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UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA  
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**THE EMPEROR, THE ARMY AND THE COINAGE: FOUR QUANTITATIVE  
STUDIES**

**SUBMITTED AS REQUIREMENT FOR MASTER IN ARTS IN CLASSICAL STUDIES**



**PATRIZIA HUOT**  
Ottawa, Canada, 1996  
**FEBRUARY 1996**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **THE EMPEROR, THE ARMY AND THE COINAGE: FOUR QUANTITATIVE**

**STUDIES** examines two important and related questions by whose authority Roman imperial coinage was produced and who was responsible for the selection of coin types. When studying the question of authority, one must consider the coin types' audience and in particular the role of the army as the most likely recipient.

In this context, four emperors (Hadrian, Pius, Vespasian and Severus) and their military coinage was studied in order to establish that military emperors produced military coinage while non-military emperors preferred to issue non-military coinage. This study supports several scholars' theories that the emperor played an important role in coin types' selection and that the army was an important recipient of that coinage.

## PREFACE

Several problems were encountered during the composition of this work. While some are well known to the Department of Classical Studies, others are of a technical nature. Perhaps the most serious drawback which prevented me to submit this thesis earlier was a computer malfunction that resulted in the loss of some of my data. However, thanks to the Department of Computer Services at the Supreme Court of Canada, I was able to recover most of it. Nevertheless, even if this computer malfunction was corrected, one may still encounter certain inconsistencies or format problems. Hopefully, if such errors are present, they will be minimal.

Furthermore, realizing the economic hardships facing all Canadian universities at this time, I hope that my thesis will demonstrate the importance of keeping alive the Graduate Studies programme in Classics at the University of Ottawa. Since my enrolment as a graduate student at the University of Ottawa, I was particularly impressed by the commitment of my advisor, Richard Burgess to the Department and the way he supported me throughout the entire period of my research. Furthermore, being presently enrolled in the Faculty of Law of the University of Ottawa, I cannot begin to stress the importance of a classic education. To cut the Department of Classical Studies and its Graduate Programme would be a major loss to a university founded on classic principles.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to my family and thank Kevin Haché.

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## GLOSSARY

AU	GOLD (AUREUS)
AR	SILVER (DENARIUS)
AE	BRONZE
Q	QUINARIUS (GOLD OR SILVER)
S	SESTERTIUS
SEM	SEMIASSES
QUAD	QUADRANTES
AS	AS
DP	DUPONDIUS
=	SAME LEGEND OR DESCRIPTION
C	COMMON
S	SCARCE
R	RARE
R2	VERY RARE
R3	EXTREMELY RARE
R4	EXCEPTIONALLY RARE

## INTRODUCTION

When I approached my advisor for a possible MA topic on Roman numismatics, he suggested that I examine two important and related questions: first, by whose authority Roman imperial coinage was produced, and second who was responsible for the selection of types.<sup>1</sup> As I soon realized, this most problematic question is quite recent, for until the end of the twentieth century most scholars adopted the view that the emperors, from Augustus onwards, were the supreme source of authority within the Roman state for all aspects of government, and this must also have included the sphere of coinage.

Unfortunately, this hypothesis was based more on the strict monetary control exercised by medieval and post-medieval monarchs than on explicit ancient Roman testimony, since the literary sources do not provide any account of either the theory or practice of early imperial coinage. There are, however, occasional allusions to coinage in the ancient sources, and in one exceptional case Pliny the Elder offers a very short statement on Roman coinage, which has only served to confuse modern scholars because of its numerous inaccuracies.<sup>2</sup>

Since the literary sources do not provide an explanation for authority, recent scholars have turned to the coins themselves to test long-held assumptions about authority and minting practice. It has been above all during the past few years that this question has received more attention by modern scholars, who have focused on four main areas to determine the ultimate authority of coinage<sup>3</sup>: first, the mechanics of the choice of the types, i.e. that is, the design;

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<sup>1</sup> See Sutherland (1976), p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Sutherland (1976), pp. 6-7; Pliny, HN xxxiii, 3.

<sup>3</sup> See, for example, Sutherland (1983); Crawford (1983); Levick (1981); and Wallace-Hadrill (1981) and (1986).

second, the intelligibility of the legends and types; third, for what audience the coins were minted; and fourth, the occasions for which particular issues were minted.

From my research, I discovered a wide spectrum of opinion.<sup>4</sup> On one hand, earlier scholars considered imperial coinage as a propagandist tool used by emperors to promote the various features of their reign that they wished to bring to the attention of the whole population.<sup>5</sup> This view, however, was influenced by contemporary events; but many later scholars have expressed scepticism.<sup>6</sup> Scholars, like A.H.M. Jones, for instance, believed that the primary function of coinage was economic, and compared imperial coin types to the designs on postage stamps: attractive but useless. Jones also objected to the types' alleged propagandist purposes by arguing that the Latin legends meant nothing to the Eastern half of the Empire, which spoke Greek, and in the West most were illiterate and those who could read had better things to do.<sup>7</sup>

In response, the late C.H.V. Sutherland, although agreeing with Jones' view that the primary function of coinage was economic, vigourously argued the case for imperial coins as organs of information.<sup>8</sup> Sutherland did not believe that the coins' legends were unintelligible, for

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<sup>4</sup> See, for example, Grant (1946); Jones (1956), Sutherland (1959), (1976), (1983); Levick (1981); Wallace-Hadrill (1981) and (1986); and Crawford (1983).

<sup>5</sup> Grant (1946), p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> Media such as printing, radio, T.V., and cinema have been exploited by totalitarian governments to promote their own interests, and it has therefore become natural for historians to see the Principate as exploiting the coinage, the only similar medium available to Roman emperors, in a similar way.

<sup>7</sup> Jones (1956), pp. 14-15.

<sup>8</sup> Sutherland (1959), p. 54 and (1983), p. 73.

there would have been no point to such great variety - over 2,000 types and legends produced by the Julio-Claudian Dynasty alone - if no one could understand them.<sup>9</sup>

Michael Crawford tried to simplify matters. Based on both ancient sources and Greek and Roman coins, he saw the obverse, which depicted the issuing authority, as the most noticeable feature on ancient coins.<sup>10</sup> Crawford disagreed with Sutherland that the coin types represented the different concepts and attitudes of the imperial government and rather explained the great variety of coin types as a result of accident and human nature; the emperor may have given general directives to ensure that his coinage represented his personality but he showed little official interest in it and it was each mint that did its best to satisfy its patron.<sup>11</sup>

Barbara Levick opposed Sutherland's view that coin types were a means of making things known to the public, such as the princeps' merits, achievements, and policies.<sup>12</sup> Like Crawford, Levick rejected the hypothesis that the princeps was involved in selecting coin types in order to present a favourable image of himself or his regime to the world. Instead she proposed an inversion of the traditional picture: the wide variety of types originated with the mint officials who were offering symbols of respect to the emperor through designs that they found the most appealing.<sup>13</sup> Levick compared this system to Imperial literature: just as writers would render

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<sup>9</sup> Sutherland (1983), p. 74.

<sup>10</sup> Crawford (1983), pp. 54-5.

<sup>11</sup> Crawford (1983), p. 59.

<sup>12</sup> Levick (1981), p. 105.

<sup>13</sup> Levick (1981), p. 108.

hommage to the emperor in their poetry, so the mint officials would honour the princeps through their coins.

Finally, Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, as Crawford and Levick, disagreed with Sutherland that coins could be conceived of as newspapers or as representing a total "Reigierungsprogram", a comprehensive view of the aims and the activities of a government.<sup>14</sup> Wallace-Hadrill admitted that imperial coin designs are elusive because of our ignorance of the mechanics of selection, but he stated that it was erroneous to believe that the emperor was oblivious to the subsidiary potential of coins or that their message was incomprehensible. However, Wallace-Hadrill later began to side with Levick's model of mechanics of selection, for if the mint officials were responsible for coin-types, this would align coinage with the main types of imperial public language like panegyric and court poetry.<sup>15</sup> Therefore, influenced by Levick's model, Wallace-Hadrill rejected Crawford's theory on the importance of the obverse of imperial coins, and proposed that both the obverse and especially the reverse represented authority.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, he considered both obverse and reverse value-laden, for the obverse symbolizes the authority of the emperor based on ideal consent, while the reverse specifies the reasons why he is respected, therefore paying tribute to the emperor.

Based on these opinions, I soon became aware that the debate involving the selection of coin types and their purpose(s) was a complex question, demanding years of study, and one that could

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<sup>14</sup> Wallace-Hadrill (1981), p. 37.

<sup>15</sup> Wallace-Hadrill (1986), p. 67.

<sup>16</sup> Wallace-Hadrill (1986), p. 68.

obviously not be tackled in an MA thesis. However, I thought that there was another possible way to approach a single aspect of the problem of authority by using a simpler and more quantitative method. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill has argued that closer attention should be paid to the connection between the occasions on which coins were minted and the "messages" they carried, especially in relation to the recurring themes of military success, which was undoubtedly connected with the importance of the payment of the troops.<sup>17</sup> This seemed a more manageable topic, and so I decided to examine more fully Wallace-Hadrill's hypothesis of the importance of the army in relation to the selection of coin types.

From what I had already read, there was no question that when studying the authority of imperial coinage the possible "audience" of the coinage should also be identified. If historians accept that coin types were some sort of publicity tool for the emperor, we must discover to whom he was speaking, for only then will any non-economic role of the coinage be determined. Therefore, was it possible to determine whether the army was an important "audience" for the reception of imperial coin types? Many historians and numismatists have agreed that the largest recipient of imperial coinage was the army, and this is not at all surprising in a state so dependent on armed forces.<sup>18</sup> In the history of the Roman world, the army played a dominant role, especially in the late Republic and the Principate; the extension of the frontiers and the security

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<sup>17</sup> Wallace-Hadrill (1981), p. 34.

<sup>18</sup> See for example, Jones (1956), p. 59; Sutherland (1959), p. 53; Sutherland (1976), p. 16; Sutherland (1986a), p. 109; Crawford (1974), pp. 394-95; Burnett (1987), p. 24; Duncan-Jones (1994), pp. 33-46; Wallace-Hadrill (1981), p. 36; Wallace-Hadrill (1986), p. 84.

of the state were in the hands of the soldiers, and were guaranteed only through their loyalty and, most importantly through their *stipendium*.

The *stipendium* was the most important consideration when the government drew up its "annual budget". In the later Republic, because of a shortage of money, coins began to be struck outside of Rome for the army's pay. This most unusual situation began with Sulla in the East, and occurred periodically during the Civil Wars, as military generals issued coins based on their tenure of *imperium* to provide money for their troops. Similarly, one of the main problems which faced Augustus after 31 B.C. was the payment of a large standing army.<sup>19</sup> In addition, as noted by J.B. Campbell, in the Principate the recurrent cost of paying the army must have been the single most important financial obligation faced by every emperor.<sup>20</sup> Campbell estimated that by the first century A.D. the expenditure of the army consumed at least 20% to 50% of the available state revenue (approximately 800 million sesterces).<sup>21</sup> The financial burden was further increased by regular and irregular donatives and largesses - usually distributed to soldiers to celebrate particular events, such as imperial anniversaries - and by financial disbursements for veteran soldiers.<sup>22</sup>

In the later Empire, it is clear that the army became a mercenary force and at times was for sale to the highest bidder.<sup>23</sup> The events of 68-69 clearly show that the army could be

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<sup>19</sup> Sutherland (1976), p. 11.

<sup>20</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 162.

<sup>21</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 162.

<sup>22</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 166

<sup>23</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 197.

successfully bribed against a well-established dynasty.<sup>24</sup> Later, the army became increasingly more a mercenary force, and power hungry individuals did not hesitate to bid for its support for the ultimate control of the Empire, as can be seen most clearly in the case of Didius Julianus. Historically, the importance of the army to the emperor cannot be denied. However, can this importance be demonstrated in the sphere of the coinage and the related question of authority? The method for answering this question was provided by Wallace-Hadrill himself: count all military coin types and non-military coin types issued by every emperor and try to relate them to military events.<sup>25</sup>

What would be the importance of such a study? If the minting authority expected that types and legends could be important and would be read by those for whom the coinage was originally intended, then the army, as the single largest verifiable recipient of imperial coinage, should be observable in the coin types as a "target" of imperial commentary. Thus the military should figure largely in imperial coin types. Second, the closer the emperor was to the army and the more he relied upon the army, the more the army should figure in the coinage. Military emperors should devote a proportionally higher number of types to the army than non-military emperors, i.e. those emperors whose position did not depend upon the army and those who did not significantly rely upon its activity during their "reign" for civil or foreign wars.

If all three of these propositions could be demonstrated from the coinage, it would be an important step towards showing that someone used the coinage as a means of disseminating

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<sup>24</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 197.

<sup>25</sup> Wallace-Hadrill (1981), p. 37 and (1986), p. 84.

information, the chief target being the army and that "someone" probably being the emperor. Whether the intended audience actually paid attention to the information or not, is a question that cannot be pursued here, though I believe it can be demonstrated that it did. Wallace-Hadrill's suggestion seemed to offer a certain objective and quantitative approach to a controversial question, one that allowed for certain limited parameters. I so decided to put his ideas to the test.

### **Methodology:**

Two major difficulties arose in undertaking such a study: first, by the constraints of length imposed on an MA thesis, and, second, by since no one had undertaken this type of research before it was necessary to formulate a methodology that would reveal the many possibilities of Wallace-Hadrill's hypothesis. Obviously, it was not possible to study all the coin types ever issued by every emperor of the Principate. It was therefore decided to limit research to the coin types of only four emperors. These emperors were chosen randomly, based on whether they were considered to be "military" (Vespasian and Septimius Severus) or not (Hadrian and Antonius Pius).<sup>26</sup> The reason for the study of non-military emperors was to offer a control group for purposes of comparison.

Next, it was necessary to decide what constituted a military coin type. Again, because of the lack of research in this area, certain parameters had to be set. My starting point was to study only the coins reported in the Roman Imperial Coinage for each of the four emperors. On the basis of a preliminary assessment, it was decided that the most overtly military references

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<sup>26</sup> It must stressed that this selection was done simply by reading the lives of several emperors and picking at random those which interested me.

appeared on the reverse of the coins, it therefore seemed appropriate to concentrate on reverses only, even though the obverse sometimes contained military references. Certain military characteristics were looked for in the reverse type itself. For example, scenes displaying captives or obviously military activity; the emperor saluting his troops; military deities such as Victory, Virtus, Mars, or Minerva; conquered provinces; representations of legions; triumphal processions.

The other criterion for determining a military issue was the reverse legend. In most such cases, the military scenes or deities were accompanied by a military legend, such as IUDAEA-CAPTA, VIRTUS, MARS-VICTOR, CONCORDIA-MILITVM, ROMA-VICTRIX, VICTORIA-NAVALIS, DISCIPLINA, FIDES-EXERCITVVM, or TRIUMPHVS. In a few cases, however, reverse legends had military connotations but the coin type was not itself military for instance, in some of the IMP types. These were included because their military importance could not be denied. Finally, in certain exceptional cases, some coin types and legends seemed to have no obvious military content, but had been included as military coins because previous scholars had identified them as such.

Other limiting parameters were also set. Only the coinage struck in the name of the reigning "Augustus" was considered, and the rest, even if military, was excluded.<sup>27</sup> Thus coinage minted in the name of the emperor's sons, wives or others was not considered. Moreover, coinage identified in the RIC as uncertain, barbarous or hybrid was omitted.

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<sup>27</sup> Each of the catalogues outlines the coinage excluded.

For purposes of comparison, it was also decided to take separate account of both the precious metal (gold and silver) and the bronze issues. Again for the same reasons, it was decided to keep track of the rarity of each military issue, in order to determine whether the coinage was in fact rare or a regular occurrence.

The most difficult task was that of matching the military coins with actual military events. For the most part, it was decided to proceed on the basis of known historical events and the work of modern historians and numismatists. However, since for the most part this was not possible, it became necessary to speculate simply on the basis of historical and numismatic evidence. The most obvious difficulty encountered was, of course, that any particular issue could have been minted several years after any particular event being commemorated. Furthermore, it was sometimes difficult to determine whether any particular coin actually referred to a known or an unknown event.

In order to calculate the number of types for my ratios of military coinage to non-military coinage, each RIC number was counted as a separate "type". Even if a coin type was described with a series of letters such as 21A-D, or if a single RIC number described coins of gold and silver or of different denominations, it was only counted once.

To facilitate analysis of the coin types for each of the emperors, two classifications were introduced: soft types and hard types. A soft type is a coin which does not have a military legend and has only a vague or general military reference. A hard type makes specific and explicit reference to military activities and victory, especially in the reverse legend. This terminology was introduced after a dichotomy was noticed between coin types issued by the non-military and

military emperors. The calculation of the hard and soft types was done from the totals already calculated in my catalogue.

The thesis itself is composed of four chapters, one for each emperor. Each chapter includes a discussion of the emperor's relationship with the army, a study of his military coinage, a short summary and analysis, and a table of all military types with ratios of military to non-military types. A final analysis presents the conclusions and observations.

Finally, this study was extremely complex. To my knowledge, this type of study has not been attempted by no one before and is most likely not free of both error of fact and interpretation. None the less, I believe that I have been able to shed new light into the importance of the military forces at work with respect to the authority and reception debates.

## VESPASIAN

(69-79)

Nero's death on 9 June, 68, marked the end of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and the beginning of civil strife throughout the Empire. In theory, the Senate and the People of Rome continued as the source of supreme power; however, in reality, supreme power rested with the powerful army commanders in the provinces.<sup>28</sup> Ultimately, the events of the years 68-69 revealed the best kept secret of the Principate: it was possible for an emperor to be made outside of Rome.<sup>29</sup> For the first time in the history of the Empire, men of energy and ambition outside the ruling family could become aspirants to the "throne". Furthermore, military power and money became inextricably linked with becoming and being emperor.<sup>30</sup>

In this period, promises and donatives became the most important and direct way of persuading large numbers of troops quickly. As a result, four commanders, backed by their powerful troops, were or became *princeps* in 69, also known as "the year of the four emperors". However, only one commander, Vespasian, was able to remain in power and at last bring a stable government to the Empire.<sup>31</sup> Thus, a new age had begun in the Empire - the Flavian Dynasty (69-96).

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<sup>28</sup> Sutherland (1974), p. 173.

<sup>29</sup> Tacitus, Histories 1.4.

<sup>30</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 191.

<sup>31</sup> Suetonius, Vesp. 1.

### Vespasian's Origins and *Cursus Honorum*<sup>32</sup>

It is not certain what occurred in the first fifteen years of Vespasian's life. However in 28-29 he most probably served in one of the four boards that made up the vigintivirate.<sup>33</sup> Vespasian was appointed as *tribunus laticlavus* in Thrace, and returned to Rome sometime before 34.<sup>34</sup> After Gaius' murder, Vespasian was given his first responsible command, and was appointed by the new government of Claudius in 43-47 as *legatus Legionis II Augustae*, and campaigned in Britain with both Legions XIV and XX from Mainz and Neuss.<sup>35</sup> Vespasian proceeded to Britain where, according to Suetonius, he fought at least thirty battles and reduced to submission the Belgae and the Durotriges.<sup>36</sup> In November and December of 51, he became

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<sup>32</sup> Nicols, (1978), p. 1. Our main ancient source is Suetonius' Vespasian 2-4. Scattered details may also be found in Josephus' Jewish War, Tacitus' Histories and Annales, and Dio's Roman History.

<sup>33</sup> Nicols (1978), p. 2. There is no evidence to indicate which office Vespasian held in the vigintivirate. However, Buttrey (1972, p. 108) proposes the possible date of 31-34 for Vespasian's entry to the vigintivirate, based on numismatic evidence. Buttrey hypothesizes that Vespasian held the position of *tresviri monetales* during this period because Vespasian's own issues as emperor showed a historical knowledge of Roman coinage and a Tiberian flavour that he would only have acquired during his earliest experience in the office of the triumvirate under Tiberius. Furthermore, two reverse types struck under Tiberius of the globe and rudder, and the caduceus appear nowhere else in subsequent imperial coinage until both reverse types appear together as obverse and reverse respectively in 76 in the quadrantes of Vespasian (RIC III, n. 586). However, Nicols disagrees with Buttrey's theory based on the findings of McAlindon (1957, pp.190-195).

<sup>34</sup> Keinast (1990), p. 109 ; Nicols, (1978), pp. 3-8; Suetonius, Vesp. 5.3.

<sup>35</sup> Keienast (1990), p.109; Dilke (1979), p. 393.

<sup>36</sup> Keinast (1990), p. 109; Suetonius, Vesp. 4.1.and 4.2; Nicols (1978), p. 9; Dilke (1979), p. 395. In 44 or 47, Vespasian returned to Rome and received the *ornamenta triumphalia*, and thereafter received two priesthoods.

suffect consul, and was appointed proconsul of Africa in 63-64.<sup>37</sup> When he returned to Rome, Vespasian became intimate with Nero, and as senior senator, a man of some influence. It was only in 66-67, however, that he became *legatus Augusti pro praetore* in Iudaea.<sup>38</sup>

Vespasian was chosen by Nero as commander under a special commission to wage war in Palestine because he had shown himself an energetic commander and it was thought that he would not abuse his considerable powers because he came from such a modest background.<sup>39</sup> Throughout the war, Vespasian had shown himself as a born soldier and men compared him with the generals of the old Republic.<sup>40</sup> By Nero's death, he had largely subdued Judaea, apart from Jerusalem, but suddenly he stopped campaigning.<sup>41</sup>

### **Vespasian's Rise to Power and His Empire**

When the struggles among Galba, Otho, Vitellius, and Vespasian erupted, these generals were dependent on their armies' support not only to gain power but also to remain as emperor of

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<sup>37</sup> Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4.3; Nicols (1979), p. 9) mentions that Vespasian was older than most when he attained the consulship. However, this was an acceptable age for any *novus homo* to reach the culmination of his official career (cf. Syme (1958), p. 654).

<sup>38</sup> Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4.4; Tacitus, *Annales* 16.5.3. According to our ancient sources, Vespasian had offended Nero while touring Greece in 66-67, because he fell asleep during one of Nero's recitals during the Quinquennial Games of 65. Consequently, Vespasian fled Rome and hid until he was offered the military post in Judaea.

<sup>39</sup> Suetonius, *Vesp.* 4. The situation in Palestine had become critical when the Syrian legate Cestius Gallus had tried unsuccessfully to put down unrest that had arisen in Judaea and on retreating from Jerusalem to Syria he had lost some 6,000 men, with the decisive defeat coming in early November 66.

<sup>40</sup> Syme (1958), p. 40; Tacitus, *Histories* 2.5.1; Tacitus, *Histories* 1.10.

<sup>41</sup> Tacitus, *Histories* 2.4

the Roman empire. Thus Vitellius was set up by Galba's discontented legions; in turn, Galba was killed and replaced by the Praetorian guards with their choice of Otho because Galba had not honoured the promise of a donative to them.

Consequently, when Vespasian had aspirations for the "throne" soon after Galba's death, he quickly reconciled himself with the governor of Syria, Mucianus, in order to get a large military back-up. Vespasian also chose to support Otho and wait for the outcome of his struggle against Vitellius.<sup>42</sup> Otho was eventually defeated near Cremona by the Vitellian troops, and committed suicide (16 April, 69).

Like Galba and Otho, Vitellius' biggest mistake was with the army. As a result, Vitellius' soldiers lost all discipline, especially when their promised donatives were not paid by the new emperor. Not surprisingly, Vespasian was acclaimed imperial candidate by the legions of Tiberius Alexander, prefect of Egypt, on July 1, 69, a date which became later celebrated as his *dies imperii*.<sup>43</sup>

Vespasian's revolt was a well organized scheme, which received support and direction from the top and not from an undisciplined and discontented soldiery.<sup>44</sup> Although it is not certain when these plans were devised, it seems likely that they must have been discussed as soon as Mucianus and Vespasian worked out their differences.<sup>45</sup> As early as 69, Vespasian, when computing his chances for civil war, relied upon the III Gallica in Moesia because it had

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<sup>42</sup> Suetonius, Vesp. 5.1; Nicols (1979), p. 92-93.

<sup>43</sup> Suetonius, Vesp. 6; Sullivan (1953), p. 68; Keinast (1990), p. 108.

<sup>44</sup> Ferill (1965), p. 268; Chilver (1957), p. 36.

<sup>45</sup> Chilver (1957), p. 36; Tacitus, Histories 2.5.

belonged to the Syrian garrison and he hoped that the rest of the legions of Illiyr cum would follow suit.<sup>46</sup> Only when Vespasian received support from the legions of Illyrcum did he proceed to Egypt. Obviously, Vespasian did not want to continue with his plans until he had secured an ally in the legions of Egypt (in addition to the legions of both Syria and Judaea), and with it the control of Egypt's grain supply.<sup>47</sup> The excuse for the revolt was a forged letter by Otho to Vespasian to avenge him, which permitted him to get support from Otho's armies (the Danubian legions, the I Adiutrix in Spain, the XIV Gemina in Britain, and the Praetorian Guard in Rome). Thus Mucianus set out with an expeditionary force to threaten Italy, while Vespasian held up the corn ships at Alexandria. However, in August, A. Primus entered Italy with the Danubian armies, and Vespasian became the new emperor, after the defeat of the Vitellian army at the battle of Cremona on 21 December, 69.

Immediately after the battle of Cremona, the Senate accepted Vespasian as the new emperor.<sup>48</sup> Vespasian's legal position and authority were defined by a senatorial decree, the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*, one of our most important epigraphical documents.<sup>49</sup> It seems that the

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<sup>46</sup> Tacitus, *Histories* 2.74.1; Syme (1958), p. 166. Preparations for civil war at such an early date would explain Vespasian's very sudden departure from the Jewish War.

<sup>47</sup> Sullivan (1953), p.69.

<sup>48</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 381. The Senate really had no choice but to vote Vespasian as emperor, since he was backed by a large military force.

<sup>49</sup> ILS 244; Sherk (1988), pp. 124-125. Tacitus, *Histories* 4.3. Controversy has arisen over whether this decree awarded Vespasian supplementary rights, or whether the decree was specifically designed to change or limit the power of the *princeps*. The idea of limiting Vespasian's powers seems inconceivable, since the new emperor was backed by the large military power that was present in Rome at the time of the decree. There is a great deal of literature on the *lex de imperio Vespasiani*. One of the most important studies on this topic is Brunt (1977), pp. 95-116, which is closely followed here. Another excellent contribution on the subject comes

Senate was not simply conferring power but legitimizing it.<sup>50</sup> Thus the vote of the Senate was only a formality, and entirely dependent on the instructions of an already proclaimed emperor backed by a military force.<sup>51</sup>

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from Levi (1970), pp. 178-205, with a good bibliography on p. 205-206.

<sup>50</sup> Levi (1970), p. 187; Wells (1984), p. 173; Brunt (1977), p. 106; Tacitus, Histories 2.80. Since Vespasian adopted the title of Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus as soon as he was acclaimed by his troops on 1 July, 69, he was already acting as emperor from this time. This is attested by a milestone from Judaea dated to 69, which confirms the adoption of Vespasian's titles.

<sup>51</sup> Brunt (1977), p. 107; Campbell (1984), pp. 381-382. The decree not only recognized Vespasian's title, but also simultaneously *gave him imperium proconsulare infinitum maius*, tribunician power and every other imperial prerogative associated with the imperial office.

### Military Campaigns and Reforms

Vespasian received twenty imperatorial acclamations during his nine-year reign.<sup>52</sup>

Since Vespasian did not return to Rome until October, 70, order was temporarily maintained in Rome by Mucianus with the help of Domitian. Therefore, Vespasian turned his attention to other parts of the Empire, where fighting was still going on. It was in the spring of 70 that Titus, now commanding the armies in Judaea, resumed operations there, and by September was able to put down the last resistance in Jerusalem. As a result, a magnificent triumph was held in 71 for both

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<sup>52</sup> Keinast (1990), p. 109. By comparison, Augustus received twenty-one imperatorial acclamations over 58 years, while Domitian twenty-three over eleven years. Since it is very difficult to determine with accuracy which military event is related to each IMP salutation, the following table is tentative.

<b>IMPERATORIAL SALUTATION</b>	<b>MILITARY EVENT</b>
IMP II-V (70)	IMP II - Proclamation of Vespasian IMP V - Fall of Jerusalem, disasters in Gaul followed by victories and end of revolt. Civilis' forces in Gaul defeated the Romans and capture of standards
IMP VI-VIII (71)	Judaic Triumph and military action of Cerealis in Britain (71-74). Civilis lost Roman standards recaptured by Domitian
IMP IX-X (72)	
IMP XI (73)	
IMP XII-XIV (74)	Frontinus conquers most of Wales (74-78)
IMP XV-XVIII (76)	Parthia invade Syria. Minor victories over Parthia
IMP XIX (77 or 78)	
IMP XX (78)	Agricola conquers the Scottish lowlands

Titus and Vespasian to celebrate the capture of Judaea, which truly represented a solid and authentic military success.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, this victory was much advertised, and celebrated on special issues of precious metal and bronze coinage with legend IUDAEA CAPTA. The submission of Judaea was not only a great military achievement, but also represented the *Pax Romana* that Vespasian's policy had promised the Roman world, just as Augustus had done after Actium.<sup>54</sup> It was also in late 71 which the Roman standards that had been lost in Gaul in early 70 were recaptured from Civilis.

Consequently, after the success of the Jewish campaign, Vespasian had to devise a programme that would deter any reoccurrence of the events of the years 68 and 69. Thus Vespasian adopted a policy of restoration similar to that of Augustus.<sup>55</sup> As a result, Vespasian began his new policy by first focusing on the army. Discipline had to be restored, and through reforms, Vespasian reinstated the army's professional character.<sup>56</sup> From the time of Augustus onwards, the army possessed less and less of a unified national and Italian character, and became

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<sup>53</sup> Josephus, *Jewish War* 7.122-56.

<sup>54</sup> Soon after the triumph of 71, there was another ceremony celebrating peace on both land and sea, when the doors of the Temple of Janus were closed. Furthermore, as attested by Josephus, Vespasian wrote an account of this war in now lost *Commentarii*, where he developed the theme of the *Pax Romana*, one of the most important pillars of his advertisement as seen in the numismatic evidence (Bianco (1965), pp. 158-168); this is fully discussed below.

