1</sup> *E. and C.* pp. 115f.

Victoria, Felicitas and Pudor,<sup>1</sup> and one to Germanicus' military glories (*De Germanis*).

43-4. Three *officinae*. Only the *Imper Recept*, *Praetor Recept*, and *Paci Augustae* types were struck.

44-5. Three *officinae*. Types as in 43-4.

46-7. Six *officinae*. *Imper Recept* and *Paci Augustae* were continued, but the British conquest was emphasized with *De Britann*. *De Germanis* was revived, and civil *Constantia*. The *S P Q R P P Ob C S* was presumably to mark the reaffirmation of state gratitude for military victories.<sup>2</sup>

49-50. Four *officinae*. Together with the continued *De Britann*, *Constantiae*, *Paci*, and *S P Q R P P Ob C S* were maintained.

50-1. Three *officinae*. Types as in 49-50, with the omission of *De Britann*.

51-2. Two *officinae*. *Paci*, and *S P Q R P P Ob C S* only.

The undated gold and silver of c.41-5 commemorated Claudius' mother (Antonia) and father (Nero Claudius Drusus), the latter famed for his German campaigns. That of c.50-4 gave emphasis to Claudius' marriage (in 49) to Agrippina and adoption (in 50) of her young son Nero, who was elected a supernumerary member of the four priestly colleges<sup>3</sup> and was presented by the equites with a ceremonial spear and shield—like C. and L. Caesar before him—as *princeps iuventutis*, marking him out as Claudius' heir presumptive.<sup>4</sup>

(ii) *Aes* (nos. 84-116)

The only dated *aes* consists of quadrantes of 25 January-31 December 41, 1-4 January 42, and 5 January-31 December 42. And the reason for these is not entirely clear. Those with modius obverse (nos. 84, 86-8, 90) probably relate to a distribution of corn to the citizens to mark Claudius' accession.<sup>5</sup> Those with obverse scales and P N R are a matter of dispute.<sup>6</sup> It would seem that P N R refers to some kind of monetary rectification, for which *P(ondus) N(unmi) R(estitutum)* and similar formulae have been suggested. D. W. Mac Dowall has proposed the view<sup>7</sup> that the allusion is to a brief improvement by Claudius in the weights of aureus and denarius at the outset of his reign, though whether this would have qualified for mention on quadrantes is perhaps a question.

Undated *aes*, as has been seen, falls into two groups, without and with P P. That without P P, running from 41 to c.50, includes dupondii with portrait of Claudius' mother Antonia, with reverse Claudius performing religious honours to her, and portrait sestertii of his father Nero Claudius Drusus, with reverse Claudius celebrating his military prowess. The portrait coinage of Claudius himself includes 'accession' sestertii (*Ex S C Ob Cives Servatos*), and other sestertii honouring the triumphs of his father<sup>8</sup> and probably commemorating the birth in February 41, of Claudius' son (by Messalina)

<sup>1</sup> See *E. and C.* p. 114.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *BMCRE* p. cxlv.

<sup>3</sup> Not elsewhere recorded, as *BMCRE* pp. clivf., observed.

<sup>4</sup> As Mattingly remarked (*BMCRE* p. cliv), the donative given in Nero's name in 51 (*Tac. Ann.* xii. 41) could well have been paid in these (or some of these) actual coins.

<sup>5</sup> Rather than merely to Claudius' interest in the *annona* (as *BMCRE* p. clvii n. 3).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. C. E. King in *NC* 1975, pp. 62f.

<sup>7</sup> *Schweiz. Münzbl.* 1968, pp. 81ff.

<sup>8</sup> The triumphal arch was possibly that erected on the Appian Way (*Suet. Div. Claudius* i. 1).



Britannicus, later to be superseded as heir by Agrippina's son Nero.<sup>1</sup> The rest of Claudius' non-P P *aes* consists of dupondii and asses with (as was by now normal convention) simpler types of a significance gauged to a variety of levels of understanding in Rome, Italy, and the provinces. *Ceres Augusta* naturally alluded to Claudius' well-known concern for the imperially directed corn-supply, which led him to set on foot the modernization of the reception-port of Ostia.<sup>2</sup> Of the asses, *Constantiae Augusti* (a personal attribute, as the genitive *Augusti* indicates) is here (unlike Constantia on the gold and silver) a military concept; *Libertas Augusta* presumably alludes to governmental relaxation after Gaius' despotic regime; while the very common S C coins with the fighting Minerva—the Athena Promachos of many Hellenistic coin-types<sup>3</sup>—aptly symbolize the rule of Claudius the soldier-scholar.

*Aes* with P P, between c.50 and 54, continued the Claudian-portrait 'accession' sestertii (though now with P P added on reverse), the *Spes* sestertii and those of Nero Claudius Drusus, together with the *Ceres* dupondii and the *Constantia*, *Libertas*, and S C *Minerva* asses—few of them as common as in the earlier non-P P series. And the commemorative sestertii for Nero Claudius Drusus and dupondii for Antonia were also carried on, with a commemorative addition of sestertii (rare) and asses (common) for Claudius' brother Germanicus (15 BC–AD 19), for whose famous wife, Agrippina the elder (14 BC–AD 33), commemorative sestertii were also struck in some numbers. Apart from these, there are some problematical issues for Agrippina the younger (rare sestertii) and the young Nero Caesar (rare sestertii and dupondii). Provenance has suggested a Balkan mintage for these (see the notes to nos. 103 and 107), and it seems that the style and execution are not certainly Roman. Conceivably these issues were produced for troop-payments in Pannonia in Claudius' last years.<sup>4</sup>

#### iv. *Mint of Ephesus* (nos. 117–19)

Undated silver cistophori, which Ephesus had not minted since Augustus' vast coinage there (above, pp. 35f.), were produced by Claudius, a possibly early issue and a certainly later one (this bearing the joint portraits of Claudius and Agrippina the younger) both showing reverses of *Diana Ephesia*, and both rare or very rare: the quantity struck cannot have been large. A dated issue of 50–1, with Agrippina's portrait on the reverse, may also be of Ephesus, as the lettering is very similar to issues with *Diana* reverse. These Ephesian issues cannot have served a much larger purpose than that of imperial commemoration, for it is known that the Augustan issues lasted, substantially, until the great cistophoric recoinage under Hadrian.

<sup>1</sup> The archaic *κόρη*-type of *Spes* seems to sound a dynastic note. Claudius himself was born on 1 Aug., the day of *vota* to *Spes*; and the birth of his son would of course increase and extend the dynastic hopes. (Cf. *BMCRE* p. clvi nn. 2–4.)

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Suet. *Div. Claudius* 18, 20, and 25; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43.

<sup>3</sup> *BMCRE* p. clviii.

<sup>4</sup> Major Roman penetration along the lower Danube did not take place until Nero's reign but the Roman presence in Pannonia was firm (cf. Tac. *Ann.* xii. 29), and perhaps the great northern salient in that province was now first fully controlled.

v. *Mint of Pergamum* (nos. 120-1)

The silver cistophori of Pergamum were likewise issued in only slight quantity, being very rare today; and here too the abundant Augustan issues would still have sufficed. The *Com Asi* issue, which was mistakenly given to Ephesus by Mattingly,<sup>1</sup> must belong to Pergamum, the seat of the Commune Asiae, and probably marked Claudius' accession, while the later issue, with portrait (and dedicatory dative legend) of young Nero emphasized his adoption—without, however, any interest simultaneously shown in his mother, Agrippina the younger. Attribution of this latter issue rests on the general similarity of technique between this and the certainly Pergamene *Com Asi* coins; and if this attribution, and that of no. 117 (to Ephesus), are correct, it would seem that Agrippina and her son enjoyed differing degrees of popularity at Pergamum and Ephesus, possibly because Ephesus tended towards a syncretism of Agrippina with Diana.

vi. *Mint of Caesarea Cappadociae* (nos. 122-6)

Latin-inscribed didrachms and drachms had been struck at Caesarea under Tiberius and Gaius (pp. 89, 107); and didrachms continued under Claudius. None are dated, but the type-content of the issues suggests their appearance before c. 50. Those in the name and with the portrait of Claudius himself refer to the conquest of Britain—a theme of natural interest, c. 45, to an essentially military mint like Caesarea—and to Claudius' assumption of P P, something not seen on the precious metal of Rome until 46. Those in the name and with the portrait of Messallina emphasize the military attachment to Claudius' family as the army found it at the time of his accession and after, with representations of his children by Messallina (Octavia and Britannicus) and of his daughter Antonia by Paetina, during her previous marriage. Finally, there were commemorative issues for Claudius' famous military father, Nero Claudius Drusus. All these didrachms of Caesarea Cappadociae are rare, and it may be thought that their purpose was at least partly to stimulate legionary loyalty.

A peculiarity of this mint is to be seen in the elliptical shape of many of the flans. The weight of these didrachms of Claudius, at c. 7.40-7.35, compares well with the c. 7.40-7.25 of Gaius, the drachms of Tiberius showing an apparently lighter peak at c. 3.45, which would give a didrachm weight of c. 6.90.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *BMCRE* no. 228; *E. and C.* pp. 54 (with n. 99) and 75 (with n. 67).

# CLAUDIUS

## LUGDUNUM

Undated *aes* quadrantes, (?) AD 41\*

Obv. legend:  $\odot$ TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP

Obv. head: Claudius, laur., r.

Weight-peak, c. 4.00–3.60 g. Dies  $\uparrow\downarrow$ .

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 15) 1	Quad	ROM ET AVG (ex.) Front elevation of the Altar of Lyons, decorated with corona civica between laurels, these being flanked by stylized figures; to l. and r., Victories on columns, facing each other	R2	BMC 227

## ROME†

### I. Dated aurei, gold quinarii, and denarii, AD 41–52

- Obv. legends:
1.  $\odot$ TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P (AD 41–2)
  2.  $\odot$ TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P (AD 41–2)
  3.  $\odot$ TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P III (AD 43–4)
  4.  $\odot$ TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P IIII (AD 44–5)
  5.  $\odot$ TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P VI IMP X (AD 46–7)
  6.  $\odot$ TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P VI IMP XI (AD 46–7)
  7.  $\odot$ TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P VIIII IMP XVI (AD 49–50)
  8.  $\odot$ TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P VIIII IMP XVIII (AD 49–50)
  9.  $\odot$ TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P X IMP P P (AD 50–1)
  10.  $\odot$ TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P X P IMP XVIII (AD 50–1)
  11.  $\odot$ TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR P XI IMP P P COS V (AD 51–2)

Obv. head: Claudius, laur., r.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.80–7.65 g; denarii c. 3.85–3.60 g.† Dies not adjusted.

### AD 41–2 (TR P)

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 15) 2	Au	2	$\odot$ CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI Constantia seated l. on curule chair, feet on stool, r. raised	R2	BMC 1

\* For the probable occasion of this issue see introductory p. 115.

† For analysis of the issues of gold and silver from Rome see introductory pp. 116ff.

‡ *BMCRE* gives the average weight of 104 aurei as 7.63 g, and of 29 denarii as 3.75 g. D. R. Walker (*Metrology*, p. 15) calculates the average mean weight of 19 denarii as 3.67 g.

The weight-peaks given here are based on the weighings of 84 aurei and 61 denarii. It would seem that Claudius reduced the weight of the aureus very slightly below the Tiberian-Gaian level, even if not by quite as much as one-sixteenth of a scruple (cf. *E. and C.* p. 123).

2. Corresponding denarii have yet to be noted.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
3	Au	2	DE GERMANIS on architrave of triumphal arch surmounted by equestrian statue l. between two trophies	R4	Rollin and Feuardent 25. 4. 1887 (d'Amécourt), 93
(Pl. 15) 4	D	2	"	R2	BMC 2
5	Au	2	EX S C/OB CIVES/SERVATOS in three lines in oak-wreath	R2	BMC 3
6	D	2	"	R2	Hu. 2; Ox.
7	Au	2	IMPER RECEPT on the top of battlemented wall enclosing praetorian camp in which soldier stands, spear in r., with aquila in front of him; behind him a pediment with fortified flanking walls	R2	BMC 5
8	D	2	"	R4	Coh. 41
9	Au	2	☾PACI ☾AVGVSTAE Pax-Nemesis, winged, advancing r., l. holding winged caduceus pointing down at snake, r. holding out fold of drapery below chin	R2	BMC 6
10	D	2	"	R3	Hu. 4
11	Au	2	☾PRAETOR ☾RECEPT Claudius, bare-headed and togate, stg. r. clasping hands with long-haired soldier stg. l. with shield slung on one side, l. holding aquila	R3	BMC 8
12	D	2	"	R2	BMC 9
AD 41-2 (GERM . . . TR P)					
13	Au	1	☾CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI As no. 2 above	R2	BMC 11
14	D	1	"	R	BMC 13
(Pl. 15) 15	Au	1	EX S C/OB CIVES/SERVATOS As no. 5 above	R2	BMC 16
16	D	1	"	R2	BMC 18
17	AuQ	1	☾VICTORIA ☾AVGVSTI Victory seated r. on globe, holding wreath in both hands	R4	Par. (BMC pl. 33, 24)
18	AuQ	1	☾VICTORIA ☾AVGVSTI Victory stg. r., r. foot on globe, r. inscribing shield leaning on knee	R4	BM cast (BMC pl. 33, 23)
AD 43-4 (TR P III)*					
(Pl. 15) 19	Au	3	IMPER RECEPT As no. 7 above	R3	BMC 20
20	D	3	"	R3	BMC 21
21	Au	3	☾PACI ☾AVGVSTAE As no. 9 above	R3	Par.
22	D	3	"	R3	Par.
(Pl. 15, rev.) 23	Au	3	☾PRAETOR ☾RECEPT As no. 11 above	R3	BMC 22
24	D	3	"	R4	Coh. 79
AD 44-4 (TR P IIII)					
25	Au	4	IMPER RECEPT As no. 7 above	R2	BMC 23
26	D	4	"	R2	BMC 24

\* *BMCRE* p. 167 n. †, observed the doubtful reading of the aureus cited by Eckhel, *DNV* vi, p. 240 (Coh. 54), with its obv. TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG P M TR POT III IMP V.

3-4. Examples reading DE GERM (Coh. 25-6) have yet to be confirmed.

8. Confirmation required.

24. Confirmation required.

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.		Frequ.	Ref.
	27	Au	4	(PACI) AVGVSTAE As no. 9 above		R2	BMC 26
(Pl. 15, rev.)	28	D	4	"		R	BMC 27
	29	Au	4	(PRAETOR) RECEPT As no. 11 above		R4	BMC 28

## AD 46-7 (TR P VI IMP X)

30	Au	5	DE BRITANN on architrave of triumphal arch surmounted by equestrian statue l., r. extended, l. holding spear, between two trophies	R4	BMC 29
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## AD 46-7 (TR P VI IMP XI)\*

	31	Au	6	(Q) CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI As no. 2 above	R2	BMC 30
	32	D	6	"	R2	BMC 31
(Pl. 15)	33	Au	6	DE BRITANN As no. 30 above	R2	BMC 32
	34	D	6	"	R2	BMC 35
(Pl. 15, rev.)	35	Au	6	DE GERMANIS As no. 3 above	R4	BMC 36
	36	Au	6	IMPER RECEPT As no. 7 above	R4	BMC 37
	37	D	6	"	R3	BMC 38
	38	Au	6	(PACI) AVGVSTAE As no. 9 above	R2	BMC 39
	39	D	6	"	R2	BMC 40
	40	Au	6	S P Q R / P P / O B C S in three lines in oak-wreath	R2	BMC 42
	41	D	6	"	R2	BMC 46

## AD 49-50 (TR P VIII IMP XVI)†

42	Au	7	(Q) CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI As no. 2 above	R3	BMC 48
43	D	7	"	R4	Ox.
44	Au	7	DE BRITANN As no. 30 above	R3	BMC 49
45	D	7	"	R3	BMC 50
46	Au	7	(PACI) AVGVSTAE As no. 9 above	R3	BMC 51
47	D	7	"	R3	BMC 52
48	Au	7	S P Q R / P P / O B C S As no. 40 above	R3	BMC 54
49	D	7	"	R4	Par.

## AD 49-50 (TR P VIII IMP XVII)‡

50	Au	8	S P Q R / P P / O B C S As no. 40 above	R4	BMC 56
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\* Coh. 36-7 gives aurei and denarii of this date with rev. EX S C OB CIVES SERVATOS, with no authority cited, and almost certainly in error.

† Coh. 59 cites PACI AVGVSTAE rev. with . . . P M TR P VIII for aurei; and *ASFN* 1882, p. 118, cites the same rev. for denarii with . . . P M TR P VIII IMP XVI. Both are possibly misreadings of VIII. Similarly, the Egger sale (1913) denarius with TR P VIII IMP XV is a possible misreading of XVI. Oxford has plated silver hybrid with the same rev. and TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM P M TRIB POT P P. Coh. 20 and 90 cite denarii (DE BRITANN and S P Q R P P O B C S) with TR P VIII IMP XVII, possibly misreadings of XVI.

‡ With this date Coh. 11 lists gold with rev. CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI, Coh. 21 silver

with rev. DE BRITANN, and Coh. 62-3 gold and silver with rev. PACI AVGVSTAE. All need verification.

29. A denarius of these types would be expected. Does it exist?

30. A denarius of these types would be expected, but those with TR P VI IMP VI (*sic*), with statue r. (*BMC* p. 168 n. †, and *Hunter Cat.* 14) are—with an impossible titular numbering—false.

35. *BMC* 36 gave the reading DE GERMANI, but the final and rather flattened S is in fact visible. Coh. 29 cites a matching denarius: confirmation required.

41. *BMC* p. 170, note to no. 47, correctly doubts the denarius (*RIN* 1907, p. 171) with this rev. and obv. TI CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM IMP XI . . .

50. No corresponding silver yet listed.

## AD 50-1 (TR P X̄ alone)\*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
51	Au	9	☾PACI☾AVGVSTAE As no. 9 above	R3	BMC 61
52	D	9	”	R3	BMC 62
53	Au	9	SPQR/P P/OB C S As no. 40 above	R3	BMC 64
54	D	9	”	R3	BMC 66

## AD 50-1 (TR P X̄ . . . IMP XVIII)

55	Au	10	☾CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI As no. 2 above	R3	BMC 57
56	D	10	”	R4	Par.
57	Au	10	☾PACI☾AVGVSTAE As no. 9 above	R3	BMC 58
58	D	10	”	R2	BMC 59
59	Au	10	SPQR/P P/OB C S As no. 40 above	R3	BMC 60
60	D	10	”	R3	Ox.

## AD 51-2 (TR P XĪ . . . COS V)

61	Au	11	☾PACI☾AVGVSTAE As no. 9 above	R3	BMC 68
62	D	11	”	R3	BMC 69
63	Au	11	SPQR/P P/OB C S As no. 40 above	R3	BMC 70
64	D	11	”	R3	BMC 71

## AD 51-2 (TR P XĪ IMP XVIII)

Coh. 97-8 cites this dating for aurei and denarii (with no specific authority) with rev. SPQR/P P/OB C S. The issue does not seem to be impossible in itself, but it has yet to be confirmed.

## II. Undated aurei and denarii, AD 41-54

Weight-peaks and die-axes as for group I above.

## (a) c.AD 41-5

- Obv. legends: 1. ☾ANTONIA☾AVGVSTA†  
2. ☾NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANICVS IMP

- Obv. heads/busts: A. Antonia bust, dr., r., wearing crown of corn-ears, her hair in long plait behind.  
B. Nero Claudius Drusus head, laur., l.

## In the name of Antonia

	65	Au	1A	☾CONSTANTIAE☾AVGVSTI Antonia stg. facing, dr., as Constantia, r. holding long torch, l. cornucopiae	R	BMC 109
(Pl. 15)	66	D	1A	”	R2	BMC 111
(Pl. 15, rev.)	67	Au	1A	☾SACERDOS, →DIVI (above), ☾AVGVSTI Two vertical long torches, lighted and linked by ribbon	R2	BMC 112
	68	D	1A	”	R2	BMC 114

\* RIC i (1st edn.), no. 6, gives denarii (CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI) with . . . TR P X P P, on the basis of Coh. 12 (Par.), which is in fact the denarius of RIC i (1st edn.), no. 7.

† BMCRE p. 180, n. \*, cites the curious Vienna denarius with ☾ANTONIA☾AV . . . STI (sic), obv. A, and . . . ACERDOS, carpentum l.

(cf. NZ 1921, p. 151, pl. VII, 5).

65-8. Antonia, Claudius' mother, who died under Gaius, is here honoured with Ceres' wreath: the reverses emphasize her as the model for Claudius' Constantia and also as the priestess of Divus Augustus, from whom imperial auctoritas ultimately flowed.

*In the name of Nero Claudius Drusus*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
69	Au	2B	DE above and GERM on architrave of triumphal arch surmounted by equestrian statue r. between two trophies, each with seated and bound captive at foot; spear in rider's r.	R	BMC 95
(Pl. 15) 70	D	2B	"	R	BMC 97
71	Au	2B	DE GERMANIS on architrave of triumphal arch surmounted by equestrian statue l. between two trophies; rider's r. raised	R2	BMC 100
72	D	2B	"	R	BMC 102
(Pl. 15) 73	Au	2B	Q DE GE—R—MA—NIS Two oblong shields crossed, and two pairs of spears and two trumpets crossed, in front of upright vexillum with flag waving or still	R	BMC 104
74	D	2B	As no. 73 above but flag still	R2	BMC 107

*(b) AD 50-4*

- Obv. legends: 1. (AGRIPPINAE) AVGVSTAE  
 2. Q NERO CLAVD CAES DRVSVS GERM PRINC IVVENT  
 3. Q NERONI CLAVDIO DRVSO GERM COS DESIGN  
 4. Q TI CLAVD CAESAR AVGV GERM P M TRIB POT P P\*

- Obv. heads/busts: A. Agrippina bust, dr., r., wearing crown of corn-ears, her hair in long plait behind.  
 B. Claudius head, laur., r.  
 . Nero bust, bare-headed, dr., r.  
 D. Nero bust, bare-headed, dr., l.

*In the name of Agrippina*

(Pl. 15) 75	D	1A	Q NERO CLAVD CAES DRVSVS GERM PRINC IVVENT Nero bust, bare-headed, dr., l.	R2	BMC 82
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*In the name of Nero*

76	Au	2D	Q SACERD COOPT IN OMN CONL SVPR NVM EX S C Simpulum (to r.) on l. and lituus (to l.) on r. above tripod and patera respectively	R2	BMC 84
(Pl. 15) 77	D	2D	"	R2	BMC 87
78	Au	3C	EQVESTER/OR—DO/PRINCIPI/IVVENT in four lines on shield with vertical spear behind	R2	BMC 92
L 15, rev.) 79	D	3C	"	R	BMC 93

\* See *BMCRE* p. 174 n. ‡, for the occurrence of this late obv. legend with earlier reverses on coins which, frequently plated, are probably ancient forgeries.

74. *BMC* 108 is a plated hybrid with this obv. and with rev. as no. 10 above. *BMC* 241, with types of no. 74 and weighing 3.41 g, but with oval flan, has on that account been attributed to Caesarea in Cappadocia, though Mattingly felt some reservations. It is perhaps best regarded as a denarius of deformed shape.

75. Mattingly rightly observed that in this later Claudian period the obv. legend is normally anti-clockwise and that this issue thus comes from two rev. dies. It would be an error to regard (cf. *RIC* i (1st edn.), no. 100) the obv. of this issue as being that with the bust of the young Nero.

77. *BMC* 88 has minor variant with PRIN IVVEN on obv. *Coh.* 98 cites the obv. of no. 77 with the rev. of no. 78: presumably a hybrid.

79. Oxford has plated variant (ex L. A. Lawrence) with DESIGNATI. *BMC* 89 is a

*In the name of Claudius with Agrippina*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
80	Au	4B	ΛAGRIPPINAE ΛAVGVSTAE Agrippina bust, dr., r., wearing crown of corn-ears, her hair in long plait behind	R	BMC 72
(Pl. 16) 81	D	4B	"	R	BMC 75

*In the name of Claudius with Nero*

(Pl. 15, rev.) 82	Au	4B	QNERO CLAVD CAES DRVSVS GERM PRINC IVVENT Nero bust, bare-headed, dr., l.	R2	BMC 79
83	D	4B	"	R2	BMC 80

III. Dated *aes* quadrantes, AD 41–(?)3

Obv. legends and types: 1. UTI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG around three-legged modius\*  
 2. UTI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG around hand l., holding pair of scales above PNR†

Weight-peak, c. 3.50–3.00 g.‡ Dies virtually always †↓.

## (a) 25 January 41–3 December 41

84	Quad	1	UPON M TR P IMP COS DES IT around S C	C	Hu. 74
(Pl. 16) 85	Quad	2	"	C	BMC 174
86	Quad	1	UPONT MAX TR POT IMP around S C	R	Coh. 75
87	Quad	1	UPONT MAXI TR POT IMP around S C	R	BMC 173

## (b) 1 January 42–4 January 42

(Pl. 16) 88	Quad	1	UPON M TR P IMP COS II around S C	R3	Ox.
(Pl. 16) 89	Quad	2	"	R3	Ox.

## (c) 5 January 42–31 December 42

90	Quad	1	UPON M TR P IMP P P COS II around S C	C	BMC 182
91	Quad	2	"	S	BMC 181

plated denarius with obv. as no. 79 and rev. as no. 77; presumably a hybrid.

\* *RIC*i (1st edn.), no. 73, gives AVGVSTVS as a variant reading, almost certainly in error.

† See introductory p. 118.

‡ For Claudian quadrantes cf. C. E. King in *NC* 1975, pp. 62 ff., 85. The weights of the 294 pieces from the Tiber recorded by her have almost certainly been reduced by long immersion: see her p. 58.

81. *BMC* 77–8 are imitative pieces (one plated) without P P and with POTES (but no P M) respectively.

82–3. Coh. (Claudius and Nero) 4–5 give Nero's bust r., in error.

84–5. COS DES IT has sometimes been misread as COS DES II.

90. Coh. 74 cites this variety with COS III. Not apparently substantiated, and possibly the result of misreading.



IV. Undated *aes* sestertii, dupondii, and asses

(a) c.AD 41–50(?+)\*

- Obv. legends: 1. (ANTONIA)AVGVSTA  
 2. (NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANICVS IMP  
 3. (TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP  
 4. (DIVVS AVGVSTVS

- Obv. heads/busts: A. Antonia bust, dr., r., head bare, hair in long plait.  
 B. Nero Claudius Drusus head, bare, l.  
 C. Claudius head, laur., r.  
 D. Claudius head, bare, l.  
 E. Augustus head rad., l., between S—C

Weight-peaks, sestertii c. 29.75–27.25 g; dupondii c. 15.00–13.00 g; asses c. 11.25–9.50 g. † Dies virtually always †↓.

*In the name of Antonia*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 16) 92	Dp	1A	(TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP Claudius, veiled and togate, stg. l., r. holding simpulum; S—C low in field l. and r.	C	BMC 166

*In the name of Nero Claudius Drusus*

(Pl. 16) 93	S	2B	(TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP Claudius, bare-headed and togate, seated l. on curule chair, r. holding out branch; miscellaneous weapons and armour lying around; S C in ex.	C	BMC 157
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*In the name of Claudius*

94	Dp	3D	(CERES)AVGVSTA Ceres, veiled and dr., seated l. on ornamental throne, r. holding two corn-ears, l. long torch; S C in ex.	C	BMC 136
(Pl. 16) 95	As	3D	(CONSTANTIAE)AVGVSTI Constantia, helmeted and in military dress, stg. l., r. raised, l. holding long spear; S—C to l. and r.	C	BMC 140

\* For the date-range of Claudian *aes* without P P see C. M. Kraay in *Gaz. num. suisse* 1952, pp. 53ff., and for a summary of his views *E. and C.* p. 115, together with introductory p. 117 above.

† Mattingly's figures, based on averages, were different—for sestertii (39) 28.67 g; for dupondii (10) 16.19 g; and for asses (29) 10.59 g. The dupondii of which weights were easily available to me (over 20) show figures straggling from 16.80 to 11.50 g.

92. An issue frequently imitated; also frequently countermarked, especially with NCAPR or PRO. Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 188 n. \*) rejected Coh. 7, with obv. as no. 92 here and rev. TI CLAV CA AVG P M TR P S C in laur. wreath ('Æ2'), as also Coh. 3, with rev.

PACI PERP, lighted altar in laur. wreath ('Æ2'); no evidence for these seems to have been recorded since. *BMC* 172 is an obvious hybrid, using an inappropriate obv.

93. *BMC* 157 gives Claudius seated r.—a slip. This issue was often imitated, and also countermarked: PRO, PROB, BON, IMP, TI AV are the usual marks.

94. Imitated (sometimes with obv. ... AVG IMP P M TR P, cf. *BMC* 139, *Hunter Cat.* 53) though seldom countermarked.

95. Imitated though seldom countermarked. *BMCRE* p. 184 n. \*, regarded the heavy piece of *ASFN* 1884, p. 48, as a large-flan as, and the Paris Æ1 with obv. 3C as probably a proof.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
96	S	3C	EX S C/OB/CIVES/SERVATOS in four lines in oak-wreath	C	BMC 115
97	As	3D	(LIBERTAS) AVGVSTA Libertas, dr., stg. facing, head r., r. holding pileus, l. extended; S—C to l. and r.	C	BMC 145
98	S	3C	(NERO) CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMAN IMP Triumphal arch surmounted by equestrian statue r., spearing downward with r., between two trophies; S—C to l. and r.	S	BMC 122
(Pl. 16) 99	S	3C	(SPES) AVGVSTA Spes, dr., advancing l., r. holding flower, l. raising skirt; S C in ex.	C	BMC 124
(Pl. 16) 100	As	3D	S—C to l. and r. of Minerva r., helmeted and dr., r. hurling javelin, round shield on l. arm	C	BMC 149

*In the name of Divus Augustus*

101	Dp	4E	(DIVA) AVGVSTA Livia seated l., r. holding corn-ears, l. long torch	R2	BMC 224
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(b) c.AD 50(?)—4

- Obv. legends:
1. (AGRIPPINA) M F GERMANICI CAESARIS
  2. (AGRIPPINA) AVG GERMANICI F CAESARIS AVG
  3. (ANTONIA) AVGVSTA
  4. (GERMANICVS) CAESAR TI AVG F DIVI AVG N
  5. (NERO) CLAVD CAES DRVSVS GERM PRINC IVVENT
  6. (NERONI) CLAVDIO DRVSO GERMANICO COS DESIGN
  6. (NERO) CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANICVS IMP
  8. (TI) CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP P P

- Obv. heads/busts:
- A. Agrippina (senior) bust, dr., r., head bare, hair in long plait.
  - B. Agrippina (junior) bust, dr., r., head bare, hair in long plait.
  - C. Antonia bust, dr., r., head bare, hair in long plait.
  - D. Germanicus head, bare, r.
  - E. Nero bust, dr., r., head bare.
  - F. Nero bust, dr., l., head bare.
  - G. Nero Claudius Drusus head, bare, l.
  - H. Claudius head, laur., r.
  - J. Claudius head, bare, l.

Weight-peaks and dies as in group IV(a) above.

*In the name of Agrippina senior*

(Pl. 16, obv.) 102	S	1A	(TI) CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P IMP P P around S C	C	BMC 219
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96. Imitated, and also countermarked (NCAPR, PROB).

97. Imitated, once with TI C A countermark (BMC 148): possibly overstruck on as of Gaius. Imitations may have obv. with . . . AVG IMP P M TR P.

98. Seldom imitated. Found with countermark NCAPR.

99. Often imitated and also countermarked (NCAPR, PRO, PROB, TI AV, IMP). The rev. description of RIC i (1st edn.), no. 64, is faulty.

100. Very frequently copied, with rev. type even transposed. Copies may show the anomalous obv. legend . . . AVG IMP P M TR P(OT). Coh. 65 is doubtless an imitative as on large flan, with Minerva to l. and obv. head to r.

101. Most likely struck at the beginning of Claudius' reign: Mattingly suggested 'AD 41-2(?)'.

102. Often countermarked NCAPR. Coh. (Agrippina senior) 2 cited this obv. with rev.

*In the name of Agrippina junior*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
103	S	2B	No legend. Carpentum l., drawn by two mules	R3	Berl. (BMC pl. 37, 3)

*In the name of Antonia*

104	Dp	3C	Q TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP S PP, S—C As no. 92		BMC 213
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*In the name of Germanicus*

105	S	4D	As no. 102	R4	BMC 214
106	As	4D	As no. 102	C	BMC 218

*In the name of Nero Caesar*

(Pl. 17) 107	Dp	5F	Q SACERD COOPT IN OMN CONL SVpra NVM EX S C Simulium (to r.) on l. and lituus (to l.) on r. above tripod and patera respectively	R4	BMC p. 397, no. 242 bis; Ox.
108	S	6E	EQVester/OR—DO/PRINCIPI/IVVENT in four lines on shield with vertical spear behind	R4	Berl. (BMC pl. 37, 4); BM

*In the name of Nero Claudius Drusus*

109	S	7G	Q TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG P M TR P IMP S PP, S C in ex. As no. 93		BMC 208
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*In the name of Claudius*

16, rev.) 110	Dp	8J	(CERES)AVGVSTA, S C in ex. As no. 94	C	BMC 197
111	As	8J	(CONSTANTIAE)AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r. As no. 95	C	BMC 201

S P Q R MEMORIAE AGRIPPINAE, Carpentum l.—a type issued under Gaius (cf. p. 112, no. 55, above): Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 194 n. \*) regarded this as a hybrid—if indeed it is genuine.

103. See *BMCRE* p. 195 n. \*. Four examples in Berlin (three from the same obv. die; rev. dies all different; all found in Moesia-Thrace); a fifth in Sofia Museum; another in Vienna with obv. AGRIPPINAE... and rev. obliterated. One Berlin coin shows the final E of AGRIPPINAE apparently deleted. Mattingly regarded these coins as authentic, though he was puzzled over the Balkan provenances. If they are genuine (as the number of the dies suggests), they could have been presentation-pieces given to members of a

military unit later stationed in the Balkan area, though style and execution are somewhat inferior. Evidence for Coh. (Agrippina junior) 1 has not been forthcoming: see *RIC* i (1st edn.), no. 90.

105. A very rare issue, but certainly genuine: the Hartwig sale (Santamaria, 1910), had another example from different dies.

107. The BM specimen 'from the Balkan district': the Oxford specimen is ex L. A. Lawrence coll.

108. Mattingly considered the lack of reference to the Senate to be curious, but presumably the equestrian order defrayed the cost of the *aes* used for striking this rare issue.

109. Often countermarked NCAPR. One BM copy (*BMC* 212) with IMP and PRO.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
112	S	8H	EX S C/P P/OB CIVES/SERVATOS in four lines in oak-wreath	S	BMC 185
(Pl. 17) 113	As	8J	(LIBERTAS) AVGVSTA, S—C to l. and r. As no. 97	C	BMC 204
114	S	8H	(NERO) CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMAN IMP, S—C to l. and r. As no. 98	S	BMC 188
115	S	8H	(SPES) AVGVSTA, S C in ex. As no. 99	C	BMC 192
116	As	8J	S—C to l. and r. As no. 100	C	BMC 206-7

[Note. The sestertii commemorating Britannicus (*BMCRE* i, p. 196, no. 226, with note; *RIC* i (1st edn.), p. 133, nos. 87-8) are now convincingly reattributed as 'restored' issues to the reign of Titus: see *BMCRE* ii, pp. lxxviii, 293.]

## EPHESUS

### Dated and undated silver cistophori

Weight-peak, c. 10.90-10.80 g. Dies ↑↓.

#### (a) Dated, AD 50-1

Obv. legend: (TI) CLAVD CAESAR AVGP M TR P X IMP XIIIX

Obv. head: Claudius, laur., r.

No.	Denom.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
117	Cist.	(AGRIPPINA) AVGVSTA CAESARIS AVG Agrippina bust, dr., r., her hair in triple row of curls in front and in plait at back	R	BMC 234

#### (b) Undated, c.AD 41-2 and 50-1

Obv. legends: 1. (TI) CLAVD CAES AVG

2. (TI) CLAVD CAES AVG AGRIPP AVGVSTA

Obv. heads: A. Claudius, bare, l.

B. Claudius, laur., and Agrippina, bare-headed, jugate, l.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 17) 118	Cist.	1B	DIAN—EPHE to l. and r. of tetrastyle temple containing central stg. figure of Diana Ephesia, polos on head and fillets hanging from wrists; shield(?) and figures in pediment	R	BMC 229
(Pl. 17) 119	Cist.	2C	(DIANA) EPHESIA Cult-figure of Diana Ephesia stg. facing, tall polos on head and fillets hanging from wrists	R2	BMC 231

112. Found with countermark NCAPR; also found as a hybrid with obv. omitting P P (*BMCRE* p. 190 n. †).

115. Subject to imitation. Found with countermark NCAPR. One copy known with two TI AV countermarks.

117. See introductory p. 119: mint-attribution uncertain, but lettering similar to that of nos. 118-19. The issue celebrated

Claudius' marriage to Agrippina and her elevation as Augusta.

118. Perhaps c.AD 41-2, after Claudius' accession. The obv. portrait is of remarkable power.

119. Lettering very similar to that of no. 117, and therefore probably of the same period.

# PERGAMUM

## Undated silver cistophori

Obv. legends: 1.  $\zeta$ TI CLAVD  $\chi$ CAES AVG  
2.  $\chi$ NERONI CLAVD CAES DRVSO GERM

Obv. heads: A. Claudius, bare, l.  
B. Young Nero, bare-headed, dr., l.

Weight-peak, c. 10.80 g.\* Dies  $\uparrow\downarrow$ .

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
<b>Pl. 17)</b> 120	Cist.	1A	COM—ASl to l. and r. of distyle temple inscribed ROM ET AVG on entablature and containing figure of Claudius, stg. facing on l., r. holding spear, being crowned by female figure on r., l. holding cornucopia	R3	BMC 228 (c.AD 41–2)
<b>Pl. 17)</b> 121	Cist.	2B	COS DES/PRINCI/IVVENT in three lines on round shield within laurel-wreath	R3	BMC 236 (c.AD 50–1)

# CAESAREA IN CAPPADOCIA

## Undated silver didrachms†

Obv. legends: 1.  $\zeta$ TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR  $\chi$ AVG GERM P M TR P  
2.  $\chi$ MESSALLINA  $\chi$ AVGVSTA  
3.  $\zeta$ NERO CLAVD DRVSVS  $\chi$ GERMANICVS IMP

Obv. heads/busts: A. Claudius head, laur., l.  
B. Messallina bust, dr., r., two hair-curls down neck, plait behind.  
C. Nero Claudius Drusus head, laur., r.

Weight-peak, c. 7.40–7.35 g. Dies mainly  $\uparrow\downarrow$ .

### *In the name of Claudius*

<b>Pl. 17)</b> 122	Didr.	1A	DE BRITANNIS (ex.) Claudius in quadriga r., l. holding eagle-tipped sceptre	R2	BMC 237 (c.AD 45)
123	Didr.	1A	P P/OB CIVES/SERVATOS in three lines in oak-wreath	R3	BMC 240 (c.AD 46–7)

\* The recorded weights show a straggle wider than that of Ephesus.

† The coin listed as BMC 241 ('drachm') is almost certainly a deformed specimen of the exactly type-similar BMC 104.

120. See introductory p. 120 above.

121. See introductory p. 120 above: erroneously classed under Caesarea Cappadociae in *RIC* i (1st edn.), no. 59a. Coh. 82 gives the rev. reading PRINC, almost certainly in error.

*In the name of Messallina*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Denom.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
(Pl. 17) 124	Didr.	2B	↓ (on l.) OCTAVIA, → (above) BRITANNICVS, ↓ (on r.) ANTONIA Britannicus, head l., stg. between Octavia on l., head r., clasping hands with him, and Antonia, head l., on r., l. holding cornucopia	R4	BMC 242 (before c.AD 48)

*In the name of Nero Claudius Drusus*

125	Didr.	3C	No legend. Equestrian statue r., r. raised, between two trophies on arch	R4	Ro. (T.)
126	Didr.	3C	DE GERMANIS (on architrave). As no. 125	R4	RIN 1909, p. 19, pl. I (found in Asia Minor)

124. Messallina was put to death in AD 48—the approximate *terminus ante quem* for this issue.

# NERO<sup>1</sup>

## I. Chronology<sup>2</sup>

Although Nero's *dies imperii* in AD 54 was 13 October, epigraphic evidence makes it virtually certain that his first conferment of *tribunicia potestas* was delayed until 4 December of that year, and that it was renewed annually thereafter on the same date. Nero's holding of the consulship is attested epigraphically for 55, 57, 58, 60, and 68, the years 55 and 60 being confirmed by aurei and denarii also. Until some time in 66 he used the title IMP(erator) purely as a *cognomen*; but during 66 he assumed it as a *praenomen*. All inscriptions dated TR P XII (AD 65-6) and later show the *praenomen imperatoris*, but none until then. Nor does any aureus or denarius from TR P to TR P X (AD 63-4) show it, or for that matter the cuirassed sestertii (below, nos. 263, 272) dated TR POT XI (AD 64-5). Assumption of the *praenomen IMP* must therefore be placed during 66, and the coins which show it incidentally show Nero's portraiture at its fullest and most mature. The date of the *praenomen imperatoris* is of fundamental importance for the chronology of the *aes* issues. The tribunician dating is of fundamental importance for the chronology of Nero's reduction of the weight of gold and silver coinage: all aurei and denarii up to and including TR P X (AD 63-4) are on the old, heavier, Augustan and post-Augustan standard, but the subsequent undated issues (with types relevant to 64 and afterwards) are on the new and lighter standard.

## II. General monetary system, AD 54-64

Nero's pre-reform gold and silver coinage was marked by various distinctive features at the mint of Rome:<sup>3</sup> (i) until c.62-3 it was not accompanied by any *aes*; (ii) the weight of the aurei and denarii continued with a slight decline; (iii) the control of gold and silver coinage appears, after 55, to have been exercised in some degree at least by those guiding a young and inexperienced *princeps*; and (iv) the number of *officinae* producing coinage seems, on the basis of the number of types used, to have been sharply reduced

<sup>1</sup> The following introduction, and the lists of the Neronian coinage-issues (especially of *aes*) which succeed it, owe a very great deal to the scrupulously methodical and comprehensive analysis devoted to this coinage—never previously treated in such detail—in Dr David Mac Dowall's *Western Coinages of Nero* (ANS Numismatic Notes and Monographs no. 161, 1979). With notable kindness and generosity, Dr Mac Dowall allowed me to consult a typescript of his book before it was published, and I have drawn heavily upon it, particularly in regard to the sequential group-

ing of Nero's *aes* issues: he has examined so much material so deeply, and for so long, that it is unlikely that his conclusions will (or indeed can) be seriously disturbed for a long time to come, although it has been brought to my notice that one attempt to vary his conclusions is already being made (see p. 148).

<sup>2</sup> Mac Dowall, *WCN* pp. 1 ff.

<sup>3</sup> J. van Heesch, *Rev. Belge* 1980, pp. 249 f., has suggested (though apparently without more than hypothetical foundation) that a substantial part of Nero's gold and silver was struck, not at Rome, but at Lugdunum.

from what had been normal under Claudius. No other imperial precious-metal mint operated at this period except Caesarea in Cappadocia (below, pp. 147f.).

Slight decline in the weight of the gold and silver of Rome can be clearly seen, as a validation of the elder Pliny's statement *postea* (i.e. from the late Republic) *placuit X XXXX signari ex auri libris paulatimque principes imminuere pondus et novissime* (after Nero's reform) *ad XXXXV*.<sup>1</sup> Augustan and later standards down to c.64 were probably as follows:<sup>2</sup>

<i>Aurei</i>	
Augustus	Peak c. 8.0–7.70 g (theoretical aim 7.96 g? = 7 scruples = 1/41 of a Roman pound of 327.45 g)
Tiberius	Peak c. 7.90–7.65 g (theoretical aim 7.77 g? = 6.5/12 scruples = 1/42 of a Roman pound)
Gaius	As under Tiberius
Claudius	As under Tiberius
Nero (pre-reform)	Peak c. 7.70–7.60 g (theoretical aim 7.61 g? = 6½ scruples = 1/43 of a Roman pound)
<i>Denarii</i>	
Augustus	Peak c. 4.0–3.60 g (theoretical aim 3.99 g? = 3½ scruples = 1/84 of a Roman pound)
Tiberius	Peak c. 3.85–3.60 g (theoretical aim 3.88 g? = 3.5/12 scruples = 1/85 of a Roman pound)
Gaius	As under Tiberius
Claudius	As under Tiberius
Nero (pre-reform)	Peak c. 3.65–3.55 g (theoretical aim 3.67 g? = 3.1/12 scruples = 1/89 of a Roman pound)

Pliny's summary assessment was therefore correct in general, if also partly inaccurate. The weight of the aureus and denarius certainly declined, down until c.AD 64, by c. 0.35 g for gold and c. 0.32 g for silver. But (a) the decline was seemingly arrested under Gaius and Claudius, and (b) the rate of decline under Tiberius and young Nero was surely no more than would have been caused if the weight-standards for their gold and silver had been fixed by reference to the average upper weight of immediately preceding coins still in circulation.<sup>3</sup> To strike coinage heavier than that transmitted from an immediately preceding reign would have been to invite the always unwelcome operation of Gresham's Law.<sup>4</sup>

It is of some interest to note that the first and second post-Augustan reductions of weight, under Tiberius and in Nero's early years, took place at periods of marked financial restraint, of which the second coincided with the tutelage exercised by Seneca and Burrus.<sup>5</sup> The pattern of the coin-types used

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *NH* 33. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Minimally different figures are given by Mac Dowall, *WCN* p. 136; the most important factor is the relation of *probable theoretical weights* to a *weight in scruples* as defined in instructions to the mint.

<sup>3</sup> *E. and C.* p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Mac Dowall, *WCN* p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> See below, p. 145, for the probable diminution in the number of *officinae* at the mint of Rome after 54.



for gold and silver from 54 to 64 is instructive. In 54(-5) two types appeared, one paying conventional honour to Divus Claudius, Nero's adoptive father, and the other giving conjoint emphasis to Nero and Agrippina, with their obverse portraits combined and with obverse legend of Agrippina and reverse legend of Nero. In 55 another type combined the obverse portraits of mother and son, but the son's legend now invaded the obverse, the mother's moving to the reverse. From 55(-6) to 60(-1), with the influence of Agrippina replaced by that of Seneca and Burrus (the latter so powerful as *praefectus praetorio*), only a single type was used on gold and silver alike, with obverse bare-headed portrait and simple legend of Nero, and reverse *corona civica* and extension of Nero's obverse titles, together with the formula EX S C. In 62 Burrus died, and Seneca chose to retire; and it was in 60(-1) that three new types—none even then dramatically communicative—appeared, with representations of Ceres, Roma, and Virtus, still with EX S C. It could well be argued that EX S C accompanying the *corona civica* alluded to the voting of the *corona* to Nero as the result of (*ex*) senatorial motion. No such apparent connection, however, exists in the case of the Ceres, Roma, and Virtus types; and it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, unless the formula EX S C suddenly and now unaccountably changed its meaning in 60-1, it referred throughout to senatorial agency in the very act of gold and silver coinage. The Senate either assumed power (previously exercised by the emperors) over supplies, stocks, and withdrawals of gold and silver bullion, or it dictated the occasions, output-volume, and content of gold and silver coinage; and it may have done both. After 63-4 the formula EX S C disappeared from the gold and silver, and new types were employed, which looked much more personally to Nero. These were struck on reduced standards of weight, which must have meant the calling in and melting down of as much as was possible (or politic) of the earlier gold and silver currency, which in Nero's earlier years had not, to judge from the range of types employed,<sup>1</sup> been very extensive.

It has been seen above (p. 134) that Pliny recorded Nero's reduction of the weight of the aureus to 1/45th of a Roman pound: the aureus thus fell to  $6\frac{1}{2}$  scruples = 7.39 g theoretical, the actual peak-area of coins lying c. 7.40-7.25 g. At the same time the denarius fell to 1/96th of a pound of silver: it thus contained 3 scruples = 3.41 g theoretical, the peak lying c. 3.50-3.20 g. The actual fall in the weight of the aureus (2 per cent) was not in fact very large—the denarial reduction of about 7 per cent was more emphatic—and it is conceivable that a 2 per cent gold reduction was calculated to achieve quite reasonable objectives, (i) to allow a substantial increase in the volume of coined gold<sup>2</sup> from stocks economically conserved in the later 50s, without immediately driving out previous gold issues from circulation, (ii) to keep the bullion-market steadier at a time of monetary stress after the great fire of 64, and (iii) to reflect to some degree the rise in the price-levels of general commodities which could have taken place in previous decades. The need for increased supplies of gold and silver coin are well enough explained by the expenses of eastern warfare and its aftermath, to say nothing of the cost of

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 145, on *officinae*.

six have been proposed initially after 64; cf.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 146, on *officinae*, of which

Mac Dowall, *SNRHS* p. 40ff.

the vast programme of rebuilding and repair which followed the great fire of 64 at Rome.<sup>1</sup>

Besides reducing the weight of the aureus and denarius c.64, Nero reintroduced *aes* coinage, suspended since the reign of Claudius. This *aes* came principally from the mint of Rome, where it began probably as early as 62–3; and soon after that it was coined also at what was almost certainly the mint of Lugdunum, the issues of which, with a geographically distinct area of distribution, show a little globe at the point of truncation of the obverse bust. Both series ultimately attained a very substantial volume; and they are examined next.

### III. *Nero's reformed coinage; the aes mints*

Two main categories exist, each in large numbers, of *aes* coins of Nero struck, with mature portraiture, on the western imperial system. Between them they comprise all denominations from sestertii down to quadrantes. These two categories are mainly distinguishable by (a) the fact that one of them, with a fairly straight bust-truncation, shows no globe at the point of the truncation, and by (b) the fact that the other, with a wavy line at the base of the truncation, shows a small globe<sup>2</sup> at its point. There are certain other distinctions. In general, the 'non-globe' *aes* shows better techniques of portrait engraving, with tidier hair, more compact features, and more regular lettering. There are preferences, at any given time in either category, for different forms of obverse portraiture (e.g. bare as opposed to laureate, etc.) or of obverse legend, or even of reverse legend. But the presence or absence of the globe is the chief distinction, save for the quadrantes, which, lacking any portrait, must be judged on different grounds; and the presence or absence of the globe is clearly reflected in the distribution areas of these two categories.<sup>3</sup>

'Globe' *aes* is predominant in the site-finds (or museum collections strongly based on local finds) of Britain, Gallia Belgica and Gallia Lugdunensis, Upper and Lower Germany, and Rhaetia; it is only a little less dominant in Gallia Narbonensis; while in Spain, Noricum, Pannonia, the areas east of the Rhine, and along the northern reaches of the Danube it accounts for roughly a half of *aes* finds. The 'non-globe' *aes*, while accounting for the balance in these areas, is very strongly predominant in Italy. If mints are sought, therefore, as a focus for these two distinct distribution areas, it is natural to look to Rome—the continuous source of the main Julio-Claudian *aes* so far—as the mint for the 'non-globe' *aes* of Nero, with the reminder that the urban population of Italy was very great. No such near-certainty can suggest the 'globe' mint. But Lugdunum had been a prolific mint, for *aes* as well as for gold and silver, under Augustus and Tiberius; it had struck gold and silver for Gaius, and even a small *aes* issue for Claudius; and it is on record as containing a cohort attached to its mint.<sup>4</sup> Lugdunum, from a purely geographical standpoint, would be a natural source for the recorded finds of 'globe' *aes*; and it may be

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xv. 38–45.

<sup>2</sup> Occasionally, it should be noted, eroded by wear.

<sup>3</sup> Mac Dowall, *WCN* pp. 15ff.

<sup>4</sup> *CIL* xiii, 1499.

reasonably accepted as the 'globe' mint.<sup>1</sup> Rome, as previously, could continue to derive the essential raw materials from convenient sources: copper from Spain (together with zinc, which, heated with it on a bed of calamine—from Bergamo in Italy, and later from Germany—produced orichalcum) and also from Cyprus, which the encyclopaedic Pliny noted as the source of copper for asses.<sup>2</sup> Lugdunum, at the crossroads of road and river communications in Gaul, could be scarcely less conveniently supplied.

Apart from the *aes* mints of Rome and Lugdunum, here postulated on the combined grounds of historical continuity and the distinctive distribution-areas of 'non-globe' and 'globe' coins, the only *aes* mint which can be discerned is one which, again on grounds of distribution, is attributable to the area of the lower Danube, towards which Nero advanced legionary penetration and occupation. Such a Balkan mint may well have continued the activity of a similar mint (p. 119) under Claudius.

#### iv. *Aes without S C (Rome)* (nos. 73–129)

Ever since Augustus' introduction of a massive and newly conceived *aes* coinage distinctively marked S C, the succeeding Julio-Claudian *aes* had, with few exceptions, borne the same mark, even if it tended to become smaller and less conspicuous.<sup>3</sup> The exceptions virtually all comprise those coins where senatorial agency in the purpose or production of an *aes* issue is shown by an alternative formula, such as S P Q R. Only in the case of the *Adlocutio Cohortium* sestertii of Gaius (above, pp. 9, 105) without S C is such an alternative formula lacking. These issues of Gaius invite the supposition that, in order to provide coinage-metal for sestertii which he intended to distribute as military inheritance or largesse, Gaius himself indented personally on *aes* stocks in the *aerarium*.

Such earlier Julio-Claudian phenomena do not in any way parallel what is found under Nero, namely, the production of a balanced series of orichalcum sestertii and dupondii, and of copper asses, semisses, and quadrantes, all lacking the S C which had previously marked all regular series of *aes* from Augustus onwards. Various explanations of this non-S C *aes* of Nero have been advanced, e.g. that they were 'medallions' or the predecessors of 'medallions' (whatever 'medallions' may then have been), or patterns, or presentation-pieces.<sup>4</sup> No such explanations seem to be adequate. The general state of wear shows conclusively that Nero's non-S C *aes* could and did circulate, and the number of dies recorded for this *aes* (for example, over thirty obverse and over thirty reverse dies for the asses) confirms the impossibility of the view that non-S C *aes* coins were stray patterns which had somehow escaped from the mint—which was, quite certainly, the mint of Rome, where their style and the absence of the globe firmly place them. Nor can the theory

<sup>1</sup> Attempts have been made, on the ground of differences in treatment, to postulate more than one 'globe' mint, but all firm evidence to this effect is lacking. And any one mint is bound to develop small internal differences during its operational activity.

<sup>2</sup> Mac Dowall, *WCN* pp. 24ff.

