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Bellum ad Danuvinus limes: The Self-Representation of Emperor Gallienus' Power (253–268) through Coinage from the Mints at Segestica and Viminacium

*In the following article we propose to reconstruct, through the numismatic record, the image of power shaped in the mints of Segestica and Viminacium by the emperor Gallienus (253-268). After a brief historical introduction, we will first examine the two mints in question, and then go on to statistically analyse their numismatic production: the denominations used, the most frequently repeated reverse legends, the divinities most involved in numismatic propaganda, the most frequently used configuration of the emperor's image on the reverse and finally, the most common reverse types related to the army and the triumph. We will see how much of the emperor's propaganda effort is focused on promoting Gallienus as a battle-hardened and victorious general, his legions as loyal to his figure and the lasting peace that his campaigns bring to the Danubian limes and adjacent regions.**

Keywords: Numismatics, Self-representation, *Segestica*, *Siscia*, *Viminacium*, Gallienus, Valerian, Roman Army

In the middle of the 3rd century, between 253 and 268, during the rule of Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus, the situation throughout the Empire and along the Danubian border was more than delicate. From north of the Danube, at different times between 253 and 268, a whole series of peoples ravaged the Empire, attracted by the wealth of the Roman regions, such as the *Alamanni*, permanently occupying a large part of *Raetia* in 254¹; the *Marcomanni*, penetrating through *Pannonia* and *Noricum*

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and plundering northern Italy in 254 and 258-260; the *Quadi*, laying waste to the land around *Brigetio* between 258 and 260; the *Iazyges*, plundering *Aquincum* and the Pannonian *limes* in 258-260; the *Tervingi*, raiding various towns in *Moesia Inferior* in 256; or the *Gothones*, among others, carrying out skirmishes and pirate attacks in the Black Sea, the Aegean and the Sea of Marmara in 253-256 and 267-268. Faced with these threats, the emperor himself directed much of the defence of these regions, fortifying some provincial seats such as *Vindobona*, *Aquincum*, *Sirmium* and *Singidunum*, among others. However, after the capture of Valerian by Shapur I in 260, a whole series of usurpers rose up against the power of the *domus Licinia Augusta* in these central provinces of the Empire: Ingenuus (260), Regalianus (260), Macrianus Senior (260-1), Macrianus Junior (260-1), Valens (261), Piso (261), among others, challenged the central Roman power in a series of unfortunate proclamations in *Pannonia*, *Illyria*, *Thessaly* and *Macedonia*.²

The imperial institution, therefore, suffered from these internal and external attacks, and had to react both militarily and through public propaganda, by various means, especially through epigraphy and, as far as we are concerned here, through numismatics.

I. The *Segestica/Siscia* and *Viminacium* mints

Our study will focus on the analysis of the self-representation of Emperor Gallienus through the two central mints, according to *RIC* (V 1), with the lowest production of all of them: *Segestica/Siscia* and *Viminacium*³ (Fig. 1). The *Segestica/Siscia* mint, located in present-day Sisak (Croatia), began op-

¹ During Gallienus' reign, most of the Central European *limes* collapsed, some regions were lost to the Empire for ever, such as *Raetia* in Spring 254, during the so-called *Limesfall*. Cf. FARKAS (2013: 45–54; 2015) for more details.

² *CAH²* (XII, 41–48); CHRISTOL (1997); CHRISTOL, NONY (1991: 205–208); DE BLOIS (1976: 1–8); GEIGER (2013: 86–87, 96–124, 138–151); GOLTZ, HARTMANN (2008); KIENAST (1990: 218); LE BOHEC (2017: 532–540); PARETI (1952: VI, 42–45, 49–53); ROLDÁN HERVÁS *et al.* (1989: 278–282); SYVÄNNE (2019: 93–266).

³ According to *RIC* (V 1), *Segestica/Siscia* would have produced up to 54 types related to the emperor Gallienus and *Viminacium* 15, while according to GÖBL (2000: 96–100, 118–122), *Segestica/Siscia* would have minted 43 different types and *Viminacium* ca. 140 different types related to the monarch.

erating between 259 and 265⁴ to supply the Danubian armies of *Pannonia* and *Dalmatia* locally.⁵ It minted its last series for Gallienus between 267 and 268, when the emperor interrupted the war in Gaul to go to the provinces of the Danubian *limes* to confront the *Herulii*, who had invaded the Black Sea and the Aegean in large numbers, only to be killed during the siege of *Mediolanum*.⁶ The mint, founded with staff from Rome, based the design of its different series on those of the Capitoline mint, sometimes with a certain delay in the production of the different types. The mint was inaugurated with only two *officinae*, but its production was almost always very high.⁷ Aurei and antoniniani were minted, but no other denomination is thought to have been produced. The main characteristic of the busts minted at *Segestica/Siscia* is the severity of the expression of their portraits, which, at the height of their degradation, became absolutely grotesque: perhaps the coins of this mint have the lowest quality amongst the mints, that operated during the reign of Gallienus.⁸ By contrast, the mint of *Vimi-*

⁴ RIC (V 1, 22) indicates 259 as the opening date of the *Segestica/Siscia* mint; BASTIEN (1992: 126); DE BLOIS (1976: 93); DOYEN (1989: 261–262); KUHOFF (1979: 29, 54), on the other hand, propose 262 as the most likely date of the opening of the mint; GEIGER (2013: 222); GÖBL (2000: 118); PFISTERER (2004: 106) further delay the creation of the mint to 263; while BLAND, BURNETT (eds.) (1988: 123) relegate the opening even further to 265, because, according to them, the pieces attributed to *Segestica/Siscia* before that year would be minted only in Rome.

⁵ The fact that the founding of the mint took place despite the unreliability of the troops in the region in previous years indicates the emperor's new approach during the early years of his reign GEIGER (2013: 222).

⁶ For the latter series cf. GÖBL (2000: n. 1456–1522).

⁷ Their earliest mintmarks were P, S (the shape of the P sometimes bordered on B), and the numerals I and II, which are easily distinguished from similar Gaulish numerals by their thinness and smaller size. On some coins the P and S do indeed stand for '*prima*' and '*secunda*', but they are often accompanied by the numerals, so they must have another interpretation. In such cases, S is undoubtedly the mark of the city, and P may refer to the province of *Pannonia*, just as HTR in later days would stand for *Heraclea Thraciae*. The earliest coins of *Segestica/Siscia* are unmarked. During the reign of Claudius II the *officinae* increased to 4, in the reign of Aurelian to 6 and in the reign of Probus to 7. The series of Latin marks continued for some years, but Greek marks appeared during and after the reign of Probus. In the later reigns, the letters SM (*Sacra Moneta*) usually precede the mintmark, such as SMXXIA. RIC (V 1, 22–23).