<sup>55</sup> Scott (1936), p. 3; Homo (1949), p. 193; Isager (1976), p. 64. In order to establish himself and his dynasty, Vespasian had to emphasize his role as restorer of liberty and peace. Thus Vespasian's advertisement purposely used Augustan themes which drew parallels between the great deeds of Augustus and his own. This is especially supported by the coins of Vespasian which continually display Augustan types.

<sup>56</sup> Homo (1949), p. 193 and p. 317. Along with the *Pax Romana* in the Empire, Vespasian also promoted peace among the soldiers.

more regionalised.<sup>57</sup> As a result, many uprisings and revolts occurred among the armies, which could therefore become dangerous for the future of the principate and the emperor himself. Thus although recruitment continued from several areas of the Empire, Vespasian made sure that he not only mixed up troops, but also sent armies with regional ties to different areas. He also excluded Italians from recruitment for the legions, and reduced the number of armies in the interior while increasing the number of armies in the frontiers.<sup>58</sup> In addition, Vespasian improved conditions for the soldiers but firmly opposed extravagant gifts or donatives to the army.<sup>59</sup> He also awarded important political posts to his most competent and loyal military officers.<sup>60</sup>

Vespasian also reduced the Praetorian guard, enlarged by Vitellus to 16, to its old size of 9.<sup>61</sup> Furthermore, Vespasian increased the legions from 28 to 29. He dissolved four of the legions of the Rhine, namely, the I and IV Macedonica and XV-XVI Primigenia. However, Vespasian replaced these legions by five new ones: VII Gemina, I-II Adiutrix, IV Flavia and XVI Flavia Firma. Vespasian brought about these changes not only to ensure that Vitellian troops

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<sup>57</sup> Homo (1949), p. 138. For example, the army of the Rhine was of a Gallo-Germanic character, while the army in Italy contained soldiers recruited from Italy.

<sup>58</sup> Homo (1949), p. 319.

<sup>59</sup> Tacitus, *Histories* 82.2. As already mentioned, after the battle of Cremona the soldiers were only given a small donative. Furthermore, the army's pay was not increased until the time of Domitian.

<sup>60</sup> Nicols (1978), p. 8. As Nicols mentions, these officers became the fathers, grandfathers and uncles of important men in the subsequent history of Rome. A new governing class evolved over the next century-and-a-half which traced the first prominence of its families to Vespasian's officers.

<sup>61</sup> Homo (1949), p. 317.

would not occupy dangerous positions, but also to diminish the number of soldiers in the interior in comparison to the armies at the frontiers.<sup>62</sup>

Since order was restored in all the frontiers and provinces, except that in Britain and Germany, Vespasian over the next few years set out to extend the limits of Roman-held territory in these two provinces, in order to re-establish unity in the Empire.<sup>63</sup> Thus from 71 to 78 Rome spread all over Britain, except in the Scottish Highlands and in the North military bases were established.<sup>64</sup> Three successful military campaigns were launched against Britain.<sup>65</sup> First, Cerialis (71-74) established York as a main military base in the North-East of the Empire. Second, Frontinus (74-78) conquered most of Wales. Finally, Agricola (78) conquered the Scottish lowlands. Similarly in Germany between 73-74, Vespasian brought the Black Forest area under control, and several new forts and roads were built; the *limes* system was also begun under Vespasian, but was only developed under Hadrian.

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<sup>62</sup> Homo (1949), p. 319.

<sup>63</sup> Homo (1949), p. 195. Vespasian wanted to rely on the natural boundaries of these territories. This had been done earlier by Augustus and followed by his successors.

<sup>64</sup> Dilke (1979), pp. 397-398.

<sup>65</sup> Dilke (1979), pp. 393-398, explains all these campaigns and Vespasian's connection with Britain. These campaigns were motivated in part by the extraction of metallic ores.

## **The coinage of Vespasian** <sup>66</sup>

### **Minting Distribution**

During the Civil War of 68-69, there was a complete decentralisation in the minting of coinage, because commanders minted in their own provinces in order to pay their own troops. Thus no coinage was minted in Rome. At this time, however, issues were struck regularly in Africa, Gaul and Spain.<sup>67</sup> As noted above, when Vespasian came to power in 69, the real basis for his power lay in the military. Thus in order to avoid any future danger of revolution, it was necessary for Vespasian to keep the army satisfied with his rule. Hence, he centralized coinage in order to secure the stipendium for the troops. Consequently, under Vespasian and the following Flavian emperors, coinage for the first time became systematic and regular.<sup>68</sup> At the beginning of Vespasian's reign, war issues were exclusively minted from several Eastern and Western mints including Tarraco, Lugdunum, Illyricum, Antioch and some mints in Asia Minor.<sup>69</sup> However, it was only when Rome fell into the hands of Vespasian in December, 69,

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<sup>66</sup> The catalogue for Vespasian was an extremely difficult task to undertake. The RIC is extremely confusing, and this is unfortunately reflected in my catalogue. However, I have tried to separate the coinage according to the issuing mint. Unfortunately, although I have re-worked this emperor's coinage several times, it still remains somewhat confusing. It is clear that not until the material covered by RIC is restudied and published, can this difficulty be overcome. Nevertheless, in order to make the text easier to follow, I have included each coin's origin and year(s) of issue.

<sup>67</sup> The only two exceptions to the rule were Galba and Vitellus, who issued some coinage from the mint in Rome, but only after they had been accepted as emperors by the Senate.

<sup>68</sup> Sutherland (1974), p. 176. The minting of coinage remained stable for nearly four centuries thereafter.

<sup>69</sup> Coinage was also issued at the mint in Ephesus, Byzantium, Philippi and the province of Judaea. However, this coinage will not be discussed here because many of the issues seem uncertain.

that this mint became fully operational. Vespasian centralized coin-production in Rome, since imperial supervision at this mint was easy and direct.<sup>70</sup> As a result, provincial output declined, with the exception of that of the mint of Lugdunum, which struck until 73.<sup>71</sup> However, by 76 Rome was the only mint in the Empire left to strike Au and Ar coinage. In addition, by the end of Vespasian's reign, the issue of Ae coinage likewise became centralized in Rome, supplemented at intervals by a small output of bronze issues in Lugdunum.

### **The Military Coinage of 69-70**

In Vespasian's first year in power, most if not all of the military coinage was issued in the precious metals by provincial mints.<sup>72</sup> Five main events were commemorated on the coinage: Vespasian's accession to the throne, the allegiance of the Roman East and Spain to him, the revolt of Civilis and the loss of the Roman standards in Gaul, his triumph over Vitellius in

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<sup>70</sup> Vespasian in his first two years in power minted in the East, Illyricum and the West. However, afterwards coinage was issued primarily, if not exclusively in Rome. This fact makes the identification of many of the earlier coins extremely difficult. The task is further complicated to aid in identification of this coinage because there is very little information.

<sup>71</sup> The set-up of the bronze coinage in the *RIC* from the years 69-71 is extremely confusing. Several mints are stated together rather than separately. I have attempted in my catalogue to keep these mints separate.

<sup>72</sup> The mint in Rome almost exclusively issued coinage with types stressing Vespasian's intention to establish a new and lasting dynasty. On the coinage of Vespasian showing his dynastic plans, see Scott (1936), pp. 23-25. Very little bronze coinage was issued in this period, and it was minted exclusively from 69 to 71 by the mints in Rome, Tarraco and Lugdunum. Because of their similarities in style, the bronze coinage of each of mints can not be identified, with some exceptions which have been noted in the catalogue. This task, however, becomes easier with the bronze coinage from 72 onwards, since Rome issued most of the bronze coinage with some small issues from Lugdunum.

December, 69, and his hope for success in the Jewish campaign undertaken by Titus in the early part of 70.<sup>73</sup>

### 1. Accession Types

As soon as Vespasian was proclaimed emperor by the officers in Judaea and the governor of Egypt in July, 69, the mint in Lugdunum issued coinage to commemorate this event. The mint of Lugdunum had been revived by Vitellius early in his "reign", but it was under Vespasian that it acquired great importance, owing to the urgent need to pay the armies engaged in suppressing the revolt of Civilis.<sup>74</sup> Thus, on a denarius with obverse legend IMP-CAESAR-VESPASIANVS-AVG and reverse legend IMPER, Vespasian is portrayed in the *adlucutio* position (Lugdunum 69-70, n. 271).<sup>75</sup> Similarly, on an aureus with the obverse legend IMP and the reverse legend TR-POT-COS, Vespasian's proclamation is echoed by the display of the emperor and his sons in a quadriga (Lugdunum 69-70, n. 273). Connected with this same motif, but only represented in the Ae, is an as with an AETERNITAS-S-C type (Rome 69-70, n. 384), which again echoes Vespasian's future dynastic plans.<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Not all the coinage can be connected with certainty with these events. For the most part, I have followed historians and numismatists' identifications.

<sup>74</sup> RIC II, p. 2. At the outset of Vespasian's "reign", the native chief Civilis, led a revolt in Gaul which threatened Roman rule. His forces defeated the legions on the Rhine and captured their standards, but after a long campaign led by Domitian, the standards were recaptured.

<sup>75</sup> Bianco (1965), p. 152.

<sup>76</sup> Scott (1936), pp. 23-25.

## **2. Allegiance of the Roman East and Spain**

It was not long after his accession that Vespasian attracted the allegiance of the entire Roman East as well as Spain, a fact that was commemorated by the mint of Tarraco on two principal types. First, on an extremely rare aureus with the reverse legend HISPANIA, this province is represented standing, holding two javelins, shield and corn-ears, thus stressing her military support for Vespasian (Tarraco 69-70, n. 256). Second, on a denarius several CONSEN-EXERCIT types are commemorated (Tarraco 69-70, n. 259; Illyricum 69-70, nn. 305-306). A variation of this type shows Mars advancing, holding spear and eagle (Tarraco 69-70, n. 255).

## **3. Suppression of the Revolt of Civilis and Loss of the Roman**

### **Standards**

The suppression of the revolt of Civilis and the loss of the Roman standards may also have been commemorated by the Mint of Tarraco. On a very rare aureus with the reverse legend, IMP-V-P-P-COS-II-DE-SIG-III, Vespasian is holding a spear and receiving a Victory from Rome (Tarraco 69-70, n. 265). A denarius with no reverse legend from Lugdunum could also refer to this same event, which shows clasped hands holding an eagle between two standards (Lugdunum 69-70, n. 275).

## **4. Triumph over Vitellius**

After Vespasian's triumph at Cremona against Vitellius in December, 69, the imperial advertisement stressed the end of the Civil War. This triumph was much celebrated with various

victory types on the coinage of several mints of 69-70. For example, several denarii from the mint of Tarraco, represent a victory type with the reverse legend VICTORIA-IMP-VESPASIANI (Tarraco 69-70, nn. 268-268A).<sup>77</sup> Similarly, Victory is represented in the same way on denarii from the mints of Asia Minor. However, the reverse legend PACI-AVGVSTAE stresses the peace that comes with Vespasian's victory (Asia Minor 69-70, n. 316 and 323). Similarly, on a very rare as with ROMA-ET-AVGVSTVS-COS-ITERVM-TRIBVN-POT-S-C, Rome offers Victory to Vespasian while holding a spear (Tarraco 69-70 Ae, n. 385).

From the mint of Antioch, other coins include a denarius of the VIRTVS-AVGVST type, celebrating the virtue of the emperor (Antioch 69-70, nn. 354-355). Similarly, on an extremely rare aureus with the same reverse legend, Virtus is replaced by Mars holding the same arms (Lugdunum 69-70, n. 274).

Other military types associated with this period include a rare denarius from Rome, which stands in a class of its own. While representing on the obverse the head of Sol radiate, with no legend, the reverse displays Vespasian standing in the *adlocutio* position while holding a spear in his left hand and with the legend VESPASIANVS (Rome 69-71, n. 28). The obverse of this denarius was directly copied from a denarius of L. Mussidius Lungus, who struck the issue after the battle of Philippi in 42 B.C., while the reverse was adopted from a denarius struck in the East

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<sup>77</sup> Some of this coinage may also refer to the hope of success in the Jewish campaign which was undertaken by Titus in the early part of 70. Furthermore, as discussed in Scott (1936), p. 27, many of Vespasian's victory types were directly borrowed from the coinage of Augustus.

for Octavian after Actium.<sup>78</sup> Since the reverse legend of this denarius reads only VESPASIANVS, the coin emphasises Vespasian as a general rather than an emperor.<sup>79</sup>

Belonging to this same period is also a denarius from the mint of Lugdunum on which the god Mars is celebrated as the giver of victory, with the reverse legend MARS-CONSERVAT showing Mars standing while holding a spear and a trophy (Lugdunum 69-70, nn. 272 and 279 [different legend]; Ae but with a different legend: Tarraco 69-70, n. 389). In addition, on both an aureus and a denarius from Tarraco, MARS-VLTOR is represented as the avenger of the Roman state (Tarraco 69-70, n. 257; Rome 69-71, nn. 6 and 7 but with a different legend, and Mars holds a spear and an eagle).

Since Vespasian owed his decisive victory to the army, the soldiers were again celebrated by two types on the precious metal coinage with the reverse legend CONSENSVS-EXERCITVVM (see above Tarraco 69-70, nn. 255, 259; Illyricum 69-70 nn.305-306).<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, the navy was also commemorated in all metals in the coinage of several mints, even if their role in the Civil Wars was minimal.<sup>81</sup> Thus the most widely used type in all metals has the reverse legend COS-ITER-TR-POT, with Neptune standing left, his right foot on a prow and

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<sup>78</sup> *BMC Rep.* I, p. 578 and *BMC Emp.* I, p. 100 n. 611.

<sup>79</sup> *BMC Imp.* II, p. XXXIV.

<sup>80</sup> Levick (1978), p. 227-228. The type CONSENSVS-EXERCITVVM was usually struck when the cooperation of the armed forces was uncertain, as was the case under Vitellus. Vespasian followed Vitellus in adopting the same basic slogan, but by this time it conveyed the idea of collaboration between the emperor and the armed forces.

<sup>81</sup> Belloni (1974), p. 1061, footnote 244. Even if the role of the navy has been considered minor, there are several passages in Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.12, 14,16, 32, 74, 76, 83 and 101.) that emphasize their importance during the period of Civil War, and no doubt explain why the fleet is so widely commemorated on the coinage of Vespasian.

holding a dolphin and a trident (Rome 69-71: nn. 8 and 19 (Victory with prow); Tarraco 69-70: n. 262; Ae n. 388; Lugdunum 69-70: n. 279).<sup>82</sup>

### **5. Allusion to the beginning of the Jewish Campaign**

As already stated, some of the above types may also refer for the hope of success in the Jewish campaign, which was undertaken by Titus in the early part of 70. However, some of the types in both precious and bronze metals from the mints of Rome and Tarraco refer to this event directly. On the precious metals, with reverse legend IUDAEA. Judaea is represented either seated with a trophy behind her (Rome 69-71, n. 15; Tarraco 69-70, nn. 254 and 266) or with her hands behind her back (Rome, n. 16). By comparison, on an as with reverse legend IVD-CAP-S-C, Judaea is seated at the foot of a palm tree (Lugdunum 69-70, n. 393).<sup>83</sup> This last type is more frequently encountered in the years after the triumph over the Jews of 71.

### **70-73: Recapture of Roman Standards and Jewish Campaigns and**

#### **Triumph**

The military issues of these years reflect two major events: the revolt of Civilis and the triumph over the Jews. Early in 70, Civilis' forces in Gaul defeated the Roman legions on the Rhine and captured their standards, but after a long campaign led by Domitian, the standards

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<sup>82</sup> As mentioned by Belloni (1974), p. 1060, many of these types were directly adopted from the coinage of Augustus.

<sup>83</sup> It seems quite odd that this type shows up so early in the reign of Vespasian. No explanation for this was provided by Mattingly.

were recaptured in spring or fall of 71. This Roman victory was commemorated only on the Ae coinage with the reverse legend SIGNIS-RECEPTIS-S-C, and Victory flying and offering an aquila to Vespasian, who is standing on platform (Rome et al. 71, bronze, n. 461).<sup>84</sup>

However, no military victory in the reign of Vespasian was so much celebrated as the triumph over the Jews. This victory became the cornerstone of Flavian advertisement, and the fall of Jerusalem became known as the Actium of the Flavian dynasty, which was not only fully commemorated in imperial art, especially by the coinage.<sup>85</sup> Judaea had already been conquered by Pompey in 63 B.C., and by Sosius in 37 B.C. However, these conquests did not have the same resonance as in the time of Vespasian. Vespasian's springboard to power had been his governorship of Judaea, where he had already been appointed as special commander to suppress the Jewish revolt in 67. Jerusalem fell in September, 70, and in June, 71, both Vespasian and Titus celebrated a joint triumph, although the last Jewish stronghold, Masada, was not conquered until April 15, 74. Thus the fall of Jerusalem and the Jewish revolt were commemorated in a long and varied series of coins, struck predominantly in Ae, until the end of Vespasian's "reign". The celebration of this event represents the largest percentage of military coin types issued by Vespasian.

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<sup>84</sup> This coin type has several obverse legends as quoted in RIC II. As discussed by Bianco (1965), pp. 208-209, the Roman standards referred to by this type may also have belonged the Legio XII Fulminata, which had lost its eagles in 66 during the Jewish campaign and were only recaptured after the siege of Jerusalem.

<sup>85</sup> Hannestad (1988), p. 120.

One of the most widely used coin types in the precious metal coinage commemorating the victory over the Jews is the IUDAEA type (see above, also Rome 70-72, nn. 34, 45, Lugdunum 70-71: 287-288).<sup>86</sup> An interesting variant type issued only in the Ae coinage, has the reverse legend IUDAEA-CAPTA-S-C, and represents a Jewess mourning and seated under a palm tree, while behind her a Jew is standing with his hands behind his back (Rome et al. 71, nn. 424-427). This type had a precedent in Octavian's series of AEGYPTO-CAPTA, but it broke new ground, since it was the first coin type in Roman numismatic history to represent two barbarians together in a sitting and standing position.<sup>87</sup> A variant theme with similar reverse legend stressing Vespasian's role in the victory over the Jews, displays a Jewess seated under a palm tree and mourning, with Vespasian standing behind the palm tree and holding a spear and parazonium or arms (Rome et al. 70, nn. 489-491 (no Vespasian); Lugdunum 72-73, n. 733). Most of the IUDAEA-CAPTA types occurred between 71-73 and reappeared again between 77-78 (Rome 77-78, nn. 595-596; Lugdunum 77-78: n. 762). However, the type also occurred between these periods, to remind the Roman world of this great event.

Another coin type analogous to the IUDAEA-CAPTA type was IUDAEA-DEVICTA. Like Augustus, Vespasian legitimized his power through his oriental success, and wanted to let the world know that his triumph was authentic, because Judaea was not only defeated on the battlefield (DEVICTA), but was also territorially captured (CAPTA).<sup>88</sup> Thus on a denarius the

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<sup>86</sup> This type had already been used the previous year. See above.

<sup>87</sup> Bianco (1965), pp. 161-162.

<sup>88</sup> Bianco (1965), p. 163.

IUDAEA-DEVICTA type is represented as Judaea with her hands tied at her waist (Lugdunum 70-71, n. 289). However, on a very rare sestertius, this type shows Victory standing with a shield inscribed with S-P-Q-R, hung from a palm tree, and a Jewess seated mourning under the palm (Rome et al. 71, n. 419). Another interesting type, which appears only in the precious metal coinage, has the reverse legend DE-IVDAEIS, and represents a trophy (Lugdunum 72-73: n. 301). Again a denarius with no reverse legend depicts another variation of the conquered province (Rome 70-72, nn. 41A and 53; Antioch 72-73, n. 363).

There are other themes which are celebrated on the coinage of Vespasian relating to the triumph over the Jews. For example, on a sestertius with the reverse legend HONOS-ET-VIRTVS-S-C, the two military qualities of Honos and Virtus are represented standing and facing each other, with the former holding a sceptre and cornucopia, while the latter holds a parazonium and spear, which symbolizes the honour of the Roman troops achieved through their merit and valour (Rome et al. 71, n. 423).<sup>89</sup> Another type specifically relating to the loyalty of the army and issued on the Ae coinage was the FIDES-EXERCITVVM-S-C type, displaying clasped hands holding either an eagle set on a prow or a caduceus and two palms (Rome et al. 71, nn. 420-421). The first type seems to commemorate the loyalty of the fleet, while the latter

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<sup>89</sup> Bianco (1965), pp. 150 and 186. As Bianco states, these two military virtues actually date back to the Republican era, and are here reproduced from the coin types of Galba.

symbolises the positive consequences of *fides*, represented by the caduceus and palm.<sup>90</sup> A CONSEN-EXERCIT also appears on a denarius (Lugdunum 70-71, n. 284).

The joint triumph of Vespasian and Titus is also commemorated on an aureus with the reverse legend TRIVMP-AVG, depicting a triumphal procession with Vespasian in a quadriga, accompanied by a trumpeter and captive (Lugdunum 70-71: n. 294). A variation of this theme stressing the military element of the victory over the Jews, is recorded on an aureus with the reverse legend IMP, and displays Vespasian in a quadriga (Rome 72-73, n. 44, 54; Antioch 72-73, n. 364 but no legend). Similarly, on the Ae, Vespasian is also depicted in a quadriga (Rome et al. 71, n. 451; Rome 72-73, nn. 524, 536 and 546).

Victory is also celebrated in the Au and Ar coinage with several variations of AVG types (Rome 70-72, nn. 41; Rome 72-73, nn. 51-52 and 61-62; Lugdunum 70-71, 295-296; Lugdunum 72-73, nn. 300 and 303; Antioch 72-73, n. 362). However, it is in the Ae coinage that the victory type relating to the triumph over the Jews is most varied, and seems to stress most strongly Vespasian's claim of having restored peace by his military campaigns.<sup>91</sup> Thus on the Ae coinage we encounter several types with the reverse legend VICTORIA-AVGVSTI-S-C, which show Victory about to inscribe a shield or erecting a trophy attached to a palm tree (Rome 70, n. 397

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<sup>90</sup> Bianco (1965), p. 150. The exact role of the navy in the conquest of the Jews is not exactly known, except that it is commemorated on numerous types in the coinage of Vespasian from 70 onwards. A possible hypothesis offered by Starr (1960), pp. 180-5, for the issues of coin types with either prow or reverse legend VICTORIA-NAVALIS, occurring after this triumph is that the victory which is commemorated refers to the naval victory along the lake Gennesareth in 67 of both Tius and Vespasian. According Josephus (3.522-531), the boats from this battle were brought to Rome and were used in the triumph of 71.

<sup>91</sup> BMC Imp II, p. 1.

and Rome et al. 71, 501). Other examples include Victory crowning Vespasian (Rome et al. 71, n. 463), Victory writing OB-CIV-SER or VIC-AVG on a shield hung on a palm tree (Rome et al. 71, n. 464 and Rome 72-73, n. 526), Victory presenting a palladium to Vespasian (Rome 70, n. 408, Rome et al. 71, nn. 465-468), Victory holding a standard or palm (Rome et al. 71, n. 502; Rome 72-73, nn. 549A-B and 550), and Victory holding a shield inscribed with S-P-Q-R (with reverse legend S-C, Rome et al. 71 nn. 449-450 and 478; Lugdunum 72-73, n. 743).

An unknown naval battle is also commemorated with a NEP-RED type, which was only issued in the precious metals (Rome 70-72, n. 35).<sup>92</sup> By comparison, the navy is commemorated only in the Ae coinage, with the type VICTORIA-NAVALIS-S-C (Rome et al. 71, nn. 481 and 503; Rome 72-73, n. 551; Lugdunum 72-73, n. 745).<sup>93</sup> Another rare type, seen only in the Ae coinage associated with the navy, includes a sestertius with reverse legend ROMA-VICTRIX-S-C, which shows Roma standing with her foot on a prow and holding a spear and parazonium (Rome et al. 71, n. 446). On two asses with the reverse legend S-C, Victory either stands on a prow (Rome et al. 71, nn. 495 and Rome 72-73, n. 529), or an aquila stands between two standards set on a prow (Rome et al. 71, n. 499). On a very rare sestertius with the same reverse legend, a triumphant Vespasian stands with his foot on a prow, holding Victory and a spear: at his feet two Jews stand as suppliants behind a palm tree (Rome 72-3, n. 525).

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<sup>92</sup> Belloni (1974), p. 1060, sees this type as referring to the navy, while Mattingly (*RIC II*) interprets the type as commemorating the successful return of both Vespasian and Titus to Rome.

<sup>93</sup> Scott (1936), p. 27. This type was directly adopted from Augustus' VICTORIA-NAVALIS after Actium. Furthermore, as discussed by Bianco (1965), pp. 210-212, it is also possible that this type may refer to the suppression of the revolt of Civilis by Cerealis.

Victory is also celebrated on the Ae coinage with the type MARS-VICTOR-S-C (Rome et al. 71, nn. 431-433 and 447; Rome 72-3, nn. 522 [different legend], 533 and 535 [different legend]). By comparison, on the precious metals Mars is represented holding a spear and trophy or carrying a spear alone (Rome 70-72, nn. 33 and 38). Similarly, a Minerva Victrix type also appears on the Ae coinage (Rome et al. 71, n. 448).

There are several Roma types which announce the triumph over the Jews and the revival of the sovereign city. In particular, on a dupondius with the reverse legend ROMA-VICTRIX-S-C, Roma is seated on cuirass, holding Victory (Rome et al. 71, n. 477; Lugdunum 72-3, n. 742). Finally, other interesting types include a sestertius with the reverse legend PAX-AVG-S-C, displaying Pax setting fire to a pile of arms (Rome et al. 71, n. 434; Asia Minor 71 [in silver]: nn. 326 and 333). An aquila is represented between two standards but only on the Ae coinage (Rome et al. 71, n. 498). A vexillum is also represented (Rome et al. 71, nn. 504-507 and 509-511; Rome 72-3, nn. 530-531). Finally, the S-P-Q-R legend in an oak-wreath is displayed (Rome 72-3 in the precious metals, nn. 57 and 66; Ae 72-3, n. 547 [with different legend]; Lugdunum 70-1 in the precious metals, nn. 291 and 298 [with different legend]), and also the type of two spears between two shields on only the Ae coinage (Rome et al. 71, nn. 508 and 514).

#### 74-79

Not many new military types were issued in this period.<sup>94</sup> Between 74 and 76 most of the types in all metals simply repeat the Jewish War types, such as VICTORIA-AUGUSTI, PACI-

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<sup>94</sup> Not much coinage was minted in this period at all.

AVGVSTAE, VICTORIA-NAVALIS and IUDAEA-CAPTA (precious metals: Rome 74, nn. 78-9; Asia Minor 74, n. 337; Ae: Rome 74, 561A-B-562, Rome 76, nn. 584-5; Rome 77-8, nn. 595, 600-601, Lugdunum 77-8, n. 757). However, there are few interesting new types. For example, from the year 75, on both an aureus and denarius, a butting bull is represented with the reverse legend IMP-XIII (n. 95). Similarly, on a rare denarius with the reverse legend VESP-AVG, Victory stands on a prow (Rome 74, n. 85; Rome 76, n. 100). Furthermore, a Mars type also shows up (Rome 75, n. 86), and another variation of a victory type is represented in the precious metals (Rome 75, nn. 92-3). By comparison, on the Ae of this same year, both Victory and Minerva are represented on separate issues with the reverse legend S-C (nn. 565-6).

The coinage of 77-79 celebrates once again the triumph over the Jews (see above), but the early victories of Agricola in Britain are also commemorated.<sup>95</sup> Thus on an aureus with the reverse legend COS-VIII, Vespasian holds a spear and parazonium while being crowned by Victory (Rome 77-78, n. 105; for COS VIII see Rome 79, n. 112). On a denarius with the same reverse legend, a Mars type appears (Rome 77-78, n. 103). On another denarius with a similar reverse legend, a prow is represented with a star above (Rome 77-78, n. 108). There are also references to Vespasian's nineteenth imperatorial salutation on denarii with the reverse legend IMP-XIX (Rome 77-78, nn. 109-111). Finally, two additional types deserve mention. First, on both an aureus and denarius with the reverse legend TR-POT-X-COS-VIII, Victory erects a trophy, below which is a seated captive (Rome 79, n. 114). Second, again on both an aureus and

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<sup>95</sup> As mentioned by Mattingly (*RIC* III), it is not certain to which event the coinage refers. This problem is especially noticable in the bronze coinage; see, for example, Rome's nn. 590, 592, 599-9A, 604 and Lug's 755A-B-757A-C, 766A-B. Only the one with COS VIII or VIII belongs to the successful campaigns of Agricola.

denarius with the same reverse legend, a radiate figure stands, holding a spear and parazonium  
(Rome 79. 119-120).

## **Analysis**

The military coinage of Vespasian displays some interesting patterns. The total military types issued for the entire "reign" run about 35.7% of total issues for both Au and Ar coinage, and 37% for the Ae (see table on p. 41). Furthermore, the minting authority preferred to issue military hard types, with 63% (57:81) of total military types in the precious metals and 50.5% (47:93) in the Ae. Individually, the mints also show this pattern in their issues of hard types. Thus Rome issued 20:41 (49%) hard types in the precious metals and 17:33 (51.5%) in the Ae; Lugdunum, 18:19 (95%) in the precious metals and 4:9 (44.4%) in the Ae; Tarraco, which only issued precious metals coinage, minted 9:10 (90%) hard types. Illyricum, 2:2 (100%), Asia Minor 5:5 (100%), and Antioch 3:5 (60%). Rome, Tarraco, and Lugdunum issued a collection of Ae denominations with ratio of 29:48 (60.4%) hard military types. Finally, the total output of hard military types is 63% of total military types for the precious metals and 52% for the Ae.

