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NUMISMATICAL SOURCES OF THE ILLYR SOLDIER EMPERORS'
RELIGIOUS POLICY

Translation

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INTRODUCTION

The Illyr soldier-emperors reign comes under the last two decades of the principatus /268-282/. The military government, having started with the Severus dynasty, was not of such dinastic continuity than earlier, rather the rule of a range of generals capturing the confidence of the army for a shorter or longer period. In this period, which may be rightly called the age of military anarchy,¹ the future of the empire was largely influenced by the military forces, concentrated in certain endangered parts of the realm, those who were strong enough to get the power for their respective representants.² By the middle of the 3rd century, mainly in consequence of the repeated menaces of the Goths, the Illyr army acquired such a domineering power, which was of decisive rule in the political life of the whole empire. Yet, Traianus Decius proclaimed by the Illyr army, ruled as an emperor up to the middle of this century. This range of generals had been interrupted for a certain time, during the reign of Valerianus and Gallienus. Only the emperors following Gallienus are actually called Illyr soldier emperors, who, so to say, steadily represented the Illyr strength over one and a half decades until Carus took power. As a matter of fact, the political significance of this area was prevailing further on, well illustrated by the fact that all the four emperors during the tetrarchy came from this part of the empire.

This second appearance of the Illyricum on the political stage, following the Severuses, did not bring such a prosperity as the first one. By that time the empire had no adequate reserves for this, and the emperors themselves realized, that such a protectionist domestic policy would

cause the ruin of the empire as a whole. The essential difference between the two epochs parallel in certain respects lies in this, that at the time the Severuses came to power, the Illyric army and politicians had the power to proclaim Septimius Severus, as emperor, but by the time of the Illyr soldier emperors only this very group could take the responsibility for ruling.³

The turn - in the course of which the dominate had developed from the obsolete system of the principate - can not be restricted to the activity of the Diocletian's tetrarchy, only as it would be wrong to consider the emperors before Diocletian the last representants of the decaying system forced into a complete defensive position. More than one reform was carried out during the military anarchy over the 3rd century, which had already prepared the dominate system; the central cavalry of Gallienus,⁴ the Aurelianus-decree, under which the right of coinage came under the authority of the emperor⁵, as well as the novel title; "dominus et deus"⁶ interpreting the essence of the Emperor's power quite different from the title "princeps" during the Augustean epoch, and the very expression "dominate" also forecasts and asserts that the last third of the third century has to be considered as a transitory period, under which, Diocletianus succeeded in establishing a temporary restoration of the Roman empire. His state organizatory activity, which in many respects carried its effects deep into the Middle Ages, did not line up to the contemporary requirement but in a single point, namely his religious policy.

In this respect, Constantinus will take the decisive move a generation later. Accordingly, the relative ideological appeasement, to determine the main tendency of the religious policy for long, is not far ahead either.

All these emphasize the importance of the religious history of the period, in which Illyr soldier emperors also ruled and

also clarify its hectic and transitory character. The classic Roman religious feeling is loosing its influence on the masses step by step, although strongly supported by Gallienus⁷, the emperor-cult have become the official state religion with a large organization, but little faith, since the rule of Augustus. The different cults for redemption of the eastern religions had a certain effect on the masses, but this did not develop into a uniform movement. Christianity was the most decisive religion, mobilizing large crowd, aiming at hegemony, that is why it was persecuted most forcibly.

However, my paper does not discuss the history of religion of this period. My objective is to study the religious policy of the Illyr soldier emperors. I should like to reveal whether these emperors had any firm standpoint in this ideological chaos? And what it might have been? Whether they wanted to exercise influence on its process, and to what an extent?

I have searched sources in the written material and tokens for getting a reply to these questions.

Hardly have we any reliable sources, concerning the history of the period. Only fragments remained of the oeuvre of Dexippos a contemporary.⁸ Eusebius is dealing only with matters concerning Christianity.⁹ Historians in the following century Aurelius Victor, Eutropius and the Epitome De Caesaribus¹⁰ refer but very shortly to the age of the relevant emperors. Later the Latin and Greek historians and ecclesiastics do not deal with them at all.¹¹ The Historia Augusta is the richest source. Since Dessau started, the debates on its documentary value have been going on.¹² However, these debates and the researches based on them, mostly refer to the work itself, to the circumstances and the time of its origin, to the author or the compiler and only as a preliminary study to the event of the historical period discussed in Historia Augusta. So, the best ways I can make

use of this enigmatic work in subjecting it to the control of different /namely, possibly non-written tokens/ the data corresponding my theme. In addition to all the difficulties I must reckon with is the fact - concerning texts - that none of the authors refer to the religious-policy of the emperor discussed, rather the religious-history of the relevant epoch. As a matter of fact, all that is considered as a political action, and is - as such - of importance, being modified by the social and historical determinants of the contemporary historians, so that their work may be a more valuable data concerning these determinants than their actual theme. This is all the more true, when there are centuries between the author and his theme.

Accordingly, these authors can be considered as secondary sources of my theme only.

Tokens. The period discussed covers fourteen years all in all. That is why relatively precisely dated tokens may be taken into consideration only, namely stones with inscriptions and the coins.¹³

In the Roman times the administrative and military bodies, personalities and individuals used to erect stones with inscriptions. From our point of view the official inscriptions are of primary importance, as they directly reflect the religious policy, while the individual inscriptions, similarly to authors, are authentic only for the religious history of the relevant period, and serve my paper as a complementary reference.

The fact, that there are only few stones with inscriptions from the period of the Illyr soldier-emperors is an even greater problem, than the previous one. This is not surprising but rather sad, Carved stones turn up relatively often only at a time, when there are plenty of medium- and small-holders who have enough money to spend on this.¹⁴ The unstable existence, the continuous and inevitable inflation

of the money and the menace of barbar nations at the time of military anarchy had not been a convenient atmosphere for this. The populations and communities of different level within the empire had not been at all living under such favourable conditions as to care too much for representation. They were rich in two things only, the gradually less and less valuable money inflated¹⁵ and the promise of the imperial propaganda, figuring on the coin reverses.

The bigger part of this large heap of coins, unexplored from this point of view, was coined at the imperial mints, the lesser part, at the mints of towns possessing this licence. The two kinds of minting differ in the way the stones with official inscriptions do, as to propagandistic aspect, from the stones erected by individuals. The imperial propagandistic policy appears most directly in the products of the imperial mints. The production in the rest of the mints¹⁶ even the most outstanding /Alexandria/ reveals no-direct data about the central propaganda.¹⁷ The scope of my paper permitted only the "treatise" of imperial coinage, and the rest of the sources, were used only for completing the numismatic analyzes.

NUMISMATICAL INTRODUCTION

The examination of coinage is indispensable for tracing whatever politics, as the coins are means for political and ideological propaganda.¹⁸ So is it with the antoninians of Aurelianus, minted with the figures of Sol, Mars or Victoria, as well as with our 10 filler coin bearing the figure of the peace dove, or our 100 Forint banknote with the face of Kossuth Lajos. This role of the coins is of outstanding importance for the period discussed as at that time money was almost the sole instrument available for spreading political propaganda to the large masses. This part of my paper tries to prove, that this statement holds as a whole. As a preamble,

I should like to mention only, that for example the Sol-cult of the relevant period dominates religious political aspects expressed in the coinage, as well as the onerous atmosphere of conspiracies and to the army's political aspect. /See the coins; CONCORDIA MILITUM, CONCORDIA LEGIONUM, FIDES MILITUM,¹⁹

The coin in the Roman empire besides the significance in trade, as a consequence was the most efficient instrument for the information and orientation for all the inhabitants of the empire, and other nations coming into the sphere and under the influence of the Romans. If we realize, that more than hundred types of Aurelian's coins are recorded, and the emperor had them coined during five years of his rule, it has to be admitted, that this propagandistic instrument was very important.

On the averse of coins in the relevant period, the face of the emperor in power is visible, while on the edge-ring the imperial title - in a complete or a shorter form - can be seen. So, the political contents of the averse are the same on all coins without exception: the presentation and the propagation of the ruler or the "divus" emperor. Naturally, the analysis of the style of these portraits may prove this standpoint more complex, if we study the very portrait type comprising all these emperor-portraits. This portrait type, which is the artistic representation of the soldier emperors in the 3rd century, demonstrates very clearly the ideology of the stratum shaping the portrait type, so, by itself also reflects a standpoint and has a convincing power.²⁰

While the reverse of the coins represents a wider field of propaganda. The reverses are more interesting, many sorts of legends and representations vary on them. The possibility offered here also calls for an elaborate conciseness in expressing the objectives of the propaganda, this is why the structure of the reverses is rather simple. The legend serves

as a frame to the representation, containing one, sometimes two, or occasionally three figures. As a matter of fact, both the representation and the inscription convey the same message; the text by expressing it in words and the figures illustrating it.

In my paper I am going to deal with the reverse of the coins exclusively.

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The whole chapter is based on P.H. Webb's work, who has collected the relevant coinage in volumes V/1 and V/2 of RIC.²¹ The estimates of scholars concerning Webb's achievement are not ambiguous. Several critical reviews have been published in connection with some parts of this oeuvre.²² This criticism proved to be useful for completing my catalogue of coins during the three emperors rule. With all its shortcomings the work of P.H. Webb remained to be my most important source of reference, as the method of investigation, I have applied, cannot dispense with the idea of unity. P.H. Webb is the only one, who saw and depicted the coinage of Claudius Gothicus, Aurelianus and Probus. This fact makes his work the most valuable source, despite certain lacks in details.

In the following I am going to communicate the catalogue of the three emperors' coins and outline the circumstances of the compilation of the catalogues.

Claudius Gothicus coins The coins of Claudius were first systemized by A. Markl in his article published in 1884.²³ His work serves the basis of any numismatic study concerning this period. The subsequent summeries were elaborated by P.H. Webb in the RIC.²⁴ This volume printed in 1927, is the latest comprehensive description on the coins of Claudius.

From Markl to Webb the material got increased and the picture has changed in such important questions as the problem of the workshop in "Taracco" about which Webb is writing, as the mint of Mediolanum-Ticinum.²⁵ It is not possible for me to use Webb's work alone, not even taking into consideration the critical remarks, because he does not always separate emissions or periods either. For research, answering this demand, Markl's paper offers a guide, though it does not contain all the types known. Damerau, who published his work on Claudius in 1934,²⁶ also refers to Markl, speaking about the emissions in one of the chapters dealing with the coins.²⁷ He does not mention emissions at the Mediolanum coins, for Markl did not know of this workshop in Claudius' coinage.

After Markle and Webb, as I have already mentioned, the coins of Claudius were not dealt with comprehensively, only the coinage of the different mints was examined - first of all by A. Alföldi who wanted to elaborate the mint of Siscia. Most regrettably, this plan has not been realized as a whole, however an essay on the activity of the workshop in the days of Claudius was published in 1938.²⁸ This work improves Webb's summary at more than one instance. Prof. Alföldi discusses eight further types, known in the coinage of Claudius, though not in Siscia.²⁹ He separates the emissions, accordingly, introduces new versions. Alföldi's paper furnishes information concerning the activity of three further mints. His article about the Eastern mints, operating from 260-270, as well as their historical consequences, was published in 1938, which he added to the collection of his works about the 3rd century, published 1967.³⁰ The paper investigates the minting of the three workshops during the period of Gallienus sole reign and over the total Claudius rule - Antiochia, Cyzicus and an unknown workshop. Elaborating Cyzicus, he, so to say, entirely follows Markl. Concerning the unknown workshop, he deals with the experiments of Markl, Voetter and Webb, and he postulates a mint somewhere in the West of Minor

Asia, not to be defined, the coins of which he separates from those minted in Antiochia and Cyzicus.³¹ Alföldi brings forth some new types. J.-P. Callu's point is that the debated mint was in Smyrna.³²

According to Webb the liveliest coinage was performed in Rome during Claudius' reign. Markl knows about five emissions over the nearly one and a half year of the Claudius reign. Accordingly, the output of the Rome workshop is rather important concerning the total coinage of Claudius. Provided more has been dealt with this over the latest years, the attention would have turned to Claudius rather as Aurelianus' predecessor, during whose reign the antoninianus introduced by Caracalla was at its lowest ebb.³³ Markl's and Webb's elaboration of the mints of Rome were rectified by R.A.G. Carson following new findings, as well as based on that of Hollingbourne.³⁴ This rectification is mainly demonstrated by the very fact of his limiting to three the five emissions defined by Markl, as well as mentioning but the substantive coins of Claudius.³⁵ Thus, apart from minor differences in the work of Carson in the 3rd emission, it is identic with the fifth emission of Markl and the 2nd emission with the 4th and third emissions of Markl. Finally, the types of the 1st emission of Carson correspond the first and second emissions of Markl. The rest of coin types on Markl's list, which do not figure at Carson's, mainly belong to the first and second emissions/10 types/³⁶ as well as a group the data of which neither Markl, Webb nor Damerau had mentioned /6 types/³⁷ three more types are indicated by Markl /and Webb/ not referred to by Carson, one that is defected³⁸ Carson says that the list prepared by him consists of substantive issues of coins, and it is obvious that the additional coins mentioned by Markl respectively Webb came from a mint prior to the 1st /Carson/ emission, bearing the name of Claudius, yet, as a continuation of the Gallienus types.³⁹ This phenomenon is considered regular at taking power by another

emperor. Following Claudius the same occurs in Aurelianus case.⁴⁰ Accordingly, I have not neglected the types omitted by Carson to be found under O group on my table. My treatise, for the sake of which I resorted to the study of coins, is of a character which may only profit from the numismatic approach of historical continuance.

The situation is the worst in the case of Mediolanum. The "Taracco" group of Markl does not include a single type not figuring at Mediolanum in Webb's work, while being familiar with two thirds of the types only mentioned by Webb.⁴¹ The so called internal chronological classification consisting of three emissions may be accepted for the relevant two thirds. I have not been able to define the exact date for the further eight types.

From the above it is obvious, that Webb's catalogue cannot be used without a certain criticism, however, to neglect it entirely would be even a greater mistake, as without this we could not get a uniform picture of the topic.

The chronological catalogue of Claudius' coinage as a whole has not been prepared by anybody so far. It is rather clear, for during his short reign - from August 268 to the beginning of 270 - we can hardly speak about years. Due to the different elaborations about Claudius the markings are not unified either.

S1 and S2 represent two following phases of Cyzicus, series marked SPQR on the basis of A. Alföldi⁴² 2a and 2b denote two slightly different phases of a Roman emission in Carson's paper.⁴³ I have referred to emission marked O in the above. It is characteristic to the whole tabulation that most of the emissions fall to the year 269, and only within this may one get a chronological picture.

The table below shows in the /horizontal/ lines the output of certain mints, and in the /vertical/ columns the annual output. The figures represent the emissions.

	268	269	270
Rom/a/	0 1	1 2a 2b 3	3
Med/iolanum/	1	2 3	3
Sis/cia/	1	2 3	3
Ant/iochia/	1	1 2	2?
Cyz/icus/	1	S1 S2 2	2?
Unk/nown mint/	1	1 2	2?

Aurelianus' coins

Aurelianus' coins were also collected by a member of the Vienna Münzkabinett.

Theodor Rohde edited his painstaking work at Miskolc, in which he gave places of the classical authors writing about Aurelianus besides the catalogue of coins.⁴⁴

At Aurelianus not even Webb refrains from marking the periods in the case of antoninians representing the biggest part of the coins.⁴⁵ At aureus coins only pre and post reform ones are classified.⁴⁶ The rest of the denominations, a small part of the catalogue coming from the Rome mint are not marked as to period.

In the case of Aurelianus the debates among the scholars are not about the dating and the emissions, rather the monetary reform, which had but an indirect effect on the dates given. Since Missong, the founder of the Vienna Münzkabinett, every generation has contributed to the metrological debate, being of lesser importance for the present investigation. Among others, Webb, Mattingly and Sydenham also wrote about it.⁴⁷ In 1965 Carson published an article on this topic.⁴⁸ It is worthwhile talking about this article, not only being one of the latest, but as the author also points to the exact timings of the periods. According to these, the two main turning points between the periods are Aurelianus' Placentia

Defeat /271/ this marks the beginning of the second period /at Carson: issue/ and the falling of the Gallian Empire /274/ which marks the beginning of the third period. Carson writes about a fourth period too, this emission contains substantive coins of Severina.⁴⁹ Webb also writes about them, however, not as the fourth period of Aurelianus' coinage, but separately. Carson's observations have lead to the conclusion that the reform antoninians were of three well definable stages, according to the fact, that the coins are minted but for Aurelianus, Aurelianus and Severina, or Severina only. According to Carson, the fourth emission starts from August 275 /approximately the date of Aurelianus' death/ and naturally keeps on but for a very short time.

During the reign of Aurelianus, the workers' revolt broke out with the leading of Felicissimus⁵⁰ in the Rome mint and it was to open in the 3rd period only.⁵¹ However, up to the revolt it had carried on the most vivid activity of all the workshops and was already minting coins belonging to the 2nd period, while the other mints of the empire were at the 1st period only.⁵² This chronological feature must be taken into consideration in any case.

The placing of the unknown mint during the rather long 2nd period is not certain. This is still more difficult, as the activity appearing in respect of the emperor's personality can only be compared to that of Serdica. In this field it can be compared to the output of the major mints in the 2nd period, and in that period only.⁵³

The table below is based on the article of Webb, and for the most part on that of Carson. Its structure is the same as I have used at Claudius.⁵⁴

	270	271	272	273	274	275
Rom/a/	1	2			3	3 4
M/ed/-T/ic/	1	1 2	2	2	3	3 4
Sis/cia/	1	1 2	2	2	3	3 4
Ser/dica/			2	2	3	3 4
Cyz/icus/	1	1 2	2	2	3	3 4
Lug/dunum/					2 3	3
Ant/iochia/				2	3	4
Tri/polli/				2	2 3	3 4
Unk/nown mint/		??	??	??		

Probus' coins Missong and Voetter, members of the Vienna Münzkabinett, started to deal with Probus,⁵⁵ coins, following them Lepaulle as well.⁵⁶ The results of their pioneer work were already used by Dannhäuser⁵⁷ and Crees.⁵⁸ This emperor was also elaborated by Webb in the RIC.⁵⁹ It is a pity, that his work cannot be used for the exact marking of the emissions. He does not connect to emissions all the pieces presented, actually not most of them. As to A. Alföldi, he can also be reproached of not knowing the whole material.⁶⁰ To illustrate the disproportion brought about by completing Webb's work with that of Alföldi, I would like to give but one instance: Alföldi enumerates 2500 versions of 101 types on a fascille in his "Siscia" series dealing with the Probus' antoninians.⁶¹ While Webb puts the number of the Siscia Probus' antoninians to 217. /He does not classify types exactly as Alföldi does, these can only be reasoned out of his work./ The fact, that Alföldi shows multiple of the versions collected by Webb hints not only at a more comprehensive collection of materials but also at a more specific distinction among the certain types and versions /eg. he knows considerably more

versions of averses than Webb does/.

From the point of view of a numismatist a lot remains to be improved in Webb's catalogue. However, as to the categories by which I have started this investigation [see p.16./ there are only two instances of disagreement between Webb and Alföldi: No coin bearing the inscription AEQUITAS AUG⁶² is mentioned by Alföldi /neither by Pink - as we see in the following/ while a coin with the legend CALLIOPE AUG⁶³ is missing from Webb /as it will be at Pink too/. Nevertheless, we have to point out, that Alföldi elaborated the antoninianus-minting of a single workshop, Siscia only. Accordingly, the two may be plotted on a very restricted area only.

The latest comprehensive work on the coinage of Probus is the essay of the above mentioned Karl Pink, published in the "Aufbau..." series in 1949.⁶⁴ Later, in 1955 he prepared a separate catalogue of the medaillions.⁶⁵ Pink's oeuvre may be of good use, for he communicates coins from emission to emission in his catalogue and he has also added a full study to it. His material is the excellent Vienna collection, most likely surpassing that of the British Museum in many respects /this is also shown by the new pieces/. Anyhow, the sixteen years passed between the publication of the Probus chapter in the RIC and Pink's publication are of great advantage to Pink. Yet, it cannot be used totally, because it does not refer to RIC, so the data of the two elaborations cannot be correlated, neither controlled from version to version. Only the types, not the versions, can be compared with certainty.

Both scholars agree on the majority of the types. Webb knows 17 types of the antoninians from 6 mints, forming the biggest part of the coins, not figuring at Pink. These are very rare types representing but hardly 3 % of all the versions.⁶⁶ On the other hand Pink writes about three types from three mints that are new compared to those given by Webb.

Besides filling in the manifest gaps I could securely

complete Webb's catalogue in two instances: a/ Types known from antoninians turn up in other denominations - mainly quinarii and denarii. These are rare coins of festive character, similarly to the golden coins. b/ Antoninianus types, already known, were issued in other emissions. /eg. the three SOLI INVICTO versions of the Cyzicus mint, coined in the 1st, 5th and 6th emissions - against the only one version by Webb.⁶⁷

As to the gold-minting, the two scholars disagree to a larger extent. In this case it is not worthwhile observing the version, for gold-minting had never been done in such a mass within a type as antoninianus minting. The Probus' gold coins represent 61 types with 100 versions. That is in average, each type has 1,6 versions. /At highest in four versions - in the case of six types./ At the golden coins Webb mentions thirteen variants coming from six mints, Pink does not know about, while Pink writes about twelve versions from five mints not to be found at Webb. Pink's nove are mainly from Siscia, while those of Webb are from Siscia, Cyzicus and Antiochia.

The bronze medaillions represent another special field of Probus coinage. These are not mentioned by Webb at all, actually, there are some types among these which cannot be found at Webb in any other denominations either /eg. REDITUS AUG, MONETA AUG, ADLOCUT MILIT etc./. Pink published these medaillions yet in 1949, but not so systematically as in 1955. The latter article includes the coins numbered, gloss and bibliography are added to each. In this respect, my table entirely follows Pink's article, published in 1955. It is rather interesting, that there is one type among the medaillions, naturally of unique character, bearing the inscription MONETA AUG, of which eighteen variants are conveyed by Pink, making out more than 40 % of the total. Medaillions were minted in the biggest workshops; Rome, Ticinum and Siscia only.

My chronological table is based on Pink's treatise of 1949. Regretably, the text tabulation does not correspond

the data of the catalogue, at Pink.⁶⁸ Thus in the table below, I have rectified Pink's text tabulation at certain places, sticking to the data given in his catalogue.

	276	277	278	279	280	281	282
Lug/dunum/	1 2	3 4	4	5	5	6 7	8
Tic/inum/	1 2	3	4	5 6	7 8	9	10
Rom/a/	1	1 2	3	4	5	6	7
Sis/cia/	1	2 3 4	5	6	7	8	9
Ser/dica/	1 2	2 3 4			5		
Cyz/icus/	1 2	2			3	4	
Tri/polii/	1				2		
Ant/iochia/	1				2		

My catalogues of the three emperors' coinages, based on the above, cannot be conveyed here, among others because of technical reasons. I am going to present only certain parts of them when treating the subject of my paper.

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Following the survey of the data given in the RIC and the completion by further works the material has to be systemized.

THE SYSTEMATION

Its fundamental principle is the aspiration to separate the distinct content elements of the imperial propaganda from one another. The terms used in the systemization represent the different grades of size separating the content.

The broadest unit is the group. The mints summed up carry certain items of the religious political programme. /eg. "SAECULUM" is the group implying the proclamation of the

Golden Age, the advent of the new century, the "CONSERVATORES" group realises the propagation of the emperor's personal tutelary deities./

The unit of the next degree is type.

The mints involving certain ideas of the objectives expounded in details and unified by the intentions of the issuing authority come under one type /eg. within the "SAECULUM" group the coins holding the legends FELICITAS SAECULI, SECURITAS ORBIS, TEMPORUM FELICITAS" form the different types/. Generally the types are composed of the coins bearing the same legend, as the inscription is always the phrasing of a certain idea to be propagated. However, there are many exceptions; the same legend does not stand for the same type /eg. the coin with the legend CONSERVAT AUG represents one type with the figure of Sol and another one with that of Iuppiter/, or the other way round, coins of different /but formal/ legends come under the same type /eg. the following three Probus versions IOVI CONS AUG, IOVI CONS PROBI AUG, IOVI CONSERVAT/.

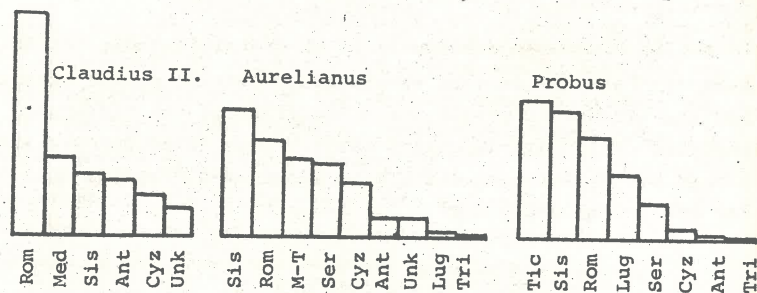
The narrowest unit is the version /variant/.

All the coins virtually corresponding each other, namely those issued with similar figures and legends by the same officina of workshop, in the very emission represent one version. Maybe the same pair of dies can also be supposed.

The elementary particles of the systemation are the coins themselves.

Having fixed the categories of my classification, let's summarize now the data of the catalogue making use of these. For the estimation of the table the times of the different emperors' reign are important data; Probus ruled for six and a half years, Aurelianus for five years, and Claudius Gothicus for one and a half years.

Claudius Gothicus:		293 variants	99 types	73 legends
Rom:	130	"	49	" 45
Med:	49	"	23	" 23
Sis:	41	"	28	" 27
Ant:	32	"	28	" 21
Cyz:	25	"	13	" 11
Unk:	16	"	12	" 11
Aurelianus:		438 variants	107 types	65 legends
Sis:	112	"	39	" 29
Rom:	89	"	40	" 32
M-T	72	"	31	" 25
Ser:	68	"	21	" 16
Cyz:	49	"	31	" 23
Ant:	20	"	9	" 9
Unk:	18	"	12	" 12
Lug:	8	"	5	" 4
Tri:	2	"	2	" 2
Probus:		1001 variants	117 types	76 legends
Tic:	286	"	49	" 31
Sis:	264	"	53	" 42
Rom:	207	"	49	" 35
Lug:	131	"	32	" 27
Ser:	70	"	19	" 16
Cyz:	26	"	14	" 12
Ant:	14	"	7	" 6
Tri:	3	"	2	" 2



The data of this table are illustrated by the graphicon from which we can read the percentage the specific mints took part in the coinage during the reign of the different emperors. Claudius, during his short reign of one and a half years, issued 99 types with 73 kind of legends, in 293 versions. Most of these were minted by the Rome workshop which produced 45 % of all the variants during Claudius' rule. Seemingly, the decentralization of the coinage was not so general⁶⁹ to the effect that the output of the provincial mints could be considerable compared to that of the urbs mint.

This minting activity of Claudius bears the signs of the political and economic nadir in everything preceeding the administrative, financial and religious reforms of Aurelianus,⁷⁰ and the economic ones of Probus.⁷¹ In Rome fifty different types are minted. Only the output of the Siscia mint under Probus surpasses this /53/ - but during six and a half years! These many types, while being the mark of the inflation on one hand, speak of the not particularly christallized propaganda program preferred to anything else. A. Alföldi explains this by the fact that the emperor had no time to deal with this during his very short reign full of vicissitudes.⁷² Nevertheless, this is no answer. Why was it necessary to produce so many types of coins? In turn, it is very interesting, that the steadily decreasing output of the other mints from Mediolanum even to the unknown workshop in the West of Asia Minor can be estimated and compared /contrary to the Lugdunum and Tripolis workshops under Aurelianus and Antiochia and Tripolis workshops under Probus/.

Aurelianus issued 107 types with 65 legends in 438 versions during his five years of rule. His graphicon, considerably differs from that of Claudius. The Rome mint declined /first of all in consequence of the Felicissimus revolt, but the strengthening of the other centres of the empire also contributed to it/. So, Rome was preceeded by Siscia; other mints /Mediolanum, Serdica, Cyzicus/ lined up to it. The

regional distribution of the coinage was more balanced, concerning the above five mints. The further four mints were lagging behind, and it is very hard to estimate their output.

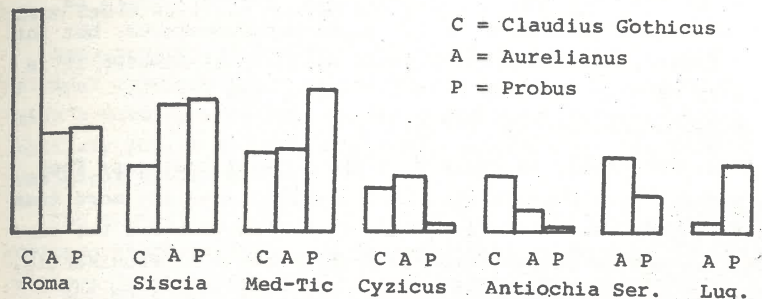
Aurelianus' reform seems to have stopped the inflation for a short time. 438 versions are surprisingly few compared, for instance, to Claudius coinage. Serdica, with its intensive minting is superior to the other workshops. /The more versions of fewer types are issued, the greater is the intensity of a mint./ It took the fourth place only, as it had not worked during the time of Aurelianus' first emission.

Probus issued 1001 versions of 117 types during his six and a half years of reign. The picture of his coinage is similar to that of Aurelianus but inflation got aggravated again reaching nearly the extent under Claudius. The economic measures of Probus, aiming at increasing the agricultural arable land were most likely intended to improve conditions. The Rome minting did not take the lead again, where Ticinum was standing then, moreover Siscia also preceded it proving that the Felicissimus' revolt was the only reason of its falling into the background. It is the first time, that the Lugdunum mint produces considerably more for the emperor. Serdica opened during the 2nd half of Aurelianus reign, did not work so actively during Probus' rule. It produced the majority of its coins in the first two years of the Probus' rule.

Concerning the total coinage of the three emperors, it can be said that most of the types had been known at the beginning of these emperors' reign, in this respect, there is no considerable difference between Claudius' coinage and those of the other two emperors. Rather new versions of the existing types are issued in further emissions during the following years. As a consequence of this, coinage seems to be generally more intensive with growing length of the emperors' reign.

/See p. 18./ Besides this we may talk about the relative intensity of the single mints, as for instance Serdica during the Aurelianus rule, or Ticinum at Probus compared to the rest.

The following diagrams show the total output of each of the mints during the three emperors' rule based on percentage. From these diagrams we get the picture of during whose reign a certain mint was relatively more or less active. Tripoli playing always a subordinate role among the mints, and the unknown mints not being the same at Aurelianus and Claudius are not figuring on the diagram. The height differences of the columns show, which of the various workshops was of a particular importance during the emperors. So, for instance, Rome and Antiochia were very active under Claudius, Siscia and Serdica under Aurelianus, Ticinum, Siscia and Lugdunum were the most important under Probus.



From the above it may be seen, that the mints differed from one another in many respects; in the size of the output, and in the intensity concerning the whole period as well as the different emperors' reign. Moreover, as we have mentioned it in advance even concerning a part of the types. This fact raises the question: what the activity of the mints was regulated by and from our point of view, who prescribed the formation of the propaganda and what was it determined by.⁷³ Giving an answer can be attempted only after the examination of the types, yet one thing seems to be already certain; two factors have important roles in it; the central control and relative independence of the mints.

The table, expounded in the previous part, applied the two narrower categories of the classification, and we did not face any difficulties as the formal criteria had also been at disposal. There are more difficulties with the widest category, the group, which - as to my former definition - must be in accordance with the whole program of religious politics. Here the examination does not comprise the total coinage, but refers to a certain part, interesting from the aspect of the religious politics. Part of the types, important from our aspect, can be separated on the basis of the legends. These are generally the coins in connection with the Golden Age myth, the Sol-cult and the Emperor-cult. However, there is another part of the coins, which would not concern us, but for their figures being representations of deities. However, it is not easy to draw the line between a deity and a personification on this coinage.⁷⁴

It may be easier to start from the personifications. They are personifying certain ideas and scarcely mean any more than their legends. Just like a drawing which always shows the same picture wherever it is looked at from. These are: Providentia, Laetitia, Victoria, Concordia, Pax, Uberitas etc. From the aspect of this paper I do not take them for deities even if they have their own temples or altars, as for eg. the ancient temple of Concordia, dating from the republic, or the Augustean Ara Pacis. Victoria is also the personification of victory only, although her ancestor may be found in the Greek Nike, having been itself but a personification, a stiff symbol and attributed to Zeus never changing in appearance.

This rigidity is slackening at the deities. Here the figure becomes dimensional with a body offering different sights, to be interpreted in many ways. The legend actually chooses one of the many possibilities for interpretation, namely the most convenient for the message. The above example is

characteristic for the deities of classic religiosity. In the creeds of the 3rd century burdened with the expectation of "redemption" the deities are not so of antropomorphous and many-sided, rather a universal character. One of the best examples is Sol, whose omni-present seeing everything may be found as the main characteristic in the classic myths too. However, to give a closer example to this sort of personification, let's take Fortuna being more a deity, representing a basic idea, which is specially topical and universal in the very age.

All these arguments are but touching upon the precise definition of the border-line between the personification and the deity, as it represents something more of a zone than a specific line including here and there such varied border-line cases as Salus or the above mentioned Pax.

This, however, is enough for separating the groups into the richest category for classification. This paper does not deal with a considerable part of the groups, for example the military political, but with those belonging to the area of religious propaganda.

The groups illustrate the religious factors shown in the coinage characteristic for the age; namely, the cult of the various deities, the cult of the emperor, the continuous expectation of the return of the Golden Age. According to this our three basic groups contain the following coin types;

1. the types in connection with the deities,
2. the types propagating the person of the emperor,
3. the types forecasting the advent of peace and the merry century.

Within these three great groups the structure of coinage may change as to the emperor, and so it does. We are going to touch upon these changes at the coinage of each emperor under discussion in every case.

It is also obvious, that each of these basic groups contain coin types found in other groups too. A type with the legend MARTI PACIFERO is discussed under the 1st and 3rd groups as well, another type with PACATOR ORBIS inscription connects groups 2. and 3., while some coins with "conservator" or "salus" inscription may come under group 1. and 2. at the same time. These all result from the fact, that the Romans did not build their propaganda as to groups, but saw and handled it as a unit. From the colourful, let us say, eclectic religiosity of the period we meet only those conceptions which were taken by the imperial central mints as politically proper for their own use. We are going to survey the different groups as to emperors and after that, will try to give a general picture of the religious political propaganda of each emperor's coinage.

THE DENOMINATIONS

The three emperors issued their money in several denominations. Aureus, antoninianus, denarius, quinarius, aureus-quinarius, dupondius, as and semis were coined, but coinage was not as colorful as that. The majority of the coins were antoninianuses, besides these, there were a few aureus coins, and even fewer of some other denominations. The following table expresses the percental relations of the different coins.

	Antoninianus	Aureus	Diverse	Medal
Claudius II.	88,5 %	7 %	4,5 %	-
Aurelianus	76 %	18 %	6 %	-
Probus	77,7 %	11 %	7 %	4,3 %

The figures under "diverse" are the lowest, although, besides the antoninianuses and the aureuses all the rest of denominations are in this column /return to the medaillions

later on/. As legal tenders these were less frequent than the rest. It is interesting, that 85 % of the other denominations turning up at the three emperors -collectively, was coined in one mint, Rome. The number of these grows mainly to mark festive occasions, as we will see later, there are many unques among these. These altogether prove, that these coins did not play any role in the general, continuous propaganda. On the other hand, they are frequently the media of the topical occasional types and may be of appreciable value in respect of religious politics.