⁸ Naked collars or Roman-style busts of the *Segestica/Siscia* mint are common under Gallienus. The relief is generally flatter than those from the *Mediolanum* mint, but

nacium, located near the present-day town of Kostolac (Serbia), continued to mint coins at the beginning of the reign of Gallienus and Valerian in 253⁹ and ended its production when its staff and materials were transferred to the mint of *Lugdunum/Colonia Claudia Ara Agrippinensium*, between 254 and 258, when Gallienus relocated his headquarters from the Danube to the Rhine. Its meagre production includes *aurei* and antoninian coins with widespread and generally poor-quality portraits.¹⁰

The production of both mints has been found in hoards throughout the Empire. As can be seen in the map of *Segestica/Siscia*, the area with the most finds is the area comprising the provinces of *Pannonia superior*, *Pannonia inferior* and *Dalmatia* (Fig. 2). Two are the most important hoards, that of IG 1957, Slovenia, with 272 coins of Gallienus¹¹, and that of Tulari, Serbia, with 97 different examples of the emperor.¹² In contrast, the *Viminacium* map shows much more concentrated finds in the province of Upper *Pannonia* (Fig. 3). The hoards with the most coins of Gallienus are those of Krog, Slovenia, with 67 coins of the emperor¹³, and Otrovanec, Croatia, with 14 coins.¹⁴

II. The numismatic self-representation of the Emperor Gallienus

According to *RIC* (V 1), all the types preserved in these two mints were antoninians, the most common type of coin in Gallienus' numismatic production.¹⁵ From their creation in 215 AD, the antoninian was already

deeper than that of Rome, and the coins improved in style under Probus and his successors. The lettering used for the coinage is generally quite regular: the letter V is usually square at the base and is often disarticulated. *RIC* (V 1, 22).

⁹ According to *RIC* (V 1, 22), the mint of *Viminacium* was already in operation before the accession to the throne of Gallienus and Valerian in 253. Colonial coins are known of the emperors from Gordian III (dated AN I, *Anno Primo*, 239–240) to Valerian and Gallienus (dated AN XVI, *Anno Sexto Decimo*, 254–255). Cf. GÖBL (2000: 96–99) for discussion.

¹⁰ *RIC* (V 1, 16–17, 19–20, 22–23); DE BLOIS (1976: 93–94); GEIGER (2013: 68, 206, 222, 236); GÖBL (2000: 96–100, 118–122); WEDER (1994: 77–88).

¹¹ *CHRE* (ID3726); GUEST (1994); HOBBS (2006: 191, n. 822).

¹² *CHRE* (ID3935); GUEST (1994); HOBBS (2006: 201, n. 1023).

¹³ *CHRE* (ID8090); BESLY, BLAND (1983: 196); GUEST (1994); HOBBS (2006: 170, n. 390).

¹⁴ *CHRE* (ID2877); HOBBS (2006: 173, n. 468).

¹⁵ Of the total of 1222 types related to the emperor in all the central mints, according to *RIC* (V 1, 741) (63%) would be antoninians.

the most widely used legal tender throughout the Empire and therefore an ideal medium of imperial propaganda.¹⁶ From its origins, the antoninian was required by law to contain 40-50% of silver;¹⁷ however, the enormous financial needs of the Roman state, in particular those of the various emperors and usurpers who succeeded one another throughout the 3rd century,¹⁸ had greatly devalued these numerals. In 258 the average weight of the antoninians was 3.19 g. and their silver alloy content was 14.14%. In the years after 260 these figures dropped to 2.52 g. and 5.8%, while in 267-268 the silver alloy content sank on average to 2.4%.¹⁹

The analysis of the self-perceived image of Gallienus and his government in the numismatics of *Segestica/Siscia* and *Viminacium* bears fruit, above all, in the study of the reverses of the different types. These reverses are usually more variable and sensitive to change than the obverses and, moreover, they are more explicit about the message of the emperor in question at that particular moment, thus offering us clearer snapshots of certain emperors and their reigns.²⁰ In *Segestica/Siscia*, for example, the four most frequently represented legends are VIRTVS AVG/FAL (8 types, 15%), FIDES LEG/PRAET/MIL (5 types, 9%), VICTORIA AVG/AET (3 types, 6%),

¹⁶ For the conception and development of the antoninians cf. HOWGEGO (1995: 115–140); METCALF (ed.) (2016: 507); SAVIO (2001: 182–195).

¹⁷ Weighing 1.5 *denarii*, equal to 1/64 of a pound or 5.11 g. of silver. SAVIO (2001: 185–186).

¹⁸ There are several possible causes for this continuous and prolonged devaluation of the currency during the 3rd century by the emperors: the imperative need to meet rising state expenditures at a time of declining revenues; the intense pressure, that the state of war exerted on the budget; the large sums that were often necessary to retain or win the loyalty of armies by way of donations; the diminishing fiscal value of areas that remained for long periods of time outside the jurisdiction of the central government; the hoarding and concealment of fortunes and the consequent sterilisation of much of the capital and withdrawal of money from circulation; the high tribute that sometimes had to be paid to foreign powers; and we might also add the loss of the Iberian and British mines from 260 onwards, which contributed to the declining precious metal (especially silver) content of the coinage DE BLOIS (1976: 90); GEIGER (2013: 307).

¹⁹ RIC (V 1, 6); CHRISTOL, NONY (1991: 206); COPE (1977: 216–219); CRISAFULLI (2008: 17–18); DE BLOIS (1976: 88); HOWGEGO (1995: 115–117, 135–136); SAVIO (2001: 185–186, 197); SEAR (2005: 22). There are some official antoninian coins minted in Rome from the period 267–268 (*BnF* 8862 and *BnF* 11259) with a silver content of 2% or less. CRISAFULLI (2008: 18); DERAISME, BARRANDON (2008: 835–854).

²⁰ MANDERS (2012: 39).

or PAX AVG (3 types, 6%) (Fig. 4). VIRTVS, a word derived from *vir* and, therefore, consubstantial to the male,²¹ was, in the Roman world, the incarnation or direct reference to the man's bravery, which was expressed in any public activity, in particular during the performance of the various feats and martial duties in the name of the State. Cicero²² or Augustus²³ tell us how *virtus* corresponded to one of the essential virtues of every imperator romanus, and that, moreover, it originally possessed a dual character, military and civil. Despite this, its numismatic representation has often been linked to its military rather than civilian character, usually showing images of armed women, personifying *Virtus* herself, or representations of other divinities, such as *Mars* or *Hercules*, with military panoply.²⁴ Among the *Segestica/Siscia* coinages, VIRTVS is generally accompanied by the suffixes AVGVSTA (7 different types),²⁵ and FALERI (1 type only),²⁶ a direct allusion to Santa Maria di Falleri, the ancient *Falerii Novi*, north of Rome on the Via Amerina, the third *civitas* with most epigraphy on Gallienus in the whole of the Italian peninsula and islands (5 cases, 6% of the total).²⁷ Granted colonial status by Gallienus, with the appellative of *colonia Faliscorum*, it

²¹ Generally speaking, it referred to virility and manliness, i.e. the sum of all the bodily or mental excellences of man, such as strength, vigour, bravery, courage, aptitude, ability, courage, excellence or virtue, most commonly. *Lewis-Short* (1997); *OLD* (2073).

²² *Cic. Manil.* 10.28. Cicero points out the virtues that the traditional Roman emperor had to possess: *virtus*, *auctoritas*, *felicitas* and, more generally, a knowledge of military affairs (*scientia rei militaris*) (*Cic. Manil.* 10.28) *HEBBLEWHITE* (2017: 34).

²³ *Virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia* and *pietas*, the four virtues of the *clipeus virtutis* granted to Augustus and the only virtues cited in the *Res Gestae* (*Res Gestae Divi Augusti* 34.2), do not correspond exactly to the four cardinal virtues of Greek philosophical thought on kingship, *andreia* (courage), *sophrosune* (temperance), *dikaiosune* (justice) and *sophia* (wisdom). *NOREÑA* (2001: 152). However, *virtus*, in a way, could be better assimilated to *andreia*, both in its semantic field and in its use in Greco-Roman propagandistic reality.