These results are extremely interesting, especially when we compare these percentages (total output of military types and hard type distribution) to the different periods in the "reign" that coincide with military activity. The best example comes from the issues from the provincial mints during 69-70, which contain the highest percentages of military types (especially Tarraco and Lugdunum). As noted above, there were five military events explicitly commemorated on the coinage in this period. The military provincial issues seem to provide proof that the period of the Civil war was slightly later and there was a decentralization in the minting of coins, because commanders in their own provinces had to pay their own troops. This is especially seen in the distribution of hard types during this period. Therefore, at Tarraco, 90% of the types issued in the precious metals are hard types. These include IVDAEA (2), CONSENSVS-EXERCITVVM

(2), HISPANIA, MARS-VL TOR, IMP-V..DE-SIG-III and VICTORIA-IMP-VESPASIANI(2), which clearly reflect the military events of this period. At Lugdunum, this pattern is very similar, except that only 3, or 42.8%, represent hard types, although 100% military types were issued. However, these coin types include IMPER, MARS-CONSERVAT and VIRTVS-AVG. At the other provincial mints, although their total types for 69-70 are not as high as Lugdunum and Tarraco, their hard types represent 100% (Illyricum), 14.2% (Asia Minor) and 60% (Antioch) of the military coinage. Military hard types for these mints repeat some of the types already seen, but there is also a PACI-AVGVSTAE that is represented.

One other characteristic of the provincial issues of 69-70 is the very small output of Ae coinage. Therefore, only the mints of Tarraco (total for 69-70: 60%) and Lugdunum (total for 69-70: 50%) issued coinage in Ae. Of these, Tarraco has no hard types at all, and Lugdunum has only one (CONSEN-EXERCIT). That military types were minted almost exclusively in the precious metals, is no accident, since these were the preferred denominations to ensure the loyalty of the army-commanders, who, in turn, would keep a check on the soldiers. Furthermore, the Senate had exclusive authority over the Ae, and these issues originated outside of Rome. Therefore, this seems to suggest that the purpose of these provincial issues had a different function than the coinage issued at Rome for this same period: it clearly related to the military activities in the provinces.

The next important military phase occurs between 70 and 73, and represents the recapture of the Roman standards from Civilis and the Jewish campaigns and triumph. Essentially, most of these issues were minted in Rome; military issues account for as much as 43% (70-72) and 47.6% (72-73) of total output in the precious metals and 44.4% (72-73) in the Ae. Three hard

types (21.4% of military issues) appear in 70-73 in both Au and Ar (IVDAEA, NEP-RED and VIC-AVG); 7 (70%) in 72-73 (Au and Ar), including new types such as IMP and S-P-Q-R (2); and there are also 6 (38% of total military issues) issued in the Ae, including VICTORIA-AVG (3), MARS-VICTOR, S-P-Q-R-OB-CIV-SER and VICTORIA-NAVALIS. By comparison, even if Lugdunum has the highest military coinage percentage in this period (72-73: 67% - Au and Ar; 24% - Ae), this mint issued a relatively smaller output of coinage than Rome. Clearly, this indicates that Rome had now become the central minting centre for Vespasian. Lugdunum issued two hard types in the precious metals (100% of the total output: DE-IVDAEIS and VICT-AVG) and three in the Ae (IVDAEA-CAPTA, ROMA-VICTRIX and VICTORIA-NAVALIS). Clearly, all these types refer to the triumph over the Jews.

Another series of coins for this same period requires special attention. Produced at Rome, Tarraco, and Lugdunum in Ae in 71, these issues provide the largest variety of military types encountered under Vespasian. As much as 47% of the total output constituted military types of these mints, of which 60.4% are hard types. Many of the previous hard types are repeated, mostly relating to the triumph over the Jews, but we encounter some new types, such as FIDES-EXERCITVVM, HONOS-ET VIRTVS, MARS-VICTOR, ROMA (with aquila and trophy) and SIGNIS-RECEPTIS. This last type is especially important, since this makes a direct reference to the recapture of the standards from Civilis.

Finally, there are two other periods at the mint of Rome, where we encounter high percentages: 75 and 77-78. These military coins do not refer to a new event, but simply repeat the commemoration of the triumph over the Jews, which was the single most important triumph in the reign of Vespasian. Thus in 75 the military coinage accounts for 40% of the entire output

in all metals. However, only one hard type occurs in the precious metals, namely an IMP-XIII. By comparison, for 77-78, 67% of the precious metals output is military, while 50% of the Ae was military. Three hard types (30%) are represented in both Au and Ar by an IMP-XIX. In the bronze, five (62%) hard types are encountered, but these are simply the repetition of types used to commemorate the triumph over the Jews.

**OCCURRENCE OF MILITARY TYPES UNDER VESPASIAN**

**MINT OF ROME**

<b>YEARS</b>	<b>AU AND AR: MILITARY TO TOTAL OUTPUT</b>	<b>PER CENT OF TOTAL ISSUES</b>	<b>AE: MILITARY TO TOTAL OUTPUT</b>	<b>PER CENT OF TOTAL ISSUES</b>
69-71	7:28	25.0	NO ISSUES	NA
69-70	NO ISSUES	NA	1:5	20.0
70	NO ISSUES	NA	2:11	18.1
70-72	6:14	43.0	NO ISSUES	NA
72-73	10:21	47.6	16:36	44.4
74	3:19	15.8	2:12	17.0
75	4:10	40.0	2:5	40.0
76	1:7	14.3	1:18	5.5
77-78	6:9	67.0	8:16	50.0
79	4:19	21.0	1:2	50.0
TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN	41:127	32.3	33:105	31.4

**MINT OF TARRACO**

69-70	10:15	67.0	3:5	60.0
TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN	10:15	67.0	3:5	60.0

**MINT OF LUGDUNUM**

69-70	7:7	100.0	1:2	50.0
70-71	10:29	35	NO ISSUES	NA
72-73	2:3	67.0	4:17	24.0
77-78	NO ISSUES	NA	4:16	25.0
79	NO ISSUES	NA	0:3	0.0
TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN	19:39	48.7	9:38	23.7

**MINT OF ILLYRCUM**

69-70	2:6	33.3	NO ISSUES	NA
TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN	2:6	33.3		

**MINT OF ASIA MINOR**

69-70	2:14	14.0	NO ISSUES	NA
71	2:10	20.0	NO ISSUES	NA
74	1:4	25.0	NO ISSUES	NA
TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN	5:28	17.9		

**MINT OF ANTIOCH**

69-70	2:6	33.0	NO ISSUES	NA
72-73	3:9	33.0	NO ISSUES	NA
TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN	5:15	33.3		

**MINTS OF ROME, TARRACO AND LUGDUNUM****BRONZE**

71	48:103
TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN: PERCENT	46.6

**FINAL TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN**

PRECIOUS METAL	BRONZE
82:230	93:251
35.7%	37.0%

**VESPASIAN**  
**MINT OF ROME**

**A.D. 69-71**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

<b>RIC NUMBER</b>	<b>METAL</b>	<b>REVERSE LEGEND</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>RARITY</b>
6-7	AU & AR	COS-ITER-TR- POT	Mars advancing r.. holding spear and eagle	C
8	AU & AR	=	Neptune standing l.. r. foot on prow. holding dolphin and trident	C
15	AU & AR	IVDAEA	Jewess seated r. on ground, mourning: behind her trophy	C
16	AU & AR	=	= but Jewess has hands tied behind back	S
19	AR	PON-MAX-TR-P- COS-II	Victory. holding wreath and palm. standing l.. on prow	S
28	AR	VESPASIANVS	Vespasian standing l.. raising r. hand and holding spear in l.	R4

A.D. 69-70

BRONZE

384	AS	AETERNITAS-P- R-S-C	Victory flying r.. presenting palladium to Vespasian. standing l.. holding spear	R2
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A.D. 70

BRONZE

397	S	VICTORIA- AVGVSTI-S-C	Victory standing r.. about to inscribe a shield attached to a palm tree. below which is seated Jewess weeping	R
408	S	AETERNITAS-P- R-S-C	Victory flying r.. presenting palladium to Vespasian	R3

## MINTS OF ROME, TARRACO AND LUGDUNUM (Rome et al.)

A.D. 71

BRONZE

419	S	DEVICTA- IVDAEA-S-C	Victory standing r.. inscribing S-P-Q-R on shield hung on palm-tree: under palm. Jewess seated r., mourning	R2
420	S	FIDES- EXERCITVVM-S- C	Clasped hands, holding eagle set on prow	R
421	S	=	Clasped hands, holding caduceus and two palms	R
423	S	HONOS-ET- VIRTVS-S-C	Honos and Virtus standing l. and r. facing one another. Honos holding sceptre and cornucopiae. Virtus parazonium and spear	R

424-427	S	IVDAEA-CAPTA-S-C	Jewess seated r. under palm-tree, mourning: behind palm, Jew standing r., hands tied behind back: in field, l. and r., arms	S, S, R & S
431-433	S	MARS-VICTOR-S-C	Mars standing facing, holding spear and trophy: in field r., altar	R & S
434	S	PAX-AVG-S-C	Pax standing r., holding branch in l. hand and in r. torch, in which she sets fire to a pile of arms. Behind her, statue of Minerva on a column	R
444	S	ROMA-S-C	Roma standing l., leaning on a trophy, holding Victory and aquila	R2
446	S	ROMA-VICTRIX-S-C	Roma standing r., l. foot on prow, holding spear and parazonium	R
447	S	S-C	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	C

448	S	=	Minerva advancing r., holding palm and Victory: at her feet, a serpent	R
449 & 450	S	=	Victory advancing r., holding wreath and palm	R
451	S	=	Vespasian, holding branch and sceptre, in quadriga r.	R
461	S	SIGNIS- RECEPTIS-S-C	Victory flying r.. and offering aquila to Vespasian, standing left on platform	R2
463	S	VICTORIA-AVG- S-C	Victory standing l., crowning Vespasian, who stands l., and sacrifices at an altar, in front of a temple	R2
464	S	=	Victory standing r.. l. foot on helmet, writing OB- CIV-SER. on shield hung on palm-tree	S

465	S	=	Victory flying r., presenting palladium two Vespasian who stands l. holding spear	R2
466-468	S	=	=	S
477	DP	ROMA-VICTRIX- S-C	Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory and cuirass	S
478	DP	S-C	Victory advancing l., holding shield inscribed S- P-Q-R	C
481	DP	VICTORIA- NAVALIS-S-C	Victory standing r. on prow, holding wreath and palm	C
489-491	AS	IVDAEA-CAPTA- S-C	Jewess seated r. at foot of palm-tree, mourning: around her, arms	C
495	AS	S-C	Victory standing on prow. holding wreath and palm	C
498	AS	=	Aquila between two standards	C

499	AS	=	Aquila between two standards, all three set on prow	S
501	AS	VICTORIA-AVG-S-C	Victory standing l., erecting trophy at foot of which a Jew is lying	R
502	AS	=	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	C
503	AS	VICTORIA-NAVALIS-S-C	Victory standing r. on prow, holding wreath and palm	C
504-507 & 509-511	QUAD	P-M-TR-P-P-P-COS-III-S-C	Vexillum	C
508 & 514	QUAD	=	Two spears between two shields	C

A.D.70-72

## PRECIOUS METALS

33	AR	COS-III	Mars standing l., holding spear and trophy; in ground, corn ear	S
34	AR	IVDAEA	Judaea seated r., mourning at foot of trophy	S
35	AU	NEP-RED	Neptune standing l., r. foot on globe, holding acrostolium and sceptre	C
38	AR	TRI-POT-II-COS- III-P-P	Mars advancing r.. carrying spear	C
41	AU & AR	VIC-AVG	Victory standing r.. on globe, holding wreath and palm	C
41A	AR	NO LEGEND	Judaea seated r. on the ground, mourning. Behind her, palm tree and behind palm Emperor standing r.. holding spear and parazonium	S

A.D.72-73

## PRECIOUS METALS

44	AU	IMP	Vespasian in quadriga	R
45	AR (PLATED )	IVDAEA	Judaea seated r. on ground mourning: behind her trophy	S
51	AU	VIC-AVG	Victory standing r. on globe, holding wreath and palm	C
52	AR & AR (Q)	=	= but Victory is about to place wreath on trophy	C & R
53	AU	NO LEGEND	= AS N. 41A	C
54	AU & AR	=	Vespasian holding branch and sceptre. in triumphal quadriga	C
57	AR	S-P-Q-R	Legend in oak-wreath	C
61 & 62	AR (Q)	VICTORIA- AVGVST	Victory seated l.. holding wreath and palm	S
66	AU & AR	S-P-Q-R	= n. 57	C

A.D. 72-73

## BRONZE

522	S	S-C	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	C
523	S	=	Vespasian galloping r., in act to spear fallen foe	C
524	S	=	Vespasian in quadriga	R
525	S	=	Vespasian standing l., foot on prow, holding Victory and spear; at his feet, suppliant Jew and Jewess. Behind, palm tree	R2
526	S	VICTORIA- AVGVSTI-S-C	Victory standing r., inscribing VIC-AVG on shield	S
529	AS	=	Victory standing r. on prow holding wreath and palm	C
530 & 531	QUAD	P-M-T-P-P-P- COS-III-S-C	Vexillum	C
533	S	MARS-VICTOR- S-C	Mars advancing l., holding Victory and trophy	S

535	S	S-C	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	C
547	AS	S-P-Q-R-OB-CIV- SER	Legend in oak-wreath	S
536 & 546	S & AS	=	Vespasian in quadriga	S
549(A- B)-550	AS	VICTORIA- AVGVSTI-S-C	Victory, standing r., holding standard and palm	C & S
551	AS	VICTORIA- NAVALIS-S-C	Victory standing r.. on prow, holding wreath and palm	C

**A.D. 74****PRECIOUS METALS**

78 & 79	AR (Q)	VICTORIA- AVGVSTI	Victory advancing r.. holding wreath and palm	C & S
85	AR	VESP-AVG	Victory standing r.. on prow, holding wreath and palm	R

## A.D. 74

## BRONZE

561A-B	AS	VICTORIA- AVGVST-S-C	Victory standing r. on prow, holding wreath and palm	C
562	AS	VICTORIA- NAVALIS-S-C	=	C

## A.D.75

## PRECIOUS METALS

86	AR	COS-VI	Mars standing l., holding spear and trophy	C
92 & 93	AU & AR	PON-MAX-TR-P- COS-VI	Victory standing l., on altar, holding wreath and palm: to l. and r., snake upright	C
95	AU & AR	IMP-XIII	Bull, butting, r.	S

## A.D. 75

## BRONZE

565	S	S-C	Victory holding wreath and palm, standing l. on altar, between two snakes	R2
566	S	=	Minerva advancing r., holding wreath and palm: at feet, snake	R2

## A.D. 76

## PRECIOUS METALS

100	AR	PON-MAX-TR-P-COS-VII	Victory standing l. on prow, holding wreath and palm	C
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## A.D. 76

## BRONZE

584-585	AS	VICTORIA-AVGVST-S-C	Victory standing r. on prow holding wreath and palm	C
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A.D. 77-78

## PRECIOUS METALS

103	AR	COS-VIII	Mars standing l. holding spear and trophy	C
105	AU	=	Vespasian standing l., holding spear and parazonium. crowned by Victory standing on his l., holding palm in l. hand	C
108	AR	=	Prow r.. above star	C
109-111	AR	IMP-XIX	Sow with three youngs: Modius and corn-ears: goat-herd seated l.. milking goat	C. C & S

A.D. 77-78

## BRONZE

590	S	S-C	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	S
592	S	S-P-Q-R-OB- CIVES- SERVATOS	Legend in oak-wreath	S

595 & 596	AS	IUDAEA-CAPTA- S-C	Judaea seated r. under palm-tree, mourning, surrounded by arms	S
599 & 599A	AS	S-C	Victory standing l., holding shield inscribed S- P-Q-R	C
600	AS	VICTORIA- AVGVST-S-C	Victory standing r. on prow	C
601	AS	VICTORIA- NAVALIS-S-C	=	C

## A.D. 79

## PRECIOUS METALS

112	AU	COS-VIII	= as n. 105	C
114	AU & AR	TR-POT-X-COS- VIII	Victory standing l., erecting trophy: below captive seated	C
119 & 120	AU & AR	=	Radiate figure, standing facing rostral column. holding spear and parazonium	C

A.D. 79

BRONZE

604	DP	VICTORIA- AVGVST-S-C	Victory standing r. on prow, holding wreath and palm	R
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## VESPASIAN

## MINT OF TARRACO

A.D. 69-70

## PRECIOUS METALS

254	AR	IVDAEA	Judaea seated r. on ground mourning: behind trophy	R
255	AR	CONSENSVS- EXERCITVVM	Mars advancing l.. holding spear and eagle	R
256	AU	HISPANIA	Hispania standing l., holding two javelins. shield and trophy	R2
257	AU & AR	MARS-VLTOR	Mars advancing r.. holding spear and trophy	R
259	AR	CONSEN- EXERCIT	Two soldiers, standing facing one another. clasping r. hands: each holds aquila in l. hand	R

262	AR	COS-ITER-TR- POT	Neptune standing l., r. foot on prow, holding acrostolium and trident	S
265	AU	IMP-V-P-P-COS- II-DE-SIG-III	Vespasian standing l., holding spear in l. hand and extending r. to receive a Victory from Rome advancing r.	R3
266	AR	IVDAEA	= n. 254	S
268-286A	AR	VICTORIA-IMP- VESPASIANI	Victory standing on globe. holding wreath and palm	R2

**A.D. 69-70**

**BRONZE**

385	AS	ROMA-ET- AVGVSTUS-COS- ITERVM- TRIBVN-POT-S-C	Rome standing r., offering a Victory to Vespasian standing l. and holding spear	R3
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388	AS	COS-ITER-TR- POT-S-C	Neptune standing l. foot on rock, holding dolphin and trident	R
389	AS	PONT-MAX-TR- P-COS-II-DESIG- III-S-C	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	R2

## VESPASIAN

## MINT OF LUGDUNUM

A.D 69-70

## PRECIOUS METALS

271	AR	IMPER	Vespasian galloping l., raising r. hand	R
272	AU	MARS- CONSERVAT	Mars standing r., holding spear and trophy	R
273	AU	TR-POT-COS-	Vespasian and his sons in quadriga	R2
274	AU	VIRTVS- AVGVST	Mars standing l., holding spear and parazonium	R2
275	AR	NO LEGEND	Clasped hands holding eagle between two standards	R
278	AR	COS-ITER-TR- POT	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	C
279	AU & AR	=	Neptune standing l., r. foot on prow, holding dolphin and trident	C

## A.D. 69-70

## BRONZE

393	AS	IVD-CAP-S-C	Judaea seated at foot of palm tree	R
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## A.D. 70-71

## PRECIOUS METALS

284	AR	CONSEN- EXERCIT	= n. 259	R
287 & 288	AU & AR	IVDAEA	Jewess seated r. on ground mourning, hands tied behind back: behind palm tree	S
289	AR	IVDAEA- DEVICTA	Judaea standing hands tied at waist: behind her palm tree	S
291 & 298	AR & AU	S-P-Q-R-OB-C-S	In oak-tree	S
294	AU	TRIVMP-AVG	Triumphal procession r.: Vespasian in quadriga, trumpeter, captive, etc.	R

295 & 300	AU	VICTORIA-AVG	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	S
296	AU	=	Victory standing r., holding shield above head in both hands	R

**A.D. 72-73**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

300	AR	VIC-AVG	Victory standing r. on globe, holding wreath and palm	C
301	AU & AR	DE-IVDAEIS	Trophy	C & R
303	AR	VIC-AVG	= n. 300	C

A.D. 72-73

## BRONZE

733	S	IVDAEA- CAPTA-S-C	Judaea seated r. under palm-tree, mourning: behind Vespasian standing r., holding spear and parazonium	S
742	DP	ROMA- VICTRIX-S-C	Roma seated l., holding Victory and spear	c
743	DP	S-C	Victory advancing l.. holding shield inscribed S-P-Q- R	C
745	DP	VICTORIA- NAVALIS-S-C	Victory standing r. on prow, holding wreath and palm	C

A.D. 77-78

## BRONZE

757A-C	DP	S-C	Victory advancing l., holding in both hands a shield inscribes S-P-Q-R	C
762	AS	IVDAEA-CAPTA- S-C	Judaea seated r. under palm-tree, mourning: around, arms	C
766A-B	AS	VICTORIA- AVGVSTI-S-C	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	C
757	AS	VICTORIA- NAVALIS-S-C	Victory standing r. on prow, holding wreath and palm	C

## VESPASIAN

## MINT OF ILLYRICUM

A.D. 69-70

## PRECIOUS METALS

305 & 306	AR	CONSE-EXERCIT	Two soldiers standing facing each others, clasping r. hands: each holds aquila in l. hand	R
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## VESPASIAN

## MINT OF ASIA MINOR

A.D. 69

## PRECIOUS METALS

316 & 323	AR	PACI- AVGVSTAE	Victory advancing l.. holding wreath and palm	S
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A.D. 71

## PRECIOUS METALS

326 & 333	AR	PACI- AVGVSTAE	= n. 316	S
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A.D. 74

## PRECIOUS METALS

337	AR	PACI- AVGVSTAE	Victory advancing l.. with wreath and palm	S
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## VESPASIAN

## MINT OF ANTIOCH

A.D. 69-70

## PRECIOUS METALS

354-355	AR	VIRTVS-AVGST	Virtus standing r., holding spear and parazonium	R
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A.D. 72-73

## PRECIOUS METALS

362	AR	VICTORIA- AVGVSTI	Victory advancing r. holding palm and about to place wreath on trophy	S
363	AR	NO LEGEND	= as n. 41A	S
364	AR	=	Vespasian holding branch and sceptre in quadriga	S

## HADRIAN

(117-138)

### Career of the Emperor Hadrian.

When the news of Trajan's death reached Antioch on 11 August, 117, the legions in Syria acclaimed their governor, Publius Aelius Hadrianus, as his successor. Immediately, Hadrian began his reign with an apology to the Senate because he had assumed the purple by proclamation of the army, thus nullifying the Senate's right to choose the emperor.<sup>96</sup>

Hadrian began his career in 93, when he entered an equestrian *cursus honorum* as *decemvir litibus iudicandis*,<sup>97</sup> and between 94 to 98 became *tribunus legionis II Adiutricis*, *tribunus legionis V Macedonicae* and *tribunus legionis XXII Primigeniae*.<sup>98</sup> In 101 he held the position of *quaestor imperatoris Traiani*.<sup>99</sup> During the first campaign against Dacia (101-102), Hadrian was Trajan's *comes expeditionis Dacicae* and twice he received the *dona militaria*. During the second war against Dacia, he served as *legatus legionis I Minervae* (105-106) and from 106-108 he was *legatus Augusti pro praetore of Pannonia Inferior*.<sup>100</sup> Finally, from 114 to

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<sup>96</sup> HA, Hadrian 6.2-3; Dio 69.2.2.

<sup>97</sup> HA, Hadrian 2.1.

<sup>98</sup> Kienast (1990), p. 128.

<sup>99</sup> HA, Hadrian 2.1-3.5; Kienast (1990), p. 128.

<sup>100</sup> Kienast (1990), p. 128.

117 he was appointed to the special command of *legatus Augusti pro praetore expeditione Parthica*, and took part in the Parthian campaign until he was appointed *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of Syria in 117.

### **The Roman Empire under Hadrian**

Once declared emperor, Hadrian remained in Antioch to maintain order in the East and did not return to Rome until the summer of 118.<sup>101</sup>

Out of twenty-one years in power Hadrian spent twelve travelling throughout the Roman empire. He left Rome on 21 April, 121, probably after the great celebration of the anniversary of the foundation of Rome, and undertook a tour of the provinces (121-126) for military, defensive and administrative reasons. He first went to Gaul, where he lived the simple soldier's life, and then visited the armies in Germany where he tightened up army discipline and repaired or established many roads and frontier works, including the first continuous barrier along the *limes* in the *Agri Decumates*, the angle between the Rhine and the Danube.<sup>102</sup> In 122, while in Britain, Hadrian began construction of Hadrian's Wall, a great monument eighty Roman miles long, extending from the Gulf of Tyne to the Solway, dividing the pacified Brigantian tribes to the south from the more hostile tribes to the North.<sup>103</sup> It was also in 123 that he repressed the Moors and made a friendly settlement with Parthia.

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<sup>101</sup> HA, Hadrian 6.7-8.1; Wells (1984), p. 222.

<sup>102</sup> Le Gall and Le Glay (1987), p. 444; Wells (1984), p. 223.

<sup>103</sup> Webster (1964), pp. 81-90; .

Hadrian returned to Rome in 126 and in 128 he set off for Africa, where he visited Zama, Timgad and the new legionary base at Lambaesis, where he inspected the Legio III Augusta.<sup>104</sup> Afterwards, Hadrian set out for the East (128-135) and stayed in Greece from 131 to 132 until he was called to Judaea to quell a revolt (132-135).<sup>105</sup> Hadrian returned in Rome to 134 and remained there until his death on July 10, 138.<sup>106</sup>

### **The Defence of the Empire.**

According to Dio, Hadrian provoked no wars and ended those already in progress.<sup>107</sup> Consequently, he received only two imperial acclamations, and they are not even advertised on the coinage.<sup>108</sup> Although Hadrian had a brilliant military career, he was in no way a military man. Rather, desiring peaceful conditions for the Empire, he directed his energies towards that

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<sup>104</sup> Wells (1984), p. 254; Campbell (1984), p. 79. At Lambaesis, Hadrian made a speech to troops, which is recorded in an inscription. In this address, he seems to have been well informed on the problems facing this legion.

<sup>105</sup> HA, Hadrian 13-14 and 14.2-7; Dio 69.12-14. According to the HA, the Jewish revolt began because the Jews were prohibited from practising circumcision. However, Dio states that the Jews were angered by the dedication of a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus on the site of the Temple of the old site in the city of Jerusalem, now called *Colonia Aelia Capitolina*. This war was very serious, and its repression merciless. Afterwards, the Jews were strictly forbidden even to set foot on the land around Jerusalem.

<sup>106</sup> HA, Hadrian 26-27.

<sup>107</sup> Dio 69.23.2 and 69.2.5. Dio's statement seems accurate. There had been minimal activity between 121 and 125. In 123 Hadrian repressed the Moors, and made a friendly settlement with Parthia. The only other military campaign in his reign was the Jewish campaign of 131-135.

<sup>108</sup> IMP-II appears nowhere on the coinage. According to Kienast (1990), p. 130, Hadrian's second imperial acclamation occurred in 135. Furthermore, it is not known to which events the two imperial acclamations belong.

goal, and thus became a master tactician in defensive warfare.<sup>109</sup> Unlike Trajan, who had an expansionary vision, Hadrian wanted to reduce the Empire to a manageable, well organized unit which could maintain peace.<sup>110</sup> To this end, Hadrian soon realized that it was better not to increase the Empire by new conquests, but to return to the policy of peace, which had been used by both Augustus and Tiberius. He adopted the policy of retrenchment behind natural or constructed barriers, such as Hadrian's wall, protected by local armies.<sup>111</sup> He also introduced for this purpose special (non-Roman) auxiliary corps, such as the *vexillationes* and the *numeri*, as permanent official units of the army, since they were easier to recruit and less expensive.<sup>112</sup> However, there were still twenty-eight legions in the Roman defensive system.<sup>113</sup> Furthermore, under Hadrian recruitment became local, which led to a stabilisation of the army, since it encouraged provincials to enlist.<sup>114</sup>

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<sup>109</sup> HA, Hadrian 5.1; Thorton (1972), p. 453; Webster (1964), p. 88; Le Gall and Le Glay (1988), p. 448.

<sup>110</sup> HA Hadrian 5.1; Thorton (1972), p. 436.

<sup>111</sup> Hadrian made it obvious throughout his entire reign that he regarded the Augustan policy of containment as a most important objective (for Augustus' policy, see Tacitus, Ann., 1.11.7). Augustus wanted to stay within the natural boundaries of the Rhine, the Danube and the Euphrates. Similarly, Hadrian, on his accession, proposed to give up all lands beyond the Tigris and the Euphrates and even Dacia (HA, Hadrian 5.2). Since he met with opposition over Dacia, he kept this territory.

<sup>112</sup> Homo (1969), p. 50.

<sup>113</sup> Homo (1969), p. 179. Before Hadrian, there were 30 legions. However, both the IX *Hispania* and the XXII *Deistariana* were lost in battle.

<sup>114</sup> Jarrett (1963), pp. 209-226; Webster (1969), p. 89; Thorton (1972), p. 453.

### **Hadrian and the Army.**

Hadrian was also responsible for legal changes, which improved the soldiers' status, and thus no doubt improved recruitment. Already under the Flavians, soldiers' wills were recognized as valid; Hadrian extended this privilege to the veteran soldiers as well.<sup>115</sup> He also permitted soldiers' sons to inherit their fathers' property, and extended the privilege of *castrense peculium* to veteran soldiers.<sup>116</sup> Furthermore, he forbade soldiers to be summoned from the military camp to give testimony in law courts.<sup>117</sup> The range of Hadrian's contact with military matters was very wide. As attested by both coins and inscriptions, discipline played an important role in Hadrian's military policies, and his visits to the troops throughout his many voyages of the Empire were undertaken in part not only to keep an eye on the army and the defenses, but also to make himself personally known and secure the loyalty and affections of the soldiers.<sup>118</sup> Hence Hadrian stiffened discipline within the armies, and imposed a strict code of military duties and expenses, while at the sametime softening the harshness of this discipline by many gifts and

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<sup>115</sup> Wells (1984), p. 230.

<sup>116</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 231. The privilege of *castrense peculium* permitted soldiers to have control over property which they had acquired through military service, and to dispose of it at will. Most likely, the extension of this privilege to veterans was intended to try to create a good impression of the emperor's benevolence and concern for his troops right through their lives.

<sup>117</sup> Campbell (1984), pp.277-278.

<sup>118</sup> HA, Hadrian 10.2; Hammond (1959), pp. 170-171. The genuiness of Hadrian's adoption was open to suspicion, which is reflected by the double donative given to the troops on his accession (HA 5.7 and 23.14). Furthermore, the execution of the four consulares who were important generals in the army put into question Hadrian's true intentions. Thus it was important for the emperor to make sure that the army was loyal to him.

honours.<sup>119</sup> However, Hadrian, following the model of Trajan, personally involved himself with the troops by leading the army, supervising routine military tasks, and personally drilling troops. He was always ready to set an example of himself, and when with the troops he acted as if he were a simple soldier.<sup>120</sup> As Dio notes, Hadrian personally investigated absolutely everything, the private affairs of everyone including ordinary soldiers and their officers, their lives, quarters and conduct.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>119</sup> Dio 69.5.2. 9; HA, Hadrian 10.

