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## NUMISMATIC EVIDENCE FOR THE DYNASTIC POLICY OF ROMAN EMPERORS, 235–284

**ABSTRACT:** The paper examines how Roman emperors used coins and medallions during the 3<sup>rd</sup>-century crisis to promote the dynastic ideologies and succession policies of the ruling house. Roman numismatics expands our knowledge of the nuances of dynastic politics. The keystone was the emperor; it also concerned the figures of empresses, heirs and ancestors. The analysis of numismatic evidence shows the mechanisms of constructing an image of dynastic unity, harmony in the imperial family, and succession stability in the Roman Empire.

**ABSTRAKT:** W artykule przeanalizowano w jaki sposób podczas kryzysu III w. cesarze rzymscy wykorzystywali monety i medaliony do promowania ideologii dynastycznej i sukcesji rodu rządzącego. Numizmatyka rzymska rozszerza naszą wiedzę o niuansach polityki dynastycznej. Jej zwornikiem był cesarz; a dotyczyło to również postaci cesarzowej, dziedziców i przodków. Analiza świadectw numizmatycznych ukazuje mechanizmy konstruowania wizerunku jedności dynastycznej, harmonii w rodzinie cesarskiej oraz stabilności sukcesji w imperium rzymskim.

**KEYWORDS:** Roman numismatics, 3<sup>rd</sup>-century crisis, 3<sup>rd</sup>-century dynasties, dynastic ideology, policy of succession

**SŁOWA KLUCZOWE:** numizmaty rzymskie, kryzys III w., trzecio-wieczne dynastie, ideologia dynastyczna, polityka sukcesyjna

The system of power that operated in the Roman Empire involved a practice, already introduced by Augustus, involving the election of a successor who would be granted imperial power. In this succession-related policy, one can perceive a tendency towards the handing of power to descendants, i.e. within one's family, and thus a solidification of the rule of a dynasty. In addition to the emperor, this system created an important role for the *caesares*, who were sometimes elevated to the rank of co-rulers (*augusti*), as well as for the empresses.

In 235–284 some rulers designated their heirs (cf. fig. 1). These included: Maximinus I (235–238), Philip I (244–249), Decius (249–251), Trebonianus Gallus (251–253), Valerian and Gallienus (253–268), Tetricus I (271–274), the ruler of the *Imperium Galliarum*, and finally Carus (282–283). Only in a few cases did an emperor manage to achieve the basic aim of dynastic policy, which was associated with the transfer of power to the successor and making sure that the latter stayed in power. However, the continuous reign of a single family tended to last for a short time, which is one of the reasons why the years 235–284 are referred to as the “crisis of the third century”.<sup>1</sup> During this period frequent revolts within the army led to the usurpation of imperial power and death of former emperors, preventing the realisation of dynastic plans.

Marietta Horster has interpreted selected coin-related content as an expression of desire for stabilisation within the Empire, despite the vacillating and mutable political reality. This stabilisation was supposed to be brought about and ensured by the reign of a well-established dynasty, which also provided a hope for its continued existence.<sup>2</sup> In the present study I describe the coinage which reflected the succession-related policy in the years of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-century crisis. I disregard the workings and other elements of this policy as well as the stages of the activities of specific emperors which laid the foundation of the assumption of succession.<sup>3</sup> I treat the coins and the medallions as an official medium<sup>4</sup> which served the purpose of the promotion of a dynastic idea (imperial coinage) and reflected the acceptance of this idea within the provinces (provincial coinage). I seek iconographic and lexical models for the presentation of the imperial family in the coinage. Of particular interest are those types and variants which promoted the presence of co-ruling *augusti* and the successors of the *caesares*, thereby indicating the results of succession-related activities and auguring the lasting rule of a dynasty. By way of convention, I refer to them as emissions, types, models or “dynastic” numismatic pieces.

#### THE IMPERIAL FAMILY IN THE NUMISMATIC SOURCES

The ways in which the representatives of the dynasty were presented were determined by a numismatic tradition that reached back a number of centuries. To a certain extent, these forms were also determined by an iconographical community of imperial representation in other propagandistic media, such as monuments

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<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., Kotula 1992; Christol 1997; John, Hartmann, Gerhardt (eds) 2008; Ziółkowski 2011, pp. 111–133.

<sup>2</sup> Horster 2007, pp. 291–309.

<sup>3</sup> On the dynastic policy in the 3<sup>rd</sup>-century crisis, see Kluczek 2000, pp. 23–76. On dynastic propaganda in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, see: Kotula 1988, pp. 65–96.

<sup>4</sup> See Noreña 2001, p. 147; Noreña 2011, pp. 248–261.

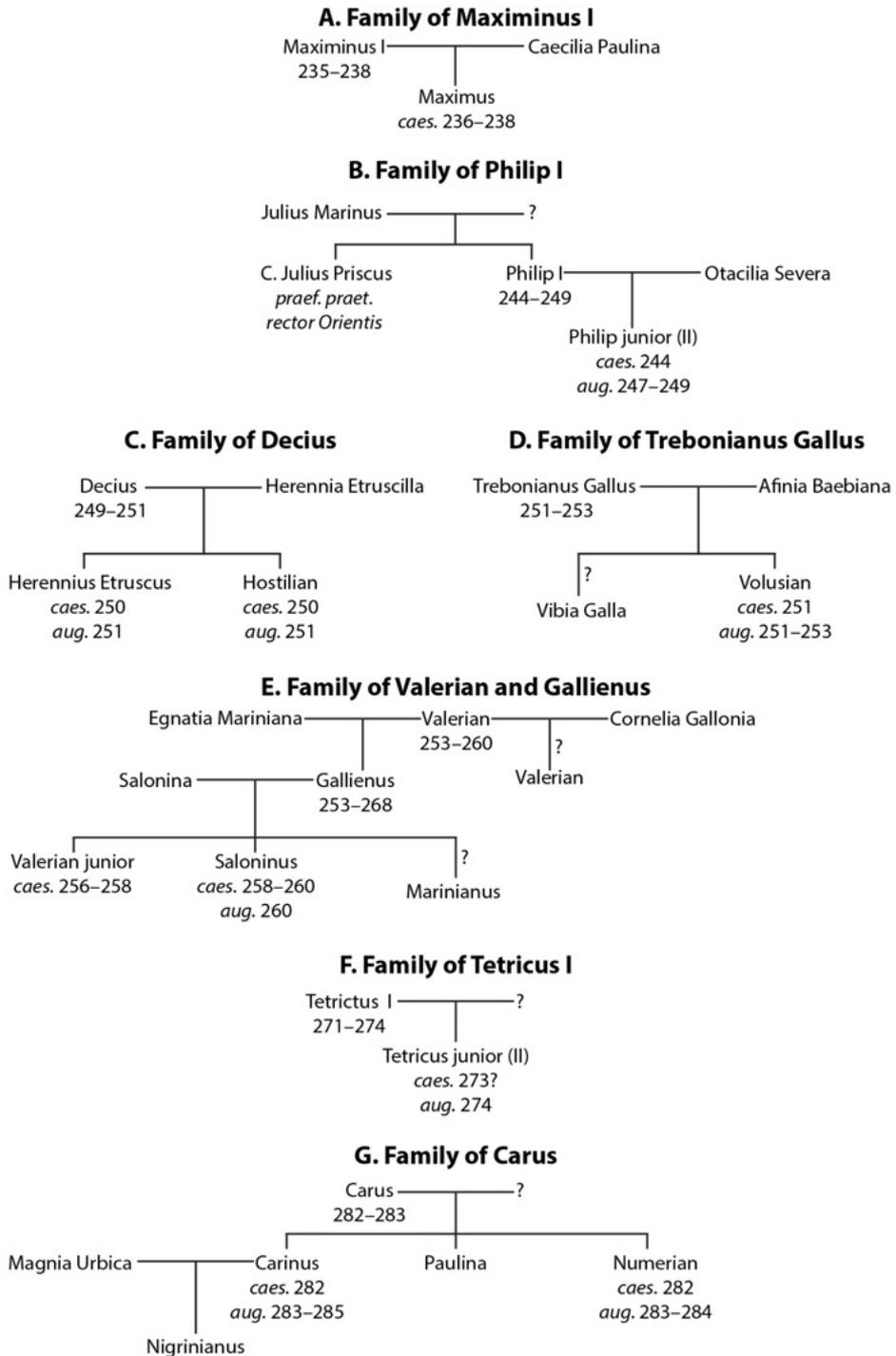


Fig. 1. Roman dynasties, AD 235–284

and bas-reliefs. Existing models were used, albeit with certain adjustments, in order to represent the current dynastic situation. New models were also created.

The obverses, and sometimes reverses of coins and medallions commonly the display heads or busts of the emperor and his family. These representations seem quite repetitive. Nevertheless, they directly indicate the presence of other people at the emperor's side, who were also involved in dynastic policies. Configurations of these representations vary, and include double or triple portraits; two emperors, the emperor and his successor(s), the emperor and the empress, the emperor, and the empress and their descendant, were presented in such a manner.

These representations often feature inscriptions, which define the presence of the co-ruler or empress at the ruler's side with the term *Augustorum* (AVGG), or which provide information about his successor(s) (CAES/CAESS). Information about a dynasty was provided by employing specific slogans. The theme of the *princeps iuventutis*, used to refer to the rulers of a mature age, was of this kind.<sup>5</sup> In this manner, the basic sense of the terms were distorted, creating an illusion of co-rule and the appearances of future permanence.

The inscriptions featured on coins and medallions the represent the figures of the imperial family indicate their positive attitude toward one another (*pietas*), as well as the harmony and unity that prevailed within the dynasty (*concordia*). In many cases these inscriptions replaced the proper names of the individuals represented, which was typical of the 240–50s.