²⁴ 'Virtus', *LIMC* (VIII, 273–281); *DA* (V, 926–927); *EISENHUT* (1973); *HEBBLEWHITE* (2017: 34 Y 36); *KLAWANS* (1959: 50); *MANDERS* (2012: 169); *MCDONNELL* (2006); *NOREÑA* (2001: 152, 155–156, 159); *SMITH* (1867: III, 1271).

²⁵ In 5 antoninians the figure of the emperor appears on horseback or standing (*RIC* [V Gallienus 589–590, 592–594]), while in 2 other types *Hercules* (*RIC* [V Gallienus 595]) and *Mars* (*RIC* [V Gallienus 591]) are the protagonists.

²⁶ Present on a type of an antoninian on which instruments and weapons are depicted, such as a quiver, a lion skin, a club, a vase and a bow. *RIC* (V Gallienus 596).

²⁷ 3 of them (60%) statue pedestals and 2 more (40%) plaques of different sizes.

was the community of origin of the Egnatii,²⁸ the *gens* of origin of the emperor's mother, Egnatia Mariniana, and, most probably, also the birthplace of Gallienus himself,²⁹ nicknamed at birth, in fact, Falerius, a nickname he recovered to honour his hometown (Fig. 5). It appears in the emperor's numismatics not only with the legend VIRTUS FALERI, but also with the legend PIETAS FALERI,³⁰ thus commemorating the *virtus* and *pietas* of Gallienus himself in relation to his hometown.³¹

The goddess FIDES, on the other hand, normally represented as a clothed woman with a *patera* and *cornucopia* in both hands, or carrying grains of wheat and a basket of fruit, was originally the personification of the good faith that should exist both in public agreements between different populations and in private transactions between individuals.³²

²⁸ The Egnatii of Falerii Novi probably came from an ancient local family, perhaps of Faliscus origin, which attained a high social position in the early Republican period. At the beginning of the Empire, they were already regularly registered in the tribe of the municipality, the Horatia, and had succeeded in bringing a very high number of individuals to the *quattuorvirateship*, with a significant number of economically and socially well-off freedmen as well. It is more than likely that Gallienus belonged, on his mother's side, to a particularly long-lived and fortunate branch of this ancient and noble municipal lineage. MUNZI (1994: 57–59). For more details cf. DI STEFANO MANZELLA (1990: 357–358); GEIGER (2013: 74–75); MUNZI (1994: 57–59).

²⁹ *Eius filium Gallienum senatus Caesarem creat, statimque Tiberis adulta aestate diluvii facie inundavit. Prudentes perniciosum reipublicae cecinere adolescentis fluxu ingenio, quia Etruria accitus venerat, unde amnis praedictus.* (Aur. Vict. Caes. 32.3–4). The senate appointed his son Gallienus as Caesar, and immediately the Tiber in midsummer overflowed as if a flood had come. The wise men predicted disaster for the state because of the young man's dissolute disposition, for when he was called, he had come from Etruria, from where the river flowed. Cf. DI STEFANO MANZELLA (1990: 357–358); GEIGER (2013: 73–74); KIENAST (1990: 218) for details.

³⁰ Gold medallion with the busts of Gallienus and Salonina on the right, with the legend CONCORDIA AVGG, on the obverse, and two infants, one with the intention of sucking milk from a goat standing next to a tree, the other sitting between the animal's front legs, on the right an eagle and below a thunderbolt, all with the legend PIETAS FALERI, on the reverse. DI STEFANO MANZELLA (1990: 358); GÖBL (2000: n. 942A).

³¹ DE BLOIS (1976: 134, 147); DI STEFANO MANZELLA (1979: 111–112); DI STEFANO MANZELLA (1990: 357–359); GEIGER (2013: 73–75); GLAS (2014: 64–65); GÖBL (2000: N. 349, 942A); KIENAST (1990: 218); MUNZI (1994: 57–59).

³² The Romans dated the cult as early as the time of King Numa Pompilius (Liv. 1.21.3–4; Dion. Hal. 2.75.3; Plut. Numa 16.1). His original place of worship in Rome, the *aedes Fidei*

Fides appears for the first time in imperial numismatics in AD 69, during the Gallic civil rebellion and the rise of the emperor *Vitellius*, on whose coinage it appears with the legend FIDES EXERCITVS³³ and FIDES PRAETORIANORVM,³⁴ already converted into a military-related deity, holding a standard in each hand or a standard and a sceptre. The deity, therefore, had already abandoned its original meaning of tutelary goddess of the given word to become the symbol of fidelity between the Roman citizen and his emperor, with special emphasis on the members of the army in each of its ranks.³⁵ The constant allusions to *Fides* in the third century, with the aim of nominally maintaining the loyalty of the armed forces to their emperor, showed the extent to which the problems of loyalty of the army and the continuous external threats to the Empire constituted a real threat to the legitimacy of the emperors in this century. The figure of *Fides*, i.e. the personification of the loyalty of the legions, their soldiers and, above all, of the high officials to the figure of their legitimate emperor, allowed the monarch to reward the soldiers for their support on the battlefield, to regain the loyalty of the troops of a recently defeated usurper or even to warn potential rivals, who might aspire to the imperial throne, of the strong bond of loyalty existing between the legitimate emperor and his own army.³⁶ This strong bond, this

Populi Romani, was located on the Capitol itself. This building, probably the only temple dedicated to *Fides* in the entire Roman world, was dedicated by *Aulus Atilius Calatinus* (consul in 258 and dictator in 249 BC) and restored at the end of the Republic by *Marcus Aemilius Scaurus* (aedile curul in 58 BC) (Cic. *Nat.* 2.61). It was occasionally used for senate meetings (Val. Max. 3.2.17; App. Civ. 1.16), and around it were displayed bronze tablets containing laws and treaties, several of which were displaced by a storm in 44 or 43 BC. (Cass. Dio 45.17.3). The diplomas of honorably discharged soldiers were also routinely affixed here in the 1st century AD (CIL [XVI/1.2, 26, 32]). ‘Fides Populi Romani / Publica’, *LTUR* (II, 249–252); COARELLI (2007: 35); DOYEN (1989: II, 106); RICHARDSON (1992: 151).

³³ *RIC* (I², 126) and *RIC* (I², Vitellius 42).

³⁴ *RIC* (I², 121) and *RIC* (I², Vitellius 55).

³⁵ In the middle of the 2nd century AD, certain attributes of *Fides* generally reserved for *Abundantia*, such as ears of corn, poppies or baskets of fruit, were complemented by the inclusion of *vexilla* or banners, and then, in the year 139, became a purely military divinity. DOYEN (1989: II, 109).

³⁶ It is also notable that, although types proclaiming the *Fides* of the army were most frequently minted at the beginning of an emperor's reign, they were not usually aban-

contract of loyalty between the emperor and his army, was completed by a payment for services rendered, which could either be in kind or in gold, silver and bronze numerals with the legend FIDES.³⁷

In *Segestica/Siscia*, FIDES is accompanied by the appellatives MILITVM (2 different types)³⁸, aimed especially at securing the loyalty of the soldiers, whatever their rank; PRAET (2 types)³⁹, synonymous with PRAETORIANVM, aimed mainly at buying and maintaining the will of the members of the praetorian imperial guard; and, finally, LEG (1 example)⁴⁰, referring to LEGIONVM, to indicate the loyalty between the various legions of the Roman army and the emperor, who ultimately financed them and granted them privileges.