Aureuses have to be dealt with separately, because their propaganda value is not equal with that of the rest.⁷⁵ The aureus represents value. Because of this, not much can be minted of it, as it costs a lot for the minting authority. So, the aureus as legal tender taking part in the exchange of values and changing hands many times in the circulation, evidently functioned very rarely. For anyone getting it, wanted to treasure it. But this was possible for a very few only. The authority, deciding the representations and legends of the types on the aureus, could not reckon on this coin getting to the poor being the majority of the inhabitants of the empire, neither on its quick circulation and thus seen by many people. The propaganda conveyed by the aureus was of lesser efficiency than that, by the media of antoninianuses. It seems rational to conclude, that just because of the above, the most important ideas were not propagated on the aureuses, or at least not on the aureuses only.

Neither is it likely, that the aureus was used for the propagation of insignificant ideas. This is contradicted by the valuable character of the coin, itself being propagandistic, inspiring the owner with the happy state of stability. Aureuses are like the other denominations, except the antoninians in so far, being also connected to festive occasions. All these aspects are enough to devote special attention to the aureus in examining the types for the

clarification of the questions raised.

The comparison between the gold minting of Aurelianus and the other two emperors is of special importance. The relative stability, the successful campaigns, the rich booty, boosted the gold minting under Aurelianus. Under these circumstances, the role of the aureus in the propaganda is very likely modified to some extent, although compared to the antoninians, their number is very low even during Aurelianus.

We have to talk about another specific kind of coin, the medaillon. At Aurelianus and Claudius these are not included in the table separately because there are very few of them and those are all gold medaillions. /Four at the first, one single piece at the latter. / I have included them into the gold minting. Only at Probus can the medaillions be separately discussed, for here they amount to 4,3 % of the versions, a relatively significant figure. Probus' medaillions are made of bronze, produced but in the greatest workshops. Their specific feature is demonstrated by the fact, that certain types exist only in the form of medaillions.⁷⁶ Probus' bronze medaillions, similarly to the other two emperors' gold medaillions are very much akin to gold minting. Both are of festive character and in fact, they can be classified into the gold minting by nature, in the case of Probus as well.

At that time antoninians were coined in the biggest bulk. This paper also deals most with the propaganda observed on the antoninians. Antoninians got to anyone handling money all in all. However, soldiers have to be exempted from the rest of the public, because the soldiers were paid right from the output of the imperial mints. The emperor was directly interested in the welfare of the soldiers as well as their political, ideological aspect. So, the mints producing for the soldiers have to be followed with special attention /Ticinum/.

THE EXAMINATION OF FREQUENCY

Based on our studies we are ready to reveal the numismatic sources of the three Illyr soldier emperors' religious political propaganda. At present I know the following:

1. the types and their variants,
2. the mints, where the coins were produced,
3. the approximate date of the production of the different types, respectively variants,
4. the purchasing value of the coins, the ratio of the different denominations to one another.

These data may serve for obtaining significant results, different aspects of an examination method complementing one another. Based on these, we may state whether a certain propaganda program

1. existed or not /eg. Aurelianus issued coins with RESTITUTOR ORIENTIS legend, Claudius Gothicus and Probus did not/
2. the regional distribution /eg. Probus' coins with the legends TEMPORUM FELICITAS - or FELICITAS TEMPORUM - were issued by the Western mints: Lugdunum, Ticinum, Rome and Siscia, while these were not produced in the Eastern mints: Serdica, Cyzicus, Antiochia and Tripoli/
3. temporal distribution /eg. the above type was minted in Lugdunum all over Probus' reign, while Siscia produced it but in the 2nd and 3rd years, Ticinum in the 3rd and 4th years,

and Rome in the 5th and 6th years/

4. tendency and even to a certain extent the value /eg. Probus' Siscian Hercules types: HERCULI ARCADIO, HERCULI ERYMANTHO and HERCULI IMMORTALI exist but in aureus, not having been produced in antoninianus, while the Ticinum HERCULI PACIFERO type issued only in antoninianus was more widely spread among the people/.

Nevertheless, one important feature is missing from the above system, the index showing the numerical frequency of the different types.

To get the idea of how great the propagandistic effect of a certain type issued might have been, we have to know the number of the coins. This, besides demonstrating the crowd of people being the target of the agitation program, would also show, to what extent the minting authorities regarded this or that slogan important for being spread.

The knowledge of the frequency of types is indispensable for estimating the already mentioned "intensity". Intensity means the relevant date for indicating the higher or lower degree of specialization of the mints. The longer the types are coined in a mint, the more we can speak about its lesser or more specialized propaganda profile. The higher frequency of a type or figure type in a certain mint shows the trend of intensity in a mint. There are some types which turn up with a higher number of versions in each workshop. These are the most universal items on the program. On the other hand, there are some types, characteristic for a certain group of mints only, or rather to a single workshop, where they occur with especially many versions. Here the examination of frequency makes it possible to explore the regional distribution of

types more punctually.

An investigation, aiming at a completeness, is rather unréalistic, anyhow. Besides, I could not record all the coins theoretically accessible /namely, all those dug out and preserved/. Further on, the results, got from this investigation, would distort reality, as the collections hold but an indefinite rate of the coins minted in that period. Consequently, I turned to the versions from the separate coins, the examination of which reduces the material to be studied to the quota, as follows:

$$\text{the number of the versions} = \frac{\text{total coinage}}{\text{the number of the coins minted by the same die}}$$

As a matter of fact, it is possible, that so few coins were made of some versions, that this amount did not exhaust the durability of the dies. In this case, we may speak about unique coins, and quantification would be of no use.

Following the ideas above, I suppose, that as to the intentions of the issuing authorities, the more versions there were in a type, the larger crowds of people met with the propagandistic ideas, most likely corresponding its significance.

Such an investigation, with a material substantially reduced in quantity - actually considering only the number of the dies - reveals more than proportions only. The versions give a more exact picture of the original volumen of the coins than the examination of all the existing coins would do, for, hardly will the new coins, in the hoards to be found, modify the number of the versions known by us so far.⁷⁷

Unfortunately, this theoretical possibility is considerably limited by the lack in the comprehensive elaboration. /Webb/ Later works elaborating the coinage of this period - as seen - do not embrace it as a whole, but certain details only, and

cannot be uniform because of the subjectivity of the meticulous numismatical observations. Thus, the exactness of the inferable proportions - apart from the extreme cases - calls for further proof.

The working theory on evidence is the following: the frequency of the types, corresponding one another within a heap of coin piled up at a certain place in the antiquity, may represent in principle the relation of all coin types circulating in the very area at that time. This statement is to be proved, when the compositions of several statistical samples are similar to each other.⁷⁸ Comparing these statistical samples with the frequency order based on the versions, namely the catalogue, might convince us of the truthfulness of the latter.

The documentary material, namely the statistical samples, are offered by coin hoards in which the coins of our emperors turn up in numbers worth mentioning.

Claudius Gothicus' hoards In the following we are going to examine Claudius' coinage on the basis of sixteen hoards in which there are minimally two hundred /more exactly 191/ samples of the relevant emperor's coins. The consecration coins of the emperor are not included in the investigation nor in the catalogue tables.⁷⁹

The table shows the number of the samples of the types marked, turning up in the hoards, the order being defined from West to the East. /See the 32-33. pp./^{79a}

As it has already turned up in other respects, the output of the different mints was not of the same quantity, there were great differences as to the types produced and the size of the output. The table of the hoards also illustrates this.

The Rome mint, the significance of which surpassed that of the others many times, basically determined the structure of the hoards discovered in its vicinity and West of it. The

mints of the Mediolanum and Siscia workshops can only be found here if the hoard is rather big /see Venera, Bavai, Bischoffsheim/.

The hoard of Komin occupies a transitory position between the Western and Eastern mints. It goes without saying, that the Rome mint is predominant in this hoard, at the same time the output of the Siscia mint and that of the others East of it also occur in it. The effect of the Western mints /Rome, Mediolanum, Siscia/ is not felt any more in the two Eastern site hoards.^{79b}

From the above picture we may draw the conclusion, that in the age of Claudius all the mints of the empire except Rome produced for the area close in their vicinity. In the great Bavai-hoard Rome is represented by 88 % and the rest of the mints by 12 %, while this proportion is 93 % : 7 % in the Saint-Mard I. hoard. Let us not mention the uneven regional distribution of the mints, nor the fact resulting, that the types turning up in the hoards characteristic of the specific mints do not correspond the proportions of Claudius' coinage as a whole, for we are not striving for an abstract propaganda in "average", rather being interested in the particular politics finding various expressions in the different areas.

In the case of Claudius this is divided into two parts: the European section, mainly determined by the Rome mint and the Asian one mainly defined by the Antiochia mint.

Let us examine the more important and better documented European section as to the division of the types.⁸⁰

I have ranged the thirteen West European hoards as to their volumens, from Venera to Norfolk, and have also marked at the types, furnished with their catalogue numbers, how many times they turn up in the hoards.

Even so, the table shows certain tendencies /eg. some types are equally missing while others being present/ but proportions are not clear. That is why the different hoards "have to be

	Nor	Agd	Tot	Vin	StMI	Holl	B.H	Catt	Thib	Bish	N-R	Bav	Ven	Kom	nev	Syr
1.	2	7	1	1	1		4	2	4	3	2	2	3	4		
2.	15	10	10	17	17	17	20	20	27	2	11	13	17	3		
3.	6	4	6	3	13	13	7	13	22	50	80	94	179	37		
4.	13	9	18	24	27	27	27	40	43	30	42	40	65	22		
5.	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	93	148	136	267	33		
6.	5	7	22	11	17	13	13	9	4	4	9	14	23	15		
7.	20	13	20	25	39	48	46	46	21	30	56	61	165	35	6	35
8.	10	2	8	8	8	14	14	11	58	92	187	176	352	40		
9.	1	2	1						16	9	35	50	81	30		
10.	15	18	15	25	44	35	37	54	66	107	170	162	287	80	9	27
11.	1	2	3	3	5	2	2	6	9	4	16	17	19	13		
12.	10	7	10	26	25	23	36	38	42	58	136	165	233	37		
13.																
14.																
15.																
16.																
17.						1				1						
18.																
19.																
20.	5	2	3	3	4	4	7	12	10	20	23	34	65	26		1
21.	7	13	17	13	15	30	33	33	44	82	149	128	261	33		
22.	1	1	1	2	5	8	12	7	9	17	28	24	75	45		
23.	3	6	17	20	24	20	13	22	32	40	78	92	119	28		
24.	11	9	17	18	27	24	19	29	29	62	117	125	202	53		
25.																
26.																
27.	4	5	17	3	13	10	15	12	31	23	84	65	149	9		
28.	5	11	4	4	3	10	10	19	20	7	39	38	138	90		
29.	1	2	1	5	10	10	9	8	7	11	27	31	65	12		1
30.	7	4	2	16	34	24	15	21	36	49	69	85	115	31		
31.														1		
32.																
33.																
34.	8	5	4	11	17	20	31	20	38	32	100	103	150	32		
35.						1										
36.	1	1	3	3	1	1	2	2	1	3	1	3	14	6		

37.	10	10	5	20	15	17	12	31	32	41	70	60	171	68		
38.	16	18	20	24	30	38	33	42	59	106	165	160	324	114		
39.	2	2	2	3	3	3	2	4	8	3	16	14	23	16		
40.	4	11	10	4	3	11	17	18	12	49	32	37	87	12		
41.																
42.	3	3	1	1	2	1	1	2	3	12	12	13	67	32		
43.																
44.	16	15	29	32	45	40	41	54	90	27	219	221	405	75	19	26
45.																
46.			1					3		1				1		
47.														2		
48.																
49.																
50.										5	3	3	14	9		
51.								1	1		1	2	6	3		
52.												1	6	5		1
53.														1		
54.																
55.	3			1	1	2	7	7	2		9	5	65	5		
56.											1			3		
57.																
58.																
59.												1		4		26
60.																
61.																
62.																
63.														2	170	17
64.														7	19	30
65.														5	8	29
66.														8	172	28
67.																
68.														1		2
69.										1				1		
70.										3				10		
71.														2		
72.														1		
73.														1		

brought to a common denominator".

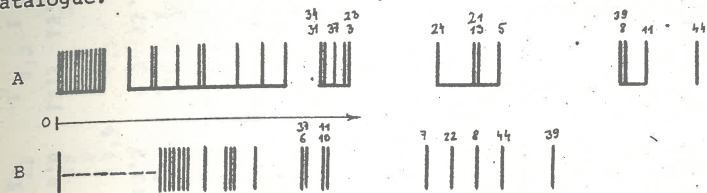
A unit amount in proportion to the amount of the hoards has to be defined. To facilitate the comparison with the date in the catalogue, let's accept the very amount figuring as "1" in the catalogue as a unit. As in the catalogue there are 286 versions of Claudius and, according to the above, the unit is the 286th of this, the unit may be given in the same way at the hoards listed. The values obtained are $\frac{4206}{286}$ at the Venera-
hoard, $\frac{2180}{286}$ at the Bavai-
hoard, $\frac{1192}{286}$ at the Komin-
hoard etc.

findspot	signes in the diagram /p.32/	the number of Claudius' coins	unit
Norfolk	A	191	0,7
Agden	B	202	0,7
Totes	C	252	0,8
Vineuse	D	295	1
Saint-Mard I.	E	416	1,4
Hollingbourne	F	458	1,6
Beachy Head	G	497	1,7
Cattenes	H	588	2
Thibouville	I	777	2,7
Bischoffsheim	J	1061	3,7
Nieder-Rentgen	K	2146	7,4
Bavai	L	2180	7,6
Venera	M	4206	14,7

Thus, these unit amounts represent "1" at the different hoards compared to which, for instance the 147 samples of a certain type in the Venera-
hoard equal 10, 294 samples equal 20; in the Cattenes-
hoard 50 samples of a certain type equal 25, 20 samples equal 10.

I made an exception to the precise conversion but with the types turning up in a certain hoard in fewer numbers than the relevant unit. As a matter of fact, in this case - considering the quantitative relations only - the type in question turning up in a huge hoard need not be noted at all. I, for one, take the presence or lack of a certain type in a hoard for a qualitative lack, not to be disregarded with reference to the quantitative aspects. Consequently, each type is represented minimally by one unit in the table of data "brought to a common denominator". /See the 36-37.pp./

Let's figure out the average frequency of the specific types in the thirteen hoards. /See the column av./ Accordingly, we get figures which will most likely approach the original proportions of frequency more than the respective data of any hoard. This frequency order of the types, formed from the averages, is convenient for comparing it with the order in the catalogue.



A = frequency order based on the hoards .
B = frequency order based on the versions /or catalogue/

Three of the most frequent four types head the list at both places: 44, 39, 8. Namely, we may state, that in the extreme cases the order, based on the frequency of the versions, is reliable. Besides, there are several points where the hoards are alike, but also differ from the catalogue. 22, 10, 6, 11, 36, 1 relatively frequent in the catalogue *turn up but in a few samples in the hoards. 30, 23, 3, 13, 24, 21, 5, 11 are represented more frequently in the hoards than in the catalogue.

From the above, two facts are important for us:

1. The compositions of the different hoards are similar, namely, the compositions of the above examined thirteen statistical samples are practically the same at most points; since something identical determines their structure and this is the original distribution of the types in the area as defined by the finding sites.
2. Concerning the majority of the types, the frequency order, given in the catalogue, is so inexact, that it cannot be

	NOR	Agd	Tot	Vin	SEMI	Holl	B.H	Catt	Thib	Bisch	N-R	Bav	Ven	av.
1.	3	1	1		1		2,5	1	1,5	1	1,5	1	1	0,4
2.	10	21,4	12,5	10	12,2	10,5	12	10	10,5	13,5	10,7	2	12,2	12,1
3.	18,5			6	2	8	4	6,5	8	8	6	5	4,5	5,1
4.	18,6	13	22,5	14	17	16	16	20	16	25	20	18	18,2	18,1
5.	1			2	1	1	1	1	1,5	1	1	2	1,5	1
6.	7	10	27,5	10	8	10,5	7,5	4,5	7,7	8	7,5	8	11	9,8
7.	28,6	18,6	25	16	18	24,4	28,3	23	21,5	24,9	25	32,2	24	23,6
8.	14	3	10	9	6	5	8	5,5	6	2,5	5	6,5	5,5	6
9.	1	3	1			1	1				1	1	1	0,7
10.	21,4	25,7	19	25	31,4	21,9	22	27	24,5	28,9	22,7	21,3	19,5	23,8
11.	1	3		3	3,5	1	1	3	3,3	1	2	2	1,5	2
12.	14	10	12,5	26	18	14,4	21,2	19	15,5	15,7	18,1	21,7	16,8	17,1
13.														
14.														
15.														
16.														
17.														
18.														
19.														
20.	7	3	4	3	3	2,5	4	6	4	5,5	3	4,5	4,5	4,1
21.	10	18,6	21	13	10,7	18,8	19,4	16,5	16,3	22	20	17	17,8	17
22.	1	1	1	2	3,5	5	7	3,5	3,3	4,7	4	3	5	3,4
23.	4,3	8,5	21	20	17	12,2	7,5	11	12	11	10,4	13,1	8,1	12
24.	16	13	21	18	19,3	15	11,2	14,5	11,3	17	15,6	16,5	13,7	15,5
25.														
26.														
27.	6	7	21	3	9	6,2	9	6	11,5	6,3	11,5	8,5	10	9,2
28.	7	16		4	2	6,2	6	9,5	7,4	7	5	5	9,5	6,5
29.	1	3	1	5	7	6,2	5	7	2,5	3	4	4	4,5	4
30.	10	5,7	2,5	16	24,3	15	9	10,5	13,3	13,5	9,2	11,2	7,8	11,4
31.														
32.														
33.	11	7	5	11	12,2	12,5	18,2	10	14,1	8,6	13,3	13,6	10,2	11,2
34.														
35.				3	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0,1
36.														0,7

37.	14,3	14	6	20	10,7	10,6	7	15,5	12	11	9,3	8	11,6	11,5
38.	22,8	26	25	24	21,4	24	19,4	21	22	29	22	21	22	23,2
39.	3	3	2,5	3	2	2	1	2	3	1	2	2	2	2,1
40.	6	16	12,5	4	2	7	10	9	4,5	13,5	4,5	5	6	7,7
41.		4		1	1,5		1	1	1	1	1,5	2	4,5	1,3
42.											1	1	1	0,4
43.	22,8	21,4	32,5	32	28,6	25	24,1	27	33,3	7,3	29,2	29	27,6	26,1
44.														
45.														
46.														
47.														
48.														
49.														
50.														
51.														
52.														
53.														
54.														
55.														
56.				1	1	1	4	3,5	1		1	1	4,5	0,1
57.														0,1
58.														
59.														
60.														
61.														
62.														
63.														
64.														
65.														
66.														
67.														
68.														
69.														
70.														
71.														
72.														
73.														

used at all. Nevertheless, in the case of the most frequent types it is most likely true.

It would be rather interesting to examine, how the internal proportions of certain hoards correspond the general ones.

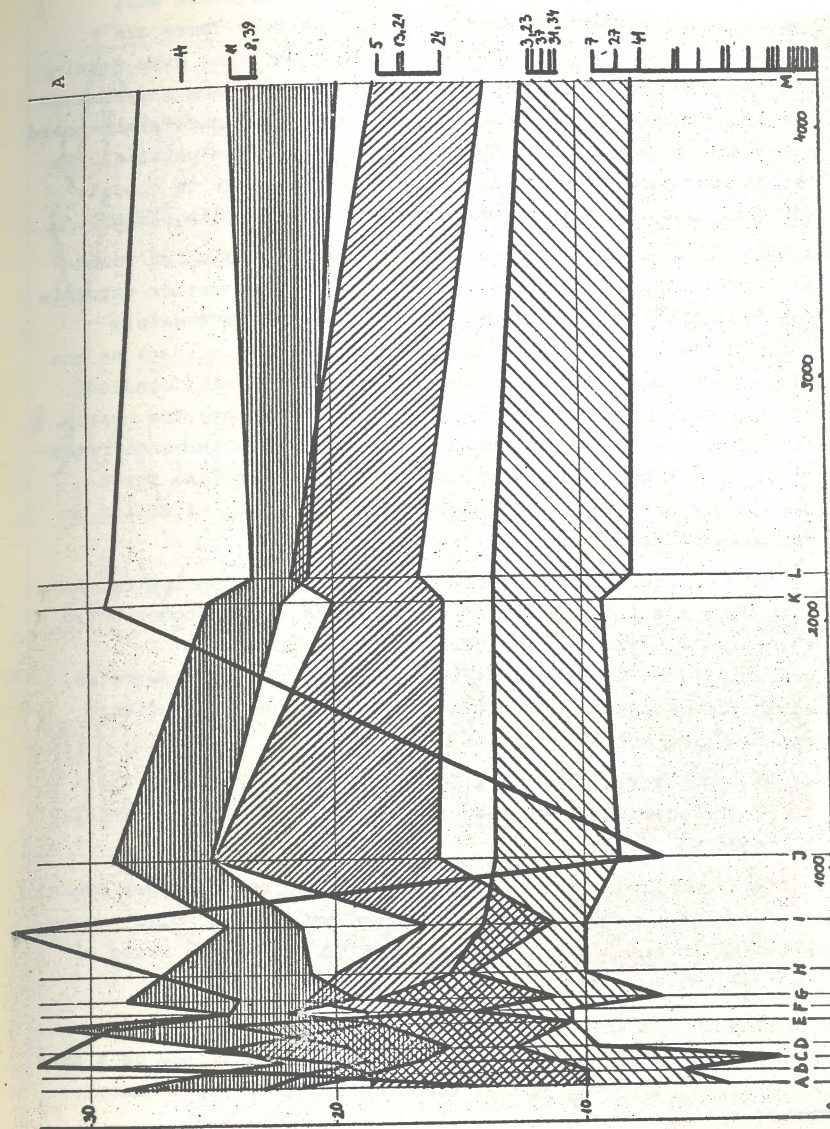
The diagram, representing the latter, /see the diagram A/ shows fairly well, that the types are not evenly distributed in the relevant columns, they rather form larger or smaller groups. The most frequent type-44-is relatively isolated, but the following three types-11, 8, 39-form a little group, which is followed after a long break by the group of types-5, 13, 21, 24. After another, rather long break these are followed again by the next group formed by types 3, 23, 37, 30, 34, still quite apart from the following types. However, the subsequent types steadily range from the 7th to the rarest type. Disregarding the latter, for the time being, let's examine the thirteen most frequent types, namely the four groups including these. /See the table p. 39./

On the diagram the specific hoards are represented by the verticals erected on the horizontal axis. The distances of the verticals from 0 are in direct proportions to the volume of the hoards. The various types are marked on the verticals in the height corresponding to the frequency of the given type in the hoard /see the graduation of the vertical axis/. In order to make the diagram clear, I have not drafted all the thirteen types examined, but the fields of the different groups are marked by their lower and upper borders, stretching from the Norfolk- to the Venera-ward.

Let's analyze the diagram:

The most frequent type 44 stands alone, outside any group. Generally it runs very high, round the upper border of field II. It drops unexpectedly but once /Bischoffsheim/.⁸¹

At the smaller hoards the three groups /II., III., IV./, shown on the column diagram, traverse one another, ranging between very low minimum and very high maximum values. Hardly could any conclusion be drawn from this part of the diagram as to the tendency. The three separate groups placed above one



another are deployed at the Cattenes-hoard although well demonstrated yet at the Hollingbourne one too. There are certain traverses at the Cattenes-, Thibouville-, even Bavai-hoards, however, the difference between the minimum and maximum points is diminishing more and more. At the Bischoffsheim-hoard the fields clear each other and run more or less parallel. At the Nieder-Rentgen-, Bavai- and Venera-hoards these closely approach the average frequency values /see the diagram A/.

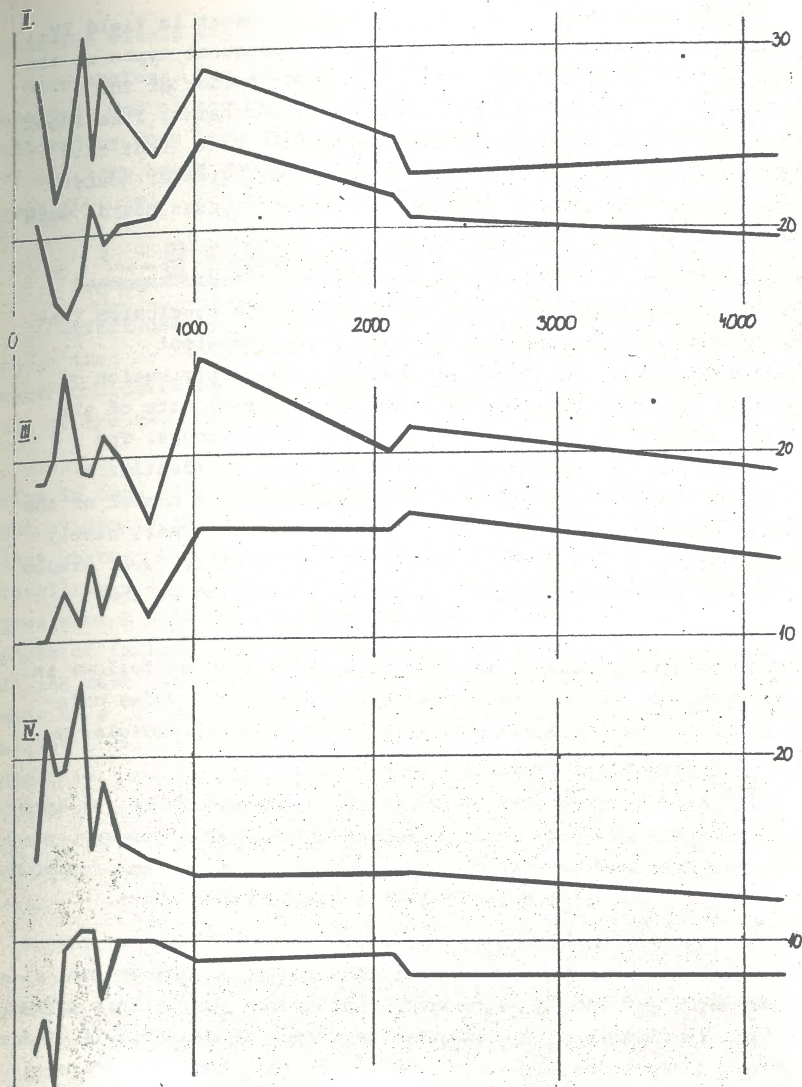
The above show, that the smaller hoards /including round 500 coins concerning Claudius' coinage/ may be rather valuable for establishing an average, but they alone don't safely reflect this average, namely the proportion of coinage at the given area. Only at bigger hoards can we carefully conclude to the rates of the type-frequencies. In our case the hoards, including more than 2000 coins, are those, whose internal rates follow the average reliably, accordingly, these data serve useful for examining the total coin-circulation referring to the site of finding.

The graphicon offers a further significant conclusion. At the above mentioned limit of 500 coins of the Cattenes-hoard the parallel line of the lower and upper border, characteristic for certain fields, seems to be demonstrated, being especially characteristic for the upper and medium fields. /See the table p.41./

We may observe this parallel at the smaller hoards too. /Norfolk-Agden-Totes-Vineuse-St Mard I., field III.; Norfolk-Agden-Totes, field II./

This parallelism is of special interest, as the types coming under the groups of the fields marked one by one, would not be parallel to one another, but traversive within the frame of the respective field.

This proves the existence of the groups, in the hoards, prevailing in the separate ones too, accordingly, may be a test of the groups in the hoards based on the average frequency.



It is characteristic, that parallelism is lowest in field IV., which is the least separative from the subsequent types on the diagram A . / 7, 27, 41/. Thus, the lower border of the groups is not as certain as in the two other cases, likelihood of inexactitude is greater. Considering the fact, that this group includes the types of medium frequency, greater hoards than the existing ones, respectively several great hoards were needed for a more exact grouping.

The evidence of these groups, confirming their supposed existence based on the averages, leads to the conclusion that no direct instructions were issued by the competent authorities for the larger or smaller scale distribution of special types at the time defining the internal rate of the total coinage, these were rather given as to groups. The significance of types within the groups may be identic. I believe, there was no essential difference in the number of the coins either. This means, that the frequency of types, namely their significance order, consists of considerably fewer grades than one might believe, based on the data figuring on the catalogue.

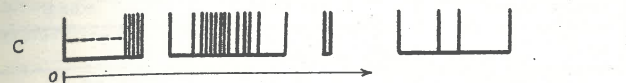
Concerning Claudius' coinage this order runs as follows in the Western-, respectively Middle-European area, whose coin-circulation was determined by the mints of Rome, Mediolanum and in a small part Siscia.

Two other regions are shown in the following table. We know little about the coin-circulation of these areas, however, on the basis of our experiences, to be considered general, careful conclusions might be drawn from the hoards found there.

1. The Komin-treasure trove may be characterized by the fact, that it occupies an intermediate position between the Rome and the Antiochia spheres of influence, yet certain types of it very likely show the vicinity of the Siscia mint.⁸² 70 % of the Claudius' types are to be found among the 1200 coins, and all the mints are represented. Thus, the coins are rather

scattered within the different types.

Nevertheless, the formation of certain groups may be observed. One of the types /39/ is prominent among the rest, followed by four less obviously distinctive types /28, 11, 44, 37/ and then again another frequency-group containing two types /56, 24/. /See the diagram C./



2. Unfortunately, neither of the two Eastern hoards is rich enough, that we could draw conclusions similar to the above. No exact conclusion is to be drawn, even if we have the average data of the two hoards.

These hoards are very interesting, as hardly are there any coins in them /altogether four pieces in the two hoards/. This fact evidently shows, that these hoards do not originate from a place where - the empire's normal coin circulation is prevailing - the lower and higher frequency of the different types show a balanced average, they rather come from the sphere of influence of one particular mint, separated from all the rest. This particular mint is Antiochia. Only on the basis of a few rich coin finds would it be possible to get a realistic picture about the output of this mint. Besides Antiochia, none but the Cyzicus mint is represented by one single coin in either hoards. This is all the more remarkable, that Cyzicus is represented by several types in the Komin- and Venera-hoards, and even the remote Bavai treasure trove as well.

Anyway, considering also the experiences gained at the Komin-hoard, that much is certain, which were the steadiest types in Antiochia's output /7, 11, 44, 59, 63, 64, 65, 66/. These make up more than one third of the Antiochia types known by us. /See the diagram D./



The following table was first of all determined by the Western-European coin-circulation. Groups I., II., III. and IV. have already figured in the diagram. The types, coming under group V., not included in the diagram yet, turn up in the majority of the hoards.⁸³

	W-Europe	Illyricum	Asie
I.	44	39	
II.	8 11 39	11 28 37 44	63 66
III.	5 13 21 24	24 56	7 11 44 59
IV.	3 23 30 34	3 4 5 6	64 65
	37	7 8 9 12	
V.	2 4 6 7	13 20 21 22	
	9 12 20 22	23 37 29 30	
	27 28 29 36	34 40 41 42	
	40 41 42 56	43 50 64 66	
		70	

Aurelianus' hoards The coinage of Claudius Gothicus, at least the most important part of it, /the output of the Rome mint/ could be examined by utilizing the relatively rich material, and this gave us possibilities for concluding to such general facts based on which we could say certain things about the less documented part of Claudius' coinage.

This is of specific advantage, as this emperor had no time for issuing large series from the types preferred over his short reign, which calls for a very accurate system of investigation.

While the other two emperors could have larger series minted from their important types during their longer reign. Among others, this is also proved by the fact, that there is no difference as to the number of the types, in the coinages

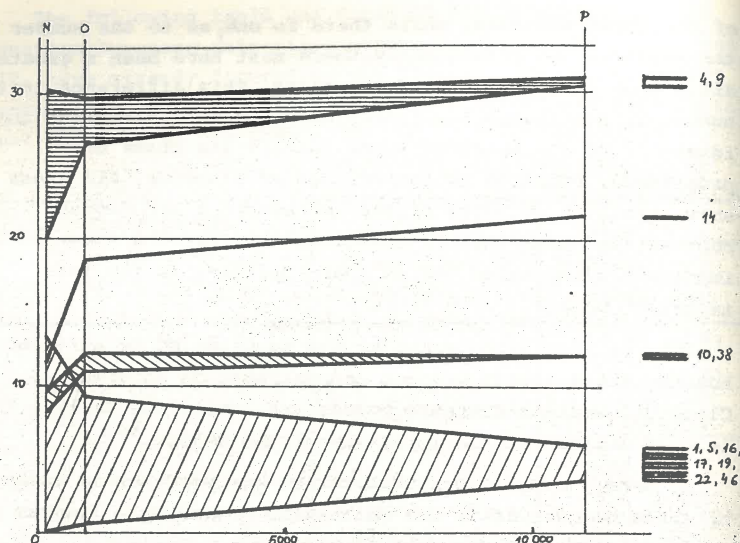
of the three emperors, while there is one, as to the number of the versions and consequently, there must have been a greater difference in the number of the coins. This difference in the number at Aurelianus and Probus was used for increasing the intensity of the specific types, namely the items of propaganda, compared to the coinage of Claudius. All these show, that the coinages of the two emperors are "more contrasting" than that of Claudius, that is, the more important types stand out in sharp contrast to the less important ones.

This is also experienced at the examination of Aurelianus' hoards. These hoards are not concentrated on an area, as Claudius' Western-European hoards are, while the distribution is more uniform on the territory of the empire.⁸⁴

As here the different territories are represented maximum by three hoards, it is not worthwhile preparing a diagram similar to that of Claudius.⁸⁵

The Western-European territory is regarded as uniform in the case of Aurelianus too, where the output of Rome and Mediolanum-Ticinum was circulating first of all. Only at the end of the emperor's reign, and but for a very short time, was Lugdunum attached. Rome was suspended for a long time, because of the closing down of the mint. Accordingly, the production of the Mediolanum-Ticinum Northern-Italian mint was the only continuous one on this territory. The examination of the three mints in its radius of activity confirms the tendencies observed previously.

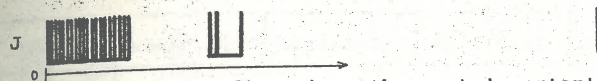
In the Thibouville-hoard there were 128 Aurelianus' coins. Already in the case of Claudius could we see, that the smaller the hoard, the less can we rely on it. So, we have not dealt with hoards of fewer than 200 coins. However, at Aurelianus the limit, above which the hoard can be estimated, may be put somewhat lower, because of the above mentioned "more contrasting" coinage.



Already in this hoard initiatives of the breaking down to groups can be observed, although, there is quite a big difference between the maximums and minimums of certain groups. The Nieder-Rentgen-hoard is big enough for the groups being separated within, and this separation is more specific here than even in the case of the biggest hoard in Claudius' coinage. The groups are separated by a much bigger interval and five of them can be clearly differentiated. Four of them are shown on the diagram, the fifth contains the types which also turn up in the hoard with maximum 11 coins. The Venera-hoard includes great amount of Aurelianus' coins. The groups can be definitely classified, their upper and lower borders are rather narrow. As far as the small hoard permits, the parallel fields of the groups can also be observed on the diagram, in addition to this, not shown on the diagram of the Claudius hoards yet /see p.39./, it reveals that the parallels are more and more converging in the ever richer hoards and are to meet in each group at one point in a fictive hoard,

including all the coins minted in those days. These are the points in which the imperial authorities determined the frequency of each type-group.