The representations of more than one personage were typical in the coinage of a number of dynasties, most prominently on the medallions, and less frequently in the regular and provincial coinage.<sup>6</sup> However, there are provincial coins that present the facing busts of Maximinus I and Maximus.<sup>7</sup> The double busts of these rulers were equally rare in the numismatic pieces from Rome.<sup>8</sup>

Double or triple portraits are copiously represented in the coinage of Philip I. The reverses of the antoniniani PIETAS AVGG depict the portraits of Philip junior and Otacilia Severa.<sup>9</sup> The bronze medallions include portraits of Otacilia Severa on the obverse, while the reverses of the type PIETAS AVGVSTORVM III ET II COS and PIETAS AVGVSTORVM P M TR P COS featured the busts of both rulers, Philip I and Philip junior.<sup>10</sup> Their busts were also represented on the bronze PIE-

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<sup>5</sup> Cf. Castorino 2010, pp. 537–549; Horster 2011, pp. 73–103; Kluczek 2014, pp. 59–71.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Toynbee 1986, pp. 143–144; Hedlund 2008, pp. 181–183; on the dynasty of Philip I, see: Körner 2002, pp. 106–111; on the dynasty of Valerian I and Gallienus, see: Zaccaria 1978a, pp. 103–138; Geiger 2013, pp. 203–210; Glas 2014, pp. 241–262.

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., RPC 6, nos 7115–7116 temp. (Tarsus); BMCG Phrygia, p. 144, no. 72 (Cibyra).

<sup>8</sup> MedR 2, p. 86, no. 2, tav. 102.7; MedR 2, p. 86, no. 3, tav. 102.8.

<sup>9</sup> RIC IV/3, Philip I, no. 43.

<sup>10</sup> MedR 2, p. 100, no. 2, tav. 110.3, p. 100, no. 4, tav. 110.4.



examples of joint portraits of Valerian and Gallienus,<sup>25</sup> Valerian, Gallienus and Valerian junior,<sup>26</sup> and Gallienus, Salonina and Valerian junior or Saloninus.<sup>27</sup>

Various emissions presented double portraits of Tetricus I and Tetricus junior.<sup>28</sup>

In addition, the coinage of the final dynasty of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-century crisis incorporates double portraits of Carus and Carinus,<sup>29</sup> Carinus and Numerian<sup>30</sup> and the triple portraits of Carus, Carinus and Numerian.<sup>31</sup>

In coin-related legends, kinship and the affiliation of the representatives of the dynasty are not indicated. This omission is particularly salient in reference to the coinage of Gordian III (238–244), for in 238 he was elevated to the rank of *caesar*, and then to the rank of *augustus* due to his rising popularity resulting from his kinship with Gordian I and Gordian II. Obviously, he shares *nomina* (M. Antonius Gordianus) with them, but apart from the former there is no information concerning either the extent of kinship or of family affiliation.<sup>32</sup> As an ideological successor of emperor Trajan, Decius (C. Messius Quintus Decius Valerinus) adopted the *cognomen* Traianus (C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius) and used it in his coinage.<sup>33</sup> Philip junior had the *cognomen* Severus (M. Iulius Severus Philippus),<sup>34</sup> but the convergences with the Severan dynasty were not emphasised in the coinage. In two of the latter cases the adoption of a new *nomen* is not due to kinship, but exclusively due to ideological reasons. In such a context the following inscriptions on the antoniniani of Philip I are quite striking: DE PIA MATRE PIVS FILIVS, and Philip junior: AVG PATRI AVG MATRI.<sup>35</sup> The terms *pater*, *mater* and *filius* enveloped the imperial family in a mesh, consisting of the emperors Philip I and Philip junior, as well as the empress Otacilia Severa.

<sup>25</sup> See, e.g., BMCG Phrygia, pp. 415–416, nos 32–34, p. 417, no. 42; SNG vA, no. 4012 (Temenothyrae–Sebaste).

<sup>26</sup> See, e.g., BMCG Bithynia, p. 176, nos 148–151 (Nicaea), pp. 191–192, nos 68–72 (Nicomedia); SNG vA, nos 720–721, 859–860; Lindgren, Kovacs 1985, no 181.

<sup>27</sup> See, e.g., Von Aulock 1977, no. 147 (Panemoteichus).

<sup>28</sup> G GK, Tetricus I, nos 56–58.

<sup>29</sup> RIC V/2, Carus and Carinus, nos 135, 138–143, 146; MedR 1, p. 11, no. 1, tav. 4.8; MedR 2, p. 121, no. 1, tav. 122.3.

<sup>30</sup> RIC V/2, Carinus and Numerianus, nos 330–332; MedR 2, p. 123, no. 1, tav. 123.9.

<sup>31</sup> MedR 2, p. 123, no. 1, tav. 123.10.

<sup>32</sup> Gordian III as *divorum Gordd. nepos*: CIL VIII 10431; *nepos divorum Gordd.*: CIL VIII 10330 = ILS 497; *divi Gord. nepos divi Gord. sororis fil.*: CIL VIII 22037; CIL VIII 2365 = 17878; *divi M. Ant. Gord. nepos divi M. Ant. Gord. sororis fil.*: CIL VIII 10079 = 22061; *divi Ant. Gord. nepos divi Ant. Gord. sororis fil.*: CIL VIII 907 = 11169 etc.

<sup>33</sup> RIC IV/3, Trajan Decius, nos 1–49, 51–54, 101–128, 130–131; RPC 9, nos 2, 7–8, 10–23, 39–40, 93–95, 98–100, 224, 400–402, 971, 978, 1221–1222, 1245–1267, 1431–1433, 2048–2073, 2091, 2095–2999, 2175–2180, 2206, 2209–2210, 2215–2116.

<sup>34</sup> AE 1944, no. 53.

<sup>35</sup> RIC IV/3, Philip I, no. 30; RIC IV/3, Philip II, no. 229. Cf. Morelli 2009, pp. 154–155.

The elements of the dynasty also constituted the dead and deified members, *divi* and *divae*.<sup>36</sup> All in all, the number of people involved is not great. The following people were mentioned by name: *augusta*, *caesar*, three emperors, as well as the deceased members of the families who did not bear dynastic titles.

The pleiade of the deified members of 3<sup>rd</sup>-century dynasties is inaugurated by the *augusta* Caecilia Paulina, the wife of Maximinus I. In the first period of his rule the emperor issued the coins DIVA PAVLINA/CONSECRATIO.<sup>37</sup>

In the imperial coinage, consecration issues appeared as late as the reign of Valerian.<sup>38</sup> Among the members of the imperial family, Egnatia Mariniana (DIVAE MARINIANAE), the wife of Valerian, was the first to be honoured in this manner.<sup>39</sup> Subsequent emissions commemorated Valerian junior (Divus Valerianus Caesar), the son of Gallienus, and the grandson of Valerian, who died in 258.<sup>40</sup> The case of Gallienus's son, Saloninus, was different. He died during the turmoil that gripped the Empire in 260, which left Gallienus as the sole figure in power. Numismatic evidence for the deification of Saloninus is scarce and debatable.<sup>41</sup>

The *consecratio* coins also commemorated the members of Carus's dynasty. After his own death during the Persian campaign in 283, coins dedicated to the following were issued: DIVO CARO, DIVO CARO AVG, DIVO CARO PIO, DIVO CARO PARTHICO, DIVO CARO PERS.<sup>42</sup> Other coins commemorated the *divus* Numerianus (died 284), Carus's younger son.<sup>43</sup> The obverse legends of the successive *consecratio* coins contained the name of Nigrinianus (DIVO NIGRI(NI)ANO).<sup>44</sup> The latter was probably a son of Carinus, the grandson of Carus, who died as a small child.

The list of the deified members of 3<sup>rd</sup>-century dynasties is completed by the parents of Philip I. Julius Marinus, the father of the emperor, was commemorated in provincial coins with the inscription ΘΕΩ ΜΑΡΙΝΩ.<sup>45</sup> Certain coins represent Roma,

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Hekster 2015.

<sup>37</sup> RIC IV/2, Maximinus I (Paulina), nos 1–3. Cf. CIL X 5054.

<sup>38</sup> I exclude the coins of the “divi” issued by Decius because I do not classify them – by the criteria indicated – as “dynastic” issues.

<sup>39</sup> RIC V/1, Valerian I (Mariniana), nos 1–12.

<sup>40</sup> RIC V/1, Valerian junior, nos 7–10, 24–28, 31, 35, 41–43.

<sup>41</sup> RIC V/1, Saloninus, no. 15. See also RIC V/1, Quintus Julius Gallienus, no. 1: DIVO CAES Q GALLIENO / CONSECRATIO. The retrospective coin may represent Saloninus or Valerian junior, or another son of Gallienus. Cf. MIR 36, no. 257; Vagi 1999, 1, p. 354.

<sup>42</sup> RIC V/2, Carus, nos 4, 28–30, 47–50, 108–113, 126–127. Cf. Hekster 2015, pp. 96–101.

<sup>43</sup> RIC V/2, Numerianus, nos 424–426.

<sup>44</sup> RIC V/2, Nigrinianus, nos 471–464. See also CIL VI 31380 ([...] *nepoti Cari* [...]). Cf. Gricourt 2000b, p. 31–39; Hedlund 2008, p. 174; Altmayer 2014, pp. 77–78.