The goddess VICTORIA, the Greek *Νίκη*, is another protagonist on the *Segestica/Siscia* reverses. The *Νίκη/Victoria*, considered as a gift granted by the divinities to certain persons chosen by them, such as Alexander the Great, Julius Caesar or Augustus, was used by the various emperors to legitimise their position at the head of the Imperial institution and thus ratify their right to reign. Thus, during the crisis of the 3rd century, almost all emperors, whether successful or unsuccessful, used numismatics to proclaim their military victories: even those rulers who did not manage to prevail on the battlefield or who did not lead any campaign, proclaimed their "victory" in their various denominations.⁴¹ Their repre-

done once he was secure in his position. The monarch, therefore, not only needed the loyalty of the troops upon assuming the purple, but he also needed to retain this loyalty, as legitimacy became a continuous practice HEBBLEWHITE (2017: 198–199).

³⁷ 'Fides', LIMC (IV, 133–137); DA (II, 1115–1117); DE BLOIS (1976: 96, 101–102, 104, 111–112); DOYEN (1989: II, 106–109); GEIGER (2013: 220–221); GÖBL (2000: 105, 111–112); HEBBLEWHITE (2017: 198–202); MANDERS (2012: 90–92, 280); SEAR (2005: 38); SMITH (1867: II, 149–150).

³⁸ On those showing *Fides*, clothed, standing between the ensign and the standard, or two ensigns (RIC [V Gallienus 571]), and the legend inscribed within a laurel wreath (RIC [V Gallienus 570]).

³⁹ With depictions of the *Genius*, standing on the left, holding a globe in his right hand and a cornucopia in his left (RIC [V Gallienus 569]), and of an eagle between two ensigns (RIC [V Gallienus 568]).

⁴⁰ It features the image of three trophies. RIC (V Gallienus 567).

⁴¹ In the numismatics of Pupienus, Balbinus, Gordian I and II, Quintilian and Florianus, none of whom won any military victories against external enemies, some types of Victory appear, including the more frequent legend of VICTORIA AVG next to the image

sentation occurred not only when recent victories were achieved, but also in times of peace, even if there had been no military confrontations that year. Emperor Gallienus, of course, was no exception to this dynamic. Modern historiography has always tried to distinguish on his own coins his actual victories from mere Imperial propaganda, but the problem remains.⁴² Generally speaking, the different numbering of the victories on his coinage corroborates that the concept of "victory" had, in these years, more or less lost its original meaning, so that the types on which the VICTORIA AVGVSTA appears, followed by a numeral, were minted almost exclusively to promote imperial ideology without reflecting actual victories. Even so, Gallienus also won several real military victories, both by himself and through his generals in the East, such as *Septimius Odaenathus*, founder of the Roman client state, Palmyrene Kingdom, so it is possible that a good number of Victories on the coins did indeed allude to real victories fought and won on the battlefield.⁴³ Among the coins of *Segestica/Siscia*, VICTORIA is accompanied by the suffixes AVGVSTA (2 types)⁴⁴ and AET (1 example)⁴⁵, referring to AETERNA,

of Victory herself. Sometimes emperors went even further with their claims. Florianus, for example, struck coins with the legend VICTORIA PERPETVA (*RIC* [V 1, Florianus 23, 42]), while Quintillus 'fabricated' *ex novo* a victory over the Goths with the legend VICTORIAE GOTHICAE (*RIC* [V 1, Quintillus 87]). The use of the numismatic types related to the Victory reflects the immediate need for Quintilian and Florianus to persuade the army that they could win victory in the coming civil struggles against militarily proven rivals. HEBBLEWHITE (2017: 37).

⁴² For the various discussions of Gallienus' various victories and whether or not they are reflected in his numismatics, cf. *RIC* (V 1, 33–34); DE BLOIS (1976: 101–102, 135); GEIGER (2013: 212); GÖBL (2000: 105–106, 111); HEBBLEWHITE (2017: 38–39); KNEISSL (1969: 176–177); KUHOFF (1979: 71–74); MANDERS (2012: 277–278, 280–282).

⁴³ Solo campaigns: 254–256 on the Danube; 257–260 on the Rhine; 260 in *Raetia*; 260 in Northern Italy; 268 in Northern Italy. KIENAST (1990: 218). For details on the military operations specifically in Northern Italy between 253 and 268 cf. DE BLOIS (1976: 4–7, 28–33); GEIGER (2013: 107–119, 152–190); GLAS (2014: 150–163); LE BOHEC (2017: 627–635); PARETI (1952: VI, 42–45, 57–61). *Odaenathus'* campaigns: 262 and 266 against the Sassanids. KIENAST (1990: 239).

⁴⁴ In both types the Victory appears, winged, clothed, standing or walking on the left, holding a wreath in her right hand and a palm in her left. *RIC* (V Gallienus 587–588).

⁴⁵ With the image of Victory, winged, clothed, standing on the left, holding a wreath in her right hand and a palm in her left hand. *RIC* (V Gallienus 586).

which alludes to the eternity of victory, thus spreading the idea of invincibility as a permanent and immanent imperial quality, and which also appears in the 3rd century on the coins of the emperors Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Maximinus Thrax, Gordian III and Valerian⁴⁶.

Finally, the goddess PAX, in Greek represented by *Ἐιρήνη*, was the personification of peace, that is, the state of calm and normality produced after a victorious war, usually effigied by a lady carrying an olive branch and a sceptre, or a *cornucopia* or a *caduceus*.⁴⁷ Linked from very early on to the martial sphere,⁴⁸ *Pax* became a relevant divinity from the Late Republic onwards.⁴⁹ In the 3rd century it intensified its presence and appears on the reverse of the coinage of all emperors except Pertinax, Didius Julianus, Geta, Macrinus, Diadumenianus, Gordian I and Gordian II, Herennius Etruscus and Saloninus, reaching its zenith during the reign of Philip II and, to a lesser extent, during the reigns of Tacitus and Carus.⁵⁰ In *Segestica/Siscia*, the 3 types representing her⁵¹ are accompa-

⁴⁶ 'Victoria', LIMC (VIII, 237–269); DA (V, 830–854); DE BLOIS (1976: 90–91, 99–100, 101–102, 104, 135, 137); FEARS (1981a: 743–745); GEIGER (2013: 212); GÖBL (2000: 105–106, 111); HEBBLEWHITE (2017: 37–39); KIENAST (1990: 239); KLAUANS (1959: 50); MANDERS (2012: 77–87, 91, 277–282); MCCORMICK (1987: 4, 26–28); SMITH (1867: III, 1257); TAEGER (1957: II, 438).

⁴⁷ The concept of *Pax* could also be represented by images of divinities such as *Virtus*, *Victoria* or *Sol*, or through figures of soldiers or trophies with captives at their feet MANDERS (2012: 204–205).

⁴⁸ There are many reasons that implicate the *Pax* as a consequence of the *bellum* and, therefore, associated with the martial world. Firstly, its use by Sulla, Caesar, Augustus or Hadrian, all of them in command of huge military contingents; secondly, associated with monuments related to the post-war world, such as the *Ara Pacis* or the *Hadrianeum*, both located in the Campus Martius, or even Vespasian's *Templum Pacis*. Thirdly, its clear link with *Victoria*, *Virtus*, *Nemesis* or *Mars*, the latter sometimes nicknamed *Pacifer* or *Pacator*, i.e. the bearer and guardian of peace DOYEN (1989: II, 274); HUSKINSON (ed.) (2000: 335–368); MANDERS (2012: 199–200); RAAFLAUB (ed.) (2007: 256–278).

