

## INTRODUCTION

It may be worth explaining why this collection has concentrated on a series of coins which has been, at least until quite recently, deeply unfashionable. It would be difficult to argue for the artistic merits of mid third-century coins, and the technical skills apparent in both die-engraving and striking are frequently low. The formation of this collection has passed through a number of successive phases, in fact, with different motivations in each case.

When I first started to collect Roman coins, as a university student in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the main attraction of coins of emperors such as Gallienus and Claudius II was that many of them could be obtained without large financial outlay. Common types could be purchased for just a pound or two each. Once in paid employment I was able to expand the range of my collecting to some extent, but I very soon discovered that many of my colleagues in the archaeology and museum professions were deeply opposed to the idea of those employed in this type of work forming private collections at all – an attitude which unfortunately still persists in some quarters today. I disagree with this fundamentally, as I believe that those who are fortunate enough to be able to accumulate numismatic knowledge in the course of their employment are best placed to carry out research on, and publish discussion of, interesting items which appear on the open market. I do, however, accept that it is at the very least unwise to collect in the same field as an institution where one is employed, as aspersions can be cast, however unjustly, and these may harm one's reputation. It was fortunate for me, therefore, that neither of the institutions which employed me throughout my career had any interest in acquiring mid third-century Roman coins.

Consequently I felt able, with a clear conscience, to enlarge my collection relating to this period of history, and for a time my aim, like that of many other collectors, was simply to acquire as many different types from within my chosen date range as possible, which I narrowed down to AD 253-268. It rapidly became clear that the coinage of Gallienus, in particular, was amongst the most innovative of all Roman imperial issues. As time passed, and particularly when I obtained employment as an academic numismatist, I decided that my acquisition policy should be geared to more than just accumulation, but should be formulated in order to provide some sort of service to numismatists, both professional and amateur. The result is this collection now being published and offered for sale.

I hope that this catalogue will serve dual purposes. Quite a number of the coins and medallions included have not been published in any reference works (apart from the auction catalogues through which they were variously put on the market). I hope, therefore, that the catalogue will serve as a useful 'appendix' to such reference works, in particular to MIR 36/43/44 – the most recent comprehensive survey of coins of this period. In addition, it occurred to me that many collectors who do not have access to academic reference libraries may not be able to carry out adequate research on coins which they may acquire, and for this reason I have put together the introductory paper on the iconography of the coinage of the Valerianic dynasty as well as appending notes to many of the catalogue entries for individual items. I hope that others may find these of interest and of benefit. Coins in this collection range from the unique to the very common, but those in the latter category which I have retained to the end are there because they serve to illustrate aspects of the iconography study.

Over the years a number of people within the coin trade have assisted me by seeking out interesting items and offering them for me to purchase, and/or bidding on my behalf at auctions, and I should like to put on record my thanks to: David Miller; Paul-Francis Jacquier; Thomas Curtis and Paul Hill at A.H. Baldwin and Sons Ltd.; and Gavin Manton of Manton Associates and Lennox Gallery. Finally, I am extremely grateful to Classical Numismatic Group for agreeing to publish the iconography paper with this catalogue, and for allowing me to create my own catalogue entries and notes.

N. M. McQ. Holmes  
November 2018

EDITOR'S NOTE: CNG is pleased to present the N. M. McQ. Holmes Collection, one of the most, if not the most, comprehensive private collections of the coinage of the reigns of Valerian I and Gallienus. For this specialized academic collection, we have deferred to the collector to present the coins, so readers may note that some cataloging details will differ from the way CNG presents this coinage in its catalogs. Regarding rarity, the collector has relied upon the inventories noted in MIR (Göbl), but the reader should understand that these inventories are based on a division of the coinage that are more detailed than the more general categories used in most studies. Thus, while MIR may only cite 1 or 2 coins known for a particular entry, the collector may also reference hoards (that Göbl consulted) that cite a higher quantity--a quantity that was based on a more general categorization of the coinage that did not consider subdivisions that Göbl used, such as the form of the wreath ties on the coins. Although the inventories cited by MIR are nearly 20 years old, the amount of collections, public and private, and hoards that were consulted was so substantial that the rarity should be relatively consistent today.

In any event, this collection is certainly the most important of these reigns offered at auction in recent memory, especially the substantial selection of legionary coinage struck under Gallienus. Future numismatists of this period will surely consult this collection, as did Professor Göbl, who consulted it for his seminal volume on these reigns in the MIR series.

## The Iconography of the Coinage of the Valerianic Dynasty

As anyone interested in Roman imperial coinage quickly learns, every single detail of a coin's design or inscription is there to glorify the reigning emperor in some way or other. In fact, the entire imperial coinage can be seen as one enormous panegyric. That much is true of the coins of every emperor, but in order to understand the particular significance of the inscriptions and designs which appear on the issues of AD 253-268, it is necessary to have some understanding of the events of the period and the problems which faced the imperial family. Those wishing to learn about these in detail are directed to the various publications listed in the Bibliography, but for the purposes of the following, necessarily fairly short, discussion of the iconography it may suffice to bear in mind just a few major considerations.

When Valerian I acceded to the imperial throne in AD 253, he almost immediately appointed his son, Gallienus, as co-emperor. Gallienus and his wife, Salonina, at that time had two young sons, Valerian II and Saloninus, and there was thus an expectation that this would mark the inception of a dynasty of rulers which would guarantee the succession for decades to come. Coins issued during the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus frequently made reference, directly or indirectly, to this, and it seems clear that Gallienus, in particular, strove to portray himself as the instigator of a new 'golden age' of success and prosperity for Rome and its empire, but events were to dash such hopes in the cruellest of fashions.

Valerian I soon departed to command armies campaigning on the eastern frontier of the empire, leaving Gallienus in charge of the defence of the west, and for a while both were successful, winning military victories over the Parthians / Sasanians in the east and the Germanic tribes in the west. The first of the dynasty's tragedies occurred in AD 258, when Valerian II, who had been appointed as Caesar (crown prince, in essence) and sent to join the armies on the Danube frontier, died, probably of disease. Saloninus was then raised to this rank in his stead. Just a year or so later came the crushing defeat of the Roman armies in the east by the Sasanian ruler Shapur I and the capture of Valerian I, who was to spend the rest of his life in abject humiliation. This was arguably the greatest disaster ever to befall the Roman empire, but worse was to follow for the imperial family. In the west the general Postumus led a successful rebellion. Saloninus, raised to the rank of Augustus while besieged in Cologne, was captured and put to death by Postumus shortly afterwards. Postumus then established what has become known as the Gallic Empire, covering the provinces of Gaul, Spain and Britain.

Gallienus was thus left alone to carry the entire burden of defending the frontiers of the empire while facing the constant threat of internal rebellions against his rule. This he achieved with remarkable success for eight years, until he was murdered by some of his own officers in the summer of AD 268. Not surprisingly, dynastic references vanish from the coinage of his sole reign (AD 260-68), and all the inscriptions and designs which were utilised must be assessed in the light of the situation in which the emperor found himself. It may be difficult for us in the 21st century to imagine just how much the fortunes of the entire Roman world were seen as embodied in one man. Emperors could claim personal credit for all successes, but equally they could be held personally responsible for failures and disasters. For Gallienus, his position and his very life depended on his ability to convince powerful factions, and in particular the army, that he was the right man to be both supreme military commander and sole governor of the empire.

There may be little from this period to attract the attention of those primarily interested in the artistic aspects of coinage, since there had clearly been a significant decline in the levels of skill manifested in the production of Roman coins since the 'golden age' of the second century AD, but the coinage of the 250s and 260s AD issued in the name of Valerian I and his family displays numerous innovations in both portraiture and reverse design. Many of these were to be taken up and developed, first by Postumus on his Gallic Empire issues and subsequently by successor emperors of the later third century. During the 260s AD it is possible to speak of what, in modern terms, would be described as a propaganda war between Gallienus and Postumus through the medium of the coinage.

### Portraiture

One of the most basic functions of coins in a society without mass media was undoubtedly to convey the identity and appearance of its rulers throughout the area over which they held sway. For the first two and a half centuries of the Roman Empire, its rulers were depicted on coins in a standardised fashion which may be summed up thus: a head or shoulder-length bust, usually facing to the right, but occasionally to the left, and either bare-headed or wearing a laurel wreath or radiate crown. The shoulders could be shown unclothed, partially or completely draped and/or wearing armour (cuirassed). More elaborate busts were sometimes depicted on medallions – presumably presentation pieces struck in small numbers for specific occasions – but these were almost never found on coins intended for circulation as currency.

It was during the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus (AD 253-60) that these conventions were first broken, and during the sole reign of Gallienus (AD 260-68) the emperor was depicted in a wide variety of bust types, which may be broadly categorised as military, heroic, consular, 'Sol blessing' and 'Hercules' types. Many of these were copied on the coinage of Postumus, whose portraiture is discussed at the end of this section.

#### *Military busts*

I am using this term to denote portraits which show the emperor wearing armour and carrying a spear and shield. On his head he may be wearing a radiate crown, a helmet or both. Such busts first appeared on antoniniani during the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus, but only for Gallienus and only at the mint of Cologne and, to a very much smaller extent, those of Viminacium and Milan. It is not difficult to determine why this should have been the case. These mints were established to provide coins to pay the armies of the Rhine and Danube frontiers and the northern borders of Italy respectively, so that large sums did not have to be transported long distances from Rome. Gallienus was the commander-in-chief of these armies of the western part of the empire, while his father was campaigning in the east, and he clearly wished to reinforce his image as a military commander among the soldiers under his leadership.

The mint at Viminacium, on the Danube, was in operation from the very start of the joint reign in AD 253, and may have been used by previous emperors (MIR p. 96). Göbl distinguishes four issues from this mint before it was closed and its operations transferred to Cologne, an event which he dates to the middle of AD 257 (MIR p. 99). Only in issue 3 are coins with a military bust of Gallienus known to have been struck, and these appear to be very rare today. Only one is listed in MIR (84011, the illustration being erroneously labelled 840p). This coin formed part of the Clamerey hoard, and **lot 291** appears to be the second recorded specimen from the same obverse die. A specimen from a different obverse die was offered in Paul-Francis Jacquier's *Katalog 36* (Summer 2009), no. 512. All are associated with an appropriate reverse type – GERMANICVS MAXIMVS, with trophy of arms. Gallienus is depicted radiate, probably cuirassed, and facing to the right, viewed from the front, holding a shield and with a spear pointing forwards and upwards across his left shoulder. This appears to be the first appearance of a bust with spear and shield on a Roman imperial coin (although occasional examples are known on medallions and provincial coin issues of earlier emperors) and it is thus of considerable significance.

If this apparently very small issue of military bust antoniniani from Viminacium may be seen as the result of a short-lived experiment, the same can not be said of the much more substantial issues of Gallienus from the mint at Cologne in the later 250s AD. These coins first appear in Issue 1d as proposed in MIR, but Göbl considered that 1a to 1e, which share reverse types and are distinguished only by obverse legend and bust type, were all effectively part of the same issue. If this is so, then it is probable that a decision to depict the emperor again with

spear and shield followed fairly quickly after the transfer of the mint from Viminacium. This time the bust faces to the left, viewed from the front, and the emperor's right hand is shown holding a spear pointing forwards and downwards over his right shoulder. The point of the spear is not visible, but the butt end usually is. The shield is placed as if carried on the emperor's left shoulder (see **lots 301e, 302b, 302c, 303a, 303d**).

Since the shield is the highest part of the design, it is often found worn smooth, but on some well-preserved specimens a *gorgoneion* (head of Medusa the gorgon) is visible in the middle (e.g. **lot 303d**). The symbol of the *gorgoneion* is a reference to the legend of the Greek hero Perseus, who was given a polished shield by the goddess Pallas Athene, to enable him to kill Medusa without having to look directly at her and thus be turned to stone. It was used frequently in classical times as a device to ward off evil.

Cologne mint coins with the military bust are quite common, especially in combination with reverse types alluding to Gallienus's victories against the Germans. The design on the Cologne coins is much more skilfully executed than that on the Viminacium issues, with a more realistic perspective, and it may not be too fanciful to attribute the decision to change to a left-facing portrait to the opportunity this provided to achieve just that. If the emperor was right-handed, as appears to be the case since he carried the spear in his right hand, then any attempt to portray him in this manner as facing to the right must have caused immense problems to the die-sinkers. His left shoulder, where the shield would need to be placed, would have to be depicted at the far side from the viewer. The attempt to show this on the Viminacium coins resulted in a very awkward compromise, with the shield placed in front of the bust and the spear shaft apparently protruding from the emperor's neck.

Left-facing military busts also appeared on scarce coins of the first issue at the mint of Milan, which Göbl dates to the second half of AD 258 (MIR p. 100). Both aurei (MIR 921f) and antoniniani (MIR 920m and 921m), with reverse VICTORIA AVGG, display busts very similar in style to those on the Cologne coins.

After the capture of Valerian I by the Sasanian ruler Shapur I (dated in MIR to early AD 260) and the successful revolt of Postumus in the west, leading to the establishment of the Gallic Empire, external threats to the Central Empire and to the position of Gallienus himself reached crisis proportions, and propaganda in the form of coin designs was further developed, especially at the mints in the western part of the empire. It is notable that standard portraiture was maintained throughout the sole reign of Gallienus at the eastern mints of Antioch, Cyzicus (or Smyrna) and Samosata. However, the use of elaborate portraiture became widespread at the western mints of Rome, Milan and Siscia.

Military busts, with spear and shield, were struck at all three of these mints. The convention of depicting all these busts as facing to the left continues. Radiate busts viewed from the front, like those of the joint reign from Cologne, appear at Rome (**lots 140, 144, 154, 155, 160**). Where absence of wear permits, details of decoration are sometimes visible on both cuirass and shield. On **lot 154** the *gorgoneion* is clearly visible on the shield, and another can be seen on close inspection of the front of the cuirass. On **lot 155** the shield is decorated with a large star, but a small *gorgoneion* can again just be made out on the cuirass.

Rome coins occasionally also display military busts viewed as from the rear (**lots 159, 255, 257**). The spear is shown pointing upwards, with the butt end of the shaft concealed behind the torso. The last two coins belong to the last ('animal') series of the Rome issues, and the busts are fairly crudely depicted, but both show traces of a *gorgoneion* on the shield.

Some Rome coins show Gallienus wearing a helmet as well as a radiate crown. Again, some of these show the bust from the front, with the spear pointing downwards (**lots 145, 152**), whilst others show it from the rear, with spear pointing upwards (**lot 139**).

Occasionally a military bust, either radiate or radiate helmeted is portrayed facing to the right, and these are much more successful than the earlier attempts at Viminacium. Some show both spear and shield partially hidden behind the torso, the shield at an angle to the viewer (e.g. MIR 738m, radiate, and **lot 220**, radiate helmeted). This avoids the problems of perspective encountered earlier, but presupposes that the emperor would hold both in his left hand, which would certainly not be a natural position. On other antoniniani (e.g. MIR 595h), however, the spear is held in the right hand in the foreground, with the shield again partially behind the torso.

