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# Descriptive Catalogue

A CABINET

OF

#### OF

# ROMAN IMPERIAL

# LARGE-BRASS MEDALS.

BY

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# BEDFORD: JAMES WEBB, PRINTER. M.DCCC.XXXIV.



#### то

#### HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

# AUGUSTUS FREDERICK, DUKE OF SUSSEX, K.G.

&c. &c. &c.

WHOSE UNWEARIED AND IMPARTIAL ATTENTION TO THE INTERESTS OF THE SOCIETY

OVER WHICH HE PRESIDES

COMMANDS THE RESPECT AND GRATITUDE OF ALL WHO ARE ANXIOUS FOR

#### THE PROMOTION OF SCIENCE,

AND

WHOSE UNIFORM CONDESCENSION AND KINDNESS TO THOSE WHO ARE ENGAGED IN

#### SCIENTIFIC INQUIRIES

ARE SO BENEFICIAL TO THE ADVANCEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE,

THIS HUMBLE ATTEMPT TO SHEW THE ADVANTAGES OF MEDALLIC STUDIES

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH THE DEEPEST FEELINGS OF RESPECT AND GRATEFULNESS,

BY

#### HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS' DUTIFUL

AND MOST OBEDIENT HUMBLE SERVANT,

WILLIAM HENRY SMYTH.



### INTRODUCTION.

So many works on the subject of Roman Medals have already appeared, that to add to their number may be deemed nothing better than lost labour; yet after the trouble of collecting an important series, its value is necessarily enhanced in the estimation of its collector; and he is tempted, not perhaps unreasonably, to think that an accurate description of it will not be without its use. To explain the circumstances which gave birth to the present work, and the view with which it was composed, it may be proper to state, that having enjoyed unusual opportunities while professionally employed in the Mediterranean, and having, for several years, examined a vast quantity of coins, and filled cabinet after cabinet with specimens of all sorts and sizes, I finally decided upon restricting myself to the Roman Imperial Large-Brass, as by far the most interesting series, since they delineate with fidelity, and preserve with little variation, more portraits of real characters; give more perfect representations of implements, dresses, buildings, and symbols; record a greater number of remarkable events; fix precisely more chronological dates; and afford better traces of manners and customs, than any other class of coins.

I have not, however, been inattentive to the claims and beauty of those belonging to other series, having studied with admiration the high antiquity and exquisite taste of the Greek, Sicilian, and Carthaginian medals, and I regard the Consular coins as a valuable treasury of the types and symbols of the primæval families of Rome; although in the greater part of them, the difficulty of positive identification, and of precise chronological arrangement, so well known to medallists, greatly diminish their historical and literary value. But in proportion as my attention was devoted to the Large-Brass, each emblem became more distinct and instructive, and every item rose into importance, so that when viewed with the diligence which these medals deserve, they are found to display an infinite store of information. To point out the illustrations afforded to History, Chronology, and Geography, by this series, is the great object of the present Catalogue, which, diffuse as it may appear to some, might have been much and not unprofitably enlarged, had not the writer's time been almost wholly devoted to professional duties.

The study of Medals has been branded with the epithet of pedantry, by illiterate persons, or such as have only heard of the fancies and visions of pretended Virtuosoes. If the study of history, however, is deserving of attention, no where will

be found more sure or unsuspicious vouchers for its truth, than in these small but durable monuments of the power and arts of ancient Rome. Considering the very numerous public and private collections which exist throughout Europe, and the great convenience they afford of ready reference, it is only surprising that we should meet with any well-educated person to whom they are entirely unknown. Yet extraordinary instances of such ignorance occasionally occur, even where the possession of some valuable coins might naturally have prompted an enquiry concerning Such want of knowledge exposes the possessors of these rarities to many them. mortifications; it deprives them of the pleasure of justly estimating the value of what they possess, makes them the dupes of such as are interested in deceiving, and occasions severe disappointment when they meet with a good judge who is honest enough to tell them the truth. I was once much amused by seeing a coin unrolled from a paper, with great care and solemnity, which turned out to be nothing more than a Hadrian worn almost smooth. Its owner was highly pleased when told that it was undoubtedly genuine, but proportionably disappointed and incredulous when informed that its value might be "about three-pence." But this was nothing to the blunder of a pretended Connoisseur in the South of France, who, after shewing me a wretched medley of worthless things, produced, as the most precious article in his whole collection, a bronze medal, and added in a tone of exultation-" Voilà, Monsieur, une mèdaille unique; c'est du grand philosophe Zènon !" It was a small-brass of the Emperor Zeno. For persons who will not take the trouble to be better informed, it is a dangerous thing to dabble in antiquities; and the unhappy mistake of the French virtuoso reminds me of a worthy English gentleman, who was on the point of sending home an old brass cannon, inscribed with the name of Hadrian, as a proof that gunpowder was known to the Romans.

He is but a young numismatist who imagines that coins derive their principal value from their metal. The Romans may have made brass medals the depository of their exploits with more care than gold or silver, under the certainty that, as they did not so much tempt the cupidity of the possessor, or the dishonesty of servants, they were not so immediately exposed to the danger of the melting pot, and were, therefore, more likely to be permanently and widely circulated. At all events it is generally admitted, and a thorough knowledge of the subject confirms the opinion, that Angustus reserved for himself and his successors the right of coining gold and silver, and left the brass and copper under the direction of the Senate, whose official signature, as it may be termed, is expressed by the well-known siglæ S.C. A further confirmation of this implied compact exists in an inscription found at Rome, and thus given by Gruter—" Officinatores monetæ aurariæ, argentariæ

*Cæsuris.*" Yet there are some who maintain that the Senate had power over the whole mintage of Rome; but though all the brass coins with very few exceptions, have the "Senatûs Consultu" upon them, the gold and silver, with still rarer exceptions, are without it. Vespasian minted in the precious metals before his title was acknowledged in Rome, whereas the brass was only struck when the Senate received him. Albinus appears as Augustus on gold and silver coins, but on the brass series only as Cæsar; and it was for assuming the former title that he was put to death. The soundest antiquaries, therefore, look upon the divided privilege of coinage to be satisfactorily established.

The Mint was a more important institution in ancient Rome than with us, when steam performs the office of numbers of men; and it was more extensive because its produce was to supply a currency for the World. In the rebellion of the Moneyers, under Aurelian, that Emperor lost 7,000 of his best troops; and the offices and appointments of the money-departments were considered as equally honourable and lucrative. It may here be mentioned that the engravers of the dyes were called *Cælatores*; the assayers of the metals, *Spectatores*, or *Nummularii*; the refiners, *Cænarii*; the melters, *Fusarii*, or *Flaturarii*; the adjusters of weight, *Equatores monetarum*; and the men who struck the dye, *Malleatores*. The chief person in each office was denominated *Primicerius*, and the next in rank, *Optio*, or *Exactor*.

A well-selected series of Imperial large-brass affords interest and information in the highest degree; and as these coins were struck by sovereigns common to all Europe, they are almost recognizable as the currency of our own country. They offer the most elegant of all the branches of ornamental literature, and have been resorted to by the most distinguished architects, sculptors, poets, and painters, for the grace and dignity with which they are replete. Caraccio, Raphael, Petrarch, Politian, and Rubens were among their warmest admirers; Halley, the astronomer, was no mean medallist; and Flaxman, who himself possessed a collection, was delighted with some of the coins in the cabinet here described. Upon medals are preserved the entire forms of many ancient edifices, and the attitudes and figures of the most celebrated statues, executed and grouped with a bold and elegant exertion of mind as well as of the eye and hand. "In devices of this nature," says Addison, "one sees a pretty poetical invention, and may often find as much thought on the reverse of a medal as in a Canto of Spencer." The types on the obverse relate to its great subject—the Emperor, whose likeness it bears; and the legends round his bust generally show what part he took in the administration of public affairs; what civil offices he bore; how many times he had been Consul, or had exercised the

Tribunitian Power; and how often he had been saluted "Imperator" by the army. On the reverse we find recorded—if he were a man of enterprise and ambition, his exploits; if mild and provident, his benefits;—thus they not only register the great military and imperial acts, but also those of peace and utility—such as a remission of taxes, the opening of a road, repairing a port, raising an edifice, or celebration of a festival. In a word, the large-brass series exhibits most faithful and striking portraits of the Emperors, Empresses, and other celebrated personages, for more than three centuries, with their habits and implements; many of them in a style of beauty, boldness, and vigour, which few Greek coins can surpass; and realizing the "quantum rerum, quantum exemplorum, quantum antiquitatis tenet" of Pliny. The ordinary devices may be classed under the following heads:—

1.	Religious.	Deities, moral virtues, temples, pontifical offices. Altars, sacrifices, sacerdotal implements. Funereal pyres, consecrations, apotheoses.
2.	Civil	Provinces, colonies, cities, rivers, ports, bridges. Indulgencies, largesses, remissions of taxes, privileges. Secular and circus games, naumachiæ, combats of wild animals.
3.	Military	Victories, adlocutions, alliances, expeditions, triumphs. Arrivals, departures, legions, annies, battles, oaths of fealty. Implements of war, ships, standards, trophies, titles of honour.

The Large-Brass series comprises the whole of what is termed "the Higher Empire," from Julius Cæsar to Gallienus, and exhibits Roman art from the dawn of its perfection to the eve of its decline. The facts thus recorded are also clear and satisfactory, not obscured by the dense mists with which the stream of time too often throws an impenetrable gloom over the pages of history; nor is the antiquary here uselessly labouring with a slender string of conjectures to fathom the depths of an interminable abyss, as frequently occurs in attempts to trace an object through the obscurity of remote ages, where the mind is too prone to follow glimmering and dubious lights. It is true that the Senate, in servile adulation, prostituted the arts by conferring honours on the most depraved of men; and while the obverse of a medal was made subservient to ambition, the reverse was degraded with flattery; hence the Emperors were often represented as clothed with all the majesty of Jupiter himself, and the Empresses usually figured as those goddesses, whose attributes were ascribed to them by conceit or obsequiousness.

From this license of adulation the *Moderation* of Tiberius, the *Clemency* of Vitellius, the *Triumphs* of Domitian, the *Conquests* of Verus, and the *Piety* of Elagabalus, might induce a Novice to rank them with the Vespasians, the Nervas, the Trajans, the Antonines, and the Alexanders. But here the judgment must be exercised by a reciprocal examination of medallic and historic evidence: as the brass

coinage was under the express direction of the Senate, both satire and obscenity were curbed; but its productions commemorate as well as tyranny, servility, and blood, acts of benevolence, piety, and utility ;--while all these various facts and attributes are expressed by legends of such admirable force and brevity, as to convey in a few abbreviated words and appropriate symbols more than is found in whole pages of the historian. These coins, moreover, furnish an invaluable commentary on ancient writers, by explaining ambiguous statements, confirming dates, authenticating records, and rendering the testimony of history conclusive. "By the aid of coins you teach posterity the events of my reign," are words ascribed to Theodoric, by Cassiodorus. A conviction of this, added to the beauty and value of a collection received from my friend Mr. J. C. Ross, of Malta, made me relinquish the dubious pursuit of Greek Colonies, which I had entered upon, and confine myself to the Large-Brass series. But I must confess that my attachment is to the certain æra of Roman History; for I never believed in Æneas and his Trojan colony; nor Romulus and Remus, and the Wolf, their nurse; nor the rape of the Sabines; nor the Falerii surrendering their liberties because a pedagogue was scourged. No faith can be placed in virgins heaving up ships high and dry; in the cutting of flints with razors; in the contest of the Horatii and Curatii; in the patriotic leap of Curting; in the story of Horatius Cocles; in that of the Gauls and cackling geese; in the rape of Lucretia; in the uncomfortable tub of Regulus; nor indeed in a tythe of the magnanimous impostures and splendid improbabilities, which are said to have happened five hundred years before there were historians in Rome, and confidently repeated after the public documents had been destroyed.

While mentioning that the early history of Rome, like that of other countries, is enveloped in doubt, fiction, and improbability, a sailor may allude to a "vulgar error," which has obtained, though the historian who transmitted it, has also left its refutation. This is the amusing story of the Romans being entirely ignorant of sea affairs, till they got hold of a wrecked galley, and that then, by a system of "dry-rowing" they became at once a first-rate naval power, and assumed the dominion of the seas. Now it is well known that some of their earliest money bore the prow of a galley on its reverse; that Ancus Martius, the fourth king of Rome, assigned certain woods for the express purpose of ship-building; that the fleet of Antium was captured and moored in a reach of the Tiber expressly set apart for the construction of shipping, two hundred years before the victory of Duilius; that a Roman fleet was defeated off Tarentum B. C. 279; and that in a treaty made with the Carthaginians, immediately after the expulsion of the Tarquins, it was stipulated that neither the Romans nor their allies should sail beyond the "Pulchrum

Promontorium." Even the judicious Polybius, who would make us believe that the Republican gallies emerged from obscurity so suddenly, and blazed forth a meteor of naval power, has also given us transcripts of two other treaties of nearly the same tenor and effect with the one just quoted. Shipwrights cannot be made by mere intuition, nor sailors by dry-rowing; nor would Decius Mus's motion, for the appointment of two *Commissioners of the Navy*, have been carried B. C. 304, had there been neither arsenals, ships, nor marine stores.

There are persons who think it lost time to study antiquities with ardour, or tremble at the sneers of those who have no taste for such pursuits. But tastes surely are only deserving of contempt, or condemnation, when they are nugatory or mischievous, and whatever really increases our stock of knowledge cannot be brought under either of those categories. Medals, moreover, besides the light they throw upon former times, are highly interesting as works of art; and, furnishing a history of it from its infancy to its decay, they offer a comprehensive, varied, and elegant amusement, less expensive and more convenient than either that of painting A love of the fine arts has been cultivated by men distinguished or sculpture. for their talents, from a very early period. Scipio Africanus, Lucullus, Julius Cæsar, and Augustus, were among the best antiquaries of Rome: Cæsar's collection excelling in Cameos, and that of his successor, in Vases. Vibius Rufus, the fourth husband of Terentia, boasted, with the exultation of a Stukely, that he possessed two of the greatest curiosities in the world-a woman who had been Cicero's wife, and the chair in which the great dictator had been stabled. Lucian tells us that the Earthen lamp which Epictetus used, was sold for the extravagant sum of 3000 drachmas. Juvenal longed for a portrait of Hannibal, that most sagacious, warv. and magnanimous warrior—of whom it is lamentable to say, no medal exists ; and in the spirit of a true antiquary describes the Roman soldier breaking a stolen vase to decorate the phaleræ, or trappings of his horse :---

"Then the rough soldier, yet untaught by Greece, To hang enraptured o'er a finish'd piece, If haply, mid' the congregated spoils, (Proof of his power, and guerdon of his toils,) Some antique vase of master-hands were found, Would dash the glittering bauble on the ground; That, in new forms, the molten fragments drest, Might blaze illustrious round his courser's chest."

The poet then adds in an animated strain, that the soldier might have employed the fragments of the vase, in decorating his own helmet, and having the story of Rome, such as the descent of Mars to Rhea, or the Wolf and twins, represented upon it. Here his words "*pendentisque dei*," which sorely puzzle the commentators, are aptly enough interpreted by a second-brass coin of Antoninus Pius, which Addison has figured in his "Travels," but which had also been published and illustrated by Oiselius. The late Mr. Gifford, whose translation of Juvenal has just been quoted, says—"I have followed Mr. Addison's explanation of this passage,"—but he adds—"I am no medallist, and can therefore say nothing as to the genuineness of the coin." This candid confession of an able writer, is noticed in exemplification of what I advanced respecting the ignorance of even classical scholars, on the subject of medals and inscriptions : for there can be no good reason why one, whose principal study was Juvenal, should not have gained some insight of a pursuit which would have proved one of the best guides in explaining various difficult passages of his author. Even the allusion of the Satirist himself, might have awakened attention :—

#### "Concisum argentum in titulos, faciesque minutas."

In thus asserting the utility of this study as furnishing the most valuable illustrations and irrefragable proofs of the truth of History, some brief remarks upon money in general may not be deemed inadmissible—especially as there are several other coinages, besides the Large-Brass, mentioned in the course of this Catalogue; and it is evident that no particular series can be treated of, without allusion to its monetary connexions.

It has been warmly disputed, whether what are usually termed medals of the Roman Empire were current money, or merely testimonials of the glory of its princes; but it would seem that they must have constituted the cash of the realm, for otherwise it may be asked, "what has become of the current coin?" And these pieces are not met with here and there one, but are found by tens, and hundreds, and thousands. Among the moderns, the difference between coins and medals is sufficiently obvious, because they are expressly distinguished both by their execution and object. But the same rule cannot be applied to ancient money. Even the very origin of the terms is questionable. Vossius derives the word medal from "metallum;" Scaliger, whose position is quite untenable, from the Arabic "metalia;" and Du Cange, with a far-fetched derivation, from "mediates nummi," as being half of another piece. Coin is deduced from "cuneus," a primitive wedge-shaped ingot; or, according to Coke, from the French word "coin," because ancient money was square, and therefore cornered.

In commerce, the term money is the well-known one for any representation of property, that acts as a circulating medium at a value affixed by public authority; but among numismatists, it is nearly confined to the produce of the mint; and coins and medals differ therefrom, only as the species from the genus. Money performs a function essential to the exigencies of civil society, and is probably coeval with it, though the earliest mention which we find of a deliberate interchange. is the four hundred shekels of silver, " current money," (probably weighed pieces,) which were paid by Abraham for a burial ground. The Romans appear to have borrowed their coinage from the Etruscans, and to have improved it from the Greeks. They began to stamp coins about 550, B. C. and their first money, according to the unsatisfactory summary of Pliny, was impressed with an ox, a ram, or a boar, and was therefore called *pecunia*. This was succeeded by the class Ratiti, which comprehended the *as libralis* and its divisions : the *as* itself usually bore the head of Janus, and weighed twelve ounces; the *semis* or half as, that of Jupiter; the triens or third of an as, that of Pallas; the quadrans or fourth of an as, that of Hercules; the sextans or sixth of an as, that of Mercury; the uncia or twelfth of an as, that of Roma; and all of them had varieties which bore the prow of a galley upon the reverse----whence the "*capita aut navia*" of the Roman boys. Of the compounds, the *bissas*, or old *dupondius*, was two *ases*; the *tressis* or tripondius, three; the quadrassis, four; and the decussis, ten: and when the as was reduced and termed *libella*, it seems that pieces of five ounces were struck, called quincunx.

It was long however before the effigies of princes were placed upon money; and for some ages the consular coins bore only the head of Roma, with a Victory in a car drawn by two, or four horses, and were called *Victoriati*, *Bigati*, or Quadrigati, according to their device. Yet Isodorus asserts that money was called  $\mathcal{N}ummus$ , because King Numa ordered his name and image to be put upon it. Erizzo, and he is followed by the visionary Hardouin, absurdly supposes that none of the medals now found were cash, because the Emperors and Empresses would have thought themselves dishonoured, by having their likenesses placed upon coins which were to be circulated among the people: but Aristotle might have taught him, that such a measure was of public utility, since it was the most solemn pledge that the specie was of due weight and proper alloy, thereby saving the trouble of weighing and measuring; and that no means were better adapted to restrain forgers, because it made the alteration of the money a personal insult to the sovereign. We learn from Dio, that the Senate ordered the head of Cæsar to be stamped upon the money, and he was the first living personage, who had the high honour of having his effigy placed on a Roman medal. Suetonius affirms that the current coin of Augustus had his head on one side, with a capricorn on the other; and the Evangelist, St. Matthew, distinctly says, that the tribute-money which the Jews paid to the Romans, bore the Emperor's "likeness." The mention of the "penny" or rather *denarius*, in the Gospel, and the numerous coins which bear counter-

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marks, are sufficient evidence that these coins were current, at a value which was regulated or altered by authority of the government.

From these considerations, and the difficulty of clearly distinguishing them, I have used the terms coin and medal as synonimous, in ancient Numismatics, according to the practice of the best judges; who agree that medallions only were not current, their magnitude and high relief rendering them unfit for use. The last opinion, however, though almost general, is not universally admitted; for although medallions are ponderous, far from uniform in weight, few in number, and without the S. C. of the other coins, many persons have considered them as likely to have been current money, as the *cistophori*, or medals stamped with the mystic basket of Bacchus—and the *tetradrachmæ* of Grecce. They may, indeed, have been struck as *pied-forts*, or proofs of skill, and for recording events of particular interest, similar to modern medals, and as such were given away or scattered, with the other missilia, at games, triumphs, and public ceremonies. Suetonius describes Augustus as presenting his favourites with "Nummus omnis notæ" in the Saturnalian festivals; and we cannot doubt but that medallions were the "nummi maximi" with which Lucius Verus pelted the drinking glasses in the "tabernæ."

This promiscuous use of the terms coin and medal is not the only liberty which I have taken in regard to style : such words as sedent, alate, module, spread, numismatist, and tooling, may appear harsh to the general reader, but among medallists they have become familiar. It is not uncommon to call the legend, or "soul of the medal," a fascia, perhaps from the titles of prints having formerly been inscribed on ribands; and I have sometimes adopted the term although I dislike it. The words characteristic and portrait will be found somewhat improperly introduced, but nevertheless, consistently with very common usage; and some difficulty has arisen in rendering Latin proper names into English by *apocope*, custom having rendered familiar such as Tully, Pliny, Horace, Ovid, Virgil, Livy, Terencewhile Statius, Tacitus, Ausonius, Prudentius, and others, retain their original The epithets of symbol and device are often used indifferently in orthography. the following descriptions, although the former signifies, strictly speaking, a practical or figured metaphor-and the latter an allegory; the one simple, the other complex—whence it follows that figures on medals are devices—and hieroglyphics are symbols. The implements and various portions of dress may savour of parade, from being introduced in their own language; but we have no English terms that aptly correspond. "Blanket dress" is but a mean interpretation of the Roman toga; and a scholar will disdain to receive Obadiah Walker's "platter" for the patera, or his " water-pot " for the præfericulum.

In some points I have ventured to depart from what may be considered as established usage, when it seemed to be grounded on error. Thus I have not rendered *parazonium* by truncheon, because, although a badge of command, it appears to have been a sceptral sword rather than that instrument. I cannot agree that the bird over the grotto, on No. CCXIII. is the one which is dedicated to Mars, under the name of Picus Martius; and though opposite opinions may obtain many suffrages, the idea of the *fulmen* possessing the triple power of piercing, melting, and burning, may be considered as borne out by ancient writers. Pinkerton insists that the *thensa* and *carpentum* are essentially different: now, although the former was used for cars which merely carried images, it was also called *Carpentum Pompaticum*, and either might be used without great impropriety. The same author is also astonished at a "fact" which "can never be explained by antiquarians," that of a sword never being seen upon Roman coins: yet several examples to the contrary may be referred to in the Index of this Catalogue.

It may also seem that I have been too discursive-too partial to Latin quotations, and too prone to repetition : but the first arose from the interest of the study, and the conflicting tenour of the evidence that was examined; the second is assuredly allowable for the illustration of Latin medals; and the third is owing to the very nature of a Catalogue, where every medal is intended to be identified, and to serve as a reference independent of the others. One great object of this undertaking was to give such an outline of the reigns, which these medals illustrate, as to shew clearly how much the truth and accuracy of history is ascertained, by the aid of such collections. To come to a right conclusion, no labour was spared : almost every writer from Æneas Vico, in 1548, to Mr. Akerman in 1834, was consulted, and the pains bestowed upon the date assigned to each memorable event, were such as could not be imagined by those who have never been engaged in similar pursuits. The technical terms, many of which will be new to persons who are not conversant with numismatic works, may be referred to in the Index at the end of the book; but it may assist the general reader, to place those which relate to the several parts of a medal, in one view :---

( xv )

Fabric,	the proportions and workmanship.
Field,	
Flower	
	. the obverse, or head side.
	, that which is written across the field.
	two heads side by side, or joining
	that which is written round the field.
	comparative size of a medal.
Obverse,	
	. used, though somewhat improperly, for likeness.
	. the smooth coloured varnish of time.
	the opposite side to the obverse.
	not much misshapen in minting.
	a large adjustment of dimensions.
Туре,	
	, the upper or lower edge of the area.
The second se	

The following hints respecting the Roman mint, as connected with the coins of the class here described, will not probably appear displaced, though it is far from the author's intention to enter largely on the subject of medals in general. The imperial coinage consisted of pieces struck in gold, silver, and various modifications of copper. Of these, the Sestertii, or large-brass, consist entirely of a fine yellow brass called orichalcum, the latten of former ages, which was valued at double the ratio of the "Æs Cyprium," or copper of the *dupondii*, or second brass. The size of the Sestertius allows a sufficient scope for the artist in the delineation of portraits and figures; and the intrinsic value of the series is greatly enhanced by the skill with which these coins are executed. From the reign of Augustus, to that of Nero, the style progressively improves, and from the time of Vespasian, to that of Hadrian and the Antonines, the devices are so excellent and simple that, compared with most modern medals, it is the difference between the touch of genius and the effort of labour-like what is seen on comparing the indignant Apollo of the Vatican, with the fall of the rebel angels, shewn at Padua, that fantastic pyramid of legs and other limbs, where exquisite skill is unable to redeem defective taste. From the death of Commodus-the last and unworthy descendant of the Antonines-art declines till the reigns of Alexander Severus and the Gordians, from which time, though with occasional gleams of revival, it falls rapidly into degradation; the artists of the Lower Empire having been more busied with embroidery, than with sculpture or medals.

Although the Sestertii only are made of brass, it is usual to class the three sizes of Æs into Large, Middle, and Small-Brass; the two last of which, though inferior to their "proud sister" in price and dignity, are numerous, valuable,

and of great beauty, filling up many an hiatus with portraits that are found in no other series, and bringing History far down into the Lower Empire. Besides these, there are instances of "Two Coppers," in which medals are hooped round, as it were, with a different metal from that of which they are formed; and there are specimens of lead money, which, notwithstanding what is said by Plautus and Martial, are only classed as trial-pieces, and ancient forgeries—though Ficoroni in his "Piombi Antichi," pleads for their admission to higher notice.

The Sestertius was in use from the reign of Augustus to that of Gallienus; though from the days of Caracalla, it was gradually diminished in weight, until it became little more than a third of its original size. Under the Thirty Tyrants it disappeared; but an attempt was made to supply its place in Diocletian's time, by a coin called *follis*, which, however, seems to have weighed but half an ounce, and was worth forty of the small pieces called *Noumia*. In the Augustan era, the *Sestertius* was about an ounce in weight, and was nearly equal in value to two-pence of our present money: it was, in its subdivisious, equivalent to sixteen *quadrantes*, eight *sembelli*, or four *dupondii*;—while a denarius was valued at four *Sestertii*, and an aureus at a hundred and twenty.

The composition of the metal of the Roman brass medals, has excited much inquiry, both on account of its durability and the patina which it acquires; and several able chemists have submitted it to a severe analysis. By Professor Klaproth's experiments, the following results were obtained :---

2	A large-brass of Vo	ajan,	Vesta	382
		-	No. 2.	
	Copper	. 293	326	294
	Zinc			
	Lead			
	Tin	. 3	. 0	. 0
	Iron	. 1	. 0	0
		<b>3</b> 60	382	365
		The second s		

The Professor has here allowed nothing for loss, on which account the analysis of the late Mr. Parkes, may be preferable :---

		sp	ec. grav.	grs.	grs.
No. 1.	Agrippina, reverse, a	Thensa,	8.551 weight	303submitted to analysi	s 55
2.	Claudius,	Spes,	8.559	. <b>3</b> 69	62
3.	Vespasian,	Spes,	8.459	370	
4.	Nerva,	Fortuna,	8.746	399	66.5
				373	
				381	

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	No. 1.	No. 2.	No. 3.	No. 4	No. 5.	No. 6.
Copper						
Tin						
Lead						
Iron Loss	0.96	1.46	1.01	0.17	2.22	\$ 1.13
	55:00	69.60	56.00	66.50	272.00	67.09
		02 00	0000		010.00	07.05

In making a collection of *Sestertii*, it is a general rule to admit none but those in the finest condition, except in cases of extreme necessity. No pseudo-moneta, or pieces struck in imitation of the true coinage, such as *contorniates*, or tokens for admission into the theatre, nor other *missilia*, should be included in a large-brass series; and second-brass Greek-Imperial medals, which are those with the head of a Roman Emperor struck in Greece, and Colonial coins, are also to be rejected. In this collection, however, the above rules have not been rigidly observed, as it appeared better to depart from them in a few instances, than leave the series of Emperors and Imperial families incomplete. I have therefore permitted one silver medallion, four Greek-Imperial, two Colonial, and nine middle-brass, to be guartered on a cabinet of six hundred medals. In a national collection, it is proper to admit all similar reverses, wherein the slightest difference can be discovered; but as it is desirable to reduce the bulk of a private cabinet within certain limits, and to afford as much variety as possible in a given compass, such only have been retained in this, as were remarkable for their beauty, rarity, or interest; and they are placed chronologically as being in a more useful order, though less convenient for reference, than the alphabetical arrangement commonly adopted; or that in which the devices follow each other, in sequences of Virtues, Deeds, and Edifices. If such a principle of selection be not followed, the extent of this series may be increased almost without limit; as among many thousands of large-brass coins, apparently exact counterparts of each other, scarcely two will be found which came from the same die. As to the cause of this singular fact, for which I can vouch after many tedious hours of patient investigation, and which may justly be called the "pons asinorum" of Numismatology, I can only say, borrowing the words of St. Augustin-" "Rem vidi, causam non vidi."

The preservation of medals is a grand desideratum, since they are collected not merely because they are old, but also because they are elegant, and explanatory in proportion to their perfection; a state not a little secured by the patina that covers them, which, while it ornaments, effectually protects them from further injury by its hardness, and yet does not conceal the most delicate touches of the design. This

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exquisite rust, or rather varnish of ages, is called the "Flower of Brass" from  $\chi_{\alpha\lambda\kappa\sigma\nu} \alpha\nu\theta\sigma_{\sigma}$ , an elegant Greek phrase thus applied, because, as Galen says, it effloresces from *Chalcitis*, or copper ore. It is of the most rich and varied colours, green, olive, black, brown, red, yellow, and blue, in tints of many shades and intensities; and so difficult to imitate, as to set all the attempts of the *Falsarii* utterly at defiance. Such pieces as are most finely patinated, are usually termed the "Flowers" of the Cabinet.

Little variety occurs in the devices of Roman medals before the age of Augustus, and those few are mostly executed in a harsh style. This circumstance induces a supposition that the pleasing gold and silver series called "Family, or Consular coins," are contemporaneous with, and posterior to that Prince. If so, they are useless as regarding any chronological arrangement; nor are they much better in their heraldic character, as the representations were not blazoned at the time of action, but were affixed according to the dictates of pride, or the desire to record the exploits of their ancestors, by the descendants of the founder of each family. Such a procedure, from obvious reasons, would often amplify truth : " for my part," says Livy, "I suppose that the histories of these things have been corrupted by funeral orations and false inscriptions on images, every family endeavouring to ascribe to themselves the glory of performing gallant exploits, and obtaining honours by specious but unfair representations." But the integrity of the Imperial coinage is less questionable; and the fidelity of the portraits preserved to us, in this series, is very manifest on comparing different coins of the same personage, from the medallion to the quinarius; so much so, that the gradual change from youth to age is distinctly marked; and the individual can be immediately recognized, though the legend be totally effaced. These portraits are all in profile, which is an admirable position for medallic convenience; and it is worthy of remark that, at the commencement of a reign, it was not unusual to represent the new prince under a flattering likeness of his predecessor.

Besides the representation of their deities, the Romans, for identity, add their names in bold characters; a practice which, it has been said, was avoided by the superior delicacy of the Greeks: it would however have saved many useless conjectures, had the latter been less sparing of their explanations.

Some persons have been deterred from collecting, under the dread of being imposed upon by counterfeits, and look with suspicion upon every medal which is in any thing like a perfect state. This apprehension, however, is a feeling which subsides upon acquaintance with good collections; an experienced eye acquires the power of ready discrimination, and that power it is as easy to gain by practice,

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as it would be difficult to teach it by theory. Père Vionnet, a Jesuit, published a poem at Lyons, in 1734, under the title of "Museum Nummarium," the fifth part of which is devoted to rules for the examination of adulterated medals. This poem was followed, five years afterwards, by the essay of Mons. Beauvais, on the detection of false coins, in which some good general precepts are given; though, as he also observes, a little handling is necessary together with reading.

The Romans, according to Alexis Pancton, were the first who taught mankind the "criminal art" of debasing the precious metals; but there the learned mathematician was wrong, for the alloy is to be traced up to Philip of Macedon, it having been soon found, that a certain amalgam was necessary to render gold less liable to loss by abrasion and friction, than it would be in its ductile purity : nor can we suppose that Hiero's goldsmith was indebted to Rome for the suggestion of this fraud. The Roman silver was certainly greatly debased; but the aureus was very pure, from its earliest coinage until the reign of Severus, and was then deteriorated only in a few instances, the weight fluctuating rather than the standard; whence, as with **Darics** and **Attic drachmas**, they were in great esteem in currency. Integrity of metal made some coins long current throughout the world, whose unseemly appearance was not consonant with the state of the arts in their respective countries; but the old dies were continued in order that the barbarian traders might not take alarm. In like manner the guineas of England, the ducats of Holland, and the doubloons and dollars of Spain, have passed current in all parts of the globe; and from a similar cause, our early silver pennies had a long run, excelling in fabric and metal, during many reigns, the Italian and French coins of the same period. The Venetian sequins were of such high character, that Dante prophecies the evil appearance which Ratza will make, at the day of judgment, for counterfeiting them-and that badly :---

#### "Che male aggiustò 'l conio di Vinegia."

The most shameless forgeries have been rather inventions than imitations, and would scarcely deceive a novice; such were medals bearing the heads of Priam, Plato, Æneas, Hannibal, Scipio, Marius, Crassus, Cicero, and Virgil; giving new reverses to known heads, as *Veni*, *Vidi*, *Vici* to Cæsar; *Festina lentè*, with an anchor and dolphin, or a terminus on a thunderbolt, expressive of stability and velocity, to Augustus; the *Pantheon*, on a coin of Agrippa; and the *Pons Ælius*, and *Expeditio Judaica*, on those of Hadrian. Yet, gross as these attempts were, Paul IV. purchased several of them from Pietro Galileo at exorbitant prices. Some medals are very ingeniously "altered" by tooling, and legends and likenesses are substituted with wonderful skill: thus a worthless Claudius, struck at Antioch, is converted into an Otho; an Ægyptian Faustina into a Titiana; a Vespasian into

### $(\mathbf{x}\mathbf{x})$

a Vitellius; a Julia Pia into a Didia Clara; a Colonial Macrinus into a Pescennius Niger; a Julia Mamæa into a Tranquillina; a Severus into a Pertinax; young Gordian into an Africanus; and Philip the elder into an Æmilianus. At other times common coins of a particular reign were melted down, to supply metal for recasting rarer ones of the same Emperor; and new flans, or unstamped pieces, have thus been supplied for the graver. When the false medal is thus produced, the sand-spots, harsh-lines, ill-made characters, file-marks, and other defects, are carefully covered with an artificial varnish, so as to impose on the credulity of the young collector. But the last of these stratagems is the vulnerable point, for human art has failed in its imitations of patina. In vain have the spurious fabrications been buried in different kinds of earths, in vain have the most skilful applications of acids and burnt paper been used-the fictitious varnish never acquires the true colour, hardness, or polish, of that which is produced by age. Cast coins are also lighter than the true ones, and the Paduan forgeries are thinner than genuine medals, while the letters of the legends want certain peculiarities that are well known to an experienced eye.

As the cracks on the flan, occasioned by the blow which it receives in minting, are considered by many persons as undoubted proofs of the genuineness of a coin, great pains have been taken to imitate them. All file-marks are carefully worked off the edges, and an earthy substance is applied in order to give the appearance of age; but those marks cannot be considered as certain indications of forgery, since they are met with on medals which are undoubtedly true, and therefore must have been made by the Romans themselves. A subtle mode of deception, and one to be detected only by close examination, is that of splitting a coin in two, and then joining the opposite parts of two coins together, so as to apply the reverse of one to the obverse of another. Most collectors prize those medals very highly which have a head on each side, yet surely an ingenious device is preferable, and in this cabinet, limited as it is, few such have been admitted. Many of these bicipitous coins have been formed by the artifice mentioned above : thus Faustina Senior's head has been impacted to an Antoninus Pius; her daughter to that of Marcus Aurelius; Crispina to Commodus; and Otacilia to Philip; so that the unwary purchaser supposes that he has a man and his wife upon the same piece. I have had specimens of all these, so excellently finished as to require very minute inspection to detect the fraud: but the best forgery that has fallen in my way was an Alexander, with the rare legend "Potestas perpetua" round a seated Security, which I purchased as a true coin, though it had a shade of stiffness about it, nor was its falsity quite manifest until the graver was applied.

These formidable obstacles, however, are not insurmountable, and the collector will soon discover, that the dextrous talent shown by Cavino, Gambello, Cellini,

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Carteron, and other *falsurii*, has been met by equal skill and more knowledge on the part of learned antiquaries.

I cannot close this slight introduction, without acknowledging the gratification and benefit which I have received from a circle of valued friends, whose talents constitute a mine of classical, philosophical, and numismatic lore: and in mentioning the names of the Rev. G. C. Renouard, Mr. F. Douce, Mr. N. Carlisle, the Rev. Dr. P. Hunt, the Rev. T. S. Hughes, Dr. J. Lee, Mr. W. R. Hamilton, Mr. T. Burgon, Mr. G. Musgrave, Mr. E. Hawkins, Mr. T. Thomas, Mr. C. F. Barnwell, and Mr. P. E. Turnbull, my obligations will at once be understood. To Messrs. Renouard and Carlisle such thanks are particularly due; the former having kindly borne with incessant inquiries, and entered upon my pursuit with the intelligence of a scholar, and the zeal of an antiquary; while the latter, in throwing open the stores of the King's library, has, during an intercourse of many years, displayed the partiality of a friend, with the judgment of a tutor. The late Mr. Douce, who only a month previous to his demise had offered the celebrated Rothelin series of the coins of Probus for my acceptance, was at all times ready to exhibit his books and medals; and the talented officers of the British Museum have ever evinced the same feeling. To the Marquess of Bute, I consider myself bound to return thanks for his courtesy and liberality, in giving me the entrèe to his magnificent library at Luton Hoo, and to Dr. Lee for a similar privilege to the library of Hartwell House-more especially as both are rich in works on Numismatology. The splendid cabinet of Greek medals, collected and scientifically arranged by Mr. Burgon, of Brunswick Square, has been open to consultation ; as was also the princely collection of Mr. Thomas, who obligingly permitted me to have the engraving of his matchless Britannia made, which adorns the title-page of this Catalogue. And it were ungrateful not to add, that the stores of Messrs. Young and Till, the well-known dealers in Medals, have been most readily submitted to my inspection, at all seasons.

In conclusion, it is trusted that the following pages, though treating only of Roman Medals, will shew the pleasure and satisfaction which the cultivation of such a source of amusement affords to the traveller, and the navigator, when led by their peregrinations into regions teeming with these valuable monuments of ancient times, under circumstances which preclude the possibility of their having been forged, at least by moderns, while their intrinsic characters give them the indisputable stamp of genuineness. Nor are those whose destiny detains them at their hearths, denied this gratification, since medals may be purchased of honourable dealers at reasonable prices; and the occasional sales which take place in London, put the gleanings of Europe before them.

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Tiberius	7
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Antonia	ī
Germanicus	2
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Caligula	4
Claudius	6
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Agrippina Junior	1
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Domitilla	1
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NAMES.	Number of Medals.
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Didia Clara	l
Pescennius Niger	1
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Elagabalus	10
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Gordianus Afr. Senior Gordianus Afr. Junior	3
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Pupienus	7
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#### ERRATA.

In the progress of this Catalogue through the press, several of the Medals having been exchanged, a confusion has ensued in some of the references. All that have been yet found to be in error, as also such other mistakes as have been detected, are here enumerated, for correction.

Page

16 1. 15, ab imo
17 1. 4 and 11, ab imo XXII XXII.
19 /. 10, ab imo CCCLXXXII
93 /. 9
100 /. 22, ab imo XVIII. XVIII.
139 /. 12, ab imo CCXLII. CCXLIII.
184 /. 14 legend legion.
189 <i>l</i> . 6, ab imo XC XC.
200 note
215 l. 21, ab imo XXIV
236 1.8 CCLXXIII CCLXXXII.
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251 /. 22 CCCLV
255 <i>l</i> . 21 CCCCXXXI CCCCXXXII.
267 1. 8 CCCXXXVI CCCXXXVI.
268 l. 4, ab imo CCCXXXIV CCCXXXIII.
276 l. 3, ab imo CCCCXCVI CCCCXCV.



# Descriptive Catalogue

OF

## A CABINET OF "LARGE-BRASS" MEDALS

OF

# **IMPERIAL ROME.**

"The medal faithful to its charge of fame, Through climes and ages bears each form and name; In one short view, subjected to our eye, Gods, Emperors, Heroes, Sages, Beauties lie."

### JULIUS CÆSAR.

CAIUS JULIUS CÆSAR, the son of C. J. Cæsar and Aurelia, was born at Rome, B. C. 100; he was created triumvir with Pompey and Crassus, B. C. 60; gained the battle of Pharsalia, B. C. 48; and was assassinated in full senate, four years afterwards, at the age of 56, by Brutus,—who, mistaking effect for cause, robbed Rome of its noblest and most talented statesman. By the defenders of this atrocity, Cæsar has been pourtrayed as the betrayer of his country's liberty; nevertheless it would be somewhat difficult for them to demonstrate wherein such liberty consisted. He fell, according to some authors, by a doom which all tyrants deserve; "but," exclaim others, "what a notable judgment of God, upon the unnatural murderers of their sovereign, that not one of them either died a natural death, or survived him three years!" The act, however, may be as fairly attributed to the curious breach of etiquette, examined into by Bayle, by which the *Nobles* were offended, as to any other motive.

This illustrious captain,—who would rather be first in a village than second in Rome,—was equally remarkable for vigour, vigilance, courage, clemency, and magnanimity. Fifty pitched battles bore evidence to his military prowess,—as a writer he is immortalized by the inimitable "Commentaries,"—and as an orator, his eloquence has been commemorated by the verdict that, he was only second to Tully, because he pursued other objects. A man thus endued with all the commanding and engaging qualities which give ascendancy in society, must have swayed the destinies of his cotemporaries in any age, or any nation. He proved himself at once wary and adventurous; as well prudent in planning, as skilful in executing ; while, with an unexcelled celerity in catching advantages, he was withal so resolute under reverses, as never to lose his perfect self-possession. The daring leader crossed over to invade Britain, an island till then unknown to the Romans, though the wars in Gaul and Germany were unfinished: and to ensure the passage, he personally sounded the channel. He possessed wonderful abilities, and cultivated them with laborious attention; he ordered a survey of the whole world to be taken, and to him the public was indebted for a reformed calendar. His memory was so good, according to Cicero, that he never forgot any thing but an injury. He was superior to the superstitions of augury; and, unlike a great general of our times, Cæsar individually turned the tide of battle, on several occasions, when victory was declaring against him. In a word, despite of his rapacity, prodigality, ambition, and scandalous incontinence, he may be considered the most matchless public character of all antiquity.

Many comparisons have been drawn between Cæsar and his rival,—yet they must always end to the disadvantage of Pompey, because, from degenerating to a mere party-leader, he has left his character a solecism. While the latter proclaimed all those his enemies who did not espouse his cause, the former, with a more admirable foresight, declared those to be his friends who did not take up arms against him. The talents of Pompey were certainly of a high order, and his address eloquent and engaging ; but he was envious of the success of his colleagues, was partial to ceremony, and "scratched his head with one finger." The most glaring spots in the later stages of his military career, were deficiency of firmness, and contempt of his enemy.\* He repudiated his wife Marcia on account of her intrigues with Cæsar, and then married the adulterer's daughter. Cato exclaimed against this traffick in women, as one by which the dignities of the state were prostituted ; but Cato,—yea, the incorruptible, the virtuous Cato, that magnifier of other men's failings,—was himself a trafficker in divorce.<sup>†</sup>

Cæsar was the first Roman whose effigies were stamped upon coins in his life-time; and, according to Dio, this compliment was amongst the profusion of honours lavished upon him, by the senate. In many of his medals there is an affectation of rendering Venus the symbol of his family, for, by the same rule which proved Æsop to be a Frenchman, the Julii boasted their descent from *Iulus*, the grandson of Æneas. Upon others, the elephant is assumed, as the Punic origin of the surname Cæsar; this appears a more probable derivation than that which

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Beat them first, and despise them afterwards," was the precept of a naval commander, to a young officer, who was making light of an enterprise, about to be undertaken.

 $<sup>\</sup>uparrow$  The medals of Pompey are not of great rarity,—nor, except a gold one with a bust of Africa between the *lituus* and *præfericulum*, of high price. But the only large-brass specimen is that which bears the head of Janus bi-frons, with ears of wheat in the hair. The faces are likenesses of Pompey and his son Sextus.

## (3)

Pliny gives from the surgical operation; and we find, when the hero ascended the capitol, that he was attended by forty elephants bearing torches.

The medals of Julius Cæsar, with a few exceptions, are not rare; but their value is increased in a rapid ratio by bearing the portrait, and being in unexceptionable preservation. Though Paduan, and other forgeries, have been widely circulated, and have even crept into collections and catalogues, it does not appear that any large-brass medals were minted during his life; in consequence of which the following, struck by his grand-nephew Augustus, are usually placed in those cabinets, where the arrangement cannot admit of gold or silver.

- Obverse. DIVOS IVLIVS. The head of Julius Cæsar, crowned with a compact wreath of laurel. The physiognomy is calm and expressive, and bears the stamp of about 50 years of age. It was struck on the apotheosis of Cæsar; and the adoration arose as well from the opinion of the people, as the decree of the senate. At the first games exhibited by Augustus, in honour of the departed chief, a blazing star, or comet—the Julium Sidus of Horace, and Cæsaris Astrum of Virgil,—appeared for seven days together : undér such excitement as then existed, superstition was almost countenanced in believing it to be the soul of Cæsar received into heaven. The divos upon the field has been much criticised, but the O was often substituted for V in that age.
- Reverse. CAESAR DIVI. F. (Casar divi filius.) An excellent profile of Augustus, slightly bearded, and without laurel: two remarkable heads for a single medal to bear. This specimen was procured in Sardinia, from a numismatic friend, Cavaliere Lud. Baille, in exchange for one of Carthage; it is in fine preservation, being covered by a dark patina with red spots. From its wanting the S. C. (Senatus Consulto,) or mark of the senatorial decree for its coinage, it may be questioned whether it was struck at Rome: for though the emperors had the sovereign control of the gold and silver mint, that of brass was under the senate.

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- Obverse. DIVOS IVLVS, inscribed in a capacious laurel garland, bearing large berries. This coin was probably struck B.C. 43: it is covered with green ærugo, and is in very excellent preservation. It was found in Candia, in 1822, and came almost immediately into my hands.
- Reverse. DIVI F. (Divi filius.) The naked head of Augustus, with a star in the field; the latter commemorating the one seen in broad day, as just mentioned. Some antiquaries have, however, contended that it is figurative of Venus, in reference to the supposed descent of the Julii; and others hold it to allude to the reform of the calendar: but the first suggestion seems the most obvious. Indeed the visibility of Venus, in the day-time, renders it probable that that planet, from some atmospheric peculiarity, was itself the luminary observed. The illustrious Newton thought it might have been the great comet of 1680.

#### III.

- Obverse. DIVI IVLI, CAESAR DIVI F. IMP. (Divi Julii, Cæsar divi filius imperator.) Two naked heads in opposite directions, representing Julius Cæsar, and his adopted son; but as likenesses they possess less interest than those on No. II. The medal is in tolerable preservation, and was procured in Calabria, in 1814. It is of the class called Colonial, which, from the many settlements made by the Romans, were necessarily of much diversity of character. At first they bore only the ox, the plough, the ensign, or other badge of colonization; but they were afterwards stamped with more curious types, and inscribed with the name of the colony, its prerogatives, alliances, immunities, and other circumstances. They were usually of second brass, with a few exceptions of large, and one—Nemausus—of silver.
- Reverse. C. I. V. (Colonia Julia Valentia.) The prow of a prætorian galley, with a large eye on the bow, and what seamen term a "fiddle head." Upon this prow is raised a curious castle,

I.

or superstructure; an early indication of the name *fore-castle*: the appellation still remaining, though the fabric has long disappeared from the fore-part of our ships. The eye typifies Providence, or the Deity, and is still retained upon some of the Mediterranean craft. It is of the remotest antiquity, and occurs perpetually as the symbol of the Suu, or Osiris, in Egyptian monuments. The custom of using it was probably derived from the East, for the Chinese are pertinacious in its practice, from the warjunk to the sampan :---"Heigh-yaw!" exclaimed a Fouki, at Canton, whom I was questioning upon the subject, "how can ship see, suppose no hab eyes?" It also appears on the superb Etruscan vases which have been recently seut to London, by Lucien Buonaparte; and that it was adopted by the early Greeks, is proved in the "Supplicants" of Æschylus, where Danaus says-

"I saw a ship, I mark'd its waving streamer, Its swelling sails, and all its gallant trim : Its prow with heedful *eye* observes its way, Obedient to the helm that guides behind."

#### AUGUSTUS.

Caius Octavius Cæpius, was the son of C. Octavius Rnfus, and Atia, daughter to Julia, Cæsar's sister. He was born at Velitræ, B. C. 63; and, after an excellent education, was formally adopted as the son of his grand-uncle. On hearing of the murder of Cæsar, he took the boldest step of his life, by instantly quitting Apollonia for Italy, to declare himself heir to the empire. He gained the battle of Philippi, B. C. 42; and that of Actium, which made him master of the Roman world, eleven years afterwards. After the defeat and death of all his competitors, the senate dignified him with the title of *Imperator* or "Emperor," a title that was formerly a mere temporary military distinction, but which was now extended to signify supreme arbiter of all civil and military affairs; it thence-forward became hereditary, and marked the change from a republic to a monarchy. The same body afterwards conferred the epithet of "Augustus" upon him, by which he is now historically known. He died at the advanced age of 75 years 10 months 26 days, at Nola, in Campania, A. D. 14, after a reign of 44 years, besides the 12 in which he governed as one of the triumvirate.

Octavius was too politic to accept the title of king, or dictator; for in assuming the venerable surname of Augustus, he was aware that more of dignity and reverence were expressed, than of authority. The honourable designation of *pater patriæ* which had been first bestowed upon Cicero, for his detection of Catiline, was unanimously tendered to Augustus, by the three orders of the state. Preferring this, he wisely refused the appellation of *dominus*, stating that he wished to govern "non per timorem, sed per amorem." Indeed, after he had inhumanly slaughtered all those whom he considered capable of disturbing him, in the possession of his usurped power, he ruled with such clemency and judgment, that letters and general improvement assumed a spirit which stamped his name on the age; and it was remarked that, he "should never have been born, or never have died." The flattering writers of his time depict him as the most perfect prince imaginable; but a close examination of his career will prove that, his success was owing more to the popularity of Cæsar, the valour of Agrippa, and a seasonable conjuncture of circumstances, than to any extraordinary parts of his own. With deep stains of debauchery, treachery, and ingratitude, he was certainly highly accomplished, and possessed of penetration, judgment, and wit,—the last in such a degree, as to pervade his public actions; and he even died with the compliment on his tongue, "Livia, conjugii nostri memor, vive, et vale."

The damatory blot in the escutcheon of Augustus, was the infamous proscription to which he was a party: "a cool head, an unfeeling heart, and a cowardly disposition, prompted him," says Gibbon, "at the age of 19, to assume the mask of hypocrisy, which he never afterwards laid aside. With the same hand, and probably with the same temper, he signed the proscription of Cicero, and the pardon of Cinna." Julian, the philosophic "Apostate," makes him advance to the banquet of the Cæsars, with his complexion varying like the hues of a camelion ; but he adds, that he at last assumed the mild livery of Venus and the Graces.

As all the successors to the imperial purple, by an express decree of the senate, conferred the honoured name of Cæsar on the heir-apparent, or presumptive, of the empire, who thereby became adjuncts, or *participes imperii*,—so the emperors themselves adopted that of Augustus, from the fortunate personage of whom we are now treating. But for fully understanding the *fascia*, or legend of each medal, it must be remembered, that though the title of Cæsar was given to the second person in the empire, it still continued also with the first; and hence the difference between Cæsar used simply, and with the addition of Imp. Augustus.

The medals of this politic ruler are so numerous that they are easily obtainable, and at a moderate rate. Large-brass ones, indeed, with the portrait, are difficult to procure, and are high priced according to their condition; but those of middle brass, and silver, are extremely common; for of the latter metal alone I have seen, at least, two hundred different reverses. There are also ancient forgeries of money in this reign, made by plating copper so ingeniously with silver leaf, that it is only to be detected by clipping. This practice is anterior to Augustus, and is entirely different from the *dipping* which took place with the deteriorated coinage of the lower empire : yet we are gravely told in a recent publication, that plating is a modern art, originating in the use of spurs !

It should be here remarked that, between Julius and Augustus, there are coins of Octavia, of the sons of Pompey, of Brutus, Cassius, Lepidus, and Mark Anthony; but as, with the exception of the last, they are only in gold and silver, they have no relation to a large-brass series : nor can they be deemed imperial. Of Anthony and Cleopatra there is a middle-brass coin which is admissible, for the sake of its portraits : but I have not met with a specimen sufficiently good for keeping.

#### IV.

- Obverse. AVGVSTVS. The naked head of the emperor, with expressive features, in singularly fine preservation. This superior specimen of ancient art, is of pale yellow brass, and was purchased on the 24th day of Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832, where it stood No. 2787.
- Reverse. C. A. (Cæsarea Augusta.) These letters are encircled by a large garland of laurel leaves and berries. Havercamp, Pedrusi, and other antiquaries, have considered this medal to belong to Saragossa, in Spain; and some have ascribed it to the Mauretanian Cæsarea. As it resembles none which I have seen from those places, either in metal, module, or design, I must agree with Eckhel in assigning it to Cæsarea, in Palestine, a city in which stood a temple, and a colossal statue to Augustus. The grandeur of this Municipium has disappeared, and its vicinity is a deserted waste of sand; a few relics of its palaces and fanes, and part of the cothon of Herod the Great, were all that remained, in 1822.

#### v.

- Obverse. CAESAR AVGVSTVS. The head of Augustus, looking to the right, without laurel, and beardless. This medal was probably struck about 5 years B. C.; and was procured for me by Mr. Young, the well-known numismatist, at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. C. CAESAR ET L. CAESAR AUGVST. F. (Caius Cæsar, et Lucius Cæsar, Augusti filii.) The heads adversa, or facing each other, of the grandsons of Augustus, by his daughter Julia and Agrippa; they had become his sons by adoption, and he designed them for his successors in the empire, if they had lived. They were both declared principes juventutis, or princes of the Roman youth, honoured with the priesthood, and admitted into the senate,—and seemed "born to increase their titles as they grew." Lucius, however, the younger of the two, died suddenly at Marseilles, not without suspicion of having fallen by the secret arts of Livia, who left no stone unturned to advance her son Tiberius. Nor did Caius long survive, for having received a wound in Armenia, he fell into a lingering illness, supposed to have been also nurtured by the tools of Livia, and expired in Lycia, at the early age of 24; thus disappointing the sycophant prediction of Ovid :—

"Great father Mars, with greater Cæsar join,

To give a prosp'rous omen to your line :

One of you is, and one shall be, divine.

I prophecy you shall, you shall o'ercome.

My verse shall bring you back in triumph home."

VI.

Obverse. CAESAR AVGVSTVS DIVI F. PATER PATRIAE. (Cæsar Augustus, Divi filius, Pater Patriæ.) Reading from the right toward the left hand. The laurelled head of Augustus, with the beardless Apollinean aspect, of which he was so vain, as to wear the habit of Apollo at a supper, and suffer flatterers to pretend that they could not bear the lustre of his eyes. Nature had perhaps given him some resemblance to the statues of that divinity; and the artists, no doubt, understood their interest well enough to help it out, and represent him more like the god than he really was. But the poets beat the artists in offering incense,— Virgil, in describing Æneas, by whom we are to understand Augustus, is barely exceeded by Ovid, who unblushingly calls him the handsomest of all created beings: yet we gather from other sources, that his left eye was no piercer, that he had a warp in the body, and that he wore shoes with false keels to heighten his stature. From bearing pater patriæ, this medal was probably struck in his 13th, and last consulate, as he only began the use of that epithet in the year 2, B. C. Ovid addresses him thus,—

"Sancte Pater Patrice; tibi Plebs, tibi Curia nomen

Hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen Eques,

Res tamen antê dedit, seró quoque vera tulisti

Nomina ; jamdudum tu Pater orbis eras."

Reverse. ROM ET AVG: (Romæ et Augusto.) A decorated altar between two cippi, or short columns, on which stand winged victories, with palm branches aud laurel garlands. It seems that the provinces, in their usual servility, had resolved upon erecting fanes to Augustus; but he, with the consummate dissimulation of which he was master, refused the honour unless the city of Rome should share it with him. In the excess of his modesty he also melted the silver statues which had been raised to him, and, according to Suetonius, caused the golden tables to be made of them which he dedicated to the Palatine Apollo. This medal appears to have been struck to commemorate the edifice built at Pergamus, and consecrated to "Rome and Augustus."

VII.

Obverse. DIVO AVGVSTO S. P. Q. R. (Divo Augusto, Senatus Populus Que Romanus.) This legend is written around a garland of oak-leaves, the centre of which represents a votive shield inscribed OB CIVES SER. (ob cives servatos.) The oak crown, the ancient reward of those who saved the life of a citizen, denotes the liberty obtained for the Romans detained in Parthia. The restoration of the standards and captives taken from Crassus, was esteemed one of the most glorious and gratifying events of this reign; the temple of Janus was closed, and various coins stamped "de Parthis," "Signis Receptis," "Civib. et Sign. milit, a Part. recuper." testify the general exultation.

The votive shield is supported over a small globe, by two Capricorns, or goats with fishes tails. The constellation, whence the symbol was drawn, was the nativity-sign of Augustus; and it remains a monument of the superstition of the "divine" being who could dive into a cellar during a thunder-storm.\* In allusion to the happy predictions of this happy sign,—as applicable to millions as to the laurelled object of flattery,—Virgil, who certainly earned his sop, gravely ponders, whether the emperor, in his future god-ship, is to be specially adored by Roman citizens, or husbandmen,—or whether he will condescend to preside over the vast ocean,—

> "Then mariners, in storms, to thee shall pray, Ev'n utmost Thulé shall thy power obey; And Neptune shall resign the fasces of the sea. The watery virgins for thy bed shall strive,<sup>†</sup> And Tethys all her waves in dowry give."

Reverse. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. P. M. TR. POT. XXXVII. (Tiberius Cæsar, Divi Augusti filius, Augustus, Pontifex maximus, Tribunitia potestate, trigesimum septimum.) In the centre a large and clumsy S. C. (Senatus Consulto.) It is therefore presumptive that it was struck by a decree of the senate, A. D. 35, on the deification of Augustus; the fact of his being received into heaven was publicly sworn to, by Numerius Atticus, a senator, for a round sum of Livia's money. I procured this medal at Tunis, in 1822, and prize it for its excellent preservation.

#### VIII.

Obverse. DIVO AVGVSTO, S. P. Q. R. (Divo Augusto, Senatus Populus Que Romanus.) written on the field. The statue of Augustus on a curule chair, placed on a sumptuous triumphal car, elaborately decorated, and drawn by four elephants. each with a maháut on its shoulders. The emperor's head is radiated, his left arm rests upon the hasta pura, or unarmed lance, and his extended right holds a globe. This is a remarkably fine specimen of a medal, not at all uncommon, though the globe is not so frequently met with as a branch of laurel, in the Emperor's hand. The elephants are at once typical of dignity and eternity, as the age of those animals was estimated at 300 years,—their youth, according to Pliny, commencing at sixty years. (Juventa eorum & sexagesimo incipit.) The medal is coated with dark brown patina, and came into my possession at Porto Longone, in Elba.

<sup>\*</sup> This act must have suggested itself to the Emperor, from the profound physical law by which the Romans limited the effects of lightning to five feet from the carth's surface. See Pliny's Cyctopædia, 1. 2. c. 55.

<sup>+</sup> Could any poet of Ipsamboul have given a more prurient picture of futurity, than Maro has here expressed?

- Reverse. TI CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. P. M. TR. POT. XXXVII. (Tiberius Cœsar, Divi Augusti filius, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, trigesimum septimum.) The legend surrounds an uncial S. C. (Senatus consulto.) It thus appears that this medal was struck A. D. 36, by Tiberins, who procured the deification, not out of any principle of religion, or any regard he had for his benefactor: but because it nearly concerned himself that all the laws and acts of one who had left him his successor, should pass for sacred. Besides, in promoting this kind of superstition he had another view, which was to rivet the public slavery, evidently included in the religious worship paid to a prince who had enthralled his country.
  - IX.
- Obverse. DIVVS AVGVSTVS PATER. The defined emperor sitting in a curule chair, habited in a toga; the left arm is supported by the hasta pura, and the right hand holds a laurel branch. The head bears the corona radiata, which consisted of twelve spikes, in allusion to the signs of the zodiac; it was the symbol of consecration, though it was afterwards worn by living emperors. The spikes, or points, typified the solar rays, whence Virgil,—

"Twelve golden beams around his temples play,

To mark his lineage from the God of day."

Beside him is an altar, and under his left foot a suppedaneum. This is another of the various medals which Tiberius caused to be struck upon the apotheosis of his predecessor; and in which are exhibited all the types of divinity indignantly enumerated by Lucan :---

"Bella pares superis facient Civilia Divos : Fulminibus maneis Radiisque ornabit et Astris, Inque Deûm Templis jurabit Roma per umbras."

Reverse. TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. P. M. TR. POT. XXIIII. (Tiberius Cæsar, Divi Augusti filius, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, vigesimum quartum.) In the field S. C. (Senatus Consulto,) in uncial characters. This splendid coin is in singularly fine preservation : it was struck A. D. 22, is varnished with a rich brown patina, and was found near Ajaccio, in Corsica, shortly before I obtained it.

Х.

- Observe. DIVVS AVGVSTVS. An apotheosis-medal, displaying a well relieved portrait of Augustus, with the head laurelled, and beardless, although bearing the stamp of mature age. It is in excellent preservation, is covered with a beautiful olive-green patina, and was procured by exchange, from a numismatist, at Rome, in 1823.
- Reverse. IMP. NERVA CAESAR AVGVSTVS REST. (Imperator Nerva Cæsar Augustus restituit.) In the field a large S. C. (Senatus Consulto.) This is rather rare, and in excellent condition. With respect to the S. C. it may be proper to mention that, this abbreviation appears on almost all the imperial large-brass reverses, and also on a few medallions, but very rarely on either gold or silver medals: whenever it is found on the latter, it is preceded by the article ex. A silver coin of Vespasian forms an exception: its reverse being a column surmounted by an urn, between two branches of laurel: to the column is suspended a shield, with S. C. inscribed upon it. Some silver is marked EX. A. P. (Ex argento publico.) I lean to the opinion that the letters S. C. allude to the order or license for coining, rather than that they denote the comparative purity, or value of the metal.

The REST. which terminates this legend, signifies a restoration, or recoining of the medal, in honour of the personage to whom it was originally struck. Claudius was the first who restored the coins of Augustus; Nero did the same; but Titus restamped almost all his predecessors. See p. 61.

XI.

Obverse. OB CIVIS SERVATOS. (Ob civis Servatos.) The coarse characters CIVIS are inscribed in the centre of an oak-wreath, which is placed between two branches of laurel: the I being made long, to read as ei, ceiveis. The medal is in good preservation, but of rude workmanship; it was procured from Mr. Till, the obliging dealer in coins, in 1825. Reverse. P. LICINIVS STOLO IIIVIR A. A. A. F. F. (Publius Licinius Stolo, Triumeir Auro, Argento, Ere, Flando, Feriundo.) In the field an arcaïc S. C. Struck by a triumvir of the ancient but plebeian family Licinia; he was a descendant of that Licinius Stolo, the inveterate enemy of the patriciaus, who, after introducing the law which restricted a proprietor to 500 acres, was convicted of possessing double the quantity, and fined for the offence. This medal is one of a series struck in the reign of Augustus, by certain officers who were appointed to inspect the mint under the title of Triumviri Monetales; and Flando, Feriundo, expresses that they had the charge of alloying the metal, and impressing the dye. The exact date of these nummi monetales is uncertain; it is therefore customary to place them in cabinets in alphabetical order, at the end of the Augustan class. Those mint-masters superintended the numerous moneyers of Rome, and appear to have been first created B. C. 289; or, according to others, at the commencement of the first silver coinage, which took place B. C. 266. Their number was augmented by Julius Cæsar to four; but Augustus restored the original arrangement of three, which continued till about the time of Macrinus, when we lose sight of them.\*

# LIVIA.

Livia Drusilla, the daughter of Livius Drusus Claudianus, was born B. C. 57. Her story presents the striking spectacle, of the daughter of one who had slain himself to avoid falling into the power of Augustus—and who herself passed through many dangers to avoid him who was soon to be her husband—becoming the means of destroying the Cæsarian race, and placing her own progeny upon their throne. She was of an illustrious descent; her father having been adopted from the proud Claudian family amongst the *Livii*, and she herself being raised by the testament of Augustus into that of the *Julii*. She was first married to Tiberius Claudianus Nero, an accomplished officer, by whom she had Tiberius, afterwards emperor; and was six months pregnant with Drusus, when Augustus divorcing Scribonia for the purpose, wrested Livia from her husband and married her, B. C. 38. She afterwards bore no issue, and died A. D. 29, aged 86 years.

Livia was accounted the most agreeable and beautiful woman of the age; and, from a consummate management of her talents, held an absolute sway over the councils and actions of the Emperor—whence Caligula termed her "Ulysses in female attire." She appears to have been a dutiful and affectionate wife to her first husband, although his indifferent circumstances precluded the full gratification of her vanity; but when the die was to be cast, it may be presumed that she was not long deliberating between duty and ambition, between Tiberius and Cæsar. This lady was so passionate for the grandeur of her own children, that she was suspected of having purchased it by the destruction of her husband's family, being charged with the deaths of Marcellus, Caius, Lucius, and Agrippa Posthumus—nay, and of Augustus himself, whose end is snpposed, by some, to have been hastened. She was an irreconcilable enemy to Julia, her step-daughter, whose offspring she persecuted with implacable hatred, even to the

<sup>\*</sup> Cicero, advising his friend Trebatius to steer clear of the Treviri, a martial race of German Borderers, jocosely says-"Treviros vites censeo; audio capitales esse, mallem auro, aere, argento essent."

poisoning of her own grandson, the illustrious Germanicus, who had married Agrippina. The haughty ambition of Livia led her to demand an equal share, with Tiberius, of the power which she had procured for him, an attempt which he, deeming every additional dignity conferred on his mother as a diminution of his own, positively resisted. Mutual recriminations followed: Livia endeavouring to perpetuate the grandeur which she had so adroitly acquired, and the ungrateful son seizing every opportunity of curbing her authority---in the sequel he so detested her, that, on her demise, he would not suffer her to be consecrated as a divinity : and he even persecuted those friends and domestics, who attended her funeral obsequies. Tacitus, with his usual comprehensive brevity, sums up her portrait thus---- "Her domestic character was formed on the model of primitve manners: but by a graceful ease, unknown to her sex in the time of the republic, she had the address to soften the rigour of ancient virtue. A wife of amiable manners, yet a proud and imperious mother, she united in herself the opposite qualities that suited the specious arts of Augustus, and the dark dissimulation of her son." To this well-drawn sketch it may be added, that Livia was the most dignified, pleasing, and influential of all the Roman Empresses, even though the victims whom she sacrificed to gain her ends, testify her cruelty, and her anxious consultation of the hatching of a hen's eggs as an augury of her pregnancy, is an evidence of her superstition. But she must, on the whole, have been a fascinating and discreet woman, to have maintained so stable an authority. Ovid says of her-

> "Quæ Veneris formam, mores Junonis habendo, Sola est cœlesti digna reperta toro."

Those medals of Livia which were struck during the life of Augustus, are Greek-Imperial: but after his death, and her admission into the Julian family, the Colonies testified their flattery by various coins, on one of which she was called *Mater patriæ*, a title which Tiberius would not permit her to assume. The legends which bear *diva* upon them, were issued by Claudius, who elevated Livia to divine honours, and decreed her to be a goddess. Latin large-brass medals, with the portrait, are very rare; but those of the middle size which bear the types *Justitia*, *Pietas*, and *Salus*—the last from Livia's being deemed "*potissima Salutis causa*"—are frequently met with; and among them, the restitutions by Titus are the most valued.\*

## XII.

- Obverse. IVSTITIA, inscribed on the lower verge. A handsome female profile, with an air of dignified austerity, and the head encircled with a richly ornamented tiara. This is a likeness of Livia, in the character of Themis; and it is in exceedingly fine taste and preservation. It was obtained from my friend, J. C. Ross, Esq. of Malta, in 1821.
- Reverse. TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVG. P. M. TR. POT. XXIIII. (Tiberius Cæsar, Divi Augusti filius, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate vigesimum quartum.) In

<sup>\*</sup> No medals of Livia are known in gold or silver; yet a medallion of the former metal has been described, with the effigy of Piety, and Vesta on the reverse; but this is a modern fabrication, or it would illustrate Ovid's—" Esse pudicarum te Vestam, Livia, matrum."

the field a large S. C. (Senatus Consulto.) From this it appears that the coin was struck A. D. 22, by Tiberius; and from the date, and fine quality of the metal, it may be presumed to be of copper from the celebrated *Livian* mine, mentioned by Pliny.

#### XIII.

- Obverse. IVLIA AVGVSTA GENETRIX ORBIS. The head of Julia placed upon a globe, and surmounted by a crescent; symbols significative of the earth and moon, to illustrate the encomium of the legend. The wreath which crowns this bust is an uncommon decoration for females. Havercamp, from the closeness of the leaves, says it is of myrtle; but on my medal—as indeed on all those which I have examined, as well in the British Museum as in other collections that portion of the head which bears it, is not sufficiently perfect to decide the question; it may however, allude to the celebrated sprig of laurel taken from the fowl's bill, which an eagle had dropped into Livia's lap; and which, being planted, afforded crowns to the succeeding Cæsars.
- Reverse. COL. ROM. PERM. DIVI AVG. (Colonia Romulensis permissu divi Augusti.) This was a tribute of flattery from the citizens of Romula, a town in Betica, to the vanity of Livia, after the death and apotheosis of Augustus. The legend surrounds the head of the deified Emperor, who, besides being crowned with the sacred radiated diadem, is still further consecrated by the Julian star above him, and a thunder-bolt, the attribute of Jove himself, in front of the portrait. This is a medal of much interest, which I procured in Spain; and though it is not of the Latin mint, its magnitude, merit, and Roman legend, secure its admission into the large-brass series. It is finely figured by Florez.

#### XIV.

- Obverse. S. P. Q. R. IVLIAE AVGVST. (Scnatus Populus Que Romanus, Juliæ Augustæ.) This is inscribed across the field, over a carpentum, or two-wheeled vehicle, drawn by a pair of mules. Although solid wheels were so much in use, as to have continued to this day, the car here represented has them of six light spokes; and it is surmounted by an arched tilt, supported by Caryatides, and hung with costly cloths. As the Carpentum pompaticum, or Thensa, was expressly used for conveying the images of defunct empresses to the Circus, many numismatists have supposed this medal to have been struck after the death of Livia: but the legend, on the reverse, proves its date to be A. D. 23, or six years prior to that event.\*
- Reverse. TI. CAESAR. DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. P. M. TR. POT. XXIIII. (Tiberius Casar, divi Augusti filius, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate Vigesimum quartum.) In the field an uncial S. C. (Senatus Consulto.) This splendid coin is in the most perfect conservation, and smoothly coated with a rich brown patina, which allows of even the bas-reliefs on the side pannels of the car being clearly distinguished:—they are two sportive youths, who, with the opposite ones, probably represent the seasons.

# AGRIPPA.

Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa was born of an obscure, but equestrian family, B. C. 63. As Commander of the fleet and Præfect of the sea-coasts, he gained the naval victory over Sext. Pompey, B. C. 36, and that of Actium, B. C. 31. He was, from infancy, a companion of Augustus, and having proved his devotion and fidelity, was successively advanced to the highest honours of the state. By marrying Marcella, Agrippa had been received into the Imperial family; but to draw the ties still closer, he was made to divorce the niece and espouse Julia, the daughter of his patron. This event took place B. C. 21, and three years afterwards he was invested with the Tribunitian power, an office which Augustus had assumed to prevent his harangues being

# (11)

<sup>\*</sup> Kipping says----- Thensæ sunt vehicula sacra, quibus portabantur deorum, et indigetum simulacra, cum pompa ordinum, et officiorum in Ludis Circensibus imprimis, qui numinum honoribus consecrati erant."