⁴⁹ The earliest known coinage of *Pax* dates from 44 BC and shows the head of the goddess on the obverse and two joined hands on the reverse, the type being issued by *L. Aemilius Buca*. RRC (480/24).

⁵⁰ The percentages indicated for emperors who reigned for a longer period (e.g. Septimius Severus, Caracalla, Alexander Severus, Gordian III, Valerian, Gallienus, Aurelian and *Probus*) are relatively low (all below 5%). It is very likely, therefore, that these low percentages reflected the fact that they had not been able to fulfil the peace promise given or that the peace promises were mainly made at the beginning of each reign MANDERS (2012: 201).

nied by the appellative AVGVSTA or AVGVSTI: both have the same connotation and allude to the state of peace guaranteed by the emperor.⁵² Here *Pax* is more akin to *Providentia*, since only the emperor's action can guarantee the effective fulfilment of the designs of both divinities.⁵³

The common denominator that groups together the four most represented reverse legends in *Segestica/Siscia*, VIRTUS, FIDES, VICTORIA and PAX, 36% of the total number of reverses, is none other than the martial world and military victories. These messages reinforce the image of Gallienus as a strong and battle-hardened leader, a victorious warrior in accordance with the Hellenistic ideal of the exemplar ruler, as he is portrayed on various occasions by ancient authors, particularly Greek-language authors. Zosimus, for example, depicts him as a general continually engaged on the battlefield and concerned for the welfare of his subjects during the turmoils suffered by the Empire.⁵⁴ Similarly, Malalas⁵⁵ stresses how Gallienus κατήλθεν εἰς ἐκδίκησιν Ῥωμαίων, granting military initiative to the emperor himself, provided at all times with the *virtus* and πρόνοια or *providentia* of the Hellenistic monarchs; πόλεμον τῷ Ἐνάθῳ, ἐφόνευσεν αὐτόν, i.e., Gallienus himself personally engaged in combat with his enemy *Enathos*, killing him himself⁵⁶, like

⁵¹ In all 3 types the *Pax* appears, dressed, seated, standing or walking on the left, holding an olive branch in her right hand and a sceptre in her left. *RIC* (V Gallienus 575–577).

⁵² The legend PAX AVG accompanying the images of *Pax* could be understood in two ways, i.e. as PAX AVGVSTI or as PAX AVGVSTA. Since the unabbreviated legend PAX AVGVSTI appears more frequently throughout the 3rd century than PAX AVGVSTA, which only appears on one coinage of *Probus* (*RIC* [V 2 Probus 710]), the legend PAX AVG should more likely be considered as an abbreviation of PAX AVGVSTI rather than PAX AVGVSTA. AMIT (1965: 57); MANDERS (2012: 201–203).

⁵³ 'Pax', *LIMC* (VII, 204–212); *DA* (IV, 362–363); AMIT (1965: 57–58); DOYEN (1989: II, 273–275); MANDERS (2012: 199–205); SEAR (2005: 40); SMITH (1867: III, 163). The 3rd century coinage types bearing the legends PAX AVG(G), PAX AVGVSTI and PAX AVGVSTA are therefore largely reminiscent of the philo-imperial conception of divinity present in authors such as Seneca. MANDERS (2012: 203).

⁵⁴ Zos. 1.30–40. The author probably reflects with great fidelity Dexippus' original account so full of detail of the eastern front and the defence of Athens as the basic enclave of the Greek world. For a more detailed discussion cf. ARMSTRONG (1987: 240–246; 255).

⁵⁵ Mal. 298, 3–16.

⁵⁶ Malalas, a 6th century Byzantine author, tells of Gallienus' victory over a certain *Enathos*, a name probably distorted from that of Septimius Odaenathus. However,

every good Hellenistic ruler, always on the battlefield, sharing with his troops the hardships of the military campaign; καὶ παρέλαβε τὴν Ἀραβίαν, i.e., that literally the emperor conquered the eastern territory "with the spear" (δορῖκτῆτος χώρα) through his victories on the battlefield; and, finally, that Gallienus ἐποίησεν εἰρήνης πάκτα, i.e., that he secured peace and stability to the conquered territories and "liberated" them from the evil usurper, like the good kings of the past.

In the mint of *Viminacium*, the absence of a considerable number of types, according to *RIC* (V 1), makes the interpretation of their reverses more difficult, but we can appreciate how VICTORIA AVGG and VIRTUS AVGG, with 3 types in total (20%)⁵⁷, follow the same military trend as the reverses of *Segestica/Siscia*, in this case underlining the leadership capacities in the battlefield of both Gallienus and his father Valerian (Fig. 6).

Closely linked to the legends on the reverse are the different types of reverse. Among them, the most important in the numismatics of Gallienus of *Segestica/Siscia* and *Viminacium* are the reverses with images of divinities, which represent 61% of the total, with 33 different types, in the case of *Segestica/Siscia*, and 75% of the total, with 12 different types, in the case of *Viminacium*. Again, 2 of the 3 most represented divinities in *Segestica/Siscia*, *Victoria* (3 types, 9%)⁵⁸ and *Pax* (3 types, 9%)⁵⁹, are related to the martial sphere and to the necessary consequences of the

Odaenathus declared himself an independent king against the Sassanids and placed himself and his kingdom at the service of Gallienus' Roman Empire, not against it.

⁵⁷ One of the types of VICTORIA AVGG shows the image of Victory, winged, dressed, standing or walking to the left, holding a wreath in her right hand and a palm in her left (*RIC* [V Gallienus (joint reign) 299]), while the other type of VICTORIA AVGG and that of VIRTUS AVGG depict a soldier, wearing a helmet, in military costume, standing to the right, holding a spear in his right hand and resting his left hand on the shield (*RIC* [V Gallienus (joint reign) 300]), helmeted, in military costume, standing to the right, holding the spear in his right hand and resting his left hand on the shield (*RIC* [V Gallienus (joint reign) 300]), in one case, and standing to the left, resting his right hand on the shield and holding the spear in his left hand (*RIC* [V Gallienus (joint reign) 301]), in the other (*RIC* [V Gallienus (joint reign) 301]).

⁵⁸ Already mentioned above.

⁵⁹ Cf. above.

good leadership of the emperor as a victorious general (Fig. 7).⁶⁰ The images of three other divinities less represented in the mint, *Hercules*, *Iuppiter* and *Mars*, also belong to this same field, with 1 case each (3%).⁶¹ In *Viminacium*, the situation is similar: *Victoria* is one of the 2 most represented divinities⁶², with 2 examples (17%)⁶³, while *Iuppiter* also appears on one occasion (8%) (Fig. 8). The supreme god of the traditional Greco-Roman pantheon, the Greek Ζεύς and the Latin *Iuppiter*, had 3 functions relating to imperial power: as the principal deity during imperial investiture; as the essential god in the religious-magical aspects of war, battle and victory; and as the protector divinity par excellence.⁶⁴ It is not for nothing that in the mint of *Viminacium* he is called PACATOR ORBIS, as the bearer and guardian of peace throughout the Roman orb, and he is depicted seated on the left, holding a patera in his right hand and a sceptre in his left⁶⁵.