<sup>3</sup> For the possible interpretations of S C on

*aes* (as also on gold and silver under Augustus) see above, p. 32. It is here assumed (since no theory is susceptible to proof) that S C on *aes* indicates senatorial authority (or at least agency) in the withdrawal of supplies of *aes* for coinage from the *aerarium publicum*; cf. *E. and C.* pp. 20f.

<sup>4</sup> Mac Dowall, *WCN* pp. 64ff.

of presentation-pieces stand up. It might well apply to a handful of non-S C sestertii, but can hardly do so to much more than a handful of semisses and quadrantes, together with a reasonable range of sestertii, dupondii, and asses which, even if S C has sometimes been erased by later 'improvers', thereby apparently increasing their numbers, are by no means truly rare.

It has therefore been concluded<sup>1</sup> that the range of Nero's non-S C *aes* constitutes, in fact, a regularly issued series from the mint of Rome, and that this issue preceded the *aes* with S C and was produced c.62-3. The following reasons for this date have been adduced: (i) portraiture on the non-S C copper asses closely parallels that of the dated gold and silver of 62-3; (ii) portraiture on the non-S C orichalcum asses shows a development from that of (i); (iii) the non-S C sestertii, which bear reverse types all associated with undoubtedly early issues of Rome, tend to show unusual obverse legends, often untidily disposed, suggesting some degree of inexperience or unfamiliarity on the engravers' part in the design of sestertii—not produced since 54; (iv) although the non-S C dupondii suggest a weight-peak only slightly higher than that of S C dupondii, the weight-peak of non-S C sestertii and asses is more distinctly higher than that of subsequent S C issues, suggesting that a standard was initially set which had afterwards to be modified.

The non-S C *aes* of Nero comprises two clearly different issues:

*Issue I.* This, with *Imp.* as *cognomen* (standard until 66), consisted of asses, semisses, and quadrantes, all of copper. They are mainly scarce or rare, though a few emissions of the as are relatively common. It was the as upon which the productive emphasis was laid, and of the two reverse types employed for it (Apollo and Genius) it is notable that only the Apollo type was struck (presumably at first, when mint-usage had not yet crystallized) without the reverse legend which was afterwards added (see nos. 73-6, 77-82). There had been a total absence of *aes* issues from Rome since 54, and the need to strike new *aes*, and particularly the as, the staple *aes* unit, may well have led to preliminary uncertainties. It is of interest to observe the emergence of the Apollo type so comparatively early: presumably it was connected with the *Ludi Quinquennales*, held in 60,<sup>2</sup> and the subject of one of the two types of the quadrantes of this issue. The Genius type on the remainder of the asses, with its honorific or dedicatory dative, is further indication of the personal adulation now encouraged by Nero. On the denominations from as to semis in this issue Nero's obverse head is bare r. or l., or laur. r.: the non-portrait quadrantes bear (as they do throughout Nero's entire *aes* series) types alluding to Minerva in the context of culture and defence, no doubt with a further allusion to the quinquennial games. This first issue may be approximately dated c.62.

*Issue II.* A radical change is here seen. Sestertii were struck, in six different types, and dupondii in three, each denomination (as was normal) in orichalcum. But orichalcum was used also for asses (in their previous two types) and quadrantes. No semisses were included. A conspicuous feature of many of the sestertii is that they show Nero (with a clearly maturing portrait) laur. r. wearing the aegis. As mentioned above, obverse legends tend to show

<sup>1</sup> Mac Dowall, *WCN* pp. 68 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xiv. 20: Nero was a victorious 'competitor'.

unusual forms and to be less scrupulously arranged and spaced than is normal in an experienced mint—a further sign of a mint acquiring practice in *aes* production. The types employed (and the six employed for sestertii, with three for dupondii, may suggest six mint-officinae) are not closely datable. *Adlocutio Cohortium* and *Annona Augusti Ceres* reflect Nero's permanent need to ensure the loyalty of the praetorians and the adequacy of the corn-supply. Nero's second *congiarium* cannot be dated—his first was in 57<sup>1</sup>—but may have been associated with the Game, of 60, or soon after. *Decursio*, with Type 12 (see p. 157) known only for Rome, alludes again to the praetorians. On the dupondii, the Macellum was opened in 56–7,<sup>2</sup> and Securitas and Victoria were types of generally comforting import at a time when victory and the cornships both seemed at risk.<sup>3</sup> The types of the asses and quadrantes continued without change. This second issue may be approximately dated c.63.

v. *Aes of Rome with S C* (nos. 130–370)

If the consistent attribution of non-globe *aes* to Rome (above, pp. 136f.) is correct, then Issues I and II, as described in the preceding section, must be regarded as the forerunners, the first more hesitant and preliminary, the second more assuredly preparatory, of a new and fully comprehensive *aes* coinage-system introduced c.64 so as to coincide with the new, lower-weight aurei and denarii (above, pp. 134ff.). On this view the non-S C *aes* will have been struck during the period before 64 when the Ceres, Virtus, and Roma types (nos. 23 ff.) were being seen on the gold and silver. After Issue II, that is to say, after c.63, S C returned to the *aes*, and remained constant thereafter. The precise meaning of its absence or presence can only be conjectured, but it would seem most likely, as has already been suggested (above, p. 32), that its absence or presence shows, respectively, that the Senate did not, or did, requisition supplies of *aes* for coinage from the *aerarium*—in other words, that Nero himself requisitioned the metal for his non-S C *aes* coinage.

*Issue III.* The coins of this issue, all with the cognomen IMP, and all with S C on reverse, were also all of orichalcum—sestertii, dupondii (with mark of value  $\overline{\text{II}}$ ), asses (with mark of value  $\overline{\text{I}}$ ), semisses (usually with mark of value S), and quadrantes (sometimes with mark of value  $\cdot\cdot$ ); this was the first time a wholly orichalcum token coinage had ever been produced in the full range of imperial denominations, and it is reasonable to suppose that, if the weight-standards of gold and silver were reduced at the same time, the monetary planners thought it right to assist the coin-using public in the recognition and estimation of new comparative *aes* values, particularly as the *aes* weights now seem to have dropped.<sup>4</sup> To the reverse types of the sestertii of Issue II were now added more, namely Arch, Ostia, and a different form of Decursio. None can be dated.<sup>5</sup> Among the dupondii, the Macellum reverse received a legend, and a second Victory type was introduced. The asses show some reduction of

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. xiii. 31.

<sup>2</sup> Dio. Cass. 61. 18.

<sup>3</sup> Tac. Ann. xv. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Mac Dowall, *WCN* p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> The arch decreed to celebrate eastern victories in 58 (Tac. Ann. xiii. 4) was in

progress in 62 (Tac. Ann. xv. 18) and could presumably have been finished by 64. The enlargement of the harbour of Ostia was undertaken by Claudius (Suet. Div. Claudius 20), and Nero can only have completed it.

weight; and the laur. and rad. heads, confined in Issue II to Apollo and Genius respectively, were both used for both types. On the semisses the reverses of Issue I were revived (Roma, and Table), and in what was, in regard to detail, a very varied series the obverse legend probably shortened. The value mark ∴ may have disappeared from the quadrantes by the end of the issue.

Taken as a whole, Issue III, while clearly diverging from Issue I in point of the metal employed, formed a logical development from I and II. Many sestertii were coined in quantity, e.g. Annona, Arch, Decursio, and Ostia. Dupondii are relatively common, and so too the Genius asses. Many varieties of semis and quadrans were struck in quantity. This was a major issue; and from the point of view of monetary policy it was an important one. Whatever the reasons for introducing an all-orichalcum *aes* coinage,<sup>1</sup> this new system involved mutual adjustment of denominational weight/value relationships and, as a consequence, changes in the long-established production-system in the mint of Rome. The downward variation of some *aes* weights in the course of Issue III<sup>2</sup> is evidence of the difficulties experienced at a time when, since Issues I and II had not been large, and since also the *aes* of Lugdunum had not begun (see below, p. 142), the western provinces were in great need of new supplies of *aes* after the long intermission from 54. Additional difficulty was to arise from the great fire of Rome in mid-64, which led to the need for large new supplies of gold and silver coinage and prompted the weight-reduction of aureus and denarius. As Mac Dowall has concluded,<sup>3</sup> the mint of Rome was more than sufficiently occupied with the recoinage of gold and (perhaps especially) silver without also adapting itself to a permanent all-orichalcum *aes* coinage. The latter, therefore, did not survive Issue III, which may be dated c.64–(early) 65.

*Issue IV.* In this issue, therefore, the mint reverted for good to the former system of orichalcum for sestertii and dupondii only (the latter without mark of value) and copper for asses and quadrantes. No semisses were produced. All coins, as in Issue III, bore S C. The range of reverse types was now drastically changed. On the sestertii, which incidentally include coins (all from the same obverse die and with obverse legend *Nero Caesar Aug Imp Tr Pot XI P P P*, = December 64–December 65) with a plainly experimental cuirassed bust of Nero, only two reverse themes are found, the closed temple of Janus, seen from l. or r., and Roma seated holding Victory with parazonium, shield or spear. Suetonius<sup>4</sup> assigned Nero's closing of the temple of Janus to the occasion of Tiridates' visit to Rome in 66, but it must have been earlier, and presumably in 65, on the evidence of the TR POT XI sestertii already mentioned, since they include the Janus type (no. 263 below).<sup>5</sup> The slightly varied types of Roma must refer to the declared determination to rebuild what the great fire had ravaged, and thus maintain the city's primacy. On the dupondii also the Janus temple and Roma provide the reverse types—the Janus temple, as before, from l. or r., and ultimately with a legend shorter by seven letter-spaces, and Roma developing a distinctive dupondius version

<sup>1</sup> Discussed at length in *WCN* pp. 144 ff., by Mac Dowall, who concludes that the principal reason lay in the desire to harmonize the *aes* coinages of the western and eastern provinces.

<sup>2</sup> Mac Dowall, *WCN* p. 146.

<sup>3</sup> *WCN* pp. 148 f.

<sup>4</sup> *Nero* 13.

<sup>5</sup> See also Grant, *RAI* pp. 72 f.

with wreath and parazonium. And *Securitas* reappears. The asses, too, concentrated on the Janus temple, from l. or r., again with longer and then shorter reverse legend: the obverse legends also tended to shorten. Besides Janus the asses were restricted to a new and common Victory reverse. The quadrantes were given up to Branch, Column, and Owl types. This major issue from Rome, c.65, included a large number of common varieties in all denominations, and arguably provided the largest supplementation of *aes* for nearly two decades.

*Issue V.* Epigraphical evidence, as noted above (p. 133), shows that Nero assumed the *praenomen* IMP in 65–6, and the change is consistently reflected in this and subsequent issues. For the sestertii the types of Issue IV were retained, and for the dupondii too, though these showed also a new and scarce version of the seated Roma (no. 343) previously restricted to sestertii. On the asses as well the types of Issue IV were repeated, although the Janus temple now always showed the shortened legend; the Victory type continued, with Janus, to be common. Dupondii, by contrast, were less common: sestertii included some common varieties, others being notably rare. Date, c.66.

*Issue VI.* Like the previous issue, this was confined to sestertii, dupondii, and asses, all as before with the *praenomen* IMP; sestertii and dupondii now bear an obverse legend specifying TR P XIII (= December 66–December 67). The emphasis of the sestertii was still on the Janus temple and Roma; so, too, that of the dupondii. The asses bore a new form (undated) of obverse legend. The issue as a whole was perhaps less large than Issue V. Date, c.67.

*Issue VII.* Known for very rare sestertii only, dated TR P XIV (= December 67–December 68), and plainly the weak and faltering end of Nero's *aes* from Rome. Only two types are recorded, a seated Roma, and Victory bearing the palladium—a type which, intended to justify the legitimate continuity of Rome under Nero, was used for the same purpose on Galba's earliest sestertii.

The development of the *aes* of Rome was no less steady—indeed it was in some ways more steady—than that of preceding reigns. If it seems to be in any way unsteady, this is because large arrears of *aes* had to be produced within one short quinquennium. The brevity of this span accounts also for the fact that the range of *aes* types falls, effectively, into two categories, the earlier sestertii emphasizing *Adlocutio*, *Annona*, *Congiarium*, *Decursio*, *Ostia*, and *Arch*, the later emphasizing the Janus temple and Roma; the earlier dupondii emphasizing the *Macellum*, *Securitas*, and *Victoria*, the later emphasizing the Janus temple and Roma; the earlier asses emphasizing *Apollo* and *Genius*, and the later the Janus temple and Victory. The obverses, of course, showed their own progressive development in portraiture and legend-form. As for the orichalcum/copper vacillation, it would be reasonable to conclude, with Mac Dowall, that an initial plan to produce an all-orichalcum coinage to coincide with the 'reformed' gold and silver was overtaken by events, and most notably by the great fire at Rome in 64 (and its grave financial consequences) and the need to coin 'reformed' denarii, in particular, at high speed, so that only reversion to the old orichalcum/copper dualism could provide relief to the mint. Operational control of that mint presumably remained with the *IIIviri*

*a.a.f.f.*, though the appearance of non-S C *aes* suggests that, for the first time since Gaius, the *princeps* began by personally requisitioning coinage *aes* from the *aerarium* which the Senate (its technical master) claimed to control.

#### vi. *Aes of Lugdunum* (nos. 371–606)

It has already been stated (above, pp. 136f.) that the comparatively large issues of *aes* with a small globe at the point of the bust-truncation, which, while substantially repeating the type-repertoire of Rome, nevertheless show a distinctively looser and less-polished portraiture and lettering, should be assigned for reasons of distribution to Lugdunum.<sup>1</sup> These differences in portraiture and lettering naturally rule out any possibility that dies made at Rome were then sent to Lugdunum for actual use: they argue, on the contrary, that the Lugdunum mint possessed its own corps of die-engravers with their own idioms and standards of artistry.

On the other hand, it is perfectly clear that, as regards the choice of types, and as regards monetary policy as a whole, the mint of Lugdunum was closely dependent upon that of Rome, and thus (by implication) upon the dictates of the imperial government at Rome. All Lugdunum *aes* coinage is marked S C, and this should mean that supplies of coinage *aes*, whether from the central or a provincial section of the *aerarium*, were requisitioned only by senatorial authority, even in an 'armed' province, as Gallia Lugdunensis was. Moreover, the metallic composition of Lugdunum *aes* follows closely upon the pattern of Rome: when an all-orichalcum coinage was abandoned at Rome it was abandoned at Lugdunum also. And, although there are small variations in detail between the *aes* types of Lugdunum and those of Rome, these are no more than would be expected if Rome laid down verbal and semi-pictorial instructions for Lugdunum to follow.

*Issue I* (cf. Rome Issue III). This small and rare group of all-orichalcum sestertii, dupondii, and asses combines certain features of Rome (e.g. the aegis on sestertii, the radiate head and two forms of Victoria reverse on dupondii, and the mark of value and the laureate head on asses) with indisputably Lugdunese features, especially the globe at the point of the bust. Moreover, specimens of this group show a clearly western focus of provenance. It may therefore be regarded, with Mac Dowall,<sup>2</sup> as the opening *aes* of Lugdunum. The types followed the pattern of Issue III of Rome, though restrictedly for the sestertii, which show only two reverses (Adlocutio and Annona) compared with the nine (with great variety of obverse legends)<sup>3</sup> of Rome. Dupondii and asses, however, were closely parallel in type to those of Rome. This first Lugdunese issue should fall c.64, a little after the corresponding Issue III of Rome began in the same year.

*Issue II* (cf. Rome Issue III). This issue, with the next, continued to overlap the great third issue of Rome. It comprises coins which revert (as do all the following issues) to the old orichalcum/copper dualism, but here the small globe at the point of the bust is of seemingly less developed form, and the

<sup>1</sup> To which they had in fact been assigned for many years previously; cf. *BMCRE* pp. clxiii f., and *RIC* 1 (1st edn.), p. 139—both sixty years ago.

<sup>2</sup> *WCN* pp. 89 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For this curious and comparatively new phenomenon now seen in the Neronian *aes* cf. Sutherland in *QT* 1982, pp. 177 ff.



dupondii mostly bear the mark of value  $\bar{\text{II}}$ , while in the next issue the globe is more developed and the dupondial mark of value is absent. The types of Issue II are notably increased, especially for sestertii, where there are now six; and those of the asses also are increased, with one (Ara Pacis) no doubt expressly for Lugdunum, and the Janus temple making its first appearance. Semisses, moreover, were now included in the denominational range, which, though certain varieties seem to be markedly rare, also included many that are common, and must for the first time have begun to relieve the hitherto chronic *aes* shortage in the north and north-west of the empire. Date, *c.*65, still overlapping Issue III of Rome.

*Issue III* (cf. Rome Issues III–IV). Showing the more developed globe, more mature portraits, and an absence of the mark of value on dupondii, this issue (with eight sestertial types) reflects the fuller impact of the types struck centrally at Rome, including now the Janus temple and Ostia for the sestertii, and Victory with shield for the asses. The issue as a whole was a large one, and if, as seems likely, the variation of obverse bust and legend, conspicuous at Rome and now very noticeable at Lugdunum also, indicates a system of sequence-marking for large emissions, this will have been a major Lugdunese issue, especially in regard to asses. There was, moreover, a substantial production of semisses, with Roma and Table types unchanged. Date, later in 65(–66?), and overlapping from the third to the fourth issue of Rome.

*Issue IV* (cf. Rome Issue V). This is marked by the fundamental change to the *praenomen* IMP. Otherwise, apart from the introduction of a second Congiarium type for sestertii, and great variation in the reverse legends of Roma semisses, the issue is a continuation of that which precedes it, though perhaps a little less abundant. Date, in the later part of 66, corresponding to the fifth issue of Rome.

*Issue V* (cf. Rome Issue VI). In what is clearly the last *aes* issue of Lugdunum, the types of the sestertii drop from nine to eight, and those of the asses from four to one. There was some tendency to abbreviate obverse legends, and there were other minor modifications in detail. The issue was fairly large, with many variations of bust and legend for all types. It corresponds to the sixth issue of Rome, and is to be dated *c.*67. The unsettled state of Gaul in 68 prevented the issuing of any Lugdunum *aes* corresponding to Rome's hesitant seventh group.

The supplementation of *aes* in the provinces of the north and north-west as a result of the reopening of the Lugdunum mint must have been very great, and the site-finds in those areas are an eloquent witness to it. We cannot today estimate the time-lag between the appearance of a type, or a change in monetary system, at Rome and its subsequent imitation at Lyons. It may not have been so long as one might suppose. Two things, however, are quite clear. The mint of Lugdunum provided a wide range of *aes* for a large area of the empire, and must have been able to store very substantial quantities of coinage-metal: hence, no doubt, the military cohort to guard the mint. Secondly, the central government in Rome did not judge it necessary to produce a programmed range of types for Lugdunum essentially different

from that of Rome. It may be questioned whether those who used the Lugdunum coinage in, say, Britain or northern Gaul, or in Lugdunum itself, were moved to the admiration of Nero by types such as *Annona*, *Congiarium*, or *Ostia*, or even by quite such a range of Roma types. The Lugdunum *aes*, in fact, may well help to explain the feelings of starved or spurned nationalism that promoted the dissident feelings of Gaul and the west in 68–9. To hold up the mirror of Rome at Lyons was not enough.

## VII. *The officina system at Rome*

It is a matter of common knowledge that the millenary issues of Philip I in 248, in which coins were given distinguishing numeral marks, began the system whereby the imperial coinage from the late third century onwards regularly bore such marks, now known as *officina* numbers. And it is fairly clear that, in any major group of coinage bearing such numerals at the time of their inception, individual numerals from one to six did in fact mark the six statistically principal reverse types in that issue, from which it has been concluded that the mint was divided into six sections for the purposes of administrative control, operational supervision, and the checking of standards. The existence of six such *officinae*, or control sections, has, moreover, been deduced for earlier periods when numerals had not yet been introduced: such a system has been recognized in the coinages of Maximinus, Gordian III, Severus Alexander, and Septimius Severus, while epigraphic evidence of Trajan's time attests the existence of *officinae*, whatever their precise function, at that time.<sup>1</sup>

Together with the presumption that, in any closely connected chronological group of coinage from a single mint (e.g. a year's issue), a statistically prominent reverse type is the product of a given *officina*,<sup>2</sup> there is a further point to be borne in mind: it seems that, at any time when more than one metal bore a given type, the gold was probably struck before the silver in normal circumstances, and that, if *aes* (with whatever type or types) was also being coined, such *aes* probably followed the precious metals.<sup>3</sup> In all this, however, the element of uncertainty is obviously very great. Certainty about *officinae* begins only in 248, and before that the nature of the operational system is no more than hypothetical. Nevertheless, Roman institutions were essentially traditional, and it is worthwhile to observe the obviously tidy *officina* system followed in the production of Augustus' great cistophoric issues in Asia early in his principate.<sup>4</sup> And it is by no means wrong to test the coinages of earlier reigns to see if the *officina* system of the later period, when it was fully developed with *officina* numerals, can be discerned on the simpler basis of their principal reverse types.

Some attention has been paid to this in the preceding introductions in this

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Mac Dowall, *WCN* pp. 111 ff.; H. Mattingly, *NC* 1939, pp. 1 ff.; R. A. G. Carson, *BMCRE* vi, *passim*, and *ERCHM* pp. 235 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The alternative supposition that *obverse* type-differentiations point to the distinction between *officinae* has been too often disproved by the observation that the same obv. dies could be used now with one, now with another,

rev. type. It is fairly clear that obv. dies were collected up, probably nightly, for central safe-keeping, being redistributed the next day, while rev. dies (less valuable) were retained in their individual *officinae*; cf. Mac Dowall, *WCN* p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> See *BMCRE* vi, pp. 40 f.

<sup>4</sup> *CA passim*.

volume, and it has been suggested that under Gaius and Claudius the mint of Rome may have struck gold and silver in from four to six *officinae* (above, pp. 106 and 116). From 54(-5) to 63(-4) a contraction appears probable—consonant with the abrupt simplification of types already noted (above, p. 135): proceeding still on the supposition that individual *officinae* kept to their own distinguishing reverse types, we can detect only one *officina* at work from 56(-7) to 60(-1), and probably, if not certainly, only one in 54(-5) and 55(-6). After 60(-1), however, the rate of output was markedly changed: three major types—Ceres, Roma, and Virtus—suggest the work of three *officinae*; and this, as has been suggested,<sup>1</sup> may well have been in response to military necessities caused by eastern hostilities, for which a threefold increase in gold and silver coinage after a peaceful period of limited output would not have been surprising. The presumed three-*officina* pattern for gold and silver lasted from 60(-1) (TR P VII) to 62(-3) (TR P VIII): in 63(-4) (TR P X) it contracted to two, by which time, as has been seen (above, pp. 138 ff.), the new *aes* production at Rome was well under way.

It is impossible to give a precise chronology to the undated gold and silver of 64-8, and consequently the *officina*-pattern of these years must be no more than hypothetical. Portraiture, advancing from gross to very gross features, places the *Nero Caesar Augustus* obverse legend (nos. 44-62) before either of the versions with the *praenomen imperatoris* (nos. 63-72). The reverse types accompanying the earlier obverse legend are as follows:

- (i) *Augustus Augusta*, referring more probably to Nero's marriage with Poppaea (AD 62) than, after Poppaea's death (65), with Statilia Messallina in 66: this type may therefore belong to 64-5. It could also have been struck a little later, as it shares an obverse die with the Vesta type (see below).
- (ii) *Augustus Germanicus* (where the reverse legend continues that of the obverse), referring presumably, through the radiate figure of Nero with branch and Victory on globe, to the signal success of Corbulo in Armenia in 63.
- (iii) *Concordia Augusta*, see under *Augustus Augusta* above. A secondary reference might be to the state of public harmony which Nero claimed to exist in the face of the physical ruin of Rome by fire in 64 and of the conspiracy of Piso in 65.
- (iv) *Janum Clusit*, etc. As has been noted above (pp. 140 f.), the ceremonial closing of Janus' temple was shown on *aes* in 65: it could well have been shown on gold and silver, therefore, at the same time.
- (v) *Juppiter Custos*, referring most obviously to Nero's deliverance from the threat of the Pisonian conspiracy in 65, followed<sup>2</sup> by military largesse—2,000 sesterces a head to soldiers, plus free corn. This type shares an obverse die with
- (vi) *Roma*, referring primarily to the rebuilding of the city after the fire of 64, but also (since Roma is shown armed and holding victory) to the eastern victories (see above, under (ii) and (iv)).

On the basis of these six substantive types used for gold and silver of 64-5,

<sup>1</sup> Mac Dowall in *SNRHS* p. 42.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xv. 72.

six *officinae* might therefore be presumed. It must be remembered, however, that the *aes* of Rome, begun c.62–3, was reaching a peak of production c.64. For that reason, if the total number of *officinae* at Rome continued to be six (and this can be no more than assumption),<sup>1</sup> room must be found in a six-*officina* system for gold, silver, and *aes*. Dr Mac Dowall has proposed<sup>2</sup> two gold/silver *officinae* in two stages (*Roma* and *Virtus*, *Concordia* and *Janus*) with four *aes officinae* for c.64, followed by six gold/silver *officinae* (with none for *aes*) in c.65 (*Salus*, *Juppiter Custos*, *Vesta*, *Roma*, *Augustus Augusta*, *Augustus Germanicus*).<sup>3</sup> It would appear, however, that the mounting cost of rebuilding in Rome, military donatives, civil rewards and the like became a great burden: Nero's chief worry was to secure enough precious-metal bullion.<sup>4</sup> Lack of bullion may have been the cause of sharp *officina* contraction after c.65, when the substantive types were:

- (i) *Augustus Augusta* (see above, under 64–5, no. (i)).
- (ii) *Vesta*, sharing a die with the last type, and presumably referring to the rebuilding of the temple of Vesta, destroyed in the fire of 64.<sup>5</sup>
- (iii) *Salus*, referring to the aftermath of the Pisonian conspiracy and to the building of a temple of Salus in 65.<sup>6</sup>
- (iv) *Janum Clusit*, etc., continuing the celebration of eastern successes (see above, under 64–5, no. (iv)).

However these four substantive types are arranged chronologically, they are obviously fewer than the six of the earlier group; and a presumable contraction of output should suggest a contraction of *officinae* also. It is, nevertheless, impossible to put an even likely figure on such a contraction. There was a mass of *aes* still being struck at Rome, and for this too the allocation of *officinae* cannot be more than hypothetical,<sup>7</sup> for we do not even know the basis of such *aes* allocation. As examples of the uncertainties, were the different *aes* denominations distributed among different *officinae*, or, if a 'cyclical' system<sup>8</sup> was in force, did a given *officina* or given *officinae* control the output of *aes* of all denominations in a given order of priority? The uncertainties are too great to allow, at present, the construction of any scheme for the arrangement and interrelationship of *officinae* for gold, silver, and *aes* c.65–7, or even earlier. All that can be concluded with some assurance is that six *officinae* are probably recognizable for gold and silver c.65, and that c.66–7, on coins now bearing the *praenomen imperatoris*, the substantive types show a fresh stage of contraction:

- (i) *Salus* (see above, under 65–6, no. (iii)).

<sup>1</sup> It could in theory have been more: an *officina* was not a physical structure, but an administrative and supervisory control-section.

<sup>2</sup> *WCN* pp. 32ff.

<sup>3</sup> The site of the mint of Rome, on the Capitol, was not apparently destroyed in the fire of 64 (cf. Carson in *ERCHM* p. 231) and could thus have been capable of swift expan-

sion for maximum output.

<sup>4</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xv. 45; xvi. 1–2.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* xv. 41.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* 74: possibly in addition to an earlier temple (*ibid.* 53).

<sup>7</sup> Mac Dowall, *WCN* pp. 116ff., has suggested a possible scheme, which is, however, no more than a hypothesis.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. *BMCRE* vi, *passim*.

- (ii) *Juppiter Custos*, now perhaps referring not only to the conspiracy of Piso but also to that of Vinicius.<sup>1</sup>
- (iii) *Roma*, a very small issue perhaps falling early in 68 (see below).

The final stage, in which the obverse legend with the *praenomen imperatoris* also included P P, comprised four types which, one being rare, could have come from fewer than four *officinae*:

- (i) *Salus* (see above, under 66–7, no. (i)).
- (ii) *Roma*, as in 64–5, no. (vi), but with a different arrangement of the legend.<sup>2</sup>
- (iii) *Juppiter Custos*, as under 66–7, no. (ii).
- (iv) No legend: eagle and standards type, reviving the famous pre-Actian civil war type of Marcus Antonius, and falling perhaps not long before Nero's death in June 68. This type is rare.

Thus the pattern of gold and silver coinage for the years 64–8, in terms of *officinae*, might conceivably be:

64–5	Six <i>officinae</i>
65–6	Four <i>officinae</i>
66–7	Three <i>officinae</i>
68	Three <i>officinae</i>

As emphasized earlier, however, this can only be hypothetical. Too much depends on the precise dating of an undated gold and silver coinage, and also upon the precise *officina*-structure of the abundant *aes*, to allow anything more than suggestion—in which, nevertheless, a clear contraction of gold and silver output is fairly certain.

#### VIII. *Uncertain Balkan Mint* (see p. 186)

#### IX. *Caesarea Cappadociae* (nos. 607–22)

Ever since Tiberius incorporated Cappadocia as a province of the empire (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 56) its mint of Caesarea had produced imperial coinage in silver, consisting hitherto of Latin-inscribed didrachms, drachms, and hemi-drachms: these were accompanied by Greek-inscribed drachms with types of local significance. The importance of Caesarea throughout this period lay in its strategic legionary position, north of Syria, *vis-à-vis* Armenia and Parthia, from whence trouble was always to be apprehended.

Nero continued what had gone before, but added two denominations, silver pieces of twenty-four (ΚΔ) and of twelve (ΙΒ) 'Italian asses' (AC IT). The weights of these show that the twenty-four piece, at c. 5.30 g, was in fact equivalent to 1½ denarii (lightened) of the 'pre-reform' coinage: the twelve-as piece may well have reflected more clearly the premium put on Roman denarii. All these Neronian issues are now rare, or very rare; and it may be supposed that, after diffusion by the Roman forces for whose primary convenience they were coined, in Greek denominational form, for use in an

<sup>1</sup> Suet. *Nero* 36. 1.

<sup>2</sup> As Mattingly noted (*BMCRE*, p. clxxv), this could well refer to 'the assertion of the

capital against the rebellious provinces' when Vindex rose in revolt.

eastern province, they were absorbed and melted down in the region, being then re-coined as Greek-inscribed drachms.

The output of Nero's silver at Caesarea falls into four main groups. Of these, the earliest, with a clearly very young portrait of Nero, gives great prominence to Agrippina the younger as *Augusta* and *Mater Augusti*, with a portrait-bust either bare-headed or veiled. The drachms in this group, which are to be dated c.54–5 (or even 56), bear the inscription  $\kappa$ , most probably to be read as *Καيسάρεια τῆς Καππαδοκίας*. Agrippina was deprived of power in 55, and it is to the period c.56–(?)8 that the small second group, with a still youngish portrait of Nero and a reverse portrait and legend of Divus Claudius, should perhaps be assigned. The third group is given up to the Armenian victory achieved by Corbulo in 58, extravagantly celebrated in the same year, and continued in 60:<sup>1</sup> the legend ARMENIAC, as has been observed, should be read in conjunction with the reverse type of Victory as '(Victoria) Armeniac(a)'.<sup>2</sup> In the small fourth group, with Divus Claudius reverses and shortened obverse legends, a date in the earlier 60s (before the reduction of the weight-standard of silver at Rome) is suggested by the more obviously mature portraiture of Nero.

The Neronian silver of Caesarea Cappadociae showed types, therefore, which would directly gain the interest of Roman *cives* serving in the army in Cappadocia. It well illustrates the strength of the military pulse emitted from Rome at the centre of the empire.

## APPENDIX: Further research on Nero

Mr Curtis L. Clay has generously allowed me to read the very substantial paper on the gold and silver coinage of Nero at Rome which he has prepared for publication in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, and which will have to be studied in close conjunction with Dr David Mac Dowall's *Western Coinages of Nero*. The time and space now available to me allow for no more than an impartial summary of the principal points which Clay presents and argues.

1. Whereas Mac Dowall accepts 4 December as Nero's tribunician day (a date followed in the present volume; see above, p. 133), Clay argues for 13 October—Nero's *dies imperii*—on which day in 54 the Senate proposed a law granting him *tribunicia potestas*, this law being passed by the popular assembly only on the succeeding 4 December. The Acraephia inscription of gratitude for the liberation of Achaëa does not provide unambiguous evidence for the date of the conferment of Nero's *tribunicia potestas*.

Acceptance of the date 13 October would thus radically affect the serial chronology of Nero's dated gold and silver coinage from 54 to 56.

2. The Elephant Car type for Nero as TR P and Agrippina (below, p. 150, nos. 6–7) was preceded—as here also proposed—by Nero's first *corona civica* types (below, p. 150, nos. 1–3).

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Ann.* xiii. 34 ff. and 41; xiv. 23 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *BMCRE* p. clxxxv, where it is noted

also that the large gold pieces known with this reverse are false.

3. Nero assumed the title *Pater Patriae* late in 55 or early in 56 (see below, p. 151, nos. 8–9).

4. The three ‘standing figure’ types which displayed the *corona civica* type in 60–1 (below, pp. 151–2, nos. 23–8) represent Ceres (one type) and Roma (two types, rather than Roma and Virtus). Retention of the formula EX S C should suggest that all these figures were statues voted as honours to Nero by the Senate, the two Roma figures being two such distinct honours (Paulinus in Britain, and Corbulo in Armenia?). These new ‘figure’ types succeeded the *corona civica* type of 60–1 (below, p. 151, nos. 21–2).

5. The gold and silver types of 54–64 all depicted honours voted either to Nero or to Divus Claudius and marked as such by the formula EX S C. And the same (without that formula) is true also of the gold quinarius type of 55–6 (below, p. 151, no. 10), which probably shows a *clupeus virtutis* awarded to Nero for his successful anti-Parthian measures in 55.

6. Claudius’ companion-figure in the Elephant Car type of 55 (below, p. 150, nos. 6–7) is not Augustus, for the hair is dressed in feminine manner and the figure can show female breasts. It may well be Fides Praetorianorum: the figure holds an *aquila*; and Claudius’ IMPER RECEPT type (above, p. 122, no. 7) may be interpreted as showing a figure of Fides Praetorianorum, together with an *aquila*, in the little shrine within the walls of the praetorian guard.

These are certain of the principal points developed (with full documentation) by Mr Clay, who has succeeded in giving some conspicuous threads of logical uniformity to the Neronian gold and silver of 54–64. His paper will in due course be extended to cover Nero’s *aes* coinage, for the inception of which he will argue a date in 64 against the earlier date proposed by Dr Mac Dowall and here accepted (above, p. 138).

# NERO

## ROME\*

I. Dated aurei, gold quinarii (AD 55–6 only), and denarii, AD 54–64: pre-reform†

- Obv. legends: 1. AGRIPP AVG DIVI CLAVD NERONIS CAES MATER  
 2. DIVVS CLAVDIVS AVGVSTVS  
 3. NERO CLAVD DIVI F CAES AVG GERM IMP TR P COS (AD 55)  
 4. NERO CL DIVI F CAES AVG P M TR P II (AD 55–6)  
 5. NERO CAESAR AVG IMP

- Obv. heads/busts: A. Confronting busts of Nero (r.), undraped and bare-headed, and of Agrippina II (l.), dr. and with hair in long plait behind.  
 B. As A; but with corn-grain(?) behind Nero's head.  
 C. Jugate busts r. of Nero (in forefront), dr. at back of neck and bare-headed, and of Agrippina II, dr. and bare-headed.  
 D. Claudius head, laur., l.  
 E. Nero head, bare, r.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.70–7.60 g; gold quinarii c. 3.80 g; denarii c. 3.65–3.55 g. Dies not regularly adjusted. Obv. and rev. borders dotted.

### AD 54 (c. October–December)

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 17) 1	Au	1A	NERONI CLAVD DIVI F CAES AVG GERM IMP TR P Oak-wreath enclosing EX S C	R	BMC 1
2	D	1A	"	R2	BMC 3
3	Au	1B	"	R4	BMC 2
(Pl. 17) 4	Au	2D	EX S C (ex.) Ornamental slow quadriga r., surmounted by four miniature horses flanked by Victories on either side	R2	BMC 4
5	D	2D	"	R3	BMC 6

### AD 55 (c. January–November)

(Pl. 17) 6	Au	3C	AGRIPP AVG DIVI CLAVD NERONIS CAES MATER Quadriga of elephants l., bearing two chairs holding two male figures, Divus Claudius (the further), rad., r. holding eagle-tipped sceptre, and Divus Augustus, rad., r. holding patera, l. sceptre; EX S C in field above elephants	R3	BMC 7
7	D	3C	"	R3	BMC 8

\* The abbreviation WCN in the reference column signifies David W. Mac Dowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero* (Num. Notes and Monographs no. 161, New York, 1979).

† See introductory pp. 134f. above.

1–3. Claudius died on 12 October 54, and Nero assumed *tribunica potestas* probably on

4 December of that year (see introductory p. 133 above). These coins should therefore date to the very end of the year.

4–5. Although they are undated it is reasonable to put these coins as early as nos. 1–3, though they may have extended into 55.

6–7. Nero's TR P COS ran from 1 January to c. 4 December 55.



## AD 55-6 (December-December)

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
8	Au	5E	☉ PONTIF MAX TR P II P P around oak-wreath enclosing EX S C	R2	BMC 9
9	D	5E	"	R3	Par. (WCN pl. I, 4)
(Pl. 17) 10	AuQ	4E	☉ VICT ☉ AVG Victory alighting l., r. holding round shield	R4	BMC 11

## AD 56-7 (December-December)

11	Au	5E	☉ PONTIF MAX TR P III P P around oak-wreath enclosing EX S C	R2	BMC 12
12	D	5E	"	R2	BMC 14
13	Au	5E	☉ PONTIF MAX TR P III COS II As no. 11	R4	Cast in BM

## AD 57-8 (December-December)

14	Au	5E	☉ PONTIF MAX TR P IIII P P around oak-wreath enclosing EX S C	R2	BMC 15
15	D	5E	"	R2	BMC 16

## AD 58-9 (December-December)

16	Au	5E	☉ PONTIF MAX TR P V P P around oak-wreath enclosing EX S C	R2	BMC 17
(Pl. 18) 17	D	5E	"	R2	BMC 20

## AD 59-60 (December-December)

18	D	5E	☉ PONTIF MAX TR P VI P P around oak-wreath enclosing EX S C	R4	Coh. 212
19	Au	5E	☉ PONTIF MAX TR P VI COS IIII P P As no. 18	R2	BMC 21
20	D	5E	"	R3	Hague

## AD 60-1 (December-December)

21	Au	5E	☉ PONTIF MAX TR P VII COS IIII P P around oak-wreath enclosing EX S C	R3	BMC 23
Pl. 18, obv.) 22	D	5E	"	R3	BMC 24
Pl. 18, rev.) 23	Au	5E	☉ PONTIF MAX TR P VII COS IIII P P, EX — S C to l. and r. Ceres, veiled and dr., stg. l., r. holding two corn-ears, l. vertical torch	R2	BMC 25
24	D	5E	"	R3	BMC 26
25	Au	5E	☉ PONTIF MAX TR P VII COS IIII P P, EX — S C to l. and r. Virtus, helmeted and in military dress, stg. l., r. foot on pile of arms, r. holding parazonium on knee, l. vertical spear	R2	BMC 27
26	D	5E	"	R3	Par. (WCN pl. I, 12)

10. Of great rarity, this appears to be the sole Neronian issue of gold quinarii. No event in 55-6 is recorded by Tacitus for the isolated production of such pieces.

13. The original shown in BM, May 1919.

18. *BMCRE* p. 203, note to no. 21, records Cohen as giving TR P VI P P on the obv., plainly by error.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
27	Au	5E	☉PONTIF MAX TR P VII COS IIII P P, EX—S C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and in military dress, stg. r., l. foot on helmet by dagger and bow, r. inscribing round shield held in l. on knee	R2	BMC 29
28	D	5E	"	R3	BMC 30

## AD 61-2 (December-December)

29	Au	5E	☉PONTIF MAX TR P VIII COS IIII P P, EX—S C to l. and r. As no. 23 (Ceres)	R3	BMC 31
30	D	5E	"	R4	BMC 32
31	Au	5E	☉PONTIF MAX TR P VIII COS IIII P P, EX—S C to l. and r. As no. 25 (Virtus)	R2	BMC 33
(Pl. 18) 32	D	5E	"	R3	BMC 35
33	Au	5E	☉PONTIF MAX TR P VIII COS IIII P P, EX—S C to l. and r. As no. 27 (Roma)	R3	BMC 36
34	D	5E	"	R3	BMC 37

## AD 62-3 (December-December)

35	Au	5E	☉PONTIF MAX TR P VIII COS IIII P P, EX—S C to l. and r. As no. 23 (Ceres)	R3	BMC 39
36	Au	5E	☉PONTIF MAX TR P VIII COS IIII P P, EX—S C to l. and r. As no. 25 (Virtus)	R3	BMC 40
37	D	5E	"	R4	BMC 42
38	Au	5E	☉PONTIF MAX TR P VIII COS IIII P P, EX—S C to l. and r. As no. 27 (Roma)	R3	BMC 43
(Pl. 18, rev.) 39	D	5E	"	R4	BMC 44

## AD 63-4

40	Au	5E	☉PONTIF MAX TR P X COS IIII P P, EX—S C to l. and r. As no. 25 (Virtus)	R3	BMC 45
41	D	5E	"	R3	BMC 47
(Pl. 18, obv.) 42	Au	5E	☉PONTIF MAX TR P X COS IIII P P, EX—S C to l. and r. As no. 27 (Roma)	R3	BMC 49
43	D	5E	"	R4	Par.

## II. Undated aurei and denarii, AD 64-8: post-reform\*

- Obv. legends: 1. (NERO) CAESAR  
2. (NERO CAESAR) AVGVSTVS  
3. (IMP NERO CAESAR) AVGVSTVS  
4. (IMP NERO CAESAR) AVGP P

Obv. head: Nero, bearded and laur., r.

Weight-peaks: aurei c. 7.40-7.25 g; denarii c. 3.50-3.20 g.† Dies show some irregularity c.64-6, though with a tendency to ↑↓; this tendency is stronger c.66-8.

\* For chronological analysis see introductory pp. 145 ff. above.

† Denarius weights vary quite widely, many surviving (and relatively more worn) specimens being between c. 2.95 and 2.65 g.

27-8. It is curious that, of three closely associated and contemporary types, two (nos.

23-6) should have a clockwise rev. legend and the third anti-clockwise. This might reflect the internal independence of what were presumably concurrent *officinae* at the mint of Rome: the phenomenon continued after 60-1.

35. There should be a corresponding denarius.

## (a) c.AD 64-5, aurei and denarii

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 18) 44	Au	2	⌊AVGVSTVS⌋AVGVSTA Nero, rad. and togate, r. holding patera, l. long sceptre, stg. l. beside Empress (on his r.) veiled and dr., r. holding patera, l. cornucopiae	R2	BMC 52
45	D	2	"	R	BMC 54
46	Au	1	⌊AVGVSTVS⌋GERMANICVS Nero, rad. and togate, stg. facing, l. knee bent, r. holding branch, l. Victory on globe	R	BMC 56
47	D	1	"	R	BMC 60
48	Au	2	⌊CONCORDIA⌋AVGVSTA Concordia, dr., seated l., feet on stool, r. holding patera, l. cornucopiae	R	BMC 61
49	D	2	"	R2	BMC 63
(Pl. 18) 50	Au	2	⌊IANVM CLVSIT PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA Closed doors of the temple of Janus	R	BMC 64
51	D	2	"	R4	Mun.
(Pl. 18) 52	Au	2	⌊IVPPITER⌋CVSTOS Jupiter, bare to waist, seated l. on throne, r. holding thunderbolt, l. long sceptre	R	BMC 67
53	D	2	"	R	BMC 74
54	Au	2	ROMA (ex.) Roma, helmeted and dr., seated l. on cuirass, r. holding Victory, l. parazonium by side, r. foot resting on helmet; round and oblong shields, with (?)greaves, behind	R	BMC 81
(Pl. 18) 55	D	2	"	R	BMC 83

## (b) c.AD 65-6, aurei and denarii

56	Au	2	⌊AVGVSTVS⌋AVGVSTA As no. 44	R2	BMC 52
57	D	2	"	R	BMC 54
58	Au	2	⌊IANVM CLVSIT PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA As no. 50	R	BMC 64
L 18, rev.) 59	Au	2	SALVS (ex.) Salus, dr., seated l. on throne, r. holding patera, l. resting at her side	R	BMC 87
60	D	2	"	R	BMC 90
L 18, rev.) 61	Au	2	⌊VESTA above round, domed, hexastyle temple with four (less often three) steps; within, Vesta, dr., seated facing, head l., r. holding patera, l. long sceptre	R	BMC 103
62	D	2	"	R	BMC 104

44. See also on nos. 56-7 below.

46-7. The obv. legend is slightly varied to allow Nero's titles to expand onto the rev.

48-9. *BMCRE* p. 209 n. \*, noted a plated hybrid denarius (Thomsen coll., 1866) with obv. legend 3. A double cornucopiae is sometimes seen on aurei.

50. An excellent and rare example of a finite sentence extending from obv. to rev. Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 209 n. †) rightly doubted the aureus Coh. 115. See also on no. 58 below.

53. This issue shares an obv. die with no. 55 (BMC nos. 74, 76, 83).

56-7. These are here regarded as being a continuation of issues (nos. 44-5) of 64-5, and principally because there is sharing of an aureus die with the Vesta issue (no. 61), for which there does not seem to be room in 64-5.

58. Here regarded as a continuation of issues of 64-5; for the dating of this type see introductory p. 140 above. No denarii of this type seem to be recorded.

61. See note on nos. 56-7 above for the aureus die shared between the *Vesta* and *Augustus Augusta* issues.

## (c) c.AD 66-7, aurei and denarii

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 18) 63	Au	3	☿IVPPITER)CVSTOS As no. 52	R	BMC 77
64	D	3	"	R3	Par.
65	D	3	ROMA (ex.) As no. 54	R4	Mil.
66	Au	3	SALVS (ex.) As no. 59	R2	BMC 94
67	D	3	"	R	BMC 96

## (d) c.AD 67-8, denarii only

(Pl. 18) 68	D	4	No legend. Aquila r. between two vexilla	R2	BMC 107
69	D	4	☿IVPPITER)CVSTOS As no. 52	R	BMC 80
70	D	4	RO—MA to l. and r. As no. 54	R2	BMC 86
71	D	4	SALVS (ex.) As no. 59	R	BMC 98
72	D	4	SA—LVS to l. and r. As no. 59	R	BMC 99

Two other undated aurei of Nero, both doubtful, have been recorded: (i) Obv. 3; rev. ☿IVPPITER LI—BERATOR, As no. 52 (Traynel sale, 1914; cited by Coh. 124 also with obv. 4). The BM coin (BMC 110), from the same dies as the Gneccchi coin (*RIN* 1910, pl. 7), was finally treated with great caution by Mattingly (*BMCRE* pp. clxxxiii f.) in the light of Laffranchi's suggestion of modern dies. The coin may, or could, have been fabricated to reflect such textual passages as Tac. *Ann.* 16, 35 (Thrasea Paetus' libation of his dying blood to Jupiter Liberator). See also J. van Heesch in *Rev. Belge* 1980, p. 250.

(ii) Obv. NERO CLAVDIVS CAES AVG. Rev. LEIBERTAS, Libertas head r. (Coh. 125). This coin lacks documentation and thus validity. It could well be a fabrication intended to reflect his liberation of Greece from the control of the governor of Macedonia, with consequent immunity from taxation; cf. Dessau, *ILS* 8794.

## Aes of III. ROME (pp. 137 ff.)

## IV. LUGDUNUM (pp. 142 ff.)

*Note.* Elsewhere in this volume the mints have been listed in order from west to east. For the *aes* of Nero, however, this arrangement has been disregarded, as the *aes* of Rome and that of Lugdunum ran a closely similar course, that of Lugdunum being based substantially on the development of *aes* at Rome. In consequence, the following numbered key to the obverse legends and types, as well as the numbered list of reverse types, apply jointly to the *aes* issues of both Rome and Lugdunum, the lists of which are here presented in that order.

Obv. legends (all ☿):

(a) Without or with IMP as *cognomen*, up to the course of 66.

1. NERO CAE AVG IMP
2. NERO CAES AVG IMP
3. NERO CAESAR AVG GER IMP
4. NERO CAESAR AVG GERM IMP
5. NERO CAESAR AVG IMP
6. NERO CAESAR AVG IMP TR POT P P
7. NERO CAESAR AVG IMP TR POT XI P P P
8. NERO CL CAE AVG
9. NERO CL CAE AVG GER
10. NERO CL CAES AVG GER
11. NERO CLA CA AVG GER

68. *BMCRE* p. 214, note to no. 107, rejected the de Quelen coin with anomalous NERO CAESAR AVGVSTVSP P P (wrongly placed as no. 59, with Vesta rev., in *RIC* i (1st edn.)) as an

ancient forgery. It is in any case plated.

72. Hybrid recorded (Coh. 319, Paris) with obv. 2.

12. NERO CLA CAE AVG GER
13. NERO CLA CAE AVG GERM
14. NERO CLA CAES AVG GER
15. NERO CLA CAESAR AVG GER
16. NERO CLAV CAE AVG
17. NERO CLAV CAE AVG GER
18. NERO CLAV CAE AVG GER P M TR P IM
19. NERO CLAV CAES AVG GER
20. NERO CLAV CAESAR AVG
21. NERO CLAV CAESAR AVG GER
22. NERO CLAVD CAE AVG
23. NERO CLAVD CAE AVG GER
24. NERO CLAVD CAES AVG GER
25. NERO CLAVD CAES AVG GERM
26. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG
27. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GE
28. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER
29. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER P M TR P IMP
30. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER P M TR P IMP P
31. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER P M TR P IMP P P
32. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM
33. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM IMP P P
34. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P IMP
35. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P IMP P
36. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P IMP P P
37. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERMA
38. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERMAN
39. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERMANI
40. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERMANIC
41. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERMANICV
42. NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS
43. NERO CLAVDIVS CAES AVG GERM
44. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GER
45. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GER P M TR P IMP P
46. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GER P M TR P IMP P P
47. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERM
48. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P IMP P
49. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P IMP P P
50. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERMA
51. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERMA IMP
52. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERMAN
53. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERMANIC
54. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS

(b) With IMP as *praenomen*, from the course of 66 until 68.

55. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG
56. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG GERM
57. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG GERMANIC
58. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG GERMANICVS
59. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG PONT
60. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG PONTIF
61. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P M TR P P P
62. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P M TR POT P P
63. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P MAX
64. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P MAX TR P P
65. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P MAX TR P P P
66. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P MAX TR POT P P
67. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG P MAX TRIB POT P P

(b) With IMP as *praenomen*, from the course of 66 until 68 (*cont.*)

- 68. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG PONT MAX TR P P P
- 69. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG PONT MAX TR POT P P
- 70. IMP NERO CAESAR AVG PONTIF MAX TRIB POT P P
- 71. IMP NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER P M TR P P P
- 72. IMP NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P P P
- 73. IMP NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P XIII P P
- 74. IMP NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERM P M TR P XIV P P
- 75. IMP NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG GER P M TR P P P

- Obv. heads:
- A. Nero, bare, r.
  - B. Nero, laur., r.
  - C. Nero, laur., wearing aegis, r.\*
  - D. Nero, laur., cuir., r.
  - E. Nero, rad., r.
  - F. Nero, bare, l.
  - G. Nero, laur., l.
  - H. Nero, crowned with bay, dr., l.
  - J. Nero, rad., l.

Weight-peaks, sestertii c. 30–26 g; dupondii, c. 17–15 g; asses (orichalcum), c. 9.50–8.50 g; asses (copper), c. 12.50–10.50 g; semisses (orichalcum), c. 3.65 g; semisses (copper), c. 6.35 g; quadrantes, c. 2.10 g. Dies ↑↓, with ↑↑ occasionally for quadrantes. Dotted borders.

Reverse types (all legends individually specified in the coin-lists below).

1. (Adlocutio.) Nero, bare-headed and togate, stg. l. with praetorian prefect (also bare-headed and togate) on low platform on r., raising r. in address to three soldiers stg. r. in single file, of whom the two foremost carry standards; in the background, pillared building below battlemented crescent-shaped structure (? the praetorian camp).

2. (Annona.) Ceres on r., veiled and dr., seated l., r. holding corn-ears, l. torch, her feet on stool, facing Annona, dr., stg. r., r. resting on hip, l. holding cornucopiae; between them, modius on garlanded altar; behind, ship's stern.

3. (Apollo.) Nero, laur., advancing r. in the flowing robes of Apollo Citharoedus, r. playing lyre held in l.

4. (Ara Pacis.) Altar-enclosure with ornamented top, decorated front panels, and central double doors.

5. (Arch.) Triumphal arch, hung with wreath across front and l. side; above, the emperor in facing quadriga escorted on r. by Victory holding wreath and palm and on l. by Pax holding caduceus and cornucopiae; just below the quadriga on extreme l. and r., two small figures of soldiers; on l. side of arch in niche, figure of Mars stg. facing, r. holding spear, l. round shield; ornamental reliefs on the faces and plinths of the arch.

6. (Branch.) Upright olive-branch, sometimes with three dots among the leaves.

7. (Column.) Helmet r. on column against which, on r., leans round shield bearing gorgonion; behind, spear slanting upwards to r.

8. (Congiarius, platform on l.) Nero, bare-headed and togate, seated r. on high platform on l.; before him, an official seated r. on another platform handing congiarium to togate citizen stg. with one foot on a flight of steps, r. extended, l. preparing fold of toga, with small boy behind him; in background on l., Minerva facing, head l., r. holding owl, l. spear, and (on lower level) Liberalitas on r., facing, r. holding up tessera.

9. (Congiarius, platform on r.) Nero, bare-headed and togate, seated l. on low platform on r., r. extended; behind him, *praefectus annonae* stg. facing; below in front, attendant stg. l. handing tessera to citizen stg. r. with fold of toga extended; in background, Minerva stg. facing, head l., r. holding owl, l. spear, with flat-roofed tetrastyle building to l. of her.

\* Coins showing the aegis also show a bust rather than the normal head truncated at the neck.

10. (Decursio, to l.) Nero, bare-headed, cuirassed, and with cloak floating free, prancing l. on horseback, r. holding spear; beyond and behind him, mounted soldier prancing l. with vexillum held over r. shoulder.

