

**VICTOR AND VANQUISHED
ON ROMAN COINS OF THE
FIRST THREE CENTURIES AD**

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All along its ancient history in the second half of the last millennium BC, Rome was involved in many wars with its neighbors both in Italy itself and in the countries around it. These wars were usually commemorated by victory arches and by the foundation of new public buildings inside and outside Rome, which were decorated with scenes of battles and of Roman soldiers fighting their opponents. These scenes served as a means to glorify Roman victories and the military leaders who were responsible for them.

Most important, however, coins were used during the first three centuries AD to serve the same purpose as victory arches. They were decorated on their reverse with scenes of triumph and defeat. As a means of propaganda, they were obviously more effective than buildings since they are easier to carry and to move all over the provinces of the empire.

Therefore, it may will be argued that the coins of these centuries provide us with valuable information about the wars which they commemorate and that they are as important as arches which the emperors were keen to found. However, it is not my intention to investigate here the value of the coins as a source of information for these wars. Instead, researcher want to concentrate on the human feelings which manifest themselves on these coins, and on how they were symbolically expressed. Obviously, to achieve his goals and given the limited space allowed for the artist on a small coin, he had to resort to symbols which were available to him and which must have been known to

his audience and the recipients of his work. These symbols undoubtedly had political, religious and social meanings which had to be clear to be understood and appreciated.¹

It is my aim here to investigate scenes of victory and defeat, the feelings of the victorious and the vanquished as they were manifested by symbols on the coins of this period. Thus my discussion here will include the symbols which were used by the artists on Roman coins to signify victory and defeat, but it is not necessarily limited to the symbols.

The researcher objective is to see how these symbols were used to express the idea of victory and of defeat on coins in particular. Given the limited space on coins, as compared with monumental space and with sculptural plates, the task required a greater skill on the part of the artist and put an extra demand on his technical ability.

As we shall see, this task was not an easy one. The artist had to find the appropriate symbols which signify victory and those which signify defeat. The two themes were obviously contradictory and so were their symbols. How to use these symbols together on reverse of the coins of the Roman Empire, and how these scenes developed during the first three centuries? What were the symbols used and how did they develop? Were there any regional or particular symbols that were favored by the artist? Were there universal symbols, if any? These are only some of the questions which will be addressed in this paper.

1 H. Mattingly, *Roman coins From the Earliest Times to the Fall of the Western Empire*, Spink and Son Ltd., London 1977, p.37

Attempting to answer these questions, the researcher shall address the subject chronologically. Thus, the first section will study the coins of the first century; the second, the coins of the second century and the final section will concentrate on the third century which provides us with suitable chronological end for the topic since, as is well known, the beginning of the fourth century marked a major change in the religion of the Empire towards Christianity, when all the symbols of Roman art had been changed.

- Coins of the First Century AD:

The first coins which carry scenes of victors and vanquished go back to the reign of the Emperor Augustus (30 BC- AD 14). Here it can be noticed that the artist did not combine both components; but, rather, either the victor alone or the vanquished was depicted on the reverse of the coin, as can be seen from two coins (fig. 1 a-b) which date back to this period.² It seems also that Augustus set an example for the following emperors of the dynasty since this style continued during most of the years of the century, until the reign of Galba (AD 68-69).

Looking carefully at the first these two coins (fig.1.a)³, we observe that the artist expressed the notion of victory by picturing Victoria, goddess of victory herself, standing upright on the reverse of the coin. But she was not alone since he put in front of her a shaft with military dress of a Roman soldier. The goddess, furthermore, raises her

² David Sear, *Roman coins and their values, Vol.1: The Republic and the Twelve Caesars, 280 BC-AD 69*, Spink & Son Ltd., London 2000, RIC 1a, 315.1 (RIC 1a). henceforward the following abbreviations will be used : RIC= Roman Imperial coin; RSC= Roman Silver Coin.

³ The coin is an Augustan AR Quinarius and was minted in Spain ; RIC 1, no.1a

left hand with a crown to put on the Roman military dress to show that she was on the side of the Romans who were signified by their dress. In this way the coin provides us with a clear reference to victory as indicated by the goddess herself and to the victor as indicated by the Roman arms.

The second coin (fig. 1.b)⁴ which also goes back to the time of Augustus has the portrait of the emperor on the obverse and also commemorates another victory. However, unlike the case with the preceding coin, the idea of victory is here expressed by concentrating on the defeated.

Thus, we find on the reverse a male with a beard kneeling on his right leg as if begging for mercy or for his life. The victor is possibly only alluded to symbolically since the man appears in the act of receiving the Roman standard.⁵ While the mere act of kneeling obviously indicates defeat, the standard, which can as well be offered since the defeated happens in this case to be a Parthian, provides us with a clear sign of the victor even though no persons are represented to receive it.

The first time we encounter figures representing both the victor and the vanquished on the reverse of a Roman coin comes from the reign of the Emperor Vespasian (AD69-79). It is a silver coin and was minted in Rome (fig. 2a)⁶. One of these two figures is human and is represented in profile, sitting on the ground and giving its back to what

⁴ RIC, 1, no. 315

⁵ L.J. Kreitzer, *Striking New Images: Roman Imperial Coinage and the New Testament World*, Sheffield Academic Press, England, 1966, 38-39, fig. 16; C.B. Rose, "The Parthians in Augustan Rome", *AJA*. 109 (2005), 22.

⁶ RSC, 2, no. 226; RIC, 2, plate 1, no. 1a.

appears to be a statue of a Roman soldier holding his shield which expresses the victor.

Here, the idea of victory is expressed by the victor standing upright and filling the right side of the reverse while defeat is indicated by the humble posture of the defeated figure. While the identity of the victor is further obvious by the portrait of the emperor on the obverse and by the Roman military dress, the identity of the defeated is clarified by the name of the conquered region which happened here to be the province of JUDAEA.⁷

It is also important to note that the vanquished occupies on this coin the greater part of the scene and thus reflects, probably, the importance of the victory. Furthermore, the conquered region is represented as a woman in mourning or lamenting her fate. She sits on the ground stretching her legs in front of her while raising her hand to her face as if she is going to strike it, or simply she may be leaning with her face on her hand pondering what has happened to her. No less important is that the artist referred to the victor with a trophy of Roman arms on a shaft behind her on a higher level of the scene.