⁶⁰ The other most represented divinity would be *Felicitas*, with 3 other types in which she appears dressed, standing on the left, leaning on a column, holding a *caduceus* (RIC [V Gallienus 564]), with a *caduceus* in her right hand and a *cornucopia* in her left (RIC [V Gallienus 565]) and standing on the right, holding a sceptre in her right hand and a globe in her left. RIC (V Gallienus 566).

⁶¹ *Hercules*: an antoninian with the reverse legend VIRTUS AVG and the image of *Hercules*, standing right, holding a club in his right hand and a bow and a lion's skin in his left hand (RIC [V Gallienus 595]). *Iuppiter*: an antoninian with the reverse legend IO CANTAB and the representation of Jupiter, standing left, holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left (RIC [V Gallienus 573]). For discussion of this type cf. ALFÖLDI (1967: 25–26); DE BLOIS (1976: 108); GEIGER (2013: 223); GÖBL (2000: 120); MANDERS (2012: 107); OKAMURA (1992: 314–323); TEJA (1999: 407–410). *Mars*: an antoninian with the reverse legend VIRTUS AVG and the image of *Mars*, walking to the right, holding a spear in his right hand and a trophy in his left hand. RIC (V Gallienus 591).

⁶² The other most common deity in *Viminacium* is Diana, depicted in 2 types dressed, standing or walking on the right, holding a torch in her right hand (RIC [V Gallienus (joint reign) 290–291]).

⁶³ She appears, in one case, winged, clothed, standing or walking to the left, holding a wreath in her right hand and a palm in her left (RIC [V Gallienus (joint reign) 299]), while in another case, she is accompanied by Rome, helmeted, clothed, seated on the left on a shield, holding Victory in her right hand and the spear in her left (RIC [V Gallienus (joint reign) 297]).

⁶⁴ For these functions cf. FEARS (1977: 262, 270); FEARS (1981b: 34–35); FEARS (1981a: 736–826); HOBOLD (1995: 16); KLEINER (1992: 227–228); PRICE (1984: 11–15); WEINSTOCK (1957: 215–220).

⁶⁵ RIC (V Gallienus [joint reign] 294).

Representations of Gallienus also have a dedicated space in a good part of the numismatic reverses of the *Segestica/Siscia* and *Viminacium* productions, with 11 examples (20%) and 2 different types (12%), respectively (Fig. 9). The emperor is depicted in various forms, carrying out different tasks, in different poses and with different companions, in order to create an image suitable for each social group and for each particular occasion. In *Segestica/Siscia*, for example, the emperor is mostly depicted on horseback (5 types, 45%)⁶⁶ or standing (4 types, 36%),⁶⁷ while in the 2 *Viminacium* types the Roman emperor is depicted walking, raising his right hand and holding the globe with his left hand,⁶⁸ or in the act of performing a public sacrifice before an altar.⁶⁹ Thus, in *Segestica/Siscia* the image of Gallienus fighting on the back of his horse, riding through the barbarian enemies beyond the Danubian *limes*, an unmistakable symbol of the victorious general on the battlefield, of his promptness and speed in the face of disaster and of his unconditional support for the *alae* of his own army, is further enhanced, whereas in *Viminacium* a more ritualised image of the Roman emperor is preferred, as a solitary *sacerdos*, that is, as a "religious authority" and the only institution authorised to make sacrifices to the gods on public monuments, such as inscriptions, reliefs or coins,⁷⁰ seeking, at all times, their favour in the defence of the Empire.

⁶⁶ In 2 cases he is shown riding a horse or piercing an enemy (*RIC* [V Gallienus 589 and 593]), in another type raising his right hand and holding the sceptre or spear in his left hand (*RIC* [V Gallienus 552]), while, in another specimen with the reverse legend *VIRTVS AVG*, he is also depicted in military costume, riding on the right, spearing a lion instead of an enemy (*RIC* [V Gallienus 594]).

⁶⁷ The emperor is depicted in 4 different ways: in military costume, standing on the left, crowning a trophy (*RIC* [V Gallienus 592]); standing on the left, with a globe in his right hand and a sceptre in his left (*RIC* [V Gallienus 550]); standing on the left between two captives (*RIC* [V Gallienus 590]); and, finally, standing between two river gods (Rhine and Maine), with a spear in his right hand and a *parazonium* in his left (*RIC* [V Gallienus 549]). The *parazonium* or *παράζώνιον* was a short, broad dagger or sword, carried by high-ranking Greek and Roman officials and tied on the left side by a *cinctorium* or strap, and generally used as a symbol of social status. *Lewis-Short* (1302); *OLD* (1294); *TLL* (X.1.1, 324).

⁶⁸ *RIC* (V Gallienus [joint reign] 296).

⁶⁹ *RIC* (V Gallienus [joint reign] 287).

⁷⁰ STEPPER (2003: 105–6) considers that the emperor did not necessarily have to be depicted as a priest in the sacrificial scenes on the coins, as he could also be shown as a magistrate, since magistrates could also perform sacrifices. MANDERS (2012: 134–135),

Finally, 11-13% of the reverse depictions of both mints are devoted exclusively to army and triumph reverses (Fig. 10). In *Segestica/Siscia*, reverses with the legend inscribed on a laurel wreath constitute 67% of all types in the army and triumph category, with 4 different examples, 3 of which bear the reverse legends VOTIS DECENNALIBVS⁷¹ or VOTIS X ET XX⁷², in allusion to the vows for the *decennalia* of the year 262 and for those foreseen for the year 272⁷³, while the latter accompanies the legend FIDES MILITVM⁷⁴, in direct allusion to the loyalty owed to the emperor by the different infantry divisions of the imperial army. In *Viminacium*, on the other hand, 100% of the examples in the army and triumph category show a soldier standing, dressed in military uniform, wearing a helmet, resting his right hand on a shield and holding a spear in his left hand (or *vice versa*), the symbol, par excellence, of the model legionary and, by extension, of Gallienus' legions, and popular throughout the 3rd century, especially from the reign of Valerian⁷⁵, accompanied by the legends VIRTVS AVGG⁷⁶ or VICTORIAE AVGG⁷⁷.

III. Conclusions

The self-representation of Gallienus on the two marginal mints of *Segestica/Siscia* and *Viminacium* in the Danubian provinces, in the heart of the 3rd century Empire, according to *RIC* (V 1), yields very interesting data, substantial similarities between the two numismatic realities, but also not a few differences between them.

however, considers that the emperor was depicted as both priest and magistrate, since religion and politics shared the same space in Roman politics. Furthermore, the author points out that the emphasis of these types was on his office as a priest, rather than his office as a magistrate, due to the nature of the scene. The emperor as magistrate had other scenes in which his other facet could be clearly seen.

⁷¹ *RIC* (V Gallienus 597–598).

⁷² *RIC* (V Gallienus 599).

⁷³ Cf. CHRISTOL (2006: 126).

⁷⁴ *RIC* (V Gallienus 570).

⁷⁵ This group of reverses reflects the growing importance of the army as the century progressed. Emperors relied entirely on their legions in times of growing military problems, and the armed forces themselves used this power to choose or reject candidates for the imperial throne. MANDERS (2012: 176).

⁷⁶ *RIC* (V Gallienus [joint reign] 301).

⁷⁷ *RIC* (V Gallienus [joint reign] 300).

Firstly, we can see how, to a much greater extent than in other more productive mints such as those of Rome or *Mediolanum*, the antoninians are the sole and essential units of Imperial representation of the central power in the Danubian provinces. Neither aurei nor other bronze currencies detract from the prominence of the antoninians, which were probably produced to pay the military units in the Danube area at the different moments of the emperor's presence during his 15-year reign.