<sup>45</sup> BMCG Arabia, p. 42, nos 1–3 (Philippopolis); Spijkerman 1978, pp. 260–261, nos 1–2; Butcher 1986–1987, pl. 25.10. Cf. AE 1928, p. 43 = 1992, no. 1694 (Divo Marino).

who is shown sitting with an eagle in her hand. The eagle carries two figures: Julius Marinus and his wife, the mother of Philip I, whose name remains unknown.<sup>46</sup>

Reverse scenes also featured two or three figures who were a part of the dynasty. The theme of *concordia Augustorum*, illustrated by two figures set against each other, clasping their right hands, was used in the coinage of Gallienus. These depict the *augusta* Salonina as Gallienus's companion.<sup>47</sup> The *dextrarum iunctio* gesture indicated harmony in the ruling family, albeit without the sought-after projection to the future and without indication of the retroactive dynastic continuity. It is possible that Salonina is the figure presented next to Gallienus on the reverse of the medallion promoting *liberalitas*.<sup>48</sup>

In figural scenes, the *caesares* and *augusti (iuniores)* are the most common partners and the companions of the emperor. These figures are individualised by mere details (e.g. *corona radiata/laureata*, *togatus*/in military dress). They commonly assume identical poses and replicate the same gestures, e.g. sitting or standing on a platform in a *liberalitates* scene or *adlocutiones*, or riding on horseback in an *adventus* scene, or riding in a quadriga in a *processus consularis* scene. Their cooperation emphasises their shared attributes, such as a *victoriola*, or their participation in a sacrifice at the *ara*.

Usually the scenes featured two figures, as in the case of the coinage of Maximinus I, Philip I and Tetricus I. They respectively promoted their sons: Maximus, Philip junior, and Tetricus junior. During the reign of Decius, Trebonianus Gallus, Valerian, and Gallienus, as well as Carus, we can identify three people who simultaneously participated in power as *augusti* or *caesares*. In the coinage, however, the representations of three figures were not frequently used, and in this context we might mention that these representations include variants where the empress appears as the third figure next to a pair – *augustus* and *augustus*, or *augustus* and *caesar*.

An interesting example of such this situation appears on the coinage of Decius, who promoted both of his sons, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian, in his succession policy. He was presented exclusively with one of his sons in a figural scene on the reverse of a coin (LIBERALITAS AVG S C).<sup>49</sup> A representation of three *togati*, i.e. Decius, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian, appears on provincial coinage, where they are shown sitting in a platform on the *sellae curules*.<sup>50</sup> On the reverses of other coins, however, two *togati* stand next to each other, and indicate the *dextrarum iunctio* gesture. Here the family group is supplemented by empress Herennia Etruscilla.<sup>51</sup> Decius

<sup>46</sup> BMCG Arabia, pp. 42–43, nos 4–10 (Philippopolis); Spijkerman 1978, pp. 260–261, no. 1, and p. 259, n. 8; Butcher 1986–1987, pl. 25.9–10.

<sup>47</sup> RIC V/1, Gallienus, JR, (Salonina), no. 63. See also MedR 2, p. 111, no. 7 (interpreted as Gallienus and Saloninus).

<sup>48</sup> MedR 2, p. 110, no. 3, tav. 115.7. Cf. Balbuza 2019, pp. 15–17.

<sup>49</sup> MedR 3, p. 92, no. 5, tav. 161.3.

<sup>50</sup> RPC 9, nos 1469, 1483 (Anazarbus). Cf. Kluczek 2021, pp. 46, 54–59.

<sup>51</sup> RPC 9, nos 2077, 2082 (Caesarea Maritima).

and Herennius Etruscus died in 251 during the Goth campaign, whereas Hostilian, who was predeceased by his father and brother by a few months, became a sort of a link between the dynasties of Decius and Trebonianus Gallus. In his coinage, Trebonianus Gallus features exclusively in a pair with his son Volusian. The sestertius IMP CAE C VAL HOS MES QVINTVS AVG, bust of Hostilian/QVINTO FELIX S C, Pax standing, merits particular attention. Mattingly interpreted the content of this reverse as an echo of the language of the vows: “May the peace (between the new Emperor, Trebonianus Gallus, and the old dynasty) be happy for Quintus” Hostilian.<sup>52</sup>

Reverse iconography featuring three figures also reflects the dynastic situation in the reign of Valerian and Gallienus, at whose side stand Valerian junior (successively) and Saloninus in the role of *caesares*. Valerian junior was depicted with his father and grandfather, the three riding a quadriga,<sup>53</sup> while Saloninus, his grandfather, and father appear on horseback, led by Victoria and accompanied by soldiers.<sup>54</sup> The three horsemen are preceded by Victoria, and represent Carus and his sons, Carinus and Numerian.<sup>55</sup>

Information of “genealogical” nature may be perceived in the iconographical arrangements of coins and medallions. In certain images the members of the dynasty or the figures who symbolised them are not a part of a single generation, but represent two generations of the ruling *domus*. In this context, we can distinguish representations featured on the emissions of the empresses.<sup>56</sup>

In some representations Salonina appears in the company of children. A group of three children features on the ABVNDANTIA TEMPORVM bronze medallions,<sup>57</sup> while three or two children are shown on the FECVNDITAS AVG (S C), PIETAS AVGG (S C) and PIETAS AVG S C coins.<sup>58</sup> Female figures also appears on the reverses of these coins: personifications of Abundantia, Fecunditas or Pietas, the latter sometimes identified with Salonina herself. Children are also featured in a mythological scene on medallions of the PIETAS FALERI type.<sup>59</sup> We must confront the question of the possible identification of the two and three child protagonists. By

<sup>52</sup> RIC IV/3, Hostilian, no. 222. See: Mattingly 1950, p. 189.

<sup>53</sup> RIC V/1, Valerian I, no. 156.

<sup>54</sup> MedR 1, p. 55, no. 1, tav. 27.10.

<sup>55</sup> MedR 2, p. 123, no. 1, tav. 123.10.

<sup>56</sup> On the values promoted in the coinage, which appeared in the name of empresses, see: Mikocki 1997; Klein 1998; Kaczanowicz 2010, pp. 481–489 (Salonina); Balbuza 2014, pp. 185–195 (Otacilia Severa).

<sup>57</sup> MedR 2, p. 110, no. 1, tav. 115.8. Cf. MIR 36, no. 309.

<sup>58</sup> FECVNDITAS AVG (S C): RIC V/1, Gallienus, JR, (Salonina), nos 15, 26, 45, 51, 57; cf. MIR 36, nos 930–932, 934–935; PIETAS AVGG (S C): RIC V/1, Gallienus, JR, no. 191; RIC V/1, Gallienus, JR, (Salonina), nos 11, 23, 35, 41, 47, 54, 72–74; cf. MedR 3, p. 59, no. 10, tav. 155.14; MIR 36, nos 229, 317A–B, and no. 460 (sole reign of Gallienus); PIETAS AVG S C: RIC V/1, Gallienus, SR, (Salonina), no. 50.

<sup>59</sup> MedR 1, p. 8, no. 1, tav. 3.7, p. 54, no. 1, tav. 27.8; cf. MIR 36, no. 942A.

taking into account the death of the first (258) and second (260) sons of Gallienus, we might assume that either the imperial couple saw the birth of a greater number of children whose names have not been preserved, or – by assuming that the figures of the children allude to actual children – that in some representations living and dead descendants are featured next to each other. I believe that the second option is more plausible. In dynastic propaganda, allusions to the deceased exhibit the attributes and *virtutes* of the living family members.

I do not interpret the content of the coins in a literal way. They are not a chronicle either of political events or – this remark applies above all to the reverses – an album featuring the representations of the members of the family. It is, therefore, just a conjecture that a group of children allude to the numerous children of the imperial couple, to the deceased and the living young representatives of the dynasty. In a similar way, the presence of a child in the numismatic iconography of Herennia Etruscilla's FECVNDITAS AVGG type,<sup>60</sup> as well as the PIETAS AVG N, PVDICITIA AVG S C (which also feature Felicitas in the iconography), and FECVNDITAS TEMPORVM types of Otacilia Severa,<sup>61</sup> may instead be a metaphor of the fertility of the empress and the existence of children.

The presence of two rulers appears in an original form on the colonial coins of Volusian. These depict two cornucopiae joined at base, from which emerge two human heads, one of a young ruler with a *corona laureata* and the other of his father in a *corona radiata*.<sup>62</sup> Similar representations on the bronzes of Gallienus probably allude to the sons of the younger *augustus*.<sup>63</sup> The presence of two rulers and another generation in the dynasty are hereby associated with the ideas of abundance and prosperity (*cornucopiae*).

#### DYNASTIC ROLES: THE POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND THE GEOGRAPHICAL SPHERE OF ACTIVITY OF THE RULERS

The emperor was traditionally presented in the coinage undertaking the actual or symbolic functions that he performed in the Empire. He was a citizen, a consul, a leader and a military leader (*imperator*), a priest (*pontifex maximus*), a protege and the collaborator of the gods (*comes*), a victor and the one who ensured the

<sup>60</sup> RIC IV/3, Trajan Decius (Herennia Etruscilla), no. 135.

<sup>61</sup> RIC IV/3, Philip I (Otacilia Severa), nos 132 (FECVNDITAS TEMPORVM), 133–134 (PIETAS AVG N), 207 (PIETAS AVG S C), 210–211 (PVDICITIA AVG S C).

<sup>62</sup> RPC 9, no. 1269; Krzyżanowska 1970, pp. 76–77, 196 and pl. 32.15 (Antioch, Pisidia). The application of the motif of two confronted heads on the crossed cornucopias in combination with a member of the ruling families, see: Lichocka 2013, pp. 428–445.

<sup>63</sup> SNG vA, no. 4983; Milne 1947, pp. 102 and 107, no. 8; Krzyżanowska 1970, pp. 83, 207 and pl. 37.30–31 (Antioch, Pisidia).

prosperity of the Empire.<sup>64</sup> In many “images” these roles appear as schematics, sometimes elaborate, sometimes conventional, and sometimes in an original form. Each of them may be considered in their functional, spatial, and ideological contexts. The interactions between the emperor and the people of Rome, the provincial communities, the members of the imperial family, the soldiers, the members of the collegia of priests, foreign kings, barbarians etc., provided a set of possibilities and occasions to present the attitudes and gestures of the ruler, which expressed the essence of these relations.