Comparing the diagrams of the South-Eastern European hoards: Komin, Plevna and Majce-Grede, it is obvious at first glance, that these are close to each other as to place, but the latter two are different from the first as to contents /see the diagrams J and K/. The material of the Komin-hoard was evidently provided by Siscia, especially active in the time of Aurelianus, while the other two hoards are greatly influenced by Serdica, besides Siscia. Accordingly, the Komin hoard alone represents the Illyricum propaganda politics of Aurelianus.



This hoard is of medium size, the most important groups are well separated, but the less frequent groups are not. One or two hoards, of similar or richer size, make further differentiations possible.

The Plevna Hoard comes under the bigger ones, contrary to that in Majce-Grede, being rather modest. Obviously, they were accumulated in the same coin circulation.



The most important two groups may be well separated from the rest, but not distinctly told from each other. Here too, the analysis of more hoards would furnish further information.

The antoninianus find, digged up in Troy, in which there are 180 Aurelianus coins, is the only hoard representing the coin circulation in Asia Minor in my paper.



This hoard may be well classified, but the control of some other hoards were required.

The two hoards, coming under the competency of Antiochia, although not too large, are all the more important as they complete each other.



Otherwise, the facts observed at Claudius are also characteristic for these, namely, no single coins, or even but a few coins from a certain type, are found in them /naturally related to the size of the hoard/.

In the table below I summarize the conclusions of Aurelianus hoards:

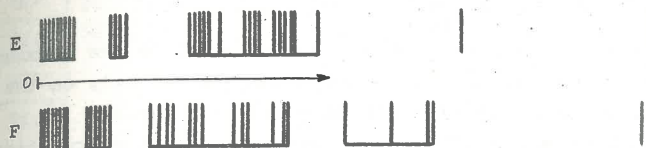
	W-Europe	Illyricum	SE-Europe	Minor-Asie	Asie
I.	4 9	9	4 9 38	4 38	38
II.	14	4 10 14	14	58	
III.	10 38				
IV.	1 5 16 17 19 22 46	1 2 8 11 12 13 16 17 19	17 58	9 16 57	9 16 48
V.	8 11 13 20 23 32 39 45 46 58	21 22 30 32 33 34 38 40 45 46 51 52	1 5 10 13 16 19 22 32 45 46 57		

Probus' hoards

We can search for the proportion of frequency of the types in Probus' hoards with the same chance as in the case of Aurelianus. We have got a few hoards only, but the coinage itself is similarly contrasty to that of the preceeding emperor. We have at most two hoards from any of the areas. This fact a priori determines the limits of exactitude of the conclusions. The tables are to demonstrate how far we can rely on the data of the treasures.⁸⁶

The mint of Lugdunum had already been working under Probus, moreover, in view of the number the variations it belonged to the big imperial mints while Ticinum became the most active mint. Thus, we can not speak about a uniform coin-circulation in Western-Europe, but should separate it into three groups: Italia, Central-Europe and North-Western-Europe.

The Nieder-Rentgen and Thibouville hoards were first of all effected by the Ticinum and Lugdunum mints. This fact is well documented by the common types of the two mints, however, as to the formation of frequency groups, the two hoards can be better documented separately, than on the basis of the average data obtained from the two.



Lugdunum leaves its mark more strongly on the Thibouville- hoard, while Ticinum on that of Nieder-Rentgen.

The Venera- hoard includes 13 370 identifiable Probus' coins, accordingly, in principle the groups should separate distinctly, as the coinage itself is well contrasted, proved by the rest of the Probus' hoards. The hoard in question contains a high number of coins, nevertheless, we may see, that the frequency-order round the center is not so characteristic concerning the separation of certain groups as in the rest of the Probus' hoards. Their number is also higher than usually.



Its reason, as we shall see in the following, is to be found in the relative decentralization of Probus' propaganda politics. The table /below/ shows that the frequency of the different types varies according to the areas. Thus, in the

large Venera-hoard representing Italia, we may find the outstanding types of the coin circulation of the neighbouring and even more remote regions. These fill in the gaps generally characteristic for the frequency tables. We may also separate the output of the mints provided the primary aim of our study had been to investigate the output of certain mints. However, we want to clarify the propagandistic activity demonstrated on the specific territories, consequently Italia, represents for us the very sector to be examined.

South-Eastern-Europe's coin-circulation is represented by the Plevna- and Majce Grede-hoards in this case too.



Most regretably we possess but very few coins from the Plevna-hoard, so, concerning the group-formation, we can rely on the first three grades only. Apart from samples of rarity character, only one group may characterize the coin-circulation in the area, consisting mainly from the coinage of Siscia and Serdica.

As to the Eastern hoards, the fact we have observed so far, is also characteristic, namely, there are no rare samples, very few types maybe found in large series, in our case but two. These types also come from Antiochia besides a few coins from Tripoli. Facts characteristic of all the European hoards, namely, the proportional distribution of types in the coin-circulation, are not observed in Minor-Asia. No other mint, but Antiochia and Tripoli had an influence on the coin circulation of this area.

The following table summarizes, similarly to the above ones, the frequency-order of types under emperor Probus. /See p. 51./

	NW-Europe	C-Europe	Italy	SE-Europe	Syria
I.	2	11	4 16	12	20
II.	1 11 12 64	2	1	4 20	47
III.		1 4 5 6 8 10	5 12	1 5 11	
IV.	3 4 5 6 8 10	12 13 14	6*	6 16	
V.	13 14 15	15 16 31	10 11 15		
VI.	16 31 35	64 70 71	8 14		
VII.	70 71	3 7 19 36	9 19 31	10 15 19 47	
VIII.			3 47		
IX.			2 20 25 29 26		

THE EXAMINATION OF TYPES

The types are examined in groups based on the chronological distribution and the frequency of the coins. The groups are surveyed as to the different emperors' reign. Subsequently, we try to give a general picture of the specific emperors' religious political propaganda.

REPRESENTATION OF DEITIES

I have broken up the multitude of the representations of deities into smaller groups, ranged as to their order of importance in the case of all the three emperors. The main three categories of this order of importance are the following:

- Types bringing the representations of deities on the coin into direct connection with the emperor /APOLLINI CONSERVATORIS/.
- Types where the deity represented is the main aim, consequently destined for the propagation of the deity in question /IOVI VICTORI/.
- Types on which the representation of a certain deity only illustrates the message of the type expressed by the legend /Mars on the mint with VIRTUS AUG legend/.

It goes without saying, that these emperors' coinages, differing from one another, in many respects, will modify the preliminary grouping at certain places. Besides the above aspects, the role of the specific deities is determined by the position of the types on the frequency table.

Claudius Gothicus

At Claudius two smaller groups of types come under "A" category, one is that of the "conservator"-coins, the other is that of the "salus-aug" types.

"A" Deities as conservators:
Type-table

	Rom				Med				Sis				Cyz				Unk				Ant			
	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3
2.				AA'																				
14.	A																							
18.	s																							
32.	P																							
45.	q																							
51.					I																			
59.																	E							
60.																					R			

Key to the signs used:

- | | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| A = Apollo | Q = Iuppiter and Iuno |
| I = Iuppiter | R = Minerva and Hercules |
| E = Aesculapius | s = stag |
| S = Serapis | p = panther |
| P = Serapis and Isis | q = Pegasus |

' = aureus

The table represents the types coming under this group as to mints, and at the different mints as distributed according to the years of the rule. 1, 2, 3 are the years of the rule, ? = undated type. The legends of the types are marked by the figures shown on the left of the table.

The majority of the types of this group was produced in Rome and Antiochia. Apart from Iuppiter and Apollo, there are many other deities figuring among them in Antiochia these are distinctly Eastern deities respectively a pair of deities /Serapis and Isis/. They are preservers of the emperor as a ruler without any exception. So to say, Aesculapius alone may be interpreted as preserver of the emperor's health.

Considering the temporal distribution of the types, we

find, that Claudius inherited a part of the conservator-types, minted in the Rome workshop, from Gallienus /Diana, Liber, Sol and their production was discontinued during his rule. The type with APOLLINI P CONS legend is one of these. Iuppiter and some other deities also have their shares in the rest of the coins dated in the 1st and 2nd emissions. But in the 3rd emission only Apollo has a dated type. This is of a special importance in the very short Claudius' coinage, for it means that this last one, may, most probably, be considered as planned from the point of view of propaganda politics, after the early, inherited and but hardly controlled types.

It turns out from the frequency-table of the coins too, that the Apollo type minted in the 3rd emission is the only essential one out of the total group of "conservatores". In Western-Europe, the most significant uniform territory of the Claudius' coin-circulation, it can be found in 80 % of the hoards, although always in a few samples only. However, corresponding with the fact, that the production of this type was started a few months before the death of Claudius, we get the picture of an already short-lived, but during this time very intensive Apollo-conservator propaganda.

The Antiochia conservatores types became very popular in the East as well, but were not of the really frequent types, and what is still more important, hardly did they spread beyond the Eastern provinces of Europe.

The group of the salus aug-types:

Type-table

	Rom			Med			Sis			Cyz			Unk			Ant				
	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3
7.	S'				E				S				S				A	C		
"	A																I			
"	S																H			

Key to the signs used: A = Apollo H = Sol
 E = Aesculapius s = eagle
 S = Salus C = Apollo and Diana
 I = Isis Pharia ' = aureus

This group is built around a single legend, yet rather varied in view of representations. Here too, Rome and Antiochia play a great role. Besides Salus, who probably might be considered as personification, the most general representations of the salus-coins are Apollo, respectively Aesculapius and Diana mythologically connected. Isis Pharia also turns up on these coins in Antiochia too, possibly in connection with the New-Year greetings, and Sol figures as well.

The dated versions refer to the 1st and 2nd emissions, and no salus-coin is found in the 3rd emission. Its continuity breaks just at the time when the most important of the conservator-types starts.

The frequency of the coins with SALUS AUG legend surpasses that of the APOLLINI CONS types to some extent, but comes under the same frequency degree. Its spreading may be said to be even in the whole of the empire.

It is characteristic of the types of both the conservator- and the salus aug-groups that the deities on the coins are the personal protectors of the emperor. The difference between the two groups is illustrated by the deities shown.

On the conservator-coins the figures of Iuppiter, Iuno, Serapis, Isis, Sol and Hercules definitely indicate, that these deities protect the emperor as ruler, and their personality is essential as to the aspect of the power. In this context Apollo or Minerva get a similar interpretation.

On the salus-coins Aesculapius, Salus and Apollo show a connection in which they figure as the protectors of the emperor's health. These two kinds of divine protections do not differ from each other very much, as the health and salvation of the emperor are of public interest also guaranteeing the prosperity of the state.

So, it is not peculiar, that Apollo plays an important role in both groups, on the other hand, it is worthwhile observing

the chronology of his types. Disregarding the type with the legend APOLLINI P CONS, which was not mentioned by Carson among the substantive types of Claudius, and so was classified as O emission by us, we may see, that Apollo started his career on the salus-coins in the coinage of Claudius, and we meet him among the conservator-coins only a few months before the death of the emperor. At that time he was not represented on the salus-types any more, while the Apollo-conservator coins were produced in relatively big quantity.

It is obvious, that the imperial propaganda selected this deity from the salus-types, and put it exclusively in the conservator-coinage, so far of minor importance, divided among many deities. This fact suggests the deliberate tendency of the religious political propaganda and besides this, that the 'conservator' role of Apollo is closely linked with his previous one.

The fact, that Apollo remained on the conservator-coins instead of the much more obvious Iuppiter, was most likely necessitated by the propaganda requiring a feature demonstrated in the personality of the emperor's principal protector, peculiar to him, as opposed to all the rest of the deities /Iuppiter included/. I see this feature, based on the parallel occurrence of the deities in the SALUS AUG group, Apollo's connection with health and healing.

As to this, we may mention that Claudius lost his life in the plague raging in the empire, mainly in the army, during the last period of his reign. Under these circumstances the protection of the emperor's health could get a concrete meaning concerning the empire as a whole. Very likely, the Antiochian type hints also at this, the legend of which is SPES PUBLICA, and Aesculapius can be seen on it with Salus /at Alföldi Hygieia/. The hope set in Aesculapius and Salus obviously expects the end of the epidemic.

Consequently, Apollo is the central figure of Claudius Gothicus' conservator and Salus types. The most important

type is that with the legend APOLLINI CONS, being not one of the most frequent types of Claudius, neither insignificant, as over a very short time as many were produced as to become ordinary in the examined hoards from Britannia to Illyricum. Apollo's selection into the focus of religious political propaganda was most likely planned, justified by historical events of the period.

Malalas also refers to Apollo's connection with the emperor, though he is the only author who mentions this fact. This publication is confirmed by the coins, nevertheless, we may assume, that this adjective could not be well known, otherwise other authors might have mentioned it too. However, the very short period of the APOLLINI CONS coinage did not make it possible to make this propagandistic element popular.^{86a}

"B" Deities

Type-table

	Rom			Med			Sis			Cyz			Unk			Ant				
	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	?	1	2	3
5.				II'																
6.				MM'			M													
15.	C																			
22.				F			F				F	F			F	F				F
26.		I																		
27.		I					I'													
33.		M									M									
34.			M								M									
50.							D													
61.																			K	
62.																			D	
64.																			J	
66.																			N	
67.																			V	
68.																			S	
71.															F					
72.															Mi					
73.															Ve					

Key to the signs used: I = Iuppiter K = Cabir Mi = Minerva
M = Mars J = Iuno Ve = Venus
C = Ceres N = Neptunus D = Diana
F = Fortuna V = Vulcanus S = Sol
' = aureus

In this varied table the lively activity of Rome and Antiochia is again fairly well illustrated. Each produces quite different types, while the rest of the mints range among types given.

The activity of Mediolanum, Siscia and Cyzicus is similar to that of Rome while the output of the unknown mint in Western Minor Asia is like the profile of Antiochia.

Mars /6, 33, 34/, Iuppiter /5, 26, 27/, Fortuna /22, 71/ and Diana /50, 62/ are figuring with different versions in this group. However, not a single coin bears the image of Apollo, so dominant in the previous group.

The history of the group starts with the production of Iuppiter and Mars versions in the West, during the first year of Claudius' reign. In Siscia and Cyzicus Fortuna, in the East a fairly varied small group of Neptunus, Fortuna, Minerva, Venus and Sol types production comes about, to which we may add the Ceres of Rome. On these coins the deity gets a possessive attribute /...AUGUSTI/, thus the part of the deity being connected with the emperor, gets essential. In this aspect, it is closely linked with the groups under "A" category, however not so definitely as the latter.

In the second year the coinage keeps on to be similar in the West, but the production of this type group is discontinued. Over the third year but two types prevail. One bearing the legend FORTUNA REDUX having been the most popular Fortuna-type until then, and the new Mars-type MARTI PACIFER.

Out of the Iuppiter-types IOVI STATORI and IOVI VICTORI are the most usual, the latter is even the most frequent among the deity representations in Europe too. Minted over the 2nd /longest/ year in Claudius reign. These are of lesser importance in Illyricum and not produced in the East.

The MARS ULTOR, produced in the 2nd year, is also the most frequent in Europe out of the Mars-types. The MARTI PACIFERO, started in the 3rd year, is to survive and in its introduction

the same controlled propagandistic activity is realized as in the case of APOLLINI CONS type. Its frequency corresponds this fact.

FORTUNA REDUX is one of the two Fortuna-types, rather general all over Europe, most likely in the East too. This type, so to say, stabilizes an adjective with Fortuna adding a certain rigidity to the deity and making her the personification of "the fortune on the way home". The other, rather rare type of Fortuna, produced in the unknown mint, bearing the legend FORTUNA AUG demonstrates the deity similar to Neptunus, Minerva and Venus in the types mentioned above. The production of FORTUNA REDUX keeps on over the whole coinage during Claudius, and prevails in the latest period too.

The Antiochia mint, defining the total coinage in the East, had been remarkable for the active production of deity-representations. The types with the legends NEPTUNUS AUG and IUNO REGINA were most likely fairly frequent in the Asian coin-circulation. All this, however, refers to the first half of the emperor's reign, in this case to the 1st emission. Later on, the production of types coming into this group is discontinued in Antiochia.

"C" Deities as illustrations

Type-table

	Rom			Med			Sis			Cyz			Unk			Ant		
	?	1	2 3	?	1	2 3	?	1	2 3	?	1	2 3	?	1	2 3	?	1	2 3
12.			S						K									K D
25.	H																	
36.	S				S			S										
38.	R																	
41.																		E
44.					M			M					M				A A	
63.																		R
65.																		H

Key to the signs used: S = Sol
 H = Hercules
 R = Mercurius
 A = Minerva
 K = Saturnus
 D = Sol and Diana
 M = Mars
 E = Aesculapius and Hygieia

The figure of the deity generally illustrates but an idea on these types. Accordingly, the representation, defining the type often changes within the legend.

Antiochia's preference to the production of deity-figures is well demonstrated in this table too. Rome and the other two mints produce fewer of these types.

The more significant types are AETERNITAS AUG /12/ and ORIENS AUG /36/. Sol is the main figure on both of them; on the first type together with Diana Lucifera, or Saturnus, as the deity in close connection with the idea Time. Even in this respect the approach differs considerably in the West, from that in the East. In Antiochia, where the Saturnus image is also figuring inside the same legend,⁸⁷ Diana Lucifera can be seen together with Sol. So, Sol is but one of the deities on this type, down-grading the very universal character of his "personality". Though, having had such a universal character is well shown by the Rome type, on which he alone illustrates the legend, thus getting closely linked with the Golden Age myth.

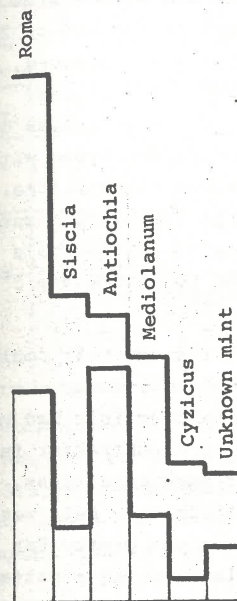
Rome contrary to Antiochia, seems to have advocated this universal character. This is also proved by the ORIENS AUG type, on which Sol symbolizes East as a whole. This type is produced in European mints only, and the tendency against the dependence on the empire is manifested.

The rest of the types, coming under this group, are of lesser significance. Though VIRTUS AUG is the most frequent Claudius legend, that may be illustrated by various representations among which the figures of Mars and Minerva are shown on certain types only. The case is similar as to the SPES PUBLICA type /41/, the interesting feature of which we have mentioned above. However, most of its coins are illustrated by the personifications of Hope.

Types carrying FIDES AUG and IUVENTUS AUG legends might

have been frequent in the East, however, not getting to other parts of the empire.

Summary In Claudius' coinage the propaganda concerning deities was not uniform in the empire as a whole. The structure of the coinage was determined by the Rome mint in Europe, and the Antiochia mint in Asia.



On this diagram the mints are not ranged geographically but as to the number of their types, produced in decreasing order from Rome to the unknown mint.

So, the columns form a descending curve on the diagram. We may plot this curve with that, representing the output of the type-groups as to mints. In case the two curves seem to be similar, the output of the examined group is of average volumen among the mints. In case they deviate from each other at certain sections, the direction and extent of the deviation is characteristic for the output of this type-group in the relevant mint.

In the representation Antiochia shows quite a diverging character from the average. Most of its coins are of deity-representation types. In this respect its production is the highest in the empire, inspite of the fact that it takes a medial place in the diagram on the basis of the number of all the types produced there.

The rest of the mints are less different from the average, so as to these the examination of the deity representation group makes a more refined differentiation possible.

The difference between the European and Asian sector is slightest at the beginning of the emperor's rule. At that time, all mints produced but the old types at disposal or some not

too specific new ones.

In the following, rather lengthy period /269/, the propaganda picture yet remains indistinct, but the types inherited from Gallienus are already missing and are superseded by the ordinary Iuppiter /IOVI VICTORI/, Mars /MARS ULTOR/ and Fortuna, based on religious politics in Europe. Respectively, by a further strikingly different and more varied coinage round Antiochia.

The situation changes decisively at the end of Claudius reign. In the 3rd emission probably started at the end of 269, considerable versions of entirely new types were produced, /APOLLINI CONS - 4 versions, MARTI PACIFERO - 9 versions/ indicating, that an intensive production for large series of these types have been forseen. The AETERNITAS AUG types with the image of Sol was produced /in 4 versions/ at that time. Rome, Mediolanum and Siscia, the mints with the biggest output of the new coins, also contribute to the production. While Antiochia, the Unknown mint and Cyzicus do not issue any 3rd emissions, not dealing with new types.

Obviously, the administration defined, respectively could bring into effect its stand, concerning the religious political propaganda, only by that time. As long this had not taken place, each mint produced types of loyal character in accordance with its own traditions. Under such conditions, the Rome output in Europe and that of Antiochia in Asia were the most colourful. The renown Eastern mint was pretty far from the central administration during Claudius, as a matter of fact, it worked independently producing various types of high level.

Short after the emperor's death the new large scale coin minting came to an end. But a few coins could be produced out of the relatively great varieties. In this context, the number of the varieties of coins, minted from one type, shows the project, while the number of the coins the actual result.

Examining the deity representations in the total coinage under Claudius, we may state, that these are figuring on 20 % of the coins in Europe, most of them minted in 269, the overwhelming majority, 13 % of the types, IOVI VICTORI and MARS ULTOR. The remaining 7 %, APOLLINI CONS, MARTI PACIFERO, AETERNITAS AUG and FORTUNA REDUX types, were produced in the last period.

Frequency-table

	W-Europe	Illyricum	Minor-Asia
I.	-	-	
II.	- - -	- - -	63 ^C 66 ^B
III.	5 ^B - - -	- -	7 ^S - 44 ^C 59 ^A
IV.	- - - 34 ^B	- - 5 ^B 6 ^B	64 ^B 65 ^C
	-	7 ^S - - 12 ^C	
		- - - 22 ^B	
V.	2 ^A - 6 ^B 7 ^S	- 27 ^B - -	
	- 12 ^C - 22 ^B	34 ^B - - -	
	27 ^B - - 36 ^C	44 ^C 50 ^B 64 ^B 66 ^B	
	44 ^C - - -	- -	
	-		

Concerning the coin circulation in Asia, we do not dispose of enough data for stating so exactly the numerical frequency of deity-representations. However, it may be taken for certain, that there the deity representations were considerably more frequent than in the Rome radius.

Aurelianus The structure of Aurelianus' coinage does not follow up all the features of Claudius Gothicus' coinage. There are no basic differences between them, however, the same scheme cannot be applied to both. For example, the "salus aug" group is entirely missing at Aurelianus, playing a significant role in the previous emperor's propaganda. However, the differences in degree, observed at the coinage

of Claudius, may be found here as well. According to these, we discuss the deity representations in three groups:

- "A" conservator-types
- "B" the propaganda referring to the deities themselves
- "C" deity representations as illustrations

"A" Deities as conservators

Type-table

	Rom			M-T			Sis			Ser		Cyz			Ant		Unk			
	?	1	2	3	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	2	3	1	2	3	?	2	3	2
7.		A						A'												
14.			I			I		I'	I			I	SS ^e			I				I
18.		S								A										
48.											E							S'	S	
55.																S				

Key to the signs used: A = Apollo E = Aesculapius
 I = Iuppiter S^e = Sol and the emperor
 S = Sol ' = aureus

Apollo representations were minted at the beginning of the Aurelianus' coinage, during a relatively short period. Two versions of antoninians were issued in Rome, the main centre of the Claudius' coinage, and three versions of aureuses in Siscia. These latter cannot be dated so precisely as the antoninians, but they certainly date back to the prereform age.

No Apollo-coins are issued in the 2nd period. This period brings forth the independent propaganda politics of Aurelianus. All the Iuppiter coins /a relatively high number - 13,5 %/ come under this period, which being much longer than the other two, lasted for about three years.⁸⁸ Here the result of a less spectacular, rather a steady production, covering a long period, may be seen. All the mints produced Iuppiter-coins, except Lugdunum and Antiochia, being under the influence of Tetricus, respectively Palmyra.^{88a} The widely spread circulation of the Iuppiter-coins proves having been instituted on central propaganda. There is no trace of the later Sol-cult yet, and I

see in the representation of Iuppiter a definite deviation from the "salus aug"-line and its representative Apollo.⁸⁹ Claudius' program in relation to Apollo, Diana, Salus, Aesculapius and Frotuna Redux was most likely ineffective for Aurelianus. He rather chose Iuppiter of the more universal interpretation as his conservator. This choice remained exclusive for a long period. Aurelianus did not diminish the status of his conservator by distributing this function among some more deities.

The picture changes only in the third period. After having occupied Palmyra, Aurelianus pledges himself to Sol.⁹⁰ The transition to be observed on the coins in connection with this, is very interesting. Coins, with the legend IOVI CONSER, are minted in Serdica in the third period, nevertheless, Sol and the emperor may be seen on the picture, not Iuppiter, as it has been in every case so far. Obviously, this combination does not hint at the popularization of Iuppiter, on the contrary, its loosing ground. However, there is a careful propaganda going on concerning the IOVI CONSER legend type minted for so long. As much, however, is certain, that the emperor shows a specific respect to a deity, relatively new /in this field/, having his face minted on conservator-coins! Sol picture alone, may be seen on three gold and two antoninianus versions minted in Antiochia - the workshop in close vicinity to the Palmyra crisis. The legend /CONSERVATOR AUG/ does not name the deity here either, only the representation refers to him.

Another Siscia type comes from the third period with APOL CONS AUG legend and the representation of Apollo and the emperor. A denarius carrying the same legend, a type which I would date to this period, - based on the above.⁹¹ These two versions are as uncertain as those from Serdica. The name in the legend is neither Iuppiter nor Sol, but it is the long forgotten Apollo, here used because of his close relation with Sol,⁹² or just as a substitute. These versions are minted

by the same two workshops which produced Apollo-conservators in the first period. It was evident to refer back to the symbol discontinued three years ago.

Besides these, there is a Cyzicus type with the legend SOLI CONSERVATORI from the 2nd period !/!. Only one version is known of this. This type must be considered an exception, so as to its legend and as its placing to the 2nd period. The conservator-type carrying the image of Aesculapius is also considered as a "unique".⁹³

As we see, the conservator-coinage during Aurelianus is broken up into three periods of three succeeding deities. This uniformity, demonstrated already in the first period of Apollo-coinage and the second period of Iuppiter-coinage, may lead to the conclusion, that Aurelianus' propaganda must have been fairly well organized and centralized.⁹⁴ Thus, I am rather inclined to consider the above mentioned Serdica, Antiochia, Rome and Siscia rarities of the 3rd period, as cautious steps, rather than confusion, at the introduction of a conservator coinage, basically focused on Sol.

The conservator coinage in Siscia and Serdica is the most varied among the mints. The output of these might have been larger than that in the rest of the mints. The frequency of certain types is well demonstrated on the table.⁹⁵

The conservator coinage played an important role in the fairly centralized propaganda politics of Aurelianus. The IOVI CONSERV type is figuring in the 2nd group in all European regions. The coin circulation in Asia is rather specific; as this region had been largely under Palmyrean influence during the first half of Aurelianus reign. As we see, the mint in Antiochia had been silent for long, turning up with the new conservator type /Sol/ in the coin circulation of the 3rd period.⁹⁶ The same facts are characteristic for this short-lived Sol-conservator coinage as to the Apollo-conservator in Claudius' coinage. Both were minted in a lot of versions,

but for a very short time, namely, the production was fairly intensive in view of the conditions.

Concerning the total coinage, the production of the Sol-conservator is minimal, compared with the IOVI CONSER type. However, considering it dialectically, it is obviously the sign of an important religious political change.

"B" The deities
Type table

	Rom			M-T			Sis			Ser			Cyz			Tri			Ant		
	? 1 2 3-4	? 1 2 3-4	? 1 2 3-4	? 1 2 3-4	? 1 2 3-4	? 1 2 3-4	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3	? 1 2 3		
10.	F	F	F	F	F	F															
16.	S	S	S	S	S	S															
28.																					
34.																					
37.				J	J	J															
39.																					
49.																					
50.																					
52.																					
57.																					

Key to the signs used: F = Fortuna
S = Sol
M = Mars and Sol

I = Iuppiter J = Iuno
V = Venus M = Mars
A = Minerva S = Sol and the emperor
' = festive or commemorative coins: aureus, denarius, as

The types of the first two periods seem to merge. Rome, Mediolanum-Ticinum, Siscia and later Serdica produced coins at that time. First of all the most frequent type of Fortuna, carrying FORTUNA REDUX legend.

Besides these types, particularly frequent in Western- and Central-Europe, a few Iuppiter, Mars and Minerva types minted in lesser quantity, as well as a SOLI INVICTO type issued in Rome in the 2nd period, may also be found. However, at that time this type is not of greater significance than the rest.

In the 3rd period, after the occupation of Palmyra, Sol takes

ground in the coinage. The type with SOLI INVICTO legend is the only one found in all the mints. The last period of Aurelianus' coinage is entirely devoted to Sol. The contribution of Cyzicus to this propaganda is rather interesting. At this place they do not mint the usual SOLI INVICTO type, but one with the legend MARS INVICTUS. The representation shows Mars taking the globe from the whip carrying Sol. Doubtlessly, Sol is the more significant of the two deities, from whom Mars does not get the globe only, but the outstanding INVICTUS attribute too. Accordingly, Cyzicus also gets its share in celebrating Sol, but with a diverse type. The frequency of this type in Minor Asia is similar to that of SOLI INVICTO, and the SOLI INVICTO type takes the second place in the frequency of the "B" grade types, despite having been minted for about one year only. Its output had been rather intensive and wide-spread over the total coin circulation during the reign of Aurelianus.

From the 4th period the VENUS VICTRIX type alone is worth mentioning from the independent Severina coinage.

All the versions except antoninianuses and aureuses are undated. As the frequency of the rest of the denominations is minimal, compared with these two, we can not consider them as permanent instruments of propaganda, may be of topical importance only. This refers especially to denominations, where we find types not figuring on others. These coins represent special types owing to their very rare denominations. Such are the four Sol versions minted in Serdica in As.⁹⁷ SOL DOMINUS IMPERI ROMANI is the legend on one side of these coins /or its shorter forms/, and AURELIANUS AUG CONS is on the other one. RIC takes the side with the legend SOL DOMINUS IMPERI ROMANI for the averses of the coin, probably because the bust is on this side: semi-profile Sol-bust in radiate crown. A representation in full can be seen on the other side: emperor offering a sacrifice at an altar, with patera and scepter in hand. The unusual legends may arouse debates about the averses

and reverse sides. The imperial title is usually on the averses, while the legend concerning the deity on the reverse. In my opinion, this irregularity is deeper seated, showing a certain consistency on an unusual type.

The legend SOL DOMINUS IMPERI ROMANI does not turn up elsewhere either on the averses or the reverses. It means, that Sol is the dominus of the Roman Empire. The title "dominus" can be found on the averses of two further legend-types of Aurelianus' coins: IMP DEO ET DOMINO AURELIANO and DEO ET DOMINO NATO AURELIANO AUG⁹⁸ and refers to Aurelianus in both cases. Nevertheless, the coin examination gives this title to Sol, and the picture actually represents the Sun-God. Accordingly, a Sol-bust can be seen on the averses, where Aurelianus-bust is usually to be found. The deity bears the emperor's title /dominus/ and status as well. It follows, that, on this coin, Sol symbolizes the emperor, being elevated to the deity of Sol by this.

The reverse is similarly unusual. The legend is: AURELIANUS AUG CONS. The abbreviation CONS is explained as "consul" by Homo.⁹⁹ I do not think it likely, because, though the dating of the coin is not certain, yet, it cannot be supposed to have been minted at the beginning of Aurelianus' reign. Great majority of the dated Sol-coins come from the 3rd period of Aurelianus' coinage. In Serdica all the Sol-coins are from the 3rd period. At that time, Aurelianus was in his second /or most likely yet at the third/ consular year.¹⁰⁰ Neither is it indifferently, that this emperor has not any coins on which his consulship is indicated like that. The legends on the reverses, dated with the emperor's title, all begin with the forms PM, TR, P,¹⁰¹ and the serial numbers of the years, as a consul, are marked by COS, COS II.¹⁰² etc.

Nevertheless, there is an expression among the Aurelianus' legends frequently abbreviated by CONS. This, however, is the "conservator" eg. APOLLINI CONS.¹⁰³ Accordingly, the legend

means, that Aurelianus Augustus himself is a conservator, so functioning as a deity by virtue of our investigations so far. So, this side of the coin leads to the same conclusion as the other one: that this coin was devoted to the deification of the emperor. As to this fact, the representation could be considered of no bearing, unless, we could imagine that the coin carries this representation by chance. It was important, to put the essentials about Aurelianus' reign and historical role leading to the deification. The coin minted in the Serdica workshop does not emphasize Aurelianus' outstanding actions, the victory over Zenobia and Tetricus, but his pietas, for which the introduction and fostering of the Sol-cult were most characteristic.

Thus eliminating the differences between Sol and the emperor, and interchanging devine and mortal spheres, these coins show a respect towards the emperor. I should say, this outstanding worship may hardly be expressed to men. It does not separate the emperor from the mortal world by addressing him as a deity, but by attributing him functions exercised by a deity only, as a matter of fact, the most supreme known in the history of coinage. Aurelianus Augustus conservator does not fight for the interests of Rome on the earth, as restitutor orientis, but protects the realm as a deity from above. The legend on the reverse is the inversion of the same idea. A deity, Sol appears as the Roman Emperor without any supplement and explanation, and the same frame is given to him, as given to mortal emperors on such coins. Accordingly, I would convey the suggestion, that these coins were minted immediately after the death of Aurelianus, namely in Serdica, the mint closest to the place of the Caenofrouirion assassination, being the strongest and most active source of the Aurelianus' propaganda.¹⁰⁴

Most regretably, RIC does not include the prints of all the versions. Contrary to Webb, rather accepting Cohen, I would sooner consider one of the two published version to be Apollo,

than Sol.¹⁰⁵ This phenomenon wasn't new. The two deities are also interchanged on the type with the legend APOL CONS AUG, minted in the Serdica, respectively Rome workshops.

"C" Deities as illustrations
Type table

	Lug				Rom				M-T				Sis			Ser	Cyz			Unk		Ant	
	3	?	1	2	3	1	2	3-4	1	2	3	3	3	1	2	3	2	2	3				
1.	MM'	H'	HM'			M'			M	M'		SS ^h											
3.			M'							A'S'M'			N										
4.		S'	SS'			S	S			S	SS'	SS ^e			S		S						
5.			P'				F	F		FP'		F											
8.		S ^e ,																					
9.		S ^e ,																					
12.																							
22.																							
30.			S	S										G						S			
32.																							
38.																							
58.																							
59.																							
61.																							
64.	S																			M' M			

Key to the signs used:

M = Mars H = Hercules I^e = Iuppiter and the emperor
V = Venus N = Neptunus G = the Lupa Romana and the Gemini
A = Apollo R = Mercurius
Types of Sol: S = Sol S^h = Sol and Hercules
P = Sol and Providentia S^e = Sol and the emperor
F = Sol and Fides
' = festive or commemorative coin: aureus, denarius, as or sestertius

Coinage in this group is similar to that, in the previous one. The mints producing in the 1st period, partly issue types with the face of Mars, partly /Cyzicus/ use great varieties of other deity representations as an illustration.