Secondly, and in consequence of this first point, *Segestica/Siscia* and *Viminacium* were established as essentially military mints, destined, to a large extent, to mint the numerals that would be used to pay the *stipendium* of the different army divisions. This can be seen from four different factors. Firstly, because *Segestica/Siscia* and *Viminacium* are located either directly on the Danubian limes, as in the case of *Viminacium*, or in the immediate hinterland of the Danubian limes, as in the case of *Segestica/Siscia*, strategic positions close enough to the legionary and ala camps in the Danubian region, such as *Poetovio*, *Vindobona*, *Carnuntum* or *Aquincum*, to supervise the production and flow of coinage as well as the transport of products to their recipients. Secondly, because both mints give great importance to martial legends: VIRTUS, FIDES, VICTORIA or PAX are among the most promoted legends, coinciding with an image closer to the military capacity of Gallienus, the loyalty of his armies, the victory against the barbarians of the North and the peace they bring after the (hypothetical) happy campaign. Thirdly, both mints promote, to a large extent, divinities related to the army: Victory, Pax, Hercules, Iuppiter or Mars appear on the reverse of the coinage on repeated occasions, which confers a habitual protection to the legions under their tutelage. And, fourthly, because between 11 and 13% of the representations on the reverses of both mints are devoted exclusively to army and triumphal reverses, such as images of laurel wreaths or soldiers.

However, as mentioned above, the Imperial representation of Gallienus on both mints also exhibits notable differences between the two workshops. Firstly, the number of types produced is very uneven, follow *RIC* (V 1) or Robert Göbl⁷⁸. Secondly, each mint is framed in a different historical moment: while *Segestica/Siscia* is primarily intended for

⁷⁸ GÖBL (2000).

the local numismatic production of the emperor during his sole reign between 260 and 268, *Viminacium* started to produce its numismatics during the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus in 253, reaching up to 254-258, according to the researchers. Thirdly, although some of the legends and divinities most represented on their numismatic reverses coincide, many of the rest of the legends and divinities are different from each other, representing different messages in the two mints under study. And finally, fourthly, the image of the emperor Gallienus himself on the coins produced by the two mints is unequal: while on the *Segestica/Siscia* reverses the emperor appears more often on horseback or standing, on those of *Viminacium* he is depicted performing sacrifice or walking, which radically changes the way he approaches his own self-representation in front of the soldiers at each historical moment.

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Figures

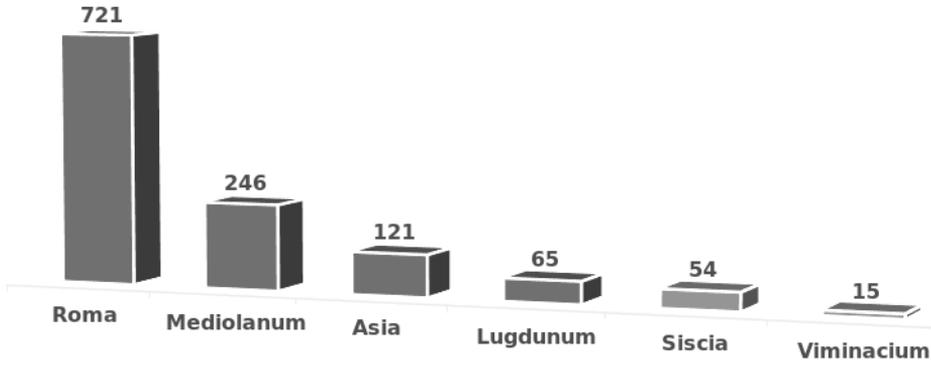


Fig. 1. Number of types per mint related to *Gallienus* according to *RIC (V 1)*.



Fig. 2. Heat map of individual coins of the *Segestica/Siscia* mint (from *CHRE*).



Fig. 3. Heat map of individual coins of the mint of *Viminacium* (from CHRE).

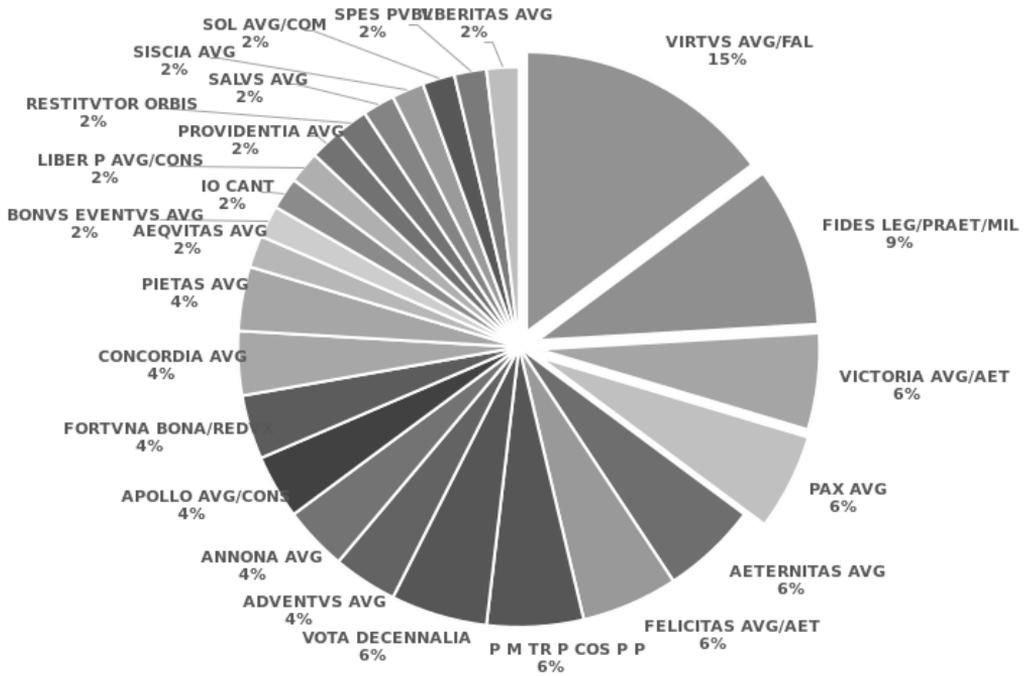


Fig. 4. Reverse legends of the *Segestica/Siscia* mint.



Fig. 5. *Antoninianus* of Gallienus (260-268) (from Münzkabinett Wien Rö 71855).