The promotion of a dynasty was carried out by featuring various configurations of the emperor, his co-ruler or successor, and the empress in coin imagery. Sometimes their figures were accompanied by personifications of virtues and ideas. These compositions, which constitute (on various planes of association) the scenery of imperial presence, and which symbolise imperial activities, were commented upon by legends. The inscriptions usually indicate the direction of interpretation, harmonising with or extending the sense of the iconographical message by delineating its semantic field as well and indicating the presence of paired rulers or members of the imperial family by means of the *Augustorum* (AVGG, AVGGG, AVGVSTORVM) formula.

#### SACRIFICES

In sacrificial scenes the basic design of two figures at a small altar can be interpreted as a pair of rulers making offering. They are identified in accordance with the current dynastic situation.

A bronze medallion of Maximinus I bearing the reverse inscription P M TR P III COS P P depicts the emperor and his son Maximus sacrificing at altar. On this medallion Hercules stands behind Maximinus I, crowning him, while Apollo stands next to Maximus.<sup>65</sup> This is an important representation in the coinage of Maximinus I, who is rarely shown making an offering.<sup>66</sup>

The bronze medallions of Philip I, Philip junior, and Otacilia Severa, depict two rulers making an offering at the altar. A temple is visible in the background. The reverses bear the inscription P M TR P III COS P P and SAECVLVM NOVVM.<sup>67</sup> The latter, occasion-related theme (*saeculum novum*), was associated with the celebration of the millennium of Rome in 248, and the commemoration of this anniversary. The reverses show the rulers making an offering before the *templum Romae aeternae et Veneris felicis*, since the anniversary celebrations were focused

<sup>64</sup> Cf., e.g., King 1999, pp. 127–131.

<sup>65</sup> MedR 1, p. 86, no. 2, tav. 102.7.

<sup>66</sup> Cf. MedR 2, p. 86, no. 2. Cf. Scott Ryberg 1955, p. 186.

<sup>67</sup> P M TR P III COS P P: MedR 2, p. 95, no. 7, tav. 107.6, p. 98, no. 6, tav. 109.2; SAECVLVM NOVVM: MedR 2, p. 97, no. 8, tav. 108.9, p. 99, no. 13, tav. 109.6, p. 100, no. 5.

on the worship of the goddess Roma. Provincial coins also depict Philip I and his son sacrificing at an altar.<sup>68</sup>

The FORTVNAE REDVCI-type bronze medallions of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, depict two rulers sacrificing at the altar before the temple with a statue of Fortuna.<sup>69</sup> Two rulers sacrificing in front of a temple also appear on a VOTA AVGG-type medallion of Trebonianus Gallus. Each of these emperors are crowned by Victoria, who stands behind them.<sup>70</sup> The return of Gallus from the Gothic War in 252 provided one occasion to celebrate the *vota* and make an offering to Fortuna. This militaristic context is also visible in the representation of another Volusian medallion, the VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM type. On this medallion Volusian makes an offering in honour of *virtus*, in his name and that of his father.<sup>71</sup> Individual issues in the provincial coinage also depict Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian sacrificing together.<sup>72</sup>

The theme of *pietas* (*Augusti, Augustorum*) is an important feature in the coinage of Valerian and Gallienus. The antoniniani of Valerian and Gallienus include examples of the PIETAS AVGG-type, depicting both emperors standing against each other, sacrificing at altar.<sup>73</sup> This is a new scene in Roman coinage illustrating *pietas* (*pietas in sacris*). Concern and responsibility for the Empire are embedded in this imperial *pietas*, while originality is imparted by a symbolic representation of the partnership of the *augusti*. We might perceive a further allegory in it: *pietas mutua*, for *pietas* was an attitude “towards” another person, obliging one to discharge duties towards that person.

The theme of sacrifice by the emperor and his son at the altar appears on the aurei of Tetricus I and Tetricus junior bearing the inscription P M TR P COS III P P VOT X. The details of these coins are of interest: both rulers hold sceptres in their left hands, one of whom also holds a *patera*, while the other holds a *globus* and is crowned by Victoria.<sup>74</sup> These aurei were issued in the last year of the reign of Tetricus I and his son (274), and their vows express a hope for further rule, sym-

<sup>68</sup> RPC 8, unassigned, ID 2424, 2294, 2322, 2435, 2446, 27176 (Neapolis); RPC 8, unassigned, ID 6467 (Heliopolis).

<sup>69</sup> MedR 2, p. 104, no. 2, no. 3, tav. 111.4, p. 103, no. 3, tav. 111.9, p. 103, no. 4, tav. 111.10. Cf. Scott Ryberg 1955, p. 188.

<sup>70</sup> MedR 2, p. 103, no. 6, tav. 111.7.

<sup>71</sup> MedR 2, p. 104, no. 3, tav. 112.3.

<sup>72</sup> RPC 9, nos 2001, 2030 (Tyre), 2139 (Neapolis).

<sup>73</sup> RIC V/1, Valerian I, no. 285; RIC V/1, Gallienus, JR, nos 446–447.

<sup>74</sup> GGK, Tetricus I, nos 59–60; obv. IMP TETRICI AVGG, bust of Tetricus I, facing bust of Tetricus junior. Cf. the bronze coins of Valerian I and Gallienus, with similar iconography: two emperors standing face to face, holding *phiale* over a lighted altar, above, Nike with wings expanded, and holding in each extended hand a wreath over the head of each emperor: BMCG Phrygia, p. 415, no. 32 (Temenothyrae).

bolised by a *globus*, the gesture of crowning. Soon after the production of this coin, Aurelian put an end to the *Imperium Galliarum*.

The antoniniani of Carinus' and Numerian's VOTA PVBLICA type depict both rulers standing and sacrificing at a tripod, with two standards behind.<sup>75</sup> Issued in 284, these coins may have been associated with the elevation of Numerian, who became Carinus's "co-ruler". They may have been the vows *pro salute et reditu* for both emperors, and also for the marriage of Carinus with Magnia Urbica.<sup>76</sup>

### LIBERALITAS

Certain images refer to the emperor's duties towards the citizens. Rulers appear jointly in scenes of *liberalitates* which symbolise imperial grace and generosity toward the people of Rome (*liberalitas*). The basic reverse design in this group consists of a depiction of the members of the imperial family sitting on a *sella*, accompanied by a personification of Liberalitas with a *cornucopiae*, *abacus* or *tessera*, and by a citizen – a beneficiary of *liberalitas*.

These representations are common, and appear in particularly large numbers in the coinage of Philip I and Philip junior, indicating the successive *liberalitates* that were held by them (*liberalitas* I, AD 244, *liberalitas* II, AD 245, *liberalitas* III, AD 248, *liberalitas* IIII, AD 249 (?)).<sup>77</sup>

A single coin type of Decius (LIBERALITAS AVG S C) depicts the emperor and his son Herennius Etruscus.<sup>78</sup> It is likely that these coins refer to the *congiarium* of the early period of this ruler's reign (in 249).

*Liberalitas* was also one of the most popular virtues of Valerian and Gallienus. Two rulers feature in the *liberalitates* scenes on the medallions and the coins of these issuers (*liberalitas* I, AD 253, *liberalitas* II, AD 254 or 255, *liberalitas* III, AD 256).<sup>79</sup> The reverses of the LIBERALITAS AVGG medallions issued for Gallienus and Salonina are an exception case in which a space next to the emperor is occupied by the empress.<sup>80</sup>

<sup>75</sup> RIC V/2, Carinus, nos 315–316; RIC V/2, Numerianus, no. 461.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Mattingly 1950, p. 191, n. 59; Gricourt 2000a, pp. 55–56.

<sup>77</sup> RIC IV/3, Philip I, nos 179 (*liberalitas* I), 182–183 (*liberalitas* III); RIC IV/3, Philip II, nos 266 (*liberalitas* II), 230, 267 (*liberalitas* III), 245 (*liberalitas* IIII). See also: MedR 2, p. 94, no. 6, tav. 107.5 (motive of *congiarium*). Both rulers are represented on colonial coins, they are sitting opposite Fortuna: RPC 8, unassigned, ID 2415 (Neapolis).

<sup>78</sup> RIC IV/3, Trajan Decius, no. 122 (2ses).

<sup>79</sup> RIC V/1, Valerian and Gallienus, nos 5 (*liberalitas* I), 6 (*liberalitas* II), 7 (*liberalitas* III); RIC V/1, Valerian I, nos 45, 105 (*liberalitas* III); RIC V/1, Gallienus, JR, nos 84, 431 (*liberalitas* III); see also RIC V/1, Valerian I, no. 102; RIC V/1, Gallienus, JR, no. 150; MedR 2, p. 105, no. 4, tav. 112.7.

<sup>80</sup> MedR 2, p. 110, no. 3, tav. 115.7.

### DECURSIO AND ADVENTUS

Types that symbolise the arrival and departure of rulers in imperial cities replicate two basic designs: rulers on horseback (*decursio*) and rulers on horseback, led by Victoria, with soldiers marching behind them (*adventus*). Both may be described as instances of *adventus*. These medallions and coins become relatively plentiful from the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century onwards.