11. (Decursio, to r.) As no. 10, but to r.

12. (Decursio, with foot-soldiers.) Nero prancing r., as on no. 11, but with foot-soldier in front advancing r., looking back, r. holding up vexillum, and with a second foot-soldier, helmeted, running behind the horse.

13. (Genius.) Genius, his waist dr., stg. half-left, sacrificing from patera over lighted altar with r., l. holding cornucopiae.

14. (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) View of one front of the temple of Janus, with latticed window to l. and garland hung across closed double doors to r.

15. (Janus, 'Terra', door l.) As no. 14, but with window to r. and doors to l.

16. (Janus, 'Ubique', door r.) As no. 14.

17. (Janus, 'Ubique', door l.) As no. 14, but with window to r. and doors to l.

18. (Macellum.) Frontal view of the Macellum Magnum, its domed central section (in two storeys and approached by steps) flanked by two-storied wings of unequal height, with porticoes; above the steps in centre, male figure stg. l., l. holding long sceptre.

19. (Ostia.) Bird's-eye view of the harbour of Ostia. At the top, pharos surmounted by statue of Neptune l., l. holding sceptre; at the bottom, reclining figure of Tiber l., r. holding rudder, l. dolphin; to l., crescent-shaped pier with portico of varying length, terminating with figure sacrificing at altar and with building; to r., crescent-shaped row of breakwaters or slips, sometimes terminating with figure seated on rock; within the central harbour, a varying number of ships (most often seven, occasionally eight or more).

20. (Owl.) Owl, with wings spread, stg. facing on garlanded rectangular altar.

21. (Roma l., with spear and shield.) Roma, helmeted and in military dress, seated l. on cuirass, r. holding vertical spear, l. resting on shield; around and behind, various shields.

22. (Roma r., with shield and spear.) Roma, helmeted and in military dress, seated r. on cuirass, r. resting on shield, l. holding vertical spear; around and behind, various arms.

23. (Roma, with Victory and parazonium.) Roma, helmeted and in military dress, seated l. on cuirass, r. holding Victory, l. resting on parazonium; around and behind, various shields, etc.

24. (Roma, with Victory and shield.) As no. 23, but l. resting on shield.

25. (Roma, with Victory and spear.) Roma, helmeted and in military dress, seated l. on cuirass, r. holding Victory, l. vertical spear; around and behind, various shields, etc.

26. (Roma, with wreath and parazonium.) Roma, helmeted and in military dress, seated l. on cuirass, r. holding wreath, l. resting on parazonium; around and behind, various arms.

27. (Roma, with wreath and shield.) As no. 26, but l. resting on shield.

28. (Roma, with wreath and spear.) As no. 26, but l. holding vertical spear.

29. (Securitas.) Securitas, bare to waist, seated r. on throne, r. resting head against throne, l. holding short sceptre; in front of her, garlanded and lighted altar, against which leans lighted torch resting on bucranium.

30. (Table.) Table, seen from front and r., bearing urn on l. and wreath on r.; on the front panel, a bas-relief of two sphinxes (or two gryphons) confronted; a round shield rests against table-leg.

31. (Victory flying l.) Victory flying l., r. leg advanced, r. holding wreath, l. palm.

32. (Victory flying r.) As no. 31, but to r.

33. (Victory walking l.) Victory walking l., r. holding wreath, l. palm.

34. (Victory with palladium.) Victory advancing r., r. holding small palladium, l. palm.

35. (Victory with shield.) Victory flying l., holding in both hands shield inscribed S P Q R.

III. *Aes* of Rome, c.AD 62-8

*Issue I.* Copper asses, semisses, and quadrantes: with cognomen **IMP** and without **S C.** c.62.

*Asses***Rev. Type 3. (Apollo) (p. 156)**

(i) Anepigraphic reverse

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
73	34A	S	Ro.(T.); WCN 245
74	36A	S	Hess (Lucerne) 9.5.1932 (Walters), 408; WCN 243
(Pl. 18, rev.) 75	36F	S	BMC 238; WCN 244
76	49A	R	Par.; WCN 242

(ii) **☾PONTIF MAX☾TR P IMP P P**

77	31A	R	BMC 234; WCN 254
78	50A	C	Cop.; WCN 249
(Pl. 18) 79	50F	S	BMC 236; WCN 250
80	52A	S	Ox.; WCN 248
81	53A	C	BMC 235; WCN 246
82	53F	C	Par.; WCN 247

**Rev. Type 13. (Genius) (p. 157)****☾GENIO☾AVGVSTI**

83	31A	R	Ro.(T.); WCN 255
84	31B	R	WCN 256
85	35A	R	Madr.; WCN 253
86	36A	C	Ro.(T); WCN 252
87	36E	R	Mazzini 108; WCN 251

*Semisses***Rev. Type 26. (Roma with wreath and parazonium) (p. 157)**

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 18) 88	47B	<b>☾PON MAX TR P☾IMP P P</b>	S	BMC 260; WCN 305
89	49B	Anepigraphic rev.	R	Ars Class. xv, 1438; WCN 303
90	53B	<b>☾PON MAX TR P☾IMP P P</b>	S	Hunter 82; WCN 304

**Rev. Type 30. (Table) (p. 157)**

91	49B	<b>☾CERTAMEN QVINQ ROM CO</b>	S	Par.; WCN 306
(Pl. 19) 92	49B	<b>☾CERTAM — QVINQ ROM CO</b>	S	BMC 259; WCN 307

*Quadrantes\****Rev. Type 6. (Branch) (p. 156)**

93	26; Type 7	<b>☾GER PON MAX☾TR P IMP P P</b>	S	BMC 286; WCN 337
94	49; Type 7	<b>☾PON M TR P☾IMP P P</b>	S	Par.; WCN 336

\* Note that the quadrantes, here and elsewhere, bear a non-portrait obverse which for convenience is listed as one or other of the rev. types on pp. 156f.



*Issue II.* Sestertii and dupondii (of orichalcum) and orichalcum asses and quadrantes: with cognomen IMP and without S C. c.63

*Sestertii*

**Rev. Type 1.** (Adlocutio) (p. 156)

ADLOCVT COH (ex.)

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
95	34G	S	BM; WCN 81
96	49C	S	Par.; WCN 70
97	49G	S	BMC 126; WCN 76

**Rev. Type 2.** (Annona) (p. 156)

Q ANNONA — AVGVSTI — CERES

98	49C	C	BMC 86; WCN 71
99	49G	C	Ox.; WCN 77

**Rev. Type 8.** (Congiarium, platform on l.) (p. 156)

(i) Q CONG II — DAT — POP R

100	34G	S	Vi.; WCN 82
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(ii) Q CONG II — DAT — POP

101	49C	S	Flor.; WCN 72
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**Rev. Type 9.** (Congiarium, platform on r.) (p. 156)

Q CONG II — DAT — POP

102	49C	S	Ox.; WCN 73
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**Rev. Type 11.** (Decursio, to r.) (p. 157)

DECVRSIO (ex.)

103	34C	R	BM; WCN 80
104	49C	R	Ro.(T.); WCN 75

**Rev. Type 12.** (Decursio, with foot-soldiers) (p. 157)

DECVRSIO (ex.)

	105	31C	R2	Ox.; WCN 83
	106	34C	R	BMC 154; WCN 79
	107	49C	C	Vi.; WCN 74
<b>PL 19, rev.)</b>	108	49G	C	BMC 155; WCN 78

*Dupondii*

**Rev. Type 18.** (Macellum) (p. 157)

Q MAC — AVG

	109	31E	R	Par.; WCN 186
<b>(PL 19)</b>	110	34B	S	BMC 196; WCN 180
	111	35E	S	BMC 197; WCN 184

**Rev. Type 29. (Securitas) (p. 157)**

(SECVRITAS)AVGVSTI

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
112	31E	R2	Cam.; WCN 187
113	36J	S	Vi.; WCN 183
114	46E	R2	Chaves coll.; WCN 182A

**Rev. Type 31. (Victory flying l.) (p. 157)**

(VICTORIA)AVGVSTI

	115	31E	R2	Ro.(T.); WCN 188
(Pl. 19, rev.)	116	35E	S	BMC 221; WCN 185
	117	49A	R2	WCN 177
	118	49B	R	Blackburn; WCN 179
	119	49E	R	Ox.; WCN 181
	120	49F	R2	Stock.; WCN 178

*Asses***Rev. Type 3. (Apollo) (p. 156)**

(PONTIF MAX)TR POT IMP P P

	121	40E	C	BMC 257; WCN 260
	122	54B	S	Cop.; WCN 257
	123	54E	R2	Madr.; WCN 259

**Rev. Type 13. (Genius) (p. 157)**

(GENIO)AVGVSTI

	124	36E	S	Vi.; WCN 261
	125	54B	R2	Vi.; WCN 258

*Quadrantes***Rev. Type 6. (Branch) (p. 156)**

(P M TR P)IMP P P

(Pl. 19)	126	13; Type 7	R2	BMC 292; WCN 340
	127	14; Type 7	R2	BMC 293; WCN 339
	128	10; Type 20	R2	ANS; WCN 340a

(PON M TR P)IMP P P

	129	21; Type 7	S	Vi.; WCN 338
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119. One in Stockholm with obv. ending IMP P (WCN 182).

*Issue III.* Wholly orichalcum series, all with cognomen **IMP** and with **S C** on rev., comprising sestertii, dupondii (with mark of value), asses (with mark of value), and quadrantes (sometimes with mark of value). c.64.

*Sestertii*

**Rev. Type 1.** (Adlocutio) (p. 156)

ADLOCVT COH (ex.), S — C to l. and r.

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
<b>Pl. 19, rev.)</b> 130	31C	S	BMC 122; WCN 118
131	31G	R	Naville viii, 25.6.1924 (Bement), 640; WCN 127
132	36C	R	Mil.; WCN 96
133	36G	R2	Par.; WCN 102
134	46C	R	Hirsch xi, 770; WCN 103
135	49C	S	BMC 124; WCN 84
136	49G	R2	Par.; WCN 91

**Rev. Type 2.** (Annona) (p. 156)

Q ANNONA — AVGVSTI — CERES, S C (ex.)

137	31C	C	BMC 127; WCN 119
<b>(Pl. 19)</b> 138	31G	C	BMC 129; WCN 128
139	46C	C	BMC 130; WCN 104
140	46G	S	Par.; WCN 112
141	49C	C	Par.; WCN 85
142	49G	R	Ro.(T.); WCN 92

**Rev. Type 5.** (Arch) (p. 156)

S — C to l. and r.

143	31C	C	BMC 183; WCN 126
144	31G	C	BMC 184; WCN 134
145	36C	C	Cop.; WCN 101
146	36G	R2	Nap.; WCN 102A
<b>(Pl. 19)</b> 147	46C	C	BMC 187; WCN 111
148	46G	C	BMC 188; WCN 117
149	49C	C	Ro.(Vat.); WCN 90
150	49G	S	BMC 190; WCN 95

**Rev. Type 8.** (Congiarium, platform on l.) (p. 156)

Q CONG I — DAT — POP, S C (ex.)

151	31C	S	Hunter (C.) 3750; WCN 121
152	31G	R2	Egger 28.11.1904 (Prowe), 2343; WCN 130
153	36C	R	Par.; WCN 95
154	46C	R	BMC 136; WCN 106
155	49C	R2	WCN 87

Q CONG II — DAT — POP, S C (ex.)

156	36C	R2	WCN 98A
157	46C	S	BMC 137; WCN 106

**Rev. Type 9. (Congiarium, platform on r.) (p. 156)**

Q CONG II — DAT — POP, S C (ex.)

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
158	31C	R	Ox.; WCN 122
159	36C	R2	Ro.(T.); WCN 99
160	46C	S	BMC 139; WCN 107
(Pl. 19, rev.) 161	49C	C	BMC 140; WCN 88
162	49G	S	BMC 141; WCN 93

**Rev. Type 10. (Decursio, to l.) (p. 157)**

DECVR SIO (ex.), S — C to l. and r.

163	31C	S	Hague; WCN 124
164	31G	S	Par.; WCN 132
165	46C	C	BMC 148; WCN 109
166	46G	C	BMC 152; WCN 115

**Rev. Type 11. (Decursio, to r.) (p. 157)**

DECVR SIO (ex.), S — C to l. and r.

167	31C	C	Ro.(Vat.); WCN 123
168	31G	S	BMC 142; WCN 131
169	36C	C	Ox.; WCN 100
170	46C	C	BMC 143; WCN 108
171	46G	C	BMC 145; WCN 114
172	49C	C	BMC 146; WCN 89
173	49G	S	BMC 147; WCN 94

**Rev. Type 12. (Decursio, with foot-soldiers) (p. 157)**

DECVR SIO (ex.), S — C to l. and r.

174	31C	R	Ox.; WCN 125
175	31G	R2	Par.; WCN 133
176	46C	R2	Nap.; WCN 110
177	46G	R	Hunter (C.) 3754; WCN 116

**Rev. Type 19. (Ostia) (p. 157)**

AVGVSTI S POR OST C

178	31C	C	BMC 131; WCN 120
179	31G	S	Par.; WCN 129
180	36C	R2	Hess (Lucerne), 18.12.1933, 394; WCN 97
181	46C	C	BMC 134; WCN 105
(Pl. 20, rev.) 182	46G	C	BMC 135; WCN 113
183	49C	R	Private coll.; WCN 86

*Dupondii***Rev. Type 18. (Macellum) (p. 157)**

MAC — AVG, S — C to l. and r., II (ex.)

184	31E	S	Par.; WCN 203
185	31J	S	BMC 193; WCN 207
186	36E	R2	Tur.; WCN 192
187	46E	S	BMC 195; WCN 197

184. BMC 191-2 of this type show no visible mark of value.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
188	46J	R	Manch.; WCN 202
189	49E	R2	Nap.; WCN 189

**Rev. Type 29.** (*Securitas*) (p. 157)

Λ SECVRITAS Λ AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r., II (ex.)

190	31E	C	Vi.; WCN 204
191	36E	C	Par.; WCN 193
192	36J	R	Hague; WCN 195
193	46E	C	BMC 213; WCN 198
194	46J	C	Par.; WCN 201
195	49E	S	Par.; WCN 190

**Rev. Type 31.** (*Victory flying l.*) (p. 157)

ζ VICTORIA ζ AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r., II (ex.)

196	31E	C	BMC 214; WCN 205
197	31J	R	Vi.; WCN 208
198	36E	S	Baranowski (Milan) 9.12.1929, 482; WCN 194
199	36J	C	BMC 219; WCN 196
200	46E	C	Par.; WCN 199
201	49E	C	BMC 220; WCN 191

**Rev. Type 32.** (*Victory flying r.*) (p. 157)

ζ VICTORIA ζ AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r., II (ex.)

(Pl. 20)	202	31E	C	BMC 222; WCN 206
	203	31J	S	BMC 223; WCN 209
	204	46E	C	Par.; WCN 200

*Asses***Rev. Type 3.** (*Apollo*) (p. 156)

ζ PONTIF MAX ζ TR P IMP P P, S—C to l. and r., I (ex.)

205	39E	S	BMC 254; WCN 275
206	40E	R	Cahn (Frankfurt) sale 61, 3.12.1928, 775; WCN 274
207	42E	R	Vi.; WCN 273
208	53B	R	Hague; WCN 264

ζ PONTIF MAX ζ TR POT IMP P P, S—C to l. and r., I (ex.)

209	36E	S	Ox.; WCN 270
210	53B	S	Hunter 76; WCN 263
211	53E	S	BMC 256; WCN 272

ζ PONTIF MAX ζ TR POTEST IMP P P, S—C to l. and r., I (ex.)

212	53B	S	BMC 258; WCN 262
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**Rev. Type 13.** (*Genius*) (p. 157)

ζ GENIO ζ AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r., I (ex.)

Pl. 20, rev.)	213	29B	S	Par.; WCN 268
	214	31B	C	BMC 252; WCN 269
	215	31E	C	BMC 251; WCN 276
	216	35B	R	WCN 267A

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
217	36B	S	Cam.; WCN 267
218	36E	S	Ox.; WCN 271
219	46B	R2	Vi.; WCN 266
220	53B	S	Ox.; WCN 265

*Semisses***Rev. Type 26. (Roma, with wreath and parazonium) (p. 157)**

☉ P M TR — P — P P, value-mark S in front of Roma-head, S C (ex.)

221	2B	C	BMC 279; WCN 329
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☉ PON MA TR P IMP P P, no value-mark, S C (ex.)

222	2B	R	Ox.; WCN 328
223	28B	S	BMC 280; WCN 315

☉ TR — PON — P P, value-mark S in front of Roma-head, S C (ex.)

224	1B	R2	BMC 285; WCN 335
225	2B	C	BMC 284; WCN 330

☉ TR — POT — P P, value-mark S in front of Roma-head, S C (ex.)

226	2B	C	BMC 281; WCN 331
227	5B	S	BMC 283; WCN 318

**Rev. Type 30. (Table)\* (p. 157)**

☉ CER QVINQ ROM CO, no value-mark, S C (ex.)

228	2B	R2	BMC 265; WCN 326
229	6B	S	Par.; WCN 311
230	50A	R2	Ox.; WCN 313

☉ CER QVINQ RMA CO, value-mark S above table to l., S C (ex.)

231	2B	S	BMC 268; WCN 327
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☉ CER QVINQ ROM CO, value-mark S above table to l., S C (ex.)

232	1B	R	BMC 266; WCN 334
233	2B	C	BMC 261; WCN 325
234	5B	C	BMC 267; WCN 317
235	5F	R2	Len.; WCN 319

☉ CERT QVINQ ROM CO, value-mark S above table to l., S C (ex.)

236	1B	R	Nap.; WCN 333
237	2B	S	Vi.; WCN 324
238	6B	S	BMC 270; WCN 310
239	50A	S	BMC 269; WCN 312

\* The division of the legends on these small coins can vary considerably, and precise definition is not here attempted.

218. BMC 253, of this type, has no value-mark in ex.

Q CERT QVINQ ROM CON, value-mark S above table to l., S C (ex.)

No. Obv. Frequ. Ref.

240	1B	S	BM; WCN 332
241	2B	S	BMC 271; WCN 323
242	28B	R2	Ox.; WCN 314

Q CERTA QVINQ ROM CO, value-mark S above table to l., S C (ex.)

243	2B	C	BMC 273; WCN 322
244	18A	S	Nap.; WCN 309
245	18B	S	BMC 274; WCN 308

Q CERTA QVINQ ROM CON, no value-mark, S C (ex.)

246	2B	S	Ox.; WCN 321
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Q CERTA QVINQ ROM CON, value-mark S above table to l., S C (ex.)

247	2B	C	BMC 275; WCN 320
248	5B	S	BM; WCN 316

*Quadrantes*

**Obv. Type 7. (Column) (p. 156)**

**Rev. Type 6. (Branch) (p. 156)**

Q GER P M TR — P IMP P P, S — C to l. and r., value-mark . .

249	21	R2	BMC 297; WCN 343
250	26	C	Vi.; WCN 341

Q P M TR P — IMP P P, S — C to l. and r., no value-mark

251	8	S	Par.; WCN 347
252	9	S	BMC 291; WCN 356
253	14	R2	Par.; WCN 355
254	27	R2	BM; WCN 348

As nos. 251–4, with and without value-mark . .

255	17	C	Cam., BMC 294; WCN 350, 353
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Q PON M TR — P IMP P P, S — C to l. and r., value-mark . .

256	8	R2	Vi.; WCN 345
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**Obv. Type 20. (Owl) (p. 157)**

**Rev. Type 6. (Branch) (p. 156)**

Q GER P M TR — P IMP P P, S — C to l. and r., value-mark . .

257	12	R2	Par.; WCN 344
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As no. 257, with and without value-mark . .

258	16	C	Ro.(Vat.), BMC 298; WCN 342, 342a
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258. Examples at Oxford and Turin struck on flans for copper asses.

Q P M T R P — IMP P P, S — C to l. and r., no value-mark

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
259	11	R2	BM; WCN 352
260	17	C	Ro.(Vat.); WCN 354

As no. 259, with and without value-mark.

261	12	S	Ro.(Vat.), BM; WCN 349, 349a
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As no. 259, but legend divided TR — P

(Pl. 20)	262	17	S	BMC 302; WCN 346
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*Issue IV.* Series (all with cognomen **IMP** and with **S C**) comprising orichalcum sestertii and (without mark of value) dupondii, and copper asses and quadrantes. c.65.

*Sestertii*

**Rev. Type 14.** (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) (p. 157)

Q PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S — C to l. and r.

263	7D	S	BMC 111; WCN 136
264	31C	C	BMC 156; WCN 148
265	31G	C	BMC 160; WCN 153
266	46C	C	BMC 161; WCN 139
267	46G	S	Ox.; WCN 143

**Rev. Type 15.** (Janus, 'Terra', door l.) (p. 157)

Q PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S — C to l. and r.

	268	31C	C	Ox.; WCN 149
	269	31G	R	Ro.(T.); WCN 154
(Pl. 20, rev.)	270	46C	C	BMC 164; WCN 140
	271	46G	C	Par.; WCN 144

**Rev. Type 23.** (Roma, with Victory and parazonium) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S — C to l. and r.

	272	7D	R	Ox.; WCN 135
	273	31C	C	BMC 173; WCN 145
(Pl. 20, rev.)	274	31G	C	BMC 178; WCN 150
	275	46C	C	BMC 180; WCN 137
	276	46G	C	Par.; WCN 141

**Rev. Type 24.** (Roma, with Victory and shield) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S — C to l. and r.

	277	31C	R	Ro.(T.); WCN 147
	278	31G	R2	Glendining 10.12.1941 (Sydenham), 59; WCN 152

263. The final letters of the obv. legend sometimes appear as PPI (*BMC* 111) or PIP (*BMC* 112), presumably as engravers' errors.



**Rev. Type 25.** (Roma, with Victory and spear) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
279	31C	C	BMC 168; WCN 146
280	31G	R	Par.; WCN 151
281	46C	S	BMC 170; WCN 138
282	46G	S	Mil.; WCN 142

*Dupondii\****Rev. Type 14.** (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) (p. 157)

QPACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

20, rev.) 283	31B	R2	BMC 199; WCN 210
284	31E	C	BMC 198; WCN 215
285	31J	C	BMC 200; WCN 218
286	46E	R2	Cam.; WCN 213

**Rev. Type 15.** (Janus, 'Terra', door l.) (p. 157)

QPACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

287	31J	R2	Len.; WCN 219
288	46E	R2	Par.; WCN 214

**Rev. Type 16.** (Janus, 'Ubique', door r.) (p. 157)

QPACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

289	31E	C	BM; WCN 224
290	31J	S	BMC 201; WCN 226

**Rev. Type 17.** (Janus, 'Ubique', door l.) (p. 157)

QPACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

(Pl. 20) 291	46E	C	BMC 203; WCN 222
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**Rev. Type 23.** (Roma, with Victory and parazonium) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

292	31B	R2	BMC 207; WCN 211
293	31E	C	Par.; WCN 216
294	31J	C	BMC 210; WCN 220

**Rev. Type 24.** (Roma, with Victory and shield) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

295	31E	R2	BM; WCN 217
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\* Mac Dowall, *WCN* pp. 79 f., has divided the dupondii of this issue into two groups, those sharing types with the foregoing sestertii and those with types peculiar to dupondii alone. The distinction may be some evidence of development caused by engravers' con-

venience, with the shortening from TERRA MARIQ (eleven letter spaces) to VBIQ (four letter spaces).

292. Cf. *WCN* p. 173 n. 2, for the reworking of *BMC* 207 so as to show wreath instead of Victory.

**Rev. Type 26.** (Roma, with wreath and parazonium) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
296	31E	C	BMC 205; WCN 225
297	31J	C	BMC 208; WCN 227
298	46E	S	Hunter 66; WCN 221

**Rev. Type 29.** (Securitas) (p. 157)

⌒SECVRITAS⌒AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r.

299	31B	R	Ox.; WCN 212
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*Asses\****Rev. Type 14.** (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) (p. 157)

⌒PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

300	4B	C	BMC 225; WCN 283
301	4G	R	Ox.; WCN 286
302	31A	R	Ox.; WCN 277
303	31B	R	Nap.; WCN 280

**Rev. Type 15.** (Janus, 'Terra', door l.) (p. 157)

⌒PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

304	4B	C	BMC 226; WCN 284
305	31B	R2	Len.; WCN 281

**Rev. Type 16.** (Janus, 'Ubique', door r.) (p. 157)

⌒PACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

306	4B	C	BMC 227; WCN 288
(Pl. 20) 307	4G	C	BMC 228; WCN 291

**Rev. Type 17.** (Janus, 'Ubique', door l.) (p. 157)

⌒PACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

308	3G	R2	Stockh.; WCN 293A
309	4B	C	BMC 232; WCN 289
310	4G	R	Mil.; WCN 292
311	46B	R2	Madr.; WCN 278A

\* Mac Dowall, *WCN* p. 83, has divided these asses into three groups, (1) with long obv. legends, (2) with short obv. but long rev. legends, and (3) with short obv. and rev. legends. There is doubtless chronological significance in these distinctions. It should be noted that he appears to have duplicated

certain issues, e.g. his nos. 285 and 290 and his nos. 287 and 293.

298. *WCN* 221 and 223 appear to be identical, unless no. 223 shows, by Mac Dowall's omission, obv. bust J.

309. A Vatican example has S C in ex.

**Rev. Type 35.** (Victory with shield) (p. 157)

S — C to l. and r.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
312	4B	C	BMC 241; WCN 285, 290
313	4G	C	BMC 245; WCN 287, 293
314	31B	S	BM; WCN 279
315	31G	R2	Ox.; WCN 282
316	46B	S	BMC 240; WCN 278

*Quadrantes***Obv. Type 7.** (Column) (p. 156)**Rev. Type 6.** (Branch) (p. 156)

Q P M T R P — IMP P P, S — C to l. and r.

317	17	C	Lisb.; WCN 359
318	24	C	BMC 287; WCN 358

**Obv. Type 20.** (Owl) (p. 157)**Rev. Type 6.** (Branch) (p. 156)

Q P M T R P — IMP P P, S — C to l. and r.

319	17	C	BMC 288; WCN 360
320	24	R2	Blackburn; WCN 357

**Obv. Type 20.** (Owl) (p. 157)**Rev. Type 7.** (Column) (p. 156)

Q P M T R P — IMP P P, S — C to l. and r.

321	17	R2	Par.; WCN 361
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Q P M T R P — IMP P P, S C (ex.)

322	17	S	BMC 290; WCN 362
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*Issue V.* Series (all with praenomen **IMP** and with **S C**) comprising orichalcum sestertii and (without mark of value\*) dupondii and copper asses. *c.*66.

*Sestertii***Rev. Type 14.** (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) (p. 157)

Q PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S — C to l. and r.

<b>l. 20, rev.)</b>	323	71B	S	BMC 162; WCN 162
	324	71G	S	BMC 163; WCN 165
	325	75B	R2	MzH Basel sale 8, 22.3.1937, 587; WCN 156

**Rev. Type 15.** (Janus, 'Terra', door l.) (p. 157)

Q PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S — C to l. and r.

	326	71G	R2	BM; WCN 166
	327	75B	S	Par.; WCN 157
	328	75G	S	BMC 167; WCN 159

\* Except for no. 346.

**Rev. Type 23. (Roma, with Victory and parazonium) (p. 157)**

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Oby.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
329	71B	C	BMC 181; WCN 160
330	71G	C	Cam.; WCN 163
331	75G	R2	Manch.; WCN 158A

**Rev. Type 24. (Roma, with Victory and shield) (p. 157)**

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

332	71G	R2	WCN 163A
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**Rev. Type 25. (Roma, with Victory and spear) (p. 157)**

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

333	71B	C	BMC 171; WCN 161
334	71G	C	BM; WCN 164
335	75B	R	Ro.(T.); WCN 155
336	75G	R2	Tur.; WCN 158

*Dupondii***Rev. Type 14. (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) (p. 157)**

⊙PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

337	71E	R2	Cahn (Frankfurt) sale 47, 17.5.1922, 203; WCN 228
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**Rev. Type 15. (Janus, 'Terra', door l.) (p. 157)**

⊙PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

338	71E	R2	ANS; WCN 229
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**Rev. Type 16. (Janus, 'Ubique', door r.) (p. 157)**

⊙PACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

339	71E	S	Par.; WCN 231
340	71J	R	BMC 202; WCN 235

**Rev. Type 17. (Janus, 'Ubique', door l.) (p. 157)**

⊙PACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

341	71E	R	Par.; WCN 232
342	71J	C	BMC 204; WCN 236

**Rev. Type 25. (Roma, with Victory and spear) (p. 157)**

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

343	71E	S	BM; WCN 234
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**Rev. Type 26.** (Roma, with wreath and parazonium) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

No. Obv. Frequ. Ref.

344 71E C Par.; WCN 233

345 71J C BMC 209; WCN 237

**Rev. Type 32.** (Victory flying r.) (p. 157)

(VICTORIA) AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r., II (ex.)

346 71E R2 BMC 224; WCN 230

*Asses***Rev. Type 16.** (Janus, 'Ubique', door r.) (p. 157)

QPACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

347 56B C BMC 230; WCN 294

348 56G C BMC 231; WCN 297

**Rev. Type 17.** (Janus, 'Ubique', door l.) (p. 157)

QPACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

349 56B C BM; WCN 295

350 56G C BM; WCN 298

**Rev. Type 35.** (Victory with shield) (p. 157)

S—C to l. and r.

351 56B C BMC 246; WCN 296

352 56G C BMC 249; WCN 299

*Issue VI.* Series (all with praenomen **IMP** and with **S C**) comprising orichalcum sestertii and (without mark of value) dupondii and copper asses. c.67.

*Sestertii***Rev. Type 14.** (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) (p. 157)

QPACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

353 73B R2 BMC 113; WCN 170

**Rev. Type 15.** (Janus, 'Terra', door l.) (p. 157)

QPACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

354 73B C Nap.; WCN 171

355 73G R2 Par.; WCN 174A

**Rev. Type 21.** (Roma l., with spear and shield) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

356 73B C BMC 114; WCN 168

20, rev.) 357 73G S BMC 119; WCN 173

**Rev. Type 22.** (Roma r., with shield and spear) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
358	73B	S	Cop.; WCN 169
359	73G	R2	BM; WCN 174

**Rev. Type 25.** (Roma, with Victory and spear) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

360	73B	S	Len.; WCN 167
361	73G	S	Cop.; WCN 172

*Dupondii***Rev. Type 17.** (Janus, 'Ubique', door l.) (p. 157)

QPACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

362	73E	C	Vi.; WCN 238
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**Rev. Type 21.** (Roma l., with spear and shield) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

363	73E	C	BMC 120; WCN 240
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**Rev. Type 22.** (Roma r., with shield and spear) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

364	73E	R2	Glendining 21.11.1951 (Messenger), 115; WCN 241; casts in BM
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**Rev. Type 28.** (Roma with wreath and spear) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

365	73E	R2	ANS; WCN 239
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*Asses***Rev. Type 16.** (Janus, 'Ubique', door r.) (p. 157)

QPACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

366	57G	R2	Len.; WCN 302
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**Rev. Type 17.** (Janus, 'Ubique', door l.) (p. 157)

QPACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

367	57B	C	BMC 233; WCN 300
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**Rev. Type 35.** (Victory with shield) (p. 157)

S—C to l. and r.

368	57B	C	BMC 250; WCN 301
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366. Confirmation needed that this obv. is in fact G and not B.

*Issue VII.* Orichalcum sestertii only (all with praenomen IMP and with SC).  
c.68

*Sestertii*

**Rev. Type 21.** (Roma l., with spear and shield) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
369	74H	R2	Madr.; WCN 176

**Rev. Type 34.** (Victory with palladium) (p. 157)

S—C to l. and r.

370	74H	R2	WCN 175
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IV. *Aes* of Lugdunum, c.AD 64–7\*

*Issue I.* Series (all with cognomen IMP, and with SC) comprising orichalcum sestertii and dupondii (the latter mostly with mark of value) and asses both of orichalcum and of copper (all with mark of value), corresponding to Issue III of Rome. c.64.

*Sestertii* (globe at point of obv. bust)

**Rev. Type 1.** (Adlocutio) (p. 156)

ADLOCVT COH (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

371	31C	R2	Ro.(Vat.); WCN 401
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**Rev. Type 2.** (Annona) (p. 156)

Q ANNONA — AVGVSTI — CERES, SC (ex.)

<b>PL 20)</b> 372	31C	R	BMC 306; WCN 402
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*Dupondii* (globe at point of obv. bust)

**Rev. Type 18.** (Macellum) (p. 157)

(MAC)AVG, S—C below steps

373	30E	R	Lisb.; WCN 490
<b>PL 21)</b> 374	31E	R2	BMC 335; WCN 493

**Rev. Type 29.** (Securitas) (p. 157)

(SECVRITAS)AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r., II (ex.)

375	30E	R2	BM; WCN 491
376	31E	S	BMC 338; WCN 494

**Rev. Type 31.** (Victory flying l.) (p. 157)

(VICTORIA)AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r., II (ex.)

377	31E	R2	BM; WCN 496
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\* For the lists of obv. legends and types, and of rev. types, see above, pp. 154ff.

370. Some further confirmation of this rare emission would be welcome.

**Rev. Type 33. (Victory walking l.) (p. 157)**

⌊VICTORIA⌋AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r.,  $\bar{\Pi}$  (ex.)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
378	30E	S	Par.; WCN 492
379	31E	C	Hunter 111; WCN 495

*Asses*

- (i) Orichalcum; heads to r. with globe at point of obv. bust, heads to l. with no globe

**Rev. Type 3. (Apollo) (p. 156)**

⌊PONTIF MAX⌋TR POT IMP P P, S—C to l. and r.,  $\bar{I}$  (ex.)

380	39B	R2	Vi.; WCN 537
(Pl. 21) 381	40G	R	BMC 255; WCN 539

**Rev. Type 13. (Genius) (p. 157)**

⌊GENIO⌋AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r.,  $\bar{I}$  (ex.)

382	39B	R2	BM; WCN 538
383	40G	R2	Par.; WCN 540

- (ii) Transitional copper; with globe at point of obv. bust both r. and l.

**Rev. Type 3. (Apollo) (p. 156)**

⌊PONTIF MAX⌋TR POT IMP P P, S—C to l. and r.,  $\bar{I}$  (ex.)

384	41A	S	Cop.; WCN 541
385	41F	S	BM; WCN 542

*Issue II.* Series (all with cognomen **IMP** and with **S C**) comprising orichalcum sestertii and dupondii (the latter mostly with mark of value) and copper asses and semisses, corresponding to Issue III of Rome. c.65.

*Sestertii* (globe at point of obv. bust)\*

**Rev. Type 1. (Adlocutio) (p. 156)**

ADLOCVT COH (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

386	30B	R2	Par.; WCN 403A
387	31B	S	BMC 303; WCN 405
388	31G	C	Cop.; WCN 411

**Rev. Type 2. (Annona) (p. 156)**

⌊ANNONA—AVGVSTI—CERES, S C (ex.)

389	30G	R2	Ro.(T.); WCN 404
390	31B	C	BMC 305; WCN 406
391	31G	C	Tur.; WCN 412

\* These sestertii are characterized by what appears to be an earlier form of the globe.



**Rev. Type 5.** (Arch) (p. 156)

S—C to l. and r.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
392	31B	C	Vi.; WCN 410
21) 393	31G	C	BMC 330; WCN 414

**Rev. Type 8.** (Congiarium, platform on l.) (p. 156)

⌒ CONG I—DAT—POP, S C (ex.)

394	31B	R2	Stockh.; WCN 407
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**Rev. Type 11.** (Decursio, to r.) (p. 157)

DECVR SIO (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

395	30B	R	Ars Class. xiii, 1167; WCN 403
396	31B	C	BMC 311; WCN 408
397	31G	R2	Lyons; WCN 413

**Rev. Type 23.** (Roma, with Victory and parazonium) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

398	31B	C	Par.; WCN 409
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*Dupondii* (globe at point of obv. bust)**Rev. Type 18.** (Macellum) (p. 157)

⌒ MAC ⌒ AVG, S—C below steps

399	30B	C	Ro.(T.); WCN 498
400	30G	C	Par.; WCN 501
401	31B	R	Ro.(Vat.); WCN 504
21, rev.) 402	31G	C	BMC 336; WCN 507

**Rev. Type 29.** (Securitas) (p. 157)

⌒ SECVRITAS ⌒ AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r., II (ex.)

403	29G	R2	Mun.; WCN 497
404	30B	R2	Blackburn; WCN 499
405	30G	S	Hague; WCN 502
406	31B	C	Ox.; WCN 505
407	31G	C	BMC 339; WCN 508
408	45B	R2	May.; WCN 510

**Rev. Type 33.** (Victory walking l.) (p. 157)

⌒ VICTORIA ⌒ AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r., II (ex.)

409	30B	R	Par.; WCN 500
410	30G	C	BMC 350; WCN 503
411	31B	C	BM; WCN 506
412	31G	C	BMC 351; WCN 509
413	45B	R2	Ro.(Vat.); WCN 511

393. One in the Hermitage, Leningrad, with the obv. legend running anti-clockwise.

*Asses* (globe at point of obv. bust)

**Rev. Type 3. (Apollo) (p. 156)**

☾PONTIF MAX☾TR POT IMP P P, S—C to l. and r.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
414	41A	R	Verulam.; WCN 551
415	41F	R2	Blackburn; WCN 551A
416	42A	C	BMC 376; WCN 543
417	42F	C	BM; WCN 547

**Rev. Type 4. (Ara Pacis) (p. 156)**

ARA PACIS (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

418	42F	R2	May.; WCN 548
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**Rev. Type 13. (Genius) (p. 157)**

☾GENIO☾AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r.

419	42A	S	BM; WCN 544
420	42F	R2	Trier; WCN 549

**Rev. Type 14. (Janus, 'Terra', door l.) (p. 157)**

☾PACE PR TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

421	42A	R	Len.; WCN 545
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**Rev. Type 35. (Victory with shield) (p. 157)**

S—C to l. and r.

422	42A	C	May.; WCN 546
423	42F	C	May.; WCN 550

*Semisses* (globe at point of obv. bust)

**Rev. Type 26. (Roma, with wreath and parazonium) (p. 157)**

☾PONTIF MAX☾TR POT IMP P P, S C (ex.)

424	42A	R2	BM; WCN 605
425	42F	S	BMC 401; WCN 608

☾PONTIF MA☾TR P IMP P P, S C (ex.)

426	42A	R2	Mac Dowall coll.; WCN 606
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**Rev. Type 30. (Table) (p. 157)**

☾CER QVINQ—ROM CON, S C (ex.)

427	42A	S	Ox.; WCN 607
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☾CER QVINQ—ROMAE CONS, S C (ex.)

428	42F	S	BMC 396; WCN 609
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423. One in ANS with shield on rev. inscribed S C P R.

*Issue III.* Series (all with cognomen **IMP** and with **S C**) comprising orichalcum sestertii and dupondii (the latter all without mark of value) and copper asses and semisses, corresponding to Issues III–IV of Rome. *c.*65.

*Sestertii* (globe at point of obv. bust)\*

**Rev. Type 1.** (Adlocutio) (p. 156)

**ADLOCVT COH** (ex.), **S—C** to l. and r.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
429	31B	C	Ox.; WCN 415

**Rev. Type 2.** (Annona) (p. 156)

**Q ANNONA—AVGVSTI—CERES, S C** (ex.)

430	31B	C	Hunter 107; WCN 416
431	31G	C	BMC 307; WCN 423

**Rev. Type 5.** (Arch) (p. 156)

**S—C** to l. and r.

432	31B	C	BMC 329; WCN 422
433	31G	R2	Vi.; WCN 429

**Rev. Type 8.** (Congiarium, platform on l.) (p. 156)

**Q CONG I—DAT POP, S C** (ex.)

434	31B	S	Ox.; WCN 417
435	31G	S	Hague; WCN 424

**Rev. Type 11.** (Decursio, to r.) (p. 157)

**DECVR SIO** (ex.), **S—C** to l. and r.

436	31B	C	BMC 312; WCN 418
437	31G	C	Hague; WCN 425

**Rev. Type 14.** (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) (p. 157)

**Q PACE P R TERRA MARIO PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C** to l. and r.

	438	31B	C	BMC 319; WCN 419
(Pl. 21)	439	31G	C	BMC 320; WCN 426

**Rev. Type 19.** (Ostia) (p. 157)

**Q PORT AVG, S—C** high to l. and r.

	440	31B	C	BMC 323; WCN 420
	441	31G	R2	BM; WCN 427

\* The globe on these sestertii is of a form seemingly more developed than that of Issue II of Lugdunum.

437. An example in Madrid with the obv. legend reading anti-clockwise.

**Rev. Type 23.** (Roma, with Victory and parazonium) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
442	31B	C	BMC 324; WCN 421
443	31G	S	Ox.; WCN 428

*Dupondii* (globe at point of obv. bust)**Rev. Type 29.** (Securitas) (p. 157)

⌊SECVRITAS⌋AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r.

444	30B	R2	Ox.; WCN 512
445	31B	S	Ox.; WCN 515
446	31G	C	BMC 340; WCN 517

**Rev. Type 33.** (Victory walking l.) (p. 157)

⌊VICTORIA⌋AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r.

447	30B	C	BM; WCN 513
448	30G	R	BM; WCN 514
449	31B	C	Ox.; WCN 516
450	31G	C	BMC 352; WCN 518

*Asses\** (globe at point of obv. bust)**Rev. Type 3.** (Apollo) (p. 156)

⌊PONTIF MAX⌋TR POT IMP P P, S—C to l. and r.

451	29A	R2	Par.; WCN 552
452	29F	R2	Ox.; WCN 557
453	30F	R2	Mac Dowall coll.; WCN 565
454	31A	C	Par.; WCN 570
455	31F	R2	May.; WCN 575

**Rev. Type 4.** (Ara Pacis) (p. 156)

ARA PACIS (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

(Pl. 21)	456	29A	R2	Newdigate coll.; WCN 553
	457	29F	R2	May.; WCN 558
	458	30A	C	BMC 361; WCN 561
	459	30F	C	Ox.; WCN 566
	460	31A	C	Par.; WCN 571
	461	31F	C	BMC 363; WCN 576

**Rev. Type 13.** (Genius) (p. 157)

⌊GENIO⌋AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r.

462	29A	R	Vienne; WCN 554
463	29F	R	BM; WCN 559

\* Not infrequently countermarked with S P Q R, P R (populus Romanus), or the name 'Vespasianus' in ligature.

454. One specimen recorded with erroneous obv. reading —CLAD— for —CLAVD—.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
464	30A	C	BMC 367; WCN 562
465	30F	C	BMC 369; WCN 567
466	31A	C	BMC 366; WCN 572
467	31F	C	Cirencester; WCN 577

**Rev. Type 14.** (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) (p. 157)

QPACE PR TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

468	29A	R2	Cam.; WCN 555
469	30A	C	BMC 374; WCN 563
470	30F	S	Mil.; WCN 568
471	31A	S	Par.; WCN 573
472	31F	R	Par.; WCN 578

**Rev. Type 35.** (Victory with shield) (p. 157)

S—C to l. and r.

473	29A	S	Ox.; WCN 556
474	29F	C	Ro.(T.); WCN 560
475	30A	C	Ox.; WCN 564
476	30F	C	Par.; WCN 569
477	31A	C	BMC 378; WCN 574
478	31F	C	BMC 380; WCN 579

*Semisses* (globe at point of obv. bust)

**Rev. Type 26.** (Roma, with wreath and parazonium) (p. 157)

QPONTIF MAX QTR P IMP P P, S C (ex.)

479	32A	C	BM; WCN 615
480	32F	C	BMC 398; WCN 618
481	37A	R	BM; WCN 612

QPONTIF MAX QTR POT IMP P P, S C (ex.)

482	32A	S	BMC 399; WCN 614
483	32F	R2	BMC 400; WCN 617
484	37A	R	Nijmegen; WCN 611
485	38F	R2	Blackburn; WCN 610

**Rev. Type 30.** (Table) (p. 157)

Q CER QVINQ — ROM CON, S C (ex.)

486	32A	S	BM; WCN 616
487	32F	C	BMC 392; WCN 619
488	37A	S	Vi.; WCN 613

*Issue IV.* Series (all with praenomen **IMP** and with **S C**) comprising orichalcum sestertii and dupondii (the latter without mark of value) and copper asses and semisses, corresponding to Issue V of Rome. *c.*66.

*Sestertii* (with globe at point of obv. bust)

**Rev. Type 1.** (Adlocutio) (p. 156)

**ADLOCVT COH** (ex.), **S** — **C** to l. and r.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
489	67G	R2	Madr.; WCN 547
490	69B	S	Madr.; WCN 437
(Pl. 21) 491	69G	C	BMC 304; WCN 444
492	70B	S	Mun.; WCN 430

**Rev. Type 2.** (Annona) (p. 156)

**Q ANNONA — AVGVSTI — CERES, S C** (ex.)

493	68B	R2	Cahn (Frankfurt) sale 60, 2.7.1928, 1885; WCN 453
494	69B	R	ANS; WCN 438
495	69G	C	Vi.; WCN 445
496	70B	S	Madr.; WCN 431
497	70G	R	Vi.; WCN 435

**Rev. Type 5.** (Arch) (p. 156)

**S** — **C** to l. and r.

498	68B	R2	Ars Class. xv, 1436; WCN 456
499	69B	R	BMC 332; WCN 443
500	69G	C	BMC 333; WCN 452

**Rev. Type 8.** (Congiarium, platform on l.) (p. 156)

**Q CONG I — DAT POP, S C** (ex.)

501	68B	R2	BM; WCN 454
502	69B	C	BMC 308; WCN 439
503	69G	C	Ro.(T.); WCN 446
504	70B	R2	Vi.; WCN 432

**Rev. Type 9.** (Congiarium, platform on r.) (p. 156)

**Q CONG II — DAT — POP, S C** (ex.)

505	69G	R2	Par.; WCN 447
506	70B	S	BMC 310; WCN 433

**Rev. Type 11.** (Decursio, to r.) (p. 157)

**DECVRSIO** (ex.), **S** — **C** to l. and r.

507	69B	R2	WCN 440
508	69G	C	BMC 316; WCN 448
509	70B	S	BMC 318; WCN 434

**Rev. Type 14.** (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) (p. 157)

☾PACE PR TERRA MARIO PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
510	69B	C	BMC 321; WCN 441
511	69G	S	Ox.; WCN 449
512	70G	R	BMC 322; WCN 436

**Rev. Type 19.** (Ostia) (p. 157)

☾PORT AVG, S—C high to l. and r.

513	67G	R2	Bourgey, 16.12.1913 (Vidal Quadras y Ramon), 97; WCN 458
514	69G	R2	Hoffmann coll. (cf. ASFN 1884, p. 52 f.); WCN 450

**Rev. Type 23.** (Roma, with Victory and parazonium) (p. 157)

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

515	68B	R2	Madr.; WCN 455
516	69B	C	BMC 327; WCN 442
517	69G	C	BMC 328; WCN 451

*Dupondii* (with globe at point of obv. bust)

**Rev. Type 29.** (Securitas) (p. 157)

☾SECVRITAS ☾AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r.

518	65B	C	BMC 341; WCN 523
519	65G	C	BMC 342; WCN 525
520	66B	C	ANS; WCN 519
521	66G	S	BMC 343; WCN 521

**Rev. Type 33.** (Victory walking l. (p. 157)

☾VICTORIA ☾AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r.

522	65B	C	BMC 353; WCN 524
523	65G	C	BMC 356; WCN 526
524	66B	C	Ox.; WCN 520
525	66G	C	Ox.; WCN 522

*Asses* (with globe at point of obv. bust)

**Rev. Type 4.** (Ara Pacis) (p. 156)

ARA PACIS (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

526	62A	C	BMC 364; WCN 598
527	65A	C	Par.; WCN 590
528	65F	R2	Par.; WCN 594
529	66A	C	BMC 365; WCN 584
530	66F	S	Lyons; WCN 588
531	70F	R2	May.; WCN 582

**Rev. Type 13. (Genius) (p. 157)**

(GENIO)AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r.

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
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532	61A	R2	Hague; WCN 600
533	65A	C	BMC 370; WCN 591
534	65F	C	BMC 371; WCN 595
535	66A	R	Par.; WCN 585
536	70A	R	May.; WCN 580

**Rev. Type 14. (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) (p. 157)**

(PACE PR TERRA MARIO PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

537	62A	S	BM; WCN 599
538	65A	C	BMC 375; WCN 592
539	66A	S	Ox.; WCN 586

**Rev. Type 35. (Victory with shield) (p. 157)**

S—C to l. and r.

540	61A	R	Museum of London; WCN 601
541	62A	R2	Par.; WCN 599A
542	64F	R2	Speyer, Hist. Mus. der Pfalz; WCN 597
543	65A	C	BMC 381; WCN 593
544	65F	C	BMC 387; WCN 596
545	66A	C	BMC 389; WCN 587
546	66F	R	May.; WCN 589
547	70A	R2	BMC 390; WCN 581
548	70F	R2	May.; WCN 583

*Semisses* (with globe at point of obv. bust)**Rev. Type 26. (Roma, with wreath and parazonium) (p. 157)**

(PONTIF MAX)TR POT IMP P P, S C (ex.)

549	55A	C	BMC 402; WCN 620
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(PONTIF MAX)TR POT P P, S C (ex.)

(Pl. 21)	550	55A	R2	Blackburn; WCN 621
	551	55F	S	BMC 403; WCN 624
	552	59A	R2	Mazzini 193; WCN 630A
	553	60A	R	BM; WCN 625

(PONTIF MAX)TR P P P, S C (ex.)

554	55A	R	Ox.; WCN 622
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(MAX TRIB)POT P P, S C (ex.)

555	59A	S	Hague; WCN 630
556	60A	C	Vi.; WCN 626
557	60F	R2	Hess (Lucerne) 9.5.1922 (Webb), 1975 (casts in BM); WCN 628

533. The BM coin (ex Walters coll.), of orichalcum and weighing 8.45 g, was apparently struck from semis dies on a flan for an orichalcum as.



☾TRIB☾POT P P, S C (ex.)

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
558	63A	S	BMC 404; WCN 633

**Rev. Type 30.** (Table) (p. 157)

☾CER QVINQ — ROM CON, S C (ex.)

559	55A	R2	Ratto (Lugano) 8.2.1928 (Morcom), 2091; WCN 623
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☾CER QVINQ — ROMAE CON, S C (ex.)

560	59A	C	BMC 393; WCN 631
561	59F	R	BMC 395; WCN 632
562	60A	R2	Madr.; WCN 627
563	60F	S	Par.; WCN 629

*Issue V.* Series (all with praenomen IMP and with S C) comprising orichalcum sestertii (with shortened obv. legends) and dupondii (the latter without mark of value) and copper asses, corresponding to Issue VI of Rome. c.67.

*Sestertii* (with globe at point of obv. bust)

**Rev. Type 1.** (Adlocutio) (p. 156)

ADLOCVT COH (ex.), S — C to l. and r.

564	66B	R2	Madr.; WCN 459
565	66G	R2	ANS; WCN 467

**Rev. Type 2.** (Annona) (p. 156)

☾ANNONA — AVGVSTI — CERES, S C (ex.)

566	61B	R	Madr.; WCN 489
567	62B	R2	Len.; WCN 484
568	62G	R2	Madr.; WCN 487
569	65B	C	Ro.(T.); WCN 473
570	65G	S	Ox.; WCN 479
571	66B	C	Par.; WCN 460
572	66G	R	Par.; WCN 468

**Rev. Type 5.** (Arch) (p. 156)

S — C to l. and r.

573	65B	R2	Hague; WCN 478
574	66B	R2	BMC 331; WCN 466
575	66G	S	Ox.; WCN 472

**Rev. Type 8.** (Congiarium, platform on l.) (p. 156)

☾CONG II — DAT POP, S C (ex.)

576	66B	R2	Beltran coll.; WCN 461
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**Rev. Type 11. (Decursio, to r.) (p. 157)**

DECVRSIO (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
577	62B	R2	Colchester; WCN 485
578	62G	R2	Madr.; WCN 488
579	65B	C	BMC 314; WCN 474
580	65G	R2	Madr.; WCN 480
581	66B	S	BMC 315; WCN 462
582	66G	C	BM; WCN 469

**Rev. Type 14. (Janus, 'Terra', door r.) (p. 157)**

QPACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT, S—C to l. and r.

583	65B	C	Vi.; WCN 475
584	65G	R2	Buda.; WCN 481
585	66B	R2	Almirall Barril coll.; WCN 463

**Rev. Type 19. (Ostia) (p. 157)**

QPORT AVG, S—C high to l. and r.

586	65B	R2	Vi.; WCN 476
587	65G	R2	Par.; WCN 482
588	66B	R2	WCN 464
589	66G	C	Madr. Real Acad.; WCN 470

**Rev. Type 23. (Roma, with Victory and parazonium) (p. 157)**

ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r.

590	62B	R2	Madr.; WCN 486
591	65B	C	BMC 326; WCN 477
592	65G	S	Ox.; WCN 483
593	66B	R2	Bourgey, 10.12.1923 (Faure), 101; WCN 465
594	66G	R	Ox.; WCN 471

**Dupondii (with globe at point of obv. bust)****Rev. Type 29. (Securitas) (p. 157)**

QSECVRITAS QAVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r.

595	61B	R2	Ox.; WCN 535
596	65B	C	BMC 344; WCN 531
597	65G	C	BMC 347; WCN 533
598	66B	R	ANS; WCN 527
599	66G	C	Par.; WCN 529

**Rev. Type 33. (Victory walking l.) (p. 157)\***

QVICTORIA QAVGVSTI, S C to l. and r.

600	61B	R	May.; WCN 536
601	65B	R	WCN 532

\* Mac Dowall, *WCN* p. 196 n. 1, observes that these dupondii are not externally distinguishable from those of the preceding Issue

except in their die-relationship with the Securitas dupondii of Issue V.

No.	Obv.	Frequ.	Ref.
602	65G	C	BM; WCN 534
603	66B	R	WCN 528
604	66G	R	WCN 530

*Asses* (with globe at point of obv. bust)




**Rev. Type 35.** (Victory with shield) (p. 157)

S—C to l. and r.

605	65A	C	BMC 381; WCN 602
606	65F	C	BMC 387; WCN 603

## CAESAREA CAPPADOCIAE

Undated silver didrachms, 24-as pieces, drachms, 12-as pieces, and hemi-drachms, c.54–64



- Obv. legends: 1.  NERO CLAVD DIVI CLAVD F CAESAR AVG GERM  
 2.  NERO CLAVD DIVI CLAVD F CAESAR AVG GERMA  
 3.  NERO CLAVD DIVI CLAVD F CAESAR AVG GERMANI

Obv. head: Nero, laur., r.