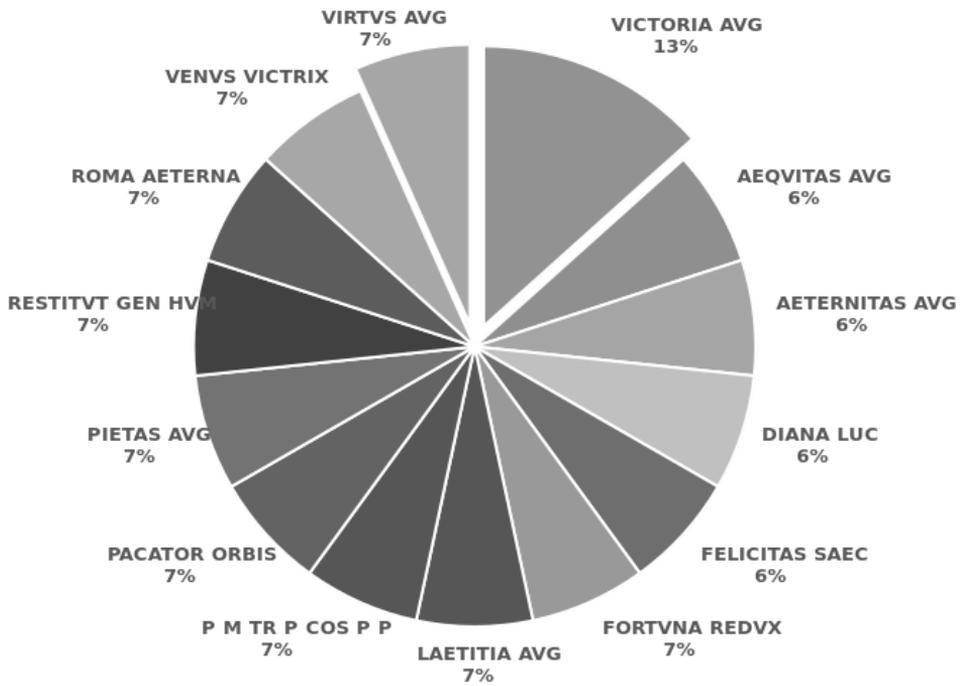


Fig. 6. Reverse legends of the mint of *Viminacium*.

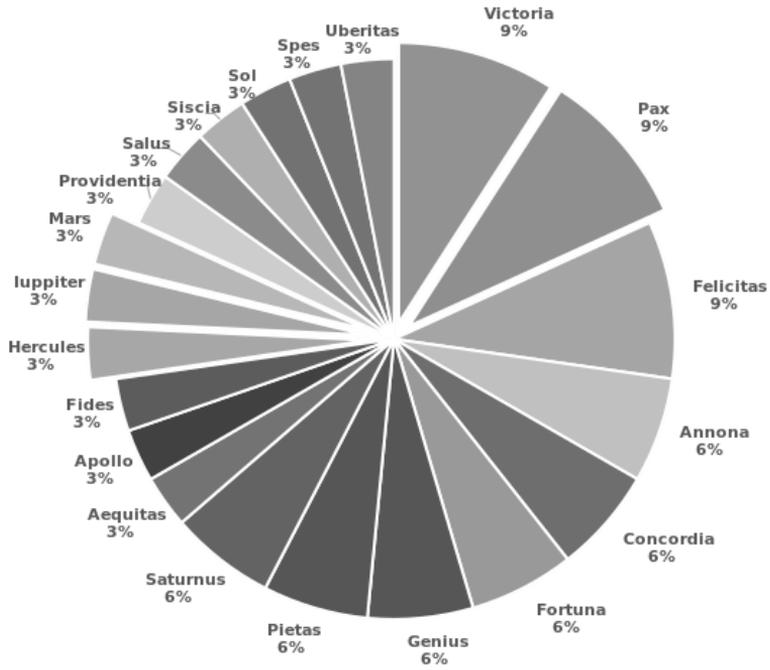


Fig. 7. Reverse legends of the *Segestica/Siscia* mint.

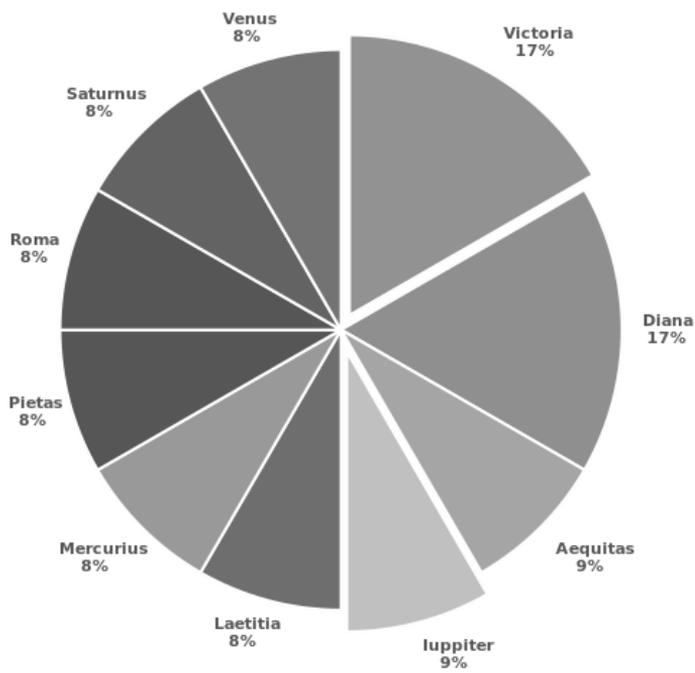


Fig. 8. Reverse legends of the mint of *Viminacium*.

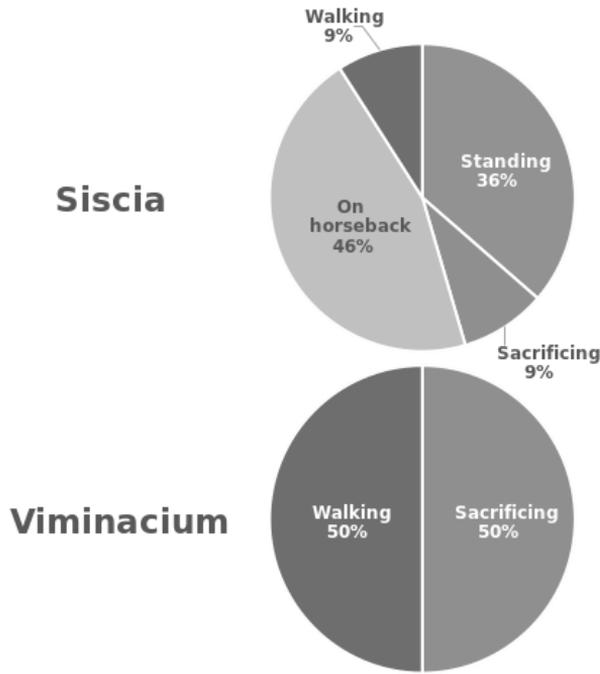


Fig. 9. Reverses with the image of Gallienus from the *Segestica/Siscia* and *Viminacium* mints.

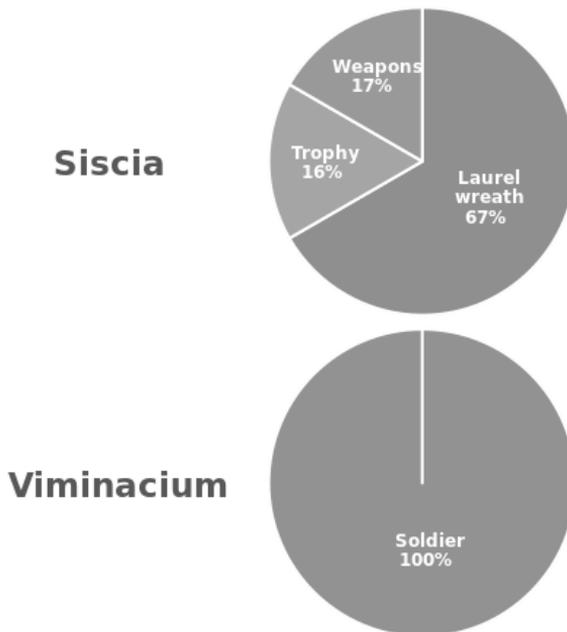


Fig. 10. Reverses with images of army and triumph from the *Segestica/Siscia* and *Viminacium* mints.