During Philip I's reign a silver ADVENTVS AVGG-type medallion was issued to mark his return from the war to Rome. It featured the busts of the emperor and Otacilia Severa on the obverse (CONCORDIA AVGG), and a representation of two rulers riding horses.<sup>81</sup> The theme of rulers on horseback also became a staple of provincial coins.<sup>82</sup>

Bronze ADVENTVS AVGG-type pieces of the reign of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian were issued to mark the arrival of the emperors into Rome in 252. They include both *decursio* and *adventus* types: rulers on horseback,<sup>83</sup> and rulers on horseback, led by Victoria and followed by marching soldiers.<sup>84</sup>

During the reign of Valerian and Gallienus the ADVENTVS AVGG type became more common. The representation of two horsemen, with Victoria and soldiers, appears on medallions of Valerian and Gallienus with PIETAS AVGVSTORVM or CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM obverses,<sup>85</sup> and on issues of Gallienus and Gallienus and Salonina with CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM obverses.<sup>86</sup> These emissions were probably associated with the promotion of the rulers and their arrival in Rome in 253, and also emphasised imperial presence and virtues. This image is further replicated by the medallions of Gallienus and Valerian junior (CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM/ADVENTVS AVGG<sup>87</sup>). Other bronze medallions of Gallienus with a reverse legend ADVENTVS AVGG represent as many as three horsemen led by Victoria, as well as soldiers.<sup>88</sup> Such an extended group is also featured on the reverse of the silver and bronze CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM/ADVENTVS AVGG medallions. The obverse features two busts: Gallienus and one of his sons, Valerian junior or Saloninus. The identity of the three rulers

<sup>81</sup> MedR 1, p. 49, no. 1, tav. 24.8.

<sup>82</sup> RPC 8, unassigned; ID 70242 and 48697 (Bizya).

<sup>83</sup> MedR 2, p. 103, no. 1, tav. 111.8.

<sup>84</sup> RIC IV/3, Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, no. 128; MedR 2, p. 102, no. 1, tav. 111.1–2, p. 103, no. 2, p. 104, no. 1.

<sup>85</sup> MedR 2, p. 99, no. 2, tav. 109.9 (wrongly assigned to Philip I and Philip II), p. 105, no. 2, tav. 113.2, p. 105, no. 3, tav. 113.3, p. 106, no. 5, tav. 113.7; MedR 3, p. 52, no. 5, tav. 154.9.

<sup>86</sup> MedR 3, p. 47, no. 3, tav. 153.17 (wrongly assigned to Philip I and Otacilia), p. 59, nos 3, tav. 155.9, 11, 12.

<sup>87</sup> MedR 2, p. 111, no. 2, tav. 116.2.

<sup>88</sup> MedR 2, pp. 106–107, no. 6, tav. 113.8.

represented on the reverse may also be interpreted in various ways: Valerian, Gallienus and Valerian junior or Saloninus.<sup>89</sup>

The bronze medallion with the busts of Carus, Carinus and Numerian on the obverse (IMP CARO AVG CARINO ET NVMERIANO CAESS) replicates the ADVENTVS AVGG type, with a representation of three horsemen, led by Victoria and accompanied by Virtus (?) and soldiers.<sup>90</sup> During the reign of the dynasty of Carus a new iconography of the *adventus* theme was developed. The *aurei* of Carinus and Numerian, of the ADVENTVS AVGG NN type, represent both co-rulers who face each other and who are holding a *victoriola*, whereas Victoria herself crowns them.<sup>91</sup>

The *decursio* model appears on the coinage of Tetricus I. The reverse of the *aureus* of the P M TR P II COS II type represents two horsemen, in which one may perceive the emperor and his son, Tetricus junior.<sup>92</sup>

### ADLOCUTIO

The relationship between the emperor and the soldiers is symbolised by the numismatic pieces of the *adlocutio* group.<sup>93</sup> They depict a commander who makes an allocution to those under his command. During the 3<sup>rd</sup>-century crisis the *adlocutiones* with two rulers appear exclusively in the iconography of medallions.

The medallions of Philip I and Philip junior, Valerian and Gallienus, and Numerian are recalled by the legends ADLOCVTIO AVVG or ADLOCVTIO AVGVSTORVM, and the following scenes recur: the emperors are standing on a platform, they are accompanied by a praetorian prefect, and they usually address an allocution to a group of soldiers standing below.<sup>94</sup> As an exceptional case, Gallienus's medallions additionally represent two captives.<sup>95</sup>

<sup>89</sup> MedR 1, p. 55, no. 1, tav. 27.10; MedR 2, p. 99, no. 3, tav. 109.10 (wrongly assigned to Philip I and his son).

<sup>90</sup> MedR 2, p. 123, no. 1, tav. 123.10.

<sup>91</sup> RIC V/2, Carinus, no. 317; RIC V/2, Numerianus, no. 462.

<sup>92</sup> GGK, Tetricus I, no. 32.

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Hedlund 2008, pp. 103–104 and 232: *adlocutio* as “a demonstration of presence” of the emperor.

<sup>94</sup> Philip I and Philip junior: MedR 2, p. 94, no. 1, tav. 107.1; Valerian and Gallienus: MedR 1, p. 52, no. 1, tav. 26.7; MedR 2, p. 105, no. 1, tav. 113.1, p. 106, no. 3, tav. 113.6; Numerian: MedR 2, p. 122, no. 1, tav. 123.2.

<sup>95</sup> MedR 2, p. 106, nos 1–2, tav. 113.4–5.

TRIUMPH AND THE *PROCESSUS CONSULARIS*

Celebrations in which rulers participated, such as the *processus consularis* or the *pompa triumphalis*, were symbolised in coinage *inter alia* by the image of a ruler riding a quadriga. Co-rulers or “successors” were sometimes shown riding with the emperor in a vehicle. This was a declaration and a confirmation of dynastic plans. It established a link between the values associated with these celebrations and the hopes for stable rule ensured by the existence of a successor, or alternatively the introduction of a dynastic idea through the nomination of *caesares* or a *co-augustus*.

When Philip junior was elevated to the rank of *augustus* and received his first consulship in 247, the event was commemorated with a bronze medallion (PONTIFEX MAX TR P IIII COS II P P) depicting the father and son in a quadriga to the left being crowned by Victoria.<sup>96</sup> The medallions of the same type (PONTIFEX MAX TR P IIII COS II P P), and of the VICTORIAE AVGVSTORVM type, with the busts of Philip I, Philip junior and Otacilia Severa on the obverse (CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM), depict the same scene in a frontal perspective on the reverse. These medallions also depict Mars and Virtus marching alongside the vehicle,<sup>97</sup> since they were designed to commemorate the victory over the barbarians. These representations – the emperors in the quadriga, Victoria with a wreath, and the presence of Mars and Virtus – reappear in reference to the successive joint consulship of the Philips (AD 248) in the emissions of the PONTIFEX MAX TR P V COS III P P type.<sup>98</sup> Finally the medallion of Philip I, Philip junior and Otacilia Severa (CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM) issued in the same year shows a quadriga with Victoria in the carriage, inviting the emperors to board it. Mars appears behind these figures, while two captives are seated nearby. The reverse inscription alludes to the triumph over the barbarians (GERM MAX CARPICI MAX) and the consulships of the emperors (III ET II COS).<sup>99</sup> Interestingly, an example from the colonial coinage depicts both rulers riding in a quadriga, accompanied by a third figure identified as Otacilia Severa.<sup>100</sup>

Bronze coins and medallions of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian commemorated their joint consulship (AD 252). The reverses of medallions bearing the inscription PONTIF MAX TR P II COS II ET COS depict a vehicle drawn by six horses, facing straight ahead, with two emperors in it. Victoria, who is standing between them, spreads her wings, Mars and Virtus stand next to the horses.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>96</sup> MedR 2, p. 95, no. 8, p. 96, no. 2, tav. 108.4. Cf. also MedR 2, p. 96, no. 5, tav. 108.6.

<sup>97</sup> MedR 2, p. 98, no. 10, tav. 109.4 (PONTIFEX MAX TR P IIII COS II P P); MedR 2, p. 99, no. 17, tav. 109.8 (VICTORIAE AVGVSTORVM).

<sup>98</sup> MedR 1, pp. 6–7, no. 2, tav. 2.4; MedR 2, p. 96, no. 4, tav. 108.5.

<sup>99</sup> MedR 2, p. 97, no. 4, tav. 109.1.

<sup>100</sup> RPC 8, unassigned; ID 2452 and 2491 (Neapolis). Cf. Harl 1984, p. 83, no. 57.

<sup>101</sup> MedR 2, p. 103, no. 6, tav. 112.2, p. 104, no. 7.

A similar representation appears on the PONTIF MAX TR P II COS II S C type asses of Gallus.<sup>102</sup>

During the reign of Valerian and Gallienus the reverse of the medallion of the PONTIF MAX TR P P P type depicts Victoria standing on a quadriga and beckoning two emperors to enter the carriage. Mars and a *ferculum* with captives are nearby.<sup>103</sup> The image of two *augusti* and a *caesar* riding together in a quadriga was put on the reverses of the bronze coins of Valerian's FELICIT AVGVSTORVM S C type.<sup>104</sup> In 257, the year of his fourth consulship and the third consulship of Gallienus, Valerian issued a bronze medallion of the FELICITAS TEMPORVM III ET III COS type, which depicts Victoria carrying a wreath above three rulers.<sup>105</sup> An interesting medallion with the reverse inscription (?) COS [...] MARINIANO dates back to the period of Gallienus's independent rule (AD 267?).<sup>106</sup> It represents three figures riding in a quadriga: the emperor, crowned by Victoria, and her third son (?), to whom a *genius* offers a wreath.