(12)

interrupted by any *radical* tribune of the people, and also, from the authority it gave him over the senate and magistrates, to consolidate his despotism. Agrippa had a family of 3 sons and 2 daughters, by Julia; and, after a glorious career, died in Campania, on his return from an expedition to Pannonia, B. C. 12, in the 51st year of his age. The Emperor, who had hastened to visit his dying friend, was deeply afflicted;—he lameuted him as the disinterested partner of all his vicissitudes, pronounced his funeral oration, and buried the body in his own mausoleum—declaring that not even death should separate them.

Agrippa, although said to have retained his rusticity through life, must, from his unblemished integrity and superior qualities, be pronounced one of the greatest public characters that ever appeared; as well as one of the most estimable. He gained signal victories both by land and sea, and by his splendid exploits, established the throne of his friend : exploits which Horace confesses himself unequal to celebrate in sufficiently lofty verse. Yet, with all his successes, Agrippa was wise and moderate in his views; he attempted to dissuade Augustus from retaining the imperial power, and refused two public triumphs which the senate had decreed him. The latter, indeed, may have resulted as well from policy as from contempt of ostentation-for he thereby avoided giving umbrage to the Emperor, who was no ways renowned for military achievements: from whatever cause the refusals sprung, they occasioned such pageants being discontinued, except by immediate scions of the imperial family. Agrippa was instrumental in reforming the senate; and, though reported to be little versed in letters, he composed and published a map of the world. He conveyed the waters Virgo, Julia, and Tepula, into Rome, by magnificent aqueducts, at his own expense :\* besides which he embellished the city with stately edifices : and whoever has enjoyed the glorious flood of light which still distinguishes the Pantheon from all other fanes, will remember with gratitude the name and virtues of Agrippa.

The gold, silver, and small-brass medals of this renowned commander are very rare and high priced. No large-brass ones, except colonial, are known—but those of the second size, selected of greater than usual volume, supply the defect; and are most prized, when restored by Titus, or Domitian.

XV.

Obverse. M. AGRIPPA L. F. COS. III. (Marcus Agrippa, Lucii filius Consul tertium.) A fine, but stern head of Agrippa, in excellent relief; with a rostral crown, indicative of his being admiral of the seas: whence Ovid's—"Navalique gener cinctus honore caput." This crown has caused much debate; it was of gold, decorated with figures of the beaks of ships, and was presented, with a cerulian standard, (or blue-flag!) by Augustus, after the battle won near Mylæ. Several historians pronounce this to have been the first rostral crown; but Pliny says that Varro had before been decorated with one;—that, however, may have been the corona navalis which was given to him who first boarded an enemy's vessel. It would appear that Agrippa, like another Nelson with his stars, wore this identical crown at the battle of Actium—

\* When the citizens of Rome complained to Augustus, of a scarcity of wine, he reprimanded them severely, saying Agrippa had provided that nobody should perish by thirst.

for Virgil, in revealing futurity on the magic shield of Eneas, sings thus-

" Parte aliâ ventis, et diis Agrippa secundis Arduus agmen agens, cui belli iusigne superbum,

Tempora navali fulgent Rostratu Corona."

Reverse. IMP. T. VESP. AVG. REST. (Imperator Titus Vespasianus Augustus restituit.) In the field S. C. although Agrippa was neither an Augustus, nor a Cæsar. Between the letters stands a colossal and muscular figure of Agrippa, in the character of Admiral Neptune—as he is styled by the immortal Newton. He is standing and looking towards the right; the left arm supports a trident, as the sceptre of the Mediterranean seas, and on the right extended hand is a dolphin, the swiftest of fishes. The figure is naked, if we except a scarf which extends gracefully from one arm to the other, behind the back, and the body is altogether one of great boldness. This medal appears to have been struck about 26 years B. C. is in the highest possible preservation, and was procured in Sardinia, in June, 1824. Of the Dii Magni, none appears so seldom upon Roman coins as Neptune : and Augustus, in a splenetic fit, on losing some vessels at sea, excluded his statue from the Ludi Circenses. See No. CLV.

XVI.

- Obverse. IMP. D. F. P. P. (Imperator Divi filius, Pater Patriæ.) The heads of Augustus and Agrippa adversa, or facing each other, the first crowned with laurel, and the second with the corona rostrata. This beautiful medal is largely spread, in the highest possible perfection, and coated with a brilliant green patina; it was obtained at Marseille, in 1823.
- Reverse. COL. NEM. (Colonia Nemausus.) A palm tree rises in the centre of the field, to which is chained a crocodile." This interesting and significant reverse was struck by the citizens of Nemausus, a town of Gallia Narbonensis, in honour of a victory gained in Egypt; and the symbol was lately borrowed by the French, to commemorate the successes of Napoleon, in the same country.

# JULIA.

Julia, the daughter of Augustus and Scribonia, was born B. C. 39. At the early age of 14 she was married to Marcellus—the ceremonial being managed with unexampled splendour, by Agrippa. After the premature death of her husband she was married to Agrippa himself—and, on her losing him, to Tiberius, B. C. 11. A continuation of abandoned and adulterous intrigues occasioned her being banished to Pandataria, B. C. 2; and she perished of hunger, a miserable exile, at Rhegium A. D. 14, at the age of 53 years.

This unfortunate princess was as beautiful and pleasing as she was abandoned; but with all her lamentable madness of lnst, she possessed, according to Macrobius, a regard for letters, and a large share of humanity. Augustus is said to have taken uncommon pains with her education, and was therefore inexorable, when he was obliged to punish her monstrous depravity; insomuch that he resisted all the entreaties which the people of Rome, touched with compassion, clamorously made in her behalf; only permitting a slight mitigation in changing the place of her exile: a fact which neutralizes certain suspicions upon his own conduct, as connected with the banishment of Ovid. One of the intercessions made by the public of the "Eternal City," was sufficiently ludicrous. Having watched for what was considered a favourable opportunity, they preferred their request, and were answered by Augustus that, fire and water should agree before he would consent to his daughter's return : on this, in order to absolve the Emperor from his oath, they threw a prodigious quantity of lighted torches into the Tiber, but without any effect upon the obstinate father.\* Nor was his successor the man to alleviate her afflictions. After she became the wife of Tiberius, the haughty arrogance of her behaviour had made him feel that she held him beneath her in rank; for this he took a terrible vengeance :---- "At his accession to the empire," says Tacitus, "when he was master of the Roman world, he saw her in a state of destitution, banished, covered with infamy, and, after the murder of Agrippa Posthumus, without a ray of hope to comfort her. Yet this could not appease the malice of Tiberius. He ordered her to be starved to death; concluding that, after a tedious exile in a remote place, a lingering death in want and misery would pass unnoticed."

There are no Latin medals in honour of Julia, though a portrait on a monetary one of C. Marius Trogus, has been ascribed to her and her sons, Caius and Lucius. But, as usual with those members of the Imperial family not found in the regular series, her likeness is preserved on some Greek and colonial coins—and one which fell into my possession in Greece, bears the heads of Agrippa and Julia facing each other, with the Diana of Ephesus, supported by two tridents, on the reverse.

XVII.

- Obverse. The profile of Julia, with her hair tressed into a knot behind, and drapery on the shoulders. In front of the neck is a peacock, and at the back an ear of wheat, symbols of Juno and Ceres, added, no doubt, as complimentary to the princess. The features are those of a dignified and sensible woman, without any apparent evidence of the vices with which she was infected. This medal, entirely covered with a dense green patina, and in the very highest degree of preservation, was procured at Dernah, in 1821.
- Reverse. The bust of Minerva galeata, looking to the left: and in front of the face are four characters, supposed to be Phœnician. This coin is generally assigned to Jol, or Cæsarea, in Mauretania, the residence of Juba, but I am not aware that any satisfactory reason justifies the assertion. I have myself found, in various parts of North Africa, medals of Tiberius, having an eagle holding a laurel branch, with reverse Appollo laureated, and a lyre: bearing, besides the Roman legend, the same four letters  $\chi_{tol}$  before the deity.

# TIBERIUS.

Tiberius Claudius Nero, the son of T. C. Nero and Livia Drusilla, was descended from the Patrician branch of the Clandii, a family which boasted 32 consuls, 5 dictators, and 7 censors,—and which had been honoured with 7 triumphs, and 2 ovations. It is not known whether he was born at Rome, or Fundi, but the event happened B. C. 42; he assumed the *toga virilis* B. C. 27, and was successively honoured with commands and dignities, as he advanced in years. He served in the armies with great credit, and gained important victories over the Rhætians, Pannonians, and other barbarian nations. Indeed, his character stood fair, until, by an unwarrantable act of tyranny, he was compelled to repudiate Vipsania Agrippina, daughter of the great admiral—a pregnant

<sup>\*</sup> When Augustus heard that Phoebe, one of his daughter's confidants, had hanged herself, he protested that he had rather have been Phoebe's father, than Julia's:-"Maluisse se," ait, "Phoebes patrem fuisse."

wife to whom he was greatly attached—to marry Julia, the same admiral's widow—a woman of whose flagitious irregularity he was personally aware. This occurred B. C. 11; and was followed by a nomination to the tribunitian power. After several years residence at Rhodes, or rather voluntary banishment, owing to disgust of his wife's profligacy, he was permitted to return to Rome, on condition that he should hold no public office. But the deaths of Lucius and Caius accelerated his elevation,—he was formally adopted by Augustus A. D. 4,—succeeded to the throne A. D. 14,—and was smothered in his bed by Macro, at Misenum, A. D. 37, in the 78th year of his age.

Tiberius united a considerable mixture of admirable, with an overpowering share of detestable qualities; while the former were insufficient to rank him amongst the great princes, the besotted brutality of some of his successors has prevented the latter from stamping him the worst. He opened his career as a brave and skilful leader, an affectionate husband, and a lover of the liberal arts-being well versed in Greek and Roman literature ; and moreover, although very jealous of his authority, he was moderate in the exercise of it, and paid deference to the senate and the laws : but the arrogant, gloomy, and envious disposition occasionally evinced, so far betrayed the latent sparks that Gadarens, his Rhodian tutor, described him as "a composition of mud mixed with blood." Equivocation, fraud, and cunning, were so deeply ingrafted into his very nature, that he always chose to perform by stratagem what he might easily have effected by open force,---of which a memorable instance is exhibited in his artful management of the fall of Sejanus-the favourite whose brazen statues were worshipped one day, and broken for the furnace the next. Thus Juvenal, in shewing that had fortune then been adverse to the Emperor the mob would have hailed the minister as "Master of Mankind," says,-

"Sejanus, once so honour'd, so ador'd, And only second to the world's great lord, Runs glittering from the mould, in cups and cans, Basons and ew'rs, plates, pitchers, pots, and pans."

Tiberius was a jarring mass of contradictory elements, cemented by fiendlike passions : he rivetted the fetters of Rome, and yet despised those who passively submitted ; he bore himself as an imperious tyrant, yet refused the title of Sovereign Lord; he was courageons in Germany, and timid at Capreæ; he punished vice with ferocious severity, and yet persecuted virtue; he affected to slight riches, yet slaughtered men for their wealth; before he obtained power he displayed magnanimity, but when possessed of the sceptre, he became a mean and subtle hypocrite; at one time he defended the raillery of those who taunted his drunkenness,\* and at another, enraged at the same satirical

<sup>\*</sup> Suetonius says:-""Propter nimiam vini aviditateni, pro Tiberio Biberius, pro Claudio Caldius, pro Nerone Mero vocabatur." The wags of Rome, however, delighted in puns, and though the Emperor died at a distance from the city, no sooner was the event announced, than the air pealed with cries of "Tiberium in Tiberim." Nor was the Despot hinself wanting in wit: when the ambassadors from llium, paid their tardy condolence on the death of Drusus, he scoffingly lamented their loss of Hector-"Se quoque." respondit, "vicem eorum delere, quod egregium cirem Hectorem amississent."

verses, he revived the dreadful law of majesty; he renewed the ancient severities against adultery, and yet associated with the infamous Claudius Gallus. The promiscuous butcheries of a reign of 23 years, filled Rome and the provinces with terror, and suicide was the only refuge from the executioner; but they were insufficient to arouse virtuous resentment-servile adulation being, as Tacitus remarks, the reigning vice of the times. From this general supineness, it has been summed up that Julius Cæsar subdued his country; Augustus cherished the conquered; and Tiberius made them crouch in bondage. He corrupted all that was good, and introduced all that was bad in the empire. An adage says "he must needs fear many, whom many fear," and its force operated by making the dark dissembler seek to hide himself and his vices amongst the crags of This solitary rock, however, was made the theatre of such incredible Capreæ. abominations and cruelty, that it became infamous, and was branded as the isle of vicious lusts, while the odious and execrable despot was designated *Capreneus*. And it must be added, that researches which I have made, in that romantic spot, fully bear out the disgusting recitals transmitted to us.

The Latin medals of Tiberius are numerous, in all sizes and metals; but those of large-brass bearing the portrait, are rare and expensive—insomuch that the second size, though of inferior fabric, is frequently substituted. The Colonies, Greece, and Egypt, also minted to his honour; and the *Spintriati* seem to have been especially struck, to record his vicious propensities. A singular coin of the first series is preserved in the Pembroke cabinet—it has the head of Tiberius, with reverse Agrippina Senior: these mutual enemies were, perhaps, placed together, as a tribute of respect, by Caligula, for his obligations to both ;—or, to drown the recollection of the brutal cruelty with which his mother had been treated by the tyrant.

# XVIII.

- Obverse. TI. CAESAR AGVSTI F. IMPERATOR V. (Tiberius Cæsar, Augusti filius, Imperator quintum,) This legend reads outwards, and surrounds the unlaureated head of the Emperor. He is looking towards the left, and is depicted under the flattering trace of a likeness to Augustus—the medal having been struck A. D. 81, after Tiberius had been elevated into the Julian family. The title of Imperator does not appear as a prænomen, in this reign.
   Reverse. ROM. ET. AVG. (Romæ et Augusto.) An altar decorated with a laurel crown, and some
- Reverse. ROM. ET. AVG. (Romæ et Augusto.) An altar decorated with a laurel crown, and some wreaths, between two cippi surmounted by winged victories, as in No. VI. The reverse is usually called the "altar of Lyons" by collectors—but it merely marks the homage paid in the provinces to Augustus. Occo thought it related to the dedication of the temple of Concord, which was erected out of the spoils of the German campaigns: but Tiberius did not officiate at that ceremony till three years after the medal was struck. It is in excellent preservation, and was obtained at the sale of Mr. Henderson's collection, in 1830.

### XIX.

Obverse. TI CAESAR AVGVSTI F. IMPERATOR VII. (Tiberius Cæsar, Augusti filius Imperator septimum.) The laurelled head of Tiberius, regarding the right, with marked features, bare neck, and the hair, as Suetonius described it, hanging down behind. The same author also tells us that he was tall, well-built, strong, and left-handed, with a graceful mien, and large eyes. This medal, in capital condition though barely patinated, was purchased at Pisa, in 1823. The legend reads outwards. Reverse. ROM. ET. AVG. (Romæ et Augusto.) This represents the "altar of Lyons," flanked by victories, as above, but with a trifling difference in the minutiæ. Mezza-barba says that this was struck A. D. 11, and describes it thus :-- "Porticus, sive templum, cum duabus Victoriis desuper, ambabus Coronam proferentibus."

### XX.

- Obverse. TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. IMPERAT. VII. (Tiberius Cæsar, Divi Augusti filius, Augustus, Imperator septimum.) The laurelled head of the Emperor looking towards the left, with a good featured but scowling physiognomy—having a prominent aquiline nose, and large eye—"prægrandibus oculis." This medal, in high condition and patinated, was procured at Baia, very near the spot where the fell tyrant was destroyed.
- Reverse. MODERATIONI. A highly-decorated shield in an oaken wreath, with a bust of Concord in the centre—this is represented with a full face, indicating that in the exercise of such a virtue, the monarch is exerting his greatest prerogative : and the shield implies the Emperor to be proof against the attacks of fortune, while its rotundity typifies eternity. This medal bears the senatorial mark ; it was struck A. D. 14, at the opening of the reign of Tiberius—an occasion on which he boasted both of Clemency and Moderation, as numerons coins testify.\* But the instability in which he considered his station, from the popularity of Germanicus, made his modesty the "adroganti moderatione," alluded to by Tacitus ; though he certainly ridiculed the Senate's flattery, and was unconcerned at scandal, saying, that in a free city, men's thoughts and tongues should be free.

### XXI.

- Obverse. CIVITATIBVS ASIAE RESTITVTIS. Tiberius seated on a curule chair, with the left foot upon a stool. His extended right hand holds a patera, and his left is supported by a hasta pura. This medal was struck A. D. 22, to commemorate the munificence of the Emperor. One of the most dreadful earthquakes on record happened in Asia, by which 12, or according to Eusebius, 13, cities were overturned; and as it happened in the night, it proved the more destructive of life, being the less expected. Tiberius, to do him justice, behaved on this, as in other public calamities, with a generosity worthy of his high station—for he not only remitted the taxes of the ruined cities for five years, but also presented them with large sums for rebuilding. A few other such deeds faintly illumine the dark picture of the tyrant's reign—his liberality, as Tacitus says, being retained after he had abandoned all other virtues.
- Reverse. TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. P. M. TR. POT. XXIIII. (Tiberius Cæsar, Divi Augusti filius, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate vigesimum-quartum.) In the field an archaïc S. C. The medal is in very fair condition, and was obtained from a Dominican at Catania, in 1814: it countenances the historic record of Tiberius having been popular in the provinces; for he declined laying new taxes on them, saying, that a good shepherd may shear, but not flay his flock :---"Boni pastoris esse, tondere pecus, non deglubere."

#### XXH.

- Obverse. CIVITATIBVS ASIAE RESTITVTIS. The Emperor seated with the consecrated patera and lance, as in XXII, but with the addition of a small S. C. in the field. The obverse doubtlessly represents the noble colossal statue which, according to Apollonius, was put up in the Forum.
- Reverse. An incuse, or indented impression of the obverse. It has been usual with medallists to impute this to accident in striking, in that a second planchet, or blank, was placed on the dye before the first was withdrawn, whence there would be a relief on one side, and an intaglio on the other. This generally-adopted opinion, however, will not account for the fact—that, though the reverse wants the uncial S. C. of No. XXII, the authority of the senate is affixed to the obverse; thereby proving it to have been purposely struck upon an express dye. This medal is of yellow metal, and in excellent preservation: it was purchased at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830. It should be noted that no forged incuse has ever been known.

<sup>\*</sup> The medal of Clemency has the same emblem as this of Moderation; but that Virtue is usually represented as a stolated. female. See the Index.

### XXIII.

- Obverse. (Sine epigraphe.) A triumphal quadriga, very richly decorated with sculptures and tokens of victory—but without either charioteer or rider. This was struck A. D. 34, and may be supposed to allude to the triumph decreed to Tiberius 25 years before, but which was never celebrated on account of the grievous defeat of Varus.
- Reverse. TI. CAESAR DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. P. M. TR. POT. XXXIIX. (Tiberius Cæsar, Divi Augusti filius, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestale trigesimumoctavum.) In the field a large S. C. This medal is in remarkably fine condition, and was presented to me by my friend Consul-general Warrington, at Tripoli, in 1816.

The title of *Pontifex Maximus* is very familiar upon the medals of Tiberius, whereas not one of the emperors was more careless and indifferent about what related to the worship of the gods, and the ceremonies of religion, than himself. It will be recollected that the consecration to this office was performed under extraordinary pomp and circumstance; and that it constituted him who attained the dignity, sovereign, judge, and director of the public and private obligations of worship. All priests and sacrifices were under his inspection; it was he who approved of the vestal virgins, and appointed them their habits—that corrected, chastised, or condemned them to be buried alive, when they violated their vows; and to him belonged the composing of the rituals, as well as digesting the public annals, or history of the year. See No. CCCCLXXXI. Julius Cæsar, who took upon himself the office of Pontifex Maximus—which was held by his successors till the time of Gratian—well knowing the absolute dominion which he thereby acquired over men's minds, and consequently over their actions, valued the dignity very highly. Hence Ovid—

> "Cæsar preferred to titles gain'd in war, The honours of the sacerdotal chair."

This medal is curious as to its date of Tribunitian power. Some authors maintain that we are to look upon this æra as signifying the year of the Emperor's reign to which it is added: but herein they are greatly mistaken; for, though very rarely, it was sometimes bestowed upon others beside the emperor. It is allowed by all historians that the reign of Tiberius did not complete 23 years—yet here, as Obadiah Walker observed, we find him with TR. POT. XXXIIX; and we have already described four medals bearing XXIIII, and one XXXVII, which were struck by this despot.

# DRUSUS JUNIOR.

Nero Claudius Drusus, the son of Tiberius, by Vipsania Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa, was born in Rome about the year B. C. 13; he was made quæstor A. D. 12; designated consul A. D. 14; elevated to the tribunitian power A. D. 22; and was poisoned at the instance of Sejanus A. D. 23, by Livia, otherwise called Livilla, his dissolute wife.

Drusus, yielding in consummate dissimulation to his father, equalled him in impure debauchery, drunkenness, and cruelty; insomuch that, from his love of blood, the sharpest swords were termed *gladii* Drusiani. While yet a youth he was despatched into the provinces, on military service, to withdraw him from the allurements of the city; but when his father retired to Campania, he became governor of Rome. In this situation he conducted himself with such moderation as to gain the affections of the people, and cause them to overlook the luxurious revelry in which he rioted; while the friendly habits in which he had lived with Germanicus, and his having gone to meet Agrippina with the sacred ashes of that popular chieftain, had already (19)

endeared him to the army. As Drusus was a man of towering spirit, and impatient of an equal, he was greatly irritated by the insolent bearing of Sejanus, and therefore lost no opportunity of shewing his contempt. The powerful favorite, whose ambition now soared to imperial power, repaid the affronts by first debauching Livia, and afterwards inveigling her to poison her husband. The murder was not suspected till after the fall of Sejanus, when the confession of the unhappy Apicata made Tiberius acquainted with the horrible transaction. The rage of the tyrant, on finding in what manner he had been deprived of his only immediate issue, was extreme : and, after a personal examination into all the facts, it was manifested by the vindictive rigour with which he punished the guilty wife, and all her accomplices in the villainy. Dio, however, denies that Tiberius put Livia to death ; he asserts that she was delivered over to Antonia, her mother, and that worthy matron, thinking it culpable that wickedness of so black a dye should escape unpunished, left her to die by starvation.

There are but few silver medals of Drusus, and, I believe none of gold : indeed, except those of middle-brass, his coins are all rare, especially such as bear Tiberius on the reverse. From the difficulty of procuring any large-brass specimen, save that struck in honour of the twins, it is usual to supply the deficiency with the restitutions by Titus, and Domitian. One of the middle-brass series has the veiled head of Pietas;-Patin could hardly have recollected that this was a portrait of Livia, the grandmother of Drusus, when he so indignantly wrote-" Quid cani cum balneo; aut Druso, viro impurissimo, cum pietate?"

## XXIV.

- Obverse. DRVSVS CAESAR TI. AVG. F. DIV. AVG. N. (Drusus Cæsar, Tiberii Augusti filius, Divi Augusti nepos.) A remarkably fine portrait of Drusus, with the head bare; the features have some resemblance to those of his father, but they are more sedate, manly, and expressive. It was struck A. D. 23, is very large and well spread of its class, in singularly good preservation, and came into my possession at Genoa, in 1818.
- Reverse. PONTIF. TRIBVN. POTEST. ITER. (Pontifex, Tribunitia potestate iterum.) In the area is an uncial S. C. This medal corroborates the marble of Gruter, and shews that Drusus was a pontiff; but the notion that he was therefore Pontifex Maximus is erroneous. The college of pontiffs of which he was made one, had the superintendance of all the orders of priest-hood—and they were charged with the direction of public worship, sacrifices, funereal ceremonies, and all other religious solemnities. They were a highly-privileged class, and judging from the "Pontificum potiore cœnis" of Horace, and other hints, were not remarkable for contempt of worldly enjoyments. See No. CCCLXXXII.

### XXV.

Obverse. (Absquè epigraphe.) A winged caduceus between two cornucopiæ, placed saltier, in each of which is inserted a youthful head. This type elegantly alludes to the abundance and prosperity of the empire at the time it was struck, for with all his vice and tyranny, Tiberius was pacific, and his reign was one of peace and plenty. It also refers to the fecundity of the imperial family in the birth of Drusus Gemellus and Tiberius Nero, the twin-sons of Drusus. This event gave the Druse was the first of his rank whom the the Emperor such joy that he exultingly told the senate he was the first of his rank whom the gods had so blessed. The caduceus shews that these infants were considered pledges of peace, as they took away the occasions of war by cutting off all disputed claims to the succession ; unfortunately however, the first died in his infancy, and the latter was put to death by Caligula.

It was also the type of happiness—" Caduceo, si cornucopiæ adjiciatur, Felicitatis indicium est," saith Piero Valeriano. The "Caducifer alis" was expressive of power and eloquence, as well as peace: its twisted serpents typified prudence and eternity, and the two wings diligence and activity. As a symbol of Concord, it was placed in the hands of deputies proceeding to conclude treaties, with the title of "Caduceatores,"—as those who, were sent with a javelin to declare war, were called "Feciales." See No. CCCCLXXIV. Virgil mentions the magic powers of this famous Virga somnifera—

"Tum virgam capit: hac animas ille evocat Orco

Pallentes; alias sub Tartara tristia mittit;

Dat somnos adimitque, et lumina morte resignat."

Reverse. DRVSVS CAESAR TI. AVG. F. DIVI AVG. N. PONT. TR. POT. II. (Drusus Cæsar, Tiberii Augusti filius, Divi Augusti nepos, Pontifex, Tribunitia potestate iterum.) In the centre an uncial S. C. (Senatus Consulto.) This is a fine bold medal, covered with chocolatecoloured patina, and in most excellent conservation. It was struck A. D. 23, and presented to me by Admiral Sir Charles Penrose, in 1816.

# DRUSUS SENIOR.\*

Nero Claudius Drusus, the son of Tiberius C. Nero, and Livia Drusilla, was born B. C. 38, about three months after the marriage of his mother with Augustus, on which occasion the wags of Rome remarked that the latter, with his usual peculiar good-fortune, even had children in a shorter time than other men. Drusus was speedily advanced to high honours, and spent his life in the service of the state. In the year B. C. 27, he was sent into Gaul, where he acquitted himself with great credit, and from thence he was dispatched against the warlike Rhætians, over whom he obtained a signal victory near Trent. He was made Prætor B. C. 13, and Consul B. C. 9; soon after which he died, from the effects of a fall from his horse, at the early age of 30 years.

Drusus presented a striking contrast to his brother, Tiberius—being tall and graceful, of an open-hearted disposition, and excellently qualified both for civil and military affairs; and he was, moreover, humane, affable, honest, and of extraordinary valour. The attachment he manifested to Antonia proved his conjugal sincerity and virtue, while the unblemished tenour of his character gained him the esteem of the Emperor, and prepossessed every body in his favour. His untimely death was a severe blow to Augustus and Livia, and his corpse was received into Rome with every observance that could stamp the grief and regard of all ranks of its citizens. Amongst other posthumous honours decreed by the senate to his memory, were the erection of a triumphal arch, and many trophies; medals were struck, and the agnomen of Germanicus added to his designation. The military valour, and success of Drusus, had endeared him to the whole army—he was the first Roman chieftain, according to Suetonius, that sailed on the Northern Ocean; and he constructed, on the farther side of the Rhine, those strong intrenchments which were thenceforward called *Drusianæ*.

<sup>•</sup> Drusus Senior and Antonia, seem to demand priority of Tiberius, in a cabinet, but I have followed the arrangement of medallists.

The sorrow of the soldiers was therefore excessive: to testify their sense of the loss of so beloved a leader, they named the station in which he died the "Castra Scelerata," and constructed a stately monument on the bank of the river, around which they assembled every 11th of July, the anniversary of his death, to perform various evolutions in honour of the illustrious deceased. Velleius Paterculus says he was possessed of as many virtues as prudence can acquire, or human nature can admit. The beautiful ode of Horace, commencing with "Qualem ministrum fulminis alitem," and ending by a fine compliment to the Claudian family, paints his military character with unfading lustre. Pedo Albinovantes wrote an admired elegy on his death; and Ovid commemorates the melancholy event in these emphatic lines—

> "Et mortem, et nomen Druso Germania fecit ; Me miserum, virtus quàm brevis illa fuit !"

The libel which charges Augustus with compassing the death of Drusus, is so unsupported by evidence, and so opposed to facts and probability, that it needs no refutation; whether, with his avowed republican principles, he would have ultimately been the emperor's heir, is another question.

The medals of Drusus are of a low degree of rarity, and consist of large-brass, gold, and silver, with some colonial ones. All those which bear the name, or effigies, of T. Claudius upon them, were struck by the Emperor Claudius in honour of his father, and to perpetuate his signal victories in Germany. Of the large-brass series, the restitutions of Titus and Domitian are the most valuable.

### XXVI.

- Obverse. NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANICVS IMP. (Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus Imperator.) The naked head of Drusus, with a profile bespeaking dignity and energy. This medal is in singularly fine preservation, and of the best workmanship;—it was struck by Claudius to the glory of his father; and found near Monasteer, on the coast of Tunis, in 1822.
- Reverse. TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. IMP. (Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator.) On the exergum S. C. A togated figure of Drusus, holding up a laurel branch ;—he is seated in a curule chair placed upon a "mundus," amidst shields, cuirasses, and other spoils of war; emblematic of his successes in Germany.

### XXVII.

- Obverse. NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMANICVS IMP. (Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus Imperator.) The naked head of Drusus, with a profile highly expressive of firmness and majesty. Behind the head, in a sunken space, are the letters N. C. A. P. R. (Nummus concessus à Populo Romano.) Jobert reads it, "Nota cusa à Populo Romano;" but in either case it is evidently the token of a legal tender. This is one of the medals termed countermarked a method by which the value of the coin may have been changed, or refixed—as we have lately seen practised in England, by a small stamp of George III. on the Spanish dollars which were in circulation here. Countermarks are principally seen upon large and middle-brass, but are not general; they differ from monograms, in that the one is struck with the coin, and the other is always an addition.
- Reverse. TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) The seated figure as in No. XXVII.; and both appear to have been minted B. C. 8. This medal is of fine yellow brass, without patina, and was procured from a numismatic friend, in London, in 1829; having formerly belonged to the cabinet of Mr. J. F. Edgar.

# ANTONIA.

This illustrious princess is distinguished from an elder sister of the same name, by the epithet of "minor;" but as she is the only one, of whom medals are known, her name is used simply by numismatists. She was the daughter of Mark Anthony, the triumvir, by Octavia, the sister of Augustus—and was born at Rome about B. C. 38. It is uncertain in what year she was married to Drusus, the pride of the Claudian family—but she lost her husband B. C. 9, and died A. D. 38, under strong suspicion of having been poisoned by order of Caligula, her grandson, whom she had taken upon herself to admonish for his monstrous and manifold wickedness.

Antonia resembled her mother, in being as much distinguished by personal charms as by virtue—and it is a pleasure to find such a personage brightening the dark details of the Imperial race. Her conduct as a wife was remarkable for harmony and conjugal fidelity ; and after the death of Drusus, she passed an inconsolable widowhood of 47 years, though frequently and earnestly pressed by Augustus, while in the meridian of her youth and beauty, to marry again. Thus, by a noble continence, she compensated for her father's greatest defect ; and the remainder of her life—consecrated to the strict observance of her vows—was passed in so exemplary a course of prudence, unostentatious excellence, and dignity free from pride, as to steer her in safety through the terrific reign of Tiberius. Valerius Maximus, Plutarch, and Josephus, have borne testimony to her meritorious career ; others remark that she knew not the taste of wine ; and Pliny, as a climax, assures us that she was never known to spit !

An apparent deficiency of feeling, in this princess, has been variously animadverted upon—but the merely reverting to the tenour of the times is sufficient to account for it. Tacitus tells us, that, neither in any historian, nor in the journals of the city, could he find that Antonia bore any part in the funeral of her son Germanicus, though Agrippina, Drusus, Claudius, and the other relations of the deceased, were there recorded by name. Perhaps, says he, she was prevented by sickness; or she was sensible that she must have sunk under the weight of her sorrows. "To speak my own opinion," he adds, "I am inclined to believe that she was detained by Tiberius, that he and Livia might seem to have followed her example, and the people not think it strange that the uncle and grandmother had absented themselves when the mother had not appeared, but ascribe their absence to the same cause—an equal affliction." The unfeeling contempt she is said to have manifested towards her son Claudius is not so easily defensible. See No. XXXVIII.

On the death of Drusus, extraordinary honours were paid to Antonia; and, what is remarkable, she was the means of Anthony's family, in spite of all their misfortunes, giving three emperors to Rome—whereas not one of the family of Augustus obtained the sovereign power, for the attaining of which he had impiously trodden under foot the sacred laws of his country, and by a thousand acts of cruelty and injustice, laid waste the Roman world.

The medals of Antonia are of gold, silver, and middle-brass, with some Greek, Colonial, and Egyptian ones. Those of middle-brass are common, and substitute the large size—but those of the other metals are considerably rare, and have only two known reverses—*Constantiæ*<sup>\*</sup> and *Sacerdos*—the first of which is supposed to allude to the firmness with which she declined matrimonial overtures after she had become one of the honoured order of *Univiri*.

### XXVIII.

- Obverse. ANTONIA AVGVSTA. A fine head of Antonia, with her hair twisted to the back of the neck, and a countenance expressive of sense and mildness. The title of Augusta was conferred by Caligula, when he ascended the throne—albeit he so soon afterwards maltreated her, and, like a graceless grandson, refused to bestow posthumous honour, or permit medals to be struck to perpetuate her memory. This is a darkly-patinated and singularly fine medal, of a size, thickness, and relief much nearer large than middle-brass. I procured it from the Chev. Landolina, at Syracuse, in 1814.
- Reverse. TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. IMP. (*Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augus*tus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator.) In the field S. C. A veiled priestess holding a simpulum in her right hand, and a sacrificial vase, in her left. This medal was struck by Claudius, about A. D. 41—and Havercamp and others have therefore advanced that the figure represents the Emperor himself. But the specimens consulted by those antiquaries could not have been in good condition : on the one under consideration, the bust and person are too exactly delineated to mistake it for any other than Antonia, habited as a vestal virgin—or, perhaps, as one of the priestesses of Augustus, of whom Livia was the chief.

# GERMANICUS.

Germanicus, the "worthiest son of the worthiest parents," was born of Drusus Senior and Antonia, B. C. 15. He inherited this splendid name from his father, on whom it had been conferred in perpetuity, by a decree of the senate. He was adopted by Tiberius, at the express command of Augustus, and decorated with the title of Cæsar, B. C. 4. He took the quæstorship A. D. 7; obtained triumphal honours for his successes over the Marsi, Catti, and other northern nations, A. D. 11; and became consul in the following year. A second, and still more magnificent triumph was awarded for his German victories, A. D. 17; on which occasion the people were delighted by seeing the victor's chariot filled with his sons and daughters. After a brilliant but brief career, he died A. D. 19, in the 34th year of his age. His death seems to have been partly hastened by vexation; but it was mainly imputed to the

<sup>\*</sup> Except this, and one of Claudius, I know no other medals representing Constantia. She is typified by a galeated female, with a torch and a cornucopiæ; and also by a sedent woman, who elevates her right hand, but has neither sceptre, branch, nor patera.

effects of poison, said to have been administered by Piso, at the instance of Tiberius and Livia,—the only two persons, says Dio, in the whole Roman empire, who were not affected with so great, so general a loss.\*

Germanicus was a prince equally famed for rare accomplishments, political talent, and military prowess; and Ovid, in dedicating his Fasti to him, bears testimony to his learning. In the spirited suppression of a military insurrection, in the obsequies paid to the remains of Varus and his legions, and in the modesty of his trophy on the defeat of Arminius, the action and bias of a powerful mind were displayed : but that our admiration might be unalloyed, it is to be wished the exhortation to "give no quarter" had never found utterance from a chief so generally lauded for benevolence and despatching succour to rescue his arch-enemy, Cneius Piso, from destruction. His affable address, and graceful person, secured his succession to Drusus in the public affections, insomuch that he was denominated the "delight of the Roman people;" and he discharged all the various duties of an able officer, and an upright citizen, to their satisfaction and applause. Tiberius, however, beheld this popularity with a malignant eye, and to withdraw the gallant leader from his devoted legions in Germany, he nominated him to the command of the Eastern provinces: the public pretence painted this appointment as a high honour, but the motive suspected was, that the emperor might the more easily compass the ruin of his rival,-albeit that rival had proved himself above the temptation to empire, by firmly resisting the army which urged it upon him.

Amidst the distractions of a busy public life, Germanicus still devoted a portion of his time to study—and two Greek comedies, a translation of Aratus, and some epigrams, flowed from his pen. The same classic taste led him to seize the earliest moment, afforded by his new appointment, of visiting the antiquities of Greece and Egypt.

The virtues and extraordinary qualifications of Germanicus were so highly appreciated, that when his death was announced, it is incredible what lamentation and woe it occasioned. The ashes of the deceased were solemnly borne to Rome by Agrippina : and all orders—consuls, senators, knights, plebeians, women, and children—went forth in mournful array to meet the sacred urn : and we are told that though the exterior forms of grief were observed, the anguish of their hearts surpassed all outward shew. In order to eternize the memory of a prince so beloved, "friendship put itself to the stretch, and men of talents exhausted their invention." Triumphal arches were built, and statues erected ; and, among other honours, it was decreed that the name of Germanicus should be inserted in the Salian Hymn, an honour peculiar to the gods ; that a curule chair, with an oak-leaf crown should be placed in the college of Augustan priests ; that his

<sup>\*</sup> The imputation of poison always attended the sudden and the unwelcome deaths of great men among the Ancients. I have reported the above from authority, "as in duty bound ;" but must acknowledge, that I cannot understand the principle upon which *slow* poisons were administered, and rendered effective.

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figure in ivory should be carried before the procession in the Circensian games; and that no candidate, save one of the Julian family, should be appointed flamen, or augur, in the vacancy made by his demise. The regret was universal, and, in fine, to use the words of Tacitus—" the provinces lamented their loss; he was honoured by kings, and regretted by the neighbouring nations; such was his equal behaviour to the allies of Rome, and such the humanity that endeared him even to the enemy."

The medals of Germanicus, with the exception of those of middle and third brass are rare, and were mostly struck by his son Caligula. The large-brass is exceedingly scarce—and of the very few known, is the one which follows. Colonial and Greek coins of this prince, though of some degree of rarity, it is not difficult to procure.

XXIX.

- Obverse. GERMANICVS CAES. TI. AVG. F. DIVI AVG. N. (Germanicus Cæsar, Tiberii Augusti filius, Divi Augusti Nepos.) The naked head of Germanicus regarding the left, with short hair, smooth chin, bare neck, sedate aspect, and a countenance expressive of one, who "certainly excelled the rest of mankind in all the accomplishments of mind, and perfections of body." This medal, in good preservation and coated with black patina, was obtained from the cabinet of Mr. Willett, in 1834; and is of such extreme rarity, that no other is known in England.
- Reverse. TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) In the field an uncial S. C. (Senatus Consultu.) This valuable medal ought decidedly to have been purchased by the British Museum, and, in such cases, few collectors would compete with the liberal officers of that national establishment : but the trustees exert a grievous parsimony in some of their measures, and of course, at a public sale, objects of taste will not be thrown away. See No. CCCLXXXVII.

### XXX.

- **Reverse.** SIGNIS RECEPT. DEVICTIS GERM. (Signis Receptis, Devictis Germanis.) A military and majestic whole-length figure of Germanicus, with his right hand elevated, and his left bearing a legionary eagle; the inscription is on each side of the figure, across the field, and under it a large S. C. This alludes to the finding of two of the three eagles which had been lost, together with three legions and six cohorts, by the imbecile Varus; a recovery which caused the greatest joy to Rome. One of these eagles was re-captured by Stertinius; of the other it is related that Malovandus, a Marsian chief, had given Germanicus intelligence of its being buried in a trench, within a wood, and the place well guarded. On this, two parties were sent to regain it—one attacked the enemy in front, while the other entered in the rear, and bore off the eagle. Florus tells us that the third was thrown into a deep morass, by the Roman who bore it.

This medal has been servilely copied, in the INSPRUCK, 1805, of the Napoleon series, but a comparison of the two will shew the inferior drawing of the modern one, especially with regard, to the dignity of the bust.

# AGRIPPINA SENIOR.

Agrippina, a lady not more illustrious for her rank than her virtues, was the daughter of Marcus Agrippa, by Julia the daughter of Augustus. She was born B. C. 15,

and became the wife of Germanicus, by whom she had nine children. The affectionate regard, and intrepid daring, with which she bore the ashes of her husband into Rome, were not overlooked by her enemies, and she was, in the event, banished to Pandataria, A. D. 30, where, after suffering the most odious brutality from the malice of Tiberius, she expired in misery, three years afterwards. The fell tyrant could not brook her popularity with the Roman people, by whom she was applauded, as the only blood of Augustus, and the last remaining model of ancient manners. "Her death," it is Tacitus who speaks, "was said to be voluntary; but if it be true that all nourishment was withheld from her, it is evident that an artful tale was fabricated, to give the appearance of suicide to a cruel and barbarous murder."

Agrippina was a woman of exalted spirit,\* and noble character; and her chaste and faithful adherence to her husband, and his memory, have been greatly admired. In the conscious rectitude, of virtue, and the independence of illustrious birth, she scorned crouching under that servile submission to the arrogant Livia, which was expected. Sejanus, finding her virtue impregnable, contrived by emissaries to get her pride exasperated, and to prompt her to those indiscretions of a spirited temper, against which the dying husband had solemnly warned her; and which accelerated the ruin both of herself and of her sons. The tidings of her dissolution were announced by Tiberius himself to the senate; and the despot accepted the thanks of this body, for the "tender indulgence" of not having ordered her to be strangled, and thrown into the common charnel-house. Her remains were conveyed in great pomp from Pandataria, by Caligula, and deposited in the mausoleum of Augustus, with every honour which could be paid.

The gold and silver medals of Agrippina are of a high degree of rarity, especially that having a reverse of Germanicus; nor are there any Latin brass but those of the large size, which it is tolerably easy to procure, except when restored by Titus. The colonial coins of this princess are exceedingly rare, and when in good condition, bring high prices.

### XXX1.

- Obverse. AGRIPPINA M. F. GERMANICI CAESARIS. (Agrippina, Marci filia, Germaniciscilicet uxor-Cæsaris.) A well-drawn portrait of the princess, with her hair plaited and tied behind, and with features speaking the firmness of the "fæmina ingens animi." This medal is in fine preservation, and covered with a dark-brown patina; it was procured at Girgenti, in 1815.
- Reverse. TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) From the uncial S. C. which occupies the centre of the field, it is seen that this medal, struck by Claudius in honour of his unfortunate sister-in-law, was ratified by the senate.

XXXII.

Obverse. AGRIPPINA M. F. MAT. C. CAESARIS AVGVSTI. (Agrippina Marci filia, Mater Caii Cæsaris Augusti.) A fine portrait, highly expressive of one who was so impatient of

<sup>\*</sup> This spirit was perhaps "un peu fort," for she rated Tiberius pretty soundly; and Tacitus, with all due regard to her virtues, says — "atque ipsu Agrippina paullo commotior, nisi quod castitate, et mariti amore, quamvis indomitum animum in bonum verterat."

adversity. The hair is delicately executed to the above fashion, but with the addition of a ringlet down the neck, and a string of pearls to the *clubbed* part. Havercamp, Pedrusi, and others, pronounce this medal to have been struck by Caligula, to his mother's memory; but it was more probably by Claudius, for it has been objected that the former was too indignant at the mean extraction of his really noble grandfather, to have permitted the M. F. to appear on the legend.

Reverse. S. P. Q. R. MEMORIAE AGRIPPINAE. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Memoriæ Agrippinæ.) This is placed across the upper verge, as an inscription, and under it is a superb and sacred carpentum drawn by two mules. In coins of consecration, the word "Memoria" means piety, rather than memory as a faculty: and thus a woman who, in life, had been barbarously imprisoned, scourged, had an eye knocked out, and narrowly escaped being drawn about the streets by a hook through the mouth, and cast into the Gemoniæ, was annually honoured after death, with sacrifices and processions. The omission of the S. C. is from the S. P. Q. R. being equally the stamp of senatorial authority. The coin is a singularly fine one, of light yellow brass, and was procured at Patras, in 1820.

# NERO AND DRUSUS.

Nero and Drusus were the two eldest sons of Germanicus, by Agrippina Senior. They were both recommended to the Senate, by Tiberius, upon the death of his son; by the same recommendation they were both advanced to public employments before the competent age, and they were afterwards both ruined by the artifices of Sejanus.

Nero was born about A. D. 7, was made quæstor in his thirteenth year, and admitted into the college of pontiffs. Tiberius distributed a public largess on the occasion of his assuming the *toga virilis*, and then gave him Julia, his grand-daughter, in marriage. But owing to his wife becoming informer to her worthless mother, he fell by the base machinations of the minister, and was disgraced A. D. 26, being condemned, and banished to Pontia, where he shortly afterwards died of hunger.\*

Drusus was born A. D. 8, and having taken the "manly robe" at the age of fifteen had the same honours decreed to him by the Senate, which had been conferred on his elder brother, three years before. He married Æmilia, the daughter of M. Æ. Lepidus, a man of consular dignity, and in A. D. 25, was advanced to the station of præfect of Rome; in the following year he was artfully drawn in by Sejanus to combine in the destruction of his elder brother; and was afterwards, in A. D. 29, accused before the Senate, and declared an enemy to the state, in a common sentence with his mother and brother. Drusus was kept in close confinement in a dungeon under the house of Tiberius, where he was condemned A. D. 33, by the merciless emperor, to be starved to death; but he protracted his miserable existence for nine days, by devouring the materials of his bed. Tiberius reported the dying imprecations of his victim to the Conscript Fathers: "with horror and astonishment," says Tacitus, " they beheld a tyrant, who, with close hypocrisy, had hitherto concealed his crimes, but was now so hardened, that, without shame or remorse, he could throw open prison-walls, and

<sup>•</sup> Suctonius says there was a rumour that he slew himself, on seeing the executioner approach with the implements of death.

shew his grandson under the centurion's lash, exposed to common ruffians, and in the agony of famine, begging a wretched pittance to support expiring nature, but begging it in vain."

These hapless brothers are commemorated only upon a middle-brass coin of Rome, and one or two colonial ones; the former are very common, and easily procurable in good condition.

### XXXIII.

- Obverse. NERO ET DRVSVS CAESARES. The two princes on horseback, as Cæsars. The youth who was honoured with this title had all the children of the Roman nobility under his command, and appeared at their head when they performed military exercises in the field of Mars, or exhibited the favourite tournament called Troy. See No. CCLXXXIII. The attitudes of the princes is also an allusion to Castor and Pollux, who were greatly venerated for their supposed aid in the battle of Regillus. This coin is in good preservation, and was presented to me at Ithaca, in 1819.
- Reverse. C. CAESAR AVG. GERMANICVS PON. M. TR. POT. (Caius Cæsar Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate.) In the centre S. C. (Senatus Consulto.) Caligula affected great regard to the memory of those relations who had been slain by Tiberius, in order to gain the affections of the people. For this end he personally repaired to Pontia and Pandataria, in tempestuous weather, to bear back the bones of his brother and mother, under every imposing solemnity, that he might inter them in the sepulchre of Augustus : and with the same object in view, he ordered this coin to be struck, A. D. 37.

# CALIGULA.

Caius Cæsar, the third son of Germanicus<sup>\*</sup> and Agrippina, was born A. D. 12, and his infancy being passed in the camp, the soldiers surnamed him Caligula, in allusion to the *caligæ*, or military sandals, which he wore.<sup>†</sup> This youth, who, as old Pedrusi says, was "un figliuolo pessimo d'un padre ottimo," became augur A. D. 31; succeeded Tiberius, as the fourth Roman emperor, A. D. 37; and was assassinated by Cassius Chærea, a prætorian tribune provoked by his contemptuous ribaldry, A. D. 41, after 3 years, 10 months, and 8 days, of "raging rather than reigning."

While Caligula resided with Tiberius, he proved himself an adept at dissimulation, by concealing his innate ferocity under the mask of modest humility; and even when his mother and both his brothers were condemned, not a word nor a groan escaped him. The attainment of sovereign power quickly developed his real character, and at once exposed him as a monster of folly, profligacy, and savage inhumanity; and he is deservedly stigmatized by Eutropius as "sceleratissimus, ac funestissimus, et qui etiam Tiberii dedecora pergaverit." When a son of the beloved Germanicus ascended the throne, the acclamations were universal, and the reign was commenced

<sup>\*</sup> Caligula could by no means endure being thought the grandson of Agrippa, and scandalously gave out that he was the incestuous offspring of Augustus and his daughter Julia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>+</sup> The Caliga was a heavy sole, lashed with thongs to the leg, and armed with stout nails, whence the hint which Juvenal gives of their potency in ejecting civilians from the Prætorian camp. The emperors gave largesses of nails to the soldiers, "donativum clavarium," which perhaps meant also money to purchase them. The "capillamento celatue," in which he disguised himself, must have been a kind of wig, yet Otho has the merit of having introduced the regular wearing of periwigs. See No. XLIII.

by such popular acts of justice and generosity, as to justify the general joy. But this was too quickly succeeded by blood and slaughter, and a manifest hatred of the human race; and his consequent career was one of mutable and contradictory caprices, agreeing only in brutal excesses and odious propensities. On his attaining the sceptre, he would accept of no titles of honour; but he soon afterwards astounded the Conscript Fathers by assuming them all in one day, except that of Pater Patria, which he merely deferred. He both claimed and received divine worship, and was the greatest blasphemer that ever lived; yet he quailed in the conviction of a Deity, and crept under his bed whenever he heard thunder. This "best of slaves and worst of masters" was foolishly prodigal, and meanly rapacious of money. With savage inhumanity he attended executions in person, and made parents behold the merciless torments inflicted on their unhappy children; yet he could erect a palace for his horse, feed him with gilt oats in an ivory manger, refresh him with wine from a golden goblet, and compass the creating him a consul. He adopted the young Tiberius under every token of affection, and the next moment ordered his death. He contracted and dissolved marriages with equal caprice and dishonesty; besides his incestuous union with Drusilla, he seized and repudiated three wives, and was at last permanently attached to Cæsonia, a mother of children by another man, and without youth or beauty, but of depravity corresponding with his own-" luxuriæ ac lusciviæ perditæ." He pompously marched for the conquest of Britain; but having advanced to the seashore, he ordered his soldiers to fill their helmets with cockle-shells and return in triumph, causing a high tower to be erected to commemorate the success. He painted the theatres with vermillion and green, decorated his gallies with jewels, enveloped his bread and viands in gold-leaf, and bathed his carcass in odoriferous oils. In order to ride over the sea as well as the land, he constructed a bridge from Baiæ to Puteoli, at so ruinous a cost, that with other frantic expenses, he squandered away the treasure left by his predecessors, amounting to eighteen millons sterling. The magnitude of this silly labour may be estimated, by stating, that it crossed the bay in a direct line of more than two nautic miles, and that besides the enormous number of ships which were planked over to form the central part, the masonry on either shore was of a description to make our bridges and breakwaters suffer by comparison. I personally examined the massy piers which still run out from Pozzuoli, and found them singularly compact and firm, notwithstanding their long exposure to earthquakes and billows; the outer eight were in water gradually deepening from four to nine fathoms, with clear channels between them.\*

<sup>\*</sup> Amongst the contradictory orders with which he perplexed the Romans, was one by which—on the plea of equal descent from Augustus and Authony—he declared he would punish the consuls if they celebrated the anniversary of Actium, and also if they neglected it. It was likewise decreed to be a crime to refrain from sorrow on the death of Drusilla, and also to bewail her who was proclaimed to be a goddess. There was a spice of humour in the despot. When Aponius Saturninus was dozing at a public sale, Caligula made the Auctioneer note the noddings of his head as biddings: 13 stout gladiators were knocked down to the unconscious buyer, at the enormous price of "sestertio nonagies," a sum which he was compelled to pay.

Such infatuations are clear evidences of insanity: and we cannot but feel a hearty contempt for the base servility of the Romans, who could offer solemn adoration to a wretch openly guilty of the most detestable and unnatural depravities; and whose adage was *oderint*, *dum metuant*. Indeed, it is recorded that he had an alarming attack of illness, arising from vicious debauchery, at the commencement of his reign; and there was, moreover, a current belief that Cæsonia had beguiled his regards by a philtre, which proving too potent, distempered his intellect.

It is unnecessary to enumerate the wives of Caligula in this catalogue, because there were no Latin medals struck to their honour. A large-brass one has been figured by Pedrusi, having a portrait of Drusilla crowned with a peculiar coronet, and the head of an infant placed on a cornucopiæ as a reverse; but it is undoubtedly a modern fabrication. A second-brass coin has been shewn of the beautiful Lollia Panlina, which is also false. This is the Lady whom Pliny met at a private party, and was astonished to find her overloaded with jewels to the amount of 400,000 sesterces, "as she openly offered to prove :" her splendour, however, led to little more than her being "looked at of every man;" for she was torn from her husband, married to the despot, quickly repudiated, and at last murdered by the younger Agrippina, under the plea of *witchcraft*, but in reality for "setting her cap" at Claudius.

When Caligula was destroyed, the dastardly Senators who had so recently sacrificed to him, ordered all his statues to be demolished, his acts abrogated, his money to be inelted down, and his inscriptions defaced, in order that his memory might be extinguished for ever. Yet this sentence has not prevented a considerable number of inedals from reaching us, though consequently—except those of second-brass—they are of considerable rarity when in good preservation : indeed, after the diligence of Messalina in fusing them to make statues of Mnester, the dancer, it is a wonder that we have any.

## XXXIV.

- Obverse. C. CAESAR AVG. GERMANICVS PON. M. TR. POT. (Caius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate.) The laureated profile of Caligula looking to the left; the countenance somewhat resembles that of his grandfather, but is less noble, and has a malignant expression: and he was at great pains to cherish this aspect—" Vultum vero naturâ horridum ac tetrum etiam ex industriâ efferabat; componens ad speculum in omnem terrorem ac formidinem." This medal, in the finest possible condition, and covered with a beautiful yellow patina, was procured in Barbary, in 1816.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. P. P. OB CIVES SERVATOS. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Patri Patriæ, ob cives Servatos.) This is inscribed in a civic wreath, and alludes to the recall of exiles, A. D. 37, and other acts of clemency with which Caligula opened his reign. The wreath was so much used by the ancients, at their sacrificial and social feasts—" coronabant pocula hilaritatis causå convivalis"—as to become a common representation on sculptures and coins. See CCCVII. Caligula introduced a new ornament, for those who accompanied his bush-robbing exploit in Germany, which he called the "Exploratory Crown." The S. C. does not appear, because the Senatorial authority is implied by the S. P. Q. R. but the money of Trajan shews that this was not an invariable rule.

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#### XXXV.

- Obverse. C. CAESAR GERMANICVS PON. M. TR. POT. (Cains Cæsar Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate.) The laureated portrait of Caligula. This medal is unequally spotted with a green ærugo, and is in perfect condition. It was procured in 1823, at Ansidonia, in the Papal states, where it had just been found in the ruins of Cosa; having probably been struck in the first year of the Emperor's reign.
- Reverse. AGRIPPINA, DRVSILLA, IVLIA. On the exergum S. C. Here we have the sisters of Caligula characterized by three elegant females, with the attributes of goddesses. The first leaning on a cippus, typifies Constancy; the second, with a patera, denotes Piety; and the third holds a rudder to signify Fortune: they each bear a cornucopiæ, Agrippina having her's on the right shoulder, the others on the left. The tyrant gave these depraved creatures the rank and privileges of Vestals, although—" cum omnibus sororibus suis stupri consuetudinem fecit." We may allude to their fates. Drusilla, the favorite, after having had two husbands, was publicly espoused to her brother, and on her death, which happened A. D. 38, Caligula deified her with frantic demonstrations of grief and regard. Agrippina and Julia, after each being twice married, were plunged by their brother into shameful debaucheries, and were then banished by him for adultery: by which the wholesale adulterer gained their riches and effects. Being recalled to Rome by Claudius, Agrippina became the Emperor's wife, and will be mentioned hereafter; but Julia, falling under the power of the infamous Messalina, was again driven into exile, and put to death A. D. 43.

#### XXXVI.

- Obrerse. C. CAESAR DIVI AVG. PRON. AVG. P. M. TR. P. IIII. P. P. (Caius Cæsar, divi Augusti pronepos, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate quartum, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled portrait of the Emperor turned to the left, and depicted somewhat older than on the two last. This beautiful medal is in high preservation, and was presented to me by my friend Colonel Otto Beyer, of the 10th Regiment, at Goza, in 1819.
- Reverse. ADLOCVT. COH. (Adlocutio Cohortium.) The Emperor in senatorial vestments, standing on a tribunal, before a curule chair, addressing five military figures bearing eagles. These soldiers are admirably executed, and by the thunderbolt on each of their shields, it is shewn that they belong to the famous Legio Fulminatrix. See No. CCLI. This reverse was deemed by Schlegelius, Pedrusi, and others, to represent the oration made by Caligula after the three days revels upon his bridge; but Eckhel who is a more paramount authority, thinks it was struck in the first year of the tyrant's reign. This, however, from the tribunitian date, and the P. P. is questionable : an adlocution was made to the Prætorian Cohorts on the accession, but the coins which commemorate it, of which I have had several, bear merely the legend C. CAESAR AVG. GERMANICVS PONT. MAX. TR. P. The one just described, I am inclined to date A. D. 40, though the consulship is not marked, and the occasion may have been, the expedition to Britain.

Caligula—who is said to have been eloquent—was the first Emperor who celebrated his military harangues by medals; and it is remarkable that the one under discussion, though evidently of the Roman mint, has not the stamp of senatorial approbation. Occo says—ubi est S. C. non est caput Caij, ubi non est S. C. cernitur capnt.

#### XXXVII.

- Obverse. C. CAESAR DIVI AVG. PRON. AVG. P. M. TR. POT. IIII. P. P. (Caius Cæsar, divi Augusti pronepos, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate quartum, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum PIETAS. A veiled sedent female, whose left arm rests on a little robed statue—which is distinct from the throne on which she sits—holds the sacred patera in her right hand. This fine medal is covered with deep yellow patina, and is in most excellent condition; it was minted A. D. 40, and procured by exchange, at Cagliari, in 1824.
- Reverse. DIVO AVG. (Divo Augusto.) S. C. A temple of six columns in front, elaborately decorated with statues and garlands. Before it stands the Emperor, habited as a priest; he holds a patera to receive the blood of a steer, which is grasped by a victimarius, to pour upon the altar by which he stands : behind the Emperor is a camillus, also holding a patera, but it is in his left hand. The inscription explains, at once, that this is a sacrifice to Augustus, and there can be no doubt of its being the one so pompously celebrated on completing, and dedicating, the temple

which had been left unfinished by Tiberius. Thus was a prince honoured and consecrated by the inconsistent being who decried his military services, and branded him with the crime of incest. But as if nothing were wanting to render Caligula execrable, he was as envious and malicious as he was proud and cruel; whence his medidated attempt to suppress and abolish the works of Homer, Virgil, and Livy, by dicta, which formed a forerunner for the Elders of the Index Expurgatorius—and, perhaps, suggested the senseless theory of Father Hardouin.

# CLAUDIUS.

Tiberius Claudius Drusus Germanicus, the fifth emperor of Rome, was the son of Drusus Senior and Antonia, and was born at Lugdunum, B. C. 10. From many disadvantages while a child, and the being under a cruel tutor, he became habitually fearful, and was so remarkable for mental and bodily weakness that, during the bloody reigns of his uncle and nephew, he escaped the fate of those who were less despised. Upon the death of Caligula, A. D. 41, Claudius was found concealed in some hangings, by a plundering soldier, dragged out, and forthwith carried to the camp, where, instead of the death he expected, he was proclaimed Emperor. In his joy, he promised to reward all the troops liberally—a promise which overcame the feeble opposition set up by the senate, against the choice of the prætorians : and thence originated the ruinous custom of soothing the army by largesses, which afterwards degenerated into a regular barter for the diadem ; and caused the subversion of the state by the substitution of martial for senatorial law. After an existence, rather than a reign, of 13 years, 8 months, and 20 days, under the government of his wives and freedmen, he was poisoned by Agrippina on the 13th of October, A. D. 54. Hence the Satirist—

> "Let Agrippina's mushrooms be forgot, Given to a slavering old unuseful sot, That only clos'd the drivelling dotard's eyes, And sent his godhead \* downward to the skies."

Notwithstanding the inert waywardness imputed to this "mooncalf," as my late friend Gifford termed him, and the gluttony and timidity which he fell into, Claudius was not altogether devoid of accomplishment or of taste: and it seems that his relations—even to his mother and sister—who might in tenderness have spared his weakness, considerably underrated his intellectual powers, in the severity of their sarcasms. For his Greek and Latin histories are declared to have been written with purity and elegance: he introduced the Æolic digamma, and two other letters, into the Roman alphabet; and is said to have been so well acquainted with astronomy, that he calculated an eclipse which was to happen on the anniversary of his birth; and fearing that it would occasion at Rome consternation, and perhaps tumult, he published an explanation of the causes of such a phenomenon. Nor was his public career

<sup>\*</sup> After his death, Claudius was numbered amongst the gods, a deification treated with much contempt by the wits and wags of the age. Juvenal sneered at it—" descendere jussit in cœlum." Seneca, who smarted under his Corsican trip, ridiculed it in his Apocolokintosis, a work of more humour than merit; and of more passion than philosophy. Gallio, alluding to the mode of dragging the bodies of criminals to the Gemoniæ, says, that the Emperor was "hooked" into heaven; and Nero called mushrooms food for the gods But the Romans did not always think it lamentable, nor despicable, to rank those as deities, who had degraded themselves as men.

altogether an useless blank, although he accidentally occasioned the total ruin of the ancient form of government, by assuming those prerogatives which had been the principal motive to the contests of Marius and Sylla. He opened his reign with mildness, justice, and clemency,-and was so far an enemy to pride and ostentation, that he steadily refused the title of *Imperator*, as a prænomen. Amongst other public works, he undertook and completed a convenient haven at the mouth of the Tiber, an enterprize which had baffled the efforts of Cæsar; he also partly succeeded in draining the lake Fucinus; and he finished an aqueduct of stupendous magnitude, by which the city was supplied with delicious water. But his better qualities lost their effect through the deficient energy of an impassive mind; until his character became radically debased, and his personal conduct stamped with imbecility and contradiction,—and even his naturally humane disposition became sanguinary by an habitual attendance at the infernal combats of gladiators. With such defects, he was little adapted for arbitrary sway, in so turbulent and licentious an age; and, instead of wielding his sceptre, he became the easy dupe of the most odious wretches that ever pestered a state. The acts of those arrogant minions, Pallas, Callistus, and Narcissus, are lost in the unparalleled rapine, massacre, and monstrous depravity of the libidinous Messalina; and we could heartily wish to be sceptical as to the unblushing enormities which attended her misrule.

Claudius aimed at military fame, and to earn a triumph he passed over into Britain, where, fortunately for him, some excellent officers were employed : the abject Senate rewarded his few-days-service with a magnificent pageant, and the surname of Britannicus was decreed both to himself and his son.\* While speaking of British affairs we may add, that he evinced the latent generosity of his heart, when, charmed with the noble boldness of the captive Caractacus, he ordered the liberation of that prince and his family ;—an act, the merit of which will be immediately felt, on calling to mind the horrid fate too often reserved for royal captives. Indeed the evidence upon his character may be summed up in the distich of Ausonius :—

"Libertina tamen, nuptarum et crimina passus, Non faciendo nocens, sed patiendo fuit."

The medals of Claudius are easily procurable; those of the three sizes in brass are common: and it is a peculiarity of this reign, that the date of the tribunitian power is omitted, in the legends. There are no Latin coins in honour of any of the wives of Claudius, except those of Agrippina; but I have met with the head of Messalina on a colonial one;—its expression was rather that of a fine, than a handsome or intelligent woman; the hair was plaited close round her head, like a fillet, instead of hanging down the back of her neck, as with Agrippina.

<sup>\*</sup> Upon this occasion Claudius ascended the steps of the Capitol on his knees:-may not this have afforded a hint to the devotees of the Santa Scala?

## XXXVIII.

- Obverse. TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. IMP. (Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator.) The laurelled head of Claudius, with a portraiture differing very widely from the impressions received from historians, and bearing no trace of the "Portentum hominis, nec absolutum à natura, sed tantum inchoatum," said to have been uttered by his mother. This medal is singularly coated with dense yellow patina, and was procured of my friend Mr. Burgon, in 1826.
- Reverse. EX. S. C. OB CIVES SERVATOS. (Ex Senatus Consulto, ob cives servatos.) Inscribed in an oaken garland. This honour appears to have been awarded to Claudius, for his recalling those who had been banished by Caligula, without sufficient cause.

### XXXIX.

- Obverse. TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. IMP. (*Tiberius Claudius Cæsar* Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator.) A fine and intelligent head of Claudius. This superb medal is in surprising preservation; it is coated with a bottlegreen patina, and, from the absence of the P. P. was probably of the coinage of A. D. 41. For its possession I am indebted to Sidy Mohammed Dighiz, who presented it to me, at Tripoli, in 1817.
- Reverse. SPES AVGVSTA. On the exergum S. C. Hope is here personified by a lively female, clothed in flowing and transparent drapery, which she is holding back with her left hand, in order that her progress may be unimpeded; and she is in an advancing posture to shew that Hope presses towards her desired object. The whole figure is uncommonly graceful,—the head is crowned with a diadem, and the right hand holds a lotus, or lily, signifying that blossoms give hopes of fruit. Several medalists have considered this as a symbol of Flora; but Spes is covered with vestments, whereas the impure goddess was always represented naked to the waist, and holding a bunch of flowers, instead of a single bud. Shakspeare, who probably never consulted coins, inclined to the classical idea, rather than the allegory which is now represented, with an anchor,—an emblem more suitable to Security, than Hope :—

#### A cause on foot

Lives so in HOPE, as in an early spring We see the appearing buds; which to prove fruit, Hope gives not so much warrant, as Despair That frosts will bite them.

This medal was probably struck in anticipation of a milder sway than that of Caligula. The type, which is very expressive, was especially honoured by Claudius, because he was born on the day allotted to the rites of this deified moral attribute.

XL.

- Obverse. T1. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR: P. IMP. P. P. (Tiberius Claudius Casar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patria.) The laurelled head of Claudius, as in No. XXXVIII, but struck after he had assumed the honoured title of Father of his Country.
- Reverse. EX. S. C. P. P. OB CIVES SERVATOS. (Ex Scuatus Consulto, Pater Patriæ, ob cives servatos.) Inscribed in an oaken garland, as commemorative of clemency. This coin is in fine preservation, and covered with a dark-green patina. It was procured from a friend, in London, in 1829.

#### XLI.

- Obverse. TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus, Poutifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) An excellent portrait of the emperor, with a laurel wreath. This medal is of pale-yellow brass, is in good preservation, and was procured at Bizerta, near Tunis, in 1822.
- Reverse. NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMAN. IMP. (Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus, Imperator.) S. C. In the pious regard which Claudius bore towards the memory of his father, he instituted equestrian games on the anniversary of his birth. And here we have a triumphal arch, surmounted by a statue of Drusus on horseback, between two military trophies, which represent the spoils of the German victories.

### XLII.

- Obverse. TI. CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled portrait of Claudius, looking to the right. This medal is in secondary conservation, and was procured of M. Carstensen, the Danish Consul General at Tripoli, in 1816.
- Reverse. SPES AVGVSTA. On the exergum S. C. The figure of Hope, attired in light robes, holding a flower to three soldiers. It has been thought that this reverse denoted the favour which Claudius found from the cohorts ;—but that is more indisputably shewn on two coins, struck in gold and silver. The first shews the Emperor within the walls of a camp, with IMPER. RECEPT. over the gate ;—on the other he is taken by the hand, by an aquilifer, or eaglebearer, with the legend PRAETOR. RECEPT. But the medal I am describing has but little claim upon this demonstration of gratitude, especially as the P. P. was not immediately assumed by Claudius : it was more probably intended for the hope held out to the army, on their expedition to Britain.

# BRITANNICUS.

Tiberius Claudius Germanicus, the son of the emperor Claudius, by the most infamous Messalina, was born on the 12th of February, A. D. 42; and the name of Britannicus was given him in the year following, as proper instead of all others, on account of the prosperous proceedings in Britain. He was considered a very hopeful youth, and therefore greatly beloved by the people, as presumptive heir to the empire ; but he was excluded from the succession, by the artifices of Agrippina, who made Claudius adopt Nero, to the prejudice of his own son, A. D. 50. Though this adoption was applauded by the servile Senate, yet almost every citizen was affected at the hard lot of the unhappy Britannicus, whom Agrippina, under colour of tenderness, kept locked up in a nursery, though he was now nine years old. By degrees she removed from him all his former attendants, putting in their room persons who were entirely at her devotion. She would never allow him to appear abroad, nor even to wait upon his father, giving out that he was disordered in his senses, and troubled with the falling sickness. He was poisoned A. D. 55, in the first year of Nero's reign, during the feasts of the Saturnalia, in the hour of hospitality, and under the eye of his mortal enemy.

We are told, that the young prince had sufficient discernment to perceive the designs which Agrippina masked under officious kindness; and he displayed an instance of early acuteness, in moving general sympathy, when Nero, to cast him into ridicule, had publicly commanded him to sing. But here he committed two fatal faults: on the one hand he maintained his pretensions to the throne so as to alarm the tyrant; and on the other he displayed a very superior voice,—a qualification which rendered him equally odious as a rival. From that instant he was condemned, and as it was necessary to proceed by artifice, the detestable Locusta was

employed to prepare a poison. The first potion was administered by the tutors of the Prince, but without the desired effect. A second attempt was decisive; for, at a repast with Nero, who lay stretched at his ease on a couch, and in the presence of Agrippina, his sister Octavia, and all the courtiers, he was destroyed by a most deadly dose. A scene of confusion followed; and Agrippina, from a desire of keeping Britannicus as a tool in her hands, was especially shocked; but Tacitus tells us, that after the distraction had subsided, the pleasures of the table were renewed ! The corpse was carried out the same evening, and buried in the field of Mars, during a violent fall of rain, without expense or pomp of any kind. The regrets were general; and Seneca, or whoever was the author of the tragedy entitled *Octavia*, bewails his death in the following lines:

> Tu quoque extinctus jaces; Deflende nobis semper, infelix puer, Modo sidus orbis, columen Augustæ Domûs; Britaunice !

Medals of Britannicus, are, as might be supposed, exceedingly rare; and, a very few from the Greek colonies excepted, are almost unique. The only authentic large-brass one that I know of, is that with reverse Mars, in the Imperial cabinet of Vienna, which was purchased at Rome, in 1773, and has been pronounced to be genuine. A second-brass specimen was admitted into a collection by Morelli, but Eckhel thinks it must be false. Pellerin describes a coin of the third-brass series, apparently of the Latin mint; but the title of Augustus thereupon, which the prince never bore, would shew it to be colonial.

## XLIII.

- Obverse. KAAYAIOS BPETANNIKOS KAISAP. The head of Britannicus, with the hair cut close, without any decoration,—and the countenance indicating that of an ingenuous youth. This is a large-brass colonial medal, in excellent condition, and was procured from Mr.Young, in August, 1828.
- Reverse. ANTIΦEΛΛΕΙΤΩΝ. A thin equestrian figure, with a flowing robe, and a couched spear, galloping across the field. Now comes the question as to the authenticity of the present medal, the style and workmanship of which, may be said to court the severest scrutiny; and even the practised eye of Mr. Young remains undecided. But there has been only one coin of Antiphellus hitherto published, viz. a large-brass Greek Imperial one of Gordianus Pius, quoted by Sestini, vol. 3, p. 89,—but without citing any authority,—though probably he copied Eckhel, who in vol. 3, p. 2, of his Doct. Num. Vet. describes a similar coin. It is therefore presumed by Mr. Burgon, whose judgment in such a question amounts to authority, to be against probability that mine is an original; but even if it be a fabrication, it is of an early date, and fills a hopeless hiatus in the cabinet.

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# **AGRIPPINA JUNIOR.\***

This remarkable princess, the daughter of Germanicus and Agrippina, was born in a town afterwards called Colonia Agrippinensis, (now Cologne,) A. D. 16. She was bred up with her grandmother Antonia, who endeavoured to inspire her with sentiments of honour and goodness, but in vain, for, as Dio says, vice made its appearance before reason began to dawn. She was married, at the early age of thirteen, to the brutal and debauched Cneius Domitius Ænobarbus, and from this profligate couple proceeded Nero. Her incestuous commerce with her brother, and promiscuous adulteries were notorious; but an intercourse which she had with Lepidus, the conspirator, brought down the vengeance of Caligula, and she was banished to Pontia, after having been obliged to carry her paramour's ashes, in an urn, from the place where he was executed to Rome. On her recall, by Claudius, she was united to Crispus Passienus, a celebrated orator, whom she destroyed as soon as she had obtained possession of his wealth. After the downfall of Messalina, she was assisted by Pallas-the modest slave, as Pliny terms him,-in inveigling the Emperor into marriage; and a vote to legalize the unnatural union was passed by the senate, through the agency of the supple Vitellius, A. D. 49. In the following year, the same obsequious body dignified her with the sublime title of Augusta, on the adoption of Nero into the Claudian family; and, after succeeding in most of her ambitious schemes, she was barbarously murdered by that execrable matricide, A. D. 59.