In the 2nd period some Hercules and Iuppiter illustrations are added to those of Mars, so are some types of Sol. The representations of the latter are quite frequent already in this period and turn up on many types. This is especially interesting, as Iuppiter had the leading role in the

conservatores coins at the time.

However, as we have already seen, the 3rd period is almost only Sol's, besides him only Mars turns up in some traditional types. Nevertheless, in connection with him we have to call the attention to the Cyzicus MARS INVICTUS type too, showing the special connection of this deity with Sol in Aurelianus' coinage.

The most important Sol-type is that with ORIENS AUG legend. As at Claudius, the picture of the Sun-God symbolizes the East. This type may propagate the most important military venture and success of Aurelianus. It is one of the most frequent types in Europe and Asia. The other, relatively frequent Sol-type is that with the legend PROVIDEN DEOR, on which the Sun-God is seen together with a Fides or Providentia personification. This was comparatively frequent in Europe only. The rest of the Sol representations turns up sporadically in five other legends only.

The most important Mars type is the RESTITUTOR EXERC. As to the data on the catalogue, it was produced in Cyzicus only. This is well shown in the coin circulation of Asia Minor. Here, the type comes into the 2nd frequency grade. However, the circulation did not stop in the vicinity of the mint, but turned up in South-Eastern-Europe and frequently, even in Western-Europe, showing that its production, though being confined but to one mint, was very intensive. /See the frequency-table p. 73./

The rest of the deity representations are but sporadic on some frequent types /CONCORD MILIT, RESTITUTOR ORBIS/, or in legends being not significant with other illustrations in Aurelianus coin circulation either.

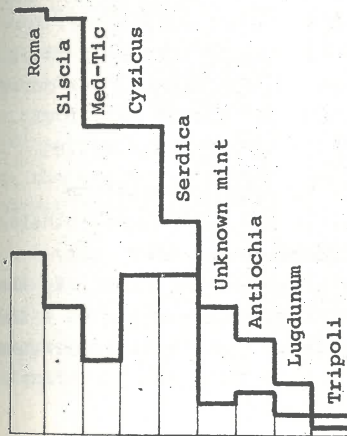
On the aureuses Mars representations are the most frequently minted in the Siscia, respectively Antiochia workshops. As a matter of fact, we can not talk about frequency, comparing these with the antoninianuses. Based on

Frequency-table

	W-Europe	Illyricum	SE-Europe	Minor-Asia	Syria
I.	4 ^C -	-	4 ^C - -	4 ^C -	-
II.	14 ^A		14 ^A	58 ^C	
III.	10 ^B -	4 ^C 10 ^B 14 ^A			16 ^B
IV.	- 5 ^C - 16 ^B - -	1 ^C - - - - -	- 58 ^C	- 16 ^B 57 ^B	- 48 ^A
V.	1 ^C - - - - - 39 ^B - - 58 ^C 8 ^C	16 ^B - - - - 30 ^C - - 34 ^B - - - - - 52 ^B	1 ^C 5 ^C 10 ^B - 16 ^B - - - - - 57 ^B		

the known versions only, we may say, that in the VIRTUS AUG types there are relatively many aureus versions with Mars' image /Siscia, Roma, Mediolanum-Ticinum, Lugdunum/ respectively in the RESTITUTOR ILLYRICI type, minted only in Antiochia, as an obvious reference to Aurelianus' origin, respectively, to that of his army' elite.

Summary



We summarize Aurelianus' types, minted with deity representations by a diagram already applied to Claudius' coinage. As we may see, the greatest interest shown for these types was in Serdica and Cyzicus. The rest of the mints produced the types with deity representation in more or less equal proportions. So, in this respect the mints of Serdica and Cyzicus were equal to Rome and Siscia.

We have already spoken about the significance of Serdica in Aurelianus' coinage and further data will be also added in the following. Here we remark only, that there are deity representations on 75 % of the types produced in the new mints founded by Aurelianus, offering a clear evidence of how important role the religious policy had played in the emperor's propaganda. This, however, does not refer to the introduction and a spreading of the Sol-cult, demonstrated by the serdican IOVI CONSERVATORI coinage in the 2nd period.

We may find deity representations on 50 % of the Cyzicus types. There is a striking change; compared with the activity under the previous emperor. It seems, that Cyzicus was suitable for executing the lively religious political propaganda, so its output increased comparatively. Nevertheless, its types show a certain originality, inspite of the absolute loyalty. In this mint the number of the Sol representations do not surpass that of Mars to such an extent as in the other mints, moreover, there is a type devoted to the relation between the two deities /MARS INVICTUS/.

The rest of the mints are separated from one another by slight differences only, as Aurelianus' propaganda was more centralized and better controlled than that of Claudius. It goes without saying, that the structure of the different types does not correspond in all the mints without exceptions, for they had to count with the public of varying taste and ideology as to regions. Yet, the most important deities and most current slogans were general all over the empire /ORIENS AUG, IOVI CONSER, SOLI INVICTO/.

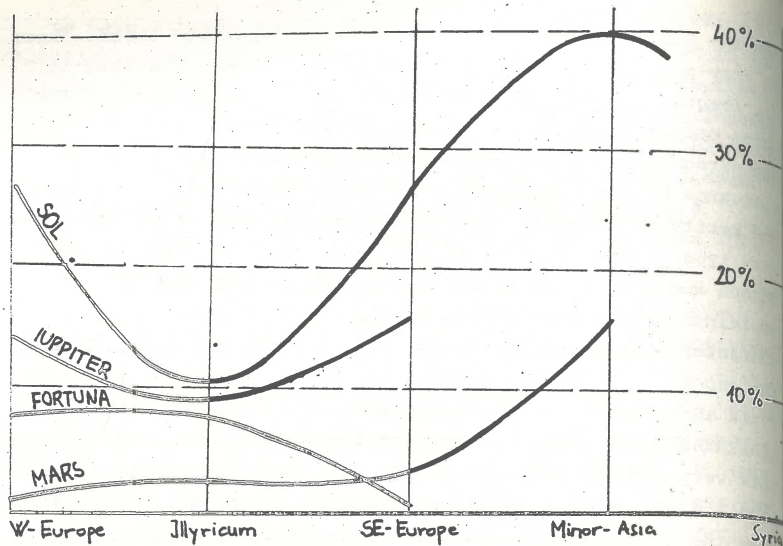
We have no satisfactory data of the coin circulation relevant for the different regions of the empire. Nevertheless, Western-Europe is relatively well documented. Here deity representations are found on 52 % of the coins. Similarly the relevant data are 46,6 % in South-Eastern-Europe and 55 % in Asia Minor. /See the frequency-table p. 73./ It is remarkable,

how the Illyricum proportion /31,3 %/ differs from these, there an army-political type /CONCORDIA MILITUM/ takes the lead in the frequency order. In Syria these types come to 16 % of the coins only, there the most frequent type is one, propagating the personality of the emperor /RESTITUTOR ORBIS/. Yet, the dominance of the RESTITUTOR ORBIS coins would not account for the rarity of the deity representations in this place as this very type is one of the most important ones in South-Eastern-Europe and Asia Minor as well. This low average may be explained by the absence of the ORIENS AUG coins - characteristically Western type with its message demonstrating the emperor's asserting a right to the Eastern provinces. In Syria this type is partly replaced by the SOLI INVICTO and CONSERVATOR AUG /Sol/ types, reaching the highest frequency in this very part of the empire, which is justified by this province being the birthplace of the Sol cult. All these also show the sensitive and deliberate feature of Aurelianus' propaganda policy.

In the diagram, below, /see p. 76./ I have summarized the frequency of the coins showing the four most important deities of Aurelianus' religious political program. The representation shows it clearly, that there is no difference among the various areas concerning the rank of the deities except Fortuna/ rather in the intensity of the production.

Deity representations were issued in the 1st period of Aurelianus coinage without any difference in the emphasis, first of all Mars and Fortuna and some others as well. In the 2nd period Iuppiter gains priority in deity representations as the emperor's conservator and besides him Sol types, mainly ORIENS AUG, marking the campaign against Palmyra.

In the third period, after the successful campaigns, the overwhelming propaganda of the Sol cult follows, besides which none but the Mars-types survive of the deity representations. An interesting date, concerning the significance of this latter deity, is that the number of its



aureus versions is the highest among the deities. It surpasses even that of Sol. This fact shows the character of the propaganda on the aureuses, differing from the average, at the same time, the specific role of this deity in the political propaganda.

Probus As to the deity representations, neither the coinage of Aurelianus, nor that of Probus could be described by adapting the same schemes. This propaganda has similar features to that of Aurelianus /eg. the narrow circle of the deities/, but there are some characteristics differing from those of his predecessors.

Anyway, two things strongly influence the examination of the deity representations on the Probus coins:

I. The high number of the versions, which makes it possible, or even necessary, to discuss the most prominent deities one by one. Accordingly, in this part we examine the coins in the following groups:

1. "A" deities as conservators
2. "B" the propaganda of the deities.
 - a/ Sol
 - b/ Mars
 - c/ Hercules /and the rest/
3. "C" illustrations
 - a/ Sol
 - b/ Mars
 - c/ Iuppiter
 - d/ Hercules /and the rest/

II. The other influencing factor is the possibility, that, based on Pink's essay, the coinage may be investigated as to its annual change. This possibility was not given at Claudius, because of his short reign, neither at Aurelianus, as his coinage is divided but into three periods. I could make the annual breaking down as to types only. In case of the versions there would be too much possibility for inexactitude. Though the annual increase /or decrease/ of the number of the types is not exactly proportional to the increase /or decrease/ of the number of the versions in the same period, yet, it shows the production level, the higher or lower activity of a certain mint.

It was not the same workshop that minted the most types during Probus' six and a half years rule. The steady supremacy of a single mint is not characteristic of the total coinage. Ticinum might have operated most steadily issuing similar number of a lot of types between the 1st and 4th years. In the 2nd year, Siscia flourished exceedingly, its production surpassed that of Ticinum, yet in the 3rd year. In the 5th year the Eastern mints take the lead, 63 % of their variants was produced in that year. In the 6th year the Rome mint surpassed the others.

The output of the different workshops is in close connection with the emperor's whereabouts and festive occasions.¹⁰⁶ It is

especially characteristic of the smaller mints, the production of which is almost exclusively limited to the occasions, when the emperor stays somewhere near the very mint.¹⁰⁷ In the bigger workshops the coinage is more independent, though these are also certainly influenced by the imperial visits, or such festive occasions as the triumphus in Rome in the 6th year.¹⁰⁸

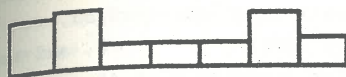
Pink draws the map of Probus' campaigns and journeys, on the basis of the coinage¹⁰⁹ and his summary shows, that, as a matter of fact, only those workshops worked on a level worth mentioning, where the emperor was actually staying.

Examining the diagram /as to the annual output of the specific mints/, this conclusion seems to be justified at several places /Siscia, in the 2nd, 3rd and 5th years; Rome in the 6th year; Serdica, Cyzicus, Antiochia in the 5th year/. At the same time, we may see, that the production of Ticinum is continuously high, though the emperor has been in Siscia, Lugdunum, in the East etc., during the first four years, spending the shortest time just in Ticinum. On the other hand, the emperor spends nearly all the 4th year in Siscia,¹¹⁰ while the activity of this mint is very poor all over the time.

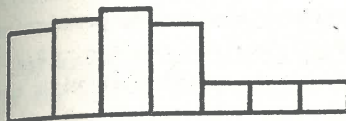
Other factors seem to have contributed to the formation of the output in a certain mint.

As to the diagrams, we may state, that the production of the specific mints is characterized by outstanding outputs and comparatively low average productions. /Siscia, Roma and the Eastern mints./ Other mints show a more steady production. First of all, that of Ticinum, in the coinage of which there is a drop after the 4th year, though this does not affect the continuity between the 1st-4th, respectively 5th-7th years. Lugdunum also belongs to the more steadily producing mints, as its output in the year of outstanding production is not much over that in the years of lower output. Although, there is a certain year in Rome's production when the output was rich, its activity is of similar continuity to that of

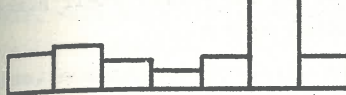
Lugdunum



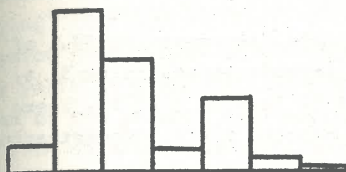
Ticinum



Roma



Siscia



Serdica



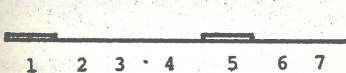
Cyzicus



Antiochia



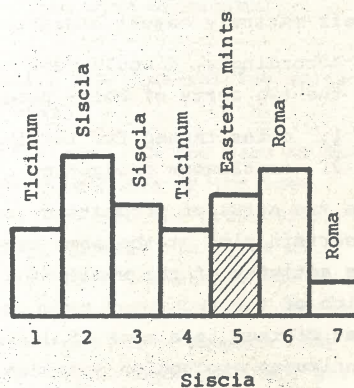
Tripoli



Yearly output



Yearly leading mints



Lugdunum between the 1st and the 5th year. The least balanced is the coinage of Siscia and the Eastern mints. Sárdica, Cyzicus, Antiochia and Tripoli stop working for years, and in the 1st, 4th, 6th and 7th years Siscia worked with fewer types than Lugdunum, otherwise producing but half of its output.

Controlling the above, let's break up the entire production to types, and examine the continuity! /See the table p. 82./¹¹¹ The table is similar to the already shown type-tables with the difference, that the representations are not marked, only the quantity of the various types. In general it is only 1, sometimes 2, and maximum 3 types annually. Some of the types are not dated, and so they are not shown on the table. Their number is insignificant compared to the total output.

On the table I have drawn a line, linking the types existing for more than three years. Most of these refer to Ticinum /10 types, respectively legends representing these, 72 % of the versions/. It is notable, that there are three among them, covering six, respectively seven years, representing 24 % of the versions. Lugdunum is next /5 legends representing 51 %/ Rome /4 legends - 35 %/ and Siscia /2 legends - 16 %/. There are no connecting lines as to the Eastern mints, demonstrating their entirely casual character.

Accordingly, I would rank the mints into an order determined by the two sorts of coin- production:

1. coins issued for festive occasions
2. continuous production

The two sorts of production are prevailing in the activity of a certain mint at the same time, though not to the same extent. The activity of the whole mint is characterised by the fact, which of the two types exceeds the other. The picture shows that Ticinum is a mint of decisively constant output and the continuous production somewhat surpasses the occasional one in Lugdunum as well. Rome may be considered as a mint for festive types, though more than one third of its output is

continuous. In this respect, Siscia with 16 % of continuous output, differs hardly from the mints producing but for festive occasions.¹¹²

I considered important to show all this, as there is a difference between the two sorts of productions, concerning the organization and objectives of the propaganda policy.

The mints of occasional production may be regarded less able for realizing the organized propaganda policy, while in some of their coins the contemporary political situations and aims are better reflected than in average. A part of the festive coins, just being the latest response to a certain event, were most likely even more topical. During the occasional coinage, characterized by mass-production, such coins, demonstrating the age, must have been but very few.

The objectives of the organized propaganda politics may be found among the continuously producing mints. It goes without saying, that the political conceptions may change during an emperor's reign and by this the formations of types lasting for years is prevented. However, the propagation of a certain item on the program necessarily calls for some continuance, as in lack of this, the campaign must have been of minimal efficiency.

The question arises, how to explain the wide-ranging spread of the specific types among the mints?

I believe, that the extension of a type, in the case of the occasional mints, just hints at the timeliness of the idea comprehended in the type. A certain mint, in the production of which there is an occasional upswing, spreads its types of topical or general importance to the other workshops. For instance in the 2nd year, to the output of which the hegemony of Siscia was characteristic, the Eastern mints produce only Siscian types; in Rome there is but one, in Lugdunum there are altogether two types which are not from Siscia, and even in Ticinum half of the types are similar to those minted in Siscia.

Lugdunum								Ticinum							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.		1						1.			1				
2.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2.				1			
3.								3.			2	1			
4.	2	3	1	1	1	1	1	4.	2	2	3	3			
5.	1							5.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
6.		1	1	1	1			6.	1	1	1	1			
7.	1	1						7.	1						
8.	1							8.		1	1	1	1	1	1
9.	1							9.		1	1				
10.	1							10.	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
11.						1	1	11.				1	1	1	1
12.	1							12.		2	1				
13.							1	13.				1	1	1	1
33.		1						14.			1				
34.	1	1						15.	2	1	1				
35.		1	1	1	1			16.	1	1	1				
36.						1	1	17.	1	2					
63.		1						18.			1	1			
64.		1	1	1	1	1		19.	1	2	1	2			
65.						1		20.							
66.						1		21.	1						
67.		1						22.	1						
68.								23.	1						
69.	1							24.	1						
70.					2	1		25.	1	1					
71.					1	1		26.							
72.								27.				1			
Serdica								Cyzicus							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.		1						1.		1			1		
3.					2			3.							
4.		1			1			4.							
6.					1			5.	1				2	1	
12.		1						12.		1			1	1	
13.								16.					1		
16.					1			19.					1		
20.		1						20.	1						
32.					1			24.							
33.					1			42.				1			
42.					1			47.							
47.	1				1			75.				1			
53.					1										
64.					1										
73.					1										
74.	1														

Roma							Siscia								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.								1.		1	2				
2.			1	1	1	2	1	2.		1	1				
3.								3.		2	1				
4.	1	2	1			3		4.		3	2	1	2		
5.								5.	1	1	1	2	1		
6.								6.		1					
7.								7.			1				
8.								8.							
9.								9.							
10.	1	1					1	10.		1				1	
11.								11.							
12.								12.	1	1	1	1	1		
13.	1							13.			1	1		1	
14.								14.		2	1	1	3	1	
15.								15.				1	1	1	
16.								16.	2	1	1	1	1	1	
17.								17.					1		
18.								18.							
19.								19.	1						
20.								20.							
21.								21.							
22.								22.	1						
23.								23.							
24.								24.	1						
25.								25.	1						
26.								26.							
27.								27.							
28.								28.	1	1	1				
29.								29.	1	1	1	1			
30.								30.	1	2	1				
31.								31.				1	1	1	1
Antiochia							Tripoli								
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.							1	3.							
4.							1	4.							
19.							1	19.							
20.	1						1	20.	1						
33.							1	33.							
47.							1	47.							
Siscia															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7								
20.	1														
76.					1										

cult /or its getting less prominent, most likely owing to the consolidation/ was rather favourable for the old and new religious trends alike.

The frequency table of the types shows, that in Probus' total coinage Iuppiter conservator is the most popular in the bigger part of Europe /in West and Central Europe as well/. The number of the Sol coins surpasses that of Iuppiter but in the South-Eastern-European hoards. We have no sufficient data about the coin circulation in Asia. In Gaul and Germania even the "comites-coins" exceed in number the Sol-conservator ones. These facts confirm, that Iuppiter's position, having weakened under Aurelianus, was strengthened by Probus once again. The Sol-cult was driven back in the coinage from the middle of this emperor's reign, and the propaganda politics tried to replace it with new types, on which the emperor is assisted by his heavenly patrons in his capacity as "comes" differring from the previous one.¹¹⁵

"B" Deities

The number of deities, coming under this group, drops at Probus considerably. Apart from the three rare types but Sol, Mars and Hercules figure in this coinage.

	Lug			Tic			Rom			Sis			Ser		Cyz	
	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	1	2
12.																
43.	S			SS'S			S	S	S	SS'S	S			S		S

Key to the signs used: S = Sol
, = aureus

Sol Type table

The SOLI INVICTO respectively SOLI INVICTO AUG legend types, mentioned earlier, come into this group of coins.

The total history of the type is similar to that of the Sol conservator. Following the negligible start in Lugdunum, it, so to say, dominates the whole coinage in Ticinum, Serdica and Siscia for a whole year and may be found in Rome and Cyzicus too. Later on it drops back to the frequency level of the average type, being discontinued at Ticinum in the 3rd, at Siscia after the 4th year. /Supposed it was minted in Serdica only in the 2nd year./ Only in Rome was there a normal continuance, where the 11 versions were issued from the 2nd to the 6th year. In the 2nd year, so outstanding in the other mints, the Rome mint did not show any special interest to the type.

	Lug							Tic							Rom							Sis							Ser						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.								M	M	M	M	M	M	M								M													
56.								MM	M	M	M	M	M								MM'														
64.																																			

Key to the signs used: M = Mars
, = aureus

Mars
Type table

MARTI PACIFERO and MARS VICTOR deserve being mentioned out of the three Mars-types. Our table shows, that there had been a steady Mars - propaganda in two mints, Ticinum and Lugdunum. The latter might have been more significant, as the Mars coins always came from the Lugdunum mint, and were passed on from there to Ticinum. The ardent efforts of the two mints in connection with the Mars propaganda, show the central approval and support, as well as, the limits of the circulation of the program.

Hercules
Type table

	Lug							Tic							Sis							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
29.															H	H	H	H				
39.																						
40.																						
41.																						
63.								H'														

Key to the signs used: H = Hercules ' = aureus

The Hercules image may be seen in five types on the coins of the three workshops. These types are rather rare, in view of the total coinage. The HERCULI PACIFERO type produced in Ticinum, is the only one figuring on the frequency table and comes under the last group in Italy. The rest of the Hercules types were minted as aureus in Siscia and Lugdunum. The fact, that we yet deal with them may be explained with the novelty of Hercules types. They are not figuring in the Aurelianus - propaganda, neither on the Hercules-comes coins. Their introduction may be a new gesture of the Probus-propaganda, worth mentioning.

The MARTI PACIFERO is a more frequent parallel to the HERCULI PACIFERO type. Nevertheless, the Hercules coins are not simple imitations of the former, as demonstrated in the myths, the "pacifer" adjective is adequate to the heroic divine image of Hercules.¹¹⁶ The struggle of Hercules, twelve stages of his mission, all contribute to the peace of mankind. That's why the HERCULI PACIFERO type is closely linked with the Siscian aureuses illustrating Hercules' activity in the Probus' coinage too. /HERCULI IMMORTALI, HERCULI ARCADIO, HERCULI ERYMANTHO./ The Ticinum antoninianuses, minted in series, and the Siscia aureuses are the more understandable, respectively more refined versions of the same idea.¹¹⁷

The types of the Hercules aureuses from the counter empire in Gallia /Postumus/, are known from Lugdunum, where they

formed a series, in which the mission of Hercules is glorified.¹¹⁸ It is rather interesting, that these Lugdunum types were found in Siscia recently. Although, the HERCULI ROMANO AUG,¹¹⁹ known in Probus' coinage from Lugdunum, belongs to the same series, it was issued in the 2nd year, against the Siscia aureus types /see above/, being minted in the 3rd year. We are not sure, whether the whole series had been produced under Probus, but the chronology of the few existing versions show, that the Siscia mint, most likely, did not turn to the Lugdunum Postumus types, as the contemporary coinage of the Gallian mint might have equally inspired it.

Discussing "A" category of the comes-coinage, I have already referred to the fact, that the genuine style of the Lugdunum mint might have been centrally approved and supported in the Probus' propaganda policy. The Siscia Hercules-aureuses also confirm this, even proving a certain kind of priority to Lugdunum against Siscia. Accordingly, it gets more and more obvious, that Lugdunum couldn't have become one of the most important mints under Probus, by simply giving up its local traditions, in other words, the imperial propaganda did not hinder the affects of the Gallian mint to be extended all over the empire, might have even supported these.

Siscia is also following up this trend and producing Hercules-aureus types. It is a rather careful and restricted propaganda. The worker as heros was not popular at the Pannonian mint, inspite of the data linking Hercules to Illyricum.¹²⁰ The propaganda profile in Siscia was much more determined by the Aurelianus heritage, the Sol cult, than the less vivid cults traditional in Pannonia.

Comparing the Hercules-, Mars- and Sol-coins coming under "B" category, we may state, that, while in the case of Hercules and Mars the role of Ticinum and Lugdunum is more important, than that of the other mints, in the production of

the Sol-types these mints issued relatively few coins compared to their own capacity. The frequency table shows the following:

Frequency table

	NW-Europe	C-Europe	Italia	SE-Europe	Syria
I.	-	-	-	12 ^B	20 ^C
II.	- - 12 ^B	-	-	- 20 ^C	47 ^C
III.	64 ^B	- - -	- 12 ^B	- - -	
IV.	- 4 ^C -	- 8 ^B -	-	4 ^C - -	
V.	- 8 ^B -	12 ^B - -	- - 15 ^A		
VI.	- - 15 ^A	15 ^A - -	- - 15 ^A		
VII.	- - -	64 ^B 70 ^A -	4 ^C 8 ^B -		
VIII.	70 ^A	- 4 ^C 19 ^A	9 ^C 19 ^A -	- 15 ^A 19 ^A	
IX.		- - -	3 ^C -	47 ^C	
			- 20 ^C -		
			- 29 ^B		

Sol coins /12^B/ enjoy a supremacy in South-Eastern Europe. In Italia it is figuring alone, among the most important types, in the third grade. In Gallia and Germania Mars coins are as frequent as that of Sol. At both places the MARS VICTOR /64^B/ is at the same frequency level as the Sol-type, the other Mars-type is additional, proving that the Mars-propaganda was getting the upperhand in Western-Europe.

"C" Deities as illustrations

Sol, Mars, Iuppiter, Hercules, Romulus and Remus, as well as Saturnus are represented in Probus' coinage in various legends as sheer illustrations. In fact, only the first three turn up in considerable numbers, the Gemini and Saturnus are rarities.

	Lug							Tic							Rom							Sis							Ser						
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3.																																			
4.																																			
5.																																			
9.																																			
17.																																			
25.																																			
33.																																			
34.																																			
74.																																			

Key to the signs used: S = Sol
V = Victoriola
/ in the emperor's hand/
P = Sol and Providentia

E = Sol and the emperor
C = Sol and Concordia
' = aureus

Sol Type table

There are comparatively many legends illustrated with Sol representations. On some of these coins Sol may be seen alone in well-known mythological context /AETERNITAS AUG/, as the symbol if the East /ORIENS AUG/, or just through his authority, inherited from Aurelianus /VICTORIA AUG/.

Another group of the relevant types shows Sol together with the emperor. The most important type among them is the RESTITUTOR SAECULI. On the Ticinum type Sol is second to the emperor, as the legend refers to the emperor. /In case it concerned Sol, the representation of the emperor would be of no use./ So, the emperor is the main hero of the message on the coin, and Sol gets the role of the divine protector. The SOLI INVICTO COMITI AUG legend helps to characterize their connection.

At last, there is a group, where the illustrations of the legends are various personifications /Concordia in CONCORDIA AUG, or Providentia in PROVIDENTIA DEOR/, and Sol is found

together with them. In these types Sol shows the most influential sides of his divinity, as the deposittee of the concord in the empire, or as the leader of the divine providence.

Sol representations are found in Probus' coinage almost everywhere at any time, however, the types where Sol turns up but as an illustration are not of general character. Smaller mints /Cyzicus, Antiochia, Tripoli/ do not issue such types, hardly does Siscia, as experienced, these mints were ready to propagate Sol. They only used the Sol-image on more important types, such as the "A" and "B" category. The very mints being the least interested in Sol's propaganda /Lugdunum, Ticinum/ produce the highest number of Sol coins coming under "C" category.

	Lug							Tic							Rom							Sis						
4.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14.	M	M	ME'	M	M	ME'	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M			

Key to the signs used: M = Mars E = Mars and the emperor
, = aureus V = Victoriola / in the emperor's hand /

Mars

Type table

A single significant legend carries Mars as illustration: VIRTUS AUG. This legend is one of the most frequent in Probus' coinage, but - as to the versions - it is illustrated with Mars face in every fourth of the coins only. It is important to note that Mars is figuring alone on the representations almost without exception.¹²¹

The distribution of the illustrative Mars representations among the mints, as well as to time, is relatively steady, though the feature seen above, is also demonstrated here. Lugdunum, where MARS VICTOR coins had been produced for 5 years, issued two VIRTUS AUG variants illustrated by Mars image but in the 2nd year.

Iuppiter

Type table

	Sis							Ser			Cyz				Ant		Tri	
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	5	1	2	5	6	1	5	1	5
20.	I	I					VI	I			I				I	V	I	
47.									I									

Key to the signs used: I = Iuppiter and the emperor
V = Iuppiter, Victoria and the emperor

Two legends are illustrated by Iuppiter's face, who always turns up with the emperor. CLEMENTIA TEMPORUM is a legend, not occurring during the reign of the two previous emperors, although it was not minted for the first time under Probus. It can be found under Florianus too. During Probus' rule it is produced in Siscia and all the mints East to it. Its production in Rome and Ticinum is yet uncertain /in any case there might have been but one or two versions/. For the time being, we haven't come across types coming from Lugdunum. It seems from all this, that the minting of the Clementia-coins was rather the work of the Eastern workshops.

On the frequency table /see p. 91/ the coin-circulation of Asia is rather poorly represented. However, on the basis of the data at hand, the Iuppiter types /first of all the CLEMENTIA TEMPORUM/ might have been the most frequent. Proceeding westwards, they get less and less significant. CLEMENTIA TEMPORUM takes the second place in SE-Europe, in Italia it is in the last group and in Gaul and Germania it was not put on the frequency table at all.

This fact is especially interesting, as Iuppiter isn't considered as a specific Eastern deity. Thus, it is unlikely, that the Oriental people could not have found a more individual symbol for expressing their wishful hopes on the occasion of the Dux Orientis being proclaimed their emperor.

Iuppiter got, most likely, onto these coins in accordance with the central political principles.

SHA mentions Probus, as a soldier emperor who endeavoured for establishing good relations with the Senatus.^{121/a} Is it possible, that we may see in these types signs of this political tendency? The Clementia coins indicate the mints the emperor passed by on his way to Rome, after having heard of his being proclaimed. Ticinum also starts to produce the conservator coins of the traditional supreme deity.

Another type with the legend RESTITUTOR ORBIS, produced but in Serdica, is also illustrated with Iuppiter and the emperor's image. As in the case of the previously discussed restitutor type, the emperor is domineering on these too. This is also proved by the fact, that in other types of the same legend Iuppiter is substituted by Victoria, but the emperor remains unchanged.

The chronological table does not call the attention to the beginning of Probus' rule only - as a period, when Iuppiter is figuring as an illustration, as well as conservator - but also to the end of the emperor's rule where the CLEMENTIA TEMPORUM and IOVI CONSER coinage can also be found together.

Hercules

Type table

	Lug	Tic	Ser	Cyz	Ant
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 3 4 5 6 7	1 2 - 5	1 2 - 5 6	1 - 5
4.	H'	H		H'	H'
32.			H'		

Key to the signs used: H = Hercules ' = aureus

Hercules face adorns a type of the VIRTUS AUG legend, touched upon many times. This deity is familiar in Lugdunum and Ticinum. However, he never turns up in the Eastern mints in the three Illyr soldier emperors coinage, except the few

variants to be discussed in the following. These were minted in the 5th year, when Probus lead the campagne against the Isaurici in the East. Obviously, this compliant gesture of the Asian mints is connected with the fact, that the emperor apparently favoured the deity just coming from Gaul.

As many others before, this type had also been issued first in Lugdunum getting via Ticinum to the East.

One of the mythological figures mentioned is Saturnus, shown on a rare type of the TEMPORUM FELICITAS legend. It is a festive coin.

The two types issued with the Lupa Romana and the Gemini are even more interesting. Though being by far no frequent types, they are significant.

The Lupa Romana and the Gemini /R/

Type table

	Sis
	1 2 3 4 5 6 7
34.	R
45.	R

One of the types bears the legend AETERNITAS AUG. It is of special importance, that this representation is minted by the mint of prospering centre, Pannonia, on the coin of the emperor of Pannonian origin. By choosing a typical, very Roman symbol this type emphasizes the continuity between the more and more independent or even powerful role of the provinces and the former splendour of Rome. The emphasis on this continuity was of political significance marking the second appearance of the Illyr generals in the Empire.

The second type is even more interesting from this point of view /ORIGINI AUG/, as the moderately favoured patriotism of

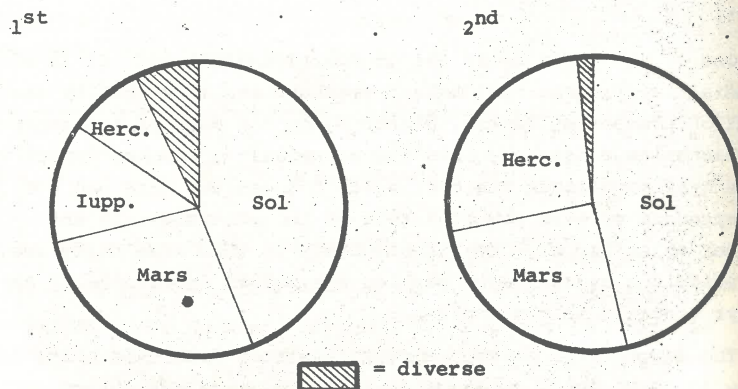
the mint is permitted to be expressed. The type dedicated to the origin of the emperor propagates Pannonia. The images of the Lupa Romana and the Gemini even more emphasize the above mentioned continuity and unity among the different parts of the empire. Both types were coined in the 2nd year, when the output of Siscia was the highest and it was ranked as the leading mint of the empire. The rarity of its symbol is but relative too, as most probably all the six known variants of the two types were produced in the same year.

Golden coins

The frequency of the golden coins cannot be compared to that of the antoninians, so we focus our attention on the distribution of the variants.

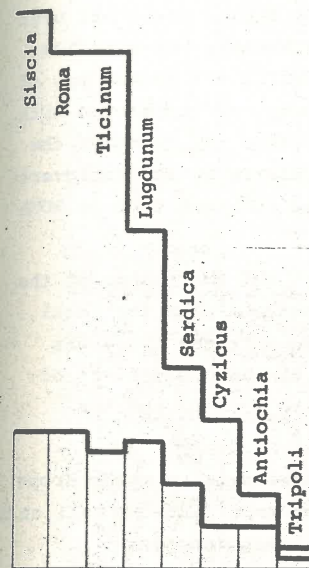
Under Probus all the mints produce aureuses, and all of them produce aureuses with deity representations, except Tripoli. It is remarkable, that the very Ticinum issued relatively the fewest versions. The mint, mainly working for the army, met the relevant demands.

The distribution of the golden coins among the deities is different from the average of the total coinage /see the diagram/.



Sol and Mars figure in the golden coinage with the same proportions as in the total coinage. Iuppiter, having turned up but on a few golden coins already at Aurelianus, is totally neglected at Probus. Hercules, on the other hand, is found on much more golden coins than it would be expected on the basis of its proportion in the total coinage. The question of the Hercules aureuses is all the more interesting, as 80 % of these golden variants come from Siscia, Antiochia and Cyzicus, namely mints not being the main propagators of Hercules. While Ticinum, the most active Hercules-coin minting workshop does not issue golden coins of this deity.