The final piece in this group was issued in 283. It is of the TRIVNFV QVADOR type, representing two rulers riding in a quadriga, with Victoria marching in front of it. A *ferculum* with captives is represented in the background. The medallion with the bust on the obverse and the inscription IMP NVMERIANVS P F AVG commemorated Carinus's victories over the Quadi, but the entire dynasty could enjoy the glory of this triumph.<sup>107</sup>

#### VICTORIA, VIRTUS AND THE BARBARIANS

Various figures (e.g. Victoria, soldiers) and details (e.g. *vexilla*, *aquilae*, *victoriola*) in numismatic iconography provide military and the victory-related contexts for the various scenes that were represented. The point of reference is always the emperor, or rather emperor and his co-ruler. The concept of an emperor-victor, promoted in the coin-related propaganda, was based, among other things, on the image of a Roman confronting a barbarian, who appears in the role of a captive or an enemy.<sup>108</sup>

<sup>102</sup> RIC IV/3, Trebonianus Gallus, no. 98.

<sup>103</sup> MedR 2, p. 105, no. 5, tav. 112.8.

<sup>104</sup> RIC V/1, Valerian I, no. 156.

<sup>105</sup> MedR 2, p. 104, no. 3, tav. 112.6.

<sup>106</sup> MedR 2, p. 107, no. 9, tav. 113.10. Cf. MIR 36, no. 1453. On the place of Marinianus in the Gallienus's dynastic policy cf. Zaccaria 1978b, pp. 64–66; Grandvallet 2006, pp. 133–141; Kluczek 2017, pp. 31–47. The Gallienus' third son – e.g. Manni 1949, pp. 72–73; Holmes 2005, p. 761; Morelli 2009, p. 156; Glas 2014, pp. 66, 243; De Blois 2018, p. 86.

<sup>107</sup> MedR 2, p. 123, no. 11, tav. 123.8.

<sup>108</sup> Cf. Caló Levi 1952; Heitz 2006, pp. 204–206; Kluczek 2009, pp. 233–236, 249–295.

In this group of representations, the rulers are only sporadically depicted in combat. An original representation is featured on the medallions of Numerian (VIRTVS AVGVSTORVM). Two rulers, armed, on horseback, attack six enemies, and are crowned by two flying Victorias.<sup>109</sup> In some respects this representation supplements the message of Numerian's TRIVNFV QVADOR type medallion, which comments on the result of the fight between the Romans and the barbarians.

Earlier on at the same mint (Siscia), coins and medallions summarising Carus's military campaign in 282 were issued in the names of Carus and Carinus. These pieces were as follows: gold multiples of the VICTORIAE AVGVSTT (*sic!*) and VICTORIE (*sic!*) types, in which two Victorias with two captives sitting at their feet are shown holding a shield with an inscription VOTIS X or X, gold aurei of the VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM type with two rulers jointly holding a victoriola, aurei of the VICTORIA AVGG FEL type with an image of Victoria, and aurei of the VICTORIA AVGG type with an image of the emperor being crowned by Victoria in the presence of supplicants.<sup>110</sup> The main theme of this group is the idea of *victoria*, and in particular the co-attribution of glory from victory to Carinus, first the successor, and later the co-ruler of Carus. In addition, the aurei of Numerian – the third member of the family – of the VICTORIA AVGG type replicate the image of the emperor, Victoria, and captives.<sup>111</sup> Notable features include collectivity and the embracing of all rulers in a positive aura, resulting from the glory of victory: the *victoria* of co-rulers was traditionally indivisible. In Rome, antoniniani of Numerian's VND(I)QVE VICTORES type were later produced in 283/284 and 284.<sup>112</sup> They depict the emperor or the emperor and captives. The reverse inscription refers the idea of victory illustrated in such a manner to the Roman emperors.

This is an example of well-developed propaganda, which claimed that *virtus*, incarnated in the emperor and his successor, bore fruit in the form of victory. This trend of propaganda manifested itself to a varying extent, but was present throughout the entire period of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-century crisis. It already appears on the bronze pieces of Maximinus I's VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM (S C) type, which present the emperor and his son, *caesar* Maximus, as victors over the barbarians.<sup>113</sup> The emperor in military dress and the *caesar* in a *toga*, are both holding a small Victoria, with captives sitting at their feet, and a soldier nearby.

The subsequent dynasties of the period 235–284 employed this solution in their coinage only in exceptional cases. Indeed, Philip I issued bronze medallions of the

<sup>109</sup> MedR 1, p. 11, no. 1, tav. 4.7; MedR 2, p. 123, no. 12. Cf. Gricourt 2000a, part. p. 51. Cf. also Hedlund 2008, s. 71–73; Altmayer 2014, pp. 49, 157–158.

<sup>110</sup> See Gricourt 2000a, pp. 48–49. See also: MedR 1, p. 11, no. 1, tav. 4.8 (VICTORIAE AVGVSTT), RIC V/2, Carus, no. 98 (VICTORIA AVGG FEL). Cf. Altmayer 2014, pp. 84–85.

<sup>111</sup> RIC V/2, Numerianus, no. 443.

<sup>112</sup> RIC V/2, Numerianus, nos 422–423. Cf. Gricourt 2000a, pp. 35–37 and 39–41.

<sup>113</sup> MedR 2, p. 86, no. 3, tav. 102.8; RIC IV/2, Maximinus I, no. 89.

VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM type, which depict two rulers holding a *victoriola* in the company of two soldiers.<sup>114</sup> The antoniniani of Philip I's VIRTVS AVGG type show both rulers on horseback.<sup>115</sup> Philip I's coinage also features other "triumph-related" emissions, whose content alludes to military victories. To these specimens we might add the antoniniani of Philip junior's PRINCIPI IVVENT and P M TR P VI COS P P types, which depict a young prince with a barbarian at his feet.<sup>116</sup> The combination of this image with the theme of *princeps iuventutis* is particularly notable. Previously this dynastic title accorded to the "successors to the throne" was not associated with barbarian themes on the imperial coinage.

The personification of Victoria also appears on the medallions of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian of the ADVENTVS AVGG and VOTA AVGG types.

In the imperial coinage of the middle of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, we can identify the concepts of *victoria* and *virtus*, but the barbarian theme is not present. This absence is perceptible in the so-called first great crisis (249–253). This may reflect the echoes of defeat in the war against the Goths of 250–251. However, at the same time the provincial mints, which were not numerous, struck coins with barbarian themes, depicting the fight between a Roman on horseback with his captive enemy at the foot of Nike, sometimes below a *tropaion*,<sup>117</sup> or with the barbarian (?) as a supplicant kneeling before Roma.<sup>118</sup>

Emissions presenting the ruler's capacity for victory in this literal manner appear on the imperial coinage as late as the reign of Valerian I and Gallienus. However, in the iconography of this period, there is no depiction of both rulers fighting their enemies or defeating barbarians.

#### LEGITIMISATION OF THE IMPERIAL POWER

An interesting group of representations is formed by coins and medallions that feature the figures of rulers and the gods that sanctioned their reign. This combination touches upon the essence of dynastic policy. While the transfer of power to previously anointed heirs was an aim pursued by rulers with male descendants, during the 3<sup>rd</sup> century the assumption of power was usually achieved by usurpation and the elimination of the previous ruler. In this context, the significance of the promotion of the dynastic idea, the idea of gods choosing a specific emperor, and the divine support that his family enjoyed comes to the fore.

<sup>114</sup> MedR 2, p. 95, no. 10, tav. 107.8.

<sup>115</sup> RIC IV/3, Philip I, no. 10.

<sup>116</sup> RIC IV/3, Philip II, nos 219, 237.

<sup>117</sup> Decius: RPC 9, nos 325, 326, 327 (Nicomedia), 572–574 (Magnesia ad Sipylum), 2057 (Caesarea Maritima), 2256, 2257, 2279 (Alexandria); Herennius Etruscus: RPC 9, nos 2289–2290 (Alexandria), 2084 (Caesarea Maritima).

<sup>118</sup> Volusian: RPC 9, no 1278 (Antiochia).

The asses of Maximinus I (P M TR P II COS P P S C) depict the emperor and a second figure, supposedly *caesar* Maximus, being crowned by Victoria.<sup>119</sup> Bronze medallions, with the obverse MAXIMINVS ET MAXIMVS AVGVSTI GERMANICI, depict portraits of the emperor and the *caesar* facing each other. The reverse P M TR P III COS P P depicts both rulers crowned by Hercules and Apollo, with a female figure with a *globus* in the background (Roma?).<sup>120</sup> With their presence and crowning gestures, the gods express their approval for the *augustus* and *caesar*.

In the coinage of Trebonianus Gallus, Victoria is shown crowning the emperor and his son, who are riding a quadriga (PONTIF MAX TR P II COS II S C) or standing at an altar before a temple (VOTA AVGG).<sup>121</sup>

Images that convey divine sanction toward a pair of rulers were introduced to many coin and medallion reverses during the reign of Carus's dynasty. The idea of *a diis electus* is symbolised either by the gesture of crowning, or the gesture of the offering the rulers a *globus*.

The aurei of Carinus' and Numerian's ADVENTVS AVGG NN type show the rulers holding a *victoriola* and being crowned by Victoria.<sup>122</sup> Gold and bronze medallions of Carinus' VIRTVS AVGVSTOR type show Carus handing the statuette of Victoria to Carinus, with Sol and Hercules stood behind crowning the rulers, or alternatively Carinus and Numerian being crowned by Sol and Hercules.<sup>123</sup>

A more common image depicts a ruler in military dress, standing with a spear or a sceptre in his right hand, receiving a *globus* or a *victoriola* from a figure standing opposite him. This theme appears on the antoniniani of the IOVI CONSER, CLEMENTIA TEMP, VIRTVS AVGG, VIRTVS AVGGG types.<sup>124</sup> These images were employed on the coinage of all three members of the dynasty, while Carinus and Numerian issued these coins both as *caesares*, and as *augusti*. The figure offering the *globus* – a symbol of power – is particularly notable. It may be identified as one of the members of the family – either Carus, Carinus, or Numerian – or alternatively as Jupiter. The ambiguity of this figure suggests that the scene is an expression of divine investiture, either depicting the anointing of the successors

<sup>119</sup> RIC IV/2, Maximinus I, no. 34.