Agrippina had received from nature all the advantages of mind and person which could command regard, and a double tooth on the right side, according to Pliny, presaged her success. But though her beauty, wit, and literary accomplishments were undeniable, all these good qualities were clouded by violence, baseness, and sordid avarice; and for her vindictive cruelty, we need only cite the sending for the head of Lollia Paulina, to glut her eyes with, on which occasion she brutally opened the mouth, with her own bands, to ascertain by the teeth, that no imposition had been practised upon her. The vanity of Agrippina was evinced by her equipage, jewels, and splendid vestments, as well as by the triumphal chariot in which she obtained leave to visit the capitol; and she received the homage of Caractacus, seated upon an elevated throne, between the Roman standards and eagles, in gorgeous magnificence. She was popular from having recalled Seneca from banishment; but this act was lamentably counterbalanced by murder, proscription, and

\* In following the example of calling females Senior and Junior, I do not mean to defend its propriety. Some medallists publish them Major and Minor, to which also objections may be taken.

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pillage,—and she disposed of honours, governments, employments, and armies, with a haughty contempt of propriety and justice. The whole of her craft and influence was directed to secure the power she obtained; and, according to Tacitus, she did not blush to prostitute herself in order to promote her son's elevation, and to gratify her insatiable longing for gold. As some of her measures, resulting from turbulent anxiety, were prosecuted with but little precaution, Claudius was apprised of their dangerous nature. In the paroxysm of terror and anger which followed the communication, the Emperor vented some threatening expressions, which procured him the dish of mushrooms that promoted him to divine honours.

The accession of Nero was followed by the usual consequences,-the mother who wrought the elevation aiming at uncontrouled power, and the son opposing her inclinations, but at the same time heaping honours upon her: all the artillery of remonstrance, angry invective, and tender caresses, were alike ineffectual; for, in addition to the natural inclination of the young prince to be released from thraldom, the ambitious designs of Agrippina were thwarted by the influence which his tutors, Seneca and Burrhus, had over him. In following her objects she seems to have hesitated at nothing; Tacitus, to be sure, acquits her of participation in the murder of Britannicus, but we wish, for humanity's sake, that she could also be cleared of the detestable charge transmitted by Cluvius, and others. By rapid gradations the influence of the unhappy mother vanished; her credit and authority fell to nothing, and she was abandoned by the crowd of flatterers who had offered her incense,-albeit she left nothing unattempted, which thirst of power could suggest, to retain her wonted dominion. At length affairs reached such a crisis that Nero, instigated by Poppæa Sabina, resolved to remove the incumbrance; and, the better to accomplish his ends, affected returning regard, and invited his mother to Baize, to pass the festival of the Quinquatria. Here a most treacherous, and we may add very *lubberly* attempt, was made to drown her, in a scuttled galley; but she escaped by swimming to a boat, after her attendant was killed, and she herself wounded, by being struck at with oars when in the water. The crime could no longer be concealed; and it became necessary to complete what had been begun. Accordingly a party of assassins, who, we grieve to say, were called mariners, surrounded her place of refuge, and despatched her by many mortal wounds; and, we are told that she bared her body to the ruffians, boldly bidding them plunge their swords into the part which had harboured so vile a monster as their master. She was buried the same night, but had no tomb nor monument while Nero lived,-for with active hatred he delighted in blackening her memory, and even procured that her nativity should be placed among the days of bad omen,

in the calendar. It should be added that though, by a long train of crying iniquities, Agrippina deserved her cruel doom, yet the countenance given by Seneca, to the odious means by which it was accomplished, and defended, brands him with indelible reproach.

Medals of Agrippina, though rare, are found in gold, silver, and Greek imperial. Of the large-brass, I have never been able to procure a single specimen, nor is there one even in the British Museum. Vaillant has figured two of this magnitude, with reverses Ceres, and a triumphal arch; but there are no Latin brass of the other sizes. Agrippina was the first of the wives of the Augusti, whose effigies appeared on gold and silver coins, of the Roman mint, during her life,—a circumstance which has been advanced as an instance of her arrogance.

### XLIV.

- Obverse. AGRIPPINA AVGVSTA CAESARIS AVG. (Agrippina Augusta, Cæsaris Augusti.) The head of Agrippina, with a lovely countenance and intelligent aspect,—her tresses plaited and hanging down the back of her neck, after the fashion of Agrippina Senior.
- Reverse. TI. CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. P. M. TR. P. X. IMP. XIIX. (Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate Decimum, Imperator Decimum Octavum.) The laureated head of Claudius. In consequence of the utter hopelessness of acquiring a large-brass medal of this princess, I have substituted the present specimen, which is a silver medallion, nearly of the proper module. This, I am aware, is an offence against the sacred unity of a large-brass cabinet; but as it is better than a blot, I trust the numismatic censors will overlook it,—especially as it is the only one of its metal in the series. The likenesses are good, and the characters perfect,—but, from its magnitude, it was probably struck in a colony.

## NERO.

Lucius Domitius, the son of Cneius D. Ænobarbus and Agrippina Junior, was born at Antium, A. D. 37. By the arts of his mother he was adopted into the Claudian family, and declared Cæsar, A. D. 50,—on which occasion he assumed the names of Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus; Nero being, it is said, a Sabine word for "valiant." By these measures he became Prince of the Roman youth, was elected as a supernumerary into all the sacerdotal colleges, and, in A. D. 53, was wedded to Octavia, the Emperor's daughter. In the following year he succeeded to Claudius; was married to Poppæa Sabina, A. D. 63, and three years afterwards to Statilia Messalina. His vicious enormities having aroused universal execution, he was condemned to die, more majorum; but he escaped so cruel an execution by a dastardly death from his own hand, A. D. 68; and in him the race of the Cæsars became extinct.

The reign of this sanguinary monster, which endured 13 years and 8 months, began in moderation, liberality, and clemency, except, as in the instance of Britannicus,

where he was personally concerned; but it gradually degenerated to debauchery, lust, and wanton flagitiousness. Seneca, who penned Nero's orations, and was too intimately connected with events opposed to philosophy, is said to have been influential in curbing excesses for a time, by remarking that though an Emperor might destroy multitudes, yet he could not kill his successor. After the death of his tutors he gave himself up entirely to singing, playing upon the harp, driving of chariots, carnage, and vice in its most odious shapes. From the very nature of his prodigality, outrage and rapine were necessary consequences, and the Empire was recklessly pillaged. He wore no robe a second time; never travelled with fewer than 1000 chariots; and his numerous train of attendants was gorgeously adorned. The ceremonies of the first denudation of his chin must have equalled, in expense, the outfit of an expedition; his shews may be estimated, by stating, that at one of them, no fewer than 300 lions, 400 bears, many pairs of gladiators, and a number of bulls were slaughtered : but all these fell short of the revenues which were expended in the vast and incredible construction called the "Golden Palace."\* Our page shall not be contaminated with the abominable pollutions which disgraced the æra; but, amongst the horrid cruelties that obtained, a mention may be made of the "lugubrious torches" which were introduced, when, to screen Nero from the charge of having fired Rome, the christians were visited with the first persecution : these were made by enveloping the fated wretches in combustible mantles, the "tunica molesta" of story, and smearing them with inflammable matter; and when the day declined they were lighted up to dispel the darkness of the night! Yet this "enemy and fury of mankind," whose very name is emphatically made use of, by most nations, to express a barbarous, raging, and abandoned despot,-yet even this brute was lamented after death, insomuch that flowers were found strewed over his grave. The act, however, must have originated in the degenerate habits of the mob, who, inured to idle debauchery, had seen, with delight, the treasures of the Empire lavished by such as Caligula and Nero, in furnishing Panem et Circences.

Medals of Nero are abundant in every metal and size, as well Latin, as Colonial, Greek, and Egyptian; but of his wives there are none from the Roman mint, and comparatively few from the others. Poor Octavia, whose beauty and irreproachable conduct did not save her from repudiation and death, is commemorated upon several foreign coins; and on one which I have examined, the amiable sufferer is exhibited with a serions aspect,—her hair plainly dressed, and trussed close round her head.

<sup>•</sup> In the Ludi Maximi, celebrated by Nero for the eternity of the Empire, many thousands of Missilia were cast amongst the populace. On these were written orders for sums of money, clothes, paintings, jewels, food, and other prizes, —which was a precursor of lotteries. The custom was tollowed, and arrived at its most contemptible excesses under thelogabalus. Traces of the Missilia are still observable at coronations, and carnivals.

The handsome but depraved Poppæa, who was killed by the worthless husband's kicking her pregnant belly, has also various coins in her honour, of which the principal I have met with, are of the dumpy kind called "Potin," and struck in Egypt: and even her daughter Claudia, who died scarcely four months old, had a small-brass coin dedicated to her memory, inscribed DIVA CLAVDIA NER. F. His third wife, Statilia Messalina, who survived the tyrant, and was engaged to Otho, is represented only on Greek Imperial medals: she is there shewn with a pleasing face, and with great nicety in the disposition of the hair, which falls in plaits on her neck,—thus differing from the close fashion of Octavia, and the *clubbed* manner of Poppæa.

### XLV.

- Obverse. NERO CLAVD. CAES. AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. 1MP. P. P. (Nero Claudius, Cæsar Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled head of Nero, turned to the right. This medal is of yellowbrass, and was purchased in London, in 1829.
- Reverse. ADLOCVT. COH. (Adlocutio Cohortium.) This is inscribed on the exergum, and in the field appears S. C. Nero attended by Burrhus, both togated, ou a tribunal standing near a circular edifice ornamented with columns, which may be emblematic of the Prætorian camp. He is addressing three soldiers who stand before him, bearing military ensigns, and is probably promising the donative upon which they proclaimed him Emperor; —whence we may conclude the medal to have been struck A. D. 54.

### XLVI.

- Obverse. NERO CLAVD. CAES. AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Nero Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled head of Nero looking to the left, a mode of placing the profile which, after this reign, is very rare upon large-brass. The countenance is well marked, and strongly indicative of sensuality,—the eyes are heavy, and the neck fat. The medal is in singularly fine condition, and entirely covered with a rich green patina. I procured it at Jerba, in the Little Syrtis, in 1822.
- Reverse. ANNONA AVGVSTI CERES. On the exergum S. C. Here Ceres is represented by a veiled female seated, with a torch on her left arm, and her right hand is extended to receive a cornucopiæ which another female, personating Anuona, is presenting. Between them is a decorated altar, on which stands a modius; and in the back-ground is seen the prow of a ship, denoting that the supply of corn arrived by sea.

#### XLVII.

- Obverse. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Nero Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated head of the Emperor, in high relief. This medal is in very tolerable preservation, and was presented to me, by Colonel Warrington, at Tripoli, in 1817.
- Reverse. CONG. T. DAT. POP. (Congiarium primum datum populo.) In the exergum, S. C. The Emperor, in his toga, is seated on a curule chair, which is placed upon a high Suggestum. Beside him is a statue of Rome, with a lance and victory; and before him stands Liberality with a tessera. An adult appears on the steps of the suggestum, with a child, to receive the gift at the hands of one who is distributing it. Nero was the first whose Congiaries are represented upon medals, and after his example, the practice was continued. The Congiarium consisted originally of wine and oil, which were measured in a Congius; and it was always a present especially to the people,—the largesses to soldiers being properly termed donatives. The medal before us was probably struck in the first year of Nero's reign, upon the occasion of his bestowing 400 denarii on each citizen.

## XLVIII.

- Obverse. NERO CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Nero Claudius Casar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patrice.) The laureated head of the Emperor, turned towards the right. In excellent condition, and slightly coated with a brown patina. It was procured, by exchange, from Mr. Burgon, in 1825.
- Reverse. POR. OST. AVGVSTI. S. C. (Portus Augusti Ostiensis, Senatus Consulto.) The placing of this legend has occasioned error; Augusti is on the upper verge, and S. POR. OST. C. on the lower one, whence Havercamp engraved it S. P. Q. R. Ost. C. This medal commemorates the harbour formed at Ostia; but though the consent of the senate assigns it to Nero, the honour unquestionably belongs to Claudius, who actually commenced and completed it, to ensure a regular supply for the Roman markets. From a survey which I made of its ruins, in 1823, it must have been an undertaking as gigantic as it was useful. On the lower verge of the coin, Neptune is seen reclining, with a rudder stuck into the ground to denote being in port, where the latter implement is usually at rest, and a dolphin sporting distinguishes the deity from a River-God, and indicates the tranquility of the waters. On either side are magazines and docks, and the field is occupied with gallies, of which the largest fills the centre. Upon a solid basement near the entrance of the haven is a colossal statue with a spear, holding up his left hand; this, Addison thinks, may have held a light for guiding mariners by night; but he could hardly mean the Pharos alluded to by Suetonius, as it was built upon a 'huge ship sunk for the purpose, and was said to resemble the stupendous structure at Alexandria.

#### XLIX.

- (bbverse. NERO CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Nero Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) A frowning head of Nero in very high relief, with the Gorgon's head, as an amulet upon his breast. This was a common ornament with Nero and Domitian; and was perhaps worn for the purpose of averting the evil eye, as I have seen a modern Italian sovereign use a piece of coral. This charm has been miscalled bulla, amongst numismatists: but the bulla was only retained by the Roman youths while they wore the pretexta; and on assuming the "manly gown," it was offered to the Dii Lares. Baudelot was of opinion that the Bulla aurea was worn by generals in their triumphs; but the evidence of Macrobius, whom he quotes, is extremely conjectural; while the contrary may be inferred from the fact, that it is found upon such statues only as represent youths,—neither is it to be met with upon any of the marbles, arches, or coins, bearing a representation of triumphal chariots.
- Reverse. CONG. II. DAT. POP. (Congiarium secundum datum populo.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor is seated upon an ornamented tribunal, near a temple, in the front of which is a colossal statue of Rome. By his side is an assistant, and before him an officer presenting the tablet of Liberality to a citizen. This medal has been chronologically assigned to the year 57,—but I think without good grounds. There are three of Nero's congiaries celebrated on coins; the first we have described, and the third may have been struck when a donative was made on the suppression of Piso's conspiracy. The middle, or that in question, probably records the munificence of the tyrant after the disastrous fire at Rome. He was at Antium when the conflagration burst forth, but he returned in time to witness the flames. Seeing the general distress he caused sheds to be erected in his gardens, for the houseless multitude, lowered the price of grain, took wise precautions to prevent a scarcity, and supplied all the most pressing wants of the populace. These measures would have gained him great credit, had not the suspicion of his being the author of the calamity, still maintained its ground in the minds of the people.

L.

()bverse. NERO CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Nero Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) An exceedingly characteristic profile of Nero, with the hair dressed with singular care. This is one of the finest specimens of Roman art in its finest period : and in order to shew the numismatic Tyro, how little dependance can be placed upon those books in which the medals are priced, it may be proper to give its story. As the reverse is very common, a tolerable specimen may be had for five or six shillings; but from having had upwards of a score pass through my hands, I had selected one which could not be worth less than a couple of guineas. This, however, was gladly resigned to replace it by the present medal, with which I had long been acquainted, and had admired as the first of its class. It was knocked down at Mr. Henderson's sale, in 1830, for four pounds, eight shillings,—and is undeniably worth more.

Reverse. PACE P. R. TERRA MARIQ. PARTA, IANVM CLVSIT. (Pace Populo Romano Terra Marique, parta, Ianum clusit.) In the field, S. C. The small square temple of Janus, magnificently decorated, and its gates closed. The cornices, capitals, and indeed the whole detail of this edifice are so accurately delineated, and in such perfect preservation, that a statuary of Bedford made a beautiful model from it, in marble, to support the meridian-mark of a transit instrument, at Hartwell House. This medal was struck when Nero, taking advantage of the successes of Corbulo, A. D. 58, shut up the temple, "with airs of selfgratulation," as if his valour had wrought an universal peace. On this occasion, Tiridates having been compelled to repair to Rome, and receive the crown of Armenia from the hands of Nero, a pompous spectacle took place, in which Roman pride and oriental servility were equally conspicuous: but the pageant was rendered everlastingly infamous, by its being stained with the precious blood of Thrasea, Soranus, and the unfortunate Servilia.

LI.

- Obverse. NERO CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Nero Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled head of Nero, with a frowning aspect. This medal is in very excellent condition, and slightly patinated. I procured it at Cephallonia, in 1819.
- Reverse. ROMA, on the exergum. In the field S. C. A dignified Amazon, with a helmet and military vestments, is seated in a commanding attitude upon a pile of armour, with her left hand resting on the short sword called *parazonium*, and her right extended, supporting a winged victory, the appropriate attributes of the deified "Mistress of the World." The whole design is excellently executed.

#### LII.

- Obverse. NERO CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. 1MP. P. P. (Nero Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) Portrait of the Emperor, with the usual forbidding expression. In tolerable preservation, and purchased at the Hon. R. E. Digby's sale, in 1825.
- Reverse. MAC. AVG. (Macellum Augusti) In the field S. C. A very noble edifice of two stories, and a central cupola, decorated with numerous columns, and a figure on the steps of the porch. This medal is usually dated A. D. 60, and considered as being in honour of the flesh-market, which Dio tells us was consecrated. But Jobert cannot allow of such magnificence for mere shambles: it resembles, he says, the ruins of the mausoleum mentioned by Suetonius, "Inter Flaminiam viam, rimamque Tiberis;" that the letters have been misinterpreted, and that for Macellum we should read Mausoleum. An oversized second-module.

#### LIII.

- Obverse. NERO CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Nero Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated head of the Emperor turned towards the left, with the talismanic Medusa on his breast. This medal is in excellent preservation, and covered with a brownish-green patina. I procured it at Ponza, (Pontia,) an island which is now as corrective to the Neapolitan courtiers, as it was formerly to those of Rome.
- Reverse. DECVRSIO, on the lower verge. In the field S. C. Two horsemen galloping towards the right, the foremost of whom represents Nero with a couched spear : the other bears a military standard. The ancient Romans called the chariot-race of the circus, Decursio, but that

cannot be here intended, because there are only equestrians. It appears, however, that the same appellation was also given to the training of soldiers, the diversion of  $Ludus \ Troj \alpha$ , and the procession made three times round funereal pyres. But this medal may have been struck by a servile senate, A. D. 60, upon the institution of the Neronian games, wherein wit, genius, and poetry, were to be improved by music, gymnastics, and horse-racing. In these exercises, the Emperor claimed the pitiful honour of applause; whence Julius Vindex \* stung him with the title of a paltry and contemptible musician.

#### LIV.

- Obverse. NERO CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. IMP. P. P. (Nero Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Imperator, Pater Patriæ.) Profile of the Emperor, with a laurel wreath, and the hair dressed with the utmost art. This medal is coated with green patina, and is in fair condition: it was presented to me by M. Carstensen, the Danish Consul-General, at Tripoli, in 1816.
- Reverse. DECVRSIO, along the exergum. In the field S. C. Nero on horseback, as in No. LIII. but between two foot-soldiers, one bearing a shield and a standard. From apparent evidence, this medal may have been struck on the same date and occasion as the last; yet it may be considered as alluding to the marches by which the Roman troops were exercised; and which Vegetius tells us, were put into practice three times a month,—" Non solùm autem in campis sed etiam utraque acies cogebatur, ut nulla res, vel casus possit accidere, quòd non antè boni milites assiduà exercitatione didicissent."

#### LV.

- Obverse. IMP. NERO CAESAR AVG. PONT. MAX. TR. POT. P. P. (Imperator Nero Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ.) A characteristic profile of the Emperor, turned to the left. The medal is of the fine yellow brass, (orichalcum,) so highly valued by the ancients, and though in perfect condition is without patina. It was found amongst the ruins of Antium, where I procured it.
- Reverse. (Sine epigraphe.) In the field S. C. A magnificent triumphal arch, with the victor in a quadrigated car upon the summit, preceded by two victories, below whom are two small figures. Between the columns is seen a very colossal statue, perhaps the gigantic one made for the golden palace, and upon which Commodus afterwards placed his own likeness. Most antiquaries have assumed that this medal was struck in honour of Corbulo; and Biragi, who can seldom be trusted, places it, accordingly, in the mintage of A. D. 58. But from Nero's character, this assumption may be questioned : it is more probably a commemoration of the only triumph of this reign, when A. D. 66, returning as an Olympic victor, the hair-brained tyrant successively entered Naples, Antiun, Albanum, and Rome, through a breach in the wall of each city, with the defeated singers and actors in his train, and in all the pomp and circumstance of national exultation. Mons. Seitz regards the horses of this quadriga as representing the celebrated gilt-copper ones of Chios, which decorate the portal of St. Mark's, at Venice : part of the memoir in which he endeavours to prove this, has probability,—but on the whole, it is too daring in conjecture.

#### LVI.

- Obverse. IMP. NERO CLAVD. CAESAR AVG. GER. P. M. TR. P. P. (Imperator Nero Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated head of Nero, looking to the right. This fine medal is in very perfect preservation, and entirely covered with an olive-green patina. It was presented to me, by General Sir George Don, at Gibraltar, in 1824.
- Reverse. ROMA, on the exergum. In the field S. C. A galeated female of majestic aspect, but not so Amazonian, as on No. LI. She is sitting on a pile of spoils, with her foot upon a helmet;

<sup>•</sup> Nero was sorely afraid of this sturdy soldier: having constructed an hydraulic organ—perhaps the very one represented upon a medallion in the Florentine collection—he promised to exhibit it in the theatre, "si per Vindicem liceat." Vindex being told that the tyrant had publickly offered 10,000 sesterces for his head, exclaimed—" well, and he who kills Nero, and brings me his head, shall have mine in exchange."

her left hand supports a *hasta pura*, and on the right one stands a small winged victory, holding a laurel-wreath towards the "Eternal Mistress." Rome, on account of the supposed descent of Romulus from Mars, was always represented armed, and seated upon a trophy to denote military success. That public worship was paid to the city, is abundantly testified by the poets : Prudentius says—

> " Delubrum Romæ (colitur nam sanguine et ipsa More Deæ) nomenque loci ceu numen habetur."

## GALBA.

Servius Sulpitius Galba was born B. C. 3, of illustrious parentage; and he was the last Emperor who claimed descent from the ancient families of Rome. Omitting his boasted lineage from Pasiphaë, it may be mentioned that his mother was greatgrand-daughter to Mummius, the noted conqueror of Corinth, a man much more renowned for virtue, than for virtú. By the interest of Livia, to whom he was related, Galba was raised to employments before the age required by the laws; but he always acquitted himself with credit; and so greatly to the satisfaction of his august patroness, that she bequeathed him five millions of sesterces; but the legacy being set down in figures and cyphers, and not written at large, Tiberius, the heir-at-law, sifted it down to half a million, and even that was never paid.' Galba was raised to the consulship A. D. 33, and in the year following, was sent to supersede Getulicus, in Germany. On the death of Caligula he was urged to assume the Purple, but declined,--in consequence of which Claudius conferred upon him the proconsulate of Africa. In A. D. 68, he was declared Emperor, and the death of Nero immediately followed; but as the aged veteran refused the usual bribe to the soldiers, he was slain in a camp-tumult, after a reign of but seven months and a week. He thus miserably expired at the age of 72; and, while falling under a multitude of wounds, uttered the sentence,-" Feri, si ex re sit Populi Romani !"

Although Tacitus, not having the fear of the "no medium" doctrines before his eyes, has said of Galba—" Magis extra vitia quam cum virtutibus,"—yet it may be inferred that his virtues considerably overbalanced his vices; for he lived with such high repute, during the reigns of five emperors, that he was considered both worthy and capable of supreme authority. He was well versed in all the liberal sciences, and was so excellent in the profession of arms, as to have succeeded in restoring the ancient discipline to his legions. His conduct in domestic life presented a pleasing contrast to that of the wretches we have been describing, for the propriety and fidelity both of himself, and his wife Lepida, were always such as to give no room for censure or detraction. After the death of that excellent woman, Galba led a single life, notwithstanding the allurements and solicitations of the beauteous and accomplished Agrippina,—a lady whose passion for him was so violent, that in the life-time of Lepida, she had had a boxing-match on his account. He has been accused of incompetence to govern, of penuriousness, of cruelty, and of delegating his authority to three detestable "pedagogues." These charges are but imperfectly proved in evidence, and the reign of Galba was altogether too brief to manifest what would have been the sway when the turbulent factions left by Nero, and the disaffection of the slothful prætorians, had been calmed. Plutarch bears witness that he always preferred the good of the public to any private considerations, -and pays him this high tribute: "It is an acknowledged truth, that Sulpitius Galba was the richest private man that ever rose to the imperial dignity : but though his extraction was of the noblest, from the family of the Servii, yet he thought it a greater honour to be related to Q. C. Capitolinus, who was the first man in his time for virtue and reputation." Galba was frugal and free from pride and prejudice; but some of his appetites are said to have been grossly depraved, and, perhaps from the natural infirmities of age, he trusted too blindly to his counsellors : at all events, the plea for the seditious invectives which wrought his destruction, was founded on an expression worthy of the brightest period of Roman virtue;-when urged to bestow largesses upon the army, he said, "I have been accustomed to levy soldiers, not to buy them." And among his public virtues, it should be remembered that he adopted Piso in preference to Otho, because the former was a man of more principle than the latter.

The medals of this unfortunate Emperor are rare in gold, but common in largebrass, and very common in silver, and second-brass, except the restitutions by Titus, which are greatly prized. There are no Latin small-brass, but some were struck in the colonies. The head is sometimes bare upon the medals, of all sizes and metals, except the large-brass, where it is constantly laureated. A Greek Imperial coin has been shewn me, by a friend, as of Lepida, the wife of Galba; but it is probably a fabricated one, for there is no mention whatever of her having received such a token of commemoration.

## LVII.

- Obverse. IMP. SER. SVLP. GALBA CAES. AVG. TR. POT. (Imperator Sergius Sulpitius Galba, Cæsar Augustus, Tribunitia potestate.) The laurelled head of Galba, with strong marks of age, and an aquiline nose, of size sufficient for a gnomon to Trajan's animated dial. This medal was struck A. D. 68; it is in fair condition, though it has been somewhat injured by the Scriblerian wire-brush of a former owner.
- Reverse. ADLOCVTIO. On the field S. C. The emperor, with the commander of the prætorian guards, on a suggestum, addressing a party of soldiers, who, by the horse's head, represent both cavalry and infantry. It may not have been the design of the medallist, but by turning the man's head, who is nearest the emperor, towards his comrades, there is an air of confusion in this adlocution, not usual upon those struck on similar occasions,—whence it seems to shew the discontent of the cohorts, on being refused the donative they demanded. But it is usually thought to refer to the speech which Galba made to his troops in Spain, when he first revolted from Nero.

## LVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. SER. GALBA AVG. TR. P. (Imperator Sergius Galba, Augustus, Tribunitia potestate.) The head of Galba, in style and workmanship resembling that last described. It is in excellent preservation, and was presented to me at Jerba, by Sidy Mustapha, the governor, in 1822.
- Reverse. LIBERTAS PVBLICA. On the field S. C. A robed female standing, with a wand in her left hand, and the pileus, or cap of liberty, in the other. The wand represents the vindicta, with which the prætor touched a slave on manumitting him; and the cap was assumed as the badge of freedom, because slaves went bare-headed. To these emblems were sometimes added a cornucopiæ, because from liberty springs abundance. This medal was struck by order of the senate upon the condemning of Nero, and proclaiming of Galba his successor, and so sure did they make of freedom being regained by the death of the last of the Cæsars, that they struck also, at the same time, coins inscribed Libertas Augusti, and Libertas restituta.

Among other ceremonies used in the manumission of slaves, was the giving of blows previous to the imposition of the pileus,—whence the satirist,—

# "Vindicta postquam meus a Prætore } recessi."

And when we recall the horrid ergastula in which they were kept, and the probable fate which awaited old age and infirmity, of either being exposed on the Tiber island to starve, or sold for any price, as was practised by the *virtuous* Cato, we may imagine what a release the pileus implied to those unhappy beings. They were dead in the eye of the law as to all the rights of man, but sufficiently reminded that they were quick in all points of bondage. Hence they were liable to be hung by the heels, while eight "valentes virgatores" laid on their stripes, and castigated them with tortures,—

> "" "" stimuli, laminæ, crucesque, compedesque, Nervi, catenæ, carceres, numellæ, pedicæ, bojæ, Tortoresque acerrimi, gnarique nostri tergi."

## LIX.

- Obverse. SER. GALBA IMP. CAESAR AVG. TR. P. (Sergius Galba, Imperator, Cæsar Augustus, Tribunitia potesate.) A fine profile of Galba. This medal is coated with a brownish-green patina, is in a remarkably pure state of preservation, and was procured from a gentleman at Bonorva, in Sardinia, in 1823.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OB CIV. SER. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Ob Cives Servatos.) This is inserted as a legend in the centre of a garland of broad oak-leaves; and was struck in allusion to Galba's having rescued the citizens of Rome from Nero. (See No. XXXIV.)

The civic crown was not only bestowed upon him who had saved the life of a citizen, but also for any public success, and was therefore frequently voted to the emperors at the commencement of their reigns. Now, though these gentry more commonly proved destroyers than preservers of the people, the opportunity was taken of reminding them that clemency and humanity would be the surest means to establish the empire in peace, make them acceptable to their subjects, confirm their power, and render their government popular. It was more highly esteemed than mural, gold, vallarian, or rostral crowns; and it gave the right of a senatorial seat at the theatres. The fine compliment of Claudian to Stilicho must be repeated :--

" Of old, when in the war's tumultuous strife.

A Roman sav'd a brother Roman's life,

And foil'd the threat'ning foe, our sires decreed

An oaken garland for the victor's meed.

Thou who has sav'd whole crowds, whole towns set free,

What groves, what woods, shall furnish crowns for thee ?

LX.

Obverse. IMP. SER. GALBA AVG. TR. P. (Imperator Sergius Galba, Augustus, Tribunitia potestate.) The profile of the Emperor, looking towards the left; and, what is remarkable, crowned with oak-leaves instead of laurel, in token of his being deemed the liberator of Rome. This medal is varnished with a deep brown patina, and is in good condition; it was presented to me by my shipmate, Lieutenant Thomas Graves, R. N.

Reverse. ROMA, on the exergum; in the field S. C. The galeated figure of Rome, seated upon various spoils of war. Her left arm rests on a shield placed upon a helmet, and her right is supported by the wand of divinity,—the whole signifying the restoration of tranquillity after the toils of war.

## LXI.

- Obverse. SERG. GALBA IMP. CAES. AVG. TR. P. (Sergius Galba, Imperator, Cæsar Augustus, Tribunitia potestate. The laureated head of Galba, with a portion of the paludamentum on the breast. A brown-patinated coin in tolerable preservation, which was procured at Pisa in 1823.
- Reverse. ROMA R. XL. (Roma, remissa quadrigesima.) In the field S. C. A bold standing figure of Rome Nicephorus, or victorious, the right-hand holding an idol of victory with a crown and cornucopiæ, as symbols of power and abundance; and the left supports a transversal wand surmounted with wings, the elbow resting on a trophy. The inscription shews the whole to be in commemoration of the abolition of an impost.

## LXII.

- Obverse. IMP. SER. SVLP. GALBA CAES. AVG. TR. P. (Imperator Sergius Sulpitius Galba, Cæsar Augustus, Tribunitia potestate.) The crowned profile of the emperor, with an amulet on the breast. Procured of Capt. Falbe, the Danish Consul, at Tunis, in 1822. The patina is grass-green.
- Reverse. HISPANIA CLVNIA SVLP. (Hispania, Clunia, Sulpitia.) On the exergum S. C. The emperor seated in state, with a parazonium, or sceptral sword, reclining on his left arm, while his right is extended towards a well-robed female figure, bearing a cornucopiæ, and who is presenting the palladium to him. It seems that when Galba was at Clunia he received information of his exaltation to the empire, which, coupled with an ancient prediction of the place in his favour, inclined him to honour it with the appellation of Sulpitia. This medal therefore commemorates the fact,—and it is the tutelary deity of the City who is presenting the symbol of success to the emperor.

## OTHO.

Marcus Salvius Otho, the eighth emperor of Rome, though of Hetrurian descent, was of illustrious birth, being the son of L. S. Otho and Albia Terentia. He was born A. D. 32; joined the revolt against Nero A. D. 68; and conspired against Galba in the following year, when he became emperor. After getting the better of the troops of Vitellius in two or three skirmishes, he lost a pitched battle at Bedriacum, whereupon he destroyed himself, on the 17th of April, A. D. 69, in his 37th year, and after a reign of but 3 months and 5 days.

The tender years of Otho were spent in idleness, and his youth in such profligate debauchery, that he became very acceptable to Nero. Otho having taken a fancy to Poppæa Sabina — whose husband died most opportunely—he married her; and either in the indiscreet warmth of a lover, or from a more sordid inducement, he so extolled the charms of his wife to the emperor, that Nero desired an interview with her. Here the address of Poppæa was so artfully plied that she was

<sup>\*</sup> For notice of the medals of Poppæa, see page 41.

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forthwith conducted to the palace, where she so wounded the pride of Nero, by still pretending fondness for Otho, that the parasite would probably have been murdered, had not Seneca suggested his being sent to govern Lusitania, in honourable exile. If he had been victorious over Vitellius, he was engaged to marry Statilia Messalina, the widow of Nero; these were affairs and crosses which the Romans made very light of, as was evinced in the memorable instance of Cato's bargain : yet it was not for such acts that Martial compared the Censor and Otho, for constancy.\*

Having entered upon his government, Otho acquired no less reputation in authority, by his gravity, justice, and regular conduct, than he had deserved infamy in a private station, by his voluptuous and dissolute life. He was the foremost to espouse the cause of Galba, in expectation of being declared his successor; but the aged veteran, doubting the "Roman Absalom's" principles, adopted the more virtuous Piso, and destroyed the hope. Out of hatred and revenge he determined to murder both, and establish himself in the empire; and the unlucky refusal of a donative to the soldiers, by Galba, paved the path to success. Otho was the first illegitimate sovereign who was advanced to the throne solely by means of the Prætorian Guards, which time and experience proved to be so pernicious a precedent. Juvenal, as the friend perhaps of Domitian, was very malignant towards Otho, accusing him of every vice, and asking, in mock-heroics, whether the murder of Galba-a poor decrepit old man-was a general's action. He has been accused of ungratefully turning against Nero,-but it fortunately happens that minions have ever borne a detestation to those who caused their flagitiousness.

Otho commenced his reign by the popular acts of honouring Celsus, and destroying the hateful Tigellinus; but while establishing himself, the armies of Germany declared for Vitellius. None could be more abhorrent than the two candidates for empire-indolent, incontinent, and sensual-the Emperor licentious to an extreme, and his rival a gluttonous drowsy drunkard; both of effeminate habits, and both deeply in debt. But, as is harshly said of Sir Walter Raleigh, his death was the most commendable act of the life of Otho,--and hence he proved himself superior to Vitellius. "It is better that one die for many," said he, "than that for one, many should die;" and finding the battle lost, he-without any impeachment of his fortitude-sacrificed himself for the public tranquillity, although his troops were unshaken in their attachment, and his affairs were far from desperate. "By two acts," says Tacitus, " one the most odious, and the other the most laudable, he equally deserved infamy and renown among posterity."

<sup>\*</sup> Both Plutarch and Suctonius differ in their account of this, and make Otho only the keeper of Poppæa until Nero could make away with Octavia; but no one will be blamed for adhering to Tacitus. Even the distich cited by Suctonius himself, proves the marriage,— "Cur Otho mentito sit, quæritis, exsul honore?

Uxoris Machus caperat esse sua."

The Roman coins of Otho are entirely confined to gold and silver: from which and his known contempt for ignoble metals—it is probable that the Italians named brass Ottone, by antiphrasis. Several antiquaries have been of opinion that no brass coins were struck during this reign, because the Emperor was proclaimed Augustus by the army only; but it would seem rather from some accidental delay of the senate: those of gold and silver were by the sovereign's personal order. Be this as it may, it is certain that no senatorial medal has been hitherto produced, which has not been suspected; for the second-brass one in the Florence cabinet, is but a restitution by Titus, and even that, from the title of Pater Patriæ which it bears, is not unimpeachable, notwithstanding it was dispatched to Rome to get its legitimacy formally established. So great was the anxiety of potentates, and scholars, to obtain large-brass medals of this Emperor, that much ingenuity was exerted in fabricating some, and the learned Chifflet wrote a work to prove the deceptions abroad. "He who shall find an antique coin of Otho in bronze," said Christina, Queen of Sweden, " will have found the philosopher's stone."

## LXIII.

- Obverse. IMP. M. OTHO CAE. AVG. (Imperator Marcus Otho, Cæsar Augustus.) The laureated head of Otho, with a profile representing a handsome young man, having an aquiline nose, and a placid brow; with but little of that resemblance to Nero, which had caused the people to cry out Othoni Neroni! In the gold and silver coins, this Emperor is represented with several rows of curled hair, resembling a peruke, which is not the case on the present specimen; and in all others that I have examined, he is without the wreath. The wig constitutes a striking confirmation of the historical description of the Emperor, who is recorded to have had but very little hair,—"galericulo capiti propter raritatem capillorum adaptato," says Suetonius; and it may be advanced, though Folard would oppose it, that Otho introduced the use of periwigs into Italy. This most rare and precious medal is in finer preservation than any other which either myself, or my friends, have seen of its kind; and I purchased it, with several of meaner degree, from an Arab Scheikh, of the Weled Orfili, in 1821, and thus accidentally became possessed of one of the richest prizes of a cabinet.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consultu.) These are large uncial characters surrounded by a garland of laurel, placed within two circles,—the leaves tied in threes, and interspersed with berries. This medal, though bearing a latin legend, was struck at Antioch, A. D. 69; for that city had the privilege of a Roman coinage, and it is probable that intelligence of the fall of Otho was not speedily announced to the authorities there. No doubt can possibly exist upon this point, for the metal and fabric are precisely identical with those of other Emperors which are known to have been minted at Antioch, from Augustus down to Volusian.

I may here notice the great difference that existed between the relative and political situation of the Greek and Roman colonies, as contrasted with those of the modern mercantile nations of Europe. Gibbon remarks that the colonies of Rome, in their manners and internal policy, "formed a perfect representation of their great parent, and they were soon endeared to the natives, by the ties of friendship and alliance; they effectually diffused a reverence for the Roman name, and a desire which was seldom disappointed, of sharing, in due time, its honours and advantages." The spirit of this differs most widely from the suspicious policy of colonial legislation in later times. With the ancients, the name of colonies, far from being disadvantageous, was a privilege, owing to their sound system, which was sought even by allies; and far from excluding their colonists from metropolitan rights, they even conferred them on the conquered, especially where previous compacts existed.

## VITELLIUS.

Aulus Vitellius, the ninth Emperor of Rome, was probably born about A. D. 15, but there is a difference of three years among historians; and they are equally at variance as to whether he was nobly descended. The name affords but little clue, being derived from circumstances similar to those of the Fabii, Porcii, Pisones, Lentuli, and Cicerones, who owed their appellations to the beans, pigs, pease, lentils, and vetches, sold by the founders of their families : Metellus, in the same way, took his name from a suttler, and Cocles from his "one eye;" there were others also called by the name of the fish they caught, as Orata, and Muræna. The parents of this Prince were Lucius Vitellius, an abject courtier, and Sextilia, a woman, who in objecting to be saluted Augusta by her son, manifested a judgment very superior to that of Nero's mother. Aulus was sent, when a child, to attend Tiberius at Capreæ, in which diabolical school he contracted those infamous vices which have for ever branded his name. He was elected consul A. D. 48, and as it was thought that his sensual propensities would occupy all his study, and render him harmless to the state, Galba sent him as legate into Germany, A. D. 68. Here however he revolted against that Emperor, and after his death, overthrew Otho, A. D. 69. He enjoyed the imperial power but eight months and a few days, for towards the end of December in the same year, the soldiers of Vespasian pulled him from behind a bed in a porter's lodge, and having pinioned his arms, dragged him through the streets with a rope about his neck, and a poniard at his throat, in order that he might not hide his face. In this manner he was forced to the Scala Gemoniæ, where, under accumulated insults and many wounds his ignominious life was terminated.

In examining the character of this ephemeral sovereign, there will be found in it but few qualities worthy of commendation,—yet no man was more constantly popular with the licentious soldiers who held the fate of Rome; and they fought for him to desperation. In the short reign of Vitellius, no less than 900 millions of sesterces, or more than 7 millions sterling, were prodigally wasted; and Josephus thinks that, had his life been prolonged, the whole revenues of the empire would not have sufficed to defray the expences incurred by his monstrous gluttony. If he did not eclipse Nero in ferocity, it was from the sluggishness of intemperance: for, the vindictive murder of Dolabella,—the imputed poisoning of his mother and son, his relishing the stench of dead citizens,—and the atrocious executions he personally witnessed, evidently betray his natural bent to bloodshed. He abandoned the functions of an emperor, and entirely resigned himself to riot, gluttony, and drunken debaucheries. In his court no man strove to rise by virtue, or ability; preferment was won by consuming of banquets, and gorging the appetite of the ever craving and never satiated Emperor. "Edunt ut vomant, vomunt ut edant." The boundless extravagance of these entertainments has excited disgust through all succeeding ages. On one occasion his brother prepared a repast, in which were 2000 choice fishes, and 7000 exquisite birds; and at the consecration of a silver dish, which from its magnitude was called the shield of Minerva, Vitellius filled it with the livers of scares, (Labrus scarus,) the brains of pheasants and peacocks, the tongues of flamingoes,\* and the sounds of foreign lampreys. By the luxurious vices of such sovereigns the Roman people had become so unnaturally debased that, in the struggle between the troops of Vitellius and Vespasian within the walls of the city, the populace enjoyed the havoc as a public spectacle; and, in the midst of desolation and murder, continued their revels with inhuman indifference to the contending parties. "Whatever the libidinous passions can inspire in time of peace," says the indignant Tacitus, "was intermixed with all the horrors of war, slaughter, and The whole city seemed to be inflamed with frantic rage, and, at the destruction. same time, intoxicated with bacchanalian excesses."

With the exception of the silver ones, all the coins of Vitellius are of great rarity, especially the gold, and large-brass; indeed, from the scarcity of the latter, forgers have derived profit by palming skilful alterations of Vespasian upon young collectors. It does not authentically appear that any medal was struck in honour of Galeria Fundana, the Emperor's second wife,—a woman to whom all writers, save Dio, ascribe prudence, humility, and virtue; and it were happy for Vitellius had he listened to her counsel, instead of that of the insolent Triaria, his sisterin-law. The title of *Cæsar* has never been found upon the coins of this reign, which corroborates history; nor has that of *Pater Patriæ* been known, as genuine. It should be mentioned that both gold and silver coins were struck in honour of Lucius Vitellius, father of the Emperor, of which the former are extremely rare.

LXIV.

" Philemon with translations so does fill us, He will not let Suetonius be Tranquillus."

Obverse. A. VITELLIUS GERMAN. IMP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. (Aulus Vitellius, Germanicus, Imperator, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate.) The laureated head of Vitellius in bold relief, bearing strong traits of the grovelling sensuality ascribed to him by Suetonius;—" For, of stature he was beyond measure tall: a red face he had, occasioned for the most part by swilling in wine, and a great fat paunch besides." †

<sup>•</sup> I once ordered a dish of the tongues of these birds, which proved but indifferent eating, owing perhaps to our cooks being less skilful than those of Vitellius. He who wishes for further particulars of the luxury of those times, may consult Brotier's edition of Tacitus.

<sup>†</sup> This is "done into English" by the plodding Doctor Philemon Holland, who dedicated his filthy and unfaithful translation of the twelve Cæsars, to a VERTVOVS LADIE. The wits of the day got weary of his leaden labours, and thus vented their spleen :-

Reverse. VICTORIA AVG. (Victoria Augusti.) In the lower part of the field S. C. An elegant and finely executed figure of Victory, naked to the middle, and her left foot placed upon a helmet; she is inscribing OB. CIVES SER. (Ob Cives Servatos,) on a shield placed against a palm-tree, in allusion to the slaughter of Roman citizens being stayed by the battle of Bedriacum. This magnificent medal fell into my possession in 1825, having been previously the ornament of the Hon. R. E. Digby's collection. It is slightly coated with patina, through which the yellow brass appears like gold.

#### LXV.

- Obverse. A. VITELLIVS GERMAN. IMP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. (Aulus Vitellius Germanicus, Imperator, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate.) The laureated head of Vitellins "crapulatus," having the bust covered with the paludamentum. A singularly fine and bold medal, coated with a greenish-brown patina, and formerly belonging to the well-known cabinet of Mr. Neave.
- Reverse. MARS VICTOR. In the field, S. C. Mars gradiens armed in rather an unusual type. His right hand holds a winged victory with a garland, his left grasps a trophy which is supported on his shoulder, and a sword is girt to his loins. As the latter weapon is supposed not to exist on a Roman coin, it may be proper to say that it resembles a parazonium in shape. See No. LXXI.

## LXVI.

- Obverse. A. VITELLIVS GERMANICVS IMP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. (Aulus Vitellius, Germanicus, Imperator, Augustus, Pontifer Maximus, Tribunitia potestate.) A characteristic laureated head of the Emperor. This medal is in tolerable preservation, and covered with a very dark-green patina: it was obtained from Mr. Young, in 1826.
- Reverse. PAX AVGVSTI. In the lower part of the field, S. C. between which letters, stands a robed female bearing a cornucopiæ, while her right hand holds forth an olive branch. This commemorates the short peace which followed the defeat of Otho.

#### LXVII.

- Obverse. A. VITELLIVS GERMANICVS IMP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. (Aulus Vitellius, Germanicus, Imperator, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate.) A very expressive laureated head of the Emperor. The medal is in beautiful preservation, and coated with a bottle-green patina; it was obtained, by exchange, at Spalatro, in Dalmatia, in 1819.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consultu,) in uncial characters. Between these letters, stands a bold galeated figure of Romulus, as Mars gradiens, with the spolia opima of Acron on his left shoulder, and a lance held transversely, with the point upwards, in his right-hand. He is naked except that a robe floats round his loins. This symbol has been held to imply the consent of the army to an emperor's election, a supposition which has not yet been proved. Others think it alluded to the warlike qualities of the prince,—but though Vitellius triumphed over Otho, what were his ?—Vitellius ventre, et gula sibi hostis fuit."

## LXVIII.

- Obverse. A. VITELLIVS GERMAN. IMP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. (Aulus Vitellius, Germanicus, Imperator, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate.) The laureated head of the Emperor, with his usual sordid aspect, and the shoulders robed. A thinly patinated coin in pretty fair condition, presented to me at Athens, by Sig. Lusieri, the well-known and admirable artist, in 1820.
- Reverse. L. VITEL. CENSOR  $\overline{\Pi}$ . (Lucius, Vitellius, Censor iterum.) On the exergum S. C. The Magister morum is seen on a curule chair placed upon a tribunal, in the exercise of his office. Before him are three Romans, one of whom offers his hand to the censor, and above them is another sedent figure: the whole are togated. This was struck to flatter the Emperor by recording the honours to which his father was advanced. Suetonius informs us of Lucius's having been three times consul, and once censor, but the *iterum* which is here shewn, has never been properly accounted for.

The office of censor was considered as more honourable than even that of consul,—for besides their business of registering and valuing all effects, and imposing the *excise* duties, they were also armed with authority for the correction and reformation of manners. The liability of citizens of every rank, not excepting consuls and dictators, to be summoned before the censors, and be there required to render an account of their actions, must have operated as a check to licentiousness, till the power of those magistrates had become " an old song."

## VESPASIAN.

Flavius Vespasianus, the tenth Emperor of Rome, was descended from a respectable Sabine family near Reaté, where he was born A. D. 9,-his parents being Flavius Sabinus, and Vespasia Polla. In the reign of Caligula, young Vespasian was a conspicuous "toad-eater" about the court, and being afterwards over-head-and-ears in debt, bore but an equivocal character. After being made a senator by his imperial patron, he attended Claudius into Britain, where he fought in thirty pitched battles, subdued two mighty nations, took upwards of twenty towns, and reduced the Isle of Wight. For these successful proofs of military skill he was highly honoured, and He then served as pro-consul in Africa; and though, from largely rewarded. nodding or dozing while Nero was singing, he had fallen into disgrace, that musical despot selected him for the conquest of Judæa, A. D. 66. In the disorders which followed the death of Galba, the legions of the East proclaimed him Emperor, although, according to Josephus, Vespasian refused the dignity till he was compelled, by the drawn swords of his soldiers, to accept it. The execution of Vitellius left him sole master of the empire at the close of A. D. 69, and his two sons were elected Cæsars. He appointed Titus his colleague in the censorship, A. D. 74, and they took the last general census that we find recorded in history. Having caught a fever, he died, universally lamented, at his paternal estate in the vicinity of Reaté, in the summer of A. D. 79, at the age of 69 years, 7 months, and 7 days. He was the first Emperor who changed his character for the better, on attaining supreme authority, as well as the first who was succeeded by a son; and if it be admitted that Livia hastened the deification of Augustus, he was also the first who died a natural death.

When this excellent sovereign was fairly seated upon the throne, his first care was to restore the edifices which had been destroyed in the late cruel contests; and, by rewarding virtue and reforming abuses, to establish order and confidence. In this third building of the capitol he carried the first basket of earth, and the example was followed by all the patricians and courtiers: the custom of laying a first stone in pomp, if not arising from this event, probably then gained its form and ceremony. Vespasian avoided every kind of parade, and restrained luxury by his personal example; he administered justice with impartiality, and manifested the mildness of

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his disposition in his general conduct. In what concerned the commonwealth he acted like an emperor; in all things else as a private person. "Greatness and majesty," says Pliny," worked no alteration in him, save that of making his power of doing good answerable to his will;" and Eutropius declares that he was, as to other princes, "optimis comparandus." His clemency—though deeply sullied by the foul murders of Priscus, Sabinus, and the admirable Eponina—was known and felt throughout the empire; and so little was he given to the horrid revengefulness of his predecessors, that he dismissed a former enemy with the "*ito morboniam*" which the fellow had caustically addressed to himself; and he gave to the daughter of Vitellius an honourable husband and splendid dower. Imputations of covetousness have been cast on him, for reviving suppressed impositions, and for his exceptionable modes of obtaining money; but these practices must have been chiefly owing to the exhausted condition in which he found the treasury, and the urgent necessities of the state. It is well known that he applied his revenues to great and noble purposes, and laid them out with uncommon generosity;—he was the first who pensioned the Greek and Roman orators; and his liberality in all cases of distress or disaster, as well as his munificence to men of genius, and artists, are too minutely recorded to be doubted. It is true that his private morals were not without stain, but under him it was remarked that "truth came into fashion." Like Augustus he had great faith, during his fortunate career, in the sign Capricorn, under which they were both born; and like that prince, he was much given to pleasantry. When a deputation promised to raise a statue to him, he smiled, and holding forth his hand said—"let this be the base of your statue; place your money here." And when apprized of danger, in his last illness, he jested at the customary apotheosis awaiting his demise, by remarking-"ut puto, Deus fio."

The effects of such policy are visible in the occurrences of his reign. A dangerous rebellion in Gaul was suppressed, Judæa was conquered and triumphed over, and Comagenæ was subdued: and to rescue Greece from her intestine broils she was again subjected to Roman law and tribute. After closing the temple of Janus, he erected that of Peace—of which such magnificent ruins still remain; besides which, Vespasian embellished the city with many new buildings, and commenced that architectural wonder, the Flavian Amphitheatre.

The Latin coins of Vespasian of all metals and modules, except the fourth brass, are common and moderately priced, unless the reverses happen to be of unusual type: but colonial coins of this Emperor are of great rarity. Those attributed to Vespasia Polla, are declared to be false, though that in the cabinet of M. J. J. de Hauern, of Vienna, has been defended by plausible advocates.

## LXIX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. VESPAS. AVG. PM. TR. P. P. P. COS. III. (Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul tertium.) The laureated portrait of Vespasian; he is represented as a man of advanced age, with a wrinkled forehead, hollow eye, aquiline nose, and prominent chin,—the whole expression recalling the sarcasm of an unlucky wit, recorded by Suetonius; and the "Et faciem duram," &c. of Martial.
- Reverse. AQVAS CVRTIAM ET CAERVLEAM PERDVCTAS A DIVO CLAVDIO ET POSTEA INTERMISSAS DILAPSASQ. PER AN. IX SVA IMPENSA VRBI RESTIT. This, which is one of those extraordinary fabrications that bid fair to baffle the most patient antiquary, is retained in my cabinet for its ingenuity. It was purchased at the sale of Mr. Trattles' magnificent collection, in 1832, and I no sooner examined it, than it struck me that the obverse was that of a true coin, but that an insignificant reverse had been scraped away, and this inscription tooled in its place. It has been executed, however, with such singular care, both in the form and disposition of the letters, that it requires an experienced eye to detect informality, insonuch that my learned friends, the Rev. Dr. Philip Hunt, and Francis Douce, Esq. were for some time undetermined as to its genuineness. What seems to stamp it as a fraud is, that the legend is found verbatim in Gruter's "Corpus Inscriptionum," p. CLXXVI. cap. Operum et Lecorum: and moreover, the inscriptions ou Roman medals are so remarkable for the admirable brevity of expression with which they convey a fulness of ideas, that the very length of this alone, excites suspicion.

#### LXX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. III. (Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul tertium.) The laureated head of the Emperor turned to the left. This medal is in excellent condition, and as well as all those struck in A. D. 71, prove Suetonius to be mistaken in asserting that Vespasian was not invested with the tribunitian power, nor dignified with the title of Father of his Country, till the latter part of his reign. Procured at Pola, in 1819.
- Recerse. S. P. Q. R. ADSERTORI LIBERTATIS PVBLICAE. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Adsertori libertatis publicæ.) "Erat in ore, famaque Vespasianus," and to mark the estimation in which such a favourite was holden, the senate struck this unique and very complimentary inscription encircled by a civic garland. For the reason of S. C. being omitted, see No. XXXII.

#### LXXI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. III. (Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul tertium.) The laurelled portrait of Vespasian. This coin was procured from Mr. Young, in 1830, but though sound, is only in secondary preservation.
- Reverse. SPES AVGVSTA. On the exergum S. C. A light-robed female presents her hand to three soldiers, of whom the foremost bears a military standard, the middle one a lance held transversely, and the third has a sword girt to his waist. The latter fact is the more remarkable, since I have not met with a sword upon any other large-brass medals, except that mentioned at No. LXV, and those of Titus, and Domitian, on horseback, where the foe is represented as wielding one. Though this piece was not struck till A. D. 71, the three soldiers may typify the legions of Mysia, Judæa, and Egypt, which were the first to salute Vespasian as their Emperor.

#### LXXII.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. III. (Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul tertium) The laurelled head of the Emperor. A coin in tolerable preservation, and of considerable rarity; it was procured by exchange, in 1829. Reverse. ROMA RESVRGES. On the exergum S. C. Here the Emperor is seen togated, and before him is a kneeling female to whom he offers his hand: between them stands Minerva galeata, with a shield on the left arm. This was struck by the senate to commemorate the munificence of Vespasian, in rebuilding the edifices destroyed in the late conflict with Vitellius. On some coins the legend is *Roma resurgens*, or Rome rising again; but here the n being omitted, it signifies—" Rome ! thou shalt rise again."

## LXXIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. III. (Imperator Casar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patria, Consul tertium.) A very expressive laureated head of the Emperor. This beautiful medal-of the mintage of A. D. 71-is covered with a dense-green patina, and bears a small silver eagle, the stamp of the Modena collection. It is in perfect condition, and was presented to me by that zealous antiquary, M. Hubert, chief engineer to the Bey of Tunis.
- Reverse. IVDAEA CAPTA. On the exergum S. C. This is a reverse of great historical interest, because it tells the entire subjugation of the Jews. A palm-tree rises in the centre of the field, as emblematic of the country it grows in : whence Pliny's "Judæa vero inclyta est vel magis palmis." See No. CLXXVI. On the right sits Judæa, personified as a female, her head leaning upon her left hand, with a deep expression of affliction and captivity. On the opposite side of the tree stands the Emperor in a military habit, with a parazonium and lance, having his left foot upon a helmet, in the attitude of a victor.

#### LXXIV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR P. P. P. COS. III. (Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul tertium.) A characteristic portrait of Vespasian. This fine medal is in surprising preservation, and entirely varnished with a black patina; it was found at Argos in 1822, and was presented to me shortly afterwards, by Miaulis, the Greek admiral.
- Reverse. IVDAEA CAPTA. On the exergum S. C. Here a veiled female has "sate down and wept" nuder the palm-tree, as in No. LXXIII, but instead of the Emperor, stands a man with his hands bound behind him ;—he is probably intended for the ferocious Simon, who was paraded in the triumph, and, after the brutal practice of the Romans, put to death the same day. The captive female is seated on a cuirass, which is thereby denoted to have become useless; and the bucklers around recal the words—" the shield of the mighty is vilely cast away."

## LXXV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. III. (Imperator Casar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patria, Consul tertium.) The laurelled head of Vespasian, with harsh features. This coin, which was purchased in London, in 1829, is in rather indifferent preservation.
- Reverse. PAX AVG. (Pax Augusti.) On the exergum S. C. A female standing, who with a totch is setting fire to some spoils of war, which are heaped up before an altar; her left hand holds an olive branch. Behind her is a pillar with a small armed statue upon it, and an unemployed shield at its base. This is, perhaps, the "noted column" described by Pomponius Festus, as standing before the temple of Bellona, from which a javelin was thrown whenever war was declared. Peace is therefore turned from it. The whole alludes to the Roman custom of piling up the armour from the field, after a battle, and making it a burnt-offering to Mars.

Addison thinks this coin was struck when Vespasian, having finished all his wars, had closed the temple of Janus; but though this is very probable, such a symbol seems to celebrate a particular rather than a general peace, or such as was fondly dreamed by that Emperor would be "eternal."

## LXXVI.

Obverse. IMP. CAESAR VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR. POT. P. P. COS. III. (Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul tertium.) The laureated profile of the Emperor, with hard lineaments, and the neck naked. A coin in middling condition, but of considerable rarity. Purchased in London, in 1829. Reverse. SIG...REC... (Signis receptis.) On the exergum S. C. An elegant winged Victory presenting a legionary standard to Vespasian, who is placed on a suggestum. It is difficult to ascertain what event gave birth to this type: it may, in imitation of one by Augustus, allude to a recovered eagle; or, perhaps, to some standards taken from Fonteius Agrippa, by the Sarmatic Jazygian.

#### LXXVII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. III. (Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul tertium.) The laurelled head of Vespasian, with his usual expression. A good conditioned medal of A. D. 71, with a green patina, which was procured from Mr. Till, in 1830.
- Reverse. .....CAESAR COS. DES. II. CAESAR DOMIT. COS. DES. II. (.....Cæsar, Consul designatus iterum, Cæsar Domitianus, Consul designatus iterum.) In the field S. C. Struck by Vespasian in honour of his two sons, Titus and Domitian, on their both attaining a second consulship. The two Cæsars are in military habits, with the hasta pura, but bareheaded; Titus is the manlier of the two, and is further distinguished by the parazonium.

## LXXVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. III. (Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul tertium.) A harsh profile of the Emperor, with the neck bare. A medal in good preservation, though thinly patinated; it was struck A. D. 71, and presented to me by Major General Sir Manley Power, at Malta, in 1822.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consulto.) A magnificent temple of six columns, elaborately decorated with statues; and Jupiter seated between Juno and Pallas in the adytum. See No. CCCXXIII. This symbol is usually called the "temple of Peace;" but it is evidently a commemoration of the rebuilding of the Capitolium, which had been destroyed in the Vitellian disturbances: it is well figured in the "Discours de la Religion des anciens Romains," by Du Choul, 1581.

## LXXIX.

- Obverve. IMP. CAES. VESPASIAN. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. VII. (Imperator Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul septimum.) A hard-featured laureated head of the Emperor. This medal, by the consular date, was minted A. D. 76; it is coated with a dark-green patina, and fell into my possession in London, in the spring of 1828.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consulto.) Between the letters rises a conic pillar called Meta, which though unlike the Meta Sudans of Titus, may have been struck on repairing an aqueduct. 'The name of meta was originally given to the three columns, or pyramids, around which the chariots of the circus performed their races : the "metaque fervidis evitata rotis" of Horace. The "starting post" was called the meta Murcia, from its proximity to the fane of a goddess, to whom the females sacrificed for the "embonpoint;" lean ladies having no more chance of getting a husband amongst the ancient Romans, than amongst the modern Moors and Turks.

#### LXXX.

- Obverse. DIVO AVG. VESP. (Divo Augusto Vespasiano.) On the exergum S. P. Q. R. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus.) A sedent togated statue of the Emperor, with the radiated head aud wand of divinity, and holding an alate Victory, is placed upon a superb car drawn by four elephants, each mounted by a maháut: a type palpably borrowed from that of Augustus, No. VIII. The medal is covered with a deep-brown patina; and is singularly perfect; it was presented to me by Padre Blasi, a Dominican, at Albano, in 1823.
- Reverse. IMP. T. CAES. DIVI VESP. F. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. VIII. (Imperator Titus Cæsar, Divi Vespasiani filius, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul octavum.) This legend surrounds an uncial S. C. and stamps the date A. D. 80. It is recorded that the obsequies of Vespasian were performed with extraordinary poup, by Titus; and the consequent apotheosis is hereby typified. At the circus, the images of deified emperors were paraded after those of the twelve great gods.

## DOMITILLA.

Flavia Domitilla was of very obscure birth, being the daughter of Flavius Liberalis, a Quæstorian scribe. She was originally a bond-woman, or slave, to Statilius Capella, a Roman knight, but having been manumitted was married to Vespasian, A. D. 40. Domitilla died before her husband's elevation to the empire, and her name was almost unknown in Rome, till it was drawn from oblivion by divine honours. This public deification, though unnoticed by Tacitus, Dio, or Suetonius, is recorded upon gold and silver medals of extreme rarity; and we learn from an inscription preserved by Gruter, the excellent philologist, that an order of priests was instituted for her altars: Sacerdos Divæ Domitillæ.

This lady bore two sons and a daughter, the latter of whom died in infancy; it appears that she was named after her mother, whence antiquaries have been inclined to share the posthumous honours between them,—but, I think, without just grounds.

## LXXXI.

- Obverse. MEMORIAE DOMITILLAE. On the exergum S. P. Q. R. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus.) A rich carpentum, profusely ornamented, and drawn by two mules. See No. XVII, and XXXII. This medal was purchased at the sale of Mr. Trattle's collection in 1832, when it displaced a remarkably fine one which I had procured in Italy. It is in exccllent preservation, and of the bright-yellow brass erroneously termed Corinthian,—for that compound, whether occasioned by the accidental mixture of metals at the conflagration of Corinth, or made by judicious amalgamation, was never used in the mint.
- Reverse. IMP. T. CAES. DIVI VESP. F. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. VIII. (Imperator Titus Cæsar, Divi Vespasiani filius, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul octavum.) In the centre of the field an uncial S. C. (Senatus Consulto.) This may very safely be pronounced to have been struck by Titus, A. D. 80, in honour of his mother. Yet Occo, Biragi, Mionnet, and other medallists, insist that it commemorates his sister, because the title "diva" is omitted: but surely the sacred thensa is sufficient to stamp the consecration. This objection seems as little tenable as does the common practice of giving Titus as a prænomen to Vespasian.

## TITUS.

Titus Flavius Vespasianus, the son of Vespasian and Domitilla, was born at Rome, "in a little dark chamber," A. D. 41. He was brought up in the court of Nero, with Britannicus, whose fate he narrowly escaped sharing. At an early age he was remarkable for his proficiency in eloquence and poetry, and was so expert a calligrapher, that he could forge any man's writing. His first military services were in Germany and Britain, but he acquired the greatest renown as lieutenant to Vespasian, and the supporter of his authority. He was saluted Cæsar, and Prince of the Youth, A. D. 61; and was shortly afterwards decorated with the title of Emperor, aud associated with his father in the sovereign power : the two being honoured with a most magnificent triumph for the conquest of Judæa. Titus succeeded to the whole empire A. D. 79: and various public calamities—such as

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the eruption of Vesuvius, which destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii, the conflagration of Rome, and the epidemic disease which followed it—gave occasion for the exercise and display of his compassionate bounty. To the inexpressible grief of the public, he died A. D. 81, after a short reign of 2 years, 2 months, and 20 days, under suspicion that his fate was contrived, or accelerated, by Domitian. Aurelius Victor, and Philostratus, speak positively to the fact; but Suetonius merely says that in the last hours of Titus, all assistance was withdrawn, by the artful brother.

Titus was comely in person, and engaging in disposition; and though in the opening of his career he fell into the indulgence of youthful propensities, he did not therefore neglect serious occupations. This period of his life is said to have been marked by pride, cruelty, and covetousness; but it is a fine moral, that he, against whom such imputations existed, should ripen into a sovereign, so nearly without blemish as to earn the glorious title of the "Delight of Mankind." It has been advanced that, had Augustus died sooner, or Titus later, neither of them would have possessed the reputation they acquired,—since the one would not have obliterated the memory of his severity by beneficence, nor could the other have maintained the empire by virtue, mildness, and popularity. But the latter argument would be lamentable in an ethical point of view, were it indisputable.

Though the clemency of this prince has been as much vaunted as his "diem perdidi," it did not prevent the unprincipled assassination of Aulus Cæcina; nor did it check a penchant for gladiatorial horrors. These, however, as well as a propensity still more detestable, may be ascribed to the effect of education and example; but his anxiety to diffuse happiness could hardly have sprung from any but the best of motives. As an emperor he was liberal, humane and beneficent. Upon assuming the office of Pontifex Maximus, he avowed it to be a solemn contract against shedding blood; and no senator was slain by his command, nor did any other person suffer death under his government, notwithstanding a dangerous conspiracy against himself was detected. In the opinion of the ancients he far exceeded all his predecessors in every virtue becoming a prince, and was equalled by few of his successors. He was a stranger to parade and ostentation, choosing to live with his people rather as a father with his family, than as a despot with his subjects; and he knew no purpose of being higher than others, but to do good to all.

The medals of this reign are of little rarity in any metal,—except small-brass, of which there are none known; the choice mainly rests upon the scarcity and interest of the reverses; and it must be recollected that in the large-brass series, **TI**. stands for Tiberius, and **T**. for Titus. A large portion of them were struck in the life-time of his father, with whom he was seven times Consul. With a view of restoring public faith, which had been shaken in the wantonness of power, he not only confirmed the grants and immunities of his predecessors, but also preserved their memory by minting their medals anew; he thus extended the class called *Restituti*, of which No. X. is a fine specimen.\* A Greek coin, heretofore attributed to Marcia Furnilla, the wife of Titus, has recently been adjudged to Plautilla, the wife of Caracalla; and it is very unlikely that such a token of regard should have been paid to a woman divorced long before.

## LXXXII.

- Obverse. T. CAES. VESPASIAN. IMP. PON. TR. POT. COS. II. (Titus Cæsar Vespasianus, Imperator, Pontifex, Tribunitia potestate, Consul secundum.) The laurelled portrait of Titus, which, though much more handsome, bears some likeness to that of his father. The coin was struck A. D. 72, and is curiously patinated, being brown on the obverse, and green on the reverse; it is in very sound condition, and was procured from T. Burgon, Esq. by exchange, in 1825.
- Reverse. CONGIAR. PRIMVM P. R. DAT. (Congiarium primum Populo Romano datum.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor is seated on a curule chair, with Minerva standing by him. At the foot of the tribunal is a man holding the frumentarian tessera, or ticket, and before him is a citizen opening the folds of his robe to receive the donation. See No. XLVII.

#### LXXXIII.

- Obverse. T. CAES. VESPASIAN. IMP. PON. TR. POT. COS. II. Titus Cæsar Vespasianus, Imperator, Pontifex, Tribunitia potestate, Consul iterum.) The laureated portrait of the Emperor. It is coated with a brownish-red patina, and is in fair preservation; it was procured from Mr. Matthew Young, in 1830.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consulto,) on the exergum. A triumphal car drawn by four horses abreast, after a custom derived from the Etruscans. In the car stands Titus holding an olive-branch, and from the consular date, which answers to A. D. 72, it clearly marks the pageant given on the subjugation of Judæa. This remarkable conquest gave birth to many medals, which are easily obtainable; and among them is a second-brass with the legend VICTORIA NAVALIS, around a Victory placed on the prow of a ship: this alludes to a fight upon the Lake of Genesareth, about which all historians, save Josephus, are silent.

## LXXXIV.

- Obverse. IMP. T. CAES. VESP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. P. COS. VIII. (Imperator Titus Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul octavum.) The laurelled head of the Emperor turned to the left. This medal was minted A. D. 80; it is in capital preservation, and covered with an emerald-green patina. It was found by an Arab of Rosetta, in 1822, from whom I obtained it.
- Reverse. IVD. CAP. (Judæa capta,) placed across the field : under the inscription S. C. In the centre rises the palm-tree, the symbol of Judæa; to the right stands a pinioned captive, probably representing the reckless Simon; on the opposite side of the tree sits a female, bewailing her misery, and around them are scattered pieces of armour. The good disposition, talents, and high fortune of Titus rendered him an idol of popularity, yet, in the hand of Providence, he was a terrible scourge to the Jews. For, as our Saviour prophesied, that not one stone of Jerusalem should remain upon another, so was it accomplished forty years after his ascension. From famine, and by the sword, 111,000 people perished, great numbers were crucified and impaled, 6,000 were burnt in the porch of the temple, and 97,000 prisoners were taken at the sack of the city, and dragged into miserable and hopeless bondage. When the demolition of the city was resolved upon, Titus stretched forth his hands, and called Heaven and Earth to witness, that the Jews were more to blame than he.<sup>†</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> The restituti of Titus, and his two immediate successors were in brass; but Trajan, the third in succession, coined them in gold and silver. Those of brass are all Imperial medals,—none being known of the republic, in that metal.

<sup>†</sup> This conquest was a theme of great exultation in after ages. Wynkyn de Worde printed the "Dystructyon and Vengeaunce of Iherusalem," in 1528; and in another edition by Pynson, his successor, Vespazyan is exhibited in a print, with eannon on carriages near him, holding a parley with *Pilate* and Archelaus, who are upon the city walls.

## LXXXV.

- Obverse. IMP. T. CAES. VESP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. VIII. (Imperator Titus Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul octavum.) The laureated profile of Titus turned to the left, with a kind and benevolent expression; and in singularly beautiful preservation, though scarcely patinated. It was struck A. D. 80, and was procured by exchange, at Sassari, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consulto,) in the field. Two cornucopiæ saltier, filled with corn and fruits, and between them a winged caduceus; the two first being significative of plenty, and the last of peace, in allusion to the happiness, abundance, and tranquillity enjoyed under the gentle rule of Titus. It has been averred, that with these symbols on a coin, the S. C. is omitted, because they were a cognizance of the senate and people; but this specimen, as well as most of those bearing *Felicitas*, clearly prove the rule to have exceptions.

## LXXXVI.

- Obverse. IMP. T. CAES. VESP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. VIII. (Imperator Titus Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul octavum.) The laurelled head of Titus, with a calm expression. This medal was struck A. D. 80; it is in excellent preservation, and varnished with an olive-green patina. It was presented to me by Colonel Otto Beyer, at Goza, in 1819.
- Reverse. ANNONA AVG. (Annona Augusti.) It bears no mark of senatorial authority. A standing robed female, personifies the protectress of the annual store of corn. By the ship, with the goose-neck prow behind her, it is seen that a supply arrived from abroad, and the garlands with which the bow is decorated, shew the voyage to have been prosperous: Virgil notices this custom,—

"So sailors, when escap'd from stormy seas,

First crown their vessels, then indulge their ease."

The cornucopiæ held upwards, by Annona, denotes the importation to be moderate, for with abundance it is reversed. At her feet stands a modius, with ears of wheat in it, signifying that the allowance must be measured : and her right hand holds a figure of Equity, with scales, to testify that the distribution must be made with strict impartiality.

The supply of corn was an affair of the utmost importance. Augustus, finding the granaries reduced to but three days allowance, determined to kill himself by poison, should not the fleets arrive from the Provinces, within that space of time. Claudius awarded the freedom of the city to him that built a ship capable of holding 10,000 modii of bread-corn; and Nero granted privileges, and immunities, to those who constructed vessels to carry 50,000 modii.