Weight-peaks, didrachms c. 7.40 g; 24-as pieces c. 5.30 g; drachms c. 3.50 g; 12-as pieces c. 2.35 g; hemidrachms c. 1.65 g. Dies ↑↑. Dotted borders.

(i) c.54–6(?), with rev. bust of Agrippina II



### *Didrachms*

	No.	Obv.	Rev.		Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 22)	607	3	 AGRIPPINA AVGVSTA MATER AVGVSTI Agrippina II bust r., dr., with hair in long plait on neck and two locks hanging at side of neck	R	BMC 422	
. 22, rev.)	608	3	 AGRIPPINA AVGVSTA MATER AVGVSTI Agrippina II bust r., veiled, wearing stephane, and dr.	R2	BMC 423	

### *24-as pieces*

609	3	AC I T to l. and $\overline{KA}$ to r. of Agrippina II bust r. as on no. 607; the whole in laurel wreath	R3	BMC 424
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### *Drachms*

. 22, rev.) 610	3	 AGRIPPINA AVGVSTA $\overline{M}$ MATER AVGVSTI Agrippina II bust l., veiled and dr.; behind, $\overline{K}$	R3	BMC 425
611	3	 AGRIPPINA AVGVSTA MATER AVGVSTI Agrippina II bust r. as on no. 607; behind, $\overline{K}$	R3	BMC 426

### *12-as pieces*

. 22, rev.) 612	3	AC I T to l. and $\overline{IB}$ to r. of Agrippina II bust r. as on no. 607; the whole in laurel wreath	R3	BMC 427
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(ii) *c.*56–8(?), with youngish portrait of Nero and rev. head of Divus Claudius*Didrachms*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
613	3	☉ DIVOS CLAVD AVGVST GERMANIC PATER AVG Claudius head r., laur.	R2	BMC 413

*24-as pieces*

(Pl. 22)	614	3	AC I T to l. and KΔ to r. of Claudius head r., laur.; the whole in laurel wreath	R3	BMC 417
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(iii) *c.*59–60(?), celebrating Corbulo's Armenian conquest*Didrachms*

(Pl. 22, rev.)	615	3	ARME — NIAC to l. and r. of Victory advancing r., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R3	BMC 405
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*Hemidrachms*

	616	3	ARME — NIAC As no. 615	R	BMC 406
	617	3	No legend. Victory, dr., seated r. on globe holding wreath in both hands	R2	BMC 409
(Pl. 22)	618	3	No legend. Victory, naked to waist, stg. r., r. foot on globe, inscribing round shield resting on r. knee	R3	BMC 411

(iv) *c.*63–4(?), with heavier and more mature portraits of Nero and shortened obv. legends*Didrachms*

(Pl. 22)	619	1	☉ DIVOS CLAVD AVGVST GERMANIC PATER AVG Claudius head r., laur.	R3	BMC 416
	620	3	As no. 619	R2	BMC 415

*Drachms*

	621	1	As no. 619	R2	BMC 418
(Pl. 22, rev.)	622	2	As no. 619	R2	BMC 420

## UNCERTAIN (BALKAN?) MINT

*Aes* only

Attention has been drawn (see Mac Dowall, *NC* 1960, pp. 106 ff.) to a group of *aes* coins—sestertii, dupondii, and asses—in some cases countermarked ΓΑΛΒΑ and in all cases differing in portraiture and lettering from the products of Rome and Lugdunum, the asses indeed showing an obv. legend which omits both IMP and P P. The rev. types include Arch (for sestertii), Securitas (for dupondii), and, for the asses, the post-Augustan Providentia and Eagle on globe, as well as the Neptune rev. of the 'Agrippa' asses.

Of the provenances recorded for the fourteen such coins so far noted, none is archaeologically precise; but private collections and museums in eastern Europe account for nearly half. It has therefore been suggested that a semi-official *aes* mint existed for Latin-inscribed coins in a Greek-speaking area (cf. the countermarks), and that this may have been situated in the frontier area occupied by the legions in Upper and Lower Moesia, which lay far from other *aes* mints. Such a mint could (as also observed) have been successor to that which produced Balkan-found *aes* issues of Claudius (see above, Claudius, no. 103, with note thereto).

The Neronian issues which are the subject of the present note are not of a character well enough defined to be listed here, though their general features are all described by Mac Dowall in *NC*, loc. cit.

# L. CLODIUS MACER

## I. General

Clodius Macer, officially *legatus Augusti propraetore Africae*, but soon styling himself simply *propraetor(e) Africae*, rose in rebellion against the rule of Nero in the spring (about April?) of 68. His base of power, such as it was, lay in Numidia, where Legio III Augusta was permanently stationed; but it cannot have been long before his effective power enabled him to take control of Carthage, the capital of the original *provincia Africa*, which possessed a notable naval base from Punic times onwards.<sup>1</sup> The possibility of his commanding the narrows of the Mediterranean, and so also the corn-routes from north Africa to Rome, may have prompted some dissident support for him from Rome, either before or after Nero's death.<sup>2</sup> It does not appear that Macer made common cause with Galba, whose African supporters were quick to declare their loyalty to Galba after Macer's death (cf. under Galba, pp. 230f.), and indeed Galba had him put to death in the late summer or early autumn<sup>3</sup>—presumably the cause of Macer's partisans later supporting Vitellius.<sup>4</sup> Macer, in fact, seems to have been motivated by a combination of simple reasons—resentment against Nero's regime, loyalty to senatorial philosophy (his coins, all denarii, bear the exceptional mark SC), and possibly the temptation to threaten the corn-supply to Rome. What is certain is that, secure in the loyalty of Legio III Augusta, he raised another Legion, Legio I Macriana; both of them were entitled *Liberatrix*. It was with these forces behind him that he took over control of Carthage until his death: it figured prominently on his coins.

## II. Mint and output

Although Mattingly conceded the possibility that Macer's mint was at Cirta in Numidia, he thought that it was probably at Carthage.<sup>5</sup> And type-content strengthens this probability, since a group of his denarii bears the head of CARTHAGO, thus specifically identified. However, the Carthage mint cannot have been large. It struck no gold (none, at least, has been recorded) and no *aes*, for the very few coins in *aes* attributed to Macer appear to be casts in bronze from silver denarii, the sole products of the mint.<sup>6</sup> Nor was the output of denarii abundant. Research has succeeded in recording fewer than sixty certainly identifiable examples so far, all of very great rarity; and though it is true that these come from some thirty-four obverse and forty-one reverse dies it is clear, too, that the original output (perhaps approaching

<sup>1</sup> *Antiquaries Journal* 1979, pp. 19 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Tac. Hist.* i. 73; cf. *Plut. Galba*, 13.

<sup>3</sup> *Tac. Hist.* i. 7.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* ii. 97.

<sup>5</sup> *BMCRE* pp. clxxvii f.

<sup>6</sup> For this and the bulk of the following detail of Macer's coinage I am deeply indebted

to the Revd K. V. Hewitt, who has most generously allowed me to study his invaluable material, the result of many years of work, published in *NC* 1983, pp. 64ff. and greatly surpassing all previous work in this difficult area of coinage.

a million denarii, or even more) was sufficient only to pay the troops and administrators whose loyalty Macer commanded.

Nor does it appear that there was more than a single *officina* at work. In the comment in this volume upon the functioning of a mint employing more than one *officina* (as at Rome, for example, under Galba), it has been argued (a) that individual *officinae* can be distinguished by their use of individual reverse types, the dies for which remained *in situ*, *officina* by *officina*, and (b) that obverse dies, which were by their very nature more authoritative and valuable, were removed to central safe-keeping at the end of each day's work, to be redistributed among the *officinae* next day without any strict observance of the *officina* which had used them the previous day. In this way it is possible to reconcile the exclusive use of a given reverse type by a given *officina* with a sharing of obverse dies among all such *officinae*—a phenomenon which would find its reflection in appropriate cross-type obverse die-links.

No such system is apparent in Macer's coinage, in which we see seven distinct obverse types combined in all but two cases with a single reverse type:

	Obv.	Rev.
Group 1	Africa	{ Leg. III Leg. I
Group 2	Lion	{ Leg. III Leg. I
Group 3	Victory	Leg. III
Group 4	Liberty	Leg. I
Group 5	Carthage	Sicily
Group 6	Rome	Trophy
Group 7	Portrait of Macer	War-ship

Within all but one of these seven groups there are internal die-links, showing that up to two reverse dies were used with a given obverse die, but there is no instance where the Leg. III or Leg. I dies can be shown to have been used with more than a single obverse type.<sup>2</sup> The conclusion must be that only a single *officina* was at work, and that it produced the series group by group.

Analysis of the silver-fineness of Macer's denarii must await future and further non-destructive investigation.<sup>3</sup> Their weight, however, was well up to the post-64 Neronian standard. Of the 46 specimens with recorded weights the mean is about 3.40 g,<sup>4</sup> though it is surely significant for internal chronology that the seven groups listed above show an unmistakable decline in *maximum* weight from 4.43 to 3.86 g and that the mean weight of the last four groups (nos. 4-7) tends to drop. Macer's supply of silver may well have become more difficult with time.

The technique of the coins is variable. Some dies were quite well (if stiffly) engraved: others show inexperienced hands at work, with little understanding of the planes of relief or of the orderly filling of space. Mistakes also occur, such as the reversal of the letter S or the omission of letters: one might add the

<sup>1</sup> Hewitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 73f.

Walker, *Metrology*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Hewitt, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

<sup>4</sup> Hewitt, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> For a figure of 94 per cent silver see

occasionally incorrect abbreviation of the name *Clodius* to the letter C. As has justly been said, 'this is an emergency issue struck in a provincial mint with inexpert engravers.'<sup>1</sup> The same cause led to irregular die-adjustment,  $\uparrow\uparrow$  or (less often)  $\uparrow\downarrow$  or quite unadjusted.

### III. *Type sequence*

In general Macer's coinage presented types borrowed or adapted from those of the late Republic or the intervening years of the Principate: these instances will be noted below. There is perhaps a particularly strong link with the African issues of Galba, seen, first, in the invariable addition of the formula S C to the name and titles of the obverse (a formula which Galba employed) and secondly in Macer's use of the genitive case for his name (something again which Galba employed; cf. p. 257). Again like the rising Galba, Macer avoided the title *Augustus* and also declined (though for longer than Galba) to allow his portrait to appear on the obverses—indeed, until towards the end of the series.<sup>2</sup>

The relative chronology of the seven groups into which Macer's coinage has been divided cannot be at all certain. In the sequence here followed the comments of Hewitt have been accepted. It would seem probable that in a series which includes six non-portrait groups, and only one with portrait, the latter came late, and indeed last, as a culmination; and support for this can be drawn from the change from the genitive to the nominative case (here alone found) for Macer's obverse legend during this portrait group. Of the other groups, that with the obverse head of Africa in elephant-skin head-dress may well be the earliest—Africa symbolized Macer's total power-base.<sup>3</sup> The same symbolism is implicit in the lion's scalp obverse, which, as Mowat suggested,<sup>4</sup> may have been the official badge of Legio III Augusta, perhaps superseded by the Victory-bust of the next group. Both Legio III and the new Legio I Macriana were entitled *Liberatrix*, and the obverse showing Libertas standing (found only with Legio I reverses) may reproduce the badge of that Legion: thus groups 3 and 4 may have been virtually contemporary. At this point the types changed noticeably. The obverse head of Carthago, paired with the triskelis and corn-ears of SICILIA, suggest that Macer's thoughts now extended, however briefly, to seeking an advanced power-base in Sicily (for which he used the long-familiar symbolism). This would be the prelude to the realization of his ultimate dream, symbolized by the obverse helmeted head of Roma and reverse trophy—a conquest in the senatorial cause which, had it ever been possible, would have been effected not least by means of the naval vessel on the reverses of Group 7. Such, then, may be the possible sequence.

*Group 1* (seven coins recorded). This was of relatively moderate size, with four Africa-head obverse dies recorded, and four Leg. III and two Leg. I reverse

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. p. 65. The degree of their inexpertness is reflected in their apparent difficulty in finding a settled and satisfactory disposition of the components of the obverse legends.

<sup>2</sup> Hewitt, *op. cit.*, p. 78, notes that a Spanish-found hoard, with about 300 coins

down to Nero, contained also 13 of Macer's. The same mingling was presumably true of Africa, leading to some degree of assimilation.

<sup>3</sup> The Africa head had a respectable lineage of symbolism stretching back for more than a century.

<sup>4</sup> *RIN* 1902, pp. 165 ff.



dies: the two sub-groups are die-linked.<sup>1</sup> The obverse legend shows Macer's name in the genitive case, as was to be seen also in groups 2-7(a); but the epithet *Liberatrix*, in the nominative, which follows the name must allude to Africa and the role which Macer designed for her. The reverse type, in which the legend is either *Leg. III Aug(usta) Lib(eratrix)* or *Leg. I Macriana Lib(eratrix)*, shows the familiar type of legionary *aquila* between two *vexilla*, abundantly common under Antony and used late in Nero's reign and by Galba (cf. pp. 153, 246 ff., 252, and 256). The disproportion between the dies cut for Legio III and Legio I should reflect the disproportion in the size and duration of those legions.

*Group 2* (eight coins recorded). Comparable in size to group 1, but with five recorded lion's scalp obverse dies used with five Legio III reverse dies and one (die-linked) Legio I reverse die. It is in this group that the incorrect abbreviation C for *Clodi* is first found. The lion's scalp had symbolized Africa on the coinage of the Mauretanian kings. Reverses as in group 1.

*Group 3* (eight coins recorded). Again of similar size to group 1, with six recorded Victory-bust obverse dies used with five Legio III reverse dies. The Victory-bust may vary in detail: sometimes the wings are spread, and sometimes folded. Reverses as for Legio III in group 1.

*Group 4* (five coins recorded). A much smaller group, with only two *Libertas*-figure obverse dies and three Legio I reverse dies recorded. The figure of *Libertas* was in common use in this period of civil war, symbolizing the essence of anti-Neronian feeling. Reverses as in group 1.

*Group 5* (ten coins recorded). Once more of greater size, with six recorded Carthago-bust obverse dies used with seven Sicilia reverse dies: the latter show variation in the size of the Medusa-head, in the directional movement of the triskelis, and also in the placing of the corn-ears, suggesting the work of more than one engraver. The abbreviation of C for *Clodi* is again found in this group.

*Group 6* (three coins recorded). A small group, with three recorded Roma-head obverse dies and three trophy reverse dies. The trophy includes two oval shields of the kind normally shown; and the Roma-head accords with long and familiar tradition.

*Group 7(a)-(b)* (thirteen coins recorded). A single obverse die (known from two coins) shows Macer's name in the genitive case; seven others (known from eleven coins) show it in the nominative. The war-galley reverse is shown to right on ten coins (genitive and nominative) and to left on three (nominative only). With thirteen known coins this is the largest group known today. Output may have been considerable, as the variation in the reverse dies suggests, with war-ship right or left, oarsmen varying in number from four to eight, and oars ranging from nine to thirteen. Macer's portrait (never sophisticated) also varies in size: just occasionally it achieves a true balance and dignity. On this portrait-series Macer styled himself *propraetore Africae*.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hewitt, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

#### IV. *Forgeries*

The great rarity of Clodius Macer's coins, reflected in the small number of recorded dies, is seen also in the very small number of surviving specimens:<sup>1</sup> it was not until the second edition of Occo's *Impp. Romanorum Numismatica* (1601) that a published example was correctly attributed, and even Mowat<sup>2</sup> in 1902 could list only thirty-two examples. Naturally, therefore, the attention of forgers was attracted, and their activities in this series have been and still are unusually dangerous. The dies which Becker counterfeited<sup>3</sup> for his struck forgeries are quickly recognized by the practised eye because of their width of flan, their over-regularity of border-dots, their flat relief, and their tendency to un-Roman lettering. More difficult to assess are coins cast from genuine specimens, sometimes very carefully produced and (to use the modern phrase) equally carefully 'distressed' so as to suggest circulation and wear. These have been thoroughly considered by Hewitt.<sup>4</sup>

Occasionally, but very rarely, the known body of Macer's coinage is extended with certainty by new hoard-material, as for example by the seven specimens (of six varieties) in the Tunis hoard of 1959. Unfortunately the thirteen coins of Macer found in a Spanish hoard were very badly affected by the mercury in the soil in which they had lain, and only four survived. It is, however, from such hoards, still (it may be hoped) awaiting discovery, that fresh and fuller knowledge of Macer's coinage must in time be derived.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hewitt, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *RIN* 1902, pp. 165 ff.

<sup>3</sup> G. F. Hill, *Becker the Counterfeiter*;

Hewitt, *op. cit.*, pl. 13A with p. 79.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 79.



# L. CLODIUS MACER

## (?)CARTHAGE

Denarii only, c. (?)April—(?) October, AD 68

- Obv. legends:
1. √ L C MACRI, S C below
  - 2a. (L CLO) DI MACRI, S C below
  - 2b. (L CL O) DI MACRI, S C below
  - 2c. (L CLODI) MACRI, 2 C (*sic*) below
  - 2d. √ L — CLODI MACRI, S C below
  - 2e. √ L — CLODI MACRI, S C below
  - 2f. (L CLODI MACRI, S C below
  - 2g. (L CL — O — DI MACRI, S C below
  - 2h. (L CLODI) MACRI, S — C below
  - 2j. ↑ (on l.) L CLODI, ↓ (on r.) MACRI, S — C below
  - 2k. (L CLODI) MACRI, S — C in centre field
  - 2l. √ L — CLODI MACRI, S — C in centre field
  - 2m. (L CLODI MACRI, S — C in centre field
  - 2n. ↑ (on l.) L CLODI, ↓ (on r.) MACRI, S — C in centre field
  - 3a. (L C MAC — R — I — CARTHAGO, S C below
  - 3b. (L CLODI MA) CRI CARTHAGO, S C below
  - 3c. (L CLODI MACRI) CARTHAGO, S C below
  - 3d. (L CLODI — MACRI CARTHAGO, S C below
  - 4a. (L CLODI MA) CRI LIBERA, S C below
  - 4b. (L CLODI MACR) LIBERATRIX, S C below
  - 4c. (L CLODI MACR) I LIBERATRIX, S C below
  - 4d. (L CLODI MACRI) LIBERATRIX, S C below
  - 5a. (L CLO) DIVS MACER, S C below
  - 5b. (L CLODI) VS MACER, S C below
  - 5c. (L CLODIVS) MACER, S C below
  - 5d. (L CLODIVS MACER, S C below
  6. ↓ (on r.) ROMA, S C below

- Obv. types:
- A. Bust of Africa r., dr., in elephant-skin head-dress; behind, two javelins.
  - B. As obv. A above, but without javelins.
  - C. Lion's head, r.
  - D. Bust of Victory r., dr., with wings spread upwards.
  - E. As obv. D above, but not dr., and with wings folded down.
  - F. Figure of Libertas stg. l., dr., r. holding pileus, l. patera.
  - G. Bust of Carthago r., turreted and dr.; cornucopiae behind.
  - H. Head of Roma r., helmeted.
  - J. Head of Clodius Macer r., bare.

Weight-peak c. 3.45–3.40 g. Dies ↑↑ or (less often) ↑↓ or unadjusted. Borders dotted.

### Group I. (Africa-head obv.)\*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
1	D	4aB	↑ (in central field l.) LIB, ↑ (in central field r.) AVG, LEG — III divided in low central field. Aquila r. between two vexilla	R4	Piancastelli 686; Hewitt pl. 10, 5

\* References throughout the following lists 'The coinage of L. Clodius Macer', *NC* 1983, to 'Hewitt' are to the Revd. K. V. Hewitt, pp. 64 ff.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
2	D	4aB	[LIB] above, AVG (ex.), LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1.	R4	Par.; Hewitt, pl. 10, 6
3	D	4cB	L—IB divided across top, ↑(in central field r.) AVG, LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1	R5	Formerly Stockholm; Hewitt, pl. 10, 4
4	D	4dA	↓(on l.) LIB, ↑(on r.) AVG, LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	Glendining 16.11.1950 (Hall), 1100; Hewitt, pl. 10, 1
5	D	4bB	↑(on l.) MACRIA, N—A divided across top, ↓(on r.) LIB, LEG—I divided in low central field. As no. 1	R5	Hirsch xiv, 962; Hewitt, pl. 10, 9
(Pl. 22) 6	D	4dB	(MACR, ↗I—A, ↘NALIB, LEG—I divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	Vi.; Hewitt, pl. 10, 10

*Group II. (Lion's-head obv.)*

7	D	1C	↖L—IB, ↑(on r.) AVG, LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1	R5	Gotha; Hewitt, pl. 10, 11
(Pl. 22) 8	D	2aC	↗LI—B, ↑(on r.) AVG, LEG—III low l. and centre. As no. 1	R4	BMC 3; Hewitt, pl. 10, 14
9	D	2bC	↓(on l.) LI—B, LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	Berlin; Hewitt, pl. 10, 15
10	D	2cC	↖L—I—B, ↘AVG, LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	Par.; Hewitt, pl. 10, 12
11	D	2jC	LIB across top r., ↓AVG in central field r., LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	Par.; Hewitt, pl. 10, 18
12	D	2gC	MACR (ex.), ↑(on r.) [I]ANA, ↓(on l.) LIB, LEG—I divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	Bank Leu, 25.4.1972, 373, ex Mabbott; Hewitt, pl. 10, 20

*Group III. (Victory-bust obv.)*

13	D	2eD	↖LI—B, ↘AVG, LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	Par.; Hewitt, pl. 11, 21
14	D	2eD	LI—B across top, ↑(on r.) AVG, LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1	R5	MM 17.11.1962, 591; Hewitt, pl. 11, 22
15	D	2fD	↓(on l.) LIB, ↑(on r.) AVG, LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	Hunter 1; Hewitt, pl. 11, 23
16	D	2IE	As no. 15	R4	Mazzini 4; Hewitt, pl. 11, 25
(Pl. 22) 17	D	2mE	LI—B across top, ↘AVG, LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	BMC 4; Hewitt, pl. 11, 27

2. Another specimen was in the Gotha collection; and a cast of these types has been recorded.

3. Mowat recorded this coin's existence in Stockholm. Its present location is unknown.

4. *Ars Classica* xv, 416, described this coin as plated: no weight is recorded. A cast from a different specimen is illustrated by Hewitt, pl. 10, 2.

10. A specimen of this general type existed in the St Petersburg Imperial Museum in Mowat's time: present location unknown.

11. Another specimen (Ryan collection, 2106 ex Evans ex Spink) was said to have been found in Spain.

12. The E of LEG has no central stroke.

14. Ex Tunis hoard (c.1959; see Hewitt, p. 76 n. 13).

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
18	D	2mE	LI—B across top, ↑(on r.) AVG, LEG—III divided in low central field. As no. 1, except that the staff of the aquila projects downwards into the exergue	R5	Ox.; Hewitt, pl. 11, 28

*Group IV. (Libertas-figure obv.)*

19	D	2kF	MAC (ex.), ΞRIAN, ↓(on l.) LIB, LEG—I divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	Brussels; Hewitt, pl. 11, 34
20	D	2nF	MAC (ex.), ΞRIANA, ↓(on l.) LIB, LEG—I divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	Mazzini 2; Hewitt, pl. 11, 29
(Pl. 22) 21	D	2nF	MAC (ex.), ↑(on r.) RIANA, ↓(on l.) LIB, LEG—I divided in low central field. As no. 1	R4	Par.; Hewitt, pl. 11, 33

*Group V. (Carthago-bust obv.)*

22	D	3aG	QSI—CI—[LIA] Large facing head of Medusa superimposed on triskelis running clockwise; between the legs, ears of corn pointing clockwise, and the divisions of the legend	R5	Par.; Hewitt, pl. 12, 35
23	D	3aG	QSI—C—I—LI—A Small facing head of Medusa superimposed on triskelis running anti-clockwise; between the legs, ears of corn radiating outwards, and the divisions of the legend	R4	AC xvii, 1286; Hewitt, pl. 11, 36
24	D	3bG	↘S—ICILIA low r.; otherwise as no. 23	R4	Mil.; Hewitt, pl. 12, 41
25	D	3bG	↘S—I—C—IL—IA As no. 23	R4	Hunter 2; Hewitt, pl. 12, 44
26	D	3cG	↘SI—CI—LI—A As no. 23	R4	Par.; Hewitt, pl. 12, 37
27	D	3cG	↘SI—C—I—LI—A As no. 23	R5	Cast in BM; Hewitt, pl. 12, 38
28	D	3cG	○SI—C—I—L—I—A As no. 23	R4	Berlin; Hewitt, pl. 12, 40
(Pl. 22) 29	D	3dG	Q2I—CI—L—I—A As no. 23	R5	BMC 5; Hewitt, pl. 12, 39

*Group VI. (Roma-head obv.)*

(Pl. 22) 30	D	6H	↑(on l.) L CLODI, ↓(on r.) MACRI Trophy with two pointed oval shields	R4	Hague; Hewitt, pl. 12, 46
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19. Ex Tunis hoard (c.1959); see on no. 14 above.

20, 21. The Mazzini and Paris coins share the same obv. die, which is also that of coins at Naples and from the Tunis (c.1959) hoard, which are themselves from the rev. die of no. 20.

22. This Paris coin shares an obv. die with no. 23 (Evans).

23. See note on no. 22. This coin (which shares a rev. die with no. 26) was reportedly found in Spain.

24. Another specimen (Glendinning 2.4.1952 (Ryan), 2107; ex *Ars Classica* xvii, 1285 (Evans)) was reportedly found in Spain.

26. This Paris coin shares a rev. die with no. 23.

27. Hewitt, p. 77, in n. 17 to his no. 38, finds the 'workmanship' of this piece 'curious', though it is not easy to see his reason.

30. The components of the rev. legend are usually straight ↑ and ↓, though an inclination to curve occurs; cf. Hewitt, pl. 12, 45 (Copenhagen).

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
31	D	6H	⌊ L CLODI ⌋ MACRI Trophy, as above, but the oval shields with more rounded ends	R5	Tunis hoard (c.1959); Hewitt, pl. 12, 47

*Group VII. (Macer-head obv.)**(a) With obv. legend in genitive.*

32	D	2hJ	[ ] above and AFRCAE (sic) below war-ship r., with 8 oars and 4 oarsmen	R5	Venice (Correr); Hewitt, pl. 13, 49
33	D	2hJ	PROpra—E above and ⌊ AFRICAE below war-ship r., with 9 oars and 5 oarsmen	R5	Tunis hoard (c.1959); Hewitt, pl. 13, 48

*(b) With obv. legend in nominative*

34	D	5aJ	PRO/PRAE in two lines above and ⌊ AFRICAE below war-ship r., with 11 oars and 8 oarsmen	R4	Par.; Hewitt, pl. 13, 50
35	D	5bJ	As no. 34, but with 12 oars and 4 oarsmen	R5	BMC 1; Hewitt, pl. 13, 53
36	D	5bJ	As no. 34, but with 12 oars and 7 oarsmen	R5	Mazzini 13; Hewitt, pl. 13, 54
37	D	5bJ	As no. 34, but with 13 oars and 5 oarsmen	R5	Tunis hoard (c.1959); Hewitt, pl. 13, 55
38	D	5bJ	PRO/PRAE in two lines above and ⌊ AFRICAE below war-ship l., with 9 oars and 7 oarsmen	R5	MM 17.11.1962, 589; Hewitt, pl. 13, 61
39	D	5bJ	⌊ PROpra (sic) above and ⌊ AFRICA (sic) below war-ship l., with 10 oars and 7 oarsmen	R5	Ox.; Hewitt, pl. 13, 58
40	D	5bJ	⌊ PROpraE above and ⌊ AFRICAE below war-ship l., with 10 oars and 7 oarsmen	R5	Piancastelli 685; Hewitt, pl. 13, 60
(Pl. 22) 41	D	5cJ	PRO/PRAE in two lines above and ⌊ AFRICAE below war-ship r. with 10 oars and 6 oarsmen	R5	BMC 2; Hewitt, pl. 13, 56
42	D	5dJ	⌊ PROpra—E above and ⌊ AFRICAE below war-ship r., with 11 oars and 7 oarsmen	R5	Ro. (T.); Hewitt, pl. 13, 57

32. The Venice coin from the same obv. die as no. 33.

33. See note on no. 32.

34. Specimens also at Vienna and Turin.

35. Same obv. die as no. 36.

36. See note on no. 35. Found in Algeria.

38. Same obv. die as no. 40. From Tunis hoard (c.1959).

39. For the orthography of this reverse die see Hewitt, p. 78 n. a on his no. 58.

40. See note on no. 38. Found in Spain.

## THE CIVIL WARS, AD 68-70

Several distinct series of coins are comprised under this heading. None of them shows the portrait or titles of a living Emperor; and virtually all of them were struck on the lighter weight-standards for gold and silver introduced by the Neronian reform of 64. Many of them have types closely connected with those of Galba, Vitellius, and Vespasian; and the general tenor of the types as a whole, with its emphasis on constitutional liberty, the public weal, Gaul, Spain, the senate, the army, and military vengeance, accurately reflects the known historical background of the period which stretched from the revolt against Nero of C. Julius Vindex, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis, early in March 68, down to Nero's death by suicide three months later on 9 June, the senate's immediate selection of Galba to succeed him, and Galba's effective acceptance of imperial power when he met a senatorial deputation at Narbo in July.<sup>1</sup> One series in this general category stands alone, with its heads and titles of Augustus and Divus Augustus: here again the weights are post-reform, and, while some reverse types are repetitions of those of the Augustan and other periods, others accord with the 'Civil Wars' repertoire as a whole. The emphasis given to Augustus in 68-9 was quite certainly a deliberate reminder of the finely balanced constitutionalism which Augustus, military ruler though he essentially was, had slowly and patiently evolved during the early principate, and which Nero's autocracy had ruthlessly diminished.

In no section of this coinage of the Civil War period of 68-9 is there any trace of the strongly individual style of the mint of Rome developed under Claudius and Nero: indeed, the principate was continuous at Rome from the death of Nero to the recognition of Galba as his immediate successor. All the component Civil War groups were struck elsewhere.

### I. *Spain* (nos. 1-36)

This large group, including aurei and denarii (the latter on the light, post-reform standard; the former on the heavy pre-reform standard retained by Galba for his Spanish aurei issued as emperor),<sup>2</sup> cannot be certainly attributed to any specific mint. As governor of Hispania Tarraconensis, however, it would have been natural for Galba to use any previously established minting facilities in Tarraco itself for the coinage which he produced in Spain before Nero's death. Such coinage could of course have been struck at more than one mint; but if so the identification would be only guess-work. As a group it lasted from early April, when Galba (having been hailed as *imperator* at Carthago Nova on 2 April, but still declining to act as more than *legatus*

<sup>1</sup> Dio Cass. 63. 29. 6; cf. C. M. Kraay, *ACG* pp. 8 f.; and below p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 217.



*senatus populiq[ue] Romani*) gave his open support to the revolt of Vindex in Gaul, down to Nero's death early in June. It included a large variety of types, most of which are now rare or very rare. Only two issues are now common enough to be regarded as the staple issues of the time—denarii with, respectively, *Libertas Restituta*/S P Q R on shield in oak wreath, and (less frequent) *Bon Event*/Rom Renasc (nos. 27 and 9 below). These, one may suppose, proclaimed the main motives for Galba's support of Vindex's revolt—the role of the senate in the restoration of constitutional freedom, and the happy outcome of the movement which would lead to a reborn Rome.

The rest of the group shows the principal obverse types to have been Bonus Eventus again (once joined by Felicitas), Genius P(opuli) R(omani) (with the horn of plenty which would reward the essential soundness of the Roman people), and Libertas. Of the others *Concordia Hispaniarum et Galliarum* (coupled with *Victoria P R* reverse) aptly summarized the joint aims of Galba and Vindex, while *Hispania* alone (coupled with *Marti Ultori* reverse) provided what was a continually ominous threat to Nero after Vindex and his large forces had been crushed by Verginius Rufus in May 68.<sup>1</sup>

Although the total number of extant coins of this Spanish group is not now anything but limited, the die-links which have been noted<sup>2</sup> either in any given issue or between one issue and another suggest an original output of some size—so extensive, in fact, that shortage of silver apparently necessitated the production of a good many plated denarii. Indeed, to supplement the pay of his forces with coinage over and above the official stocks of coinage at his disposal, Galba might well have had to strike substantial new supplies, happily with the resources of the rich Spanish mines to help him. This was surely the *Moneta*/Salutaris to which no. 30 alludes. Production was hurried, as the variation in legend-arrangement and even legend-form can show (cf. nos. 11–12, 20–2, 32–3).

## II. Gaul (nos. 37–80)

There is no overt evidence for the Gallic source of this, the largest of the Civil War groups. It is, however, quite distinct from the Spanish group. It shares no dies with the latter; its aurei were struck on the lower, post-reform standard; its types showed a markedly belligerent tone, less suitable by far to the discreet attitude adopted at first by Galba in Spain than to the open rebellion in Gaul of Vindex, whose appeal to Galba to become *humani generis assertorem ducemque*<sup>3</sup> finds frequent echo on this group (cf. nos. 49, 67–77). Attribution to Vindex and to Gaul is therefore reasonably sure, though the mint employed is a matter for conjecture. Lugdunum, the administrative seat of Vindex, refused to join his cause:<sup>4</sup> Mattingly suggested Vienna (the modern Vienne) as the most likely place of mintage.

The Gallic group was produced in 68 between early March, when Vindex rebelled against Nero's regime, and May, when his rebellion was crushed by

<sup>1</sup> A more detailed analysis of this Spanish group is provided by C. M. Kraay in *NC* 1949, pp. 129 ff. See also *BMCRE* pp. cxc ff.

<sup>2</sup> In the invaluable corpus *Die anonymen*

*Münzen des Jahres 68 nach Christus* (Mainz, 1974) by P.-H. Martin.

<sup>3</sup> Suet. *Galba* 9. 2.

<sup>4</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 65.

Verginius Rufus. Vindex claimed that he had a force of 100,000 men;<sup>1</sup> and considerable sums of money would be needed to pay them. Hence this very large series, in which two types now stand out, by sheer relative frequency—*Mars Ultor*|*Signa P*(opuli) *R*(omani) (no. 51), and *Salus Generis Humani*|*S P Q R* (nos. 72–3); these are associated with a large number of other types, all rare or very rare today, of which perhaps *Genius P R* coupled with *IO Max Capitolinus* or *Mars Ultor* or *Signa P R* (nos. 42–5), *Hercules Adsertor*|*Florente Fortuna P R* (no. 49), *Pax et Libertas* coupled with *Signa P R* or *S P Q R* (nos. 57–8), and *Salus et Libertas* coupled with *Signa P R* or *S P Q R* (nos. 64–6) most clearly convey the politico-military flavour of Vindex's revolt against Nero.<sup>2</sup> It has been previously noted that the epithet *Adsertor* is exactly equivalent to the concept *vindex*:<sup>3</sup> the Roman people had been enslaved by Nero, and the strength of a demi-god like Hercules was needed if Vindex was to restore its freedom. Two other types, apart from those copied from Nero and turned against him (cf. nos. 40, reverse; 59–61, reverse; and indeed *Signa P R* itself)<sup>4</sup>, are specially remarkable. *Concordia Orb Ter*|*Pia Felicitas* (no. 41)—only recently recorded, from Alesia—emphasises the legitimacy of Vindex's movement by the use of *pious*, the adjective of filial devotion and duty; and *Paci Augustae*|*S P Q R* (no. 56) revives an obverse, introduced early in the reign of Claudius,<sup>5</sup> which stressed the necessity of avoiding the anger of Nemesis in the pursuit of Victory and Peace in civil war.

In general the types of this group, although outspoken and even minatory, succeeded remarkably well in defining the aims and the limits of the revolt of Vindex in a way that was nevertheless moderate. The burden on his shoulders was truly Herculean: it was to set Rome free. In Galba he had an ally of great military and administrative experience, whom the Senate trusted. If Verginius Rufus, commander in Upper Germany, had not backed the cause of Nero,<sup>6</sup> the combination of three such leaders would certainly have toppled Nero more quickly.

### III. (a) *The 'Augustus' and (b) the 'Divus Augustus' group* (nos. 81–117)

All the coins of this group, both aurei and denarii, are distinguished from those of Augustus' lifetime by their post-reform weight, and some of them also by irregularities of legend, type, or portrait-treatment. One can only speculate about their place of mintage. Mattingly,<sup>7</sup> followed by Kraay,<sup>8</sup> attributed this series mainly to Spain, although the former did not exclude some Gaulish participation; and it is a fact that one die-link has been recorded between an 'Augustus' coin (no. 96) and a coin of the Gaulish series associated with

<sup>1</sup> Plut. *Galba* 4. 3.

<sup>2</sup> A detailed analysis of the types of Vindex is to be found in Kraay, *NC* 1949, pp. 135 ff. The rev. type most often combined with a variety of obverses is undoubtedly *Signa P R*, aquila between two standards, with altar to r. of aquila; and this unequivocally claimed the revolt of Vindex to be a pro-Roman uprising which had nothing to do with Gallic nationalist movements.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kraay, *NC* 1949, pp. 139 f. on *Dona-*

*tus in Terentii Adelph.* 2.1.40: *adsertores dicuntur vindices alienae libertatis.*

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kraay, *NC* 1949, p. 134.

<sup>5</sup> Above, pp. 117f. and 122ff.

<sup>6</sup> Or, more properly, the established central power of *imperium*, as his famous epitaph showed—*imperium asseruit non sibi sed patriae.*

<sup>7</sup> *BMCRE* p. cxvii.

<sup>8</sup> *NC* 1949, p. 147.

Vindex (no. 75). The subjective criteria of technical style provide little assistance in solving this problem, and the principal point is the question whether Galba, in Spain, or Vindex, in Gaul, would have been the more likely to spread a deliberate reminder of the blessed Augustus' part in the history of the principate.

The probable answer is that both Spain and Gaul participated in this group. Section (b), with 'Divus Augustus', may well belong to Spain. It contains an unambiguous *Hispania* reverse (no. 112), as well as three *Pax* issues (nos. 113–15) and at least one *Senatus P Q Romanus* type (no. 116)—all of them very much in the spirit of Group I attributed to Galba in Spain: of these the *Senatus P Q Romanus* is the least rare. The fact that this 'Divus Augustus' section contains one issue of aurei—aurei, moreover, with the *Hispania* reverse—might be thought an additional reason for assigning this section to Galba in Spain: his group I above included aurei, whereas the Gaulish Group II lacked gold.

Section (a), then, with 'Augustus', probably emanated from Gaul, either wholly or mainly, in association with the Group II coins of Vindex. All the coins comprised in it are rare or very rare today, without exception. Their types, apart from a few cases when they were directly prompted by recent or current types (cf. nos. 103, *Pax*, clasped hands, caduceus, and cornucopiae; 104, *S P Q R* in oak-wreath; 109, *S P Q R P P O B C S* in oak-wreath; 110, *Senat P Q R*, Victory holding shield inscribed *CL V*; 111, *Victoria P R* standing on globe), were copied with more or less exactitude from those of Augustus' reign—the capricorn (nos. 81–5), the two Caesars (no. 87), the Julian comet (no. 92), the butting bull (nos. 94, 99–100), and Diana (no. 98). Some types seem to go back even further: the stars and crescent of no. 95 and the Cupid and dolphin of no. 107 are borrowed from Republican times. *Leg XVI*, running lion (no. 101), was classed under Augustus by Mattingly, who speculated, however, that it was more probably a Civil War issue.<sup>1</sup> Where the types are fairly close copies of Augustan originals, it can be seen that those originals were partly of Lugdunese and partly of 'Spanish' mintage. It seems reasonable to suppose that, if Vindex and his Gallic associates were seeking to revive Augustan prototypes, these were the prototypes most often to be seen in southern Gaul: all had been very common in their own day.

#### IV. 'Military' (nos. 118–29)

The only serious controversy that has arisen in connection with the Civil War coinages concerns the so-called 'Military' group, consisting of denarii (with one aureus) of post-reform weight. Mattingly, in his final treatment of this group,<sup>2</sup> proposed some alternative views, (1) that these coins were struck at Colonia Agrippinensium (Cologne) in Lower Germany in the autumn of 68, 'soon after the accession of Galba, when Fonteius Capito was still governor'; and (2) that they were struck at Cologne 'a little before the proclamation of Vitellius' (in April 69) when Vitellius, now backed by the armies of both German provinces, began his movement against Otho.

<sup>1</sup> *BMCRE* p. 56 n. \*. Note here that *Ex S C*, quadriga (no. 93) might derive from an Augustan or (*BMCRE* p. cxcviii) a Claudian

original—perhaps even from both.

<sup>2</sup> *NC* 1949, pp. 72 ff.

Viewed as a whole, the coins of this group are very strongly military in their message, with particular emphasis upon the *Fides Exercituum* and the *Fides* and the *Concordia Praetorianorum* (nos. 118–22, 126): the essence of this pairing of concepts seems to be an appeal for unified loyalty to the ‘armies’ (unspecified) and the praetorian cohorts in Rome. Mattingly proposed that the army of Upper Germany, which proclaimed Vitellius emperor on 1 January 69 and was followed in that step on 2 January by the army of Lower Germany, was seeking the support of the praetorians against Galba. The ‘civilian’ section of Group IV, with its types of *I O Max Capitolinus* and *Vesta P R Quiritium* (nos. 123–9), he regarded—perhaps rather weakly—as references to a Roman colony (i.e. Cologne), which was by definition a miniature model of imperial Rome.

Another and more likely interpretation was proposed by Kraay<sup>1</sup> who, pointing out that Group IV could be an effective propaganda weapon only if the coins circulated among the praetorians and were therefore distributed among them, observed that Fabius Valens, commander of the pro-Vitellian forces which entered Italy from southern Gaul, was active during March 69 in seeking to dissociate the praetorians from their strong allegiance to Otho at Rome.<sup>2</sup> On this view the appeal to the praetorians was in the name of ‘the armies’ (of the German provinces) and not in that of Vitellius, whose name was discreetly avoided; and the ‘civilian’ types were at pains to emphasize that the desirable objective, for the German armies no less than for the praetorians, was the re-establishment of Rome, her citizens, and (no. 129) the senate as the focal point of legal *imperium*. Kraay, noting that the Rhine areas have produced only a minimal number of Group IV coins, therefore held that Valens produced this ‘military’ class in southern Gaul, some perhaps at Lugdunum (which had remained pro-Vitellian), some—bearing small palm-branch (cf. no. 124)—perhaps at Nemausus, in the symbolism of which the palm was prominent,<sup>3</sup> and that he sought to disseminate these coins among the Praetorians to help win them over to a unified military policy of selecting an emperor other than one made in Spain, an event which was known to have displeased them.<sup>4</sup> One might go so far as to suggest that, if this was the case, Valens was in fact offering a pro-Vitellian bribe to the praetorians: although Group IV consisted of coins now mostly rare, some are relatively common and were plainly staple issues (nos. 121, 125; cf. no. 118), and there was even one issue of aurei (no. 124). Whatever the intention of Valens, however, it failed: Otho’s forces remained loyal to him until their defeat at Bedriacum impelled Otho to suicide on 17 April 69.

#### v. *The Gallic Revolt* (nos. 130–4)

A further group of denarii, mostly of unique rarity, with one unique aureus, is now generally assigned to the period 69–70, when the revolt originally begun by the Batavi of the lower Rhine was espoused by Julius Civilis. He, after seriously harassing the Roman garrison forces in Lower Germany on the pretence of supporting the claims of Vespasian, ultimately made common cause with Julius Classicus and Julius Tutor, who concerted

<sup>1</sup> NC 1949, pp. 78 ff.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 27, 51 f.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. Hist. i. 74.

<sup>4</sup> Suet. Galba 16.

plans for a revolt of all Gaul and the formation of an *imperium Galliarum*.<sup>1</sup> Before the whole movement was crushed, much damage was done to the Roman cause, and Castra Vetera (the modern Xanten) was besieged and captured, and its garrison force, Legio XV Primigenia, turned out in shameful surrender.

The coins themselves draw upon the repertoire of types of the Civil War series as a whole, with references to the vindication of liberty (no. 130), the restoration of liberty (nos. 132-3), loyalty and concord (nos. 131-2, 134), Mars the champion (no. 133), and the unfortunate Legio XV Primigenia (no. 130). Gaul is also emphasised (no. 131), and the boar of Gaul appears as a small additional element on two reverses (nos. 130-1): these may well belong to the period of collaboration with Classicus in 70. It is impossible to say where these issues were struck: Civilis was extremely mobile, both on land and also up and down the Rhine, where he had captured a Roman flotilla of twenty-four ships; and he may well have had a mobile mint for the production of what was, in total, plainly a very restricted output of coinage.

#### VI. *Africa* (nos. 135-6)

Two denarial issues, one unique and the other of extreme rarity, may perhaps be assigned to the province of Africa (mint of Carthage ?) on the grounds advanced by Mattingly,<sup>2</sup> who remarked some parallelism in style and type with issues of Galba which themselves resembled the coinage in Africa of Clodius Macer in 68. Mattingly noted the strong pro-senatorial bias of Provincia Africa, seen here in the formulae S C (no. 135), apparently peculiar to Africa, and S P Q R (nos. 135-6); and he interpreted the Hispania type of no. 135 as a sign of support for the pro-senatorial Galba in Spain by those in Africa who opposed the imperial pretensions of Clodius Macer. The type of Virtus (no. 136) would then have been a stock appeal to close the pro-senatorial ranks in legitimate warfare, symbolised by the shield and crossed spears of both issues alike. The date of these two very small and rare issues would therefore have been *c.* April to June 68, when Galba was consolidating his position in Spain (see above, p. 197).

<sup>1</sup> See bk. iv of Tac. *Hist.*

<sup>2</sup> *BMCRE* pp. cxciij f., ccxviii.

# CIVIL WARS, AD 68-9

(Note—The coins of Groups I-II and IV-VI are arranged in the alphabetical order of their *obverse legends*.)

## GROUP I. Spain\*

### Aurei and denarii

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.60-7.40 g; denarii c. 3.60-3.30 g. Dies generally ↑↓, more rarely ↑↑. Borders usually dotted.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
1	D	No legend. Bearded Jupiter, seen to bare shoulder length from behind, r. levelling thunderbolt	⌒GENIO ⌒P R Genius stg. facing, head l., holding patera above burning altar	R5	Berlin; AM 11. (3.30 g)
2	D	No legend. Female bust, diad., dr., r.; in front, laurel; behind, cornucopia	PAX below clasped r. hands holding winged caduceus between two crossed cornucopias	R5	Cf. Coh. 392; AM 45 (from Havercamp)
3	D	⌒BON EVENT Female bust, diad., r.; hair in queue on neck	⌒OB CIVIS ⌒SERVATOS Oak-wreath	R4	Madri.; AM 40
(Pl. 23) 4	D	⌒BON EVENT Female bust, diad., r.; hair knotted above neck	⌒PACI—P R Clasped r. hands holding winged caduceus	R4	BMC 4; AM 42
5	D	⌒BON EVENT Female bust r., fillet round forehead; hair knotted above neck	As no. 4	R4	BMC 3; AM 41
6	D	⌒BON EVENT Female bust, diad., dr., r.; hair in queue above neck	As no. 4	R4	BMC 5; AM 43
7	D	BON EVENT Female bust r.; fillet round forehead	As no. 2	R5	Northumberland coll.; AM 46. (3.35 g)
8	Au	⌒BON EVENT Female bust r.; fillet round forehead	⌒ROM ⌒RENASC Roma stg. r., r. holding Victoriola, long eagle-tipped sceptre over l. shoulder	R4	Sotheby (Zurich) 10.11.1972, 46; AM 51

\* For this attribution see introductory pp. 197f. Note that the weights of this Group are heavier than those of the other Groups.

The references to 'AM' are to P.-H. Martin, *Die anonymen Münzen des Jahres 68 nach Christus* (Mainz, 1974)—an invaluable collection of material.

2. Plainly in need of confirmation, though the constituent elements are in themselves

acceptable.

5. Martin expressed doubt about the sex of the obv. bust.

7. Confirmation required. No illustration available, and so obv. legend position unknown.

8. An obv. link exists with no. 9. An example in BM (ex Mildenhall, 7. 7. 1980) is of the same types but of quite different style.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
9	D	As no. 8	As no. 8	R	BMC 9; AM 52
10	D	☾BON EVENTV (ET FELICITAS Female bust, diad., dr. r.; hair in queue above neck	☾PAX below, P—R on either side of clasped r. hands holding winged caduceus	R5	AM 47 (from Havercamp); cf. Sotheby 10.6.1895, 744
11	D	☾BONI EVENTV Female bust, diad., dr., r.; small head; hair in tight knot above neck	☾ROMA (RENASCES As no. 8	R4	BMC 11; AM 53
12	D	☾BONI EVENTVS Female bust r.; fillet round forehead; hair looped and rolled above neck	☾VICTORIA ☾P R Victory stg. l. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R5	Berlin; AM 99 (3.48 g)
13	Au	☾BONI (EVENTVS Female bust r., diad.	☾VIRTVS Virtus stg. l., r. knee bent, r. holding Victoriola, l. parazonium	R4	Ro. (T.); AM 100
(Pl. 23) 14	D	As no. 13	As no. 13	R5	BMC 14; AM 101 (3.14 g)
15	D	☾CONCORDIA HISPANIVM ET GALLIARVM Bare-headed busts of Hispania (on l.) to r. and Gallia (on r.) to l.; between, small Victory stg. facing on globe, r. holding wreath; above her, star within crescent; below Hispania, cornucopiae; below Gallia, oblong shield	☾VICTORIA PR Victory stg. r. in biga, holding curved bow	R4	Ox.; AM 98
16	D	GENIO P R Young Genius bust, diad., r.; behind, cornucopia	MARS VLTOR Mars advancing r., naked but for helmet, r. holding javelin, round shield on l.; parazonium at l. side	R5	Hoffman sale, Paris, 20.2.1888 (Belfort), 689; AM 29
(Pl. 23) 17	D	☾GENIO PR Genius bust r., bare-headed, with long or short hair; behind, cornucopia	☾MARTI ☾VLTORI As no. 16	R3	BMC 1 (short); Vi. (long); AM 34
18	D	As no. 17, but head wreathed with berries or flowers	As no. 17	R3	BMC 2; AM 34
19	D	☾GENIO P R Genius bust l., laur.; behind, cornucopia	As no. 17	R5	Ro.(T.); AM 36

9. A relatively large issue, with sixteen specimens recorded. An obv. link exists with no. 8.

10. Confirmation required.

11. Two examples (Madrid and Oxford) show the obv. legend arranged ☾ and the rev. ☾☾. Possibly the sceptre on rev. is not always eagle-tipped.

13. Probable obv. die-link with no. 14.

14. This coin is said to have come 'from Spain'.

15. The Oxford coin (ex Evans) was found at Braughing, Hertfordshire.

16. See *BMCRE* p. 288 n. †. The arrangement of the legends is not known.

17. See note on no. 22 below.

18. Mattingly gave 'berries' in *BMCRE*, and Martin 'flowers' in *AM*.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
20	D	☾GENIO P R Genius bust l., diad.; behind, cornucopia	☾MARTI ☾VLTORI Mars in military dress stg. facing, head l., r. holding vertical spear, l. resting shield on ground	R5	Hess-Leu 12.4.1962, 441 (3.58 g); BMC pl. 49, 15; AM 35
21	D	☾GENIO P R Genius bust r., bare-headed; behind, cornucopia	☾OB CIVIS (above), SERVATOS (below) Oak-wreath	R5	Madri. (2.57 g); AM 37
22	D	☾GENIO P R Genius bust as no. 21	PAX below clasped r. hands holding winged caduceus between two crossed cornucopias	R4	Madri.; AM 44
23	D	☾HISPANIA Hispania bust r., dr., hair knotted above neck; behind, two javelins; below, round shield; in front, two (?) corn-ears	☾MARTI ☾VLTORI As no. 20	R5	Par. (2.67 g, plated); AM 33
(Pl. 23) 24	D	☾LIBERTAS Libertas bust r., dr.; hair knotted above neck	P—R to l. and r.; RESTITVTA below pileus between two vertical daggers	R4	BMC 7; AM 49
25	D	☾LIBERTAS ☾P R As no. 24	RESTITVTA below type as no. 24	R4	BMC 8; AM 50
26	Au	☾LIBERTAS ☾RESTITVTA Libertas bust r., dr., wearing necklace; hair looped above neck	S P Q R on round shield encircled by oak-wreath	R4	Berlin; AM 90
(Pl. 23) 27	D	As no. 26	As no. 26	C	BMC 12; AM 91
(Pl. 23) 28	D	☾LIBERTAT—I Citizen, wearing toga and pileus, advancing r., r. holding up wreath	S P—Q R to l. and r. of Victory stg. r. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R4	BMC 13; AM 68
29	D	☾MARTI ☾VLTORI Mars, naked but for helmet, advancing r., r. holding javelin, round shield on l.; parazonium at l. side	S P Q R in oak-wreath	R4	Berlin; AM 72
30	D	☾MONETA Female bust r., bare-headed; hair looped above neck	☾SALVTARIS above (?)cap of Vulcan over anvil, with tongs on l. and hammer on r.; the whole (including legend) within laurel-wreath	R4	Par.; AM 55

22. The Madrid coin shares an obv. die with BMC 1 (no. 17) above.

23. The earlier reading of MARES on the rev. of this unique coin was mistaken.

26. Die-links exist between these aurei and the parallel denarii (no. 27).

27. See note on no. 26. These denarii, with

some twenty-eight recorded examples, are reasonably common.

29. Each of the two recorded examples is plated: one shares a rev. die with no. 31.

30. Mattingly (BMCRE p. 291 n. †) thought that the 'cap of Vulcan' could well be the representation of an upper die.



No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
31	D	↪PAX below clasped r. hands holding winged caduceus	S P Q R in oak-wreath	R5	Madr. (3.48 g); AM 83
32	D	↪ROMA Roma bust r., bare-headed; hair knotted on top of head	↪OB CIVIS (above), SERVATOS (below) Oak-wreath	R5	Madr. (3.24 g); AM 38
33	D	As no. 32	OB / CIVIS / SERVATOS in three lines in oak-wreath	R5	RN 1862, p. 208, with pl. 8, 22 (Blacas) (3.16 g); AM 39
(Pl. 23) 34	D	ROMA (ex.) Roma seated l. on pile of arms, r. holding Victoriola	PAX (above), P—R to l. and r. of clasped r. hands holding winged caduceus between two crossed corn-ears and two poppies	R4	BMC 6; AM 48
35	D	↪ROMA Female bust r., bare-headed; hair knotted on top of head	S P Q R in oak-wreath	R5	Tur. (3.25 g); AM 84
36	D	↪SALVS (PVBLC Salus bust r., laur., dr.	↪ROMA ↪VICTRIX Roma stg. l., r. foot on globe, r. holding branch, l. vertical spear	R4	Madr.; AM 54

## GROUP II. Gaul\*

## Aurei and denarii

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.40–7.20 g; denarii c. 3.60–3.10 g.† Dies generally ↑↓, occasionally ↑↑ or (more often) unadjusted. Borders usually dotted; occasionally linear.