However, it was not a long time afterwards that the artist began to represent the victor in a human form. On a

⁷ Judaea Capta coins were a series of commemorative coins originally issued by the Roman Emperor Vespasian to celebrate the capture of Judaea and the destruction of the Jewish Temple in Jerusalem by his son Titus in 70 AD during the First Jewish Revolt which began in Under Nero AD 66. For further information : H. B. Brin, Catalogue of Judaea Capta coinage, Emmett Pub. Co., U.S.A.1986; RSV 2, p.47, RSC 1, p.436, no.2296.

coin which goes back to the reign of Vespasian (fig.2 b) ⁽⁸⁾ but which commemorates another victory of the emperor. Indeed, it can be suggested that the figure here represents the emperor himself. If this suggestion is valid, and since the observe has the portrait of the emperor, then we will have another reference to Vespasian on one and the same coin.

Moreover, the artist added another element to the scene which combines the victor and the vanquished on the reverse. Here we see the victor on the right of the coin looking right and raising his right hand while holding a scepter with his left his hand which rests on his left leg. He rests his left foot on a stone in front of him. Victory is symbolized by his authoritative posture, his size which fills the right of the scene and by his head which is almost at the same height as the palm tree which stands between him and the defeated.

The defeated, on the other hand, is characterized by his small size and posture. It is represented sitting on a stone, with its face looking at the right side of the scene away from the victor and its head leaning forward in a sign of submission to the will of the powerful figure behind. The palm tree may be as well a sign of the wealth brought by this victory. It has also been suggested that Victory may be a personification of Rome itself.

It was also within few years after the death of Vespasian that we witness another innovation in expressing the idea of victory. This time it is on a memorial denarius of

⁸ *RSC* 2, p. 50 ,no.645; *RIC* 2, Plate II, no.29

the same emperor presented to him by his son and successor, Titus (AD80-81)⁹. On this denarius (fig. 2c), we see a winged Victoria stretching her hands in front of her and holding between them a big circle which symbolizes the whole inhabited world. In front of her and right under the circle the defeated is represented sitting on the ground. The right foot of the goddess of victory almost touches its back, while the head of the figure is leaning forward as was the case in the preceding coin.

To the reign of Titus goes another innovation in representing the victor and the defeated¹⁰. Here we find the victor riding a horse driving his footage front up and holding a sword in his right hand (fig. 3a). He appears in the act of stabbing the vanquished who is lying on the ground under the knight and who raises his right hand as if begging mercy or trying to protect himself. The scene is taken from a battle but victory is obvious from the postures of the two figures represented: it is on the side of the knight who fills the larger part of the scene and who is high above the fallen victim.

Another coin from the age of Titus provides us with another scene in which the vanquished is pictured as a captured from the battle field (fig. 3b).¹¹ The victor occupies the higher plane of the scene above the vanquished figure to confirm his dominance over the battle ground. He, furthermore, wears his complete military uniform with his

⁹ *RSC* 1 ,p. 472, no. 2265; *RSC* 2, p. 42 no. 144.

¹⁰ E. M. Smallwood, *The Jews under Roman Rule: from Pompey to Diocletian : A study in Political Relations*, library of Congress, U.S.A., 1976, pp.385-388.

¹¹ *RIC*, 1, no.2505

helmet, shields and sword. Notable also is that the military figure is masked and his features are not detailed, unlike the case of the vanquished features which become clear in his face details, clothing, cover of his head and his beard care. It may be that return to the artist who want to introduce the victor in this case as being the victor of every individual roman soldier who participated in this battle.

Moreover, although the vanquished occupies the frontal plane in the lower part of the coin and necessarily attracts the attention of the viewer in the beginning, the viewer is ultimately led to concentrate on the figure of the victor who occupies a central position in the middle of the scene and immediately above the vanquished. The big size of the figure of the vanquished may also be interpreted as a sign of the big size of the army which the Romans were facing, but the sign can also be explained to mean the big victory achieved by the Romans over the big army. It may further serve as an indication that they are capable of defeating any hostile force regarding of its size and power.

During the reign of the Emperor Domitian (AD81-96), the researcher encounter yet a scene which witnessed before on the coins of Vespasian.¹² Once again the artist depicted the vanquished in the figure of a woman filling the whole scene on the reverse of silver coin (fig. 4a).¹³ The woman is sitting here also with her face toward the right side of the coin, stretching her leg in front of her while lifting a little her left knee. Her upper half is in a semi frontal position and allows us to see her left hand striking

¹² A. Burnett, M. Amandry and I. Carradice, *Roman Provincial Coinage: From Vespasian to Domitian: (AD 69-96)*, Vol. 2, British Museum Press, 1999, p. 38.

¹³ *RSC* 1, p. 491, no.2702 ; *RSC* 2, p. 65, no.181; *RIC* 2, plate 5, no.79

her head as a sign of the strength of her defeat. Again, the little of the emperor which is written on reverse of the coin (GERMANICUS) helps us determine the identity of vanquished .

The researcher observed the same consideration on the vanquished as opposed to the victor on another coin which goes back to the age of Domitian (fig. 4b).¹⁴ Here we find two figures representing the vanquished, one of them is a man and the other is a woman. The man stand upright on the right side of the scene with his hands pound and in front of him lies a shield which might have been his own shield. turns his head towards the left side of the coin in the same direction as the woman who sets crouching on the ground with her head leaning forward, on the side of the scene. It is likely that the artist wanted to emphasize the victory by doubling the signs which refer to the vanquished to give a stronger sense of the calamity. The victor here is symbolized by the trophy of arms in the middle of scene, separating the man on the right and the woman on the left.

It is, however, during the reign of Domitian that we meet for the first time a new representation of the victor and the vanquished on the reverse of a coin facing each other. The victor appears on the right side of the coin wearing his military uniform and holding his spear in his left hand his posture resembles the posture of Augustus in his famous prima porta statue, except for his right hand which is not raised high as in his statue. Rather, it is bent in front of his

¹⁴ *RSC* 1, p.499, no.2765 ; *RIC* 2, plate 6, no. 92; W. Tucker and S. Codry, Heritage World Coin Auction ,may 29-30th, year 2008, Long Beach , California 2008, p.21, no. 50113.

chest as giving a sign to the vanquished who is kneeling before him. The vanquished, on the other hand is representing in a much smaller size, bending in front of the victor, half naked and presenting to him his shield and helmet which fell on the ground before the right foot of the victor. It has been suggested that the figure of the victor may personify the emperor himself, but it has also been said that the spear which he holds in his left hand may also refer to the Roman army.¹⁵

- Coins of the Second Century AD:

By the end of the first century AD, the image of the victor and the vanquished together came to disappear and that only victory was represented on the reverse of the imperial coins in the form of goddess of victory. Such representation occurred on the coins of the Emperor Nerva during the last decades of the century.¹⁶ By the time of Trajan (AD98-117), the conqueror of Dacia, the vanquished has come to dominate the reverse of the coin.¹⁷ The vanquished appeared then in the form of a mourning woman whose calamity is intensified by her miserable condition (fig. 5a). She sits uncomfortably on a pile of arms containing shields, spears and swords, with her hands bound at her back. She is meant to refer to the province of Dacia which the emperor fought and captured since it is written under her an inscription with the abbreviation of her country: DAC[IA] CAP[TA].¹⁸

¹⁵ *RIC* 2, plate 6, no.95.