Also under the heading of 'military busts' from Rome should be included a few instances of the emperor shown helmeted, but without spear and shield. This seems to occur only on aurei, e.g. MIR 449p or 664p.

The first issue of Gallienus's sole reign at the mint of Milan also saw the use of military busts to left with spear and shield, both radiate viewed from the front (e.g. MIR 958w or 968z) and radiate helmeted viewed from the rear (e.g. MIR 949u or 955u, or **lot 323**, with a combination of reverse type and legend unknown to Göbl). For the roughly contemporary 'legionary' issue the two types were again used, as were the radiate bust with spear and shield, seen from the rear (e.g. MIR 982i, **lot 339**) and a new bust type, showing the emperor radiate and cuirassed to the right, holding a downward-pointing spear over his left shoulder, but without shield (e.g. MIR 979o, **lot 329**). All four types continued into the following issue (MIR issue 3), but after this military busts seem to have been abandoned at Milan in favour of other elaborate types, including heroic, consular, 'Sol blessing' and 'Hercules' types (see below). The only exceptions seem to be a very small number of antoniniani in issue 4, with reverse ORIENS AVG, which bear a right-facing military bust (MIR 1140t), and a single coin (MIR 1163u) with left-facing bust. A related, and apparently otherwise unknown, bust type occurs on one coin of the legionary series (**lot 392**). The emperor is shown facing to the right, without spear, but with an inscribed shield on his right shoulder.

The mint at Siscia is believed to have been established in late AD 262 or early 263 (MIR p. 118), with mint personnel transferred from Rome, and military busts similar to those found on coins minted at Rome shortly beforehand are not surprisingly found on the earlier issues from Siscia. These include radiate cuirassed busts to left with spear and shield viewed from front (e.g. MIR 1397hh) and from rear (e.g. MIR 1445z, **lot 474c**, and **lot 473**, not known to Göbl). There are also occasional busts with spear and shield facing to right (e.g. MIR 1401gg) and busts with helmet to right, but no spear or shield (e.g. MIR 1399ii and 1399ll, and **lot 475**, not known to Göbl – the latter two radiate helmeted). All these types seem to have fallen out of use after issue 3. Under the heading of military busts at Siscia it is also worth drawing attention to a single obverse die depicting the emperor radiate and cuirassed to right, but with a finely engraved scene on the cuirass showing a horseman, presumably intended to represent Gallienus himself, turning backwards and raising his hand in apparent greeting to a figure standing behind him. This may be interpreted as a '*profectio*' scene, as sometimes depicted on the reverse of coins issued to mark the departure of an emperor from Rome on a journey to another part of the empire, often on a military campaign. MIR 1395aa2 shows this obverse in combination with a reverse with legend IO CANTAB, but **lot 460** has the same obverse die combined with a PAX AVG reverse. This 'raised arm' gesture will be discussed below in connection with Gallienus's apparent affiliation to the god Sol.

### *Heroic busts*

I am using this term to denote busts on which the torso of the emperor is shown without full drapery or armour, but accompanied by various attributes, either military or symbolic. These busts occur mainly at the mint of Milan, but there are a few rare examples from Rome and Siscia

The Rome mint coin listed in MIR as 383d (but for which the illustration is labelled 382d, without S in reverse field) bears a bust nude except for a little drapery on the left (far) shoulder, with a spear shown pointing forwards and upwards from behind the bust. **Lot 153** is a definite example of MIR 383d, with an S just visible to the left of the figure of Jupiter on the reverse. These two coins appear to be the only recorded issues from Rome with this bust type. It is possible that both were struck from the same combination of dies, but the illustration in MIR is of too poor a quality for this to be determined.

An exceptional bust type, for which MIR lists three examples (586g) bears a bust nude except for a thin strip of drapery fastened at the right shoulder and with a long *caduceus* (a staff with snakes coiled round it) carried over the left shoulder. This is a direct copy of the

bust which features on a number of large medallions (MIR 763b, 765b and 766b), and which was designed to portray Gallienus as *Mercurius Novus* - the new Mercury, whose usual attribute was the *caduceus*. These three antoniniani, with reverse FORTVNA REDVX, are the only coins known to bear this bust. (For a short note on the subject of this bust type, see Merten 1989.)

Another example of a bust copied from or on a medallion is **lot 225**, a coin of a type unknown to Göbl, and apparently otherwise unrecorded, which shows the torso of Gallienus nude except for a full aegis (the fleece of the Amalthean goat). This is otherwise found only on two large medallions (MIR 7751 and 775A1), which are themselves based on a small number of second-century predecessors – an exceptional sestertius of Trajan (Bastien 1992, Pl. 44, 4); a bronze medallion of Hadrian (Bastien 1992, l. 54, 8); and two bronze medallions of Commodus (Bastien 1992, Pl. 70, 5 and 6). The reverse of the coin bears the legend VIRTUS AVGVSTI, and belongs to an issue dated by Göbl to AD 265–6, but he associates the two medallions with the apotheosis of Gallienus as Zeus Panhellenios in AD 267. For a discussion of the significance of these obverse designs in the specific context of the coinage of the Valerianic dynasty, see the section below entitled *The Amalthean goat and the cult of Jupiter at Falerii*.

Göbl records three coins from issue 3 at the mint of Milan bearing a left-facing bust with aegis (MIR 1030u, 1034u and 1044u), but the illustrations are too poor to show this feature clearly. However, the same obverse die as on the latter two coins was also used to strike another coin (**lot 324**) with an unpublished reverse variant.

A bust type found solely on Milan antoniniani of the later phases (issues 4–7) is radiate left, viewed from the front, wearing aegis, with spear pointing forwards and upwards behind the right shoulder. This appears with many different reverses (MIR 1116cc, 1121cc, 1138cc, 1140cc, 1142cc, 1162cc, 11821, 11831, 11901, 12031, 12041, 12061, 1270p and 13491), but **lot 450**, with reverse SALVS AVG, was unknown to Göbl [MIR 1286p]. It is clear that the depiction of Gallienus with this attribute was considered particularly important at Milan.

From the mint of Siscia there are occasional examples of busts without armour but with reversed spear over the shoulder. **Lot 471** is an example of MIR 1424n, with bust to left and unclothed except for traces of drapery on the far (right) shoulder. MIR 1476d has this bust in mirror image, facing to the right. So far unique to Siscia is a radiate bust to left, nude except for a *balteus* (an ornamental sword belt worn by legionaries), with shield and spear pointing forwards and upwards. This may be found only on MIR 1399q (**lot 461**) and on MIR 1423q. It may have been consciously modelled on a bronze medallion of Septimius Severus (Bastien 1992, Pl. 77, 5).

### *Consular busts*

This term is used to describe busts portraying the emperor wearing consular robes. These comprised a tunic decorated with floral motifs and a crown, and a purple toga with embroidered border, traditionally worn by victorious generals under the Republic, then by emperors and by consuls on various ceremonial occasions (Bastien 1992, vol. I, 281). Busts of this type appeared on various bronze medallions from the time of Severus Alexander onwards, and it can also be seen on medallions of Gallienus (e.g. **lot 212**). It did not appear on a coin until the reign of Gallienus, and without other attributes only on rare late issues from the mint of Rome (MIR 681x, **lot 239**) and 681Ax, with reverse IOVIS STATOR, and on **lot 229**, a type not known to Göbl, with reverse ABVNDANTIA AVG. The bust faces to the left on all these coins. At the mint of Milan the radiate consular bust facing left occurs quite frequently from issue 4 to issue 7, but with the emperor also shown holding a scipio (a short sceptre topped by an eagle, traditionally held by victorious generals in triumphal processions, but again adopted for imperial and consular use on ceremonial occasions). Examples in this collection are **lots 440, 442, 446, 449 and 453**.

If the military busts on coins were intended to reinforce the image of Gallienus as a military commander in the field, the consular busts can be seen as portraying him as the ceremonial ‘head of state’, combining the attributes of high political office and military triumph. It is interesting that this bust occurs almost exclusively at Milan and during a specific time frame. The troops based in Milan were the first line of defence for the city of Rome itself against any threat of invasion from the north, so perhaps it was felt most appropriate to issue reminders of both aspects of the emperor’s supremacy.

### *‘Sol blessing’ busts*

I am using this term to refer to busts of the emperor to the left, with right arm raised and usually holding a globe in the left hand. Sculptural depictions of emperors with right arm raised can be traced all the way back to Augustus, and the gesture at first seems to have been one of both command and protection, but as time progressed it became more and more associated with imperial identification with the sun god Sol, who is often depicted as Sol Invictus (undefeated) on coins, raising his right hand and holding a globe in his left hand. This seems to have commenced in the time of the Severans, when the oriental cult of Sol was introduced to Rome (Bastien 1992, vol. II, 561). Gallienus seems to have had a particular association with this god and cult, and it was recorded, whether truthfully or not, that he liked to be seen in public wearing a radiate crown and with gold dust in his hair to mimic the sun’s rays. This will be discussed further in the chapter entitled *The cult of Sol*.

Most of the coins bearing the ‘Sol blessing’ bust on the obverse were minted in Milan, but one single type is known from Rome – MIR 583n (**lot 218**). The coin illustrated in MIR is on a small flan, with some pitting along the lower edge of the obverse, and as a result it was catalogued simply as bust with right hand raised. However, the slightly better state of preservation of **lot 218** in this area allows us to distinguish the presence of a globe balanced rather awkwardly on the left forearm. The reverse of these coins is VBERITAS AVG (fruitfulness, abundance), which may suggest that the emperor, in the role of the sun-god, is guaranteeing the success of the harvest, but it is unclear why this type of obverse should have been used just once at Rome.

Devotion to Sol was widespread within the army, so it is perhaps less surprising that this type of bust was used from time to time at Milan, where coins were minted to pay the army on Italy’s northern frontiers. MIR lists five examples – 1115w (**lot 439**), 1138v, 1138w, 1143f and 1160v. Of these, 1115w has the globe replaced by a shield on the emperor’s left arm, and MIR described 1138w as similar, although the illustrated coin does not make this feature clear. The other three, of which 1143f is an aureus, all show a globe. 1138v and w and 1143f all have reverse ORIENS AVG, with Sol Invictus raising his right arm and holding a globe, but the other two do not, so there is no clear indication of a deliberate policy to combine obverses and reverses alluding to Sol.

The ‘raised right arm’ gesture is also to be found on reverse designs of coins in which the emperor himself is depicted – in particular on those with legend ADVENTVS AVG and depiction of the emperor on horseback, struck to mark the conclusion of imperial journeys (e.g. **lot 131** from Rome and **lot 422** of Milan).

### *Hercules busts*

Another common feature of the coinages of Gallienus and Postumus is that both had themselves portrayed in the guise of the demi-god Hercules, and the coins of Postumus are probably better known in this respect. However, it was on the coins of Gallienus that this first occurred, and with two separate styles of bust.

The first of these depicts the emperor facing to the right, wearing a lion-skin head-dress – a reference to the first of the labours of Hercules, the killing of the Nemean lion. MIR records five instances of this obverse on antoniniani of the first issue of the sole reign at the mint of Rome – 349cc, 355cc, 361cc, 366cc and 368cc. At Milan just a single quinarius (1385f) is recorded, but **lot 448** is another quinarius, of an earlier issue (= 1261r variant). At Siscia there is a single type of aureus (1433g). This bust type can be traced back to the time of Alex-

under the Great, and it appeared on numerous coins of the Roman Republic. It was first used on imperial coins in the latter part of the reign of Commodus, in fact – on aurei and denarii (RIC 250-3 of AD 191-2) and on sestertii and Asses (RIC 637-9 and 644-5 of AD 192) – as well as on bronze medallions (Bastien 1992, Pl. 71, 5 and Pl. 72, 2, the latter facing to the left). Gallienus would have utilised the same type as a way of identifying himself with the cult of Hercules, rather than any conscious attempt to model himself on the example of the disgraced emperor Commodus, whose excesses must still have been recalled even some seventy years after his death. Septimius Severus, who would certainly not have been modelling himself on Commodus, used the same bust type on bronze medallions (Bastien 1992, Pl. 78, 2).

The second type of bust shows the emperor facing to the left, holding a club and with a lion-skin slung around his shoulders – the type copied on coins of Postumus. This was used for Gallienus mostly at Milan – MIR 1314k, 1336c, 1365k and 1389d. Göbl does not note the lion-skin on any of these coins, and some of the illustrations do not make its presence clear, but there seem to be indications of the lion's paws on 1314k, 1336c and 1365k. From Siscia there are MIR 1424s and 1441s, and **lot 479** is a coin unknown to Göbl with reverse as 1458 – FORTVNA REDVX. This bust type harks right back to the early phases of the coinage of the Republic, in fact. Crawford 20/1, an anonymous didrachm minted c. 269-266 BC, bears a head of Hercules to the right, with club and lion-skin at his shoulder.

The more general topic of the depiction of Hercules on the coins of both Gallienus and Postumus will be discussed below.

### *Valerian II*

A footnote to this discussion of the imperial portraiture of this period concerns an unusual feature to be found on some coins of Valerian II. The elder son of Gallienus is usually portrayed as a fairly young boy with short-cropped hair. However, on certain antoninianus dies a single long lock of hair is shown hanging behind the prince's right ear. Examples from the mint of Rome are **lots 103a, 103b, 109b** and **109c**; from Viminacium **lot 298a**; from Cologne **lot 310b** and possibly **lots 312a** and **312b**. It has been suggested (Brenot 1973) that this shows the 'lock of Horus' worn by young princes in ancient Egypt, indicating that Valerian had been inducted into the mysteries of the cult of Isis.

### *The portraiture of Postumus*

The busts on the antoniniani of Postumus are almost entirely conventional, with only a few rare instances of 'Hercules' types relieving the monotony (e.g. **lots 583** and **584**). These were struck only in AD 268, so are demonstrably copying the earlier issues of Gallienus. It is interesting to note, however, that the portraits on the earliest issues, with long obverse legend (e.g. **lots 564** and **565a**), are in many ways more similar to those of Gallienus than to later, more realistic images of Postumus. This would seem to imply that the die-sinkers at the mint of Cologne were initially unaware of the exact appearance of Postumus when they were first instructed to prepare dies for coins in his name.

It is to the other denominations of coinage which one must look for further 'exotic' types. Full military busts on the coinage of Postumus are surprisingly rare, in fact, although helmeted and cuirassed busts occur on many gold issues, and also on some of bronze (e.g. **lot 605**, from an issue dated by Bastien (1967, pp.152-6) to AD 261). A helmeted bust to left, with spear pointing downwards and shield on left shoulder, appeared in the same issue (**lot 608**), with the legend VIRTUS POSTVMI AVG. (See the chapter entitled *The concept and representation of 'Virtus'*, below.) Again these must at least have been inspired by the military busts of Gallienus, which first appeared during his joint reign with Valerian I.