37	Au	No legend. Minerva bust r., helmeted and dr., with aegis	↪SECVRITAS ↪P R Securitas, in long tunic and with cloak over r. shoulder, seated r. on throne, head resting on r., l. holding sceptre; in front, garlanded altar	R5	BMC 37 (7.13 g); AM 56
38	D	As no. 37	As no. 37	R4	Madr.; AM 57
39	D	No legend. Mars bust r., bearded, helmeted, and dr.	SIGNA (ex.), P—R to l. and r. of aquila between two standards; altar to r. of aquila	R2	BMC 42; AM 61

\* For this attribution see introductory pp. 198f.

† The spread of weights for both aurei and denarii is remarkably wide.

31. See note on no. 29. This unique coin is plated.

32. This unique coin shares an obv. die with no. 35.

35. See note on no. 32.

36. A second example may be (though is not

certainly) recorded—as a find from N. Brabant—in *Jaarb. voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 1963, p. 64.

37. Martin notes that d'Ennery 138 could be this BM coin (which Mattingly gave to Gaul with some uncertainty). The coin is from the same pair of dies as no. 38.

39. Patin (*Familiae Romanae*, Paris, 1663) and d'Ennery 138 recorded this issue in gold: doubtful.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
40	D	(?) ♂----- }AVGVSTI (?) Female bust r., diad.	}IVPPITER ♂CON- SERVATOR Jupiter, naked, stg. l., r. holding thunderbolt, l. sceptre	R5	Par. (2.76 g); AM 16
41	D	♂CONCORDIA }ORB TER Concordia head r., diad. and veiled	♂PIA }FELICITAS Feli- citas stg. l., r. holding patera over lighted altar, l. short sceptre	R5	BSFN 1973, p. 384 f.; AM 48a
42	D	}GENIVS ♂P R Genius bust r., bearded and diad.; behind, sceptre	}I O MAX ♂CAPITOL, INVS(ex.) Jupiter seated l. in distyle temple with wreath in pediment, r. holding thunderbolt, l. sceptre	R4	Par.; AM 15
(Pl. 23) 43	Au	As no. 42	♂MARS }VLTOR Mars, naked but for helmet, advancing r., r. bran- dishing javelin, shield on l. arm; parazonium at l. side	R4	BMC 21; AM 26
44	D	As no. 42	As no. 43	R4	Ro.(T.); AM 27
45	D	As no. 42, but without sceptre behind	SIGNA (ex.), P—R to l. and r. As no. 39	R5	Cast in BM; AM 62
46	D	As no. 42	S P Q R in oak-wreath	R3	BMC 22; AM 73
47	Au	♂G P R above type as no. 42	♂MARS }VLTOR As no. 43	R5	Par. (7.34 g); AM 24
48	D	As no. 47	As no. 47	R4	Berlin; AM 25
49	D	♂HERCVLES }ADSER- TOR Hercules bust r., bearded and laur.	♂FLORENTE }FOR- TVNA P R Fortuna stg. l., r. holding wreath, l. cornucopia	R4	Madrid; AM 9
50	Au	♂MARS }VLTOR Mars bust r., bearded, hel- meted, and dr.	SIGNA (ex.), P—R to l. and r. As no. 39	R3	BMC 38; AM 59
(Pl. 23) 51	D	As no. 50	As no. 50	C	BMC 40; AM 60
52	D	As no. 50	S P Q R in oak-wreath	R4	Madrid; AM 69
53	Au	♂MARS }VLTOR Mars, naked but for helmet, advancing r., r. bran- dishing javelin, shield on l. arm; parazonium at l. side	As no. 52	R4	Utrecht; AM 70
54	D	As no. 53	As no. 52	R3	BMC 23; AM 71

40. The female obv. bust suggests that the missing part of the obv. legend could be a substantive personification.

41. Found in 1972 at Alesia; 3.02 g, plated.

42. The Paris coin (2.46 g) is probably plated, and may be unique. Its obv. die is shared with no. 44.

46. There are rev. die links with no. 72.

48. The Berlin coin is wrongly described in *BMCRE* p. 295, note to no. 21, as being of gold. Another example of this silver is in Rome (Terme).

49. Three known coins (two in Madrid, one in Oxford), all from the same pair of dies, are all plated.

50. All but one of the seven known examples are from the same pair of dies. This gold issue is die-linked with the silver of no. 51.

51. See note on no. 50. Die-linked also with nos. 64 and 80.

53. Two examples noted as being found locally at Utrecht (*Jaarb. voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 1960, pp. 1 ff.): no weights given.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
55	D	☿MARS☿VLTOR As no. 53	S P Q R / O B / C S in three lines in oak-wreath	R4	Ox.; AM 92
56	D	☿PACI ☿AVGVSTAE Pax-Nemesis, winged, advancing r., r. holding out fold of dress, l. pointing caduceus at snake preceding her	S P Q R in oak-wreath	R5	BMC 26 (3.41 g); AM 81
57	D	☿PAX ET ☿LIBERTAS Clapsed r. hands holding winged caduceus	SIGNA (ex.), P—R to l. and r. As no. 39	R4	Ox.; AM 66
(Pl. 23) 58	D	☿PAX ET ☿LIBERTAS As no. 57	As no. 56	R4	BMC 27; Madr.; AM 82
59	D	☿ROMA Roma bust r. wearing helmet bearing towered crown	☿IVPPITER ☿CVSTOS Jupiter, naked to waist with cloak falling from l. shoulder, seated l., r. holding thunderbolt, l. vertical sceptre	R4	BMC 17; AM 17
60	D	ROMA RESTITVTA Roma bust r., helmeted	IVPPITER CONSERVATOR As no. 59	R4	AM 15
61	D	☿ROMA ☿RESTITVTA Roma bust r., helmeted	As no. 59	R5	AM 18
(Pl. 23) 62	D	As no. 61, but with sphinx on crest of helmet	☿IVPPITER ☿LIBERATOR As no. 59	R3	BMC 19; AM 20
63	D	As no. 61	SIGNA (ex.), P—R to l. and r. As no. 39	R5	Ro.(T.); AM 65
64	D	☿SALVS ET ☿LIBERTAS Helmeted female figure stg. r., r. holding long vertical spear, l. resting shield on ground	As no. 63	R4	BMC 43; AM 67
(Pl. 23) 65	Au	☿SALVS ET ☿LIBERTAS As no. 64	S P Q R in oak-wreath	R4	BMC 28; AM 74
66	D	☿SALVS ET ☿LIBERTAS As no. 64	As no. 65	R4	BMC 29; AM 75
67	D	☿SALVS GENE ☿HVMANI Victory stg. l. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	☿MARS☿VLTOR Mars, naked but for helmet, advancing r., r. brandishing javelin, shield on l.; parazonium at l. side	R5	Par. (2.49 g, plated); AM 32

55. This issue is die-linked with no 67.

57. The aquila on rev. may face either l. (as at Oxford) or r.

58. The Madrid coin shows a die-link with no. 71.

60. Cited by Coh. 370 from Morelli; for another recording cf. d'Ennery cat. no. 164. A possibility. Legend positions unknown.

61. Martin reproduces the line-drawing of Havercamp's edn. (1734) of Morelli's

*Thesaurus*, pl. i, 11 Roma. The coin is a possibility.

67. Rev. die-link with the obv. of no. 55. Two doubtful coins with the rev. of no. 67 are listed by Coh. 381 (with obv. GEN P R; in Morelli, *Thesaurus*, ed. Havercamp, 1734, pl. 2, L) and Coh. 382 (with obv. SALVS GENERI HVMANI and type as no. 68; cited from de Moustier sale, Hoffmann, Paris, 17. 6. 1872).

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
68	D	(SALVS GENER )HV- MANI Victory stg. r. on on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	S P Q R in oak-wreath	R5	Dublin (2.80 g); AM under no. 78
69	D	(SALVS GENER )HV- MANI As no. 67	S P/Q R in two lines in oak-wreath	R4	Par.; AM 87
70a,b	D	Q or Q SALVS GENERIS HVMANI As no. 67	SIGNA (ex.), P—R to l. and r. As no. 39	R4	Berlin; AM 63
71a,b	Au	) or (SALVS GENERIS (or) HVMANI As no 67	S P Q R in oak-wreath	R4	Par.; AM 76
(Pl. 23) 72	D	As no. 71	As no. 71	C	BMC34; AM 77
73a,b	D	( or )SALVS GENERIS ) or (HVMANI As no. 68	As no. 71	C	BMC 31; AM 78
74	D	SALVS (below), )GENERIS (HVMANI Pax-Nemesis, as no. 56	As no. 71	R4	BMC 30; AM 80
75	D	Q SALVS GENERIS HVMANI Victory stg. r., r. foot on globe, in- scribing V on shield balanced on knee	As no. 71	R5	Berlin (3.85 g); AM 79
76	D	)SALVS GENERIS (HVMANI As no. 75	S P Q R/OB/CS in three lines in oak-wreath	R5	London (ex Trau 529); AM 94
77	D	Q SALVS GEN—ERIS HVMANI Victory stg. l. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	As no. 76	R5	Forli (2.90 g); AM 93
78	D	)VIRT Virtus bust r., helmeted	(IVPPITER )CVSTOS As no. 59	R5	BMC 18 (2.95 g); AM 19
78A	D	)VIRTVS As no. 78	Q S—P—Q—R in the angles of crossed spears lying under round shield	R5	BM
(Pl. 23) 79	D	(VOLKANVS )VLTOR Vulcan bust r., bearded, wearing round cap	( GENIO P R above (?)cap of Vulcan over anvil, with tongs on l. and hammer on r.	R4	BMC 16; AM 10
80	D	As no. 79	SIGNA (ex.), P—R to l. and r. As no. 39	R4	Vi.; AM 64

*Note*—The denarius cited by Coh. 427 (cf. *BMCRE* p. 296 note \*; Morelli, *Thesaurus*, ed. Haverkamp, 1734, pl. 2, F; AM 86), with S P Q R in oak-wreath as both obv. and rev. type, might be a correct issue, but, if it is genuine, is more likely to be the product of the erroneous combination of two rev. dies.

70. The eagle may hold laurel-wreath in beak. Linked to no. 51.

71. Rev. link with no. 58.

72. Obv. or rev. links with nos. 46, 66, 70, and 73. Clearly one of the few staple issues in this Group.

73. Rev. die-links with nos. 71–2.

75. Obv. die-link with no. 96 ('Augustus' issue).

77. Die-linked with nos. 55 and 70.

79. See note on no. 30 above.

80. The two known examples are from the same obv. die. There is a rev. die-link with no. 51.

# GROUP III. (a) 'AVGVSTVS' and (b) 'DIVVS AVGVSTVS'. Spain and Gaul(?)\*

Aurei† and denarii

Obv. legends: 1. Nil.

- 2a. )AVG DIVI F
- 2b. (AVG )DIVI F
- 3a. )AVG DIVI F ( P P
- 3b. (AVG )DIVI F P P
- 4a. (AVGVSTVS )DIVI F
- 4b. )AVGVSTVS (DIVI F
- 5a. (CAESAR )AVGVSTVS
- 5b. (CAESAR )AVGVSTVS
- 5c. )CAESAR (AVGVSTVS
6. (CAESAR )DIVI F
7. )DIVVS ~ AVG ( P P
8. (DIVVS )AVGVSTVS
9. IMP (below)
10. (SALVS GENERIS HVMANI

Obv. heads‡/types:

- A. Augustus head r., bare.
- B. Augustus head r., laur.
- C. Augustus head r., rad.
- D. Augustus head l., bare.
- E. Augustus head l., laur.
- F. Augustus head l., in oak-wreath(?)
- G. Apollo head r., laur.; behind, lyre.
- H. Victory stg. r., l. foot on globe, inscribing shield balanced on knee.
- J. Warrior galloping r., r. raised and holding spear.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.20–7.00 g; denarii c. 3.50–3.20 g. Dies mainly ↑↓, but sometimes irregular. Borders, where visible, generally dotted, but occasionally linear.

## (a) 'Augustus' series§

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 23) 81	Au	1A	AVGVSTVS below capricorn r., holding globe to which rudder is attached; above, cornucopia	R5	BMC 44 (7.45 g)
82	D	1A	As no. 81	R3	BMC 45 ff.; Par; Ox.; AM A2
83	D	1B	AVGVSTVS below capricorn r.; above, star	R4	Par; AM A3
84	D	1G	As no. 81, but to l.	R5	Par. (3.28 g); AM A4
85	D	9J	As no. 81	R5	Par. (3.42 g); AM A1

\* One die-link has been recorded between an 'Augustus' coin and the Group II series attributed to Gaul: cf. nos. 75 and 96.

† Known, with one exception, only for the 'Divus Augustus' issue.

‡ It is sometimes difficult to decide whether it is a head or a bust that is shown. For convenience they are here described as 'heads'.

§ Arranged, like those in section (b) following, by alphabetical sequence of rev. legends.

81. From Cracherode gift, 1799; not in Martin, *AM*.

82. The size of the obv. head may vary considerably; and the rev. rudder is sometimes lacking.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
86	D	2aC	↓AVGVSTVS (on l.), ↓DIVI F IMP (on r.) Winged caduceus	R5	Coh. (Aug.) 37; AM A5
87	D	5bB	☉C L CAESARES PRINCI IVIA COS DISICIA Gaius and Lucius Caesar stg. on l. and r., facing, each togate and resting hand on shield; behind each shield, a spear; above, on l., simpulum r., and on r., lituus l.	R4	Ox.; AM A7
88	D	1B	CAESAR — DIVI F to l. and r. of Victory stg. l., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R4	BMC 48; AM A6
89	D	5aB	As no. 88, but Victory stg. r.	R5	Madr. (3.22 g); AM A6a
90	D	?A	CN LENT (?) (ex.), XI — S C (?) to l. and r. of globe between rudder on r. and sceptre with wreath on l.	R5	Schulman (NY) 27.10.1969, 4194 (2.80 g); AM A8
91	D	1C	CONCORD Concordia seated l., r. holding corn-ears, l. sceptre	R5	AM A9
(Pl. 23) 92	D	5aB	DIVVS — IVLIVS to l. and r. of eight-rayed comet	R3	BMC 49; AM A10
93	D	4aB	EX S C (ex.) Decorated quadriga r.	R4	Par.; AM A11
94	D	2bB	IMP (ex.) Bull walking r., r. foreleg raised	R4	Par.; AM A13
95	D	2aB	IMP X in crescent; above, seven stars in arc; below AVG DIVI F	R5	Par. (3.24 g); AM A15
96	D	10H	As no. 95	R4	Berlin; AM A14
97	D	4aA	A P [sic, blundered for IMP] XI below capricorn r., holding globe to which rudder is attached	R5	Schulman (NY) 27.10.1969, 4195 (3.45 g, plated); AM A16
98	D	3aC	IMP — XII to l. and r. of Diana advancing r., l. holding bow, r. drawing arrow from quiver on back; (?) SICIL originally in ex.	R5	Par. (3.44 g); AM A19
99	D	4aB	IMP XII below butting bull r.	R4	Ox.; AM A17
100	D	4aB	As no. 99, but to l.	R4	BMC 51; AM A18
101	D	1D	LEG XVI below lion running r.	R4	Berlin; AM A20
(Pl. 24) 102	D	4bD	OB/CIVES/SERVAT in three lines in oak-wreath	R4	BMC 52; AM A21
103	D	5aB	PAX below clasped r. hands holding caduceus between crossed cornucopias	R4	Par.; AM A22

86. Coh. cites de Corberon coll., with line drawing. Confirmation required.

87. Two examples recorded, probably from the same pair of dies, each blundered.

88. Two examples recorded, from the same pair of dies.

90. The obv. appears to read ---- ζDIVI F.

91. Martin, following *BMCRE* p. 304 n. ‡, refers to the sole evidence of the Belfort coll. (Hoffmann sale, Paris, 25. 2. 1888). Lacking in Coh.

93. Three examples recorded, all from the same pair of dies: linked by obv. die to no. 110.

There is doubt whether the obv. head is wreathed with oak or laurel.

94. Two specimens (from the same obv. die) show obv. reading — DIVVI —.

95. Same rev. die as no. 96.

96. Two examples recorded, from the same pair of dies. Obv. die-link with no. 75 above. See also note to no. 95.

99. The obv. portrait does not resemble Augustus.

101. The two recorded examples weigh 3.30 g. (Berlin) and 3.37 g (Vatican).

103. An obv. die-link with no. 106.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
104	D	3aA	S P Q R in one line in oak-wreath	R5	BMC 53 (3.32 g); AM A31
105	D	5aA	As no. 104	R4	Cop.; AM A30
106	D	5aB	As no. 104	R4	BMC 55; AM A29
107	D	6E	↪ S P Q R below Cupid riding r. on dolphin	R4	Par.; AM A28
108	D	5cA	S P Q R / CL V in two lines above two palms, the whole on round shield	R4	Hague; AM A34
109	D	3bB	S P Q R / P P / OB C S in three lines in oak-wreath	R4	BMC 56; AM A33
110	D	4aB	↪ SENAT ↪ P — Q R Victory advancing l., holding shield inscribed CL V	R4	BMC 57; AM A 25
111	D	(?)1(?)A	↪ VICTORIA ↪ P R Victory stg. l. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R5	Par. (2.38 g, plated); AM A36

## (b) 'Divus Augustus' series

112	Au	8C	↪ HISPANIA (or A—N or I—A) above figure of Hispania stg. l., r. holding two corn-ears, l. two short spears; round shield on shoulder	R4	Berlin; Cop.; AM A12
113	D	7C	PAX below clasped r. hands holding winged caduceus between crossed cornucopias	R4	Par.; AM A23
114	Au	8C	↪ PAX Pax stg. l., r. holding caduceus, l. corn-ears and poppies	R4	Sotheby (Zurich) 10.11.1972, 48; AM A24
(Pl. 24) 115	Au	8C	↪ PAX ↪ P R As no. 114	R5	BMC 58 (7.17 g); cf. AM A24
(Pl. 24) 116	D	8C	↪ SENATVS ↪ P Q ROMANVS Victory advancing l., r. holding round shield inscribed VI / AV in two lines	R2	BMC 59; AM A26
117	D	(?)8(?)C	SENATVS POP Q ROMANVS As no. 116	R5	AM A27

104. Coh. 285 (Rollin) cites this also with obv. laur. r. (AM A32): there is, however, no further evidence yet for this variety.

105. Two examples recorded, from the same pair of dies.

106. See note on no. 103.

108. Coh. 296 (Delgado) cites a specimen with obv. CAESAR AVGVSTVS, head bare r., and rev. S P Q R / OB C S in two lines on shield (AM A35): further evidence is needed.

110. The two recorded examples (London and Paris: the latter with obv. die-link to no. 93) both seem to show obv. wreath of laurel rather than oak.

111. *RIC* i (1st edn.), p. 189, no. 23, described the obv. as laur. (cf. *BMCRE* p. 304

n. \*), but the head is probably bare.

112. Internal die-links among five recorded examples.

113. Four examples recorded, all from the same pair of dies.

114. Two examples recorded (7.18 and 7.13 g), from the same pair of dies.

115. Combined by Martin AM A24 with no. 114, but Martin's own plate and *BMCRE* pl. 51, 17 both appear to show P R plainly on the rev.

117. Legend positions unknown. Confirmation required: the only evidence for this coin is Rollin and Feuadent 7. 5. 1888 (de Quelen). Cf. *BMCRE* p. 305, note to no. 60.

# GROUP IV. 'MILITARY', (?) AD 69 (?Southern Gaul)

## Aurei and denarii

Weight-peak, denarii c. 3.50–3.25 g. Dies chiefly  $\uparrow\downarrow$ . Borders generally dotted, occasionally linear.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
118	D	FIDES (above), EXERCITVVM (below) Clasped r. hands	CONCORDIA PRAETORIANORVM Concordia stg. l., r. holding branch, l. cornucopia	S	BMC 61; AM 3
119	D	As no. 118	CONCORDIA PROVINCIARVM As no. 118	R5	Coh. 360; AM 4
120	D	As no. 118	As the obv. of no. 118	R5	Mad. (2.68 g, plated); AM 6
(Pl. 24) 121	D	As no. 118 (often with V—M)	FIDES (above), PRAETORIANORVM (below) Clasped r. hands	C	BMC 65; AM 7
122	D	As no. 118	S P Q R in one line in oak-wreath	R5	Coh. App. 1; AM 85
123	D	IO MAX CAPITOLIN Jupiter bust l., bearded, diad., and dr.	VESTA—P—R QVIRITIVM Vesta, veiled, seated l. on throne, r. holding patera, l. long torch	R4	Hirsch 22.10.1962, 2533; AM 97
124	Au	IO M CAPITOLINVS As no. 123, but with small palm-branch in front of bust	As no. 123	R5	Cologne (7.45 g); AM 95
125	D a,b	As no. 124, (a) with or (b) without palm-branch	As no. 123	C	BMC 72; Ox.; AM 96
126	D	VESTA P R QVIRITIVM Vesta bust r., with stephane and veil; in front, lighted torch	FIDES (above), EXERCITVVM (below) Clasped r. hands	R2	BMC 64; AM 8
127	D a,b	As no. 126 (but sometimes broken A—P instead of R—Q), (a) with or (b) without torch	IO M CAPITOLINVS Jupiter seated l. in distyle temple, r. holding thunderbolt, l. sceptre; wreath in pediment	R4	Vi.; AM 12

118. A die is shared with no. 120.

119. Legend positions unknown. Coh. gives no source; but cf. Wiczay, *Museum Hedervarium* (Vienna, 1814), p. 137, no. 6. The coin is a possibility.

120. See note on no. 118. This unique coin may well be the product of the two obv. dies.

121. *BMC RE* regards the obv. as being that here listed: Martin AM 7, regards this as the rev. In what is presumably a desired equation

the distinction may not be important.

122. Blacas p. 214 cited this coin as being in Madrid; but it is not apparently there now. Plainly it is doubtful.

124. This unique coin, of low density (cf. *BMC RE* p. 307, note to no. 72) but probably authentic, is die-linked to issues of no. 125.

125. See note on no. 124.

126. Sometimes with —VM at the end of *Quiritium* and *exercituum*.



No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 24) 128 a, b	D	As no. 126	↵ (or ↑) I O MAX ↵ (or ↓) CAPITOL (or —LI), INVS (or NVS) in ex. As no. 127	R2	BMC 70; AM 13
129	D	As no. 126	↵ SENATVS (P O ROMANVS Victory advancing l. holding shield perhaps inscribed VIAV	R4	Vi.; Hague; AM 58

## GROUP V. GALLIC REVOLT, AD 69–70 (Lower Germany)

### Aurei and denarii

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.10 g (?); denarii c. 3.40 g and below. Die-axes in this very rare group have not been adequately recorded. Dotted borders apparently normal.

(Pl. 24) 130	D	↵ ADSERTOR ↵ LIBERTAS Young male head r., helmeted	↵ LEGION XV ↵ PRIM... Victory stg. r., l. placing helmet on trophy set on tree-trunk	R5	Ox. (BMC pl. 51, 27; 3.11 g); AM 21
(Pl. 24) 131	D	↵ GALLIA Gallia bust r., diad., dr.; behind, trumpet	↵ FIDES below clasped r. hands holding standard surmounted by small boar and two corn-ears	R5	Ox. (BMC pl. 51, 26; 3.58 g); AM 5
132	D	↵ LIBERTAS ↵ RESTITVTA Libertas bust r., diad., veiled, and dr.; in front, corn-ear	↵ CONCORDIA—A Concordia seated l., r. holding standard surmounted by small boar, l. caduceus	R5	Vi. (BMC pl. 51, 25; 3.40 g); AM 2
133	D	↵ LIBERTAS ↵ RESTITVTA As no. 132	↵ MARS ↵ ADSERTOR Mars stg. facing, head r., r. holding standard, l. shield	R4	Bourgey 18.11.1957, 283; AM 22
134	Au	↵ SALVTIS Salus bust r., dr., hair knotted above neck	↵ CONCORDIA Concordia stg. l., r. holding branch, l. cornucopia	R5	Vi. (BMC pl. 51, 24; 7.10 g); AM 1

129. The two recorded examples are possibly from the same rev. die; on neither coin is the inscription on the shield clear.

130. The rev. legend may originally have read PRIMIG.

132. Trau 517 is thought by Martin to be a cast from this otherwise unique specimen in Vienna.

133. De Witte (*RN* 1865, p. 168) cited two specimens (Asselin, 3.40 g, and d'Ailly, 3.22 g),

either of which could be the Bourgey specimen, of which no weight was given. Martin *AM* 23 and 30 (each with obv. as nos. 132–3; the former with rev. MARS ADSERTOR, Mars stg. r., holding trophy and shield, the latter with rev. MARS VLTOR, Mars stg. r., holding standard and shield) are known only from Morelli, *Thesaurus Morellianus* (ed. Haverkamp, 1734), pl. 4, I and pl. 2, N respectively, and must be regarded as doubtful.

## GROUP VI. (?)AFRICA, c. April-June 68

## Denarii\*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Denom.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
(Pl. 24) 135	D	☉HISPA NIA ☽S C Hispania bust r., (?)laur., dr.; behind, two javelins; in front, two corn-ears; below, round shield	☉S—P—Q—R in the angles of two crossed spears, on which lies round shield	R5	BMC 15 (3.04 g); AM 88
136	D	☽VIRTVS Female head (of Virtus) r., helmeted	☉S—P—Q—R no. 135	As R4	Naville 25.6.1924, 686; AM 89

\* In this rare group no generalizations can be made about weights or die-axes.

# GALBA

## I. General chronology

Servius Sulpicius Galba, an aristocrat in his earlier seventies, had been governor of the military province of Hispania Tarraconensis for eight years when, on 2 April 68,<sup>1</sup> having associated himself and his forces with the uprising of Vindex against Nero (above, pp. 197f.), he accepted salutation as *imperator* by his troops in Spain at Carthago Nova. In doing so he also declared himself *legatus senatus populi que Romani*, refusing the titles *Caesar* and *Augustus* still held by Nero, who survived until 9 June.<sup>2</sup> Galba thus waited on events while also putting himself ostensibly at the Senate's disposal: he had only one legion, VI Victrix, in his province but immediately set about the formation of another, VII Galbiana. If the Senate, however, had hoped, even remotely, for a restoration of the old Republic with the downfall of Nero its hopes were futile, for it had long since lost the command of the army. Soon after the middle of June, therefore, Galba learned not only of Nero's death by suicide on the 9th of that month, but also of the recognition (even if reluctant) of himself as *princeps* by the Senate.<sup>3</sup> He now abandoned the title *legatus S P Q R*, and he assumed those of *Caesar* and *Augustus*, most probably after he had met a deputation from the Senate at Narbo in southern Gaul about mid or late July.<sup>4</sup> Spain and Gaul themselves may well have termed him *Caesar* and *Augustus*—that is, heir to the Julio-Claudian dynasty—a month or so earlier; but Rome awaited his formal acceptance of what the Senate (backed unenthusiastically by the praetorians)<sup>5</sup> had to offer.

It is uncertain how soon Galba reached Rome,<sup>6</sup> though it seems unnecessary to delay his arrival later than September. Once in Rome he remained there until his death on 15 January 69;<sup>7</sup> and at some time before 22 December 68—conceivably, indeed, fairly soon after his autumn arrival in Rome—he was elected *pontifex maximus*.<sup>8</sup> No further chronological indications for his brief reign exist.

## II. Mint attribution

Upon these few chronological indications, however, together with what is known of Galba's movements, must rest the mint attribution of his coinage, diverse in character and unusually difficult to analyse and classify. From the

<sup>1</sup> Dio. Cass. 64. 6 records the length of his reign (which ended on 15 January 69) as nine months and thirteen days.

<sup>2</sup> Suet. *Galba* 10; Plut. *Galba* 5. 2; cf. Dio Cass. 63. 29. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *Galba* 7.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kraay, *ACG* p. 9.

<sup>5</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 5. They had learned 'a secret of empire, that a *princeps* could be made elsewhere than at Rome' (Tac. *Hist.* i. 4.).

<sup>6</sup> Kraay, *ACG* p. 9.

<sup>7</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 27 ff.

<sup>8</sup> Dessau, *ILS* 1988; cf. Kraay, *ACG* p. 10.

moment of his salutation as *imperator* by his legionaries in Spain, and his acceptance of their acclamation, Galba became responsible for their payment, even though he professed at first to be only the chief representative of the Senate and People of Rome and was apparently careful to make no quick promises of monetary donatives to the praetorians in Rome.<sup>1</sup> His need for gold and silver coinage in his own name began immediately in Spain, therefore, and continued as he finally moved to Narbo during July and thence to Rome. It is to Spain and Gaul, consequently, that aurei and denarii (with a little Spanish *aes*) have generally been assigned with (a) early forms of obverse titulature incorporating IMP alone, together with subsequently developed forms, (b) strongly un-Roman portraiture, and (c) a repertoire of reverse types with a strong focus on Spain and Gaul. The mints employed for these issues can only be conjectured. In Spain, Tarraco (the capital city of Galba's provincial command) had been the site of an abundant colonial mint earlier on, and could well have coined for him now. In Gaul he could equally well have coined at Narbo, while Vindex (see above, p. 198) may have struck in Galba's name elsewhere (Vienne?). These conjectural mints of 'Tarraco' and 'Narbo' were generous in their monetary standards, both of them (and especially 'Tarraco') striking at weights distinctly heavier than those recently introduced by Nero's reform, to which the mint of Rome adhered closely when it began to coin for Galba from c. July onwards.<sup>2</sup> The products of the mint of Rome, considering the short period of its operation for Galba (c. July 68–mid-January 69), were copious, and are immediately recognizable by the high excellence and professionalism of their portraiture, lettering, and fabric, not only in the gold and silver but also (and perhaps most obviously) in the remarkable series of sestertii. Lower *aes* denominations were struck in rather smaller numbers at Rome. Others were struck at Lugdunum (late in the reign) together with a small issue of sestertii; it has been well observed<sup>3</sup> that Galba's displeasure with Lugdunum over its loyalty to Nero and its opposition to Vindex would not have affected his use of an imperially controlled mint-establishment there.

No imperial coinage in Galba's name can be assigned to any mint east of Rome, though a mint probably situated in Africa has been held to claim a small series (below, p. 230)

### III. *Mint(s) of Spain* (nos. 1–84)

(a) The gold and silver attributable to Spain, and in the main most probably to Tarraco(?) (see above), was of a weight-standard substantially higher than that of Rome (where the reduced Neronian standard was adhered to), with aurei around a peak of c. 7.75–7.60 g and denarii around 3.60–3.30 g. Attribution to Spain depends primarily upon some degree of emphasis on Spain in the range of reverse types, in which there is also some continuity of type to be observed from the preceding 'Civil War' issues. The Spanish issues of Galba, like those attributable to Gaul, began with a short non-portrait series showing him on horseback with the simple obverse legend *Galba Imp*, and with Hispania bust and legend *Hispania* on the reverse. Presumably this

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 5.

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 240–3.

<sup>3</sup> Kraay, *ACG* p. 34.

issue owed its equestrian obverse (like that in Gaul) both to Galba's salutation as *imperator* and also to the lack of any official *imago* from which obverse portrait-dies could yet be engraved. Once a portrait-model was available, the series was greatly expanded, comprising gold as well as silver: obverse legends were of the simple form *Galba Imp* or *Galba Imperator* for some time, developing later to the full *Ser Galba Imp Caesar Aug P M Tr P*. It would thus appear that Galba's Spanish issues lasted from some date in April until fairly late in 68.

The chronological analysis and arrangement of these issues is a matter of considerable difficulty, the solution of which may well depend upon a future die-study. Only the presumably latest group is clearly distinguishable, with its full obverse legend *Ser Galba Imp Caesar Aug P M Tr P*: here there are six reverse types (suggesting incidentally that the mint of Tarraco(?) had by now organized itself on conventional Roman lines), all of them dated by the obverse *P M* to a period after Galba's arrival in Rome.<sup>1</sup> They were as follows:

*Diva Augusta*<sup>2</sup>  
*Libertas Publica*  
*Roma Renasc(ens)*

*Roma Victrix*  
*S P Q R Ob C S*  
*Virtus*

Identical or closely similar types appear in what should (without *P M*) therefore be earlier Spanish issues, with obverse *Galba Imp* or *Galba Imperator*; but these earlier issues also include certain other reverses. *Hispania* and *Gallia Hispania* reflect the initial western surge of resentment headed by Galba and Vindex against Nero and summarized in *Concordia Provinciarum*. *Libertas Restituta* will be the fruit of *Roma Victrix* and *Victoria P(opuli) R(omani)*. The rare *Augustus P R* and *Bon Even(t)* are simple expressions of rejoicing at the emergence of a *princeps* under whom the productive arts of peace can flourish again.

Obverse portraiture throughout this Spanish series is harshly uncouth, sometimes with scant likeness to Galba's features: the bust always terminates in a globe. Little help can be derived from any attempt to trace development in the portraits. For this reason, and because this five- or six-month series displays an uneven development both of obverse titulature and also of reverse types, and not least because it cannot be said for certain that the main bulk of the series came from only a single mint such as Tarraco, the lists which follow have grouped the Spanish issues together in single blocks of which the exact relationship and internal anatomy must await the die-study of future researchers. As a series, it was of very considerable size, probably as large as the gold and silver series of Rome, and certainly larger than that of Gaul.

(b) The *aes* attributable to Tarraco(?) consists of asses only, with portraiture closely similar to that of the foregoing aurei and denarii, and with a globe at the truncation of the neck. It is not yet possible to give specific dates to the types employed, which presumably lay within the chronological span of the aurei and denarii, i.e. between April 68 and the end of the year. Certain points may, however, be noted. (i) All varieties of the obverse legend on these

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 226, for Galba's sense of obligation to the aged Livia.

asses include the title *Aug* or *Augustus*, suggesting an initial date no earlier than the later part of June (see above, p. 216). (ii) Of the reverse types, *Libertas Publica* is found also on the mid-range gold and silver of Tarraco(?), and *Diva Augusta* on the later range (see above, p. 218). (iii) The various issues commemorating the *quadragesuma remissa* are unlikely to have preceded by more than a narrow margin the companion types on the Lugdunum *aes*, which appears to have been issued in the last weeks of 68 (when *Libertas Publica* was also used there). Most probably, therefore, the *aes* of Tarraco(?) was issued during the last three or four months of 68. Such a dating would, incidentally, accord with the relative frequency of legends which include the title *P M*.

#### IV. *Mints of Gaul*

##### (a) Uncertain (nos. 85–120)

Although Mattingly<sup>1</sup> found the assignment of coins of Galba to Gaul to be no very difficult matter he admitted that the probable identification of the mints employed was uncertain. But he argued, rightly as it seems, for the operation of at any rate two, Vienna (Vienne) and Narbo. To Vienna he assigned a 'horseman' series analogous to that issued in Spain (see above, pp. 217f.) but differentiated from the Spanish 'horseman' series by (i) its obverse titulature (*Ser(v) Galba Imp*, *Ser Galba Imp Aug*) and by (ii) the markedly greater emphasis on Gaul in its reverse types (notably with *Gallia* and *Tres Galliae* in company with *Hispania*, *Roma Renascens*, and *Virtus*). If the 'horseman' issues of Spain and Gaul were struck in the period immediately following Galba's salutation as *imperator* on 2 April 68, then Vindex, for whom a base in Vienna was an obligatory substitute for an unfriendly Lugdunum, could have participated in an 'alliance' coinage until his defeat by Verginius Rufus in May: the moneyers of Vindex, like those who started work for Galba, would not have known the features of Galba at so early a date.

This Gallic series of 'horseman' coins was perhaps fractionally less heavy than that of Spain, though obvious rarity makes it difficult to isolate peak-weights for both aurei and denarii.

Galba's main series of Gallic gold and silver was very reasonably assigned by Mattingly to Narbo, where, as it has been noted above (p. 216), the new emperor met the official deputation from the Senate during July, and from whence he later set out for Rome. This series continued, it would seem, until late in the autumn, for after the obverse legends *Ser Galba Imperator*, *Ser Galba Imp Aug* and *Imp Ser Galba Caesar Aug* there came finally the full *Ser Galba Imp Caesar Aug P M Tr P*. Obverse portraiture was clearly superior to that of Spain, with a larger head (without globe at the point of the bust) and features rendered with greater fidelity and dignity, suggesting that altogether superior models were available to the die-engravers. The reverse types corresponded in large degree with those of the Spanish series, with which were shared *Diva Augusta*, *Gallia Hispania*, *Roma Renascens*, *Victoria P R*, *Virtus*, and—the most constantly employed—*Concordia Provinciarum*: only the Gaulish *Salus Generis Humani*, carried on from the 'Civil War' series (pp. 199,

<sup>1</sup> *BMCRE* p. ccx.

208 f.), was not used in Spain. If this Gallic series began at Narbo when Galba met the Senatorial deputation there about July, it is surely probable that it continued to be struck from a mint which travelled with Galba from Narbo to Rome. This fact might explain the relatively restrained tones of the Gallic reverses (once the Gallic 'horseman' types were discontinued) together with the obvious emphasis on *Concordia Provinciarum*.

Division of these Gallic issues into distinct chronological sections is difficult, and dangerously uncertain. As with those of Spain, therefore, they are listed together. A future study of their dies could well lead to a chronological analysis.

The weights of the Gallic aurei, while markedly heavier than the revised Neronian standard, show a peak a little lower than those of Spain. The denarii, however, reach the full peak seen in Spain.

(b) Lugdunum (nos. 121-41)

(i) Gold and Silver. A small issue of aurei and denarii (the former around 7.15-7.00 g, and the latter around 3.50-3.25 g—each, therefore, a little below the corresponding peak of (a) above)—shows portraiture approaching but certainly not equalling that of Rome, though closely parallel to that of the *aes* struck for Galba at Lugdunum. It will be argued (p. 221 below) that this *aes* was not, as Mattingly held, posthumous, for the fact that Lugdunum had not espoused his cause had no bearing on Galba's complete freedom to operate an imperial mint there if and when he chose to do so. The same argument is valid for gold and silver also, which need not therefore be regarded as posthumous,<sup>1</sup> a theory which in any case lacks all precedent.

Galba's *aes* of Lugdunum has been assigned (below, pp. 239 f.) to a period from December 68 to January 69, and was perhaps preceded by the preparation of certain dies in November 68. It is to this period, then, i.e. November 68 to January 69, that Lugdunese gold and silver for Galba should also be attributed. Five different obverse legends were employed. Of these, the plain *Imp Galba* is associated with the *Concordia Provinciarum* reverse found also on the Gallic, Spanish, and Roman issues. *Imp Galba Caesar Aug P P*<sup>2</sup> accompanies the orthodox-looking reverses *Aequitas* [- - - -], *Fortuna Aug*, *Pax Aug*, and *Roma Victrix*. The full *Ser Galba Imp Caesar Aug P M T P* accompanies the emphatically prognostic *Victoria Galbae Aug*. Presumably this issue of gold and silver from Lugdunum provided coinage for use by Galba's troops left in Gaul to consolidate the province in his rear while he faced the northern assault by Vitellius. It was remarkable in that it included silver quinarii, seldom seen before under the principate.

(ii) *Aes*. Over sixty years ago Mattingly attributed<sup>3</sup> to Lugdunum a group of Galba's *aes* showing different obverse portraiture (with a broad head and a globe at the point of an individually different bust-truncation) and reverse types with an unusually close Lugdunum connection.<sup>4</sup> Arguing, however,

<sup>1</sup> As by Mattingly, *BMCRE* p. ccxii.

<sup>2</sup> Mattingly, *BMCRE* pp. ccxiv f., noting that there is no independent evidence for Galba's receiving the title *pater patriae*, regarded it as an honour conferred posthu-

mously, but admitted that this was no more than a guess.

<sup>3</sup> *NC* 1922, pp. 186 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Kraay, *ACG* p. 34.

that Galba punished Lugdunum for its loyalty to Nero (and opposition to Vindex) by closing its mint, he placed these coins as posthumous issues under Vespasian. This conception is unnecessary since, as Kraay rightly observed,<sup>1</sup> the Lugdunum mint was an imperial institution, and not a civic privilege: the same argument has been reasonably applied to issues of gold and silver (above, p. 220).

The duration of this group must have been very short: for sestertii two obverse and three reverse dies are recorded, and for the smaller *aes* eight obverse and nine reverse dies. Tentative moves towards *aes* issues in Gaul were visible in Group V of Galba's *aes* of Rome (below, pp. 228 and 252f.), and the appearance of occasional globes at the point of busts in Group VI (below, p. 229) reinforces the idea that c. November–December 68 the mint of Rome prepared some dies for use at Lugdunum. These steps were evidently followed by the preparation at Lugdunum itself of a smaller number of *aes* dies for use there.<sup>2</sup> The style of these is in sharp contrast to that of Rome. The obverse legends, moreover, all include reference to Galba as *pontifex maximus* (something seen in only a single group of gold and silver struck at Rome), and two of the three varieties style him *pater patriae*, a title elsewhere undocumented but perhaps conferred only in January 69.<sup>3</sup> It seems evident that the Lugdunum mint was at work for only a very short time, probably about a month from late December 68 to late January 69. After the news of Galba's death the Lugdunum *aes* mint was closed under Otho (who issued no *aes* at all) and Vitellius, but was reopened by Vespasian, whose arrangements for the systematic provision of coinage in all metals showed a wholly new vigour and efficiency.

#### v. *Mint of Rome* (nos. 142–514)

(i) Gold and Silver. Although the sestertii struck for Galba at Rome have been subjected to meticulous analysis (below, pp. 222ff.), the gold and silver coins have not been so fortunate. That this gold and silver was indeed struck at Rome is clear from two indications. Its portraiture, lettering, and high technical skill match it precisely with the superbly designed and executed *aes* of Rome: the gold and silver of Spain and Gaul, even at their best, are far inferior in these qualities. Secondly, the gold and silver coins of Rome were struck on weight-standards markedly lower than those of Spain and Gaul, adhering in fact to the reduced Neronian norms, with aurei c. 7.40–7.00 g and denarii c. 3.40–3.20 g.

The chronological analysis of Galba's Roman gold and silver is not easy, and must await some future die-study to achieve certainty. There are, however, some significant pointers. The coinage as a whole begins without the *praenomen imperatoris*, though this was soon introduced and was standard through most of the series, the latest coins of which were presumably those

<sup>1</sup> *ACG* loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> The approximate contemporaneity of the Lugdunum *aes* with the Group VI *aes* of Rome is clearly suggested by the fact that they both included dupondii and asses as well as sestertii.

<sup>3</sup> Kraay, *ACG* p. 35, suggests that it was

conferred on the occasion of Galba's adoption of Piso as his successor on 10 January 69, and that the news of this adoption, travelling to Lugdunum, was thus commemorated on coins of mid and late January before Galba's death on 15 January became known there.



bearing the fullest obverse legend *Imp Ser Galba Caesar Aug P M*—the *P M* coming fairly late in the year 68 (see p. 216). Correspondence between the types of *aes* (themselves the subject of considerable chronological difficulties) and those of the aurei and denarii exists, though not in any emphatic degree: it is seen in the concepts of *Diva Augusta*, *Libertas Publica*, *Roma Renasc(es)*, *SPQR Ob CS*, and *Victoria*, all of which are echoed in the *aes* from mid-summer onwards when Galba's acceptance of *imperium* was either anticipated or known, and some of which continued into the presumably final *P M* series of gold and silver. The main difference between the gold and silver types and those of the *aes* is that the former (the prime medium of military pay, and to higher ranks in particular) included significant references to Galba's sources of provincial support—*Concordia Provinciarum*, *Gallia Hispania*, *Hispania*, the frequent *Salus Generis Humani* (this last a hallowed anti-Neronian war-cry in the west), as well as *Virtus*. The *aes* of Rome was more strictly urban in its message.

It may be reasonably assumed that the gold and silver of Rome began with the obverse legends *Ser Galba Aug* and *Ser Galba Caesar Aug*, the former with a single reverse *Imp*, the latter with *Diva Augusta*, *Salus Gen Humani*, and *Victoria P R*. Next would have come *Imp Galba*, with reverses *SPQR Ob CS* and *Virtus*. After this the fuller forms of obverse with *praenomen imperatoris* will have followed—*Imp Ser Galba Aug* with twelve reverses, *Imp Ser Galba Caesar Aug* with seven, and *Imp Ser Galba Caesar Aug P M* again with seven. It would seem likely that, once the *praenomen imperatoris* had become standard usage, the mint of Rome worked in the now customary six *officinae*: it is equally likely that each of these (as has been argued for other periods) coined on a cyclical method—first gold, then silver, then *aes*.

(ii) *Aes*. The great bulk of Galba's *aes*, much of it consisting of sestertii of notably fine portraiture and technical excellence, was struck at Rome, of which the high artistic skill, which advanced to a peak under Nero, is immediately to be recognized. Its chronological sequence, however, and its internal structure are very much harder to discern. Two main problems have arisen in previous studies—first, the attribution of what is in any case the last group (Group VI below, pp. 253 ff.) of Galba's *aes* of Rome to the reign of Vespasian as a posthumous mark of honour,<sup>1</sup> and secondly the fact that the title *P(ontifex) M(aximus)* is not regular in its appearance once Galba had received the title. From this second difficulty there has arisen the temptation to arrange the *aes* sestertii of Rome into *officina* groups based not (as was the case, it seems, previously, and certainly afterwards) on the use of reverse types but on the use of obverse legends:<sup>2</sup> the presence or the absence of *P M* in one and the same group integrated by obverse legend usage has thus to be explained by the chronological overlap of one *officina* with another.

The first problem, that of the 'posthumous' theory, may be fairly easily dismissed, and Kraay did so on well-argued grounds which need not be fully repeated. He wrote: 'Briefly the arguments for the posthumous theory are (1) that the Flavians indisputably restored Galba's honours (Tac. *Hist.* iii. 7; iv. 20), (2) that the "posthumous" coinage shows no connexion with the rest of

<sup>1</sup> *BMCRE* pp. ccxii ff.; cf. Kraay, *ACG* pp. 47 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Kraay, *ACG passim*; for the contrary criticism cf. Mac Dowall, *NC* 1957, pp. 269 ff.

Galba's coinage, and (3) that the "posthumous" coinage does show close connexions with types issued by Vespasian.' As he pointed out, however, Flavian recognition of Galba as a 'legitimist' emperor certainly need not involve a monetary step never yet known—the issuing of a multi-type, multi-denominational *aes* series wholly indistinguishable from that of a reigning emperor and strongly contrasting with the relatively isolated and much more occasional commemorative issues of previous reigns, on which indeed the death of the person so honoured is often in one way or another implicit. In regard to the break in continuity of types between Galba's final *aes* (Group VI) and that which preceded it, a wholly reasonable explanation is to be found in the perilous deterioration of Galba's position, political and military, as the year 68 closed and 69 began. As for the close connection between Group VI and the coinage of Vespasian, this is surely not unnatural at a time when the mint was in turmoil as a result of changes of emperor: any type, or indeed any die, that could be carried over from reign to reign would certainly be so used.<sup>1</sup>

The second problem—that of the internal sequence of Galba's Roman *aes* and its analysis into *officina* sections—is much more difficult. It may be said at once that this *aes* does present complex chronological problems, and not least because obverse titlature is curiously unsystematic: moreover, as has been seen already (above, p. 216), the independently known chronological data for Galba's reign are slight and often uncertain. Unsystematic titlature was clearly the main cause of Kraay's arrangement of the sestertii into *officina* groups determined by obverse legend, for, assuming that titlature should be more rather than less regular, only so could he accommodate the phenomenon whereby (through his system of *officina*-overlaps) the title *P M* is sometimes present and sometimes absent in what must surely be, on the basis of tight die-linkage, an associated group. Kraay's admirable work in the analysis of these sestertial die-connections must inevitably form the basis of any logical arrangement of this *aes*, but it is very difficult indeed to contemplate a change—abrupt, and very brief in duration—from the system of *officinae* based on reverse types, arguably recognizable for Claudius and Nero (above, pp. 116f., 144ff.) and again after Galba (below, pp. 259, 263ff.), to one based on obverse legends.

We must, then, conclude as follows. (1) The independently known chronological data should take precedence in argument. (2) Division into *officina* groups on the basis of reverse types, and not of obverse legends, should be sought. (3) As the title *P M* is both present and absent in Galba's final *aes* (Group VI, in his last few weeks in power), it should be clear that this title was, for whatever reason, regarded as an optional addition to his other titles once it had been conferred. (4) However, where a closely die-linked group shows the total absence of *P M*, it is to be assumed on good grounds that the title had not yet been conferred and assumed.<sup>2</sup>

Arrangement on these lines, proposed earlier though without detailed argument by Mac Dowall,<sup>3</sup> has been adopted in the lists that follow. Plainly,

<sup>1</sup> The detailed arguments that Vespasian's use of types similar to those of Galba are not evidence for the 'posthumous' theory are presented by Kraay, *ACG* pp. 47 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The official date of *P M* is itself uncertain (cf. Kraay, *ACG* p. 10 with note 19), but probably fell in November or early December 68.

<sup>3</sup> *NC* 1957, pp. 269 ff.

there are certain imperfections or ambiguities to be resolved by future research; but, on balance, it does seem possible to discern an *officina* system analogous to what preceded and followed Galba's coinage—a system, moreover, which is essentially dependent upon the die-analysis and the closely die-linked groups worked out so meticulously for the sestertii by Kraay.

A few additional points should be mentioned. Galba's *aes* of Rome consists very substantially of sestertii. The normal circulation of sestertii seems to have been more metropolitan than generally provincial, and indeed the content of these sestertius types of Galba is certainly of an urban sophistication rather than of any wider appeal.<sup>1</sup> After his arrival in Rome, Galba's power-base consisted principally of Rome; and it was in Rome that he finally lost it. The number of sestertii issued by Galba must have been very great in total: Kraay's research shows a minimum of 159 obverse and 233 reverse dies covering roughly a period of six months, that is to say, a minimum of some 26 obverse and 38 or 39 reverse dies per month, and this at a time when numerous dies for gold and silver also were being produced. However, although the pressure of events was strong, and the political climate ultimately turbulent, the workmanship of the dies, and particularly the obverse dies, was admirable, often rising to superb heights. The new school of die-cutters which arose under Nero for his *aes* continued, without interruption, to produce work of extraordinarily high quality.

It seems likely that the smaller *aes* denominations were not struck in such numbers as the sestertii, although taken together the dupondii and asses may have equalled the output of the sestertii. Dupondii, as will be seen, were struck throughout Groups I–IV, being abandoned in Groups V–VI c. November and December 68. They are distinguished only by their heavier weight: no radiate heads were employed. The clearly lighter asses continued throughout Groups I–VI, though they appear to have been produced only minimally in Group V.

*Group I.* The great majority of the sestertii in this group are closely die-linked, showing no connection with other die-groups.<sup>2</sup> The obverse legends show the title *Augustus* with or without *Caesar* and *Tr P*, sometimes with praenominal and sometimes with cognominal *Imp. P M* is never found. That is to say, the group is the earliest of Galba's Rome *aes*, produced at the time when, Senate and praetorians alike having accorded him recognition as Nero's legitimate successor, the mint of Rome set about the reflection of this fact on a denomination most likely to circulate in and around Rome, the metropolitan heart of Italy. Variation in the forms of Galba's obverse legend indicates some initial uncertainty about the standard forms to be followed. Portraiture, however, is magnificently strong, even harsh, from the first: the official likeness of Galba was, it is clear, easily available at once. Of the sestertius reverse types employed, two were strongly predominant; *Roma* (helmeted, seated l. with spear and shield, in six slightly varying versions) came from not less than 21 dies, and *S P Q R|Ob|Civ Ser* in oak-wreath<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The same may be felt to be true of the sestertii of Nero.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kraay, *ACG*, diagram opposite p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> This theme of the conferment of the *corona civica ob cives servatos* is emphasized

by the fact that Galba's portrait in this group is not infrequently shown wearing an oak-wreath instead of the usual laurel-wreath.

from not less than 29. This was Galba's twofold rallying cry, that by accepting his acceptance by the Senate and People he had saved and preserved Rome through his military leadership. By contrast, all the other sestertius types in this group total no more than 16 reverse dies—*Libertas Publica* 2; and 10, 3, and 1 respectively for the three Victory types. It would seem that sestertii of Group I were produced by two *officinae* certainly, or conceivably by three,<sup>1</sup> the third being of shorter duration than the other two, and that the period of production lay at and after midsummer 68, when news of Galba's official acceptance of the Senate's offer was reported back from Narbo to Rome. Alternatively, the internal mint-organization was radically changed, so that Group I was suddenly transformed into Group II.

The smaller *aes* of Group I, like the sestertii with which they share the same range of obverse legends, are with very few exceptions scarce or rare. *Libertas Publica* is repeated from the sestertii on the dupondii: the asses show *Libertas August* (variously abbreviated), with or without R—XL alluding to the *quadragenaria remissa* (see p. 228). The dupondii repeat the *SPQR/Ob/Civ Ser* of the sestertii. Otherwise the types of the smaller *aes* differ. Dupondii show *Felicitas August* and *Pax August*, and asses *Ceres Augusta*, *SC* (aquila and standards), and *Vesta*. One might speculate that, if the sestertii of Group I were perhaps produced by three *officinae*, the associated dupondii and asses came from no more than four, and perhaps fewer.

*Group II.* As has been pointed out,<sup>2</sup> the sestertii of this group have (very surprisingly) yielded no die-sequences: the justification for calling it a group rests on the inclusion of the gentile name *Sulp(icius)* among Galba's titles (together with the continued praenominal *Imp* as well as *Caesar* and *Augustus*) and upon the continued absence of *P M*. Moreover, the reverse types of the sestertii suggest a continuation (however uneven) from those of Group I, with *Libertas Publica* (21 dies) strongly dominant in comparison with *Roma* (two main versions, 4 dies), Victory (6 dies), and *SPQR/Ob/Civ Ser* (1 die). The impression gained is that Group II was of short duration, being perhaps even no more than an appendage to Group I, and that the operation of up to three *officinae* in Group I was reduced to two or even one. It is worth noting that the obverse head of the Group II sestertii is, with a single exception, laur., dr., r., that single exception showing an oak-wreath. The coins of this group, none of which shows *P M*, should fall in the late summer of 68. Emphasis among the sestertius reverse types clearly centres upon Galba's expressed determination to introduce an era of constitutional government after the autocratic excesses of Nero.<sup>3</sup>

Portraiture is again of a strongly positive and even harsh character, finely delineated and beautifully engraved.