## LXXXVII.

- Obverse. IMP. T. CAES. VESP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. VIII. (Imperator Titus Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul octavum.) A very characteristic laureated head of Titus, turned to the left. In singularly fine preservation, and coated with a deep chocolate-coloured patina : it was procured at Genoa, in 1823.
- Reverse. PROVIDENTIA AVGVST. (Providentia Augusti.) On the exergum S. C. Two togated Romans standing, one of whom, with a radiated crown, is presenting a mundus, or globe, to the other, in token of universal empire; and their united hands resting upon a rudder, denote that they are to steer and govern it. This medal has been thought to illustrate the passage of Suetonius, where he says "Neque ex co distitit participem, atque etiam tutorem Imperii agere," in reference to Vespasian's having admitted Titus to a share of the Imperial power: but from the date it would rather seem to commemorate a similar participation between the latter and Domitian.

## LXXXVIII.

Obverse. DIVO AVG. T. DIVI VESP. F. VESPASIAN. (Divo Augusto Tito, divi Vespasiani filio, Vespasiano.) On the exergum S. C. Titus is here represented as togated, and seated on a curule chair placed on a globe, among the spoils of war; his right hand holds an olive ( 63 )

branch, and his left a roll or volume. This medal, of pale-yellow brass and in excellent condition, was purchased at Bonorvo, in Sardinia, in 1824.

Reverse. (Sine epigraphe.) The Flavian Amphitheatre, between the Meta Sudans and the Domus Aurea, as it was actually situated. It is marked with its proper number of stories, or arcades; and from the open top it is seen to be filled with people, the upper row having festoons of flowers over their heads. This edifice was commenced by Vespasian, A. D. 77, and was finished and dedicated by Titus, three years afterwards. It is of an elliptical form, and covers nearly six acres of ground; the major-axis being 616 feet, and the minor 510, with a height of 160—and it was said to be capable of containing 70,000 spectators, at their ease.\* These vast dimensions, and the gigantic statue of Nero, procured it the name of Colossæum, now by corruption Coliseum ; and it is thus eulogized by Martial—

"Omnis Cæsareo cedat labor Amphitheatro,

Unum pro cunctis Fama loquatur opus."

The atrocious festivals of its dedication were protracted to 100 days, during which 5,000 wild beasts, or more, were slaughtered, so that it might be said of the dedicator—" cædes belluarum fecit in Amphitheatris." To say nothing of so demoralizing a loss of time, these unintellectual pleasures of a half-starved mob, must have cost more than three millions sterling, including the structure. When I wandered over this scene of guilt, I could not but regard it as a costly monument of prodigal folly and savage sensuality. Moreover, from the haste with which it was run up, there are numerous architectural eye-sores, which, with its cumbrous attic, render it very inferior in design to the elegant amphitheatre at Pola, in Istria.

That the Romans, after all, were essentially a barbarous people, is strikingly evinced by these wholesale slaughter-houses, even had we no other evidences of their heartless cruelty. The taste for blood was not confined to the soldiers and butchers only, who attended the spectacles ;—grave senators, tender poets, and stern philosophers, shared in this inhuman exultation. Even Cicero, who deservedly has a prodigious host of admirers amongst the moderns, was sufficiently unfeeling to eulogize such licentious murders, closing his argument with the illogical assertion—" Oculis nulla poterat esse fortior contra dolorem et mortem disciplina:" a dogma confuted by the vitiated taint given to the Romans, who—exchanging magnanimity for cruelty—sunk from the warlike opponents of Hannibal, to the contemptible crouchers of the Lower Empire. This however, is comparatively but a slight shadow in the picture of ancient manners: the deepest and most odious stain was, that the beauties of Rome flocked there in all their blandishments; and, inflamed by quivering limbs and streams of blood, acquired so exectable a delight in deadly combats, as to lose the natural disposition of their sex, and even enter the arena themselves ! "Sed faminarum illustrium, senatorumque filiorum plures per arenam facdati sunt."†

#### LXXXIX.

- Obverse. IMP. T. CAES. VESP. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. COS. VIIII. (Imperator Titus Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ, Consul nonum.) The laurelled head of Titus, with full expressive features, and broad bare throat. A well-spread medal, in most excellent condition and covered with dense-brown patina, which was found near Mesratah, in Barbary, in 1816.
- Reverse. PIETAS AVGVSTA. On the exergum S. C. The goddess of Concord, joining the right hands of Titus and Domitian, a type of fraternal love; the group being admirably drawn and finished. The female—in whom some recognize Domitilla, and the revivers of ancient scandal Berenice is veiled, and the men are togated and bare-headed. This medal is remarkably well figured in Du Choul's "Discours de la Religion des ancients Romains," 1581.

XC.

Obverse. DIVO AVG. T. DIVI VESP. F. VESPASIANO. (Divo Augusto Tito, divi Vespasiani filio Vespasiano.) A seated statue of Titus, with the radiated head, and wand, of divinity. In

\* According to Publius Victor, there were 77,000 seats—"Regio III. Amphitheatrum quod capit loca LXXVII. millia." Yet, in a troublesome process of admeasurement which I adopted, and by allowing only 16 inches, which is more than man ofwar's allowance, to each spectator, I could not make it contain more than 50,000.

<sup>+</sup> Suetonius, in Caligula, relates the killing of a score of Roman knights, and as many ladics, who had forestalled seats in the theatre, by occupying them the previous midnight! And Juvenal, alluding to the extravagant rage of the Roman ladies for spectacles, after telling us that Hippia had abandoned her husband, children, father, and sister, for a common gladiator, adds-"Utque magis stupeas, ludos, Paridemque reliquit."

his right hand is a branch of laurel, his foot is on a suppedaueum, and before him is an altar with a sacred flame; it is decorated with festoons of flowers. (See No. IX.)

Reverse. IMP. CAES. DIVI VESP. F. DOMIT. AVG. P. M. TR. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar, divi Vespasiani filius, Domitianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ.) In the centre of the field a large S. C. This was struck about A. D. 81, by Domitian, who caused his brother to be ranked amongst the gods, and was the first who paid him divine honours; but at the same time he studied, both in public and in private, to revile his memory, and lessen the esteem and veneration which all orders of men had for so worthy a prince. This medal escaped Vaillant, and Eckhel esteems it as very rare; it is in good condition, is covered with a deep-green patina, and was purchased at Frejus, in 1823.

## JULIA.

Julia, the daughter of Titus and Marcia Furnilla, was brought into the world but a short time before the divorce of her mother. The Emperor was desirous of uniting her to Domitian, but the latter, who was too deeply enamoured of Domitia to prefer fortune to the gratification of passion, saw her given in marriage to his cousin-german, Flavius Sabinus, with utter indifference. No sooner, however, had the union taken place, than Domitian was captivated by the charms of his niece, tore her from her husband, whom he afterwards murdered; and though intending to marry her, caused her to miscarry, in order to hide their intercourse, and thus occasioned her untimely death. In this incestuous commerce, Julia, instead of resenting the contempt with which her uncle had treated her, behaved with such profligacy as to prove that want of principle and genuine delicacy are incompatible : and we cannot but regret such should have been the daughter of Titus.

The medals of Julia are of considerable rarity, especially in gold and silver : and there are none, except Greek-Imperial, in small-brass. From them it appears that she was called Augusta by her father, that she died A. D. 90 or 91, and was consecrated by Domitian. The effigies indicate an age of about 30 years, but we are ignorant of the time of her birth.

XCI.

- Obverse. IVLIA IMP. T. AVG. F. AVGVSTA. (Julia, Imperatoris Titi Augusti filia, Augusta.) The profile of Julia, with the hair closely tressed into a knot behind, and full curls in front. Her features bear a strong resemblance to those of her father, but are of greater beauty. This coin, though only of the second module, is, as with some of those of the house of Augustus, retained here merely for the portrait, there being none on large brass: it was found at Leptis Magna, in 1817.
- Reverse. VESTA, on the exergum. In the field S. C. An elegant seated female personates the patroness of chastity, holding a wand in her left hand, and the palladium in her right. This precious idol was held to be the identical one upon which the fate of Troy depended; and as universal rule was supposed to follow those who kept it, it was committed to the custody of one vestal only, who preserved it in the innermost recess of the sanctum of the temple. See Julia Domna, reverse Vesta Mater.

\*\*\* I have here to notice a singular medal of Julia, in my possession. It has a carpentum, the roof of which is supported by females, but the legend bears the tribunitian date XIIII. As this stamps it an altered medal, I dismissed it from the Cabinet, though it has strong marks of authenticity; for we know that title was borne by Titus before he came to the throne, and yet the time of his death was only between the 10th and 11th return of its nomination. The actual tribunes of the people were annually appointed in December, but the potestas was conferred at any time; and it seems that the year of the Emperor was reckoned on the anniversary of his nomination, as two different tribunitian dates may be seen to the same consular one.

XCII.

Obverse. DIVAE IVLIAE AVG. DIVI TITI F. (Divæ Juliæ Augustæ, Divi Titi filiæ.) On the exergum S. P. Q. R. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus.) A rich carpentum drawn by two mules. This differs from the preceding, in that the supporters of the tilt are male figures, a portion of the interior decoration is visible, the side-pannel has but one figure upon it, and the reins are carried to a higher foot-board. It is in very good preservation, and covered with a thick grass-green patina; it was procured at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832. Of the consecration here perpetuated, Martial says,—

> "Dum voce supplex, dumque thure placabit Matrona divæ dulce Juliæ nomen : Manebit altum Flaviæ decus gentis, Cum sole, et astris, cumque luce Romana."

Reverse. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XV. CENS. PER. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Consul decimum quintum, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) In the field an uncial S. C. (Senatus Consulto.) It thus appears that this deification-medal was struck A. D. 91, by Domitian, after he had caused the death of the wretched object who was deified. For office of Censor, see No. LXVIII.

## DOMITIAN.

Flavius Domitianus, the second son of Vespasian and Domitilla, was born A. D. 51, and passed a penurious youth in idleness and infamy. When his father was proclaimed Emperor in the East, he took refuge from the Vitellians in the capitol; after narrowly escaping the deplorable fate of Sabinus, when hostilities had ceased he was saluted Cæsar, at the age of 18. On the death of his brother he ascended the throne, and after a detestable reign of 15 years and 5 days, was assassinated A. D. 96; being the last of the Flavian family, and likewise of those princes who are commonly called the twelve Cæsars.

On succeeding such a ruler as Titus, Domitian found it necessary to dissemble his vices, and to give instances, by several very laudable edicts, of a design of following in the footsteps of so illustrious a predecessor. But the constraint was unnatural, and his real character quickly blazed forth a compound of rapacity, ferocity, lust, vanity, and cowardice. He affected military virtue; but his unprovoked expedition against the Catti, displayed no more courage than did his practice of killing flies,—"quas, stylo præacuto configebat." Tacitus, describing the reception of the despatches in which Agricola related his success in Britain, tells us that Domitian received them in the true spirit of his character, "with a smile on his countenance, and malignity at his heart:" and in congratulating himself that his renowned father-

in-law escaped the tyrant by death, he depicts the horrors of standing by, while---"with that fiery visage, of a dye so red that the blush of guilt could never colour his cheek"---the despot marked the pale languid countenances of the unhappy victims who shuddered at his frown. By the persecution and carnage of that horrid reign, the islands were peopled with exiles; the rocks contaminated with murder and blood; but more hideous still were the ravages of cruelty at Rome. The being a father, or being childless, were alike obnoxious: it was treasonable to be noble, a capital offence to be rich; criminal to have borne honours, criminal to have declined them; and the reward of worth and virtue was quick and inevitable destruction. When Juvenal lashes the summoning of the senate to deliberate upon the dressing of a turbot presented to Domitian, he says--

> "But long ere this, were hoary hairs become, A prodigy, among the great, at Rome."

Bating a defect in the toes, which Suetonius has immortalized, Domitian appears to have been comely of person, and with a countenance of better character than Lavater would have looked for. He was an expert archer, but too impatient of study, or toil, to become eminent in higher departments,-although Quinctilian, amongst other base adulations, was fulsome enough to praise his poetry. His wit amounted to the practical joke of terrifying senators with the prospect of execution, but his vanity knew no bounds. In order to count more consulships than any of his predecessors, he numbered 10, in anticipation ; instead of 12 lictors he was attended by 24; he always, when presiding in the senate, wore the vestments used at his mock triumph; and, to complete the consummate arrogance of this truly infamous brute, this generis humani flagitium, he enacted that all men should pay him divine honours, by the style and title of Lord God! " Edictum Domini Deique nostri," says Martial, who fawned on the living tyrant, and bitterly reviled him when dead. Among other notable matter, we should mention that, under Domitian, the rights of the ocean were sordidly encroached upon to increase his exchequer,-for flatterers maintained that every thing which swam in the sea, or rivers, belonged to the Emperor's demesne :---Juvenal is angry with the versatile Palphurius, as judge of the Admiralty Court,-

> "Nay, if Palphurius may our credit gain, Whatever rare or precious swims the main, Is forfeit to the crown, and you may seize Th'obnoxious dainty, when and where you please."

The medals of Domitian are abundant, and cheap, and are therefore prized according to their preservation, and the degree of interest attached to their reverses. Many of them were struck in the life-time of his father, principally in gold, silver, and small-brass; which last, when bearing the likeness, are held in consideration by collectors, for although they lay no claim to the workmanship or consequence of large module, they are not destitute of interest.

## XCIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. DOMITIAN. AVG. GERM. COS. XI. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Consul undecimum.) The laureated head of Domitian, with an animated countenance, and an amulet upon the breast. The coin is in excellent preservation, and covered with a thin brown patina; it was procured, in eachange for a chcese, from an inhabitant of Rio, in Elba, in 1823.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consulta.) The Emperor, with a paludamentum over his armour, standing in the attitude of a conqueror. He holds a lance in his left hand, and the right is laid upon his breast. Before him is a kneeling captive, naked to the waist, who by his oblong shield and his trousers, is seen to be a German. Between the shield and the Emperor's foot is a helmet; and on the exergun, a broken spear, the symbol of defeat. This medal was struck A. D. 85, and from commemorating a rank falsehood, is a lasting disgrace to the Senators who ordered the mintage: but, poor wretches, they had become terror-struck and tragic legislators,—curia timida et elinguis. The circumstance was thus.—Domitian, piqued perhaps at his brother's military glory, affected a warlike ardour, and made a sudden incursion into Germany, where he pretended to have gained a victory over the Catti, whom he never saw. Returning to Rome, in all the parade of a victor, a magnificent triunph was decreed; and to give semblance to the scene, slaves were purchased to personate captives, who, attired as Germans, marched along with dishevelled hair, and all becoming tokens of grief.

## XCIV.

- Obverse. IMP. DOMITIAN. AVG. GERM. COS. XI. (Imperator Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Consul, undecimum.) A fine laurelled head of Domitian, in exquisite preservation, with an amuletic Medusa on the breast. It was struck A. D. 85, is of pale yellow-brass without patina, and was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consultu.) Victory alate, writing DE GER. (De Germanis.) upon a shield which is supported by a trophy : her left foot rests upon a helmet. At the base of the trophy sits a weeping female. As no historian records an advantage gained at this time, the medal probably commemorates the hoar just described. (No. XCIII.)

## XCV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. DOMITIAN. AVG. GERM. COS. XI. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianns, Augustus, Germanicus, Consul undecimum.) An excellent laureated profile of the Emperor. with the Medusa's head on his breast. A medal of the mintage of A. D. 85; it is in fine preservation, covered with a deep brown patida, and was purchased at Naples, in 1817.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consultu.) Between those two uncial letters Domitian, veiled and attired as a priest, is standing at a decorated altar, and holding a patera over the flame. Behind the altar is a temple of four columns, with a female statue displaying a simpulum, to which the Emperor is sacrificing. The pediment is ornamented with a piece of sculpture, and to the capital of the left hand column is suspended a garland. As there is no legend, it is rather difficult to pronounce the peculiar object of this reverse. Antiquaries have usually assigned it to Minerva, from the veneration in which Domitian held that goddess. He even, "with matchless propriety," as Gifford says, claimed her as his mother, and instituted the Quinquatrian games in her honour : the birth of ignorance and brutality from the goddess of wisdom, would certainly have been as wondrous as that of Minerva herself, according to the pleasant relation of Lucian.

## XCVI.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS XII CENS. P. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Consul duodecimum, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled portrait of Domitian, with the usual amulet. This medal was purchased from Mr. Young; and though rubbed in ancient times, is now entirely coated with a thick grass-green patina. It was struck A. D. 86, when the Emperor had been dubbed perpetual Censor; and truly, a man *petulans et libidinosus* was a pretty fellow to be the first so appointed.

Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consultu,) on the exergum. The Emperor is here represented on horseback, with a spear and shield; he is in the act of smiting a foe who has fallen on his knee, but who, grasping his buckler firmly, is making a blow at his antagonist with a sword. See No. LXX1. This is another allusion to the real or pretended victories of the Romans in Germany, to which we have no historic clue. For though Domitian proudly assumed the name of Germanicus, it was notorious, his armies beyond the Rhine were repulsed and defeated; insomuch that Pliny indignantly asserts that his triumphs were always proofs of signal advantages gained by the enemy.

## XCVII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XII. CENS. PER. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Consul decimum secundum, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled head of Domitian, with an amulet on his neck. The medal is of some rarity, but only in secondary condition; it is brownly patinated, and was purchased at Mr. Philip Neave's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. GERMANIA CAPTA. On the exergum S. C. A trophy composed of German spoils, on one side of which stands a man with his hands bound behind him, and on the other sits a female bewailing her fate. Broken armour is strewed around.

## XCVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XIIII. CENS. PER. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Consul decimum quartum, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) A fine and expressive head of Domitian, without the amulet on his neck. This medal is in good condition, and slightly coated with a dark green patina; it was procured from Mr. T. Burgon, in 1826, and formerly had a berth in the well-known cabinet of Mr. Tyssen.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consultu,) on the exergum. The Emperor standing with a paludamentum over his shoulders; his left hand supports a spear, and his right grasps a thunder bolt, as though he were another Jupiter: behind him stands a graceful winged victory, in the act of placing a laurel crown on his brow.

## XCIX.

- Obverse. 1MP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P. M, TR. P. VIII. CENS. PER. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate octavum, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) A capital laureated portrait of Domitian, with an intelligent and animated expression,—and without the amulet. This coin is in fine preservation, though but barely varnished with yellow patina; it was purchased on the 25th day of Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. COS. XIIII. LVD. SAEC. (Consul decimum quartum, Ludos Sæculares.) On the exergum, S. C. The togated Emperor is sitting upon a curule chair, placed upon a tribunal which is supported by four balls; it is inscribed SVF. P. D., (Suffimenta populo data,) and bears two large vases, to contain the drugs. Before the Emperor stands a citizen, who is in robes, to shew that freemen only are included in the donative,—and between them is a boy holding up his hands. In the back ground is a temple of four columns in front, with a garland on its pediment. This medal is one of a very interesting series which was struck by Domitian to record his having ordered the seventh celebration of the secular games; and it represents the giving of perfumes, torches, tapers, tædæ, sulphur, and bitumen for the lustral fumigations. Zosimus tells us that the people were summoned by sound of trumpet, several days beforehand, and that the Quindecemviri, or keepers of the Sibylline oracles, sat in the capitol to distribute the lustralia amongst those who were appointed to chaunt the prayers. The date of

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this event, as shewn by the medal, and given by Censorinus, is A. D. 88, or only 40 years after the celebration by Claudius,—for Domitian, bent upon the occupation, took his computation from that of Augustus. The illustrious Tacitus assisted on this occasion, in quality of Quindecenvir.

The Ludi Sæculares are among the most remarkable games, and most solemn festivals that we meet with in the Roman history : nor does it appear that any modern ceremony has at all approached them in splendour. Valerius Maximus ascribes an odd origin to them; and the date of their introduction, though questionable, may be about B. C. 509.\* It is also debated whether the period of celebration was every century, or every 110 years, while a third party maintains that the name merely implied its being renewed but seldom. So great was the ambition of some emperors to engross secular honours, that regularity of return was disregarded. The most flagrant instance of anticipation was that of Claudius, whose heralds were scoffed at because many living persons recollected the Augustan festival 64 years before, and the form of proclamation was to invite all the people to a sight which none had seen, nor would ever see again. Though Livy, Varro, and Zesimus may be quoted as authorities for centenary returns, Ovid and the Sibyl are on the opposite side of the question; and the "uterque" chorus of the Secular Hynn appears decisive,—

> "Certus undenos decies per annos Orbis ut cantus referatque ludos Ter die claro, totiesque grata Nocte frequentes."

> > C.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. VIII. CENS. PER. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, octavum, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) A striking and intelligent profile of the Emperor, with his head laureated, and an amuletic medusa on his breast. This splendid medal is in singularly good conservation in every respect, and is uniformly coated with a brownish green patina; it was found at a farm in the vale of Arno, in 1823, about a fortnight before I purchased it in Pisa.
- Reverse. COS. XIIII. LVD. SAEC. A. P. (Consul decimum quartum, Ludos Sæculares, a populo.) On the substructure FRVG. AC. (fruges acceptæ.) The Emperor is here seated as in the last, but the curule chair has a covering with a rich border, and there are no vases. The temple is of four columns also, but the pediment is ornamented with an eagle. Before the Emperor are three togated citizens, the foremost of whom is pouring out offerings of the first fruits, from the folds of his robe. The whole of this is very admirably designed and executed. On the exergum S. C.

## CI.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. VIII. CENS. PER. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia

<sup>\*</sup> The form and object of the Secular Games, will be understood by the celebrated Sibylline prophecy; and the neglect of them Zosimus thinks is sufficient to account for the fall of the Eternal City. "Remember, Romans, to offer sacrifices to the immortal gods, *after* every century, the term of the longest life. The field which is washed with the waters of the Tiber, shall be the place for this sacrifice. When the day closes, and the night draws on, prepare to offer goats and sheep to the Parcæ, then offer proper sacrifices to the Lucinæ, who have the care of women in childbed. Then offer a hog, and a black sow to the fruitful earth. The next day kill the white oxen on Jupiter's altars. The sacrifices which are offered up by day-light please the celestial gods. For this reason thou shalt offer a young heifer, of a fine coat, to Juno. Thou shalt also make the like sacrifices to the children be living. Married women shall sing on one side, and the girls on the other; and let the fathers and mothers of the children be living. Married women shall pay their duty on their knees before the altar of Juno. They shall intreat the goddess to hear their prayers, and those of the public. Let every one according to his ability, offer first-fruits to the gods, to render them propitious to him. Let the statues of the gods be exposed day and night, to the adoration of the people, on stately beds. Let this solemnity be celebrated with seriousness, and with joy. O Romans ! never forget the rules 1 give, so shall the land of the Italians and Latins be always subject unto you."

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potestate, octavam, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated profile of Domitian, without the amulet. This medal is only in secondary preservation, though sound, and was presented to me by the Rev. Mr. Hall, chaplain to the Factory at Leghorn, in 1823, on my shewing him the former.

Reverse. COS. XIIII. LVD. SAEC. FEC. (Consul decimum quartum, Ludos Sæculares fecit.) On the exergum, S. C. Domitian, in his robes, standing before a temple of four fluted columns or rather a sacellum, for I am persuaded, though the coin is lightly rubbed towards the upper verge, that there are only rafters extending across, and leaving the roof open. The Emperor displays his right arm, with an air of imperious majesty, towards three figures kneeling on the plinth, with their hands raised in acknowledgement of his divinity. He may only be addressing them in his office of Pontifex Maximus, but the attitude also recalls the arrogauce of his own assumed worship. The "timorous monster," as Pliny calls him, had so many sacrifices made to him, that the common roads were too narrow for the herds which were driven into the capital; while every street, every ascent, every corner of the temple was defiled with gold and silver statues of him. The same excellent writer describes the delight of the Romans at seeing this legion of images rudely battered down, and made a sacrifice to public exultation.

#### CII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. VIII. CENS. PER. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, octavum, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated head of Domitian, with a naked neck, and the hair highly dressed. This coin is but in secondary conservation, yet such is the interest of its reverse, that I willingly gave a numismatic friend three fine silver ones of the same emperor, in exchange for it.
- Reverse. COS. XIIII. LVD. SAEC. FEC. (Consul decimum quartum, Ludos Sæculares fecit.) On the exergum. S. C. Here we have the Emperor with a scroll in his hand, and an officer, both togated, following a procession indicated by three robed youths bearing palm branches; this was a custom borrowed from the Athenian festivals *Pyanepsia* and *Thargelia*, and it has been continued to the present times. The ceremonies opened in nearly the same form as we still see practised in Italy, with a procession, in which the priests of each college assisted in a body, and men of all orders joined, dressed in white, crowned with flowers, and carrying palm branches in their hands. As they chaunted through the streets, the images of the gods were every where exposed on stately beds, the *lectisternia deorum*. There were two choirs, one of 27 youths, and the other of 27 virgins, for each of the divinities, and on the last day they sang the admirable secular hymn, which has justly been esteemed as the master-piece of Horace. Great care was taken, agreeably to the oracle, that the parents of the children should be living, as the sight of an orphan, amidst the rejoicings, might have occasioned melancholy recollections; and the full exertion of the girls was ensured by the belief of its leading to a happy marriage,—

"Nupta jam dices; ego Dis amicum, Seculo festas referente luces, Reddidi carmen, docilis modorum Vatis Horati."

#### CIII.

- Obverse, IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. VIII. CENS. PER. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, octavum, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) The profile of the Emperor, laureated, and bearing a Medusa's head on the neck, a medal in fair condition, though but slightly patinated: it was purchased of a knicknackaterian, at Naples, in 1817.
- Reverse. COS. XIIII. LVD. SAEC. FEC. (Consul decimum quartum, Ludos Sæculares fecit.) On the exergum, S. C. The togated Emperor is standing at an altar, with a patera in his hand, in the act of sacrificing, while one of the by-standers plays upon two tibiæ, or flutes, at once, and another on the cithara. On the right side of the altar is the popa, whose business

it was to kill the victim, which in this instance is a large hog. At the Emperor's feet is a reclining female with a cornucopiæ; on the other sacrifices of this series, the Tiber is represented in her place, in allusion to the rites being celebrated on its banks. This female is probably Tellus, to whom the hog was thought appropriate because he always looked towards the earth : the Sibyl said

## Telluri porcus mactator, cum sue nigrâ.

During the three days and nights which were occupied in these sacrifices, music resounded from every altar; all the theatres, circi, and other public places of amusement were thrown open; and what with races, wrestling, hunting, matches, combats with wild beasts, naumachiæ, and dramatic entertainments, the people divided their whole time between mirth and devotion. At the close of day, all the streets of Rome were illuminated with bonfires and numberless lights; "lumina cum rogis accenduntur."

## CIV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. P. M. TR. P. VIII. CENS. PER. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate octavum, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) A fine head of Domitian, with the laurel over hair attentively dressed, without an amulet on the neck. This beautiful medal is in perfect condition, being entirely covered with an olive green patina; it was purchased with No. X CIX.
- Reverse. COS. XIIII. LVD. SAEC. A POP. (Consul decimumquartum, Ludos Sæculares, a populo.) On a substruction appears FRVG. AC. which joined to the legend reads A populo fruges acceptæ. The Emperor is here seated as on No-XCIX, and apparently near the same temple, but there are three vases on the tribunal. He is distributing the offerings to togated citizens; thus illustrating what we learn from history, that a portion was returned to the people, who received the presents as objects of veneration. This ceremony closed the solemnity of the Secular Games.

## CV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XV. CENS. PER. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanicus, Consul decimum quintum, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) A very animated portrait of the Emperor, without his anulet; and the head dressed with such evident care as to recall him whose reading was limited to the Commentaries of Tiberius, and whose authorship was confined to a treatise on the nourishment of hair. This medal is in a high state of preservation, though only thinly varnished by a brown patina; it was minted A. D. 90, and was presented to me by Consul General Salt, in Egypt.
- Reverse. IOVI VICTORI. On the exergum, S. C. A majestic sedent Jupiter with the wand of divinity supporting his left hand, and his right holding a winged victory with a garland. The body is naked to the waist, except that a robe descends from the left shoulder, down the back, and is gracefully folded over the thighs and legs: the feet rest on a suppedaneum. This has been thought to commenorate the destruction of the rebels under L. Antonius, which happened two years before; but it was more probably in honour of the pcace which he begged from Decebalus, after his own signal defeat by the Marcommanni, a defeat for which he nevertheless triumphed. Domitian affected great gratitude to Jupiter as his preserver; he built a chapel to him in Vespasian's time, and a magnificent temple after his accession. He was, at all times, profusely sumptuous in his public buildings, and not only restored many of the edifices destroyed by fire, but also spent 12,000 talents in merely gilding the capitol.

## CVI.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. DOMIT. AVG. GERM. COS. XVI. CENS. PER. P. P. (Imperator Cæsar Domitianus, Augustus, Germanieus, Consul decimum sextum, Censor perpetuus, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled profile of the Emperor, without the usual amulet. In the field is the little silver eagle, which was formerly the stamp of the Modena collection. This medal is in very fair conservation, of a pale unpatinated yellow brass, and was purchased at the Hon. R. E. Digby's sale, in 1825.

Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consulto,) on the exergum. Victory is crowning the Emperor, who stands majestically with a thunderbolt in his hand, as in No. XCVIII., but from the consular date this coin is seen to have been struck A. D. 92, or four years afterwards. It is equally uncertain whether this was on occasion of some advantage over the Dacians, or one of those counterfeit victories for which every street and corner of Rome was then decorated with trophies and triumphal arches. The only remarkable event of the 16th consulate was, the decree which, as wine was very plentiful and corn very scarce,—ordered half the vines to be rooted up, and no more to be planted.

## DOMITIA.

Domitia Longina, daughter of the illustrious Cn. Domitius Corbulo, was first married to Lucius Lamia, a senator, who was murdered by Domitian, in order that he might retain undisturbed possession of the widow, after an adulterous intercourse with her. She was kept sometime as a concubine, and then solemnly married to the Emperor, A. D. 70; but the dignity of her station did not check her licentiousness. Scandal was rife in attributing the anguish of the last moments of Titus, to his remorse for having had criminal intercourse with his brother's wife; but Suetonius clears him from the aspersion, upon the solemn protestation of Domitia herself, who, had the charge been true, would rather have gloried in it, as in all her other crimes, than denied it. She was supposed to have died under the reign of Trajan; but from a curious inscription found amongst the ruins of Gabii, and published by Visconti in his *Museo Pio-Clementino*, it would seem that she attained extreme old age, and died about A. D. 140.

Domitia affords a lamentable instance that, descent from one of the greatest men that Rome ever produced, and engaging beauty of person, were insufficient barriers against depravity, where virtue was wanting. Lucius Lamia is said to have possessed all the merit that was possible for a man to have, whence it has been alleged that pride and ambition wrought her fall. But she was vile to the core, for under the base pretence of avenging herself of the Emperor's neglecting her for Julia, she abandoned herself publickly to libertinism with the vilest and most contemptible of mankind. This was continued with singular impunity for some time, till her shameless attachment to Paris, a player, aroused the despot, who assassinated the man, and banished the woman. The love of Domitian, however, had but slumbered, and no sooner was Julia dead, than he revoked the divorce, and declared in an edict that he recalled her *in pulvinar suum*, assuming that his couch was sacred ;—nay more, the reconciliation was recorded by a gold medal, with a peacock, inscribed

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Concordia Augusta, as though she were another Juno, for the emblem was usually a special allusion to the consecration of deceased Empresses. This exposed the Emperor to the shafts of satire; he was, however, delighted to hear the populace at large exclaim, **Domino et Dominæ**, **feliciter**, on her return; but the union was an unhallowed one,—and while Domitian was compassing his wife's death, she became an accomplice with the conspirators who despatched him. The alarm was first given to her by a paper which a boy, playing in the Emperor's room, had taken from under his pillow, while the despot was sleeping. In caressing this boy, Domitia quickly spied the scroll, and as quickly seized and read it; when, with surprise and horror, she beheld her own name bowing the list of those who had but a day to live ! The time was brief—the peril extreme—she revealed the fact to her companions in danger, and the tyrant was despatched.

This depraved woman has met with such lenity from historians, that some of them have barely mentioned the part she took in this tragedy; and Procopius records an anecdote, which, if true, would invalidate the act, and entitle her to unqualified praise. He relates, that she, never having approved of her husband's tyrannical conduct, was much esteemed by the senators, who offered all that she should demand of that wicked prince's possessions. She only desired leave to bury him, and to erect a statue to his memory; which being granted, she caused all the dispersed and mangled parts of his body to be sought for, and joined them as well as she could. The body thus patched up was the model of the statue she erected to her husband, with the aim of preserving a monument of the barbarity of his murderers. Tristan certainly has great reason to marvel that so extraordinary a thing, if worthy of the slightest credit, should be omitted by the numerous authors who have mentioned her. Josephus has also extolled Domitia as a virtuous and amiable princess; but however honest that historian may be in other respects, he has, on this subject, merely exchanged fulsome compliment for the substantial patronage which he received at her hands.

Latin medals of Domitia are of great rarity, and those of large-brass singularly so; it is therefore usual to substitute for them Greek Imperial coins, which, though scarce, are more easily obtained, especially where perfect preservation is not an object. All those which I have seen bear a young and beautiful countenance, so that this female Nestor lived long enough to see her own coins prized as antiques. One of the most interesting was struck both in gold and silver; it bore her effigy, with her deified son sitting naked upon a globe, in the midst of seven stars, on the Reverse : he was born about A. D. 82, and his sister two years afterwards, they both died young.

## CVII.

- Obverse. DOMITIA AVG. IMP. CAES. DIVI. F. DOMITIAN. AVG. (Domitia Augusta, Imperatoris Cæsaris divi filii Domitiani Augusti.) The head and part of the bust of Domitia, with a countenance decidedly beautiful, but blended with assurance. The hair is very carefully dressed, with a profusion of curls in front, and twisted into a loop hanging behind. In saying that this rare medal is in perfect condition, I cannot entirely omit my doubts as to its being really genuine. Indeed, I may say with Eckhel, that it has not the look of antiquity,—a vexatious Patavinity interferes with its apparent purity of legend, edge, and other usual tests, and recalls to mind the fraudulent brothers who headed the falsarii of the XVI. century. It is unquestionably a fine and correct likeness of the Empress, but from the objection advanced, it was "knocked down" for only five guineas, at Mr. Henderson's sale, in 1830. It is singular that the head-dress of this specimen and that of Vaillant's are identical, while those in the Cabinet of Queen Christina and the British Museum have the hair braided round the head, —the legends and reverses being alike in all the four. The legitimacy of the last was long under question, although Ennery had bought a whole collection to secure it; but my friend Mr. Hawkins, in whose charge it is, informed me that the erudite Steinbüchel, of Vienna, after repeated examinations, pronounced it to be a genuine medal.
- Reverse. DIVI CAESARIS MATER. On the exergum S. C. Domitia, attired in becoming robes, and holding the wand of divinity, is seated on a curule chair, with an air of majestic elegance. Before her stands a youth habited in the pretexta, who is presenting an olive branch; it is supposed to represent the deified son of the Empress,—the Domitian Junior of numismatists—to whom medals were struck on his apotheosis being decreed by the senate.

## NERVA.

Marcus Cocceius Nerva born A. D. 32, at Narnia in Umbria, was the son of M. C. Nerva, a man of consular dignity, and Plautilla, a lady of respectable descent. He was early distinguished by civil dignities, and became a favourite with Nero, who conferred triumphal honours upon him, A. D. 65. After having served as prætor, and twice as consul, he was, on the death of Domitian, with one voice declared Emperor; and, after a judicious reign of 16 months and 9 days, died of a fever, in the beginning of A. D. 98.

Nerva was humane, wise, and generous; and though said to have been constitutionally timid, and somewhat enervated by age and infirmity, he acted with great personal fortitude in the compliance forced upon him by the mutinous prætorians. He was very eloquent, and one of the best poets of his day: Pliny speaks of his epigrams with commendation; and Martial says,—"Quanta quies placidi, tanta est facundia Nervæ." The first acts which graced his assumption of the purple were—the liberation of state prisoners,\* the enactment of *poor laws*,† the punish-

<sup>•</sup> This popular act was commemorated by a medal, inscribed Exules Romæ red. S. P. Q. R.

<sup>+</sup> A medal inscribed Tutela Italiæ, was struck when the edict was promulgated, which ordered the cities of Italy to feed their orphans, and poor children, at the public cost.

ment of delators, the reform of abuses, the redress of grievances, the relief of distress, the establishment of liberty of conscience, and the abolition of the odious *lex Majestatis*. Besides these, he was himself a personal example of equity, moderation, and virtne: and the professed spirit of his administration was—so to govern that he might return to private life without apprehension. It is harsh to condemn the exercise of virtue because *summum jus* may become *summa-injuria*; but lenity may be carried too far; and the murder of those who had wrought his elevation, in spite of his entreaties to the contrary, has blotted the otherwise fair fame of his reign. But the mortifying insolence of the soldiery, on that occasion, proved of vital advantage to the empire in the end; for Nerva, now sensible of the necessity of firmness, passed over his own kindred, and, with deep sagacity, solemnly adopted Trajan as his son and successor,—an act by which he brought forward one who was able to support the throne with vigour, and also to continue an equitable government after his demise.

The harmonious Moore, in introducing his "Loves of the Angels," alludes to the "Heaven and Earth" of Lord Byron, as about to appear. This makes him hurry; so that by an earlier appearance in the literary horizon, he might gain an *heliacal rising*, and shine previous to the coming of the luminary, in whose light he was to be lost. So Pliny, in his pointed style, observes it is the nature of the heavenly bodies, that the smaller and more obscure are lost in the lustre of more dazzling orbs. And, apostrophizing Nerva, whose virtues were eclipsed by those of Trajan, he adds—" Thus you were not afraid of adopting one whose brighter eminence should, in some measure, obscure and eclipse your waning lustre."

The medals of this excellent prince are rather common, and generally cheap, with the exception of the gold; and such of the large-brass series as relate the public events of the reign. From some of the silver coins, it seems that Nerva took the title of Imp. II. in the latter part of the year 97, on account of a victory in Pannonia, upon which historians are silent. Others bear Trib. Pot. III. in the legend, which has created much discussion, as to their proper date.

Some writers have stated that Nerva was married, and that he had a son named Calpurnius; but though the assertion is without foundation, it was too favourable an incident to be lost; and a crafty fabricator seized the opportunity of foisting an imposition upon the public, as a colonial coin in honour of the youth.

## CVIII.

Obverse. IMP NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. II. P. P. (Imperator Nerva Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consuliterum, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated profile of Nerva, bearing all the characteristics of sense and thought, with a deep tinge of the gravity assigned to him; and stamped with internal evidence of being a good

likeness. It is in excellent condition, and slightly varnished with yellow patina; it was found in the marshes near Astura, in 1822, and was brought to me shortly afterwards.

Reverse. CONGIAR. PR. (Congiarium primum.) The Emperor, seated on au elevated tribunal, the base of which is marked S. C. is inspecting a distribution. Before him stands Rome Nicephora, and one who holds up a frumentarian tessera; between them a togated officer sits on a curule chair, of a form different from that of Nerva; he is in the act of giving the donative to a citizen on the steps, or ladder,—the "de gradibus, in gradibus, et gradibus, panem distribuere" of the Theodosian code. There is no mention of this largess, among the ancient records, and but for this medal, posterity would have been altogether ignorant of it.

#### CIX.

- Obverse. IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. II. P. P. (Imperator Nerva Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul iterum, Pater Patriæ.) The portrait of Nerva is here seen under the same character as in the last, but with features less decided, and a nose rather more aquiline. It is in capital preservation, and was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832. It is covered with a dark-brown patina.
- Reverse. CONGIAR. PR. (Congiarium primum.) This medal was struck on the same occasion as No. CVIII.—but differs from it, in that the figure of Rome Nicephora is omitted.

## CX.

- Obverse. IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P. (Imperator Nerva Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consultertium, Pater Patriæ.) An expressive likeness of the Emperor, covered with a deep green patina. This medal is in very fine condition, and was presented to me by W. S. Craig, Esq. at La Maddelina, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. LIBERTAS PVBLICA. In the field S. C. A robed female standing, with the *pileus* in one hand, and the *rudis* in the other. (See No. LVIII.) This was minted in honour of a reign, which Cornelius Tacitus, who was one of its consuls, observes, blended liberty and sovereign power-elements till then considered incompatible.

#### CXI.

- Obverse. IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P. (Imperator Nerva Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) A bold laurelled head of Nerva, covered with olive-green patina, and very perfect. This specimen was purchased at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. FORTVNA AVGVSTI. In the field S C. A robed female standing, with her right hand on a rudder, and her left supporting a cornucopiæ, emblems of sovereignty and plenty. The ancients adored Fortune as the ruler of all events, both good and bad: which is in reality nothing more than ascribing every sudden and unexpected change of things to chance. Yet altars, temples, and statues were erected to her as a deity, under various adjunctive attributes, as publica, redux, manens, libera, felix, &c.;—and Horace, invoking her to protect Augustus while among the distant Britons, gives her this power :—

"O Diva, gratum quæ regis Antium, Præsens vel imo tollere de gradu Mortale corpus, vel superbos Vertere funeribus triumphos."

Fortune is represented by painters with a bandage over her eyes, to shew that she acts without discernment, "*insanam esse, et cæcam*;" but this is not imitated upon medals. When she appears seated, on the latter, there is generally a wheel to the chair, which has been said to typify her revolutions and inconstancy; yet this is a solecism, inasmuch as the being seated denotes stability: it was rather used to shew that Fortune presides over expeditions by land: those by sea being expressed by the gubernaculum. As sovereign directress of human

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affairs, her rudder is sometimes placed upon a globe.\* Gifford in one of his versions of the passage in which Juvenal so handsomely ridicules his countrymen for making such a surreptitious goddess, says—

"O Fortune, Fortune ! all thy boasted powers

Would shrink to nothing, were but wisdom ours."

CXII.

- Obverse. IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P. (Imperator Nerva Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) An expressive laureated profile of Nerva, in exceedingly fine preservation. It is of bright yellow-brass, without patina, and was purchased in Tuscany in 1818.
- Reverse. CONCORDIA EXERCITVVM. In the field S. C. "Inde fides dextræque datæ." Two right-hands joined—the symbol of faith and good understanding—hold a military trophy, which is planted on the prow of a ship, 'and surmounted by a garland, and an eagle. This was struck A. D. 97, and indicates the unanimity of the army and navy in the election of Nerva; and though the "trained bands" under Casperius disgraced themselves, those of the "United Service" were steadily attached to their Emperor.

## CXIII.

- Obverse. IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P. (Imperator Nerva Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) A laurelled bust of the Emperor, with the usual expression. This extremely rare medal has been much rubbed, but the wear must have occurred in former times, for it is entirely coated with a dark-brown patina. It was purchased at the sale of P. Neave, Esq. in 1830, whose countenance, by the way, strongly resembled that of Nerva.
- Reverse. ADLOCVT. AVG. (Adlocutio Augusti,) on the exergum. The Emperor on a substructure, with two other togated figures, is haranguing four soldiers, in front of a grand temple. From the date it is not at all improbable that the address here commemorated, took place after the mutiny of the prætorian guards.

## CXIV.

- Obverse. IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P. (Imperator Nerva Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) A strongly marked portrait of Nerva, with the head laureated. This medal is in singularly fine condition, and coated with a dense green patina : it was found at Gozo, in 1819, and presented to me by Col. Otto Beyer, the lieut. governor.
- Reverse. ANNONA AVGVSTI. On the exergum S. C. The good prince having secured a supply of provisions from abroad, Amalthæa is here presenting her horn to a seated female, who, by her torch and altar, is known to be Ceres. In the back ground a ship appears, and as there is no modius, the stock was probably plentiful. See No. LXXXVI.

## CXV.

- Obverse. IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P. (Imperator Nerva Casar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium, Pater Patria.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with the usual sensible countenance. This medal was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832, to replace an indifferent one which I had procured in Spain; it is in good condition, and coated with a brownish-green patina.
- Reverse. PLEBEI VRBANAE FRVMENTO CONSTITVTO. In the field S. C. A large modius, with six ears of wheat sticking in it, and a poppy in the centre. This affords another proof of the liberality of Nerva, who, as Dio truly observed "compluribus ingentia beneficia contulit;" and beside being typical of plenty, relates to a fund which the Emperor established for furnishing corn to the people.

<sup>\*</sup> It should be mentioned that there is another Fortune of Nerva, which is tolerably common. It has FORTVNA P. R. (Fortuna Populi Romani,) as a legend, and the figure is seated, with ears of wheat in her hand. My specimen is not sufficiently good for a place in this cabinet.

## CXVI.

- Obcerse. IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P. (Imperator Nerva Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) A fine portrait of Nerva, in bold relief. This coin is in good condition, though so thinly patinated as to be rubbed in several places : it was procured at Corfu, in 1818.
- Reverse. VEHICVLATIONE ITALIAE REMISSA. On the exergum S. C. Two mules are here quietly feeding, liberated from their yokes which appear in the back ground; the symbol of peace and liberty. This medal was struck on the exemption of Italy from the "munus rehicularium," or the obligation to furnish horses, mules, and conveyances, for persons travelling upon public business,—an imposition grievously complained of. It is thus evident that the people were relieved from this oppression by Nerva; but that fact has been overlooked by historians, who assign the merit to Hadrian, and Antoninus Pius, by whom the plan was only completed.

## CXVII.

- Obverse. 1MP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P. (Imperator Nerva Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) A fine and expressive laurelled head of Nerva, in perfect preservation, and covered with a dense chocolate-coloured patina. It was procured at Ben-ghazi, in 1821, from an Arab who had picked it up among the ruins of Cyrene.
- Reverse. FISCI IVDAICI CALVMNIA SVBLATA. In the field, a large S. C. and between these letters, a palm tree, the symbol of Judea. Domitian raised a trifling tax laid by Vespasian upon the Jews, as a license for the profession and exercise of their religion, to a heavy exaction called the *Fiscus Judaicus*. This was abolished by Nerva, consistently with his idea of liberty of conscience, and the fact is here commemorated. By such measures, he who forbad the erecting of gold and silver statues to himself, created monuments of a more lasting nature.

## CXVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. NERVA CAES. AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. P. P. (Imperator Nerva Cæsar, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated profile of the Emperor, with a robe on the breast. Behind the neck is the little silver eagle known as the Modena stamp. This medal is in fair condition, though unpatinated, and was purchased from Mr. M. Young, in 1825.
- Reverse. ROMA RENASCENS. On the exergum S. C. The galeated figure of Rome seated, with a victory on the right hand, and a lance supporting her left; her feet rest on a suppedaneum.\* This was struck in honour of a real revival of Rome : and the poet might justly have accosted Nerva, and his consuls, exclaiming :--

" O clari salvete duces generosa propago Principis invicti, sub quo senium omne renascens Deposui."

The symbol also typifies the happiness enjoyed by the Roman people, under so mild and auspicious a reign. An instance of the absence of imperial rapacity in those halcyon days, deserves note : Herodes Atticus, the father of the sophist, found a treasure in his house, and fearing informers, revealed the secret in a letter to Nerva. The Emperor answered, "use it." But Herodes, still anxious as to the result, wrote him word that the treasure exceeded the condition of a private man. Nerva nobly replied,—"ergo abutere."

\* The term suppedaneum is applied by numismatists to an ornamented footstool,—yet as it was not used till the time of Julius Firmicus, it can hardly be considered classical.

## TRAJAN.

Marcus Ulpius Trajanus Crinitus, was born at Italica, in Bætica; being a Spaniard both by birth and extraction. Early inured, by his father, to the use of arms, he served ten years in the rank of a tribune; was appointed Prætor, A. D. 86; and was honoured with the Fasces, A. D. 91. While governing in lower Germany, he was adopted by Nerva, A. D. 97, and succeeded to the sovereign power in the following year. Having reigned gloriously for 19 years, 6 months, and 15 days, he sunk under a paralytic attack, at Selinus, in Cilicia, A. D. 117; leaving a character which led senators, in their acclamations 250 years after his demise, to utter aloud the wish that their new prince might prove—" more fortunate than Augustus, and better than Trajan."

Besides embellishing the city, and constructing harbours and highways, this excellent prince founded public libraries, reformed the laws, and extended the dominions of Rome. His success over Decebalus led him to reduce Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Arabia: after which, he subdued the whole of Assyria, and descending the Tigris with his fleet, had the honour of being the first and last Roman general who navigated the Indian Ocean.

Trajan was of large and majestic stature, with manly features, a dignified aspect, and vigorous mind; and he possessed, in an eminent degree, all the qualities which form a great and excellent prince. Being promoted to the empire at a mature age, he happily tempered the ardour of youth with the wariness of age, so that he was well prepared for authority and enterprise. He was affable, economic, and bountiful; frngal in private, but magnificent in public; and though, not a man of learning himself, a zealous patron of education. With regard to military affairs, he was, without dispute, the best commander of his age, and equal to the greatest generals of antiquity; besides which, he was as good a soldier as he was a general. When he first assumed the purple, he took an oath to obey the laws, as diligently as the meanest of the people, which he religiously observed : "I have delivered a sword," said he in a sally, " into the hands of the captain of my guards, with a command that he should draw it against me, if I act contrary to the duty I owe to the public." His government was administered with such mildness, justice, and impartiality, together with such wisdom and sagacity, as called forth the admiration, as well as the love and gratitude of the senate and people of Rome. To secure the happiness of his subjects, he cheerfully lessened his revenue, and relinquished his prerogatives. He took great care to advance the most worthy and virtuous men to the highest posts and offices, and such as were otherwise he reclaimed by mildness

and clemency. His praise resounded in all quarters, amongst the old and the young, even, we are told, in the kitchens,—places "unused to dissimulation and compliment: "it is delightful," said Pliny, "to see one of the good old Roman stamp convince the world that as he reigns alone, so he alone deserves to reign."

These deductions are not altogether drawn from the celebrated and eloquent oration of the illustrious writer just quoted, but proceed from a consideration of this Prince's actions. Pliny, who was one of the honorary consuls, termed "suffecti," certainly details particulars enough,-even to Trajan's pulling a better oar than the effeminate Domitian. But the discourse was uttered at the beginning of the reign, as a professed panegyric; and it was afterwards expanded into an essay, in which those shades and failings which dimmed the lustre of the virtues displayed, are carefully omitted. It therefore pourtrays a divinity rather than a man; but there are some awkward admissions in Dio, for which the elaborate composition of the encomiast does not at all prepare us. An unfortunate passion for war and conquest, made Trajan more desirous of extending the empire, than was consistent with policy, equity, or humanity. He was addicted to sensual indulgences, of which winebibbing was the least infamous : yet the last was carried to such intemperance, that, according to Aurelius Victor, he enjoined his officers not to put in execution such orders as he should give at, or after his banquets. He allowed himself to be styled Dominus, a title peculiarly odious to Roman ears, and constantly refused by other good Emperors, even by Augustus himself. He likewise permitted sacrifices to be offered to his statues, and the people to swear by his Life and Immortality, as most sacred things. He suffered the religious persecutions which had been abolished by Nerva, to be revived, though he put forth no new edicts against those who rejected the national faith. That he was a prejudiced enemy to the christians, is manifest from his answer to Pliny's letter, and the absurd ordinance which he sent into Bithynia,-forbidding inquisition into the "new superstition," but ordering such as were accused to be punished : "declaring them innocent," says Tertullian, " and yet treating them as criminals."\* It must in justice be admitted that these were blemishes of the age; and notwithstanding the vices we lament, the magnanimous Trajan must ever be placed in the foremost rank of the greatest Roman Emperors.

Although the mints of Rome, and the Colonies, were freely worked to celebrate the exploits of this Emperor, there are some years of his reign uncommemorated.

<sup>\*</sup> Pliny requested permission to found a "Mechanic's Institute" at Nicomedia; to this the careful Emperor gave a refusal, assigning as a reason that such societies are always prone to faction, and are common nurseries of riotous and discontented spirits. Before concluding this note, we should observe that the same honest philosopher, in describing the Christians to Trajan, states, among other highly interesting facts, that they were wont to assemble, before daylight, and sing a hymn "to Christ as God." Can this be any other than the "Te deum laudamus" continued to the present hour?

Several authors recorded the acts by which Trajan distinguished himself, both as an experienced officer, and as a general; but their works being lost, it remains uncertain, from history, whether he ever returned to Rome after setting out for the conquest of Armenia. Yet it is unlikely that he should have continued in the East, without once visiting the Metropolis of his Empire, for the space of 11 or 12 years; and it appears probable, from medals, that he did return before A. D. 112, and left it the same or the following year. Some suppose that he was present at the dedication of his grand Forum, A. D. 114, after a lapse of time of which there is no account. It may be added that medals of Trajan, of every size and metal, are easily obtainable; and, with the exception of those which bear significant reverses, at low prices.

## CXIX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVA TRAIAN. AVG. GERM. DACICVS P. M. (Imperator Cæsar Nerva Trajanus, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, Pontifex Maximus.) The laureated head of Trajan, with a look rather expressive of pleasing dignity than thought. This coin is in fair condition, and slightly varnished with brown patina: it was purchased from Mr. M. Young, in 1825.
- Renerse. COS. V. CONGIAR. SECVND. (Consul quintum, Congiarium secundum.) On the exergum, S C. The Emperor on a suggestum, superintending one of his largesses to the people: between him and the distributing officers, is a high and singularly formed tripod, of which the import is not quite clear, though it may be held to denote a sacerdotal office. Havercamp thinks it is intended to typify Apollo, and Pedrusi suggests that it represents a measure. (See No. XLVII.) Respecting the date COS. V. which appears so frequently on the coins of Trajan, it cannot be assigned to a particular year, for it is applicable to any part of the reign, between A. D. 104, and 111 inclusive: as, in consequence of his absence from Rome, his consulate was continued, not renewed.

#### CXX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) The laurelled portrait of the Emperor, with the usual character, but the cheek bones remarkably high. In fine preservation, and covered with a brown patina, tinged with green : it was procured from the Rev. Mr. Hall, Chaplain to the British Factory, at Leghorn, in 1823, having formerly belonged to the celebrated Abbé Barthélemy.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo Principi.) On the exergum ALIM. ITAL. (Alimenta Italiæ.) In the lower verge S. C. which proves the rule mentioned at No. XXXIV. to have exceptions. The title of "Optimus," so much more significant than the abused one of "Great," was decreed by the senate, and Trajan valued it above all his other titles: "Nihil omnino erat, quod optime non exerceret."

A stately female, in long robes, stands in the middle of the field, holding a cornucopiæ on her left arm; and in her right hand some ears of wheat are turned towards a child who stands by her. This indicates the care of the Emperor for the families of the poor, by feeding them at the public expense. The panegyrist tells us that, out of these the armies were to be recruited, and the tribes filled up: but the measure which tended to release parents from supporting their offspring, was of as questionable a policy as our own statute, 43 Eliz. c. 2; and in its operation incessantly created fresh claims upon the treasury. By these, and other prodigal largesses, frequently renewed, Trajan is said to have supported nearly two millions of his people. But in excuse for such wholesale pauperism it must be remembered that, in his reign, most of the provinces suffered greatly by earthquakes; and many places were grievously afflicted with plague, famine, floods, and frequent conflagrations.

## CXXI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) The laureated portrait of Trajan, with a frowning brow. This medal has been injured by time, but is sound, though unpatinated; it was purchased from Mr. Till, in 1831, and was allowed to supplant a Providentia in high condition.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo Principi. In the field S. C.; and on the exergum ALIM. ITAL. (Atimenta Italiæ.) Trajan enthroned on a magnificent curule seat, with his feet on a suppedaneum; he is crowned with laurel, attired in the paludamentum, and supports his left arm on a lance. Before him is a mother presenting two of the Ulpian children, who hold out their little hands in token of gratitude. This is struck upon a similar occasion to that of the preceding medal, and corroborates history by shewing that the public magazines were well filled; for, instead of supplying the city by oppressing the provinces, Trajan wisely took off all the restrictions, and laid the traffick in provisions open. This, and punctual payment, inspired confidence; and the provinces sent their corn to Italy in such abundance, that Rome was in a condition to relieve Egypt, the granary of the world, when distressed by famine. This fact is admirably detailed in the panegyric; and was so remarkable a return for former obligations, that the encomiast dwells upon it with manifest delight.

## CXXII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) This medal bears a boldly relieved head of Trajan, with the "ægis" on the left shoulder: it is in exceedingly fine preservation, thinly coated with green patina, and was presented to me at the Tunisian town of Bizerta, in 1822.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo Principi.) On the exergum, S. C. A bold Herculean figure marked as a river god, by an aquatic plant in his left hand and the floating veil emblematic of divinity, rests his knee against a vanquished female, and has his right hand upon her throat. Havercamp thinks the fallen figure is that of a man; but a glance at my medal would have convinced him of the contrary: nor is he more lucky in taking the victor for the Tiber,-since the medal obviously alludes to the conquest of Dacia, as a result of crossing the Danube, by the stupendous bridge which the Emperor threw over that rapid river, in a single summer. This bridge was one of the most wonderful and magnificent of all Trajan's works, and the stateliest fabric of that kind in the universe. It was constructed of square massive stones, and is said to have contained 20 arches, each 170 feet apart, and 60 in breadth. From what is now seen on Trajan's column, the road over the arches appears to have been flat, as on our newest bridges. There are, near Severin, some vestiges of the works which protected the approaches both on the Mœsian and Dacian shores ; and they are figured in Count Marsigli's gigantic work on the Danube. This structure might have defied the current of the stream for ages; but Hadrian, recollecting that barbarians could as well pass it as Romans, broke down the arches. Trajan lived before Swift had impugned punning, for, if Leunclavius may be credited, he placed this inscription on his work :---

PROVIDENTIA AVG. VERE PONTIFICIS VIRTVS ROMANA QVID NON DOMAT? SVB IVGVM ECCE RAPITVR ET DANVVIVS.

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## CXXIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Parthico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) An animated portrait of the Emperor, with part of a rich robe on his left shoulder. This splendid medal was probably struck A. D. 105, and is in perfect condition; it is uniformly covered with an olive-green patina; and was presented to me, at Zante, in 1820, by Sir Patrick Ross, the present governor of Antigua.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo Principi.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor on a richly caparisoned horse, is darting a javelin at a prostrate foe, who by his cap and trousers is seen to be a Dacian, and may possibly represent Decebalus. This proud and powerful king destroyed himself on the fall of his capital; but the act did not save his head a journey to Rome, any more than secreting his treasures under the bed of a rapid river secured them from his conquerors.\*

This emblem of military virtue prevailing over its adversary, is well conceived and admirably executed: the original was probably copied from a coin of Acherontia, one of the cities of the Brutii; but it was so popular with the Romans that it is found occasionally from a medallion of Nero, to the *Debellatori Gentium Barbararum* of Constantinus Magnus. This, however, of Trajan is the most spirited; whence it was closely imitated in a medal of the Napoleon series, inscribed JENA, 1806. When I hinted to Mons. Denon the source of several of his best designs, he frankly replied "Eh bien ! Ou donc trouver de meilleurs modèles ?"

#### CXXIV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Parthico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate', Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) A fine laureated head of Trajan, with part of a chlamys appearing on the lcft shoulder. This medal is in the highest conservation; it is coated with a deep brown patina; and was procured at Jerbah, in the Lesser Syrtis in 1822.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo Principi.) In the field S. C. The conquest of Dacia is here commemorated by a female bewailing the fate of her warlike sons; she is seated upon a pile of shields, by the side of a trophy, which vividly recalls the description of the poet, when Æneas

"First to the gods discharg'd a victor's vows, And bared an oak of all her verdant boughs. High on a lofty point the trunk he plac'd, Which with Mezentius' radiant arms he grac'd; The shiver'd lances that the monarch bore, The plumy crest that dropp'd with recent gore; The cuirass next; transfix'd in every part By the keen jav'lin, or the flying dart. Then on the left, the brazen shield was ty'd; And the dread sword hung glitt'ring at the side."

The use of trophies is immemorial: they consisted in early times of a stake, a post, or the trunk of a tree, on which the spoils were suspended; but under progressive refinements were made of brass, or marble, with suitable inscriptions for perpetuating their story. Plutarch tells us, in his Roman Questions, that antiquity abhorred the innovation, from its inhumanity

<sup>\*</sup> It may be readily conceived that it was no difficult task for the Romans to pick a quarrel whenever they listed, and that rage for conquest made them disagreeable neighbours: but we cannot wonder that Trajan was unable to brook the indignity of paying an annual stipend to the Dacians,—a measure as disgraceful as the tribute rendered by the potentates of Europe, to the pusillanimous pirates of Barbary.

in transmitting the shame and misfortune of the vanquished to future ages. Trophies were placed before the door of every officer who had distinguished himself: and, Pliny tells us, it was illegal to take down these testimonies of brave minds and valiant hearts, even after a sale or alienation of the house; because the site retained its dignity, and might urge the purchaser to valour and virtue. The "*jus imaginis*," or right of statues was similar to our law of armorial bearings, and was allowed only to those whose ancestors, or themselves, had borne some curule office. He who exhibited the pictures, or statues, of his forefathers was styled *Nobilis*; he who had only his own, *Novus*; he who had neither, *Ignobilis*.

#### CXXV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVA TRAIAN. AVG. GERM. DACICVS. P. M. (Imperator Cæsar Nerva Trajanus, Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, Pontifex Maximus.) The laureated head of Trajan, with a bare neck, and the countenance very expressive. This medal is in fine taste and superior preservation; it is entirely covered with a dark bottle-green patina, and was procured at Cephalonia in 1819.
- Reverse. TR. P. VII. IMP. IIII. COS. V. P. P. (Tribunitia potestate septimum, Imperator quartum, Consul quintum, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. This was struck in honour of the conquest of Dacia, — for we see Roma Victrix gracefully seated upon armour, with her left foot upon a helmet, in the act of receiving a small winged-victory from the hand of the Emperor, who has now laid aside his military attire and resumed the toga. Addison thinks, fancifully enough, that Virgil alludes to the custom of thus holding the idol:
  - " Non adeo has exosa manus Victoria fugit."

### CXXVI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) The laurelled portrait of the Emperor, with a portion of the "ægis" on the left shoulder. This medal is lightly covered with green patina; it is tolerably preserved, and was presented to me by Vice-Admiral Sir Charles Penrose, in 1817.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo Principi.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor and another figure, both togated, appear upon a suggestum; the former elevates his right hand towards four citizens who are applauding him; on the left is a female decumbent at the base of three obelisks. This marks the general joy at Trajan's return, and also alludes to the magnificent circensian spectacles which followed it; and which lasted 123 days, to the slaughter of many thousand beasts and gladiators. (See No. LXXXVIII.) Pedrusi in mentioning this medal says, "Certo, che egli, cum populo humaniter, cum senatu honorifice versabatur, e tanto era charus omnibus, possedende l'universale amore, quanto hosti formidolosus.

#### CXXVII.

- Obverse. 1MP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) A fine laureated head of Trajan, with the neck bare, and the countenance in characteristic expression. The medal is in excellent condition, and coated with a grass-green patina; it was procured from an Arab at Tripoli, in 1817. It was probably struck A. D. III.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo principi.) On the exergum S. C. This was struck to commemorate the enlargement of the Circus Maximus, which is fairly represented, with the Egyptian obelisk of Augustus in the centre of the spina; together with the metæ, and the ostia, or openings for admission. This enormous structure was capable of containing upwards of 200,000 spectators, and was the very paradise of the Roman rabble; whence Juvenal,—

(85)

" For since their votes have been no longer bought, All publick care has vanished from their thought; And those who once, with unresisted sway, Gave armies, empire, every thing, away, For two poor claims have long renoune'd the whole, And only ask,—the Circus and the Dole."

### CXXVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli Quintum, Patri Patriæ.) A fine laurelled profile of Trajan, with part of a robe on the left shoulder. This medal is barely patiated, yet in very good condition; it was purchased at the sale of P. Neave, Esq. in 1830.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo Principi.) On the exergum S. C. A temple of eight columns, with two porticoes, and uumerous ornaments. In the Adytum, a deity is seen upon a pedestal, and the central pediment is decorated with three figures in relief, apparently Jupiter and two goddesses. Ou the apex is a colossal statue of the same god, with a lance of divinity; and below him are two winged victories bearing trophies upon their shoulders. It would seem that this fane was erected in honour of Trajan's successes, and though it is uncertain to whom it may have been dedicated, the character of the whole makes me conclude that it was to Jupiter "Custos;" a popular idol whom Seneca defines—"Quem nos Jovem Custodem, rectoremque universi."

## CXXIX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) A characteristic portrait of the Emperor, with part of the "ægis" appearing over the left shoulder. This medal is varnished with a brown patina, tinged with green; it is in remarkably clean condition, and was procured from Mohammed Khojah, the minister of revenue, at Tunis, in 1816.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo principi.) On the exergum S. C. A very magnificent triumphal arch, the intercolumnia of which are entirely covered with military insignia, and emblems of pomp, sculptured in relief. On the front appear the letters I. O. M. (Jovi Optimo Maximo;) and the whole is surmounted by a sejugi, or chariot and six horses, between two trophies, with appropriate statues. This was erected to the glory of Trajan, and was probably the vestibulum, or porch of the capitol, mentioned in the Panegyric. Pedrusi, following Xiphilinus, thinks it stood in the forum; but Aulus Gellius tells us that structure was inscribed EX MANVBIIS.

#### CXXX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) The laurelled head of Trajan, with part of the chlamys on the breast. This medal was struck about A. D. 111. and is in very superior condition; it is densely covered with patina of a tint between that of the turquoise and sea-green—a very ærugo nobilis. It came into my possession by exchange, at Cagliari, in 1823.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo principo.) On the exergum S. C. Here we have a grand arch between two towers, on which warriors are standing; under it is a boat held to the pier by a *painter*, and before it is a line of waves, which has been mistaken for a chain. Occo describes this reverse, —"Pons supra Danubium cum ædificio anteriori, et navicula;" but it is in no respect like the bridge on Trajan's column. Others have named it the "Port of Ancona," but I cannot see why; for the towers bear no

more resemblance to the triumphal arch\* at that place, than does the design before us to the usual type of ports upon Roman coins. Trajan certainly patronized the *cabotage* of Italy; and besides establishing Ancona, he re-edified Ostia, and constructed Centum Cellæ, a pretty haven, in a part of which I have more than once taken shelter. But the *Portus Trajani*, with its docks, piers, and vessels, is a well known large-brass reverse,—and I am persuaded that the medal under consideration commemorates a bridge's being thrown over some river, which, by the emblem of the boat, was navigable.

### CXXXI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with part of a robe on the left shoulder. This specimen is thinly coated with brown patina; it is in good condition, and was purchased at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo Principi.) On the exergum and lower verge, AQVA TRAIANA. S. C. A river-god with an aquatic reed in his hand, is reclining in an arched grotto, and instead of the usual effluent urn, a spring is gushing from the rocks below him; it celebrates the conduit by which Trajan diverted a portion of the pure and limpid Aqua Martia into the Aventine quarter of the city. This medal is opposed to the notion of Vaillant, that a recumbent Fluvius denotes a river which receives other streams, and wading figures mean those which are tributary. Other antiquaries presume the river to be a navigable one, where the gods have beards,—yet here, at a mere spring, we have a regular Barba-nera,—while a reverse of Philip shews the deity of the Meander without that appendage.

### CXXXII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) A characteristic and expressive portrait of Trajan, in excellent preservation, and covered with yellow patina. It was purchased at Girgenti, in 1814.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo Principi) In the field S. C. and on the exergum ARAB. ADQVIS. (Arabia adquisita, in the orthography of the day, which is also that of many of our best modern editions.) A long-robed female, with a garland on her head, is standing gracefully with a diminutive camel beside her : she holds a bough, probably the Sabæan, in her right hand, and the "calamus odoratus" in her left. From the time of Augustus, who had no luck with them, the Arabs remained unmolested till Trajan reduced them. Lucian, who is supposed to have flourished about that time, mentions the successes of the "victorious and invincible prince;" yet he was foiled before the city of Atra, partly because the barrenness of the country denied supplies to the besiegers,—and also because, though the wall was breached, he was driven back by the Arabians, seconded by thunder, lightning, rain, and myriads of tormenting flies.

## CXXXIII.

- Obverse. 1MP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. V. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli quintum, Patri Patriæ.) The laureated portrait of the Emperor, with the neck bare. This coin is unpatinated and in secondary condition; it was purchased at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo Principi.) On the exergum S. C. The togated Emperor, standing on a basement covered with a rich carpet, stretches out an olive-branch with his right hand, and holds a roll of paper in his

\* This arch, when I surveyed Ancona, was in high preservation, though its bronze ornaments are gone. It stands on that solid work, the mole of Trajan, and appears to advantage from its situation; for though such structures possess both architectural richness and grandeur, they are so unconnected as to appear, in general, only like parts of a plan. left; while Victory descending from heaven is crowning him with laurel. Below him are two smaller figures extending their arms in supplication, and along the base are four eagles, each of which supports a military standard in its beak. This elegant compliment seems to have been struck about A. D. 111, and relates to the peace bestowed by Trajan upon Armenia and Parthia : the standards may allude to as many engagements ; and the suppliants probably represent colonies imploring succour and patronage.

#### CXXXIV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli sextum, Patri Patriæ.) The head of Trajan in high-relief, with a laurel crown, and a portion of the "ægis," with an amulet on the breast. This is in excellent preservation, and covered with mottled-green patina; it was procured at Albano, near Rome, in 1823.
- Reverse. DACIA AVGVST. (Dacia Augusti.) On the exergum PROVINCIA. S. C. Though this fine medal was struck so late as in the sixth consulate, it records the conquest of Dacia, seven years before. It may, however, relate to the complete subjection of that vast and warlike province,—for we see a female, with a German cap, seated in sign of tranquillity : in her left hand she bears a Roman legionary standard as a symbol of being garrisoned by the conquerors, and before her are two infants—the one at her knee, holding some ears of wheat, and the other with an apple in its right hand, and a bunch of grapes in its left—in token of fertility. A difficulty occurs to me : led away by the Daci montibus inhærent, and other descriptions from Statius, Eutropius, and Xiphilinus, numismatists have figured the Province as seated upon a rock, which but ill harmonizes with the corn and wine. On the medal before me it certainly looks so at first sight; but on examination I perceive a chair filled, between the supports, with a quantity of round balls, very nnlike crags.

The Rev. W. Cooke, whose knowledge of medals yielded to his regard for them, sees in these children a little Roman emperor, crowned with laurel, and standing upon the shoulders of a captive! Dropping the absurdity of such an attitude, he ought, before engraving it, to have recollected the provinces, in such cases, never play first-fiddle.

#### CXXXV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli sextum, Patri Patriæ.) The laurelled portrait of Trajan, with the shoulders covered by the pallium. This rare and valuable medal was minted A. D. 113, and from being unfortunately rubbed, is in secondary condition, without patina; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Optimo Principi.) On the exergum FORVM TRAIANI. S. C. A very elegant edifice, adorned with sculpture, columns, and spoils. This was the most magnificent of all Trajan's works, and Ammianus describes Constantius as being lost in amazement when he beheld it. We still see the superb column, and a portion of the basement : but the battalion of statues, and other records of triumphal glory have disappeared. Some of the decorations of the arch, however, are still displayed in the chaos of inconsistencies erected in honour of Constantine,—who not only wore the crown of Maxentius, but also, by a less allowable treason, fitted the head of Trajan to his own image; and the incongruity still exists at Rome, affording undeniable proof that the politic murderer was as much of a "parietarius," as the hero whose honours he unworthily assumed, while he sneered at him as a "wall-flower," from the inscriptions which told his virtues in all parts of Rome.

### CXXXVI.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli sextum, Patri Patriæ.) An expressive laureated head of Trajan, with his shoulders covered with part of a sagum. The medal is coated with a brownish green patina, and is in excellent condition; it was procured by exchange at Cagliari, in 1823.

Reverse. S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO PRINCIPI. On the exergum, VIA TRAIANA. S. C. A robed female reclining against a bank, supporting a wheel-here the symbol of a highway-upon her knee, and holding a branch in her left hand. This was struck in honour of Trajan for having repaired the Via Appia, and especially that portion of it which led over the Palus Pontina, a pestilent marsh, of which Silius Italicus says-" Et quos pestiferi Pomptina uligine campi." This was done at a vast charge, for Dio says that no magnificence was spared, yet, except a few milliarii and other vestiges, nothing is left of this Regina Viarum.

#### CXXXVII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Optimo, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli sextum, Patri Patriæ.) The laurelled profile of Trajan with drapery over the shoulders. The proud title of "BEST" now appears on the obverse, and is retaiued to the end of the reign. In good condition, and covered with a deep brown patina; it was minted A. D. 113, and was procured at Spalatro, in Dalmatia, in 1819.
- Reverse. SENATVS POPVLVS QVE ROMANVS. In the field S. C. A coulmn, spirally ornamented with sculptures stands upon a noble base, on the upper angles of which are eagles supporting a festoon. On the summit, is a colossal statue of Trajan, with the wand of divinity in his left hand, and a globe in his right. All who have visited Rome will at once perceive that this is an accurate type of the column which still rears its head from among the ruins of the Forum, though Pope Sixtus V. with palpable absurdity, made St. Peter preside over Dacian battles, instead of replacing the soldier whose exploits are commemorated. Die relates that, to construct the forum, a part of the mountain equal to the height of a pillar, (144 feet) was cleared away; and the assertion is borne out by the testimony of the inscription upon the structure itself. This elaborate and gigantic work forms a most valuable thesaurus of antiquarian lore, - being an authentic representation of the arms, implements, and vestments, as well as the ceremonies and tactics of the age : and to it Raphael confessed himself beholden for his art. Ciacconius thought the ashes of Trajan were inclosed in the ball held by the statue; but Eutropius and Publius Victor inform us that they were interred, in a golden urn, under the column,-being the first buried within the city. One can hardly help regretting that his affairs in the East deprived the Emperor of the sight of so noble a monument.

## CXXXVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Optimo, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli sextum, Patri Patriæ.) The laureated head of Trajan, with a singularly fine expression, and the shoulders covered with the sagum. This medal is of yellow unpatinated brass, and in excellent preservation; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. SENATVS POPVLVS QVE ROMANVS. In the field S. C. A column of elegant proportions rises from a plinth, and on the summit is placed a large owl. This is another of the ornaments with which Rome was embellished in honour of Trajan, and which formed a striking contrast to the panegyric spoken at the commencement of the reign. "Your name," said Pliny, "becomes transmitted to future ages, not engraven upon marbles, and bulky columns, but treasured up in the more lasting memorials of books." Now he afterwards engrossed not only a *respectable* share of marbles and columns, but also an unusual portion of the labours of the mint,—

"Ambition sigh'd, she found it vain to trust The faithless column, and the crumbling bust; Convinc'd she now contracts her vast design; And all her triumphs shrink into a coin."

## (89)

After all, I feel "free to confess," although I love sculpture dearly, that the contemplation of triumphal arches and pillars, only obtrudes upon my mind melancholy pictures of slaughter, pillage, and subjugation: and for this reason I look upon the monument of London—even with a fib on its pedestal—to be morally worth a dozen of columns such as that of Trajan, with twenty dozens of its *Place Vendôme* imitations.

#### CXXXIX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NERVAE TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Optimo, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli sextùm, Patri Patriæ.) A laurelled portrait of the Emperor, with the paludamentum fastened over his shoulders by a fibula. This medal is in beautiful condition, but singularly patinated, being red on the obverse, and green on the reverse. I procured it at Tripoli, in 1816.
- Reverse. IMPERATOR VIIII. (Imperator nonum.) This is inscribed on the exergum, with S.C. under it. The Emperor wearing a lorica, is seated on an X-shaped curule chair, upon a high suggestum, with an assistant standing on each side of him. He is addressing his army, which is represented by an officer, three aquiliferi, an infantry soldier, and one of cavalry, some of whom hold up their hands in applause. This was struck A. D. 115, in which year are others of the same type stamped VII. and VIII. of each of which I have had specimens, but preserved the present one for its superior beauty. Now the two former relate to victories gained over the Parthians, as no doubt the latter also does; the precise occasion however is doubtful, as historians are silent respecting Trajan's second rupture with that people; but this reverse is usually ascribed to the reduction of Ctesiphon, the capital of Parthia.

I should have mentioned in p. 4, that though the prænomen of Imperator had been assumed as an equivalent for that of King by the Emperors, the custom of conferring it upon victorious generals also, was continued, albeit the sovereign, as commander-in-chief, usually engrossed it to himself. This medal therefore shews that Trajan had been so saluted by the army nine times; and combined with the two large-brass ones just cited, proves that he had gained three signal advantages in that year.

### CXL.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC. PARTHICO P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Optimo, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Parthico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli sextùm, Patri Patriæ.) An expressive portrait of the Emperor, with part of a sagum on his shoulders; in very superior preservation, and covered with pea-green patina. This medal was apparently struck A. D. 116, for here Trajan bears the title of Parthicus, which he received after the victories mentioned above: I procured it by exchange at Athens, in 1820.
- Reverse. ARMENIA ET MESOPOTAMIA IN POTESTATEM P. R. REDACTAE. (Armenia et Mesopotamia in potestatem populi Romani reductæ.) In the field S. C. The Emperor, attired in military vestments with a spear and parazonium, stands in the attitude of a conqueror, with his left foot upon a vanquished foe, who by the crenated mitre and the trousers, appears to unite in one figure, the symbols of an oriental sovereign and a province. On each side is a river deity reclining on an effluent urn, and holding an aquatic reed. This typifies the successes obtained between the Tigris and Euphrates, which are the rivers here represented. The comprehension of so much design in so circumscribed a space, is thus beautifully expressed by the poet,—

" A narrow orb each crowded conquest keeps; Beneath her palm here sad Judæa weeps; Now scantier limits the proud arch confine, And scarce are seen the prostrate Nile and Rhine. A small Euphrates through the piece is roll'd: And little eagles wave their wings in gold."

## CXLI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC. PARTHICO P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Optimo, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Parthico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli sextum, Patri Patriæ.) A fine laureated head of the Emperor, with a robe on his shoulders. It is in a secondary state of conservation, and unpatinated; and was presented to me, in 1824, by Chev. Albert de la Marmora, a gentleman distinguished by his researches in Sardinia.
- Reverse. REGNA ADSIGNATA, on the exergum S. C. The Emperor seated between two Prætorian officers on a suggestum, at the foot of which, three figures are standing, the foremost of whom, is receiving a gift from Trajan's hands. This noble and significant medal is as remarkable for the simplicity as the force of its legend; and it relates to the assignment of dominions to the kings of Parthia, Armenia, and Mesopotamia. Adsignata was the ancient orthography for assignata, and appears thus on inscriptions.

### CXLII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. NER. TRAIANO OPTIMO AVG. GER. DAC. PARTHICO. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. (Imperatori Cæsari Nervæ Trajano, Optimo, Augusto, Germanico, Dacico, Parthico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli sextùm, Patri Patriæ.) A very expressive laurelled portrait of Trajan, with the sagum on the shoulders. This medal is thickly coated with a deep olive-green patina, and is in singular preservation: it was procured from M. Nyssen, the Austrian Consul, at Tunis, in 1822.
- Reverse. REX PARTHIS DATVS, on the exergum S. C. The Emperor, seated on a curule chair, with a military præfect standing by him, is in the act of crowning a king, whom Parthiain the national costume-is kneeling to receive. This medal was minted A. D. 116, and is illustrated by Dio,-for he says that Trajan, when he came to Ctesiphon, assembled the Romans and Parthians, and formally placed the diadem upon Parthamaspates. The Prince thus chosen, continued faithful to Rome, for which he was despised by his countrymen, and could maintain but little authority over them. Trajan was extremely elated with his Eastern conquests : but in the event, they proved an useless expenditure of toil, blood, and treasure, for after his death the new provinces threw off the yoke, and recovered their former condition.

## PLOTINA.

Pompeia Plotina was one of the most illustrious of all the Roman Empresses, though history is silent as to her family, country, and the date of her birth. She was married to Trajan a considerable time before his adoption by Nerva, and died without issue, A. D. 129. Hadrian, who was indebted to her for the Empire, caused her obsequies to be performed with the utmost pomp and magnificence. He bewailed her with many tears, appeared for nine days in deep mourning, composed verses in her praise, caused her name to be consecrated, and dedicated a noble mausoleum to her memory, near the ruins which still exist, at Nismes.

Plotina was highly esteemed by the people of Rome for the modesty and piety with which she filled her exalted station,—manifesting all the good qualities of Livia, without her pride and haughtiness. She accompanied Trajan when he assumed the Purple, and turning to the people when she mounted the steps of the palace, uttered these memorable words,—"I hope to come out the same as I go in." Indeed, during the whole time of her husband's reign, her conduct was so irreproachable, as to deprive of their venom the malicious shafts aimed at her, on account of her patronising Hadrian. Julian acknowledged that the advice of this judicious princess was always such as tended to the public good; and most authors agree that she contributed largely to the glory of Trajan, and the splendonr of his reign. Several ancient inscriptions testify the extraordinary kindness with which she treated Marciana, her sister-in-law; and she is highly complimented on that account by Pliny. The senate offered both of these ladies the glorious though often misused title of *Augusta*, which they declined so long as Trajan refused that of *Pater Patriæ*. Plotina went into the East, and afterwards conveyed the sacred urn, which contained the deceased Emperor's ashes, from Cilicia to Rome. Pliny, who eulogizes the affability, sanctity, frugality, modesty, affectionate disposition, and unsullied reputation of Plotina, exclaims,—''Tibi uxor in decus, et gloriam cedit ; quid enim illâ sanctius, quid antiquius ? Nonne, si Pontifici Maximo eligenda sit conjunx, aut hanc, aut similem, (ubi autem similis ?) elegerit ?''

Some of the imputations against Plotina originate in an expression of Dio Cassius, but the intimation is no proof of her having transgressed the bounds of virtue. She appears to have considered Hadrian as a proper husband for her grand-niece, and a worthy successor to the Emperor, whose prejudice against him was so marked, that she interposed her kind offices to prevent it from ruining his interests. Spartian, who however is not a very competent voucher, carries this kindness to an extraordinary pitch. He tells us that she took care not to press upon Trajan the naming of his heir, lest his choice should prove prejudicial to her favourite; but that, as soon as the Emperor expired, Plotina, who kept it very secret, sent in all haste for a trusty dependant, and having placed him in Trajan's bed, she caused a number of senators and officers of distinction to come into the chamber, in whose hearing the pretended sick man declared, with a faint and dying voice, that he adopted Hadrian for his successor.

The medals of Plotina are of a high degree of rarity in gold and silver, and still more so in brass,—for there are of the large size those of one type only known, and of the smaller none whatever. Both Colonial and Greek medals of second and third brass, were struck to her honour, but they are difficult to procure. Of the gold series, the one conveying the best compliment is, perhaps, that with an altar, inscribed *Ara Pudicitiæ*.

## CXLIII.

Obverse. PLOTINA AVG. IMP. TRAIANI. (Plotina Augusta, Imperatoris Trajani.) The head of Plotina, ornamented with a frontal diadem, and having the hair neatly plaited and hanging in a loop behind. The features of the face are regular, and have a grave and

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serious expression; the neck is long, and the shoulders covered with a robe. This medal was procured from J. C. Ross, Esq. at Malta, in 1821; it is of yellow-brass, and, like most of those of this Empress which I have seen, considerably rubbed. I was, therefore, very desirous of superseding it by the perfect specimen sold at Mr. Trattle's sale; but from my directions having been misunderstood, it was "knocked down" to the *Duc de Blacas*, for  $\pounds$  32. Reverse. FIDES AVGVST. (Fides Augusta.) A robed female standing in a stately attitude, be-tween a large S. and C. with ears of wheat in her right hand, and a salver filled with fruits and flowers supported on her left. This probably celebrates the constancy of Plotina to Trajan, for Fides presided over the observance of promises, and was attired in white vestments, as indicative of the candour and sincerity of Truth; thus Horace-

> Te Spes, et albo rara Fides colit Velata panno.

## MARCIANA.

This prudent Princess was the sister of Trajan, the mother of Matidia, and grandmother to Julia Sabina, who married Hadrian. The date of her birth is unknown, as is also the name of her husband, albeit he was the father of such august personages. She appears to have been a widow at the time of her brother's adoption, and, after forming a principal ornament of his court, died about A. D. 114, when her memory was consecrated by deification, —a date and fact identified by the evidence of medals and marbles.

Marciana has been highly praised by historians, and, apparently with great reason. So strict a friendship subsisted between her and the Empress, that no coolness was ever known to disturb or diminish their unanimity; and the conformity of inclinations and sentiments between these two ladies, contributed materially to the happiness enjoyed alike by the court and city. The names of both Plotina and Marciana are inscribed on the triumphal arch at Ancona; and the uninterrupted harmony which subsisted between them is highly extolled by Pliny .--- " Nothing is so apt to breed quarrels as emulation," says that orator, "especially in women, where it is oft begot by nearness in alliance, fomented by equality, inflamed by envy, till it end at last in the most inveterate spite and hatred. From hence it ought to be esteemed the greater wonder, that two ladies in the same palace, of the same quality, should have no feuds, nor contention. They bear with each other, they never dispute the right of precedence, and while both passionately love you best, they think themselves unconcerned, which of them you shall please best to love."

The medals of Marciana are of great rarity, in each of the metals, and there are none known in brass of the second and third sizes. That of gold, or silver, bearing Soror Imp. Trajani, with a reverse, Matidia and two children, is highly prized in cabinets.

## CXLIV.

- Obverse. DIVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA. A grave and dignified portrait of Marciana, with a superb frontal diadem, and the hair tastefully tressed round the head, in a mode different from that of Plotina. This medal was presented to me, with several others, in the spring of 1832, by my friend, Mr. W. Hamilton, so well known for his diplomatic and literary merits. That gentleman, aware of the deficiences of my cabinet, most handsomely invited me to examine his collection, and take from it whatever I pleased,—a license of which, knowing the sincerity of the offer, I unhesitatingly availed myself.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the exergum S. C. An ornamented thensa drawn by two mules, one of the emblems of a female apotheosis. See No. XVII. It was probably struck about the 19th year of Trajan's reign.

#### CXLV.

- Obverse. DIVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA. The head of Marciana, attired as above. This medal is of unpatinated yellow metal, and has been roughly handled; it was purchased at Mr. Henderson's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the exergum S. C. An eagle standing, or rather cowering, with expanded wings. This noble bird, the Jovis Armiger of Virgil, and Minister Fulminis of Horace, is a symbol of divinity,—but it is more usually applied to the apotheosis of an Emperor than to that of an Empress, the latter being expressed by a peacock, as sacred to Juno. CXLVI.
- Obverse. DIVA AVGVSTA MARCIANA. A portrait of this excellent Princess, with ornaments and head-dress as in No. CXLIV. The medal is of pale yellow-brass, and in secondary conservation; it was purchased at Mr. Henderson's sale, in 1830.
- **Reverse.** EX SENATVS CONSVLTO. On the exergum S. C. A curious car, on which is placed a seated statue of Marciana, with the veil, patera, and lance of divinity. It is drawn by two elephants, with a mahaut, or driver on each; they are guided apparently by a wand, and not by the *hawkush* or goad, resembling a boat-hook, now used in India, to direct the animal by either catching hold of his ear, or pricking him. See No. VIII.

## MATIDIA.

Matidia was the daughter of Marciana, and though she was the favourite niece of one emperor, and mother-in-law to another, we are alike ignorant of the times of her birth, marriage, and widowhood, as well as of the names, rank, and offices of her father and her husband. From this uncertainty, it may be inferred that they were both dead when Trajan arrived at Rome after his adoption, or history would have been more communicative. She had two daughters, of whom Sabina became empress, and Matidia junior, the youngest, died in early life, but in what year we are uncertain: nor was the latter distinguished from her mother till Welser, by the aid of an inscription, disproved their identity. Matidia is supposed to have lived till the reign of Antoninus Pius; but a bronze medallion in the Vienna collection, inscribed *Divæ Matidiæ Socrui*, would prove, if genuine, that she died in Hadrian's time; its authenticity is however strongly suspected. And, as if all the events in the life of this princess were to be involved in equal obscurity, though medals clearly shew us that she bore the title of Augusta, we know not when it was assumed.

Matidia has generally been praised by the historians who have mentioned her. She was in the first class of those illustrious dames who adorned the court of Trajan, and redeemed the character of the palace. She accompanied her uncle into the East; and Spartian expressly tells us that she assisted Plotina in bearing his ashes to Rome. The friendship of the Empress for Marciana has been mentioned, and she was equally kind to Matidia and her two daughters; for she was so gracious to them, and espoused their interests with such cordial zeal, as to prevent their feeling the superiority of her rank. Their living together in so much harmony afforded Trajan infinite pleasure; he saw, with great satisfaction, this amiable understanding among ladies so nearly allied to him, and so dear to his heart; and thus, having no domestic anxieties, he was the more at leisure to attend to the public welfare. The excellent effects of such virtue and policy were very widely felt, and went far towards reinstating the empire in its first splendour, by rendering odious the cruelty, vice, and flagrant abominations of most of the preceding reigns. Indeed, so great an influence has a court upon the public mind, that learned men, it has been observed, abounded in the reign of Augustus; vicious debauchees under Tiberius; grave men and good soldiers under Trajan; and infamous ruffians under Commodus.

As with Plotina and Marciana, so the Roman mintage in honour of Matidia is restricted to gold, silver, and large-brass medals, and of the latter there is only one type known, viz. that which is about to be described. I am not aware of any Colonial coin of this Princess, but there is a third-class Greek Imperial one, which is extremely rare.

## CXLVII.

- Obverse. MATIDIA AVG. DIVAE MARCIANAE F. (Matidia Augusta, Divæ Marcianæ filia.) The head of Matidia, with an amiable and sensible countenance, indicating an age of about 40 years. The hair is curiously and tastefully dressed in a style similar to that of Marciana, but the frontal diadem is one of still greater elegance. The neck is long and wellturned, the shoulders are covered with neat drapery, and the whole design marks Matidia as a fine woman. This exceedingly rare medal is entirely covered with a dark brownish-green patina, and is in splendid condition; it formed No. 2929 of Mr. M. Trattle's sale, in 1832, where it was sold for £ 32. 10s. and displaced a tolerable one which had been some years in my cabinet.
- Reverse. PIETAS AVGVST. (Pietas Augusta.) On the exergum S. C. A stately female standing between two children; she is attired in the stola, and kindly extends her hands to the heads of her young companions. Piety is sometimes thus represented to denote charity and benevolence, and therefore many numismatists have considered this as a mere symbol of the moral Virtue. Havercamp, who has engraven a monstrous distortion of the elegant female before us, makes the left-hand figure naked; but both on the medal under consideration, and on the one formerly in my possession, all the group is in female robes : and as the principal wears a diadem instead of the usual veil, I presume the type may denote Matidia and her two daughters.

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## HADRIAN.

Publius Ælius Hadrianus, was of Spanish extraction, being the son of Ælius Hadrianus Afer (a cousin of Trajan) and Domitia Paulina. He was born at Rome, A. D. 76,\* and joined the army at the early age of 15; he served as quæstor, A. D. 101, and four years afterwards as tribune of the people. He was selected by the Mœsian legions to congratulate Trajan on his adoption to the Empire; and when Nerva died, was the first who communicated the important tidings to his successor. He was married to Sabina before he assumed the duties of quæstor, yet Trajan never conferred any extraordinary honours upon him, though he gave him the diamond which he had received from Nerva,-a present which Hadrian considered as a pledge of his future elevation. Still, he was rather raised to the Purple by the friendly offices of Plotina, than from any predilection on the part of his kinsman, who rather consented to than approved of his adoption. He succeeded to the throne, A. D. 117, and after a prosperous reign of 21 years, expired at Baiæ, A. D. 138, shortly after having uttered certain vague misgivings, in these verses,—which are as applicable to the mind, as to the soul: †

> "Animula vagula, blandula, Hospes, comesque corporis! Quæ nunc abibis in loca? Pallidula, rigida, nudula; Nec, ut soles, dabis jocos."

It is with considerable pain that I attempt a sketch of this Prince's character, because it is to be deplored that so splendid a governor should be so vile a man; that one who proved himself capable of ruling the world with vigour, and rivalled Cæsar in memory and versatility of talent, should be defiled by cruelty, lust, envy, revenge, and the habitual indulgence of most infamous propensities. In the actof abandoning almost all the conquests of Trajan, Bayle sees only—on the part of Hadrian a modest confession of inferiority to his illustrious predecessor; but with due deference to such an authority, a jealousy of his glory is too manifest; for he ordered, as soon as he was declared Emperor, some of Trajan's intimate friends to be put to death, and his greatest generals to be disgraced. To divert the odium arising from this barbarity, he publicly declared, upon oath, that those men had been executed against his will; but imbecility itself could urge no poorer a pretext; and as no one was punished for the atrocity, he cannot be benefited by the apology. Indeed,

<sup>•</sup> It seems probable that Eutropius is mistaken when he says that Hadrian was born at Italica, in Bætica, as Spartian, in his account of this Emperor's family, cites documents written by Hadrian himself.

<sup>+</sup> The exact meaning of this *death-song* has been greatly contested. I am of opinion that Hadrian did not express a doubt as to the existence of a future state, but only as to his own prospect of enjoyment or suffering. It is like the doubt expressed by Hamlet, in his soliloquy on "the dread of something after death."

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owing to the incongruity of his character, Antoninus Pius encounted great opposition in procuring, from the indignant senate, a consecration of his memory.

It were grateful if nothing mitigated the pleasure with which we might contemplate the official virtues and attainments of this extraordinary man, who was at once an orator, poet, artist, physician, mathematician, and, but for his astrology and magic, a philosopher. He visited every province of his mighty empire, that he might personally inspect their state and condition; and he signalized himself by bountiful largesses to the poorer classes in all the places through which he passed. He ordered temples, porticos, and other structures to be raised at his own expense, in the chief cities which he visited-" alias ex aliis provincias, regionesque;" and, exclusive of public duties, he gratified his mental taste by mounting the summit of Ætna to see whether the rising sun, from thence, exhibited the hues of the rainbow,-by initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, at Athens,-and by a pilgrimage to the tomb of Pompey, at Pelusium. He reformed the administration of the laws; and softened the rigour of servitude by depriving masters of arbitrary power over the lives of their slaves. He never seized any man's property unjustly, nor would he receive legacies from persons unknown to him, or from such of his friends as had children. His liberality exceeded even that of Trajan, in allotting large sums for the maintenance of poor children; he distributed yearly an immense quantity of corn among the populace; and made suitable presents to those knights and senators who were unable to support their dignity. Though he was, unquestionably vain, an appetite for popularity made him wear the mask of moderation, by which he became an apparent enemy to all pomp and parade; a fact evinced by the plain and simple legends of his medals. Out of Rome, he quite laid aside the port and majesty of an emperor, and varied little from a private *gentleman*, in his dress and diet : and however wanting in true magnanimity of soul, yet he was great enough to declare the commonwealth to be the property of the people :---" Ita se rempublicam gesturum, ut sciret populi rem esse, non propriam."

The increasing wealth and luxury of Rome, gave birth to a passion for splendour which was exceedingly gratifying to Roman pride. This taste soon confounded proportion and principle, in colossal size and extravagant dimensions. The villa which Hadrian built as a retreat, and which became a second Capreæ, still exhibits traces so vast as to astonish the spectator; and the mausoleum which he erected merely to receive his body, has been, from the time of Justinian to the present hour, the principal castle and fortress of Rome,—although much reduced in size. Spartian, to give some idea of the height of this edifice, tells us that the chariot placed on the top of it, seemed very small to those who stood upon the ground; though in reality of so large a size, that a corpulent man could, with great ease, pass through the openings which represented the eyes of the horses.

It is most lamentable that a man so richly endowed, by nature and fortune, as was Hadrian, should have proved by qualities so opposite and discordant, that his virtues were only assumed, while his vices were inherent. For the sake of his own fame, and the benefit of example, we could wish that his caprice had been expended in building cities to commemorate his hunting matches; and his weakness in maintaining spies to feed his ever-craving curiosity with domestic secrets. The execrable vice by which he was infected, may perhaps be traced to the idolatry which associated Ganymede with Jupiter; but that a man of his genius and discernment should flagitiously dare to consecrate his contaminated Bithynian, would not have obtained belief, were it not for the overpowering evidence of history, marbles, medals, and, *proh pudor* ! a CONSTELLATION ! The last, we trust, will not always remain, to disgrace Astronomy,\* for it would require but little exertion to wipe off the "sporco Nume."

Addison has said that, a series of an emperor's coins is his life digested into annals; and the remark is truly exemplified in those of the present reign. They abound in all metals and sizes, and would in themselves form an interesting cabinet. They exhibit a peculiarity, in that the beard now first appears on the imperial portrait,—for Hadrian, as Spartian tells us, permitted that appendage to grow, in order to conceal some scars which disfigured a part of his face. It is difficult to arrange these medals chronologically, because the Emperor did not assume the honours of the consulship more than thrice; and as he never accepted the office after his return to Rome, the title COS. III, was used during the remainder of his reign. Nor can we find the number of the TRIB. POT.; but Eckhel thinks this general darkness may be relieved by a small light which the title of *Pater Patriæ* supplies; it seems that coins of COS. III. without P. P. should precede those with it. The reverses which illustrate the travels of Hadrian, are usually termed his geographical series, and, for the sake of a ready reference, are placed alphabetically.

<sup>\*</sup> Medals of Antinous are very numerous; but though executed with singularly fine taste, I cannot approve of their being received into cabinets, while there are crucibles to receive them. Not a shadow of utility can arise from the contemplation of them; unlike those of bad emperors which we are obliged to retain, they are not necessarily connected with the events of the world; and nothing but disgusting recollections can follow the infamous name. I profess as great a regard for works of art as a sailor ought to do; yet I would gladly destroy every trace of the minion, so that he should no longer defile either cabinet, gallery, or celestial globe. I once uttered this idea in the Vatican, while passing his well-known statue; when Signor Torlonia, the celebrated Roman banker, who accompanied me, replied after a short pause,—"Well, I more than half agree with you."

## CXLVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. DIVI TRAIAN. AVG. F. TRAIAN. HADRIAN. OPT. AVG. GER. (Imperatori Cæsari divi Trajani Augusti filio, Trajano Hadriano, Optimo, Augusto, Germanico.) The laurelled head of Hadrian, with a handsome and intelligent countenance, the shoulders partly covered with a sagum. This medal is in fine preservation, and densely coated with dark-brown patina; it was procured by exchange from Mr. Tulin, the British Vice-Consul, at Tunis, in 1822.
- Reverse. DAC. PARTHICO P. M. TR. P. COS. P. P. (Dacico, Parthico, Pontifici Maximo, Tribunitia potestate, Consuli, Patri Patriæ.) On the exergum, S. C. Two noble figures standing, togated and laureated, one of whom consigns a globe to the other. A difficulty arises upon this medal. From the subject of the obverse, and the length and import of the legend, it seems to have been struck A. D. 117, for the purpose of recording the adoption of Hadrian, by Trajan. But the title of Pater Patriæ which the Emperor bears is contrary to that supposition, as he did not assume it till eleven years afterwards; and it therefore forms an exception to the chronological rule of Eckhel, just mentioned.

## CXLIX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Trajanus Hadrianus, Augustus.) The laureated head of the Emperor, with an animated expression, and bold bust. This medal is covered with brown patina: it is in excellent preservation, and was procured at Mr. M. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. PONT. MAX. TR. POT. COS. II. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul iterum.) On the exergum, ADVENTVS AVG. S. C. (Adventus Augusti, Senatus Consultu.) Roma Victrix seated upon armour, with her left foot upon a helmet, takes a togated figure by the hand. This was struck A. D. 118, to commemorate the return of Hadrian to Rome, from Syria, where he commanded when Trajan died.

#### CL.

- Obverse. IMP. CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. II. (Imperator Cæsar Trajanus Hadrianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul iterum.) A bold and characteristic bust of Hadrian, thinly covered with yellow patina. The medal is in fair condition, and was purchased from Mr. Till, in 1825.
- Reverse. RELIQVA VETERA HS. NOVIES MILL. ABOLITA. (Reliqua vetera, sestertium novies millies abolita.) In the field S. C. A figure habited in the chlamys, with a sceptre, is setting fire to a heap of papers with a torch. From the attitude and attire, I consider it as representing the Emperor; but Eckhel says, that on a very perfect medal in the Cæsarian Museum the supposed sceptre is seen to be a fasces, and that therefore the man is a lictor. See No. CLI. In either case it commemorates the unparalleled generosity of Hadrian, in voluntarily burning all the obligatory bonds of the sums owing to the treasury for the last 16 years,—sums amounting to no less than  $7\frac{1}{4}$  millions sterling. By reliqua vetera is meant the exchequer, and the public debts of the provinces. From the COS. II. this popular deed must have been transacted A. D. 118.

#### CLI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. II. (Imperator Cæsar Trajanus Hadrianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul iterum.) A broad-breasted bust of Hadrian, with the head laureated. This medal is coated with a fine green patina, and is in fair preservation; it was procured at Bonifaccio, in Corsica, in 1824.
- Reverse. RELIQVA VETERA HS. NOVIES MILL. ABOLITA. (Reliqua vetera, sestertium novies millies abolita.) On the exergum S. C. A figure in the act of burning papers to cancel the debts due to the state, before three togated citizens, who are rendering applause with upraised hands. The figure is here certainly a lictor, for the axe-head is plainly shewn on the fasces; the last, however, has much less circumference than is usually given to that badge of office.

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This medal, it is seen, is struck upon the same occasion as No. CL.; and the plaudits of the citizens typify the restoration of the popularity which Hadrian had forfeited by the execution of four men of consular dignity. Spartian says,—"Ad colligendam autem gratiam nihil prætermittens, infinitam pecuniam, quæ fisco debebatur, privatis debitoribus in Urbe atque Italia, in Provinciis vero etiam ex reliquis ingentes summas remisit, syngraphis in Foro Divi Trajani, quo magis securitas omnibus roboraretur, incensis."

### CLII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. (Imperator Cæsar Trajanus Hadrianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) The laurelled head of Hadrian, with a beard; the shoulders covered with a paludamentum. This rare medal is of yellow brass without patina, and in good condition; it was purchased from Mr. M. Young, in 1829.
- Reverse. ANN. DCCCLXXIIII NAT. VRB. P. CIR. CON. This legend has been very variously interpreted, and is still left in the perplexity which so frequently arises from the objectionable custom of using abbreviations in writing. From the reclining female who holds a wheel on her knee, and with her left arm embraces three metæ, the object of the medal is evidently to commemorate games in which there were chariot-races. Vaillant therefore reads—Anno 874, natali urbis Populo Circenses concessit. But Baron Bimart thinks, that as those games were so frequently celebrated, the Monetales could hardly advance that they were established by Hadrian. Harduin conjectures that the legend should be read—Anno 874 natali urbis primum Circenses constituta, and that new games were instituted in honour of the founding of the city. Others dispute whether the P means populus, plebeii, publici, or primus; and it is not a little singular that both in the engraving of the Florence medal, and that of Queen Christina, this letter has been omitted. The true object may be, to record that Hadrian, in celebrating the birth-day of Rome, which was usually done by holding the Parilia,\* added to those simple games the more spleudid exhibitions of the Circus.

This very valuable medal is interesting in other respects. It is the first of the large-brass series which bears the æra of the foundation of Rome; and though we cannot now discover which of the methods of computing that æra was followed, the date of this third Consulate of Hadrian is pretty nearly ascertained,—a point which cannot be determined from any other of the COS. III. The female in this device is evidently the same with that on CXXVI.

#### CLIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. (Imperator Cæsar Trajanus Hadrianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A fine laurelled head of Hadrian, with a beard. As this is the first appearance of that appendage in the cabinet, it may be mentioned that the early Romans wore long beards, and had no barbers among them for 450 years. One Menas brought a shaver from Sicily, when smooth chins became the general fashion, except in times of affliction, when a ragged beard, neglected hair, a slovenly look, and a pale countenance, were the usual marks of mourning. The medal is in very excellent preservation, and covered with dark-brown patina; it was found near Algiers, in 1814, and presented to me shortly afterwards.
- Reverse. LOCVPLETATORI ORBIS TERRARVM. On the exergum S. C. This title is a high compliment to the munificence of Hadrian, both at home and abroad; and as he was the only one who received so honourable a designation, so was he the only one who truly merited it. He is seated on a curule chair upon a suggestum. Beside him stands a female, symbolical of liberality, who is pouring out riches from a cornucopiæ into the vests of two citizens below her.

<sup>\*</sup> The Parilia, or Palilia, were festivals established in honour of Pales, the tutelary goddess of Shepherds; they were celebrated on the 21st of April, when the flocks were brought in and purified with lustral water and fumigations,— a custom still existing at Rome, with regard to horses.

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## CLIV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAESAR TRAIAN. HADRIANVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Trajanus Hadrianus, Augustus.) A bold laurelled head of Hadrian, with armour on the shoulders. This medal is in fine conservation, and covered with a clear brown patina; it was purchased at Rome, in 1822.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) In the field S. C. and on the exergum EXPED. AVG. (Expeditio Augusti.) This medal, which appears to be struck on the declaration of war with the Sarmatians and Roxolanians, represents the Emperor on a prancing horse, with his chlamys floating behind him. He bears a sceptre in his left hand, and gracefully extends his right.

#### CLV.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. The obverse legends of Hadrian are henceforward exceedingly simple, after the numerous titles we have hitherto seen. Some antiquaries have accused him of short-lived gratitude in dropping the name of Trajan,—but conciseness was probably the end in view. We have here a laureated and bearded head of the Emperor, of proportions to fit a medal most admirably. It is of superior workmanship, and in surprising preservation; the portrait is coated with a light-brown patina, and the device with a dark-green one. I procured it at Lucca, in 1822.
- Reverse. COS. III. (Consul tertium.) In the field S. C. A singularly majestic statue of Neptune, with a hasta pura; his right foot is placed on the rostrum of a ship, and his hand—resting on his knee—grasps an acrostolium, the prow ornament which was torn from captured vessels and borne in triumphal processions. This device is more simple than where the deity is placed in a conchal car, and probably alludes to the sea voyages of Hadrian; it appears to have been a common reverse in his reign, for I have had several,—some inscribed NEP. RED. (Neptuno Reduci,) and others, in which the figure holds a dolphin on his hand. Neptune presided over the Mediterranean, as Oceanus did over the circumambient sea, or the waters supposed to surround the whole earth. (See No. XVIII.)

#### CLVI.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. A superb laureated head of Hadrian, with a beard, and the shoulders bearing the straps of a thorax. It is in remarkably fine condition, and covered with a dense brown patina; it was presented to me by Mr. Henry Beechy, who procured it near Cyrene, in 1822.
- Reverse. FELICITATI AVG. (Felicitati Augusti.) In the field S. C. On the exergum COS. III. P. P. (Consulis tertium, Patris Patriæ.) A prætorian galley, with the gubernator and five sitters, but with ten oars, or rather sweeps, over the side: as these appear to have no communication with the persons in view, but carry their looms through the upper works, the sitters are rather passengers than rowers, and they wear hats, as if to protect them against ine heat upon deck. The prow is armed with three spikes, the rostrique tridentibus of Virgil; the tutela is highly decorated, and the poop shews the bend mentioned by that author, and Ovid,—puppique recurvæ. Upon the bow appears the parasemon, and over that the labarum or banner, on a staff which steeves like a bowsprit. Both this, and the streamer from the corymbus, by blowing forwards, shew that the vessel has a fair wind, au ancient symbol of felicity which will be readily understood by moderns. It appears to have been struck by the senate for the success of the Emperor's voyage.

#### CLVII.

- Obverse. HADRIANUS AVGVSTVS. The laurelled profile of Hadrian, with part of a sagum over the shoulders. Of a yellowish-red brass, and though unpatinated, in very fair condition; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. FELICITATI AVG. (Felicitati Augusti.) In the field S. C. On the exergum COS. III. P. P. (Consulis tertium, Patris Patriæ.) A Prætorian galley rowing swiftly over the

waves. The poop is high and curved, like that of a Chinese sampan, and the post occupied by the pilot recalls the idea of his liability to be washed overboard :

### "Ipse Gubernator puppi Palinurus ab altâ."

Over the aplustre appear two military standards, which are considered as a testimony that an important personage is embarked. A colossal sea-god—half man and half fish—is placed on the prow; on some medals this is a triton blowing a flabra, or conch,—but here he is in the act of darting a spear, or trident. This is equivalent to the modern figure-head, and represented the tutelary protector to whom, as with the modern Mediterranean sailors, the ship was dedicated. There are six sitters in a line below the pilot, and the rudder is projected through the upper works of the quarter.

#### CLVIII.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. The laureated head of the Emperor. A medal in good, but secondary condition, which was procured at Susah, on the coast of Tunis, in 1822.
- Reverse. FELICITATI AVG. (Felicitati Augusti.) In the field S. C. and on the exergum COS. III. P. P. (Consulis tertium, Patris Patriæ.) A Prætorian galley, full of men, impelled along both by oars and a large square sail, across which the inscription is written, in the taste then prevalent; for we are assured that, in the time of Trajan, it was not uncommon to have the name of the Emperor embroidered on the sails in gold or silver. Besides being the type of felicity, this medal is supposed to allude to the prudent government of Hadrian; for as in a ship—though the officers and crew are liable to the same hazard, the success of the voyage will chiefly depend on the skill and judgment of the commander ;—so in the management of the state, the happiness and prosperity of the community depends upon the wisdom and prudence of the sovereign at the helm of affairs.

The sail to this ship—this "navis velis ventoque"—is stretched to a yard supported by lifts; it is deep roached, with both sheets aft, in token of auspicious winds—the emblem of happiness :—

"En ego non paucis quondam munitus amicis,

"Dum flavit velis aura secunda meis."

And the oars being out at the same time illustrate another passage of Ovid,-

"Sive opus est, minimam velis bene currit ad auram,

"Sive opus est remo remige carpit iter."

#### CLIX.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consultertium, Pater Patriæ.) The bare head of Hadrian, with the shoulders covered by part of a sagum. The being unlaureated is rare with the Augusti; it is generally indicative of the Cæsars, or sons, either real or adopted of Emperors. In this instance it may possibly allude to what Spartian and Dio tell us, that Hadrian was wont to brave both cold and tempest with his head uncovered; for which he eventually suffered. This medal has been rubbed, but is in fair condition; it was procured at Via Reggio, in Tuscany, in 1822.
- Reverse. DISCIPLINA AVG. (Disciplina Augusti,) written on the exergum; in the field S. C. The Emperor-bare-headed and with his robe over his arm-followed by a Prætorian prefect, marches at the head of his army, which is typified by four soldiers with two standards and a labarum. This illustrates what historians have told us of Hadrian's inuring his legions to discipline, by his own personal example; for though he was pacifically inclined, he took care to keep up military virtue. While accompanying his troops he subsisted on coarse fare, living on bacon, cheese, and posca, or lora, a spurious wine made by pouring water over grape-lees in the press. The legend is sometimes spelt DISCIPVLINA,—as may be seen in Havercamp, Pedrusi, and Occo.

In addition to this, it may be observed that, Hadrian reformed the regulations of the army, which had been gradually deteriorated since the days of Augustus. He was the first who established pioneers and a staff-corps. He gave promotion to none but men of courage, strength, and merit, saying,—"Such as the officers are, such will the soldiers become." In allusion to the manner in which he braved hardships with his legions, the poet Florus addressed him thus :—

"Ego nolo Cæsar esse, Ambulare per Britannos, Scythicas pati pruinas."

To which-as Florus was a noted frequenter of taverns-Hadrian replied-

"Ego nolo Florus esse, Ambulare per tabernas, Latitare per popinas, Culices pati rotundas."

## CLX.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. A remarkably-fine laurelled head of Hadrian, with a bare neck, and an expression more noble than intelligent. It is covered with a chocolate-coloured patina, is in superior preservation, and was presented to me by Major Scriven, governor of the Tuscan isle of Giglio, in 1822.
- Reverse. COS. III. P. P. (Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. This is an acclamation-medal. The Emperor stands on a tribunal, decorated with rostra, before a temple. He is haranguing the public, and making a welcome announcement; the latter are represented by three togated citizens, who lift their hands in the fulness of admiration and applause.

### CLXI.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consultertium, Pater Patriæ.) A noble laureated profile of Hadrian, with a beard, and the shoulders robed. This medal is in very excellent conservation, and covered with a dark chocolate-coloured patina; it was procured, by exchange, from a numismatist at Cagliari, in 1823.
- Reverse. RESTITVTORI ACHAIAE. On the exergum S. C. The Emperor togated and standing in a majestic attitude, is raising a kneeling female by the hand. Between them there is a vase with ansæ, in which is a palm-branch. This has been mistaken by Tristan, Pedrusi, and others, for a sprig of Parsley, merely because a crown of that herb was the victor's reward at the Nemeæn games; but a glance at the medal before us, would have convinced them of their mistake.

This device commemorates the visit of Hadrian to Achaia, and a benefit conferred thereon; but the exact date cannot be ascertained, for from the P. P.—which was not assumed till A.D. 128,—it is clear that many of his geographical coins must have been struck several years after he had travelled to the places mentioned.

## CLXII.

- ()brerse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) A remarkably fine head of Hadrian, with part of the sagum on his shoulders, and a more intelligent expression of countenance than his likeness usually bears. This medal is of yellow brass, and though unpatinated, is in splendid condition; it was purchased from an Arab, near Benghàzi, in 1821.
- Reverse. AEGYPTOS. On the exergum S. C. An elegant decumbent female, in full robes, with her hair dressed in the long-curled ringlets observable on the coins of Berenice. Her left arm reclines on a basket filled with fruits, the emblem of fertility, and her right hand holds a sistrum,—an instrument not only sounded in the worship of Isis, but also, according to Servius, indicative of the increase and flowing of the Nile; whence some medallists have denominated it a *nilometer*. It consisted of an oval-shaped bronze frame, with three transverse bars, which, being rattled, produced the required *melody*,—"crepuit sonabile Sistrum."

It may be imagined that it was sufficiently unmusical,—and Propertius upbraids Cleopatra for putting it in opposition to the Roman trumpet. At the feet of the female is a cippus, on which stands the sacred Ibis, a bird so peculiar to Egypt that it was said to die if taken to other countries. "The Egyptians," said Cicero, "whom we are apt to ridicule so much, conferred honours upon animals only in proportion to the advantage derived from them ; thus their reason for worshipping the Ibis was, because it destroyed the serpent." Herodotus tells us, it was a capital offence to kill an Ibis, whether intentionally or otherwise : and Strabo says, that they walked up and down the streets of Alexandria. So have I seen the storks respected in Greece and Turkey,—and still more so in India, where from the Bramin bird to the Bengal Adjitant, the whole genus enjoys immunity.

## CLXIII.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) A singularly animated laureated head of the Emperor, with a thick short beard, and the neck naked. This is a splendidly perfect medal, covered with a green patina tinged with red: it was purchased on the 25th day of Mr. Trattle's celebrated sale, in 1852.
- Reverse. (Sine Epigraphe.) In the field S. C. A majestic figure of the Emperor with his left foot upon a crocodile: he is in armour, with the paludamentum at his back, his right hand is supported by a spear with the point peacefully downwards, and his left holds a parazonium. From the moneyer's having raised the reptile's head too much, it has been called a serpent,—but the legs, scales, and shape are too plainly visible to be mistaken. This was probably minted in remembrance of the visit to Egypt, and its date may therefore be nearly approximated,—for Hadrian, having passed through Judæa and Arabia, arrived at Pelusium, A. D. 130, where he repaired the tomb of Pompey—

"Ossa viri magni, tenui quam clausa sepulchro."

## CLXIV.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The bare head of Hadrian, with a sagum over the shoulders. This medal, which is in secondary condition, was purchased at the Hon. R. E. Digby's sale, in 1825.
- Reverse. AFRICA. On the exergum S. C. A robed female is seated against a rock, with a comucopiæ in her left hand, and a scorpion in her right; at her feet is a modius, with ears of wheat through the top. The female is quoiffed with an elephant's proboscis, which has been a symbol of Africa from the time of Agathocles, as is shewn by his coins. The fertility of the province is denoted by the modius and corn, "Frumenti quantum metit Africa" and, from Lucan's having named it among the venemous reptiles of Lybia, we may infer that the scorpion has long been a cognizance of the same place :--

Scorpion, aut vires maturæ mortis habere ? Ille minax nodis, et recto verbere sævus, Teste tulit cælo victi decus Orionis."

#### CLXV.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled profile of Hadrian, with the shoulders robed. A medal of yellow brass, thinly patinated, and in secondary condition; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. RESTITVTORI AFRICAE. On the exergum S. C. The togated Emperor raises a female who, by the coiffure, is seen to be Africa; she gives him her right hand, and the left grasps some ears of wheat. Corn is also springing from the ground between them, in allusion to the amazing fertility of the "Altricem Orbis Terrarum." This testifies a benefit bestowed on the province at Hadrian's visit; was it that after a drought of five years it rained upon his arrival, and the inhabitants consequently ascribed the blessing to his presence?

## CLXVI.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The bare head of the Emperor, with the shoulders covered by the sagum. This medal is in excellent preservation, and covered with a light-brown patina; it was procured at Patras, in 1820.
- Reverse. ALEXANDRIA. On the exergum S. C. A female seated on the ground, and reclining against a basket of fruit. Her left arm bears a vine-branch, her extended right hand holds ears of wheat, and a harvest appears to be growing at her feet. Hadrian disliked the turbulent dicacity of the Alexandrians, and sarcastically wrote, that all of them—whether Christians, Pagans, or Jews,—were ready to sacrifice their religion to self-interest; yet he repaired the city and restored their ancient privileges. For this they returned him solemn thanks; but no sooner was his back turned than they published bitter and virulent lampoons against him and his favourites.

#### CLXVII.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) A noble laureated portrait of Hadrian, with the shoulders robed. In excellent preservation, and covered with a dense olive-green patina; it was presented to me by Mohammed Khojah, the minister of the Marine, at Tunis, in 1816.
- Reverse. RESTITVTORI ASIAE. On the exergum S. C. Hadrian, in his toga, stands on the left side of the field, and extends his hand to Asia; which province is represented as a kneeling female, in robes, with a diadem and sceptre. By the scroll which the Emperor holds, it would seem that this device is in commemoration of an immunity.

#### CLXVIII.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The bare head of the Emperor, with very characteristic features; on his shoulder appears the fibula and part of a chlamys. This medal is in very superior condition, and coated with a deep-brown patina; it was purchased at Genoa, in 1823.
- Reverse. RESTITVTORI BITHYNIAE. On the exergum S. C. A noble figure of the Emperor, in senatorial vestments, taking by the hand a kneeling female, who wears a mural crown, is in full robes, and bears a rudder on her left shoulder, emblematic of her navigable rivers and ports on the Pontus Euxinus, and Propontis. This type probably commemorates the rebuilding, at Hadrian's expense, of the towns of Bithynia, which were destroyed by an earthquake, about A. D. 129, chiefly Nicæa and Nicomedia.

#### CLX1X.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consultertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated profile of Hadrian, with the chlamys buckled over the right shoulder. A coin in good preservation, though unpatinated; it was procured from Mr. M. Young, in 1825, having formerly belonged to the cabinet of Mr. Miles.
- Reverse. ADVENTVI AVG. BRITANNIAE. (Adventui Augusti Britanniæ.) On the exergum S. C. The togated Emperor stands on the left of the field, and a majestic robed female on the right, who holds a patera over an altar from which a flame rises. By this, and the victim at her side, is expressed the sacrifice made by the Provincials in token of joy and cordiality at the august arrival; and the altar denotes mutual compact. He arrived A. D. 121, just in time, according to Camden, to prevent the Britons from throwing off the Roman yoke. Here he made many regulations; and to secure his colonies from Caledonian incursions, caused a mighty wall to be built, extending from the river Eden in Cumberland, to the Tyne in Northumberland.

#### CLXX.

Obverse: HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled head of Hadrian, with the shoulders covered by a robe. This medal is in good preservation, and covered with brown patina; it was procured at Pantellaria, in 1817. Reverse. ADVENTVI AVG. CILICIAE. (Adventui Augusti Ciliciæ.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor and a galeated female, who bears a labarum, standing with an altar between them and a victim ready for sacrifice. This typifies a general rejoicing on Hadrian's safe arrival in Cilicia. From the attire and attitude of this female, it is evident the province was deemed warlike; but the Cilicians were despised by the Greeks as being prone to knavery, cruelty, and mendacity,—whence the proverb, "Cilix haud facile verum dicit."

### CLXXI.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) A fine laureated profile of the Emperor, with a part of the chlamys. This medal is entirely varnished with a sea-green patina, and is in superior conservation; it was presented to me, in 1820, by M. Belzoni, the Egyptian traveller.
- Reverse. DACIA on the exergum, and in the field S. C. A manly personification of this extensive province, bareheaded, and attired in trousers. He is seated on a rock, holding a legionary eagle in his right hand, and a branch in his left,—with one of his feet resting against two round balls. See No. CXXXIV.

### CLXXII.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The bare head of Hadrian, the shoulders covered by a sagum. This medal is thinly incrusted with dark-brown patina, and is in excellent condition; it was presented to me by Baron Schibberas, at Malta, in 1819.
- Reverse. ADVENTVI AVG. GALLIAE. (Adventui Augusti Galliæ.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor, bare-headed and togated, with his right hand elevated, is accosting a robed female wearing the sagulum, or Gaulish cassock, on her shoulders. She holds a sacred patera over the flame of an altar decorated with festoons, by the side of which is an animal, called by Addison a sheep—" not only as a sacrifice, but to shew that the riches of the country consisted in flocks and pasturage." Whatever it may be, it is placed there as a victim in the rejoicings that followed Hadriau's safe arrival in Gaul, where, as Spartian assures us—" omnes causariis liberalitatibus sublevavit."

## CLXXIII.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated portrait of the Emperor, looking towards the left,—a rare position in this series. It is in very excellent condition, and covered with a chocolate-coloured patina; it was purchased at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. RESTITVTORI GALLIAE. On the exergum S. C. Hadrian, in his toga, holds a scroll in his left hand, and with his right raises a supplicating female, who is robed and wears the sagulum. The senate had hardly glorified the Emperor's arrival in Gaul, before they declared him its "Restorer;" a compliment due for the benefits which he granted in his progress.

#### CLXXIV.

- Obserse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertinm, Pater Patriæ.) An animated profile of Hadrian, with a laurel wreath, and the laticlavium on the shoulders. I purchased this medal at Naples, in 1818; it is covered with a light-yellow patina, and is in good conservation.
- Reverse. HISPANIA. On the exergum S. C. A robed female reclining against a rock, holds, in her right hand, a branch of olive,—which, according to Pliny, flourished luxuriantly in Bætica. Her head is encircled by a sort of wreath, see No. CLXXV. which some medallists have pronounced also to be of olive, from recollecting the "Bætis olivifera crinem redimite corona" of Martial, and the description of Claudian,—

Nexa comam foliis."

At the feet of the female is a rabbit, which from the cuniculos  $\alpha$  Celtiberia fili of Catullus, and the testimony of Strabo, Ælian, Pliny, and Varro, as to the multitudes that abounded there, has become the well-known cognizance of Spain. Agostini, indeed, and other antiquaries, thought that as cuniculus signified equally a rabbit, and a mine, the device was in allusion to the mineral riches of the Iberian mountains. But Bochart, somewhat fancifully, derives the name of the kingdom from Sepan, a Phænician word expressing the animal.

#### CLXXV.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The naked head of the Emperor, with a thick short beard, and the paludamentum fastened by a fibula to the right shoulder: the countenance is manly, animated, and more intelligent than usual in his profiles. This singularly fine medal was found by a faggotmaker, in the marshes near Port Nettuno, in April, 1823, and came into my possesion two or three days afterwards. It is of fine yellow brass, and though unpatinated, is so case hardened, as it were, as to be in splendid preservation.
- Reverse. RESTITVTORI HISPANIAE. On the exergum S. C. An admirable togated figure of the Emperor, on the right of the field; he is raising a kneeling female by the hand, who, by the rabbit at her feet and the olive branch on her shoulder, is manifestly the personification of the province. As this medal is in much higher condition than the last, the ornament around her head is more distinct; and on a close examination appears to be rather a headdress, than a wreath,—there is, moreover, a curious ornament depending from it, down the back of her neck, perhaps a species of crotalia.

The exact date of this coin is uncertain; but it is probable that Hadrian wintered at Tarraco, A. D. 122, where a slave, in a fit of insanity, assaulted him with a sword, for which the Prince merely committed the maniac to the care of physicians.

## CLXXVI.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated head of Hadrian. This medal is in secondary condition, and covered with yellow patina; it was purchased in lot No. 199, of Mr. Trattle's sale, displacing one somewhat different, as that portrait was bare-headed, and the reverse had but two children.
- Reverse. ADVENTVI AVG. IVDAEAE. (Adventui Augusti Judæa.) On the exergum S. C. The province, in full robes and veiled, is holding a patera over an altar, at the foot of which is a victim; she has a ball in her left hand, and beside her are three naked children bearing palm-branches, symbolical of Judæa, as forming a part of Palestine, of which the palm-tree is the appropriate emblem. This device represents the sacrifice which welcomed the arrival of the Emperor, who stands before the altar with his hands upraised, so as to give his attitude an appearance of severity.

Hadrian, in re-establishing Jerusalem, named it Ælia Capitolina, and on the ruins of the temple built by Solomon, he erected one to Jupiter. The Jews, —"Gens sola, et in toto orbe, præter cæteras, mira,"—who had again become formidable, were so exasperated by this insulting profanation, that they rebelled, and committed most dreadful ravages. For these acts the Romans took awful vengeance,—for, after slaughtering 580,000 men, besides those who perished by famine, fire, and disease, they razed the city so that not one stone was left upon another,—and salt was sown in the ground whereon the temple had stood, in token of ignominious desolation, A. D. 135. Nor was this all. A new colony was formed there into which the Jews were prohibited, under pain of death, from entering,—or even dwelling in any place whence it could be seen. Every sacred site was studiously defiled, and the marble figure of a hog, which they held in religious abhorrence, was fixed over the Bethlehem gate.\* Thus

<sup>\*</sup> Julius Severus, the officer who was recalled from Britain to conduct this bloody war, has been erroneously termed "Severus, who afterwards became Emperor;" for Septimius Severus, who acquired the Purple, was not born till the Sth year of Antoninus Pius. The conqueror of Palestinc was rewarded with the government of Bithynia, where his conduct was so just, that his name was honoured for 100 years after his death.

was the memorable prophecy of our Saviour completely though undesignedly fulfilled, by a Pagan.

## CLXXVII.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled portrait of the Emperor, with part of a pallium over his shoulders. This medal is in good condition, though unpatinated; it is of pale brass, and was procured at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830,—being rather better than my former one.
- Reverse. MAVRETANIA. On the exergum S. C. A man leading a barb-horse by the mane; he is lightly attired, and bears a wand. Claudian, who is one of the most particular of all the Roman poets in describing the personification of Provinces, says this wand was used in guiding the animal,—

"Sonipes ignarus habenæ :

Virga regit."

But it may be the weapon thus alluded to by Horace-

"Integer vitæ, scelerisque purus

Non egit Mauri jaculis."

In either case, one cannot examine the medal without being struck with the propriety of a cognizance so suited to the present Moorish taste, which delights in horses and assagayes; and it realizes the "pugnant frequentibus ab equo hastati, equis nudis utentes, et junceis frenis," of Strabo.

## CLXXVIII.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated head of the Emperor, in excellent relief, with the shoulders covered. This medal is in very good preservation, and thinly coated with a light-brown patina; it was purchased at Algeziras, in Andalusia, in 1824.
- Reverse. ADVENTVS AVG. MAVRETANIAE. (Adventus Augusti Mauretaniæ.) On the exergum S. C. The Province in a semi-virile habit, and with a military banner on her left arm, holds a patera over the flame of an altar, at the base of which is a victim for sacrifice. On the opposite side stands Hadrian, bare-headed and togated, as is usual on these reverses. This device celebrates the happy arrival of the Emperor in Mauretania.

## CLXXIX.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. 111. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled head of Hadrian, with part of a sagum fastened by a fibula to the right shoulder. This medal, though but thinly patinated, is in excellent condition; it was purchased through the agency of Mr. M. Young, in 1831.
- Reverse. EXERCITVS on the upper verge, and MAVRETANICVS S. C. on the exergum. The Emperor on horseback, and paludated, harangues three soldiers bearing military ensigns. This device alludes to a review of the army stationed in Mauretania,—for Hadrian sagaciously maintained peace, by being always prepared for war.

## CLXXX.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) A fine laureated profile of the Emperor, in excellent relief, and with an intelligent expression. This rare medal is in very superior preservation, and thickly coated with a grass green patina; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale in 1832, where it formed lot 2936.
- Reverse. RESTITVTORI NICOMEDIAE. On the exergum S. C. Hadrian, in senatorial vestments, is taking by the hand a kneeling female, who wears a mural crown, and has a trophy over her left shoulder. The Senate, ever attentive to glorify the Emperor, appears to have struck this coin in token of the relief afforded by him to Nicomedia, after it had been desolated by a dreadful earthquake, A. D. 129. See No. CLXVIII.

## CLXXXI.

- Obcerse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled head of Hadrian in fine relief, and with a good expression. The medal is in capital condition, and covered with a dense chocolate-coloured patina; it was presented to me by Mr. Lee, Consul at Alexandria, in 1822.
- Reverse. NILVS. On the exergum S. C. A colossal river-god, whose upper half is naked, reclining on the bank of a stream, with a reed in his left hand, and a cornucopiæ in his right,—resting upon a sphynx, accompanied by a small figure. Three children are playing about him, one of whom is mounted on a hippopotamus; and in the fore ground is a crocodile, and an aquatic plant. The urn is concealed, because the source of the Nile was unknown.

This device seems to be borrowed from the statue in the Vatican, where Nilus is represented with 16 children, symbolical of the number of cubits to which it was desirable that the water should rise. The *Monetales* were, however, right in reducing the number upon the medal, or the god would have resembled a Surinam toad. Lucan, speaking of Egypt, says, in commendation of her justly celebrated river,—

> "Rich in the fatness of her plenteous soil, She plants her only confidence in Nile."

### CLXXXII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAESAR TRAIANVS HADRIANVS AVG. P. M. TR. P. COS. III. (Imperator Cæsar Trajanus Hadrianus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia polestate, Consul tertium.) A laureated profile of Hadrian, with a spirited expression, and the bust bare. This medal is in excellent preservation, though but thinly patinated on the reverse; it was procured, by exchange, from Dr. Dickson, at Tripoli, in 1816.
- Reverse. RESTITVTORI ORBIS TERRARUM. On the exergum S. C. The Emperor, bareheaded and togated, extends his haud to an elegant female crowned with turrets, who is supporting a terrestial globe on her left knee. There is a small dot, or ball, in the centre of the field, which I would not have noticed, but that some medallists, who have seen three of them, pronounce them to represent the divisions of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

This coin was struck to signify the many and signal advantages which almost all the provinces received from the visits of Hadrian; and, when his liberality is considered, the title of Restitutor is an honour without flattery. But the supplicating attitude in which every province was represented, and especially the emblem of the Earth itself, must have been exceedingly gratifying to the Imperial vanity.

## CLXXXIII.

- ()bnerse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled portrait of Hadrian, turned to the left, a position scarcely met with on large-brass, after this reign. This medal is in secondary though sound condition, and is thinly covered with brown patina; it was procured at Palermo, in 1813.
- Reverse. RESTITVTORI PRHYGIAE (sic.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor is majestically raising a kneeling figure, who by the attire and pileus is evidently a Phrygian, holding a garland in his left hand. This garland is difficult to account for, unless it be one of flowers, in token of those voluptuous and effeminate manners which gave truth to the proverb..." Phryges serò sapiunt." The dances and songs with which they solemnized the festivals of their gods were called *lityerses*, and they are thus mentioned by Rhodiginus, the "Varro of his age:" Erat sua idiotis Saltatio Anthema nomine, quam Saltantes sic fere pronunciabant, Ubinam mihi rosæ? ubi violæ? ubi apia florentia?

A numismatist, of some cclebrity, has given his opinion that where the Emperor is placed on the right hand of the province, it shews the place to be situated to the east of Rome : but in the medals just described,—though the rule answers for Achaia, Africa, Britain, Gaul, Judæa, Mauretania, Nicomedia, and Phrygia—he stands to the left of Asia, and Cilicia, and to the right of Hispania. This opinion therefore has no sufficient foundation.

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### CLXXXIV.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consul tertium, Pater Patrixe.) The bare head of Hadrian, with the sagun buckled upon his shoulder. This medal is slightly coated with a brown patina, but is in fine preservation; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale in 1832.
- Reverse. EXERCITVS on the upper verge, and RHAETICVS. S. C. on the exergum. The Emperor, on horseback, is addressing a party of soldiers bearing military standards. The foremost of these men holds an unusually large square shield before him, which may allude to Rhætia's being deemed a buckler against the depredations of the Gauls and Germans : "Clypeus ille exercitus nostri quietem debet præstare Romanis."\*

#### CLXXXV.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Pater Patriæ.) The laurelled portrait of Hadrian, with an intelligent expression; the neck is naked, and longer than is usual on his medals. It is in the highest preservation, and covered with a dark-brown patina; it was procured at Zante, in 1820.
- Reverse. HILARITAS P. R. (Hilaritas Populi Romani.) On the exergum COS. III. (Consul tertium.) In the field S. C. An elegant female bearing a cornucopiæ intimates that plenty produces cheerfulness; and she holds a long palm branch which rests on the ground, as an emblem of durable peace. On her left is a girl in robes, and on her right a naked boy who assists in supporting the branch, as a hint that posterity would regard the treaties which insured the public tranquillity. These children have been thought to betoken the happiness of matrimony,—but the type was often struck without them. See Didia Clara.

This medal was minted to express the felicity of the Roman people, under the government of Hadrian. Amongst other acts he had prohibited those nefarious sinks of wretchedness and slavery, the private work-houses, wherein many a wayfarer had been entrapped, aud ended his days in want and hard labour.

#### CLXXXVI.

- Obverse. HADRIANVS AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Hadrianus Augustus, Consultertium, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated head of the Emperor in good relief. This medal is slightly varnished with yellow patina, and is in fair condition: it was presented to me by Consul General Warrington, at Tripoli, in 1816. Biragi thinks it was struck A. D. 132.
- Reverse S. P. Q. R. A. N. F. F. HADRIANO AVG. P. P. This compliment is inscribed within a garland of laurel; and I follow the learned Eckhel in reading it Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Annum Novum, Faustum, Felicem, Hadriano Augusto, Patri Patriæ, although, from the vexatious ambiguity of abbreviations, Havercamp may be correct in interpreting A. N. F. F. Anno natali, Fieri fecit. There is a doubt what new year is meant,—whether from the founding of the city, the birth-day of the Emperor, or that of the kalends of January. When Claudius died and Nero commenced his reign, Seneca dated a new year from his assumption of power. For the omission of S. C. see No. XXXII.

#### CLXXXVII.

- Obrerse: HADRIANVS AVGVSTVS. A remarkably fine-finished profile of Hadrian, with a bare head, and a chlamys fastened over the shoulders with a fibula. The countenance is more than usually expressive, and the beard and mustachios are well marked. This splendid coin is covered with a bright-green patina, and is in perfect preservation; it was presented to me at Ithaca, in 1820.
- Reverse. IVSTITIA AVG. COS. III. P. P. (Justitia Augusti, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. A dignified female in robes is seated on a magnificent throne, with

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<sup>\*</sup> Several coins of the subsequent Emperors which represent Provinces, have been purposely withdrawn from my Geographical series of Hadrian, in order to admit of as great a variety of reverses as possible, in so small a cabinet: the reader must therefore consult the Index.

a patera in her right hand, and a sceptre, indicating the authority of her decisions, in the left. Astræa is sometimes represented with the balance, but here the sacred saucer may signify the sacrifices offered up to the Emperor, for his strict administration of justice. In no department of government did Hadrian's genius display itself better than in this. He reformed the body of laws, and compressed them into a Code which was to continue in force for ever, under the name of THE PERPETUAL EDICT, in order to prevent the confusion arising from the recurrence of new ordinances, and to serve as a guide and rule in all the tribunals of the Empire. This beneficial design was originally conceived by Cæsar; but it was reserved for Salvius Julianus, an erudite civilian, to digest and compose it, and for Hadrian to ratify it as an invaluable standard of civil jurisprudence.

## SABINA.

Julia Sabina was the daughter of Matidia, the grand-daughter of Marciana, and grand-niece to Trajan, but we are ignorant of the name and rank of her father. She was greatly beloved by Trajan; and being regarded as the heiress of the Empire, the politic Hadrian was very assiduous in paying his court to her. Still all his endeavours would probably have been fruitless, had not Plotina befriended him. He married Sabina A. D. 100; but notwithstanding the splendour of her dower, she passed a life of bitter anxiety, and perished A. D. 137, either by her own hand, or by poison,—either extremity being the effect of Hadrian's cruelty and rigour; "etiam Sabina uxor, non sine fabulâ veneni dati ab Hadriano, defuncta est," is the assertion of Spartian.\*

From the brilliancy of the Emperor's career, authors have started forth to vindicate even his vices; and poor Sabina has been painted as a shrew with little eyes, wrinkled forehead, and a sharp nose—unerring symptoms of the peevishness by which, it is said, her husband's ill-usage of her may be excused. Now medals and marbles will fully bear out the assertions of other writers, that she was one of the finest women of her time; and, as Tristan has observed, her countenance itself expresses those virtues for which she was distinguished, and which justified him in adding—" veritablement elle estoit sage, vertueuse, et magnanime." Her features have certainly a grave expression, but the being united to Hadrian was sufficient to banish gaiety from the face of any female. Yet she dutifully accompanied him in all his journeys, though in addition to her other cares, she was treated with contumelious indignity. It is admitted that while in Britain, the Emperor dismissed the celebrated Suetonius Tranquillus, his secretary, and Septimius

<sup>\*</sup> The late discoveries in Hieroglyphic reading have shewn that the fine obelisk on Monte Pincio, at Rome, was dedicated to the memory of Antinous, in the joint names of Hadrian and Sabina !

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Clarus an officer of the guards, for disrespectful behaviour to her; but as their disgrace was expressly owing to their having acted thus without his permission, we may imagine that she was usually treated with very little ceremony by the courtiers who watched the nod of their master. This consideration, coupled with other glaring and odious facts, may easily account for the bitter and otherwise hateful expression which is said to have fallen from her; "ne ex eo, humani generis pernicies gravidaretur."

There is nothing historically particular in the Latin medals of Sabina, though they are abundant in every metal, and-if we include Greek and Colonial-in every form. Those of large-brass are valued in proportion to their perfection, and rarity of reverse, for when in middling condition their price is very low;--the Consecration, the Carpentum, and the bust of Hadrian, are the scarcest,-but the genuineness of the last is questioned. A striking peculiarity belongs to the series, in that there are two distinct head-dresses,-the one in the elaborate style of Matidia, and the other somewhat after the clubbed fashion of Antonia and the Agrippinas.

## CLXXXVIII.

- Obverse. SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG. P. P. (Sabina Augusta, Hadriani Augusti, (scilicet uxor,) Patris Patriæ.) The portrait of Sabina, with her hair beautifully tressed round her head to a rich frontal diadem; the features are fine and expressive of dignity, the neck is well turned, and the shoulders are covered with a robe. It is thought that the Empress was honoured with the title of Augusta, on the very day that Hadrian became an Augustus. This splendid medal is densely coated with a dark-green patina, and is in surprising preservation; I purchased it at Pola, in Istria, in 1819.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus consultu) on the exergum. A female veiled, and robed in the suffibulum, is seated on a curious cista; she holds a torch, the symbol of the search after Proserpine, in her left hand, and some ears of wheat, as the inventress of tillage, in her right. This probably represents Sabina herself in the character of Ceres,-for in a second-brass medal of this Empress, we find her profile crowned with corn.

The worship of Ceres at Rome was anterior to that of Jupiter and Juno; she was usually described "mammis cum grandibus," but otherwise as a handsome and stately female, who delighted in beautiful meadows, and perpetual springs. "La Guerre est enemye mortelle de la Deesse," saith old Du Choul, and whoever has seen corn-fields after a skirmish, will very readily agree with him.

## CLXXXIX.

- Obverse. SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG. P. P. (Sabina Augusta, Hadriani Augusti, Patris Patriæ.) An expressive profile of the Empress, with the hair bound by an anadema, and hanging at the back of her neck. This medal is in good condition, and slightly varnished with a brown patina; it was presented to me by Mr. T. Burgon, in 1825.
- Reverse. IVNONI REGINAE. In the field S. C. Juno stands in the dress of a Roman matron, with a sacred patera in her right hand, and the wand of divinity in her left: it being a compliment to place the Augusta of the Romans with the Queen of the Gods. Juno Regina, or Martialis, was greatly venerated in Rome as the sovereign dispenser of empire and riches; whence Ovid,- "Cur igitur Regina vocor, princepsque deorum ?

Aurea cur dextræ sceptra dedere meæ ?"

## CXC.

- Obverse. SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG. P. P. (Sabina Augusta, Hadriani Augusti, Patris Patriæ.) A fine profile of Sabina, in bold relief, with a pleasing expression, fine neck, and shoulders covered with drapery. This medal is in excellent condition though scarcely patinated, and was procured at Nice, in 1823.
- Reverse. VENERI GENETRICI. In the field S. C. A very elegant female, in light robes, stands in an easy attitude, holding part of her drapery with one hand, and an apple in the other. The last evidently alludes to the prize obtained from Paris; but the throwing of the apple in love-feasts is also mentioned by Artemidorus, and alluded to by Virgil :--

"Malo me Galatea petit, lasciva puella ; Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit anté videri."

There were several goddesses of the name of Venus among the ancients; but the illustrious Newton seems to recognise no other than Calycopis, the daughter of Otreus, and mother of Eneas,—the very one who was worshipped as the genetrix of the Julian race. Hence Ausonius :---

"Orta salo, suscepta solo, patre edita Cœlo

ÆNEADUM GENETRIX, hic habito, alma Venus."

And Lucretius, writing of the nature and origin of things, thus finely invokes her :---

"ÆNEADUM GENETRIX, hominum divumque voluptas,

Alma Venus, Cœli subter labentia signa

Concelebras.

Quæ mare navigerum, quæ terras frugiferentes

## CXCI.

- Obverse. SABINA AVGVSTA HADRIANI AVG. P. P. (Sabina Augusta, Hadriani Augusti, Patris Patriæ.) The profile of Sabina, with a good and sensible expression of character, the hair bound by an anadema, a finely-turned neck, and the shoulders covered by a robe. This medal is coated with a chocolate-coloured patina, and is in perfect preservation; I purchased it from an Arab, at Zowarah, near Tripoli, in 1816.
- Reverse. CONCORDIA AVG. (Concordia Augusti.) In the field S. C. A female in the robes of a Roman matron standing against a small column, which signifies stability, bears a double cornucopiæ on her left arm, to denote the abundance and beneficial effects of mutual agreement; and she holds forth the sacred patera. This memorial of the harmony between Hadrian and his wife, must have been struck in the spirit of a monumental lie, for a Senatus Consultum could hardly be deemed a mere compliment. Notwithstanding Concord was a favourite deity, as a beneficent promoter of family affection, we may gather from Juvenal that her fane was somewhat ruinous :-

"O gold ! though Rome beholds no altar's flame, No temples rise to thy pernicious name, Such as to Victory, Virtue, Faith are rear'd, And CONCORD, where the clamorous stork is heard, Yet is thy full divinity confest, Thy shrine establish'd here, in every breast."

### CXCII.

- Obverse. DIVA AVGVSTA SABINA. The veiled head of the unfortunate Empress, with a placid expression of countenance. This medal is unpatinated, and in secondary though sound con-dition; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the lower verge S.C. The Empress, with a sceptre, ascending to heaven on the back of a flying eagle. After her death, Hadrian may have been pleased to procure his hapless wife a consecration, being regardless whither she was consigned, provided he was left unshackled in his vicious courses. It is, however, more probable that the diva was conferred by the authority of Antoninus Pius, as Hadrian died shortly after Sabina.

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## ÆLIUS CÆSAR.

Lucius Aurelius Cejonius Commodus Verus was the son of Cejonius Commodus, a man of consular rank, descended from an illustrious Hetrurian family. He was adopted about A. D. 135, by the name of Lucius Ælius Verus; and *Cæsar* now first appears upon medals as an adjunct title of the presumptive heir to the throne. He was elected Consul A. D. 136, created Prætor, and sent to govern Pannonia, where he acquitted himself with considerable credit; but habitual debauchery having broken a weak constitution, he returned to Rome, and died A. D. 138, on the very day appointed for him to deliver a florid eulogium in honour of Hadrian's kindness to him.

Ælius possessed some good qualities, and accomplishments, but the motives which induced his unexpected adoption by Hadrian are more than suspicious. His capacity for ruling did not rise above mediocrity; for it was remarked that he was rather "not unfit" for the empire, than equal to it. He married Domitia Lucilla, the daughter of Nigrinus, who was put to death by Hadrian in the beginning of his reign. By her he had Lucius Verus, who was afterwards Emperor, and Fabia, who was betrothed to Marcus Aurelius, but never married to him: it is said that after the funeral of Faustina she made a "dead set" at him again, but the Philosopher did not think it advisable to subject his children to the authority of a step-mother. Ælius treated Lucilla with disdainful neglect, telling her that wife was a title of honour, not of pleasure ;—but what better could be expected from an effeminate sensualist, whose studies were latterly confined to Ovid's Amours and Martial's Epigrams; whose bed was decked with lilies and roses ; and who, on his journeys, had his chariot attended by domestics with wings to their clothes, attired like so many Cupids ?

The medals of Ælius are rare in the precious metals, but common in large and middle-brass. There are no small-brass Latin coins; but Greek, Colonial, and Egyptian specimens of that series, may be obtained. They are not of high historical importance; on which account, though I have had fair types of Concordia, Spes, Fortuna, Pietas, and Salus, I restricted my small cabinet to the two about to be described, as possessing the greatest interest.