Instances of the 'Sol blessing' bust can also be found on the bronze coins of Postumus (e.g. sestertius **lot 607**, from the same issue of AD 261). Since this bust type did not occur on coins of Gallienus until Issue 9 at Rome and Issue 4 at Milan, it appears that in this case it was Gallienus who followed the example of his rival.

The most distinctive of all the obverses of Postumus are those bearing jugate busts of the emperor and Hercules. These are to be found on gold aurei and quinarii, and on base metal offstrikes from the same dies (**lots 560, 561** and **563**). It is notable that the portrayal of Hercules very closely resembles that of Postumus himself, a clear indication that the emperor was to be regarded as equal in character and achievements to the mythical hero.

## **Reverses**

The designs and inscriptions on the reverse of coins of this period are very numerous, and many of them are identical or similar to those found on issues of many other emperors. If we accept the concept of the emperor as the embodiment of Rome and its empire, then every quality of or action by the emperor can be seen as having consequences for all his subjects – hence the prevalence throughout the imperial period of apparently banal reverse types such as FELICITAS AVG, INDVLGENTIA AVG, LIBERALITAS AVG, PAX AVG and SALVS AVG, all designed to reassure everyone that the empire was in safe hands. It would serve no purpose to discuss all such issues which are to be found amongst the coinage of the Valerianic dynasty, although each had a part to play in the construction of the desired public image of the imperial family and their fitness to rule. The following discussion will focus on a small group of categories of reverse which may be seen as particularly relevant to contemporary events or to the origins, beliefs and customs of this imperial family. Each reverse type will be considered under one of a number of different headings, although it can be argued that some of the reverses could equally well apply to more than one topic. Consideration will also be given to the treatment of similar topics on the coinage of Postumus. Significant individual reverses which do not fall comfortably within any of the specified categories will be highlighted and discussed in the catalogue entries for the relevant coins.

### *Military references*

Roman emperors relied to a very large extent on the support of the army to guarantee their position, and not surprisingly coinage was commonly used to acknowledge this and to boost their popularity among the officers and soldiers. This could be done by three different methods. Victories could be announced and celebrated, general statements could be made acknowledging the loyalty of the army, and occasionally individual military units could be singled out for their support of the reigning emperor. All three of these methods were utilised during the reigns of Valerian I and Gallienus, unsurprisingly in view of the constant threats both from external enemies and from rival claimants to the imperial throne.

Coins celebrating military victories normally featured a winged figure of Victory standing or walking to left or right, sometimes accompanied by one or more captive enemies or crowning an emperor with a laurel wreath. There were a great many of these issued during this period, the most distinctive design being on a joint reign issue of Milan (**lot 317b**), on which Victory is shown standing facing, wings spread behind her, holding in both hands an unwound diadem, ready to anoint the victorious emperor.

Many reverses refer specifically to victories against German tribes. The reverse legend VICTORIA GERMANICA, often abbreviated to a greater or lesser extent, occurs on a wide range of issues from western mints, e.g. **lots 66c, 66d, 67, 76, 77, 78, 81, 127a, 127b, 166, 174**, of Rome; **275a, 290c, 293** of Viminacium; **303a-e** of Cologne). A single type from Antioch (**lot 497b**) shows the emperor being greeted by Victory. An unparalleled issue from Rome (**lot 66a**) has the reverse legend VICTORIAE AVGG IT(erm) GERM ('iterum' = 'again' – thus victories against German tribes for a second time). Several issues commemorate German victories with the depiction of a trophy of arms flanked by two seated captives. It accompanied the legend GERMANICVS MAXIMVS at Viminacium (**lot 290b**), VICTORIA G(ermanicus)

M(aximus) (MIR 148) and GERMANICVS MAX TER(tius) at Rome (**lot 66b**), GERMAN MAX TER on a very rare issue of Cologne (MIR 883g) and GERMANICVS MAX V on very common issues of the same mint (**lots 302a-c**).

Unsurprisingly, given the eventually disastrous failure of Valerian I's campaigns in the east, resulting in the capture of the emperor himself by the Sasanian ruler Shapur I, coins celebrating victories in Parthia are few in number. A few such issues were struck, however: **lots 294a-b** at Viminacium, MIR 881 at Cologne and **lot 498b** at Antioch. An antoninianus of the first issue of Valerian I at Antioch (**lot 494c**) has the legend VICTORIAE AVGG accompanied by a figure, identified in catalogues as Mars, standing right, holding a vertical spear and resting his left hand on a shield. This is likely to have referred to early victories won by the senior emperor on the eastern frontier.

An unusual feature of some Victory issues is the inclusion in the reverse legend of an abbreviation of the name of Gallienus – VIC(T) GAL(L) AVG (III) (e.g. **lots 146, 147, 148, 149, 156, 157, 158**). The first four of these display the additional unusual feature of three figures of Victory standing side by side. The only previous emperor whose name is to be found quite frequently on Victory coins is Elagabalus (VICTOR ANTONINI AVG), although there are also very rare issues of Vespasian, Septimius Severus and Gordian III. The portrayal of three Victories appears to be unprecedented.

Most Victory-type antoniniani of Postumus are surprisingly rare, the only exception being VICTORIA AVG, with the figure of Victory walking left, holding wreath and palm and treading down a seated captive, combined with the obverse legend IMPC POSTVMVS P F AVG (**lot 566a**). Similar antoniniani with the earlier, longer obverse legend are rare (AGK 97a (**lot 565b**), 97b), but the type occurs relatively frequently on 'double' sestertii (**lot 621**) and sestertii (**lot 622**). Other bronze coins combine the legend VICTORIAE AVG with a design showing two Victories fixing a shield to a palm tree, with two captives seated at their feet (**lot 619**). All extremely rare are antoniniani with the legends VIC POSTVMI AVG (AGK 96), VICT GERMANICA (AGK 98) and VICTORIA GERMANICA (AGK 99). Bronze coins of the 'trophy and captives' type were also struck for Postumus, but with the somewhat unexpected legend FELICITAS AVG (**lot 603**). The word 'felicitas' is here being used in its specific meaning of success in war, rather than its more general meaning of happiness or good fortune. The same legend occurs in association with a triumphal arch surmounted by a trophy and seated captives (**lot 602**).

General acknowledgements of military support normally take the form of coins noting the agreement / assent (CONCORDIA) or the loyalty (FIDES) of the army (EXERCITVS) or the soldiers (MILITVM). These commonly feature a figure of Concord, usually holding patera and cornucopiae or military standards, or of Fides, often holding military standards. Large numbers of coins of the above types were struck, mainly at the mints of Rome and Viminacium, with a few from Milan, Siscia, Samosata and Antioch (and also of Fides type by Postumus). A few of these diverge from the normal designs, the most striking being **lot 198**, a Rome mint issue where the legend FIDES MILITVM is accompanied by the image of a signifier (military standard-bearer) walking to right holding aloft a standard surmounted by a figure of Victory. This appears to be unparalleled on any other Roman imperial coin. At Cologne the same legend is accompanied by an eagle standing on a globe, with a standard on either side (**lot 301e**), and on an issue of Valerian II from Samosata (**lot 522c**) by a group of three military standards, the middle one surmounted by an eagle. Antoniniani of Postumus with legend FIDES EXERCITVS depict a row of four standards, including one surmounted by an eagle (**lot 575a**).

Postumus also issued bronze coins depicting a scene in which the emperor, on horseback, is addressing a group of soldiers. The accompanying legend is EXERCITVS AVG(usti) (the army of the emperor). On some coins a die-sinker's error has resulted in VAG appearing instead of AVG (**lot 601**). Note that the emperor is shown employing the raised arm gesture associated with Sol (see chapters entitled 'Sol blessing' busts and The cult of Sol).

Much more rarely encountered are coins of this type which refer specifically to the legions or the praetorian guard, the emperor's personal bodyguards. The inscription CONCOR LEGG appears on an issue at Viminacium (**lot 279b**), with a conventional seated figure of Concordia, and FIDES LEG on one from Antioch (**lot 514c**), depicting the emperor standing between two standards. FIDEI PRAET appears on coins of the Rome mint only, unsurprisingly insofar as the praetorian cohorts were based in the imperial capital. The accompanying design is either three military standards (**lots 196a-b**) or a standing figure, representing the genius exercitus (spirit of the army) accompanied by one standard (MIR 519, 520).

The specific importance attached to the praetorian cohorts at a time when the emperors clearly felt their position to be under threat is emphasized by an issue of sestertii at Rome bearing the inscription, across the reverse field, COHORT(es) / PRAET(oriani) / PRINCIPI / SVO (the praetorian cohorts for their emperor). It may be that these sestertii were struck on a specific occasion as presentation pieces, rather than as circulating coins. The letters S C are missing from the reverse, which suggests that these items may have been more in the nature of medallions than coins. They are certainly very rare today, MIR recording only one specimen (422u), with different bust and obverse legend from **lot 181**, apparently the second recorded specimen.

A highly unusual military reverse is to be found on a very early issue of Valerian I from Cologne (**lot 300**), on which the inscription GALLIENVS CVM EXER(citu) SVO (Gallienus with his army) is accompanied by a small figure of Jupiter, holding Victory and sceptre, standing on a dais labelled IOVI / VIC / TORI (to the victorious Jupiter). It may be significant that this reverse, specifically naming Gallienus as military commander, appears only on coins of Valerian I. Since he was the senior emperor, it was clearly important that coins should be issued bearing his name and portrait, but it was equally important that the troops based on the western frontier should look to Gallienus as their commander-in-chief. A similar reverse design appears on much more numerous Cologne issues of Gallienus himself, but with IOVI VICTORI being the main inscription and the labelling on the dais being IMP(erator) / C(um) E(xercitu) S(uo) (the commander-in-chief with his army) (**lots 301c-d**).

The most famous examples of military reverses on coins of this period are, of course, to be found in the famous series of legionary antoniniani from Milan. Many studies of these issues have been published (e.g. Oman 1918, Alföldi 1929, King 1984), mostly attempting to establish exactly when they were struck and which campaigns they were intended to mark. Gallienus was not the first to issue coins acknowledging the loyalty of specific legions, both Mark Antony and Septimius Severus having done so before him, but both these rulers used only a conventional design of a group of military standards, with only the inscriptions acknowledging each unit individually. The coins of Gallienus depict figures, human or animal, these being the badges of each of the units. (It has been noted that only sections of some of the legions represented actually formed part of armies commanded by Gallienus.) There is little to be said about this series which has not already been published, but it is interesting to note that two of the legions are represented by two different badges. Coins of LEG II PART depict a centaur, sometimes walking to the left and sometimes leaping to the right. The badge of LEG I ITAL changes from a boar with the VI P VI F legend to a creature variously described as a hippocamp or a taurocamp with the VII P VII F legend. Other variants from the normal type are found so rarely that they may be regarded as die-engraving errors (King 1984, 104).

### *Religion and divine protection*

One of the main duties of a Roman emperor was to act as intermediary between gods and people, and by performing correctly all the necessary rituals and sacrifices to ensure the favour of the many deities towards Rome and the Empire. Since the time of Augustus emperors had taken upon themselves the office of Pontifex Maximus. Since any adversity experienced by the Romans could be attributed to divine displeasure, it was clearly important that an emperor should be able to demonstrate that he had not been failing in his religious duties. When the empire was under constant threat of invasion, as was the scenario facing Valerian I and Gallienus, invoking divine protection was doubly important, and on top of that there was a severe outbreak of plague in the early 260s, causing many deaths. The coin issues of virtually all emperors included inscriptions and designs referring to gods and goddesses, but the period under consideration here was particularly notable

for the number of such issues and of the various different deities involved, culminating in the so-called ‘animal series – the last issues of Gallienus from the Rome mint. By contrast, the coinage of Postumus invokes relatively few deities – Jupiter, Diana, Mars, Minerva, Mercury, Neptune, Aesculapius, Serapis and, in particular, Hercules.

Some of the information included in this chapter is derived from the following sources: Stevenson (1889), Hill (1960), De Blois (1976), Carradice (1983), Hill (1989), Melville Jones (1990), Weigel (1990), Moreaux (1993), Meisssonier (2000), Manders (2012), Geiger (2013) and Christol (2014).

### Jupiter

It is not entirely surprising that the deity represented most frequently on coins of this period is Jupiter. Not only was he chief among the gods, of course, but his worship was particularly associated with the imperial family (see chapter below on The Amalthean goat and the cult of Jupiter at Falerii). What is of greatest interest is the number of different epithets applied to Jupiter in reverse legends and the representation of the god in association with these. The most frequently encountered legend at this period is IOVI CONSERVATORI, usually abbreviated in various ways. Here Jupiter Optimus Maximus is being depicted as the personal protector of the emperor, and he is standing left, holding a thunderbolt and a sceptre (**lots 2b, 17, 18, 69, 182, 183** from the Rome mint; **512c, 514a, 515d** from Antioch). At Milan there is an eagle at the god’s feet (**lots 426, 427**). Although strictly not belonging to this period, an antoninianus reverse die of Aemilian from Rome, which was apparently re-used to strike an early coin of Valerian I (lot 1), shows a small figure of the emperor under the direct protection of Jupiter. ‘Animal series’ coins with the inscription IOVI CONS AVG depict a goat facing either to the left (**lots 254, 255, 256, 270a**) or to the right (**lots 257, 266b, 270b**). This was probably intended to be understood as the Amalthean goat, associated with the Greek myth concerning the young Zeus (again see next chapter).

Other representations of Jupiter Optimus Maximus include Jupiter Stator (the preventer of panic in battle). Coins with the inscription IOVIS STATOR also show the god holding thunderbolt and sceptre, but in the opposite hands to Jupiter Conservator (**lots 213b, 224** from Rome, **502b** from Antioch). This version has been judged to be a reproduction of the statue in the temples dedicated to Jupiter Stator in Rome. Other coins, with either IOVI VLTORI (the avenger) (**lots 137a, 154, 163, 171**) or IOVI PROPVGNATORI (who fights on the side of the Roman state) (MIR 640, 1438, 1658) show the god in more active form, running and preparing to hurl a thunderbolt. Jupiter Victor (IOVI VICTORI), standing and holding a figure of Victory and a sceptre, appears during this period only on early coins from Cologne. On some he stands on a dais labelled IMP / C E S (**lots 301c-d**), and on others the dais is inscribed IOVI VICTORI and the main legend is GALLIENVS CVM EXERCITV SVO (**lot 300**). The image is probably that of a statue situated in Gaul. (Hill 1989, p. 94, suggests Lyons.)