The dupondii and asses of this Group, like the sestertii, show a somewhat reduced range of types, again suggesting some diminution of *officinae*. Dupondii concentrated upon *Pax Augusta*, variously abbreviated, with the

<sup>1</sup> The fact that *Libertas Publica*, with only 2 reverse dies in Group I, is the commonest type in Group II with 21, suggests that this type began only at the end of the working period of Group I, perhaps in one or other of the two

main *officinae*.

<sup>2</sup> By Kraay, *ACG* p. 24.

<sup>3</sup> For the general mood at Rome cf. Tac. *Hist.* i. 4–5, especially at the end of Ch. 5.

possible addition of *Libertas Publica*; and asses continued *Ceres Augusta*—stability of the corn-supply was an eminently important message for the asses—together with *Libertas* and the now scarcer *S C* (aquila) type. It is unlikely that the output of this smaller *aes* occupied more than two *officinae*, for none of it is anything but scarce or rare.

*Group III.* With sestertii again prominent, this group, of medium size, includes a single intimately linked sequence of sestertius dies.<sup>1</sup> Eight varieties of obverse legend were used, of which three referred to Galba as *pontifex maximus*, thus suggesting that the group was issued at the time of or soon after his arrival in Rome about the end of September or early October 68 and that it continued long enough to mark the conferment of *P M*. The reverse types used for sestertii, and their relative frequencies in terms of recorded dies, were as follows:

<i>Augusta</i> (4 dies)	<i>Roma</i> (3 dies)
<i>Concord Aug</i> (10 dies)	<i>S C</i> Victory with wreath (4 dies)
<i>Libertas Publica</i> (6 dies)	<i>S C</i> Victory with palladium (3 dies)

It will be observed that, in terms of dies, *Libertas Publica* has less emphasis than in Group II and has ceded its dominance to the new type *Concord Aug*, which is henceforth to be prominent. The concepts of *Roma* and Victory hold their own, and a quite new type now appears, that of *Augusta*, showing Livia (consecrated by Claudius) seated with patera and sceptre and referring to the respect in which Galba held her for her help to his career when young.<sup>2</sup> The impression given by the types of Group III is that Galba and his advisers were now moving into a phase of policy-statements which, still emphasizing *Libertas*, *Rome*, and *Victory*, pointed to the need for *Concordia* and also alluded to Galba's link, through Livia, with the founder of the principate himself. It would seem that Group III could have been produced by some four *officinae*.

The obverse heads are sometimes wreathed with oak (the civil *corona civica*) rather than the military laurel, and the busts are often draped. Portraiture itself is, as before, harsh and finely rendered.

The emphasis of the smaller *aes* of this Group (with three principal types for dupondii and two for asses) lies again on essential and essentially conventional policy-statements implicit in *Felicitas*, *Libertas*, *Pax*, and *Vesta*, and especially on the last three. Some variation is evident in the presentation of *Pax* and *Vesta*, which suggests that, though dupondii and asses are now (like the associated sestertii) scarce or rare, original output—perhaps from three *officinae*—may not have been inconsiderable.

*Group IV.* The sestertii of this group suggest internal unity both by the general range of the reverse types employed and also by the essential form of their obverse legends, which all start with *Ser Galba Imp Caesar Aug* and in four out of five variants show some version of *pontifex maximus*. However, as has been demonstrated,<sup>3</sup> close interconnection of sestertius dies is to be found in only one of two sections in the group, which therefore may have been produced in two stages. For the sake of convenience they are here combined,

<sup>1</sup> Kraay, *ACG*, diagram opposite p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> Suet. *Galba* 5.

<sup>3</sup> By Kraay, *ACG* pp. 18 ff.

and they comprise a group of substantial size, with 36 obverse and 51 reverse dies recorded. It seems likely that the coins were produced from five or six *officinae*, which concentrated on the following reverses:

*Concord Aug* (8 dies)

*Libertas Publica* (16 dies)

*Roma* (5 dies)

*Salus Augusta* (4 dies)

*S C* (Victory with wreath r. or l.) (7 dies)

*Ex S C|Ob|Cives|Servatos; S P Q R|Ob|Civ Ser; S P Q R|Ob|Cives|Servatos* (10 dies)

Of these the most frequently struck were *Concord Aug* and *Libertas Publica* together with *S P Q R|Ob|Civ Ser* (6 dies). The issue as a whole should belong to early or mid-autumn of 68 (around October) when Galba, now established in Rome, was attempting to conciliate and rally opinion in his favour, with the themes of concord and constitutional liberty reinforced by emphatic allusion to his acceptance of the *corona civica ob cives servatos*. Obverse portraiture continued to be of superb strength in execution, one section of it all the more splendid by the addition of elaborate drapery. All sestertius heads are laureate.

The dupondii and asses of this Group (virtually all of them scarce or rare, like the sestertii) each include three principal types—*Felicitas*, *Pax*, and (echoing the sestertii) *S P Q R|Ob|Cives|Servatos* on the dupondii, and *Ceres*, *Libertas*, and the war-like aquila between standards on the asses. All of these types had already been employed in one or other of the earlier Groups of smaller *aes*. The chief emphasis here certainly seems to fall on the *S P Q R* type together with *Libertas* and aquila-with-standards.

If the sestertii can be said to claim possibly six *officinae*, no more than three could be postulated for the smaller *aes*.

*Group V.* This group (smaller than the last) contains no dupondii and few asses. The sestertii (with 26 obverse and 44 reverse dies) show its internal unity by intimate interlinking of dies.<sup>1</sup> Of the two forms of obverse legend used for sestertii, that without *P M* greatly predominates, with 24 out of 26 recorded dies.<sup>2</sup> The fact that Galba's election as *pontifex maximus* had already been strongly reflected in Group IV must mean that further emphasis on this was, for whatever reason, thought unnecessary or undesirable. It will be observed that the obverse legends used for Group V are slightly shortened versions (with *Caes* for *Caesar*) of those favoured for Group IV. The sestertius reverse types of Group V, however, show some contrast with those of Group IV. *Concordia* and *Salus* are absent, and, although *Ex S C|Ob|Cives|Ser* and *S P Q R|Ob|Civ Ser* continue the themes seen in Group IV, and the *Augusta* of Group III is repeated, the range of Victory types is altered, *Libertas Publica* becomes *Libertas Augusta*, and *Roma* is given a strikingly varied range of representation. The sestertius reverse types as a whole, with their relative frequencies, can be summarized as follows:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kraay, *ACG*, diagram 1 opposite p. 16.

<sup>2</sup> Kraay, *ACG* p. 13.

*Augusta* (Livia) (2 dies)

*Ex S C/Ob/Cives/Ser* and *S P Q R/Ob/Civ Ser* (5 dies each)

*Libertas* (11 dies)

*Pax* (2 dies)

*Roma* in various forms (12 dies)

*S C* (Victory in two forms) (8 dies)

From this it might appear that four or five *officinae* were at work on Group V. There is, however, one complication to be considered. One *Augusta* die, one *Libertas* die, and one *Roma* die bear the formula *R XL*, 'remissa quadragesima', recording Galba's remission of the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent customs duty on goods entering Gaul at all points (including the frontier with Spain) as a reward for the support which Spain and Gaul had given him.<sup>1</sup> It has been argued that this remission, mentioned otherwise only on non-Roman issues,<sup>2</sup> was scarcely of interest to Rome and that these comparatively few *R XL* sestertii may therefore have been struck in Gaul,<sup>3</sup> presumably from dies prepared at Rome, in anticipation of the Lyons *officina* then to be established. This would hardly have affected the number of *officinae* at Rome, however, as the *R XL* dies are so few.

It has been seen that, measured in terms of the number of sestertius dies recorded, Group V shows a reduction in output compared with Group IV. An even sharper reduction is seen in the smaller *aes*: there are no dupondii at all, and only three varieties of asses (all of the *Libertas Publica* type) appear. If the dating of Group V to around November 68 is correct, one must assume that, after necessary supplies of gold and silver had been struck, the mint turned to the production of sestertii (in reduced quantity) and finally to a speedily interrupted production of asses, with dupondii entirely omitted. The whole complexion of *aes* coinage was about to be changed in Group VI.

Portraiture, as before, continued at a high level of excellence, with perhaps one engraver of sestertius reverse dies contributing a special skill.<sup>4</sup>

The date of this group may be put *c.* November 68.

*Group VI.* The abrupt and dramatically expressed departure from the previous range of Galba's *aes* types at Rome has been well emphasized by Kraay,<sup>5</sup> who has also pointed out that this group consists of intimately linked sequences not only of sestertii but now also of asses. Here again it is to be seen that the inclusion of *P M* in the obverse legends is not regular.

In total size Group VI, including both sestertii and asses, is about the same as Group V, with the dies for asses slightly in the majority:

	obverse dies	reverse dies
Sestertii:	11	16
Asses:	14	20

However, the type structure of Group VI suggests a hurried, and hurriedly executed, new policy of type-choice, as extremely few dies were prepared for most of the reverse types employed—for the sestertii in many cases, indeed, no more than one, as can be seen:

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Kraay, *ACG* p. 29; Tac. *Hist.* i. 8.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, on Galba's *aes* of Lugdunum and on his certainly Spanish coins (above, pp. 236, 239).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Kraay, *ACG* pp. 29 f., where Narbo is suggested.

<sup>4</sup> Kraay, *ACG* pp. 15 f.

<sup>5</sup> *ACG* pp. 36 ff.

<i>Adlocutio</i> (2 dies)	<i>Roma</i> (1 die)
<i>Hispania Clunia Sul</i> (2 dies)	<i>Roma Resti</i> (1 die)
<i>Honos et Virtus</i> (4 dies)	<i>Aesculapius</i> (1 die)
<i>Libertas Restituta</i> (1 die)	<i>Senatus Pietati Augusti</i> (1 die)
<i>Mars Victor</i> (1 die)	<i>Victoria Imperi Romani</i> (1 die)

The types of the asses were rather more fully provided:

<i>Aequitas</i> (1 die)	<i>Victory</i> (5 dies)
<i>Aequitas Augusti</i> (2 dies)	Three standards on prows (4 dies)
<i>Pax Augusti</i> (2 dies)	<i>Salus Augusti</i> (3 dies)
<i>Provident</i> (1 die)	<i>Securitas P Romani</i> (2 dies)

From none of this can any even possible indication of *officina* allocation, or *officina* numbers, be derived. The very nature of the types of Group VI and the minimal quantity of dies per type all suggest the operation of a Roman mint witnessing a dangerous if not desperate political and military situation;<sup>1</sup> and it may be safely assumed that this Group was issued c. December 68. Provision of the known number of dies (obverse and reverse), or even of a hypothetically larger number (say, 50), would be no long task for the mint of Rome, even though the dies used for the sestertii are pre-eminent for their beauty of design and polished skill of execution.

Most of the types employed are new to the imperial coinage, and some are difficult to interpret. Only the concepts of *Libertas*, *Roma*, and *Victoria* had received expression on previous sestertii of Galba, and even these are changed in form or accompanying legend, while on the asses only the Tiberian *Providentia* and the later *Victoria* appear in their old forms, *Pax*, *Salus*, and *Securitas* taking on new forms, and *Aequitas* and the three standards on prows being types new to the imperial coinage. The impression gained is that of a period of special urgency and disturbance, emphasized by the choice of a number of quite new and often elaborate types and also by the appearance of certain obverses showing a small globe at the point of the bust. This latter phenomenon could be due to an intention, not carried out, of making dies at Rome for use in Gaul. It will be remembered that Group V included some *R XL* coins more appropriate to Gaul than to Rome (above, p. 228); and it has been seen (above, p. 221) that an *aes* issue was in fact to be made in all probability at Lugdunum, obverse dies for which could well have been manufactured, and then for whatever reason retained at Rome. Lugdunum, like Rome at this time, issued asses.

The new types received full discussion by Kraay.<sup>2</sup> Of the sestertii, *Adlocutio*, in a rendering more amply decorative than in earlier reigns, could refer to Galba's public effort to retain the vitally important support of the praetorians. The remarkable *Hispania Clunia Sul* appears to show Hispania offering the *imperium* to Galba (his gentile name curiously abbreviated) at Clunia in Spain, and emphasizes the strength of Galba's Spanish power-base. *Honos et Virtus* (a type used also by Vitellius and Vespasian) should refer to the

<sup>1</sup> One may note, incidentally, the use of orichalcum for a number of asses in this Group, suggesting haste and possible confusion in the

preparation of coinage-metal, if not an actual shortage of copper.

<sup>2</sup> *ACG* pp. 37 ff.



tercentenary of the temple of Honos at this period:<sup>1</sup> Vespasian was to reconstruct the joint temple of the two deities,<sup>2</sup> and plans were probably in hand for this work already. *Libertas Restituta* and *Roma Resti* (both of them concepts drawn from the recent civil wars in the west) show the emperor raising kneeling figures. *Mars Victor*, a splendidly strong sculptural representation, was to be used by Vespasian. *Pietas Augusti*, if the unique coin of this type is authentic, seems by its inclusion of an altar with a relief of Aeneas carrying Anchises to underline Galba's self-inclusion into the *gens Iulia* as the legitimate successor to Nero. *Senatus Pietati Augusti* may seek to reflect the Senate's recognition of Galba's early reluctance (above, pp. 216f.) to assume any powers not freely granted by the Senate. *Victoria Imperi Romani*, again known only from a single coin, need imply no more than that Galba now regarded his power-base as being in Rome and Italy. The type of Aesculapius, almost medallic in quality, has received no obvious explanation.

Of the types of the asses, the concept of Aequitas, so common henceforth, now first appears: its precise relevance (economic or purely monetary) is uncertain.<sup>3</sup> Nor does the significance of the three standards on prows seem clear.

With so comparatively large a number of types represented (with the possible exception of the *Honos et Virtus* sesterii and the asses with Victory and three standards on prows) by so remarkably few dies, no attempt at all can be made (as noted above) to discern the *officina* structure of this final group of Galba's *aes* coinage of Rome. His assassination fell on 15 January 69, five days after his announcement that he had adopted Piso,<sup>4</sup> and for some weeks before that Galba had been threatened by revolt in the German provinces. It is not improbable that the normal routine of the mint of Rome was seriously disturbed in the period of issue of Group VI, to be dated c. December 68 and into the earliest days of January 69.

#### IV. *African mint (Carthage?)* (nos. 515–21)

As already observed (above, p. 188), the comparatively short and certainly ineffectual revolt of L. Clodius Macer in Africa probably lasted from the spring of 68 until about October of the same year when, having refused to recognize Galba, he was put to death on Galba's orders. Macer's hold on *provincia Africa* had not been at first secure, and it seems probable that Carthage, its capital, contained supporters of Galba, who may have been responsible for a pro-Galban issue of denarii soon after Macer rebelled.<sup>5</sup> The denarii of Macer himself, once he gained control of Carthage, may have extended from c. June to c. October 68, as Mattingly proposed.<sup>6</sup> But Mattingly's other proposal, that an almost certainly African series of denarii

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Grant, *RAI* p. 87 n. 3.

<sup>2</sup> Pliny, *NH* 35. 10, 37 f.

<sup>3</sup> A Wallace-Hadrill in 'Galba's Aequitas', *NC* 1981, pp. 20 ff., concludes that the type was a specific answer to the *Moneta* theme in the Civil Wars coinage (see above, p. 205). But his analysis, though historically profound, is chronologically not strong; he does not explain

the appearance of Aequitas so late in Galba's reign, on the *aes* of Rome and (see pp. 220, 238) on the gold and silver of Lugdunum.

<sup>4</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 18.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. the non-portrait 'Hispania' issue, p. 257, no. 516.

<sup>6</sup> *BMCRE* p. clxxxvii.

in Galba's name preceded Macer's coinage, is more doubtful, as he himself felt,<sup>1</sup> though it is by no means impossible: the historical evidence is too fragmentary to allow of any firm conclusion.

It is not even certain that the two series, that of Macer and that of Galba, were issued from the same mint. But (a) Carthage was the principal city of north Africa; (b) Macer's types specifically include some showing CARTHAGO, with turreted bust; and (c) the style and technique of Macer's coins closely resemble those of Galba's, which, with the same emphasis on the constitutional formulae S C (so rarely seen except on *aes*) and S P Q R, also show the same cramped and unpolished characteristics of portraiture and design, in which it is clear that the die-engravers had little understanding of the planes of relief in portrait-work. It may be added (d) that, as in Macer's coinage generally, that of Galba sometimes shows the obverse legend in the genitive case, a peculiarity not found elsewhere. In the absence of other evidence, therefore, it would seem reasonable to assign Macer's denarii to Carthage until c. September–October 68, and those of Galba to the same mint from Macer's death until that of Galba himself, when Galba's supporters threw in their lot with Vitellius.<sup>2</sup>

The types of Galba's African denarii give considerable emphasis to Hispania, his primary power-base—three obverse busts and one reverse bust, all laureate, as befitted an area which had produced an *imperator*. The other obverses showed Galba's bust, 'curiously pinched and restrained',<sup>3</sup> and usually laureate with a small globe at its lower point. Obverse legends varied: *Ser Galba Imp Aug* (least uncommon), *Ser Galbae*, and forms (nominative or genitive) including some version of the gentile name Sulpicius. The titles *Imp Aug* were virtually standard constituents, and point to the period in the second half of 68 when Galba's constitutional position was consolidated at Rome.

The reverse types, apart from the single Hispania exception, concentrated mainly on S P Q R, shield lying on two spears (a type borrowed directly from the 'Civil Wars' coinage of Spain preceding Galba's elevation; cf. p. 209, no. 78A).<sup>4</sup> With this there appeared also *Victoria P R* and *Virtus*, both found among Galba's Spanish types. This African series can only have been very small in volume. While Clodius Macer had necessarily to produce coinage enough to pay the military forces which he raised or already controlled, after Macer's decline and ultimate fall Galba need only strike enough to pay those forces off when he disbanded them. The weights of these denarii vary widely between nearly 4 and nearly 3 g, and die-axes were not adjusted regularly.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *BMCRE* pp. clxxxvii and ccxviii.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Hist.* ii. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Mattingly, *BMCRE* p. ccxviii.

<sup>4</sup> See also Civil Wars nos. 135–6.

# GALBA

## I. SPANISH MINT (TARRACO?)

(a) Aurei and denarii, c. April to late 68

- Obv. legends:
- 1a. ⌭ GALBA IMP
  - 1b. ⌭ GALBA (sometimes L—B) IMP
  - 1c. ⌭ GALBA ⌭ IMP
  - 1d. ⌭ GALBA ⌭ IMP
  - 1e. ⌭ GALBA ⌭ IMP
  - 1f. ⌭ GALBA ⌭ IMP
  - 2. ⌭ GALBA IMPER
  - 3a. ⌭ GALBA ⌭ IMPERATOR
  - 3b. ⌭ GALBA ⌭ IMPERATOR
  - 3c. ⌭ GALBA ⌭ IMPERATOR
  - 4. ⌭ SER GALBA IMPERATOR
  - 5. ⌭ SERVIVS GALBA IMPERATOR
  - 6. ⌭ SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG TR P
  - 7a. ⌭ SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG P M TR P
  - 7b. ⌭ SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG P M TR P

- Obv. types/heads:
- A. Galba, bare-headed, in military dress, riding r., r. extended.
  - B. Galba, bare-headed, in military dress, riding l., r. raised.
  - C. Head laur., r.
  - D. Head laur., r., globe at point of bust.
  - E. Head laur., l., globe at point of bust.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.75–7.60 g; denarii, c. 3.60–3.30 g. Dies mainly ↑↓ or near; occasionally ↑↑ or unadjusted in what are probably earlier issues. Borders dotted.

(i) 'Horseman' issues; obv. 1a, 1b, and 2 with obv. A and B

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 24) 1	D	1aA	⌭ HISPANIA Hispania bust, bare-headed, dr., r.; two javelins behind; round shield behind and below; two corn-ears in front	R2	BMC 161
2	D	1bB	⌭ HISPANIA Hispania bust, laur., dr., r.; two javelins behind; round shield below; two corn-ears in front	R2	BMC 162
3	D	2B	As no. 2	R3	Evans (NC 1902, p. 347)

(ii) Portrait obverse with legends 1d and 3a

4	Au	1dE	⌭ (BON) ⌭ EVEN Bonus Eventus stg. l., r. holding patera, l. corn-ears and poppy	R4	Hunter 62
5	D	3aD	⌭ (BON) ⌭ EVENT As no. 4	R3	Vi. (BMCpl.54,1)
6	D	3aD	⌭ (BONI) ⌭ EVENTVS As no. 4	R3	Ox.

2. BMC 163 bis shows obv. legend broken L—B. Blundered aureus in Oxford (ex Evans) with rev. HISPANIA ¶MI (*sic*).

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
7	D	3aD	(LIBERTAS) RESTITVTA Libertas head, bare, r., hair knotted behind	R2	BMC 197
8	Au	3aD	(LIBERTAS) RESTITVTA Female figure, dr., stg. l., r. pouring from oenochoe, l. holding thyrsus (?)	R4	Hirsch xvii (Imhoof-Blumer), pl. 7
(Pl. 24) 9	D	3aD	As no. 8	R2	BMC 198
10	Au	1dE	(VICTORIA) PR Victoria, dr., stg. facing, head l., on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R5	ANS (Annual Report 1980, p. 14, fig. 12)
11	D	3aD	As no. 10	R2	BMC 199
12	D	3aD	(VIRTVS) Virtus, nude, stg. facing, head l., r. holding parazonium, l. leaning on vertical spear	R2	BMC 200

## (iii) Portrait obverses with legends 1c, 1d, 1e, and 1f

13	D	1dE	(DIVA) AVGVSTA Livia, dr., stg. l., r. holding patera, l. leaning on long sceptre	R2	BMC 168
14	D	1fD	(DIVA) AVGVSTA As no. 13	R2	BMC 167
(Pl. 24) 15	D	1dE	(GALLIA) HISPANIA Gallia (on l.) and Hispania (on r.) stg. opposed, clasping r. hands, Gallia bare-headed in short tunic, l. holding transverse sceptre, Hispania with round shield, parazonium and transverse spear	R2	BMC 171
16	D	1eD	As no. 15	R3	Hunter 64
17	Au	1fD	(GALLIA) HISPANIA As no. 15	R4	Florence
18	D	1fD	As no. 17	R2	BMC 170
19	D	1cD	(HISPANIA) Hispania, dr., stg. l., r. holding corn-ears and poppy, l. round shield and two vertical spears	R2	BMC 173
20	Au	1fd	As no. 19	R4	BM
21	D	1fD	As no. 19	R2	BMC 172
22	Au	1cE	(LIBERTAS) PVBLICA Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. leaning on sceptre	R4	Hunter 65
23	D	1fD	As no. 22	R2	BMC 176
24	Au	1eD	(ROMA) RENASC Roma, helmeted and in military dress, advancing r., r. holding Victory on globe, l. transverse spear	R4	Hunter 66
25	D	1cE	(ROMA) RENASCENS As no. 24	R2	BMC 184a
26	D	1cE	(ROMA) RENASCENS As no. 24	R2	Hunter 67
(Plate 24) 27	D	1fD	(ROMA) RENASCENS As no. 24	R2	BMC 184
28	D	1fD	(ROMA) RENASCENS As no. 24	R2	Par.

7. Issue die-linked with no. 9 below; see on *BMC* 198.

8-9. Mattingly, on *BMC* 198, suggested that the female figure is a Bacchante. See also note on no. 7 above.

15. A boar can sometimes be seen on the tip of Gallia's sceptre. Coh. 74 cites this type with obv. *GALBA IMPERATOR* and bust to r.

17. Aureus of this type in Ponton d'Amécourt cat. with Gallia holding trumpet.

19-21 Aureus in Budapest with obv. *GALBA IMP* (legend-direction unspecified),

laur. l. (globe invisible through wear?), and rev. as no. 19.

22-3. Coh. 117 cites this rev. for aureus with obv. D and *GALBA IMP* (legend-direction unspecified) and Coh. 119 for denarius with obv. laur. l. (globe invisible?) and the same obv. legend.

24f. Paris aureus with *GALBA IMP*, laur. r. (globe invisible?), rev. as no. 24 (Coh. 214); Paris denarius similar, but obv. laur. l., globe (Coh. 210).

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
	29	D	1fD	ROMA RENASCENS As no. 24	R2	BMC 183
(Pl. 24)	30	D	1eD	VIRTVS Virtus, wearing short tunic and cuirass, stg. l., r. holding Victory on globe, l. parazonium	R2	BMC 195
	31	D	1eD	VIRTVS As no. 30	R2	BMC 194
	32	D	1fD	VIRTVS Virtus, nude, stg. facing, head l., r. holding parazonium, l. leaning on spear	R2	BMC 196

## (iv) Portrait obverses with legends 3a, 3b, and 3c

	33	D	3bD	AVGVSTVS (ex.), P—R to l. and r. of triumphal arch surmounted by facing quadriga	R4	Par.
	34	D	3aD	BON EVEN As no. 4	R4	Ro.(T.)
(Pl. 24)	35	D	3bD	CONCORDIA PROVINCIA RV M Concordia, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. cornucopia	R2	BMC 164
	36	D	3bD	DIVA AVGVSTA As no. 13	R2	BMC 169
	37	Au	3aD	LIBERTAS RESTITVTA Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical sceptre	R4	Hunter 68
	38	Au	3bD	LIBERTAS RESTITVTA As no. 37	R4	Hirsch xvii, 631
	39	D	3bD	As no. 38	R2	BMC 177
	40	Au	3bD	ROMA RENASC Roma, helmeted and in military dress, advancing r., r. holding Victory on globe, l. transverse spear	R3	BMC 178
	41	D	3bD	As no. 40	R2	BMC 179
	42	D	3bD	ROMA RENASC As no. 40	R3	Hunter 69
	43	D	3bD	ROMA RENASC As no. 40	R2	BMC 180
	44	Au	3bD	ROMA VICTRIX Roma, helmeted and in military dress, stg. l., r. foot on globe, r. holding branch, l. leaning on vertical spear.	R4	BMC 185
	45	D	3bD	As no. 44	R2	BMC 187
	46	Au	3bD	SP—QR on small round shield surrounded by oak-wreath	R4	Coh. 281
(Pl. 24)	47	D	3bD	As no. 46	R2	BMC 190
	48	D	3cD	VICTORIA P R Victory, dr., stg. l. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R2	BMC 192

## (v) Portrait obverses with legends 4 and 5

	49	D	4C	CONCORDIA PROVINCIA RV M As no. 35	R4	Ox.
(Pl. 24)	50	D	5E	HISPANIA As no. 19	R2	BMC 175
	51	Au	5E	VIRTVS As no. 63	R4	Ox.

30. Mattingly, in note to *BMC* 192, recorded the denarius in Thomsen col., 1866, with obv. GALBA IMP, laur., r., globe, and rev. VICTORIA P R, Victory stg. facing on globe holding wreath and palm. Lacking other authority, as well as legend-direction, this has not been listed here.

41–3. Coh. 211 records a denarius with GALBA IMPERATOR (legend-direction

unspecified) and bust D, and rev. ROMA RENASCENS (*sic*) (legend-direction unspecified), type as no. 40: possibly a misreading.

46. No legend-direction specified: it is presumed to be as no. 47.

48. IMPERATOR is not legible on the obv., but is probable.

## (vi) Portrait obverses with legend 6

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
52	D	6D	(DIVA)AVGVSTA As no. 13	R3	Coh. 48
(Plate 25) 53	D	6D	(ROMA)VICTRIX As no. 44	R2	BMC 188

## (vii) Portrait obverses with legends 7a and 7b

54	D	7aC	(CONCORDIA)PROVINCIAEVM As no. 35	R3	Ox.
55	Au	7aD	(DIVA)AVGVSTA As no. 13	R3	BMC 166
56	Au	7bD	(LIBERTAS)PVBLICA As no. 22	R3	Ro.(T.)
57	D	7aD	(ROMA)RENASC As no. 24	R2	BMC 181
58	Au	7bD	(ROMA)RENASCENS As no. 24	R3	BMC 182
59	Au	7aD	(ROMA)VICTRIX As no. 44	R3	BMC 186
60	D	7aD	As no. 59	R2	BMC 189
(Pl. 25) 61	Au	7aD	SPQR/OB/CS in three lines in oak-wreath with pellet between two stars at top	R3	BMC 191
62	D	7aD	As no. 61	R2	Par.
63	Au	7aD	(VIRTUS) Virtus, wearing short tunic and cuirass, stg. l., r. holding Victory on globe, l. parazonium	R3	BMC 193
64	D	7aD	As no. 63	R2	Ro.(T.)

## (b) Asses, c. September to December 68

- Obv. legends:
1. (SER GALBA)AVG IMP
  2. (SER GALBA)IMP AVG
  3. (SER GALBA)IMP AVGVSTVS
  4. (SER GALBA)IMP CAESAR AVG P M TR P
  5. (SER GALBA)IMP CAESAR AVG P M TR P P P

- Obv. heads:
- A. Laur., r., globe at point of bust.
  - B. Laur., l., globe at point of bust.

Weight-peak, c. 11.00–10.00 g. Dies not regularly adjusted. Borders dotted.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
65	4A	(DIVA)AVGVSTA, S—C to l. and r. Female figure (Livia), dr., stg. l., r. holding patera, l. long sceptre	R	Coh. 49
66	4B	„	S	BMC 202
67	5A	„	S	BMC 201
68	1B	(LIBERTAS)PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	R	Par.
69	2B	„	R2	Seen at Ox., 26.3.1943
(Pl. 25) 70	3A	„	S	BMC 203
71	3B	„	R	ASFN 1884, p. 55
72	4B	„	S	BMC 204
73	5A	„	S	Par.
74	5B	„	S	Par.

52. Coh. cites Feuardent: legend-directions are here assumed by analogy.

but with obv. head oak-wreathed: doubtful, and in need of confirmation.

56. Coh. 113 cites an aureus of these types

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
75	5A	LIBERTAS PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. As no. 68	R	Coh. 163
76	5B	"	R	Coh. 164
77	1B	QVADRAGENS REMISSAE, S C (ex.) Arch on r., surmounted by two equestrian statues to l.; three captives, hands tied behind their backs, advance r. below and towards arch, with an officer behind them	S	Par.
78	2B	"	R	ASFN 1884, p. 56
79	3B	"	S	Rollin and Feuardent 7.5.1888 (de Quelen), 873
(Pl. 25) 80	4B	"	S	BMC 205
81	3A	QVADRAGENS REMISSAE, S C (ex.) As no. 77	R	Ox.
82	3A	QVADRAGENS VMA REMISSA, S C (ex.) As no. 77	R	Coh. 166
83	5A	"	R	BM
84	3A	QVADRAGENS VMAE REMISS[ ], S C (ex.) As no. 77	R	Ox. (ex Trau)

## II. GAUL (VIENNA?, NARBO?, and LUGDUNUM)

(a) Aurei and denarii of Vienna(?) and Narbo(?), c. April to late autumn 68

- Obv. legends:
- 1a. SER GALBA IMP
  - 1b. SER GALBA IMP
  - 1c. SER GALBA IMP
  - 1d. SER GALBA IMP
  2. SERV GALBA IMP
  - 3a. SER GALBA IMP AVG
  - 3b. SER GALBA IMP AVG
  - 3c. SER GALBA IMP AVG
  - 4a. SER GALBA IMPERATOR
  - 4b. SER GALBA IMPERATOR
  5. IMP SER GALBA CAESAR AVG
  6. SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG P M TR P

- Obv. types/heads:
- A. Galba, bare-headed, in military dress, riding r., r. brandishing javelin.
  - B. Galba, bare-headed, in military dress, riding l., r. raised.
  - C. Head laur., r.
  - D. Head laur., r., globe at point of bust.
  - E. Bust laur., dr., cuir., r.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.50–7.30 g; denarii c. 3.60–3.30 g. Dies mainly ↑↓ or near, after the 'Horseman' issues, where they are more irregular. Dotted borders.

(i) 'Horseman' issues: obv. 1a, 1b, 1c, 2, and 3a, with obv. A and B (struck at Vienna?)

<i>No.</i>	<i>Denom.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
(Pl. 25) 85	D	1aA	GALLIA Gallia bust, bare-headed, dr., r., hair looped above neck; behind, two javelins; below, round shield; in front, two corn-ears	R2	BMC 206

75, 76, 82. These three coins referenced by Cohen alone need confirmation.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
86	D	1aA	☾HISPANIA Hispania bust, bare-headed, dr., r., hair knotted behind, with adjuncts as in no. 85	R2	BMC 207
87	Au	2A	☾ROMA ☾RENASCENS Roma, helmeted and in military dress, advancing r., r. holding Victory on globe, l. transverse eagle-tipped sceptre	R3	BMC 209
88	D	2A	As no. 87	R2	BMC 210
89	D	1aA	TRES GALLIAE (ex.) Three small female busts, bare-headed, dr., in a row to r., their hair knotted behind; globe at the point of each bust	R2	BMC 211
90	D	3aA	As no. 89	R2	BMC 212
(Pl. 25) 91	D	3aA	As no. 89, but the busts not dr., and without globes	R2	BMC 213
92	D	3aA	As no. 89, with busts dr., but without globes and with corn-ear in front of each bust	R2	Hunter 74
93	D	1aB	☾VIRTVS Virtus bust, helmeted, dr., r.	R2	BMC 215
94	D	1bA	☾VIRTVS Virtus bust, in crested helmet, dr., r.	R2	Par.

(ii) Portrait obverses with legends 1c, 1d, 3b, and 3c, and bust D (struck at Narbo?)\*

95	D	3bD	☾ROMA ☾RENASCENS Roma, helmeted and in military dress, advancing r., r. holding Victory on globe, l. transverse spear	R2	BMC 229
(Pl. 25) 96	D	1cD	☾SALVS GENE ☾HVMANI Female figure, dr., stg. l., r. foot on globe, r. sacrificing out of patera over altar, l. holding upright rudder	R2	BMC 230
97	D	1cD	☾SALVS GENERIS ☾HVMANI As no. 96	R2	BMC 231
98	D	3cD	☾VICTORIA ☾PR Victoria, dr., stg. l. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R2	Hunter 77
(Pl. 25) 99	D	1dD	☾VICTORIA Victoria, naked to waist, stg. facing, head r., inscribing PR on round shield resting on garlanded column	R	BMC 233a
100	D	3bD	As no. 99	R2	Hunter 75
101	D	3cD	As no. 99	R2	Hunter 76
102	D	1dD	☾VIRTVS Virtus, bare-headed, in military dress, stg. l., r. holding Victory on globe, l. parazonium	R2	Coh. 337 (Gosselin coll., 1864)
103	D	1dD	☾VIRTVS As no. 102	R2	BMC 234

(iii) Portrait obverses with legends 4a and 4b, and busts C, D, and E (struck at Narbo?)

104	Au	4aC	☾CONCORDIA ☾PROVINCIAVRVM Concordia, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. cornucopia	R4	Sotheby, 15.6.1894 (Peace), 536
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\* Coh. 40 cites SER GALBA IMP, laur., r., CONCORDIA PROVINCIAVRVM, and Coh. 51 the same obv. with rev. DIVA AVGVSTA: both need confirmation. Coh. 39 with S GALBA IMP and CONCORDIA PROVINCIAVRVM is doubtful.

86. The BM coin shows obv. with the rider's arm thrown back, but the javelin is not visible.

88. Coh. 217 seems to give this coin, but with the anomalous GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG.

93. Possibly the helmet on the BM coin was adorned with a crest, invisible through wear (cf. Mattingly, ad loc.) and through its position on the flan.

96-7. Both with small portrait-heads.

98. The Hunter coin is plated.

100. The Hunter coin is plated.



No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 25) 105	D	4aC	As no. 104	R2	BMC 218
106	D	4aD	As no. 104	R2	Ro.(T.)
107	D	4aE	As no. 104	R2	BMC 221
108	D	4bD	As no. 104	R	BMC 222
109	D	4bD	(GALLIA)HISPANIA Gallia (on l.) and Hispania (on r.) stg. facing each other, clasping r. hands, as no. 15	R2	BMC 228
(Pl. 25) 110	Au	4aC	(VICTORIA)PR Victory, dr., stg. facing, head l., on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R3	BMC 226
111	D	4aC	As no. 110	R2	BMC 227 bis
112	D	4aE	As no. 110	R2	Ro.(T.)
113	D	4aC	(VICTORIA)PR As no. 110	R2	BMC 227
114	D	4bD	(VIRTUS) As no. 102	R2	BMC 235
115	D	4bE	As no. 102	R3	BM
116	D	4aE	As no. 102	R2	Par.

## (iv) Portrait obverses with legends 5 and 6, and bust C (struck at Narbo?)

117	Au	5C	(CONCORDIA)PROVINCIA RVM As no. 104	R3	BMC 216
118	D	5C	As no. 117	R2	Hunter 78
119	Au	6C	As no. 117	R4	Ox.
120	D	6C	As no. 117	R2	Ro.(T.)

## (b) (i) Aurei, denarii, and quinarii of Lugdunum, c. November 68 to 15 January 69

- Obv. legends: 1. (IMP)GALBA  
 2. (IMP)GALBA CAESAR (AVG)PP  
 3. (SER)SVLPICIVS (GALBA  
 4. (SER)GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG(P)M(T)P

- Obv. busts: A. Laur., r.  
 B. Laur., r., globe at point of bust.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.15–7.00 g; denarii c. 3.50–3.25 g; quinarii c. 1.75–1.65 g. Dies seldom adjusted. Dotted borders.

121	Au	2B	(AEQVITAS)(AVG?) Aequitas, dr., stg. l., r. holding scales, l. cornucopiae	R3	BMC 237
122	D	2B	As no. 121	R3	BM
123	Au	3B	(AVG)IMP Female figure, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, leaning on shield	R3	Rollin and Feuadent 7.5.1888 (de Quelen), 862
124	D	3B	As no. 123	R2	BMC 238
125	D	1B	(CONCORDIA)PROVINCIA Concordia, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. cornucopia	R2	BMC 240
126	D	1B	(CONCORDIA)PROVINCIA RVM As no. 125	R2	BMC 239
(Pl. 25) 127	Au	2B	(FORTVNA)AVG Fortuna, dr., stg. l., r. holding rudder, l. cornucopia	R3	BMC 241

109. The BM coin is plated.  
 120. A coin of unusual style: see Mattingly's note \* to BMC 216.  
 123. The rev. figure, by analogy with that of

- no. 129, might be that of Pax. The details of no. 123 are supplied by analogy with those of no. 124.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
128	D	2B	As no. 127	R2	BMC 241a
129	Au	2B	☉PAX ☉AVG Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding caduceus and corn-ears, l. globe	R3	BMC 242
130	D	2B	☉ROMA ☉VICTRIX Roma, helmeted and in military dress, seated l. on cuirass, r. holding Victory, l. resting on parazonium; round shield behind cuirass	R2	BMC 243
131	ÆQ	4A	☉VICTORIA ☉GALBAE AVG Victory, dr., stg. r. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R2	BMC 246
(Pl. 25) 132	ÆQ	4A	☉VICTORIA ☉GALBAE AVG As no. 131	R2	BMC 244

(b) (ii) Sestertii, dupondii, and asses of Lugdunum,  
c. December 68 to 15 January 69

Obv. legends (all ☉): 1. SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG P M TR P P P  
2. SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG PON M TR POT  
3. SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG PON M TR P P P

Obv. heads: A. Laur., r., with globe at point of bust.  
B. Laur., l., with globe at point of bust.

Weight-peaks, sestertii c. 26.00–23.00 g; dupondii, c. 14.00–12.50 g; asses c. 11.00–10.00 g.  
Dies ↑↓. Dotted borders.

*Sestertii* (2 obv. and 3 rev. dies noted)\*

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
133	1A	☉VICTORIAE IMP GALBAE AVG (no S C visible). Victory, dr., stg. r., l. foot on helmet, inscribing SPQR on shield set on cippus	R	Ox. (ex Ryan 2322); ACG 338
134	1A	☉XXXX ☉REMISSA, S—C to l. and r. Triumphal arch surmounted by quadriga r., in which stands Galba crowned by Victory	S	Par.; ACG 339

*Dupondii*†

(Pl. 26) 135	1A	☉FIDES☉PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Fides, dr., stg. half l., r. holding patera, l. cornucopiae	R	BMC 247; ACG 343
136	1A	☉LIBERTAS ☉PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. half l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	R	Par.; ACG 342
137	1A	☉LIBERTAS☉PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. As no. 136	R	Kraay coll.; ACG 341

*Asses*

138	1A	☉[FIDES?]☉PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Female figure, dr., stg. half l., r. extended, l. holding cornucopiae	R	Basel; ACG 349
139	1B	☉LIBERTAS☉PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. As no. 137	R	Ref. missing

\* The reference ACG in this section is to C. M. Kraay, *The Aes Coinage of Galba* (American Numismatic Society's Notes and Monographs, no. 133, New York, 1956).

† Together with asses, 8 obv. and 9 rev. dies noted.

130. Cf. Mattingly ad loc. for the probably

misread Coh. 226.

133. See note in Kraay, ACG p. 105, with reference to NC 1915 and BMCRE p. 353 no. †.

138. Presumably the rev. type is the same as that of no. 135, but owing to wear it is not illustrated by Kraay, ACG.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
140	3A	☾PAX☾AVG, S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., stg. half l., r. sacrificing from patera over lighted altar, l. holding branch and caduceus	R	Par.; ACG 348
141	2A	ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and in military dress, seated l. on cuirass, r. holding Victory, l. resting on parazonium at side; behind her, two shields	R	BMC 248; ACG 347

### III. ROME

#### (a) Aurei and denarii, c. July 68 to January 69

- Obv. legends:\*
1. ☾SER GALBA☾AVG
  - 2a. ☾SER GALBA☾CAESAR AVG
  - 2b. ☾SER GALBA CAESAR AVG
  3. ☾IMP☾GALBA
  - 4a. ☾IMP SER☾GALBA AVG
  - 4b. ☾IMP SER GALBA AVG
  - 5a. ☾IMP SER GALBA CAESAR AVG
  - 5b. ☾IMP SER GAL☾BA CAESAR AVG
  - 5c. ☾IMP SER GALBA CAESAR AVG
  6. ☾IMP SER GALBA CAESAR AVG P M

- Obv. heads:
- A. Bare, r.
  - B. Bare, l.
  - C. Bare, r., cuir.
  - D. Bare, l., cuir.
  - E. Bare, r., cuir., with aegis.
  - F. Bare, l., cuir., with aegis.
  - G. Laur., r.
  - H. Laur., l.
  - J. Laur., r., globe at point of bust.
  - K. Laur., dr. r.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.40–7.00 g; denarii c. 3.40–3.20 g. Dies ↑↓ or near. Dotted borders.

#### (i) With obverse legends 1, 2a, and 2b

<i>No.</i>	<i>Denom.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
142	Au	2aC	☾DIVA☾AVGVSTA Livia, dr., stg. l., r. holding patera, l. vertical sceptre	R3	Par
(Pl. 26) 143	D	2aE	As no. 142	R	BMC 13
144	D	2aG	☾HISPA☾NIA Hispania, dr., advancing l., r. holding poppy and corn-ears, l. round shield and two transverse spears	R3	Ro.(T.)
145	D	1G	IMP (ex.) Gallia, bare-headed and in military dress riding r., r. raised	R	BMC 21
146	Au	2bD	☾SALVS GEN☾HVMANI Female figure, dr., stg. l., r. foot on globe, r. sacrificing from patera over lighted altar, l. holding vertical rudder	R3	Evans coll. (BMC pl. 52, 19)
147	Au	2bF	As no. 146	R3	BMC 38 bis
(Pl. 26) 148	Au	2aE	☾VICTORIA☾P R Victoria, dr., stg. l. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R3	Ox.

\* The occurrence of a legend-break is sometimes difficult to determine, e.g. as between 2a and 2b, or 4a and 4b, or 5a, 5b, and 5c.

## (ii) With obverse legends 3, 4a, and 4b

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
149	D	4bG	☉ CONCORDIA PROVINCIARVM Concordia, dr., stg. l., r. holding poppy and corn-ears, l. cornucopia	R	BMC 1
150	D	4aG	☉ DIVA AVGVSTA As no. 142	R3	Ro.(T.)
151	D	4bA	As no. 150	R2	Coh. 52
152	D	4bG	As no. 150	R	BMC 5
153	D	4bK	As no. 150	R2	Coh. 53
154	D	4bA	☉ GALLIA HISPANIA As no. 15	R2	Rollin and Feuardent 7.5.1888 (de Quelen), 867
155	D	4bG	☉ HISPANIA As no. 144	R	BMC 15
156	D	4bG	IMP (ex.) As no. 145	R2	Coh. 94
157	D	4aG	☉ LIBERTAS P R Libertas, dr., stg. facing, head l., r. holding pileus, l. extended; to l. and r., vertical corn-ears	R2	BMC 24
158	D	3J	☉ LIBERTAS PVBLICA Libertas, dr., stg. facing, head l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	R3	Ro.(T.)
159	D	4aG	☉ LIBERTAS PVBLICA As no. 157	R2	ASFN 1884, p.54
(Pl. 26) 160	D	4bB	☉ ROMA RENASC Roma, helmeted and in military dress, stg. l., r. holding Victory on globe, l. transverse eagle-tipped sceptre	R	BMC 26
161	D	4bG	As no. 160	R2	Par.
162	D	3J	☉ ROMA RENASCEN As no. 160.	R3	Ro.(T.)
163	Au	4aG	S P Q R / O B C S in two lines in oak-wreath	R2	BMC 29
164	Au	4bA	As no. 163	R2	Hunter 3-4
165	Au	4bG	As no. 163	R2	BMC 31
(Pl. 26) 166	D	3G	S P Q R / O B / C S in three lines in oak-wreath	R2	BMC 33
167	D	4aA	As no. 166	R	Hunter 5
168	D	4aG	As no. 166	R	BMC 35
169	Au	4bA	As no. 166	R3	Ro.(T.)
170	D	4bG	As no. 166	R	BMC 34
171	D	4aA	☉ SALVS GEN HVMANI As no. 146	R3	Ro.(T.)
172	D	4aG	As no. 171	R	BMC 39
173	D	4aA	☉ VICTORIA P R As no. 148	R2	Coh. 324
174	D	4aB	As no. 173	R2	Coh. 326
175	D	4aG	As no. 173	R	BMC 48
176	D	3G	VIR—TVS to l. and r. of Virtus stg. facing, r. holding parazonium upwards, l. leaning on vertical spear	R3	Ro.(T.)
177	D	4aA	As no. 176	R2	Par.
178	D	4aG	As no. 176	R2	BMC 51
(Pl. 26) 179	D	4bG	As no. 176	R2	BMC 50

## (iii) With obverse legends 5a, 5b, and 5c

180	D	5aG	☉ CONCORDIA PROVINCIARVM (some times P—R) As no. 149	R2	Ro.(T.)
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153. Confirmation required: obv. legend-disposition here assumed.

154. Confirmation of all details required.

156, 159. Confirmation required.

164. Hunter 4 shows the obv. legend broken

S—ER.

166. Mattingly doubted the authenticity of this coin, the style of which is most unusual.

173-4. Confirmation required.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Denom.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
181	Au	5bG	As no. 180	R3	Sotheby 24.2.1909 (Viry), 21
182	Au	5cH	As no. 180	R3	Coh. 42
183	D	5cH	As no. 180	R2	BMC 2
(Pl. 26) 184	Au	5aG	(DIVA) AVGVSTA As no. 142	R3	BMC 4
185	D	5bH	As no. 184	R3	Ro.(T.)
186	D	5cG	As no. 184	R	BMC 8
187	D	5cH	As no. 184	R	BMC 11
188	Au	5cK	As no. 184	R3	BMC 3
189	D	5cK	As no. 184	R	BMC 6
190	D	5aJ	(HISPA) NIA As no. 155	R2	BMC 17
191	D	5cG	As no. 190	R2	BMC 18
192	Au	5cK	As no. 190	R3	Durkee coll., NY
193	D	5cG	(HISPA) NIA As no. 155	R2	BMC 16
194	Au	5cG	(ROMA) RENASC As no. 160	R3	Ro.(T.)
195	D	5cG	As no. 194	R2	Par.
196	D	5cH	As no. 194	R2	Coh. 204
197	D	5aG	(ROMA) RENASC Roma, helmeted and in military dress, advancing or stg. r., r. hold- ing Victory, l. transverse spear pointing downwards	R3	Ro.(T.)
(Pl. 26) 198	Au	5cG	As no. 197	R3	Durkee coll., NY
199	D	5cG	As no. 197	R2	BMC 25
200	D	5aK	(ROMA) RENASCES As no. 160	R2	BMC 28
201	Au	5cA	As no. 200	R3	Coh. 207
202	Au	5cG	As no. 200	R3	Coh. 205
203	Au	5cK	As no. 200	R3	BMC 27
204	D	5cK	As no. 200	R3	Ro.(T.)
205	D	5aA	(SALVS GEN) HVMANI As no. 146	R3	R/N 1909, pp. 20 ff.
206	Au	5aG	As no. 205	R3	BMC 38
207	D	5aH	As no. 205	R3	Coh. 242
208	Au	5aK	As no. 205	R3	Par.
209	D	5aK	As no. 205	R3	Ro.(T.)
210	D	5bH	As no. 205	R2	BMC 42
211	D	5cG	As no. 205	R	BMC 41
212	Au	5cH	As no. 205	R3	Coh. 233
213	Au	5cK	As no. 205	R3	Hunter 8
214	D	5cK	As no. 205	R2	Hunter 10
215	Au	5cG	(VICTORIA) PR As no. 148	R3	Thomsen coll. (1866)
(Pl. 26) 216	Au	5cK	As no. 215	R3	BMC 46
217	D	5cK	As no. 215	R2	BMC 49
218	D	5aG	VIR — TVS to l. and r. As no. 176	R2	BMC 52
219	D	5bH	As no. 218	R3	Ro.(T.)
220	Au	5cG	As no. 218	R3	Coh. 345
221	D	5cG	As no. 218	R3	Ro.(T.)
222	Au	5cK	As no. 218	R3	Par. (BMC pl. 52, 25)

181. Same obv. die as no. 184; obv. legend broken GALBA — CAESAR.

184. See note on no. 181.

190. The addition of a globe to the bust at Rome is unusual.

196. Confirmation needed.

200. The BM coin (2.24 g) is plated.

201–2. Confirmation needed.

207. Confirmation needed; Hoffmann coll. cited.

212. Confirmation needed.

220. Confirmation needed.

## (iv) With obverse legend 6.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
223	Au	6G	(DIVA)AVGVSTA As no. 142	R3	Coh. 57
224	D	6G	As no. 223	R2	BMC 12
225	Au	6G	(HISPA)NIA As no. 144	R3	BMC 14
226	D	6G	As no. 225	R2	Hunter 12
(Pl. 26) 227	Au	6G	IMP (ex.) As no. 145	R3	BMC 20
228	D	6G	As no. 227	R2	BMC 23
229	D	6G	(ROMA)RENASCES As no. 160	R2	Coh. 208
230	D	6G	(ROMA)RENASCES As no. 198	R2	Ro.(T.)
231	Au	6G	(SALVS GEN)HVMANI As no. 146	R3	Hunter 13
(Pl. 26) 232	D	6G	As no. 231	R2	BMC 45
233	Au	6G	(VICTOR — IA)PR As no. 148	R3	BMC 47
234	D	6G	As no. 233	R2	Ro.(T.)
235	Au	6G	VIR—TVS to l. and r. As no. 176	R3	Ro.(T.)
236	D	6G	As no. 235	R2	Coh. 343

*Note.* Dr Carson has drawn my attention to the denarius cited by Mediobarbus from the Arschof collection published by de Bie in 1615. This has the obverse legend **GALBA IMP CAES AVGP M TR PCOS II**, which would be appropriate for any issues struck in the first two weeks of 69: no description of the obverse bust is given. The reverse is described as 'PIETATI AVGVSTI, Imperator sedens, sinistra globum, dextram portendit supra figuram parvam stantem'; and the reference to *pietas* recalls the reverse types of the late sestertii nos. 483 and 489 (the former not securely authentic). Recognition of Galba's *pietas* in January 69 might allude specially to his impending adoption of Piso.

## (b) Sestertii, dupondii, and asses, c. July 68 to January 69.

Obv. legends (all (Q)):

1. IMP SER GALBA AVG TR P
2. IMP SER GALBA AVGVSTVS
3. IMP SER GALBA CAE AVG TR P
4. IMP SER GALBA CAES AVG TR P
5. IMP SER GALBA CAES AVGP M TR P
6. IMP SER GALBA CAES AVGPON M TR P
7. IMP SER GALBA CAESAR AVGP M TR P
8. IMP SER GALBA CAESAR AVG TR P
9. IMP SER SVLP GALBA CAES AVG TR P
10. IMP SER SVLP GALBA CAES AVG TR P
11. IMP SER SVLPIC GALBA CAES AVG TR P
12. IMP SER SVLPICIVS GALBA CAESAR AVG
13. SER GALBA IMP AVG
14. SER GALBA IMP AVGVSTVS
15. SER GALBA IMP CAES AVG
16. SER GALBA IMP CAES AVG TR P
17. SER GALBA IMP CAES AVGP M TR P
18. SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG TR P
19. SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVGP M TR P
20. SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVGP M TR PPP
21. SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVGPOM A TR P
22. SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVGPONMA TR P

223. Confirmation needed.

233. Mattingly, in *BMCRE* p. 315, note \*, recorded this type with obv. head K (otherwise lacking with obv. legend 6) as being in Gneccchi.

Rome (T.) has obv. G.

235. Portrait like that of Vespasian.

236. Confirmation needed.

Obv. legends (all (Q) (*cont.*):

23. SER GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG PONT MAX TR P
24. SER SVLPI GALBA IMP CAE AVG P M TR P
25. SER SVLPI GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG TR P
26. SER SVLPI GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG P M TR P
27. SER SVLPIC GALBA IMP CAESAR AVG P M TR P

- Obv. heads:
- Aa. Bare, r.
  - Ab. Bare, r., with globe at point of bust.
  - B. Bare, dr., r.
  - Ca. Laur., r.
  - Cb. Oak-wreathed, r.
  - D. Laur., r., with globe at point of bust.
  - E. Laur., r., wearing aegis.
  - Fa. Laur., dr., r.
  - Fb. Oak-wreathed, dr., r.
  - Ga. Laur., l.
  - Gb. Oak-wreathed, l.
  - Ha. Laur., dr., l.
  - Hb. Oak-wreathed, dr., l.