<sup>120</sup> HA, Hadrian 10.2.

<sup>121</sup> Dio 69.9.

### **Minting Patterns during Hadrian's Reign**

The bulk of Hadrian's coinage was issued at the mint of Rome, except for some rare provincial issues, at both Antioch and Ephesus. As Mattingly notes, one of the greatest difficulties connected with the coinage of Hadrian is its chronology and interpretation, since issues from 119 to the end of the reign only bear the inscription COS-III, Hadrian's third and last consulate (119).<sup>122</sup> The chronology of Hadrian's coins is further complicated by two breaks in his coinage from 122 to 125 and from 128 to 132.<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless, stylistic criteria have permitted numismatists to establish an adequate dating sequence for most of his issues. Thus Hadrian's first issues are a direct continuation in style from Trajan's, although around 124-125 a new style emerged, which dominated the whole coinage until the end of the reign.<sup>124</sup>

### **117-118: Eastern Wars**

In 117, when Hadrian was still absent from Rome and occupied with the Eastern wars, the mint issued only two military types, both referring to the Eastern wars.<sup>125</sup> In the first of these, on

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<sup>122</sup> Mattingly (1925), pp. 210-211; RIC II pp. 314-315. The issues of 117 and 118 are determined by the COS and COS-II in the imperial title. However, it is from Hadrian's third consulship (COS-III) in 119 that difficulties occur in the dating of the coinage, because he held no further consulships, and omits to date by tribunician years. Therefore, dates must be found for the vast mass of coinage that bears no definite indication of chronology beyond COS-III. Because of this difficulty, I have here adopted Mattingly's system of dating.

<sup>123</sup> These two breaks seem to be connected with the emperor's absence from Rome. Hadrian's travels were almost continuous from 121 to 133.

<sup>124</sup> BMC III, p. cxiii; Hannestad (1988), p. 190.

<sup>125</sup> RIC II, p. 320.

an as with the reverse legend DAC-PARTHICO-PM-TR-P-COS-P-P-S-C, a legionary eagle is displayed between two standards (n. 539).<sup>126</sup> In the second, on an aureus with the reverse legend ORIENS, a radiate bust of Sol stands right, a type that obviously refers to the conclusion of the Eastern wars (nn. 16 and 20).<sup>127</sup>

The legionary eagle type of 117 recurs in the Ae coinage of 118, but with the reverse legend PONT-MAX-TR-POT-COS-II-S-C (n. 546A-B), and the ORIENS type occurs again in the Au coinage of 118 (n. 43A-C). The success over the Parthians was celebrated on an aureus of 118 with the reverse legend TRIVMPHVS-PARTHICVS, but with Trajan and not Hadrian in a quadriga, holding a laurel branch and eagle-tipped sceptre (n. 26).<sup>128</sup> Trajan is celebrated here rather than Hadrian since Hadrian, refused the triumph for himself, and celebrated it in honour of the deceased Trajan.

Possibly referring to the defeat of the Roxolani, a victory is also commemorated on issues of Au and Ar quinarii in 118, with the reverse legend P-M-TR-P-COS-II and Victory, either seated or standing, holding a wreath and palm (nn. 36-37 and 54).<sup>129</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> This and all following numbers refer to RIC Catalogue numbers.

<sup>127</sup> Mattingly (1925), p. 212.

<sup>128</sup> The obverse legend of this aureus reads DIVI-TRAIANO-PARTH-AVG-PATRI, which indicates that this is a commemoration of the emperor Trajan.

<sup>129</sup> As pointed out in BMC III, what seems odd about this type is that it does not occur in 117. It is possible, however, that the mint master may have waited for the Eastern situation to clear before issuing the victory type.

### **119-122: Suppression of Revolts in Mauretania, Palestine, and Britain**

The military coinage for 119 to 122 reflects the successful suppression of revolts in Mauretania, Palestine and Britain, which had begun under Trajan and were only brought to an end by Hadrian. Mars is depicted only on Au and Ar, with the reverse legend P-M-TR-P-COS-III, holding spear or trophy or holding spear, with his foot set on a helmet, or holding a reversed spear, with his hand on a shield (nn. 65-67).<sup>130</sup>

Victory is also celebrated on Au and Ar with the reverse legend P-M-TR-P-COS-III (nn. 101-106 and 108). However, on a Ar quinarius, Victory is represented standing with her foot on a helmet about to inscribe a shield set on a palm, which seems to point to triumph in war (n. 107). Furthermore, since with Victory comes peace, on a denarius with the same reverse legend, Pax holds Victory (n. 95). Nevertheless, it is only on a sestertius that the reverse legend VICTORIA-AUGUSTI-S-C appears, with Victory holding a trophy in both hands and about to soar (n. 596). However, the only direct reference that we have to any of these military victories in Britain occurs on an as with the reverse legend BRITANNIA and Britain facing to the right, with her foot on a rock and resting her head on her right hand, and beside her a large shield (nn. 577A-C).<sup>131</sup> Finally, three other types issued only in Ae deserve attention. First, CONCORDIA-EXERCITVVM-S-C appears on a sestertius, a legend that certainly refers to some measures taken to quieten the armies, probably after the execution of the four marshals (nn. 581A-E).<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>130</sup> BMC III, p. cxxviii.

<sup>131</sup> RIC II, p. 214.

<sup>132</sup> RIC II, pp. 213 and 322.

The second and the third types refer to Hadrian's leaving and taking the field as a general.<sup>133</sup> On a sestertius with the reverse legend EXPED-AUG-P-M-TR-P-COS-III-S-C. Hadrian is represented on a prancing horse, raising his right hand and holding a spear in his left (nn. 613A-B). Similarly, on a dupondius, the *virtus* of Hadrian as a military leader is celebrated with a VIRTVTI-AUGUSTI-S-C type (nn. 605 and 614A-D).

## 125

Hadrian was absent from Rome from 121 to 125, and there was a consequent break in the coinage. Throughout these years, the military activities of Hadrian were minimal, except, in 123, when he suppressed the Moors and made a friendly settlement with Parthia.<sup>134</sup> Upon his return to Rome in 125, both new portraits and new types were introduced.<sup>135</sup> The emperor himself is represented as a general on aureii with the reverse legend COS-III, that display him either in the *adlocutio* position or holding a spear (nn. 186-188). However, Hadrian is also represented on a denarius in military dress, holding Victory (n. 185). By comparison, on sestertii, Hadrian is depicted in the same fashion as on coins of the precious metals, except with the reverse legend COS-III-S-C-EXPED-AVG, that celebrates Hadrian's successful conclusion of his journeys (nn. 644-646).<sup>136</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> RIC II, p. 216.

<sup>134</sup> It is possible that these events were commemorated on the coinage of 125-128.

<sup>135</sup> Thorton (1972), p. 439, who dates this change to 129. However, from the coins, it is clear that this change occurred as early as 125.

<sup>136</sup> RIC II p. 325.

Victory appears frequently in these new issues and with her the deities of war, Hercules, Mars, Minerva, and Virtus, although the emperor had generally conducted peaceful missions abroad. For example, Victory appears on gold quinarii and silver denarii (n. 182-184). On a denarius with the reverse legend COS-III, Hercules sits on a cuirass while holding a club which rests on a shield, and Victory (n. 148). On another denarius, with a similar reverse legend, Mars is represented (n. 151), and Minerva appears on silver and bronze (nn. 152-154 and 664).

Only on the Ae coinage, with the reverse legend P-M-TR-P-COS-III-S-C-VIRT-AVG, is the Virtus type commemorated (n. 638). Finally, two additional military types date to this period. First, on a very rare sestertius with reverse legend COS-III without the S-C, a cuirass, six shields, a standard and five trumpets (n. 643), and, second, on both semisses and quadrantes (n. 689), with the reverse legend COS-III-S-C, an eagle is displayed between two standards.

### **The Jewish Revolt (131-134)**

Hadrian began his second great journey through the Roman Empire, which lasted from 128 to 131, by visiting Africa. As before, no new coinage appeared while he was away from Rome. In 131 the Jewish revolt erupted, and it lasted until 134, when Hadrian finally returned to Rome. However, even if the suppression of this revolt was the only important military campaign in Hadrian's reign, there are no direct references to it on the reverse legends of his coinage, although some hints of it are seen in the issues of 132-134 and 134-138.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>137</sup> RIC II, p. 325.

**132-134**

The military coinage of this period is not voluminous. For example, on the aureii with a reverse legend COS-III-P-P, Hadrian is represented in the *adlocutio* position, with two standards behind him (nn. 203-204). A variation of this type, with the same reverse legend, represents Hadrian on a galloping horse holding a spear (n. 205; Ae: 717). Another interesting type appears on sestertii with the reverse legend FELICITATI-AVG-COS-III-P-P-S-C, which depicts a ship with FELICITATI-AVG on its sail; there are also steersmen and rowers, and a standard and a vexillum are placed on the stern with Neptune on the prow (nn. 703-706). Mattingly suggests that this coin may refer to the movement of the troops in the Jewish war.<sup>138</sup>

**134-138**

Probably with reference to the success over the Jews, both Mars and Jupiter are invoked as givers of victory on both precious metals, with the MARTI (n. 255) or IOVI-VICTORI (n. 251) types.

A VENERI-GENETRICI type commemorates Venus holding a trophy-bearing Victory, and resting her left hand on her shield set on helmet (n. 279). Minerva is also represented in all precious metals, with reverse legend COS-III, standing and leaning on shield (nn. 330-331 and 344-345). Victory, of course, is depicted in all the precious metal coinage, either as VIC-AVG (n. 281) or VICTORIA-AVG (nn. 282-286 and 292). The virtue of the emperor is also celebrated on an aureus with a VIRTVTI-AVG type (n. 287). Another interesting type appears on a Au quinarius, with no reverse legend, and a trophy with shields at its base (n. 295). As in the

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<sup>138</sup> RIC II, p. 326, but this is rather speculative.

previous period (132-134), the emperor himself is represented on denarii with no reverse legend, either in the *adlocutio* position (n. 293) or holding a spear and parazonium (n. 294). Finally, on a rare type issued only in Au and Ae with the reverse legend DISCIPLINA-AVG, Hadrian is followed by three soldiers carrying standards, which seems to celebrate some of the military reforms of the emperor (n. 232 and in bronze nn. 746-747 and 800).<sup>139</sup>

By comparison, in the Ae coinage, although there are fewer examples of military types than the precious metal coinage, the issues for this period are more varied. Three military types have been associated with the Jewish triumph. First, on a very rare sestertius with the reverse legend ADLOCVTIO-S-C, Hadrian stands on a platform while haranguing three soldiers carrying standards (n. 739). Second, on another sestertius with the reverse legend S-C, Hadrian is represented with his right foot on a crocodile, holding a spear and parazonium (nn. 782 and 830) that seems to refer to some unknown event in Egypt. Third, Minerva appears on another sestertius with the same reverse legend (n. 778).

### **134-138: Commemoration of the *Cohortes* and *Exercitus* of the Empire**

A final military series that was issued only in the Ae and was probably minted at the end of Hadrian's reign deserves a special note. Those issues appear to have had two purposes: first, to reassure those who might see a sign of weakness in the new military policy and to emphasize the fact that the Roman war machine was still supreme, and, second, since the series was devoted to individual armies of the Empire, it stressed the care which Hadrian devoted to the individual

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<sup>139</sup> RIC II, p. 327.

elements of the Empire including the soldiers even though he did not lead them in battle as Trajan did and did not involve himself in wars as his predecessors did.<sup>140</sup> Thus the armies are no longer portrayed on the coinage as simply of the Roman Empire but as individual entities distinguished by their distinctive provincial names.<sup>141</sup> This series can be compared to Hadrian's provincial series struck in the same period. As in the army series, each province is celebrated on the coinage. The purpose of both series served more to crown Hadrian's achievement of unification of the Empire, one of the most important elements of the policy of the emperor, than an actual tribute to the army. Thus no longer was Rome and Italy the centre of the world but the individual provinces and local armies also represented an important force in the Empire. No doubt, as suggested by Hammond, many of Hadrian's visits to the army were at least taken in part not only to keep an eye on the soldiers and the defences, but also to make himself personally known to the soldiers and to secure their loyalty and affection.<sup>142</sup>

Therefore, to this end, ten provincial armies and the praetorians (Italy) are represented on rare asses, dupondii and sestertii.<sup>143</sup> The type used seldom changes: the reverse legend identifies the provincial army and shows a number of *adlocutio* scenes, in which the emperor is on horseback or less often standing on a platform addressing his assembled troops. Thus the

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<sup>140</sup> Hannestad (1988), p. 191.

<sup>141</sup> Mattingly (1926), pp. 331-333. It seems very likely that this issue served only to commemorate the provinces. I am sure it is no coincidence that this military issue occurs at the same time as the provincial issue (see below). Although I feel that this "military" issue is not primarily military at all, I still have included it in my catalogue and description.

<sup>142</sup> Hammond (1959), p. 170.

<sup>143</sup> Most of these types appear on sestertii.

praetorian cohorts are depicted with the reverse legend COH-PRAETOR-S-C and three basic types (nn. 908-911).

There are two types for the coinage with reverse legend EXER-BRITANNICVS-S-C: first, Hadrian is represented on horseback in the *adluctio* position addressing five soldiers, with the first holding a vexillum, and the second, third and the fourth holding standards (n. 912). On the second type, Hadrian stands on a base haranguing three soldiers who hold an eagle, a standard and a shield (n. 913). The army of Cappadocia is also displayed with reverse legend EXER-CAPPADOCICVS-S-C, and Hadrian is represented on horseback haranguing three soldiers (n. 914). For the army of Dacia, the coinage has the reverse legend EXERC-DACICVS-S-C, and represents a type with a scene similar to that used for the army of Cappadocia, and also another with Hadrian on a platform (described above) (nn. 915-916, 919A, 917-919). Similar types are also used with the following legends: EXERCITVS-GERMANICVS, EXERC-HISPAN, EXERCITVS-MAVRETANICVS, EXER-MOESIACVS, EXERCITVS-NORICVS, EXERCITVS-RAETICVS and EXERCITVS-SYRIACVS (nn. 920-937).<sup>144</sup> It is clear from the coinage above that the series was not intended to commemorate one specific military event, but rather to emphasize not only the importance of the specific regional armies belonging to the Empire, but also Hadrian's involvement and concern for them in a provincial context.

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<sup>144</sup> There is no evidence for coinage commemorating the Exercitus Parthicus.

### Analysis

The coinage of Hadrian displays the lowest military percentages of my entire study. The total military types for his reign in both Au and Ar is 13.8% of total types issued, while in the Ae it is 13.9% (see table on p. 89). Although these numbers attest the fact that Hadrian was not a military man, there were still periods in his reign of limited military activities. These are for the most part explicitly not attested on the coinage. Three periods can be identified: first, Hadrian's involvement in the Eastern wars (117-118); second, the suppression of the revolts in Mauretania, Palestine and Britain (119-122); and, third, the Jewish revolt (131-134).

For these periods, the coinage does not yield any outstanding military percentages. The percentages run as follows: For the first military period we have in 117, 8.0% (Au and Ar), and 8.3% (Ae); 117-118, 7.1% (Au and Ar), and no Ae types at all; 118, 5.0% (Au and Ar) and 6.6% (Ae). For the second, in 119-122, 1.1% (Au and Ar) and 1.4% (Ae). Finally, the last military period, in 131-134, 15% (Au and Ar) and 13.9% (Ae). In this last period, several types occur that seem to relate to the success over the Jews. However, these are soft types with no specific or direct reference to this military endeavour. The highest percentage of military types is seen in 125-128, at 21%, but this does not relate to any known military activity. The types are again soft types, except for one occurrence in the Ae coinage (COS-III-S-C-EXPED-AVG). It seems likely that this high percentage, encountered only in this period and only in the precious metal issues, is a result of change in style adopted at the mint in 125.

If we analyse Hadrian's coinage in terms of soft and hard military types, our results are in support the fact that the minting authority (whom I take to be Hadrian) felt no great need to produce overt military types. Thus, during his entire reign, only 23% of the military types issued

in Au and Ar could be considered as hard types while 70% of the Ae could be so considered. It is interesting that as many as 70.4% hard military types occur in the Ae coinage. However, this percentage, when placed in its proper context, does not seem as outstanding. If we study the occurrence of the hard types for each minting period, we notice that the highest number of hard military types in the Ae coinage (35) occurs only in 134-138. This coinage includes one ADLVCTIO and three DISCIPLINA types. However, the number of hard types is increased by the issues commemorating the provincial armies (31). As already stated above, I believe that this particular issue was intended chiefly for the provinces and not for the armies. This seems to be supported by a comparison of the output of hard types in the Ae for the other years. In 117, there is only one (DAC-PARTHICO); in 118, none; in 119-122, six (BRITANNIA. CONORDIA-EXERCITVVM, VICTORIA-AVGVSTI, VIRTVTI-AVGVSTI (2) and EXPED-AVG); finally in 125-128, one (COS-III-S-C-EXPED-AVG). It seems clear, that overall the preference was to issue soft military types, and that the military issues of 134-138 in bronze are exceptional.

A similar pattern also occurs when we turn to the hard types issued in the precious metals. There were no hard military types issued except in two short periods: 117-118 and 134-138. In 117-118, one hard type occurs (TRIVMPHVS-AVG); and in 134-138, eleven hard types appear (DISCIPLINA, IOVI-VICTORI, MARTI, VENERI-GENETRICI, VIC-AVG (6) and VIRTVTI-AVG). The minor military exploits of Hadrian would suggest that, if he was the one determining coin types and if coins were being used to disseminate information to the soldiers, a few soft types ought to have been produced, with little serious reference to the army or military affairs. This is in fact the case. Since any emperor was general by definition, one would expect a certain number of military types, no matter what. This is, however, a conclusion based on

negative evidence. We must see if it holds for another non-military emperor, and if the percentages increase for military emperors.

## OCCURRENCE OF MILITARY TYPES UNDER HADRIAN

<b>YEARS</b>	<b>AU AND AR: MILITARY TO TOTAL OUTPUT</b>	<b>PER CENT OF TOTAL ISSUES</b>	<b>AE: MILITARY TO TOTAL OUTPUT</b>	<b>PER CENT OF TOTAL ISSUES</b>
117	2:25	8.0	1:12	8.3
117-118	1:14	7.1	NO ISSUES	NA
118	4:20	5.0	1:15	6.6
119-122	10:91	1.1	6:69	1.4
123-124	NO ISSUES	NA	NO ISSUES	NA
125-128	12:57	21	7:59	11.9
129-131	NO ISSUES	NA	NO ISSUES	NA
132-134	3:20	15.0	5:36	13.9
134-138	20:149	13.4	38:226	14.3
<b>TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN</b>	52:376	13.8	58:417	13.9

**HADRIAN**  
**MINT OF ROME**

**A.D. 117**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

<b>RIC NUMBER</b>	<b>METAL</b>	<b>REVERSE LEGEND</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>RARITY</b>
16 & 20	AU	ORIENS	Bust of Sol, radiate, r.	C

**A.D. 117**

**BRONZE**

539	AS	DAC-PARTHICO- PM-TR-P-COS-P- P-S-C	Legionary eagle between two standards	S
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**A.D 117-118**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

26	AU	TRIVMPHVS- PARTHICVS	Trajan in quadriga r.. holding laurel branch and eagle-tipped sceptre	R3
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A.D. 118

## PRECIOUS METALS

36 & 37	AU (Q) & AR (Q)	P-M-TR-P-COS-II	Victory advancing r., holding wreath and palm	R2, S & S
43A-C	AU	ORIENS	Bust of Sol, radiate, r.	C
54	AR (Q)	AVG-P-M-TR-P- COS-II	= n. 36	R

A.D. 118

## BRONZE

546A-B	AS	PONT-MAX-TR- POT-COS-II- S-C	Legionary eagle between two standards	S
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A.D 119-122

## PRECIOUS METALS

65	AU	P-M-TR-P-COS-III	Mars in crested helmet, armed, standing front. holding spear reversed and resting l. hand on shield	S
66	AU	=	= but Mars holds spear with two points and parazonium. r. foot set on helmet	R
67	AR	=	Mars advancing r.. holding spear and trophy	C
95	AR	=	Pax seated l., holding Victory and branch	C
101	AR	=	Victory flying r.. holding trophy	C
102	AR (Q)	=	Victory standing l.. holding standard. surmounted by eagle and palm	S
103-106 & 108	AU (Q) & AR (Q)	=	Victory advancing r.. holding wreath and palm	S

107	AU (Q)	=	Victory standing r., foot on helmet, about to inscribe shield set on palm	R
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## A.D. 119-122

## BRONZE

577A-B	AS	BRITANNIA	Britannia seated facing r., foot on rock, resting head on r. hand and holding sceptre: to r., large shield	R2
581A-E	S	CONCORDIA- EXERCITVVM- S-C	Concordia standing l. holding eagle in r. hand and standard in l.	C
596	S	VICTORIA- AVGVSTI-S-C	Victory holding trophy with both hands, about to soar, r.	S
605	DP	VIRTVTI- AVGVSTI-S-C	Virtus standing r., holding spear and parazonium	C
613A-B	S	EXPED-AVG	Hadrian on horse prancing l., raising r. hand and holding spear in l.	S

614A-D	S	VIRT-AVG	Virtus standing l., holding spear and parazonium	C
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## A.D. 125-128

## PRECIOUS METALS

148	AR	COS-III	Hercules seated r. on cuirass, holding club. which rests on shield, and Victory	C
151	AR	=	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	C
152-154	AR	=	Minerva standing r., holding spear and leaning on shield	S
182-184	AR & AU (Q)	=	Victory standing r., placing hand on head and holding palm	C
185	AR	=	Hadrian standing in military dress, holding Victory and spear set on shield	R2

186-188	AU	=	Hadrian on horse pacing r., raising r. hand	C
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**A.D. 125-128****BRONZE**

638	S	COS-III-S-C	Virtus standing l., holding parazonium and spear	C
643	S	= but no S-C	Heap of arms: cuirass, six shields (four hexagonal, two round), a standard, and five trumpets	R3
644-646	S	COS-III-S-C- EXPED-AVG	Hadrian on horse prancing r. raising r. hand	S
664	AS	COS-III-S-C	Minerva advancing r., brandishing javelin and holding shield	C
689	SEM & QUAD	=	Eagle r. between standards	S

## A.D. 132-134

## PRECIOUS METALS

203	AU	COS-III-P-P	Hadrian standing r., raising right hand and holding crossed spear with two points	R
204	AU	=	Hadrian standing l., raising r. hand and holding spear: two standards on l., one on r.	S
205	AU	=	Hadrian on horse galloping r., holding spear	C

## A.D. 132-134

## BRONZE

703-706	S	FELICITATI-AVG-COS-III-P-P-S-C	Ship moving r.. with sail (inscribed with FELICITATI-AVG), steersmen and rowers; standard and vexillum at stern, Neptune at prow	C & R
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717	DP OR AS	COS-III-P-P-S-C	Hadrian on horse prancing r., holding spear at rest in r. hand	C
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**A.D. 134-138**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

232	AU	DISCIPLINA- AVG	Hadrian advancing r.. followed by three soldiers carrying standards	R
251	AU	IOVI-VICTORI	Jupiter seated l., holding Victory and sceptre	S
255	AR	MARTI	Mars, helmeted, standing l., holding spear and leaning l. arm on shield	R
279	AU	VENERI- GENETRICI	Venus standing, holding trophy bearing Victory and resting l. hand on shield. set on helmet: on shield. Medusa head	S
281	AR (Q)	VIC-AVG	Legend in laurel wreath	R

282	AR	=	Victory standing r., drawing out fold of dress and holding branch pointed downwards	C
283 & 285-286	AU, AU (Q) & AR	=	Victory advancing r., looking back towards l., holding wreath and palm	C, R & C
284	AU	=	Victory standing l., holding eagle with wreath in beak and palm	S
287	AR	VIRTVTI-AVG	Virtus standing r., l. foot on helmet, holding spear and parazonium	S
292	AU (Q)	no legend	Victory advancing, holding wreath and palm	R2
293	AU	=	Hadrian on horse pacing r., raising r. hand	S
294	AR	=	Hadrian standing r.. on prow, holding spear and parazonium	S
295	AU (Q)	=	Trophy with shields at foot	R2

330-331 & 344- 345	AR & AU	COS-III	Minerva standing r., holding spear and leaning on shield	C & S
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## A.D. 134-138

## BRONZE

739	S	ADLVCTIO-S-C	Hadrian standing r. on platform on l., haranguing three soldiers carrying standards	R2
746 & 747	S	DISCIPLINA- AVG-S-C	Hadrian holding roll, advancing r., followed by officer and three soldiers. carrying standards	R
778	S	S-C	Minerva helmeted, r. carrying spear and trophy	S
782	S	=	Hadrian bare-head standing r., foot on crocodile, holding spear and parazonium	S
800	DP & AS	DISCIPLINA- AVG-S-C	Hadrian advancing r., followed by four soldiers	R2

830	DP & AS	S-C	Hadrian standing r., l. foot on crocodile, holding spear and parazonium	S
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**A.D. 134-138**

**BRONZE**

**EXERCITVS TYPES**

**COHORTES PRAETORIAE**

908	S	COH-PRAETOR- S-C	Hadrian standing r., on platform on l., haranguing three soldiers and an officer: the officer looks r. and holds shield and sword, two of the soldiers hold shield and standards	R2
909	DP OR AS	=	= but all three soldiers hold shields and standards	R2
910	DP OR AS	=	= but four soldiers	R2

911	S	=	Hadrian standing l., on platform on r., accompanied by praefectus praetorio, haranguing three soldiers and an officer: the first soldier holds a shield and vexillum, the second a standard, the third a horse by the bridle	R2
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### EXERCITVS BRITANNICVS

912	S	EXER- BRITANNICVS-S- C	Hadrian on horseback r.. r. hand raised, adressing five soldiers: the first holding vexillum, the second and fourth standards	R3
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913	S	=	Hadrian stands on low base haranguing three soldiers: first holds eagle, the second standard, the third a shield; vexillum is in background	R3
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### EXERCITVS CAPPADOCICVS

914	S	EXER- CAPPADOCICVS- S-C	Hadrian on horseback haranguing three soldiers holding eagle and standards	R2
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### EXERCITVS DACICVS

915-916 & 919A	S	EXERC- DACICVS-S-C	= n. 914	R
917-919	S	=	= n. 913 but an officer is also present holding sword	R

**EXERCITVS GERMANICVS**

920-921	S	EXERCITVS- GERMANICVS-S- C	= n. 914	R
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**EXERCITVS HISPANICVS**

922-923	S	EXERC-HISPAN- S-C	= n. 917	R2
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**EXERCITVS MAVRETANICVS**

924	S	EXERCITVS- MAVRETANICV S-S-C	= n. 914, but third soldier carries spear	R
925	S	=	= n. 914 but there are four soldiers carrying vexillum, eagle and standards	R

**EXERCITVS MOESIACVS**

926	S	EXER- MOESIACVS	= n. 917	R
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**EXERCITVS NORICVS**

927	S	EXERCITVS- NORICVS-S-C	= n. 917, but four soldiers each holding shield, standard, eagle and another standard and a horse by the bridle: in the background, a standard	R2
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**EXERCITVS RAETICVS**

928	S	EXERCITVS- RAETICVS-S-C	= n. 914	R
929	S	=	= n. 914, but there are four soldiers	R
930	S	=	= n. 908	R

**EXERCITVS SYRIACVS**

931-935	S	EXERC-SYRIAC- S-C	= n. 914	R
936-937	S	=	= n. 908 but no officer	R

## ANTONINUS PIUS

(138-161)

### Military Affairs

Antoninus Pius had not acquired any military experience before becoming emperor. Since he never left Italy during his reign, he could hardly be described as a military figure.<sup>145</sup> Unlike Hadrian, Antoninus Pius never visited the army nor was he interested in military reforms.<sup>146</sup> However, he renewed peace treaties established by Hadrian, and followed his adoptive father's policy of peace with frontier peoples. Antoninus Pius did not expand the Empire by further conquests, but preferred to defend the already existing frontiers.<sup>147</sup> Nevertheless, although no major war was fought during his reign, there was a forward push through the Scottish lowlands and the Antonine wall was established between the Clyde and the Forth in order to encourage peaceful settlement (139-143).<sup>148</sup>

### Military Activity

Some military activity occurred in relation to Parthia and Armenia. In 140, Pius sent troops in Asia Minor to stop the Parthian action against Armenia.<sup>149</sup> Through this military

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<sup>145</sup> Hammond (1959), p. 171; Campbell (1990), p. 388.

<sup>146</sup> HA, Pius 5.4-5; Campbell (1990), p.48.

<sup>147</sup> Homo (1969), p. 174.

<sup>148</sup> HA Pius 5.4. For a description of the Antonine Wall, see Webster (1969), pp. 90-97.

<sup>149</sup> HA Pius 9.6; Le Gall and Le Glay (1987), p. 487; Homo (1969), p. 174.

strategy and also diplomatic interventions, Antoninus Pius established a king in Armenia, an act that was commemorated by reverse legends REX-ARMENIS-DATVS on the coinage (n. 619).

Furthermore, though no details are available in our ancient sources, there was a victory in Britain (142), which was celebrated in the coinage of 143. It was after this war that Pius received his second and last imperial salutation.<sup>150</sup> Similarly, in 154-155, coins celebrate a new submission of Britain, but again no details are available.<sup>151</sup> In addition, revolts in Numidia and Mauretania could possibly have occurred in 145 or 150, and were possibly followed by Jewish and Egyptian uprisings, but no specific information is available.<sup>152</sup> Finally, in 155, a Parthian war began, but peace was soon restored.<sup>153</sup>

### **The Army**

Under Antoninus Pius the army remained essentially the same as under Hadrian. There were twenty-eight legions, and it seems that the *numerii* were increased in number.<sup>154</sup> Very interestingly, in 138, T. Haterius Nepos received the last of the *ornamenta triumphalia* attributed to an imperial legate.<sup>155</sup> Furthermore, Antoninus Pius ruled that a soldier's will made under the

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<sup>150</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 124; Kienast (1990), p. 135. Antoninus Pius' first imperial acclamation was recorded in 138.

<sup>151</sup> Le Gall and Le Glay (1987), pp. 480-481.