From the Siscia mint came an issue of antoniniani on which Jupiter, holding his thunderbolt and sceptre, is accompanied by the legend IO CANTAB (**lots 458, 459**). The exact meaning of this has been the subject of some discussion and still appears to be somewhat obscure. De Blois (1976, p. 108) states that it ‘appears to have had a connection with a war-cry of the tactical formation of a particular military unit’. Geiger (2013, p. 223) also refers to this cavalry manoeuvre (*impetus Cantabricus*), but offers the alternative reading of IO(vi) CANTAB(rorvm), implying thanks to Jupiter on behalf of *cantabra* (‘Militärbanner tragenden Vexillationen’ – military units of standard-bearers). Okamura (1992, p. 323) elaborates on this, explaining that the word *cantabra* signified a particular type of Roman military standard and by extension was applied to those military units equipped with such standards. The inscription IO[vi] CANTAB[rorum] can thus be seen to honour Jupiter who had ‘recently aided cantabra-bearing units (vexillations) to defend the middle Balkans for Emperor Gallienus against barbarian raiders and Roman usurpers’. (This reference to Okamura (1992) is taken from the note to lot 686 in the catalogue of Bankhaus Aufhäuser Auktion 12, 1 October 1996.) Another suggestion, advanced by the cataloguer for the Artemide auction in Italy in April 2018, at which a coin of this type was offered for sale, is that Jupiter Cantabricus is here equated to Jupiter Tonans, to whom the future emperor Augustus dedicated a temple on the Capitol in Rome in 22 BC in gratitude for having narrowly escaped being struck by lightning while on campaign in Cantabria, part of Hispania. Personally I find this improbable, as there seems to be no reason why Gallienus should have had this particular version of Jupiter depicted on one of his coins, especially at the mint of Siscia only. It makes more sense to assert that this reverse type had a particular significance to one or more of the military units stationed on the Danube frontier.

Jupiter also appears occasionally on coins where there is no inscription naming him. An antoninianus of Rome with the reverse legend P M TR P II COS II P P shows Jupiter standing as on the ‘conservator’ types (**lot 2a**), but an unusual issue from the joint reign at Antioch shows him seated to the left, holding a patera and a sceptre, with an eagle at his feet, with the legend PACATORI ORBIS (to the pacifier of the world) (**lot 493d**). On an antoninianus struck for Saloninus at the mint of Antioch (**lot 498c**), Jupiter is shown presenting a figure of Victory to the young prince. The accompanying legend, unparalleled on any other coin, is DII NVTRITORES (the nourishing gods), signifying divine protection and support for the boy who had become heir to the principate after the death of his older brother.

Postumus also invokes Jupiter in several manifestations: Propugnator (**lot 567a**), Stator (**lots 581c, 583**) and Victor (**lot 591**).

### Juno

In Greek mythology Hera was both wife and sister to Zeus, and her Roman equivalent, Juno, was likewise consort to Jupiter. Her name and image are found mostly on coins issued for empresses, and at this period specifically for Salonina, wife of Gallienus. She is most commonly shown standing left, holding a patera and a long vertical sceptre, but with several different legends. As IVNO REGINA (Queen Juno) she appears on antoniniani (**lot 96a**), sestertii (MIR 228d), dupondii (**lot 231**) and Asses (**lot 98a**) from the Rome mint, as well as on an antoninianus of Antioch (**lot 502e**) where she is accompanied by a peacock at her feet. (The peacock was sacred to Juno.) The peacock is also present on antoniniani of Rome with the inscription IVNO CONSERVAT(rix) (protectress of the empress) (**lot 213d**), but is absent on others with inscription IVNO VICTRIX (victorious) (lot 96b).

In the ‘animal series’ IVNONI CONS AVG is accompanied by an animal facing to the left (**lot 271a**) or occasionally to the right (MIR 726). The correct identification of its species has been a matter for discussion. RIC refers to it as a doe, but this is clearly incorrect. It has antlers resembling those of a deer but also the beard of a goat, and the name capreolus (Latin for the roe deer) has been applied to what seems likely to have been an imaginary creature (possibly invented as a partner to Jupiter’s goat) (Carradice 1983). MIR also uses this term, but Weigel (1990, p. 137) suggests that the animal is an elk. Hybrid coins (MIR 725b, **lot 253**) combine the IVNONI CONS AVG reverse with an obverse of Gallienus.

An unusual portrayal of Juno occurs on an antoninianus of Salonina from Milan (**lot 456a**), on which she is shown seated left holding a flower and an infant. The inscription is simply IVNO AVG, and the design is presumably intended to represent the goddess as the bringer of peace and motherhood to the empress.

### Apollo

Apollo and his sister, Artemis / Diana, were the children born to Zeus by Leto. Apollo was the patron deity of music and poetry, and is frequently portrayed holding a lyre. On antoniniani (**lot 42b**), sestertii (**lot 55**) and Asses (**lot 79**) from the Rome mint he is shown standing left, holding a laurel branch and resting his lyre on the ground, with the legend APOLINI CONSERVA(tori) (to Apollo the protector), and the same depiction is accompanied by APOLNI CONSERVA on antoniniani of Antioch (**lot 496**). (Both these are abbreviated spellings of the correct form APOLLINI, but they appear to be deliberate rather than erroneous.)

Two types of antoninianus from Milan display variations from the above type. On one with legend APOLLO CONSERVA(tor) (**lot 441c**) the god is shown standing facing, with his right hand raised and resting on his head and his left holding his lyre on a draped column or tripod. The pose copies that of a statue, by Timarchides of Athens, once to be seen in the temple of Apollo Medicus in the Campus Martius at Rome (Hill 1989, pp. 84-5), with the addition of the tripod symbolising Apollo's association with oracles such as that at Delphi. On another (APOLLO CONSER) (**lot 441d**) the lyre is missing and the figure holds a laurel branch in his right hand and what is described in catalogues as a 'mantle' – apparently part of a cloak - in his left. Hill (1989, p. 91) suggests that this pose may also have copied that of a statue, and that the image invokes Apollo in his role of healer (of the state).

An entirely different aspect of Apollo is to be found on antoniniani (**lot 42a**) and sestertii (**lot 43**) of Rome, on which the god is depicted standing right, his cloak flying out behind him, drawing a bow. This refers to the story that Apollo killed with an arrow the serpent Python, which had been ravaging the area around Delphi and Mount Parnassus. The accompanying legend is APOLINI PROPVG(natori) (fighter on behalf of [the emperor / empire]). The pose probably copies that of a statue which also used to stand in the temple of Apollo Medicus (Hill 1989, p. 85).

An antoninianus of Cyzicus (**lot 485**) bears the reverse legend APOLLINI PAL(atino) and the figure of Apollo standing left and holding a patera and a sceptre. This is a reference to a temple which was established by Octavian (the future Augustus) on the Palatine Hill in Rome in honour of his guardian divinity, to whom he later ascribed his victory over Mark Antony at the Battle of Actium in 31 BC.

The inscription APOLLINI CONS AVG in the 'animal series' is accompanied by two different representations of a centaur (a creature with the upper body of a man and the hind parts of a horse). On the first type (**lots 259, 260, 270c**) the centaur is shown walking to the right, drawing a bow, and on the second (**lots 261, 270d**) it walks left, holding a globe and a rudder. It has been suggested (Stevenson 1889, p. 63) that the centaur is intended to represent Chiron, whom the fable names as the tutor of Apollo, instructing him in the use of medicinal herbs, but the significance of the globe and rudder remains obscure. On other coins of the 'animal series' (MIR 718-722) the APOLLINI CONS AVG legend is accompanied by a gryphon, said to have been sacred to Apollo and to have been depicted in the sanctuary at Delphi (Moreaux 1993, p. 83). **Lot 265** is a possible example of a die-sinker's error by which the APOLLINI CONS AVG legend has been combined with the depiction of a tigress which normally accompanies the legend LIBERO P CONS AVG (see below). However, Wolkow (2017) suggests that this was actually deliberate and a very early issue from the 'animal' series.

### Diana

The twin sister of Apollo, Diana (the Greek Artemis) was the goddess of nature and hunting, and was also equated with the moon goddess Luna (the Greek Selene). Representations of Diana on coins of this period show both these aspects of her character, sometimes combining the two.

On antoniniani and rare sestertii/medallions of Milan Diana is portrayed as a huntress, sometimes running right and holding her bow, while drawing an arrow from her quiver (**lots 317a, 318**), and sometimes standing facing, looking right, and holding a reversed spear and a bow (**lots 441a-b**). On each of these coins she is accompanied by an animal, at her feet and running to the right. This is usually described in catalogues as a hound or a stag, and its identity is not always very clear. On **lots 318** and **441b** the creature very clearly has antlers and must be a stag, but this feature is either absent or unclear on other coins. The legend on all these coins is DIANA FELIX (the happy / fortunate), which seems rather odd, but which can be seen in association with the coins with legend FELICITAS SAECVLI (see below). Diana is also portrayed as a huntress, standing left, drawing arrow from quiver and holding bow, on antoniniani of Valerian I from Rome with the very unusual legend RELIGIO AVGG (**lot 86**). This is puzzling, but may indicate that the worship of Diana was somehow particularly favoured by the imperial family at that time.

Diana has the greatest variety of reverse types of any of the deities honoured in the 'animal series', but all are clearly connected with her role as patroness of hunters. The animal depicted on coins from the  $\Gamma$  workshop is usually described as an antelope, a type of animal imported in large numbers by the Romans from Africa for use in wild beast hunts. Carradice (1983, p. 189) suggests that two separate species may be represented – a hartebeest and an Addax antelope. It is usually shown facing to the left (**lots 252, 271b**), but also to the right (MIR 717). Coins from the  $\epsilon$  workshop bear the image of a doe, usually standing right and looking back left (**lot 271c**), but sometimes the reverse (MIR 727), while the animal on workshop X coins is clearly a stag, facing either to left (**lots 271d, 262**) or less commonly to right (MIR 745). The animals on issues from officinae XI and XII are both described as gazelles, but Carradice (1983, p. 193) distinguishes between the two. The former, very similar to the creature shown at officina  $\Gamma$ , he describes as most closely resembling e.g. a Dorcas gazelle from North Africa. It is shown facing either to left (**lot 268a**) or to right (**lot 271e**). The workshop XII creature he sees as a distinct species of antelope, with long horizontal horns, or perhaps an oryx. Again it may face to the left (**lot 264**) or to the right (**lot 268b**). Among the small number of 'animal series' coins struck at the mint of Siscia is a DIANA CONS AVG issue with stag facing left (**lot 482**).

Antoniniani depicting Diana in the guise of the moon-goddess were issued only from the mints of Siscia and Antioch. With the legend DIANA LVCIFERA (light-bearer) she is shown walking right, carrying a torch in both hands (**lot 493b**). The same depiction accompanies the legends LVNA LVCIFERA (**lot 431**) and LVNA LVCIF (**lot 514d**), but in association with these direct references to the moon, she also wears a crescent on her head. The same depiction of Diana accompanies the legend FELICITAS SAECVLI (the happiness of the era) (**lot 495a**), where Diana is presumably to be seen as bearing light into the coming 'new golden age' which the imperial family wished to announce. On a rare issue from Siscia (**lot 480**), with legend LVNA LVCIF, she is shown driving the chariot which was believed to carry the moon across the sky. Postumus also celebrated Diana as light-bearer on his coinage – DIANA LVCIFERAE / LVCIFERE, again showing her walking to the right and carrying a torch (**lots 571a, 572**), sometimes with a small deer at her feet (**lot 571b**).

A unique depiction of Diana is to be found on another issue of Postumus (**lot 573**). Here she is shown walking right, holding a bow, followed by a large stag walking behind her. The accompanying legend is DIANA REDVX (homebringer). The word *redux* was usually used on coins celebrating the safe return of an emperor from a journey, but we do not know the context for it in this case, nor why Diana, rather than the more usual Fortuna, should have been credited with it.

### Apollo and Diana

A notable type, struck at Rome for Valerian I only, depicted both Apollo, holding laurel branch and lyre, and Diana, drawing arrow from quiver and holding bow, as protectors of the joint emperors (CONSERVAT[ores] AVGG) (**lots 84, 85**). The fact that these coins were not struck for Gallienus may suggest that it was Valerian who had a particular attachment to the worship of Diana. Note that the RELIGIO AVGG coins depicting Diana (see above) were also issued in the name of Valerian only, whereas CONSERVAT AVGG coins depicting Apollo alone (MIR 167-8) were struck for both emperors. It may therefore also be significant that all the western mint coins naming or depicting Diana, with the exception of those in the 'animal series', were issued during the period of the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus.

### Mars

Considering the constant military threats to the imperial frontiers during this period, it is perhaps surprising that Mars, the god of war, does not feature on coins more frequently than he does. (N.B., however, that figures identified as Mars do appear on coins on which he is not named in the inscription – see in particular the chapter entitled *The concept and representation of 'Virtus'*.) When Mars is depicted, he is often shown with spear and shield, but beyond this there are variants in both design and associated legend.

On antoniniani (**lot 213a**) and denarii (**lot 226**) from the Rome mint Mars stands to the left, holding an olive branch in his right

hand, and with his left supporting a spear and shield resting on the ground. The legend is MARTI PACIFERO (to Mars the pacifier), which also occurs, in abbreviated forms, on sestertii of Rome (**lot 531c**) and on antoniniani of Milan (**lot 425**), on both of which Mars is shown running left, holding the olive branch, spear and shield. Other coins of Milan (**lot 320**) style him MARTI PROPVGNAT[ori] (fighting on behalf of the emperor / empire) and show him running to the right with spear and shield, treading down a fallen enemy soldier. As MARS VICTOR he appears on coins from Antioch, walking right with spear and shield (**lots 510a-b**).

On coins which were apparently struck in large numbers at Cologne the simple legend DEO MARTI accompanies the image of a four-columned temple in which Mars is shown standing left with shield and spear (**lot 307d**). This must be seen as representing a statue of the god within an actual temple, but its location is unknown (Hill 1989, p. 10). The coin belongs to the contemporary group which also includes antoniniani of Valerian I with reverse DEO VOLKANO and of Salonina (DEAE SEGETIAE). It was common in Gaul for the name of a god or goddess to be preceded by DEVS or DEA, so the use of this form at the Cologne mint is entirely as might be expected.

Mars does not often appear on coins of Postumus either. On antoniniani he is named just once, as MARS VICTOR, standing left, holding reversed spear and shield resting on ground (**lot 575b**). A figure identified in catalogues as Mars, shown walking right holding spear and trophy, accompanies the legend P M TR P COS III P P (AGK 63-4). On one particular die the item held over the figure's shoulder appears to be a sceptre, not a trophy (**lot 570**). This may be simply a die-sinker's error, however (AGK p. 59, note 64). The type with spear and trophy also occurs on bronze coins, e.g. **lot 599**, with legend P M TR P IIII COS III P P.