Weight-peaks, sestertii c. 27.50–25.00 g; (?)dupondii c. 14.25–12.50 g; asses c. 11.50–10.00 g. Dies ↑↓. Dotted borders.

*Group I.\** Sestertii, dupondii, and asses, c. June–August 68, following Galba's recognition as *princeps* by the Senate after the death of Nero on 9 June. Obverse legends 1, 2, 12, 15, and 16; no P M. (34 obverse and 67 reverse dies noted for sestertii.)

### Sestertii

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
237	1Fa	(LIBERTAS) PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	S	BMC 73; ACG 249
238	1Cb	ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and dr., seated l. on cuirass, r. holding vertical spear, l. resting on shield	C	Ox.; ACG 218
(Pl. 27) 239	1Ha	As no. 238	S	BMC 95; ACG 293
240	15Fa	As no. 238	C	BMC 88; ACG 258
241	16Fa	As no. 238	C	BMC 89; ACG 243
242	1Cb	As no. 238, but with one greave lying on r.	S	BMC 92; ACG 219
243	1Fa	As no. 242	R	Par.; ACG 288
244	16Ca	As no. 238, but with two greaves and bow lying on r.	S	Cam.; ACG 251

\* The abbreviation *ACG* hereafter indicates C. M. Kraay, *The Aes Coinage of Galba* (American Numismatic Society's Notes and Monographs no. 133, New York, 1956).

AVG was later judged to be false (cf. Kraay *ACG* p. 98), though possibly indicating a genuine original.

244. *ACG* 253 notes that on BMC 96 the spear has been altered to a caduceus by tooling.

237. *ACG* 287, with rev. legend LIBERT

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
245	1Fa	As no. 238, but the shield rests on a helmet	R	BMC 94; ACG 205
246	1Ha	As no. 245	R	Par.; ACG 290
247	16Fb	As no. 245	S	Par.; ACG 269
248	1Fa	As no. 238, but with Victory on shield	S	BMC 93; ACG 206
249	1Fa	As no. 238, but with wolf and twins on shield; one greave lying on r.	R	Vi.; ACG 204
250	1Fb	S—C to l. and r. Victory stg. facing, head l., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R	Ox.; ACG 203
251	1Cb	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting r., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R	BMC 102; ACG 220
252	1Hb	As no. 251	R	BMC 103; ACG 276
253	16Fb	As no. 251	R	Par.; ACG 271
254	1Cb	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting or stepping l., r. holding palladium, l. palm	S	Par.; ACG 221
255	1Fb	As no. 254	S	Kraay; ACG 209
256	15Fa	As no. 254	R	Glendining 16.11.1950 (Hall), 1126; ACG 261
257	16Fa	As no. 254	S	BMC 105; ACG 242
258	16Fb	As no. 254	R	Vi.; ACG 270
259	1Aa	S P Q R / OB / CIV SER in three lines in oak-wreath	S	Ox.; ACG 294
260	1B	"	S	Magnaguti ii, 557; ACG 301
261	1Cb	"	C	Ox.; ACG 215
262	1Fa	"	C	BMC 117; ACG 246
(Pl. 27) 263	1Fb	"	C	BMC 116; ACG 212
264	1Hb	"	S	ACG 293
265	2Fb	"	R	BMC 118; ACG 236
266	12Ca	"	R	BMC 109
267	15Fa	"	S	Ox.; ACG 230
268	15Ga	"	R	BMC 110; ACG 233
269	15Ha	"	S	Ox.; ACG 278
270	16Ca	"	S	BMC 111; ACG 241
271	16Fa	"	C	BMC 112; ACG 237
272	16Fb	"	S	Vi.; ACG 274

250. Kraay notes that this coin is much tooled.

254. The pose of Victory, and the placing of her feet, vary from die to die.

271. One specimen of this issue (Ox.; ACG 212) has a reverse struck from a die used later for Vitellius: see Kraay, ACG p. 23.



*Dupondii*

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
273	1Fa	☾FELICITAS☾AVGVST, S—C to l. and r. Felicitas, dr., stg. l., r. holding patera, l. cornucopia and leaning on cippus	R	Par.
274	16Ca	"	R	Coh. 63
275	1Ca	☾LIBERTAS☾PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	S	BMC 121
276	1Fa	"	S	BMC 122
277	1Ca	☾PAX☾AVGVST, S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. cornucopia	S	Par.
278	15Ca	"	R	RIN 1907, p. 172
279	15Fa	"	R	Glendining 16.11.1950 (Hall), 1134
280	16Fa	"	S	BMC 123
281	1Ca	☾PAX☾AVGVST, S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. caduceus	R	Coh. 151
282	1Fa	"	S	BMC 130
283	16Ca	"	S	BMC 125
(Pl. 27) 284	16Fa	"	S	BMC 127
285	16Fa	☾PAX☾AVGVST, S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding caduceus, l. cornucopia and leaning on cippus	R	Par.
286	1Ca	S P Q R / O B / C I V S E R in three lines in oak-wreath	S	BMC 134
287	1Fa	"	C	BMC 135
288	1Ga	"	R	Coh. 299
289	15Ga	"	R	Hunter 37
290	16Fa	"	S	Par.

*Asses*

291	1Ca	☾CERES☾AVGVSTA, S C (ex.) Ceres, dr., seated l., r. holding two corn-ears, l. caduceus	R	Coh. 17
292	16Ca	As above, but r. holds corn-ear and poppy	R	Coh. 15
293	16Fa	☾LIB☾AVG, S — C to l. and r. Libertas, dr. stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	R	Coh. 99
294	16Ca	☾LIBERT☾AVG, S—C to l. and r. As no. 293	S	BMC 142
295	16Ca	☾LIBERTAS☾AVGVST, S—C to l. and r. As no. 293	R	Hunter (Coats) 3789
296	1Ga	☾LIBERTAS☾AVGVST, S — C to l. and r. As no. 293	R	ASFN 1888, p. 55
297	1Aa	S—C to l. and r. of aquila l. on thunderbolt between two standards, all resting on bar	R	Coh. 275
298	1Ca	"	R	Hunter 45
299	1Fa	"	R	ASFN 1884, p. 58
300	15Fa	"	R	Hunter 47
301	15Ga	"	R	Coh. 270
302	16Ca	"	C	BMC 150

280. Rev. legend divided PA—X.

281. Confirmation required.

292–3, 297. Confirmation needed, especially of Coh. 15.

301. Confirmation needed. BMC 149 is of rough style, with obv. SER GABA [sic] ---; 'possibly restruck' according to Mattingly.

	No.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
	303	1Ca	S—C low to l. and r. of aquila on facing prow between two standards on prows to l. and r.; all three prows ornamented with wreaths	R	Hunter 46
Pl. 27, rev)	304	16Ca	"	S	BMC 156
	305	15Ga	VESTA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Vesta, dr., seated l. on low chair, r. holding patera, l. palladium	R	Coh. 314
	306	16Ca	"	S	BMC 157
	307	16Fa	"	S	BMC 158
	308	16Ca	VESTA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. As no. 305, but r. holding palladium, l. transverse sceptre	S	BMC 159

*Group II.* Sestertii, dupondii, and asses, *c.* late summer 68, shortly before (or at the time of) Galba's arrival in Rome. Obverse legends 9, 10, 11, and 12; no P M. (24 obverse and 32 reverse dies noted for sestertii.)

### *Sestertii*

309	9Fa	LIBERTAS PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod.	C	BMC 71; ACG 328
310	11Fa	"	C	Par.; ACG 312
311	11Fb	ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and dr., seated l. on cuirass, r. holding vertical spear, l. resting on shield	R	BMC 90; ACG 325
312	12Fa	As no. 311, but with one greave lying on r.	S	BMC 91; ACG 324
313	9Fa	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting r., r. holding wreath, l. palm	S	BMC 100; ACG 304
314	11Fa	"	R	Vi.; ACG 317
315	9Fa	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting l., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R	Vi.; ACG 335
316	9Fa	S—C RO—MA to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and in military dress, stg. half-left, r. holding Victory on globe, l. vertical spear	R	Par.; ACG 319
317	9Fa	SPQR/OB/CIV SER in three lines in oak-wreath	R	Vi.; ACG 334

### *Dupondii*

	318	11Ca	LIBERTAS PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	R	RIN 1892, p. 14
	319	11Fa	PAX AVG, S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., seated l., r. holding branch, l. caduceus	R	RIN 1889, p. 436
	320	9Fa	PAX AVGVST, S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. caduceus	S	BMC 128
	321	9Ga	"	R	BM
(Pl. 27)	322	11Ha	PAX AVGVSTA, S—C to l. and r. As no. 320	S	BMC 133
	323	9Fa	PAX AVGVSTA, S—C to l. and r. As no. 320, but the caduceus is winged	R	BMC 132

306. Obv. legend divided IMP—CAES.

309. One specimen of this issue (Ox.; ACG 316) reads LIBERAS (*sic*).

*Asses*

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
324	9Ca	☾CERE—S☾AVGVSTA, S C (ex.) Ceres, dr., seated l., r. holding two corn-ears, l. caduceus	S	BMC 141
325	10 Ga	„	R	Coh. 19
326	11Ca	„	R	Coh. 20
327	11Fa	☾LIBERTAS☾AVGVST, S — C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	R	ASFN 1884,
328	9Aa	☾LIBERTAS☾PVBICA, S — C to l. and r. As no. 327	R	Coh. 128
329	9Ca	S — C to l. and r. of aquila l. on thunderbolt between two standards, all resting on bar	S	BMC 152

*Group III.* Sestertii, dupondii, and asses, at the time of (or soon after) Galba's arrival in Rome. Obverse legends 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 (legends 5–7 with P M). (19 obverse dies—5 with P M—and 30 reverse dies noted for sestertii.)

*Sestertii*

	331	3Cb	AVGVSTA (ex.), S — C to l. and r. Female figure (Livia), dr., seated l. on stool, r. holding patera, l. vertical sceptre	R	Par.; ACG 111
	332	3Fb	„	S	Vi.; ACG 78
	333	3Ga	„	R	Vi.; ACG 105
(Pl. 27, rev.)	334	3Gb	„	R	BMC 54; ACG 100
	335	4Ca	„	S	Par.; ACG 83
	336	4Fa	„	S	Cam. (CCC); ACG 97
	337	6Ca	„	R	Vi.; ACG 94
	338	8Ca	„	R	Trade; ACG 118
	339	3Ga	☾CO—NCORD (sometimes unbroken), ☾AVG, S — C to l. and r. Concordia, dr., seated l. on throne, r. holding olive-branch, l. transverse sceptre	S	Par.; ACG 102
(Pl. 27)	340	3Gb	„	R	BMC 57; ACG 99
	341	4Ca	„	C	BMC 58; ACG 81
	342	4Fa	„	S	BMC 60; ACG 95
	343	6Ca	„	R	Par.; ACG 91
	344	8Ca	„	S	BMC 61; ACG 88
	345	8Fa	„	R	Par.; ACG 107
	346	3Fb	☾LIBERTAS☾PVBICA, S — C to l. and r. As no. 327	R	Par.; ACG 77
	347	4Ca	„	R	Par.; ACG 85
	348	6Ca	„	R	Cam.; ACG 93
	349	8Ca	„	C	BMC 75; ACG 115

324. The object in Ceres' l. hand is uncertain, and could be a torch: see Coh. 18 for caduceus.

325–6, 328. Confirmation needed.

331. Occasionally a throne, with back, is shown instead of a stool.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
350	3Fb	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting or stepping l., r. holding palladium, l. palm	R	BMC 106; ACG 76
351	4Ca	„	S	BM; ACG 80
352	4Fa	„	S	BMC 107; ACG 71
353	5Fa	„	R	Par.; ACG 113
354	8Ca	„	R	Santamaria 16.1.1924, 154; ACG 90
355	4Fa	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting r., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R	Par.; ACG 75
356	8Ca	„	R	Vi.; ACG 114
357	7Ca	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting l., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R	Vi.; ACG 120
358	4Fa	S—C RO—MA to l. and r. As no. 316	C	Vi.; ACG 96
359	5Fa	„	S	BMC 81; ACG 98
360	6Ca	„	R	Cam.; ACG 92

*Dupondii*

361	4Ca	☿FELICITAS ☿AVGVST, S—C to l. and r. Felicitas, dr., stg. l., r. holding patera, l. cornucopiae and leaning on cippus	R	Par.
362	4Ga	„	R	Par.
363	3Ca	☿LIBERTAS ☿PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	R	RIN 1896, p. 158
364	3Ga	„	R	ASFN 1884, p. 55
365	4Aa	„	S	Par.
366	5Aa	„	R	Hunter 44
367	7Aa	„	R	RIN 1910, p. 450
368	3Ca	☿PAX ☿AVGVST, S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. cornucopiae	S	Par.
369	4Ga	„	R	Windisch- Grätz coll. 724
370	4Ca	☿PA—X AV ☿GVST, S—C to l. and r. As no. 368	S	BMC 124
371	3Ca	☿PAX ☿AVGVST, S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding caduceus, l. cornucopiae and leaning on cippus	S	Par.

*Asses*

372	4Aa	☿LIBERTAS ☿PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	S	BMC 146
373	8Aa	„	S	Par.
374	4Aa	☿VES ☿TA, S—C to l. and r. Vesta, dr., seated l. on low chair, r. holding palladium, l. transverse sceptre	R	Hunter 57
375	4Aa	VESTA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. As no. 374	R	Coh. 309
376	8Aa	„	S	BMC 160

365. A worn coin of 11.40 g, probably therefore a dupondius.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
377	4Ca	As no. 374, but with r. holding patera, l. palladium	R	Ref. missing
378	5Ca	"	S	BM
379	8Aa	"	R	RIN 1892, p. 15

*Group IV.* Sestertii, dupondii, and asses, *c.* October 68. Obverse legends 18–23, all except 18 with P M. (36 obverse dies—21 without P M—and 51 reverse dies noted for sestertii.)

### *Sestertii*

	380	18Ca	☾CONCORD☿AVG, S C (ex.) Concordia, dr., seated l. on low-backed chair, r. holding branch, l. supporting transverse sceptre	S	Ox.; ACG 121
	381	18Ga	"	C	BMC 55; ACG 139
	382	19Ca	"	R	Ox.; ACG 175
	383	19Ga	"	R	Par.; ACG 176
	384	22Ca	"	R	BMC 56; ACG 162
	385	18Ca	EX S C/OB/CIVES/SERVATOS in four lines in oak-wreath	R	BMC 63; ACG 167
	386	18Ga	"	R	BMC 64; ACG 132
	387	18Ca	☾LIBERTAS☿PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	C	Cam.; ACG 136
	388	18Fa	"	S	BMC 70; ACG 183
	389	18Ga	"	S	Ox.; ACG 146
	390	21Ca	"	R	Zur.; ACG 197
	391	23Ca	"	R	Mun.; ACG 128
	392	18Ca	S—C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and in military dress, stg. l., r. holding Victory, l. vertical spear	R	BMC 79; ACG 150
	393	18Fa	"	S	BMC 80; ACG 138
	394	18Ga	"	R	Par.; ACG 170
(Pl. 28)	395	18Ca	☾SALVS☿AVGVSTA, S C (ex.) Salus, dr., seated l. on high-backed chair, l. holding patera, r. vertical sceptre	R	BMC 119; ACG 149
	396	19Ga	"	R	Par.; ACG 194
	397	18Ca	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting r., r. holding wreath, l. palm	S	BMC 98; ACG 159
	398	18Fa	"	R	Par.; ACG 142
	399	18Ga	"	R	BMC 99; ACG 130

393. Reverse die used afterwards for Vespasian; cf. Kraay, *ACG* p. 20 with n. 28 thereto.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
400	19Ga	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting r., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R	Par.; ACG 195
401	22Ca	„	R	Par.; ACG 160
402	18Ca	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting l., r. holding wreath, l. palm	S	Par.; ACG 134
403	18Fa	„	R	BMC 108; ACG 137
404	18Ca	S P Q R / O—B / CIV SER in three lines in oak-wreath	S	Ox.; ACG 155
405	18Fa	„	C	Ox.; ACG 152
406	18Ga	„	R	Ox.; ACG 131
407	18Ca	S P Q R / O—B / CIVES / SERVATOS in four lines in oak-wreath	R	Par.; ACG 158
408	18Ga	„	R	Kraay coll.; ACG 129
409	19Ca	„	R	Glendining 22.1.1952, (Ryan), 2330; ACG 202
410	23Ca	„	R	Ox.; ACG 127

*Dupondii*

411	18Ca	☾ FELICITAS ☾ PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Felicitas, dr., stg. l., r. holding caduceus, l. cornucopia	S	BMC 120
412	18Fa	„	R	Hunter 38
413	18Ca	☾ PAX ☾ AVGVST, S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. caduceus	S	Par.
414	19Ca	As above, but l. holding cornucopia	R	BM
415	18Fa	☾ PAX ☾ AVGVSTA, S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. winged caduceus	S	BMC 131
416	18Ca	S P Q R / OB / CIV / SER in four lines in oak-wreath	R	BM
417	118Fa	S P Q R / O—B / CIVES / SERVAT in four lines in oak-wreath	S	BMC 137
418	23Fa	„	S	BMC 138
419	18Fa	S P Q R / O—B / CIVES / SERVATOS in four lines in oak-wreath	S	BMC 139

*Asses*

(Pl. 28)	420	18Ca	☾ CERES ☾ AVGVSTA, S C (ex.) Ceres, dr., seated l., r. holding two corn-ears, l. torch	S	BMC 140
	421	18Ga	„	R	BM
		21Ca	„	R	Hunter 61
	422	18Ca	☾ LIB ☾ AVG, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	R	Coh. 98
	423	18Ca	☾ LIBERTAS ☾ PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. As no. 422	S	BMC 143
	424	18Ga	„	R	Coh. 111
	425	19Aa	„	S	BMC 148

422, 424. Confirmation needed.

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
426	20Ca	(LIBERTAS) PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. As no. 422	S	BM
427	21Ca	„	R	Coh. 116
428	18Ca	S—C to l. and r. of aquila l. on thunderbolt between two standards, all resting on bar	C	BMC 153
429	18Ga	„	R	Hunter 52
430	21Ca	„	R	ASFN 1884, p. 58
431	22Ca	„	R	Coh. 274

*Group V. Sestertii and asses, c. November 68. Obverse legends 13, 14, 16 (predominant), and 17 (with P M). (26 obverse dies—24 without P M—and 44 reverse dies noted for sestertii.)*

*Sestertii*

432	14Ca	AVGVSTA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Livia, dr., seated l. on stool, r. holding patera, l. vertical sceptre	R	Par.; ACG 46
433	13Ca	AVGVSTA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. As no. 432 R—XL	R	R/N 1891, pl. 16a, 2; ACG 36
434	16Ca	EX S C/OB/CIVES/SER in four lines in oak-wreath	S	BMC 62; ACG 33
435	17Ca	„	R	Magnaguti ii, 558; ACG 48
436	16Ca	(LIBERT) AVG, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	C	Vi.; ACG 29
437	16D	„	R	BMC 65; ACG 17
438	16Ca	(LIBERT) AVG, S—C to l. and r. As no. 436 R—XL	R	Ox.; ACG 30
439	16D	„	R	BMC 66; ACG 16
440	16Fa	„	R	Niggeler; ACG 63
441	16Ca	(LIBERTAS) AVGVST, S—C to l. and r. As no. 436 R—XL	R	Glendining 22.1.1952 (Ryan), 2315; ACG 6
442	16Ca	(LIBERTAS) AVGVSTA, S—C to l. and r. As no. 436	R	Glendining 16.11.1950 (Hall), 1118; ACG 40
443	17Ca	„	R	Par.; ACG 47
444	16Ca	PAX AVG (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., seated l. on low-backed chair, r. holding olive-branch, l. transverse sceptre	R	Par.; ACG 28
445	16Ca	PAX AVGVST (ex.), S—C to l. and r. As no. 444	R	BMC 76; ACG 9

427, 431. Confirmation needed.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
446	16Ca	ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and in military dress, seated l. on cuirass amid pile of arms, r. holding vertical spear, l. parazonium	S	Vi.; ACG 23
447	16Fa	„	R	BMC 97; ACG 25
448	16Ca	ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and dr., seated l. on cuirass, r. holding vertical spear, l. resting on shield; two greaves to r.	S	BMC 87; ACG 1
449	16Ca	As no. 448, but with smaller shield and no greaves	R	Kraay coll.; ACG 43
450	16Ca	ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and in military dress, stg. l., r. holding branch, l. eagle-tipped sceptre; l. arm rests on trophy; shield at feet	S	BMC 85; ACG 3
451	16Ca	ROMA, S—C to l. and r. As no. 450, but Roma holds Victory on globe in r.	S	BMC 83; ACG 14
452	16Ca	ROMA, S—C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and in military dress, stg. l., r. holding Victory on globe, l. vertical spear	R	Vi.; ACG 65
453	17Ca	„	R	BMC 78; ACG 45
454	16Ca	S P Q R / OB / CIV SER in three lines in oak-wreath	C	BM; ACG 5
455	16D	„	R	Ox.; ACG 18
456	16Ca	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting or stepping l., r. holding palladium, l. palm	S	BMC 104; ACG 52
457	16D	„	R	Glendining 16.11.1950 (Hall), 1124; ACG 20
458	16Ca	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting or stepping r., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R	Par.; ACG 10

*Asses*

459	13D	LIBERTAS PVBLICA, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	R	BM
460	14Ga	„	R	BM
461	17Aa	„	S	BMC 147

*Group VI. Sestertii and Æ2, c. December 68.**Sestertii*

Obverse legends 24 and (predominantly) 25 and 26 (legend 25 without PM). (11 obverse and 26 reverse dies noted.)

462	25Ca	ADLOCVTIO (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Galba, bare-headed and in military dress, stg. r. on low platform with officer behind him; facing him below, two soldiers, one with shield and standard, one with shield and spear, with a horse visible between them; behind these, two soldiers	R	Glendining 16.11.1950 (Hall), 1111; ACG 369
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459. Of two examples in BM, one shows the obv. legend more in an upper arc; the other shows it normally disposed.

460. This BM coin shows a globe at the point of the bust, a feature which, like the obverse legend itself, is markedly anomalous.



<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
462 ( <i>cont.</i> )		stg. r., carrying vexillum and two spears respectively, with aquila in front of them		
463	26D	"	R	Vi.; ACG 365
464	26E	"	S	Ox.; ACG 378
465	26Ha	"	R	Glendining 22.1.1952 (Ryan), 2306; ACG 356
(Pl. 28, rev.) 466	25Ca	ADLOCVTIO SC (ex.) As no. 462.	R	BMC 249; ACG 370
467	25Fa	"	S	Par.; ACG 361
468	26Ha	"	R	Sambon- Canessa 18.11.1907 (Martinetti), 1660; ACG 352
469	25Ca	Q HISPANIA — CLVNIA — SVL, S C (ex.) Galba, bare-headed and in military dress, seated l. on curule chair, l. holding parazonium, r. extended to dr. female figure stg. r., r. extending palladium, l. holding cornucopia	R	Naville xii, 2785; ACG 371
470	25Fa	"	R	Par.; ACG 363
471	26D	"	R	Vi.; ACG 366
472	26E	"	S	BMC 252; ACG 375
(Pl. 28) 473	26Ha	"	R	BMC 254; ACG 351
474	24Fa	Q HONOS — ET — VIRTVS, S C (ex.) Honos, bare to waist, stg. r., r. holding long vertical sceptre, l. cornucopiae, and facing Virtus, helmeted and in military dress, stg. l., r. holding parazonium, l. vertical spear, r. foot on boar's head (?)	R	BMC 255; ACG 357
(Pl. 28, rev.) 475	25Fa	"	S	BMC 256; ACG 359
476	26E	"	R	Ratto (Milan) 27.4.1911, 690; ACG 381
477	26Fa	"	R	Vi.; ACG 383
478	26Ha	"	R	BMC 257; ACG 350
(Pl. 28, rev.) 479	26E	Q LIBERTAS Q RESTITVTA, S C (ex.) Galba, bare-headed and togate, stg. l., with l. raising dr. figure of Libertas kneeling r.; between and beyond them, Roma, helmeted and in military dress, stg. r., shield on l. arm	S	BMC 258; ACG 377
480	26Ha	"	R	RIN 1892, pl. 1, 3; ACG 353

474. Kraay, ACG p. 41, gives good reason for doubting the 'boar's head' of Mattingly, preferring either 'the remains of a cuirass' or 'a helmet'.

475. Reverse die afterwards used for Vitellius.

477. Reverse die afterwards used for Vitellius.

478. Two specimens, Paris and Glendining 22.1.1952 (Ryan), 2313, from dies both afterwards used for Vitellius, show rev. with TE in error for ET.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
481	25Fa	☾MARS ☽VICTOR, S—C to l. and r. Mars, helmeted, stg. facing, head r., r. holding spear, l. trophy	S	Glendining 22.1.1952 (Ryan), 2316; ACG 358
482	26E		R	Vi.; ACG 376
483	25Ca	☿PIE ☽TAS AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r. Pietas, dr. and veiled, stg. facing, head l., l. on breast, r. raised above altar decorated with relief of Aeneas carrying Anchises and leading Iulus; behind altar, (?) forepart of bull	R	Par. (worn, pierced and gilded); ACG 385
484	26E	ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted, seated l. on pile of arms (cuirass, shield), r. holding palladium, l. vertical spear	R	BM (ex Naville viii, 677); ACG 380
485	26Fa	☾ROMA RE—STI, S—C to l. and r. Galba, bare-headed and in military dress, stg. l., l. leaning on vertical spear, r. raising Roma, helmeted and with shield and parazonium, kneeling and holding out child	S	Cam.; ACG 384
486	25Fa	S—C to l. and r. Aesculapius, naked, stg. facing, l. leaning on short staff round which serpent coils	R	Glendining 16.11.1950 (Hall), 1128; ACG 360
(Pl. 28) 487	26E	„	R	BMC 260; ACG 373
488	26Ha	„	R	Par.; ACG 354
(Pl. 29) 489	26D	☾SENATVS—PIETATI—AVGVSTI, S C (ex.) Elderly togate man (the Senate) stg. l., l. holding branch, r. placing wreath on head of Galba stg. facing in military dress, r. holding Victory, l. branch	S	Ox.; ACG 364
490	26D	☾VICTORIA IMP—ERI ROMANI, S C (ex.) Victory alighting or stepping l., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R	Par.; ACG 368

### Asses

Obverse legends 4, 25, and (predominant) 26, together with the rare 27, the last two with P M. (14 obverse and 22 reverse dies recorded.)

491	4Ca	☾AEQV ☽ITAS, S—C low to l. and r. Aequitas, dr., stg. r., r. holding scales, l. vertical sceptre	R	Glendining 22.1.1952 (Ryan), 2724; ACG 415
492	25Ca	„	R	Par.; ACG 408
493	26B	☾AEQVITAS ☽AVGVSTI, S—C low to l. and r. Aequitas, dr., stg. half-left, r. holding scales, l. vertical sceptre	R	Par.; ACG 414
494	26Ca	„	R	BM; ACG 387
495	27Ca	„	R	BM

483. The only known specimen, both dies being unique; but in all probability authentic, the obv. showing correct style and the rev. showing a degree of conceptual elaboration

which, wholly suitable for this Group, would seem to be beyond a forger's powers of imagination.

<i>No.</i>	<i>Obv.</i>	<i>Rev.</i>	<i>Frequ.</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
496	25Ca	(PAXS) AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r. Pax, dr., stg. half-left, l. holding cornucopia, r. torch with which she sets fire to heap of arms on ground	R	Basel; ACG 409
497	26Ab	„	R	Vi.; ACG 416
498	26Ca	„	S	BMC 261; ACG 386
499	26D	PROVIDENT (below), S—C to l. and r. Altar-enclosure with double panelled door; uncertain ornaments on top	S	Ox.; ACG 397
500	25Ca	(SALVS) AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r. Salus, dr., stg. r., legs crossed, leaning on column and feeding snake in her arms	R	Par.; ACG 411
501	26B	„	R	Ox.; ACG 405
502	26Ca	„	R	Par.; ACG 410
503	26Fa	„	R	Vi.; ACG 407
(Pl. 29) 504	26B	(Q) SECVRITAS PROMANI, S—C to l. and r. Securitas, dr., seated l. on high-backed throne, r. on head, l. on arm of throne; before her, torch resting against lighted altar	R	BMC 266; ACG 402
505	26D	„	R	ACG 399
506	26D	As above, but with S C in ex.	R	Par.; ACG 400
507	26B	S—C to l. and r. Aquila between two standards, each set on ship's prow	R	Par.; ACG 394
508	26Ca	„	R	Glendining 16.11.1950 (Hall), 1135; ACG 388
509	26D	„	S	Par.; ACG 389
510	25Ca	S—C to l. and r. Victory alighting or stepping l., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R	Glendining 22.1.1952 (Ryan), 2727; ACG 412
511	26Ab	„	R	Glendining 22.1.1952 (Ryan), 2727; ACG 401
512	26B	„	R	Vi.; ACG 393
513	26D	„	R	Vi.; ACG 391
(Pl. 29) 514	26Fa	„	S	BMC 263; ACG 406

499. The reverse type is revived from one of Tiberius for Divus Augustus; see above, p. 99, nos. 80f. It here suggests legitimist succession.

504. Reverse die afterwards used for Vespasian.

505. Struck in orichalcum. Reverse die

afterwards used for Vespasian.

506. Struck in orichalcum.

507. Reverse die afterwards used for Vespasian.

509. Reverse die afterwards used for Vespasian.

## IV. AFRICA (CARTHAGE?)

Denarii, probably c. October 68 to January 69

- Obv. legends: 1.  $\odot$ SER GALBAE HISPANIA  
 2.  $\odot$ SER GALBA (or B—A)  $\odot$ IMP AVG  
 3.  $\odot$ SER SVLPICI GALBAE IMP A  
 4.  $\odot$ SER SVLPIVS [sic] GALBA IMP AVG, S C below  
 5.  $\odot$ SER SVLPICIVS GALBA IMP AVG

- Obv. heads: A. Hispania bust, laur., dr., r.  
 B. Galba, bare, r.  
 C. Galba, laur., r., globe at point of bust.

Weight: irregular between nearly 4.00 and nearly 3.00 g. Dies  $\uparrow\downarrow$  or  $\uparrow\uparrow$ . Dotted borders.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 29) 515	D	4B	$\odot$ HISPANIA, S—C to l. and r. Hispania bust, laur., dr., r., hair looped above neck; behind, two javelins; below, round shield; in front, two corn-ears	R3	Par. (found in Algiers); cf. BMC pl. 55, 12
516	D	1A	S P Q R in the angles of two spears lying under round shield	R3	Rollin and Feuardent 2.5.1898 (Hoffmann), 1352
(Pl. 29) 517	D	3A	"	R2	BMC 268
518	D	5A	"	R2	BMC 267
519	D	2C	$\odot$ VICTORIA $\odot$ P R, S—C to l. and r. Victory stg. facing, head l., on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R2	BMC 272
520	D	2C	$\odot$ VICTO—RIA (or C—T) P R, S—C to l. and r. As no. 519	R	BMC 269–70
521	D	2C	$\odot$ VIR $\odot$ T—VS, S—C to l. and r. Virtus, helmeted and in military dress, stg. l., r. holding Victory on globe, l. parazonium	R3	Berl. (BMC pl. 55, 15)

516. Confirmation required.

# OTHO

The coinage of Otho fell within the short span of three months. On 15 January 69 Galba was murdered, and Otho, after a previously concerted policy of intrigue and bribery, was instantly swept to power by the will of the praetorians and on a tide of popular acclaim. His own death by suicide, after the defeat of his troops at the battle of Bedriacum, took place on the morning of 17 April.<sup>1</sup> His coinage is remarkable in that it included no *aes*:<sup>2</sup> the flood of *aes* produced for Nero and Galba was doubtless amply sufficient. Otho's need, however, was for gold and silver, with which to pay the armed forces loyal to him; and there are clear points of interest in these aurei and denarii.

There is no reason to suppose that Otho's coinage was struck anywhere except at Rome. Although he had considerable support in certain provinces (notably Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Moesia), Spain and Gaul quickly fell away from him, and the legions of the eastern provinces supported his cause only at the bidding of Vespasian and Mucianus, who were soon to oppose Vitellius on their own account.<sup>3</sup> Otho's base of power was to all intents and purposes restricted to Italy, or rather to Rome itself, where the loyalty of the praetorians was his major support.<sup>4</sup> It was from Rome, naturally, that his coinage of gold and silver was produced.

Aurei show a very slight diminution of the 'reformed' Neronian standard (where the peak lay c. 7.40–7.25 g), and developed a peak c. 7.30–7.15 g. Denarii continued Nero's 'reformed' peak, c. 3.50–3.25 g. One might reasonably assume that the need for gold coinage in this period of naked civil war, for salaries, rewards, and bribes, was greater than that for silver. Not that the coinage of Otho was at all profuse (even given its short duration) in either metal. It was all very limited in output. However, there were a good number of *officinae* at work, if the principle of attributing substantive types to individual *officinae* is here again to be followed.

Otho's coinage as a whole is divided into two main sections, that without and that with the title *Pont Max* (conferred on 9 March). Coins with the *Pont Max* title all bear the shorter obverse legend *Imp Otho Caesar Aug Tr P*. This shorter obverse legend (plainly the final form of the imperial title) is found together with the longer *Imp M Otho Caesar Aug Tr P* on the rest of the coinage, and it is reasonable to conclude that these earlier issues (before 9 March) began with the longer legend, changing to the shorter not long before 9 March, after which the shorter was constant.

The *Imp M* issues comprise four main types, *Ceres*, *Pax Orbis Terrarum*, *Securitas P R*, and *Victoria Othonis*. Of these, the last is a normal rallying cry, of however anticipatory a nature. *Ceres* and *Securitas P R* are designed to

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 21 ff. and 41–6; ii. 49.

a few are more sophisticated.

<sup>2</sup> Most instances of *aes* coins purporting to be issues of Otho are fairly obvious forgeries;

<sup>3</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 76.

<sup>4</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 75.

allay the usual fears of the *plebs urbana* in time of civil war. *Pax Orbis Terrarum*, as was earlier observed by Mattingly,<sup>1</sup> could well have been Otho's cry to counter the *Salus Generis Humani* and *Pax P R* of the Galban faction. The *Ceres*, *Pax Orbis Terrarum*, and *Securitas P R* types (though not yet *Victoria Othonis*) are found also with the shorter *Imp Otho* obverse legend. Three or four *officinae* therefore seem likely in the period 15 January–9 March. After 9 March there may have been up to five, for the *Pont Max* reverse legend is associated with types of *Aequitas*, *Ceres*, *Jupiter*, *Vesta*, and Otho on horseback: the *Jupiter* and Otho types are, apparently, known so far for silver only. *Aequitas*, which had only very recently appeared under Galba (above, pp. 230, 255) as an imperial coin-type but was henceforth to be so commonly used, implied simply 'fair-dealing', whether in regard to currency, food-supply, or general rights of fair play and justice. *Ceres* continued to underline the stability of the civic corn-supply: the precarious situation in Africa after the death of Clodius Macer<sup>2</sup> was offset for the moment by the seeming loyalty to Otho of the eastern provinces. *Jupiter* and *Vesta* were perhaps the two deities most central in the consciousness of Rome. The temple of *Jupiter* on the *Capitol*, destined to be destroyed by fire a few months later,<sup>3</sup> lay at its very heart: that of *Vesta*, fired in 64, had been rebuilt under Nero.<sup>4</sup> The mounted type of Otho promised his activity in the defence of Rome and Italy, the chief prize of war.<sup>5</sup>

Turbulent though its context was, the coinage of Otho was neatly and carefully struck, with portraits which, if not dynamic in their impression, were themselves compact and tidy.<sup>6</sup> Rome itself was still far from the lines of battle, and, granted the necessary supplies of bullion on the one hand, and the official *imagines* on the other, from which new portrait-dies could be engraved, its mint could—and now did—continue imperturbably at work. No provincially situated mint operated in Otho's name.

<sup>1</sup> *BMCRE* p. ccxx.

<sup>2</sup> *Tac. Hist.* i. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. Bastien in *QT* 1978, pp. 181 ff.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 146.

<sup>5</sup> *Tac. Hist.* i. 11.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Suet. *Otho*, 12.

# OTHO

## ROME

Aurei and denarii only, from 15 January to mid-April 69

Obv. legends: 1.  $\text{QIMP M OTHO CAESAR AVG TR P}$   
2.  $\text{QIMP OTHO CAESAR AVG TR P}$

Obv. heads: A. Bare r. (sometimes with slight drapery)  
B. Bare l.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.30–7.15 g; denarii c. 3.50–3.25 g. Dies  $\uparrow\downarrow$  or near. Dotted borders.

### I. Without the title *Pont Max* (assumed on 9 March 69)

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
1	D	1A	$\text{CERES } \Delta \text{AVG}$ Ceres, dr., stg. l., r. holding two corn-ears, l. cornucopia	R3	ASFN 1884, p. 58
2	D	2A		R4	Coh. 1
(Pl. 29) 3	Au	1A	$\text{PAX ORBIS (or B-I)} \Delta \text{TERRARVM Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. caduceus}$	R2	BMC 1
4	D	1A	"	R	BMC 3
5	Au	2A	"	R3	Rollin and Feuardent 25.4.1887 (d'Amécourt), 118
6	D	2B		R	BMC 4
7	Au	1A	$\text{SECVRITAS PR (or Q-R-I-T)} \Delta \text{Securitas dr., stg. l., r. holding wreath, l. sceptre}$	R2	BMC 13; Ro.(T.)
8	D	1A	As no. 7 (sometimes V-R, Q-I-T, or Q-R-I-T)	R2	BMC 18; Ro.(T.)
9	Au	2A	As no. 7	R4	Valton coll. (1912)
10	D	2A	"	R3	BMC 19
11	Au	2B	"	R3	BMC 16
12	D	2B	"	R3	BMC 20
13	Au	1A	$\text{VICTORIA } \Delta \text{OTHONIS Victory, dr., flying r., r. holding wreath, l. palm}$	R3	BMC 21
14	D	1A	"	R3	BMC 22
15	Au	1A	$\text{VICTORIA } \Delta \text{OTHONIS Victory, dr., alighting l., r. holding wreath, l. palm}$	R3	BMC 23
(Pl. 29) 16	D	1A	"	R3	BMC 24
17	D	1A	$\text{VICTORIA } \Delta \text{OTHONIS Victory, dr., stg. l. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm}$	R3	BMC 25

2. Confirmation required.

3. Hunter (Coats) 3804 shows obv. bust draped and rev. with winged caduceus. Weight and die-axis are normal.

9. Not (as stated by Coh. 21) in BM.

13. Coh. 25 cites variety with Victory stg. r.—unlikely.

15. See *BMCRE* p. 367 n. \*, for a barbarous *aes* imitation of this coin in Paris.

II. With the title *Pont Max* on the reverse (from 9 March 69)

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 29) 18	Au	2A	☾PONT ☾MAX Aequitas, dr., stg. l., r. holding scales, l. vertical sceptre or rod	R3	BMC 5
19	D	2A	„	R2	BMC 6
20	Au	2A	☾PONT ☾MAX Ceres, dr., stg. l., r. holding two corn-ears, l. cornucopia	R4	Par.
21	D	2A	☾PONT ☾MAX Jupiter, half-draped, seated r. on throne, r. holding thunderbolt, l. sceptre	R3	BMC 10
(Pl. 29) 22	D	2A	☾PONT ☾MAX (sometimes P—O and A—X) Otho, in military dress and with cloak flying, on horseback r., r. brandishing spear	R3	Hunter 10; BMC 12
23	Au	2A	☾PONT ☾MAX Vesta, dr., seated l., r. holding patera, l. transverse sceptre	R4	Coh. 6
(Pl. 29) 24	D	2A	„	R3	BMC 11

20. BMC 9 (a denarius of these types) appears to be in need of confirmation. Mattingly had apparently catalogued it, and illustrated it in his pl. 60, 5, before he realized that the coin was false. It shares an obv. die with a false *Securitas P R* aureus.

22. An accompanying aureus is to be presumed and awaited.

23. Coh. 13 cites (from Morelli) a *Pont Max* rev. with Otho seated l. holding branch and

sceptre; the obv. (2A) is in accord with the norm, but the rev. appears to lack any modern authority.

24. Association of obv. legend 1 with *Pont Max* issues (cf. Coh. 6) is improbable, and a slip may be suspected. A BM aureus corresponding to no. 24 is very heavy at 7.61 g and is of low gold density and curious style: presumably false.



# VITELLIUS

## I. *Chronology*

Vitellius had been proclaimed emperor by the legions of Lower Germany on 2 January 69. On the following day the legions of Upper Germany (who on 1 January had rebelled against the authority of Galba, swearing allegiance to the Senate and People of Rome) endorsed the choice of the forces of Lower Germany.<sup>1</sup> With this strong support, Vitellius could move against Otho (see above, p. 258); and upon Otho's suicide he was recognized as emperor in Rome, on 19 April. His reign lasted until 20 December of the same year: his coinage-issues were thus contained within a span of some eight months. Something of the internal chronology of his coinage can be learned from the changing forms of his obverse titulature on the coinage of what must certainly be Rome. In these it would seem that the title *Germanicus* (in full) gave way to *German*, then to *Germa* or *Germ* and finally to *Ger*, just as Vespasian immediately after him abbreviated his own name during 71 in quick, successive stages.<sup>2</sup> The full form *Germanicus* is found with *Imp* alone; *German* is found with *Imp Tr P*; while *Germa*, *Germ*, and *Ger* are found with *Imp Aug Tr P*, i.e. after 18 July, when Vitellius, entering Rome, accepted the title *Augustus*, together with that of *Pontifex Maximus*.<sup>3</sup> These successive changes give a satisfactory idea, if not of exact chronology, at least of the various distinct stages of the coinage of Rome; and similar though more restricted changes of titulature can be seen at the other mints which struck for Vitellius.

## II. *Mint attribution*

(i) *Rome*. Gold, silver, and *aes* have been assigned to the mint of Rome on two main grounds. First, the aurei and denarii thus assigned display the excellence and sophistication of portraiture, lettering, and general style and technique which had been a characteristic of Rome for so long; and one might add that the weight-peaks of c. 7.35–7.15 g for aurei and c. 3.30–3.10 g for denarii accord well with those which obtained under Galba (c. 7.40–7.00 g, and c. 3.40–3.20 g) and Otho (c. 7.30–7.15 g, and c. 3.50–3.25 g). The second reason for the attribution to Rome comes from the *aes*, which includes a fairly small but strongly significant number of reverse dies used earlier for the Rome-struck *aes* of Galba.<sup>4</sup> Thus, if Rome recognized Vitellius as emperor on 19 April, it is from that date, or soon after, that the coinage of Rome began, at first with *Germanicus Imp* legends (and bare head on the silver—no gold is known for this group), c. April–May; then with *German Imp Tr P* on gold and silver (with laureate head), c. May–July; and finally with *Germa*, *Germ*, or *Ger Imp Aug Tr P*, with or without *P M*, until 20 December: these clearly

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 55–7.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *BMCRE* p. ccxxii; also C. M. Kraay, in an unpublished MS which he kindly made

available to me.

<sup>3</sup> Tac. *Hist.* ii. 91; cf. Suet. *Vitellius*, 11.

<sup>4</sup> Details to be seen in Kraay, *ACG*.

differentiated forms of 'Germanicus' should suggest three distinct and successive periods.

No mints east of Rome can be seen as having worked for Vitellius.

(ii) *Tarraco*(?). The probable attribution to Tarraco of aurei, denarii, and asses was well argued by Mattingly,<sup>1</sup> on the grounds of stylistic similarity with the Tarraco(?) issues of Galba, reverse-type allusion to Spain on an issue of asses, and evidence of provenance. Spain gave its first hesitant support to Vitellius not long after he had been declared emperor by the legions of the Germanies,<sup>2</sup> i.e. fairly quickly after the death of Galba. Rome, as has been seen, did not coin for Vitellius until after 19 April. For a period of some three months, therefore, Vitellius was dependent for his supplies of coinage—and his troops had to be paid—upon other mints. The volume of this Spanish coinage was very considerable. Its weight-peaks were slightly higher than those which Rome was to show, with aurei c. 7.40–7.20 g and denarii c. 3.40–3.20 g, but both were distinctly lower than those of Galba for Spain (above, p. 217). Aurei and denarii used the legend-forms *Imp Germanicus* and *Imp German*:<sup>3</sup> only the latter appeared for the *aes* (which consisted solely of asses). It would seem that the mint ceased to coin before Vitellius was named *Augustus* at Rome in mid-July.

(iii) *Lugdunum*. Mattingly distinguished<sup>4</sup> a group of aurei and denarii, with a few *aes* issues, markedly smaller in total volume than those of Tarraco(?) and differing in their portraiture from these Spanish issues of Vitellius. The types of these aurei and denarii accord closely with those of the so-called 'Military' group of the Civil Wars coinage (cf. Group IV on pp. 213f. above), for which an origin in Southern Gaul has been argued, quite probably at Lugdunum, which lost no time in declaring its support for Vitellius as soon as the legions of Germany had proclaimed him emperor. If the mint of Lugdunum did in fact strike for Vitellius, this would presumably have been soon after his proclamation by the legions of Germany, and before the mint of Tarraco(?) had overcome any reluctance to produce coinage in Spain for him. The obverse legend-forms for the gold and silver of this group were mainly with *Imp German*: the presumably later *Ger Imp Aug P Max Tr P* is only barely represented, suggesting that Lugdunum ceased to coin for Vitellius after his entry into Rome in July. Galba's gold and silver of Lugdunum had been distinctly lighter in weight than his Spanish issues. For Vitellius the weight-peaks of Lugdunum (c. 7.35–7.25 g for aurei, and c. 3.50–3.30 g for denarii) were closely parallel to his Spanish weight peaks.

### III. *Mint of Tarraco*(?) (nos. 1–46)

As has been already observed the shortening of the title *Germanicus* to *German* (the only two stages to occur at this mint) presumably indicates the succession of issues: the *aes*, solely with *German*, will have been struck in the later part of the series. The earlier section (mainly of gold) with *Germanicus* shows Vitellius' head laureate to left, with a small globe at the point of the

<sup>1</sup> *BMCRE* p. ccxxvii.

<sup>2</sup> Tac. *Hist.* i. 76.

<sup>3</sup> For the possible significance of this

nomenclature, as distinct from *Germanicus Imp*, see below, p. 264.

<sup>4</sup> *BMCRE* p. ccxxx.

bust: portraits, without attaining close resemblance to Vitellius' features, are hard and strong, and mostly well executed. The earlier reverses for gold and silver are:

<i>Clementia Imp German(ici)</i>	<i>Libertas Restituta</i>
<i>Consensus Exercituum</i>	<i>Securitas Imp German</i>
<i>L. Vitelli III Cos Censor</i>	<i>Victoria Augusti</i>
<i>Liberis Imp Germanici</i>	<i>Victoria Imp German(ici)</i>

These could conceal the operation of some six *officinae*, on the model of Rome. A point of considerable interest, noted by Mattingly in relation to Rome,<sup>1</sup> is the reverse legend-formula *Imperator Germanicus*, which is repeated on all the obverses of Vitellius' Spanish issues. The normal sequence of titles would be (and elsewhere is) *Germanicus Imperator*: the inverted form can mean only, as Mattingly pointed out, 'emperor by the will of the armies of the German provinces'. This has relevance to the reverse types themselves. Vitellius, the rival candidate for empire from the Germanies, spares the family of Otho;<sup>2</sup> binds together the armies of the German and Spanish provinces; and by his victory brings stability. He can also point to a distinguished father,<sup>3</sup> and to the makings of a dynasty to follow. For Vitellius the title *Germanicus*, half-adjective, half-cognomen, was plainly of great importance.<sup>4</sup>

The later gold and silver of Tarraco(?), with *German*, has the following certain reverses:

<i>Clementia Imp German</i>	<i>I O Max Capitolinus</i>
<i>Concordia Praetorianorum</i>	<i>Vesta P R Quiritium</i>
<i>Consensus Exercituum</i>	<i>Victoria Augusti</i>
<i>Fides Exercituum</i>	

Here again the operation of some six *officinae* may be suspected. Of the reverse types which they issued, *Victoria Augusti*, accompanying an obverse which lacks 'Augustus', should presumably, as Mattingly noted,<sup>5</sup> fall late in the series when, after Vitellius had accepted the title *Augustus* in mid-July, new-style reverse legends were used with previous obverse dies from which it was absent.

The *aes* attributed, on grounds partly of portraiture, to Tarraco(?) consists of asses alone. Seven types appeared, of which one has a plainly Spanish application:

<i>Clementia Imp German</i>	<i>Libertas Restituta</i>
<i>Consensus Exercituum</i>	<i>Victoria Augusti</i>
<i>Consensus Hispaniarum</i>	<i>Roma Renascens</i>
<i>Fides Exercituum</i>	

Here again, then, the operation of some six *officinae* may be suggested. The types employed look principally to the loyalties of the armed forces, with their

<sup>1</sup> *BMCRE* pp. ccxxii f.

<sup>2</sup> *Tac. Hist.* i. 75; ii. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *III Cos* for *Cos III* may be a provincialism.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *BMCRE* p. ccxxiii n. 1.

<sup>5</sup> *BMCRE* p. ccxxvii.

focus on Rome, and correspond closely with those of the gold and silver. These *aes* coins, all with the shortened form *German*, were plainly not produced at once.

iv. *Mint of Lugdunum* (nos. 47–65)

If progressive shortening of the title *Germanicus* is also a guide here, there were three stages (of which the first and third were very small) in the emission of this gold and silver. The first, with *Germanicus* in full, is (if it is genuine)<sup>1</sup> found with *Fides Exercituum* alone. The form *German* is found with:

<i>Consensus Exercituum</i>	<i>I O Max Capitolinus</i>
<i>Fides Exercituum</i>	<i>Vesta P R Quiritium</i>
<i>Fides Praetorianorum</i>	<i>Victoria Augusti</i> <sup>2</sup>

Of these six types only two, *Consensus Exercituum* and *Vesta P R Quiritium*, are found with the form *Ger* in the full legend with *Imp Aug P Max Tr P*. It would appear that the gold and silver coinage of Lugdunum, which was modelled in large degree on that of the 'Military' group of the Civil War issues (above, pp. 213f.), was therefore struck mainly in the second quarter of the year 69.

It is possible that Lugdunum also issued some *aes*.<sup>3</sup> However, until further careful research into die-connections and geographical distribution has been carried out, nothing approaching certain attribution can be made, and for the purposes of this volume no *aes* is therefore given to Lugdunum.

v. *Mint of Rome* (nos. 66–175)

Four clear stages of legend development are found on the aurei, denarii, and *aes* of Rome, with:

- (i) *Germanicus* (denarii; sestertii; and  $\text{Æ}2$ )
- (ii) *German* (aurei; denarii; sestertii; and  $\text{Æ}2$ )
- (iii) *Germa* (aurei; denarii; a reduced range of sestertii; and  $\text{Æ}2$ )
- (iv) *Germ* (a sharply reduced issue of aurei and denarii; sestertii, again reduced in range; and  $\text{Æ}2$ )

Group (i). It may be reasonably assumed that this group, lacking any gold, was of short duration, falling soon after the recognition of Vitellius as emperor at Rome on 19 April 69 consequent upon the suicide of Otho on the 17th. The five recorded types for denarii were:

*Concordia P R* (inviting the loyal co-operation of Rome)  
*Fides Exercituum* (inviting the loyal reconciliation of rival army-groups)  
*Iuppiter Victor* (alluding to Vitellius' victory at Bedriacum)  
*XV Vir Sacr Fac* (presumably recording Vitellius' immediate election into the principal priestly colleges)  
 No legend (Victory seated at sacrifice in thanksgiving).

<sup>1</sup> See no. 47, with note, below.

<sup>2</sup> The reverse *Liberi Imp German* (BMC

119, plated) may be a hybrid.

<sup>3</sup> See Mattingly, *BMCRE* p. ccxxx.

For sestertii seven reverses were employed. Two of these (*Honos et Virtus* and *S P Q R Ob C S*) were taken over, with some actual dies,<sup>1</sup> from Galba (see above, p. 254). The others were *Mars Victor* and a non-legend Mars type (both common), *Pax Augusti* (very common), the unusual and uncommon *Pax Ger[manicus] Rom(a)*, showing Vitellius ushered in by Pax to be welcomed by Roma, and *Victoria Augusti*,<sup>2</sup> fairly common. The Æ2 appeared with five types, *Aequitas Augusti*, *Concordia Augusti*, *Provident* (the dynastic altar-type initiated by Augustus), *Roma*, and *Victor(ia) Aug(usti)*—all well suited to the urban recipients in Rome and Italy.

This brief summary of Group (i) would seem to show that under Vitellius the mint of Rome coined from the first, in about six *officinae*. It has been seen that under both Galba and Otho it was coining from a substantial, if uncertain, number of *officinae*; and Vitellius, with the mints of Tarraco(?) and Lugdunum inconveniently distant, and destined to close, had to make swift and maximum use of Rome. It is likely that five or six *officinae* were at work: a sixth perhaps awaited the striking of gold.<sup>3</sup>

Group (ii). Gold now appeared, almost exactly balancing the types of silver:

Gold and silver	Silver only
<i>Concordia P R</i>	No legend ( <i>Victoria</i> )
<i>Iuppiter Victor</i>	and a Quinarius
<i>L Vitellius Cos III Censor</i>	
<i>Liberi Imp German</i>	
<i>Libertas Restituta</i>	
<i>S P Q R Ob C S</i>	
<i>XV Vir Sacr Fac</i>	

These, as will be seen, considerably expanded the range of Group (i), and most notably with the types (clearly of dynastic import) alluding to Vitellius' distinguished father and his young children. Expansion was seen in the types of *aes* also. The sestertii were:

<i>Annona Aug</i>	<i>Pax Augusti</i>
<i>Concord Aug</i>	<i>S C (Mars)</i>
<i>L Vitell Censor II (or III)</i>	<i>Victoria Aug (or Augusti)</i>
<i>Mars Victor</i>	

Of these only the Pax and S C (Mars) types were struck in any quantity. The dupondii and/or asses<sup>4</sup> showed a characteristically more 'plebeian' range of types, some continued from Group (i):

<sup>1</sup> Information from the unpublished MS of C. M. Kraay, from which details of the comparative number of dies are also taken: cf. also Kraay, *ACG*.