A numismatic hallucination must be noticed here. Many antiquaries have contended stoutly to obtain for Domitia Lucilla, that medal of the wife of the Emperor Verus which is inscribed FECVNDITAS, on the presumption that Domitia had three, or more children, and Annia Lucilla but two. Moreover a remarkable circumstance is advanced in favour of the claim, viz: that all the other medals of Annia Lucilla have the distinctive legend LVCILLA ANTONINI AVG. F. while

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the contested one bears only LVCILLA AVGVSTA. Now both the features and the fashion of the likeness on the medal are opposed to this supposition; besides which, so far from Domitia's obtaining the rank of Augusta, her very existence has been rendered disputable from her not being mentioned by Spartian. In fine, there are no genuine medals in honour of the wife of Ælius Cæsar; and those described as such by Occo, Biragi, Cooke, and others, are unquestionably misapplied.

#### CXCIL

- Obverse. AELIVS CAESAR. A naked head, with curly hair, a beard, and handsome features. This medal is in superior condition, and thickly coated with a deep-brown patina; it was found at Port Baratto, in Tuscany, (the site of Populonia,) in 1823, and immediately afterwards came into my possession.
- Reverse. TR. POT. COS. II. (Tribunitia potestate, Consul iterum.) On the exergum S. C. Fortune, with her rudder and cornucopiæ, is meeting Hope, who advances in light vestments, and bears the blossom before her. See No. XXXIX. This elegant device alludes to the fortunate exaltation of Ælius, and the expectation of his becoming Emperor. But the hope was vain,—and Hadrian—who had celebrated the adoption with magnificent games, a public largess, and a donative to the soldiers—could not conceal his chagrin, on perceiving that the Cæsar was passing to a sepulchre rather than a throne: "In caducum," said he, if we may credit Spartian, "parietem nos inclinavimus, et perdidimus quater millies H. S. quod populo et militibus pro adoptione Commodi dedimus."\* Alluding to the approaching apotheosis of the sickening Cæsar, the Emperor exclaimed—"Ego Divum adoptavi, non filium; and the event verified his prediction.

### CXCIII.

- Obverse. L. AELIVS CAESAR. The naked head of Ælius, with curly hair and beard, and a very handsome countenance. This medal was struck A. D. 137; it is of pale-yellow brass, and in good preservation though unpatinated. I purchased it at Rome, in 1823.
- Reverse. TR. POT. COS. II. (Tribunitia potestate, Consul iterum.) Across the field PAN-NONIA, with S. C. under it. A stolated female with a crenate mitre, stands as a personification of the Province which was governed by Ælius. In her right hand she holds a labarum, in token of the valour of her people; and with her left gathers up part of her vest before her, as if containing something.

## ANTONINUS PIUS.

Titus Aurelius Fulvius Boionius Arrius Antoninus, the son of Titus Aurelius Fulvius and Arria Fadilla, was born at Lanuvium, a town of Latium, A. D. 86. From his youth he behaved himself in a very dutiful and obliging manner to all his relations, which proved the means of his being greatly enriched by legacies; and he acquitted himself in his public employments with reputation and success. Having attained the fasces A. D. 120, he became one of the four appointed to govern Italy, and afterwards served as Pro-consul in Asia, where he gained the attachment of persons of all ranks and parties. On the death of Ælius he was

<sup>\*</sup> It should be noted that the above is an extract from Spartian's Life of Hadrian; and that, in the Ælius Verus of the same author, the Sesterces are reduced to "ter millies."

adopted by Hadran, who is said to have decided upon choosing him, in consequence of having seen Antoninus lead his old and decrepit father-in-law to the senate house. He assumed the names of Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antóninus, A. D. 138, was decorated with the title of Cæsar, and advanced to the tribunitian power. To the general joy of the whole empire, he succeeded Hadrian in the same year, and was honoured with the usual imperial distinctions, to which the senate added that of PIUS: the reason for this new and admired surname is variously given,—as his Æneas-like filial affection, his saving the lives of the citizens whom Hadrian had devoted to death, and his preventing that Emperor from committing suicide—but all the accounts agree in assigning it to his affability, humanity, and regard for religion,—to a character "nulli acerbus, cunctis benignus." Having reigned in the hearts of the people 22 years, 7 months, and 26 days, he died of a fever, at Lorium in Hetruria, A. D. 161, universally lamented, immediately after having given "Æquanimitas" as the parole to the prætorian guard.

Antoninus Pius has been described as tall, comely, and majestic; mild, jocose, well-informed, and eloquent; bountiful, prudent, and diligent; strongly inclined to peace, and mercy; yet withal both resolute and formidable,---and moreover, so remarkable for the patient equity and minuteness with which he investigated causes, that he was called "*Cymini Sector*," or divider of cummin-seed. He was an utter enemy to pomp, being magnificent without ostentation, and frugal without parsimony. He made no long journeys, because the "train of a prince, however moderate, was too burthensome to the people." He issued Rescripts to protect the Christians from popular rage and legal persecution; he lessened the tribute, abolished all sinecure offices, and extirpated the whole tribe of *quadruplators*, or fellows who reaped a fourth part of the substance of those who were convicted of crimes upon their accusation. Indeed his whole attention was directed to improve his dominions and render his subjects happy; and his goodness was so unalterable, that there is record of its being superior to injuries. This fact has furnished little minds with a notion that his lenity amounted to weakness, but it is a very mistaken view of magnanimity : when Polemon, by whom he had been grossly affronted at Smyrna, arrived at Rome, the Emperor, who considered revenge as a grovelling passion, received the crabbed sophist with hospitality; but, at the same time, to let him feel that the injury though forgiven was not forgotten, lodged him in a handsome apartment, and, with noble raillery, reminded him that "there was no fear of his being turned out of it."

Although Antoninus was one of the greatest rulers that ever graced a throne, we know but little of his actions—for he who merited the pens of a Virgil, a Tacitus,

or a Pliny, has, by the accident of ages, been almost left to the stumbling miscellany of Julius Capitolinus.\* Fortunately his character has been preserved, and from the portrait so ably drawn by the illustrious Marcus Aurelius, we learn his unshaken constancy in resolution formed upon mature deliberation—his freedom from vain-glory—his application to business—his inflexible justice—his contempt of flattery—his aversion to state-mystery—his general talents, understanding, and knowledge. We cannot wonder that such a sovereign was popular to such a degree that neither the citizens nor soldiers could, for many years, look upon any one as truly Emperor, who did not bear the venerated name of Antoninus.

Antoninus Pius was married to Annia Galeria Faustina, a woman of disposition diametrically opposite to his own; by her he had four children, of whom the two boys died in their infancy, and probably before his own preferment,—for otherwise it would have been unreasonable in Hadrian to insist on the adoption of M. Aurelius and L. Verus, to their prejudice. Both the daughters were married, the second being the notorious Faustina Junior. The dissolute life of his wife occasioned great sorrow to the good Emperor, and he has been taunted with having extended his lenity towards her, to a culpable extreme: but how applicable to the domestic condition of so worthy a man, is the admirable observation of Pliny?—" Multis illustribus dedecori fuit, aut inconsultius uxor assumpta, aut retenta patientius. Ita foris claros domestica destruebat infamia, et ne maximi haberentur hoc efficiebat, quod mariti minores erant."

The Latin medals of Antoninus Pius are abundant in all but the smaller sizes, and, except in cases of rare and historical reverses, at low prices; Greece, Egypt, and the Colonies, also minted largely to his honour. Including Annonas, Liberalities, and the Moral Virtues, I had upwards of 90 of the large-brass series; but to avoid needless repetition and compress the series within moderate limits, I discarded all except those here described.

## CXCIV.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P. P. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ.) A fine laureated head of Antoninus, with a beard, and the countenance expressive of mildness and gravity. This medal is coated with yellow patina, and is in excellent condition; it was procured at Cephallonia, in 1820.
- Reverse. COS. II. (Consul iterum.) On the exergum ASIA; and in the field S. C. A stately female crowned with turrets, in token of her numerous cities, stands with her left arm on a large anchor, which has two flukes, and a ring below the shank. In her right hand she holds a curious casket, or basket, which the old Lord of St. Amand, probably from his

<sup>\*</sup> The history of this Prince, by Dio, was lost above 800 years ago, and therefore before Xiphilinus undertook his epitome. Gordianus Africanus, who was afterwards Emperor for about five weeks, wrote a poem entitled *Antoniniades*, in honour of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, but it has not reached our times.

specimen's being in a bad state, calls the prow of a ship! This medal was struck A. D. 139, and testifies the obligation which Asia felt towards their former governor, of whom Capitolinus records,—"Proconsulatum Asiæ sic egit, ut solus avum vicerit."

There are various geographical medals of this reign, in which the Provinces are represented in the same attitude,—not sitting or reclining at ease, but standing with a casket on the right hand. This casket is of debatable signification. Victors in the simple ages of Rome were decorated with wreaths of laurel; but as luxury advanced they were presented with golden triumphal crowns, in great numbers, or with a certain quantity of gold denominated *aurum coronarium*. Now it is likely that the caskets in question contained such crowns; and the device may mean the congratulations which poured in from all parts of the Empire, on the elevation of Antoninus Pius. This is the more probable because some of these personifications are represented as actually holding crowns.

## CXCV.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ.) A well executed laurelled profile of Antoninus, with a thick beard, fine expression, and bare neck. This medal is incrusted with a dense olive-green patina, and is in remarkably fine condition : it was purchased at Mr. M. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- **Reverse.** CAPPADOCIA. On the exergum S. C. A martial female standing in a bold attitude, with a corona turrita on her head, the meaning of which is conveyed in the "multæ in Cappadocia urbes inclytæ," of Solinus. She is bearing a peculiar casket, as in No. CXCIV, and holds a vexillum, or banner, with her left hand. At her feet is the type of Mount Argæus, with a flame on its summit—a part which, according to Strabo, was always covered with snow. The Romans despised the Cappadocians as a debauched and vicious people; and Cicero, alluding to their base servility, says—"De Grege Venalium." This is a poor national character for our Patron Saint; nor did his countrymen fare better in earlier times—for the ancient "Tpia Kawwa KaKISTA" showed the contempt in which the Greeks held the Cretans, Cilicians, and Cappadocians; and their dislike for the last was expressed in a bitter epigram :—

"A viper, deadliest of the serpent brood,

In wrath, to kill a Cappadocian tried;

But ere it well had tasted of his blood,

The wretched reptile sickened, swelled, and died."

### CXCVI.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P. P. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ.) The laureated head of Antoninus, with a grave aspect, and the neck bare. This medal was struck A. D. 139, it is slightly patinated, but in fair condition; and was purchased at Mr. M. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. PARTHIA. In the field S. C. A Parthian youth holding a tiara on his right hand, and resting his left on a bow and quiver of arrows, which being on the ground, denote peace. This appears to allude to a present from Parthia on the same occasion as with No. CXCIV,—but not being a Province, it was probably more to conciliate favour than tender a duty : "Parthis fides nulla, nisi quantum expedit, quibus utilitas semper est fide sanctior," says Alex. ab Alexandro.

## CXCVII.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ.) A fine and intelligent laureated profile of Antoninus, with a bare neck. This coin has a thin brown patina, but is in good preservation; it was minted A.D. 139, and purchased from Mr. Young, in 1825.
- Reverse. PHOENICE. In the field S. C A youthful figure wearing a singular cap, and with garments girded high up, has a wand in his left hand, and a casket, like that on No. CXCIV. on his right. Beside him rises a palm-tree, the appropriate emblem of Phoenice. The orthography of this reverse is quoted by Cellarius in his Ancient Geography.

## CXCVIII.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ.) The head of Antoninus laurelled and bearded. This medal is in good condition, and covered with olive-greeen patina; it was procured at Palermo, in 1813.
- Reverse. SICILIA. In the field S. C. An elegant robed female standing with a casket as in No. CXCIV. and some ears of wheat in her left hand. This device differs widely from that on Hadrian's coins, which exhibits Medusa's head with a full face, a thing very rarely met with on large-brass. Sicily was also represented as Trinacria, by three legs issuing from a common centre, like the present armorial bearings of the Isle of Man.

### CXCIX.

- Obverse, ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P. P. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ.) A fine laureated head of the Emperor, with beard and marked mustachios. This medal is of bare yellow-brass, and in good preservation; it was struck A. D. 139, and was purchased of Mr. Matthew Young, in 1829.
- Reverse. COS. II. (Consul iterum.) In the field S. C. and on the exergum SYRIA. A female in full robes, with a corona turrita on her head, is standing with a cornucopiæ on her left arm, and holds a casket similar to that of No. CXCIV. on her right hand. At her feet is seen a figure in the attitude of a swimmer, which is thought to typify the river Orontes.

#### CC.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with a placid countenance. This medal is in excellent preservation, and coated with black patina; it was found at Cerigotto, and presented to me shortly afterwards.
- Reverse. HONOR1 AVG. COS. 111. (Honori Augusto, Consul tertium.) In the field S. C. A man clothed in the toga and laticlavium is holding a branch of olive in his right hand, and a cornucopiæ in his left, shewing that Honour tends to utility. This is the only moral virtue depicted as a male, and its temple was so contrived that no one could enter it without having previously passed through that of Virtne. The Romans used the term Honos in preference to Gloria, because the latter admitted of a bad as well as good sense, and might imply vain-glory—as in the "Miles Gloriosus" of Plautus; and again in Horace :—

"Quem tulit ad scenam ventoso Gloria curru."

### CCI.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A fine laureated head of the Emperor, with beard and mustachios. This medal is in a superior condition, and covered with a brownish-green patina; it was purchased at Ischia, in 1823.
- Reverse. GEN10 SENATVS. In the field S. C. A majestic figure in senatorial vestments, holds an olive branch in his right hand, and a sceptre surmounted by an eagle, in his left; symbols of the inclination to govern by peace. This is Antoninus, represented as the good genius of the Senate, both on account of the respect he paid to that body, and also for his reversing the law of Caligula, by which a moiety of the estates of senators devolved to the Emperor ontheir demise.

Though the Senate was the chief council of state, it had no fixed place of assembly, but usually met in some temple. The senators were styled fathers out of respect to their years and duties, and they were chosen from among candidates of the best reputation. In the early ages of Rome, Patricians only sat in the Senate, — but afterwards all citizens, except freedmen, had a right to aspire to that honour.

#### CCII.

Obverse ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A fine and expressive head of Antoninus Pius, bearded and laureated, with the neck bare. This medal is in splendid condition, and coated with yellow patina; it was found near the ruins of Carteia, by a Spanish peasant in 1824, of whom I purchased it.

**Reverse.** APOLLINI AVGVSTO. In the field S. C. A fine standing figure of Apollo Lyristes, with the sacred patera in his right hand, and a cithara, or lyre of four strings, in his left; and he is habited—as if in token of the effeminate tendency of music—in female robes. Some medallists consider this device as allusive to Antoninus's being the "Auctor publicæ sospitatis; others consider it as the Apollo of Actium, to whom a temple was raised by Augustus, after his victory over Autony : either explanation is admissible—though it is still more probably a commemoration of the Emperor's bounty to the theatres—"Amavit histrionum artes," says Capitolinus.

### CCIII.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A singularly fine laurelled head of the Emperor, with a countenance beaming thought and majesty. This medal is thickly covered by a brown patina, and is in singular perfection; it was minted about A. D. 140, and was found among the rnins of Leptis Magna, by one of my Arab labourers, in 1816.
- Reverse. IVNONI SISPITAE. In the field S. C. A majestic robed female in the act of casting a dart; she bears a long shield on her left arm, and wears a goat-skin over her head and back, thus testifying the description given by Cicero—"cum pelle caprinâ, cum hastâ, cum scutulo, cum calceolis repandis." A sacred serpent is creeping before her, which Agostini will have to represent the dissensions among the Britons; but it is more probably an emblem that prudence should precede an attack,—or perhaps it is a mere symbol of health, for Sispita watched over those afflicted with Malaria. This reptile was fed annually, and as it would not receive food from the hands of incontinent persons, Propertius says that it was an ordeal of virginity. The device seems a compliment to the Emperor's birth-place, Lanuvium, where he rebuilt, or repaired, the famous temple of the goddess.

Juno was stiled Sispita or Sospita, Pronuba, Mater Deûm, Lucina, &c. from her office of presiding over marriages, and their consequences; and the month named from her was deemed the most auspicious for the celebration of nuptials.

### CCIV.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Autoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A sensible head of Antoninus Pius, laureated and bearded, and with the neck naked. This rare medal was struck about A. D. 140, aud is in excellent preservation, being covered with brown patina; it was procured by exchange, at Cagliari, in 1823.
- Reverse. REX ARMENIS DATVS. On the exerguin S. C. Antoninus, in his toga, is placing a diadem upon the head of the King of Armenia, who points his hand to the ornament, and is represented as a smaller and younger person than the Emperor. History has not informed us of this interesting act,—all that we gather from the words of Capitolinus—" Parthorum regem, ab Armeniorum expugnatione solis litteris repulit"—is, that Antoninus was a successful mediator.

#### CCV.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) The laureated profile of the Emperor, with his shoulders covered with part of a sagum. This rare medal is barely patinated, and in secondary condition; it was purchased at Mr. M. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. REX QVADIS DATVS. On the exergum S. C. The togated Emperor extending his right hand to a long-bearded athletic Barbarian, who, excepting a pallium over the shoulders, is naked. This commemorates another important event upon which history is silent,—though it is clear, from this evidence, that between the years A. D. 140, and 145, Antoninus enthroned, or appointed a king over the Quadi.

## CCVI.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVGVSTVS PIVS. The laureated head of the Emperor, with a thick beard, and an amulet on the neck. This medal is of considerable rarity; it is in very fair preservation, though thinly patinated, and was purchased at Mr. M. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul 'tertium.) Eneas, as a bare-headed warrior, walking across the field; on his shoulders sits Anchises, covered with a robe, and holding a casket; and he leads by the hand Ascanius, who wears a Phrygian bonnet. This medal was minted between the third and fourth consulates of Antoninus, and may be complimentary to his filial piety: "Patri et matri, at que avis et fratribus jam mortuis, statuas decretas libenter accepit."

The device may also imply the regard of the Emperor for the ancient religion of the Romans, since he struck coins to Fortuna Obsequens; Hercules destroying Cacus; Navius cutting a stone with a razor: and there is one representing Mars descending to the sleeping Rhea, in second brass, by which Addison clearly explained the difficult passage in Juvenal,—

" Ac nudam effigiem clypeo fulgentis et hastâ,

Pendentisque Dei perituro ostenderet hosti."

## CCVII.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A noble laureated profile of the Emperor, with a beard, and the neck bare. This medal is in excellent perfection, and covered with a dark-brown patina; it was procured at Naples, in 1820.
- Reverse. IMPERATOR II. (Imperator iterum.) Across the field BRITAN. (Britannia,) with S. C. under it. A graceful Victory alate, standing on a globe, holds forth a crown in her right hand, and bears a palm-branch in the other. It appears that the Brigantes, a people of Britain, having revolted and attacked the tribes in alliance with Rome, were signally defeated by Lollius Urbicus, who constructed a new wall to remove the barbarians still further northward.

### CCVIII.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) The laurelled head of Antoninus, with a bare neck. This medal is in sound condition, though from its redness it seems to have been exposed to the action of fire; it was purchased at Mr. Henderson's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. BRITANNIA. On the exergum S. C. A warlike female with a diadem on her head, and wearing trousers under her robes, is seated on a rock, in token of firmness and restored tranquility; she holds a military standard in her right hand, and her left, which rests on a shield, supports a long spear. The standard is the attribute of a garrisoned province, and the spear and shield testify its warlike disposition; for the Britons were then highly esteemed for their valour and firmness, as may be seen in Pomponius Mela. The surface of the shield is rubbed, but as the coin seems similar to that of the Florence Cabinet, its device was probably a bull's head. Pedrusi describes the spear as "doppiamente armato," which is not the case with any that I have examined.

### CCIX.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) The Emperor's head, bearded, laureated, and finely executed. This medal is thinly patinated, but is in capital preservation; it was procured from an officer, in 1831, by exchange,—"on paying the difference."
- Reverse. BRITANNIA. On the exergum S. C. A martial figure with attributes, in close resemblance to those of No. CCVIII, with the exception of the shield being larger, and instead of the bull's-head as an umbo, or boss, it is furnished with a long spike in the centre.

I must again notice the uselessness of *pricing* in medallic works, of which the Britannias form an instance. From their local interest they are greatly sought by collectors, and when in good condition fetch high sums,—insomuch that my friend, Mr. Thomas, paid no less than  $\pounds$  150. for a medallion of Commodus; but it is a perfect genu. Now M. Mionnet has assigned six francs as a general value for each of them;—and he has, moreover, placed prices against Germanicus, Britannicus, Agrippina Junior, Domitia, Plautilla, Annia Faustina, and Tranquillina, though possibly he never saw one of either of them on sale. In mentioning this, I do not impugn the diligence and numismatic skill of that intelligent writer, but only regret the trouble and waste of time he has thereby given himself. In fact, a person repairing to Paris, to purchase large-brass coius, in consequence of such representations, would be bitterly disappointed,—for they are dearer and more difficult to meet with there than in London. See No. L.

### CCX.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A beautiful head of Antoninus, laureated and bearded, and the neck bare. This medal is in perfect condition, though very thinly patinated; it was presented to me by Major General Sir Robert Travers, at Cephallonia, in 1819.
- Reverse. ITALIA on the exergum, and S. C. in the field. A majestic female, attired in magnificent robes, is seated on a celestial globe marked with stars and a zodiac; and she is crowned with turrets to denote the numerous cities of which she is the Mother.—"Turrigero canos effundens vertice crines. In her right hand is a full cornucopiæ, the emblem of fertility; and by the sceptre in her left, she claims universal dominion as the Bountiful Queen of the World. Solinus thus sums up the advantages of which she can boast :—" Locorum salubritatem, cœli temperiem, ubertatem soli, aprica collium, opaca nemorum, innoxios saltus, olearumque proventus, ovilia, pecuaria, tot amnes, lacus tantos."

### CCX1.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A fine laurelled head of Antoninus, with the back of the head higher than usual on his profile; the countenance is expressive of goodness, the beard thick, and the neck naked. This medal is in very fine preservation, and densely coated with green patina; I procured it at Elba, in 1823.
- Reverse. CONCORDIAE. On the exergum S. C. The Emperor and Empress magnificently attired, and standing on substructures, present their right hands to each other: in their left the former holds an image of Concord, and the latter a sceptre—like another Juno.—Below them are two smaller figures in exactly the same attitude, and a decorated altar in the centre intimates that the rite was binding on all parties. This elegant device proclaims the additional bond of union in the Imperial Family by the marriage of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Junior—a marriage which was celebrated with the utmost pomp and festivity.

### CCXII.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A remarkably fine laureated head of the Emperor, with a mild but dignified expression. This medal is coated with yellow patina, and is in the highest possible conservation; I procured it from the well-known Italian artist, Signor Benucci, at Malta, in 1821.
- Reverse. TIBERIS. On the exergum S. C. An admirably executed and venerable river-god, naked to the loins, and of such colossal proportions as to merit the title of "Hesperidum regnator aquarum." He reclines his left arm—bearing an aquatic plant—on an effluent urn; his head is crowned with rushes, flowers, and fruits, in token of his fertilizing powers; and his right hand is placed on a boat, to show that the Tiber is navigable. See No. CXXXI. This device was probably struck on the Emperor's ordering an embankment, to prevent the ravages of the river, for among the calamities which Capitolinus enumerates as happening about that time—such as famine, fire, and earthquakes—he adds—"Fuit et inundatio Tiberis."

## (122)

Even the cerulean robe of this deity is not forgotten by the ancient peets : thus Virgil says-

"Huic deus ipse loci fluvio Tiberinus amœno Populeas inter senior se attollere frondes Visus; eum tenuis glauco velabat amictu Carbasus, et crines umbrosa tegebat arundo."

#### CCXIII.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A very characteristic profile of the Emperor, with a beard, and a bare neck. This medal is densely incrusted with a bottle-green patina, and is in perfect conservation; it was presented to me by Dr. Dickson, at Tripoli, in 1816.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consultu) on the exergum. A she-wolf giving suck to Romulus and Remus, in a grotto, over which stands a cowering eagle. This illustrates the legendary tradition respecting the founder of Rome, a fable which may have originated in harlots being nick-named  $lup \alpha$ . The wolf and twins became the most popular symbol of the Roman state, and Virgil mentions them as ornamenting the shield of Æneas, exactly as we see them upon the medal:—

"Fecerat et viridi fætam Mavortis in antro Procubuisse lupam; geminos huic ubera circum Ludere pendentes pueros, et lambere matrem Impavidos."

## CCXIV.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A fine laureated head of the Emperor, with a remarkably mild expression. This medal is coated with a rich olive-green patina, and is in the highest preservatiou; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832, being Lot 3029, and is by far the best of several which I have had with the same reverse.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consultu.) A large sow suckling seven pigs, with another standing under her head. This relates to the oracular vision which revealed to Eneas the founding of Lavinium and the mysterious wild animal is under a spreading oak-tree—" sub ilicibus sus."

#### CCXV.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) The laurelled head of Antoninus, with a beard, and the neck naked. This medal is in superior preservation, though thinly patinated; it was procured at Abukir, in 1822.
- Reverse. PROVIDENTIAE DEORUM. In the field S. C. A mighty thunder-bolt, winged and five-pointed at each end. This is an attribute of sovereign power equal with that of the gods; and some medallists have considered this reverse to have been in compliment to the Emperor, while the legend reminded him that divine providence had raised him to greatness. But it may merely commemorate what Capitolinus mentions—"fulgur cælo sereno sine noxa in ejus domum venisse."

The fulmen is not always represented thus;—it is sometimes a blazing mass wreathed closely together, in a shape not unlike that of the fossil belemnite which is popularly called *thunder-stone*;—at other times there are two transverse darts, with wings to denote swiftness; and occasionally it is represented as a handful of flames, let loose in the utmost fury. As trifidium, or trisulcum, it has three pointed forks, to denote the triple power of piercing, burning, and melting : and Virgil thus describes a dreadful quadripotent weapon :—

"Three points of rain; three forks of hail conspire; Three arm'd with wind; and three were barb'd with fire. The mass they temper'd thick with livid rays, Fear, wrath, and terror, and the lightning's blaze."

# (123)

## CCXVI.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) A dignified laurelled head of the Emperor, with an ornament on his left shoulder. This medal is densely covered with an olive-green patina, and is in the best possible preservation; it was presented to me by Shellah Reïs, the Tripoline Admiral, in 1816.
- Reverse. OPI AVG. (Opi Augusti.) On the exergum S. C. The goddess, holding a wand transversely in her right hand, points with her left to her crowned head. She is attired as a Roman Empress, and a part of the dress is spotted so as to resemble an ermined robe. There was a temple at Rome, dedicated to the wife of Saturn, who was adored under the names of Ops, Rhea, Cybele, and Terra; but from Cicero's admission we may infer, that by Opi was particularly meant a plentiful supply, from the earth, of all the things which render life happy, whence Plautus says "Ops Opulentia." The goddess is represented seated as an indication of security and it is said that her worshippers sacrificed sitting, in allusion to the stability of the earth.

Some antiquaries have confounded this goddess with Diana, and the nymph mentioned by Virgil and Macrobius. There are only two inscriptions which mention her under the appellation of Ops; and Gruter remarks it as a singularity that her name is placed before that of Saturn on the front of a temple raised to them, in which the public treasure was deposited. She was exceedingly popular, and new-born babes were made to sit on the ground and squall, which was termed "calling upon Ops." Pregnant women carried a figure of this goddess, which, if the child was still-born, or deformed, was beat to powder, burnt, or thrown into the river. See Matri Magnæ of Faustina Junior.

### CCXVII.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. COS. III. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, Consul tertium.) An expressive laureated profile of Antoninus, with a bare neck. This is an unpatinated coin of yellow brass, in singularly high preservation; it was procured at Alcamo, in Sicily, in 1813.
- Reverse. AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG. PH F. COS. (Aurelius Cæsar, Augusti Pii filius, Consul.) On the lower verge S. C. The naked head of the youthful Marcus Aurelius, with curly hair, and his shoulders covered with a laticlavium fibulated. The expression of the countenance is open and pleasing. This was struck A. D. 140, the year in which Antoninus, having given him his daughter Faustina in marriage, advanced Aurelius to the Fasces.

### CCXVIII.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate.) A finely executed head of Antoninus, laurelled and bearded, and with the neck bare. This medal is scarcely patinated, but is in excellent condition; it was presented to me by my friend, Mr. T. Burgon, in 1825.
- Reverse. COS. 1111. (Consul quartum.) In the field S. C. Apollo stands gracefully with a paludamentum over his shoulders; in his right hand he holds a branch of laurel, his distinguishing symbol, and in the other a javelin pointed at both ends, to denote the intensity of his power-"ut per sagittas intelligatur vis emissa radiorum;" yet its being held in the left hand shews an unwillingness to destroy. The head of the deity is encompassed with a large nimbus or glory-an ornament which was made of gold. According to the erudite Ciampini the nimbus, or meniscus, was a symbol of Eternity among the pagans-and it was afterwards transferred from their gods to the Christian saints. On the coins of the Lower Empire it is a regal distinction, till the time of John Zemisces.

## CCX1X.

Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. XII. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate duodecimum.) A fine and characteristic portrait of the Emperor, with his neck bare, and an ornament on the left shoulder, The medal is coated with a spotted patina, and is in superior condition,—I procured it at Girgenti, in 1814. Reverse. TEMPORVM FELICITAS. Towards the lower verge S. C. and on the exergum COS. 1111. (Consul quartum.) Two cornucopiæ placed saltier-wise, on each of which is an infant's head and bust, placed on the fruit and corn with which the horns are charged. This type of the felicity resulting from plenty was probably struck on the births of Lucilla and another child to Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Junior, by which the happiness and prosperity of the empire seemed to be consolidated. Numismatists, however, differ respecting its object. Some consider it as having been struck in honour of the two infant sons of Antoninus—but as they probably died long before his adoption, they could not have formed a felicitous presage for A. D. 149. Others ascribe it to Commodus and his twin-brother, but this has been done without attending to dates, since they were not born till 12 years afterwards; and, moreover, the heads are clearly of different sexes. A similar remark applies to the observation of Oiselius, that it was struck in token of joy on the marriage of Aurelius and Faustina, for th at union took place in A. D. 140.

### CCXX.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P. P. TR. P. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate.) A remarkably fine head of Antoninus, laurelled, bearded, and the neck naked. This medal is cased with a thin coat of brown patina, and is in splendid perfection; I procured it at Corinth, in 1820.
- Reverse. COS. IIII. (Consul quartum) on the exergum, and under it S. C. The Emperor in a quadrigated car, the horses of which are in a slow walk; he holds a sceptre before him surmounted by an eagle. Pedrusi, Vaillant, and Havercamp think this device relates to the victories over the Brigantes, Mauretanians, and other insurgents; but as Antoninus never triumphed, the type more probably represents a consular, or ceremonial procession. Another large-brass medal representing Victory in a galloping quadriga, whipping the horses, may have been struck to commemorate the successes of the Emperor's lieutenants.

## CCXXI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. T. AEL. HADR. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. (Imperator Cæsar, Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, Pater Patriæ.) A strikingly fine laureated head of the Emperor, with a fuller forehead than usual. This medal is in excellent preservation, and covered with bright brown patina; it was purchased at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. TR. POT XV. COS. IIII. (Tribunitia potestate decimum-quintum, Consul quartum.) On the exergum S. C. A splendidly executed equestrian figure of the Emperor, which presents the union of ease and beauty in an eminent degree. Antoninus is bare-headed, and wears the laticlavium; his left hand is gracefully raised, and his right holds a parazonium. Though the use of spurs was known for ages before the date of this medal, it is singular that neither on medals nor statues are they ever represented. Lucian's Cobler says, the boy whom Mars placed as his sentinel was turned into a cock, who to this day has the crest and "spurs he then wore."

## CCXXII.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS P. P. TR. P. XVII: (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, decimum-septimum.) The laureated and bearded head of the Emperor, with a bare neck. This medal is in the finest condition, and covered with a light brown patina; it was procured at Pola, in Istria, in 1819.
- Reverse. INDVLGENTIA AVG. COS. IIII. (Indulgentia Augusti, Consul quartum.) A robed female seated on a throne, with a sceptre in her left hand, and her right stretched out and open. This reverse confirms the words of Capitolinus respecting this good Emperor—"Quod ad indulgentias promptissimus fuit." Antiquaries have, however, attributed the device to the open-handed munificence with which Antoninus celebrated the 900th year of Rome, (A. D. 146,) when elephants, rhinoceroses, crocodiles, tigers, and other wild animals, with no fewer than 100 lions, were exhibited. But this is not likely; for by the tribunitian date, the medal was not minted till seven years after those games.

Medals have done more to record the bounty of these princes, than history; for the coins of Antoninus make mention of eight largesses bestowed by him upon the people, none of which are enumerated by Capitolinus. "He gave," saith Marcus Aurelius, "games, and shews, and largesses by weight and measure, not from ostentation, nor with a view to popularity, but to discharge a debt exacted by custom."

### CCXXIII.

- Obverse. ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. P. P. TR. P. XXII. (Antoninus Augustus Pius, Pater Patriæ, Tribunitia potestate, vigesimum-secundum.) An expressive laurelled head of Antoninus, with a bare neck. This medal is very thinly patinated, but is in excellent condition; it was purchased of Mr. Mathew Young, in 1825.
- Reverse. TEMPL. DIVI. AVG. REST. (Templum Divi Augusti restitutum.) On the exergum COS. 1111. (Consul quartum.) In the field S. C. An octostyle temple, richly decorated with sculpture. In the centre are two sedent statues, whence it is inferred to be the fane dedicated to Rome and Angustus. See No. VI. Two togated citizens appear on the plinth of steps. We have here a circumstance unnoticed by the historians of this reign; and by this, together with the repairs of the temple of Augustus and Livia inscribed Pietas, as well as those of Venus Felix and Roma Æterna, Antoninus manifested the qualities which placed him even before Numa, and justified his appellation of PIUS,—a name held in such veneration as to be assumed by succeeding emperors. There is also medallic evidence that he bore the title of "Optimus Princeps," though history does not mention it.

I have a large-brass medal of this Emperor inscribed S. P. Q. R. AMPLIATORI CIVIVM,—but it has so suspicious a look that I cannot vouch for its authenticity ;—yet when, in addition to the abovementioned restorations, we recollect his other public works, we cannot deny to Antoninus the agnomen of "*Enlarger*."

## CCXXIV.

- Obverse. DIVVS ANTONINVS. The head of the Emperor, with a grave countenance, unlaureated, and the neck bare. This medal is densely coated with a deep-brown ærugo, and is in the highest state of preservation; it was presented to me by Consul-General Warrington, at Tripoli, in 1816.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. In the field S. C. A magnificent Rogus, or funeral pile, of four stories which decrease towards the summit; it is richly decorated with drapery, images, and festoons; and is surmounted by a triumphal quadriga,—verifying the words of Dio:—in summa ejus currus inauratus, quo imperator olim vehebatur, collocatus erat." Capitolinus tells us the senate were unanimous in voting this consecration, and that every possible honour was paid to the memory of a prince so remarkable for piety, clemency, and wisdom, and who had never dipped his hands in the blood of a citizen: qualities which screened him from Julian's sarcasms. The historian adds,—"Periit anno septuagesimo, sed quasi adolescens desideratus est."

### CCXXV.

- Obverse. DIVVS ANTONINVS. The bare head of Antoninus, as in the last. This medal is covered with a grass-green ærugo, and in good condition; it was purchased from Mr. Till, in 1826.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consultu,) on the exergum. A colossal sedent statue of the Emperor, holding a laurel branch in his right hand, and a hasta pura in his left; it is placed on a magnificent car drawn by four elephants in stately trappings, and mounted by their guides. See Nos. VIII, and CXLVI.

This is another mark of respect for the obsequies of Antoninus. The ancients were so scrupulous respecting these rites, that Chabrias, the Athenian admiral, having defeated the Lacedemonian fleet, instead of pursuing the flying foe, chose rather to let the enemies of his country escape, than neglect gathering up the bodies of the slain, fearing lest the superstition of the people should lead them to destroy him, as had before been the case with the conquerors in the sea-fight at Arginussæ. Priam braved the hostile camp to recover the corse of his son; Cimon (126)

redeemed his father's body from an enemy's prison at the price of his own liberty; and Horace makes the ghost of Archytas—the surveyor of Sea, Earth, and Heaven—thus implore a passing sailor :—

"At tu, Nauta, vagæ ne parce malignus arenæ,

Ossibus et capiti inhumato

Particulam dare . . . . .

Quanquam festinas, non est mora longa, licebit

Injecto ter pulvere curras."

### CCXXVI.

- Obverse. DIVVS ANTONINVS. The bare head of Antoninus, with a fixed cast of features, and the neck naked. This medal is in excellent preservation, and varnished with brown patina; it was procured at Pantellaria, in 1817.
- Reverse. DIVO PIO. In the field S. C. An altar like that of Augustus, in second-brass, which is inscribed *Providentia*, and also like the *Ara Pacis* of Nero, but less decorated. In the centre is a grated door resembling one to a similar structure among the tombs recently exposed to view at Pompeii. This altar is another symbol of the adoration rendered to the defunct Emperor,—" *Meruit et flaminem, et circenses, et templum, et sodales Antoninianos.*"

### CCXXVII.

- Obverse. DIVVS ANTONINVS. The profile of the deified Emperor, with fixed features, the hair cut close, and the head unlaureated. This medal is covered with a light-brown patina, and is in the highest conservation; it was procured at Patras, in 1820.
- Reverse. DIVO PIO. In the field S. C. The celebrated Antonine column, with a colossal statue of the Emperor on its summit, and its base surrounded by a rail-work. This column was erected by Marcus Aurelius in the field of Mars, in imitation of that of Trajan, to which, however, it was inferior in all respects except that of height. See Nos. CXXXVII and CXXXVIII. The dimensons of this monument are thus given by Publius Victor: "Templum Divi, cum Coclide columnâ, quœ est alta pedes 175, habet intus gradus 206, et fenestellas 56." It still exists in situ, though it has been greatly damaged by fire; and Pope Sixtus Vth, having placed St. Peter on Trajan's pillar, set up St. Paul on this. The outside is spirally encrusted with the wars of Aurelius against the Marcomanni, whence some antiquaries think it can hardly be the one represented on the medal; and they would fain substitute a plain granite pillar found about a century ago. But there was surely nothing inconsistent in the Philosopher's dedicating the details of his career to his august predecessor.

A very remarkable part of these sculptures ought not to be passed over unnoticed, the figure of Jupiter Pluvius sending down rain to the famished soldiers of Aurelius—who are holding up their mouths, bucklers, and helmets to catch the shower—and at the same time, darting thunderbolts upon their enemies. This has been hailed by some ecclesiastical writers as an unequivocal confirmation of the story of the Christian Legion, and the efficacy of their prayers for assistance. (See *De Surmatis* of M. Aurelius.) Yet the heathens attributed the same miracle to the piety of their Emperor. It is singular that M. Dacier, among several quotations upon this subject, has taken no notice either of this figure upon the column, or of the beautiful passage in which Claudian paints the havoc which the lightning made among the barbarian warriors, and says—

> Armavere deos; seu, quod reor, omne Tonantis Obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri."

# (127)

# FAUSTINA SENIOR.

Annia Galeria Faustina, the daughter of Annius Verus and Rupilia Faustina, was sister to Ælius Cæsar, and aunt to Marcus Aurelius. She was born A. D. 105, and was married to Antoninus Pius before his adoption by Hadrian. She was honoured with the title of Augusta in the first year of her husband's reign, but did not long enjoy her imperial dignities, as she died A D. 141;—when, notwithstanding her dissolute life she was, at the express request of Antoninus, honoured with divine worship,—games were instituted to her memory, and her statue was carried among those of the other deities, at the Ludi Circenses.

Faustina was a woman of singular beauty, cheerful disposition, and insinuating manners, but as licentious in her conduct as her brother; nor did her elevation to rank check her vicious propensities. Antoninus was not unacquainted with her irregularities; but as he found it impossible to reform her, he did all that lay in his power to keep her disorders concealed from the public eye, and maintain the credit of the throne. To her other vices she added covetousness, and was thereby led to chide the Emperor for his generosity to the indigent citizens.

The infamous behaviour of Faustina, does not seem to have lessened the regret of the good Antoninus at her death ; whence it may be presumed that he held to the maxim "whilst there is life there is hope." This regard is particularly shewn by a more abundant mintage to her apotheosis, than was made to the memory of any Empress before or after. From this cause her medals are very common in all metals and modules, except third brass, and are therefore collected with a strict attention to high preservation. Of her gold coins the most highly prized is one with the legend "*Puellæ Faustinianæ*," as it commemorates the establishment of an asylum for orphans, in her honour.

## CCXXVIII.

- Obverse. FAVSTINA AVG. ANTONINI AVG. PII. P. P. (Faustina Augusta, Antonini Augusta (scilicet uxor) Pii, Patris Patriæ.) The portrait of Faustina with a beautiful countenance, and her hair tastefully braided round the crown of her head—in a fashion which still exists among the women of Gaeta. This medal and Concordia, are the only large-brass specimens of this Empress that I have ever seen, which were struck before her apotheosis;—it is in singularly high preservation, and covered with a deep-brown patina; it was found by one of the Arabs whom I employed in excavating Leptis Magna, in 1816.
- Reverse. VENERI AVGVSTAE. In the field S. C. A soft and easy figure of Venus standing,—a compliment to the personal beauty of Faustina. She is attired in light robes, and a superb head-dress; with her right hand she lifts the sacred veil, and holds the mystic apple in her left. See CXC.

## CCXXIX.

Obverse. DIVA AVGVSTA FAVSTINA. The head of Faustina, with her hair braided, and bound in an anadema,—the neck graceful, and her shoulders covered with a robe. This medal is in superior condition, and thinly coated with yellow patina; it was presented to me at Gibraltar, in 1821.

Reverse. EX. S. C. (Ex Senatus Consultu,) on the exergum. A magnificent thensa drawn by two harnessed mules, in token of the deification of the Empress. The body of the car is ornamented with rich sculpture, and the tilt, or roof, is of a singular construction. See Nos. XVII. and XXXII.

### CCXXX.

- Obverse. DIVA AVGVSTA FAVSTINA. A handsome profile of the Empress, with the hair as on the last. This medal is in excellent condition, but without patina; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. EX. S. C. (Ex Senatus Consultu,) on the exergum. A statue of Faustina seated on a throne, which is placed upon a richly decorated four-wheeled car, and drawn by two elephants with trappings and guides. The Empress is attired and veiled as Ceres, with a wand and some ears of wheat; this was a favorite deity, for we find her on the medals of Faustina under various forms,—some with one torch, and others with two, in allusion to the search after Proserpine. This medal commemorates the funeral pomp which attended the obsequies of Faustina, and was struck by a particular decree of the senate.

#### CCXXXI.

- Obverse. DIVA FAVSTINA. A beautiful head of Faustina, with a slope of neck which confers grace upon the bust; the shoulders being neatly covered with drapery. This medal is in perfect preservation, and is varnished with a bright brown patina; it was procured at Corinth, in May, 1820.
- Reverse. AETERNITAS. In the field S. C. A standing robed female, who is holding her garment out with her left hand, and with her right supports a globe, on which stands a phœnix with a radiated head. This device was struck in compliment to the supposed immortality of Faustina; and it is one of about twenty of this Empress, under the semblance of different goddesses, which I have had, with the legend of *Æternitas*, or *Augusta*.

Though Eternity was deified, we find neither temples nor altars dedicated to her; but there are abundance of medals in her honour. She is usually represented as a female either standing or sitting, with a globe, because, as Manilius says, there is "No end and no beginning in an orb." Sometimes she holds a radiated head for Sol in one hand, and a crescent for Luna in the other, it being reckoned that, as they seemed to perish every night and renew themselves every morning, their course would never have an end;—and some of the figures are veiled to denote that eternity is inscrutable. But the phœnix was the most popular attribute of this goddess; for it was believed to spring out of its own ashes, and so to be in a manner immortal; and it was decorated with a nimbus, or circle of rays round its head, to shew its fancied lineage from the sun. Claudian says—

> "A god-like bird, whose endless round of years Outlasts the stars, and tires the circling spheres :---Begot by none himself, begetting none, Sire of himself he is, and of himself the son; His life in fruitful death renews its date, And kind destruction but prolongs his fate."

#### CCXXXII.

- Obverse. DIVA FAVSTINA. A fine head of Faustina, with beautiful features, and the bust robed. This medal is covered with a grass-green patina, and is in very pure condition; it was brought to me by an Arab, in the Wadi Zemzem, near Ghirzah, in 1817.
- Reverse. AETERNITAS. On the exergum S. C. A splendid two-wheeled elephant biga, on which is a sedent statue of the defunct Empress; and over it a canopy supported on four columns. She is represented veiled and holding the sacred wand, which, together with the animals, are emblems of immortality. See No. VIII.

# (129)

## CCXXXIII.

- Obverse. DIVA AVGVSTA FAVSTINA. The profile of Faustina, with the hair dressed and the bosom covered, as before. This medal is in very good preservation, and incrusted with brown patina; it was presented to me by Signor Carlo Garibaldi, at Alghero, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the exergum S. C. A stately rogus, ornamented with columns, tapestry, and festoons, and surmounted with a bigated car. From its magnitude and magnificence, this has more the appearance of a mausoleum than a funeral pyre.

### CCXXXIV.

- Obverse. DIVA AVGVSTA FAVSTINA. The head of the Empress, with the usual expression, but veiled. This medal is in good preservation, though unpatinated; it was purchased from Mr. Young, in 1826.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the lower verge S. C. The Empress ascending to heaven, on the back of a monstrous eagle; she holds a sceptre, and the floating veil over her head is marked with stars. The frequent recurrence of this device proves that, the "King of Birds" was not so exclusively assigned to the apotheosis of emperors, as hath been asserted. See No. CXLV. This was closely copied on a medal struck in Germany, in 1832, to the memory of Goëthe.

### CCXXXV.

- Obverse. DIVA FAVSTINA. An expressive veiled head of Faustina, with the bust robed. This medal is entirely coated with a deep-green patina, and is in fair preservation; it was found at Colchester, in 1825, and was presented to me by my friend Captain Henry Downes, R. N. of that town.
- Reverse. AETERNITAS. On the exergum S. C. A hexastyle temple, with a sedent deity in the adytum; it is inclosed in a railing, and the pediment and apex are adorned with statues and sculpture. This commemorates the extravagant honours paid to Faustina, when deified; and among the many testimonies of this strange consecration, none are more remarkable than the temple here represented, the original of which is still extant, with a corroborative inscription as legible as if chiselled yesterday. It stands on the margin of the Campo Vaccino, as the site of the Forum is called, and is now the church of San Lorenzo in Miranda. The portico, which flanked the Via Sacra, consists of six columns of Cipollino marble in front, and two in depth; it was formerly buried more than half the height of these columns, but they have now been again laid open to their bases. This temple was at first dedicated to Faustina only, but on the demise of Antoninus, became common to both.

# GALERIUS ANTONINUS.

Marcus Galerius Antoninus, the son of Antoninus Pius and Faustina, appears to have died in infancy, before the adoption of his father. This child has been barely mentioned by historians, and entirely overlooked by the Latin Moneyers; but the Greeks struck a few medals in his honour, and from their love of adulation, a capital likeness of the youth has descended to us, as well as his name, which otherwise would have been lost.

## CCXXXVI.

Obverse. M. FAAEPIOC ANTONINOC AYTOKPATOPOC ANTONEINOY YIOC. (Marcus Galerius Antoninus, Imperatoris Antonini filius.) A beautiful infantine head of Galerius, with curly hair and robed shoulders. This rare medal, which is in the best condition, and coated with brown patina, was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832, where it formed lot

No. 3045. It differs from those published by Tristan, Patin, Pedrusi, and Alessandro Visconti; and is the more remarkable as the word Antoninus is spelled in different ways, on the same legend.

Reverse.  $\Theta \mathcal{E}A \Phi AYCT \mathcal{E}INA$ . A fine head of Faustina, with a veil, and her shoulders robed; the likeness is more correct than usual on Greek Imperial medals, from which it may be inferred that Galerius is also faithfully represented. It is manifest that this medal was struck after the death of the Empress; but there is no clue to enable us to tell where it was minted. From the fabric, and style of the inscription, it is pretty certain that it was struck in Asia Minor.

# MARCUS AURELIUS.

Marcus Annius Verus Catilius Severus, son of Annius Verus the Prætor, and Domitia Calvilla, was born at Rome, A. D. 121. As his father died while he was yet very young, he was brought up by Hadrian, who, in compliment to his sincerity, called him Verissimus,-an appellation by which Justin Martyr addresses him in his second apology. He was adopted by Antoninus A. D. 138, and declared Cæsar, under the name of Marcus Ælius Aurelius Verus. He now married Faustina Junior, became Consul, held the Tribunitian power, and was consulted by the Emperor on all affairs of moment; being suffered to govern as if he were a partner on the throne. This mutual confidence and attachment continued for nearly 23 years, when Aurelius succeeded Antoninus, and realized Plato's observation, that those commonwealths are happy whose rulers philosophise, and whose philosophers rule,-for his reign was generally styled the golden age of Rome. After diffusing happiness throughout his dominions during a period of 19 years, and 10 or 12 days, he expired at Vindobona, A. D. 180. Dio positively asserts that he was poisoned by the emissaries of Commodus; but Commodus has quite enough to answer for without this grave charge, and the death of his father may be more reasonably attributed to the fatigues of an inclement winter-campaign, acting on a constitution naturally delicate, weakened by unceasing study, and too strict a regimen.

Padre Pedrusi, arriving at the first medal of Aurelius, exclaims—"Un nuovo personaggio esce in teatro, e fa nobile scena,"—and really it is no small pleasure to scrape a kind of acquaintance with, perhaps, the best prince who ever swayed a sceptre. His address was agreeable and engaging; for he was modest without timidity, and grave without austerity. He had no art, but was at all times the same undisguised man, preserving even in the exercise of sovereign power, and all its concomitant splendour, his simplicity of manners. He applied himself to the study of philosophy and ethics with such success, that he has been surnamed *Philosophus* by the unanimous consent of historians. In his care to render Rome happy, Aurelius enacted wholesome laws, and expedited the legal processes. He took especial care of the public roads and granaries, and provided with admirable judgment and foresight against all the necessities of the state,—being so attentive and diligent that it was remarked he neither spoke, wrote, nor did any thing negligently. He had a rooted aversion to games and gladiatorial exhibitions—the expenses and pomp of which he greatly reduced—yet he sometimes appeared in the Circus, that he might not be offensively fastidious ; but then he used to write, or confer with his ministers during the whole time of the sports. In the administration of justice he displayed equal assiduity and impartiality ; though naturally inclined to mercy, he nevertheless could punish the guilty with the utmost rigour ; yet it must be conceded that among almost innumerable instances of his clemency, there are but few of his severity known. "We cannot," said he " make men what we would wish them to be ; we must take them as they are, and do the best with them that lies in our power."

A kind father \*\* to the numerous family he had by his wife, he was equally considerate as a sovereign; and his magnanimous equity was strikingly displayed in his associating Verus with him on the throne, though Antoninus had despised him,--a measure by which Rome, for the first time, saw herself governed by two sovereigns at once. Nor was it with less nobleness of nature that after the death of Cassius, he committed that rebel's papers to the flames, without reading them, and protected his family from insult. He detested war as the disgrace and calamity of human nature; but when the necessity of a just defence roused him to arms, he displayed the vigilance, valour, and activity of a consummate general, and readily exposed himself to eight winter campaigns on the frozen banks of the Danube, notwithstanding his constitutional weakness and infirmities. Equally amiable with Antoninus, his virtue was of a severer cast,—for he had, at an early age, embraced the system of the stoics, which, with all its vanities, taught him to subject his body to his mind, his passions to his reason; and it is clear that he well understood one of the leading principles of that sect—the importance of acquiring a knowledge of himself. In short, his conduct was marked with such wisdom and piety, clemency and justice, that the caustic Julian says, when Aurelius entered, Silenus became vexed at having nothing to lash him about, except a cut at his patience with the debaucheries of Faustina; which, it must be admitted was an inexcusable inattention to good morals.

But as some hawk-eyed astronomers love to gaze at the faculæ, or luculi of the spots on the solar disc, so there are writers who apply their magnifiers to such blemishes as they can espy on a bright character. Dio Cassius thinks the crying

<sup>\*</sup> See the Emperor's reason for not marrying a second time, at p. 113.

fault of Aurelius consisted in his too great goodness, in that though he rewarded with great generosity the good and virtuous, yet he did not restrain and punish with due severity the vicious and wicked. Capitolinus blames him for promoting Verus to the sovereign power, whom he knew to be unequal to, and altogether unworthy of that high dignity. The Emperor Julian prefers Aurelius to all his predecessors, as well he might; but at the same time gives him a shot, for bequeathing the empire to his son Commodus, instead of his more virtuous son-in-law Pompeianus. To these charges must be added the persecution which he permitted against the poor Christians—of the real character of whose religion he must have been misinformed an act for which very conflicting motives have been assigned : and Tatian, in sneering at the pagan's bounty to the philosophers of all sects—stoic, platonic, peripatetic, and even epicurean—assures us, they had no other merit than that of wearing long beards.

What is the amount of such allegations against the known virtues of the illustrious Marcus Aurelius? Were there no other evidences of his transcendent goodness than his own "Meditations," his high and amiable qualities would be sufficiently manifested : yet even this precious legacy has been carped at, by the aforesaid faculæ-hunters, as savouring less of comprehensiveness and judgment than pedantry and ostentation. This is certainly severe upon a work which was written for its author's own use, in the tumult of a camp, during actual warfare,—and one which, there can be no scruple in asserting, is not more distinguished by liberality of sentiment, than by occasional profundity of thought, and energy of expression ; but as it may very reasonably be concluded that the readers of this page have studied the book in question, with pleasure and advantage, no further remark upon it is necessary.

"If a man," says Gibbon, "were called on to fix the period in the history of the world, during which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous, he would, without hesitation, name that which elapsed from the death of Domitian to the accession of Commodus. The vast extent of the Roman empire was governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom. The armies were restrained by the firm and gentle hand of five successive emperors, whose characters and authority commanded an involuntary respect. The forms of civil administration were carefully preserved by Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the Antonines, who delighted in the image of liberty, and were pleased with considering themselves as accountable ministers of the laws. Such princes deserved the honour of restoring the republic, had the Romans of their days been capable of enjoying a rational freedom." Medals of Marcus Aurelius are abundant and cheap in all metals and forms; the gold and silver quinarii, and the brass medallions, being the rarest. The observation of Addison as to an emperor's coinage being his digested annals, applies very forcibly to this reign, for we have the good prince from his boyhood to his apotheosis; and therefore those only are here noticed which are in the highest perfection. One of the most rare devices of Aurelius is a medallion which was struck in his second consulate; it is inscribed "*Temporum felicitas*," and represents Hercules, with a trophy, in a triumphal chariot, drawn by four huge centaurs, each holding a different attribute, apparently the symbols of the seasons. This interesting object is very beautifully figured in the 2d edition of M. Mionnet's work, "*De la Rareté et du Prix des Médailles Romaines.*"

## CCXXXVII.

- Obverse. AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG. PH F. COS. (Aurelius Cæsar, Augusti Pii filius, Consul.) A youthful unlaurelled head of Aurelius, with a pleasing expression of countenance, and curly hair; the bust is in armour. This fine, though not rare medal, was procured by exchange from Lieut. Corner, R. N. Marine Magistrate at Malta, in 1818: it is in perfect preservation, and covered with clear brown patina.
- Reverse. PIETAS AVG. (Pietas Augusti.) On the exergum S. C. The instruments of sacrifice; a device struck A. D. 140, when Aurelius entered the Sacerdotal College to be initiated into the profound mysteries of the Cavea Pullaria. This reverse began with Augustus, when he adopted Caius and Lucius;—and thenceforward it is very frequent in the coins of the Cæsars not yet Augusti. Besides this, there were a great many other medals minted—as Juventus, Honos, Spes, and Virtus—in allusion to the youth of Aurelius,—and they were repeated for some years for the Romans termed every man adolescens, till he was turned of forty.

The instruments consist of an elegantly-shaped præfericulum, or brazen vase to hold the libation. On its right is the lituns, or augural wand with which the heavens were divined; its top is so turned that it seems to be the precursor of the pastoral staff of modern bishops. Close to the lituus is a haustrum, or simpulum, a little earthen cup like a crucible, into which the wine was poured. On the left of the vase is an aspergillum, or aspersorium, for sprinkling the altars, and the people who attended the sacrifice, with lustral water; that which old Corynæus used was simply a branch of the olive tree,—but this is apparently made of horse hair, and is tied to a carved handle, having somewhat the appearance of a neat mess hand-swab. Close by it lies the sheathed secespita, or decorated knife for cutting up the victim; it is disproportionately broad at the haft, and tapers to a sharp point, precisely of the same form as is still observable at Rome, and throughout southern Italy.

## CCXXXVIII.

- Obverse. AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG. PH F. COS. II. (Aurelius Cæsar, Augusti Pii filius, Consul iterum.) The naked head of Aurelius, with an expressive and pleasing countenance, and the neck bare. This medal is in admirable preservation, and covered with olive-green patina; it was procured at Santa Maura, in Leucadia, in 1819.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consultu,) in the field. Minerva jaculatrix; standing in a threatening but stately attitude, with the dreadful ægis on her breast,—she has a buckler on her left arm, and is brandishing a spear with her right. She is attired in plain robes, but wears a helmet, and has the Tritonian goat-skin hanging down her back. The most remarkable part of her dress, however is a pair of shoes, with heels high enough to shame any of those worn in the last century: somewhat like those still used at Constantinople.

This medal was struck A. D. 145, and though the goddess is without her owl, it is doubtless a compliment to the prince's valour and learning. Still, her appearance blends so much of the terrific with the beautiful, that Lucian is borne out in making Cupid afraid to approach her. Ovid describes her figure,—

> "At sibi dat clypeum, dat acutæ cuspidis hastam : Dat galeam capiti ; defenditur Ægide pectus."

And Virgil describes the horrid ægis, as being repaired by Vulcan-

"Ægidaque horriferam, turbatæ Palladis arma, Certatim squamis serpentum auroque polibant, Connexosque angues, ipsamque in pectore divæ Gorgona, desecto vertentem lumina collo."

## CCXXXIX.

- Obverse. AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG. PII F. COS. II. (Aurelius Cæsar, Augusti Pii filius, Consul iterum.) An expressive profile of Aurelius, with the head unlaureated, and the neck bare. A coin in very superior condition, though scarcely patinated; it is of yellow orichalcum brass, and was found near Port Nettuno, the ancient Antium, in 1822.
- Reverse. S. C. (Senatus Consultu,) on the exergum. A magnificent triumphal car, slowly drawn by four fine horses, apparently forming part of a consular procession. The Prince is habited in senatorial vestments, and holds a sceptre transversely before him,—it is surmounted by an eagle, as was usual: so Juvenal,—

"Da nunc, et Volucrem Sceptro quæ surgit eburno."

## CCXL.

- Obverse. AVRELIVS CAESAR AVG. PII F. COS. II. (Aurelius Cæsar, Augusti Pii filius, Consul iterum.) The unlaureated youthful head of Aurelius, with part of a robe on his shoulders. This medal is in secondary but sound condition, and unpatinated; it was purchased from Mr. M. Young, in 1829.
- Reverse. VOTA PVBLICA. On the exergum S. C. Marcus Aurelius in senatorial robes, and Faustina Junior veiled as a bride, join their right hands before a stately female personating Concord. This was struck A. D. 145, to commemorate a marriage which appeared so propitious to the happiness of Rome,—and which, by the legend, was so welcome to the Roman people.

## CCXLI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. P. M. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus.) Though Aurelius had now assumed the title of Imperator, and the surname of Antoninus, we have here his head still unlaurelled;—but it differs from those just mentioned, in being of manly age, and bearded. This medal, struck A. D. 162, is in the highest state of preservation, and finely varnished with an olive-green patina; it was procured at Nice, in 1823.
- Reverse. CONCORD. AVGVSTOR. TR. P. XVI. (Concordia Augustorum, Tribunitia potestate decimum-sextum.) On the exergum COS. III. (Consul tertium,) and in the field S. C. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus standing; they are togated and bare-headed; and the likenesses are admirably preserved though on so small a scale. They are taking each other by the right-hand, in testimony of the concord with which the two Emperors ruled in common; and it may also allude to the visit which Aurelius paid to Verus, at Canusium, on hearing that he had been taken ill, as that circumstance happened in the year in which the medal was struck. This was the first instance of divided power subsisting in the Roman empire without strife and hatred; for the contentions of Romulus and Remus, of Cæsar and Pompey, had established the proverb-" Nec regna socium ferre, nec tædæ sciunt." The

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wandering Alciati, whose "Emblems" received the praise of the elder Scaliger, probably had this reverse in view, when he wrote this passage ;--

"Conjunctas dextras mutua dona dari. Fæderis hæc species id habet CONCORDIA signum ; Ut quos jungit amor, jungat et ipsa manus."

## CCXLII.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS AVG. ARMENIACVS P. M. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Augustus, Armeniacus, Pontifex Maximus.) An animated profile of the Emperor, with the head laureated, and the neck bare. This medal is in superior condition, and densely covered with a dark-brown patina; it was presented to me by Sig. Lusieri, at Athens, in 1820.
- Reverse. VICT. AVG. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. II. COS. III. (Victoria Augusti, Tribunitia potestate decimum-octavum, Imperator secundum, Consul tertium.) In the field S. C. A winged victory standing, with a trophy held by both hands transversely, like a weapon of offence, which shews a battle gained, but the war unfinished. She is attired in short robes, and at her feet is a mourning captive in the oriental garb. This was minted A. D. 164, to commemorate the advantages gained by the generals of Verus, over the Parthians who were ravaging Armenia, and for which each Emperor was saluted Armeniacus.

### CCXLIII.

- Obverse. M. ANTONINVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. P. P. (Marcus Antoninus, Augustus, Armeniacus, Parthicus, Pater Patriæ.) The head of the Emperor, laurelled and bearded, and with the neck bare. This medal is coated with a dense-brown patina, and in good condition; it was procured at Tunis, in 1822. There is a great singularity in the legend before us, for it is generally held that Aurelius did not bear the title of Pater Patriæ till the end of A. D. 176, or nine years after this was minted; and on those published by Vaillant, Eckhel, and others, the letters MAX. appear instead of the P. P. Yet mine is unquestionably a genuine coin, and therefore countenances the assertion of Capitoliuus, that after the successes in the East, both the Emperors had the encomiastic title decreed them.
- Reverse. CONG. AVG. IIII. TR. P. XXI. IMP. IIII. COS. III. (Congiarium Augusti quartum, Tribunitia potestate vigesimum-primum, Imperator quartum, Consul tertium.) On the exergum S. C. Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus seated on curule chairs, upon a suggestum, are dispensing their fourth congiary to the people. (See No. XLVII.) Before them stands a female with a tessera and cornucopiæ, which personifies liberality; and on the steps is a citizen holding up his robes to receive the donation. The Emperor disliked the system of largesses, and said to his soldiers, when they demanded one in the hour of victory,—" all that is given you beyond your due, must come from the blood of your parents and relations."

## CCXLIV.

- Obverse. M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXIII. (Marcus Antoninus, Augustus, Tribunitia potestate vigesimum-tertium.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with a mild expression, thick beard, and bare neck. This medal in excellent preservation, and covered with an olivegreen patina, was purchased at Orbitello, in 1823.
- Reverse. COS. III. (Consul tertium.) On the exergum PROFECTIO AVG. S. C. (Profectio Augusti, Senatus Consultu.) The Emperor on a caparisoned horse, preceded by a warrior with a spear and shield, and followed by three others; he is in armour, but bare-headed, and holds a long spear transversely with the point foremost, indicative of war. This was struck A. D. 169, when he took the field against the Marcomanni; and from the omission of the titles Armeniacus and Parthicus, it seems to have been after the death of Verus in that year, since Aurelius only bore those appellatives as long as his colleague was living. Antiquaries have noticed a strong resemblance between this equestrian figure, and the celebrated statue which still decorates the capitol of Rome.

## CCXLV.

- Obverse. M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXIV. (Marcus Antoninus, Augustus, Tribunitia potestate vigesimum-quartum.) The laurelled head of Marcus Aurelius with a full beard, and bare neck. This medal has a blackish patina, and is somewhat rubbed, but is otherwise in very good preservation; it was purchased from Mr. Matthew Young, in 1826.
- Reverse. COS. III. (Consul tertium.) On the exergum ADLOCVT. AVG. (Adlocutio Augusti,) and under it S. C. The Emperor on a tribunal, accompanied by two Prætorian prefects, is addressing three standard-bearers of the army. This was struck A. D. 170, on waging war with the Marcomanni, a warlike people who, leagued with the Quadi, the Sarmatians, the Roxolani, the lazyges, and other barbarian nations, had invaded the Roman frontier. This opened one of the severest contests that ever Rome sustained.

### CCXLVI.

- (*bwerse*. IMP. M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXV. (*Imperator Marcus Antoninus, Augustus, Tribunitia potestate vigesimum-quintum.*) The laurelled head of Aurelius, with a pleasing expression of countenance, thick beard, and bare neck. This medal is densely incrusted with a brownish-green patina, and is in the highest state of preservation; it was presented to me by Mr. Henry Beechey, who procured it at Ben-Gházi, in 1822.
- Reverse. PRIMI DECENNALES COS. 111. S. C. (Primi decennales, Consult tertium, Senatus Consultu.) This is inscribed on a handsome garland of laurel, and was struck A. D. 170, on payment of the first "vota decennalia." This method of vowing arose, according to Du Cange, from Augustus's feigning himself willing to quit the Empire, and having twice, at the entreaty and prayers of the senate, consented to hold it for 10 years longer, it grew into a custom with his successors, till the days of Theodosius. The vows were made for periods of 5 or 10 years, and the completion of each term was celebrated with games, and other rejoicings, in which the senate presented their sovereign with a civic crown, in acknowledgment of his care of the commonwealth,—while medals and marbles commenorated the people's having duly performed the obligations they had entered into. No decennial vow being found beyond XXXX, it is probable that none of the emperors reigned above 40 years.

Vows were religious promises in great use among the ancients, in every emergency. They constituted a considerable part of the Pagan worship; being made either in consequence of deliverance from imminent danger, or for the success of some enterprize. Thus Horace, having narrowly escaped being knocked on the head by the fall of a tree, tells us of a vow which he made on that occasion:—

"Voveram dulces epulas et album Libero caprum, prope funeratus Arboris ictu."

#### CCXLVII.

- Obverse. M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXVI. (Marcus Antoninus, Augustus, Tribunitia potestate vigesimum-sextum.) A finely-finished head of Marcus Aurelius, with mustachios and beard, and naked neck. This medal is coated with lead-coloured patina, and is in very superior preservation; it was minted A. D. 172, and came into my possession at Scylla, in Calabria, in 1814.
- Reverse. IMP. VI. COS. III. (Imperator sextum, Consul tertium.) On the exergum VIRTVS AVG. (Virtus Augusti,) and in the field S. C. The Emperor followed by five soldiers, two of whom bear standards, and the others have their spears advanced to encounter resistance: they are passing over a handsome bridge, constructed upon three boats, precisely like the one over the 1ster represented on the Trajan Column. The bridge before us was, no doubt, over the same river, since the Marcomanni, in abandoning Pannonia, sustained a dreadful overthrow while crossing it.

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There is another large-brass coin with this reverse, but inscribed *Adventus*, instead of *Virtus*, on the exergum—and recording IMP. VII. whence it affords a certain testimony of the Emperor's return to Rome, A. D. 174.

## CCXLVIII.

- Obverse. M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXVI. (Marcus Antoninus, Augustus, Tribunitia potestate vigesimum-sextum.) A well-executed profile of the Emperor, laureated and bearded; bearing the straps and ornaments of the lorica on his shoulders. This medal, though thinly patinated, is in capital condition; and was purchased from Mr. Till, in 1827.
- Reverse. GERMANIA SVBACTA IMP. VI. COS. III. (Germania subacta, Imperator sextum, Consul tertium.) In the field S. C. A grand trophy, upon a tree, to the foot of which a mourning captive is bound, and heaps of broken arms are strewed around. (See No. CXXIV.) This medal, struck A. D. 172, together with several others of this campaign, which I have had, proves that Germany was only subdued by repeated conflicts ;—the principal reverses of these events are—Victory inscribing VIC. GER. on a shield, a trophy with two captives, and VICT. GERMA. &c. in a wreath.

### CCXLIX.

- Obverse. M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXVII. (Marcus Antoninus, Augustus, Tribunitia potestate vigesimum-septimum.) The laureated head of Marcus Aurelius, with a placid expression of countenance, the hair and beard dressed with care, and his neck naked. This medal was struck A. D. 173, it is covered with a Saxon-green patina, and is in excellent preservation; I procured it at Sassari, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. RESTITYTOR1 ITALIAE IMP. VI. COS. III. (Restitutori Italiæ, Imperator sextum, Consul tertium.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor attired in the paludamentum, stands on the right of the field, with a sceptre in his left hand, and he is extending his right to a kneeling female, who holds a globe, and wears a corona turrita. Having bravely rescued Italy from Barbarian incursions, Aurelius well merited the title of Restorer,—especially when all the impending danger is considered. The Marcomanni, one of the most warlike nations of Germany, leagued with the Quadi, the lazyges of Sarmatia, the Roxolani, and the Vandals —of whom we now first hear—had invaded the frontier of the imperial territory, and devastated many places with fire and sword. This filled Italy with consternation; and to add to the general distress, a plague had been imported by the troops of Verus, and the calamity was increased by flood and famine. The Emperor's humanity and generosity were extended to all quarters—" Italicis civitatibus, famis tempore, framentum ex urbe donarit, omnique frumentariæ rei consuluit."

The Marcomannic war, one of the greatest that Rome ever sustained, was kindled while the flower of her army was engaged in the East. In this dilemma the Emperor was compelled to recruit his legions with slaves and exiles; and as the treasury was exhausted, he exposed to sale, not only the rich furniture of the palace, but also the pictures, plate, and jewels—even the very robes of the Empress.

### CCL.

- Obverse. M. ANTONINVS AVG. TR. P. XXVII. (Marcus Antoninus, Augustus, Tribunitia potestate vigesimum-septimum.) The laurelled head of Aurelius, with the hair and beard dressed as in the last, and the neck bare. This medal was struck A. D. 173; it is coated with grass-green patina, and is in superior preservation. I procured it from an Arab, near Tunis, in 1816.
- Reverse. IMP. V1. COS. III. (Imperator sextum, Consultertium.) On the exergum RELIG. AVG. (Religioni Augusti,) and in the field S. C. A curious temple on a plinth of four steps, having an epistyle decorated with sculptured attributes of Mercury. Though on so small a scale, there are readily seen the ram, an animal especially dedicated to him, as tutelary patron of shepherds and flocks; a cock, the emblem of vigilance; a tortoise, for the invention of the lyre; a

marsupium, or purse, for commerce, whence the god derived his name—d mercibus; a petasus, or winged helmet, for readiness of counsel and celerity of dispatch; and a caduceus, or mystic wand, for peace and power :—

"With this he draws the ghosts from hollow graves, With this he drives them down the Stygian waves, With this he seals in sleep the wakeful sight, And eyes, though clos'd in death, restores to light."

The pediment has a semi-circular crowning, and is supported by four colossal *Termini* or *Hermetes*,\* typical of the guide of travellers, and the preserver of highways; and in the adytum stands a statue of Mercury with a chlamys on his shoulders, a patera in his right hand, a caduceus in his left, and the petasus on his head; but the figure is too small to shew the *talaria* or wings to the feet. (See *Pietas* of Herennius Hetruscus.)

This device is at once singular and interesting, as the legend is restricted to the mintages of Aurelius and Valerian; and the only *Religio* in the large-brass series, is the one under discussion. It seems to have been struck on the erection or reparation of a temple to Mercury, who was greatly venerated by Aurelius, as the Institutor of Religion, in having ordained the worship and sacrifices of the gods :—" *Hic enim primus litteras invenit*, *Deorum cultus*, et *sacrificia ordinavit*." But this medal affords no evidence in favour of the supposition meutioned by Eckhel, that the Emperor ascribed the "miraculous shower" to this deity, and thus testified his gratitude:—that prodigy is expressly attributed to Jupiter Pluvius on the Antonine column; and a large-brass medal inscribed *Propugnatori*, was struck, on which Jupiter is represented casting a thunder-bolt at a prostrate Barbarian. (See CCXXVII.) Angeloni asserts that ruins and relics of a temple, resembling that on the medal, were discovered in his time, in a vineyard on Mount Aventine.