### Venus

The goddess traditionally associated with love appears on coins of this period in several guises, but almost invariably on issues struck in the name of the empress Salonina. The only exceptions to this can be found on antoniniani from Antioch (e.g. **lot 495b** of Valerian I), on which the legend VENVS VICTRIX is accompanied by an image of Venus standing left, holding a helmet and a transverse sceptre and resting her left elbow on a shield – a reminder that Venus also had a more warlike aspect to her character. Julius Caesar had claimed that he himself was a descendant of Venus!

The legend VENVS VICTRIX, at Cologne, or VICT, at Milan, also appears on coins of Salonina, in association with images of the goddess in various poses. One Cologne issue (**lot 308b**) shows her standing left, holding a transverse sceptre in her left hand, which also rests on a shield. In her right hand she holds a small object which has been described as a helmet, but which appears to be a small globe, on this coin anyway. On another Cologne type (**lot 308d**) Venus is depicted standing to the right beside a column, viewed from the rear, holding a branch and again a small globular object. In both cases the latter may best be identified as the apple presented to Venus / Aphrodite as the fairest of all the goddesses in the so-called 'Judgement of Paris'). It may again be distinguished on an antoninianus from Milan (**lot 445c**), on which Venus stands left, holding it in her right hand and a long vertical sceptre in her left. At her feet stands a small child with hands raised to the goddess. This may be her son, Cupid, or perhaps a reminder of Venus's supposed role as the provider of beauty in children. On another Milan issue (**lot 452d**), however, it is the military aspect of Venus which is again to the fore. She holds a crested helmet in her right hand, while her left holds a transverse sceptre and rests on a shield. A similar design, but with the sceptre replaced by a spear, appears on coins of Cyzicus (**lot 489**) and Antioch (**lot 515e**), with the rather strange legend reading simply VENVS AVG.

The legend VENVS FELIX (happy / fortunate) appears on coins of both Cologne and Milan, and in both cases the goddess is accompanied by a child. This could again be Cupid, but the inscription, possibly related to Venus as the bringer of good fortune in marriage, suggests that it may be intended to be a child of the imperial family. Coins of Cologne (**lot 308a**) show Venus seated to left, holding a transverse sceptre and extending her right hand towards the child, whose arms are again raised. On Milan issues (**lot 441f**) Venus stands to the right, a long vertical sceptre supported by her right hand, while her left holds an infant.

The role of Venus in ensuring the birth of children to ensure the future of the imperial dynasty is the aspect which dominates issues from the Rome mint, on which she is styled VENVS GENETRIX and is shown standing left, supporting a long vertical sceptre in her left hand, while her right holds an infant. An older child stands at her feet. It does not require much imagination to see the children as Valerian II and Saloninus. The type is to be found on antoniniani (**lot 96c**), sestertii (**lot 102b**) and Asses (**lot 98c**). The same legend, but in the dative case (VENERI GENETRICI) appears on an antoninianus of Viminacium, but here there is no child, the goddess merely holding a small globe or apple and a vertical sceptre (**lot 296a**). On another Viminacium issue (MIR 855) the same type is accompanied by the legend in the accusative case (VENEREM GENETRICEM), a form which often indicates that the figure is a representation of an actual statue, but if this is so, its identity and location are unknown.

### Vesta

The goddess of hearth and home is another deity whose image and inscription are normally to be found on coins issued for imperial women, and during this period she appears almost exclusively on coins of Salonina. The exception comprises a single sestertius die, which was used on coins of both Valerian I and Gallienus (**lot 47**), but MIR (p. 79) suggests that it had been cut with the intention of striking coins in the name of Cornelia Supera, wife of Aemilian, but in the event never used. Vesta is shown standing left, holding patera and sceptre – a very common design, also to be found on antoniniani of Salonina from Viminacium (**lot 296b**). Both these have just VESTA as the reverse legend, but on an antoninianus from Milan (**lot 441e**) the same design is accompanied by VESTA FELIX (happy / fortunate), this, as with Venus, probably alluding to the goddess's provision of contentment in family life.

Even more common is the depiction of Vesta seated to left, with patera and sceptre, and the legend VESTA. This is to be found on Rome mint issues for Salonina of antoniniani (**lot 137c**), denarii (**lot 167**), quinarii (**lot 168**), sestertii (**lot 177**) and Asses (**lot 178**). On antoniniani from Cologne (**lot 308c**), however, the seated figure holds a sceptre and a *palladium* (a small statue of Pallas Athene, the Roman Minerva, holding sceptre). The association of Minerva, the goddess of wisdom, with Vesta is not entirely clear, but a *palladium* is also held, along with a long vertical sceptre, by a standing figure of Vesta on a coin of Samosata, with the legend VESTA AETERNA (**lot 522a**). (RIC 71 describes the little statue on this coin as Victory, but it clearly holds a long transverse sceptre, not a wreath, as on the Cologne issue.)

This leaves just one significantly different Vesta design – to be found on a previously unknown type of quinarius which I have attributed to the Viminacium mint on stylistic grounds (**lot 297**). Here the legend VESTA is accompanied by a figure standing left, holding in her right hand an object pointing diagonally downwards which may be intended to be a torch – an attribute to be found on Vesta coins of other periods. The left hand is raised, but apparently empty.

### Minerva

The patron deity of wisdom and the arts appears rarely on coins of this period, and only at eastern mints and in military garb. At Antioch, with the legend MINERVA AVG, she wears a helmet and holds spear and shield. She may stand either to the right (**lot 510c**) or to the left (**lot 513c**). At Cyzicus she stands to the right, but the legend is in the dative case (MINERVAE AVG) (**lot 487**).

Postumus, on the other hand, issued antoniniani with the legend MINER(va) FAVTR(ix) (favourable, partisan), showing the goddess striding left, with spear and shield in her left hand and holding out a branch in her right (**lot 567b**).

### Mercury

Best known as the messenger of the gods, Mercury was also the patron deity of merchants and travellers, as well as of thieves and beggars. For this reason he is often depicted holding a purse, as well as his characteristic snake-entwined sceptre, the caduceus. On antoniniani

of Gallienus from Antioch he is portrayed in this way in association with the legends PROVIDENTIA AVG (**lot 514b**), FORTVNA REDVX (**lot 493c**) and FIDES AVG (**lot 515c**). The second implies the safe return of the emperor from a journey with the assistance of Mercury, but his relevance to Fides is somewhat unclear.

An antoninianus of Postumus depicts Mercury in the same way, but with the legend MERCVRIO FELICI (successful, fortunate) (**lot 575c**), and on excessively rare antoniniani the same depiction is accompanied by the legend INTERNV(n)TIVS DEORVM (messenger / intermediary of the gods) (AGK 33). The implication would seem to be that the emperor is to be seen as fulfilling that role, traditionally assigned to Mercury. (For a discussion of this type, see Carson 1957, in which it is suggested that Mercury is being acknowledged as the bringer-about of a successful conclusion to peace negotiations between Gallienus and Postumus in early AD 265, with the two emperors being described as the 'gods' between whom Mercury acted as intermediary. The MERCVRIO FELICI type is also linked to such an event.)

In the 'animal series' of Rome antoniniani, the legend MERCVRIO CONS AVG is accompanied by the depiction of a mythical creature known as a *criocamp*, or Egyptian sea-ram, with the forepart of a ram and the rear part of a sea monster. The association of such a creature with Mercury is obscure, but there was a legend that he had once saved the people of Tanagra in Boeotia from plague by instructing them to carry a ram around the city walls, and he also had the reputation of being able to increase the fertility of sheep!

The *caduceus* of Mercury appears on its own as the reverse design on antoniniani of Postumus with legend SAECVLO FRV-GIFERO (for a fruitful / successful era) (**lot 576a**). However, the link to Mercury may be illusory. Melville Jones (1990, p. 276) states that 'This (legend) is the Latin translation of the Greek name of an African deity, Aion Karpophoros. '..... On Roman coins this god is represented as a male figure bearing a caduceus as a symbol of peace and prosperity .....

### Neptune

The god of the sea is another of the deities invoked in the 'animal series', the legend NEPTVNO CONS AVG being accompanied by two different mythical sea-creatures. Coins of the  $\Sigma$  workshop show a capricorn, which has the forepart of a goat and the rear part of a fish (**lot 258**), whereas those from the N workshop have a hippocamp, in which the front of a horse is joined to a curved fish-tail (**lot 269d**).

Neptune is not otherwise named in a reverse inscription of Gallienus, but his image appears on an antoninianus of Antioch, with the legend P M TR P XV P P, dating the issue to no earlier than August AD 266 (**lot 513a**). The god is shown standing left, resting his right foot on the prow of a ship, and holding a trident.

Antoniniani of Postumus with the legend NEPTVNO REDVCI show the god standing left, holding a dolphin and a trident, sometimes with the prow of a ship on the left (AGK 46-47). The legend suggests the safe return of Postumus from a sea journey.

### Liber Pater

The least self-explanatory of the 'animal series' antoniniani are those with the legend LIBERO P CONS AVG. Liber Pater, otherwise known as Bacchus, was the Roman equivalent of Dionysus, the Greek god of wine. Animals sacred to him were the panther and the leopard, and a large member of the cat family is depicted on all the coins on which he is named (**lots 250, 251, 269c**), but it is now generally agreed that this is a tigress, with indications of a striped coat. This was proposed by Carradice (1983, pp. 188-9) and was accepted by Göbl in MIR.

### Hercules

The depiction of Gallienus and Postumus in the guise of Hercules has been discussed above in the Portraiture chapter, and images of the hero and demi-god on reverses are described below in the chapter entitled *The concept and representation of 'Virtus'*. The name of Hercules, however, occurs in the coinage of Gallienus only in inscriptions of the 'animal series'. The legend HERCVLI CONS AVG is accompanied by two animals associated with the 'twelve labours' of Hercules – the Nemean lion on coins of officina A (**lot 247**), and the boar of Erymanthus at officina E (**lot 266a**).

The coinage of Postumus, by contrast, includes numerous invocations of Hercules by name, in a plethora of different roles. With the legend HERC(uli) PACIFERO (pacifier / peacemaker) he stands to left, holding a laurel branch in his right hand and his club and lionskin in his left (**lots 566c, 610**). As HERCVLI INVICTO (undefeated) he is shown standing left, holding club and lionskin and removing the girdle from the slain body of the Amazon queen Hippolyte (**lot 560**). This is a reference to the ninth of the twelve labours of Hercules, and is part of a series of aurei and offstrikes on which all the twelve labours are illustrated (see Schulte 1983, pp. 106-16, nos. 120-54).

Postumus's coinage is also unusual in referring to regional cults of Hercules in those areas of western Europe which were under his control. The more frequently encountered of these issues bear the legend HERC(uli) DEVSONIENSI (to the Hercules of Deuso). Deuso was commonly identified as Deutz, an area of modern Cologne, but a note to lot 600 in the catalogue of the Lückger collection (Peus auction 417, 2 November 2016) states that this, and an alternative identification of Duisburg in Germany, have now been discredited, and that Deuso is now considered to have been either Dissen or Doesburg, both in the modern Netherlands. The accompanying portrayals of Hercules are of two distinct types, the more common of which depicts him standing facing, looking to the right, resting his right hand on his club and holding his bow and lionskin in his left (**lots 566b, 607, 608**). Less commonly he is shown standing within a tetrastyle temple, with the same attributes but looking to the left (**lots 569a, 609**). Much less common is the legend HERCVLI MAGVSANO (to the Hercules of Magusa, a town on the River Mosel). On these coins he stands to right, his right arm at his side, his left hand holding the lionskin and club, which rests on a rock (**lot 610**).

In addition, the bow, club and quiver of Hercules are depicted with the legend HERCVLI ROMANO AVG (AGK 31a (**lot 582**), 31b), and on dated antoniniani of AD 268 with legend P M TR P VIII COS IIII P P (**lots 585, 586**).

For a recent publication on the subject of Hercules in the coinages of Gallienus and Postumus, see Christol 2014.

### Saturn

Saturn, who is rarely represented on Roman coins, is believed to have equated to Cronos, in Greek mythology father of Zeus and later replaced by him as chief among the gods, after which he travelled to Italy and became king of Latium, where his reign was believed to have been a Golden Age of prosperity. He was regarded by the Romans as the patron deity of agriculture and also as the god of Time. On coins of Gallienus from Antioch, Saturn is portrayed standing to the right, holding a type of scythe or reaping-hook known as a *falx* or *harpa* (**lot 493a**). The accompanying legend is AETERNITATI AVG, and this may be connected with imperial propaganda that a new golden age was to be inaugurated by Gallienus.

### Janus

The god of new beginnings, always depicted with two faces, looking backwards and forwards, is very rarely represented on Roman coins, but an issue of aurei from the Rome mint in the first year of Gallienus's sole reign (AD 260-1) depicts him standing and holding a sceptre, with the legend IANO PATRI (to father Janus) (MIR 449p). This may be seen as marking not just a new year, but a new era – the golden age – to be inaugurated by the sole reign of Gallienus, who must have been keen to escape from the shame incurred by the capture of his father by the Sassanian ruler, Shapur I.

An extraordinary coin found in Hertfordshire, south-east England, and acquired by the British Museum has as its obverse design a Janiform bust of Gallienus. It is discussed fully by Abdy (2002).

### Vulcan

According to Homer, Hephaestus / Vulcan was a son of Zeus and Hera and blacksmith to the gods. To the Romans he was the patron deity of metal-workers and artisans and god of fire and iron, but was very rarely represented on coins. He is known to have been worshipped particularly in Gaul, so it is perhaps not surprising that he appears on coins of Valerian I from Cologne, shown standing within a temple, holding the tools of his trade – hammer and tongs – with or without an anvil at his feet (**lots 307a-b**). The legend is DEO VOLKANO, and the coins were companion issues to those of Gallienus (DEO MARTI) and Salonina (DEAE SEGETIAE).

### Segetia

The third of the deities honoured on the ‘temple’ type antoniniani from Cologne is by far the least familiar. Segetia was apparently a goddess of the harvest, responsible for the protection of wheat and other crops once they had emerged from the ground. Stevenson (1889, p. 311), suggested that Salonina had caused a temple to be erected in her honour in Rome, and (p. 728) that the empress had taken personal responsibility for the supply of food to the people of the city of Rome. There may be little hard evidence for these statements, but there must have been some good reason for the appearance of this obscure deity on coins of the empress from Cologne, on which she is shown standing within a temple, raising both hands as if in prayer (**lots 309a-b**).

### Ceres

The better known goddess of the harvest and the corn supply was Ceres, who appears on just one coin issue during this period – antoniniani of Salonina from Antioch, on which she is shown seated left, holding corn-ears and vertical sceptre, with the legend CERERI AVG (**lot 511c**).