<sup>152</sup> HA Pius 5.4; Kienast (1990), p. 138.

<sup>153</sup> Homo (1969), pp. 175-176.

<sup>154</sup> Le Gall and Le Glay (1987), pp. 475-476.

<sup>155</sup> Le Gall and Le Glay (1987), p. 475.

usual rules of law before military service, should be valid merely by the expression of the soldier's intentions.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>156</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 224.

### The Military Coinage

In the reign of Antoninus Pius only the mint of Rome regularly issued both precious and bronze metal coinage.<sup>157</sup> Generally, Antoninus Pius' coin types tend to reflect his peaceful reign, so few types are explicitly military.

#### 138-139

In Antoninus Pius' first year-and-a-half in power (138-139), there are few military types. On a denarius with the reverse legend TR-POT-COS-II (138: n. 9. but different legend; 139: n. 47A) Minerva is represented with Victory. Similarly, on another denarius with the reverse legend IMP-CAES-AEL-ANTONINVS-AVG, Minerva Victrix is represented holding Victory and resting on her shield, emphasizing the military prowess of the emperor (138: n. 2).<sup>158</sup>

The loyalty of the army is also stressed on denarii, with a Fides Militum type with the reverse legend AVG-PIVS-P-M-TR-P-COS-II (nn. 21 and 33). Victory is also depicted alone, advancing while holding a wreath and palm (nn. 25 and 36). Similarly, on another denarius with a similar reverse legend, three standards appear (n. 32). Finally, on a denarius with no reverse legend, Virtus is depicted with her foot on a helmet (n. 60).

By comparison, on the Ae coinage of this same period only two types were issued: first, on an as with reverse legend TR-POT-COS-II-S-C, Minerva is represented brandishing a javelin and a shield (n. 563A-B). Second, on a quadrans with a similar reverse legend a legionary eagle

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<sup>157</sup> RIC III, p. 1.

<sup>158</sup> RIC III, p. 5.

is displayed between two standards (n. 571). Clearly in this period the military types in all metals are general and do not relate to any specific event. There were no battles or rebellions at this time, and the types probably simply celebrate Pius' accession to the throne.<sup>159</sup>

### **140-144: Armenia and the Campaigns in Britain**

As noted by Mattingly, very little is known from our sources for these years, and the coinage seems to give us only a few additional hints.<sup>160</sup> Interestingly, it is in this period that we find the largest number of military types issued in Antoninus Pius' reign, many of which relate to the successful campaigns in Britain of his generals (142). However, only one type, a rare quadrans of 140-143 with the reverse legend REX-ARMENIS-DATVS-S-C (n. 619), makes reference to Antoninus Pius' military and diplomatic intervention in Armenia (around 142). By comparison, Pius' success in Britain (142) is widely advertised on the coinage which is divided into three phases: 140-143, 143-144, and 144.

#### **Phase I (140-143)**

The coinage of the first part of this period is too early to commemorate any victory in Britain. However, because there is such a large percentage of military coinage which stresses victory, it is likely that these issues were minted before the final victory to stress that a triumph was imminent. That this coinage was prior the victory in Britain is supported by the fact that the reverse legend does not contain either BRIT or IMP-II as is seen in almost all the coinage of the

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<sup>159</sup> RIC III, pp. 3-4.

<sup>160</sup> RIC III, p. 6.

following periods (143-144 and 144). There were certainly some problems with the army, as is hinted by two types only issued in the bronze coinage. First, a CONCORDIA-EXERCITVVM type issued on asses, dupondii, and sestertii, acclaims the loyalty of the army, (nn. 600, 657 and 678). Second, on a sestertius with the reverse legend DISCIPLINA-AVG-S-C, the emperor is shown to have a close interest in maintaining discipline in the army and is represented advancing, followed by a herald and three standard-bearers (n. 604). It is important to note that these types, with one exception, do not reoccur again in the coinage of the emperor.<sup>161</sup>

There are several Au quinarii and Ar denarii of 140-143 with the reverse legend TR-POT-COS-III that display several well known Victory types (nn. 83 and 87-88). Furthermore, on another aureus with the reverse legend VICTORIA-AVG Victory is represented in a quadriga holding a whip (n. 101A-E). By comparison, in the Ae coinage victory types also appear, but with some variations from the precious metal coinage. Therefore, on sestertii with the reverse legend VICTORIA-AVGVSTI-S-C, Victory either flies holding wreath in both hands, or she is represented holding the reigns of a quadriga (nn. 653-655, 674, 707, and 708). On another sestertius, Victory is seen carrying a trophy in both hands (n. 614).

Virtus, Minerva, and Mars are also represented on the coinage of 140-143, as givers of future triumph in Britain. The VIRTVS-AVG types were only issued in both Au and Ar (nn. 89 and 102A-D). Moreover, on a denarius with no reverse legend Virtus stands with her right foot on helmet while holding a reversed spear and parazonium (n. 104). By comparison, Minerva

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<sup>161</sup> The only other example is a DISCIPLINA-AVG-S-C found in the undated coinage of 145-161, n. 769.

appears only on the Ae coinage with the reverse legend S-C (nn. 666 and 686). MARTI-VLTORI also appears on a sesterius (n. 609) and in Au with a different legend (n. 99).

Finally, two other military types are noteworthy. In the case of the first type, only issued in the precious metals, Roma appears in military dress holding a spear and parazonium (n. 67) or the palladium (n. 103). In the second, the emperor himself appears in a triumphal quadriga (n. 93), or dressed in military attire (nn. 105A-C).

### **Phase II (143-144)**

Both the precious and Ae metal coinage of this period refer specifically to the victory in Britain (142), by commemorating Antoninus Pius' second and last imperial salutation. Thus on the Ae with the reverse legend BRITANNIA-S-C (n. 742) or IMPERATOR-II-BRITAN-S-C (nn. 743-745), Britain is represented helmeted and seated with her right foot on a rock and holding a spear or standard, and resting her left arm on a shield. There are four other main coin types that were used to commemorate this event. First, a series issued in all metals with the reverse legend IMPERATOR-II displays Victory (nn. 109-111, 115A-B, 715, 717, 724, 725, 731, 732 and 732A). On a second type with a similar reverse legend, Jupiter appears (nn. 108A-C, 723 and 727A-B). Third, issued in all metals with the reverse legend IMPERATOR-II-BRITAN, Victory stands on globe and holds a wreath and palm (nn. 113 and 719). On a last example, only represented on an aurei with the reverse legend IMPERATOR-II-MARTI-VLT, Mars stands holding spear and resting his left hand on a shield (n. 113A).

Furthermore, three additional types, issued only on the Ae coinage, again stress Pius' second imperial salutation. First, on an as with the reverse legend IMPERATOR-II-ANCILIA-S-C, two ancilia or oval shields with rounded projections above and below are

represented (nn. 736A-C). Second, on other asses with the reverse legend IMPERATOR-II-S-C, Hercules stands wrapped in his lion-skin and holding a club, bow and arrow (n. 726). Finally, a last type with no reverse legends, also issued on both aurei and denarii to commemorate Pius' second imperial salutation, represents the emperor himself as a victorious general, standing in military dress (nn. 105A-C). Three additional types are noteworthy. First, on denarii with the reverse legend IMP-II, a caduceus is represented between two cornucopiae (nn. 107A-B and 112). Second, on sestertii with the same reverse legend, Fides stands holding corn-ears and basket (nn. 716A-B). Third, on an aureus with the reverse legend P-M-TR-P-III-COS-III-P-P, Mars is represented (n. 116).

### **Phase III (144)**

Only two military types appear in this period. First, on aurei with the reverse legend COS-III-DES-III. Victory holds a trophy in both hands (nn. 121A-B). Second, Virtus appears on denarii with same reverse legend (nn. 118 and 122). No coinage is assigned by numismatists to the years 145 or 146.

### **147-153**

No military types were issued during 147-148 and no coinage has been assigned by numismatists to the year 150. However, in the following years (148-153), some coins simply repeat the types of previous issues, but not in great numbers, and the largest percentage was being minted in Ae. Consequently, for the period 148-149, only one Victory type appears on the precious metal coinage, with the reverse legend COS-III (n. 182). Similarly, in the next period (151-152) the same Victory type appears on the precious metals (205A-B). However, on all

metals Pius is seen in the *adlocutio* position with the reverse legend TR-POT-XV-COS-III (nn. 214-215; bronze, different legend on nn. 879 and 890A-B). Another interesting type only represented on the Ae coinage with the same reverse legend (as nn. 214-215), shows Antoninus Pius seated on a curule chair while holding a globe and Victory flying behind him (nn. 889 and 897). In 152-155, Victory appears on aurei (n. 225), and on sesterii Mars is represented holding a spear and resting his hand on a shield (nn. 901-902).

### **154-157: Parthian War and Second Submission of Britain**

No military coinage was issued during the years 154-155. The coinage of 155-157, only issued in Ae, seems to allude to successes in Britain and the settlement of a nascent war against Parthia.<sup>162</sup> New victories in Britain seem to be stressed on both dupondii and asses with the reverse legend BRITANNIA-COS-III-S-C, which show Britain seated on a rock with her head propped on her right hand (nn. 930 and 934). By comparison, either referring to the successes in Parthia or Britain, a victorious Mars is represented on a sestertius with the reverse legend COS-III-S-C (n. 925). Some hint of trouble within the army is suggested by several Ae types with the reverse legend FIDES-EXERC-COS-III-S-C (nn. 926, 939, 943A-B and 949; different legend, n. 951). Two additional types were issued in Ae denominations. First, on a sestertius with the reverse legend TR-POT-XIX-COS-III-S-C, Roma sits amongst arms (n. 941). Second, on an as with the reverse legend COS-III-S-C, Jupiter holds Victory (n. 954A). Victory also occurs once in this period in both Au and Ar (n. 255A-B).

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<sup>162</sup> RIC III, pp. 11-12. It is difficult to determine which specific coins refer to the victories in Parthia or Britain. I have here followed Mattingly's classification.

The issues for 156-157 repeat some of the military types of the previous year, but no specific military event can be attributed to them.<sup>163</sup> As before, most military types only occur on the Ae coinage.<sup>164</sup> The FIDES-EXERCITVVM type of the previous year is repeated but with the reverse legend IMP-TR-POT-XX-COS-III-S-C (n. 965). A seated Roma is also repeated (n. 963) with the same reverse legend. Furthermore, a Jupiter type also appears (nn. 962, 968 and 971). Finally, two Victory types also occur in both precious and bronze metal (nn. 266A-C; Ae: n. 960).

### **Final Period: 157-161**

The military coinage of 157-158, only issued on the precious metals, contains some military types such as Jupiter or Victory (nn. 268 and 281A-C). The Roma type is also repeated from previous years in all metals with the reverse legend TR-POT-XXI-COS-III (nn. 273 and 979A-B). Only represented on an as with the reverse legend IMPERATOR-II, a she-wolf with suckling twins is represented (n. 997). In 159-160, only a Fides Exercitus type appears on the Ae coinage (n. 1005), while in 160-161 Minerva appears on a denarius with the reverse legend T-R-I-B-I-A (n. 318).

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<sup>163</sup> RIC III, p. 12.

<sup>164</sup> Only Victory is represented in the precious metals of this period (nn. 255a-b, 266a-c).

### **Undated Military Coinage (145-161)**

There are many undated military types issued in all metals, to which no specific date can be assigned. For example, Virtus, Minerva or Mars are celebrated on several issues (Virtus: n. 154; Minerva: nn. 146, 158, 779, 826 and 831; Mars: nn. 758, 778, 807, and 825). The Roma type is also seen in all metals (nn. 147-148; Ae: 759 and 780). As we have noted above, a DISCIPLIN-AVG-S-C type also appears (n. 769).

Four otherwise unattested military types also occur in the Ae coinage, and these are extremely interesting. First, on a sesterius with the reverse legend PAX-AVG-COS-III-S-C. Pax is seen setting fire to a heap of arms (n. 777). Second, on another sesterius with the reverse legend S-C, Venus holds a helmet and transverse sceptre (n. 781). Third, on an as with the reverse legend TR-POT-COS-III-VICT-AVG-S-C, Victory rides in a quadriga (n. 836). On a final example, on a quadrans with the obverse legend IMP-II and the reverse legend COS-III-S-C, a legionary eagle appears between standards to serve as a reminder of Pius' second imperial acclamation (n. 838).

## Analysis

Several interesting patterns are revealed by Pius' military coinage. The total military types issued in both Au and Ar is 15.5%, and in the Ae 16.4% (see table on p. 119). Hard types make up 25% (12:48) for the precious metals and 47% (34:72) of the military Ae issues. Obviously, the minting authority preferred to issue more military hard types in the Ae denominations, just as was the case for Hadrian. However, if we look more closely at the periods when our total types for the reign were the highest, these relate to times of major military activities. For instance, four periods in particular are denoted by high percentages of military coinage issued exclusively in the Ae denominations: first, 140-143 at 75%; second, 143-144 at 41.5%; third, 155-156 at 47.6; finally, 156-157 at 36%. We can associate Pius' British campaigns (140-143) with the issues of 140-143 and 143-144. For the period of 140-143 there are eleven (73%) hard military types represented. These include types such as: CONCORDIA-EXERCITVVM (3), DISCIPLINA-AVG, MARTI-VLTORI, VICTORIA-AVG (5), and REX-ARMENIS-DATVS. All the types, except for the last, which actually refers to Pius' military and diplomatic intervention in Armenia (140-141), relate to the campaigns in Britain of 140-143. However, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, these issues are too early to refer directly to the final victory in Britain. Rather, these seemed to be addressed to the army directly in anticipation of victory. The Concordia and Disciplina types suggest that there were problems in the army at this time, but we cannot guess what they were.

However, it is clear that by 143-144 these problems had been resolved and 41.5% of all types were military, of which a record of 100% are hard types. These issues, of course, commemorate the success in Britain, the only triumph celebrated under Pius. The hard types

encountered are clear references to this event, as indicated by the types commemorating Pius' second imperial acclamation after this battle: IMP-II (11), IMPERATOR-II-BRITAN (4), IMPERATOR-II-ANCILIA (2) and BRITANNIA (1). Similarly, in the precious metal coinage this pattern also occurs, and we have 100% military types resulting, of which 8 (80%) are hard types. The earlier Ae types are repeated in this period, except that we also encounter an IMPERATOR and an IMPERATOR-II-MARTI-VLATOR. Clearly, the minting authority chose to celebrate this event with types that commemorated Pius' second and last imperial acclamation.

In the following periods, the military types drop drastically in all metals, so that we do not encounter any military hard types until 155-156, which again seems to coincide with military activities. It was at this time that Pius was occupied with the (supposed) second submission of Britain and a Parthian success. Therefore, the Ae metal shows military types occurring at a rate of 47.6%, while in the Au and Ar metals at only 7.1% (no hard types). In the Ae, there are as many as 6 (60%) hard military types represented, which include FIDES-EXERC (4) and BRITANNIA (2). In 156-157, the military issues are at 36%, but no hard types were issued. It is probable that these issues are a continuation of those issued in the previous period.

One question must be asked: why are these military types issued mostly in the Ae denominations? An answer may lie in the fact that only the highest ranking officers were paid in the precious metal denominations. Perhaps this coinage was issued for the regular soldier, who was paid in Ae and was putting his life in danger for his emperor.

The military coinage of the other periods is not found in a similar quantity, and does not display the same characteristics or the same frequency of hard types. Rather, most military types

attributed to these periods are soft types, which seem to suggest that the overall preference of the minting authority was not interested in conveying any specific message. This is especially seen in periods where a 0% of military types occurs, predominantly in the Ae coinage (138, 147-148, 148-149, 154-155, 158-161). As noted above, these periods do not coincide with military periods. Similarly, in the precious metals, a level of 0% of military types also occurs, but less frequently (147-148, 154-155, 158-159). Again for these periods, no military events are recorded. Thus it seems clear from our findings that Pius issued most of his military types and those with the strongest messages (soft and hard types) during his military campaigns (140-144, 155-157). However, it seems that during times of relative peace the preference of the minting authority was non-military types with the small numbers of soft military types.

## OCCURRENCE OF MILITARY TYPES UNDER PIUS

<b>YEARS</b>	<b>AU AND AR: MILITARY TO TOTAL OUTPUT</b>	<b>PER CENT OF TOTAL ISSUES</b>	<b>AE: MILITARY TO TOTAL OUTPUT</b>	<b>PER CENT OF TOTAL ISSUES</b>
138	2:18	11.0	0:9	0.0
139	7:44	16.0	2:74	2.7
140-143	10:48	21.0	15:20	75.0
143-144	10:10	100.0	17:41	41.5
144	3:7	42.9	NO ISSUES	NA
145-146	NO ISSUES	NA	NO ISSUES	NA
147-148	0:12	0.0	0:14	0.0
148-149	1:15	6.7	0:14	0.0
150	NO ISSUES	NA	NO ISSUES	NA
151-152	3:28	10.7	6:36	17.0
152-153	1:11	9.0	2:11	18.2
154-155	0:5	0.0	0:13	0.0
155-156	1:14	7.1	10:21	47.6
156-157	1:10	10.0	5:14	36.0
157-158	2:17	12.0	1:26	3.9
158-159	0:12	0.0	0:30	0.0
159-160	1:13	7.7	0:14	0.0
160-161	1:7	14.3	0:13	0.0
145-161 (UNDATED)	5:38	13.2	14:88	15.9

<b>TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN</b>	48:309	15.5	72:438	16.4
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## ANTONIUS PIUS

## MINT OF ROME

A.D. 138

## PRECIOUS METALS

RIC NUMBER	METAL	REVERSE LEGEND	DESCRIPTION	RARITY
2	AR	IMP-CAES-AEL- ANTONINVS- AVG	Minerva standing l., holding Victory and resting l. hand on shield: against l. arm, spear	S
9	AR	AVG-PIVS-P-M- TR-P-COS-DES-II	=	S

A.D. 139

## PRECIOUS METALS

21	AR	AVG-PIVS-P-M- TR-P-COS-II	Fides Militum standing front, head l., holding standard in each hand	S
25	AR	=	Victory advancing r., holding wreath and palm	C
32	AR	=	Three standards	S

33	AR	=	= n. 21	S
36	AR	=	Victory advancing r., holding wreath and palm	S
47A	AR	TR-POT-COS-II	Minerva helmeted, advancing r., brandishing javelin and holding shield	C
60	AR	(no legend)	Virtus standing r., foot on helmet, holding reversed spear and parazonium	R

**A.D.139****BRONZE**

563A-B	AS	TR-POT-COS-II- S-C	Minerva advancing r., brandishing javelin and holding shield	S
571	QUAD	TR-POT-COS-II- S-C	Legionary eagle between two standards	S

A.D. 140-143

## PRECIOUS METALS

83	AU (Q)	TR-P-COS-III	Victory flying l., placing wreath on two shields, set on low base	R
87-88	AU (Q)	=	Victory seated l., holding patera and palm	R
89	AR	=	Virtus standing l., holding spear and parazonium	S
93	AU	=	Antonius Pius, with Marcus Aurelius and L. Verus, in triumphal quadriga.	R
99	AU	TRIB-POT-COS-III	Mars r. helmeted, naked, holding spear and shield descending to earth	R2
101 (A-E)	AU	VICTORIA-AVG	Victory holding whip, in quadriga galloping r.	S
102 A-D	AR	VIRTVS-AVG	Virtus standing l., holding reversed spear and parazonium	C

104	AR	(no legend)	Virtus standing r., l. foot on helmet, holding reversed spear and parazonium	R
105A-C	AU & AR	(no legend)	Antonius Pius, in military dress standing r., l. foot on globe, holding spear and parazonium	S

**A.D. 140-143****BRONZE**

600	S	CONCORDIA- EXERCITVVM- S-C	Concordia standing l., holding Victory and legionary eagle	C
604	S	DISCIPLINA- AVG-S-C	Antoninus advancing r., followed by herald and three standard-bearers	R3
609	S	MARTI-VLTORI- S-C	Mars helmeted, standing r. holding spear and resting l. hand on shield	S

614	S	P-M-TR-POT- COS-III-S-C	Victory advancing r., carrying trophy in both hands	S
619	QUAD	REX-ARMENIS- DATVS-S-C	Antoninus standing l., placing tiara on head of king of Armenia standing l., and holding roll	R
653-654	S	VICTORIA-AVG- S-C	Victory in fast quadriga r., holding reins	S
655	S	=	Victory towered, flying l., holding wreath in both hands	S
657	DP	CONCORDIA- EXERCITVM-S-C	Concordia standing l., holding Victory and aquila	C
666	DP	S-C	Minerva standing r. brandishing javelin and holding shield	S
674	DP	VICTORIA-AVG- S-C	Victory in fast quadriga r., holding reins	S
678	AS	CONCORDIA- EXERCITVVM- S-C	Concordia standing l., holding Victory and aquila	C

686	AS	S-C	Minerva standing r., brandishing javelin and holding shield	S
707	AS	TR-POT-COS-III- VICT-AVG-S-C	Victory in fast quadriga r., holding reins	S
708	AS	VICTORIA-AVG- S-C	=	S

**A.D. 143-144**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

107A-B	AR	IMP-II	Caduceus between two cornucopiae	R
108A-C	AU	=	Jupiter seated l., holding thunderbolt and sceptre	C
109A-D	AU & AR	=	Victory flying r., holding trophy in both hands	C
110-111 (A-E)	AU (Q)	=	Victory standing l. on globe, holding wreath and palm	R & C
112	AR	IMPERATOR-II	Winged caduceus between crossed cornucopiae	S

113	AU	IMPERATOR-II-BRITAN	Victory standing l. on globe, holding wreath and palm	R
113A	AU	IMPERATOR-II-MARTI-VLT	Mars standing r., holding spear and resting l. hand on shield	R2
115A-B	AR	IMPERATOR	Victory standing l., holding wreath and palm	S
116	AU	P-M-TR-P-III-COS-III-P-P	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	R

**A.D. 143-144****BRONZE**

715	AS	IMP-II-TR-POT-COS-III-S-C	Victory flying r., holding trophy in both hands	C
716A-B	S	IMPERATOR-II-S-C	Fides standing r., holding corn-ears and basket	C
717A-B	S	=	Victory flying r., holding trophy in both hands	C
719	S	IMPERATOR-II-BRITAN-S-C	Victory standing l. on globe, holding wreath and palm	R

723	DP	IMPERATOR-II- S-C	Jupiter seated l., holding thunderbolt and sceptre	S
724	DP	=	Victory flying r., holding trophy in both hands	C
725	DP	=	Victory advancing l., holding shield inscribed S- P-Q-R	R
726	AS	=	Hercules standing l., wrapped in lion-skin. holding club, arrow and bow	S
727A-B	AS	=	Jupiter seated l., holding thunderbolt and sceptre	C & S
731	AS	=	Victory advancing r., holding wreath and palm	C
732	AS	=	Victory advancing l., holding shield inscribed BRITAN	S
732A	AS	=	Victory flying r., holding trophy in both hands	S
736A-C	AS	IMPERATOR-II- ANCILIA-S-C	Two ancilia with rounded projections above and below	C

742	S	BRITANNIA-S-C	Britannia, bare-headed, seated l. on rock, holding standard in r. hand and spear against l. arm: her elbow rests on shield, set on helmet	R2
743	S	IMPERATOR-II- BRITAN-S-C	Britannia helmeted, seated l., r. foot on rock, holding spear and resting l. arm on shield	R2
744	S	=	Britannia, bare-headed, seated l. on globe, holding standard in r. hand and spear against l. arm: her l. elbow rests on shield, set on the globe: below globe, waves	R3
745	S	=	Britannia seated l. on rock, holding standard and spear; her l. elbow rests on shield: on shield, a cuirass.	R2

A.D 144

## PRECIOUS METALS

118	AR	COS-III-DES-III	Virtus standing l., holding reversed spear and parazonium	C
121A-B	AU	=	Victory flying r., holding trophy in both hands	S
122	AR	=	Virtus standing r., holding spear and parazonium	S

## A.D. 145-161 (UNDATED)

## PRECIOUS METALS

146	AU (Q)	TR-POT-COS-III	Minerva helmeted, standing l., holding Victory and resting l. hand on shield: against l. arm, spear	R2
147-148	AU	=	Roma seated l., holding Victory and spear: at side. shield	C & S
154	AR	=	Virtus standing l., holding reversed spear and parazonium	C
158	AU	(no legend)	Minerva helmeted. standing l., holding Victory and resting l. hand on shield: against l. arm, spear	C

## A.D. 145-161 (UNDATED)

## BRONZE

758	S	COS-III-S-C	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	S
759	S	=	Roma helmeted, seated l., holding Victory and spear, resting l. elbow on shield set on prow	C
769	S	DISCIPLIN-AVG- S-C	Antoninus advancing r., followed by an officer and three soldiers carrying standards	R2
777	S	PAX-AVG-COS- III-S-C	Pax standing l., setting fire with torch to heap of arms and holding cornucopia	C
778	S	S-C	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	C
779	S	=	Minerva advancing r., brandishing javelin and holding shield	C
780	S	=	Roma helmeted, seated l., holding Victory and spear resting l. elbow on shield	C

781	S	=	Venus seated l., holding helmet and transverse sceptre	R
807 & 825	DP & AS	S-C	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	C & S
826	AS	=	Minerva standing r., brandishing javelin and holding shield	C
831	AS	TR-POT-COS-III- S-C	Minerva standing r., brandishing javelin and holding shield	C
836	AS	TR-POT-COS-III- VICT-AVG-S-C	Victory in quadriga galloping r.	S
838	QUAD	COS-III-S-C	Legionary eagle between standards	S

A.D. 148-149

## PRECIOUS METALS

182	AU (Q)	COS-III	Victory seated l., holding wreath and palm	R
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A.D. 151-152

## PRECIOUS METALS

205A-B	AU	COS-III	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R
214-215	AU	TR-POT-XV-COS- III	Antoninus on horseback l., raising r. hand and holding parazonium	S

A.D. 151-152

## BRONZE

879	AS	TR-POT-XIII- COS-III-ROMA- S-C	Antoninus on horseback l., raising r. hand and holding spear	R
889	S	TR-POT-XV-COS- III-S-C	Antoninus seated l. on curule chair, holding globe. crowned by Victory behind him, flying l.	S

890A-B	S	=	Antoninus on horseback l., raising r. hand and holding spear	R
897	DP	=	Antoninus seated l. on curule chair, holding globe and crowned by Victory	S

**A.D. 152-153**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

225	AU (Q)	COS-III	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	C
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**A.D. 152-153**

**BRONZE**

901-902	S	COS-III-S-C	Mars standing r., holding spear and resting l. hand on shield	C
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**A.D. 155-156**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

255A-B	AU	TR-POT-XIX- COS-III	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	C
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A.D. 155-156

## BRONZE

925	S	COS-III-S-C	Mars standing l., holding Victory and spear, pointing downwards	S
926	S	FIDES-EXERC- COS-III-S-C	Fides standing l., holding two standards	S
930 & 934	DP & AS	BRITANNIA- COS-III-S-C	Britannia seated l. on rock, head propped on r. hand, l. hand on rock: to l., round shield and eagle-tipped sceptre	S
939, 943A-B & 949	S & AS	FIDES-EXERC- COS-III-S-C	Fides standing l., holding two standards	S
941	S	TR-POT-XIX- COS-III-S-C	Roma seated l., on cuirass, holding globe and spear; on ground, arms	S
951	DP	=	Fides Exercitus standing l., holding two standards	S

954A	AS	COS-III-S-C	Jupiter seated l., holding Victory	R
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**A.D. 156-157**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

266A-C	AU, AR, & AU (Q)	TR-POT-XX-COS- III	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	C, S, & R
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**A.D. 156-157**

**BRONZE**

960	S	IMP-TR-POT-XX- COS-III-S-C	Victory flying r., holding trophy in both hands	S
962,968 & 971	S, DP & AS	=	Jupiter, naked standing l., holding thunderbolt and sceptre	C
965	S	=	Fides Exercitus standing front, holding two standards	C

## A.D. 157-158

## PRECIOUS METALS

268	AU (Q)	COS-III	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R
281A-C	AU	=	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	C

## A.D. 157-158

## BRONZE

997	AS	IMPERATOR-II	She-wolf, suckling the twins; below, boat	S
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## A.D. 159-160

## BRONZE

1005	S	TR-POT-XXII- COS-III-S-C	Fides Exercitus standing l., holding two standards	S
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## A.D. 160-161

## PRECIOUS METALS

318	AR	T-R-I-B-I-A	Minerva helmeted standing r., holding reversed spear, l. hand on shield	S
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## **NOTE TO USERS**

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**UMI**

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

(193-211)

The murder of Commodus on 31 December, 192, marked not only the end of a dynasty but also the beginning of a crisis, one that lasted more than forty years - the most serious since 68-69. As after Nero's death, although the formal choice of an Emperor lay with the Senate, the actual choice lay with the army. Therefore, men like Pertinax and Didius Julianus elevated themselves to the rank of emperor through promises of *donativa* to the Praetorian guards.<sup>165</sup> However, these emperors were also deposed by the army, because they were unable to keep their promises to them.<sup>166</sup> Only Septimius Severus, governor of Pannonia, and proclaimed emperor by the legions of the Danube and the Rhine frontiers at Carnuntum on 9 April, 193, was able to become emperor and found a dynasty. His strategy was simple: he attracted fifteen legions to his cause, bribed them, and began marching towards Rome.<sup>167</sup> As a result, on 1 June, 193, the Senate recognized Severus as the new emperor.

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<sup>165</sup> Herodian 2.3; 2.6.10-13.

<sup>166</sup> Herodian 2.1.4; 2.5.8-9.

<sup>167</sup> HA, Severus, 5.2; Campbell (1984), pp. 170-1 and pp. 194-5. It was the first time in one hundred and twenty-four years that legions had been bribed by a military commander to march on the capital. Septimius Severus is alleged to have offered a bigger donative than usual to the Pannonian troops before the march on Rome. In fact, he only paid 1,000 sesterces per man, although the troops asked for 10,000 sesterces, based on the precedent set by Octavian in 43 B.C. (cf. Dio 46.7, HA, Severus, 7.6). As pointed out by Campbell, even if the amount of 1,000 sesterces per man was part of a downpayment, the amount offered by Severus was still quite moderate. His task was facilitated because he had control of the Western part of the Empire. Some of his supporting legions came from Pannonia (2 except for the X Gemina), Moesia (2), Dacia (2), Noricum (2), Raetia (2) and Germany (2). See Birley (1988) for a complete work on Severus.