<sup>2</sup> Kraay, in his unpublished MS, pointed out acutely that the type of Victory affixing shield to palm-tree must be regarded as a direct reference to the Jewish war (the palm-tree became one standard symbol of Judaea), in which Vespasian's successes were to be

accounted as being gained under the imperial auspices of Vitellius.

<sup>3</sup> The unpublished MS of Kraay, already referred to, suggests that Vitellius, at first anyhow, operated only a single *officina* at Rome; but this cannot be accepted.

<sup>4</sup> It is possible to determine the distinction only by the metal used, and this is often obscured by patina.

<i>Aequitas Augusti</i>	<i>Paxs Augusti</i>
<i>Annona Aug</i>	<i>Provident</i>
<i>Ceres Aug</i>	<i>S C</i> (three standards)
<i>Pax Augusti</i>	<i>Victor Augus(ti)</i>
<i>Pax Augusti</i> (Roma and Vitellius)	

None of these would seem to have been struck in quantity, and the question must again arise in Group (ii) of the probable number of *officinae* at work. For the gold and silver about six look probable, and the same number, cyclically employed, could have produced the two sections of *aes* afterwards. There is no reason to suppose any abrupt restriction in the number of *officinae*: Vitellius, like any other *princeps*, had to issue his own currency, and do so quickly.

Group (iii). A slightly varied range of types was used, with careful internal balance for gold and silver:

Gold and Silver	Silver only
<i>Concordia P R</i>	No legend (Victoria)
<i>Iuppiter Victor</i>	
<i>L Vitellius Cos III Censor</i> (seated)	
<i>L Vitellius Cos III Censor</i> (bust)	
<i>Liberi Imp Germ(an) Aug</i>	
<i>Libertas Restituta</i>	
<i>Pont Maxim</i>	
<i>XV Vir Sacr Fac</i>	

Vitellius was elected *pontifex maximus* on 18 July,<sup>1</sup> and it was thus from late July or early August that Group (iii) appeared, perhaps in some quantity, since, while gold and silver types were numerous, those of the *aes* were sharply reduced, with only three for sestertii (*Annona Aug*, *Mars Victor*, and *Pax Augusti*) and no more than five for Æ2 (*Aequitas Augusti*, *Concordia Augusti*, *Paxs Augusti*, *Provident*, and *Victor Aug(usti)*). None of the *aes* types seems to have been extensively coined.

Group (iv). A further and much sharper contraction of the coinage suggests a date not long before Vitellius' death on 20 December 69. One type alone—*Victoria Augusti*, sounding a desperate note of optimism—appeared for gold and silver. Sestertii showed three types, as in Group (iii), but with *Victoria Augusti* substituted for *Pax Augusti*. Five types were again employed for the smaller *aes*, but with *Securitas P Romani* instead of *Aequitas Augusti*.

<sup>1</sup> Tac. *Hist.* ii. 91; Suet. *Vitellius* 11.

# VITELLIUS

## I. SPAIN (TARRACO?)

- Obv. legends: 1.  $\overline{\text{Q}} \text{A VITELLIVS GERMANICVS IMP AVG}$   
 2a.  $\overline{\text{A VITELLIVS IMP}} \overline{\text{GERMANICVS}}$   
 2b.  $\overline{\text{A VITELLIVS}} \overline{\text{IMP GERMANICVS}}$   
 2c.  $\overline{\text{Q}} \text{A VITELLIVS IMP GERMANICVS}$   
 3a.  $\overline{\text{A VITELLIVS}} \overline{\text{IMP GERMAN}}$   
 3b.  $\overline{\text{A VITELLIVS}} \overline{\text{IMP GERMAN}}$

- Obv. heads: A. Laur., r., globe at point of bust.  
 B. Laur., r., globe at point of bust; palm in front.  
 C. Laur., l., globe at point of bust.  
 D. Laur., l., globe at point of bust; palm in front.

(a) Aurei and denarii, c. January–June 69

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.40–7.20 g; denarii c. 3.40–3.20 g. Dies mainly  $\uparrow\downarrow$ . Dotted borders.

### (i) With obverse title *Germanicus*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 30) 1	Au	2bC	$\overline{\text{Q}} \text{CLEMENTIA IMP—GERMAN}$ Clementia, dr., seated l., r. holding branch, l. long sceptre	S	BMC 79
2	Au	1C	$\overline{\text{Q}} \text{CLEMENTIA IMP—GERMANICI}$ As no. 1	R3	Coh. 11
3	Au	2aC	"	R2	Hunter 28
4	Au	1C	$\overline{\text{C}} \text{CONSENSVS} \overline{\text{D}} \text{EXERCITVVM}$ Mars, helmeted and naked but for cloak, advancing l., r. holding spear, l. aquila and vexillum	R4	Ro.(T.)
5	Au	2aC	"	R2	Hunter 29
6	D	2aC	"	R	BMC 85
(Pl. 30) 7	Au	2aC	$\overline{\text{L VITELLI}} \overline{\text{D}} \text{III COS CENSOR}$ Bust of L. Vitellius, laur., dr., l., with eagle-tipped sceptre in front	R3	Par. (BMC pl. 61, 22)
8	Au	2aC	$\overline{\text{Q}} \text{LIBERIS IMP GERMANICI}$ Busts of Vitellius' son (on l.) and daughter (on r.), dr., facing each other	R4	Coh. (Vit. and children) 8
9	Au	2aC	$\overline{\text{L}} \text{LIBERTAS} \overline{\text{D}} \text{RESTITVTA}$ Libertas, dr., stg. facing, head r., r. holding pileus, l. long rod	R2	BMC 88
10	D	2aC	"	R	Par.
11	Au	2aC	$\overline{\text{Q}} \text{SECVRITAS IMP GERMAN}$ Securitas, dr., seated r., r. supporting head, l. holding sceptre; to r., torch leaning against garlanded and lighted altar	R2	Hunter 31
(Pl. 30) 12	Au	2bC	$\overline{\text{D}} \text{SECVRITAS} \overline{\text{C}} \text{IMP GERMAN}$ As no. 11	R2	BMC 89
13	Au	1C	$\overline{\text{C}} \text{VICTORIA} \overline{\text{D}} \text{AVGVSTI}$ Victory, dr., advancing l., r. holding shield inscribed S P/Q R in two lines	R4	Ro.(T.)
14	Au	2aC	"	R3	Par.
15	Au	2bC	$\overline{\text{Q}} \text{VICTORIA IMP GERMAN}$ Victory, dr., stg. l. on globe, r. holding wreath, l. palm	R2	BMC 97
16	Au	2cC	$\overline{\text{Q}} \text{VICTORIA IMP GERMANICI}$ As no. 15	R2	BMC 98

2. Confirmation required.

(ii) With obverse title *German*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
17	Au	3aC	☉ CLEMENTIA IMP — GERMAN As no. 1	R3	Coh. 7
18	D	3aC	"	R	BMC 80
19	D	3aC	☉ CONCORDIA PRAETORIANORVM Concordia, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. cornucopia	R2	Par.
20	D	3aA	☉ CONSENSVS ☉ EXERCITVVM As no. 4	R	BMC 83
21	D	3aB	"	R	BMC 83 <i>bis</i>
22	Au	3aC	"	R2	BMC 82
23	D	3aC	"	R	BMC 84
24	D	3aD	"	R3	Ro.(T.)
25	D	3bA	"	R3	Ro.(T.)
26	Au	3bD	"	R2	BMC 81
(Pl. 30) 27	D	3aA	FIDES/EXERCITVVM in two lines	R	BMC 87
28	D	3aB	"	R	BMC 86
29	D	3aC	"	R4	Ro.(T.)
30	D	3bA	"	R3	Ro.(T.)
31	D	3aC	☉ I O MAX ☉ CAPITOLINVS Jupiter, naked to waist, seated l. in distyle temple, r. holding thunderbolt, l. vertical sceptre	R2	Par.
32	Au	3aC	☉ SENAT P Q ROMANVS Victory advancing l., holding shield	R4	Coh. 84
(Pl. 30) 33	D	3aC	☉ VESTA ☉ P R Q VIRITIVM Vesta, veiled and dr., seated l. on throne, r. extended, l. supporting torch	R2	BMC 90
34	Au	3aC	☉ VICTORIA ☉ AVGVSTI Victory, dr., advancing l., r. holding shield inscribed S P/Q R in two lines	R3	BMC 91
35	Au	3aD	"	R3	Hunter 51
36	D	3aD	"	R	BMC 94
37	D	3bB	"	R	BMC 92
38	Au	3aC	☉ VICTORIA ☉ AVGVSTI As no. 34	R4	Ro.(T.)

(b) Asses (all with obv. title *German*), c. January–June 69

Weight-peak, c. 10.75–8.75 g. Dies ↑↓. Dotted borders.

39	As	3aC	☉ CLEMENTIA IMP GERMAN, S — C to l. and r. Clementia, dr., seated l., r. holding branch, l. long sceptre	R	Par.
(Pl. 30) 40	As	3aC	☉ CONSENSVS ☉ EXERCITVVM, S — C to l. and r. Mars, helmeted and naked but for cloak, advancing l., r. holding spear, l. aquila and vexillum	C	BMC 99

19. The Paris coin (2.40 g, and plated) is of odd obv. style.

20. The rev. ligature VM may occur; cf. Coh. 28.

23. EXERCITVM (cf. *BMCRE*, note to no. 84) was probably a misreading, though cf. note on no. 67 below.

26. *BMC* 81 specifies palm on obv., but its pl. 61, 16 does not show it; and Mattingly

referred to Coh. 27 for the palm. There may be two varieties.

32. Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 387 n. \*) doubted this coin, but Spain could well have credited Vitellius with the earlier propaganda-line of Galba.

33. See note on *BMC* 90.

37. See *BMCRE* p. 387 n. †, *ad fin.*



No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
41	As	3aC	☾ CONSENSVS ☾ HISPANIARVM, S—C to l. and r. Hispania, dr., stg. l., l. holding round shield and two javelins	R3	Vi.
42	As	3aC	FIDES/EXERCITVVM in two lines above and below clasped r. hands; S C in ex.	C	BMC 103
43	As	3aC	☾ LIBERTAS ☾ RESTITVTA, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. facing, head r., r. holding pileus, l. long rod	S	BMC 105
44	As	3aC	☾ LIBERTAS ☾ RESTITVTA, S—C to l. and r. As no. 43	S	BMC 106
45	As	3aC	☾ ROMA ☾ RENASCENS, S—C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and in military dress, stg. r., r. holding Victory, l. long spear	R	Par.
(Pl. 30) 46	As	3aC	☾ VICTORIA ☾ AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r. Victory, dr., advancing l., r. holding shield inscribed S P Q R	C	BMC 107

## II. GAUL, LUGDUNUM

- Obv. legends: 1. ☾ A VITELLIVS ☾ IMP GERMANICVS  
 2. ☾ A VITELLIVS ☾ IMP GERMAN  
 3. ☾ A VITELLIVS IMP GERMAN  
 4a. ☾ A VITELLIVS GER IMP ☾ AVG P MAX TR P  
 4b. ☾ A VITELLIVS GER IMP AVG P MAX TR P

Obv. head: Laur., r., globe at point of bust.

### Aurei and denarii, c. March–July 69

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.35–7.25 g; denarii c. 3.50–3.30 g. Dies mainly ↑↓. Dotted borders.

#### (i) With obverse title *Germanicus*

(Pl. 30) 47	D	1	FIDES/EXERCITVVM in two lines above and below clasped r. hands	R2	BMC 117
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#### (ii) With obverse title *German*

48	D	2	☾ CONSENSVS ☾ EXERCITVM ( <i>sic</i> ) Mars, helmeted and naked but for cloak, advancing l., r. holding spear, l. aquila and vexillum	R	BMC 112
49	Au	2	☾ CONSENSVS ☾ EXERCITVVM As no. 48	R2	Hunter 41
50	D	2	☾ CONSENSVS ☾ EXERCITVVM As no. 48	R	BMC 111
51	D	2	☾ CONSENSVS ☾ EXERCITVVM As no. 48	R	Hunter 42
52	Au	2	FIDES/EXERCITVVM As no. 47	R3	BMC 113
53	D	2	☾ CONSENSVS ☾ EXERCITVVM As no. 47	R	BMC 114
54	D	2	FIDES/EXERCITVVM As no. 47	S	BMC 115
55	D	2	FIDES/PRAETORIANORVM As no. 47	R2	Par.

41. Hispania's r. hand may hold poppy and corn-ears, as on Galba's Spanish issues (see p. 233, no. 19 above); cf. Mattingly in *BMCRE* p. 389 n. \*.

47. *BMC* 117 is plated (2.77 g) and, as Mattingly noted, has a very unusual portrait.

But this would not be surprising in an initial issue, as this may well be.

52. *BMC* 113 is very light (5.91 g) and of low density (16.27). Mattingly considered it to be probably ancient, but with some doubt.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 30) 56	D	2	☾ I O MAX (CAPITOLINVS Jupiter, naked to waist, seated l. in distyle temple, r. holding thunderbolt, l. vertical sceptre	S	BMC 118
(Pl. 30) 57	D	2	☾ LIBERI IMP GERMAN Busts of Vitellius' son (on l.) and daughter (on r.), dr., facing each other	R	BMC 119
58	Au	2	☾ VESTA P R Q VIRITIVM Vesta, veiled and dr., seated l. on throne, r. holding patera, l. supporting torch	R2	BMC 120
59	D	2	"	R	BMC 121
60	D	2	As no. 58, but Q VIRITIVM	R	BMC 122
61	Au	2	☾ VICTORIA ) AVGVSTI Victory, dr., advancing l., r. holding shield inscribed S P / Q R in two lines	R2	BMC 124
62	D	2	"	S	BMC 125
63	D	3	"	R2	Hunter (Coats) 3815

(iii) With obverse title *Ger*

(Pl. 30) 64	Au	4aA	☾ CONSENSVS ) EXERCITVVM As no. 48	R3	BMC 110
65	D	4bA	☾ VESTA P R Q VIRITIVM As no. 58	R2	BMC 123

## III. ROME

## (a) Aurei, denarii, and silver quinarii, c. late April–20 December 69

- Obv. legends (all ☾):
1. A VITELLIVS GERMANICVS IMP
  2. A VITELLIVS GERMAN IMP TR P
  3. A VITELLIVS AVG IMP GERMAN
  4. A VITELLIVS GERM IMP TR P
  5. A VITELLIVS GERM IMP AVG TR P
  6. A VITELLIVS GER IMP AVGP M T P P

- Obv. heads: A. Bare, r.  
B. Laur., r.

Weight-peaks, aurei c. 7.35–7.15 g; denarii, c. 3.30–3.10 g. Dies ↑↓. Dotted borders.

(i) With obverse title *Germanicus* (silver only)

(Pl. 30) 66	D	1A	☾ CONCOR ) DIA P R Concordia, dr., seated l., r. holding patera, l. cornucopia	S	BMC 1
67	D	1A	FIDES/EXERCITVVM in two lines above and below clasped r. hands	S	BMC 2
68	D	1A	☾ IVPPITER ) VICTOR Jupiter, naked to waist, seated l., r. holding Victory, l. vertical sceptre	S	BM
69	D	1A	☾ LIBERTAS ) RESTITVTA Libertas, dr., stg. facing, head r., r. holding pileus, l. long rod	R5	Ro.(T.)
69A	D	1A	S P Q R / OB / C S in three lines in oak-wreath	R5	BM

57. BMC 119 is plated (2.74 g). Mattingly suggested that it may be a hybrid with Rome.

58. The description in BMC 120 erroneously transposes the attributes on the rev.

63. The disposition of the obv. legend is

surprisingly anomalous.

67. Variant in BM with FIDES/EXERCITVM (*sic*).

69. Very unusual portrait. This coin weighs only 2.80 g.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 30) 70	D	1A	☿XV VIR ☿SACR FAC Tripod-lebes with dolphin lying r. on top and raven stg. r. below	S	BMC 3
71	D	1A	No legend. Victory, dr., seated l., r. holding patera, l. palm	S	BMC 4
(ii) With obverse title <i>German</i>					
72	Au	2B	☿CONCOR ☿DIA P R As no. 66	R	BMC 6
73	D	2B	"	S	BMC 7
74	Au	2B	☿IVPPITER ☿VICTOR As no. 68	R2	Coh. 43
75	D	2B	"	S	BMC 8
(Pl. 31) 76	Au	2B	☿L VITELLIVS COS III CENSOR Bust of L. Vitellius, laur., dr., r.; eagle-tipped sceptre in front	R	BMC 10
77	D	2B	"	R	Rollin and Feuardent 7.5.1888 (de Quelen), 914
(Pl. 31) 78	Au	2B	☿LIBERI IMP GERMAN Busts of Vitellius' son (on l.) and daughter (on r.), dr., facing each other	R2	BMC 12
79	D	2B	"	R	Ro.(T.)
80	Au	2B	☿LIBERTAS ☿RESTITVTA As no. 69	R2	Ro.(T.)
81	D	2B	"	R	BMC 13
82	Au	2B	S P Q R / O B / C S in three lines in oak-wreath	S	BMC 14
83	D	2B	"	S	BMC 15
84	ÆRQ	3B	☿VICTORIA ☿AVGVSTI Victory advancing r., r. holding wreath, l. palm	R2	Vi.
85	Au	2B	☿XV VIR ☿SACR FAC As no. 70	R4	Ro.(T.)
86	D	2B	"	S	BMC 17
87	Au	2B	No legend. Victory as on no. 71	R4	Ro.(T.)
88	D	2B	"	S	BMC 19
(iii) With obverse title <i>Germ</i>					
89	Au	5B	☿CONCOR ☿DIA P R As no. 66	R2	Par.
90	D	5B	"	S	BMC 20
91	ÆRQ	4B	"	R3	Cop. (BMC pl. 61, 13)
92	Au	5B	☿IVPPITER ☿VICTOR As no. 68	R2	Coh. 41
93	D	5B	"	S	BMC 22
(Pl. 31) 94	Au	5B	☿L VITELLIVS COS (or C—OS) III CENSOR L. Vitellius, togate, seated l. on curule chair, feet on stool, r. extended, l. holding eagle-tipped sceptre	R2	Ro.(T.) BMC 23
95	D	5B	"	R	BMC 24

74. Confirmation required.

75. BMC 9 shows variant disposition of rev. legend, with ☿IVPPIT ☿ER VICTOR.

76. ASFN 1884, p. 60, cites what may not be even a minor variant, with aquila in front of the rev. bust.

84. The obv. legend is anomalous, and the coin invites some reserve.

91. Mattingly (*BMCRE* p. 369, note to no. 7) expressed doubt about this coin, which is not, however, totally unconvincing.

92. Coh. omits AVG from the obv. legend; probably an erroneous reading.

93. Variety cited with IVPITER (*sic*) in ASFN 1884, p. 59—in error?

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
96	Au	5B	As no. 94, but r. holds branch	R3	Hunter 12
97	D	5B	"	R	Coh. 55
98	Au	5B	Q L VITELLIVS COS III CENSOR As no. 76	R2	Rollin and Feuardent 20.4.1896 (Mon- tagu), 178
99	D	5B	"	S	BMC 26
100	Au	5B	Q LIBERI IMP GERM AVG As no. 78	R2	BMC 27
(Pl. 31) 101	D	5B	"	R	BMC 28
102	Au	5B	Q LIBERI IMP GERMAN As no. 78	R3	Sotheby 13.7.1908, (O'Hagan), 162
103	D	5B	"	R	BMC 29
104	Au	5B	Q LIBERTAS Q RESTITVTA As no. 69	R3	BMC 30
105	D	5B	"	R	BMC 31
(Pl. 31) 106	Au	5B	Q PONT Q MAXIM Vesta, veiled and dr., seated r. on throne, r. holding patera, l. vertical sceptre	R2	BMC 33
107	D	5B	"	S	BMC 34
108	Au	5B	Q XV VIR Q SACR FAC As no. 70.	R2	BMC 38
109	D	5B	"	S	BMC 39
(Pl. 31) 110	D	5B	No legend. Victory as on no. 71	S	BMC 41
(iv) With obverse title <i>Ger</i> (?)					
111	Au	6B	Q VICTOR Q IA AVGVSTI Victory, dr., advancing l. to fix trophy to tree-trunk; below, (?) captive reclining r.; on r., (?) shield and bow	R4	Coh. 97
112	D	6B	"	R	BMC 46

## (v) Hybrids

Two coins exist from obverse dies of Vitellius and reverse dies of Otho, *BMC* 44 (with *Aequitas* reverse) and *BMC* 45 (with *Securitas* reverse). Three hybrids from dies of Vitellius alone are recorded, all with obverse 2A instead of the normal 2B, and with reverses Q CONCOR Q DIA PR (Hunter 3), Q XV VIR Q SACR FAC (Coh. 115, with *Imp German* for *German Imp*), and no legend, Victory (Par.).

The BM now has a denarius with obverse 2A and reverse Q XV VIR Q SACR FAC; this may be, as Mr Carson has suggested, not a hybrid but part of a small intermediate issue, i.e. bridging Groups (i) and (ii) above.

## (b) Sestertii, dupondii, and asses, c. late April–20 December 69

Obv. legends (all Q):

1. A VITELLIVS GERMANICVS IMP AVG P M TR P
2. A VITELLIVS GERMAN IMP AVG P M TR P
3. A VITELLIVS GERMA IMP AVG P M TR P
4. A VITELLIVS GERM IMP AVG P M TR P

Obv. heads/busts:

- A. Laur., r.
- B. Laur., r., dr.
- C. Laur., l.

Weight-peaks, sestertii, c. 28.00–24.00 g; dupondii, c. 15.00–13.00 g; asses c. 11.00–8.50 g. Dies ↑↓. Dotted borders.

111–12. Mattingly doubted both the aureus and the denarius. But the latter is attested in examples sufficient to make it a possibility; and, if the silver was issued, the gold also might

exist. The rev. type could well reflect (as it does on *aes*) the uncertainties which beset Vitellius late in 69.

(i) With obverse title *Germanicus**Sestertii*

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
113	1B	☉ HONOS ET VIRTVS, S C (ex.) Honos (on l.) and Virtus (on r.) stg. facing each other; Honos bare-headed and dr., l. holding cornucopia, r. long sceptre; Virtus helmeted and in military dress, r. holding parazonium on knee, l. long spear, with r. foot on helmet	R	Hunter 20
114	1B	☉ L VITELL CEN ☉ SOR II, S C (ex.) L. Vitellius, bare-headed and togate, seated l. on platform on r., r. clasping hand of foremost of three togate figures before him; behind them, togate figure seated r.	R2	Cast in BM
115	1B	☉ MARS ☉ VICTOR, S — C to l. and r. Mars, helmeted and in military dress with parazonium at side, advancing l., r. holding Victory, l. trophy over shoulder	R	Par.
116	1B	As no. 115, but l. holding aquila	R	BMC 53
117	1A	☉ PAX ☉ AVGVSTI, S — C to l. and r. Pax, dr., stg. l., r. holding branch, l. cornucopia	S	BMC 57
118	1B	„	R	Hess (Lucerne) 9.5.1932 (Walters), 503 Par.
119	1B	☉ PAX GER ROM, S C (ex.) Roma seated l., l. leaning on shield, r. offering Victory to Vitellius stg. r., togate, in front of female figure	R2	
120	1B	S — C to l. and r. of Mars, helmeted and naked but for cloak, advancing r., r. holding transverse spear, l. trophy over shoulder	R	Confirmation required
(Pl. 31) 121	1B	As no. 120, but aquila over l. shoulder	R	BMC 60
122	1B	S P Q R / OB / CIV / SER in four lines in oak-wreath	R2	Vi.
123	1B	☉ VICTORIA ☉ AVGVSTI, S — C to l. and r. Victory, naked to waist, l. foot on helmet, inscribing OB / CIVES / SER in three lines on round shield fixed to palm-tree	S	BMC 62
124	1B	☉ VICTORIA ☉ AVGVSTI, S — C to l. and r. As no. 123	R2	BMC 63

*Smaller aes*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 31) 125	As	1A	☉ AEQVITAS ☉ AVGVSTI, S — C low l. and r. Aequitas, dr., stg. l., r. holding scales, l. vertical rod	S	BMC 69
126	Dp(?)	1A	☉ CONCORDIA AVGVSTI, S C (ex.) Concordia, dr., seated l., r. holding patera, l. cornucopia, in front of lighted altar	R	Coh. 16
127	As	1A	I O MAX CAPITO (ex.), S — C to l. and r. Jupiter, naked to waist, seated l. in tetrastyle temple, r. holding thunderbolt, l. vertical sceptre	R4	Private coll. (QT 1978, pp. 181 ff.; 10.34 g)

113. Variant known with TE mistakenly for ET on rev. The rev. dies of this type were first used by Galba; see above, p. 254 nos. 474 ff.

123. For this claim by Vitellius for successful credit in the war in Judaea under Vespasian see above, p. 266 n. 2.

124. The BM coin (part of the 18th century Cracherode collection) is 'not above suspicion', according to Mattingly, who thought it might be seventeenth-century Italian work. The disposition of the rev. legend is certainly very unusual.

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
128	Dp or As	1A	☾LIBERTAS ☾AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r. Libertas, dr., stg. l., r. holding pileus, l. vertical rod	R3	BMC p. 383; ASFN 1884, p. 60
129	As	1B	PROVIDENT (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Altar-enclosure with double-panelled doors in front and projections on top corners	R2	BM
(Pl. 31) 130	Dp	1B	ROMA (ex.), S—C to l. and r. Roma, helmeted and in military dress, seated l. on cuirass, r. foot on helmet, r. holding Victory, l. resting on parazonium at side; behind, two shields	R	BMC 68

(ii) With obverse title *German**Sestertii*

No.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
131	2B	☾ANNONA ☾AVG, S C (ex.) Vitellius, bare-headed and in military dress, stg. r., r. leaning on vertical spear, l. resting on parazonium, opposite Ceres, dr., seated l., r. holding patera, l. torch; between, lighted altar; behind Ceres, ship's prow	R2	Sambron 18.11.1907 (Martinetti-Nervegna), 1698
132	2B	☾CERES ☾AVG, S C (ex.) Ceres, dr., seated l., r. holding corn-ears, l. torch	R2	Coh. 6
133	2B	☾CONCORD ☾AVG, S C (ex.) Concordia, dr., seated l. on throne, r. holding branch, l. transverse sceptre	R	BMC 48
(Pl. 31) 134	2B	☾L VITELL CEN ☾SOR II, S C (ex.) As no. 114	S	BMC 49
135	2B	☾L VITELL CEN ☾SOR III, S C (ex.) As no. 114	R2	Berl.
(Pl. 32) 136	2B	☾MARS ☾VICTOR, S—C to l. and r. As no. 115	R	BMC 52
137	2B	☾MARS ☾VICTOR, S—C to l. and r. As no. 116	R2	Par.
138	2A	☾PAX ☾AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r. As no. 117	R2	Par.
139	2B	"	R	BMC 54
140	2B	☾PAX AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r. As no. 117	R2	BMC 56
141	2B	S—C to l. and r. of Mars, as no. 120	R	BMC 58
142	2B	☾VIC—TO ☾RIA AVG, S—C to l. and r. As no. 123	R	Hunter (Coats) 3813
143	2A	☾VICTO—RIA ☾AVGVSTI, S C (ex.) As no. 123	R2	BM (BMC pl. 64, 2)

*Smaller aes*

No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
144	Dp or As	2A	☾ANNONA ☾AVGVSTI, S C (ex.) Annona, dr., stg. l., r. holding Victory, l. cornucopia; to l., modius; to r., ship	R2	Coh. 4
145	As	2A	☾CERES ☾AVG, S—C to l. and r. As no. 132	R	BMC 71

138. The obv. legend may read IM—P; cf. BMC 55.

141. The obv. legend may read IM—P; cf. BMC 58.

144. Confirmation required.

145. The obv. shows IM—P divided thus.

Mattingly (note to BMC 71) noted this coin as being of 'Lugdunum style'; but even if the obv. bust showed a globe at its point (which he suspected but which does not seem to exist) the style does not appear to differ from that of Rome.

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 32)	146	Dp	2A	☾PAX☾AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r. As no. 117	R	BMC 66
	147	Dp	2A	☾PAX☾AVGVSTI, S C (ex.) Vitellius, bare-headed and togate, stg. l., clasping r. hands with Roma, helmeted and in military dress, stg. r., l. holding spear and shield	R	BMC 67
	148	Dp	2B	”	R2	Coh. 68
	149	Dp or As	2B	☾PAXS☾AVGVSTI, S C (ex.) Pax, dr., stg. l., r. setting fire to heap of arms, l. holding cornucopia	R2	RN 1912, p. 58
(Pl. 32)	150	As	2B	PROVIDENT (ex.), S—C to l. and r. As no. 129	R	Hunter 26
	151	As	2A	☾VICTOR☾AVGV—S, S C (ex.) Victory, dr., advancing l., placing shield on trophy; at its base, captive seated l. on globe	R2	BMC 77
	152	As	2B	☾VICTOR☾AVG—VSTI, S C (ex.) As no. 151	R	Coh. 92
	153	Dp or As	2B	S—C to l. and r. of aquila between two standards, all set on ships' prows	R2	Hirsch xviii, 651
	154	Dp or As	2A	VESTA, S C Vesta, dr., seated l., r. holding trophy, l. long sceptre	R3	Mil. (BMC p. 383).

(iii) With obverse title *Germa**Sestertii*

	No.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
	155	3B	☾ANNONA☾AVG, S C (ex.) As no. 131	R2	Vi.
	156	3B	☾MARS☾VICTOR, S—C to l. and r. As no. 115	R2	Coh. 60
	157	3A	☾PAX☾AVGVSTI, S—C to l. and r. As no. 117	R	Par.
	158	3C	S—C to l. and r. of Mars as on no. 120	R	BMC 59
	159	3A	S P Q R / OB / CIV SER in three lines in oak-wreath	R3	Cast in BM

*Smaller aes*

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.	Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 32)	160	As	3B	☾AEQVITAS☾AVGVSTI, S—C low l. and r. As no. 125	S	BMC 70
	161	Dp or As	3B	☾CONCORDIA☾AVG, S C (ex.) As no. 126	R2	Coh. 13
	162	Dp	3B	☾CONCORDIA AVGVSTI, S C (ex.) As no. 126	S	BMC 65
	163	As	3A	PROVIDENT (ex.), S—C to l. and r. As no. 129	R	BMC 74
	164	Dp or As	3B	☾PAXS☾AVGVSTI, S C (ex.) As no. 149	R2	Par.
	165	As	3A	☾VICTOR☾AVG—VSTI, S C (ex.) As no. 151	R	BMC 76

146. The obv. shows IM—P divided thus. Mattingly (note to *BMC* 66) questioned whether the obv. bust showed a globe at its point, but this does not seem to be the case.

148. Confirmation required.

151. The obv. shows IM—P divided thus. Mattingly (note to *BMC* 77) noted this coin as being of 'Lugdunum style'. It is less polished technically than the standard of Rome, but

there is no essential difference.

152. Confirmation required.

154. Confirmation required. The whole conception of this rev. type seems to be anomalous for the reign.

156. Confirmation required.

159. Confirmation required.

161. Confirmation required.

(iv) With obverse title *Germ**Sestertii*

	No.	Obv.	Rev.		Frequ.	Ref.
(Pl. 32)	166	4B	☾ANNONA☾AVG, S C (ex.) As no. 131		R	BMC 47
	167	4A	☾MARS☾VICTOR, S—C to l. and r. As no. 115		R2	Par.
	168	4B	”		R2	Coh. 59
(Pl. 32)	169	4A	☾VICTOR—IA☾AVGVSTI, S C (ex.) As no. 123		R	BMC 61

*Smaller aes*

	No.	Denom.	Obv.	Rev.		Frequ.	Ref.
	170	Dp or As	4B	☾CONCORDIA☾AVG, S C (ex.) As no. 126		R2	ASFN 1884, p. 59
	171	As	4A	☾CONCORDIA AVGVSTI, S C (ex.) As no. 126		R	BMC 72
	172	As	4A	☾PAXS☾AVGVSTI, S C (ex.) As no. 149		R2	BM
	173	As	4A	PROVIDENT (ex.), S—C to l. and r. As no. 129		R	BMC 75
	174	As	4B	”		R	BMC 73
	175	As	4B	☾SECVRITAS☾P ROMANI, S C (ex.) Securitas, dr., seated l., head leaning on arm, in front of altar		R3	BM
	176	As	4A	☾VICTOR☾AVG—VSTI, S C (ex.) As no. 151		R2	Coh. 93

Two sestertii are to be noted in addition, but with strong reservation. The first, with obv. 1A and rev. VICTORIA AVGVSTI, S C, type as BMC 61 but with VIC AVG instead of OB CIVES SERV on shield, is cited by Coh. 104 from Wiczay and is very doubtful. The second, with obv. A VITELIVS [sic] GER . . . A . . . , laur. r. with aegis, and rev. ☾VRBEM☾RE . . . , (?)S C in ex., Vitellius, in military dress, stg. l., r. extended to raise kneeling female figure, with soldier behind him (BMCRE pl. 64, 3; Walters coll.), is perhaps authentic and might have been a pattern for a presentation issue.

174. The obv. shows IM—P divided thus.





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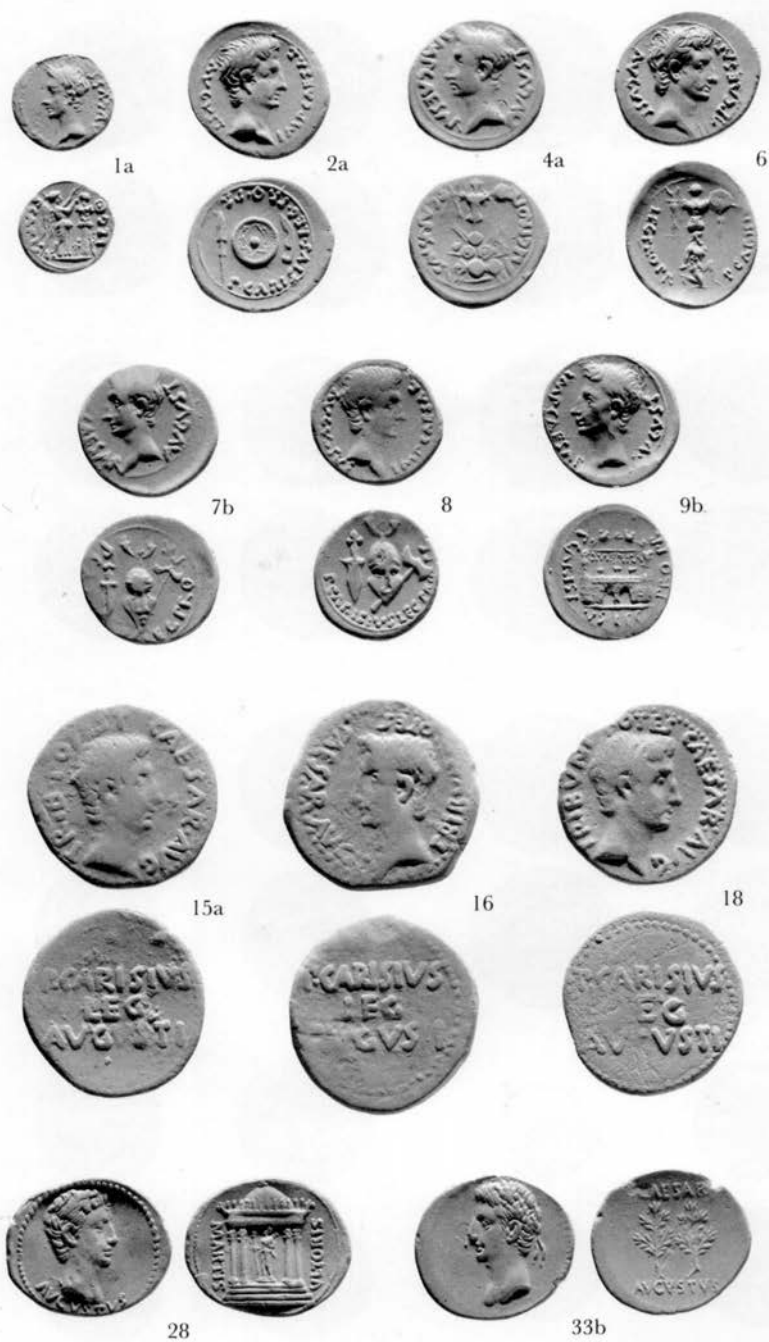
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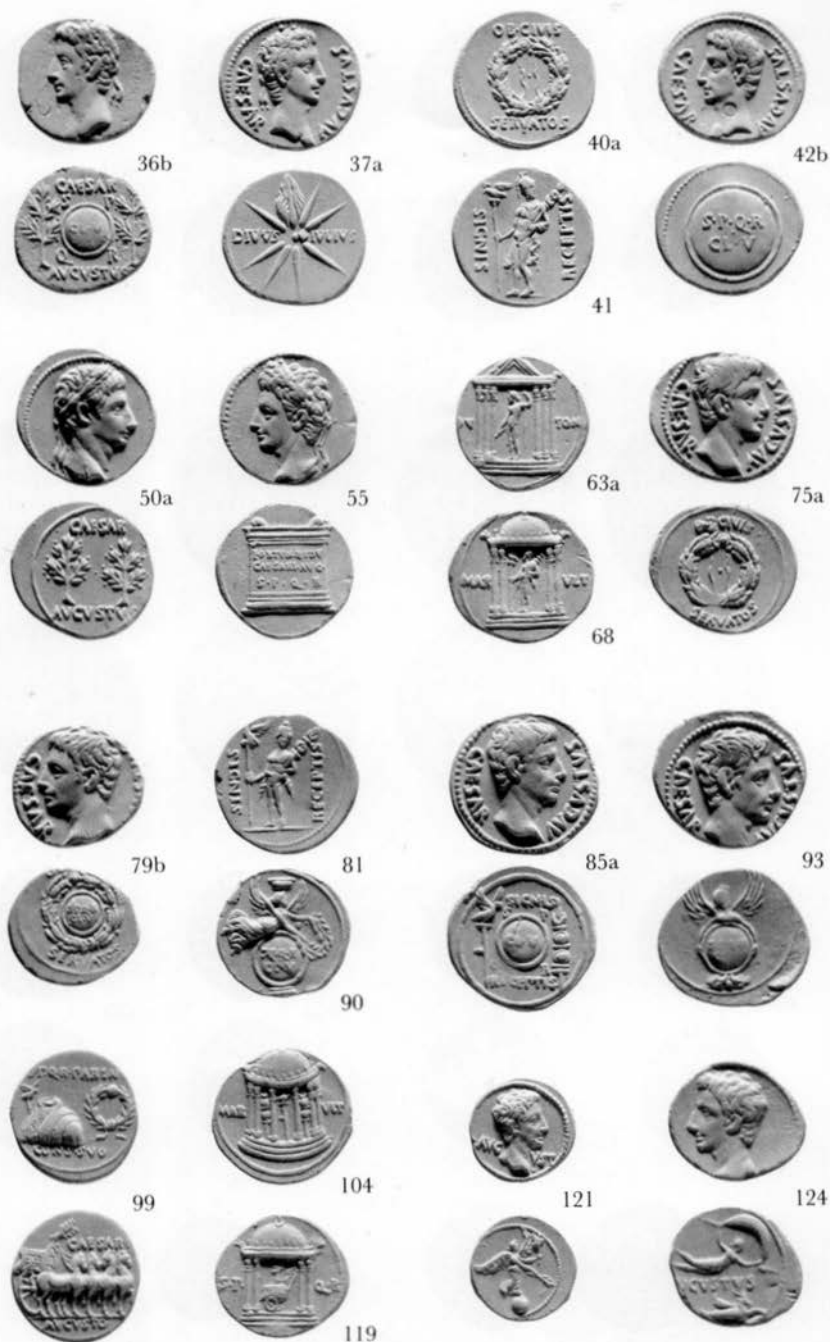
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## PLATES

1.	AUGUSTUS	Emerita; Spanish 'Uncertain mint 1'
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3.	"	Spanish 'Uncertain mint 2'; Nemausus; Lugdunum
4.	"	Lugdunum; Treveri (?)
5.	"	Uncertain mints of Italy; Rome
6.	"	Rome
7.	"	Rome
8.	"	Rome; North Peloponnesian mint; Samos (?); Ephesus; Ephesus (?)
9.	"	Pergamum
10.	"	Provincia Asia; Antioch; Cyrenaica; Uncertain mints
11.	TIBERIUS	Lugdunum; Rome
12.	"	Rome
13.	"	Caesarea Cappadociae; Commagene
	GAIUS	Lugdunum; Rome
14.	"	Rome
15.	"	Caesarea Cappadociae
	CLAUDIUS	Lugdunum; Rome
16.	"	Rome
17.	"	Rome, Ephesus; Pergamum; Caesarea Cappadociae
	NERO	Rome
18.	"	Rome
19.	"	Rome
20.	"	Rome; Lugdunum
21.	"	Lugdunum
22.	"	Caesarea Cappadociae
	CLODIUS MACER	Carthage (?)
23.	CIVIL WARS	Spain; Gaul; 'Augustus' and 'Divus Augustus'
24.	"	'Augustus' and 'Divus Augustus'; 'Military'; Gallic Revolt; Africa
	GALBA	Spanish mint (Tarraco?)
25.	"	Spanish mint (Tarraco?); Gaul (Vienna?, Narbo?, Lugdunum)
26.	"	Gaul (Lugdunum); Rome
27.	"	Rome
28.	"	Rome
29.	"	Rome; Africa (Carthage?)
30.	VITELLIUS	Spain (Tarraco?); Gaul, Lugdunum; Rome
31.	"	Rome
32.	"	Rome



1. AUGUSTUS. Emerita (1-18); Spanish 'Uncertain mint I' (28-33).



2. AUGUSTUS. Spanish 'Uncertain mint 1' (36-42); Spanish 'Uncertain mint 2' (50-124).



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138



140



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154



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158



159



164a



167b



171a



173a



180



185



187a



3. AUGUSTUS. Spanish 'Uncertain mint 2' (128-48); Nemausus (155-9); Lugdunum (164-87).



4. AUGUSTUS. Lugdunum (188-237); Treveri (?) (249).







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7. AUGUSTUS. Rome (358-423).



433



469



472



473



474



475



476



481



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485



8. AUGUSTUS. Rome (433-69); North Peloponnesian mint (472-4); Samos (?) (475); Ephesus (476-81); Ephesus (?) (483-5).



491



493



499



504



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9. AUGUSTUS. Pergamum (491-519).



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543a



545



547b



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10. AUGUSTUS. Provincia Asia (527); Antioch (528); Cyrenaica (534-5);  
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11. TIBERIUS. Lugdunum (3-32); Rome (33-48).



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13. TIBERIUS. Caesarea Cappadociae (86); Commagene (90).  
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14. GAIUS. Rome (39-58).



15. GAIUS. Caesarea Cappadociae (59-60).  
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102



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17. CLAUDIUS. Rome (107-13); Ephesus (118-19); Pergamum (120-1); Caesarea Cappadociae (122-4).  
NERO. Rome (1-10).



18. NERO. Rome (17-88).



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116



126



130



138



147



161



182



202



214



262



270



274



283



291



307



323



357



372







374



381



393



402



439



458



491



551





53



61



70



80



85



91



96



99



105



110



127



132



25. GALBA. Spanish mint (Tarraco?) (53-80); Gaul (Vienna?, Narbo?, Lugdunum) (85-132).



607



608



610



614



612



615



618



619



622



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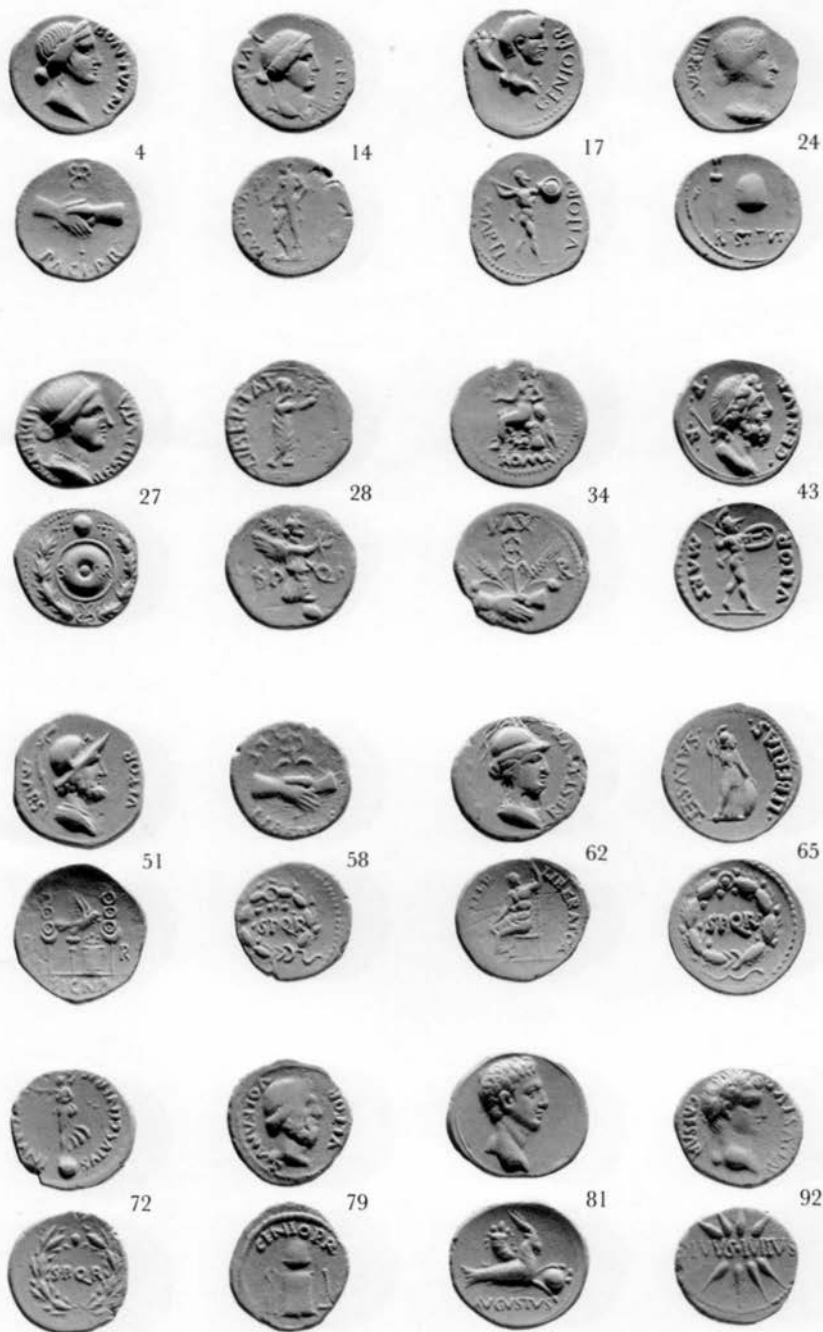
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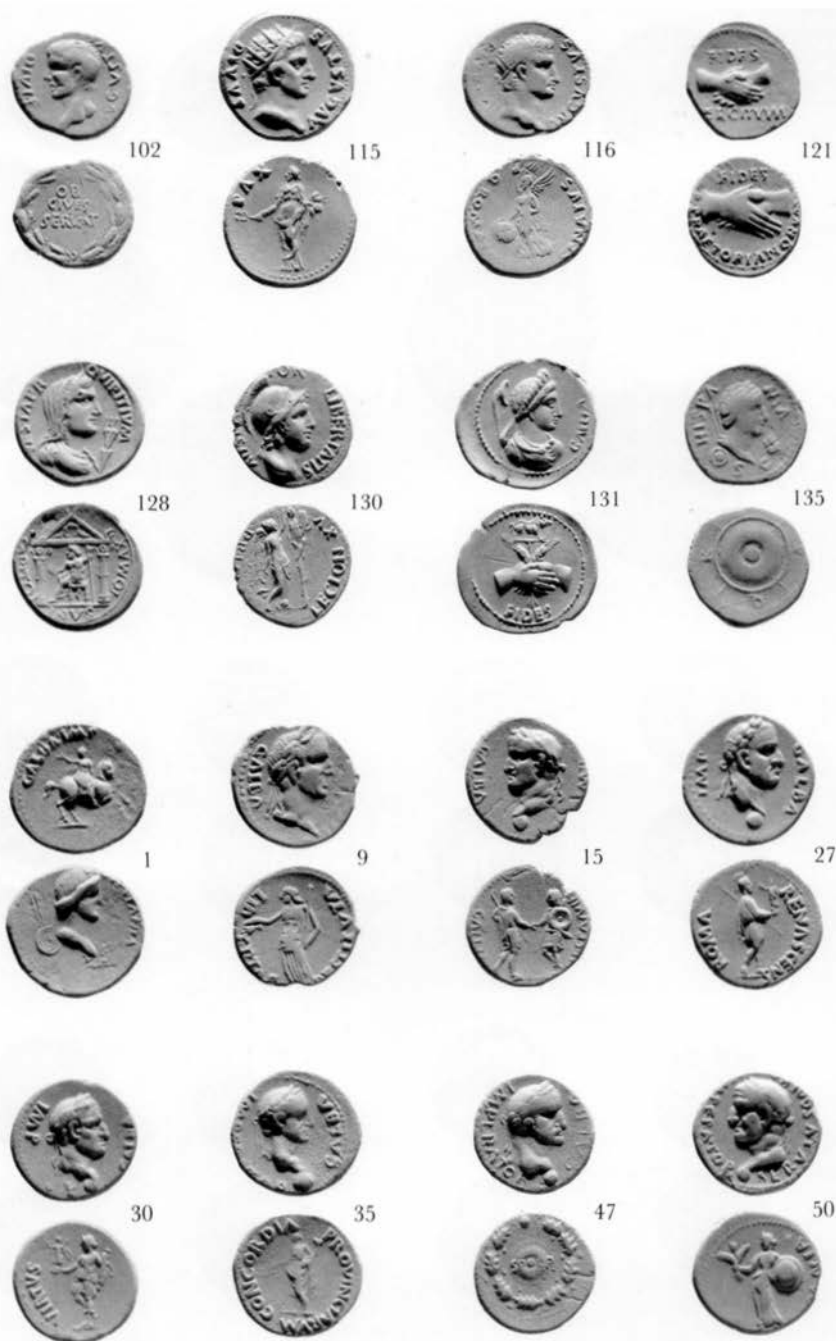
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22. NERO. Caesarea Cappadociae (607-22).  
CLODIUS MACER. Carthage (?) (6-41).



23. CIVIL WARS. Spain (4-34); Gaul (43-79); 'Augustus' and 'Divus Augustus' (81-92).



24. CIVIL WARS. 'Augustus' and 'Divus Augustus' (102-16); 'Military' (121-8); Gallic Revolt (130-1); Africa (135).  
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135



143



148



160



166



179



184



199



216



227



232





239



263



284



304



322



334



340





395



420



466



473



475



479



487





489



504



514



515



517



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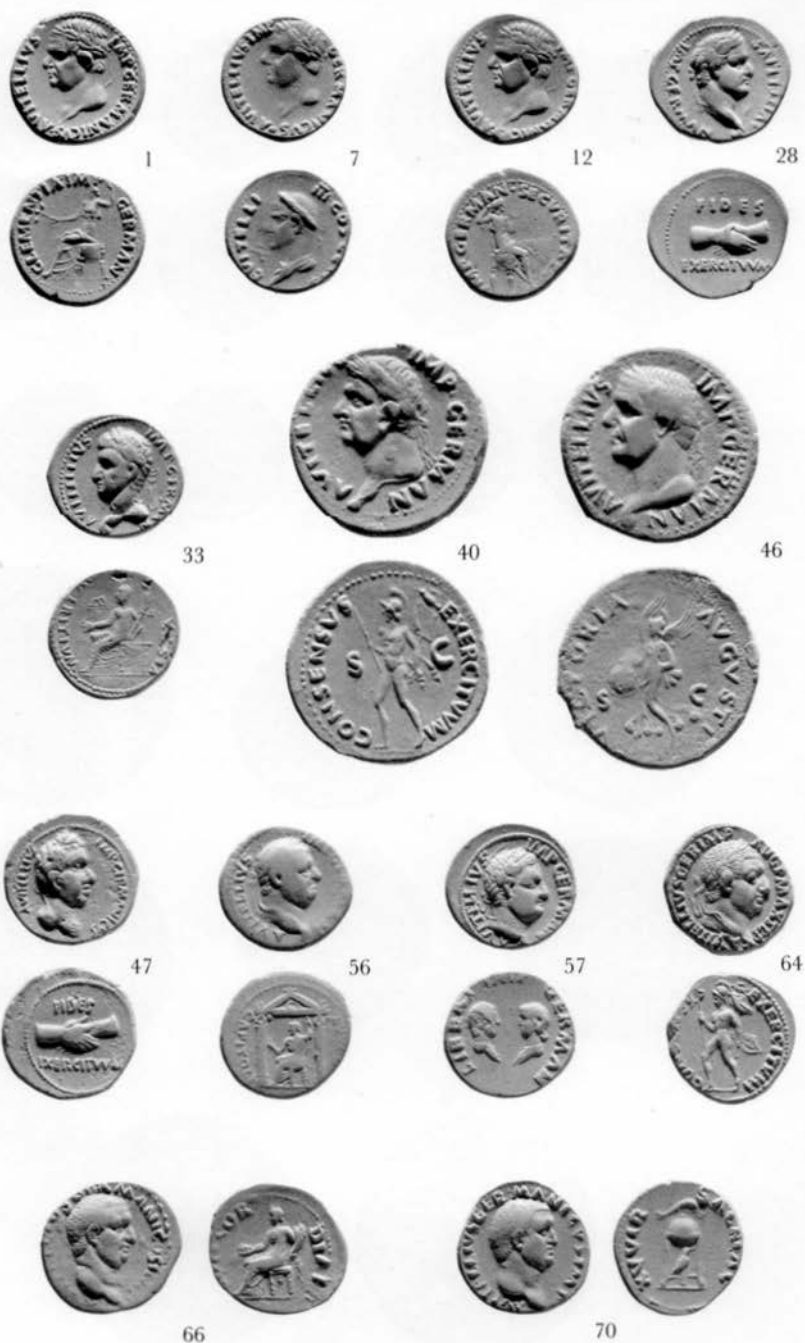
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29. GALBA. Rome (489-514); Africa (Carthage?) (515-17).  
OTHO. Rome (3-24).



30. VITELLIUS. Spain (Tarraco?) (1-46); Gaul (Lugdunum) (47-64); Rome (66-70).



76



78



94



101



106



110



121



125



130



134





136



147



151



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166



169