### CCLI.

- Obverse. M. ANTONINVS AVG. GERM. SARM. TR. P. XXXI. (Marcus Antoninus, Augustus, Germanicus, Sarmaticus, Tribunitia potestate trigesimum-primum.) The head of the Emperor, with a crown of laurel, the hair, mustachios, and beard very carefully dressed, the neck naked, and the countenance expressive and highly finished. This medal is varnished with a bright-green patina, and is in beautiful preservation; I purchased it at Capua, in 1823.
- Reverse. IMP. VIII. COS III. P. P. (Imperator octavum, Consul tertiam, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum DE SARMATIS; and in the field S. C. A large kind of thorax, apparently of chain-work over quilted stuff, not unlike one from the Súdán, presented to me by the late Captain Clapperton, R. N. It is surrounded by a pile of shields, spears, trunpets, banners, and other implements of war, gathered together in order to be burnt on the field of battle. (See No. LXXV.) This medal was struck A. D. 177, and testifies the Emperor's success over the Sarmatians: another of the same date, with very nearly the same device, is inscribed De Germanis;—but as either of them suffices for a limited cabinet, I retained that which is in the best condition. Aurelius now returned to Rome, after an absence of more than six years, and with his son Commodus, trinmphed for his German victories; on which occasion he gave large sums to the people, and exhibited pompous and magnificent shews, though he took no pleasure himself in such diversions.

It was in the arduous campaign from which Aurelius had just returned, that he fell into imminent danger of being cut off, with his whole army, A. D. 174. Having been drawn into an ambush among sterile mountains, the Romans were ready to perish with thirst, and notwithstanding all that the Emperor could do to raise their flagging spirits, nothing was heard but groans—nothing was seen but despair. In this distress, while expecting to be cut in

<sup>\*</sup> These Hermetes, or *Hermæ trunci*, were often shapeless direction posts of wood, with a stone bust of Mercury upon then. See Juvenal, s. VIII. v. 53. From these came the saying "*Ex quovis ligno non fit Mercurius*," equivalent to our "cannot make a silk purse of a sow's ear." I should add, that this curious medal is exceedingly well figured among the *Nummi Veteres*, appended to the "Emblems" of Sambucus—a curious specimen of the typographical merit of the celebrated Christopher Plantin, who printed it at Antwerp, in 1566.

pieces by the Barbarians who surrounded them on all sides, the sky was suddenly overcast and a torrent of rain fell. While they were joyfully availing themselves of this bounty, the Sarmatæ, Quadi, and Marcomanni, fell upon them, and would have probably destroyed them, had they not been seasonably succoured by a dreadful storm of hail, mixed with lightning and thunder-bolts, which discharged itself upon the advancing enemy, to their total discomfiture. This memorable event has occupied the pens of Apollinaris, Tertullian, Eusebius, and many other writers—for it was attributed entirely to the prayers of a Christian legion which, they assert, was thence-forward designated the *Legio Fulminans*; and, moreover, they make Aurelius himself acknowledge his being thus indebted to the new sect. But there can be no doubt—from the concurrent opinion of the best authorities—that the Emperor's cited letter to the senate, alledging this as a fact, is spurious; and that the 'good Christians, who invoked divine interposition in favour of a persecutor of their faith, piously mistook accident for miracle.

On this occasion I would exclaim with the Frenchman, who, on being asked whether some Anglicism was not French, replied—pas tout à fait, mais ilmérite bien de l'être; but my object is to investigate a portion of the fact medallically. Xiphiline, and after him Onuphrius, maintain that the band of Thunderers was not mentioned till this incident had taken place;—but from an inscription cited by Baronius, this same legion, the XIIth, was distinguished by that appellative in Trajan's time; and the medal No. XXXVI, of this catalogue, bears unequivocal testimony that the fulmen, or thunder-bolt, was a legionary symbol a century and a-half before the Sarmatian defeat. The laborious and erudite Mosheim observes, that it is an invariable maxim universally adopted by the wise and judicious, that no events are to be esteemed miraculous, which may be rationally attributed to natural causes, and accounted for by a recourse to the ordinary dispensations of providence. For the opinion of the pagans on this phenomenon, see Nos. CCXXVII, and CCL;—in addition to which it may be added that, Dion Cassius ascribed it to an Ægyptian magician named Arnuphis; while Suidas imputed it to the sorcery of Julianus, who was originally a Chaldæan—and Chaldæus had become synonimous with Astrologus.

CCLII.

- Obverse. M. ANTONINVS AVG. GERM. SARM. TR. P. XXXI. (Marcus Antoninus, Augustus, Germanicus, Sarmaticus, Tribunitia potestate trigesimum-primum.) The usual laureated head of the Emperor, but with a robe over the shoulders. This medal is coated with a dark bottle-green patina, and is in excellent preservation; I procured it at Alexandria, in 1822.
- Reverse. IMP. VIII. COS. III. P. P. (Imperator octavum, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum LIBERALITAS AVG. VII. (Liberalitas Augusti, septimum.) In the field S. C. Marcus Aurelius, and a small figure representing his son Commodus, seated on curnle chairs, raised upon a square substructure; before them stands a female with a cornucopiæ, and a frumentarian tessera, as Liberality, and behind them is a Prætorian Prefect, with a hasta pura. On the steps is a figure personating the Roman people, holding up its robe to receive the Emperor's gift. From the date, A. D. 177, this device shews the largess which was given on the marriage of Commodus and Crispina. The P. P. appears constantly on the medallic legends of Aurelius, from this year to that of the Consecration; but it is not easy to account for its being omitted so long. See No. CCXLII.

CCLIII.

- Obverse. DIVVS M. ANTONINVS PIVS. (Divus Marcus Antoninus Pius.) The head of the Emperor without laurel, and bearing a sedate cast of countenance, as though the likeness were taken after death. The agnomen of Pius now appears, for though it belonged to him by the right of adoption, it does not appear on the coins struck while Aurelius was living. This medal is densely incrusted with an olive-green patina, and is in superior conservation; I procured it at Ziliten, near Lebidah, in 1817.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. In the field S. C. A grand rogus of four-stories, surmounted by a quadrigated car; it is decorated with images, drapery, and festoons—and it decreases from the base to the summit, as depicted by Virgil:—

Congerere arboribus, cœloque educere certant."

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Roman funerals were accompanied by games of the bustuarii, races, and theatrical exhibitions. See No. CCXXV. The Campus Martius was the place assigned for the burial of the great, especially such as were honoured with *funera indictiva*. The corpse was covered with the stragula vestis, and being borne thither, feet foremost, was laid upon the rogus, or pyra, with the face turned to the sky, the eyes open, and an obolus, as Charon's fare, in the mouth. This done, the nearest relations to the deceased turned their backs to the pile, and set it on fire with torches which they held behind them: "Aversi tenuere facem." As soon as the wood took fire, the soldiers, and all the company, made a solemn course three times round the pile, to shew their respect for the deceased. Thus Virgil .—

"Ter circum adcensos, cincti fulgentibus armis, Decurrere rogos; ter mæstum funeris ignem Lustravere in equis; ululatusque ore dedere."

Perfumes, myrrh, cassia, odoriferous oils, and precious gums, were used in profusion; and costly garments were thrown into the flame as muuera, or offerings. In the ridiculous debate about a turbot, to which Domitian summoned his senators, Juvenal tells us :---

"Et matutino sudans Crispinus amomo, Quantum vix redolent duo funera."

When the pile was burnt down, they put out the embers by sprinkling them with wine, that the relations might the more easily gather up the bones and ashes for the urn; as is elegantly described by Tibullus, l. 3. Eleg. 2.

On the demise of an emperor, the real body was burnt and the *caput mortuum* disposed of in the usual manner. But a waxen image of the deceased was made, which received adoration for a week in the palace, and was then borne in solemn procession, first to the forum, where a grand dirge was chaunted; then to the Campus Martius, where it was burnt amongst perfumes, on a lofty pile, from the apex of which an eagle let loose, was supposed to convey the soul of the defunct to the celestial regions. This last must have been the ceremony commemorated on the medal under consideration, since it appears that Aurelius having died at Vindobona, A. D. 180, his ashes only were conveyed to Rome, for the *Funus Indictivum*.

### CCLIV.

- Obverse. DIVVS M. ANTONINVS PIVS. (Divus Marcus Antoninus Pius.) The bare head of Aurelius, as in the last. This medal is covered with a deep chocolate-coloured patina, and is in very fair preservation; it was procured from Mr. J. C. Ross, at Malta, in 1821.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the exergum S. C. A magnificent car drawn by four elephants, each mounted by a guide; and on the car is a sedent statue of the Emperor upon a throne under a canopy. No honour was spared to the memory of Aurelius; all men were convinced that he was returned to the gods, who had only lent him for a season; a statue of gold was erected in the capitol, a temple and priests were dedicated to him, and his memory was revered by a grateful posterity. Capitolinus, near a century afterwards, tells us that he was still worshipped in most families with their domestic gods.

In those ages, not only the image of the deceased was borne in the funeral procession, but also those of his ancestors; and it is in allusion to this that Horace says—

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## Ducunt triumphales tuum."

### CCLV.

- Obverse. DIVVS M. ANTONINVS PIVS. (Divus Marcus Antoninus Pius.) A fine head of the Emperor, with the hair, beard, and mustachios carefully dressed, but without laurel, and the neck bare. This medal is thinly coated with a dark-brown patina, but is in perfect preservation; it was presented to me by Mr. T. Burgon, in 1825.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. In the field S. C. An eagle with expanded wings, standing on a small flat structure, which is decorated with festoons of verbena; this probably represents the

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casket in which the ashes of Aurelius were transported from Germany to Rome. It is often, notwithstanding its shape, called an altar—but, as with the *Altare Viaticum* of Roman Catholic saints, it may have served both purposes.

## CCLVI.

- Obverse. DIVVS M. ANTONINVS PIVS (Divus Marcus Antoninus Pius.) A bare and remarkable head of Marcus Aurelius, with a grave aspect. This medal is varnished with an olive-green patina, and is in the highest perfection; I procured it from a Greek peasant at Patras, in 1820.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. In the field S. C. A cowering eagle standing upon a globe. This is held to be emblematical of the anima, or soul of the Emperor, soaring from earth to heaven whence the farce of apotheosis has been ascribed to a taint of the Pythagorean doctrines; but it obviously originated in what Tacitus termed "the epidemic spirit of adulation," long before the Samian was born.

### CCLVII.

- Obverse. DIVVS M. ANTONINVS PIVS. (Divus Marcus Antoninus Pius.) A very expressive profile of the Emperor, unlaureated, and the hair and beard trimmed in curls. This medal is in very fine condition, and covered with a dark-green patina; it was presented to me by Mr. Craig, at La Maddalena, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. In the field S. C. Aurelius seated on the back of a "lusty" eagle-which carries a thunder-bolt in its talons-is winged away to the celestials. He holds forth his right hand in the attitude of allocution; and in his left supports a formidable sceptre. And this is the last memorial of a sovereign who was so greatly venerated by his subjects, that whoever did not keep a statue of him in his house, though able to afford it, was held to be a sacrilegious person.

The sceptre of old was a very different *weapon* from the elegant *truncheon* now in use, as Thersites could have told us; it was a plain staff like a hunting pole, and was generally made of a young tree, cut from the root, and stript of its branches. The Romans decorated them with brass:—

> "Ut sceptrum hoc, dextra sceptrum nam forte gerebat, Numquam fronde levi fundet virgulta, neque umbras, Cum semel in silvis, imo de stirpe recisum, Matre caret, posuitque comas et brachia ferro; Olim arbos; nunc artificis manus ære decoro Inclusit, patribusque dedit gestare Latinis."

# FAUSTINA JUNIOR.

Annia Faustina, the daughter of Antoninus Pius and Galeria Faustina, was betrothed by Hadrian to Lucius Verus; but on the death of that Emperor, was given in marriage to Marcus Aurelius—a man whom her father thought more likely to promote her happiness. This event took place A. D. 140; and she became the mother of a large family of children, the names of eight of whom are preserved. Having accompanied her husband into the East, she died suddenly at Halala, a village at the foot of Mount Taurus, A. D. 175.

With so virtuous a father and husband, it is surprising that the beautiful Faustina not only imitated her mother, but was even still more grossly licentious, insomuch

that she had an incestuous intercourse with Verus, her own son-in-law; and not content with procuring the advancement of Tertullus, Orphitus, Utilius, and other paramours, to state-employments, she acted so infamously among the lower orders that a common gladiator was reputed to be the father of Commodus: "siguidem Faustinam satis constat apud Cajetam, conditiones sibi nauticas et *gladiatorias elegisse.*" Dio suspects she was also an accomplice with Avidius Cassius, against her husband; but the letters which she wrote, urging the Emperor to the utmost severity against that rebel's family, makes Vulcatius Gallicanus acquit her of treason. Aurelius either gave no credit to the reports of her depravity, or from prudence, dissembled his knowledge of it, and appeared not to perceive, what was notorious to the whole empire : and when his friends advised him to divorce her, he answered, that if he put her away, he ought also to return her dower-meaning the throne. This, however, was a blameable lenity, and excused on a false position; besides which, where there is no dread of retribution, there is nothing to restrain vice; and the conduct of Aurelius exposed him to many scoffs. Indeed, his wife's infidelity was so universally known, especially with Tertullus, as to be publicly alluded to upon the stage—in no very obscure terms.\*

Notwithstanding her baseness, Aurelius bewailed the loss of Faustina, more, says the emperor Julian, than would have been becoming a man of his gravity, for a woman of the most unblemished character. He pronounced her funeral oration, and to the scandal of all who had a regard for morality and religion, begged of the senate to rank her with Pallas—a virgin goddess. That august body obsequiously complied with the absurd request, and she, who by her vices had disgraced human nature, was placed among the divinities, and publicly adored. Aurelius also raised the village in which she died, to the rank of a colony under the name of Faustinopolis, and erected a magnificent temple to her : this building was afterwards consecrated to Heliogabalus, as if its fate was to be assigned to the most infamous characters among the imperial profligates.

The medals of Faustina Junior are exceedingly common in all metals, and are therefore selected with particular attention to their state of preservation. In this abundance, it is curious that a large-brass forgery should have been foisted in among them,—it is of admirable workmanship, and represents a sacrifice to Vesta, somewhat like that of Julia Domna; and it is found in such numbers that I have had eight or ten: the fraud has been ascribed to Benvenuto Cellini, but its Patavinity rather assigns it to the noted Lewis Lee. Among the reverses of this Empress, is a *quinarius* 

<sup>\*</sup> Capitolinus gives the anecdote thus, "Mimus in scena, præsente Antonino, dixit cum stupidus nomen adulteri uxoris \* Servo quæreret, et ille diceret ter TULLUS ; et adbuc stupidus quæreret, respondit ille, Jam dixi ter, TULLUS dicitur.

with the legend *Concordia* around a dove, an entirely new type of this virtue ; and certainly the type ought to be new which is designed to express the concord that actually did exist between a couple who had so great a disparity of morals. One of the emblems struck in honour of Faustina the Younger, is *Pudicitia*! But many of her medals, with greater propriety, bear Venus as a reverse, with different attributes-as the apple, the bow and arrow, the rudder and dolphin, rudder and snake on a tortoise,\* and the palladium and shield. In her Veneri felici, Venus appears to be cajoling Mars; and both Addison and Eckhel mention the idea entertained by some antiquaries, that this is satirically allusive of the loves of Faustina and the gladiator. "But," says the former, "besides that such a thought was inconsistent with the gravity of a senate, how can one imagine that the fathers would have dared to affront the wife of Aurelius, and the mother of Commodus?" Nor is Cooke more happy in mistaking the garland of Lætitia for the cestus of Venus, as that mystic zone does not appear upon any of the coins of this Empress which have passed under my examination. To this girdle, however, great influence was ascribed by all the ancients :----

> "In this was every art, and every charm, To win the wisest, and the coldest warm : Fond love, the gentle vow, the gay desire, The kind receipt, the still reviving fire; Persuasive speech, and more persuasive sighs, Silence that spoke, and eloquence of eyes."

> > CCLVIII.

- Obverse. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. A fine profile of Faustina Junior, her tresses without ornament, and having elegant drapery over her shoulders. The portrait of this Empress is readily distinguished from that of her mother, by a more aquiline nose, greater feminine beauty, and the hair tied behind, instead of braided on the crown of the head. There is a secondbrass coin, quoted by Eckhel, which shews that she took the title of Augusta while her husband was yet Cæsar. The medal now described is in singular perfection, and covered with a Saxon-green patina; I procured it at Syracuse, in 1814.
- Reverse. DIANA LVCIF. (Diana Lucifera.) In the field S. C. A robed female, holding a torch transversely in her hands, represents Diana in her capacity of Genetyllis, or assistant at childbirth—a device which may have been struck during the pregnancy of Faustina. This Diva Triformis had offices in almost all parts of the universe—in heaven, earth, and hell—under the names of Diana, Luna, and Hecate. See Nos. CCLXII. and CCLXIII.

### CCLIX.

- Obverse. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. An admirably executed head of Faustina, with the hair more elaborately dressed than in the last, and a countenance expressive of exquisite personal charms, and *innocence*. This medal is of fine yellow brass, barely patinated, but in the highest preservation; it was found near a ruin, in the Pontine Marshes, in 1822.
- Reverse. MATRI MAGNAE. On the exergum S. C. Cybele seated on a stately throne, between two lions; she is crowned with turrets, and holds the tympanum, or tabor, on her knee;—an instrument, as with the modern tambarine, played—"orbem digito temperat." It is singular

<sup>\*</sup> Jobert slily insinuates that the tortoise is a symbol of Venus, because it shews that "married women ought to keep at home!"

that her right hand here is empty, for it often holds a branch of the pine, which was sacred to her, or a key. The sedent posture of the goddess denotes stability; the tame lions, the conquest of civilization over barbarism; and the tabor's disc, the circumference of the earth. The crown is mentioned by most of the Roman poets; and Lucretius says :---

"Muralique caput summum cinxere corona

Eximiis munita locis quod sustinet urbeis."

Cybele was known as Mater Deûm, Tellus, Vesta, Rhea, Idæa, Ops, (see CCXVI.) &c.; and Sir Isaac Newton considers her as being the same with Europa, wife of Asterius, king of Crete, and mother of Minos, who reigned about 1015, B. C. The title of *Mater* was given by the pagans to certain goddesses of the first rank, as Cybele, Juno, and Ceres: in like manner the god, whose aid was implored, was often invoked by the epithet of *Pater*.

The infamous orgies of the Galli, or priests of Cybele, were too mad and abominable, and are too well known to need description. The villains, as St. Austin calls them, having perverted the order of nature, were wont to appear in the dress of Phrygian women. In the masquerades which took place, at the festival of this goddess, the rabble appeared in the habits, and counterfeited the dignity of magistrates : and here we find the origin of the Romish Carnival.

### CCLX.

- Obverse. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. A fine head of the beautiful Empress, with the hair elaborately dressed, and a frontal diadem; the neck has a graceful curve, and the shoulders are neatly attired in drapery. A medal in first-rate condition, and covered with brownish-green patina. I procured it at Malta, from Signor Benucci, the artist, in 1822.
- Reverse. SAECVLI FELICIT. (Sæculi felicitas.) In the field S. C. A superb lectula bearing two children—twins of Faustina—in playful attitudes; in allusion to the custom of thus presenting new-born infants in the temple of Juno Lucina. The medal in the Florence Cabinet, and one in the British Museum, have a star over the head of each infant, which gives them the character of the Dioscuri; and were it not for the words of the legend, I should have taken the apparent deification as a tribute of condolence for their death. It is said that before Faustina was delivered of these twins, she dreamed that she brought forth two serpents, one of which was more venomous than the other; the ominous presage was verified in the eyes of the good people of Rome, by the depraved reign of the first, and the premature death of the second—whose character was probably saved by his exit.

#### CCLXI.

- Obverse. FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. The profile of Faustina, with a pleasing expression, the hair carefully dressed with an anadema, and her shoulders robed. This medal is in high perfection, and covered with a yellowish-green patina; it was purchased at the Hon. R. E. Digby's sale, in 1825.
- Reverse. TEMPOR. FELIC. (Temporum felicitas.) In the field S. C. A stately female figure, in full robes, with a diadem on her head, stands in the centre of the field; she supports an infant on each arm, and has two others on each side of her feet. This is a monument of the fecundity of Faustina, a quality held in the highest respect by the ancient Romans, the legend therefore is justified. So numerous a family would denote domestic harmony, but that writers have furnished us with facts which prove the contrary. In the "Triumph of Love" Petrarch observes :--

"Vedi 'l buon Marco d'ogni laude degno,

Pien di filosofia la lingua, e 'l petto :

Pur Faustina il fà qui star a segno."

### CCLXII.

Obverse. DIVA FAVSTINA PIA. The head of Faustina, who though deified, is not yet veiled; the hair is arranged somewhat differently from that of the medals just described, the shoulders are robed, and the countenance is that of a woman not more than 35 years of age, though she had been a wife that time, when she died. This coin is varnished with a thin brown patina and is in excellent condition; it was purchased at Mr. Neave's sale, in 1830.

Reverse. SIDERIBVS RECEPTA. In the field S. C. This was struck to denote the supposed reception of Faustina into heaven. A female is represented of rather a robust make, with short garments, in the character of Diana; but though she holds a torch, as on No. CCLIX, the style of drapery, and her legs—together with the knot confining her tresses behind—rather indicate Venatrix than Lucifera. Upon her shoulders she holds a crescent, in a manner similar to that of Lunus, the MHN of the Greeks, a god adored among those who thought that by worshipping the moon as a female, they would be surely "hen-pecked." This is the symbol of Diana presiding over the moon, whence Horace called her "Siderum Regina bicornis," in the grand Secular Hymn. The poets, indeed, have been very full on the many attributes of this triple goddess; but it is in her capacity as the lunar Intelligence that she is most interesting. In the platonic fable of her love for Endymion, there is some reason to think that the eclipses of the moon are intimated, as the veil was an essential part of her attire on that occasion. Catullus, when commending Conon, the illustrious friend of Archimedes, says that he knew the reason of the eclipses of the sun; why the stars are sometimes lost; and why the moon disappears in the midst of her course :—

"Flammeus ut rapidi solis nitor obscuretur;

Ut cedant certis sydera temporibus ;

Ut Triviam furtim sub Latmia saxa relegans

Dulcis amor gyro devocet aërio."

#### CCLXIII.

- Obverse. DIVA FAVSTINA PIA. The head of the Empress in style, workmanship, and aspect, similar to the last. It is covered with a deep-brown patina, and is in capital preservation; I procured it at Zante, in 1820.
- Reverse. SIDERIBVS RECEPTA. In the field S. C. This is struck with the same design as the one just described, but under a different type. A female, habited as Diana, with a floating veil, stands in a small car drawn by two light prancing horses. This goddess is sometimes represented as drawn by stags, does, and oxen, as well as horses; both poets and artists have agreed in giving her but two at a time, and it seems that the painters of old depicted them of a perfectly white colour. See Nos. CCLIX. and CCLXII.

### CCLXIV.

- Obverse. DIVA FAUSTINA PIA. A profile of Faustina, in style resembling the last, but with a less pleasing expression. The medal is covered with a chocolate-coloured patina, and is in very good conservation; I purchased it at Rome, in 1823.
- Reverse. AETERNITAS. On the exergum S. C. The deceased Empress, with a sceptre, is seated upon a throne, transported through space by two females, who, as well as Faustina, have floating veils above their heads. These attendant figures have been pronounced by Havercamp, Angeloni, and Visconti, to represent Horze, or nymphs of the air; and by Tristan, the relations of the Empress who died before her, and were delegated to pay this respect. Others see in these three figures an indication of the past, the present, and the future; and Eckhel hints that they may allude to the golden statue which Aurelius erected in Faustina's usual place at the theatre, around which the principal ladies seated themselves, as in her life-time. But the throne raised from the ground, and the arched iris-like veils indicative of divinity, are arguments against this opinion. Indeed, nothing more can be made out with certainty, but that the device commemorates the apotheosis of the defunct Empress.

### CCLXV.

- Obverse. DIVA FAVSTINA PIA. The usual head of the Empress, with a sweet expression of countenance. This medal is bare of patina, but is in sound, though secondary condition; it was purchased at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. AETERNITAS. In the field S. C. The Empress is borne through the empyrcum on the back of a winged female, who holds a large torch in her hands. This figure, from its light and flowing drapery, and the office it is performing, might at once be pronounced to

represent a celestial genius, or an *angel*; but Occo styles it "Victoria volans,"—and Archbishop Agostini, a winged eternity. Oiselius simply terms it a victory; and it accords with that described in the dream of the father of Alexander Severus. Tristan quaintly and satirically explains the medal thus, "Et voicy sa femme portée sur les ailes d'une Victoire, ou de Minerve, surnommée Victrice. Pour donner à entendre qu'estant decédée elle estoit recompensée de la demure éternelle du Ciel, pour sa sage et vertueuse conduite, et comme ayant esté victorieuse du vice et de l'incontinence, dont cette Déese estoit ennemie formelle."

### CCLXVI.

- Obverse. DIVA FAVSTINA PIA. The head of Faustina, with the hair carefully dressed, but without ornament, and her shoulders covered with neat drapery. This medal is coated with brown patina, and is in excellent preservation; it was presented to me at Pola, in Istria, in 1819.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. In the field S. C. A grand lectisternium, with a sceptre in the part which is to be occupied by the new divinity; and a peacock with an expanded tail—"avem quippe Junoniam"—standing before the drapery, are here represented. This device denotes that the throne prepared in heaven, for Faustina, was equal to that of Juno.

The lectisternia were religious feasts, made for the gods themselves, in times of danger or success, as supplications or thanksgivings. On these occasions their statues were solemnly brought out by the Epulones, and absurdly laid upon sumptuous beds, by the side of tables which were profusely spread with viands—while the whole space—beds, temples, and altars—were strewed with leaves, and odoriferons herbs and flowers; whence the name. The images of goddesses were placed on thrones, as better adapted to the delicacy of their sex; and on the medal before us, the lectisternium appears fitter for sitting upon than reclining. Horace, rejoicing on account of Cleopatra's death, exclaims :—

> "Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero Pulsanda tellus; nunc Saliaribus Ornare pulvinar Deorum Tempus erat dapibus."

Until the time of Casaubon this custom was considered as being peculiar to the Romans; but that acute critic, examining a passage of the Scholiast upon Pindar, and there finding mention made of the cushions which supported the gods, justly concluded that the *lectisternium* was in use among the Greeks. Besides this evidence, Pausanias speaks decidedly of the *pulvinaria* on which the deities were placed, and Valerius Maximus also mentions the practice. But its source seems deducible from the Jewish principle of eating the passover, which was a sacred symbol of federal communion with God.

### CCLXVII.

- Obverse. DIVA FAVSTINA PIA. The profile of the Empress, the hair curiously dressed but without ornament, and the bust enrobed. A medal in very excellent condition, though but thinly patinated; it was presented to me by Col. Sir Parker Carroll, in 1821, at Malta.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. In the field S. C. A noble peacock, strutting with its tail expanded. This bird was especially consecrated to Juno, as the eagle was to the mighty Thunderer—and therefore the "Avis Junonia" was more appropriately used in apotheosis of empresses, than the "Jovis Armiger." The peacock was also a symbol of that conjugal love and affection which ought to exist between married people.

### CCLXVIII.

- Obverse. DIVA FAVSTINA PIA. The head of Faustina attired as in the last, but with a more pleasing expression of countenance. This medal is coated with green patina, and is in excellent preservation; it was procured at Marseilles, in 1823.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. In the field S. C. An altar resembling the Ara Pacis of Nero, but of a plainer fabric. See No. CCXXVI. We learn that an altar was erected by the senate to the

memory of the Empress; and it was ordained, that young women, immediately after their marriage, should repair to it, and there offer a solemn sacrifice. For this scandalous institution, adds the historian, they deserved that their daughters should all resemble Faustina, and their sons Commodus.

## CCLXIX.

- Obverse. DIVA FAVSTINA PIA. The profile of the Empress with her hair neatly disposed in curls, and a veil falling from the back of the head to her shoulders. This medal is covered with a rich-brown patina, and is in singularly high perfection; it was purchased at Mr. Marmaduke Trattle's sale, in 1832, being lot 3057. It superseded a less perfect one which I had brought from Algiers, with the same reverse, but the face a little older.
- Reverse. AETERNITAS. On the exergum S.C. A grand car drawn by two noble elephants caparisoned, and each mounted by a naked guide. On the car is a throne bearing the statue of Faustina, with a sceptre in her right hand, and a canopy over her head. This device is of fine workmanship, and represents the golden statue of the Empress as it was drawn to the great games. See No. VIII.

## CCLXX.

- Obverse. DIVAE FAVSTINAE PIAE. The head of Faustina, attired and veiled as in the last-but having a more pleasing expression of countenance. A medal in very fine condition, and incrusted with a dark-green patina; I procured it at Sassari, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. MATRI CASTRORVM. On the exergum S. C. Here is another piece of adulation to the deified Faustina, who is superbly robed and seated upon a throne. On her right hand she bears a radiated phœnix on a globe, the emblem of power and eternity; (see No. CCXXXI.) and in her left the wand of divinity; while before her are raised three military standards. This device proves the truth of what Dio has related, that the Empress was saluted by this pompous title after the glorious victory obtained by Aurelius over the Marcomanni, Sarmatæ, and Quadi. This extraordinary title was afterwards assumed by Julia Domna, and Julia Mæsa.

#### CCLXXI.

- Obverse. DIVAE FAVSTINAE AVG. MATR. CASTROR. (Divæ Faustinæ, Augustæ, Matri Castrorum.) The profile of the Empress, veiled and attired as in the last. This medal is coated with a red-tinted patina, and is in good preservation : it was purchased from Mr. M. Young, in 1826.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. In the field S. C. A rogus very splendidly ornamented with statues and festoons, and surmounted by a curiously-wrought apex, with an equestrian statue, in allusion perhaps to the designation of Mother of the Camp. As the Empress died at the foot of Mount Taurus, this must represent an honorary funeral. See No. CCLIII.

### CCLXXII.

- Obverse. DIVAE FAVSTINÆ AVG. MATR. CASTROR. (Divæ Faustinæ, Augustæ, Matri Castrorum.) The veiled head of Faustina, with a sweet expression of countenance. A medal incrusted with a deep bottle-green patina, and in excellent condition; it was found near Oristano, in Sardinia, in 1824, and presented to me directly afterwards.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the lower verge S. C. Faustina, on the back of a large eagle, is conveyed to heaven; and has a floating veil and wand, the symbols of divinity, to denote her apotheosis. The interior of the veil is spotted with seven stars, a number which has been mystical from the earliest ages. This Empress is represented on some coins as borne on a peacock—but the eagle may be considered as indicative of greater honour, and more suitable to the Mother of the Camp.

Perhaps this medal ought to have been placed before the *Sideribus Recepta*, which denotes the end of her flight, and her reception among the stars; but as it has not the deifying veil on the portrait, their place in the cabinet has been determined by that circumstance.

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# ANNIUS VERUS.

Annius Verus, the son of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Junior, was born A. D. 163; was decorated with the title of Cæsar at the age of three years; and died A. D. 170, at Præneste, a town of Latium, of a glandular swelling in the throat, which appears to have been unskilfully treated. Being the only surviving son except Commodus, he seems to have been greatly regretted, for statues, one of them of gold, and many other honours, were decreed to him.

Latin medals of this young prince, are of extreme rarity; and I have only heard of two medallions, and a very few in large-brass—indeed so few, that the rich cabinet in the British Museum, does not yet possess one. M. Beauvais and M. Mionnet mention Latin coins of second-brass at the low price of 50 francs, but I never yet met with one of that class. Greek-imperial coins were struck of second and third-brass, but they are scarcely less rare than those of the Roman mintage : these are distinguished from those of Lucius Verus, by the addition of Augustus, a title which Annius never received.

## CCLXXIII.

- Obverse. ANNIVS VERVS CAES. ANTONINI AVG. FIL. (Annius Verus Cæsar, Antonini Augusti filius.) The youthful head of Annius, with short and curly hair, and a paludamentum close round his neck. This very rare medal is covered with deep-brown patina, and is in fair condition, though it appears to have been tooled; I procured it from the Rev. Mr. Hall, chaplain to the British Factory at Leghorn, in 1823, in exchange for some Carthaginian coins.
- Reverse. COMMODVS CAES. ANTONINI AVG. FIL. (Commodus Cæsar, Antonini Augusti filius.) The naked head of Commodus, with curly hair, and a somewhat older appearance than that of Annius; the paludamentum is fibulated to the right shoulder. As Commodus was two years senior to his brother, his head, in strict justice, ought to be the obverse, and the medal should fall into the series of his reign; but in the present arrangement, I have followed that adopted in the best cabinets.

## LUCIUS VERUS.

Lucins Ceionius Commodus, the son of L. Ælius Verus and Domitia Lucilla, was born at Rome, A. D. 130, and after the preferment of his father by Hadrian, had Ælius Anrelius added to his name. He was adopted by Antoninus Pius, at the same time with Marcus Aurelius; but that good emperor complied with the express orders of Hadrian only according to the letter, and neither made him Cæsar, nor invested him with any power during his whole reign—a clear indication of the light in which he viewed his character. After the death of Pius, A. D. 161, Aurelius associated him in the empire with the agnomen of Verus, although fire and water are scarcely more opposed to each other than were the characters of these

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princes. On this occasion the latter was not only declared Cæsar but Augustus also; and he experienced still further the kindness of his colleague, in having his daughter Lucilla, bestowed upon him, A. D. 164. With all his faults, it must be admitted that Verus shewed himself sensible of the considerate condescension of Aurelius, and conducted himself with great deference in public matters, acting rather as a lientenant than a co-equal. He died A. D. 169, at Altinum, not without suspicion of poison; but from his depraved habits of life, drunkenness, and gluttony, it is more probable that he died of apoplexy—an inference also countenanced by the description of his death. Lucilla and Faustina have both been charged with this crime; but it is unjust to entertain such a suspicion of the virtuous Marcus Aurelius, as that thrown out by Dio Cassius.

Lucius Verus was a prince of effeminate habits and frivolous pursuits, on the one hand entirely abandoned to debauchery, and on the other confining his studies to the most trifling subjects. It has been asserted that he was proud, indolent, unprincipled, and disgraced by every vice except cruelty—but with respect to the last, such was his passion for gladiators, that his character appears to have been saved only by his not being the absolute master of Rome. During his stay in the East, instead of appearing at the head of his army, he scarcely stirred from Antioch, where he wallowed in all the abominations of Daphne, its noted submrb, among comedians, gamblers, charioteers, musicians, courtezans, and wretches still more infamous. On his return to Rome, that awe for the superior virtue of Aurelius, which had been the only check on his conduct, was considerably weakened, and his revels were shared by the dregs of the rabble. In the height of his excesses, he would sally forth disguised in the "cucullio," like another Nero, to sconr the streets of Rome, and in the consequent broils was often severely handled.

The folly and extravagance of this Emperor were attended with a ruinous expense. He was so fond of a horse which he called *Celer*, that he erected a golden statue to him, fed him with pistachio-nuts, almonds, and raisins, assigned him apartments in the palace, and clothed him in purple trappings. And Capitolinus—who paints Verus as neither very good, nor extremely bad—has preserved an account of one of his prodigal entertainments. The party consisted of a dozen persons, which was esteemed a great number, for the proverb said—"*Septem convivium; novem, vero, convicium.*" The cost of the rare wines and delicate viands served up was scarcely worthy of consideration—for to each guest was presented the youthful cup-bearer who had replenished his "bumpers," together with the carver or butler who waited on him and the massy chargers from which he ate; and likewise living animals, whether beasts, or birds, wild or tame, similar to those whose flesh had been brought to the table. Murrhine \* vessels and crystal goblets from Alexandria were given to each drinker, \*at every potation, as well as the gold, silver, and jewelled cups which they severally used. He gave them chaplets of flowers which were out of season, with fillets interwoven with gold; and also gold vases shaped like those of alabaster, filled with perfumed ointments. After the feast, the party played at dice till daybreak, when the entertainer bestowed on each of his guests, a vehicle with mules and a muleteer, and harnesses glittering with silver, to carry them home. The expense of this mad freak was estimated at 6,000,000 Sesterces, or  $\pounds 44,233$  sterling, estimating the franc of M. Latronne equal to 9,525 of our pence: other calculations of the standard and relative values of money at that period, raise the sum to nearly  $\pounds 50,000$ .

In gold and silver of the usual size, medals of this Emperor are very numerous; in large and middle-brass they are common; and generally of the same type as those of Marcus Aurelius. There are both silver and brass medallions, which fetch high prices. No Latin small-brass have been met with; but Colonial, Greek, and Egyptian coins of each of the three sizes, can be procured.

## CCLXXIV.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. L. AVREL. VERVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Lucius Aurelius Verus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Verus, with a thick beard, mustachios, and a bare neck. The features are remarkably good, and the expression sensible; which agrees with the historical assurance that he was a handsome well proportioned man, and with a countenance that commanded respect. His hair was long, and the care he took of it, is thus told by Capitolinus: "Dicitur sane tautam habuisse curam flaventium capillorum, ut capiti auri ramenta respergeret quo magis coma illuminata flavesceret."

This medal is in brilliant perfection, and covered with a mottled red-and-green patina; it was presented to me by my friend Commodore Sir Charles Schomberg, at Malta, in 1822.

Reverse. CONCORDIA AVGVSTOR. TR. P. (Concordia Augustorum, Tribunitia potestate.) On the exergum COS. II. (Consul iterum,) and in the field S. C. This reverse is so precisely similar to the one on No. CCXLI. that it would not have retained a place in the present cabinet but for its extreme perfection. The two Emperors are so boldly and yet minutely finished, that their likenesses cannot be mistaken.

## CCLXXV.

- Obverse. 1MP. CAES. L. AVREL. VERVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar, Lucius Aurelius Verus, Augustus.) A bold head of Verus, without laurel, the hair and beard carefully dressed, and a robe appearing over the left shoulder. This medal is in excellent preservation, though unpatinated; it was purchased at the Hon. R. E. Digby's sale, in 1825.
- Reverse. FELIC. AVG. TR. P. III. (Felicitati Augusti, Tribunitia potestate, tertium.) In the field S. C. and on the exergum COS. II. (Consul iterum.) A large Prætorian galley, with the Emperor reclining under the aplustre of the poop; there are six rowers; and on the forecastle is a mast raking forwards, with a sail upon it, shewing that the vessel is going with the

<sup>\*</sup> Jos. Scaliger thought the *Murrhine* cups introduced by Pompey, were porcelain from China; and that opinion has been adopted by some modern writers: but Pliny's description of the unwrought *Murrha*, and its irisdescence, rather indicate an *Adularia*. Martial tells us that the stone they were made of was spotted and variegated : "pocula maculosæ murræ."

wind aft. In the work of Bayfus, "De Re Navali," the sail is represented as a bauner; but here it is unusually large, roached, bent to one yard, and sheeted home to another, and certainly assists in propelling the vessel. This medal was struck A. D. 163, for the safe navigation and happy deliverance of Verus from the perils of sea and war. But instead of being at the head of his army, the luxurious prince took that opportunity of visiting Greece, in a vessel magnificently adorned, and freighted with mimes and musicians: "Apud Corinthum, et Athenas, inter symphonias et cantica navigabat, et per singulas maritimas civitates Asiæ, Pamphyliæ, Ciliciæque clariores, voluptatibus immorabatur."

## CCLXXVI.

- Obverse. L. AVREL. VERVS ARMENIACVS. (Lucius Aurelius Verus, Armeniacus.) A fine head of Lucius Verus laurelled, with his beard and hair carefully dressed, and the strap of a lorica over his right shoulder. A medal in high perfection, and covered with brown patina; purchased at Lefkimo, in Corfu, in 1818.
- Reverse. REX ARMENIIS DATVS IMP. II. TR. POT. IIII. COS. II. (Rex Armeniis datus, Imperator iterum, Tribunitia potestate quartum, Consul iterum.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor "in Sella Castrensi," or on a camp-seat, assisted by three military figures, is in the act of crowning a figure at the foot of the suggestum. This represents Sohemus, who being driven from his throne by the Parthians under Vologeses, A. D. 162, had escaped to Rome, where residing for nearly four years, he was created a senator, and nominated to the consulship. The figure of Verus is singularly well executed, and shews the position of the pendent flaps of the lorica—termed "lambrequins" by the French—in sitting; and the type is valuable as indicating a coronatiou which is not noticed in history.

The war here alluded to, originated in the desire of Vologeses to recover a golden throne, which had been carried off by Hadrian: and a vast deal of blood was shed in the course of it. It is asserted that Seleucia opened its gates to the Romans, who nevertheless caused the inbitants, to the number of 400,000 to be inhumanly massacred; a statement satirized by Lucian in his account of the 370,000 killed at the battle of Europa, by the Romans, who lost only 2 men, and had but 9 wounded. The account, however exaggerated, shews that an inhuman butchery took place. A grievous calamity followed these Oriental conquests, for a plague was imported by them into Rome, and the Provinces also.

### CCLXXVII,

- Obverse. L. VERVS AVG. ARM. PARTH. MAX. (Lucius Verus, Augustus, Armeniacus Parthicus Maximus.) An excellent laureated head of the Emperor but with a less favourable expression than on the last medal; for it bears signs of the intemperance which, as Spon says, pimpled his face—while the curled beard justifies the epithet which terms him an "imperial fop." This medal, struck A. D. 166, is in excellent condition, and covered with dark-green patina; it was purchased at Mr. Neaves's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. TR. POT. VI. IMP. III. COS. II. (Tribunitia potestate sextum, Imperator tertium, Consul iterum.) In the field S. C. A captive bound to the foot of a trophy, attired in the Phrygian bonnet, and the "laxæ braccæ;" broken armour is strewed on the ground. This alludes to the defeat of the Parthians, and the submission of Armenia; and the Emperor has assumed the honours arising from the success of his armies, though he "never saw a shot fired." To the pompous titles of Armeniacus, Parthicus, and Maximus, he added Medicus also, though it appears only on one medal; and Marcus Aurelius, who certainly had an equal right to the compliment, was saluted by the same designation. This is one of the numerous coins that have passed through my hands commemorative of a war, upon which history has been rather concise; there is the Profectio, or departure of Verus; then Victory inscribing Vic. Par. on a shield; Mars Gradivus with the opima spolia; Verus smiting his antagonist; and captives, trophies, and standards, under various devices, and in every metal and form. Yet this gallant chieftain had actually no share in these exploits—for while the officers were doing his duty, he was revelling in the abominations of Antioch. Shade of Cæsar ! what commentary wouldst thou make upon this ?

## CCLXXVIII.

- Obverse. DIVVS VERVS. A fine head of Verus without laurel; the hair and beard carefully dressed, and the countenance singularly handsome and intelligent. This medal is coated with a grassgreen patina, and is in excellent preservation; it was presented to me by Mr. Craig, at La Maddelina, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the exergum S. C. A noble car supporting the simulacrum of the deceased Emperor. It is drawn by four elephants, each mounted by its driver; and the enormous animals are covered with net-work trappings—not only round their bedies, but also over their legs. See No. CCLIV. This is another of those "descents into heaven" which burlesqued the heathen mythology. The body of Verus, it seems, was conveyed to Rome, by Marcus Aurelius, and interred in the *Moles Hadriana*, with extraordinary pomp; and the Senate, in spite of the hatred it bore him, ranked him among the gods—a folly here expressed under the senators' own hands.

## CCLXXIX.

- Obverse. DIVVS VERVS. The naked head of Verus, well represented, but with a very inferior aspect to that just described. A medal in very high perfection, being varnished with a greeuishbrown patina on the obverse, and black on the reverse : it was procured at Fisa, in 1823.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the lower verge S. C. An eagle cowering upon a celestial globe, on which is marked a zodiac and seven stars. This symbol of deification is similar to that of Marcus Aurelius, as mentioned at No. CCLVI.

# LUCILLA.

Annia Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus Anrelius and Faustina Junior, was born A. D. 147, and, at the age of 17, was sent into Syria, to be married to Lucius Verus. On this occasion, her father accompanied her as far as Brundusium, but there took leave of her, in order that he might not seem by going all the way, to assume to himself the glory of finishing the Parthian war. After the death of Verus, she was married, A. D. 170, to Claudius Pompeianus, the son of a private knight, but a man of extraordinary merit and integrity. The parties were however too unequally matched, and the lady too unprincipled to be productive of happiness; and though she enjoyed the state of an Empress, the precedency of Crispina, the wife of Commodus, so mortified her vanity, that she formed a conspiracy against her brother. The plot having been discovered A. D. 183, her accomplices were all put to death, and she was exiled to Capreæ, whither, about the same time, her rival in empty pomp, Crispina was also banished; and both were shortly afterwards put to death. Pompeianus, who had too much probity even to be trusted with the dark designs of his wife, retired into the country, and appears to have lived till the reign of Severus.

Lucilla was a woman of great beauty, but of dissolute habits and imperious disposition. It is true, that her father had thrown her away in the first instance, as a measure of state-expediency; but her debaucheries, pride, and incestuous commerce

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with her brother, prove that her depravity was innate. In fine, her character cannot be better summed up, than in the words of old Tristan, the worthy Seigneur de St. Amand:—"Lucille, femme de L. Verus, et fille aisnée de Marc Aurèle et de Faustine, estoit fort belle, mais également lascive, et voluptuense, digne fille d'une telle mère, et digne compagne d'un mary si débordé, et perdu en débauches, et tout ensemble d'estre la soeur d'un frère si détestable, dépravé et insensé, que fut Commode."

The coins of this frail Empress are common in large and middle-brass, as well as in silver; but the gold, the medallions, and the small-brass—together with those struck in Greece and the Colonies—are somewhat rare. The most esteemed of the whole is a medallion without a legend, but having a singular reverse: a fine female figure holds the branch of a tree, from which an infant is dropping, like what is related of the *wak-wak* tree, by the veracious authors of "The Arabian Tales;" another woman personating Nundina, is about to bathe a child in the sea; and a third boy is descending from an altar;—three winged genii are near—one on a suggestum, another over the altar, and the third upon a garden-wall. This has given rise to many explanations; and Eckhel rallies the idea of his friend Winckelmann, that the cupids are falling, while they could so easily escape breaking their heads by flying.

## CCLXXX.

- Obverse. LVCILLAE AVG. ANTONINI AVG. F. (Lucillæ Augustæ, Antonini Augusti filiæ.) The head of the Empress, with pretty features, and a pleasing expression of countenance; the hair is carefully dressed after the fashion of her mother's, and her shoulders are attired in neat drapery. Lucilla here bears the title of daughter of Augustus, from the example of her mother, as having also brought her husband the throne as a dower. This medal is in the highest conservation, and covered with apple-green patina; it was procured at Syracuse, in 1814.
- **Reverse.** VESTA. In the field S. C. A stately female clothed in the suffibulum, and veiled, stands before a cylindrical decorated altar bearing a flame; she holds the sacred palladium on her left arm, and a simpulum in her right hand. This represents the princess, "sub cultu Vestæ;" for it seems that, with all her depravity, she was an observer of the outward forms of religion See No. XC.

## CCLXXXI.

- Obverse. LVCILLAE AVG. ANTONINI AVG. F. (Lucillæ Augustæ, Antonini Augusti filiæ.) The head of Lucilla, attired in the same manner, and bearing a similar expression with that just described. A medal varnished with an olive-green patina, and in capital condition; it was purchased near Corinth, in 1820.
- Recerse. IVNONI LVCINAE. On the exergum S. C. A majestic female in rich robes is seated upon a throne, with a swathed infant on her left arm, and with her extended right hand holding the blossom of Hope. See No. XXXIX. This represents Juno, somewhat confounded in the character of Diana, the goddess of child-birth—for though Homer describes her as a termagant, she patronized nuptials and wedded life. In the "Aulularia" of Plautus, as well as in the Audria and Adelphi of Terence, women invoke Juno Lucina, in a manner which, would shock the decency of modern ears. In order to ascertain exactly the number of children born in Rome, a piece of money was carried at every birth, to her temple: besides which, the law of Servius Tullus enacted, that upon every death, a similar piece should be paid to the

temple of the goddess Libitina, and another to the temple of Juventas, as soon as any person had passed the state of childhood; by these different pieces of money, which were carefully preserved, the Romans annually reckoned the number of citizens in general; and in particular, such as were able to bear arms. The head of the goddess is here exposed; but at weddings, as Pronuba, she was always enveloped with a long veil called the flammeum.

### CCLXXXII.

- Obserse. LVCILLA AVGVSTA. A pleasing profile of Lucilla, with her hair bound by an anadema, and her bosom robed. In excellent preservation, and thickly coated with black patina; it was presented to me at Jerbah, in the Little Syrtis, in 1822. This is the medal referred to at p. 113, as having been taken for a commemoration of the wife of Ælius Cæsar; because, from the omissions of Capitolinus, the type was thought inapplicable to the present Empress. But we have just shewn that Lucina had been invoked; and the portrait cannot be mistaken. The whole, therefore, of cap. 50. of Mediobarba's "Imperatorum Romanorum Numismata," ought to be cancelled.
- Reverse. FECVNDITAS. A robed female seated on the edge of a stool, with an infaut in her arms, and two others standing on the ground. The children of Lucilla have been the subject of much inquiry; for history only mentions a daughter by Verus, of uncertain name, but betrothed to the C. Pompeianus who was seduced into the conspiracy against Commodus, and executed. It is also known that she had a son by the elder C. Pompeianus, called after his father, who having served as consul under Caracalla, was murdered by robbers—or according to Spartian, by the Emperor. But from this medal, as well as the medallion I have quoted, representing the lustration of Nundina—"deam a nono die nascentium nuncupatam"—she may have had more who died in their infancy.

Fecundity held a high rank in the estimation of the Romans ;—and after Faustina Junior had introduced the type, it became a favorite boast with the succeeding empresses. The worthy archbishop of Taragona thus defines it :—" Feconda è detta, con ragione, quella donna che ogn' anno partorisce."

# COMMODUS.

Lucius vel Marcus Ælius Aurelius Commodus Antoninus, the son of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Junior, was born at Lanuvium, a town of Latium, A. D 161, and declared Cæsar at the early age of five years. He was uamed "Prince of the Youth" A. D. 175; he accompanied his father into the East, and on their return in the following year, he was saluted "Emperor," associated in the empire, and triumphed with his father, agreeably to an ancient Roman custom for the children of those who were thus honoured, to be carried in the triumphal car. These appointments had been bestowed with a view of withdrawing the degenerate son from his propensity for low and unworthy gratifications; but this effort of parental fondness did not produce the desired effect. In A. D. 177, he was married to Crispina, and decorated with the titles of Augustus and Pater Patriæ. He succeeded his father A. D. 180, being the first Roman sovereign born during his father's rule, and the second who succeeded a father in the empire. After a reign of folly, vanity, and cruelty, blackened by the murders of his wife, his sister, his father's cousin-german, and numbers of the most eminent persons in the state—be was poisoned and strangled

by Marcia, one of his numerous concubines, and her accomplices, A. D. 192, at the age of 31 years and 4 months.

Commodus was more noble by descent than any former emperor, and was esteemed handsome, active, and strong; but although his education was carefully conducted, he soon displayed a very untoward disposition. While yet a boy he ordered a servant, who had overheated a bath, to be thrown into the caldron, nor would he be pacified till convinced by the scent of a sheepskin, cast in to deceive him, that his commands had been executed : "Mois, mesme dès su première jeunesse, il se fit cognoistre estre sans honneur, sans vergogne, sans humanité, lasche, cruel, et merveilleusement dépravé," says old Tristan. During the first three years of his reign, he followed the advice of the wise counsellors whom Marcus Aurelius had placed about him, and though he revelled in all the licentiousness of unrestrained power, his hands were unstained with blood, and he occasionally displayed some generosity of sentiment. The conspiracy of Lucilla, however, was followed by the dismissal of his father's friends, and the substitution of unprincipled companions for them; and he soon proved himself one of the most cruel, perfidious, avaricious, and wicked despots, that ever disgraced a throne. As if to give countenance to the scandal respecting his mother and the gladiator, he spent whole days and nights in the public-houses among the meanest of the rabble; and besides his incestuous and sacrilegious criminality with his sisters and the vestals, his impure and brutal depravity confounded all social and natural distinctions. From such abominable habits his conversation became corrupt, his manners low, and his aspect—though manly—stamped with the air of a villain. So unfit was this wretch for power, that Rome would not have existed in safety, had not such generals as Pertinax, Severus, Pescennius Niger, Albinus, and Ulpius Marcellus, reduced the revolted provinces, while he was turning his arms against wild-beasts and citizens in the amphitheatre. In Julian's Satire, Silenus passes Commodus in silence, as unworthy of even a jest;and Vopiscus, not disdaining a pun, declares that the name was improperly bestowed upon one who was "semper incommodus."

It is singular respecting this monster, that of all the Roman emperors from Tiberius to Constantine, he was the most favourable to the Christians, whence his times were termed "the halcyon days of the church." This lenity is said to have been owing to the mediation of Marcia, the favourite concubine of his most infamous *harem*. She was a beautiful and crafty woman, and by her address had gained such absolute power over the depraved Emperor, that he changed his name to Amazonius, in honour of a picture which represented her as a female warrior : nay

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more, he even went to the amphitheatre in the habit of an amazon; and Lampridius mentions the indignation of the Romans at so degrading a metamorphosis of their Emperor. But constancy could hardly be expected in such a wretch. By mere accident Marcia discovered her name in a proscribed list,\* and for self-preservation, joined Lætus, Eclectus, and Narcissus, in effecting the destruction of the tyrant. This woman appears to have had a high esteem for the Christians, and to have espoused their interests on all occasions, though she never imitated the sanctity of their lives. During the three months reign of Pertinax, Marcia was treated with respect, but Didius Julian put her to death.

The Latin medals of Commodus—from his boyhood to his death—are found in every form and metal; but the gold and brass medallions, the quinarii, and the small-brass are the rarest;—and there are abundance that were struck in Greece, Egypt, and the Colonies. The various names of the Emperor form a singularity in the mintage of this reign—for those struck when he was created Cæsar, present the appellatives *Lucius Aurelius Commodus*; those from A. D. 181 to 191, offer *Marcus Commodus Antoninus*, or *Marcus Aurelius Commodus Antoninus*; and from the end of A. D. 191, till his death, he resumed *Lucius*, with Ælius Aurelius *Commodus*, rejecting the *Antoninus*. There is a consecration-coin of this Emperor in the silver series, but not in large-brass, or among those bearing the senatorial authority, although Severus caused him to be deified. The senate seized the first opportunity, after his assassination, of manifesting their abhorrence: they loaded his memory with curses, ordered his statues to be broken into pieces, and his name to be razed from all public inscriptions as an enemy to the gods and his country.

## CCLXXXIII.

- Obverse. L. AVREL. COMMODO CAES. AVG. FIL. GERM. SARM. (Lucio Aurelio Commodo, Cæsari, Augusti filio, Germanico, Sarmatico.) A remarkably handsome head of the youthful Cæsar, unlaurelled, with short hair, and the prætexta fibulated over his right shoulder. This splendid medal is smoothly varnished with a rich brown patina, and may be pronounced in perfect condition; it was found near Capua, in 1819.
- Reverse. PRINC. IVVENT. (Principi Juventuits.) In the field S. C. Commodus in magnificent attire, but bare-headed, with a lance pointed downwards in his left hand, and a branch of laurel in his right. He stands by the side of a trophy, which, together with the legend, the lance, and the laurel, testify the coin to have been struck to commemorate the Prince's title, and also the close of the German war, A. D. 175. Various other trophies were struck on the same occasion, as well as triumphs; but this device is selected as being the most significant, in stamping two events.

In the times of the Republic, the "Prince of the Roman Youth" was chosen by the Censor out of the order of Knights—and was distinguished, as we learn from Tacitus, by a triumphal robe. Princeps had then a very different meaning from its present acceptation, and signified merely the *first*, or *leader*; for he who received that litle, was so styled from heading

<sup>\*</sup> Herodian describes Marcia's discovery exactly as that of Domitia is represented at p. 73, of this Catalogue; but neither Dio nor Capitolinus bear it out, for they impute the conspiracy to disgust as well as terror.

the young nobility at the feasts and games. Under the emperors, the title was bestowed only upon the presumptive heirs to the empire, or the most exalted members of the imperial family : and it was the sovereign himself who nominated to that honour. There was a temple dedicated to Juventas, where every one who took the *toga virilis* was obliged to deposit a coin. See No. CCLXXXI.

The chief duty of the "Prince" was to command at the Ludus Trojæ, in which the Roman youths were exercised in counterfeit battles: these games were celebrated in the circus by companies of boys in gay vestments, and armed with appropriate weapons. It was a very favourite spectacle with the Romans, and Virgil gives a graphic and beautiful description of it, Æn. v. 545, &c. These tournaments were well enough while they were confined to the emulation of boys, and the gratification of parents; but they paved the way to sad fooleries in the middle ages—that golden period of novelists. Tear aside the romantic gauze which has been thrown over them as the fruits of true heroism and public spirit, and it will be found that females were never more profligate, nor men more ignorant and brutal, than during the boasted æra of the "gentle knights and courteous dames" of chivalry; as may be gathered from the pages of Joinville, S. Pelaye, Sanchez, and other writers of those impure times. Then came the absurdities of romance; and, though there is eating in the Morgante Maggiore, it is well said of the knights-errant in general :—

> "When through dreary desarts vast, And regions desolate they pass'd, Unless they graz'd, there's not one word Of their provisions on record."

#### CCLXXXIV.

- Obverse. L. AVREL. COMMODVS AVG. TR. P. V. (Lucius Aurelius Commodus Augustus, Tribunitia potestate quintum.) A fine head of Commodus, with the laurel wreath; the features are expressive of a youth scarcely "out of his teens," though a beard has commenced, and he is attired in a laminated lorica, with long shoulder-plates. This medal is in the highest perfection, and covered with olive-green patina; it came into my possession at Tunis, in 1822.
- Reverse. ATVENTVS (sic) AVG. IMP. IIII. COS. II. P. P. (Adventus Augusti, Imperatoris quartum, Consulis iterum, Patris Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor wearing the pallium, and gracefully seated on a stately charger, holds up his right hand in the attitude of a herald of peace. This device denotes the return of Commodus from Germany to Rome, A. D. 180—an event in which no time was lost after the death of his father. Herodian mentions the extraordinary joy with which he was received.

### CCLXXXV.

- Obverse. M. ANTONINVS COMMODVS AVG. (Marcus Antoninus Commodus, Augustus.) A youthful and unlaureated head of the Emperor, with the shoulders robed. A medal in excellent preservation, and covered with brownish-red patina; it was purchased from Mr. M. Young, in 1826.
- Reverse. VIRTVTI AVGVSTI TR. P. VII. IMP. IIII. COS. III. P. P. (Virtuti Augusti, Tribunitia potestate septimum, Imperatoris quartum, Consulis tertium, Patris Putriæ.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor, on a spirited horse, is darting a javelin at a lion. This is a tribute to the courage which could triumph over the lordly beast. The skill of Commodus in archery was wonderful, as well as in the general use of weapons. He ran an elephant through with a spear; and Herodian mentions 100 lions being slain by him in one day—a feat which indicates that in him the organ of destructiveness was developed to its fullest extent. "Magnum numerum hominum et belluarum publice same interfecit," saith Dio.

### CCLXXXVI.

Obverse. M. COMMODVS ANTON. AVG. PIVS. BRIT. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, Britannicus.) The naked head of Commodus, with curly beard and hair, and the laticlavium over his shoulders. The title of Pius now appears, which Lampridius sarcastically thinks must have been given him by way of derision, upon his raising one of his mother's gallants to the consulship: and Britannicus, he says, was also mere flattery. for the Britons were disposed for another's sway. This medal is coated with a curious applegreen patina, and, except a part of the reverse-legend which is rubbed, is in singular perfection; it was purchased at Mr. Henderson's sale, in 1830.

Reverse. VIRT. AVG. TR. P. (The rest of this legend is illegible, but from other medals which I have examined, it was probably struck with the titles of those minted in A. D. 181.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor on horseback galloping across the field, with a chlamys floating behind him; he is in the act of casting a dart at a panther, which is "showing fight." This may commemorate his skill in striking a panther dead which had sprung upon a man. Lampridius mentions his love of destruction and says-"" quod feras Lanuvii in amphitheatro occidisset."

### CCLXXXVII.

- Obverse. M. COMMODVS ANTON. AVG. PIVS BRIT. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Augustus, Pius, Britannicus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with the hair, mustachios, and beard dressed, and his neck bare. This medal is in superior condition, though so slightly patinated as to shew the yellow brass; it was presented to me by the Right Honourable J. H. Frere, at Malta, in 1821.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. VIIII. IMP. VII. COS. IIII. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate nonum, Imperator septimum, Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C.; and on the exergum VICT. BRIT. (Victoria Britannica.) An elegant winged victory, naked to the waist, with a long palm-branch in her right hand, is seated on a pile of shields; and she holds a shield upon her knee, which being uninscribed may denote that the campaign was not yet finished. The execution of this device is excellent, being equal to the finest period of Augustan art. It commemorates the advantages gained by Ulpius Marcellus in Britain, for which Commodus was saluted Emperor the seventh time, A. D. 184. The ancients have left but scanty accounts of this war, except that it proved very bloody, and that Ulpius reaped sufficient glory to excite his sovereign's envy. See No. CCIX.

#### CCLXXXVIII.

- Obverse, M. COMMODVS ANTON. AVG. PIVS BRIT. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Au-gustus, Pius, Britannicus.) The laureated profile of Commodus, in full manhood, with his neck bare. This medal is very thinly patinated, but in excellent condition; it was procured at Bonorva, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. X. IMP. VII. COS. IIII. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum, Imperator septimum, Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C.; and on the exergum SALVS. A colossal female, representing Hygieia, seated on a magnificent throne, holding a patera towards a snake, which is rising from a casket up the side of a pillar, with a small image of an armed warrior upon it. The pillar is overshadowed by that sacred tree, Ficus Ruminalis, an object of great veneration, of which Ovid says,-

"Arbor erat, remanent vestigia, quæque vocatur

Romula, nunc ficus, rumina ficus erat."

The device appears to have been a vow for the Emperor's health; and an accidental mark in it is supposed to allude to the God of Gardens;--but it does not strike me in that light, for to the credit of the large-brass series, it is quite clear of any thing obscene. The left arm of Hygicia rests upon a part of the throne, on which is a little figure of Hope; and the seat is supported by a winged sphynx,---that popular creation of ancient mythology, so well described 

Sphinx : volucris pennâ, pedibus fera, fronte puella."

CCLXXXIX.

Obverse. M. COMMODVS. ANT. P. FELIX AVG. BRIT. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Britannicus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with a beard, and a bare neck. The title of Felix was assumed by Commodus, after giving up the person and family of his friend Perennis, to the fury of the soldiers : he was the first to add this epithet to Pius, and it was afterwards carefully preserved. This medal is in good preservation, and covered with yellow and red patina; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.

**Reverse.** FORTVNAE MANENTI. In the field S. C.; and on the exergum COS. V. P. P. (Consul quintum, Pater Patriæ.) A sedent female with a cornucopiæ on her arm, is holding a horse by the bridle, and behind the seat there is a rudder, as being no longer necessary: a device complimentary to the steady fortune of the Emperor, and probably struck by the Senate when it found he had settled in Rome. See No. CXI. Fortuna Manens is contrasted with Fortuna Mobilis, and is something like the NIKH AITTEPOS, or Victory without wings, of the Greeks;—but unless she is also the same with the Equestris, to whom Fulvius Flaccus vowed a temple, it is difficult to account for the horse. Though the goddess, under this character, is omitted in the long enumeration of Alex. ab Alexandro, she had the higher honour of being recollected by the Lyric Poet, when inviting Mæcenas to a frugal entertainment:—

> "FORTUNA sævolæta negotio, et Ludum insolentem ludere pertinax, Transmutat incertos honores, Nunc mihi, nunc alii benigna, Laudo MANENTEM."

#### CCXC.

- Obverse. M. COMMODVS ANT. P. FELIX AVG. BRIT. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Britannicus.) A very expressive head of Commodus, with the hair and beard elaborately dressed, and the neck bare. A medal in excellent condition, and incrusted with brown patina; it was procured of Mr. J. C. Ross, at Malta, in 1822.
- Reverse. 10V1 EXSVPER. P. M. TR. P. XI. IMP. VIII. (Jovi exsuperanti, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate undecimum, Imperator octavum.) In the field S. C.; and on the exergum COS. V. P. P. (Consul quintum, Pater Patrice.) A majestic Jupiter, naked to the loins, is seated on a massive stool; he holds a hasta pura in his left hand, and a branch of laurel, the token of triumph, in his right. This is an acknowledgment of Jove, as the supreme arbiter of all the Gods; and Commodus assumed the agnomen Exsuperatorius, as if he were the vanquisher of all mankind.

Although the pagan deities were so numerous, as to defy a recollection of all their names, yet the gentile philosophers were of opinion that there existed but one omnipotent Being, who was the supreme Governor of the world.\* Thus Manilius, to account for the Altar being among the constellations, represents Jove himself as sacrificing to a still greater power, for success against the giants : and Cicero, Seneca, and Pliny, afford proofs that the *Divi* were merely worshipped as ministers and dispensers of blessings, under the influence of a superior God. These became tutelary to particular places,—for it would, no doubt, have been impicus in a Roman, during the Punic wars, to pray to the African Jupiter, instead of that in the Capitol, or at Anxur.

### CCXCI.

- Obverse. M. COMMODVS ANT. P. FELIX AVG. BRIT. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Britannicus.) A remarkably fine laureated profile of the Emperor, with the hair, mustachios, and beard, carefully dressed, and the neck bare; the features are those of maturity, but the expression less amiable than before. A medal in excellent conservation, and covered with olive-green patina; it was presented to me by Lieut. T. Graves, R. N. in 1825.
- Reverse. PIETATI SENATVS. In the field S. C.; and on the exergum, COS. V. P. P. (Consul quintum, Pater Patriæ.) Two togated figures, the one with a sceptre, and the other with a scroll, taking each other by the right hand. The senate, under dread of the murderous

<sup>•</sup> Plutarch mentions that, even in some parts of Egypt, the notion of a supreme Being prevailed; so that the people of Elephantis refused to contribute to the support of the "sacred animals," because they paid their adorations to no other deity than Cneph, the Eternal Spirit.

disposition of the Emperor, probably struck this coin to pacify him. "Is timor nobis erat cum cæteris communis," are the words of Dio, a senator of that time; and there was really ground tor the tyrants' being *ruffled* with the Conscript Fathers,—for the assassin who undertook to deal the fatal stroke, in Lucilla's conspiracy, exclaimed while he displayed the dagger—"Hunc tibi pugionem Senatus mittit !"

### CCXCII.

- Obverse. M. COMMODVS ANT. P. FELIX AVG. BRIT. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Britannicus.) The laurelled head of Commodus, with handsome but unprepossessing features. A medal in good condition, though rubbed on the legends. The obverse is covered with a deep-brown, and the reverse with grass-green patina. It was purchased at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XI. IMP. VII. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate undecimum, Imperator septimum.) In the field S. C.; and on the exergum COS. V. P. P. (Consul quintum, Pater Patriæ.) A statue of Janus bifrons, with the lance of divinity, is naked to the loins, and stands in the vestibule of a small distyle temple. This device appears to recognize Commodus as Pacator Orbis, a title which he assumed in his arrogant letter to the senate.

The 1st of January, as sacred to Janus, was celebrated with great solemnity; and the crown of laurel which he had worn the preceding year, was on that day taken off his head, and replaced by a new one : whence Ovid—

" Laurea flaminibus quæ toto perstitit anno,

Tollitur, et frondes sunt in honore novo."

Janus has been thought to typify the sun, and that his power of looking either way, represents the East and West, or Heaven's gates: but others consider his seeing before and behind, as emblematic of time. His head formed the obverse of the Roman *Ases* for ages, and were circulated in a damaged state even in Ovid's time; the reverse was usually the prow of a galley, whence the Roman boys tossed up for "*Capita aut Navim*!" with them. The reason why Janus had generally some symbol of a ship near him, is one of the "Roman Questions" of Plutarch;—Bryant seized it as a relic of his Arkite worship. Statius mentions the curious figure of Janus when talking with both mouths at once; and in allusiou to his double face, Persius exclaims,—

"O Janus, happiest of thy happy kind !---

No waggish stork can peck at thee behind."

### CCXCIII.

- Obverse. M. COMMODVS ANT. P. FELIX. AVG. BRIT. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Britannicus.) The laureated head of the Emperor, with a bare neck. A medal, in sound but secondary condition, varnished with a deep bottle-green patina; it was purchased from Mr. Till, in 1830.
- Reverse. VICTORIAE FELICI. Victory flying gracefully across the field; she is crowned with turrets, and holds two shields by a girdle or garland of flowers—on one of which is an S, and on the other a C. (Senatus Consultu.)—over a substructure inscribed COS. V. P. P. (Consul quintum, Pater Patriæ.) Some advantages gained over the Moors, and the Dacians, in the fifth consulate of Commodus, gave occasion to this device; for the act of flying denotes rapidity of operation, and the two shields would signify a double success. I have before me a medal with precisely the same obverse, and apparently minted with the same view; but the reverse has been too much tooled to warrant its admission into the cabinet. It presents two arches, each bearing a fine trophy, and an equestrian statue. I have searched in the British Museum, and in various other collections for this device, without success; nor have I found it figured any where but in the "Thesaurus selectorum Numismatum antiquorum" of Oiselius,—where it appears, with QVOD VIAE MVN. SVNT. (Quod Viæ Muuitæ sunt,) between the trophies. On the whole it recalls the line of Virgil :—

"Et duo rapta manu diverso ex hoste trophæa."

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## CCXCIV.

- Obverse. M. COMMODVS ANT. P. FELIX AVG. BRIT. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Pins, Felix, Augustus, Britannicus.) The profile of Commodus, with a laurel crown, and his neck bare. A medal in secondary condition, and unpatinated; it was purchased from Mr. Young, in 1832.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XI. IMP. VIII. COS. V. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate undecimum, Imperator octavum, Consul quintum, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum PROVID. AVG. (Providentiæ Augusti.) In the area S. C. A ship under sail without oars-a "remigio alarum," instead of the creeping system of navigation mentioned by Propertius :-

"Alter remus aquas, alter tibi radat arenas,

Tutus eris; medio maxima turba mari est."

This was struck A. D. 186, and it testifies the care of Commodus, in the frumentarian supply. He established a company of merchants, and a fleet, for conveying corn from Africa to Rome, to guard against any misfortune that might befall the ships which transported it from Egypt. As this was a good act, his inflated vanity on the occasion shall pass uncensured.

#### CCXCV.

- Obverse. L. AEL. AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL. (Lucius Ælius Aurelius Commodus, Augustus, Pius, Felix.) The laurelled head of Commodus, with curled hair and beard, and a bare neck;—the features with a very indifferent expression. This medal is unpatinated, but in good condition; it was presented to me by Mr. W. Hamilton, on the occasion related at No. CXLIV.
- Reverse. SAL. GEN. HVM. COS. VI. P. P. (Salus Generis Humani, Consul sextum, Pater Patrix.) On the exergum S. C. Hygieia, in full robes, is standing with her father's rod and involute serpent in her left hand, and raising a kneeling citizen with her right. Tristau thinks the Goddess of Health is here relieving the Emperor from a grievous complaint; but it would be altogether hors de régle to represent him on his knees—nor are we aware of any illness that befell him in his sixth consulate. It more probably represents the termination, A. D. 191, of a dreadful plague which had ravaged Rome for two or three years; and to escape which, Commodus ran off to Laurentum, where he spent in revels, the money which he had exacted under pretence of going over to Africa.

#### CCXCVI.

- Obverse. M. COMMOD. ANT. P. FELIX AVG. BRIT. P. P. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Pins, Felix, Augustus, Britannicus, Pater Patriæ.) A laureated profile of Commodus, with a bare neck, and the features good, but coarse. This medal is slightly varnished with brownish patina, and is in excellent condition; it was presented to me by Sig. Rossoni, at Benghazi, in 1821.
- Reverse. COL. L. AN. COM. P. M. TR. P. XV. IMP. VIII. (Colonia Lucii Antonini Commodi, Pontificis Maximi, Tribunitia potestate decimum-quintum, Imperatoris octavum.) In the field S. C.; and on the exergum COS. VI. (Consulis sextum.) The Emperor, with a sacerdotal veil as a priest, is steering a plough drawn by oxen. The ambition of Commodus was to have every thing named after him—the months, the fleet, the senate—and now even Rome itself was to change its name, and, with the consent of the Conscript Fathers, be called Colonia Commodiana. The device represents the ceremony by which a city was founded, its circuit being marked by driving a plough round it—whence urbis is supposed to be corrupted from orbis. In yoking the cattle for this purpose, a bull was placed outside, and a cow inside, indicating the duties of men to be abroad, and those of women at home. The driver was called Colonus, whence the word clown, which at first signified merely a tiller of ground.

Dio relates that the Emperor ordered a colossal statue of gold, for the capitol, with the oxen and plough, as if he had actually founded a new colony :---"e gli fù battuta quest' insigne medaglia ch' io non ho osservata in nessun museo numismatico," observes the learned Alessandro Visconti.