Septimius Severus was the first and only man from the province of Africa to become Roman emperor.<sup>168</sup> His military career was not remarkable prior to 193, and had not participated in any war.<sup>169</sup> His posts included *legatus legionis IV Scythicae* in Syria (182-183), and *legatus Augusti pro praetore* of the province of Pannonia Superior (191-193).<sup>170</sup>

Severus received twelve imperial acclamations. IMP I was received on April, 193, when he was proclaimed Emperor by the legions of the Rhine and the Danube.<sup>171</sup> It was also during his campaigns against Niger that Severus received his second and third imperial salutations. In the spring of 194, after the victory at Issus against Niger, he received his fourth imperial salutation.<sup>172</sup> After a short campaign, Severus finally defeated Niger in November of the same year.

The Orient was most touched by these events, and Severus took the opportunity to re-establish his authority, especially with the Parthians, who had supported Niger. Therefore, he undertook the *Prima felicissima expeditio Parthica* from 194-195, where he received an

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<sup>168</sup> Eutropius, *Hist. Abbr.*, 8.18.

<sup>169</sup> Barnes (1967), p. 91.

<sup>170</sup> Information on Severus career is provided in *HA, Severus* 1.1-1.5. However, the ancient sources seem to be silent on many details of Severus' early career. Most of the details of his career have been reconstructed by modern scholars, and an especially good account can be found in Birley (1988) pp. 37-62. On the origins of Severus' family see Birley (1988), pp. 23-36 and pp. 34-9. Also see Barnes (1967), p. 89-92 and Keinast (1990), p. 156.

<sup>171</sup> Keinast (1990), p. 157.

<sup>172</sup> Keinast (1990), p. 157.

additional three imperial salutations (IMP V, VI, VII).<sup>173</sup> In order to establish himself as sole ruler of the Roman empire, Severus still had to get rid of Albinus, the governor of Britain who had allied himself with Severus in April, 193. Thus, on 15 December, 195, Severus declared Albinus *a hostis publicus* and left Syria to march against him.<sup>174</sup> It was on 19 February, 197, that Severus defeated Albinus.

### **The Military Campaigns under Septimius Severus**

After a short stay in Rome following the victory over Albinus, Severus returned to the East for a second expedition against Parthia (197-199), partly to retaliate against Niger's supporters, but also to reconsolidate the Eastern frontier. The capital of Parthia, Ctesiphon, was taken in December, 197, and Severus adopted the title Parthicus Maximus late in January 198 and proclaimed Caracalla Augustus and Geta Caesar.<sup>175</sup> Finally, in 199 the war ended in this region, with the annexation of Osroene and Mesopotamia.<sup>176</sup>

For the next two years, Severus spent time both in Syria and Egypt (199-202).

Afterwards, he spent much of his time in Rome, until 208, when he set out with his wife and his

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<sup>173</sup> HA, Severus 9.3-11.5; Keinast (1990), p. 157. These were punitive campaigns against the Osroeni and other Parthian vassals which had helped Niger. Both imperial salutation VI and VII represent victories over the Arabians and the Adiabeniens, respectively, who had sided with Niger. Consequently, Severus also adopted the titles Arabicus and Adiabenicus. It must also be noted that there are differing dates for some of the imperial salutations. For the coinage, I have followed Mattingly's conclusions.

<sup>174</sup> Herodian 3.6-8; HA, Severus 11.3-11.5.

<sup>175</sup> Keinast (1990), p. 156.

<sup>176</sup> Le Gall and Le Glay (1987), p. 566. In Mesopotamia, Severus installed two new legions.

two sons for Britain, where he undertook a large expedition to free the Northern frontier from attacks of the Caledonian and Scottish tribes.<sup>177</sup> Severus installed himself at York, and in the spring of 209 began offensive action. A temporary peace was agreed in the fall of 210, but Caracalla soon had to resume the war, since Severus was too ill to continue. The emperor received the title of Britannicus Maximus, but, unfortunately, on 4 February, 211, died in the camp at York.

### **Septimius Severus and the Roman Army**

According to Dio, the last instructions that Septimius Severus gave to his sons before dying were: "Live in harmony, enrich the troops and scorn everyone else".<sup>178</sup> Similarly, Herodian offers plenty of evidence for the emperor's generous treatment of the army, not only in giving the soldiers large sums of money but also in granting new privileges.<sup>179</sup> However, Herodian adds in his assessment of Severus' military reforms that the emperor both weakened the troops' readiness to stand hardships and relaxed their strict discipline.<sup>180</sup>

Contrary to Herodian's views, many modern historians have argued that, although soldiers were reasonably well off under Severus, the indications are that he attempted to maintain

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<sup>177</sup> HA, Severus 18.1; Le Gall and Le Glay (1987), p. 569. Problems in Britain had occurred as early as 196, when Albinus had evacuated the region of Hadrian's wall to unite his army in order to fight Severus. The barbarians had taken advantage of the situation, and attacked the south end of the province. Furthermore, both legionary camps of Eburacum (York) and Deva (Chester) were attacked, and had to be evacuated.

<sup>178</sup> Dio 66.15.2.

<sup>179</sup> Herodian 3. 8.4.

<sup>180</sup> Herodian 3.8.5.

strict discipline.<sup>181</sup> Clearly, Severus, like previous emperors, owed his throne to the army. Military might was clearly still pre-eminent and the loyalty of the troops vital to political survival.<sup>182</sup> As soon as Severus came to power, it became clear that new reforms were not only needed to meet the new foreign policies and frontier strategies but also to guarantee the security of the Roman empire.

Severus continued the frontier strategy of his predecessors, one on defense rather than offence. He began by strengthening fortifications both in Africa and on the Rhine and Danubian frontiers, a process which continued throughout his reign. Because the biggest worry came from the Eastern frontier, he reorganized the frontier to provide better defence and give better self sufficiency.<sup>183</sup> The second Parthian expedition accomplished this task since the province of Mesopotamia was formed with a force of two new legions (I and III Parthica), while the province of Syria was reorganized to provide a stronger defensive system along the frontier. Thus military strength was increased by three new legions, two of which remained on the frontiers.

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<sup>181</sup> Agreeing with this view are Smith (1972: 481-499); Campbell (1984: 194-5); Birley (1988: 21-39). Severus' military policies are often criticized in the ancient sources. These seem to stress Severus' favouring of the soldiers, and are especially critical of his cruel and authoritarian handling of the Senate after the death of Albinus, when Severus initiated a purge and a confiscation of property of the senators and others who had supported Albinus (McCann (1968), p. 48). These criticisms are not at all surprising in the ancient sources. Both Dio and Herodian enjoyed careers in public office, and thus took Severus' treatment of the Senate more to heart. Nevertheless, Dio does indicate admiration and respect for Severus' governing ability and in successfully handling the situation of the moment.

<sup>182</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 151.

<sup>183</sup> Smith (1972), p. 485.

In Italy, Severus created a mobile force designed to act as an emergency reserve. The newly created II Parthica was brought to Italy and stationed at Albanum, near Rome, and under the command of a praetorian prefect.<sup>184</sup> Furthermore, he reorganized the praetorian guard, giving an additional 10,000 troops for the defense of Italy.<sup>185</sup> Hence, Italy had 16,000 professional soldiers to serve as a nucleus for an emergency army.<sup>186</sup> However, even with these back-up troops, Severus' frontier system assumed that Rome would not embark on wars of conquest and would be content to defend what she had. Ultimately, this technique failed because the pressure on all frontiers became too great, especially under Alexander Severus, Valerian and Gallienus.

However, the implementation of such a frontier strategy depended on the maintenance of thirty-three legions with their *auxilia* and *numeri* at reasonably full strength which, became possible only through Severus' undertaking some major army reforms. Recruitment of Italians had always been a problem, as early as Augustus, since as the *Pax Romana* became established in the Roman Empire, service in the army became a burdensome profession, requiring twenty-five years of service, strict discipline, and inadequate pay. For these reasons, many emperors began turning to the provincials for manpower, for men who were attracted to military service

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<sup>184</sup> Smith (1972), p. 487.

<sup>185</sup> Herodian 3.13.1; Smith (1972), p. 488. Upon his march to Rome in 193, Severus met the praetorian troops and disbanded them. He replaced them by men of his own provincial legions, mostly from Illyricum and Thrace.

<sup>186</sup> Herodian 3.13.4; Birley (1988), p. 23; Smith (1972), pp. 488-9. According to Herodian, the garrison in Rome was quadrupled by Severus. However, a closer examination by Durry (1938), p. 81, has shown that the garrison of Rome actually tripled (from 11,500 troops to 30,000).

because they could eventually receive Roman citizenship.<sup>187</sup> Hence, in 198 Severus decided to double the *stipendium* of the army in order to attract more men into the service.<sup>188</sup> Furthermore, he permitted soldiers to marry. Severus also changed the conditions of service and prospects for advancement that opened the door to many ambitious young recruits with talent, rather than social background, to undertake successful military careers. For example, the privileged corps of the Praetorian Guard came to be recruited from legions everywhere as a reward for valour and military conduct.<sup>189</sup> Severus also tried to improve the status of the profession by granting the *principales* permission to wear gold rings, a privilege only opened to the equites.<sup>190</sup> Severus also granted veterans immunity from personal *munera* for life, and he allowed the development of *collegia* by different grades of soldiers (above the simple *miles*).<sup>191</sup> Furthermore, social clubs, clubhouses, and *scholae* were allowed to develop within the perimeter of the camp for relaxation and entertainment. Finally, all these changes were designed to make a military career, while in or out of service, more attractive, to help increase recruitment.

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<sup>187</sup> Smith (1972), pp. 489-490. Under Aurelius, this problem became especially serious after the plague.

<sup>188</sup> HA, Severus 17.1; Herodian 3.4. According to the HA, Severus was the first to raise the legionaries' pay since Augustus. However, both Dio (67.3.5) and Suetonius (Domitian 7.3), attest that Domitian was the first emperor after Augustus to raise the *stipendium* for a legionary from 225 to 300 denarii. However, I will not discuss this pay increase since, it is a most debated topic amongst modern writers.

<sup>189</sup> Dio 75.2.5. Originally, the recruitment for the Praetorian Guard was only open to Italians, Macedonians, Spaniards and Illyrians.

<sup>190</sup> Herodian 3.8.5.

<sup>191</sup> Smith (1972), p. 497. Originally, the veterans were only awarded immunity for a limited period of time.

### **Evaluation of Septimius Severus' Reign**

The year 193 has been seen by many modern historians as a great watershed in the history of the Empire, paving the way for its subsequent decline.<sup>192</sup> Severus has been described as the emperor who corrupted military discipline and militarized the principate.<sup>193</sup> However, Campbell argued, Severus had no inclination towards a military autocracy, since he was in no sense a military man and when he became governor of Pannonia he had less military experience than many other governors.<sup>194</sup> If anything, the manner of his accession forced him to make a fundamental change in the government of the state and in the ways of winning support, especially with the army.

Dio has criticized Severus because he burdened Rome with a large number of soldiers, made vast expenditures, and placed his hopes of safety for the empire on the strength of the army rather than the good will of those around him.<sup>195</sup> Certainly, Dio is expressing his feelings as a senator. Clearly, since Augustus the army had played an important political role in the future of the Empire. Soldiers in the later Empire continued to dominate politics and became the most important source of power for the emperor. Furthermore, the empire had to be protected, and it was impossible for anyone in power to neglect this very important force. Severus faced these important problems for the Empire "head on" and acted swiftly to re-organize a situation that

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<sup>192</sup> Hasebroek (1921), p. 99.

<sup>193</sup> Rostovtzeff (1957), p. 402.

<sup>194</sup> Campbell (1984), p. 401.

<sup>195</sup> Dio 75.2.3. Dio describes the period in 193. He changes his mind about Severus' vast expenditures in 76.16.1.

could have turned into chaos. Although ancient sources tend to be hostile to Severus, this emperor provided peace and security for a volatile state.

### Severus' Military Coinage from the Eastern Mints.

The period that followed Commodus' death was not only chaotic but also expensive. Each new emperor or aspirant to the "throne" had to buy his way to power, either by outright largesse or by the ability to secure normal payment for his troops.<sup>196</sup> Moreover, once established, Severus made six great distributions to the Roman people altogether, at an estimated cost of 220 million denarii.<sup>197</sup> There were also public games, charities and a programme of public building. Hence, there was an immense issue of coinage: generally, the weight of the denarius was maintained throughout Severus' reign, although only at the cost of sharply increasing debasement of the silver content.<sup>198</sup> The primary reason for the debasement of the denarius in this period was Severus' need of money to pay the increased *stipendium* of the soldiers.<sup>199</sup>

Although the central mint was in Rome, Severus set an example of minting for war purposes at several Eastern mints, a precedent which was never forgotten.<sup>200</sup> Severus had been drawn to the East because of his military actions against both Niger (193) and then Parthia, and thus he began minting from Eastern mints primarily to pay his soldiers. By comparison, the mint of Rome began striking for Severus soon after his arrival in the city, and issued both Severus'

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<sup>196</sup> Sutherland (1974), p. 215.

<sup>197</sup> Sutherland (1974), pp. 215-216

<sup>198</sup> Mattingly (1932), p. 195.

<sup>199</sup> Birley (1988), pp. 91 and 94. A debasement of the silver coinage had already occurred since the time of Nero, and again between 190 and 192. At this time, Pertinax increased the silver content of the denarius to the standard of Vespasian, in order to restore confidence in his economy. However, this restoration of the denarius must have inevitably meant a reduction in the number of denarii being minted and consequent lack of funds throughout Pertinax's reign.

<sup>200</sup> Mattingly (1932), p. 178.

proclamation issues and a special issue for the consecration of Pertinax.<sup>201</sup> However, Severus prolonged his Eastern coinage for ten years, and took the first step towards the Diocletianic system in which Rome was simply one of a number of mints.<sup>202</sup>

No sooner had Septimius Severus conquered the Empire from Didius Julianus than he was forced to turn eastward to confront his most serious rival, Pescennius Niger, the governor of Syria. Niger minted a considerable amount of coinage of denarii and a few rare aureii at his mint at Antioch. On his coinage, Niger adopted the normal imperial titles, such as IMPERATOR, CAESAR and AVGVSTVS. He also adopted the title of IVSTVS, and used on reverses war types such as MARTI-VICTOR, VICTORIAE and VIRTVS AVGVSTI.<sup>203</sup> A trophy type with the legend INVICTO-IMP-TROPEA may commemorate a preliminary success won near Byzantium over Cilo, the legate of Severus.<sup>204</sup>

Severus was not slow to follow suit with Eastern issues of his own, almost exclusively in precious metals. Mattingly has identified three major mints that were used by Severus in the East: Alexandria, Emesa and Laodicea ad Mare.<sup>205</sup> A fourth mint may have operated at Caesarea

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<sup>201</sup> RIC IV n. 18 and 24a-b

<sup>202</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham (1936), p. 59.

<sup>203</sup> Mattingly (1932), p. 179; RIC IV, Niger, nn. 54, 84, 90-94. Niger also advertises the promise of a Golden Age and prosperity with his reign, with types like SAECULI-FELICITAS and FELICITAS-TEMPORUM.

<sup>204</sup> RIC IV, Niger, nn. 38-40.

<sup>205</sup> Mattingly (1932), pp.181-3; Mattingly and Sydenham (1936), pp. 56-9.

in Cappadocia. Lack of numismatic evidence, however, makes verification of this hypothesis difficult.<sup>206</sup>

### **1. Coinage of the Mint of Alexandria.**

The mint in Alexandria was in operation from 193 to 195, and issued only in the precious metals. The beginnings of this mint are most likely rooted in the fact that Severus, fearing that Niger would occupy Egypt to starve out Rome, may have dispatched a force to hold it.<sup>207</sup> The imperial issues of Severus from Alexandria bear witness to this expedition. There are several types, partly borrowed from the contemporary Roman types and partly original, all with the same obverse legend of IMP-CAES-L-SEP-SEV-PERT-AUG. Most, if not all, of this coinage is concerned with the wars in the East, as evidenced by such types as Mars (n. 350D), Minerva (n. 350E) and VICTORIA-AVG (nn. 350B-C and 350H). Other issues are noteworthy. For example, on denarii with the reverse legend VIRTVS-AVG-COS-II, Roma or Virtus are represented holding Victory and a spear (nn. 350I-J). The army's trust is also recalled on another denarius with the reverse legend FIDEI-LEG-TR-P-COS, with Fides holding Victory and a standard (n. 349). Finally, on a denarius with reverse legend ARAB-ADIAB-COS-II-P-P, Victory holds a wreath and a palm (n. 346).

### **2. Coinage of the Mint at Emesa.**

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<sup>206</sup> RIC IV n. 464 (not in my Catalogue). On the obverse, Severus' head is laureate with the legend L-SEPT-SEV-PERT-AUG-IMP-III; on the reverse, Jupiter is seated to the left and holding a Victory and sceptre; the reverse legend reads P-M-TR-P-II-COS-II-P-P.

<sup>207</sup> Mattingly (1932), p. 184.

The mint at Emesa probably began operations in 193, and continued until 196, and issued only denarii with some rare Au issues.

In the first issues of 193, there are seven types with military content. For example, the reverse type, displaying trophy and arms with legend INVICTO-IMP-TROPAEA, stresses Severus' quality as an unconquerable leader (n. 356). Two legions are also commemorated on a denarius and aureus, respectively: the LEG-VIII-AVG and the LEG-XIII-GEM, which no doubt constituted a part payment of a donative (nn. 357-358).<sup>208</sup> Furthermore, there are also types commemorating VICT-AVG (n. 361) and VICTOR-IVST-AVG (nn. 362-362A), the latter directly borrowed from the types of Niger. Another interesting type with the reverse legend VICTORIA displays Victory inscribing AVG on a shield set on a trunk (n. 363).

In the second issue of 194-195, a number of military types appear to refer to the war against Niger and the promise of a new reign. For example, we again encounter a tribute to the Legio Gemina XIII on both denarii and aurei with the reverse legend LEG-XIII-GEM-M-V-TR-P-COS (n. 397). Several denarii with different variations of the reverse legend INVICTO-IMP are dedicated to Severus as the unconquered emperor (nn. 389-394). An INVICTO-IMP-TROPAEA II type must no doubt refer to a second victory (n. 395).<sup>209</sup> There are also numerous denarii of Mars and Minerva as givers of victory: Mars is displayed advancing, holding a spear and trophy, with the legend MARTI-VICTORI (nn. 404-407) while Minerva is shown standing,

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<sup>208</sup> Both coins reveal on their reverse the legionary eagle between standards. These two legions were also commemorated by the mint of Rome in 193 (RIC IV nn. 11 and 14), on both silver and gold. For the donative of 193, see below in Mint of Rome.

<sup>209</sup> RIC IV, p. 81.

brandishing a javelin and holding a shield with the legend MINER-VICT (nn 408-410). The VICT-AVG type is a very common coin, which portrays Victory advancing and holding a wreath and palm, or holding a trophy on both hands (nn. 420-427). Similarly, both the VICT-IVST-AVG (n. 427A) and the VICTOR-SEVER-AVG (nn. 428-429) are seldom seen on issues of denarii. Victory inscribing AVG on a shield is also represented on a denarius with reverse legend VICTORIA (n. 430).

Furthermore, on denarii with the reverse legend VIRTUTE-AVG, Virtus is represented in three ways: first, she holds Victory and a spear (VIRT-AVG-TR-P-II-COS-II-P-P: n. 430A); second, Virtus holds a spear and a parazonium (n. 431); third, the emperor holds Victory and a reversed spear (n. 431A). Three additional types are associated with this period. First, Severus is portrayed on a denarius on a horse pacing while holding a spear with reverse legend S-P-Q-R-OPTIMO-PRINCIPI (n. 415). Second, on a denarius with reverse legend VENV-P-VICT Venus stands holding an apple and a sceptre (n. 419).

There are only a few military types that can be dated to the period from 195 to 196, and they refer to the campaigns in Arabia and Adiabene.<sup>210</sup> For example, on one series of denarii, three varying types accompany the reverse legend TR-P-III-IMP-V-COS-II. The first type depicts a captive seated on the ground, who props his head on his left hand (n. 432). A second type displays a seated captive with his hands tied behind his back, in front of a shield and arms (nn. 433-434) Finally, a third type displays a trophy and captives (n. 435). In 196, the VIRTUS-AVGVSTI is celebrated on a denarius with Mars advancing and holding a spear and trophy (n.

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<sup>210</sup> On these campaigns, cf. the section on the mint of Rome.

436A). In addition, a reverse with the legend I(?)MP-VIRIB-POT-III-CO(?), again displays the motif of captives and trophies which was associated with sixth imperial acclamation after victories over the Arabians and the Adiabeniens (n. 436).

### 3. Coinage of the Mint at Laodicea ad Mare.

The most important mint in the East under Severus was located at Laodicea ad Mare and began operations in 193. This city had always supported Severus in his struggles against Niger, and had become Antioch's greatest rival. Consequently, as a reward, Severus made Laodicea ad Mare the capital of Syria.<sup>211</sup> Two extensive periods of minting activity have been associated with this mint: the first from 193 to 196 and the second from 196 to 202.<sup>212</sup>

In the first period (193-196), Laodicea ad Mare struck only local issues, almost exclusively in silver with the obverse legend L-SEPT-SEV-PERT-AVG-IMP-I (II, V, VII and VIII).<sup>213</sup> The imperial salutations from II to V seem to refer to the war against Niger, with IMP II referring to Severus' victory, at Cyzicus, IMP III to his victory at Nicea, IMP IIII to the final victory, at Issus, IMP V to some unknown victory and IMP VI and VII to the victories over the Arabians and the Adiabeniens who had sided with Niger. However, there are no coins recorded in the East with the imperial salutations III and IV, which seems quite odd, especially since IMP IV seems to have referred to the most important victory against Niger.<sup>214</sup> Thus based on the coins of this mint, alternatively it may be possible to attribute IMP II to some

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<sup>211</sup> RIC IV, p. 57.

<sup>212</sup> RIC IV, p. 64.

<sup>213</sup> Mattingly (1932), p. 182.

<sup>214</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham (1936), p. 60.

preliminary victories of Severus in Asia Minor, IMP III to Cyzicus, IMP IIII to Nicaea and IMP V to Issus.<sup>215</sup>

There is a strong similarity (which is also seen at Emesa) between the reverses of this mint and those of Niger, which seems to suggest that a "war of types" was triggered between the moneymen of the two parties.<sup>216</sup> In the first issue of IMP or IMP I (193) Severus' victory is promised with four major reverse types. First, we encounter a VICTORI-AVG type on an aureus (n. 438). Second, the supremacy of Severus is emphasized on an INVICTO-IMP type (nn. 441-441A). Third, Victory is assured with the help of both Jupiter and Mars as seen on denarii with legends IOVI-VICTORI (n. 441B) and MART-VICTORI (n. 443-443A).

The second series with IMP II (late 193, early 194; and the coinage of 194) celebrates either the victory of Severus against Niger at Cyzicus or preliminary victories in Asia Minor, with the repetition on the reverses of the first issue (IMP I). Thus IOVI-VICT (n. 454), MART-VICTOR (nn. 456-457A), and VICTOR-AVG (nn. 461A-B-462) are repeated. However, we also see a MINER-AVG type (n. 458).

As already mentioned, there is no record on the coins of the campaigns of IMP III or IMP IV.<sup>217</sup> Only one reverse type occurs with IMP V (mid-195), which shows Mars holding a spear and trophy, with the legend P-M-TR-P-III-COS-II-P-P (n. 465). The war issues of IMP VII

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<sup>215</sup> Mattingly (1932), p. 191.

<sup>216</sup> Mattingly (1932), p. 184. Besides the similarity to the military issues of Niger, Severus also uses the types BONA-SPES and BONVS-EVENTVS to insist on the prosperity of the new reign (RIC IV nn. 437 and 444-6).

<sup>217</sup> There is one coin attributed to IMP III, but is uncertain (n. 463).

(195-196) and VIII (196-197) probably commemorate victories over the Arabs and the Adiabeniensians.<sup>218</sup> Thus for IMP VII, VICTOR-AVG (n. 471) reappears, but we also find Victory advancing, holding a wreath and palm, with the legend ARAB-ADIABENIC commemorating this victory (n. 466).

For IMP VIII, VICTOR-AVG (nn. 485-486) again appears, and both Minerva and Jupiter are invoked as givers of victory on denarii, with the legend MINER-VICTRIX (n. 483) and IOVI-INVICTO (nn. 480A-B), respectively. Finally, the valour of the emperor is celebrated on an aureus with a VIRTVTI-AVG type (n. 487).

In the second phase, the minting in the East became centralized in this mint (196-202). However, the mint's style changed, losing its local character, and therefore became a great Eastern branch of the mint of Rome, striking in imitation of Roman styles, with types mainly drawn from Roman stock, but still maintaining a character of its own.<sup>219</sup>

There are four different issues associated with this period. First, with the obverse legend L-SEPT-SEV-PERT-AUG-IMP-VIII (196-197), the reverse type such as HERCVLI-DEFENS continues the commemoration of the victory over the Arabians and the Adiabeniensians, and Rome's (or Severus') protection of the East (n. 488). Second, with the obverse legend L-SEPT-SEV-PERT-AUG-IMP-VIII (197), the departure of Severus against the Parthians is commemorated

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<sup>218</sup> There is a discrepancy here with the date of the IMP VII and VIII, recorded by Mattingly and Keinast (1990 158-159). Keinast dates IMP V-VII to 195 and IMP VIII to the end of 195. However, even if I think that Keinast's dates are correct (based on Grieco (1978) and Rubin (1980)), I have kept Mattingly's dates for the coins in order to avoid confusion in the Catalogue which follows RIC IV. The events themselves are not as relevant as the actual number of military coins issued by this emperor at this mint.

<sup>219</sup> Mattingly (1932), p. 186.

with the type PROPECTIO-AVG (n. 494). In the third and fourth issues, the victories in the war against Parthia are commemorated in a long series struck over several years (198-202).

Therefore, the third issue, with the obverse legend L-SEPT-SEVERVS-PERT-AVG-P-M-IMP-XI (198), marks the end of the campaign against Parthia with the capture of Ctesiphon (December 197), and is commemorated on coins not only with the type VICT-AVGG-COS-II-P-P but also with AR-AD-TR-P-VI-COS-II-P-P, which either displays the usual Victory representation (nn. 494A, 495-496A-B and 498-499) or Victory with captives (n. 494B).<sup>220</sup>

By comparison, the fourth issue with the obverse legend L-SEP-SEV-AUG-IMP-XI-PART-MAX (198-202) recalls Severus' adoption of the title *Parthicus Maximus* after the fall of Ctesiphon. On several reverse types on both aureii and denarii, this event is celebrated: MARTI-VICTORI (nn. 508-509), VICT-PARTHICAE (n. 514), VICTORIA-AVGG (nn. 513B and 514A-515; different legend: 503A-B, 504 and 513A), VICTORIAE-AVGG-FEL (n. 516), and VIRT-AVGG (nn. 517-518A-B).<sup>221</sup> Furthermore, on an aureus victory is celebrated with a trophy and two captives, with the reverse legend PART-MAXIMVS-COS-II-P-P (n. 512), and on both aureii and denarii unity in the army is called for in a reverse type of CONCORDIAE-MILITVM (nn. 502A-B).

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<sup>220</sup> Birley (1988), p. 249, n. 4. IMP X relating to the initial phases of the Parthian war only occurs at the mint of Rome (see below).

<sup>221</sup> RIC IV nn. 504a, 508-509, 514, 514a-515; with only reverse type victory but different legend nn. 503a-b and 513a.

The final military issues were minted between 201 and 202, and they repeat themes of VICTORIAE-AVGG (n.525; different legend: nn. 523 and 526). Furthermore, on a denarius the MARTI-VICTORI is also displayed (n. 523A).

### **Military Issues from the Mint of Rome**

The main coinage of the "reign" of Septimius Severus was issued from the mint of Rome.<sup>222</sup> At this time, there were at least six *officinae* at work and the mint operated in cycles, striking denominations in each metal as required.<sup>223</sup> Both precious metal and Ae coinage was issued, though the latter began to decline in volume from 200 onwards.<sup>224</sup> Under Severus, there are three main periods in coinage at Rome: the first from 193 to 197, the second from 197 to 203, and the third from 203 to Severus' death in 211.

#### **First Period (193-197)**

In the first period (193-197), the mint of Rome issued coins in all metals, and the coins of the first year are almost exclusively military (193-194). As was the case in the Eastern mints, the types celebrate in all metals both the victory (VICT-AVG-TR-P-COS: nn. 21-23; Ae: nn. 656 and 659) and the valour of Severus (VIRT-AVG-TR-P-COS: n. 24; Ae: nn. 657 and 660), and the loyalty of his troops (FIDEI-LEG-TR-P-COS: n. 1; Ae: nn. 651, 658 and 660A). However,

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<sup>222</sup> I shall discuss here only the types different from those produced by the Eastern mints, since I have already discussed the latter above.

<sup>223</sup> Hill (1969), pp. 169-172. The only exemption to this rule was gold and silver quinarii.

<sup>224</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham (1936), p. 68; Hill (1969), pp. 173-174. It is not certain why the output of bronze coinage began to decline.

unlike the other mints, all the individual legions are celebrated by name exclusively in the precious metal coinage.