Summary



The types with deity representations played a very important role in Probus propaganda. All the mints produced such coins, actually in 25-30 % of their types in average. Lugdunum issued such types in a greater proportion than that, /37 %/ in this respect getting to the same rank as Siscia, Ticinum and Rome. The Serdica and Antiochia outputs also surpass the above average, however, their total output is so insignificant that they cannot be compared with the Gallian mint.

Lugdunum is one of the steadily producing mints, reaching a high output first after the fall of the Gallian counter-empire under Probus. Its rapid rise itself is a proof of Probus' having supported it. Furthermore,

as observed in many cases so far, it could keep and even spread its traditions in the coin policy of the empire as a whole. The fact, that Lugdunum laid stress on the deity representation types shows, that they represented a certain part of the central propaganda.

Ticinum is the mint issuing the most of the variants. Its propaganda activity is in harmony with Lugdunum, nevertheless, it does not represent such a characteristically original policy. For instance, in the 2nd and 3rd years, when the Siscia output dominated in the whole coin circulation as Aurelianus' heritage, Ticinum is adjusted to the mint of Illyricum as to important aspects /eg. Sol-conservator/.

Rome's coinage is balanced, rather restrained. In the time of Claudius this mint represented the coinage of the empire as a whole, however, Aurelianus had it closed down. All over Probus' reign it was working again, although, but a medium output remained from its past hegemony. It got to the top of the coin production in the 6th year only, in connection with the triumph. These circumstances regulated the types of the deity representations. It is characteristic of its introvert program of generalities, that its most frequent type is ROMA AETERNA.

Siscia's output is also fairly high and the number of the deity representation types is in proportion with its total output. Nevertheless, the significance of these types has decreased by far, it may be regarded as the post-effect of Aurelianus' coinage. The same refers to Serdica and the Eastern mints.

The diversity of Probus' deity representation types drops further, compared to Claudius and even Aurelianus as well, at the same time getting more selected in certain respects. The variants are distributed but among nine deities, in fact, only four of them - Sol, Mars, Iuppiter and Hercules - turn up in cases worth mentioning. Minerva has one important type /the

Lugdunum comes-coins/, however, this remains without any response in the other mints of the empire.

Deity representation coins constitute 23-29 % of the total coinage in the Western part of the empire, this rate is strikingly growing in favour the deity representations towards the East: 45 % in SE-Europe, and even a higher percentage in Asia. This fact is not surprising after the discussion of the Serdica, Cyzicus and Antiochia types.

In the following we summarize the representations of the above mentioned four more significant deities.

Sol

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Lug	AE: AV:	BC -	C C	- -	- -	- -	- -	- -
Tic	AE: AV:	A C -	ABC AB	ABC -	A -	- -	- -	- -
Rom	AE: AV:	- -	AB -	B -	B -	BC -	ABC ABC	C -
Sis	AE: AV:	- -	B BC	AB -	B -	A C -	- -	- -
Ser	AE: AV:	C -	B -			- A C		
Cyz	AE: AV:	- -	B -			B A	B -	
Ant	AE: AV:	- -				- A		
Tri	AE: AV:	- -				- -		

In the horizontal group of the table the output of the different mints, in the vertical group the output of the different years is seen. The letters A, B, C mark the existence of the categories already known. I have

differentiated the antoninianus coinage from the occasional festive coinage, in the majority of the aureuses. /AE and AV/.

The table shows that the production of the Sol-types was started by the Western mints. At that time both Ticinum and Lugdunum carried a Sol propaganda on a high level. In the 2nd year their line was taken over by the rest of the mints too. This was the only year during Probus' reign when all the active mints produced Sol coins. As we know the hegemony of Siscia is characteristic of this year in the coinage. This mint, having prospered under Aurelianus, was the main propagator of the Sol cult. However, in the 3rd and 4th years the intensity of the Sol propaganda gradually dropped. At that time the Ticinum mint discontinued the production of these coins, which marks a shifting in the coinage policy. In the 5th year the Eastern mints started working, however, their occasional propaganda could not make up for Lugdunum and Ticinum, the mints of most permanent output being closed down. In the 6th year only the triumph gave the opportunity for the minting of an occasional festive Sol coinage in Rome.

The fact, that the mints East from Siscia show a preference to the Sol propaganda is well known. Thus, we are not surprised at the vigorous Sol propaganda found here. In spite of the extraordinary output of the last years, the role of the Rome mint need not be overestimated. The activity of the two Western mints-Lugdunum and, even more, Ticinum-is very remarkable. Seemingly, here Sol was not so popular as in the East, nevertheless, comparatively many Sol coins were issued in the first two, respectively, four years. All this shows, that the Sol program relied on the central propaganda policy, completely regardless to any local influence. It gradually lost its significance round the medium period of Probus' reign.

Mars

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Lug	AE: AV:	B -	BC B	B -	B -	B -	B -	- -
Tic	AE: AV:	C -	B -	BC C	BC -	B -	B -	B -
Rom	AE: AV:	C -	C -	C -	- -	- -	B BC	B -
Sis	AE: AV:	- -	C C	C C	- -	BC -	- -	- -
Ser	AE: AV:	- -	- -			- B		
Cyz	AE: AV:	- -	- -			- -	- -	
Ant	AE: AV:	- -				- -		
Tri	AE: AV:	- -				- -		

Looking at the table, it may be observed, that, considering the output of all the mints, the frequency of Mars' representations does not reach that of Sol's. The smaller mints do not produce Mars coins at all. Siscia comes in the fore with such coins only in the years when its total output is also over the average. Rome's production is somehow more steady, however it is far from the output of Ticinum and Lugdunum, where Mars coins were produced all over Probus' reign. It is important to note, that, the majority of these coins come under "B" category, showing, that, the image of Mars was not used only as a simple illustration and his name was included in legends as well.

Consequently, the very mints giving up the Sol propaganda

so rapidly, were the first to propagate Mars. Having taken the former for a change in the central intentions, we should attribute a special significance to the Mars propaganda surviving that of Sol in Probus' policy. Nevertheless, inspite of the growth of its significance, Mars' representations do not turn up on the types of "A" category, namely, no conservator or comes coins are minted with his image.

Iuppiter

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Lug AE:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Tic AE:	A	A	A	-	-	-	-
Rom AE:	B	-	-	-	A	A	A
Sis AE:	C	C	-	-	C	C	-
Ser AE:	-	C			C		
Cyz AE:	C	-			-	-	
Ant AE:	C				C		
Tri AE:	C				-		

Iuppiter is a most widespread representation in the 1st year of Probus' rule. At that time, Ticinum was the most significant mint in the Iuppiter coinage too: here were the Iuppiter-conservators produced. However, this propagandistic tendency is slackening from the 2nd year on. In Ticinum it is discontinued after the 3rd year.

All these do not change fact, that, in the first three years Ticinum - probably the most significant workshop - produced two kind of conservator coins: one Sol and the other Iuppiter, actually devaluating both propaganda lines by this. Aurelianus, as well as Claudius, towards the end of his reign, laid stress on not weakening the value of the conservator-

propaganda. The fact, that the circulation areas of Sol and Iuppiter are, so to say, the same, deepens the contradiction in this propaganda policy. They, however, serve different aims.

Iuppiter turns up on the representations together with the emperor in almost all of its types, while Sol stands alone. We miss the emperor's image probably the most on the Sol-conservator types, as their message directly links the emperor with the deity. In this case the conservatorship is attributed to Sol. This is the height of his carrier. The coins extol him.

Not so the Iuppiter-conservators. In every religion there is a natural and ancient relation between the supreme deity and the ruler, its emphasis does not add to the glory of the supreme deity but to the authority of the emperor. So, this sort of representation, being the most obvious, may turn up anywhere and anytime, its appearance does not necessarily mean a definite religious political program.

Hercules

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Lug AE:	-	-	-	-	-	A	-
AV:		BC				-	
Tic AE:	B	B	B	BC	-	-	-
AV:	-	-	-	-			
Rom AE:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AV:							
Sis AE:	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
AV:			B				
Ser AE:	-	-			-		
AV:					C		
Cyz AE:	-	-			-		
AV:					C		
Ant AE:	-	-			-		
AV:					C		
Tri AE:	-				-		
AV:							

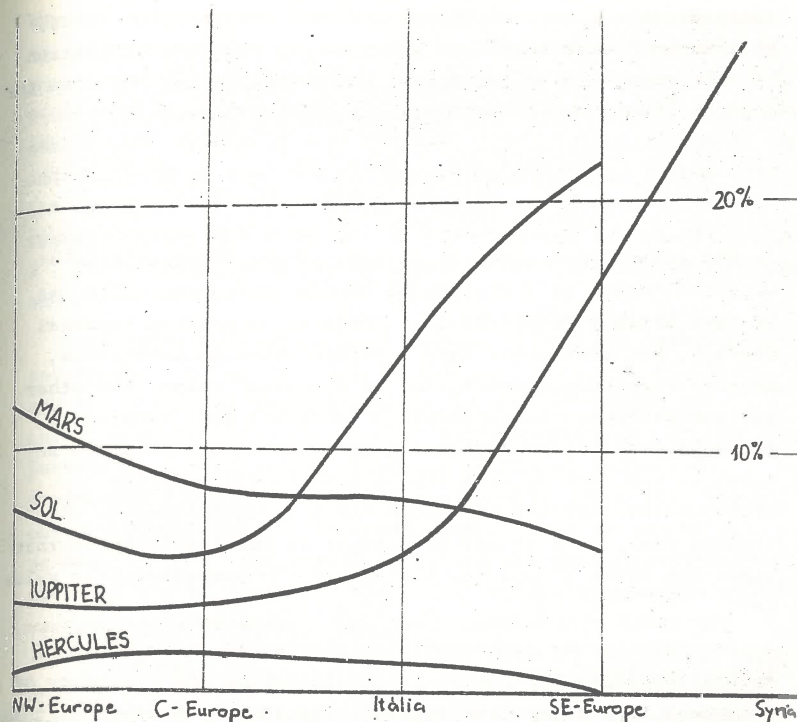
Though Probus' Hercules-program can not be compared with the above programs as to their extent, it has a great significance, being new. To be found in very rare types under Claudius as well as Aurelianus.

Ticinum and Lugdunum are the main propagators of the Probus' Hercules coins. Siscia and the Eastern mints also issue a few variants in gold. Hercules' propaganda starts from the same place as that of Mars, but gets farther than the other. Thus, the Hercules propaganda was a widely scattered, however, very thin layer in Probus' propagandistic coinage. Types of all the three categories may be found in this layer, marking, that every sector of the coinage is open for the representations of the new deity.

Based on this, I suppose, that, Probus had the intention to give prominence to Hercules, and wanted to strengthen its propaganda. In this way, with his Ticinum type /HERCULI PACIFERO/ minted in antoninianus, the divine heros got into the context in which but the most important deity, Mars, was known so far. The Lugdunum Hercules-comes antoninianuses brought him into direct relation with the emperor's personality, who appears on the avers of certain coins in the lion-headed Hercules costume, also used by Commodus,¹²² and there are types where he is seen together with Hercules, in the form of a double-bust.¹²³

Nevertheless, the Hercules coins are relatively rare in Probus' coinage. Seemingly, this program was not a success, respectively Probus - in connection with this deity - failed to exercise a strength similar to that of Aurelianus /see Solcult/. As a matter of fact, at the beginning of the Probus' reign there are several Hercules coins, and by the end of his rule this line of propaganda is nearly dropped. To such an extent, that he is not found on the coin-reverses issued on the occasion of the triumph. Lugdunum produced it for the longest time.

What made Hercules necessary for Probus? What did he want



to mobilize the symbolistic character of this deity for? I think it likely, that the Ticinum and Siscia types show the way to the answer of this question, to which we revert later.

The summarizing diagram shows the regional and quantitative distribution of the four most important deity representations on the basis of the percental data of the frequency-table.

The most important conclusion is that regionally the deity representation-coinage may be divided into two pairs of deity-representations: Mars and Hercules, characteristic of the North-Western part, respectively Sol and Iuppiter, characteristic of the South-Eastern parts of the empire. The border line is between Germania and Italia for Sol, Italia and

South-Eastern Europe for Iuppiter. This distribution shows, that under Probus there was not such a strict centralization in the propaganda of coinage as under Aurelianus, and that the emperor likely supported a genuine coinage in the West.

S U M M A R Y

The deity representation coinage of the Illyr soldier emperors cannot be demonstrated on one convincing table, as we have already realized, that there is no unified imperial coinage, not even under such a strong ruler as Aurelianus, neither over such a short time as Claudius' reign. The other serious problem - in principle - is that a type remains in the coin circulation during the years it is not produced any more, it may turn up less frequently. Accordingly, the propagandistic effect of a coin can't be restricted to the issuing year, as a matter of fact, it is the liveliest at that time. The older a type is, the lesser the propagandistic value is.

Accordingly, the propagandistic program in coinage may be defined more exactly taking in consideration the frequency of a certain type-group, respectively the stages of upswing, than looking at the declining stages, respectively the nadir.

During the period of the Illyr soldier emperors deity representations constitute about one third of the total coinage. At Claudius these types were produced in a smaller, at Aurelianus in a higher quantity than this. At the same time it can be observed, that the types are distributed among fewer and fewer deities from Claudius /22/ through Aurelianus /13/ to Probus /7/. This process, in the course of which the number of the deities on the coins got less and less, made the remaining deities respectively representations more significant.

During the 14 years discussed /268-282/ predominance of Sol

was the most spectacular having been but one of the many deities represented on the coins under Claudius, and even in the first half of Aurelianus reign. While Sol became the main figure in religious political coinage during the 3rd period of Aurelianus' rule /274/. As we know, this was the effect of the introduction of Sol cult on the coin propaganda. Probus did not continue this large scale Sol propaganda with a similar energy. During his rule this program reached its summit in the 2nd year, after the 4th year it was but of occasional character, and disappeared finally.

Iuppiter's carrier is more modest. This deity representation was started as the most frequent one under Claudius, and its frequency reached its top in the 2nd period of Aurelianus. At that time /before Sol's appearance/ the emperor, performing a very active religious political propaganda, propagated Iuppiter with similar vigour as later Sol, though, obviously with smaller financial means. As a matter of fact, he gave it up at the spreading of the Sol cult. Nevertheless, right at the beginning of his reign, Probus propagated it in various types on a very high level, and with a frequency approaching that of Sol. Some times later it got pushed back only to come again to the fore with the decline of the Sol cult, so that it survives the period of the Illyr soldier emperors as a vigorous program.

Besides Iuppiter, Mars was the other frequent deity in Claudius' coinage. Aurelianus seems to have been indifferent to Mars, yet, strangely, he gave an impulse to the Mars propaganda when it was the great period of Sol, except who all the rest of the deities vanish from the coinage. Later this line was supported by Probus. Mars representations were produced maybe the most steadily in Probus' mints, actually with a higher frequency than under his predecessors. Thus Mars' propaganda together with Iuppiter's, survives the fall of the last Illyr soldier emperor as a vigorous program.

Besides the propagation of these three deities there were

other significant initiatives in the religious political coinage /Apollo, Hercules/, but their types are so rare, that these initiatives may hardly be considered as effective programs, only as signs of an intention.

THE EMPEROR CULT

The coinage in connection with the emperor cult also comes in the religious propagandistic field.

The cult of the leading Roman politicians goes back as far as the republican times, everywhere but Italia.¹²⁴ Since Augustus the Roman religion has had some features attributing some kind of superhuman, divine character to the emperor yet in his lifetime.¹²⁵ At that time Augustus politicians /respectively the princeps himself/ carried it out rather carefully and at the same time purposely - just as cautiously as the transition from republic to principatus itself.

However, the emperor cult had an official ecclesiastic body in the provinces, and except those, struck by "damnatio memoriae" all the emperors became "divus" after their death, yet, as to the behaviour of the rulers, in connection with this cult, no similarity is seen.¹²⁶ After Augustus, Tiberius resigned, on the other hand, Nero expected to be worshipped as "neos Helios". Compared to this, Vespasianus, Titus wanted less, while Domitianus was the first who claimed the title "dominus et deus".¹²⁷ Nevertheless, no one followed up this trend among the Antoninuses, rather more among Severuses; the sons of Septimius Severus are mentioned again as new Helioses in a Greek inscription.¹²⁸ It is rather interesting, that Elagabal, whose fanatic sun-worship and the whole of his reign based on it, would make it natural to go even further than his predecessors, remains the "amplissimus sacerdos" of the invincible Sungod. His successors, the soldier emperors are less eager to have their personality put into the focus of cult.

There was no uniform definition as to the deity or deities in whose image, and help the emperor rules the Roman Empire. During Augustus' rule it was the Apollo Actius, under Nero, as we see, it became the Greek Helios. Vespasian promoted the cult of Egyptian deities. Commodus turned up as Hercules. While Elagabal put Sol of Hemesa,¹²⁹ Aurelianus that from Palmyra above the other deities.

All these show, that the Romans and even the Roman emperors were far from having a uniform idea of what the emperor-cult implied. Maybe only the part connected with the army /sacramentum militiae/ was more constant than the rest.¹³⁰ But this is more likely because the military feature is of necessarily more rigid consistency than the cult itself.

The emperor cult in coinage is demonstrated by the fact, that on the reverse of the coin the emperor is the single mortal.

This topic is enlarged in the conception concerning the symbolic way of representing.

The emperor's image is frequently found on the coin reverses, in most cases showing the emperor itself. However, as to my observation, he very frequently turns up in the form of symbols.

I would like to call the attention to the Serdica types of Aurelianus /SOL DOMINUS IMPERI ROMANI etc./¹³¹ coined "as", on which the emperor appears in Sol's figure, as it has already been proved.¹³² We have also found an interesting type in Claudius' coinage with the legend INVICTUS AUG.¹³³ This legend is illustrated with the image of Hercules. These two data lead to the conclusion, that this type shows the invincible emperor in Hercules' shape.

These two examples maybe sufficient for studying the coinage as a whole from this aspect, namely to accept the fact of symbolical emperor representation even at exceptional cases.

This possibility is ruled out in two cases:

1. The legend can't be interpreted in this way, eg.
HERCULI ERYMANTHO, COMES AUG /Hercules/, CONSERVATOR
AUG /Sol/.
2. In case the relevant deity is figuring together with
the emperor on the reverse.

I should extend these cases excluding any doubt, to such deities, whose frequent, well known types come under the two categories mentioned above and can not figure as emperor symbols on other types either as they would undermine the propaganda as a whole.

Exceptional cases may turn up when one of the contradictory types is extraordinary and its frequency and circulation can not compete with its counterpart.

The Sol types represent this well:

In the 3rd period of Aurelianus' coinage Sol is figuring together with the emperor on many types /VIRTUS AUG, ORIENS AUG, SOLI INVICTO/. A type with the legend CONSERVATOR AUG /Sol/ apriory excludes the possibility to become the symbol of the emperor. However, we find Sol in this quality on a large size coin with the legend SOL DOMINUS IMPERI ROMANI, being a lesser denomination /"As"/ having not been legal tender any more or turning up so rarely, that not a simple piece could be found in our hoards. Accordingly, we cannot speak about contradiction in this case.

The instance shown, made it obvious, that Sol was not a customary emperor symbol during the reign of Aurelianus. The same may be told about the two other soldier emperors' coinage. Our criteria exclude also Iuppiter from the deities to be considered.

The Claudius type referred to, above, in connection with

Hercules proves, that this heros was appropriate for becoming the emperor's symbol, although an Antiochia type /CONSERVATOR AUG with the image of Hercules and Minerva/ contradicts this. We do not give details as to the discord in the Claudius coinage in connection with this, as both types are known to be rarities in the coin circulation of the emperor.

The possibility raised remains unchanged as Hercules is shown on four variants of the Aurelianus types with the legend VIRTUS AUG in the 2nd and 3rd periods. Apart from Hercules this legend may be illustrated by a soldier figure, Mars, a tropeum or even the emperor himself. The three coins issued in Serdica over the 3rd period are especially interesting variants.¹³⁴ On two of them we see the emperor together with Sol, on the third we find Hercules beside Sol.¹³⁵ We are justified in saying, that the meaning of the variants of common origin and close in date, is the same, and Hercules figures as the emperor's symbol. This type makes it plausible, that the other three VIRTUS AUG variants bearing Hercules' image are to be interpreted likewise. These types are of no specific significance, being rather rare in Aurelianus' coin circulation.

Probus, who turns to Hercules as propaganda possibility, following such modest preambles deals much more with this deity than his predecessors. There are several Hercules types, we could consider emperor images /eg. VIRTUS AUG/Herc/¹³⁶ known already from Aurelianus/, but the Hercules-comes type, being more frequent and important, might have become senseless in case he had used the popular heros as an emperor-symbol on his coins. Accordingly, I hold it likely, that the Hercules types as emperor-symbols turned up in the periferies of the Probus coinage, but the Western European mints forming the backbone of the Hercules propaganda did not represent this conception.

Let's investigate the Mars representations too. This deity

is also figuring as illustration in the VIRTUS AUG legend type, similarly to Hercules, only more frequently and of general validity over the 12 years period discussed. /See the tables pp. 94, 71, 59./

Likewise, the fact may be of general validity, that, although, as we have seen, Mars is one of the most popular three deities, is not figuring among the conservators, not even with Claudius, where ten different deities come under this category. In this case, we may raise the question in a more serious way, what factor prevented one of the most popular deities to become the emperor's protector in the propaganda in my opinion its reason is that he was figuring as the emperor's symbol in the coinage.

The domineering part of the types /the most frequent being MARS ULTOR, MARS VICTOR, MARTI PACIFERO, VIRTUS AUG/ come under the "B" category, discussed in the previous chapter, in other words, those on which the representations do not serve as a mere illustration of the legend, but form the main theme of the coin themselves. Not a single one may be found among these that would contradict my assumption. One of the interesting types is with the legend MARS INVICTUS. There we see Sol, handing Mars the globus. This scene can not be explained by any means, provided we actually take Mars for a deity, as the relation of protector and protected would be senseless between these deities. The Sol-Hercules type with the legend VIRTUS AUG analyzed above, gives a convincing parallel for being the result of an analogous propaganda idea. The essential difference between them is that, while the latter is known as a rarity, the MARS INVICTUS had been a fairly frequent type in South-East-Europe.

The fact, that Mars was the emperor's symbol, may most likely serve as an explanation for Mars' coins having been produced further on and even in a growing number-compared with the earlier -, in the 3rd period of Aurelianus coinage, when the Sol coins replaced all previous representations. /See the table pp. 76./

These facts are not contradicted by anything in the Claudius and Aurelianus coinage. Let's accept them as a working-hypothesis in connection with the Probus coinage too. In the appropriate chapter I will try to justify this.

In view of the above and based on the experiences obtained in investigating the deity representations in the coin propaganda of the emperor cult, I dealt with the types on which the emperor image or the emperor-symbol may be found, further on the "dii augusti", the "salus augusti", the "genius augusti", and the "conservator comes" groups, as those, which differ from the rest, including the deity coins being in lesser or closer connection with the emperor's personality.

Claudius Gothicus

Type table

	Rom			Med			Sis			Cyz			Ism			Ant				
	?	1	2	3	1	2	3	?	1	2	?	1	2	?	1	2	?	1	2	
1.	E'																			
6.				M		M														
9.				E E'																
10.		E																		
17.		E																		
25.		H																		
33.			M					M												
34.			M					M												
44.		E				M		ME		E'			M							
51.																				E
54.								E												
55.								E												

Key to the signs used: E = emperor H = Hercules
M = Mars ' = aureus

Looking at the table, we may state, that, like in all types discussed so far, the basis of the emperor cult propaganda is undoubtedly Rome. It is rather interesting, that Siscia remained relatively active, while Antiochia kept silent. The latter is all the more striking, as we may recall how active this mint had been in the deity-representation coinage.¹³⁷

The emperor is figuring on relatively few types in the

Claudius coinage, and as to the frequency table these are also rather rare. 9-10 % of the coins in Europe come under this category, most of them /5-6 %/ are emperor-symbols /Mars/. In Asia the number of the emperor coins is hardly estimable /1-2 %/.

Frequency-table

	W-Europe	Illyricum	Minor-Asia
I.	-	-	
II.	- - -	- - - -	- -
III.	- - - -	- -	7 ^S - 44 ^{em} 59 ^A
IV.	- 23 ^G - 34 ^M - 44 ^{em}	- - - 6 ^M 7 ^S - 9 ^E -	- -
V.	2 ^A - 6 ^M 7 ^G 9 ^E - - - - - - - - - - -	23 ^G - - - 34 ^M - - - 44 ^{em} - - - - - -	

Under Claudius we find four further very differing groups which come in the territory of the emperor-cult propaganda, the "conservator", the "salus", the "genius aug" and the "dii-augusti" coins. The latter is of importance in principle only practically it consists of rare types, whose propagandistic value can not be estimated. The types of the other three groups increase by 6,7 % the rate of the emperor cult coins in the European circulation while coming 17,9 % in Western Europe, 14,8 % in South-East Europe. "Genius aug" type, being the most traditional one among those propagating the emperor cult, comes from Augustus' time. This coin-type had been the significant part of the 1st princeps' prudent policy, getting rather indifferent concerning the emperor cult-propaganda under Claudius Gothicus.¹³⁸ The influence of the "conservator"-

and "salus-groups" is felt considerably more in the coin circulation of Asia where it comes up to 12,5 % of the coins.

The proportion of the coins belonging to the emperor-cult in Asia comes up the European level by this /12,5 % : 16,3 %/.

As seen from the frequency rates, the propaganda connected with the emperor-cult divided the mints in the Claudius coinage by the interpretation of the cult, the mode of support. Rome and Siscia propagated the emperor himself /in person or symbol/, Antiochia and the rest of the Eastern mints propagated the deities protecting the emperor, in the first line.

In view of all these, the propaganda of the emperor-cult takes a small place in the Claudius coinage, regionally in average 15 %, actually less than in the propaganda of the deities.

Aurelianus

Type table /see p.118./

More than half of all types in the Aurelianus coinage come under the emperor cult propaganda. The most important of the thirty legends are the following:

VIRTUS AUG - where the emperor's image is most intervened with the emperor's symbol /Mars, Hercules/ in various and fairly many types.¹³⁹

CONCORDIA MILITUM - figures in the most frequent types of Aurelianus, although the emperor's image is not represented on each. The types with the emperor's image /personification or a deity/ are all from the 2nd and 3rd period, seemingly reflecting Aurelianus' own imagination in connection with the propaganda of this type.

IOVI CONSER - we have already discussed this type, as we have hinted at the natural connection between the supreme deity and the emperor in connection with the Probus clementia coins. This

Type table

	Lug			Rom				M-T			Sis			Ser				Cyz			Tri			Ant				Ism						
	2	3		?	1	2	3-4	1	2	3	1	2	3	?	2	3-4	1	2	3	1	2	3	2	3	4	?	2	3-4	2					
1.	MM'																																	
3.				HM'				EM'																										
4.																																		
8.																																		
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61.																																		
63.																																		
64.																																		

Key to the signs used:

M = Mars

H = Hercules

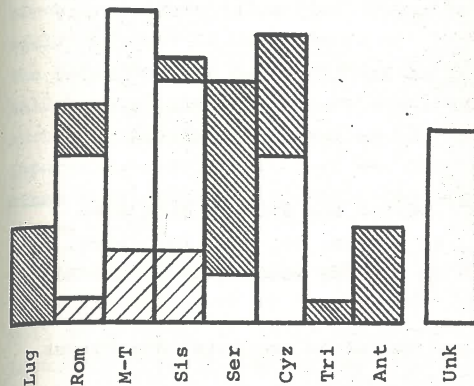
E = the emperor

S = Sol

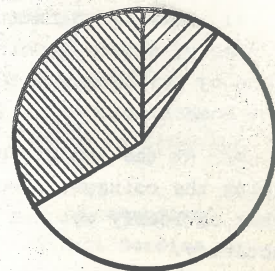
S' = the emperor with Sol

' = aureus

I.



II.



Legend for Figure I:
 [Hatched] = first period
 [White] = second period
 [Diagonal] = third period

will be even more apparent here, when investigating the traces of the emperor-cult.

RESTITUTOR ORIENTIS and RESTITUTOR ORBIS - legends referring themselves to the ruling personality confirmed by the representation too. The adjective "restitutor" is turning up in the Aurelianus coinage several times, thus being not a mere chance. It is also found in the inscriptions of the stones as well. 140

On the following two chronological graphicons I try to show the formation of Aurelianus emperor-cult propaganda, as to the antoninianus types - representing the majority of the coins.

No. I. graphicon columns indicate the output of certain mints. The height of the columns is proportional to the number of the types minted. The different graduations divide the periods.

Three out of the four mints, operating during the 1st period,

produced relevant types: Rome, Siscia and Mediolanum-Ticinum /the latter but very few/.

For understanding the chronological history of the period it is of great importance to recall, all we know about this time:

a/ Rome is operating yet at the beginning of the period - namely, starts to mint its types - however, being closed down by Aurelianus within short, no series are minted from the Rome types.

b/ At the end of the 2nd period the Serdica mint also joins the coinage, however, as we see, but with two types, that obviously can not make up for the suspension of the Rome activity.

Its output had been rather modest in the total Aurelianus coinage.

c/ The unknown mint, of a rather modest output, as to the total Aurelianus coinage, also operated in the 2nd period and - as seen in our table too - its activity equals that of the big mints in propagating the emperor-cult in the 2nd period. Its sudden activity, as well as its quick silence following a fairly active period, shows that it produced on an exactly estimated demand and after the cessation of this demand the mint itself stopped working. Its production, based on the emperor-cult propaganda, demonstrates, that the activity had been of central "inspiration", just like that in Serdica.

The relevant literature deals less with the local character of this mint, than with that of Claudius. I would risk the assumption, that this mint was opened on the direct instruction of Aurelianus, as a consequence of closing down the Rome mint /maybe to make up for the Rome output/. In view of the renewed production in Rome and the activity of Serdica, the unknown mint got superfluous in the 3rd period. Its temporary character had most likely defined the tools and installation, in consequence of which I do not consider its

place to be a problem of great importance. Its activity was not necessarily based on traditions, neither did it establish a new coinage centre. In case it had an individual style - that might be stated by an investigation of style criticism - this would not lead to the understanding of the true character of the mint, but point to the origin of the engravers only. The hall-mark of the mint - a delphin - shows, that the minting authority did neither consider the site of the workshop important, namely, where it was operating, differing from the other Aurelianus mints, where the letter picture is figuring on the coins.

In the 3rd period the role of the formerly outstanding mints is taken over by the new ones, first of all Serdica as well as a series of newly opened mints: Rome, Antiochia, Lugdunum, Tripoli. Out of the old ones only Cyzicus produces emperor-cult types with similar activity to those of the new ones. All these, most likely, further strengthened the emperor's influence on the coinage, consequently on the propaganda of the coinage.

On graphicon No. II. we summarize the chronological distribution data broken up concerning the mints figuring on the 1st table.

This shows, that in the 1st period of coinage Aurelianus laid just as little stress on the emperor-cult propaganda as the deity representation at the same time. This hesitating indifference, demonstrated on the coins produced at that time, so to say, reminds us of Claudius.

In the 2nd period the emperor-cult appears in the religious political propaganda. In the history of the types of Aurelianus' deity representations the 2nd period was not such an outstanding stage as the 3rd one. However, it had a fairly essential, and characteristic feature, namely, the spreading of the IOVI CONSER type, a type we are discussing in this chapter, owing to its close connection with the emperor cult.

On the type with the legend IOVI CONSER the emperor is also

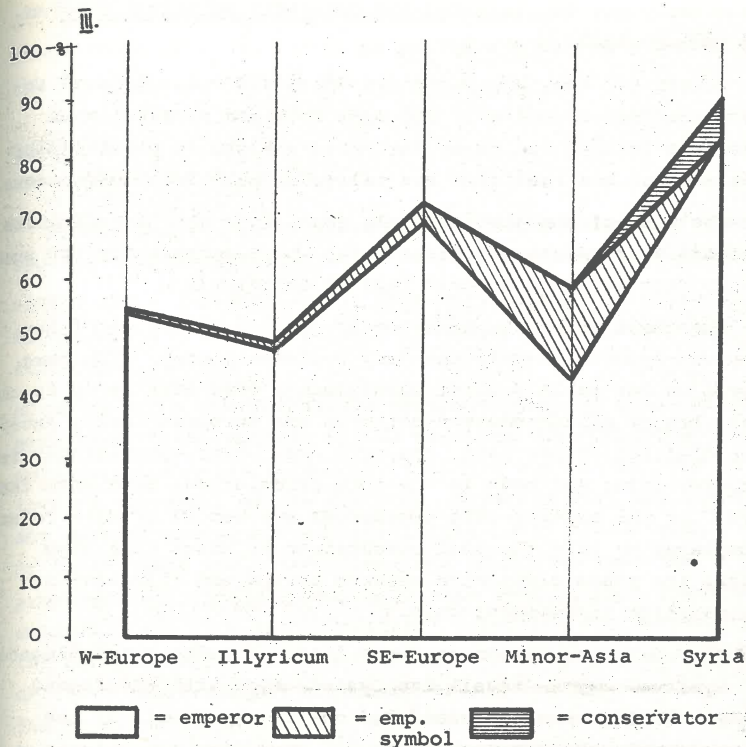
represented with Iuppiter, and, as we have already hinted at, he was the main representation on this type.¹⁴¹ Parallel to the appearance of the IOVI CONSER, the number of the types connected with the emperor-cult rises suddenly. /See the table 118./

Based on all these, I believe, that the 2nd period in the Aurelianus coinage represents the start and first stage of a large scale religious political program - preceeding the Sol cult - the strengthening of the emperor-cult. In this period the leading type of the emperor-cult propaganda is the IOVI CONSER /Iuppiter plus the emperor/ making up 13,5 % of the total Aurelianus coins and 1/3rd of the emperor coins in the 2nd period.

Frequency table

	W-Europe	Illyricum	SE-Europe	Minor-Asia	Syria
I.	- -	-	- - 38 ^E	- 38 ^E	38 ^E
II.	14 ^E 9 ^E	9 ^e	14 ^E 9 ^e	58 ^M	
III.	- 38 ^E	- 14 ^E	4 ^e		-
IV.	1 ^E - - 17 ^E 19 ^E 22 ^E 46 ^E	1 ^E - 8 ^E - - 13 ^E 16 ^e 17 ^E 19 ^E	17 ^E 58 ^M	9 ^E - 57 ^M	9 ^E 48 ^A
V.	- 13 ^E - - 32 ^e - - - 58 ^M 8 ^E	- 22 ^E - 32 ^e - 34 ^M 38 ^E - - 46 ^E - -	1 ^E - - 13 ^E 16 ^e 19 ^E 22 ^E - 46 ^E 32 ^e 57 ^M		

In the 3rd period the main theme is the Sol cult, but it does not hinder the advance of the emperor-cult propaganda. The two religious political programs are intervened and according to the new cult Sol becomes the emperor's patron instead of Iuppiter. The classic supreme deity gets into the Aurelianus coinage casually through the emperor-cult and disappears from there when Sol takes the place as conservator.



The graphicon No. III. on the structure of the emperor-cult propaganda and its size in the different parts of the empire was elaborated on the basis of the frequency table. The structure of the graphicon differs from the previously applied, so far, that the lines placed above one another can not be evaluated alone, independent from the rest, but show layers built on one another.