¹⁶ *RSC* 2, pp. 80-81

¹⁷ Dacia: located north of Danube River, served as roman imperial province from Trajan era in 106 AD till 271 AD:

M. Bunson, *Encyclopedia of the Roman empire*, New York, 2002, pp.165-167

¹⁸ *RSC* 2, p.87, no.118, *RIC* 2, plate 8, no.141

However, the image the image of the victor did not completely abandon the scenes representing victory and defeat. On another coin which commemorates the emperor's victory over Parthia (fig. 5b)¹⁹, on which the victor represented as a bust wearing Roman military uniform. He stands on a pedestal decorated with a circle. The vanquished is represented by two figures on both sides of the victor to give a stronger sense of the defeat and, consequently, the greatness of victory. Moreover, it is here that we witness for the first time in such scene that the artist distinguished between the two figures of the vanquished since one of them represents a female, the other a male. Both figures are taken the same posture, with one hand touching the face and the other stretched in the front, and are almost wearing the same clothes. However, the male figure is distinguished by the hat over its head. The two figures, furthermore, are sitting with their back against the pedestal of the victor and are looking away from him and from each other. Again the battle in which this victory had taken place is specified by an inscription which was written this time in *toto*: PARTHIA CAPTA.

Indeed, this last coin indicates, probably more than any other coin of Trajan, the importance of coin as a means of propaganda, especially when it come to expressing victory and defeat. As has been noted, the coin has two figures to signify defeat. The female can obviously be taken to mean Parthia itself, the land and the country. The male figure may be taken to refer to the people of that region. Their presence together may also indicate the great

¹⁹ RCV 2, p.97, no.3099

achievement of the emperor whose portrait is put on the observe of the coin. But it is also interesting to know that Trajan had never succeeded in conquering this region and that he had to retreat from it in AD 117.²⁰

Another change of how the artist used the figure of the victor which appeared with the vanquished on the reverse of a coin of Emperor Trajan²¹, where imaged as a female standing left on the reverse, holding branch and cornucopia, while her foot resting on the back of the left shoulder of the bust of vanquished as a Dacian captive. May be this use came by the artist to express and show how the Romans not only defeated the Dacian people, but also they insulting the Dacian and maybe he did that to put the fear on the heart of the other enemies of Rome (fig.5-c).

In addition to the previous two methods of expression of the victor on the coins of Trajan, we encounter yet a third novel one. Here we find on the reverse of a coin which commemorating also the emperor's war in Dacia (fig. 5d), the god Mars, Roman god of war²², standing in a frontal position holding a spear in his right hand and a shield in the left. The shield rests on the shoulder of a kneeling figure which represents the vanquished and we can observe that the misery of the defeated is further clarified by his nakedness.

Another coin of the same emperor provides us with a different representation of victor (fig. 5e).²³ It resembles

²⁰ K. Butcher, *Roman Syria and the Near East*, London 2003, pp.44-46

²¹ *RCV 2*, p.104, no.3161

²² K. N. Daly, *Greek and Roman Mythology A to Z*, 3^{ed} edition, U.S.A. 2009, p.89

²³ *RCV 2*, p.93, no. 264

some scenes which we can have seen before (figs. 3b and 5b) but it is somewhat much simpler. Here, the victor is represented in a geometric shape, as a bust wearing the military uniform. The vanquished is represented setting on the ground and her left hand touches her face , its right leg stretched before it and its left leg slightly bent upward. Although the posture of the vanquished seems somewhat familiar from other coins, it is important to note here that the figure of the victor is placed immediately on top of its head. Again to intensify the feeling of defeat, the vanquished wears no clothes.

During the reign of the following emperor, Hadrian (AD117-138), we witness some departure from the previous concentration on the vanquished, seen during the reign of Trajan. Thus, it disappeared from the coins in this period. The victor, moreover, is represented in a new way. On the reverse of a coin of Hadrian (fig. 6a), we find an Amazon wearing a short tunic and holding in her left hand a spear in the Roman manner, which refers to the Roman army.²⁴ Her posture and dress bring to our mind the shapes of the statues of the emperors themselves. She stretches her right hand before her and on it stands a small figure representing the goddess of victory. The goddess, meanwhile, is presenting a crown to the Amazon whom we may conveniently take to mean the emperor himself who has known for his love for Greece and Greek culture.²⁵

²⁴ L. Bolton, *The Everything Classical Mythology Book,: Greek and Roman Gods, Goddesses, Heroes and Monsters From Ares to Zeus*, Library Of Congress, U.S.A., 2002, pp.128-129

²⁵ *RSC 2*, p. 146, no. 1108a

During Hadrian's period another method of representing the victor was also followed (fig. 6b).²⁶ Here appears a female figure which may be taken to represent Rome, sitting on a cuirass and holding a spear in her left hand which is raised a little behind her. Her right hand stretched in front of her and on it rests a small figure of winged victory which presents her with a crown. The vanquished, on the other hand, is crouching behind the seat and underneath the spear, almost in the background of the scene. With a head bent forward, an uncomfortable posture and almost no clothes to wear, the figure carries a strong sense of defeat.

Concentration on the victor continued to dominate the coin of the Emperor Antoninus Pius (AD138-161) while the vanquished still disappeared. On a coin goes back to the reign of this emperor, the researcher encounters the winged goddess of victory standing in the middle of the reverse and holding a trophy with her hands (fig. 7).²⁷ The victor is simply alluded to symbolically and the emperor is meant to be the owner of the victory which this coin commemorates.