### Aesculapius

Another deity who appears more frequently on coins of Postumus than those of Gallienus is Aesculapius, the god of healing. The health of the empire was seen as embodied in and dependent on that of the emperor, which is why SALVS AVG is such a common reverse legend on imperial coins, usually associated with a figure representing good health feeding a snake either held in her arms or coiled round an altar. The snake was sacred to Aesculapius, who is depicted holding a staff with a snake coiled round it on a type of antoninianus of Gallienus from Antioch (**lot 512b**). He is not named in the inscription, however, which is merely CONSERVATOR AVG (protector of the emperor).

On coins of Postumus, however, the figure of Aesculapius standing facing, looking left and holding his staff on the ground, appears frequently in association with ‘Salus’ legends. These may refer to the health of the emperor (SALVS AVG) (**lots 563, 576b-c**) or to that of the army (SALVS EXERCITI) (**lot 578**). Puzzlingly, the latter legend appears to be grammatically incorrect. Exercitus is a fourth-declension noun, the genitive case of which is exercitūs, as is found on many other coins of this period (See chapter entitled Military references.)

### Serapis

The least traditionally Roman of all the deities represented on coins of this period, Serapis was originally a Graeco-Egyptian god, apparently ‘invented’ by the first of the Ptolemaic kings of Egypt and combining the names of Osiris and the Apis bull. He was worshipped in Alexandria and regarded as a healer of the sick, and his cult was increasingly adopted by the Romans after their conquest of Egypt. He appears on just two coin issues of Gallienus, without actually being named in either legend. On a single aureus of Rome (MIR 450p, now lost), the legend reads P M TR P VIII COS III P P, and the coin appears to have been struck to mark the commencement of Gallienus’s fourth consulship in AD 261. On an antoninianus from Antioch he is shown wearing the traditional head-dress of a *modius* (corn measure), raising his right hand and holding a long sceptre (**lot 502a**). The inscription is P M TR P XII COS V P P, dating the issue to August – December AD 263. As with the depiction of Aesculapius, this issue may also be an invocation of divine protection of the health of the emperor.

On antoniniani of Postumus Serapis is portrayed in the same fashion, but with the legend SERAPI COMITI AVG (the companion of the emperor) – not just a protector, therefore, but placed more or less on an equal footing with the emperor. On some coins (**lot 579a**) Serapis is shown standing on the prow of a ship, but on others (**lot 579b**) this feature is absent.

### River gods

An interesting little sideline to this discussion of the representation of deities on coins of this period may be found in a small number of reverse designs which include figures representing river-gods. Such minor deities are frequently found on provincial coins from cities where they had particular local significance, but they are found much less often on issues of central mints. During the second century AD prominent reclining figures of river-gods appear on coins of Trajan (the Danube), Hadrian (the Nile) and Antoninus Pius (the Tiber), all of which are identified in the accompanying inscriptions. A similar figure occurs on early coins of Postumus, struck in AD 260-261, with the legend SALVS PROVINCIARVM (the safety of the provinces). Those provinces must be identified as those over which Postumus had recently gained control, specifically those of Gaul, and it is reasonable to assume that the river-god portrayed represents the Rhine, which flows through Cologne, where the coins were minted. The figure is depicted in a reclining position, facing left, his left hand leaning on an urn and holding an item resembling a branch but possibly being an anchor (Meisssonier 2000, p. 535). The head of the figure may be adorned with horns (**lot 565a**) or may lack these (**lot 564**).

River-gods appear on coins of Gallienus only at the mint of Siscia. Antoniniani with the reverse inscription SISCIA AVG show a female figure representing Siscia seated left, holding patera and cornucopiae. In the exergue a small figure is shown swimming in waves, and this has in the past (e.g. RIC) been identified as a nymph. However, on some coins the figure can be seen to be bearded, making it more probable that it is actually a river-god. Siscia lies at the confluence of the rivers Sava and Kulpa. The former is an important tributary of the Danube, into which it flows at Belgrade, and this river may therefore be the one represented on these coins (Meisssonier 2000, p. 535). The figure is normally shown swimming to the left (**lot 467**), but on a rare variant he swims to the right (**lot 468**).

On an antoninianus with reverse legend P M T P VII COS P P (*sic*), dating its issue to AD 266, the emperor is shown standing facing, holding *paraconium* and spear, with the small figure of a river-god holding a branch to either side of him (**lot 470**). These presumably represent the Sava and the Kulpa, although some have suggested the Rhine and the Main (Meisssonier 2000, p. 535). Göbl (MIR p. 121) sees this reverse as a tribute to the *genius loci* of Siscia.

### *The Amalthean goat and the cult of Jupiter at Falerii*

One of the most frequently encountered types of coin issued during the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus is the antoninianus struck for Valerian II with reverse legend IOVI (occasionally IOBI) CRESCENTI accompanied by the image of a child seated on the back of a goat. These coins were struck at the mints of Rome (**lots 103a-b**), Viminacium (**lot 298a**) and Cologne (**lots 310a-b**) – all in the western part of the empire under the command of Gallienus - and must have been produced in enormous numbers. There is no firm evidence that this type was ever struck at any of the eastern mints in the territory under the command of Valerian I, but **lot 499** sees the IOVI CRESCENTI reverse combined with an obverse of Antioch. Whether it is genuine or an ancient forgery remains open to debate, however. It has a now partially damaged silver wash over a base metal core, but it definitely appears to have been struck, rather than cast. The obverse bears the typical Antioch

legend P LIC COR VALERIANVS CAES, and a radiate and draped bust of unmistakably Antioch style. If this coin is indeed a forgery, this would presuppose that someone had managed to get hold of an Antioch obverse die and a reverse die from one of the western mints, which seems inherently unlikely. Pending the emergence of further evidence its authenticity must remain in some doubt, however. Perhaps it is because they are so common that these coins have tended to be overlooked when the coinage of this period is being discussed – at least in recent times – but the story behind this reverse type is among the most revealing in terms of how the emperors tried to use coinage to promulgate messages about themselves. With the exception of a few very rare gold coins (MIR 907 b and d), the IOVI CRESCENTI reverse legend was thought until recently to have been employed only on antoniniani, but two examples are now known of a bronze coin (**lot 104**), with slight variants in the design from the other denominations.

The inscription IOVI CRESCENTI ('for the growing Jupiter', literally) tells us that the child portrayed is Jupiter, but for the story behind the image we have to look to Greek mythology. This records that Cronos, chief among the gods, received a prophecy that one of his children would overthrow him. In order to avoid this fate, he swallowed all his offspring except for Zeus, who was saved by means of a ruse involving a stone wrapped to look like a baby being given to Cronos instead of the child. Zeus was smuggled away by his mother Rhea, and entrusted to the care of a nymph on the island of Crete. At this point the legend begins to split into different versions, however. One names the nymph asAdrasteia, who hid Zeus away in a cave and fed him with the milk of her goat, named Amaltheia. In order to prevent Cronos from hearing the infant crying, she arranged for a group of dancers, known as the Korybantēs or Curetes, to drown out the sound by beating their spears on their shields. Another version of the story applies the name Amaltheia to the nymph, rather than the goat, however. She was the recipient of cult worship in Phrygia, and a coin of Apameia (**lot 710**) depicts Adrasteia holding the infant Zeus, surrounded by the Korybantēs. Coins of Synnada (**lots 718, 719**) again shows Adrasteia / Amaltheia holding the infant, with the goat shown beside her. Whatever the confusion over names, the legends generally agree that the goat was eventually raised into the heavens by Zeus, becoming the star Capella or the constellation Capricorn. One of its horns was broken off and became the *cornucopiae* (horn of plenty) and its fleece became the aegis, sometimes depicted on coins as worn by emperors (see the chapter on *Portraiture*).

So why was the image of the infant Jupiter and the Amalthean goat considered appropriate for a coin in the name of Valerian II? For the answer to this question, we have to look both at the ancestry and origins of the imperial family and the type of propaganda which the coins were designed to display. Gallienus traced his ancestry back to the town of Falerii, in Etruria, where Jupiter (the Roman version of Zeus) was particularly honoured, and in an unusual form. An excessively rare gold multiple (MIR 942A), issued in Milan with face-to-face portraits of Gallienus and Salonina on the obverse, makes a direct reference to this. The reverse legend PIETAS FALERI is accompanied by the depiction of two infants being suckled by a she-goat, with an eagle standing on the right and a thunderbolt in the exergue. The presence of the eagle and the thunderbolt indicates that one of the infants is Jupiter, but there has been disagreement over the identity of the other. Babelon (1896, at p. 399) identified the two children as the two versions of Jupiter worshipped at Falerii – Dijovis (good / beneficent Jupiter) and Vejovis (bad / malignant Jupiter). However, Alföldi (1929, repr. 1977, there at pp. 110-115) identified the second child as Saloninus, younger son of Gallienus and Salonina, and interpreted the coin as portraying that prince as the future bringer of a new 'golden age'.

The explanation for the use of this design on coins of Valerian II now becomes clearer. It can be seen as depicting the young prince – the future of the imperial dynasty – as not only enjoying the protection of Jupiter, the deity most associated with his family heritage, but even being identified with the god in the sense that he is being shown as destined, like Jupiter, to grow into a great and successful ruler and conqueror of his enemies. Tragically, of course, his life was to be cut short by a fatal illness just two years after his elevation to the rank of Caesar.

### *The cult of Sol*

There has been much debate in published works as to the extent of the devotion of the imperial family, and especially of Gallienus, to the cult of the sun-god. This has been touched on in the *Portraiture* chapter, in connection with the 'Sol blessing' bust type, and must also be considered here in the light of the various reverse types in which Sol is named and/or depicted. There is no doubt that Gallienus regarded an association between himself and Sol as something which could be promoted to his advantage, but it is perhaps taking things too far to suggest that he wished to portray himself as the god. This would undoubtedly have been regarded as over-presumptuous by many sections of Roman society. (The story that he liked to appear in public wearing a radiate crown and with gold dust in his hair, even if true, can probably be explained more as an act of extravagant public devotion on ceremonial occasions.)

Sol appears on early emissions from the Rome mint for both Valerian I and Gallienus, in association with datable legends listing imperial titles (e.g. **lot 48a** of Gallienus, with P M TR P IIII COS III P P, which MIR (p. 75) dates to August AD 255 to August 256). The god is shown wearing a radiate crown, running to left, his cloak flying out behind him. His right hand is raised in the typical gesture of blessing and command discussed above, and he holds a whip – presumably the one used to drive the horses drawing the sun's chariot across the sky. (See the representation of this on a provincial coin of Tralles, Lydia (**lot 704**)).

The most frequently encountered legend associated with Sol at this time is ORIENS AVG(G). The allusion to the rising of the sun is self-evident, and a connection can be deduced between the dawning of a new day, as heralded by the rising sun, and the dawning of a new 'golden age' at the instigation of the emperors. It has also been suggested that this may also be a reference to the campaigns of Valerian I on the eastern frontiers of the empire. Certainly more of the coins with this reverse legend were struck during the joint reign of the two emperors, with comparatively few appearing after the capture of Valerian. Most of the coins with this legend show Sol standing, walking or running to the left, with his right hand raised, holding either a whip or a globe, symbolising power over the world, in his left. Examples with whip include, from Rome, **lots 45** (quinarius), **60, 72** (sestertii), **61, 62** (Asses) – all from the joint reign – and **lots 213c** (antoninianus), **240** (denarius) of the sole reign of Gallienus. This type was also used on antoniniani of Cologne (**lots 301a-b**) and of Milan (**lot 445a**), and on those of Postumus (**lot 590a**). Antoniniani showing Sol holding globe include **lots 48b** (Rome), **307c** (Cologne) and **440** (Milan). A very different design accompanied ORIENS AVG at Samosata, where Sol is shown presenting a wreath of victory to Gallienus, standing facing him, holding a sceptre (**lot 520a**).

Sol standing, raising his right hand and holding a globe, also appears on coins of Antioch with legend SOLI INVICTO (to the undefeated Sol), including one type on which, unusually, he is depicted clothed (**lot 515a**). This is one of the few occasions on which Sol is actually named in an inscription, most of the others being in the 'animal series' (see below).

Sol is also to be found associated with the concept of Aeternitas (eternity), presumably since the rising and setting of the sun are eternal and unchanging aspects of life. By extension this can be seen to buttress the idea of the eternal and unchanging future of the empire under the rule of the Valerianic dynasty. Reverses coupling the image of Sol, holding globe, with AETERN / AETERNIT / AETERNITAS / AETERNITATI AVG(G) can be found on coins of Rome (**lots 215, 230**), Viminacium (MIR 799-801), Milan (**lot 456b**), Siscia (MIR 1425), Antioch (**lot 503b**) and Samosata (**lot 516**).

An unusual type to be found on antoniniani of Postumus depicts a draped bust of Sol to the right, wearing his radiate crown, accompanied by the legend PACATOR ORBIS (peacemaker of the world) (**lot 590c**).

In the 'animal series' SOLI CONS AVG is accompanied by two very different creatures. Issues from officina A show a winged horse prancing. It normally faces to the right (**lots 249, 269a-b**), but occasionally to the left (**lot 248**). This is commonly identified as Pegasus, the mount of Bellerophon in Greek mythology, but it is difficult to identify a connection between this animal and Sol. It may be more reasonable to see it as one of the horses which pulled the chariot of the sun-god across the sky (Carradice 1983, p. 188). On coins of officina XI the

animal is a bull, again facing normally to the right (**lots 263, 267b**), but occasionally to the left (MIR 748). The connection of such an animal with Sol may be found in the role of the sun-god as the keeper of herds of oxen. Sacred herds seem to have been associated with his worship (Carradice 1983, p. 193).

### *The concept and representation of 'Virtus'*

One of the most common reverse inscriptions on coins of all periods of the Roman Empire was VIRTUS AVG(usti). This is usually accompanied by a standing figure in military dress, holding a vertical spear and a shield on the ground. This figure has been identified in catalogues and reference works variously as Mars, the emperor, an ordinary Roman soldier or simply a personification of *virtus*, and because of its military associations the word is frequently translated as 'courage'. The word conveyed far more to the Romans than simply bravery in battle, however, although this would undoubtedly have been implied. Rather, *virtus* covered a range of qualities regarded as desirable at the time in a man and specifically in a ruler. These may be surmised to have included courage, both physical and mental, but also moral rectitude, justice, fairness and good governance. It is not surprising, therefore, that emperors wished to claim *virtus* for themselves, whether rightly or wrongly, and propagate the message on their coins.

The reigns of Valerian I and Gallienus are noteworthy in particular for the number and variety of designs which accompanied VIRTUS legends on their coins. These are all illustrated in MIR on Tafel 155 and 156, with numbers ranging between 647 and 700. Some of the types are excessively rare, but many are represented in this collection, and they form an interesting group for closer study. Given the external threats to the empire which existed throughout the period, and the constant warfare which these necessitated, it is not surprising that most of the designs are of a military nature, but there are many variations from the standard armed figure with vertical spear and shield on ground. This may be found, however, in various poses, mostly on coins of the Rome mint (**lots 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 79, 150, 151, 152, 179**), but also occasionally on Milan mint coins (**lots 442, 443**). It was also used on coins of Postumus (e.g. **lots 625, 626**).