The emperor-cult propaganda is based on the emperor representations. The greatest deviation from the 60 % average is seen in the coin circulation of Syria, the structure of which was obviously determined by the output of Antiochia. This mint started only after the defeat of Palmyra in the 3rd period, so

we clearly get in its coins the religious political program of the period.

Relatively many emperor coins are found round Serdica in South-Eastern-Europe too. The mint reopened by Aurelianus became a leading one among the Realm's mints in popularizing the emperor and realizing his religious political conceptions.

In the rest of the districts the density of the emperor-coins remains average, except Minor Asia, where exceedingly few such coins circulated. How could this be explained?

Our question may be answered by the investigation of the emperor-symbols, namely the Mars representations. /The next level on our table./ These coins form a very thin layer in the vast amount of the emperor-coins in the European hoard, except one district, Minor Asia, the very area where surprisingly few emperor-coins had been in the coin circulation. Here more than 1/4th of the emperor-cult propaganda was served by Mars coins. Completed by this the coin circulation in Minor Asia also takes its place along with Western Europe and Illyricum in propagating the emperor-cult.

The coin circulation in Minor Asia was under the influence of Cyzicus. May we recall the Cyzicus type with the legend MARS INVICTUS that we considered one of the proofs of the symbolic emperor-representation.¹⁴² Thus, the investigation of the frequency rates has led us to the same result as that of the types. The level of the emperor-cult propaganda in Minor Asia was not inferior to the average, but made use of the symbolical representation to a larger extent. In case we questioned the connection between this considerable quantity of Mars coins and the emperor-cult, the political line of this area would remain obscure.

On the IOVI CONSER type, the most important of the conservator types closely linked with the emperor-cult, the image of the emperor may be found, so it is already inserted in the graphicon, while the type CONSERVATOR AUG /Sol/ of the

3rd period is not shown in the graphicon. This type was rather frequent in Asia and the coins contribute to the strength of the emperor-cult in this area.

Probus

Type table /see pp. 126-127./

Probus had 27 legend types minted in the coinage of the emperor-representations. The most frequent are the following:

VIRTUS AUG - the most widely spread types bear this legend. Hercules and Mars, symbolizing the emperor, are seen on different reverses.¹⁴³

ADVENTUS AUG - fewer than the virtus-coins, but considerably more than in the coinage of the previous emperors. The original commemorative message, namely, that the emperor arrived to the town of the mint, or its district, actually does not convey any special propaganda possibilities. Under Probus such a lot of these coins are minted, that one cannot exclude the propagandistic interpretation of this type either. I would not connect these with the Christians' expecting the arrival of the Messiah only,¹⁴⁴ as in this syncretistic critical period of faith they were not alone in waiting for the Saviour.¹⁴⁵ The emperors of this period want to emphasize just through their coinage propaganda, that they rebuild the empire as a whole,¹⁴⁶ promising eternal peace, they proclaim, this is the reign to bring a new happy age.¹⁴⁷ That's why, I consider the active "adventus"-production, serving the propaganda of the emperor-cult as a new element, comprising, so to say, the total coinage /from the 2nd to the 7th year/.

CONCORDIA MILIT - like during Aurelianus, this coinage has also legend types where the imperial image is not included.

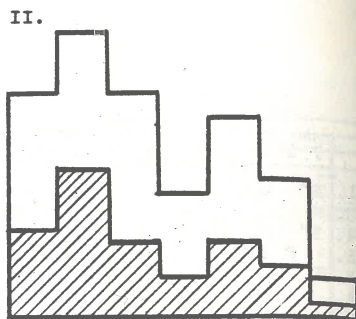
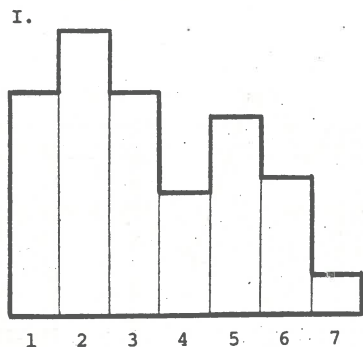
MARTI PACIFERO - a type much more important in the Probus coinage than in that of Aurelianus. The proof of the Mars emperor symbol will be dealt with later on.

Type table

	Lug							Tic							Rom							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
1.	•	EE'								EE'						E	E	E	E	EE'	E	E
3.										E										E'		
4.	EM	E'H'E	E	E	E	E'		EM	E	MEE'	MEH					M	EM	M			MEE'	
5.								E	E	E												
8.	M							M	M	M	M	M	M	M								M
14.															E'						E'	
15.								E	E	E												
16.								E														
17.								E	EE'						E							
18.										E	E				E						E'	
20.																						
24.								E														
30.										E												
32.																						
33.	E'															EE'					E	
34.	E'																					
37.																					E'	
47.																					E'	
49.																						
51.																						
55.															E						E'	
56.																					MM'	
61.																					E'	
62.																					E'	
64.	MM'	M	M	M	M																	
65.							E'															
75.																						
Salus augusti																						
13.							s							s							s	s

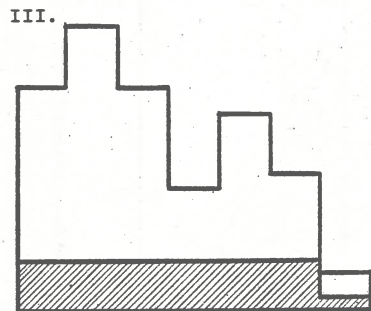
Key to the signs used: E = the emperor s = the personification of "Salus"
 M = Mars ' = aureus
 H = Hercules

	Sis							Ser					Cyz						Tri		Ant			
	?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	-	5	?	1	2	-	5	6	1	-	5	1	-	5
1.	E'	E	EE'						E					E	E'									
3.																								
4.	E'	MEE'	ME	E	ME				E	E'							EE'	H'E				H'		
5.		EE	E	EE										E	E									
8.													M											
14.																								
15.																								
16.																								
17.																								
18.	E'	E'																						
20.		EE				E	E		E					E							E	E	E	
24.																	E'							
30.																								
32.																								
33.																								
34.										E		E'											E'	
37.	E'																							
47.													E	E	E	E	E	E					E	
49.		E'	E'																					
51.		E																						
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56.																								
61.																								
62.																								
64.																								
65.																								
75.																							E	
Salus augusti																								
13.									s	ss'	s												s/?/	



 = emperor-symbol

 = Sol cult types



CLEMENTIA TEMPORUM - we have already referred to this important legend. Its most important types are illustrated by the images of Iuppiter and the emperor.

For our chronological investigation we consider the antoninianuses only this time too, as the aureus and medaillon production is of festive character. The rarity of these would only distort our result.

If based on our type-table we count the yearly output of types including emperor-representations, we get a descending curve - in view of the basic tendency - with an outstanding production in the 2nd and 5th years. The output of the 1st year covers nearly 60 % of the total, 38 % that of the 4-6th years and about 3 % of the emperor types were produced in the last months of his reign /table I./

The fluctuation of the emperor representation types during the reign of Probus strongly reminds us of the chronological history of the Sol types /table II./. To compare the two groups better, I drew the two curves along each other. Obviously, they show the same picture.

Let's investigate now, how the two components of the emperor representations contribute to the formation of this curve. On the following table I marked the curve representing the emperor-symbols, next the curve standing for both kinds of emperor-representations. /Table III./ As it is seen, they are entirely straight, except in the 7th year, when there is a drop, being explained by the incompleteness of this year of Probus reign.

Our experiences show that the emperor-representations were the most frequent in the Probus coinage over the first three years. The glorious period of Siscia was in the 2nd year, being of outstanding importance. During the 2nd half of the emperor's reign the production of this coin group is diminished, but the 5th year is again outstanding, which was - as known - the grand period of the Eastern mints. The characteristic curves, as well as the declining tendency of the emperor-representation chronology are given by the emperor images. The emperor-symbols - playing a bigger role here than in the Aurelianus coinage - are distributed evenly all over the period of 6 and a half years.

Let's extend our investigation of emperor representations to that of the emperor cult propaganda:

Probus inherited from Aurelianus the emperor-cult as a religious political program. This is spectacularly proved by the chronological similarity of this group with that of the Sol-coins. The inherited program has not remained unaffected by Probus' own ideas either:

A/ he increased the proportion of the emperor images within the emperor representations,

B/ reinstalled the Salus Aug-group into the coinage,

C/ the coins without the emperor image surpassed the rest of the conservator-comes types,¹⁴⁸

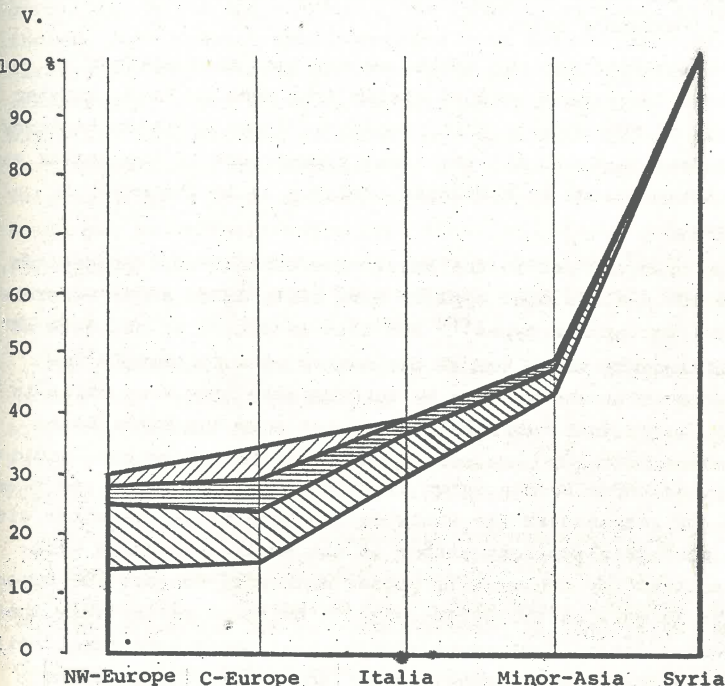
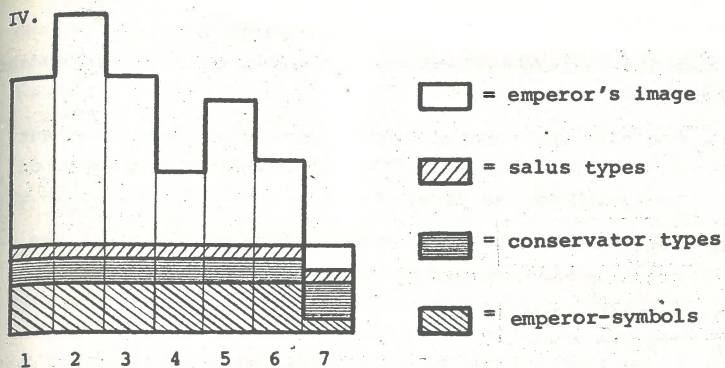
D/ Probus introduced the comes group into the emperor-cult coinage.

The types realizing the independent Probus emperor-cult are all alike in the very fact, being steadily distributed over the whole period of his reign /table IV./ they do not follow the fluctuation and the decay of the emperor image types. What rate this more independent coinage takes in the total Probus emperor-cult propoganda is shown in the frequency table data as to the regions where the hoards were found /table V./.

Frequency-table

	NW-Europe	C-Europe	Italia	SE-Europe	Syria
I.	-	-	-	-	20 ^E
II.	1 ^E - -	-	1 ^E 4 ^{em}	4 ^{EM} 20 ^E	47 ^E
III.	64 ^M	1 ^E 4 ^{em} 5 ^e	5 ^e	1 ^E 5 ^E	-
IV.	- 4 ^{em} 5 ^e	- 8 ^M -	-	-	-
V.	- 8 ^M -	15 ^E - -	- - 15 ^E	-	-
VI.	13 ^S - 15 ^E	64 ^M 70 ^A -	8 ^M -	-	-
VII.	70 ^A -	3 ^e - -	- 19 ^A -	- 15 ^E 19 ^A	-
VIII.	-	-	- 47 ^E	-	-
IX.	-	-	- 20 ^E -	-	-

The bulk of the emperor images has not been spread at an equal rate in the money circulation of the whole empire. The curve indicating the frequency shows a steep rise advancing from the West to the East. In Gallia^a about 14 % of the coins



show the emperor's image, while in South-Eastern-Europe it comes up to 43 %.

Following the emperor images, let's see now the independent Probus types:

- A/ the Mars-emperor-representations are the most frequent in NW- and C-Europe, while getting fewer and fewer on advancing to the East;
- B/ the types without the emperor image coming under the conservator-comes group are the most frequent in C-Europe getting less and less frequent advancing towards East;
- C/ the SALUS AUG type coins can be found in NW- and C-Europe only.

Having built up our table, we may see, that against an emperor image mass, steeply rising from West to East, another sector of the emperor-cult propaganda shows a rising tendency from East to West. All the three type-groups of the sector may be characterized by a reverse tendency as to the emperor images.

We observed yet in the Aurelianus emperor-cult propaganda, that the Cyzicus mint applied Mars deity image as an emperor-symbol on certain types¹⁴⁹ and this is proved by the data of the frequency table too, as the number of surprisingly few emperor coins was made up by surprisingly many Mars coins in Minor Asia. Most regretably, we do not have any Minor Asian hoards from the Probus period, but a similar phenomenon could be observed under Probus reign in Western Europe, where the fewest emperor images over the whole empire were issued together with the most Mars representations in the empire and these were "completed" by the equally higher number of conservator comes coins, as well as the salus-coins to be found exclusively there. The products of this novel emperor cult propaganda numerically surpass the emperor-images in NW- and C-Europe, while the highest quantity comes up in the 2nd half of Probus reign.

Summary: Probus adapted from Aurelianus religious policy the emperor-cult program, and 40 % of his coins served his propaganda. /Here we disregard the extreme Syrian data, adding these it would come up to 50 %! This propaganda included basically two components:

a/ direct emperor-cult: namely the highest possible number of the emperor-images in the coinage as a whole,

b/ the indirect propaganda: the propaganda of the emperor-symbols, salus, the protector deities as well as his immortal comeses. Probus got the direct system right from his predecessor and did not lay much stress on it. The production of these types follow the rhythm of the extreme output in the occasional mints under Probus. The indirect systems, however, include partly novel types compared with those under Aurelianus and contains certain types existing under the predecessor, which got more emphasized in the Probus coinage. The production of the latter, though of lower volumen, had been steady, over the emperor's 6 and a half years of reign. This novel type of propaganda mainly relied on Ticinum and Lugdunum, accordingly influenced first of all the money circulation of Western Europe, where it continued and completed the rather poor local direct emperor-cult propaganda, chiefly in the 2nd half of Probus rule.

The inherited, as well as newly formed types resulted in an emperor-cult propaganda of 30 % increasing in tendency to 50 % advancing towards East, the less direct form existing in Western Europe was more characteristic for the independent religious political intentions of Probus.

Although, I have not dealt with the averses in my study, I should like to refer to some observations concerning these in connection with this part:

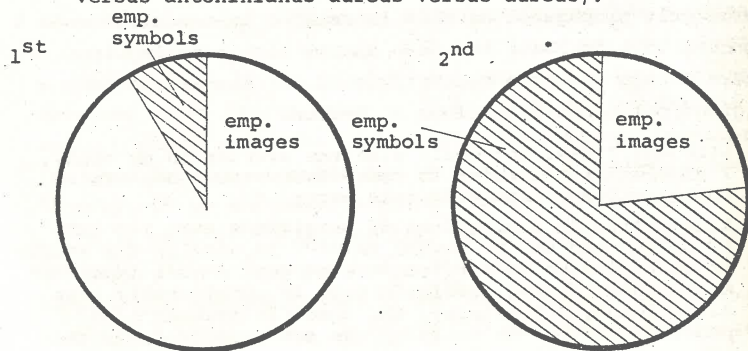
Characteristic innovations of Aurelianus were the DEO ET DOMINO and DEO ET DOMINO NATO¹⁵⁰ legends in the averses of coins minted in Serdica, the emperor's most important mint. Under Probus Serdica's role is considerably less significant, accordingly, the specific averses also produced during the reign of the new emperor, over the

first few years in relatively high number, are also of lesser importance. Significant are however, the specific averses turning up for the first time under Probus: PERPETUO IMP C PROBO INVICT AUG or BONO IMP C PROBO P F INVICT AUG.¹⁵¹ These averses are no innovations in the Aurelianus' spirit as they do not refer to a single deity, but to the benevolent emperor. The "perpetuitas" is also more of a wish, for the long life, respectively reign of an excellent emperor, /having a serious meaning in that period!/, connecting this with a deity would be entirely meaningless.

These legends are, however, the specialities of Serdica, against the equally for the first time produced VIRTUS PROBI AUG legend /in the averses!/ having been also issued in Lugdunum, Rome, Ticinum, Siscia, Serdica and Cyzicus. The meaning of these legends is analogous to those of BONO IMP C PROBO AUG types and its wide-ranging spread is parallel to the number of the coins with "virtus" on the reverses. These give 8 % of the total coinage.

Gold coins Gold coins belonging to the emperor cult offer a right opportunity for comparing the emperors' coinage in this field too. We deal with Aurelianus and Probus only out of the three emperors, for Claudius disposed of such few gold coins that these can not be estimated as proper means for propaganda.

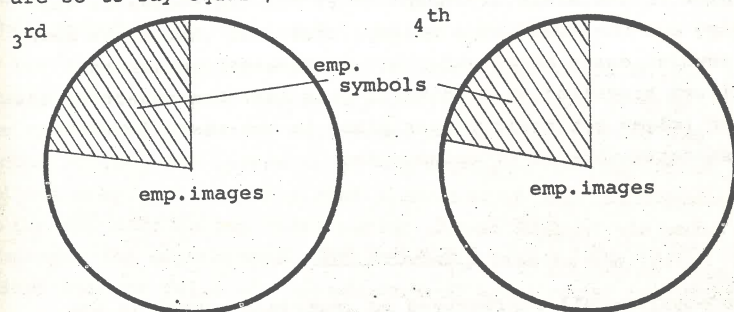
We can not compare the frequency of gold coins to that of the antoninianuses, they are not found in the hoards either. Accordingly, we have to turn to the variants known, and can make a quantitative comparison within the same kind of denominations only /namely antoninianus versus antoninianus aureus versus aureus/.



Our 1st table shows the proportions of the emperor-images and emperor symbols within Aurelianus antoninianuses /based on the frequency of the coins/. The 2nd table represents the same within the aureuses /based on the frequency of the versions/.

The 3rd table shows the proportions of the emperor-images and the emperor-symbols within Probus antoninianuses, while table 4. demonstrates the distribution among the aureus variants.

The whole analysis has proved so far that Aurelianus devoted a wide field for the emperor-cult in his propaganda, even more, that this had been the direct form of the emperor cult. Accordingly, it is rather striking to find a reverse situation in gold minting; emperor-symbols are minted on the majority of the gold coins /table 2./. On the other hand, Probus, supporting the overt form of the emperor-cult, devoted considerably more aureuses to the emperor-cult. Thus, the internal proportions of the antoninianus and aureus-production are so to say equal /table 3. and 4./.



Accordingly, the gold coin propaganda thus basically differs from that of the total coinage in this case.

At Aurelianus, it shows, just the contrary of that we might expect. The radicalism, characterizing the Aurelianus propaganda all along, is not to be found in that of the gold coins. This is proved by the fact, that the most important Aurelianus mint, Serdica, does not produce any gold coins. Although, the emperor has a lot of gold coins minted, he does not utilize them in the

emperor cult, but we may presume to have them used for disguising this.

Yet, at the introduction of the Sol-conservator coinage, the possibility arose, that the mixed types were the results of the cautious propaganda policy.¹⁵² I see a similar tendency in the fact, that Aurelianus propagated his, perhaps most important religious political deed, the resumption of the most open form of emperor-cult on his representative gold-coins, to a more modest extent than the average, and had his own image appear on altogether five // variants.

Probus coins do not show such a striking contradiction, as his policy was not that active, as that of his predecessor. His propaganda might have been less outspoken, more cautious. His innovations remain but initiatives and do not influence fundamentally the coin propaganda as a whole. He is no innovator in the field of emperor-cult but the successor for carrying out the Aurelianus policy. Thus, all that might have been revolutionary novel under his predecessor, became the sanctified tradition of a "divus", with him. Consequently, the emperor images get their proper place in the most representative branch of coinage too.

S U M M A R Y

The emperor-cult represented an important sector in the religious policy of Illyr soldier emperors. The emperor-cult propaganda was carried in the coinage in direct and indirect ways. The direct system, the application of the emperor's image on the reverse types alone, or in the company of a deity, respectively personifications. One of the indirect systems is the propaganda of salus, the emperor's protector, while the other is the symbolic emperor representation.

As to the latter, we come to the conclusion, that the Illyr soldier emperors made exceptional use of the Sol and Hercules

images in their emperor representations, while Mars had been the single general emperor symbol over the whole period of 12 years discussed. I made this assertion plausible in anticipation, by analyzing certain types. In the course of a more detailed discussion on the emperor-cult propaganda I may support my statement with a more general evidence: the Mars representations get accumulated so under Aurelianus as under Probus, wherever the emperor images are relatively few, and, so to say, complete their number to the level expected in the coin circulation /on the basis of other regions' coin circulation/.

In the propaganda of the first Illyr soldier emperor the emperor-cult represents a very small share /15 %/, and even this, in a rather indirect form. It is rather interesting to note the reservation demonstrated against this sort of propaganda program to be felt in the Eastern coin circulation. /This period is the highlight in Palmyra's power./

The first period of the Aurelianus coinage keeps to the tradition of the predecessor emperor, but the new program was introduced in a very active and radical way during the second period. The intensity of the emperor-cult propaganda did not drop, got only modified according to the requirement of the Sol cult in the third period. About 60 % of the coins propagate the emperor-cult most actively just in the East /after Palmyra fell/. In consequence of Aurelianus' energetic policy an extremely centralized Rome coinage was brought about, that supported the religious political ideas of the emperor rather effectively.

Following these preambles Probus took over the emperor-cult propaganda which he modified and continued in a less direct form. 40 % of his coins in Europe come under this category. They might have been a higher percentage in the East. His ideas, differing from the Aurelianus policy were best followed in the production by the Western mints, illustrated by the structure of the Western-European coin circulation.

The formation of the gold-coinage from Aurelianus to Probus illustrates the consolidation of the emperor-cult propaganda and a right example, that while the antoninianus propaganda being a mass-propaganda, that of the aureus aimed at influencing a layer of rather differing political demands.

GOLDEN AGE PROPAGANDA

We have already mentioned in the previous chapter in connection with the type bearing the legend ADVENTUS AUG, that this topic might have been part of the religious political propaganda. The Christian or pagan /belonging to any other sincretistic kind of religion/ way of interpretation about the Advent of the Saviour emerged in connection with the same coin type.

The seed, which in the following proved to be suitable to infiltrate in the Christian ideology strengthening its ancestral feature,¹⁵³ appeared very early in the Roman or even the Greek mentality and literature. The emperor cult is connected with the Golden Age and Redemption concept as early as under Augustus in the IV. Ecloga by Vergilius; and it runs through the age of principatus as the more open or more concealed deification of the emperor.

Nevertheless, the slogans "aureum saeculum" or "pax aeterna" are not to be discussed under the theme of the emperor cult. The two cults are but related as the ideological outputs of a long crucial period, going on through continuous restorations in the slave society. Their extremely different nature is most strikingly shown in the fact, that the ideology of the Roman emperor cult was planned and challenged by the highest layers of the ruling class¹⁵⁴ understanding well the demands and possibilities of the historical situation. On the other hand, the expectation of the Advent of the Saviour and the peace-cult connected with the Golden Age myth was a widely and spontaneously formed ideological substratum¹⁵⁵ of which the

emperor cult made the best use.

Besides the testimony of the ADVENTUS AUG coins, the relevant chapters of the Probus-vita in the SHA induce me to examine this theme more closely. SHA also calls for a revision in this respect, all the more, as its possible date of origin coincides with the birth of Claudianus Panegyricus to Stilicho.¹⁵⁶ This poem predicts the Advent of the Golden Age to mark the election to consul of the general of vandal origin. The coincidence need not be understood so strictly, that the two sources would serve as reference for each other, since the same historical situation could have revived the ancient ideological motif. Under these circumstances the question is, to what extent the author of the SHA did rely on real data, when putting down the chapters quoting the Golden Age myth in Probus' biography. Had the idea, seemingly vivid in the author's time, a realistic contemporary core in the days of Probus' rule hundred years before? In case it had, was it really characteristic but of this emperor, or else general in the period of the Illyr soldier emperors?

For the sake of the possible answer of these questions we examine the coinage from this point of view too. The subjects of our investigations comprise all coin versions referring to saeculum /or tempus/, and those being connected with peace. These two groups, however, must be separated, inspite of their obviously close connection.

The "Pax" propaganda itself is not necessarily a religious political one, but the symptom of an anarchistic historical period. Its most frequent type, with the legend PAX AUG does not express more than, that the emperor will grant peace after the victory. This peace propaganda exceeds the boundaries of historical reality but on the very rare types /eg. PACI PERPETVAE AUG, UBIQUE PAX, or PAX AETERNA/¹⁵⁷ and thus, advertising eternal and total peace enters the Golden Age cult, the world of beliefs, being its organic part. By that time, it is closely linked to the types of the "Saeculum-group", namely

it turns into a religious political propaganda.

Claudius Gothicus

Type-table

	Lug				Med			Sis			Cyz			Key to the signs used:
	?	1	2	3	1	2	3	?	1	2	3	1	2	
6.				MM'			M							
37.		X	X		X	X			X	X				
46.					X			X						
53.									X			X		
58.								X				X		
20.	F				F			F	F	F	F	F	F	
52.								F						

M = Mars
 X = Pax
 F = Felicitas
 ' = aureus
 "Pax" /6-58/
 "Saeculum" /20,52/

The types of the "Pax-group" are illustrated in most cases by the personification of peace, and the types of the "Saeculum-group" are mainly illustrated by that of felicity. Besides these, but Mars' images are represented on the coins of this group /MARTI PACIFERO/. The chronological distribution of the types may be said to be permanent.

Its rather striking, that Rome is far below its regular production level, and Antiochia, the leading mint of Asia, does not even produce these types. All the livelier becomes Siscia's production-having been of average output as seen earlier. This fact is also supported by the data in the frequency table.

Frequency-table

	W-Europe				Illyricum				Minor-Asia				
I.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
II.	-	-	-	-	-	-	37 ^P	-	-	-	-	-	-
III.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IV.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6 ^P	-	-	-	-	-
V.	37 ^P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	6 ^P	-	-	-	20 ^S	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	20 ^S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

In Illyricum 9 % of the coins represent Golden Age- and peace-propaganda, while there are but 5 % of these in W-Europe, and the Asian hoards do not contain any such coins.

All these frequency data refer to three types only /MARTI PACIFERO, PAX AUG, FELICIT TEMPOR/,¹⁵⁸ the rest of the types are rarities. It is to be noted, that Rome produces but the most frequent types, Mediolanum and Cyzicus each add one more unique type, while Siscia complements the list by four // types. All these have their roots in the fact, that within a certain propaganda program uniques turn up, so to say, as supplement to the leading types, at places where the output of the latter is on a fairly high level as well.

Pax-propaganda is more intense everywhere, than that of the Golden Age, somewhat more than three fourth of the whole, showing that the total rather weak program followed the actual policy hardly bordering the religious political domain.

Aurelianus

Type-table

	Lug			Rom			M-T			Sis			Ser		Cyz			Unk	Key to the signs used:
	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	2	3	1	2	3	2			
11.		X	X					X									X	"Pax"	
26.								E											
34.		M			M	M				M									
44.					X														
64.	SE'																	"Saeculum"	
15.								E ⁿ											
51.												F							
54.												E							

X = Pax
 S = Sol
 ' = aureus
 Eⁿ = the emperor and an indefinite woman figure
 M = Mars
 F = Felicitas
 E = the emperor

Besides the representations known in Claudius coinage, here the emperor's image and even that of Sol, turn up several times on the different types.

Frequency-table

	W-Europe	Illyricum	SE-Europe	Minor-Asia	Syria
I.	- -	-	- - -	- -	-
II.	-		-	-	
III.	- -	- - -			-
IV.	- - - - - -	- - - 11 ^P - -	- - -	- - - -	-
V.	- - - 11 ^P - - - - - - - -	- - - - - - - - - - - -	- - - - - - 34 ^P - - - - -		

Aurelianus' Golden Age- and Pax-propaganda is even poorer than that of his predecessor. The frequency of the relevant coins can be estimated exclusively in Illyricum /5 %/. The proportion of the "Pax-group" to the "Saeculum-group" is the same as under Claudius /3/4 - 1/4/. The table of the types also shows, that this program existed in Aurelianus coinage as tradition, accepted but temporality. In the 3rd period but one mint, Lugdunum, produces these coins, and even those are illustrated by the emperor's or Sol's image only.

Provided we said of Claudius' coinage, that the Golden Age- and Pax-propaganda was less significant in the religious policy, than the Aurelianus' coinage, we may state, that this emperor ignored the above propaganda, in fact, he obviously oppressed it. We may suppose the active resistance of the emperor against this program, as we know his extremely resolute and radical religious politics in other respects. Only this kind of a ruler could take the liberty to neglect Pax-propaganda to such an extent, whose strategic and political actions were both offensive and successful all over his reign.

Probus

Type-table /see pp. 144-145./

In Probus' coinage, following Aurelianus, the Golden Age - Pax propaganda coins turn up in an unexpected number.

The Pax-group types are produced in the four biggest mints. In view of the table, it is apparent, that the production in Lugdunum, Rome and Siscia was rather of an occasional character, contrary to that in Ticinum where series had been produced stretching over 4-6 years. As a matter of fact, the whole program relied on this mint, one could say, the whole propaganda policy of the mint, first of all served the Golden Age - Pax propaganda /see frequency table/.

Frequency table

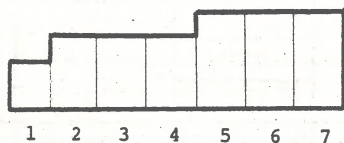
	NW-Europe	C-Europe	Italy	SE-Europe	Syria
I.	2 ^S	11 ^P	- -	-	20 ^S
II.	- 11 ^P -	2 ^S	-	- 20 ^S	-
III.	-	- - -	- -	- - 11 ^P	
IV.	- - -	- 8 ^P -	-	- -	
V.	- 8 ^P -	- - -	- 11 ^P -		
VI.	- 31 ^S -	- - -	8 ^P -		
VII.	- -	- - -	- - 31 ^S	- - -	
VIII.		- .	- -	-	
IX.			2 ^S 20 ^S - - 29 ^P		

This explains, why the Pax propaganda shows such a balanced gradual development, seen in the chronological diagram of the types too.

Type table

	Lug							Tic							Rom									
	?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8.		M								M	M	M	M	M	M									M
11.							X	X			X	X	X	X			X							
29.									H	H	H	H												
37.																						E'		
54.																						VV'		
65.						E'																		
66.						X'																		
2.	F'	F	F	F	F	F	F	F						F							R ⁴	S		
17.										V	SK'										E ^v			
20.									R ^v								C							
28.									F	F	F										4 ^s			
31.													s	s	s									
42.																								

Key to the signs used: M = Mars
 X = Pax
 H = Hercules
 F = Felicitas
 s = Securitas
 E = the emperor
 v = Victoria
 E^v = the emperor with a Victoriola in his hand



Pax group

In this context, the Ticinum types in their chronology are of special significance.

Ticinum introduced the peace-propaganda yet in the 1st year, namely with a new type, HERCULI PACIFERO, to which the MARTI PACIFERO was joined in the 2nd year. At that time, the traditional PAX AUG was produced but in Siscia, where this type was of certain significance in the weaker peace-propaganda of the previous emperors. In the 4th year Siscia did not produce this type any more, instead of it, Ticinum continued producing PAX AUG coins up to the end of Probus reign. In the 5th year Siscia also resumes production, so does Lugdunum in

	Sis							Ser					Cyz						Tri		Ant		
	?	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	-	5	1	2	-	5	6	1	-	5	1	-	5
8.								M															
11.			X	X			X																
29.																							
37.			E'																				
54.																							
65.																							
66.																							
2.											Sat 4 ^s												
17.																							
20.			I	I							CV CI		I							I			
28.			F		F						F										I	V	
31.											s												
42.											s ss'					s'							

V = the emperor and Victoria
 S = the emperor and Sol
 K = the emperor and a soldier figure
 I = the emperor and Iuppiter
 R^v = the personification of Rome and a Victoriola in her hand
 Sat = Saturnus
 4^s = four seasons
 C = Clementia
 ' = aureus

the 6-7th years. In the second part of Probus reign the HERCULI PACIFERO is lagging behind, owing to the spreading of the PAX AUG, and the traditional MARTI PACIFERO and PAX AUG coins are the main types of peace propaganda again.

The frequency table also shows, that between the two types the PAX AUG was always more frequent and of greatest significance. This had been the most frequent peace propaganda type all over Europe. The MARTI PACIFERO type is usual in NW-, respectively C-Europe and Italia, while the HERCULI PACIFERO may just be put on the frequency table.

All this shows, that the HERCULI PACIFERO had been introduced in Probus' policy rather carefully planned as a type of great prospects. To our question raised at discussing the deity representations, why Probus had turned to Hercules, the answer is as follows. He found in Hercules the mythical idea for himself as well as for the crowd, that illustrated his

endeavours best and the most favourable propagandistic effects might be expected from.

Hercules, working hard on the earth as a mortal, reaches to fight for the peace and rest of the Golden Age for humanity, becomes a deity as reward of his toiling human life, a character in the religiosity of the Roman emperors having been closely connected with the Probus emperor-cult, as well as the cults of the army.

In spite of all these, the Hercules propaganda remained uncomplete. In the 2nd part of Probus reign it was superseded by more conventional types and only in Gallia, a traditional province of the Hercules-cult,¹⁵⁹ were the coins of this deity minted in the 6th year of Probus rule /Hercules-coins coins/.

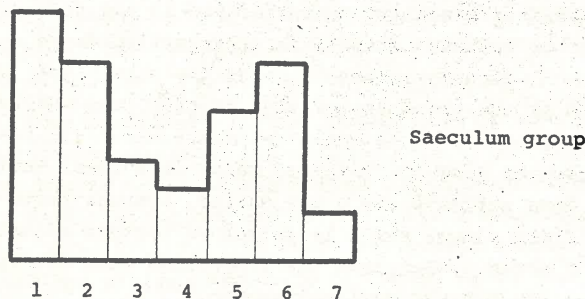
The rest of the pax-types are rather rare. I would stress the UBIQUE PAX which had been inspired by the Roman Empire's mission also conceived in the Aeneis.¹⁶⁰ In the above legend we may see the personification of victory, expressing the idea, that victories of Rome lead to universal peace. The wording of the legend is as the sentence known from SHA Probus-vita: "...ubique pax, ubique Romanae leges, ubique iudices nostri".¹⁶¹

Probus' Pax propaganda did not concern Asia, while in Europe an average of 11 % of the coins belonged to it. It goes without saying, that most of the coins were issued in Central-Europe close to Ticinum: 15,6 %, and becomes less and less moving off from here to West respectively East. Their number is lowest in SE-Europe, yet even there it comes up to 6,8 %.

In connection with the Saeculum group maybe the most important fact is, that every mint of Probus produces some types of this group. As the majority of the mints /Siscia and the Eastern mints/ are of occasional character, so is their share in the Saeculum-propaganda, eventually festive, concerning this, even Rome's participation was just alike.