<sup>120</sup> MedR 1, p. 86, no. 2, tav. 102.7. Cf. the sestertii of Caracalla and Geta, with similar reverse iconography: RIC 4.1, Caracalla, nos 459, 508A–C; RIC IV/1, Geta, no. 155.

<sup>121</sup> RIC IV/3, Trebonianus Gallus, no. 98; MedR 2, p. 103, no. 6, tav. 111.7.

<sup>122</sup> RIC V/2, Carinus, no. 317; RIC V/2, Numerianus, no. 462.

<sup>123</sup> MedR 1, p. 10, no. 1, tav. 4.4–5; MedR 2, p. 121, no. 8, tav. 12.29.

<sup>124</sup> IOVI CONSER: RIC V/2, Carinus, no. 314; CLEMENTIA TEMP: RIC V/2, Carus (Carinus *caes.*), no. 202; RIC V/2, Carus (Numerianus *caes.*), no. 372; RIC V/2, Carinus, nos 323–324; RIC V/2, Numerianus, no. 463; VIRTVS AVGG: RIC V/2, Carus, nos 124, 128; RIC V/2, Carus (Carinus *caes.*), nos 206–207, 209; RIC V/2, Carus (Numerianus *caes.*), nos 376–377, 380; RIC V/2, Carinus, nos 325–326, 329; RIC V/2, Numerianus, nos 466, 468, 470; VIRTVS AVGGG: RIC V/2, Carus, no. 125; RIC V/2, Carus (Carinus *caes.*), no. 208; RIC V/2, Carus (Numerianus *caes.*), nos 378–379; RIC V/2, Carinus, nos 314a, 327; RIC V/2, Numerianus, no. 469.

by the founder of the dynasty or the co-operation of the rulers. The essence of this representation is always associated with the problem of the legitimisation of power, placed on the divine or dynastic plane.

### CONCORDIA, FELICITAS AND SPES PUBLICA

The iconographic themes and legends used on coins and medallions project the condition of the Roman state under the reign of a specific dynasty. *Concordia Augustorum*, *pietas Augustorum*, *virtus Augustorum*, *victoria Augustorum* and other values were incorporated into the members of the dynasty, transformed into their specific activity, and were supposed to provide prosperity and internal stability to the Roman Empire, as well as imparting a strong position in relations with neighbouring peoples and states.

In this context we might note the bronze pieces with the busts of Gallienus and Salonina and legend CONCORDIA AVGG on the obverse, and the image of a female figure (Salonina?) and three children in the company of Victoria and the inscription [FELICI]TATIS on the reverse.<sup>125</sup> This type was issued after 260, after Valerian I became a captive of the Persians and the death of *augustus* Saloninus. Gallienus remained in power alone. It is even more interesting that the idea of *felicitas* in a family context was promoted at that time, perhaps by commemorating in this manner the two deceased sons of Gallienus and Salonina, Valerian junior and Saloninus, and by alluding to their third descendant, about whose place in the dynastic plans nothing certain may be said.

An allusion to the prosperity of the Roman Empire is featured in the slogan *Clementia temporum*, which appears on the coins of the members of the last dynasty of the crisis in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>126</sup> The presence of a pair of rulers in the iconography was also combined with the idea of *spes*. The denarii of Carus, the aurei of Carus and Carinus, and the denarii of Numerian, of the SPES PVBLICA type, replicate the same iconographic motif: two rulers on horseback raising their right hands.<sup>127</sup>

The theme of *spes (publica)* in the coinage was associated for a long time, although not exclusively, with the younger member of the ruling dynasties.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>125</sup> MIR 36, p. 104 and no. 942C. The coins and medallions in the context of the empress's fertility, cf. Klein 1998, pp. 202–209.

<sup>126</sup> RIC V/2, Carus, no; RIC V/2, Carus (Carinus *caes.*), no. 202; RIC V/2, Carus (Numerianus *caes.*), no. 372; RIC V/2, Carinus, nos 323–324; RIC V/2, Numerianus, no. 462.

<sup>127</sup> RIC V/2, Carus, nos 51–52; RIC V/2, Carus and Carinus, no. 135; RIC V/2, Numerianus, no. 432.

<sup>128</sup> Cf. Perassi 1991, pp. 33–34, 81. The type date from AD 175/176. See, e.g., RIC III, Marcus Aurelius (Commodus), nos 620–621, 1530, 1543. In the 3<sup>rd</sup> century see, e.g., RIC IV/3, Gordian III, no. 201; RIC IV/3, Philip II, nos 121, 259; RIC IV/3, Trajan Decius (Herennius Etruscus *caes.*), no. 149; RIC IV/3, Trajan Decius (Hostilian *caes.*), no. 184; RIC IV/3, Hostilian, no. 206.

This custom is manifested in the central decades of the crisis. Usually these pieces depict a personified Spes.<sup>129</sup> A unique medallion of the SPES PVBLICA type bears the bust of a young prince:<sup>130</sup> it is he who gives hope to the Empire. It is one of the descendants of Gallienus and Salonina: Valerian junior, *caesar* 256–258, Saloninus, *caesar* 258–260, or perhaps Marinianus,<sup>131</sup> while the *antoniniani* of Saloninus of the SPES PVBLICA type depict a *caesar* in military attire standing next to Spes.<sup>132</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

In the coinage of 235–284 there are numerous coins and medallions whose obverse or reverse inscriptions indicated the presence of two or three emperors, or the presence of *caesar(es)* next to *augustus/augusti*. A less common group consists of pieces bearing inscriptions of this kind with images of a pair of rulers or a family group. In both of these groups, appropriate indications were featured in the iconography and the inscriptions, which contained AVGG/AVGVSTORVM, CAESS etc. Many legends of this kind promoted imperial virtues, *virtutes*, which were incorporated into the figures of *augusti* and *caesares*: *concordia Augustorum*, *felicitas Augustorum*, *liberalitas Augustorum*, *pietas Augustorum*, *victoria Augustorum*, *virtus Augustorum*. A less numerous third group is formed by those numismatic pieces that comment upon images of members of the dynasty with a legend. Apart from the inscriptions with the imperial titles and FELICITAS TEMPORVM III ET III COS and GERM MAX CARPICI MAX III ET II COS, these include the following: CLEMENTIA TEMP, FORTVNAE REDVCI, IOVI CONSER, SAECVLVM NOVVM, SPES PVBLICA, TRIVNFV QVADOR and VOTA PVBLICA. The latter group of numismatic pieces provides the best iconographical testimony to the presence of a dynastic idea in Roman coinage. Their images, not legends, indicated the existence either of co-rulers or successors.

Unique iconographic solutions are featured above all on the reverses of medallions. Few types are characteristic of current coins. This may in turn explain the low popularity of dynastic emissions in provincial coinage. Apart from the double or triple busts of the members of the dynasty on the obverses, there are only few examples of scenes featuring the figures of the members of the dynasty on the reverses of provincial coins.

<sup>129</sup> RIC V/1, Valerian I, nos 122–122a, 257–258; RIC V/1, Gallienus, JR, nos 402–403; RIC V/1, Gallienus, SR, nos 544, 584; RIC V/1, Valerian I and Gallienus (Valerian II *caes.*), no. 52 (Ant); RIC V/1, Valerian I and Gallienus (Saloninus *caes.*), nos 13–14; cf. MIR 36, nos 827, 834, 837, 915, 917, 1401, 1464–1465, 1695.

<sup>130</sup> MedR 3, p. 61, nos 6, tav. 155.17.

<sup>131</sup> Valerian junior, cf. Zaccaria 1978a, pp. 106, 112; MIR 36, no. 866; Saloninus: cf. Toynbee 1986, pp. 163, 201; Mikocki 1997, s. 164; Marinianus, cf. Holmes 2005, p. 761.

<sup>132</sup> RIC V/1, Valerian I and Gallienus (Saloninus *caes.*), no. 36.

The presence of iconographic models and types representing the members of 3<sup>rd</sup>-century dynasties is irregular. Few examples are featured in the coinage of Maximinus I. The emperor and the *caesar* Maximus are presented in various scenes, also as warriors crowned by Victoria. In the first half of the 3<sup>rd</sup>-century crisis, the coinage of Philip I stands out in terms of the quality and the variety of dynastic themes, which involve a wide range of people; not only the ruling *augusti*, but also the *augusta* Otacilia Severa, and even – in provincial coinage – the parents of Philip I. The figures of Philip I and Philip junior were presented above all on the emission from the *liberalitas* group and those with the imperial titles, while other emissions feature military elements, *adlocutio Augustorum*, *victoria Augustorum*, *virtus Augustorum*, and other designs alluding to the entry of the emperors to Rome, *adventus Augustorum*, and to the millennium celebrations, *saeculum novum*. Then, after a period of paucity of dynastic types in the coinage of Decius and his sons (exclusively the *liberalitas* type), the coinage of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian saw a certain renaissance, clearly perceptible in the medallions. These images promote the occasion-related themes of *fortuna redux*, *vota Augustorum*, *adventus Augustorum*, but also the *virtus Augustorum*. Without a doubt, the coinage of Valerian I and Gallienus is interesting. It is notable above all for the variety of types depicting two or three ruler figures. In various configurations, the figures of the *augusti*, Valerian I and Gallienus, and the *caesar*, i.e. Valerian junior or Saloninus, as well as *augusta* Salonina, illustrate such themes as: *adlocutio Augustorum*, *adventus Augustorum*, *concordia Augustorum*, *felicitas Augustorum*, *felicitas temporum*, *liberalitas Augustorum*, *pietas Augustorum*, *victoria Augustorum*, *virtus Augustorum*. In the coinage of Tetricus I, joint representations are few. The figures of Tetricus I and Tetricus junior appear in scenes depicting the making of an offering or *decursio*. Finally, in the last period of the crisis of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, the joint representations of Carus and his sons, Carinus and Numerian, appear, in various arrangements, on coins and medallions promoting a vast number of themes: *adlocutio Augustorum*, *vota publica*, *virtus Augustorum*, *clementia temporum*, *adventus Augustorum (nostrorum)*, *spes publica*, most likely also *Iovi conservatori*, as well as *triumfus Quadorum*.