A variant of this design, confined to the Cologne mint (**lot 306b**) has the standing helmeted figure holding a small figure of Victory in the right hand and a vertical spear in the left, whereas at Viminacium (**lot 275b**) the figure holds Victory in the right hand and both a vertical spear and a shield on the ground with the left.

Several similar designs show a helmeted figure striding to the right, carrying a spear and either a trophy of arms or a military standard. The former is found mostly on Rome issues (**lots 68c, 82**), but occasionally at Viminacium (MIR 829). This figure is usually identified as the god Mars, who is also represented, in the guise of Mars Pacifer (the peacemaker) on Rome issues (**lots 214c, 225**). Here he is shown holding an olive branch and a vertical sceptre – not the attributes usually associated with the god of war. A slight variant of the 'striding figure with spear and trophy' type has the figure with bare head instead of helmeted. This is confined to Rome issues (**lot 68a**). A Cologne issue shows a laureate figure with spear and military standard (**lot 306a**).

An issue from the mint of Antioch (**lot 513e**) depicts Mars in more familiar warlike guise, standing to right and holding spear and shield. The same design appears on antoniniani struck by the general Aureolus for Postumus at Milan, with the legend VIRTUS EQVIT(um) (**lot 595**). These are part of a series in which various qualities (Concordia, Fides, Pax) are attributed to the Equites – the cavalry units of the mobile field army stationed at Milan.

'Virtus' designs which show a figure clearly to be identified as the emperor himself often show him spearing or treading down a fallen enemy. On some of these coins the legend mentions Gallienus by name (VIRT GALLIENI AVG), leaving the viewer in no doubt as to who is represented. Sometimes the emperor is on foot (**lots 306c** of Cologne and **327** of Milan). On other Milan coins he is on horseback (**lots 325, 326**). MIR 1406 of Siscia has the legend reading just VIRTUS AVG, as does a Rome issue showing him on horseback and spearing a lion (**lot 136**).

Another set of designs comprises those depicting a standing figure holding a globe, symbolising power over the world. On some coins of the Rome mint (**lots 135a-b, 135c, 170**) the figure is helmeted, standing to the left, and holding a sceptre as well as the globe. MIR identifies this figure as Mars, but it could at least equally well be intended to represent the emperor as sovereign ruler of the world. The identification of the figure as Mars was presumably due to him wearing a helmet, but at Viminacium there was an issue depicting a very similar figure, with globe and sceptre, except that he does not wear a helmet, but instead rests his right foot on one. This issue was apparently unknown to Professor Göbl when compiling MIR, and seems to be represented by two otherwise unrecorded coins in this collection (**lots 286, 287**). A very similar Viminacium coin (**lot 288**), the only one of its type known to Göbl, shows the same figure, but with reversed vertical spear instead of sceptre. These figures must undoubtedly represent the emperor, as does that on an issue of Siscia (MIR 1405), where he again stands left, holding globe and sceptre (not spear, *pace* MIR), with a kneeling captive in front and a seated captive behind. A coin in this collection (**lot 464**) bears the same design but without the seated captive. This was also not known to Göbl. An issue from Antioch (**lot 511b**) shows a helmeted figure walking right, holding globe and spear. MIR does identify this figure as the emperor, raising a further question as to why the figure on the Rome coins should have been identified as Mars.

The figure of Hercules also appears in a variety of poses. On Rome mint issues (**lots 134, 162**) he stands facing, looking to right, resting his right hand on his club and holding his bow and the skin of the Nemean lion in his left hand. On an Antioch issue (**lot 513d**) the pose is similar, but Hercules looks to the left and the bow is not present. He is depicted holding a small object in his left hand, described in RIC as an apple. If so, this must be a reference to the eleventh labour – the theft of the golden apples of the Hesperides. At both Milan (**lot 323**) and Antioch (**lots 502c-d**) his right hand rests by his side, while his left hand holds the lion-skin and rests on the club. Another Milan type (**lot 430**) depicts him as Hercules Pacifer (peacemaker) holding an olive branch in his right hand, while the left holds the club and lion-skin. Postumus also associated Hercules with *virtus*. An antoninianus with legend VIRTUTI AVGVSTI portrays him standing right, resting his left hand on his club (**lot 581b**). As on the jugate bust portraits of Postumus and Hercules, the head of the latter closely resembles that of the former, and this is also clear on an issue of Aureolus for Postumus struck at Milan, with legend VIRTUS EQVITVM (**lot 596b**). Here Hercules is in the same pose, but the club rests on a pile of rocks, and he carries a lion-skin over his left arm.

Some very rare antoniniani from the Rome mint (MIR 349, 350), have reverse VIRTUS FALERI and the quiver, lionskin, club and bow of Hercules. On MIR 349 Gallienus is portrayed wearing the lion-skin head-dress of Hercules. These coins not only depict Gallienus as embodying the qualities of *virtus* associated with the hero and demi-god Hercules, but also refer to his descent through his mother, Mariniana, from the *gens Egnatia* in the town of Falerii, in Etruria. (For more on this, see the chapter on *The Amalthean goat and the cult of Jupiter at Falerii*.) This portrayal of Gallienus as Hercules, the declamation of his *virtus* and the reference to his glorious ancestry were all combined with the intention of showing the emperor as hero and saviour of the empire at the beginning of a new 'golden age'. Bastien (1992, vol. II, p. 376-7) states that the issue of these coins was probably associated with the war against Postumus, who also portrayed himself as Hercules. Postumus even associated the concept of *virtus* with Jupiter. A 'double' sestertius with legend VIRTUS AVG shows the god striding left, turning his head back to the right and in the act of hurling a thunderbolt with his right hand (**lot 624**).

There are a number of issues from Siscia and from the eastern mints of Cyzicus and Samosata which fall outside the groups discussed above. A trophy of arms is used with the legend VIRTUTI AVG at Cyzicus, with s bound and seated captive depicted on either side of it (**lot 628a**), whereas at Siscia (**lot 478**) the trophy is being crowned with a laurel wreath by the emperor, with just one captive at the foot. At Samosata, as part of a large issue of different types, each depicting two figures face to face, Valerian I and Gallienus are depicted (**lot 518b**). The former holds globe and vertical sceptre, the latter spear and figure of Victory.

The overall impression from these varied issues is to propagate the message that the emperor (each emperor during the joint reign)

has the qualities necessary to be both a successful military commander and an admirable civil governor. Given that, it is surely more probable that the figures depicted on the coins (with the obvious exception of Hercules) should be identified as representing the emperor, rather than Mars or an abstract personification of *virtus*. The association of Hercules with imperial *virtus* is an interesting one, and sheds light on how this mythical Greek figure was regarded by the Romans. He was not a god, of course, but a demi-god – a man who by his superhuman achievements had raised himself to divine status. We have seen in the chapter on portraiture how both Gallienus and Postumus liked to have themselves depicted on their coins in the guise of Hercules, and in the chapter on religion and divine protection we have seen how Hercules was included among the deities whose protection and favour was claimed by the emperor. Here we can see that Hercules was seen as embodying the qualities understood as *virtus* and that the emperor is to be regarded as being his equal in this respect.

#### 'Restitutor' types

The role of the emperor as the preserver and renewer of the empire is emphasised most graphically in a series of issues with the word *restitutor* (restorer) in the reverse legend. Most of these depict the emperor standing left, holding out a hand to raise a kneeling figure, and the accompanying inscription varies from mint to mint. Rome issues for both Valerian I and Gallienus (**lots 73a-b, 74**) have RESTITVTOR ORBIS (restorer of the world), whereas those for Gallienus from Cologne have RESTITVTOR / RESTITVT / RESTIT GALLIAR(um) – the kneeling figure here representing the provinces of Gaul (**lots 304, 305a-b**). At the eastern mint of Samosata there are coins of both Valerian I and Gallienus with reverse legend RESTITVT ORIENTIS (of the East), here showing a standing figure with towered head-dress presenting a wreath to the emperor, who stands facing her holding a sceptre (**lots 518a, 520b**). This presumably reflects the early military successes of the senior emperor on the eastern frontier. Finally, an issue for both emperors at Antioch has the legend RESTITVT GENER HVMANI (restorer of the human race) and depicts Sol walking right, raising his right hand and holding a globe (**lot 494b**). (See above, *The cult of Sol*, for other depictions of this deity.)

In AD 268 Postumus also issued 'Restitutor' antoniniani. On those styling him as 'Restitutor Galliarum' (AGK 71-74) the design is the same as on those of Gallienus, except that, on some coins (AGK 71-72 and 74 (**lot 587**)) the emperor is shown resting his foot on a seated captive – a clear suggestion that Postumus has restored the provinces of Gaul by his victory over the army of Gallienus. On bronze coins with legend RESTITVTOR GALLIAR the emperor is again shown extending his hand to a kneeling figure, but one who proffers to him a branch, presumably of laurel, although Bastien (1967, p. 122, no. 28) describes it as 'probablement de gui (mistletoe)!' Postumus also issued coins with the legend REST / RESTITVTOR ORBIS (**lots 588, 589**), the design being a mirror image of that on the coins of Valerian and Gallienus from Rome, with the emperor now shown standing to the right, extending his hand to the kneeling figure.

#### 'Good times' types

The British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan became famous in the 1960s for telling people that they had 'never had it so good'. Was he aware that the Romans had tried this tactic on numerous occasions? During the period under consideration here both Valerian I / Gallienus and Postumus used coinage to convey the message that, despite all evidence to the contrary, the empire was experiencing an age of unadulterated contentment.

Issues of this type were struck mainly at frontier mints, which may be significant.

At Viminacium antoniniani bore the reverse legends TEMPORVM FELICITAS (happiness of the times) (**lot 283a**) and SAECVLI FELICITAS (happiness of the era) (**lots 283b-c**). Both show an allegorical figure of *Felicitas*, holding a long caduceus (symbol of health) and a cornucopiae (symbol of plenty / abundance). A very rare issue from the same mint (MIR 814) bears the legend LAETIT(ia) TEMP(orum) (joy of the times) and the image of the infant Jupiter riding on the Amalthean goat (see above chapter entitled *The Amalthean goat and the cult of Jupiter at Falerii*.)

Rare antoniniani from Siscia bear the legends FELICITAS SAECVLI (MIR 1431) and SAECVLI FEL (MIR 1442). The former has the same allegorical figure as the Viminacium coins, but the latter has a figure standing left, resting one foot on the prow of a ship and holding a small statue of Victory. This is unlikely to refer to a naval victory, however. The ship doubtless represents the imported corn supply, secured as a result of military success.

Antoniniani from Antioch bearing the legend FELICITAS SAECVLI and the figure of Diana carrying a torch (**lot 495a**) have been mentioned above in the chapter entitled *Religion and divine protection* – the goddess shown as bearing light into the new 'golden age'.

SAECVLI FELICITAS also occurs on commonly encountered antoniniani of Postumus, struck in AD 266/267 (**lot 590d**). Here it is the emperor himself who is the guarantor of good fortune, however, shown standing right, holding globe and spear. The issue with legend SAECVLO FRVGIFERO (for a fruitful era) and caduceus, discussed above in connection with Mercury, is also to be associated with the same propaganda campaign (**lot 576a**).

#### Notes on 'common' types

Some reverse types are so common, both during this period and throughout the Empire, that commenting on their iconography might seem superfluous. However self-evident the messages conveyed may appear, there are nevertheless some details which may not be immediately apparent, and the following notes on some types which are represented several times in this collection may still be useful.

ABVNDANTIA: Like *Annona*, *Abundantia* refers specifically to the corn supply. The figure is shown emptying grain onto the ground from a cornucopiae.

AEQVITAS: *Aequitas* was the personification of equity / justice in the specifically commercial sense. The emperor is to be seen as administering financial matters in an equitable manner. The figure normally holds a set of scales and a cornucopiae, thus combining fair trading with wealth.

ANNONA: The occurrence of ANNONA in a reverse legend is usually accompanied by a figure representing the corn supply, specifically to the city of Rome, the protection of which was one of the emperor's most important duties. The figure often holds ears of corn and a cornucopiae, and a *modius*, or corn-measure, stands nearby. Since most of the grain had to be imported by sea, largely from North Africa, via the port of Ostia, the prow of a ship is also frequently included in the coin design, as occasionally is a rudder.

FECVNDITAS: Confined to coins of empresses (except for unintentional hybrids), *Fecunditas* symbolised their vital role of providing heirs to the principate. The figure is invariably shown with one or more children.

FELICITAS: 'Happiness' in the specific sense of prosperity, particularly commercial. The figure normally holds a caduceus, traditionally the staff carried by Mercury, who was regarded as the patron deity of trade, and a cornucopiae as a symbol of wealth.

FORTVNA: The personification of good fortune is usually depicted holding a rudder, suggestive of steering or guidance, and a cornucopiae representing prosperity. A wheel is sometimes visible nearby, as a reminder of how fortunes can change. As FORTVNA REDVX ('the leader back') she is the guarantor of safe return from a journey.

GENIVS: The figure of a Genius which occurs on some coins as a young male has nothing to do with the modern association of the word with abnormal brain power. He represents the abstract concept of the 'spirit' of the emperor, and hence of his Empire, or occasionally of bodies such as the army.

INDVLGENTIA: The exact meaning of *Indulgentia* in this context is unknown, but rather than simply suggesting that the emperor was a kind and generous person, it probably signifies some specific grant of favour by him. The attributes of the figure vary considerably, supporting the theory that each 'indulgence' was a separate event. On some Rome mint coins she is seated, holding branch and sceptre (**lots 204, 205, 206a-b**), but on others (**lot 222c**) she leans on a column, holding a cornucopiae and pointing with a rod at a wheel at her feet. On Milan coins (**lot 444**) she is shown in the guise of Spes, holding a flower and raising a fold of her robe.

LIBERALITAS: The occurrence of *Liberalitas* on coins can be assumed in most cases to be associated with specific distributions of money or favours by an emperor. The figure usually holds a cornucopiae – symbol of wealth – and an item often described as a *tessera*. This may be a writing tablet listing the names of recipients of imperial *largesse*, or alternatively an abacus for use in monetary calculations (Melville Jones 1990, p. 168).

LIBERTAS: The figure representing Liberty is shown holding a *pileus* and a sceptre. The *pileus* was a hat of generally conical form which was given to freed slaves, and it thus became a symbol of liberty. (In the eighteenth century this item of headgear became confused with the 'Phrygian cap', a similar item but one which curled over at the top, and the latter is often found in French Revolutionary symbolism and in that of South American liberation movements.)