The vanquished returns to occupy an important position on the coin during the reign of the following emperor. On the reverse of a coin of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius (AD161-180), It is noted that the image which combine between the victor, as trophy like a bust wearing the Roman army uniform, and the vanquished, as a captive (as in figs. 3b, 5e), had seen new change. Here the vanquished became a female and no male

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 125, no.347a

²⁷ *RIC* 3, plate. 1, no. 23

figures are represented. She is represented as a symbol of German captive woman sitting on the ground with her left leg stretched before her (fig. 8a). Her right leg is slightly bent upward and held with her left hand. The victor, on the other hand, is also identified in symbolic way through the trophy which wears the full Roman military uniform with the shield in the left hand. It is also placed in front of the woman in the middle of the scene and its lower part almost touches the knee of the sitting woman.²⁸

The coins of Aurelius witnessed as well the return of some of the methods used before in representing victor and vanquished. One of these methods goes back to the first two decades of the second century, during the reign of Trajan which combined the victor and two figures signifying the vanquished.²⁹ Thus the reverse of the coin of Aurelius (fig.8b), which commemorates his victory over Germania, is very much similar to the coin of Trajan which commemorates the latter's victory over Parthia. On both the vanquished represented as a male and female figures (the country and the people) sitting in the same positions and looking the same directions. The name of the vanquished is also written in the same place under the defeated.³⁰

Another coin of Aurelius reminds us of an old method used during the reign of his predecessor to represent the victor.³¹ Thus a winged female representing the goddess of victory holding a trophy with her both hands stands in the

²⁸ Ibid., plate.8, no.167; *RCV* 2, p.305, no. 4911

²⁹ See fig. 5b.

³⁰ *RIC*, 3, plate. 9, Nos. 176, 180; *RSC* 2, p. 289, no.4968

³¹ See fig. 7.

middle of the coin (fig. 8c).³² However, the vanquished is not wholly absent from this coin, as the coin of Antoninus Pius, since it is represented as a female setting on the ground in front of the winged goddess and directing her face away from her. Considering her size and position, it may be suggested that the concentration on this coin is meant to be also on the victor and not on the vanquished.

It is a well known fact that Marcus Aurelius was the son of the previous Emperor Antoninus Pius. This fact may justify that the coins of the son somewhat resemble his father's. Indeed the artists who made the old coins could have been the artists who made the new ones of Marcus Aurelius, albeit with some modifications and additions.

The previous justification explains, however, part of the phenomenon. The reason behind reusing some old examples may well be explained by the nature of the symbols themselves. Some scenes may have been appealing to the artist at some specific periods more than others. Another reused design on the coin of Marcus Aurelius with some influence from the coin of Trajan with some additions.³³ It represented the victor as a bust wearing the Roman army uniform and standing on a stick with a circle at its top (fig. 8d). While the vanquished was also represented by a man and a woman in a humble position on both sides of the victor, crouching on the ground in the lower level of the coin. More important, however, the new addition appears in the artist's attempt to magnify the victor by flanking him on both sides with Victoria on the left and the

³² *RIC*, 3, plate.12, no.241.

³³ See fig. 5b : This Shape was originally known from the time of Julius Caesar in 46/45 BC. C.B.Rose, *op.cit.*, p.34, fig.10a

emperor on the right. They are raising their hands to the trophy; the emperor his right hand as if crowing the victor, While Victoria touching with her hand the shield. The emperor, moreover, is assuming the *prima porta* position and holds in his left hand a long spear.³⁴

At the close end of the second century, coins of the Emperor Commodus (AD179-192) continued to represent the vanquished on the reverse in a position like we encountered on the coins of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 8b)³⁵, and on the coins of Domitian's, in the form of a captive mourning female sitting on the ground (fig. 4a).³⁶ But the researcher observed that Victoria came in a new position and with new symbols (fig.9). She appears winged here also, but she bends a little to the front and holds a shield to write or scribe upon with her hand and rests it on a bent palm over the head of the vanquished which sits underneath.³⁷

- Coins of the Third Century AD:

The coins of the emperor Septimius Severus (AD193-210) represent a transitional period between the second and the third centuries. They began then to incorporate some new methods of expressing the ideas of the images of victor and vanquished in addition to the old ones. One of the coin of this emperor represents the vanquished by two figures seated back to back on the reverse with an inscription underneath (fig.10).³⁸ It is notable here that the vanquished

³⁴ http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/marcus_aurelius/t.html

³⁵ Cf. *RIC*, 2, plates. 13, 14, nos.257, 265

³⁶ Cf. *RIC*, 2, plates.10,13, nos. 202 A, 252

³⁷ *RIC*,2, plate. 13, no.281

³⁸ *RSC* 3, p.35, no. 363

only on the coin with no clear reference to the victor and that the two figures, a man on the right and a woman on the left, fill the whole space on the coin. The coin somewhat developed from an old type known during the reign of Trajan (fig. 5a).

Compared with the previous coin, there is another coin of Septimius Severus, which has the image of the victor on its reverse, appears to be a repetition of an old coin of Trajan (fig.5d). On this coin (fig. 10b)³⁹, the victor appears in the form of god Mars holding a long spear and resting his large shield over the back of the vanquished who appears also as a tiny figure crouching under the shield of the god who on the opposite represents in a huge size and occupies almost the whole scene, that the concentration is meant only to be on the victor. The artist, however, didn't follow closely the image on the coin of Trajan since Mars is dressed here in a cloak around his body leaving the chest naked to his waist and not dressed in Roman army uniform as is the case on Trajan's coin. The god, furthermore, holds his spear in his left hand, wears a helmet and his head turned right.

The size of the vanquished on this particular coin is another point to consider: it is noted that the size of the image of the vanquished appears much smaller than the size of all the vanquished who appeared on the roman coins during the first and second centuries AD. This small size can thus give the impression that Rome's power has become under the emperor Septimius Severus much greater than it had been before.

³⁹ *RSC* 3, no 319

Variations of some other methods were also found on a number of coins which are attributed to Severus. On the reverse of a third coin (fig. 10c), the victor represented by a Roman trophy arms and standing between two captives to represent the vanquished⁴⁰. However, unlike the coin of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 8b) on which the researcher finds a similar scene, the trophy of victor is given more prominence between the two captives who appear much smaller. Moreover, the captive on the right appears with his hands bound behind his back and standing compared with the other figure which is sitting and its hands are seemingly free.