The extent of the presence in the coinage and the quality of these dynastic types and models do not correspond with the length of the reign of each of the seven dynasties. Moreover, one may not establish the popularisation of succession-related practice in the years 235–284. The illustration of various slogans with the figures of two or three rulers, and the promotion of a wider group of family members, living and deceased, depended on the individual dynastic programme of each emperor.

## ABBREVIATIONS

AE –	L'Année Épigraphique, Paris 1888 ff.
BMCG –	<i>A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum</i> , eds R.S. Poole et al., London 1873 ff.
CIL –	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> , ed. Th. Mommsen et al., Berolini 1863 ff.
GGK –	B. Schulte, <i>Die Goldprägung der gallischen Kaiser von Postumus bis Tetricus</i> , Aarau–Frankfurt a.M.–Salzburg 1983.
MedR –	F. Gnecci, <i>I medaglioni romani, descritti ed illustrati</i> , vols 1–3, Milano 1912.
MIR –	R. Göbl, <i>Die Münzprägung der Kaiser Valerianus I., Gallienus, Saloninus (253/268), Regalianus (260) und Macrianus, Quietus (260/262)</i> , Wien 2000 (=Moneta Imperii Romani 36).
RIC –	<i>The Roman Imperial Coinage</i> , eds H. Mattingly et al., London 1923–1994.
RPC –	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> [ <a href="http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/">http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/</a> ].
SNG vA –	<i>Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum Deutschland. Sammlung von Aulock</i> , eds G. Kleiner et al., Berlin 1957–1968.

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NUMIZMATYCZNE ŚWIADECTWA POLITYKI DYNASTYCZNEJ  
CESARZY RZYMSKICH, 235–284

(Streszczenie)

W cesarstwie rzymskim w okresie tzw. kryzysu III w. (235–284) niektórzy władcy starali się, na wzór praktyk zaprowadzonych już przez Augusta, przekazać władzę imperialną sukcesorom wyznaczonym w obrębie własnej rodziny, a tym samym ugruntować rządy dynastii. Desygnowali więc następców, wynosząc synów do rangi cesarów (*caesar*), a nawet przyznawali im status współrządców (*augustus*).

Dziedziców, w osobach swych potomków, wyznaczyli: Maksymin Trak (235–238, [*caesar* Maksymus]), Filip Arab (244–249, [*caesar*, potem *augustus* Filip junior]), Decjusz (249–251, [*caesares*, a potem *augusti* Herenniusz Etrusk i Hostylian]), Trebonian Gall (251–253, [*caesar*, następnie *augustus* Woluzjan), Walerian i Gallien (253–268, [*caesar* Walerian junior, *caesar*, a potem *augustus* Saloninus]), władca *Imperium Galliarum* Tetryk I (271–274, [*caesar*, następnie *augustus* Tetryk junior]), na koniec Karus (282–283, [*caesares*, potem *augusti* Karynus oraz Numerian]). Tylko w niektórych przypadkach udało się zrealizować podstawowy cel polityki dynastycznej, jakim było przekazanie rządów sukcesorowi i utrzymanie się tegoż przy władzy. Kontynuacja rządów każdego takiego rodu trwała jednak krótko. Bunt wojak i uzurpacje władzy cesarskiej, przynoszące śmierć poprzedniemu cesarzowi, bynajmniej nie sprzyjały realizacji planów dynastycznych w pięćdziesięciolecie kryzysu III w.

Treści monet i medalionów, wyemitowanych w mennicach imperialnych lub prowincjonalnych, odzwierciedlały tę personalną politykę sukcesyjną, a także z jednej strony służyły promowaniu idei dynastycznej w imperium, z drugiej zaś odzwierciedlały akceptację takich praktyk dynastycznych. W tym kontekście wśród numizmatów, monet i medalionów, powstałych w latach 235–284, szczególnie interesujące są typy i warianty, które, podając w inskrypcjach formuły AVGG/AVGVSTORVM lub CAES i CAESS, a zwłaszcza mnożąc w ikonografii sylwetki dynastów, lansowały obecność u boku władcy augustów oraz cesarów, zatem symbolicznie wskazywały efekt zabiegów sukcesyjnych i zapowiadały trwanie rządów dynastii. W moim przeglądowym artykule umownie nazywam je emisjami, typami, modelami, bądź numizmatami „dynastycznymi”.

W tak wyodrębnionym zespole najczęściej spotykanym modelem są wspólne wizerunki władców i innych osób wplecionych w politykę dynastyczną. Podwójne lub potrójne wizerunki występują w różnych konfiguracjach. Pokazywani tak byli dwaj władcy, cesarz i jego następcę lub następcy, cesarz i cesarzowa, a także para cesarz i cesarzowa wraz z ich potomkiem. Napisy mogą wskazywać pozytywną postawę członków rodziny cesarskiej wobec siebie i innych (*pietas*), określać harmonię i jedność dynastii (*concordia*). Dla numizmatów lat 40–50. III w. charakterystyczne było zastępowanie takimi legendami (*pietas Augustorum*, *concordia Augustorum*) imion własnych prezentowanych osób. Natomiast nie wskazywano pokrewieństwa i filiacji członków dynastii. Ewenementem są napisy na antoniniani Filipa Araba i Filipa juniora, w których padają określenia *pater*, *mater* oraz *filius*; oplotły one siecią członków rodziny cesarskiej, złożonej z Filipów oraz cesarzowej Otacylii Sewery. Ogniwa dynastii stanowili zmarli, a ubóstwieni jej członkowie (*divi/divae*). Wśród nich znaleźli się augusta Cecylia Paulina, żona Maksymina Traka,

cezar Walerian junior, może również jego brat Saloninus, cesarze Karus i Numerian, a także zmarli członkowie rodzin, którzy nie nosili tytułów dynastycznych – Julius Marinus i jego dzisiaj nieznana z imienia małżonka, rodzice Filipa Araba, Egnatia Mariniana, żona Waleriana, Nigrinianus, wnuk Karusa. Zapowiedź dobrej przyszłości dynastii dają wyobrażenia z udziałem sylwetek dzieci, charakterystyczne dla numizmatów z imionami cesarskich Herenii Etruscylia, żony Decjusza, i Saloniny, żony Galliena. Motyw dziecka nie tylko bowiem sygnalizuje obecność młodszej generacji w rodzinie cesarskiej, jest też przenosią płodności cesarskiej i spodziewanej prosperity imperium.

Obecność w wyobrażeniach rewersowych monet i medalionów dwóch lub – co ma miejsce rzadziej – trzech sylwetek władców odzwierciedla udział cesarzy oraz cesarów w życiu polityczno-społecznym imperium i jego mieszkańców. Na charakter tej aktywności naprowadzają niekiedy legendy, a przede wszystkim symbolizują ją aranżacje ikonograficzne, zawierające oprócz sylwetek dynastów personifikacje idei i *virtutes*, przedstawicieli obywateli lub, odpowiednio, grupy wojskowych, czasem elementy architektoniczne etc. Pary dynastów występują więc w scenach składania ofiary przy ołtarzu, co objaśniają napisy, które wskazują na „pobożność” władców (*pietas*) oraz na okoliczności takich demonstracji (*saeculum novum, fortunae reduci, vota Augustorum*). Jedynie w mennictwie Decjusza zabrakło takich obrazów pary dynastów-kapłanów. Z kolei na rewersach numizmatów Filipa Araba, Decjusza oraz Waleriana i Galliena pokazano dynastów w scenie *liberalitas*, obrazującej cesarską łaskawość i hojność wobec obywateli Rzymu. W mennictwie Filipów, Treboniana Galla, Waleriana i Galliena, Tetryka I oraz Karusa, Karynusa i Numeriana zaprezentowano przybycie dwójki bądź trójki władców do miasta (*adventus*) oraz motyw konnej parady wojskowej (*decursio*). Relacje cesarza z wojskowymi symbolizują za rządów Filipa Araba, Waleriana i Galliena oraz Numeriana medaliony z grupy *adlocutio*. Takie uroczystości, jak *processus consularis* albo *pompa triumphalis*, symbolizowano wyobrażeniem władców jadących w kwadrydze. Na rewersach numizmatów Filipa Araba, Treboniana Galla, Waleriana i Galliena, Numeriana prezentacja na wozie obok cesarza współwładcy lub „dziedzica tronu” potwierdzała zamiary dynastyczne.

Władcy byli przedstawiani w ich konkretnych funkcjach cywilnych i wojskowych. Ponadto sylwetki bogini Wiktorii, Virtus, Spes, Felicitas, takie atrybuty, jak *victoriola* albo postać barbarzyńcy, lub gest wieńczenia mający wymiar legitymizowania, transmitowały w metaforyczną przestrzeń komunikat o obecności dynastów i rządach dynastii. Numizmaty dawały też bowiem projekcję stanu państwa rzymskiego pod rządami danej dynastii. *Concordia Augustorum, pietas Augustorum, virtus Augustorum, victoria Augustorum* i jeszcze inne wartości wcielone w członków dynastii i kierujące tych działaniami, miały dać cesarstwu pomyślność, stabilizację wewnętrzną, silną pozycję w stosunkach z ludami i państwami sąsiednimi.

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