On these legionary issues, the reverse type is always the same: a legionary eagle stands between two standards (nn. 2-17). In addition, the reverse legend is essentially the same with the names of individual legions and the official titlature of the emperor. In total, fifteen legions are named: the I Adiutrix (n. 2), I Italica (n. 3), I Minerva (n. 4), II Adiutrix (n. 5), II Italica (n. 6), III Italica (n. 7), IV Flavia Felix (n. 8), V Macedonia (n. 9), VII Claudia (n. 10), VIII Augusta (n. 11), XI Claudia (n. 12), XIII Gemina (n. 13), XIV Gemina (n. 14; bronze: 652), XXII Primigenia (nn. 15 and 16) and the XXX Ulpia Victrix (n. 17). All these legions were stationed on the Rhine and the Danube, in Upper and Lower Germany, Noricum, Raetia, Pannonia, Moesia and Dacia, and were commemorated because they were the legions which had sided with Severus before his march on Rome. Only two legions are missing, namely, the X Gemina (Pannonia) and the VII Gemina (Spain). It seems unlikely that a coin for the X Gemina has not survived (all other specimens are merely scarce, not rare), hence it is more probable that this legion fell into disfavour with the emperor.<sup>225</sup> However, there is no reason to explain why the VII Gemina was not commemorated on the coinage.<sup>226</sup> Since all the coins are denarii, except for three Au aureii for the I Minerva, VII Augusta and XIV Gemina and one Ae, it seems likely that the issue was

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<sup>225</sup> RIC IV, p. 65; Oman (1918), p. 85. Oman prefers the hypothesis that the coin has been lost.

<sup>226</sup> Oman (1918: p. 85) seems to think that this legion was not commemorated in the coinage since this legion was posted too far away from Rome.

minted as a donative to the troops.<sup>227</sup> As suggested by Birley, the legionary issues probably represent part of the donative requested by soldiers after the successful coup.<sup>228</sup>

Severus' issues with IMP II to IMP V (194-195) mark the beginning of the campaigns against Niger. On the coins associated with IMP III (194), reverse themes of victory remain dominant in both the precious metals and the Ae (nn. 28-30, 36, 38-38-A; Ae: nn. 663, 665, 667-667A-B, 672), but coins also invoke Minerva as the giver of victory (Ae: n. 685), and Mars as the pacifer and father of Rome (nn. 33; Ae: n. 683), assured by the VIRTUS of the emperor (n. 39; bronze: nn. 673-675).

The coins associated with IMP III (194-195) and IMP V (195) celebrate, as in the East, the sequel to the civil wars with the victories over the Arabians and the Adiabeniens in all metals. Thus for IMP III, this victory is celebrated on aurei with the already encountered type PART-ARAB-PART-ADIAB-COS-II-P-P (n. 55) or with a COS-II-P-P type displaying Victory advancing (n. 41). Other types only issued in the precious metals include Mars (nn. 45-46, 52), Victory (nn. 42 and 56A), Minerva (nn. 49 and 53) and Pax (n. 54). The emperor is also commemorated holding a globe and spear on a denarius, with the reverse legend P-M-TR-P-COS-II-P-P (n. 50). By comparison, the issues for IMP V (195) are minted in all metals and repeat the same types as the previous years: ARAB-ADIAB (with Victory n. 58; Mars n. 60;

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<sup>227</sup> Oman (1918), p. 86; *RIC* IV, p. 65; Birley (1988), p. 105. The XIV Gemina was no doubt Severus' favourite legion, since it had been the first of the garrisons to declare for him at his station at Carnutum. This legion was the only one commemorated in both precious and bronze metals. It seems likely that the gold was struck primarily to pay senior officers.

<sup>228</sup> Birley (1988), p. 105. The soldiers had demanded the sum of 2500 denarii each, the equivalent of eight years' pay.

Minerva n. 61; PART-ARAB-PART-ADIAB with captives nn. 62-63. Ae: nn. 690A-C and 696; Mars Pater and the titles of 195 in Ae nn. 687-688). A noteworthy VIRTVTI-AVG-S-C shows up on a sestertius with Roma standing holding parazonium and crowning Severus, who is also holding Victory and spear (n. 693).

The issues of IMP VII (195-196) and IMP VIII (196-197) repeat the various types and legends of Victory in the East already seen above (IMP VII: nn. 64-64A.; IMP VIII: nn. 76, 86-86A-B, Ae: nn. 725 and 734), Mars (IMP VII: nn. 67, 70, Ae: nn. 705, 708 and 716; IMP VIII: Ae: n. 723), Minerva (IMP VII: nn. 68, 71; IMP VIII: n. 83). Of these types relating to IMP VII, two are noteworthy. First, on a aureus of extreme rarity with the reverse legend DIVI-M-PII-F-P-M-TR-P-III-COS-II-P-P, Mars is displayed advancing and holding a spear and trophy (n. 65). Second, on another aureus with the same reverse legend, Victory is advancing and holding a wreath and palm (n. 66). However, some new types occur with IMP VIII, such as an ADVENTVI-AVG-FELECISIMO on both precious metals, representing Severus riding with his hand raised and preceded by a soldier leading a horse (n. 73; Ae: n. 731). There are also types of VICT-AETERN represented on denarii (nn. 94-95) and HERCVLI-DEFENS (n. 79). Furthermore, in Ar and Ae there is a PROPECTIO-AVGG (n. 91; Ae: n. 728). Two captives are seen at the foot of a trophy (n. 90), only represented on a denarius with the reverse legend PART-MAX-PONT-TR-P-III. Finally, the series of IMP VIII (197) repeats not only the PROPECTIO-AVG type in all metals (n. 106; Ae: n. 740A and different legend n. 740), but also the HERCVLI-DEFENS type (n. 97).

### **Second Period (197-203)**

In the second period at the Mint of Rome, the coins carry over many themes from the previous period. For example, in the series of IMP X (197-198), not recorded in the East, types celebrate the beginning of the Parthian campaigns with reverse legends and types such as IOVI-CONSERVATORI (n. 111A), MARTI-VICTORI (nn. 114-114A), HERCVLI-DEFENS (n. 111) and VICT-PARTHICAE (nn. 120A-C and 121; n. 109 different legend).<sup>229</sup> Furthermore, a CONCORDIA-MILITVM may suggest some problem in the army or even a definite threat to the emperor's life (n. 108), while a MARTI-PACIFERO type with Mars standing, foot on cuirass and holding a branch, and a reversed spear stresses the cessation of war (n. 113; Ae: n. 741).<sup>230</sup>

As on the Eastern coinage, the IMP XI types celebrate the end of the Parthian campaigns almost exclusively on the precious metals with VICT-PARTHICA (nn. 142A-B), VICTORIA-AETERNA (n. 141), VICT-AVGG or VICT-AVGG-COS-II-P-P (nn. 141A, 143A-B; same coin type but different legend COS-II-P-P nn. 125, 125A-B), VICTORIA-AVGG-FEL (nn. 144A-B; Ae: 750), VIRT-AVGG (nn. 145A-B-148A-B), IOVI-CONSERVATORI (n. 130), IOVI-PROPVGNATORI (n. 131) and MARTI-VICTORI (n. 134).<sup>231</sup> A MARTI-PACIFERO (n. 133A) and PROFECT-AVGG-FEL (n. 138) also appears again. In addition, Severus' title Parthicus Maximus was incorporated into the official titulature of the coins' obverse and reverse legends. The coinage from 200 to 202, predominantly minted in the precious metals, continues to stress the Parthian success, and thus repeats these same types as the previous years (200: nn.

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<sup>229</sup> According to RIC IV, p. 66, the type of IOVI-CONSERVATOR mirrors the anxiety felt when an emperor takes the field.

<sup>230</sup> RIC IV, p. 68.

<sup>231</sup> RIC IV, p. 68.

150, 151 and 151A; Ae: 752, and 754; 201: nn. 151C, 152-153; 200-201: nn. 158, 165A-C, 170, 171A-B; 202: nn. 183-185, 191). An aureus with the reverse legend S-P-Q-R-OPTIMO-PRINC is especially noteworthy, as it displays Severus holding a spear on a pacing horse (nn. 169A-B).

### **Third Period (203-209)**

Very little military coinage was struck between 204 and 207 and all these issues refer to the success over the Parthians (204: n. 195B; no coinage in 205; 206: nn. 202-203, Ae: nn. 771-772; 207: nn. 211-214, Ae: nn. 773, 776A-B-777). There is also some undated coinage, which was issued during this period in all metals, which repeat the types issued in this phase.<sup>232</sup> These include ADVENT-AVGG (n. 248), CONCORDIA-MILIT (n. 256), VICT-AVGG (nn. 294A-B; Ae: n. 829A-D), VICTORIA-AVGVSTI (nn. 298-301; Ae: nn. 813 and 817A-B), VICTORIA-PARTH-MAX (nn. 295-297, 311; Ae: n. 828) VIRT-AVGG or AVGVSTOR-S-C (nn. 303-305; Ae: nn. 820A-B and 830A-C) and MINERV-VICTRIX (n. 318).<sup>233</sup> Some new types occur in this undated coinage, such as the INVICTA-VIRTVS on a denarius which depicts Severus on a prancing horse and brandishing a javelin at a prostrate foe (n. 269). On an extremely rare quinarius we also notice the IOVI-VICTOR type, which displays the bearded head of Jupiter Ammon (n. 272). On another denarius with the reverse legend VICTOR-ANTONINI-AVG, Victory is displayed with a wreath and a palm (n. 328A; different legend but same motif: nn. 324-326, 328A; n. 321C displays the emperor in military dress). Finally, a CONCORDIAE-

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<sup>232</sup> I shall not describe them, since they repeat what has already noted on the coinage of the other mints; these coins are found at the end of the Catalogue for Rome.

<sup>233</sup> I have not included the VICT-BRIT types, since they belong to a later period. Please see below under the coinage of 210.

AVGG-S-C type, issued only in Ae, depicts both Severus and Caracalla sacrificing over an altar where Concordia stands, each being crowned by Victory (n. 814).

However, the most important military types refer to the expedition against Britain from 209 until Severus' death.<sup>234</sup> As early as 208, there are hints of the expedition against the British on reverses in Ae and Ar issues with the legend P-M-TR-P-XVI-PROF-AVGG, which show Severus on horseback holding a spear, preceded by a foot-soldier (nn. 225A; bronze: n. 780). Victory is also represented on several types in all metals (nn. 223-224A-B; Ae: nn. 778, 781, 783). Finally, we also encounter in the Ar and Ae coinage with the same reverse legend, Severus prancing on a horse (n. 222; Ae: nn. 779 and 785).

In 209, the crossing to Britain is celebrated by denarii with Neptune holding a trident and Triton holding a shell and a rudder (nn. 228-229).<sup>235</sup> Some successes in the field are implied by the type of Severus galloping and hurling his javelin at a prostrate foe (n. 231).<sup>236</sup> Victory is also recorded, although only in Ae (nn. 787, 792). Other types also occur again in the Ae coinage, including Severus holding Victory while being crowned by Virtus (n. 788); Roma holding the palladium and a spear, while a captive is kneeling in front of her (n. 791); finally, Severus is displayed on horseback, holding a spear (n. 793).

The success in Britain is recorded especially in the Ae coinage of 210 by several types of Victory, and trophy and captives (nn. 237-238; bronze: nn. 796-797, 803, 805-807; undated: nn.

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<sup>234</sup> RIC IV, p. 69.

<sup>235</sup> RIC IV, p. 70.

<sup>236</sup> RIC IV, p. 70.

302-303, 332-337; Ae: nn. 818-819). Some interesting types also include Severus with his sons standing on a platform while two soldiers hold shields and a standard or a legionary eagle (n. 800A-B; only with Severus nn. 799A-B). Furthermore, Roma is displayed holding the palladium and a spear while in front of her there is a kneeling captive (nn. 802, 804). Only on the Ae coinage of 210-211 is the victory of Britain, commemorated with the VICTORIAE-BRITTANNICAE-S-C type, which displays Victory standing with her right foot set on human head or globe while inscribing a shield set on a palm.

Finally, in 211, the title BRITANNICVS occurs in the legends of of reverse and obverse. Thus on a denarius with the reverse legend P-M-TR-P-XIX-COS-III-P-P-VICT-BRIT, Victory is holding a wreath and a palm (n. 247). On an interesting sestertius with the same reverse legend, two Victories are displayed fixing a shield on a palm at the foot of which are two captives (n. 808). Furthermore, other victory types also occur (nn. 809, 812A-B), and Roma with a kneeling captive also reoccurs (n. 811).

### Analysis

The most striking feature of the coinage of Septimius Severus is the high percentage of military types issued in all metals during his reign (see table at p. 171). For instance, the total of military types issued in the precious metals is 47.2%, while in the Ae it is 42.6%. Individually, the different mints also follow these numbers very closely. Thus at the mint of Alexandria, 47.4% of the precious metal output had military reverses; at Emesa, it is 53.8% (Au and Ar only); at Laodicea ad Mare, it is 48.0%; finally, at Rome, 45.3% of the Au and Ar issues had military reverses, while the Ae output was 42.6% military.

These percentages show that there is no doubt that the minting authority felt that military types were an important priority for Severus' coinage. Furthermore, at the Eastern mints, coinage was strictly issued in the precious metals, and we have no Ae metal issues at all. This is no doubt related to the fact that Severus minted at the Eastern mints for purposes of war. Since Severus had been drawn to the East because of his military actions against Niger (193), and then Parthia, these issues were minted in the precious metals because the Senate in Rome had control of the Ae. These issues were primarily used to pay army commanders, who, in turn, guaranteed the loyalty of the troops.

This seems to be supported when we investigate the hard types vs the soft types issued from these mints. The Eastern mints issued 92 military hard types out of 105 military types, for a total of 88%. Thus at the mint of Alexandria, five of nine military reverses were hard types (ARAB-ADIAB, FIDEI-LEG, VICTORIA-AVG and VIRTVS-AVG (2)). It is clear from the hard types from Alexandria that even if we had no historical sources to rely on, the coinage makes explicit reference to important military activities and victory against the Arabs and the

Adiabeniens. Indeed, the coinage was issued at the time when Severus was involved with the wars in the East.

At the mint of Emesa, the results are even more startling. Of the 49 military types issued here, all are hard types. For example, in the issue of 193, seven military types were minted: INVICTO-IMP-TROPAEA refers directly to Severus' first imperial acclamation; LEG-VIII-AVG and LEG-XIII-GEM make direct reference to specific legions under his command, and the issues may have been part of a donative; and VICT-AVG, VICT-IVST (2) and VICTORIA all commemorate a victory or victories.

Similarly, for the issues of 194 that refer to the war against Niger, there are 36 hard military types out of 71 military reverses. These include INVICTO-IMP or IMP-I, INVICTO-IMP-TROPAEA (4) or TROPAEA-II, LEG-XIII-GEM, MART-VICT (2), MINER-VICT (6), S-P-Q-R-P-OPTIMO-PRINCIPI, VENV-VICT, VIC-AVG (9) VICTOR-IVST-AVG, VICTOR-SEVER-AVG (2), VICTORIA and VIRTUTE-AVG (3). For the issues of 195 and 196, relating to military campaigns in Arabia and Adiabene, there are six types (100% of total military issues), which refer directly to Severus' fifth imperial salutation, one which is repeated from the previous year, and a VIRTUS-AVGSTI.

Finally, at the mint of Laodicea ad Mare, we again find that the hard types dominate the military coinage (41 out of 47 total military types for the reign). Many types used by the other mints also appear, although some new types are also introduced: IOVI-VICTORI (193); ARAB-ADIABENIC (195-196); IOVI-INVICTO (196-197); HERCVLI-DEFENS (196-197); PROTECTIO-AVG (197); CONCORDIAE-MILITVM, IOVI-CONSERVATOR, PART-MAXIMVS, VICT-PARTHICAE and VICTORIAE-AVGG-FEL (198-202). However,

interestingly enough, the high percentages of military coins from this mint indicate that this was indeed the most important of the Eastern mints issuing military coins for Severus.

As noted above, at the mint of Rome, we find a slightly lower percentage of military issues in both the precious metals (45.3%) and the Ae (42.6%) than we have seen in the Eastern mints. Severus quickly centralized minting at Rome and Laodicea ad Mare, and only issued Ae from Rome.

Hard types dominate the issues in Rome, just as they do in the Eastern mints. In the Au and Ar metals, there are 119 hard types out of 161 total military reverse issues for a total of 74%, while in the Ae there are 82 hard types out of 107 for a total of 77%. Many types already discussed in the Eastern mints occur in Rome as well. However, on the issues from Rome there are more direct references than in the Eastern mints to the Parthian expeditions of 195 and 197-198. Hence, the types PART-ARAB-PART-ADIAB (4), PART-MAX (4), VICT-PART (7) occur regularly, while Laodicea ad Mare issued only one VICT-PARTHICAE and one PART-MAXIMVS. This seems to suggest that the success against Parthia was commemorated by the Roman mint, since it had now become the central minting authority.

A very interesting pattern occurs with the soft military types between 206-210, in the precious metals coinage, and in 209-210 for the Ae. For the period of 206-210 only soft types were issued in the precious metals, while the same was true for the Ae in 209 and 210. These high numbers of soft types seem unusual for these years since in the other periods the coinage is dominated by hard types. One way of explaining this occurrence may be that during the periods of these soft types Severus was in Rome (202-208), and it was not until 209 that he began offensive action against Britain (the percentage of hard types then increases to 42.8% for Au and

Ar). Nevertheless, it seems clear from these results that even at times when military action was low, the minting authority still showed a strong interest in issuing military types, although not necessarily with reference to specific victories or campaigns. However, we must note that between 206 and 211 the number of Ae military types (66% or 33:50) is double the number of military types issued in Au and Ar (33% or 17:51). Why was the minting authority issuing military types from Rome much more in the Ae denominations? Unfortunately, this is unknown. However, it is possible that this occurrence is connected with the expedition against Britain and the need to keep the rank and file well paid and "informed".

There are other interesting patterns in the coinage of Rome worth mentioning. For example, in the issues of 193-194 in all metals, we can observe very high percentages of military types (92% : Au and Ar and 80%: Ae). These high numbers are similar to those encountered at the Eastern mints. These early Roman series well reflect the historical fact that Severus obtained imperial power solely through the might of his army. The legionary types (nn. 1-17) dominate the precious metals coinage of this period, and probably represent a donative to these troops after a successful coup.<sup>237</sup> Hence, Severus was publicly acknowledging and thanking the legions in a most clear and appropriate manner. This is indeed a clear example not only of the link between the emperor and the individual legion but also an example of the emperor addressing his troops through the medium of coinage. Furthermore, the similarity of the types and the output seem to indicate that a single authority was dictating to the different mints. Clearly, there is no other way to explain such similar percentages of military types and hard/soft ratios.

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<sup>237</sup> Birley (1988), p. 108.

## **NOTE TO USERS**

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**UMI**

## OCCURRENCE OF MILITARY TYPES UNDER SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

### MINT OF ALEXANDRIA

<b>YEARS</b>	<b>AU AND AR: MILITARY TO TOTAL OUTPUT</b>	<b>PER CENT OF TOTAL ISSUES</b>	<b>AE: MILITARY TO TOTAL OUTPUT</b>	<b>PERCENT OF TOTAL ISSUES</b>
193	9:19	47.4	NO ISSUES	NA
<b>TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN</b>	9:19	47.4		

### MINT OF EMESA

193	7:14	50.0	NO ISSUES	NA
194-195	36:71	50.7	NO ISSUES	NA
195	4:4	100.0	NO ISSUES	NA
196	2:2	100.0	NO ISSUES	NA
<b>TOTAL FOR REIGN TYPES</b>	49:91	53.8		

### MINT OF LAODICEA AD MARE

193	6:9	67.0	NO ISSUES	NA
194	6:20	30.0	NO ISSUES	NA

195	1:1	100.0	NO ISSUES	NA
195-196	2:6	33.3	NO ISSUES	NA
196-197	6:20	30.0	NO ISSUES	NA
197	1:3	33.3	NO ISSUES	NA
198	6:7	85.7	NO ISSUES	NA
198-202	15:24	63.0	NO ISSUES	NA
201-202	3:7	75.0	NO ISSUES	NA
202	1:1	100.0	NO ISSUES	NA
TOTAL FOR REIGN TYPES	47:98	48.0		

### MINT OF ROME

193-194	22:24	92.0	8:10	80.0
194	8:16	50.0	10:25	40.0
194-195	11:19	57.9	NO ISSUES	NA
195	5:7	71.4	5:14	26.3
195-196	8:11	73.0	3:20	15.0
196-197	11:24	46.0	5:19	27.0
197	2:10	20.0	2:5	40.0
197-198	9:16	56.2	2:10	20.0
198 OR 199- 200	16:31	52.0	1:1	100.0
200	3:3	100.0	NO ISSUES	NA
201	3:4	75.0	NO ISSUES	NA
200-201	5:19	26.3	2:8	25.0

202	4:11	36.3	NO ISSUES	NA
204	1:5	20.0	0:9	0.0
205	0:4	0.0	NO ISSUES	NA
206	2:4	50.0	2:4	50.0
207	5:13	38.4	3:5	75.0
208	4:11	36.3	6:9	67.0
209	3:7	42.8	5:7	71.0
210	2:10	20.0	10:14	71.4
210-211	NO ISSUES	NA	3:6	50.0
211	1:6	17.0	4:5	80.0
UNDATED	33:94	35.1	10:19	53.0
TOTAL TYPES FOR REIGN	158:349	45.3	81:190	42.6

**FINAL TOTAL FOR TYPES OF REIGN**

<b>PRECIOUS METALS</b>	<b>BRONZE</b>
263:557	81:190
47.2%	42.6%

**SEPTIMUS SEVERUS**  
**MINT OF ALEXANDRIA**

**A.D 193**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

<b>RIC NUMBER</b>	<b>METAL</b>	<b>REVERSE LEGEND</b>	<b>DESCRIPTION</b>	<b>RARITY</b>
346	AR	ARAB-ADIAB- COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and trophy	R
349	AR	FIDEI-LEG-TR-P- COS	Fides standing l., holding Victory and standard	R
350B	AR	P-M-TR-P-II-COS- II	Victory advancing r., holding wreath and palm	R

350C	AU	P-M-TR-P-II-COS- P-P	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	R
350D	AR	P-M-TR-P-III- COS-II-P-P	= as n. 350B	R2
350E	AR	=	Minerva standing l., holding spear and round shield	R
350H	AR	VICTORIA-AVG	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R
350I	AR	VIRTUS-AVG- COS-II	Roma seated l., on shield holding Victory and spear	R2
350J	AR	=	Virtus standing l., holding Victory and spear	R2

## MINT OF EMESA

A.D. 193

## PRECIOUS METALS

356	AR	INVICTO-IMP- TROPAEA	Trophy and arms	S
357	AR	LEG-VIII-AVG- TR-P-COS	Legionary eagle between standards	R
358	AU	LEG-XIII-GEM- M-VTR-P-COS	=	R2
361	AU	VICT-AVG-TR-P- COS	Victory advancing l. holding wreath and palm	R
362	AR	VICTOR-IVST- AVG-COS	=	R
362A	AR	=AVG-II-COS	=	R2
363	AR	VICTORIA	Victory standing l., inscribing AVG on shield set on trunk	R

A.D. 194-5

## PRECIOUS METALS

389	AR	INVICTO-IMP	Trophy and arms	S
390	AR	INVICTO-IMP-I	=	S

391-394	AR	INVICTO-IMP-TROPAE	=	S
395	AR	INVICTO-IMP-TROPAEA-II	=	S
397	AU & AR	LEG-XIII-GEM-M-V-TR-P-COS	Legionary eagle between standards	R3 & R
404-407	AR	MART-VICT	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	S
408-409	AR	MINER.VICT	Minerva standing l., brandishing javelin and holding shield	S
409A	AR	=	Minerva standing l., holding Victory and spear and shield at feet l.	S
409B	AR	=	Minerva standing l., resting r. hand on shield. l. hand at side	S
409C	AR	=	=	R
410	AR	=	Minerva standing l., resting hand on shield and holding spear	S
415	AR	S.P.Q.R-OPTIMO-PRINCIPI	Severus on horse pacing l. holding spear	R

419	AR	VENV-P-VICT	Venus standing l., holding apple and sceptre	R
420	AR	VIC-AVG	Victory standing l., inscribing AVG on shield set on column and holding palm	R
421	AR	=	Same but no inscription on shield	R
422-423	AR	=	Victory advancing r., holding trophy in both hands	S
423A	AR	=	Victory advancing r., holding trophy and wreaths	s
424-425	AR	=	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	S
426	AR	=	Victory advancing l., holding wreath in both hands	R
427	AR	=	Victory seated l., holding wreath and palm	S
427A	AR	VICTOR-IVST- AVG	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R

428-429	AR	VICTOR-SEVER- AVG	=	R
430	AR	VICTORIA	Victory standing l., inscribing AVG on shield set on column and holding palm	R
430A	AR	VIRT-AVG-TR-P- II-COS-II-P-P	Virtus standing l., holding Victory and spear	R
431	AR	VIRTVTE-AVG	Virtus standing r., holding spear and parazonium	S
431A	AR	=	Emperor standing l., holding Victory and reversed spear	R

## A.D. 195

## PRECIOUS METALS

432	AR	TR-P-III-IMP-V- COS-II	Captive wearing peaked cap, seated r.. on ground. head propped on l. hand, r. hand on ground: sometimes in exergue, curved sword	S
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433	AR	=	= but hands of captive tied behind back; in front: bow, quiver, shields	S
434	AR	=	= but r. hands tied behind back, l. supporting head; in front: shield and arms	S
435	AR	=	Trophy with captives seated, man r. and woman l. at its foot	S

A.D. 196

## PRECIOUS METALS

436	AR	I(?)MP-VIRIB- POT-III-CO(?)	= n. 432 but in exergue curved sword	R
436A	AR	VIRTVS- AVGVSTI	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	R2

## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

## MINT OF LAODICEA AD MARE

## PHASE I

A.D. 193 (IMP OR IMP I)

## PRECIOUS METALS

RIC NUMBE R	METAL	REVERSE LEGEND	DESCRIPTION	RARITY
438	AU	VICTORI-AVG	Victory advancing r., holding trophy	R2
441	AR	INVICTO-IMP	Trophy with captive at its foot	S
441A	AR	=	Trophy and arms	S
441B	AR	IOVI-VICTORI	Jupiter seated l., holding Victory and sceptre	S
443-443A	AR	MART-VICTORI	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	R

## A.D 194 (IMP II)

## PRECIOUS METALS

454	AR	IOVI-VICT	Jupiter seated holding Victory and spear	S
456-457A	AR	MART-VICTOR	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	S
458	AR	MINER-AVG	Minerva standing l.. resting r. hand on shield and holding spear	S
461A-B	AR	VICTOR-AVG	Victory advancing l.. holding wreath and palm	S
462	AU	=	Victory advancing r.. holding trophy in both hands	R3

## A.D. 195 (IMP V)

## PRECIOUS METALS

465	AR	P-M-TR-P-III- COS-II-P-P	Mars advancing r.. holding spear and trophy	S
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**A.D. 195-196 (IMP VII)****PRECIOUS METALS**

466	AR	ARAB- ADIABENIC	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and trophy	R
471	AR	VICTOR-AVG	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	S

**A.D. 196-197 (IMP VIII)****PRECIOUS METALS**

480A-B	AR	IOVI-INVICTO	Jupiter seated l.. holding Victory and sceptre	R
483	AR	MINER-VICTRIC	Minerva standing l.. holding spear and shield	S
485	AR	VICTOR-AVG	Victory advancing. holding wreath and palm	S
486	AR	=	Victory standing l.. foot on globe, holding shield in both hands	R
487	AU	VIRTVTI-AVG	Mars advancing holding spear and trophy	R3

**PHASE II****A.D. 196-197 (IMP VIII)****PRECIOUS METALS**

488	AR	HERCVLI- DEFENS	Hercules standing r., leaning on a club and holding bow, lion skin on l. arm	S
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**A.D. 197 (IMP VIII)****PRECIOUS METALS**

494	AR	PROFECTIO-AVG	Severus on horse pacing r., holding spear	S
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**A.D. 198 (IMP XI)****PRECIOUS METALS**

494A	AR	AR-AD-TR-P-VI- COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R
494B	AR	=	Two captives seated back to back at foot a trophy	R
495- 496A-B	AR	=	= as n. 494A	S

498	AR	VIC-AVGG-COS- II-P-P	=	S
499	AR	=	=	C

## A.D. 198-202

## PRECIOUS METALS

502A-B	AU & AR	CONCORDIAE- MILITUM	Concordia standing l., holding standard in each hand	R2 & S
503A-B	AR & AU	COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding, wreath and palm	C & R
504	AR	COS-III-P-P	=	S
504A	AR	IOVI- CONSERVATOR	Jupiter seated l., holding Victory and sceptre	S
508	AR	MARTI-VICTORI	Mars standing r., resting r. hand on shield and holding spear reversed	S
509	AR	=	Same but captive under shield	C
512	AU	PART- MAXIMVS-COS- II	Trophy and two captives	R3

513A	AU	TR-P-VII-COS-II- P-P	Victory advancing r., holding wreath and palm	R2
513B	AR	VICT-AVG-COS- II-P-P	=	R
514	AR	VICT- PARTHICAE	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm. at feet l., captive	C
514A-515	AR & AU	VICTOR-AUGG	Same but no captives	R & R2
516	AR	VICTORIAE- AUGG-FEL	Victory advancing l., holding wreath in both hands over shield set on low base	C
517	AU	VIRT-AUGG	Roma standing l., holding Victory and spear and resting l. hand on shield	R2
518A-B	AU	=	Roma seated l., on cuirass. holding Victory and parazonium	R2

**A.D 200-201****PRECIOUS METALS**

523	AR	COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R
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523A	AR	MARTI- VICTORI	Mars standing front, head r., resting r. hand on shield on low base and holding spear in l.	R
525	AU	VICTORIAE- AVGG	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R3

**A.D. 202**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

526	AR	COS-III-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	C
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## SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS

## MINT OF ROME

## PHASE I (193-197)

A.D. 193-194

## PRECIOUS METALS

RIC NUMBE R	METAL TYPE	LEGEND	DESCRIPTION	OCCUR ENCE
1	AU & AR	FIDEI-LEG-TR-P- COS	Fides standing l. holding Victory and standard.	R & C
2	AR	LEGI-ADIVT-TR- P-COS-IMP-CAES	Legionary eagle between two standards	S
3	AR	LEG-I-ITAL-TR- P-COS	=	S
4	AU & AR	LEG-I-MIN-TR-P- COS	=	R3 & S
5	AR	LEG-II-ADIVT- TR-P-COS	=	S
6	AR	LEG-II-ITAL-TR- P-COS	=	S
7	AR	LEG-III-ITAL-TR- P-COS	=	S