Another old scene witnessed a new development on a fourth coin during this period, namely the coin representing the victor in the form of Victoria holding a large circle or a shield over the back of the vanquished as a captive (fig. 2b). Although using almost the same motif, the artist on the new coin chose to put a duplicate image of Victoria facing each and fixing the shield over a palm (fig. 10d)⁴¹. The vanquished is also represented by two small figures on both sides of the palm under the shield. Again the duplicate Victoria, just as the big size of the god Mars on the coin noted above, may serve as an indication of Roman imperial power which by then was encompassing all eastern and western countries of the world.

Another scene, already noted on a coin which dated back to the end of the first century during the reign of Titus (fig. 3a), appears on a fifth coin which represented the victor

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 498

⁴¹ *RSC* 3, p.49, no 796; *RCV* 2, p.476, nos. 6430,6443

as a knight riding his horse and ready to throw his spear with his right hand which raised behind him (fig. 10e).⁴² The mantle of the horseman flying behind him to indicate that he is on the run. However, the vanquished is represented differently since his figure is smaller and seems to be running under the front feet of the horse which are raised above his head.

In addition to these variations of the old scenes encountered on earlier coins, the Severan Period witnessed the introduction of some new ones. Thus is found on a coin which represents Roma as a seated figure on her throne holding a statuette of Athena Pallas (palladium) and a spear (fig.10 f).⁴³ In front of her the vanquished as a captive is kneeling, wearing his army uniform and raising his hands to Roma begging for her mercy.⁴⁴

On the reverse of another coin (fig. 10g), the trophy standing on two small figures representing the vanquished. But the scene is not limited to these figures which occupy the left side of the coin.⁴⁵ We have also the emperor Septimius Severus himself represented in the middle of the scene stretching his right hand towards the trophy as if crowing it while his spear with his left hand. On the right of the scene Heracles stands facing the emperor and the trophy and raising his right hand with a wreath to crown the

⁴² F. Imhoof-Blumer, "Die Münzen der Kilbianer in Lydien", *NZ*, 20 (1888), taf. 1, no. 14

⁴³ Palladium is the statue of Athena Pallas :

P. L. Westmoreland, *Ancient Greek Believes*, Library of Congress, U.S.A. 2007, p.782

⁴⁴ *RIC2*, no.804

http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/septimius_severus/t.html

⁴⁵ SNG von Aulock 2411; F.Künker, *Münzen aus der Welt der Antike*, Künker Auktion 174, Osnabrück, Germany 2011, p. 127, no.837

emperor while holding his famous club and lion skin with his left hand.

The accumulation of the figures signifying the victor on this coin may be considered its most distinctive aspect. For the first time since the beginning of the first century AD, we have a trophy, the emperor, and a divine figure on one and the same coin to express the victor and the idea of the victory. Compared with the two figures which represent the vanquished, the number of the victor is greater. Moreover, the space allocated to the victor exceeds by far the very limited space allocated to the vanquished on the left lower part of the reverse of the coin.

Another coin of Septimius Severus shows yet some new variation in representing the victor (fig. 10h).⁴⁶ The emperor stands in the middle of the coin in a three-quarter view, with his face looking right, He raises his arm and holds with it the top of his spear, and holds a trophy with his left hand. The posture of the emperor is noteworthy for it puts him into close contact with the figure of the vanquished which is represented crouching in front of him on the ground. The emperor raises his left leg and puts his foot on the back of the crouching figure. The coin obviously attributes the victory to the emperor himself but his posture, as well as the posture of the vanquished, indicates the emperor's immense power and full control over the vanquished. It is also shown that the treatment of the victor against the vanquished became much more humiliated.

⁴⁶ N. Moushmov, *Ancient Coins of the Balkan Peninsula and the Coins of the Bulgarian Monarchs*, Bulgaria 1912, plate.8, No 25.

The development of the images of the victor and the vanquished reached its summit, however, on a coin which represents the victor as the emperor himself, together with one of his two sons who may be Caracalla, while holding a scepter with an eagle on its top.⁴⁷ They both are riding a chariot drawn by four horses (*quadriga*) which is represented by a draped figure on the right of the scene holding a victory standard. In the middle of the coin and above this scene there is a trophy with Roman military uniform and there are on both of its sides two figures representing the vanquished. Although the trophy occupies the upper level on the reverse of the coin, its space is much smaller compared with the main frieze which represents the emperor and the bearer of his slandered. This new scene may be made by the artist to show the Roman celebrate ceremony by the victory, which represents the victor as the emperor and the enemy captured as vanquished.

The coins of Caracalla as Caesar (AD 198-211) show that the artists continued to use old scenes, but they also did not follow them closely and added some new modifications. For example, we see a coin that reminds us of a scene already noted on a coin of Hadrian (fig. 6a), but the artist replaced the Amazon on the old coin with the Caesar himself wearing his army uniform (fig. 11a). He stands in a three-quarter view, looking left, stretching his right hand in front of him and holding on it a circle signifying the world. On this circle stands a small statuette of Victoria. He holds his spear in his left hand which he raises to hold the spear from the top. The vanquished is represented in front of him

⁴⁷ *AMNG* 1, taf. 19, no. 26; Varbanov 2670

on the floor in the form of a captive mourning female figure crouching and looking away from the Caesar.⁴⁸

During the last period of Caracalla reign he became an emperor (AD 211-217), in which the researcher encounters also some scenes derived from the coin of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 8b) which represent the victor as a Roman trophy and the captives are placed on both sides at its foot.⁴⁹ Moreover, the artists used another scene derived from a coin of Caracalla's father, the emperor Septimius Severus (fig. 10d).⁵⁰ 'this time the reverse had on it double Victorias holding a shield which rests on a palm. The captives were also represented as two figures on both sides of the palm.