PAX: It is worth noting that, at a time of continuous warfare, both within and across the imperial frontiers, the ubiquitous figure of Peace, holding an olive branch, is one of the most frequently encountered reverse types. Was this simply an attempt to delude the population? Perhaps up to a point, but to the Romans peace was something usually achieved by military conquest, so it must be seen as a result of victory not amicable co-existence. Even the historian Tacitus, in his imaginative recording of the pre-battle speech by Calgacus, chief of the Caledonii, coined the well-known condemnation of the Romans that 'where they create a desolation, they call it peace' (*ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*, Tacitus, *Agricola*, 30). The legend PAX FVNDATA (peace established) accompanying a trophy of arms and two seated captives on antoniniani from Antioch (**lots 511a, 512a**) reinforces this concept.

PIETAS: In addition to the obvious meaning of religious observance, Pietas also encompassed duty to family, and on coins of empresses the figure is frequently accompanied by one or more children.

PVDICITIA: *Pudicitia* is a personification of female modesty (represented by the veil normally worn by the accompanying figure) and chastity.

SALVS: This may refer to the health and well-being of the emperor - AVG(usti) – and hence of the empire embodied in him, or else of other specified people or groups, e.g the army – EXERCITVS. The figure representing Salus is usually shown feeding a snake, either held in her arms or coiled around an altar, thus associating the abstract concept with the cult of Aesculapius, whose attribute is the serpent-coiled staff.

SECVRITAS: The personification of safety is often depicted leaning on a column – a symbol of solidity and security. The legend SECVRITAS AVG(G) infers less the safety of the emperor personally but rather that which he is to be seen as providing for the Empire.

SPES: The figure representing 'hope' alludes to an imperial promise of a better future, and for this reason is often found on coins of young princes who represent this future (SPES PVBLICA). On occasions, however, SPES AVG(usti) can also be found on coins of a reigning emperor, and during this period forms part of Gallienus's propaganda concerning the new 'golden age' which he is to be seen as providing for the Empire.

VBERTAS: Perhaps one of the least understood of the 'personifications', *Uberitas* (or *Ubertas*) represents fruitfulness. The figure holds a cornucopiae and an object usually described in catalogues as a purse. The latter has also been seen as bunch of grapes and, apparently, as a cow's udder, which is the English translation of the Latin word *uber* (Melville Jones 1990, p. 312).

## Final thoughts

The purpose of this paper has been to afford those collectors who may not have knowledge of, or access to, a full range of academic publications a glimpse into the thinking behind the designs and inscriptions on the Roman coinage of this period. At the beginning of every tutorial which I provided for university students, it was my custom to remark that everything which appeared on a Roman coin was there for a purpose. One of the great sources of enjoyment in numismatic study is to look in detail at what is on a coin and to discover why. *Moneta loquitur*, as a Roman might have said – 'money talks', and it tells us a great deal about the image which emperors wished to create and propagate about themselves and the benefits of their rule.

It has not been possible to discuss every reverse type in these pages, but notes are provided in individual catalogue entries for other notable coins. Even the outwardly least interesting coins can be appreciated better if viewed with a background knowledge of the underlying purpose behind the coinages of the Valerianic dynasty and of the contemporary issues of Postumus. In summary these may be seen in the following terms.

In the years immediately following the accession of Valerian I in AD 253 and his appointment of Gallienus as joint emperor, it was vital to legitimise their rule and to secure the support of the army. This was to be done by a combination of dynastic references, both backwards and forwards, portraying the emperors as fit to rule and as the begetters of a secure line of succession, while capable of winning the military victories necessary to protect the empire from external threats. This developed into the vision of the beginning of a new 'golden age' through the qualities and achievements of the imperial family, and particularly of Gallienus. This became the overriding theme in the 260s AD, after the capture of Valerian I and the deaths of the two princes when, unsurprisingly, dynastic references were no longer to be found.

The rebellion of Postumus and the establishment of the Gallic Empire led to the situation where each emperor sought to justify his own claims over those of the other by means of the coinage. Each can be seen to have followed the example of the other in the use of imperial

portraiture, reverse types and inscriptions. It is a valid question to ask how many of the people through whose hands the various coin issues passed actually registered what was to be seen on them, and how many of those really cared! In answer to this, it may be equally valid to assert that, from the emperor's point of view, not many of them needed to care. The propaganda was aimed at those who were in a position to affect the emperor's position and authority – the governing classes and the military. The former were the most likely to have been able to understand the references contained in the coin designs and legends, and the latter would have been paid in newly minted coins. Is it too fanciful to imagine that a distribution of coins to ordinary soldiers might have been accompanied by an *adlocutio* – a public address – by an officer, drawing attention to the achievements and qualities of their emperor as depicted on the coins, especially when there were complimentary references to the army itself?

## Bibliography

### General works

- A. Alföldi, *Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus*, Darmstadt, 1967.
- A. Banti. *I Grandi Bronzi Imperiali. Philippvs I ..... Postumus*. Firenze 1987.
- P. Bastien. *Le Monnayage de Bronze de Postume*. Wetteren. 1967.
- P. Bastien. *Le Buste Monétaire des Empereurs Romains*, 3 vols., Wetteren. 1992.
- E. Besly & R. Bland. *The Cunetio Treasure: Roman Coinage of the Third Century AD*. London. 1983.
- George C. Brauer, Jr. *The Age of the Soldier Emperors. Imperial Rome, A.D. 244-284*. Noyes Press, Park Ridge, New Jersey, 1975.
- John Bray. Gallienus. *A Study in Reformist and Sexual Politics*. Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 1997.
- S.A. Cook, F.E. Adcock, M.P. Charlesworth and N.H. Baynes (eds). *The Cambridge Ancient History volume XII. The Imperial Crisis and Recovery A.D. 193-324*. Cambridge University Press, repr. 1989.
- James W. Curtis, *Tetradrachms of Roman Egypt*. Reprinted, Durst, New York, 1990.
- Lukas de Blois. *The Policy of the Emperor Gallienus*. Brill, Leiden, 1976.
- Michael Geiger. *Gallienus*. Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main, 2013.
- F. Gnecci. *I medaglioni Romani*. 3 Vols. Milan. 1912. (Reprinted)
- R. Göbl. *Die Münzprägung der Kaiser Valerianus I. / Gallienus / Saloninus (253/268), Regalianus (260) und Macrianus / Quietus (260/262) (= Moneta Imperii Romani 36, 43, 44)*, 2 vols. Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien. 2000.
- P. Hill. *The Monuments of Ancient Rome as Coin Types*. Seaby, London, 1989.
- Cathy. E. King, *Roman Quinarii from the Republic to Diocletian and the Tetrarchy*. Oxford, 2007.
- H.C. Lindgren. *Ancient Greek Bronze Coins: European Mints from the Lindgren Collection*. Chrysopylon, San Mateo, CA (1989).
- H.C. Lindgren. *Lindgren III. Ancient Greek Bronze Coins from the Lindgren Collection*. Chrysopylon, San Mateo, CA (1993).
- H.C. Lindgren and F.L. Kovacs. *Ancient Bronze Coins of Asia Minor and the Levant from the Lindgren Collection*. Chrysopylon, San Mateo, CA (1985)
- I.D. MacDonald, *Coinage of Aphrodisias*, London. 1992.
- Erika Manders. *Coining Images of Power. Patterns in the Representation of Roman Emperors on Imperial Coinage, A.D. 193-284*. Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2012.
- J. Melville Jones. *A Dictionary of Ancient Roman Coins*, Spink, London, 1990.
- J.G. Milne. *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins*. Spink, London (1971).
- MIR = Göbl, R. (2000).
- B. Pick. *Die Antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands, Vol. I, part 1. Dacien und Moesien*. Berlin, 1898
- N. Pollard and J. Berry. *The Complete Roman Legions*. Thames and Hudson, London, 2012.
- M.J. Price and B.L. Trell. *Coins and their Cities. Architecture on the ancient coins of Greece, Rome and Palestine*. Vecchi, London (1977).
- N. Roymans, *Ethnic Identity and Imperial Power: The Batavians in the Early Roman Empire*. Vol. 10. Amsterdam University Press, 2004.
- D. Schaad & J. Lafaurie. *Le trésor d'Eauze. Association pour la promotion de l'archéologie et des musées archéologiques en Midi-Pyrénées*. Toulouse. 1992.
- B. Schulte. *Die Goldprägung der Gallischen Kaiser von Postumus bis Tetricus*. Sauerländer, Aarau, Frankfurt am Main und Salzburg, 1983.
- H-J. Schulzki. *Die Antoninianprägung der Gallischen Kaiser von Postumus bis Tetricus (AGK)*, Habelt, Bonn, 1996.
- D.R. Sear. *Greek Imperial Coins and their Values*, Seaby, London (1982)
- S.W. Stevenson, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins*, 1889, repr. Seaby, London, 1964.
- C. Wolkow, *Catalogue des Monnaies Romaines. Gallien. L'Émission dite "du Bestiaire". Atelier de Rome*. Éditions BNUMIS, Besançon, 2017.

Papers on specific topics

- R. Abdy. 'A New Coin Type of Gallienus Found in Hertfordshire', *Numismatic Chronicle* 162 (2002), 346-50.
- A. Alföldi. 'The Numbering of the Victories of the Emperor Gallienus and the Loyalty of his Legions', *Numismatic Chronicle* 9th series, no. 35/36 (1929), 218-279 (reprinted Attic Books 1977).
- M. Amandry. 'Le Monnayage de la Res Publica Coloniae Philippensium: Nouvelles Données' in *FIDES. Contributions to Numismatics in Honor of Richard B. Witschonke*, ANS, New York, 2015, 495-507.
- E. Babelon. 'Médaillon d'or de Gallien et Salonine', *Revue Numismatique*, Troisième Série, Tome Quatorzième (Quatrième trimestre 1896), 397-424.
- C. Brenot. 'Valérien Jeune était-il myste d'Isis', *Revue Numismatique*, VIe Série, Tome XV (1973), 157-65.
- I. Carradice. 'Appendix 5. The Animals on the 'Cons Aug' Coins of Gallienus', in E. Besly & R. Bland, *The Cunetio Treasure. Roman Coinage of the Third Century AD*, London (1983), pp. 188-94.
- R.A.G. Carson. 'Internuntius Deorum. A New Type for Postumus and its Place in the Series', in *Congrès International de Numismatique Paris 6-11 Juillet 1953. Actes*. Tome Deuxième, Paris 1957, pp. 259-71.
- M. Christol, 'Autour des travaux d'Hercule: Postume et Gallien', *Revue Numismatique* 171 (2014), 179-93.
- J.-M. Doyen, 'Die stilistische Entwicklung der Münzikonographie unter den Kaisern Valerian I. und Gallienus (253-268 n. Chr.) II. Die Münzstätte Viminacium', *Geldgeschichtliche Nachrichten* 107 (1985), 108-110.
- J.-M. Doyen, 'La création des types iconographiques romains tardifs: à propos d'une émission exceptionnelle frappée à Milan en l'honneur de Gallien', *Mélanges de Numismatique offerts à Pierre Bastien à l'occasion de son 75e anniversaire*, édités par H. Huvelin, M. Christol, G. Gautier, Wetteren 1987, pp. 85-103, and Plates 8-9.
- J.-M. Doyen. 'A propos d'un binio de Gallien (Rome, mi-260-261 après J.-C.)', in *Jean Elsen Liste 102 (Septembre – Octobre 1987)*, pp. 2-3.
- S. Grunauer-von Hoerschelmann, 'Die Münzen der Lakedaimonier', *AMuGS VII*, Berlin (1978).
- P.V. Hill, 'Aspects of Jupiter on Coins of the Rome Mint A.D. 65-318', *Numismatic Chronicle* 6th series, Vol XX (1960), 113-28.
- N.M.McQ. Holmes, 'Two medallions of the Valerianic dynasty', *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática*, Madrid, 2003, Band I, Madrid, 2005 (ed. C. Alfaro Asins et al), 759-62.
- N.M.McQ. Holmes, 'Were "Non-Local" Medallions of the Valerianic Dynasty struck at the Mint of Viminacium?', *Numismatic Chronicle* 177 (2017a), 149-52.
- N.M.McQ. Holmes, 'Some Notes on the IOVI CRESCENTI Coinage of Valerian II', *Numismatic Chronicle* 177 (2017b), 153-8.
- N.M.McQ. Holmes, 'The Development of Imperial Portraiture on the Coinage of Gallienus (AD 253-268)', forthcoming, *Numismatic Chronicle* 179 (2019a).
- N.M.McQ. Holmes, 'Notes on Some Gold Coins of Gallienus and Saloninus', forthcoming, *Numismatic Chronicle* 179 (2019b).
- Cathy E. King, 'The Legionary Antoniniani of Gallienus from Milan', in *La Zecca di Milano. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio Milano 9-14 maggio 1983*, Milano 1984.
- H. Mattingly, 'The Coinage of Macrianus II and Quietus', *Numismatic Chronicle* 6th series Vol XIV (1954), 53-61.
- Jacques Meisssonier. 'La Representation des Fleuves sur les Monnaies Romaines', in *La Loire et les Fleuves de la Gaule Romaine et des Régions Voisines* (ed. R. Bedon et A. Malissard) (= Caesarodunum XXXIII – XXXIV, 1999-2000), pp. 515-45.
- Stefan Merten, 'Gallienus als Mercurius Novus – Ein unedierter Antoninian', *Numismatische Nachrichtenblatt*, Juni 1989, 140.
- M. Moreaux, 'Les Dieux sur les Monnaies de l'Empire (1)', *La Vie Numismatique* March 1993, 75-90.
- L. Okamura. 'Jupiter, Lord of Cantabra', *Klio* 74 (1992), 314-323.
- C. Oman, 'On the Coins of Severus and Gallienus commemorating the Roman Legions', *Numismatic Chronicle* 4th series (1918), 80-96.
- J.-C. Thiry. 'Un nouvel antoninien hybride de Valérien I – la Concorde inspiratrice d'une imitation inédite de Gallien', *Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques* Volume 44, No. 3 Septembre-Décembre 2007, 341-50.
- J.-C. Thiry, 'Une legion nouvelle dans la série "V pia V fidelis" de Gallien (Milan, 260)', *Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques*, Volume 45, No. 3 (Septembre-Décembre 2008), 65-79.
- J.-C. Thiry, 'Deux nouveaux exemplaires de la série légionnaire V PIA V FIDELIS de Gallien (Milan 260)', *Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques*, Volume 50, No. 1 (Janvier-Avril 2013), 132-5.
- M. Thys, 'Le type "Castor" dans le monnayage de Postume', *Bulletin du Cercle d'Études Numismatiques*, Volume 30, No. 4 (Octobre – Décembre 1993), 73-85.
- R.D. Weigel, 'Gallienus' "Animal Series" Coins and Roman Religion', *Numismatic Chronicle* 150 (1990), 135-43.
- D. Woods. 'From Caracalla to Carausius: the radiate lion with thunderbolt in its jaws', *British Numismatic Journal* 88 (2018), 189-94.