8	AR	LEG-III-FL-TR-P-COS	=	S
9	AR	LEG-V-MAC-TR-P-COS	=	S
10	AR	LEG-VII-CL-TR-P-COS	=	S
11	AU & AR	LEG-VIII-AVG-TR-P-COS	=	R3 & S
12	AR	LEG-XI-CL-TR-P-COS	=	S
13	AR	LEG-XIII-GEM-TR--P-COS	=	S
14	AU & AR	LEG-XIII-GEM-M-V-TR-P-COS	=	R3 & S
15	AR	LEG-XXII-TR-P-COS	=	S
16	AR	LEG-XXII-PRI-TR-P-COS	=	S
17	AR	LEG-XXX-VLP-TR-P-COS	=	S
20	AU (Q) & AR (Q)	TR-P-COS	Victory advancing l. holding wreath and palm	R3 & R
21	AU & AR	VIC-AVG-TR-P-COS	Victory seated l. holding wreath and palm	R & C

22	AU & AR	=	Victory advancing l. holding wreath and palm	R & C
23	AU	=	= but Victory is r.	R2
24	AU & AR	VIRT-AUG-TR-P- COS	Virtus helmeted standing l. holding Victory and reversed spear	R & C

**A.D 193****BRONZE**

651, 658 & 660A	S & DP	FIDEI-LEG-TR-P- COS-S-C	Fides standing l., holding Victory and standard	S & R
652	S	LEG-XIII-GEM- M-V-TR-P-COS-S- C	Legionary eagle between two standards	R
656 & 659	S & DP	VICT-AVG-TR-P- COS-S-C	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	S & R
657 & 660	S & DP	VIRT-AVG-TR-P- COS-S-C	Virtus standing l., holding Victory and reversed spear	R

**A.D. 194 (IMP III)****PRECIOUS METAL**

28-29A	AU	VICT-AVG-TR-P- II-COS-II	Victory advancing r. holding wreath and palm	R
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30	AU (Q)	COS-II-P.P	= but Victory on r.	R2
33	AR	MARS-PACATOR	Mars standing l., holding branch and sceptre	S
36	AU & AR	P-M-TR-P-II-COS- II	Victory advancing r., holding wreath and palm	R & S
38	AU & AR	VICT-AUG-TR-P- II-COS-II	=	R & C
38A	AR	VICT-AVG-TR-P- II-COS-II-P-P	=	R
39	AR	VIRT-AVG-TR-P- II-COS-II-P-P	Virtus helmeted, standing l., holding Victory and reversed spear	S

**A.D. 194****BRONZE**

663, 665, 667, 667A-B & 672	S, DP & AS	VICT-AVG-TR-P- II-COS-II-S-C	= n. 656	R & S
673-675	S, DP & AS	VIRT-AVG-TR-P- II-COS-II-P-P-S-C	= n. 657	S & R

683	AS	MARS-PATER-S- C	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	R
685	AS	P-M-TR-P-III- COS-II-P-P-S-C	Minerva standing l., holding spear and round shield	S

**A.D. 194-195 (IMP III)**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

41	AU	ARAB-ADIAB- COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and trophy	R
42	AR (Q)	COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing r., holding wreath and palm	R
45	AR	MARS-PACATOR	Mars standing l., holding branch and spear	C
46	AR	MARS-PATER	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	S
49	AR	P-M-TR-P-COS-II- P-P	Minerva standing l., holding spear and round shield	C
50	AR	=	Emperor standing holding globe and spear	R
52	AR	=	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	C

53	AR	=	Minerva standing l., holding spear and round shield	S
54	AR	PACI-AVGVSTI	Pax seated l., holding branch and cornucopiae	S
55	AU	PART-ARAB- PART-ADIAB- COS-II-P-P	Two captives seated back to back, r. and l. of a trophy	R2
56A	AU	VICT-AVG-TR-P- II-COS	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R

**A.D. 195 (IMP V)**

**PRECIOUS METALS**

58	AR	ARAB-ADIAB- COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and trophy	C
60	AR	=	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	C
61	AR	=	Minerva standing l., holding spear and round shield	C
62	AR	PART-ARAB- PART-ADIAB- COSII-P-P	Two captives seated back to back on round shield	C

63	AR	=	= but trophy is between captives	S
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## A.D. 195

## BRONZE

687	S	MARS-PATER-S- C	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	R
688	S	P-M-TR-P-P-III- COS-II-P-P-S-C	=	S
690A-C & 696	S & DP	PART-ARAB- PART-ADIAB- COS-II-P-P-S-C	Two captives, seated back to back at foot trophy	S
693	S	VIRTVTI-AVG-S- C	Roma standing l., holding parazonium and crowning Severus, also standing l., who holds Victory and spear	R

## A.D. 195-196 (IMP VII)

## PRECIOUS METALS

64	AU & AR	ARAB-ADIAB- COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and trophy	R & C
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64A	AR (Q)	COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing r., holding wreath and palm	R
65	AU	DIVI-M-P-II-F-P- M-TR-P-III-COS- II-P-P	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	R2
66	AU	=	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and trophy	R2
67	AR	P-M-TR-P-III- COS-II-P-P	Mars advancing r., holding spear and trophy	C
68	AR	=	Minerva standing l., holding spear and round shield	C
70	AR	=	= n. 67	R
71	AR	=	= n. 68	R

**A.D 195-196****BRONZE**

705, 708 & 716	S & AS	P-M-TR-P-III- COS-II-P-P-S-C	Mars standing r., holding spear and resting l. hand on shield; to l. cuirass	S
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A.D. 196-197

## PRECIOUS METALS

73	AU	ADVENTVI- AVG- FELICISSIMO	Severus riding r., r. hand raised, preceded by soldier, leading horse	R2
76	AR	ARAB-ADIAC- COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and trophy	S
79	AR	HERCVLI- DEFENS	Hercules standing r., resting on club and holding bow and lion skin on l. arm	S
83	AR	P-M-TR-P-III- COS-II-P-P	Minerva standing l., holding spear and round shield	C
86, 86A &	AU & AR	=	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R & C
86B	AU	=	= nn. 86 & 86A but palm is replaced by trophy	R
90	AR	PART-MAX- PONT-TR-P-III	Two captives at foot of trophy	S

91	AR	PROFECTIO- AVG	Emperor on horse prancing r., holding spear	S
94	AR	VICT-AETERN	Victory inscribing a shield	S
95	AR	=	Victory flying l., holding in both hands wreath over shield on low base	S

**A.D. 196****BRONZE**

723	S	P-M-TR-P-III- COS-II-P-P-S-C	Mars standing r., holding spear and resting l.. on shield; to l., cuirass	S
725 & 734	S & AS	=	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	S
728	S	PROFECTIO- AVG-S-C	Severus on horse pacing r., holding spear	R
731	AS	ADVENTV-AVG- FELICISSIMO-S- C	Severus on horse. prancing r., holding up r. hand. preceded by soldier	R

**A.D. 197 (IMP VIII)****PRECIOUS METALS**

97	AU & AR	HERCVLI- DEFENS	= n. 79	R & C
106	AU & AR	PROFECTIO-AVG	Emperor on horse prancing r., holding spear	R & C

**A.D. 197****BRONZE**

740	S	P-M-TR-P-V-COS- II-P-P-S-C	Severus on horseback	R
740A	SU & AR	PROFECTIO- AVG-S-C	=	R

**PHASE II****A.D.197-198 (IMP X)****PRECIOUS METALS**

108	AR	CONCORDIAE- MILITVM	Concordia standing front. head l., holding standard in each hand	S
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109	AR (Q)	COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R
111	AU & AR	HERCVLI- DEFENS	= n. 79	R & C
111A	AR	IOVI- CONSERVATOR	Jupiter seated l., holding Victory and sceptre	S
113	AR	MARTI- PACIFERO	Mars standing l., foot on cuirass holding branch and reversed spear	C
114	AR	MARTI-VICTORI	Mars standing r., holding shield and reversed spear	C
114A	AR	=	= but under shield captive	S
120A,B & C	AU, AU & AR	VICT-AUGG- COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R, R & C
121	AR	VICT- PARTHICAE	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and trophy: at feet, captive	C

**A.D. 197-198****BRONZE**

741	S	MART- PACIFERO-P-M- TR-P-V-COS-II-P- P-S-C	Mars standing l., foot on cuirass, holding branch and spear reversed	R
746	S	PROFECTIO- AVG-S-C	Severus on horse prancing r., holding spear	R

**A.D. 198 (LATE) OR 199-200 (IMP XI)****PRECIOUS METALS**

125.	AR, AR	COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	C, R & R2
125A-B	(Q) & AU			
130	AU & AR	IOVI- CONSERVATORI	Jupiter seated l., holding Victory and sceptre	R & C

131	AR	IOVI- PROPVGNATORI	Jupiter hurrying r., brandishing thunder-bolt and raising l. hand, wrapped in cloak	C
133A	AR	MARTI- PACIFERO	Mars standing l., foot on cuirass, holding branch and reversed spear	D
134	AR	MARTI-VICTORI	Mars standing r., holding spear in l. hand and resting r. hand on shield set on helmet	C
138	AR	PROFECT-AVGG- FEL	Severus on horse prancing r., holding spear	S
141	AR	VICT-AETERNAE	Victory flying l., holding wreath in both hands; in front of V., shield	C
141A	AR	VICT-AVGG- COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	S
142A & B	AR & AU	VICT- PARTHICAE	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and trophy ; at her feet, a captive	C & R
143A & B	AR & AU	VICTORIAE- AVGG	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	S & R

144A & B	AU & AR	VICTORIA- AVGG-FEL	= n. 141	R & C
145A & B	AR & AU	VIRT-AVGG	Virtus standing l., holding Victory and spear, l. hand resting on shield on ground	C & R
146A & B	AR & AU	=	Septimius on horse prancing r., brandishing javelin	S & R2
147	AR	=	Soldier standing r., holding spear and club	not available
148A-B	AU & AU	=	Virtus seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory and parazonium, shield behind	R2 & R3

## A.D 198-199

## BRONZE

750	S & AS	VICTORIAE- AVGG-FEL-S-C	Victory flying l., holding wreath in both hands over shield set on low base	R
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## A.D. 200

## PRECIOUS METALS

150	AR	P-M-TR-P-VIII- COS-II-P-P	Victory flying l., holding in both hands wreath over shield set on low base	C
151	AU	=	Severus in military dress standing l., sacrificing with patera over tripod and holding spear	R
151A	AU	VICTORIAE- AVGG	Victory advancing l.	R2

## A.D. 200-201

## BRONZE

752	S	PROFECTIO- AVG-S-C	Severus on horseback r., holding spear	R
754	S	VICT-PARTHIC- AVGG-P-M-TR-P- VIII-S-C	Victory running r., holding wreath and palm	R

## A.D. 201

## PRECIOUS METALS

151C	AR	MARTI-VICTORI	Mars standing r., holding shield and reversed spear	R
152	AR	P-M-TR-P-VIII-COS-II-P-P	= n. 150	S
153	AR	PART-MAX-P-M-TR-P-VIII	Two captives seated l. and r. at foot a trophy	R

## A.D. 200-201

## PRECIOUS METALS

158	AR (Q)	COS-II-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R2
165A-C	AR & AR	PROFECT-AVGG-FEL	Severus on horseback galloping r., holding spear	S & R
169A-B	AU	S.P.Q.R-OPTIMO-PRINC	Severus on horse prancing l., holding spear	R2
170	AR	VICT-AETER	Same as n. 150	C
171A-B	AU & AR	VIRT-AVGG	Virtus standing l., holding Victory and resting on shield, spear against l. arm	R & C

A.D. 202

## PRECIOUS METALS

183	AU	P-M-TR-P-X-COS- III-P-P	Victory advancing r. holding shield inscribed VIC-PAR	R2
184	AR	PART-MAX-P-M- TR-P-X	Trophy and two captives	C
185	AR	PART-MAX-P-M- TR-P-X-COS-III- P-P	=	C
191	AR (Q)	P-M-TR-P-XI- COS-III-P-P	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R

## PHASE III

A.D 204

## PRECIOUS METALS

195B	AU	VICTORIA- PARTHICA- MAXIMA	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R2
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A.D. 206

## PRECIOUS METALS

202	AU &AR	P-M-TR-P-XIII- COS-III-P-P	Severus on horse prancing r., holding spear at rest	R2 & S
203	AR	=	=	S

A.D. 206

## BRONZE

771	AS	P-M-TR-P-XIII- COS-III-P-P-S-C	Galley l., with steerman, rowers, captain, and standards on prow	R
772	AS	=	Severus on horseback galloping r., holding spear	R

A.D. 207

## PRECIOUS METALS

204	AR	IOVI-VICT-P-M- TR-P-XV-COS-III- P-P	Jupiter in quadriga r., hurling thunderbolt at two giants	R3
211	AR	P-M-TR-P-XV- COS-III-P-P	Victory standing r., foot on globe inscribing shield set on palm	C

212	AR (Q)	=	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R
213	AR	=	Severus on horse prancing r., holding spear in rest	S
213A	AR	=	Same but is upright	R3
214	AR	=	Trophy; standing captive r.. seated captive l.	S

**A.D. 207****BRONZE**

773, 776A-B 777	S & AS	P-M-TR-P-XV- COS-III-P-P-S-C	Severus on horseback l., holding spear and reins	R2 & R
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**A.D. 208****PRECIOUS METALS**

222	AR	P-M-TR-P-XVI- COS-III-P-P	Severus on horse prancing r., holding spear at rest	S
223	AU (Q) & AR (Q)	=	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R3 & R

224A-B	AR & AU	=	Victory seated r., holding palm and resting shield on l. knee; before her, trophy; under her seat, shield	R & R2
225A	AR	P-M-TR-P-XVI- PROF-AVGG	Severus riding r., holding spear, preceded by foot soldier	R

**A.D. 208****BRONZE**

778, 781 & 783	S, S & AS	P-M-TR-P-XVI- COS-III-P-P-S-C	Victory seated r., holding palm and resting shield on l. knee; in front, trophy; behind, under seat, shields	R & S
779 & 785	S & AS	=	Severus on horseback l., holding spear	R & S
780	S	P-M-TR-P-XVI- PROF-AVGG-S-C	Severus on horseback r., holding spear; one soldier before, two behind	R2

## A.D. 209

## PRECIOUS METALS

228	AR	P-M-TR-P-XVII- COS-III-P-P	Neptune standing l., r. foot on globe, holding trident in l. hand	C
229	AR	=	Sea-God (Triton ?) reclining r., holding horn- shaped shell and rudder; at his feet, sea-horse	R
231	AR		Severus galloping l., hurling javelin at prostrate foe	S

## A.D. 209

## BRONZE

787A & 792	S & AS	P-M-TR-P-XVII- COS-III-P-P-S-C	= n. 778	R & S
788	S	=	Severus standing l., holding Victory and spear. crowned by Virtus, holding parazonium	R

791	AS	=	Roma seated r., holding palladium and spear: in front, kneeling captive	S
793	AS	=	Severus on horseback l., holding spear	S

A.D. 210

## PRECIOUS METALS

237	AU	P-M-TR-P-XVIII- COS-III-P-P	Victory advancing r., leading captive by hand and carryng trophy on l. shoulder	R2
238	AR	=	= n. 231	S

A.D. 210

## BRONZE

796	S	P-M-TR-P-XVIII- COS-III-P-P-S-C	Two Victories standing l. and r.. fixing shield on palm, at foot of which are two captives	R
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797	S	=	Severus standing l., crowned by Virtus holding spear	R
799A-B	S	=	Severus standing l., holding spear, between soldier on r. holding wand, and soldier on l., holding spear; to l., a seated captive; in background, two soldiers holding standards	R2
800A-B	S	=	Severus with Caracalla and Geta. standing r. on platform, haranguing officers, and two soldiers, holding shields and standard or legionary eagle	R3
802 & 804	DP & AS	=	Roma seated r., holding palladium and spear: in front. kneeling captive	S

803 & 805-807	AS & DP	=	Victory standing r., holding in both hands vexillum; on each side of her, captive is seated	S
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**A.D. 210-211****BRONZE**

834 & 837A	DP & AS	VICTORIAE- BRITANNICAE- S-C	Victory standing r. foot set on human head (or globe ?), inscribing shield set on palm	S
837A-B	AS	=	Victory standing r., holding in both hands vexillum: on each side of her, a captive	S

**A.D. 211****PRECIOUS METALS**

247	AR	P-M-TR-P-XIX- COS-III-P-P- VICT-BRIT	Victory advancing r., holding wreath and palm	R
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A.D. 211

## BRONZE METAL

808	S	VICT-BRIT-P-M- TR-P-XIX-COS- III-P-PS-C	Two Victories standing l. and r., fixing shield on palm, at foot of which are two captives	R
809 & 812 A-B	DP & AS	=	Victory standing r.. holding in both hands vexillum; on each side of her, captive is seated	S
811	AS	=	Roma seated r., holding palladium and spear: in front, kneeling captive	S

## UNDATED (A.D 202-210)

248	AR	ADVENT-AVGG	Severus on horse back raising r. hand and holding spear, preceded by soldier	S
256	AU	CONCORDIA- MILIT	Concordia standing l.. between six standards. three l.: with r. hand she holds nearest standard on l., with l. hand sceptre	R2
258	AR (Q)	COS-III-P-P	Victory advancing l.. holding wreath and palm	S
269	AR	INVICTA- VIRTVS	Severus on horse prancing r.. brandishing javelin at prostrate foe	R
272	AU	IOVI-VICTORI	Bearded head of Jupiter Ammon	R2
294A-B	AR (Q)	VICT-AVGG	Victory advancing l.. holding wreath and palm	R
295-297	AU & AR	VICT-PART-MAX	=	R & C
298	AR	VICTORIA- AVGVSTI	Victory standing r., l. foot on helmet. inscribing VIC- B on shield	R2
299	AU & AR	=	Victory in biga galloping r.	R2 & S

300	AU	=	= same but Victory in quadriga	R2
301	AR	=	Roma seated front, head l., holding Victory, crowned by flying Victory: on her l., Atlas kneeling, supporting globe	R3
302	AU & AR	VICTORIAE-BRIT	Victory advancing r., head turned	
302A	AR	=	Victory, half naked, standing front, head r., holding palm: to r., palm tree with shield	R
303	AR	VIRT-AVGG	Virtus standing l., holding Victory and resting l. hand on shield: spear against l. side	S
303A	AR	=	Severus standing l., holding globe and spear	S
304	AR	=	Roma seated l., resting l. elbow on shield, holding Victory and parazonium	S

305	AU	=	Septimus, Caracalla and Geta on horses prancing l., each with r. hand raised	R3
311	AU & AR	VICTORIA- PARTHICA- MAXIMA	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	R3
318	AR	MINER-VICTRIX	Minerva, armed, standing l., by trophy, holding Victory and spear; shield at feet	S
321C	AR	PONTIF-TR-P- VII-COS-II	Emperor in military dress. standing l., holding Victory and reversed spear	S
323-324	AR (Q) & AR	PONTIF-TR-P-X- COS	Victory or Mars advancing l., holding wreath and palm	S
325-326	AR (Q)	PONTIF-TR-P-XI- COS-II or III	Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm	S
328A	AR	VICTOR- ANTONINI-AVG	=	S
332-334	AR & AU	VICTORIAE- BRIT	=	S & R2

335	AR	=	Victory seated l., in act of inscribing shield set on knees	S
336-337	AR	=	Victory standing front, head r., holding palm and fastening shield to a palm tree	S

**UNDATED (A.D. 202-210)**

**BRONZE**

813	AS	VICTORIAE- AVGG-S-C	Victory in biga r.	R
814	S	CONCORDIAE- AVGG-S-C	Severus and Caracalla standing, sacrificing over altar. each crowned by Victory: behind altar, Concordia	R3
817A-B	S	VICTORIAE- AVGG-S-C	Victory in biga r.	R

818	S	VICTORIAE- BRITTANICAE-S- C	Two Victories standing l. and r. fixing shield on palm. at foot of which are two captives	R
819	S	=	Victory standing r., holding in both hands vexillum: on each side of her, seated captive	R
820A-B	S	VIRTVS AVGVSTOR-S-C	Roma seated l., holding Victory and parazonium: behind her shield	R
822	AS	AVGVSTI-COS-S- C	Severus and Caracalla seated side by side on platform: behind. officer: in front. soldier holding spear	R
828	AS	VIC-PAR-MAX- AVG-S-C	Victory in fast biga r.	R
829A-D	AS	VICTORIAE- AVGG-S-C	=	R & S
830A-C	AS	VIRTVS- AVGVSTOR-S-C	Roma seated l., holding Victory and parazonium: shield behind	S

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

When one studies the subject of authority behind the types of Roman imperial coinage, it became clear that three factors need to be considered. First, were the coins used as instruments of communication to disseminate information to a particular group? Second, if so, who were the object of this information? Third, who made the decisions about the types?

Inspired by Wallace Hadrill's suggestions and hypotheses, I have attempted to discover whether at least some of the coin types were directed at the single most important recipient of these coins, the army. Basing my choice on the assumption that one would expect a military emperor to seek to communicate military information to troops more than a non-military emperor who had less direct contact with his troops and who did not depend upon the soldiers of his position or accession as much as a military emperor did.

To demonstrate this hypothesis, I adopted a simple methodology. I selected four emperors in order to determine the percentages and types of their military coinage. Vespasian and Severus were chosen as representative military emperors, since they not only owed their positions to their troops but were also close to them, and celebrated important military victories. Furthermore, the army played an important role in the policies and politics of the emperors. By comparison, Pius and Hadrian could be considered more "constitutionally" appointed emperors, who both had little or no experience with their troops and who celebrated minor or no military victories.

This study had two primary goals. The first was to determine the percentages of specifically military types in relation to overall output for each emperor, as well as the

percentages of hard and soft military types. The second was to determine if these percentages presented any patterns, such as differing proportions of military types among the four emperors, differences among metals, or chronological relationships between military output and military events.

The results are quite clear. The minting authority clearly had a particular interest in the Roman troops. More specifically, when a military emperor was in power, many military coin types were issued; when a non-military emperor was at the head of the Roman state, non-military coin types were predominately issued. This contrast is particularly apparent in the cases of Severus and Hadrian. Severus owed his position solely to the military, rising to power in a military coup and defeating two rival claimants in battle, and he fought a number of important wars, personally leading his troops into battle. The minting authority in his reign devoted almost half of all types to military themes. By comparison, Hadrian, an emperor who came to power completely in a non-military succession, who never led his troops in battle, and whose troops never fought a major war, devoted less than 15% of his types to military themes.

Pius, another "constitutionally" appointed emperor, paid no attention to his troops and never led them in battle, but did enjoy vicariously some military success and an important victory in Britain. Nevertheless, his coinage devoted only just over 15% of all types to military themes, hardly more than Hadrian. Vespasian came to power at the head of an army in the midst of civil war, and was able to inaugurate his reign with a great victory over Judaea. However, once settled in Rome, he saw little active service. This is reflected in the coinage: somewhat over one third of his types are devoted to military affairs, more than Pius but less than Severus. Thus in

each case, the overall proportion of military issues exactly parallels each emperors' dependence on his army and the military achievements of that emperor.

However, my results also show that by introducing the concept of military hard and soft types a more specific picture emerges: large issues of hard military types generally coincide with military events. Pius, an emperor profoundly uninterested in the army, issued 15.5% of his total gold and silver issues and 16.4% of his total bronze issues of military types. This level can be seen as a normal "background" level of interest in the military. Nevertheless, during the only military event of his reign (his triumph over Britain), the number of military hard types issued in bronze sky-rocket (140-143, 73%; 143-144, 100%). However, during the rest of his reign these numbers never reoccur. Hence, if we were to place these results on a graph, we would notice that indeed military types, and especially hard types, coincide with military events.

The same can be said for other emperors. When the military activity is at a high point, the military coin types increase, especially the hard types. Severus has the highest number of hard types at 88% in gold and silver from the Eastern mints and 74% in gold and silver and 77% in bronze from Rome. All of Severus' military types correlate to military activity within his reign. The same is true with Vespasian. His reign shows 63% hard types in gold and silver and 50.5% in bronze. The only exception to this trend is Hadrian: his coinage shows 23% hard types in gold and silver and a high of 70.4%, in bronze with no correlation to military events.

However, as already noted, the high level of hard types in the bronze is the result of the special provincial army series, which is more general and provincial in inception than specific and military, or though they are of course still obviously military. In a way, they mirror Hadrian's visits to the troops of the Empire making up for the lack of real military action and involvement.

Four conclusions may be drawn from the above results. First, the army was obviously a targeted audience for coin types. Soldiers could easily understand military types without necessarily having to be literate. Furthermore, the army was the single largest item in the imperial budget, and the troops were the only group in society which regularly received new coins. Thus they got the "news" when it was "fresh". The general public also received some coins from the mints (via money changers), although, this usually took some time to get in circulation. Hence, by then the news would be stale. Nevertheless, such types were useful for creating a general image of military prowess for the emperor.

Second, the closer an emperor was to his troops the greater the number of types that were devoted to military affairs. Third, the situation of consistent types and output at the multiple mints under Severus (Lugdunum, Laodocia ad Mare, Emesa, Rome and Alexandria) strongly suggests a central authority governing type selection; given the mint structure as we know it, this central authority was probably the emperor himself. Fourth, military victories (and hope of victory) appear to have been celebrated on coins much in the manner of modern newspaper headlines. The emperor seemed to have used the coins to proclaim the military qualities and might of his regime, as means of establishing and confirming a close relationship with his troops who were often far away.

Hence, based on these conclusions, important quantitative answers are found to the three questions relating to the authority of coinage that I noted above. First, were the coins used to disseminate information? Yes, as demonstrated, the coins provided information very much as modern newspaper headlines (or rather tabloids) do. Second, what were the supposed audiences? In the first place, and primarily the army. Clearly, the army was the single most important

audience targeted by the central authority. Third, who was the authority choosing the types? It would seem from the results that the emperor was the authority choosing the types especially in relation to the military types.

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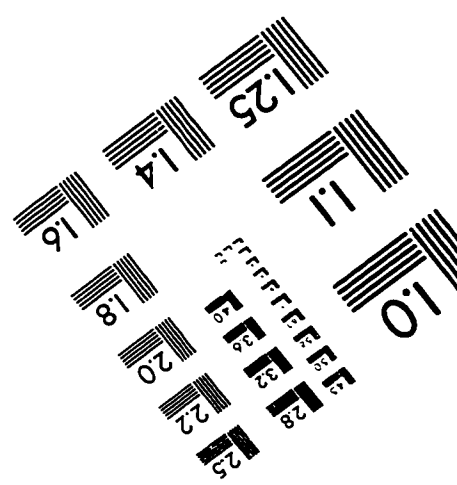
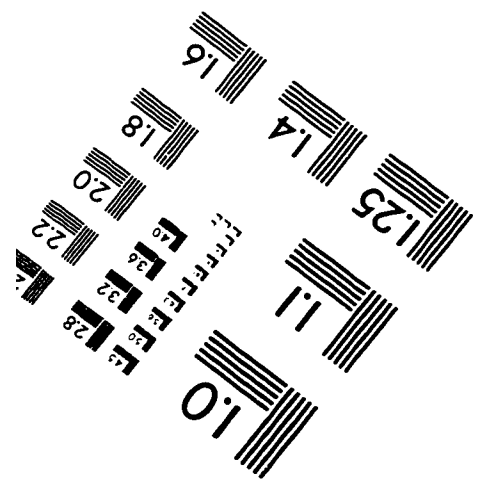
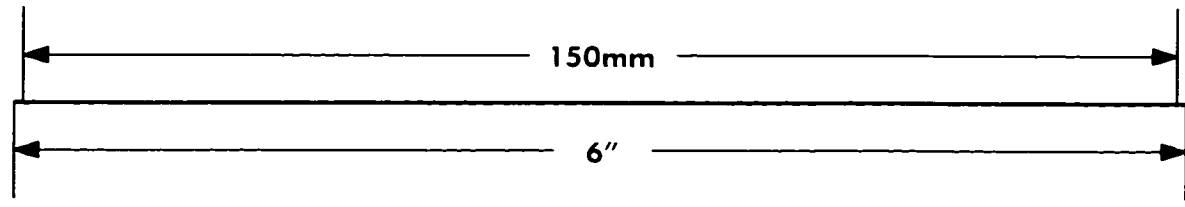
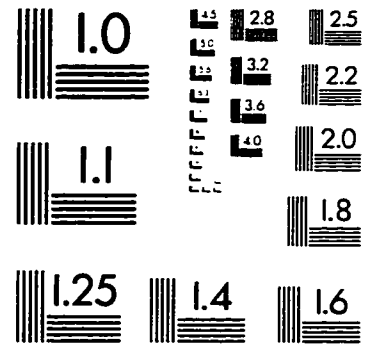
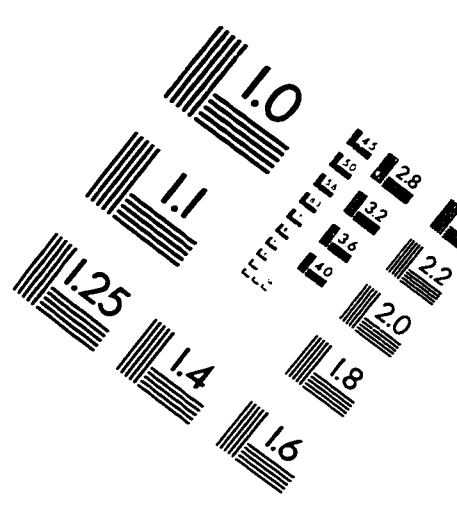
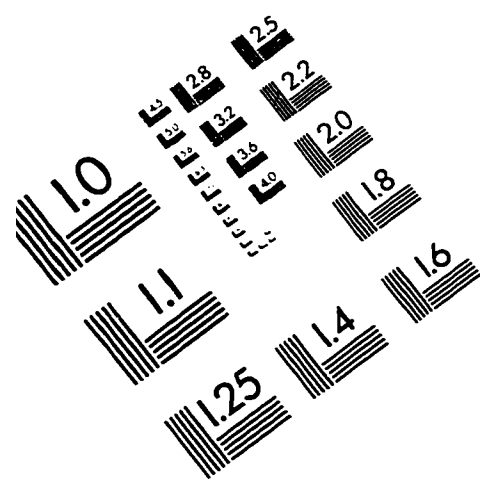
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