Moreover, following the steps of his father, Caracalla appeared on a reverse of a coin.⁵¹ He stands on this coin (fig.11b), however, in a frontal position, holding the top of his spear with his raised right hand. In his left hand he holds a trophy which looks much bigger than his father's. Instead of one captive, Caracalla's coin has three figures: one on the left and two on the right of the emperor who stands in the middle and whose head intercepts the inscription surrounding the scene.⁵²

Another coin also reminds us also of one of his father's coins (fig. 10f), which has on its reverse a figure representing Roma as the victor sitting on her throne. On Caracalla's coin, however, the artists replaced Rome with

⁴⁸ *RIC* 4A, plate. 12, no. 1

⁴⁹ Cf. *RSC*, 3, p.68, no. 115

⁵⁰ Cf. *RIC*, 4a, plate.15, no.1

⁵¹ Cf. *RIC*, 4a, plate.15, no.1

⁵² *RSC*, 3, p.80, no. 441

Victoria sitting on a cuirass with a shield on her knee. In front of her a trophy is placed on the right of the scene and on both sides of the trophy are placed two figures of mourning captives (fig. 11c).⁵³

In addition to the preceding coins which included on them some old motifs and scenes with new additions or modifications, there is a coin which represents Caracalla standing in the middle and stretching his right hand in front of him and on it there is a globe (fig. 11d). He holds his long spear with his left hand and wears his toga which cover his left shoulder and a part of the spear and the upper part of his left hand. The vanquished is represented in front of him as a captive in a way similar to Caracalla's preceding coin (fig. 11a). The idea of representing the victory is further enhanced by the figure of Victoria which stands behind the emperor, who represent the victor, and raises its right hand with a crown to put on the head of the emperor who happens to be wearing his helmet.⁵⁴

Another coin of Caracalla's shows more innovation in terms of representing the victor and the vanquished (fig. 11e).⁵⁵ Here, the victor came in a shape of a figure representing Virtus standing on the right, wearing a military dress and holding a spear with her left hand which is raised behind her.⁵⁶ With her right hand, she holds a trophy in front

⁵³ RSC,3, p.86 , no. 648

⁵⁴ RSC,3, p.86, no. 654.

⁵⁵ Cohen 4, no. 480.

⁵⁶ On Virtus, daughter of truth and the deity of bravery and military strength, the personification of the Roman virtue of virtus. The Greek equivalent deity was Arete, see:

M. A. Dwight and T. Lewis, *Gerecian and Roman Mythology*, Kessinger Publishing Company, U.S.A., 2005, p.290

of her. The vanquished is represented as a captive sitting on the floor in front of her with its back straight and facing the goddess. Above the figure of the vanquished stands a trophy with full Roman arms and rises at the same height as the goddess. It is noteworthy that the figure of the vanquished is given the same size as the goddess and it is even taller than the trophy above its knees, except for the fact that it is sitting on the floor. Indeed, the researcher may have here an indication that the Romans can vanquish whatever enemy they confront even if they happen to be equal to them.

The coin of Geta, Caracalla's brother who ruled with him as Augustus in AD 211-212 and whom Caracalla murdered, followed the same types as those of his brother. Only one coin appeared when Geta was ruling as a Caesar during the reign of his father Septimius Severus and it shows him together with brother in front row of the scene (fig. 12). Both of the two Caesars are extending their right hand in front of them and are holding a spear with left hand. Behind are standing two soldiers holding a standard each. Only the head of the soldier who stands on the right appear between the shoulders of the two Caesars. Under their feet the captive is illustrated taking the same position as the previous coin (fig. 11e) and directing its head towards them.⁵⁷

After all the previous innovations during the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, the remaining years of the third century did not witness any attempts towards introducing new images. Therefore, The researcher will concentrate in the following paragraphs on what may be

⁵⁷ *RIC*, 4a, p. 337, no. 157b.

considered the most important aspects of the coins during this period and will not go into a detailed discussion of the coins of each particular emperor as the researcher done before. The obvious reason is that the coins of all the emperors who followed Geta to the end of the century followed more or less the same stylistic patterns which we have already seen. By then, it seems, the artists had a long tradition and reservoir of imagery which they could choose from and which they could adapt to their own taste.

Thus the old type which showed the victor as god Mars resting his huge shield on a kneeling totally naked figure representing the vanquished, which we have seen on a coin of Trajan (fig. 5d), and which made its appearance once again during the reign of Septimius Severus, came to appear during the reign of the emperor Severus Alexander (AD 222-235). The artist, however replaced the god with the figure of Victoria to represent the victor (fig. 13).⁵⁸ It is notable also that Victoria appears in a more elaborate clothes and with multiple symbols signifying the fruits of the conquered regions.

During the reign of the emperor Valerian I (AD 253-260), the artists used an old type which appeared during the reign of Severus (fig. 10h), where the victor was represented by the figure of the emperor placing his left foot on the chest of the vanquished as a captive. But again, here the emperor was replaced by Victoria. She appears moving forward while raising her right hand and holding with her left hand some symbols as is the case with the preceding coin. Victoria also puts her right foot on the captive which is

⁵⁸ *RIC*, 4b, p. 87, no. 216

represented by a tine figure in front of her in the left corner of the scene (fig. 14).⁵⁹

From the reign of the emperor Aurelian (AD 270-275), we can single a rare coin which is distinguished by its obverse and reverse at the same time (fig. 15). Here we see on the obverse a bust of the emperor and in front of his chest there is the upper part of a shield upon which we see a statuette of Victoria standing between two captives representing the vanquished. On the reverse the emperor appears almost naked with only a chlamys tied around his neck and flying behind him to give a sense of the quick movement of the emperor. Meanwhile, the emperor stretches his right hand before him and holding with it a whip while holding with left hand a standard of victory. He wears a radiate crown on his head.⁶⁰

This scene of the emperor wearing a radiate crown to express the victor appeared also on the reverse of a coin towards the end of the third century (fig. 16). This time it was used to refer to a victory by the emperor Maximianus Hercules (AD 386-305). He appears standing over two captives bound with their hands to their backs and seated on the floor on both sides of the emperor. Meanwhile, he appears in the middle of the scene, advancing forward to the right and raising his right hand in front of him. He also wears a chlamys which is tied on his right shoulder and which covers part of his left shoulder.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Cohen, 5, no.13.

⁶⁰ Goebel, no. 244a

⁶¹ Cohen, 5, no. 388.

Conclusion:

As may be seen from the preceding discussion, the idea of putting the victor and the vanquished on the reverse of the Roman coins spread widely during the first three centuries. The phenomenon can be attributed to the number of wars which Rome was involved in over the years of these centuries in all the regions surrounding the Roman sphere of influence. However, it is notable also that the artists used the reverse of the coins as a medium of propaganda to glorify Roman victors and to send strong messages to Roman subjects and enemies alike. The scenes served to show Rome's power and prestige and that it was becoming much larger and powerful as years went on. The message was carried through by the relative smallness of the vanquished and the big size of the victor.