This leaves its mark on the annual distribution of the

saeculum-types, which is strongly fluctuating, /see the graphicon/.



This curve, however, is not similar to the line shown in the chronological graphicon of the emperor-representations and Sol-coins. The most important years of the Saeculum types are the first /mainly from the point of view of the Eastern mints/ and the sixth /from the point of view of Rome/. In the first year Probus, the former Dux Orientis went to Rome, to accede the throne, while in the sixth year the emperor celebrated his triumph. Ticinum, the most permanent workshop produces uninterrupted series from the Saeculum-group as well, for 3-4 years. The leading mint of this propaganda is undoubtedly Lugdunum, which issues only one, but the most important type of this group /FELICITAS TEMPORUM/. The production of this type isn't interrupted all over Probus' reign, it is coined into aureus too, probably in the 6th year.

It is rather interesting, that the type illustrated in Ticinum and Lugdunum by Felicitas, is issued in Rome and Siscia the Saturnus' image, or the personification of the four seasons. The illustrations probably refer to "tempus", although Saturnus may represent the Italian Golden Age myth too.¹⁶²

The RESTITUTOR SAECULI types are minted by Ticinum and Rome. These connect the emperor-cult with the Golden Age-cult, as well as, give a religious political meaning to the ADVENTUS AUG type /I am not dealing with/. Its many different types, which, on the other hand, are never frequent enough, show that this part of the program is not yet formulated. As to this legend, I would like to mention that "aureum" attribute does not occur besides "saeculum" a single time in the total coinage neither in this context. This expression turns up but in the written sources, among others at the very place, we started from at the beginning of this chapter, the SHA Probus biography: "aureum profecto saeculum promittebat" /sc.Probus/. Nevertheless, the word "restitutor" makes it evident, that "saeculum" does not mean any other period, but one known in mythical ancient times, which is to return because of the turns of the world cycles, thus the propaganda does not speak of its formation but the reestablishment.¹⁶³

CLEMENTIA TEMPORUM has already been mentioned many times. Two types of it, not discussed so far, turn up in this program, one is illustrated by the personification of the clementia, the other by that of Rome. However, these types are but in the periferies of the very intensive, wide-spread clementia-propaganda, illustrated by Iuppiter and the emperor. This slogan was the Eastern equivalent of the FELICITAS TEMPORUM. The two different legends demonstrate the political situation of two parts of the empire to a certain extent. In the frame of the same program the imperial propaganda promises "felicitas" in the West, and "clementia" in the East. The frequency table shows it well, how the number of the clementia-coins is increasing from Italia through South-Eastern Europe to Syria.

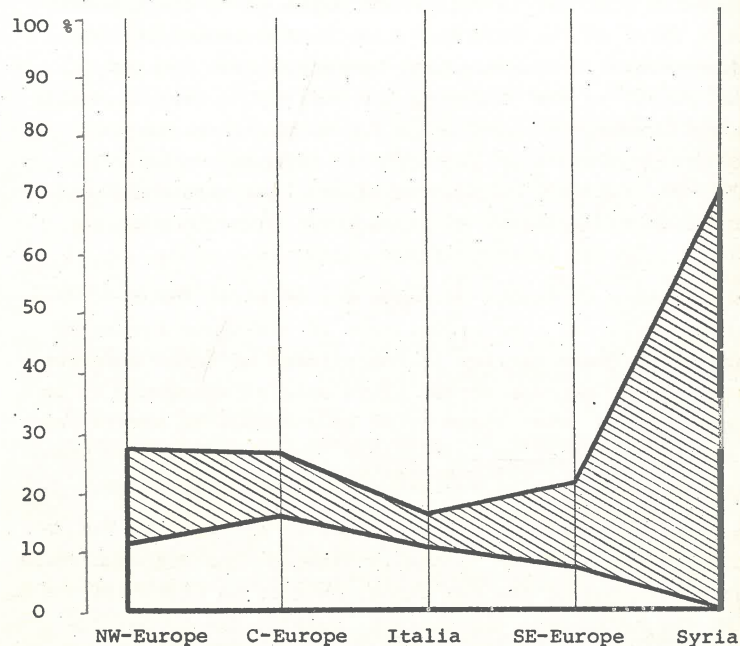
Another frequent type is to be mentioned, SECURITAS PERPETUA, Ticinum's contribution to the Saeculum-propaganda. This type, propagating an eternal "carefree" life is related to the PACI PERPETUAE AUG.

The frequency table also shows the great significance of the Saeculum-program; in Gallia and Syria these are the most frequent types in the coin circulation. The number of the Golden Age-coins is diminishing, advancing from the two extreme points to the middle of the empire, however in Italia where the lowest; it comes up to 5,4 %. The share of the Golden Age-propaganda is 12 % Probus' European coin-circulation, and 74 % in the constantly less balanced Asian circulation. Accordingly, it is about 24 % in the probably somewhat distorted average of the empire as a whole.

This section of Probus' coinage may be taken for a religious political innovation, even if the types issued by him, are to be found earlier in the coinage of Roman emperors. In fact, in the coinage of the Illyr soldier emperors, it is but under Probus, that these types have become so general all over the empire reaching a frequency level that demonstrates a preconceived effective religious political propaganda.

In compliance with these, the relation between the Pax and Saeculum groups had been radically altered. The Saeculum coins exceed the number of the Pax coins, even if we disregard the data of the Asian coin circulation. Namely, the Golden Age propaganda appears beside the more traditional Pax propaganda, directly resulting from the historical situation, and surpasses it not only as to its expansion, but also in the frequency of the coins. /See the diagram p. 150./

Probus' two most important mints, Ticinum and Lugdunum play the greatest role as to these. A certain branching out may be observed in their activity, similarly to that at the production of the MARTI PACIFERO and MARS VICTOR types. It is apparent, that the Pax program was mainly the task of Ticinum, and the Saeculum-program mainly that of Lugdunum. This is also shown by the frequency table. The Golden Age - Pax propaganda takes a leading place in NW- as well as C-Europe, but in NW-Europe it is the saeculum- while in C-Europe the pax-component, which is domineering.



Summing up the data of the frequency table, it may be stated, that the types of the Golden Age-Pax propaganda comprise the most frequent coins in Central- and North-West-Europe, respectively Syria. The rate of the coins of these types is 23 % in the European coin-circulation, and 15,4 % even in Italia, where they are the fewest. Considering our data referring to Asia, we may say, that one third of Probus' coins served the new religious political program.

Summary The reign of the Illyr soldier emperors was an unstable period burdened with wars. Accordingly, the continuous peace propaganda in coinage was well justified.

In fact, types propagating peace are to be found among all the three emperors' coins; even under Aurelianus, although at that time, the successful offensive policy pushed this program into the background. The propagation of eternal peace and the "care-free" life, announcing the recurrence of the "aureum saeculum", namely the Golden Age propaganda, is based on the peace propaganda. The Golden Age is represented but with very few coins even under Claudius, and is practically vanishing under Aurelianus.

However, under Probus the pax-coins also surpass the previous level, and as for the Golden Age propaganda, it grows into the main religious political program, enlarged by certain elements of the emperor cult. In this program Probus intends to give a role to Hercules as well, but the coins of the new deity are replaced by more traditional and popular types from the 4th year on.

Based on all these, I believe, that the parts in the SHA Probus-biography concerning the Golden Age are fundamentally realistic. The Golden Age propaganda had a special significance in the religious policy during this emperor's reign.

S U M M A R Y

Religious policy formed a significant part of the propaganda in all three emperors' coinage. More than half of the variants were dealing with religious policy.

Cca. 40 % of Claudius Gothicus' coins fitted into the theme of our investigation. During the very short reign of this emperor it is very difficult to explore a definite religious political tendency in the coinage propaganda. A relative lack of organization is characteristic of the coinage. The output of the central mint, Rome, is so much higher than that of the rest, that it determines the picture of the religious propaganda as a whole. Just because of this, the propaganda work of the rest of the mints is more occasional, and at places /eg. Antiochia/ it is quite individual.

The Gallienus inheritance, and the backing of the traditional Roman cult is characteristic of the religious policy at the beginning of Claudius' reign. Later, this developed into a traditional emperor cult of lesser intensity, the main purport of which was to put the emperor's salus under divine protection. Accordingly, Claudius' conservators are chosen from the circle of deities determined by Apollo and Salus. Maybe that's why, we may give credit to Malalas, where he mentions Claudius with the adjective "Apollianus", not mentioned anywhere else. However, the numismatical data do not furnish proof, that this name was really borne by the emperor, neither is it found in the epigraphs. Nevertheless, it may indicate a tradition, comprising other evidence of Claudius' Apollo-worship, and based on which, Malalas or another unknown source might have attached the divine adjective to the emperor's

name. Pax-propaganda is figuring in the Claudius coinage too, but no Redemption and Golden Age cult are added. It proceeds from the same concrete reality as the cult of Apollo, protecting the emperor's salus, the permanent feeling of menace.

Aurelianus was a much more efficient and successful ruler than his predecessor in every field. His active religious policy is documented by cca. 72 % of his coins.

Traditions inherited from Claudius are characteristic of his propaganda in the first year only. In the 2nd year he carried out the total centralization of the coinage and strengthened his far-reaching influence on the propaganda by temporarily closing down the revolting mint of Rome, and setting up other necessarily loyal mints. By this, the imperial coinage underwent an essential transformation, as instead of a single central mint, several provincial mints were functioning in a more balanced distribution. This did not change with the rehabilitation of the Rome mint later.

The financial instructions were followed by religious political ones. In the 2nd period Aurelianus introduced a very active, radical emperor cult, based on the classic Roman religiosity having started under Gallienus preserved throughout Claudius' reign. The emperor was in the centre, protected by Iuppiter, propagated by the coinage in the least concealed form, with his own face.¹⁶⁴

After the relatively long 2nd period, a 3rd one followed, the two separated from each other by several events: finally Aurelianus defeated Palmyra in two battles, captured Zenobia and Tetricus, the Gallian counter-emperor also surrendered. The stability ensured by the military success and last but not least, the rich booty made it possible for him to consolidate the internal political and eco-financial difficulties temporarily. He carried out a currency reform, restoring the antoninianus having been totally devaluated by the time of

Claudius' reign, had the Rome mint opened once again, and most likely extended various privileges to the Romans.¹⁶⁵

Aurelianus executed his religious reform in this most favourable atmosphere; he made the Palmyra Sol cult the state religion. He had a temple built, appointed a pontifex body for promoting the cult, and founded certain festivities too.¹⁶⁶ His activity had its affect on the coinage as well. All the signs of the introduction of Sol cult were manifested in the 3rd period. The spreading of Sol-Cult did not undermine Aurelianus' previous alignment concerning emperor cult, but infiltrated into it, and modified it so far as to replace the classic Roman Iuppiter as the emperor's conservator. At the same time, this meant that the Palmyra Sol cult did not get to Rome in its Eastern feature, but in a Roman form, according to the requirements of the emperor cult.¹⁶⁷

Aurelianus acted with extraordinary vigour in the propaganda campaign of the new religion, while his gold minting and some transitional types show cautious prudence. The greatest opposition was the strict traditional tendency represented by the aristocracy in Senate.

His total coinage propaganda is characterized by a strict central control. In spite of the fact, that his most active mints were working in the provinces, no local characteristics are to be found in their output. In this respect the only Serdica Aesculapius-conservator type is an exceptional rarity, indicating, that these mints also disposed of the ability and inclination for producing in an original style, in case the emperor had given a possibility for doing so.

Religious political propaganda amounts to cca. 60 % of Probus' coinage. Probus reign was separated from that of Aurelianus by some months of Tacitus and a few weeks of Florianus' rule. Taking power, he successfully protected the integrity of the empire, achieved by Aurelianus and tried to achieve economic stability. His mints are the same, seen under

Aurelianus. Now, it is for the first time, that Lugdunum attains a really high production, while the output of Serdica dropped compared with that of the big mints, as well as his own activity under Aurelianus.

Probus' intentions to stabilizing the economy were expressed in supporting the Golden Age propaganda, being the only Illyr soldier emperor, who adapted it. This new program was introduced into the coinage by Probus at the very beginning of his reign made possible by his immediate predecessor Florianus' coinage. However, he could not neglect Aurelianus' traditions, which even suppressed his own religious political conceptions especially in the 2nd and 3rd years of his reign, when the output of Siscia was the most active. By the 4th year Probus could do without reproducing his predecessor's propaganda, and the slogans of the 1st year in his reign came up again. The place of the Sol conservator is taken again by the traditional Iuppiter, and the propaganda of eternal peace and Golden Age is flourishing.

In approaching the importance of the emperor cult Probus followed the line taken by Aurelianus, his methods were however more moderate. The "SALUS AUGUSTI" type was given its role again, although figuring personally on proportionally fewer variants. He kept to the titles "dominus et deus" but the legends on the special averses put in a more modest way.

The most characteristic feature of his religious policy, an effort radiating to all areas, was to strengthen the position of Hercules.

Yet, in the 1st year he introduces the new god, as Hercules Pacifer, into the propaganda of coinage. The parallelism of the type with Mars Pacifer indicates, from which point Probus wanted to direct attention. In addition to the virtues associated with Mars, Hercules represents a further steady endurance¹⁶⁸ expressed also in the mythological gold coin of Siscia. The energetic strategy of Aurelianus apparently was

not sufficient for a true Golden Age. Accordingly, Probus had his soldiers drain marches, they planted vineyards in the provinces to make them as independent as possible. The peace, Hercules promises the empire is to be borne harder than the Victory gained over the enemy.

The religion of the invincible Sol in power, was not sufficient for Probus, and his contemporaries as all the wealth, glamour, gold, of the time Sol marched to Rome, got exhausted, and diminished following a splundering and looting of Palmyra. The remaining shaky security, in which Probus raises the symbol of Hercules, includes a perspective, the promise of Redemption, the realization of which is far away, however, offering confidence, as the belief, that the little child of the IV. ecloga will grow up. Hercules is also a Redeemer, whose image is linked with the coming of the Golden Age by his deeds, while also being the redeemed one, who had seen Hades, returned alive, and ascended to Heaven as a reward for his toiling life on earth. Consolation and stimulating paragon for all who worship him.¹⁶⁹

The influence of the antropomorph heros is felt in the milder forms of Probus' emperor cult, mentioned above. This time I would like to point to the HERCULES COMES type as one, closely linked with the emperor-cult, underlining the outstanding importance of this deity, as well as the fact, that the emperor-cult hall-mark with his name was more heroic than divine, namely of immortal character.

Accordingly, Hercules was an excellent symbol for an honest but naive program, Probus failed in carrying it out, as he had not the support of the due authority and the gigantic financial funds Aurelianus had disposed of, at the time following the victorious campaign. Following Probus, the stability he was aiming at could be established temporarily by Diocletianus, by setting up a wide-ranging official network and issuing strict tax and price regulations.

Under Probus the mints were not so centralized as during the reign of Aurelianus. That's why some of the mints have a certain definite profile besides the main religious political tendency. The least independent is Ticinum, one of the most important mints of highest output. There had been no specific tradition to be followed up, so it was entirely exposed to the affects supported by the central propaganda policy, which in the 2nd and 3rd years came from Siscia and Serdica, in the 6th year from Rome, however, from Lugdunum, concerning the coinage as a whole. The basic tendency of the entire religious propaganda policy of Probus originates from this mint in Gallia. During Aurelianus its output was rather negligible, developing rapidly under Probus and became the emperor's most important means of propaganda, as seen in case of Serdica or the unknown Aurelianus mint. The Gallia mint considerably differs from the previous ones, having kept its local features, being relevant in the coinage of Postumus and his successors' coinage based on Gallo-Roman traditions as a rule. The support of the Mars and Hercules cult, respectively the inheritance of the comes-type etc. confirm this fact.

The religious political efforts of the Illyr soldier emperors proved to be the least stabile, although they were of sweeping success in their time; namely, during the Aurelianus Sol-cult. The tradition-worship of Probus, to be traced back to Claudius Gothicus and Gallienus, by which he tried to harmonize the different redemption faiths, whose main character Iuppiter conservator and Hercules-comes had been, got entwined with the uninhibited emperor cult, introduced by Aurelianus, and resulted in the dominatus of the Ioviuses and Herculiuses.

I wish to thank my professor ANDRÁS MOCSY for all his invaluable help, without which this study could never have been completed. I am also indebted to VERA LÁNYI for all her advice that led to ideas important to certain parts of the work.

ABBREVIATIONS

AJA	American Journal of Archeology
Diss. Pann.	Dissertationes Pannonicae
JRS	Journal of Roman Studies
NC	Numismatic Chronicle
NK	Numizmatikai Közlelés
NZ	Numismatische Zeitschrift
RIN	Rivista Italica Numismatica
RM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts. Römische Abteilung
RN	Revue Numismatique
VHAD	Vjesnik Hrvatskoga Arheoloskoga Drustva
PWRE	Pauly-Wissowa Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
KP	Der Kleine Pauly, Lexicon der Antike
Roscher	Ausf. Lexicon der griech.u.röm. Mythologie
NILSSON	ed. by ROSCHER W.H. Leipzig, 1884-1902. NILSSON, M.P. Geschichte der Griechischen Religion I.II. München, 1941. 1950.
LATTE	LATTE, K. Römische Religionsgeschichte München, 1960.
CIL	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum
Dessau	Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae, ed. by DESSAU, H.
JMM Prosopography	JONES, A. H. M. - MARTINDALE, J.R. - MORRIS, J. The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire.
PFLAUM	PFLAUM, H. G. Les carrieres equestres sous le Haut-Empire Romain I-IV. 1960-1961. Beirut
RIC	Roman Imperial Coinage ed. by MATTINGLY, H. and SYDENHAM, A.E.

COHEN

EUSEBIUS	EUSEBIUS, The Ecclesiastical History /The Loeb Classical Library, MCMLIX/
SHA	Scriptores Historiae Augustae, Teubner, 1927.
EUTROPIUS	Eutropii Breviarium Historiae Romanae, ed. by DIETSCH, H.R. Teubner, 1883.
A. VICTOR	Sexti Aurelii Victoris liber de Caesaribus et Epitome de Caesaribus, rec. PICHLMAYR, F. Teubner, 1961.
MALALAS	Ioannis Malalae Chronographia, ed. NIEBURR 1831.
OROSIUS	Orosii Historiarum libri, Thorunii, 1857.
JEROMOS	Chronica, ed. HELM, K. 1956.
SYNCELLOS	Georgii Syncelli Chronographia, ed. DINDORF
ZONARAS	Ioannis Zonarae Annalium, ed. NIEBUHR, 1846.
ZOSIMOS	Zosimi comitis et exadvocati fisci, Historia Nova, ed. MENDELSSOHN, L. Teubner ed. reprint Hildesheim, 1963.
LACTANTIUS	Lactantii de mortibus persecutorum liber, Paravia, 1934.
JACOBY	Die Fragmente der Griechischer Historiker ed. JACOBY
ALFÖLDI Siscia I.	ALFÖLDI, A. Die Prägungen des Gallienus Siscia, Heft I. NK Budapest
ALFÖLDI Siscia II.	ALFÖLDI, A. Die Prägungen von Claudius II. und Quintillus, Siscia, Heft II. NK XXXIV-XXXV, Budapest, 1938.
ALFÖLDI Siscia V.	ALFÖLDI, A. Verzeichnis der Antoniniane des Kaisers Probus, Siscia, Heft V. NK XXXVI-XXXVII, Budapest, 1939.
ALFÖLDI Zeremoniell	ALFÖLDI, A. Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe, RM, 49, 1934.
ALFÖLDI Insignien	ALFÖLDI, A. Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser, RM, 50, 1935.
ALFÖLDI Studien	ALFÖLDI, A. Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkriege des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus, Darmstadt, 1967.
CARSON Hollingbourne	CARSON, R. A. G. Hollingbourne treasure trove NC 1961.
CARSON The reform	CARSON, R. A. G. The reform of Aurelian RN 1965.

COHEN, H. Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire Romain. Paris 1880-1892.

DAMERAU DAMERAU, P. Kaiser Claudius II.
Gothicus Klio 33. Beiheft, Leipzig
1934.

GROAG /PWRE/
HOMO GROAG Aurelianus in PWRE V/1.
HOMO, L. Essai sur le regne de
l'empereur Aurelien, Paris, 1904.

MARKL MARKL, A. Die Reichmünzstätten unter der
Regierung Claudius II. NZ 16, 1884.

DAMERAU DAMERAU, P. Kaiser Claudius II. Gothicus
/Klio 33. Beiheft, Leipzig 1934/

MÓCSY /PWRE/
MÓCSY, A. Pannonia in PWRE Supplement-
band IX. 1962.

MÓCSY . PaUM MÓCSY, A. Pannonia and Upper-Moesia
in the press/

PINK 1949 PINK, K. Der Aufbau der römischen Münz-
prägung in der Kaiserzeit VI/1 Probus
NZ 1949.

PINK 1955 PINK, K. Medaillonprägung des Kaisers
Probus NZ 1955.

ROHDE ROHDE, Th. Die Münzen des Kaiser
Aurelianus seiner Frau Severina und
der Fürsten von Palmyra, Miskolc,
1881.

WEBB RIC V/1 1927 and V/2 1934 London by WEBB,
P.H.

VITUCCI VITUCCI L'Imperatore Probo, 1950.

NOTES

- 1 ROSTOVITZ, M. Gesellschaft und Wirtschaft im römischen
Kaiserreich /Heidelberg/ Band II. Kap.X.
- 2 MÓCSY PaUM
- 3 MÓCSY PaUM
- 4 ALFÖLDI Studien pp.1-16; PWRE XIII/1 364
- 5 HOMO p.17Q.
- 6 KP 2/1111. Herrscherkult; /see below analysis of the Serdica
coinage under Aurelianus/
- 7 Gallienus took Augustus for his paragon, and promoted the
classic antic culture /he was known to be a great philhellen/.
This was also reflected by his religious policy, although he
was tolerant in this field, see ALFÖLDI Studien p.52. and
261.
- 8 Detail about Aurelianus' Iutung war /JACOBY 2, 456. pp./
dealt with A.Alföldi /ALFÖLDI Studien pp. 427./
- 9 Aurelianus is mentioned but with reference to the Antiochia
Bishopric, and as a persecutor of Christianity, see
EUSEBIUS Ecclesiastical History /Loeb Cl.Lib./ VII.18-22.
- 10 The specification of the antique sources concerning the
emperors in PWRE II/2. 2458 /Claudius Gothicus/; V/1
1348-1350 /Aurelianus/; II/2 2516 /Probus/; Besides the
monographies /DAMERAU, HOMO, VITUCCI/ Th. ROHDE collected
the sources of Aurelianus' reign with a meticulous care.
- 11 Zosimos deals with it longer than the rest of the historians
looking back into the past after 160-170 years, in ZOSIMI
comitis et exadvocati fisci, Historia Nova. /Edidit
Ludovicus Mendelssohn, reprint of the Teubner edition 1887,
Hildesheim 1963/ A/41 - A/71, pp. 29-53. The works of
Orosius, Zonaras, Malalas and Syncellus include informations
on the subject.
- 12 Briefly discussed by HAHN, I., in his essay: Felséges Törté-
net /selected passages from Historia Augusta translated into
Hungarian, Budapest, 1968 - introduction/. The latest, some-
what summarizing contribution to this topic was done by SYME,
R. in his: Emperors and Biography /Studies in the Historia
Augusta/ Oxford, 1971. The scholars dealing with this topic

- have regular meetings and have a series of publications: *Historia Augusta Colloquium /Bonn/* three volumes have been published so far.
- 13 We do not deal with the art of portraits, although the representations of the coin averses are in close connection with this. However, as we are going to mention it in the following, even the averses came up but in special cases /Serdica-coins of Aurelianus and Probus/.
- 14 MÓCSY PAUM
- 15 ALFÖLDI Siscia V. p.3. - he is mentioning the monetary inflation in Probus' coinage right after the relative stabilization under Aurelianus
- 16 e.g. Perga, Side, Sillyum and Cremna in Aurelianus' coinage see: ROHDE pp. 251-253.
- 17 SKOWRONEK, St. On the problems of the Alexandrian Mint /1967, Warsawa/ essay is on this problem, showing, that the Alexandria mint is influenced by the imperial coinage in the field of propaganda. The dependence doesn't mean identity. See p.78.
- 18 Apart from other studies dealing with numismatics from this point of view M.Grant gives certain specific instances in his paper: GRANT, M. Roman Coins as Propaganda /Archeology V, 1952. pp. 79-85./ Works on the period of the Empire: KENNER, F. Programmünzen römischer Kaiser /NZ XVII. 1885. pp. 51-86./ and SCHULZ, O. Th. Die Rechtstitel und Regierungsprogramme auf römischen Kaisermünzen /Padeborn, 1925./ We find relevant data in Alföldi's works /e.g. Siscia leaflets, issues on Gallienus, Claudius/. See also: ALFÖLDI, A. The Main Aspects of Political Propaganda on the Coinage of the Roman Republic /Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to H. Mattingly - edited by R.A.G. Carson and C.H.V. Sutherland, Oxford, 1956. pp.63-95./ The latest essay on this topic: BIANCO, E. Indirizzi programmatici e propagandistici nella monetazione de Vespasiano /RIN Ser 5. 16, 1968. pp. 145-224./ As far as I know, there is not any other elaboration of Claudius Gothicus, Aurelianus and Probus coinage from this aspect, thus, the method used by me in this paper is original.
- 19 See the legends in my tables: Claudius 1. 4. 21., Aurelianus 2. 9. 20. and Probus 5. 6.
- 20 The averses are the richest, accordingly significant sources of iconography, mainly concerning the Empire. The iconography on our emperors offers an insight into this subject: e.g. DELBRUECK, R. Die Münzbildnisse von Maximus bis Carinus /Bonn, 1912./, FELLETTI MAJ, B.M. Iconografia romana imperiale da Severo Alessandro a M. Aurelio Carino /Roma, 1958. pp. 260-279./, CASTIGLIONE, L. Az ókor nagyjai /Budapest, 1971./ deals with the portraits of two of our emperors /No.149: Aurelianus, and No.150: Probus/, and studies the former on the basis of a coin.
- 21 WEBB P.H. The coinage of Claudius Gothicus, Aurelianus /in RIC V/1/ and Probus /in RIC V/2/
- 22 ALFÖLDI Siscia V. p. 3.; and BELLINGER, A.R. Troy p. 172. don't approve of these, PINK, K. /1949/ so to say ignores them.
- 23 MARKL, A. Die Reichsmünzstätten unter der Regierung Claudius II /NZ 16, 1884/
- 24 RIC V/1
- 25 More detailed on the same topic see WEBB, P.H. Third-Century Roman Mints and Marks /NC 1921 pp. 227-293./, about the "Tarraco"-mint, pp. 233-237. In RIC /Introduction of vol. V/1, pp. 17./ there is only a short reference to this question.
- 26 Damerau, P. Kaiser Claudius II. Gothicus /Klio 33. Beiheft, Leipzig, 1934./
- 27 DAMERAU pp. 92-103. /Kap.XIII./
- 28 ALFÖLDI A. Siscia, Heft II. Die Prägungen von Claudius II. und Quintillus /NK XXXIV-XXXV, 1935-1936, Budapest 1938./
- 29 The types marked by S in the index are from ALFÖLDI Siscia II.
- 30 ALFÖLDI A. Die römische Münzprägung und die historischen Ereignisse im Osten zwischen 260 und 270 n. Chr. /Berytus V, 1, 1938. pp. 47-92./, reprint in ALFÖLDI Studien, pp. 155-209.
- 31 ALFÖLDI Studien pp. 170-171. and 175-177. The types marked by O in the index are from here.
- 32 CALLU, J.-P. La politique monetaire des empereurs romains de 238 á 311/ Paris, 1969. p. 229./
- 33 COPE, L.H. The Nadir of the imperial antoninianus in the reign of Claudius II. Gothicus /NC 1969./ comes to this result examining it as to chemistry.
- 34 CARSON, R. A. G. Hollingbourne treasure trove /NC 1961. pp. 217./

- 35 CARSON Hollingbourne p. 217. "An analysis of the reverses types shows that there are three substantive issues."
- 36 To be found in the tables under Rome mint, the variants holding legends: 17. 18. 19. 26. 32. 33. 36. 42. 43. and 45. These are marked as O. emission, and assigned to the output of first year.
- 37 To be found on the tables under Rome mint, the variants with legends: 14. 15. 20. 25. 35. 38. The emissions are not marked, neither are they used in the chronological examination.
- 38 To be found in the tables under Rome 16. /as to Markl emission 5./, 24. /Markl emissions 3. and 4./ and 30. In connection with the latter - LIBERTAS AUG - see Alföldi's sarcastic remark /ALFÖLDI Siscia II.p.7./
- 39 See the types listed in ALFÖLDI Siscia I., as well as in DAMERAU the numismatical chapter /pp. 92-103./ in which he indicates the types known already by Gallienus, relying on Bernhardt. /BERNHARDT, M. Handbuch zur Münzkunde der röm. Kaiserzeit, 1926./ We have to complete Alföldi's - otherwise later - paper by Damerau's as it concerns Siscia only.
- 40 This phenomenon may be well examined in this paper, as the three emperors' coinages are seen in steady continuity. See also E.A. Sydenham's remark in his article: SYDENHAM, E.A. The Roman monetary system /NC 1919. pp. 141./ "The earliest coins of Aurelian are in general appearance similar to those of his predecessor, ..."
- 41 He does not mention types under Mediolanum, with legends: 13. 21. 24. 48. 49. and 51. so these could not be studied in the chronological examination.
- 42 See ALFÖLDI Studien p. 179.
- 43 See CARSON Hollingbourne /NC 1961. p.217./
- 44 ROHDE, Th. Die Münzen des Kaiser Aurelianus, seiner Frau Severina und der Fürsten von Palmyra /Miskolc, 1881./
- 45 Here "period" is generally used instead of "emission", except for Carson, who speaks of "issue" in his article: CARSON, R. A. G. The reform of Aurelianus /RN 1965./ This is because at introducing the coinage they take Aurelianus reforms for fundamental principle defining the periods based on the centralization of coinage /see in HOMO pp. 169-171./, the reform of the 271th year; respectively metrology, the reform of the 274th year. Consequently, during quite a long reign /five and a half years/ there are but three periods, in all certainty holding much more emissions.

- 46 See the RIC V/1 Aurelianus. The golden coins issued after the reform come under the 3rd period, while those issued before the reform may come under the 1st as well as 2nd period. Obviously most of them come under the 2nd, for this period was much longer than the 1st one, and also because Aurelianus could not have inherited many things from Claudius in this field. The characteristics marking out different periods of coinage as to their purport, being the subjects of this paper, arouse suspicion in connection with one or two golden variants if it is dated right? This aspect of contents is not decisive, but worth mentioning. /See also note 90./
- 47 After Missong's article /MISSONG, Al. Zur Münzreform unter den römischen Kaisern Aurelian und Diocletian NZ I. 1869. pp. 105-134./ the debate was carried on in the Numismatic Chronicle. The following articles are but certain stages of this debate: SYDENHAM, E.A. The Roman Monetary System /NC 1919./ this outside study has been published in two parts. WEBB, P.H. The reform of Aurelianus /NC 1927./ same volume: MATTINGLY, H. Sestertius and denarius under Aurelian. Regrettably these do not touch upon chronological questions.
- 48 CARSON, R. A. G. The reform of Aurelianus /RN 1965./ The latest article known by me on this subject.
- 49 Severina is to be seen on the reverses from the time Aurelianus elevated her as Augusta /see PWRE V/1 1355./ in 274. She has a few independent coins after Aurelianus' death.
- 50 SHA Aurelianus 38., Aurelius VICTOR 35., EUTROPIUS IX.14. HOMO p.78.
- 51 CARSON The reform pp.
- 52 HOMO p. 80. note 1.
- 53 See the pp.
- 54 MANN'S, F. Münzkundliche und historische Untersuchungen über die Zeit der Illyrer Kaiser Aurelianus /Würzburg 1939. Phil. Diss. Berlin/, a comprehensive study following that of Webb.
- 55 MISSONG, A. Münzreihen unter Kaiser Probus /NZ 1873. pp.102./ and Stempelfehler und Correcturen auf Münzen des Kaisers M. Aur. Probus /NZ.1877. pp. 303./, and a manuscript quoted by K.Pink: Katalog zu Probus von MISSONG-VOETTER.
- 56 LÉPAULLE, E. La monnaie romaine à la fin du Haut Empire /RN 188. 115-141./, and Etude hist. sur Probus /Lyon, 1884./

- 57 DANNHAEUSER, E. Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaiser Probus /Diss.Jena 1909/
- 58 CREES, J.H. The reign of emperor Probus /London, 1911/
- 59 See in RIC V/2 Probus
- 60 ALFÖLDI Siscia V. p.3.
- 61 See in ALFÖLDI Siscia V.
- 62 RIC V/2 Probus 637.
- 63 Differences see appendix II.
- 64 PINK, K. Der Aufbau der römischen Münzprägung in der Kaiserzeit VI/1 Probus /NZ. 1949. LXXIII pp. 13-74./
- 65 PINK, K. Medaillonprägung des Kaisers Probus /NZ LXXIX, 1955./
- 66 For the differences see appendix II.
- 67 For the differences see appendix II.
- 68 In Pink's article /p.30./ Rome emission in 277: 2nd, but as to the catalogue: 1st and 2nd; Lugdunum emission in 277: 3rd, but as to the catalogue: 3rd and 4th; Lugdunum emission in 279, as to the catalogue: 5th; Cyzicus emission in 281, as to the catalogue: 4th.
- 69 See ALFÖLDI Siscia I.p.7., and WEBB in RIC V/1. p.16.
- 70 EUTROPIUS IX.15., referring to Aurelianus. Chapter IX.17, enumerates these briefly referring to Probus. The monetary reforms see also: HOMO pp. 169-171. and in PWRE V/1.1363-1364. and 1394-1396. Steps taken in the state administration /the evacuation of Dacia/ in SHA Aurelianus V. 39, 7., FESTUS 8, 2., MALALAS 301., SYNCYLLUS I. 721., and in PWRE V/1. 1380. Measures in religion see the works of reference mentioned above as well as LATTE pp. 350., NILSSON II.pp. 492. and HOMO, ch. V. "La reforme religieuse".
- 71 Probus' reformist endeavours can hardly be considered as reforms yet. We can speak about reforms only in some cases as his steps taken for the proper utilization of the army, the settlement and setting to work of the Barbarians /see EUTROPIUS IX, 17. A. VICTOR 37, SHA Probus 18. an 20./, and the plantation of vines mentioned by the writer of the Epitome de Caesaribus 37. See VITUCCI ch.IV.: "Attività amministrativa ed economica" pp. 103-114., and PWRE II/2. 2521.