Scenes of victors and vanquished, and consequently the artistic styles of representing the concepts of victory and defeat, did not remain the same all the time. We can record a concentration on the vanquished in the earliest coins of the empire where the figure of the defeated sometimes dominated the scene (fig. 1b). Soon after, however, a shift towards glorifying the victor has taken place, and it was expressed by the multiple symbols signifying victory compared to a small tiny figure representing the vanquished (fig. 2b). The position of the figures of the victors and the vanquished was used to make a lively representation of both: the victorious began to appear in a three-quarter position while the vanquished was normally drawn in a profile shape.

In addition to the profile position of the figure of the

vanquished, it was always represented in the form of a human being, male or female, signifying the defeated country and its people (figs. 1-2). The symbols of the victor were much more versatile and the artists did their best to glorify Rome. On the earliest coins we see Victoria crowning a Roman trophy and on another, she holds a circle indicating the world (fig. 2c) or other symbols (fig. 7, 13, 14). On some coins the standard or the trophy of the Roman army was used to indicate the victorious (fig. 2a, 3b, 5b, 8a). Later, the victorious was also personified in the Emperor himself (fig. 2b, 4c) or in the form of the god of war, Mars (fig. 5d), or in a female representing Rome (fig. 6b).

The idea of expressing victory over specific races and in particular wars was soon developed on the coins of the first three centuries AD. Instead of referring to the victor and the vanquished in more general terms, certain particular symbols and inscriptions were used to refer to certain victories as was the case with the Parthian wars (fig. 1b), the Jewish wars (fig. 2a), and in the wars against Germania (fig. 4a). The idea culminated in the coins celebrating the victory over Dacia where the defeated is illustrated as a kneeling, totally naked figure (fig. 5d).

In representing the vanquished, the artists did not use a single style and varied the gender of the figures which they used to carry the idea. In the case of the Jews and the Germans, they used a female figure while in the case of Parthia and Dacia, they used a male figure. The addition of the male figures on the coins was intended to refer to a different treatment of the vanquished. In the case of Germania and Judaea, their lands were turned into Roman provinces while Dacia and Parthia were subjugated to Rome

and their people were turned into slaves.

During the first century the victor seems to have dominated the scenes. He appeared by himself on many coins until the time of Vespasian (see schedule 1). Sometimes, however, the victory was attributed to the Roman army (fig. 1a, 2a, 3b, 4b) and at other times it was attributed to the collective power of Rome personified in the emperor himself (fig. 2a, 4c). But it was also during the reign of Vespasian that the victor and the vanquished came to be represented together on the reverse of the same coin (fig. 2a) and that the first appeared for the first time in a human figure (fig. 2b). On another coin of the same emperor we meet a male figure representing the victor and a female one signifying the defeated (fig. 2c).

In addition to the preceding methods, the second century witnessed two new methods in representing the victor during the reign of Trajan. In the first, geometric shapes were used to symbolize the victor which appears wearing the Roman army uniform and fully armed (fig. 5b, e; schedule 2). The second method resorted to representing god of war, Mars, by himself (fig. 5c). It was during the rule of Trajan that double figures were used to denote the defeated; one of these two figures represents a female, the other a male (fig. 5b). The image could be taken to stress Roman victory and control over the land of Parthia and its army and people.

During the time of Hadrian, the artist used some female figures to refer to the victor. Thus an Amazon was used to refer to the Roman army (fig. 6a) while another female figure referred to Rome itself (fig. 6b). By the end of the second century old themes made their appearance once

again on the coins of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius and of the Emperor Commodus. Thus the images which we have seen on the coins of Trajan and Antoninus Pius were repeated until the end of the century.

The tendency toward reusing old scenes continued in the third century. However, we can witness some slight modifications in these old scenes. Although god Mars was also pictured on some coins (fig. 5d, 10b), his clothes were modified; Victoria continued to be represented but we see also a duplicate Victoria facing each other (fig. d). Instead of a vanquished seated on the floor as was the case before, some movement were given to it (fig.10c).

Another characteristic of the scenes of victory and vanquished on the coins of Septimius Severus (AD 193-210) is the accumulation of symbols of victory on one and the same scene. Symbols which were represented singularly on previous coins were brought together on the same reverse. Thus in addition to the reduplication of Victoria on the coin referred to above, on another reverse we see the emperor, Heracles and trophy of Roman arms (fig. 10h). The emperor appeared on the back of his horse on a third coin (fig. 10e) while some ordinary persons were joining the festive procession which included the emperor and his son on a fourth one (fig. 10i).

In the reign of Caracalla, another deity was introduced to signify the victor. The goddess Virtus was pictured playing the role of Mars and Victoria on previous coins and crowning the victor (fig. 11e). It was also during the third century that we witness the largest image on a coin to express the victor and to present the victory as a work of

the whole family and not only of a single person, the emperor, on the coin which represents the Emperor Geta and his brother Caracalla and three soldiers (fig. 12).

During the first three centuries AD., the only coinage which represented the victor and the vanquished together on the verse was made at the time of Emperor Aurelian (AD 270-275). which represented Victoria as victor and two captives as vanquished, while the reverse was the victor as the Emperor himself wearing a radiate crown and holding a victorious standard in his left hand (fig.15).

Concentration on the victorious on later coins limited the space allocated to the vanquished and it was during the reign of Caracalla that we meet the smallest figures signifying the vanquished (fig. 11d).

IT is observed that from all the previous coins which studied in this search, that the artist humiliated the vanquished deliberately on the Roman coins during the three centuries AD. by represented him in three main positions; the first was during the first and second centuries as a kneeling surrenders his standard to the Roman victor (Schedule 1).The Second as a woman in attitude of mourning sometimes with broken spear below or shield beside her on the ground as evidence of the defeat (Schedule 1). The third position was during the second century as a female at the foot of the trophy, to raise the degree of humiliate to warn any nation which spoke to itself to wage war with Rome. It maybe comes to mind that the third position is a repeated for an old position, but it is clear that it present the highest point of humiliates which present a

kneeling captive not only to surrender but also even more to beg Rome to keep him alive (Schedule 3, fig. 10f).

In addition, the artists sometimes gathered between two kinds of the vanquished on one coin, the male and the female, as captives to declare that the Roman not only defeated the country but also took the people as captives (Schedule 2).

Artist may always care to express the victor and highlighted him, but in some cases we saw the vanquished came in a huge size than the normal and accurately show the features of the vanquished, especially when he presented alone, both in clothing and the cover of his head or in his face and hairstyle chin (figs. 1a, 2a, 3b, 4a, 5a, 5e, 8a, and 10a). Perhaps, in these cases the artist intended to indicate the power that characterized the Roman army to defeat the enemy of great size and strength than him.

The final stage of representing the victor and the vanquished during the three centuries AD. shows that the artists resorted on later coins to more direct means in signifying victor rather to concentrate on the vanquished. Maybe, that happened, to give obvious message to the whole world that Rome's power can crush any of its enemies whose identity was no longer necessary to record and who came to be represented in a more general and non specific figures.

Schedule 1
Victor and vanquished figures
on the coins of first century AD.

Emperor	Figure	Shape of victor	Shape of vanquished
Augustus 30BC–14 AD.	1-A	Individual Victoria	-----
Augustus	1-B	-----	bearded male kneeling
Vespasian AD 69-79.	2-A	commemorate of the victory of the Roman army	woman in attitude of mourning as Jews captive
Vespasian	2-B	a huge human as personality of the Emperor	woman in attitude of mourning as Jews captive
Memorial of Vespasian AD 79-81	2-C	Victoria as victor	human as a male
Titus AD 69-79.	3-A	Human, as male riding horse	Human ,male
Titus	3-B	bust wearing the roman army uniform	bearded person kneeling
Domitian AD 81-96.	4-A	-----	Individual as female
Domitian.	4-B	trophy of arms	female and male
Domitian	4-C	huge male size with a complete army uniform	Male as kneeling German captive

A Schedule2
Victor and vanquished figures
on the coins of Second century AD.

Emperor	Figure	Shape of victor	Shape of vanquished
Trajan 98-117	5-A	-----	Individual mourning woman
Trajan	5-B	bust wearing the roman army uniform	Male and Female
Trajan	5-C	god Mars	naked male Dacian captive
Trajan	5-E	bust wearing the roman army uniform and full armed	naked male
Hadrian 117-138	6-A	female as Amazon	-----
Hadrian	6-B	Female as Rome	-----
Antoninus Pius 138-161	7	Female as Victoria holding trophy	-----
Marcus Aurelius 161-180	8-a	bust wearing the roman army uniform and full armed	A female at the foot of the trophy
Marcus Aurelius	8-b	Male and female as German Captives	trophy as a bust full armed
Marcus Aurelius	8-c	Female as Victoria holding trophy	A female mourning as Captives
Marcus Aurelius	8-d	Victoria and the emperor standing beside the trophy	two German captives, male and female
Commodus 179-192	9	Victoria scribe on a shield	Captive woman

Schedule 3
Victor and vanquished figures
on the coins of Third century AD.

Emperor	Figure	Shape of victor	Shape of vanquished
Septimius Severus 193-210	10-a	-----	Two captives
Septimius Severus	10-b	God Mars	Small captive
Septimius Severus	10-c	Roman trophy of arms	Two captives One of them standing
Septimius Severus	10-d	Double Victoria	Two captives
Septimius Severus	10-e	Knight ride horse	captive
Septimius Severus	10-f	Roma Seated on her throne	Kneeling captive begging
Septimius Severus	10-g	Three symbols trophy Heracles and the Emperor himself	Two captive
Septimius Severus	10-h	The Emperor	Captive
Septimius Severus	10-I	Emperor and his son on quadriga , trophy	Two captives
Caracalla as Caesar 196-211	11-A	The Emperor in the army uniform	a captive as a mourning woman
Emperor Caracalla 211-217	11-B	the Emperor in the army uniform	river-god and to the right two captives bound
Emperor Caracalla	11-C	Victoria and trophy	two mourning captives
Emperor Caracalla	11-D	<i>Caracalla</i> and Victoria	A small captive
Emperor Caracalla	11-E	goddess Virtus and trophy	Equal size of bound captive on the floor
Emperor Geta 211-212	12	Geta, Caracalla and three soldiers	bound captive on the floor
Severus Alexander 22-235	13	Victoria	Kneeling captive under shield

Valerian I, 253-260	14	Victoria	captive
Emperor Aurelian 270-275	15	Verse: Victoria Reverse : the Emperor	Verse: two captives
Maximianus Herculeus 286-305	16	Emperor	Two captives

Abbreviations

AMNG	Die Antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien, Vol.1, Berlin 1898
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology, the Journal of the Archaeological Institute Of America
Cohen	Description Historique des Monnaies frappees sous L'Empire Romain, communem ent appelees Medailles Imperiales - 8 volumes. Vol 4: Septimius Severus to Maximinus Thrax. Vol 5: Gordian I to Valerian II.
Goebel	R. Gobl, Die Munzprägung der Kaiser Valerianus I., Gallienus, Saloninus (253/268), Regalianus (260) und Macrianus, Quietus(260/262), Wien 2000.
NZ	Numismatische Zeitschrift, New ziland 1888
RIC 1	C.H. Sutherland and Others: <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol.1, London 1984</i>
RIC 2	H. Mattingly and E. Sydenham: <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol.2, Vespasian to Hadrian, First published 1926, last reprinted London 2001</i>
RIC 3	H. Mattingly and E. Sydenham: <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol.3, Antoninus Pius to Commodus, London 1930</i>
RIC 4A	H. Mattingly and E. Sydenham: <i>The Roman Imperial Coinage, Vol.4, part 1, Pertinax to Geta, London 1936</i>
RSC	H. A. Seaby: Roman Silver Coins Vol. I. Republic to Augustus, London, 1978 Vol.2 Tiberius to Commodus, 3ed edition, London 1979 Vol.3 Pertinax to Balbinus and pupienus 193-238 AD, 2ed editon, London 1982
RCV	S. David: <i>Roman Coins and Their Values, Vol.1: The Republic and the Twelve, Caesars, 280 BC - AD 96 The Millennium Edition, London 2000</i> <i>Vol.2: The accession of Nerva to the overthrow of the</i>

- SNG** *Severan Dynasty AD69-AD235, London 2002*
von Aulock , Originally 18 volumes, reprinted in 1987 as
4 hardbound volumes in Germany.
- Varbanov** Ivan Varbanov, Bulgarian version (2002) and English
version, 3 volumes Greek Imperial Coins (2005)



fig.1



fig.2



fig.3



C
fig.4



A



B



C



D



E

Fig.5



fig.6



Fig.8



fig.8



fig.9



fig. 10



C

D



E

F



G

H



I

fig.10



A



B



C



D



E

fig.11



fig.12



fig.13



fig.14



fig.15



fig.16