72 ALFÖLDI Siscia II. p. 7.

- 73 The administration of coinage was one of the lowest offices yet in the republic /III viri monetales/ during the Empire coin minting was supervised by central clerks /procuratores monetae/ except the production of copper coins this right was exercised by the Senatus following the Felicissimus revolt the Senatus is deprived of this right by Aurelianus, and all coins come under the competency of the imperial officials /see HOMO p. 170./. These procuratores monetae just like their predecessors must have been low ranking officials /see PFLAUM 66. 73. 117. 140. 168. 206. 327./, it is not likely that they had been totally responsible for the propaganda /see MARQUARDT Römische Staatsverwaltung: procurator aug III. p. 34. HIRSCHFELD, O. Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der Römischen Verwaltungsgeschichte, Berlin. 1877 pp. 92-97. - he devotes a whole chapter to the imperial coinage, and the workshops, without furnishing more essential data. He refers to an interesting inscription hinting at the central coinage of the whole Empire respectively the chief official of the central office /see p. 96. note 1.: CIL VI. 1145./. Yet it is not certain whether this office had been of primary financial and additionally of propaganda controlling character. A. Alföldi, occasionally mentioning the theme, does not offer any comprehensive approach. Referring to the coinage of our emperors, he says, that the mints were rather run as to their own liking under Claudius /see ALFÖLDI Siscia II. p. 11./, and the Siscia emissions were also formulated in accordance with the procurator monetae's ideas. In the Insignien und Tracht by ALFÖLDI /see p. 93./ we find about one of the averse types of Aurelianus /DEO ET DOMINO NATO AURELIANO etc./ to have come about as the initiative of the procurator and as a product within the frame of the central program. ALFÖLDI, R. Maria, in her article: Néhány megjegyzés a császárkori római verde működéséhez és szervezetéhez /NK 1947-48./ writes about the fact that procurator monetae was an office for juniors, and the equites occupying these posts enjoyed the confidence of the emperor, thus facilitating the supervision of the mints. The PWRE /GROAG/ is also but mentioning the problem in connection with Aurelianus, and says, that by closing down the Rome mint the emperor put the imperial mints under strong supervision /PWRE V/1. 1373./.
- As seen, investigations concerning the propaganda policy of the mints were on the verge of all the works dealing with their activity. These remarks suffice only to state that the question of the political supervision of the mints can not be investigated in general, but to each emperor separately. So examining the propagandistic type in my paper I will try to take a stand concerning the coinage of the Illyr soldier emperors.

74 This does not seem an easy task in general, and got somewhat more complicated during the Illyr soldier emperors' period, at the end of the 3rd century. I would like to refer to the Roscher Lexicon /personification/ GNECCHI, Fr. Le personificazioni allegoriche sulle monete imperiali /RIN 18, 1905. pp. 349./ categorizing and describing the personification occurring in the antique numismatics. Further studies WEINSTOCK, St. Pax and the 'Ara Pacis' /JRS 50. 1960./, BIEBER, M. Honos and Virtus /AJA 49, 1945./, and LATTE about Providencia /pp. 321-322. and note 322/4. respectively pp. 233-242./

75 MAZZARINO, S. Trattato di storia romana vol. II. pp. 387-388.

76 These are VOTIS DECEN ET VIC, MONETA AUG, REDITUS AUG, IMP PROBUS CONS, ADLOCUT MILIT, GLORIA ORBIS.

77 Among the about fifty thousand coins found in the hoards examined by me /see note 79.a/, 85., 86./ there were but two new legend types in the coinage of Claudius PROVID EXERCI /see Komin No.407./ and in the coinage of Probus SAECULI PACIF /see Plevna p. 212./.

78 This method is general in statistics /see KÖVES-PÁRNICZKY Általános statisztika, Budapest, 1973. pp. 441-493. and 680-691./ In our case the hoards stand for statistical samples.

79 These types are not characteristic for the "divus" emperor's propaganda policy, and can not be taken for the successor's individual program either.

79a

The figures demonstrated the number of the Claudius' coins found in the relevant hoards, in fact, the coins that can be defined exactly: Beachy Head /B.H./ - 497 pieces /DOLLEY, R. H. M. and O'DONAVAN, M.A. The Beachy Head Hoard NC 1962. pp. 161./ Hollingbourne /Holl/ - 458 pieces /CARSON, R. A. G. Hollingbourne Treasure Trove NC 1961. pp. 217./

Agden /Agd/ - 202 pieces /THOMPSON, F.H. Hoard of antoniniani from Agden NC. 1962./

Norfolk /Nor/ - 191 pieces /ROBERTSON, A.S. A Roman coin hoard from Emneth, Norfolk. NC 1945 pp. 147./

Bavai /Bav/ - 2180 pieces /GRICOURT, J. Le trésor de Bavai; in: Trésors Monétaires et Plaques-boucles de la Gaule Romaine, Bavai, Mounbouy, Checy. XII. Supplément a "Gallia" 1958. pp. 3-118./

Nieder-Rentgen /N-R/ - 2146 pieces /HAMMERSTEIN, H.v., WICHMANN, K. and WOLFRAM, G. Der Münzfund von Nieder-Rentgen. Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für Lotharingische Geschichte und Altertumskunde VIII. 2, 1. 1896./

Bischoffsheim /Bish/ - 1061 pieces /LONGUET, H. and BANNERET, A. La trouvaille de Bischoffsheim RN 1955 pp. 153./

Thibouville /Thib/ - 777 pieces /PFLAUM, H.G. - BASTIEN, P. La trouvaille de Thibouville. Gallia XX. 1962./ and XIX. 1961./

Cattenes /Catt/ - 588 pieces /ERMAN, A. Der Fund von Cattenes ZfN 1879./

Saint-Mard I /StMI/ - 416 pieces /LALLEMAND, J. - THIRION M. Le trésor de Saint-Mard I. Édition Cultura, Wetteren. 1970.

Vineuse /Vin/ - 295 pieces /GENTILHOMME, P.L. La trouvaille de la Vineuse. RN. 1942. pp. 23./

Totes /Tot/ - 252 pieces /FABRE, G. La trouvaille de Totes. RN 1950. pp. 13./

Venera /Ven/ - 4206 pieces /MILANI Il ripostiglio della Venera Roma, 1880.

Komin /Kom/ - 1192 pieces /BARCSAY - AMANT, Z. The hoard of Komin. Diss. Pann. Budapest, 1937./

Devret /Dev/ - 420 pieces /BITTEL, K. Funde im östlichen Galatien römischer Münzschatz von Devret. Istambuler Mitteilungen 1955. pp.27.

Syria /Syr/ - 222 pieces /ROQUEFEUIL, S. de Trésor d'antoniniani frappés en orient RN 1970 pp. 116./

79b

It is interesting from this aspect, that the Unknown Mint placed somewhere in the West of Asia Minor by ALFÖLDI /Studien pp. 170-172./ does not figure in the Devret- nor in the other Eastern hoard, while it is represented in the remote Eastern European hoard the Komin one, and even in that of Venera at least by two pieces. This can be explained first of all by the huge volumen of the Venera hoard, and maybe, by the fact, that next to Komin it is the nearest site to the Western coast of Asia Minor. Consequently, it had to be somewhere between Europe and Asia according to the data of the table too.

80 See the table pp. 32-33. column I. /from Norfolk to Venera/

81 This drop surpasses any other eventuality on the diagram and is contrary to any other tendency characteristic of the Bischoffsheim hoard. The reason cannot be mere chance. However, no paper explanation is at hand. It is certain, that this date is not characteristic of the general frequency of types with legend: VIRTUS AUG /44./. Had we worked out the average without it the isolation of these types from the succeeding group /II./ would have been still more spectacular.

82 This type was produced in Siscia only.

83 The types not figuring on the frequency table are rarities in coin circulation.

- 84 It is interesting to note, that the majority of the hoards discussed above ends with Aurelianus, or even later however containing a few Aurelianus-coins only.
- 85 See the note 79a. /Thibouville - 128 pieces, Nieder-Rentgen - 729 pieces, Venera - 10 857 pieces and Komin - 467 pieces/, and Plevna - 1494 pieces /MOUCHMOFF, N.A. Les marques secretes d'atelier monetaire de Serdica. Annuaire de Musée National de Sofia 1926, Sofia. 1922-25. pp. 160-215./
Majce-Grede - 117 pieces /BRUNSMID, J. Nasasce rimskih bakrenih novaca s kraja trecega stoljeca iz Majce-Grede. VHAD 1906-07. pp. 226.
Troy - 180 pieces /BELLINGER, A.R. Troy. The coins. Supplementary monograph 2. Princeton, 1961. Appendix II. The hoard of antoniniani. pp. 201./
Syria I - 290 pieces /BASTIEN, P. and HUVELIN, H. Trésor d'antoniniani en Syrie. RN 1969 pp. 231./
Trésor B - 45 pieces /BRENNOT, C. and PFLAUM, H.G. Les émissions orientales de la fin du III. e.s. après J.-C. à la lumière de deux trésors découverts en Syrie. RN V. 7. 1965. pp. 137-205./
- 86 See the notes 79a. and 85. /Thibouville - 237 pieces, Nieder-Rentgen - 1841 pieces, Venera - 13370 pieces, Plevna - 353 pieces, Majce-Grede - 148 pieces, Trésor B - 441 pieces, and Trésor P /in the same publication/ - 441 pieces./
- 86a See in MALALAS p. 298. 17. ALFÖLDI /Studien p. 169./ accepts the "Apollianus" adjective and refers to Stauffenberg's edition: SCHENK von STAUFFENBERG Die Römischen Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas. 1931 /pp. 381./ Stauffenberg does not confirm this part of Malalas saying "...Woher der angebliche Name Apollianus stammen möge, ist unerfindlich." CHILMEADUS, Ed. /Annotationes ad Malalan p. 298. 18./ no further reference "...quomodo cognominatum eum alibi non invenio."
- 87 See ALFÖLDI Studien p. 169.
- 88 See the p. 13.
- 88a It is characteristic, that the inscription on the reverse of the only Antiochian Aurelianus-coin dated to the 2nd period is VABALATHVS VRCRIMDR /RIC V/1. Aurelianus 381./, and the portrait of the Palmyra crown-prince can be seen on it.
- 89 About the motives see in the chapter of Emperor cult.
- 90 Aurelianus conquered Palmyra as early as in 273. after fighting against Firmus in Egypt, and Tetricus in Gallia. Only in 274. did he march in triumph in Rome, and

- following this he reformed coinage. /cf. HOMO, p. 166., ZOSIMOS, I. 61./ Accordingly, the 2nd and 3rd periods of Aurelianus' coinage are different /cf. CARSON, The reform./ So it is rather surprising, that no coins referring to the Sol cult are to be found before the 3rd period. It shows, that Aurelianus was waiting for the victorious end of his military campaigns, before taking any steps in religious policy. In all certainty one year had to pass between the occupation of Palmyra, and the issue of the first coins in the 3rd period. If it were so, it would be a positive proof of a fairly reasonable political prudence. This is contradicted in goldminting /divided by Webb into pre- and postreform groups only/ as Antiochia issues prereform coins referring to the Sol cult, while as all the variants /of Antiochia mint/ are from the 3rd period /except one: VABALATHVS VRCRIMDR, RIC V/1, Aurelianus, 381./
- 91 The "diverse" denominations are not dated exactly in the coinage of Aurelianus.
- 92 cf. NILSSON, II. p. 512. note 2., and p. 515.
- 93 In Thracia Aesculapius enjoyed a strong local cult too, see the great many inscriptions belonging to the Asklepieion of Glava Panega. /MIHAJLOV, G. Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria Repertae. Serdicae MCMLVIII. vol. II. pp. 37./
- 94 PWRE V/1. 1374.
- 95 See the p. 73.
- 96 DOWNEY, G. Ancient Antioch /Princeton, 1963. pp. 113-114./ He writes that during Gallienus' reign Antiochia was under Palmyra's rule, where Paulos of Samosata was most influential at that time, who supported by the people fought against the Antiochian church, concerning bishopsea in Antiochia. MILLAR, F. Paul of Samosata, Zenobia and Aurelian: the Church, Local Culture and Political Allegiance in Third century Syria /JRS LXI. 1971. p. 10./ being proved concerning Aurelianus' reign only, as to the author, and quotes JEROMOS /Chron. ed. Helm, p. 222./ and ZOSIMOS /I. 51, 3./ I believe that Antiochia was ready to adopt Aurelianus' program after the decline of the great rival, Palmyra, at the same time Antiochia was under a strong control by the central administration.
- 97 RIC V/1. Aurelianus 319. 320. 321. and 322.
- 98 RIC V/1 Aurelianus. Among the averses made exclusively in Serdica.
- 99 cf. HOMO, chapter V. "La reforme religieuse". But GROAG /PWRE/, Aurelianus/ in his article in his article on Aurelianus the author reads this legend as cons/ervator/ well before Homo, without demonstrating it

Cf. ALFÖLDI, Instignien und Tracht, p. 107. note 1.
This is justified by the following inscription found in
Serdica, from the years 274-275. /CIL III. Suppl. 12333./

D/omino/ n/ostro/
Imp/eratori/ C/aeuari
Lucio Domitio Aur/eliano pio felic/i/
/incompar/abili ac invi
cto semp/er Augusto Pon
tifici maxim/o Germ/anico/ Maxi
mo brit/an/nico/Maximo
/Gothico or carpi/co/ Sarmat/ico/ Ma
ximo repa/ratori Con/servatori / Patriae Proc/onsuli/
/repuce/rata re publica

100 Cf. Prosopography

101 Cf. RIC V/1. Aurelianus 157. 158. 159. 185. 186. etc.

102 Cf. RIC V/1. Aurelianus 16. 324 etc.

103 Cf. RIC V/1. Aurelianus 22. 23. 160. 161. 162.

104 The examination of the other groups of coinage provided more evidence, that this sort of deification was possible in Aurelianus' coinage, than that these coins were minted after the death of the emperor.

105 RIC V/1. Aurelianus 319. Pl. VII. 112., in COHEN/VI. p. 177. 15. / It could take the identity of Apollo too.

106 Cf. the catalogue in PINK 1949. pp. 40-70.

107 Cf. the output of Antiochia, Tripolis, Cyzicus and Serdica, in PINK 1949. pp. 40-44.

108 Cf. in PINK 1949. pp. 57-59. Rome 6th emission.

109 Cf. PINK 1949. p. 74.

110 PINK 1949. p. 72.: "279. ... Der Kaiser bleibt das ganze Jahr 279 hier;"

111 The following coins could not be dated on the basis of publications: Rome: 9. /1 variatfon/, 11. /1/, 17. /1/, 59. /1/, 60. /1/; Lugdunum: 68. /1/, 72. /1/; Serdica: 13. /1/; Antiochia -; Ticinum: 26. /3/, 20. /1/; Siscia: 37. /1/, 38. /1/, 52. /1/, Cyzicus. 3. /1/, 19. /1/, 24. /1/, 47. /1/; Tripoli - . Some scholars leave out Ticinum 20. Siscia 38, and 52. from their catalogues. Cyzicus 3. 19. and 24. are aurei. I would date these types to the 5th year, as all the Cyzicus aurei come from the 5th year.

112 No continuous types can be found coming from these mints.

113 The PWRE IV/629 enumerates all divine comites who occurred in the religious policy of Roman emperors /and counter emperors/. See also LATTE, p. 321. note 2., and NOCK, A.D. Emperors divine comes /JRS XXXVII. 1947./

114 EUSEBIUS /VII.22./, LACTANTIUS /IV.c./ and OROSIUS /23.c./ refer to this. Eusebius is especially important, because it makes clear that Aurelianus did not persecute the Christians at the beginning of his reign, he even supported some of the followers of the new faith.

115 The Salus Aug group in Probus' coinage does not come under the deity-representations, as here Salus is a personification, while being a part of the religious policy.

Salus figures on three kind of legends. The most significant and frequent among them is SALUS AUGUSTI. The chronology of the production of this type in the different mints is shown on the table /see pp. 126-127./. The significance of the type is indicated by the fact, that it is produced in most of the mints, and the Ticinum and Lugdunum mints, specially important under Probus, issue it again in the second half of the emperor's reign. In NW- and C-Europe it is as frequent as the conservator coins.

While there was no Salus Augusti group in Aurelianus' coinage, it was of great significance under Probus. At the same time, Probus' propaganda employed the slogan "salus" in quite another way than that of Claudius. There we saw four different deities in the SALUS AUGUSTI legend, while at Probus only the Salus personification illustrates the coins. This change compared to the predecessor's propaganda may be considered as the result of personification - a kind of simplification. Salus, being at Claudius yet Aesculapius' daughter, the member of the Apollo-Aesculapius-Salus circle, becomes the personification of the word "salus" at Probus. Most likely, Salus Aug slogan was not so topical for Probus as had been for Claudius Gothicus during his short reign.

116 TRENCSENYI-WALDAPFEL, I. Vergilius pásztori muzsája /Valástörténeti Tanulmányok, Budapest, 1960. pp. 348-383./ deals in details with Hercules as Saviour.

117 The characteristic feature of the gold coins, that it is minted for a thin layer of the society /MAZZARINO, S. Trattato di Storia Romana, vol. II. pp. 371. and 387-388./ is manifest in the propaganda too.

118 BASTIEN, P. Les Travaux D'Hercule dans le monnayage de Postume /RN 1958, pp. 59./

119 The type refers to Commodus, who believed in being a Hercules incarnation. See RIC III. Commodus 640. 643.

- 120 Cf. Fitz, J. Hercules-kultusz eraviszkusz területen /István Király Múzeum Közleményei A. sorozat 4. sz., Székesfehérvár 1957./ The most significant inscription in NÉMETH, M. Vezető az Aquincumi Múzeum Kötárában /Budapest, 1971./ 42. altar. MÓCSY, A. refers to this inscription /PWRE Supplb. IX. 732./ and SZABÓ, M. /A kelták nyomában Magyarországon, Budapest, 1971. p. 65./ sees an adoption of the celtic deity cult in Pannonia.
- 121 One of the four versions on which the emperor is also shown is a festive coin, and other two are not dated.
- 121a Cf. SHA Probus chapters 11. 13. and 15. SYME, R. Emperors and Biography, Oxford 1971. p. 240. questions these statements, at the same time quoting other standpoints. /See p. 240. note 2. Vitucci, Chastagnol, Barbieri./ I believe Probus has never acted in a way to challenge the aristocratic conservative wing in the Senate.
- 122 See PINK 1955. No. 27. /medaillon/ Abb. 8. and on antoninianus: PINK, 1949. p. 18. Löwenhautbüste /5/.
- 123 See PINK 1949. p. 18. Doppelbüste /9/, mentioning averse on which the emperor is to be seen together with Sol.
- 124 Even earlier. With the expansion of Rome the provincial proconsuls /and propretors/ representing Rome, were occasionally given a cultic worship in the conquered area /cf. LATTE, pp. 312-313./ Remembering that Rome superseded the Hellenistic rulers as a conqueror in the East we have to see, this had been inevitable. That's how T.Q. Flaminius' image got to the averse of an aureus /CASTIGLIONE, L. Az Ókor Nagyjai No. 96./ as early as the beginning of the 2nd century A.D. during Flaminius' life. Caesar's statues, as semigods were erected in the tempels at the decline of the Republic /cf. ALFÖLDI Zeremoniell p. 31. note 1./
- 125 Convincing proof the very name "Augustus", and the common temple with Dea Roma, the cult of Genius Augusti /cf. KP 2. 1111., LATTE p. 306., MARTON, L. A római császárok cultusa, Budapest, 1936. pp. 49-53./
- 126 HAHN, I. deals with the emperor cult as a course of the religious history in his article /Világosság XIII. 5. 1972. pp. 257-264./ This course shows an increasing adjustment to the conditions, respectively a religious historical progress, including all the side-tracks, from Augustus to Constantinus. In view of the short period my treatise is discussing, the eventual feature of the emperor-cult, as a religious political program is more spectacular. Its important characteristics, that it has been influenced much more by the ideas of certain personalities /emperors and their politicians/ than the rest of the religious historical tendencies. The history of the emperor cult is a part of the history of politics and attributes a sort of guiding tendency only to those emperors who performed a positive or negative policy answering the requirements of the age, only those who were not mad or unimportant.
- 127 Cf. ALFÖLDI Insignien un Tracht p. 92. and note 4.
- 128 See NILSSON II. p. 496. note 8.
- 129 See LATTE p. 349.
- 130 GÁSPÁR, D. Sacramentum militiae /Dissertation, manuscript/ and ALFÖLDI Insignien und Tracht p. 97.
- 131 See RIC V/1. Aurelianus 319. 320. 321. 322.
- 132 See pp. 68-70.
- 133 See RIC V/1 Claudius Gothicus 50.
- 134 See RIC V/1 Aurelianus 316. 317.
- 135 See RIC V/1 Aurelianus 318.
- 136 See RIC V/2 Probus 14. 576. 577. 901. 902. and P/27. P/28 /Cf Appendix/
- 137 See the p. 61.
- 138 It is characteristic, that this type can not be found in the coinage of Aurelianus and Probus.
- 139 The VIRTUS AUG legend is illustrated by the emperor, Mars or a soldier, eventually Hercules, as well as Sol under this emperor, and the following ones too. The original illustration of the type was an amazon /cf. BIEBER, M. Honos and Virtus AJA 1945. 49. pp. 25-34./ answering the gender of the abstract name. /No exception from this rule is known among the personifications./ The meaning of the type gets more and more shifted from the idea of "virtus", and becomes to represent "virtus augusti". Along with this does the illustrating image of Virtus change to be come finally the image of Mars or Hercules, as the symbol of emperor's virtues. At the end the emperor illustration is to be the most frequent.
- 140 See CIL VIII. 10374.; CIL VI. 1112.; CIL XI/1. 1214.; Dessau 578.; CIL XII. 5549.; CIL XII. 5561.; Dessau 8925.;
- 141 See the p. 105. concerning Probus' coinage /deity representations/.

- 142 See the p. 114.
- 143 See the note 139.
- 144 As ALFÖLDI Siscia I. p. 21., VOGT, J. Der Niedergang Rom p. 74. already characterizing the ideology of the period more detailed.
- 145 Cf. Nilsson II /pp. 555-596./ about the gnostic and hermetic ideology.
- 146 See the legends RESTITUTOR ORIENTIS /RIC V/1. Aurelianus 233. 234. etc. RESTITUTOR ORBIS /RIC V/1. Claudis 189., Aurelianus 53. 139. 287. etc./ RIC V/2. Probus 731. 732. 733. etc. and inscriptions: note 140.
- 147 PACI PERPETUAE AUG /RIC V/2. Probus 7. PAX AETERNA /RIC V/1. Claudius 185. 237. 238. etc. Aurelianus 114. RIC V/2. Probus 8. SAECULI FELICITAS RIC V/1 Claudius 179. Aurelianus 352. RIC V/2 Probus 358. 359. 360. etc.
- 148 In Aurelianus' coinage the emperor's image is to be seen on 95 % of the conservator-coins.
- 149 See the p. 124.
- 150 As to ROHDE /p. 297./ these legends were used immediately after Aurelianus' death /..." eine neue Form der Consecrationsmünzen"/, even if true, they undoubtedly bear the spirit of Aurelianus. It is not accidental, that this legend type /Natus Deus/ is to be found in the coinage of this very emperor.
- 151 See the list of the Serdica averses /RIC V/2. Probus/.
- 152 See the p. 66.
- 153 TRENCSENÝI - W., I. Vergilius pásztori muzsája /Vallástörténeti Tanulmányok/ pp. 374-375. studying IV. ecloga discusses the significance of Theokritos' idyll XXIV. /Heracliscos/ in connection with the redeeming child bringing the Golden Age. /p. 372. notes 27. 28. 29./
- 154 Cf. The mythos around Sidus Iulium, and the senator-witnesses to the emperor's deification.
- 155 See the note 145.
- 156 The actual date SHA has not been decided. Some scholars put it round A.D. 370., others at a later date. SYME, R. Emperors and Biography /pp. 285-290./ writes as a latest on this topic, putting the date to around 379., as most

- plausible. HARTKE, W. deals with this parallelism between SHA Probus-vita and Stilicho-panegyricus, in Römische Kinderkaiser, Berlin 1951. /p. 348./, and HAHN, I. Die Soziale Utopie der Spätantike /Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin Luther Universität, Halle-Wittenberg, 1962. okt./
- 157 RIC V/2. Probus 7. 139. 296. RIC V/1. Claudius 185. 237. 238. 239.
- 158 ALFÖLDI Studien /p.178./ writes about the message of these coins, concerning Golden Age.
- 159 This is closely linked with the importance of Lugdunum in Probus' coinage, and shows, that Probus permitted the infiltration of local Gallian cults into the coinage-propaganda of the Empire. /cf. PWRE VIII. 609-612. and Roscher I. 3020./ and HATT, J.J. Les celtes et les gallo-romaines /Geneve 1970./ writes about celtic deities assuming the figures of Hercules and Mars /pp. 373-378./
- 160 Aeneis, VI. 851-853. "Tu regere imperio populos ..."
- 161 SHA Probus 20.
- 162 Aeneis, VIII. 320-325.
- 163 TRENCSENÝI - W., I. /Vergilius pásztori muzsája, Vall.Tan. pp. 370./ write, that the faith in the cyclic concept is found not only in Vergilius by yet at Hesiodos.
- 164 Although it is unanimously accepted that Diocletianus being worshipped as deity during his life the first time, as quoted by ALFÖLDI /Zeremoniell p.8./ Ammianus, Hieronymus, Eutropius; exception are those who consider such extreme cases as Caracalla and Domitianus /by Aurelius Victor/, the role of Aurelianus is essential in this context. ALFÖLDI /Zeremoniell p.8./ finds a certain similarity in the vestments of Diocletianus and Aurelianus.
- 165 SHA Aurelianus 35.
- 166 See SHA Aurelianus 35. A. VICTOR 35, 7. EUTROPIUS IX, 15. ZOSIMOS A. 61. SYNCELLOS /Dindorf p. 721./ etc.
- 167 NILSSON II. p. 511.
- 168 LATTE /p. 220./ writes that the "military" character is but secondary in the Hercules-symbol.
- 169 FITZ, J. Hercules-kultusz eraviszkusz területen /István Király Múzeum közleményei, A. sorozat 4. sz., Székesfehérvár 1957. p.6./

A P P E N D I X I.

Claudius II. Gothicus

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. CONCORDIA EXERC | 41. SPES PUBLICA |
| 2. APOLLINI CONS | 42. UBERITAS. AUG |
| 3. FELICITAS AUG | 43. VICTORIA GM |
| 4. FIDES MILITUM | 44. VIRTUS /CLAUDI/ AUG |
| 5. IOVI VICTORI | 45. SOLI CONS AUG |
| 6. MARTI PACIF | 46. PAX EXERC |
| 7. SALUS AUG | 47. ROMAE AETERNAE |
| 8. VICTORIA AUG | 48. CONCORD LEGI |
| 9. PM TRP P P stb. | 49. DACIA FELIX |
| 10. ADVENTUS AUG | 50. DIANA LUCIF |
| 11. AEQUITAS AUG | 51. IOVI CONSERVATORI |
| 12. AETERNITAS AUG | 52. FELICIT SAECULI |
| 13. ANNONA AUG | 53. PAX AET |
| 14. APOLLINI P CONS | 54. RESTITUT /PIETAT/IS |
| 15. CERES AUG | 55. RESTITUTOR ORBIS |
| 16. CONCORDIA AUG | 56. SPES AUG |
| 17. CONSERVAT PIETAT | 57. VOTA ORBIS |
| 18. DIANAE CONS AUG | 58. PAX PUBLICA |
| 19. FELICITAS AUG | 59. CONSER AUG |
| 20. FELIC TEMPO | 60. CONSERVATORES AUG |
| 21. FIDES EXERCI | 61. DEO CABIRO |
| 22. FORTUNA REDUX | 62. DIANAE VICTR |
| 23. GENIUS AUG | 63. FIDES AUG |
| 24. GENIUS EXERC | 64. IUNO REGINA |
| 25. INVICTUS AUG | 65. IUVENTUS /AS/ AUG |
| 26. IOVI FULGERAT | 66. NEPTUN AUG |
| 27. IOVI STATORI | 67. REGI ARTIS |
| 28. LAETITIA AUG | 68. SOL AUG |
| 29. LIBERALITAS AUG | 69. SECURITAS PERPETUA |
| 30. LIBERITAS AUG | 70. VICTORIAE GOTHIC |
| 31. PROVID EXERCI | 71. FORTUNA AUG |
| 32. LIBERO CONS AUG | 72. MINERVA AUG |
| 33. MARS VICTOR | 73. VENUS AUG |
| 34. MARS ULTOR | |
| 35. MONETA AUG | |
| 36. ORIENS AUG | |
| 37. PAX AUG | |
| 38. PIETAS AUG | |
| 39. PROVIDENTIA AUG | |
| 40. SECURIT AUG | |

Aurelianus

- | | |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 1. VIRTUS AUG | 41. VIRTUS /A/EQUIT |
| 2. CONCORD LEGI | 42. DACIA FELIX |
| 3. PM TRP P P | 43. PANNONIAE |
| 4. ORIENS AUG | 44. PAX AETERNA |
| 5. PROVIDEN DEOR | 45. FELIC SAECULI |
| 6. ANNONA AUG | 46. PIETAS AUG |
| 7. APOLLINI CONS | 47. VICTOR LEG |
| 8. CONCORDIA AUG | 48. CONSERVATOR AUG |
| 9. CONCORDIA MILIT | 49. IOVI STATORI |
| 10. FORTUNA REDUX | 50. AURELIANUS AUG CONS |
| 11. PAX AUG | 51. FELICIT TEMPOR |
| 12. PROVIDENT AUG | 52. MINERVA AUG |
| 13. VICTORIA AUG | 53. VICTORIAE GOTHIC |
| 14. IOVI CONSER | 54. SAECULI FELICITAS |
| 15. RESTITUT SAECULI | 55. SOLI CONSERVATORI |
| 16. SOLI INVICTO | 56. VICTORIA GERM |
| 17. VIRT MILITUM | 57. MARS INVICTUS |
| 18. APOL CONS AUG | 58. RESTITUTOR EXERC |
| 19. ROMA AETER | 59. FIDES EXERC |
| 20. CONCO EXER | 60. RESTITUTORI GENTIS |
| 21. GENIUS ILLYR | 61. VIRTUS ILLYRICI |
| 22. RESTITUT ORIENTIS | 62. VABALATHUS UCRIMDR |
| 23. LIBER/I/TAS AUG | 63. CONS PRINC AUG |
| 24. LIBERITAS AUG | 64. PACATOR ORBIS |
| 25. LIBERALIT AUG | 65. SEVERINA AUG |
| 26. PACATOR ORIENTIS | |
| 27. *VICTORIA PARTHICA | |
| 28. IUNO REGINA | |
| 29. ADVENTUS AUG | |
| 30. AETERNIT AUG | |
| 31. CONSECRATIO | |
| 32. FIDES MILITUM | |
| 33. LAETITIA AUG | |
| 34. MARTI PACIF | |
| 35. SECURIT AUG | |
| 36. AEQUITAS AUG | |
| 37. IOVI VICTORI | |
| 38. RESTITUT ORBIS | |
| 39. VENUS FELIX | |
| 40. GENIUS EXERC | |

Probus

1. ADVENTUS AUGUSTI
2. TEMPOR FELICIT, FELICIT TEMPOR
3. VICTORIA /PROBI/ AUG
4. VIRTUS /PROBI, INVICTI/ AUG
5. CONCORDIA MILIT
6. FIDES MILITUM
7. LAETITIA AUG
8. MARTI PACIF
9. ORIENS AUG
10. PROVIDENTIA AUG
11. PAX AUG
12. SOLI INVICTO
13. SALUS AUG
14. VICTORIA GERM
15. IOVI CONS /PROBI/ AUG, IOVI CONSERVAT
16. ROMA AETERNA
17. RESTITUT SAECULI
18. ADLOCUTIO AUG
19. CONSERVAT AUG
20. CLEMENTIA TEMP
21. CONCORDIA EXERC
22. INDULGENTIA AUG
23. PERPETUITATE AUG
24. PRINCIPIS IUVENTUTI
25. CONCORD AUG
26. FELICITAS AUG
27. SALUS PUBLIC
28. FELICIT SAEC, SAECULI FELICITAS
29. HERCULI PACIF
30. VOTIS X /PROBI AUG/ ET XX FEL
31. SECURIT PERP
32. SAECULI PACIFERO
33. PM TRP P P
34. AETERNITAS AUG
35. ABUNDANTIA AUG
36. SPES /PROBI/ AUG
37. PACATOR ORBIS
38. AEQUITAS AUG
39. HERCULI ARCADIO
40. HERCULI ERYMANTHO
41. HERCULI IMMORTALI
42. SECURITAS SAECULI
43. SOLI INVICTO AUG
44. FORTUNA REDUX
45. ORIGINI AUG
46. RESTITUT ILLYRICI

47. RESTITUT ORBIS
48. SISCIA PROBI AUG
49. IMP PROBUS CONS
50. MONETA AUG
51. REDITUS AUG
52. CALLIOPE AUG
53. SOLI INVICTO COMITI AUG
54. UBIQUE PAX
55. VICTORIOSO SEMPER
56. MARS ULTOR
57. IOVI STRATORI
58. LAETITIA FUND
59. HUMANITAS AUG
60. VOTA SOLUTA X
61. ADLOCUT MILIT
62. GLORIA ORBIS
63. HERCULI ROMANO AUG
64. MARS VICTOR, MARTI VICTORI AUG
65. PACI PERPETUAE AUG
66. PAX AETERNA
67. VICTORIA GOTHIC
68. FIDES VICTOR
69. SECURITAS ORBIS
70. COMES /PROBI/ AUG, COMITI PROBI AUG
71. PIETAS AUG
72. SALUS MILITUM
73. VICTORIA PERPETUA
74. PEROVIDEN DEOR
75. RESTITUTOR EXERCITI
76. RESTITUTOR URBIS

Key to the signs used in the frequency tables:

- A,B,C = categories of the deity-representation types
- S = "Salus aug" group
- G = "Genius group"
- E = Emperor
- M = Emperor-symbol (Mars)
- S = "Saeculum" group
- P = "Pax" group

Capital letter = in case all the types bearing this legend come under the group examined

Small letter = in case only part of the types bearing this legend come under the group examined

A P P E N D I X II.

Probus' types in the catalogues of WEBB and PINK 1949.

Aurei

Only in WEBB	Only in PINK 1949.
Lug: TEMPOR FELICIT	Lug: -
Rom: -	Rom: ROMAE AETERNAE ADLOCUTIO AUG
Tic: CLEMENTIA TEMP	Tic: ADVENTUS AUG
Sis: PM TRP P P ADVENTUS AUG PACATOR ORBIS	Sis: PRINCIPIS IUVENTUTI FIDES MILITUM ROMAE AETERNAE /z/ IMP PROBUS CONS II SALUS AUG
Ser: FIDES MILT ROMA AETER	Ser: PM TRP COS III P P /lion/ VIRTUS PROBI AUG
Cyz: VICTORIA AUG CONSERVAT AUG PRINCIPIS IUVENTUTI	Cyz: -
Ant: PM TRP P P VICTORIA AUG CONSERVAT AUG	Ant: -
	Tri: -

Antoniniani and diverse denominations

Lug: FIDES VICTOR SALUS MILITUM	
Rom: TEMPOR FELICIT ORIENS AUG PAX AUG SOLI INVICTO COMITI VICTORIOSO SEMPER HUMANITAS AUG VOTA SOLUTA X RESTITUT SAECULI	Rom: CLEMENTIA TEMP MARS ULTOR
Tic: CLEMENTIA TEMP FELICITAS AUG	Tic: ADVENTUS AUG
Sis: AEQUITAS AUG	Sis: TEMPOR FELICIT /z/
Ser: PM TRP P P VICTORIA AUG SALUS AUG	
Cyz: RESTITUT ORBIS	Cyz: SOLI INVICTO /z/