### CCXCVII.

- Obverse. M. COMMOD. ANT. P. FELIX AVG. BRIT. P. P. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Britannicus, Pater Patriæ.) A profile of the Emperor with a laurel wreath, and a bare neck. This medal has been rubbed, and is without patina; it was purchased from Mr. Matthew Young, in 1828.
- Reverse. HERCVLI COMMODIANO P. M. TR. P. XVI. COS. VI. (Herculi Commodiano, Pontifici Maximi, Tribunitia potestate decimum-sextum, Consuli sextum.) In the field S. C. A virile figure, with only a robe round his loins, stands before a decorated altar which is under a tree, whereon hangs the skin of a lion. As he holds a sacrificial tessera in his right hand, and a cornucopiæ in the left, without the appearance of a club, the figure does not seem to represent Hercules, though the fascia honours him with a new title. See No. CCCII. This is the last medal inserted by Sambucus; and it is singular that he has mistaken the flame on the altar, for an eagle.

### CCXCVIII.

- Obverse. L. AEL. AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL. (Lucius Ælius Aurelius Commodus, Augustus, Pius, Felix.) The laureated head of the Emperor, with a bare neck, and indifferent expression of features. This medal has been rubbed, but has a ground of black patina : it was presented to me by my shipmate Lieut. Graves, R. N. in 1825.
- Reverse. I. O. M. SPONSOR. SEC. AVG. (Jovi Optimo Maximo, Sponsori securitatis Augusti.) In the field S. C.; and on the exergum COS. VI. P. P. (Consulis sextum, Patris Patriæ.) Jupiter, naked to the loins, is standing with his right hand upon the shoulder of the togated Emperor, who holds a globe and sceptre in token of authority. The deity grasps a fulmen in his left hand, as if resolved to protect an abominable prince, who not only practised every vice himself, but also exempted criminals from punishment, for money. About this time— A. D 191,—the temple of Peace, with all its treasures, was destroyed by conflagration. That magnificent structure had been raised by Vespasian, after the conquest of Jerusalem, and was enriched with all the spoils and ornaments of the temple of the Jews.

#### CCXCIX.

- Obverse. L. AEL. AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL. (Lucius Ælius Aurelius Commodus, Augustus, Pius, Felix.) The laurelled profile of Commodus, with a bare neck, and the beard highly trimmed. This medal is of yellow brass, and in excellent preservation, though barely patinated; it was procured at Catania, in 1814.
- Recerse. PROVIDENTIAE AVG. (Providentiæ Augusti.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor naked, in the character of Hercules, stands with his foot on the prow of a ship, and supports a club in his left hand against a rock. On the opposite side is a stately and well-executed female, figured in long robes, who—by the lion at her feet, the sistrum in her hand, and the elephant's proboscis on her head—evidently personates Africa. She is in the act of presenting a bunch of wheat-ears to Commodus, as a token of the foresight mentioned in No. CCXCIV.

### CCC.

- Obverse. L. AEL. AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL. (Lucius Ælius Aurelius Commodus, Augustus, Pius, Felix.) The head of Commodus, with a laurel wreath, and a bare neck, the hair and beard attentively dressed, and the eye larger than on the preceding medals. It is covered with a fine black patina, and is in capital condition; it was procured at Orbitello, in Tuscany, in 1823.
- Reverse. SERAPIDI CONSERV. AVG. COS. VI. P. P. (Serapidi Conservatori Augusti, Consulis sextum, Patris Patria.) This medal was struck A. D. 191, to testify the Emperor's regard for the Egyptian worship. It represents Serapis in short robes, crowned with a modius, extending his right hand in a commanding attitude, and holding a sceptre in his left. He was not only the Jupiter and Pluto of the Egyptians, but also typified the Universe; and the response given to the inquiries of Nicocreon, tyrant of Cyprus, declares his ubiquitous

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attributes—that the earth was his foot, the sea his belly, and the sun his eye; and as his head was in heaven, it followed that the modius must be filled with all the heavenly gifts for which his followers prayed. Most authors declare Serapis to be identical with Osiris, yet some have seen a distinction in their nature and relations. To arrive at a conclusion, we may repeat what Martianus Capella, the African Latinist, says in his hymn to the sun :—

"Iseam Serapin Nilus, Memphis veneratur Osirim."

CCC1.

- Obverse. M. COMMODVS ANTONINVS AVG. PIVS. (Marcus Commodus Antoninus, Augustus, Pius.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with a trimmed beard, and bare neck. A medal in indifferent preservation, which was procured near Lucca, in 1823.
- **Reverse. TEMPORVM FELICITAS**, inscribed on the exergun: and in the field S. C. Four boys in easy attitudes represent the seasons of the year. Spring bears a basket of flowers upon his head; Summer holds a sickle and some corn; Autumn displays a cyathus for wine in one hand, and places his other upon a hound; Winter holds a leafless branch, and is warmly clothed—the other three being naked. This elegant device was first struck on a medallion, in honour of Commodus and his brother Annius Verus; but it was afterwards frequently used. The year 191 was not a peculiarly happy one, but the pepulace might have approved of the times, as their infamous master was not deficient in that ostentatious generosity which gratified itself in congiaries, as is testified by several of his medals. Commodus had decreed that his era should be styled the golden age; and besides the medal before us, I have had others in largebrass, expressive of the public felicity—as *Lactitia* in a garland, *Tempor. Felic.* around two cornucopiae and a caduceus—and others. Lampridius says—"Ipse vero seenlum aureum, Commodianum nomine, adsimulaus, vilitatem proposuit, ex qua majorem penuriam fecit."

#### CCCII.

- Obverse. L. AEL. AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL. (Lucius Ælius Aurelius Commodus, Augustus, Pius, Felix.) A well executed profile of the despot, with his head covered by the spoils of a lion. This medal, in singular perfection, and varnished with black patina, was procured at Dernah, in 1822. The former emperors were frequently represented in the dress and attributes of Gods, on the reverse of their medals; but the obverse was invariably occupied by the official portrait. Commodus, however, changed all this, and taking off the laurel from his brows, here exhibits himself in the head-dress of Hercules.
- Reverse. HERCVL. ROMANO AVG. S. C. (Herculi Romano Augusto, Senatus Consultu.) This is inscribed in a garland of laurel, with a massy club down the centre, as a compliment to Commodus the Roman Hercules. This "Peste execrable au genre humain," as Tristan terms him, is said to have fought in the public amphitheatre upwards of 700 times, with such success that he dignified himself with the title of Conqueror of 1000 Gladiators: "multa cognomina sibi sumpsit, sed præsertim Herculis." He assembled a number of cripples and city paupers, and causing them to be wrapped up in fantastical habits, like dragons and monsters, he rushed npon them with his club, and laid them all dead at his feet. "Vincis ab æterno !" shouted the abject senators to the ferocious monster.

"Commodus Herculeum nomen habere cupit,

Antoninorum non putat esse bonum."

Hercules was a favourite deity with the Romans, and his name was the watch-word of Pompey, at Pharsalia. He typified valour and fortitude, which are proved, by undergoing fatigue and labour with the resolution which his history exemplified. In the fanciful Orphic theory, he denoted the efficient canse in nature which distributed the universe into its different parts; and other mystifications refer his 12 labours to the progress of the sun through the signs of the zodiac. In this light it is easy to accept the "starry-robed Hercules" of Nonnus.

CCCIII.

Obverse. L. AEL, AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL. (Lucius Elius Aurelius Commodus, Augustus, Pius, Felix.) The head of Commodus attired with the lion's skin, as in the last. A medal in good but secondary condition, and thinly coated with light-brown patina; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.

Reverse. HERCV1.1 ROMANO AVG. (Herculi Romano Augusto.) On the exergum S. C. The club of Hercules between a bow, and a quiver of arrows, in allusion to the strength, activity, and skill of Commodus. The quiver of this reverse, engraved in the Rev. W. Cooke's Medallic History, is inscribed HONOR1; but I have seen no letters on any of those which I have examined.

CCCIV.

- Obverse. L. AEL. AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL. (Lucius Elius Aurelius Commodus, Augustus, Pius, Felix.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with the beard, hair, and mustachios, dressed with singular care, and a highly expressive countenance. This medal is coated with olive-green patina, and is in the highest possible preservation; it was found in a ruin near Leptis Magna, in 1817, by an Arab, who immediately exchanged it with me, for a penknife.

This medal affords an additional proof that authors are wrong in supposing the tribunitian number to refer to the year of the Emperor's *actual* reign—since that of Commodus was not yet 13 years. The exact dates of the repetition of this power, for this reign, it has been difficult to assign—for even if this be reckoned from the time when he was associated in his father's authority, there will still be a year too much.

#### CCCV.

- Obverse. L. AEL, AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL. (Lucius *Ælius Aurelius Commodus, Augustus, Pius, Felix.*) The laureated head of the Emperor, with features and hair as in the last. A medal in very high condition, and covered with a dense-black patina; it was presented to me by Count Portalis, in 1817.
- Reverse: P. M. TR. P. XVII. IMP. VIII. COS. VII. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum-septimum, Imperator octavum, Consul septimum, Pater Patrix.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor in full vestments, is crowned by a winged Victory, holding a palm-branch. Before him stand Osiris and Isis, with the modius and sistrum : between them and the Emperor is a cylindrical altar with a festoon of flowers, over which the parties join hands. This noble device testifies the regard of the Prince for the Egyptian deities--"Sacra Isidis coluit, ut et caput raderet et Anubin portaret," says Lampridius. See No. CCC. Macrobius tells us that Osiris was the Sun; and as the Egyptians considered that luminary as the demiurgus, or creator, he was held in the first consideration; and, according to Manetho, all red-haired men were immolated at his tomb.

Bellori considers this reverse as a sacrifice to Serapis, for the health of Commodus; but it more probably relates to the establishment of the Commodo-Herculeo-African fleet. The same event gave occasion to the striking of a fine medallion, inscribed *Votis Felicibus*: two ships are represented under sail, and three rowing boats,—a grand pharos stands on a rock, before which are two priests, who have just precipitated a bull and a patera into the sea, as a sacrifice to Neptune. The custom of thus propitiating the God of Waters, is as old as Homer.

#### CCCV1.

Obverse. L. AEL. AVREL. COMM. AVG. P. FEL. (Lucius Ælius Aurelius Commodus, Avgustus, Pius, Felix.) The laurelled head of Commodus, with a bare neck, and marked features. A medal in fair condition, and covered with red patina; it was purchased from Mr. Till, in 1830. Reverse. VOTA SOL. PRO SAL. P. R. COS. VII. P. P. (Vota soluta pro salute Populi Romani,

Consul septimum, Pater Patriæ) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor "capite velato" in

sacerdotal robes, holds a patera over the flame of a tripod, and grasps an augural staff with his left hand. Before him an ox for sacrifice is held with its head down by a popa, while the cultrarius, with an uplifted hatchet, slays it: the action of the popa furnishes an argument against the opinion that the victim was allowed to stand loose before the altar, that it might not seem to be brought by force. By the side of the cultrarius is a *Tibicen* playing on the double flute, a performance which has puzzled most critics, particularly Scaliger, Aklus Manutius, Salmasius, and Madame Dacier. Without entering upon the question of *dextra* and *sinistra*, *pares* and *impares*, or the ambo-dexterity of Terence's fair Andrian, 1 shalt merely say that the two flutes on the medal are of equal length; and that a trip to Sardinia would have afforded those critics an opportunity of seeing the tibiæ still used, under the name of launedda.

This medal was struck A. D. 192, to commemorate a "vota nuncupare" made during the plague. Commodus was greatly addicted to the celebration of sacred rites—but it was rather for the gratification of personal vanity, than from a sense of religious duty; he shaved his head, carried an Anubis, and slaughtered victims in the dress of a butcher.

## CRISPINA.

Bruttia Crispina was the daughter of Bruttius Præsens, a senator of consular dignity, but we are ignorant respecting the place and date of her birth. She was married to Commodus, at the instance of Marcus Aurelius, A. D. 177, and a congiarium (see No. CCLII.) was given to the public on the occasion. The nuptials were hurried on account of the approaching war with the Scythians. Having become notorious for adultery, she was banished to Capræa, and there put to death A. D. 183.

Crispina, a woman of surprising beauty, but of very licentious habits, dishonoured her dignity by the most scandalous libertinism. Yet her degrading propensities did not stifle her pride,—for Lucilla having claimed that precedence which Crispina considered as the sole right of the reigning empress, a bitter rivalry sprung up between the two princesses, which wrought the destruction of each. (See p. 152.) They met at the same place of exile, and there ended their jealousies about rank and prerogative, by being barbarously executed nearly at the same time; Commodus "n' excusant pas en sa femme ce crime dont il luy monstroit continuéllement l'example, avec beaucup plus de desordre, et d' infamie."

It is somewhat unfortunate for human nature, that while we are taught to pay the unqualified homage of our admiration to the Clelias, and Portias, and Cornelias, of the republic, we rely upon very questionable data; but that on descending to times in which more authentic and luculent evidence is attainable, we are compelled to form a different opinion of the daughters of the "Eternal City," from the monstrous and barefaced vices of her Julias, and Messalinas, and Faustinas. In the first instance, imagination leads the judgment astray, as to the standard of Roman excellence; but an impartial consideration of the truth, cannot but exalt such ladies as withstood the intoxication of unbridled power—and we the more readily admit the merits of a Livia, an Antonia, a Plotina, a Marciana, and a Mamæa.

If this Catalogue was only to be seen by practised numismatists, it might be deemed trite to add, that the large-brass of this lady must be selected only in unexceptionable preservation; and that, except a sedent Roma, her medals bear obvious reverses, such as the attributes of Juno, Ceres, Venus, Diana, and various moral virtues, including even *Pudicitia*!

### CCCVII.

- Obverse. CRISPINA AVGVSTA. A profile of the Empress with handsome features, the hair neatly plaited and turned round behind, the neck finely turned, and the bosom robed. The aspect is that of a woman in about her twentieth year. This medal is in superb condition, and densely coated with brownish-green patina, tinged with red. It was found in the ruins of Cemenelium, near Nice, by a faimer, from whom 1 procured it in 1823.
- Reverse. LAETITIA. In the field S. C. A stately female, in the robes of a Roman matron, stands with a wreath of flowers in her right hand, and holds a rudder placed upon a globe with her left. This is the emblem of gaiety :---the rudder and globe shew the power of cheerfulness; the long robes, in which Lætitia is clothed, imply that conviviality ought ever to be accompanied by decency; and the wreath represents the chaplet worn by the Romans at their festivals:

"Nen desint epulis rosæ, Neu vivax apium, neu breve lilium."

The custom was no doubt borrowed from the women of Greece, who wore garlands of flowers at the marriage ceremony, as a type of loveliness and fertility. See the Iphigenia of Euripides.

#### CCCVIII.

- Obverse. CRISPINA AVGVSTA. A beautiful head of Crispina, with the expression and attire as in the last. A medal in very superior preservation, which was procured at Súsah, in Africa, in 1822. It is covered with a russet-green patina, with red spots.
- Reverse. VENVS FELIX. In the field S. C. A sedent female, robed as a matron, supports a winged cupid with a festoon of flowers upon her right hand, and holds a sacred virga in her left: the *felix* may have been in compliment to the Emperor's having assumed that agnomen. The stories of Venus have been blended by recondite writers, with physiology, morality, and history ;-but it was said-"quasi venusta, est enim, venustatis dea." See No. CXC.

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### CCCIX

- Obserse. CRISPINA AVG. IMP. COMMODI AVG. (Crispina Augusta, Imperatoris Commodi Augusti, (scilicct uxor.) A profile of the Empress, with a lovely expression of countenance, and her hair somewhat differently dressed, being hound in an anadema. This medal is covered with a brownish-red patina, and is in excellent preservation: it was presented to me by Mr. T. Burgon, in 1825.
- Reverse. SALVS. On the exergun S. C. A robed female seated on a throne, is giving food to a serpent which rises from a coffer; this represents the daughter of the god of physic, who was invoked with her father, as may be seen in the 31d act of Terence's Hecyra. The serpent alludes to Æsculapius, who was conveyed from Epidaurus to Rome in that form; and it was not only the symbol of health, but its positive medical virtues were highly extolled Pliny assures us that the fat of a snake, mixed with verdigris, is excellent in epiphoras or inflammation of the eyes; eating the sloughs or cast skins, clears the head of uninvited guests, and when burnt to ashes are capital for sore eas; chewing the heatt cures the tooth-ache; and in many of the nunquam sana cases the reptile performs wonders. Democritus recommended a composition of snakes, by which a man might understand the language of birds : and even in later days, Marco Polo says the gall of serpents is efficacious in hydrophobia; whilst Johnston, the Polish naturalist, tells us—"totum si spectes, capité, et candà truncatis, interaneis abjectis, deglubiti, carne bene lotà, et cum vino coctà, jure aromatibus condito, in leprà commendantur : quidam cum floribus herbæ paralysis, in oleo ad podagram decoquunt." The serpent was also the emblem of prudence, and P. Valetian, speaking of the head of Medusa, says—"cujus prudentia causå serpentium caput illi confictum à poëtis."

The principal temple of Salus at Rome, was one which was vowed to her by Junius Bubulcus in the Samuite war; and is thus mentioned by Livy—"*Edem Salutis, quam Consul voverat, Censor locaverat, Dictator dedicavit.*" In allusion to the type, Martial says :--

> "Rerum certa SALUS, terrarum gloria Cæsar; Sospite quo magnos credimus esse Deos."

And again :---

"Mittimus, ô rerum felix tutela, SALUSque Sospite quo, gratum credimus esse Jovem."

# PERTINAX.

Publius Helvius Pertinax, the son of Helvius Successus, a freedman, was born A. D. 126, in Liguria. From the words of Capitolinus—"pater ejus tabernam coactilitiam exercuit"—it seems that for some time he followed his father's humble calling, of selling charcoal and timber—after which he kept a grammar-school at Rome; but that profession not answering his expectations, and his inclination tending more to arms than letters, he betook himself to the camp. He served in Parthia, Syria, and Noricum, with a merit which, despite of his mean extraction, advanced him to the highest commands—insomuch that, at the accession of Commodus, A. D. 180, he was governor of Syria. He now became an object of jealousy to the courtiers, and passed three years happily, in retirement from public life. During this period he employed himself in embellishing his native village with elegant buildings; but he would not permit his father's house and shop to be altered.

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After the fall of Perennis, A. D. 183, Pertinax was sent into Britain, where with great difficulty, and not without exposing himself to personal danger, he restored the ancient discipline among the disaffected legions. At the death of Commodus this "tennis-ball of fortune" was Præfect of Rome, as well as Consul for the second time; and reluctantly consented to be proclaimed Emperor, by an apparently free election, on new year's day, A. D. 193: yet he was assassinated by the Prætorian Guards, after a reign of only 87 days, to the deep regret of the Senate and people.

The measures adopted by Pertinax were all directed to the public welfare, but his reforms were on too economical a scale to be relished after the licentious prodigality of his predecessor; and his own frugal mode of living was condemned as the meanest parsimony. He found the treasury drained; to replenish which, and pay the promised donative to the Cohorts, as well as a largess to the people, he made a public sale of the silver statues of Commodus, the inmates of his abominable *harem*, his stud, his plate, and all the articles of profuse luxury which were found in the palace; among which, particular mention is made of chariots, so contrived as to shew the lours, and measure the road. He abolished the taxes on rivers, ports, and highways; recalled the state-exiles; repressed the insolence of the army; administered justice with lenity and impartiality; and governed with equity and moderation. In personal character, according to Severus, he was mild without weakness, grave without austerity, prudent without craft, brave without ferocity, frugal without avarice, and great without arrogance : and such may be gathered from cotemporary evidence-though Capitolinus, who wrote a century after Pertinax, charges him with insincerity and meanness. "He performed great things during his short reign," says Herodian—who was personally acquainted with him— " and would have restored the empire to its former lustre, had he lived longer."

A character so highly qualified for the important trust to which he was elevated, was too good for the times. A mutiny was excited among the guards, and 300 of them entered the palace with drawn swords. Pertinax disdained to conceal himself, declaring that "flight did not become an Emperor;" and he appeared before the mutineers with so firm and intrepid an air, that they began to sheathe their weapons when he expostulated with them. At this critical instant, a brute, named Tausius, darted a javelin at the Emperor's breast, crying out "the soldiers send you this"—and the feeling of respect having been thus dissolved, the rest rushed on and dispatched their victim with many wounds. When the good old prince saw that his fate was inevitable, like another Cæsar, he wrapped himself in his toga and fell without a struggle. The villains then cut off his head, and carried it on the point of a spear to the camp, whither they returned with great precipitation, before the people could assemble to avenge the murder.

All the medals of Pertinax are of great rarity, and are very expensive, even where perfect condition is not an object. There are no Latin coins in honour of Titiana, his profligate wife; nor of the younger Pertinax, his son. This was a consequence of his prohibiting the lady from accepting the title of Augusta, which the senate had given her, and which he probably thought she ill deserved ;—nor would he consent that his son should be saluted Cæsar till he merited the distinction. There were, however, coins struck to Titiana in Egypt,—and one of Lesbos, in the Oxford collection, figured by Haym in his "Tesoro Britannico," represents her with large features and a placid aspect—her hair dressed somewhat after the fashion of Faustina Junior.

## CCCX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. P. HELV. PERTINAX AVG. (Imperator Cæsar, Publius Helvius Pertinax, Augustus.) A truly venerable head of Pertinax, with the laurel wreath, and a bare neck. The features are bold, and the expression is raised by a flowing beard, to the majestic air which the Italians term "il sovr' umano: and we learn from history that he was of stately height, "ventre prominulo," and a full habit. This medal is barely patinated, and in excellent condition; it was presented to me by my friend Colonel Warrington, at Tripoli, in 1816.
- Reverse. DIS CVSTODIBVS. In the field S. C. A robed female, with a frontal diadem, stands in the centre of the field. Her left arm bears a cornucopiæ, and she holds a rudder which is placed upon a globe, by its tiller. This indicates that Fortune raised Pertinax to the throne; and as the Romans gave her so many names and attributes, they are here all comprehended under the appellation of Deæ Custodes.

With the exception of the *Liberalities*, which shew the congiaria which he paid up, and the decennalian votes, most of the medals of Pertinax bear a grateful allusion to the gods and the moral virtues; and among these, none is more remarkable than a denarius struck in honour of the MIND, and inscribed *Menti Laudandæ*. "O mens bona!" exclaimed Propertius, "if thou art a goddess, I dedicate myself to thy service." Ovid gives rather a disgraceful picture of her when enslaved by Cupid :--

> "MENS BONA ducetur, manibus post terga revinctis: Et Pudor; et castris quicquid Amoris obest."

### CCCXI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. P. HELV. PERTINAX AVG. (Imperator Cæsar, Publius Helvius Pertinax, Augustus.) A singularly fine laureated profile of the Emperor, with a manly expression of countenance. This medal was purchased from a friend in London, in 1825, and formerly belonged to the cabinet of Mr. Neave; it is in very high preservation, though but slightly patinated.
- Reverse. PROVIDENTIAE DEORVM COS. II. (Providentiæ Deorum, Consul iterum.) In the field S. C. A stolated female stands with her right hand open—the ancient attitude of prayer in adoration of a radiated globe in the air. This is a public acknowledgment of thanks by the Senate to the Gods, for their especial protection of the worthy prince through the perilous times of Commodus, and his ministers Perennis and Cleander. So imminent was this danger that, when Lætus and Electus waited on Pertinax in the night, after murdering Commodus, he

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expected that they came to put him to death by the tyrant's orders, instead of their offering him the empire. The Romans had various emblems of Divine Providence, as the altar, the eagle, the globe, and the fulmen, (see No. CCXV.) but it is singular that the poets have no where described them.

## CCCXII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. P. HELV. PERTINAX AVG. (Imperator Cæsar, Publius Helvius Pertinax, Augustus.) A manly laurelled head of Pertinax, with curled hair, thick mustachios, and a flowing beard. This medal is in excellent condition, and densely coated with a deep green patina; it was purchased at Mr. Henderson's sale, in 1830.

"Scis etenim justum geminâ suspendere lance Ancipitis libræ."

incipitis noize.

Her left arm supports a cornucopiæ, to shew that plenty follows a just award; but this explanation does not contemplate a client's being ruined by his lawyer's fees. The legend shews the several imperial honours which the Senate decreed to Pertinax; still, though he was the only Emperor who had been complimented with the title of Pater Patriæ on the first day of his reign, it does not appear upon any of his coins—whence it may be inferred that, after the example of the best of his predecessors, he wished it to be deferred.

Besides being an emblem of justice, this balance has also been considered to allude to the constellation Libra. Ruæus, however, accuses Virgil, in common with other ancients, of being ignorant of that sign, from some confusion which certainly exists as to the limits of Scorpio; yet in the Georgics, l. i. v. 208, it is distinctly said—

" LIBRA die somnique pares ubi fecerit horas.

Manilius, in describing the same sign, says-

"Hesperiam sua Libra tenet, quâ condita Roma, Et propiis frænat pendentem nutibus orbem."<sup>†</sup>

## CCCXIII.

- Obverse. 1MP. CAES. P. HELV. PERTINAX AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Publius Helvius Pertinax, Augustus.) A venerable laureated head of the Emperor, with a large forehead, long beard, and curled hair. This medal is in beautiful preservation, and covered with brown patina; it was procured from the Rev. Mr. Hall, at Leghorn, in 1823, in exchange for some Athenian tetradrachms.
- Reverse. LAETITIA TEMPORVM COS. II. (Lætitia temporum, Consul iterum.) In the field S. C. A stolated female standing with a garland of flowers in her right hand, and a hasta pura in her left. There were several epithets of this virtue, as Deorum, Æterna, Publica, and Fundata, under which, no doubt, separate and especial rites were appointed, according as the happiness was public or private. See No. CCCVII. But this of Temporum testifies the general exultation at the accession of Pertinax, when the wreaths of gaiety were actually

<sup>\*</sup> A certain king of Naples struck a device with the legend *Æquitas Regni*, whence the name "Cavalli" and "Cavallucci" was absurdly given to the money, as if derived from Equus, a horse; reminding one of the *Horatiam* "Saw" against selling a mare, "*Equam* (*Equam*) memento rebus in arduis servare."

<sup>+</sup> Perhaps I should not omit, that one medallist assigns this Equity, not in a general sense, but to the particular act of the seizure of some Barbarian deputies on the road to their country. for the purpose of compelling them to return the gold which Commodus had paid as the price of their friendship; and which, that writer says, was justly wrested from them. If this tribute, however, was rendered in consequence of stipulations, it is difficult to find where the equity lies. The act was perpetrated by order of Lætus, who dismissed the deputies with a charge that they should acquaint their government that, "Pertinax was now Emperor," to whose reputation they were no strangers. The Romans never forgot, nor forgave, a defeat or humiliation.

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scattered about the streets : "Tanta fuit Populi Romani lætitia, at viccs urbis coronis straverit." This was a joyous time which recalled the words of Horace :---

> "Iam Fides, et Pax, et Honor, Pudorque Priscus, et neglecta redire Virtus Audet; apparetque beata pleno Copia cornu.

### CCCXIV.

- Obverse. DIVVS PERT. PIVS PATER. (Divus Pertinax, Pius, Pater.) The head of Pertinax, with the full beard and curled hair of the former coins, but without a laurel wreath, and having the shoulders robed. The title of Pater here applies to the divinity of the Emperor, for the reason given at No. CCLIX. A medal in excellent condition, and incrusted with a reddish-brown patina; it was purchased from Mr. Young, in 1826.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the exergum S. C. A grand pyra adorned with statues, tapestry, and festoons of flowers; and surmounted by a quadrigated car. The body of Pertinax was interred with great pomp by Didius Julian. Severus afterwards honoured his memory with a most magnificent funeral ceremony, pronounced his panegyric himself, and caused him to be ranked among the number of the Gods;—appointing Pertinax, the son, chief priest to his father. This medal is beautifully figured in M. Mionnet's well-known work.

## **DIDIUS JULIANUS.**

Marcus Didius Severus Julianus, son of Petronius Didius Severus, and grandson of Salvius Julianus, the celebrated civilian, was born at Milan, A. D. 133, and was brought up by Domitia Lucilla, the mother of Marcus Aurelius. That prince, who had a particular regard for him, created him successively Quæstor, Ædile, and Prætor, and appointed him Governor of Belgic Gaul. In the reign of Commodus, he narrowly escaped being included in the pretended conspiracy of his uncle Salvius Julianus; but after a time was restored to favour, and became Governor of Bithynia. He was elevated to the Consulship, as the colleague of Pertinax, A. D. 172, whom he succeeded in the Proconsulship of Africa; and was afterwards his "Præfectus Vigilum." When the murderers of Pertinax found that nobody attempted to avenge him, their insolence increased, and they determined to set the imperial authority to sale. In effect, they caused a soldier, remarkable for a loud voice, to mount the ramparts of the camp, and proclaim that the empire was to be sold to the highest bidder : and the throne, in consequence, fell to Julian "by purchase." His bargain lessened his property, impaired his credit, and cost him his life: for on the approach of Severus with the warlike legions of Pannonia, he was put to death by order of the terrified Senate, A.D. 193, after a wretched reign of 66 days, in the 61st year of his age.

The general impression, that Julian was a mere monied adventurer without a single quality to entitle him to the exalted dignity he coveted, is contradicted by the important appointments which he held. Gibbon declares that he had neither friend nor adherent—but this could hardly have been the case with one who had borne high commands through life. The project of buying the empire is said to have been formed while he was giving a "jollification" to his companions; yet this is at variance with Spartian, who tells us that Didius was carried to the camp against his will. Dio, an eye-witness of the events, says, that the new prince, entering the palace, and despising the frugal supper which had been prepared for his predecessor, ordered a magnificent feast to be got ready, so as to gratify at once his ambition and appetite-yet other writers describe him as singularly penurious. He is accused of treating the body of Pertinax with contempt, yet he gave it honourable If we admit, with Dio, that he was avaricious, greedy, and petulant, there burial. is also evidence that he was brave, affable, and learned; and though he could not defend the disgraceful venality of the soldiers, he was probably not very wide of the truth when he assured the Conscript Fathers, that he was the fittest person they could choose for an emperor. Indeed, when we consider his rank, education, and riches, his pretensions were assuredly as *legitimate* as those of the African who opposed him; he was not the author of the distresses or degradation of the country; and there really appears an exaggeration in the horror of the citizens, the hatred of the populace, and the devouring grief of the supple Senators, at a sale which was no novelty but in form.

The medals of Didius are rare in each of the metals, and none are known in small-brass. The types are confined to the three about to be described; for though a *Juno Regina* appears in large-brass, similar to that of Manlia Scantilla, the cautious Eckhel questions its authenticity. There is also a silver *Fides Exercit*. which is doubted; and another, commemorating the name of Commodus, which the soldiers gave to Didius, is to be seen in the Index of Goltzius—but it is false.

# CCCXV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. DID. SEVER. IVLIAN. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar, Murcus Didius Severus Julianus, Augustus.) A laureated head of Julian, with curled hair, full mustachios and beard, and a bare neck. The expression is venerable and sensible, though the features are not remarkable. This medal is in high perfection, and coated with a dark-green patina; it was procured at Cagliari, in 1823.
- Reverse. CONCORD. MILIT. (Concordia Militum.) In the field S. C. A robed female standing with a splendid military ensign in each hand; this was struck A. D. 193, in token of the influence which the army exercised in the election of the new Emperor, and whose concord was purchased at about £200. a man. The standards are here surmounted by legionary eagles,—but there is another medal with this device, in which they are omitted.

### CCCXVI.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. DID. SEVER. IVLIAN. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar, Marcus Didius Severus Julianus, Augustus.) A fine and characteristic head of the Emperor, with a laurel crown, nicely trimmed beard, and bare neck. Both Spartian and Capitolinus say, that Julian received the title of *Pater Patriæ*, but it does not appear upon any of his coins. This medal, covered with a brownish-red varnish, and in excellent condition, was purchased from Mr. Young, in 1825.

Reverse. RECTOR ORBIS; a legend expressed with beautiful simplicity. In the field S. C. Didius in "vestimentis pretiosis," and bareheaded, holds a globe in his right hand, and a roll of paper in his left, with a commanding air; such as we may suppose he assumed when he addressed the Conscript Fathers with—"vobis Principe opus est, et ego, præ cæteris omnibus, sum Principatu dignissimus." The "Rector Orbis," however, seems to have changed domestic life for splendid misery, and the comforts of a stable home for the empty pomp of a palace, wherein he existed, to use Bishop Hall's words,

"Like a scabb'd cuckoo in a cage of gold."

### CCCXVII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. DID. SEVER. IVIJAN. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar, Marcus Didius Severus Julianus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with features expressive of advanced age. This medal is thickly incrusted with rich brown patina, and is in remarkably fine condition; it was procured near Mazzara, in Sicily, in 1820.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. COS. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul.) In the field S. C. The figure of Fortune, robed as a Roman matron, and standing, holds a cornucopiæ in her left hand, and with the right supports a rudder upon a globe, in token of universal dominion. Such was the device by which was represented the fortunate elevation of an old man, who in a few weeks was slain on his bed, after bitterly bewailing his fate, and beseeching permission to resign his power. "Manente adhuc in Imperatoria aula Juliano, ac fortunam suam miserante, suppliciterque rogante, ut sibi ejurare Imperium liceret, omnemque ejus potestatem Severo transcribere." Dio accuses him of murdering some children, in order to prognosticate, by magic, his future fate. His corpse was given by Severus to Manlia Scantilla, for sepulture.

# MANLIA SCANTILLA.

Manlia Scantilla was the wife of Didius Julianus; but we are unacquainted with her descent and connexions, as well as the dates of her birth, marriage, and death. As with Titiana, she partook of her husband's elevation, A. D. 193, and after his fall, was permitted to retreat again into private life. Historians have left but slight notices of this lady, who, it appears, was very much deformed in her person. Herodian and Zosimus accuse her, of foolishly persuading her husband to the fatal step of prodigally scattering his wealth, to obtain the sovereign authority. But Spartian assures us that, on the very day on which the Senate elected the family of Julian into the Patrician order, and honoured Scantilla and her daughter with the title of Augusta, these females entered the palace with a dread of impending destruction: "Inde se ad palatium recepit, uxore ac filia illuc vocatis, trepidis et invitis illuc transeuntibus, quasi jam inminens exitium præsagirent."

All the medals of this Empress are very rare; nor are there any Greek or Colonial ones known. The only symbol which I have yet met with, either on Sestertii or Denarii, is that about to be described: for though there is mention of one having Fortune, as in No. CCCXVII, it must be the result of some blunder in the mintage, since it bears the husband's titles,—and there is moreover a medal of Didius, bearing the *Juno Regina* of Scantilla, as a reverse. Spartian writes this lady's name *Mallia*, but had he been a numismatist, he would probably have corrected the orthography.

### CCCXVIII.

- Obverse. MANL. SCANTILLA AVG. (Manlia Scantilla Augusta.) A matronly head of Scantilla, with a quiet expression of countenance, and good features. The hair hangs over the ears, and is turned up at the back of the head in plaits, but without any ornament;—and the bosom is covered with drapery. This medal is in fine preservation, though a portion of its Saxon-green patina has been rubbed from the reverse; it was procured near Nice, in 1823.
- Reverse. IVNO REGINA. In the field S. C. A robed female standing with the sacred patera, and the lance of divinity; at her feet is a peacock :---

We have seen Julian as *Rector Orbis*, and here his wife appears as queen of heaven. Of all the pagan deities there was not one whose worship was more solemn and more universal than that of Juno; and the general name for the tutelary deities of women was *Junones*. She not only protected weddings and biths, but even presided over female dress and ornaments. See Nos. CCLXVII and CCLXXXI. As the Roman emperors were assimilated to Jupiter, and ranked among the great gods, so were the empresses placed with the goddesses of superior rank, and addressed as Juno. Hence Prudentius:

> "
>  "atque adytis, et flamine, et aris, Augustum coluit, vitulo placavit, et agno: Strata ad pulvinar jacuit, responsa poposeit, Testantur tituli, produnt Consulta Senatus Cæsareum, Jovis ad speciem, statuentia templum; Adjecere sacrum, fieret quo Livia Juno."

## DIDIA CLARA.

Didia Clara, the daughter of Didius Julianus and Manlia Scantilla, appears to have been born about A. D. 153, and is represented as having assisted her mother's endeavouring to persuade Julian to purchase the empire. She was esteemed the most beautiful woman of her age, and was married to Cornelius Repentinus, who, during her father's brief reign, was made Præfect of Rome. She was honoured as Augusta at the same time with Scantilla, and a revenue proportionate to her new dignity was settled upon her. This dream of power, however, which was purchased at the expense of her father's life, lasted but a couple of months; what became of her husband is not known, but Severus permitted Clara to retire, with her mother, after taking away her patrimony, and divesting her of the proud title of Augusta, an act of mercy rather unusual with that relentless tyrant. The medals of Didia Clara are extremely rare, and none have hitherto been found in small-brass. The only device which I have seen is *Hilaritas*,—though Gessner mentions a denarius with the reverse *Pietas*. In the Cabinet of Queen Christina, as described by Havercamp, there was a large-brass imperial coin, struck by the cities of Cyprus as a compliment to the personal charms of Clara;—but excepting this unique specimen, there are no Greek, nor Colonial medals in honour of her known.

### CCCXIX.

- Obverse. DIDIA CLARA AVG. (Didia Clara Augusta.) A profile of the Princess, with features expressive of middle-age,—the bust is robed, and the hair dressed in the style of her mother's, but with greater care. This medal is incrusted with a dark chocolate-coloured patina, and is in excellent condition; it was procured from an Arab, at Jerbah, in 1822.
- Reverse. HILARITAS TEMPOR. (Hilaritas Temporum.) In the field S. C. An elegant female in full robes, with a frontal diadem, stands gracefully in the centre of the field. She bears a cornucopiæ, and with her right hand holds a long palm-branch, which rests on the ground. As there are no children, (see No. CLXXXV.) this emblem of the "mentis alimonia" has been considered as relating to the married state;—Clara, however, as well as Faustina Junior and Lucilla, of whom I have had medals with similar devices, were married women. The idea may have arisen from the public feasts named Hilaria, given at the birth of children; or from the known qualities of the palm-tree,—" Ex utroque sexu duas palmas singulas, singulis pinxit ripis."

# **PESCENNIUS NIGER.**

Caius Pescennius Niger, surnamed Justus, the son of Annius Fuscus and Lampridia, was born at Aquinum, about A.D. 136,—his family being of the Equestrian Order. With a small estate, and few accomplishments, his outset in life did not augur exaltation,—yet his merit proved sufficient to raise him from the degree of a Centurion, to the highest military rank. He had procured the notice and esteem of Marcus Aurelius; and by his gallantry and address in discomfiting Maternus, he so won the approbation of Severus, at that time Præfect of the province, that the latter reported him as a person "necessary to the state." Under Commodus and Pertinax he was Governor of Syria, and General of the Legions of Asia,-and was made Consul at the request of the troops under his command. Being incited by a large and powerful party in Rome, he revolted against Didius, and was acknowledged Emperor by his army, and all the Eastern provinces, A. D. 193. He received offers of assistance from the kings and governors in alliance with the empire; but declined all foreign aid, under an assurance that he should meet with so general a support that there would be no appeal to arms. This confidence proved his ruin. The senate, dreading the vigorous policy of Severus, declared Niger a public enemy; and after

losing three furiously contested battles, he was overtaken near Antioch, and slain,\* in the beginning of A. D. 195. His head was publicly displayed on the point of a spear, to intimidate his adherents in Byzantium, and was then forwarded to Rome.

Niger appears to have been of a brave and generous disposition, and, moreover, wise and prudent. Abstemious and hardy, he was a sworn foe to luxury and effeminacy. He required nothing of his soldiers but what he practised himself; and once in Egypt, when they clamorously demanded wine with their rations, "what need have you of wine," said he, "that have the Nile to drink ?" He was so free from personal vanity, that he desired an official panegyrist to wait for his death, before he recited his praises; recommending him in the mean time to eulogize Marius, Hannibal, or some other renowned worthy. Spartian, and Victor the younger, differ widely in their estimate of his character; and Dio seems to think he was not remarkable either for virtue or vice. Be this as it may, it is certain that he was universally esteemed, and was therefore the "popular candidate" for the throne. He was married to Pescennia Plautiana, or Plautilla, by whom he had several children,-but history has not told us either their names or number. On the whole, he seems to have been well characterized by the historian, as "a gallant soldier, an excellent officer, an experienced general, an illustrious consul, but an unfortunate emperor."

Severus was not personally present in any of the battles with Niger, nor is it now known where he then was: but he wreaked his vengeance on all who had sided with his opponent,—the Senators who had borne arms under him were put to death, and multitudes of the lower ranks suffered the same fate. He had persuaded some of his competitor's generals, by means of their children, whom he had in his power, to betray the cause which they had embraced; and after reaping the advantages of their treachery, destroyed both them and their families. He first banished the wife and children of Niger, and afterwards caused them and all connected with them to be murdered, and their estates confiscated. Nevertheless he would not suffer a pompous inscription on the base of a black marble statue of Niger, at Rome, to be erased, saying—"Let all the world know what an enemy I have conquered."

There are no Latin medals of Pescennius Niger known, for it is reasonably conjectured that all the denarii, from their inferior fabric and distorted inscriptions, were minted at Antioch; and the unique gold coin which, till the late lamentable robbery, enriched the noble cabinet of the king of France, was strongly suspected

<sup>\*</sup> This is the story as related by the cotemporary historians ;-but Spartian, a less trusty authority, says that, Niger being dangerously wounded, was taken prisoner, and in that condition brought to Severus, in whose presence he expired.

of being a fabrication, from its bearing the title of *Pater Patriæ*.\* Indeed, it could hardly be expected that such legends as "Bonæ Spei," "Victoria Justi Augusti," "Iovi Præsidi Orbis," "Boni Eventûs," and "Invicto Imperatori Tropæum," were struck by those who had declared Niger a public enemy. A few Greek imperial brass medals are met with, but they are of extreme rarity; and Baudelot mentions one of Pescennia Plautiana. A singularity attaches to the denarii, since about this time, A. D. 194, Severus and Niger often used the same types; but it is impossible to decide which of the two imitated the other. It was from the great difficulty of procuring a genuine medal of this Emperor that Pope lashed the "pale antiquaries,"—

> "To gain Pescennius one employs his schemes, One grasps a Cecrops in ecstatic dreams. Poor Vadius, long with learned spleen devour'd, Can taste no pleasure since his shield was scour'd: And Curio, restless by the fair-one's side, Sighs for an Otho, and neglects his bride."

Here, however, the poet goes somewhat out of his depth; yet he must be acquitted of the medallic ignorance of his imitator, Cawthorn,—who, in a nonsensical yarn, called "The Antiquarians," has entirely forfeited his boasted claim to an intimate acquaintance with the Fine Arts.

## CCCXX.

Obverse. AYT. K. F. HECK. NIFPOC. IOYCTOC CEB. (Imperator, Cæsar, Caius Pescennius Niger, Justus, Augustus.) The laureated head of the acting Emperor, with mustachios, full beard, bare neck, and features expressive of manly resolution. We learn from history that he was of comely proportions and engaging countenance, with a voice so loud and piercing that it might be heard a mile off: he was called Niger, it seems, ou account of his black hair, and sun-burnt face and neck. Though some former owner of this precious medal has unsparingly applied the wire-brush so as to clear off the patina, it is in very high preservation: it was purchased from Mr. Young, in 1825.

Were it not for the extreme rarity of this coin, not a doubt could be excited as to its genuineness: but the discerning Eckhel thinks the word *Justus* throws suspicion upon the legend. It is given as unique, among the choice large-brass selections of Sambucus, at the end of his "Emblems." See Note to p. 138.

**Reverse.** KAICAPEIAC FEPMANIKHC. (Cæsareæ Germanicæ.) A bold figure of Æsculapius with his robe drawn back so as to leave his right arm bare, in readiness for operation, holds the mystic staff with the involute serpent. See CCCIX. He seems merely to be placed there because he was worshipped, and probably had a temple, at Cæsarea-Germanica, in Commagene, where this coin was struck. Severus punished the cities which had declared for Niger, with grievously heavy fines; and as Antioch had been the temporary seat of empire, it was deprived of its privileges. Numismatic writers quote a large-brass Greek imperial medal of this reign, ou which Antioch is styled Neocora, from having the right of ordering solemn public games; but its authenticity is strongly doubted. Of all those who took part with this unfortunate warrior, none distinguished themselves so much as the Byzantines, who obstinately refused to submit till, after a three year's siege, they were reduced to the eating of human flesh: it is only to know that Severus, that stranger to mercy, was the conqueror, and the result may be anticipated,—all the fortifications and public edifices were destroyed, the garrison massacred, and the inhabitants stripped and sold into slavery.

<sup>•</sup> The purchase of this coin by M. de Boze, is detailed in the Phil. Transactions for 1750,-and it is there figured...

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# ALBINUS.

Decimus Clodius Septimius Albinus, the son of Cejonius Posthumius and Aurelia Messalina, was born at Adrumetum, in Africa. His family was one of the most illustrious of Rome, and he was named Albinus, because he was extremely fair at his birth. He made great proficiency in the Greek and Latin languages, and composed a treatise on agriculture, and some Milesian tales; but an ardent predilection for arms interfered with his inclination for letters, and even in childhood he was frequently heard to repeat that verse of Virgil,—

## "Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis."

He therefore entered into the military service very early, was soon made captain of a troop of Illyrian horse, and was gradually advanced till he obtained the command of the legions in Bithynia, A. D. 175. For his merit and fidelity in the performance of these duties, Marcus Aurelius is said to have presented him with the fasces. Commodus entertained so high an opinion of the integrity of Albinus, that, if Capitolinus is to be credited, he permitted him to assume the title and badges of Cæsar, whenever he thought fit; but he cautiously abstained from that privilege. From the government of Gaul he was removed to that of Britain, where he ruled when Julian was killed, and became one of the three competitors for the Empire, A. D. 193. But the crafty Severus deluded him by a promise of dividing the imperial authority, and at the same time lulled his vigilance by sending him the ensigns of a Cæsar, nominating him to the Consulship, and striking medals with his effigies. No sooner, however, was Niger disposed of, than Severus determined to crush his credulous colleague; but before he had recourse to open force, he is said to have tried the perfidious means of assassination. Hereupon Albinus proclaimed himself Augustus, A. D. 196; and assembling a large army, passed over into Gaul, and obtained some partial successes. Severus hastened to meet him, and the rivals decided their contest on the plains of Tinurtium, in the beginning of A. D. 197, after one of the most obstinate and bloody battles on record. The British legions, under Albinus, were opposed to those of Illyricum, and the troops on each side fought with such bravery, that victory was long doubtful. At length the Emperor prevailed, the routed army fled to Lugdunum, and Albinus, seeing no means of escape, laid violent hands upon himself; but while yet alive he was overtaken by his pursuers, who cut off his head. Severus is said to have viewed the mangled carcass, with savage delight, and to have insulted it with the basest indignities. As in the instance of Niger, the wife\* and children of

<sup>\*</sup> The name of this lady is unknown, yet some antiquaries, led astray by the guess of Tristan, have called her Pescennia Plantilla, who, we have seen, was the wife of Pescennius Niger. It is singular, however, that Albiaus, according to Capitolinus, had a son named Pescennius Prinæus.

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Albinus were at first pardoned; but the fell despot, soon changing his mind, caused them to be inhumanly massacred, and their bodies to be thrown into the Rhone. And this was but a prelude to the atrocious acts which followed: all the relations of the defunct Cæsar, without distinction of age or sex, were barbarously slaughtered, as well as the great men of Gaul and Spain who had displayed attachment to him; and the whole of their property was confiscated.

Historians are at variance respecting the character of this hapless Prince. He is admitted to have been a brave and skilful officer, to whom the soldiers were warmly attached, although he was so strict a disciplinarian that his severity bordered on cruelty; and he was beloved by the Senate, as well as applauded by people of condition, for his justice, humanity, and respect for the ancient institutions of the Republic. These facts go far to invalidate the testimony of Capitolinus for which I own to having no great respect—when he represents Albinus as proud, unsocial, choleric, and brutal; unjust to his domestics, and insupportable to his wife. The enumeration of his defects, is compensated by many good qualities; and he not only never indulged in the unnatural vices which stained so many of the finest characters of Rome, but punished such offenders severely. In general he drank very little, but his voracity quite astonishes old Tristan :---" Il estoit incroyablement arand manyeur. Car quelque fois il mangeoit cinq cens figues a des-jeuner. tantost cent pesches, une autre fois dix melons, ou vingt livres de raisins, par fois cent bec-afiques, une autre fois quarante huistres a l'escaille, et ainsi du reste." These feats, except the fish and oysters, can hardly apply to his breakfasts while in England.

Medals of this Prince are found in all metals, and of all sizes except small-brassbut they are of considerable rarity and value. Such as bear the title of Augustus are without the S. C., and are probably from the "officina" of Lugdunum,—since those minted by consent of Severus were issued before Albinus had assumed that title; and, of course, there are none in brass with it. A denarius in the Vienna Cabinet styles him Pater Patriæ, as well as Augustus, which clearly proves that it was not struck in Rome.

## CCCXXI.

Obverse. D. CLOD. SEPT. ALBIN. CAES. (Decimus Clodius Septimius Albinus, Cæsar.) The unlaurelled head of Albinus, with short hair, a "pug" nose, thin beard, and mean features, but with a tolerably high forehead. This is a remarkable evidence of the faithfulness of the likeness, for we are told that he was tall, had curled hair, a wide mouth, a voice so small that it resembled that of an eunuch, and "frons lata." This medal is in remarkably fine condition, and covered with a pea-green patina; it was purchased at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830 Reverse. CONCORDIA. In the field S. C. A sedent female, richly attired, holds a patera in her right hand, and a cornucopiæ in her left. This was probably struck A. D. 193, on the Prince's being decorated with the ensigns and trappings of Cæsar; and the figure being seated, shews that the harmony between him and the Emperor was considered as permanent. The boon, however, was but to lull Albinus, and prevent him from becoming master of Rome, while Severus was fuishing the war in the East.

### CCCXXII.

- Obverse. D. CLOD. SEPT. ALBIN. CAES. (Decimus Clodius Septimius Albinus, Cæsar.) The naked head of Albinus, with short curled hair, and rough beard; the features less coarse than usual on the coins of this Prince. A medal in good condition, and covered with Saxon-green patina, which was purchased from Mr. Young, in 1826.
- Recerse. FELICITAS COS. II. (Felicitas, Consul iterum.) In the field S. C. A noble female, in full robes, stands with a caduceus in her right hand, and a hasta-pura in her left, emblems of peace and authority. This appears to have been struck A. D. 194, when the Emperor and Cæsar were jointly associated in the Consulship, and the latter was thereby lulled into a fatal security. Felicity, or happiness, was deified by the ancients, though it was late before the Romans admitted her into the number of their divinities, or perhaps Fear and Necessity had never been consecrated. St. Austin is humorous upon this point : "if the books and ceremonies of the heathens are true," says he, "and Felicity be a goddess, why did they not adore her alone, since she was capable of bestowing all, and making men quickly happy?" It was actually above 600 years after the building of Rome, that Lucullus, upon his return from the war with Mithridates and Tigranes, built a temple to her.

## CCCXXIII.

- Obverse. D. CLOD. SEPT. ALBIN. CAES. (Decimus Clodius Septimius Albinus, Cæsar.) A naked head of Albinus, with short hair and beard, and an unprepossessing countenance. This medal is in fine preservation, and covered with a russet-brown patina; it was bought at the Hon. R. E. Digby's sale, in 1825.
- Reverse. MINER. PACIF. COS. II. (Minervæ Paciferæ, Consul iterum.) A masculo-feminine figure of Minerva, holding an olive-branch to denote a love of peace,—but with a spear and shield behind her to shew her ability to wage war when necessary. This goddess was exceedingly popular with the Roman emperors, and the ægis, her attribute, was the constant badge of their shields and breast-plates. When, in addition to her usual emblems, she is seen to hold a thunderbolt, as on a medal of Domitian, we must recollect that Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, were regarded as the Dii Magni, and Penates of the public; whence Cicero, before his banishment, invoked these three deities in particular, and then the others in the aggregate. Each had the fulmen assigned, but that of Jove was the strongest,—so that when Pallas wished to throw a powerful one, she used her father's,—

" Ipsa Jovis rapidum jaculata è nubibus ignem."

The learned Cudwoith thinks these three Capitoline deities may be understood as being but several names and notions of one supreme being, according to his various attributes and manifestations. On medals they are sometimes represented by three figures, and at others' by the eagle, the owl, and the peacock. Publius Victor says, "*Templum Jovis Opt. Max.* in quo erant tria delubra; medium Jovis, dextrum Minervæ, lævum Junonis:" and Varro, who is a fanciful etymologist, tells us that the Capitolium was thus named, because the temple erected by Tarquinius Priscus enshrined these three deities,—which may be something better than the derivation afforded by the skull of Tolus. See No. LXXVIII.

### CCCXXIV.

Obverse. D. CLOD. SEPT. ALBIN. CAES. (Decimus Clodius Septimius Albinus Cæsar.) The bare head of Albinus, with hair, beard, and expression as in the last,—and a robe over the

right shoulder. A medal in very superior preservation, though the legend has been injured in the striking; it is covered with pea-green patina, and was procured at Pisa, in 1823.

Reverse. SAECVLO FRVGIFERO COS. 11. (Sæculo frugifero, Consul iterum.) In the field S. C. A bold figure of a man, naked, except on the loins, and with a crown of rays on his head. He stands in a graceful attitude, with a caduceus and some ears of wheat in his right hand, and a rake in his left. From mistaking the latter for a trident, Pedrusi and Tristan make the device to be a pantheistic symbol of Mercury, Neptune, and Apollo;—but it appears rather to be the Genius of Fertility, in intimation of the plenty resulting from the peace between the Emperor and the Cæsar; for the rake is certainly of a different form from any other medallic trident, the caduceus is an emblem of abundance, and the head is radiated, because the fruits of the earth require solar heat. Some writers think it alludes entirely to the Gaulish Mercury, but this opinion is rather invalidated by the S. C.

#### CCCXXV.

- Obverse. D. CLOD. SEPT. ALBIN. CAES. (Decimus Clodius Septimius Albinus, Cæsar.) A profile of Albinus, without laurel; the hair and beard short and curled, the neck bare, and the features without dignity. This medal is varnished with green and brown patina, and in very high preservation; it was procured at Sassari, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. FORT. REDVCI COS. II. (Fortunæ reduci, Consul iterum.) On the exergum S. C. Fortune seated, and richly robed; in her right hand she holds a rudder by its tiller, in her left she hears a cornucopiæ, and under her seat is a wheel. She here appears as the protectress of safe conduct, and intimates the wishes of the Senate, for the happy return of Albinus to Rome,—wishes that must have been galling to Severus, though he permitted the device to be struck. When Augustus had made the tour of Greece and Sicily, upon his return to Italy, he allowed an altar to be raised to Fortuna redux, whence it afterwards became a common custom among the emperors, to render an acknowledgment to this deity, upon their safe return to the city from an expedition : thus Claudian—

"Aurea FORTUNÆ REDUCI si templa priores

Ob reditum novere ducum, non dignius unquam,

Hæc dea pro meritis amplas sibi posceret Ædes."

The variety of symbols of Fortune have already been alluded to. (See No. CCLXXXIX.) A denarius of Marcus Aurelius is inscribed *Fort. Duci*, and who, demands Eckhel, "would not prefer *Dux* to *Redux*?" Faustina Junior had both gold and silver coins struck to *Fortuna Muliebris*, a goddess said to have been worshipped in honour of the success of the mother of Coriolanus. But she was no doubt as ancient as the *Fortuna Virilis*, to whom a temple had been erected by Servius Tullus, seventy years before the date of the pathetic legend of Veturia and her son. The shade of Virgil, describing the fickle goddess to Dante, says,—

"Quest' è colei ch' è tanto posta in croce, Pur da color, che le dovrian dar lode, Dandole biasmo a torto, e mala voce."

## SEVERUS.

Lucius Septimius Severus,\* the son of Marcus Septimius Geta and Fulvia Pia, was born at Leptis Magna, in Africa, A. D. 146. He was admitted by Marcus Aurelius into the senate, and was by him appointed governor of Sardinia. He afterwards filled the most important posts in the state, and was elevated to the

<sup>\*</sup> It is curious that of the three competitors for the throne, after the death of Pertinax, two were born in Africa; and also that two should have been surnamed from personal peculiarities, while the third was distinguished by a name somewhat expressive of his cruel disposition.

Consulship, A. D. 171. Under Commodus and Pertinax, he governed Pannonia and Illyria; and on the death of the latter Emperor, was proclaimed by his legions, A. D. 193, when he added the name of Pertinax to his own. After crushing his rivals in succession, he remained sole master of the empire, A. D. 197. In the following year he marched against the Parthians, and reduced Ctesiphon, after an arduous siege; he then invested Atra, the Arabian city, from which Trajan was repulsed, see No. CXXXII; but after two furious attempts, he was shamefully discomfited, and obliged to retreat with the loss of all his warlike engines, and an incredible number of men. Although in the opening of his career he appeared to favour the Christians, a decree which he published in Palestine, A. D. 202, gave rise to the fifth general persecution. A revolt in Britain inducing him to repair thither in person, he landed A. D. 208, with his sons, Caracalla and Geta; and having, it is said, built a wall from sea to sea across the island,\* to repress the Caledonians, he died at Eboracum, (York,) A. D. 211, in the 66th year of his age; after a reign of nearly 18 years.

This stern Emperor was possessed of a good understanding, but vindictive feelings; and it is not a little singular that so sanguinary a tyrant should die of a broken heart, in consequence of the wickedness of his eldest son. Though he ruled the state with inflexible rigour, he was incapable of regulating his own family; for in private life he was a dissembling hypocrite, a *cornuto contento* as a husband, and a weak father. Spartian says, that the Senate applied to Severus what had been said of Augustus, " that he ought never to have been born, or never to have died." To this it may be answered that, had he not appeared, oceans of blood would have been stayed, and Rome would have been spared a Caracalla, and a Heliogabalus. Even his panegyrists are obliged to admit that he was a great rather than a good prince, since he was utterly destitute of clemency, which is essential to that character,—and which Seneca thought the most noble of all the regal virtues. So our own poet :--

"Not the King's crown, nor the disputed sword, The Marshal's truncheon, nor the Judge's robe, Become them with one half so good a grace As mercy does."

said hc, adopting a verse from the Iliad.

<sup>•</sup> No mention is made of this wall either by Dio, or Herodian, yet Spartian highly extols it. Nor are antiquaries agreed upon its nature, or site, though from Bede and Buchanan, down to Stukely and Gordon, it has been warmly contested. One party is confident that it was a rampart which extended between the firths of Clyde and Forth; while the other is equally positive that it was a mere adjunct, or reparation of Hadrian's wall. Severus was so exasperated against the Caledonians, for transgressing this boundary in his last days, that he ordered his generals to exterminate them, without distinction of age or sex: —

<sup>&</sup>quot; Let none escape your sword, none flee his doom :

No, not the child, yet quick'ning in the womb;"

Severus was esteemed eloquent, though, notwithstanding his family was of equestrian rank, he always continued to speak Latin with a provincial accent. He was also a "bit" of a mathematician, an auto-biographer,\* and had some knowledge of physic; but his favourite pursuit was judicial astrology,—a science which led to his marriage with Julia Domna. He was plain and frugal; quick of apprehension; firm, patient, intrepid, and vigilant; and equally violent in love and hatred. His insatiable avarice was partly glutted by the confiscations and fines with which he punished the adherents of Didius, Niger, and Albinus, as well as all his other enemies. With respect to his vaunted military skill, he possessed, without doubt, very respectable talents, but was rather a dexterous "martinet" than a magnanimous general; nor was he present in the battles against Niger, which gave him the empire,-and it was Lætus who turned the fortunes of Albinus. Self-interest was his idol, and cunning supplied the place of wisdom,-nor can a shadow of true generosity be detected in any of the acts of his "glorious" reign, as Gibbon His liberality was confined to "currying favour" with the rabble, calls it. and to the strengthening of his own dynasty by prodigal donatives to the soldiers by which he gratified that rapacity in the army which thenceforward became additionally prejudicial to the state; while his wholesale system of banishment, by means of his exiles, carried arts and implements among the barbarians, and prepared a dreadful scourge for Rome. So strong was the principle of revenge in his disposition, that purely from aversion to Didius, he attempted to abolish the decrees of Salvius Julianus, the celebrated civilian. See No. CLXXXVII. But the paramount passion of his heart was inhumanity,-not the mad brutality of a Caligula, a Nero, or a Commodus, but the deliberate cruelty of a cold-blooded and calculating despot. In the Apostate's Satire, Silenus exclaims—" I dare not speak against him, I am so terrified at his inexorable barbarity :" and Dr. Holliday, in his " Survey of the Universe," says-

"Severus might amongst the best shine bright, But that he was th' eclipse of his own light."

The gold medals, medallions, and small-brass of Severus are rare; but all the others are common, and those of trite reverses are low priced. Dr. Musgrave, in his "Belgium Britannicum," reckons the coins of this Emperor at 80; but he perhaps merely meant those having connexion with the Belgæ—for I have seen more than 150 in silver; and Vaillant, in enumerating his Greek imperial series only, exceeds that number by upwards of 200. One of his monetary legends is very remarkable,

<sup>\*</sup> Aurelius Victor praises the style and fidelity of Severus's story of his "Times"; but that honest old soldier, Dio, questions the Emperor's regard for truth.

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as confirming what historians relate of his declaring that he was adopted by Commodus: it is a medal of the year A.D. 195, with the imperial titles added to DIVI Marci PII Filius.

### CCCXXVI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. (Imperator, Cæsar, Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Severus, with curled hair, and his neck naked. The features, though not fine, have an air of majesty and command,—but the beard is not long, as description would lead us to expect. He is said to have had a most harmonious voice,—but it was often very discordantly used. This medal is covered with a thin brown patina, and is in tolerable preservation; it was purchased from Mr. Till, in 1828.
- Reverse. FIDEI LEG. TR. P. COS. (Fidei Legionum, Tribunitia potestate, Consul.) In the field S. C. A robed female standing, holds an idol of Victory on her right hand, and a military standard in her left. This was struck A. D. 193, to commemorate the fidelity of the legions, against Julian, and Niger. The word Legion comes from *legere* to choose, or gather, "quia milites in delectu legebantur," according to Varro. Each legend was divided into 10 cohorts, but the number of men differed at different times. Under Romulus it consisted of 3,000 foot, and 300 horse; in the days of Polybius it was 4,200; Augustus raised it to 6,100 foot, and 726 horse; and in the time of Severus it was reduced to 5000 men: but under the following emperors, it was restored to the number established by Augustus. See the next medal.

### CCCXXVII.

- Obcerse. IMP. CAES. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. (Imperator, Cæsar, Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax, Augustus.) The laureated profile of the Emperor, with mustachios, trimmed beard, and a bare neck; the forehead being remarkably high, and the features more intelligent than on the last. This medal is varnished with a dark-red patina, spotted with green, and is in fine condition; I purchased it from a Roman soldier near Ostia, in 1823, but it had formerly been in the Modena collection, as it is stamped with the little silver eagle of that cabinet.
- Reverse. LEG. XIIII. GEM. M. V. (Legio decima-quarta, Gemina, Martia, Victrix.) In the field S. C.; and on the exergum TR. P. COS. (Tribunitia potestate, Consul.) A legionary eagle between two military ensigns, on each staff of which appears the bust of a horse. The bravery of the 14th legion is here acknowledged, and it is also commemorated among the inscriptions of Gruter: various other legions are honoured on the denarii. These may represent the forces which most distinguished themselves, and, according to an old custom, the standards were to be anointed. Pliny laments the extravagance of the Romans in costly perfumed unctions, for their statues and eagles, on festivals: "Aquilæ quoque ac signa illa pulverulenta, et custodiis horrida, inungebantur Festis diebus." The gemina alludes to the levies made by the Romans on the provinces, and dependent states, under the general name of auxiliaries, by which each legion was increased to about 12,500 men. The peace establishment of Hadrian and his successors was composed of no less than 30 of these formidable brigades, besides the 20,000 chosen soldiers who formed the City Cohorts, and Prætorian guards,—constituting a standing army of nearly 400,000 men.

### CCCXXVIII.

- Obverse. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. III. (Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax, Augustus, Imperator tertium.) A laureated profile of the Emperor, with a commanding aspect. This medal is in very good condition, and covered with black patina; it was struck A. D. 194, and was procured, by exchange, from an antiquary of Cagliari, in 1824.
- Reverse. DIS AVSPICIB. TR. P. II. COS. II. P. P. (Dis Auspicibus, Tribunitia potestate iterum, Consul iterum, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. Hercules with his club, and the spoils of the Nemean lion, is standing, and looking to the left. Behind him is Bacchus,

with more of majesty than the Moderns, confounding him with Silenus, are apt to assign to him; he holds a cantharus in one hand, and a thyrsus, entwined with two snakes, symbolical of Asia, in the other: but though the syrma or triumphal robe, the nebris or fawn's skin, and the cothurni, or buskins, are considered to be his distinctive attributes, he is here represented naked. Between the figures is a lynx, or Panther, illustrating the verse of Propertius—

### " Lyncibus ad cœlum vecta Ariadne tuis."

This device indicates that Severus, when marching against Niger, especially addressed himself to those deified heroes, as the noblest who had appeared on earth; and Dio informs us that he dedicated a sumptuous temple to them.

## CCCXXIX.

- Obverse. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. IIII. (Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax, Augustus, Imperator quartum.) The laureated head of Severus, with the hair, beard, and mustachios trimmed. This medal is in remarkably fine condition, and covered with a deep brown patina; it was procured at Naples, in 1820.
- Reverse. AFRICA. In the field S. C. (See No. CLXIV.) A robed female quoiffed with an elephant's head, holds a wheat-sheaf as an emblem of fertility. At her feet is a lion, which marks her as "leonum arida nutrix;" and the figure recalls Claudian's description—
  - "Tum spicis et dente comas insignis eburno,
  - Et calido rubicunda die sic Africa fatur."

This device appears to have been struck in allusion to the Emperor's native land, to which, however, though he conferred many benefits thereon, it seems he was so little attached in reality, as to order an old acquaintance to be scourged merely for recognizing him; and when his sister eame over, he was ashamed of her rusticity:—Quum soror sua legitima ad eum venisset vix Latine loquens, ac de ea multum Imperator erubesceret:" yet he was honoured and regarded as a God, by the Africans.

### CCCXXX.

- Obverse. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. V. (Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax, Augustus, Imperator quintum.) The laurelled head of the Emperor characterised as above. This medal has a coat of bright green patina, forming the "ærugo nobilis;" it was found among the ruins of Leptis Magna, in 1816.\*
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. II. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, tertium, Consul iterum, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C. The figure of Minerva, with the spear, the parma or little round shield, and helmet, of the celebrated palladium, fabled to have been brought from Troy, and never exposed to public view. She stands exactly as on the web woven in competition with Arachne, according to the poet's description; and was allegorical of Providentia, or Prudence. See No. CCXXXVIII.

### CCCXXXI.

- Obverse. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. V. (Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax, Augustus, Imperator quintum.) The laurelled head of Severus, with the hair, beard, and neck, as before. A medal covered with thin brown patina, in excellent preservation, and stamped with the Eagle of Este, or Modena; it was purchased from Mr. Young, in 1826.
- Reverse. PART. ARAB. PART. ADIAB. (Parthicus Arabicus, Parthicus Adiabenicus.) In the field S. C. and on the exergum COS. II. P. P. (Consul iterum, Pater Patriæ.) Two captives in oriental garb, with their hands tied behind them, seated upon shields, and a magnificent trophy between them. This alludes to the successes of Severus, A. D. 195, when he crossed the Euphrates to chastise the Osrhoeni, Adiabeni, and Arabians. He obtained some success over the Parthians, but apparently not in open warfare, since he would not assume the title of Parthicus, which oddly enough is here twice repeated, lest he should give umbrage to that still powerful nation :--

" Tela fugacis equi, et braccati militis arcus."

<sup>\*</sup> In the course of my excavations at Leptis Magna—some of the fruits of which are now to be seen at Virginia Water, in.Windsor Park—I found many Roman medals, but only this one of Severus, who was born there:

### CCCXXXII.

- Obverse. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VIII. (Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax, Augustus, Imperator octavum.) A very spirited and characteristic head of Severus, with the bust in armour. This beautiful medal is in the highest condition, coated with red and green patina, and is one of the best specimens of art in this reign. It was purchased in London, in 1825, having formerly been in the cabinet of Mr. Edgar.
- Reverse. ADVENTV1 AVG. FELICISSIMO. (Adventui Augusti felicissimo.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor on his charger, raising his right hand;—he is in his camp dress, but bare-headed. An elegant military figure leads the horse by the bridle, and bears a standard. This device commemorates the Emperor's return to Rome, not on the death of Julian, as hath been "imprinted" —but in A. D. 196, when he had been saluted Emperor for the eighth time. The first public entry of Severus was under every possible demonstration of joy; yet he committed unheard of cruelties. After commending the character of Commodus to the Senators, who had declared his memory infamous, he executed a number of their body without trial, and the city was filled with bloodshed. But an act of justice was performed, in the degradation of the Prætorians. He ordered them to attend him, without arms, and then having upbraided them in the bitterest terms for their insolence, venality, and treachery, he commanded them, after quitting their horses and badges, to retire, ignominiously, 100 miles from Rome, and not to return under pain of death.

#### CCCXXXIII.

- Obverse. L. SEPT. SEV. PERT. AVG. IMP. VIII. (Lucius Septimius Severus Pertinax, Augustus, Imperator octavum.) A laurelled profile of the Emperor, with features less intelligent than in the last, and the bust naked. A medal covered with a deep-brown patina, and in exceedingly fine preservation; it was obtained by exchange from a friend in London, in 1825.
- Reverse. MVNIFICENTIA AVG. (Munificentia Augusti.) On the exergum S. C. A large elephant, harnessed, with net-work. This type was struck A. D. 197, to commemorate the spectacles exhibited before the Emperor's second departure to reduce the Parthians. Notwithstanding his habitual avarice, Severus squandered away large treasures on the soldiers, his known maxim being to enrich the army that he might depress the other classes. But he also gave many congiaries and games to the people, most of which are duly recorded on medals; and he was, moreover, particularly careful of the supply of wine and oil for the city.

The extreme docility of the elephant seems to have been even better understood by the ancients than by the moderns, for we are assured that when Galba was Prætor, he introduced at the Floralia a new entertainment, said to have become common enough afterwards, viz. the incredible feat of elephants *dancing*, or walking upon ropes; and both Ælian and Columella assert that they contrived to breed the animal at Rome—whereas, except in the well-known instance mentioned by Mr. Carse, in the Philosophical Transactions, and which occurred in India, every modern attempt of the kind has failed. Cuvier, in speaking of the differences which distinguish the elephants of Africa from those of Asia, assures us that their history is given more exactly by Aristotle, than by Buffon. Yet Manilius enumerated this docile creature among the savage and noxious animals of the torrid zone :—

"Horrendos angues, habitataque membra veueno,

Et mortis partns, viventia crimina terræ;

Et vastos elephantes habet, sævosque leones,

In pœnas fæcunda suas, parit horrida tellus."

#### CCCXXXIV.

- Obverse. SEVERVS PIVS AVG. P. M. TR. P. XII. (Severus Pius, Augustus, Pontifer Maximus, tribunitia potestate duodecimum.) The laureated profile of Severus, with a thick beard and bare neck. This medal has received rough treatment, but the injury is of no modern date, as it is cased with black patina; it was presented to me by Mr. A. Tulin, the British Vice-Consul, at Tunis, in 1822.
- Reverse. INDVLGENTIA AVGG. (Indulgentia Augustorum.) On the exergum IN CARTH. (In Carthagine.) In the field S. C. Cybele, or Astarte, as Apuleius describes her, gracefully seated on the back of a lion, which is running in the same direction as a stream from a high hill:

she wears a corrona-turrita, and holds a fulmen in one hand and a long sceptre in the other. This device was struck A. D. 203, and seems relative to a reparation of the great aqueduct which conveyed water from the Zygantes to Carthage—vast remains of which are still seen between Tunis and the Zaghwán mountains; but it is an indulgence upon which historiaus are silent. The favor was probably accomplished by a stated remission of tribute, for had it required money from the treasury, the legend would have been *Munificentia* instead of *Indulgentia*. Carthage was greatly encourged under the emperors, and became opulent: Severus honoured it with the privilege of Jus Italicum, whence it had the additional right of assuming the name of Felix.

### CCCXXXV.

- Obverse. SEPT. SEVERVS PIVS AVG. (Septimius Severus Pius, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, under the usual characteristics, and with the bust in armour. A medal in secondary, but sound condition; procured at Zante, in 1819.
- Reverse. SAECVLARIA—on the exergum SACRA, S. C. Septimius Severus and his two sons sacrificing at an altar, before a large temple; on the left of the field is a tibicen playing the double flute, (see No. CCCVI.) and on the right is a musician with his lyre. From the veiled figures in the centre joining hands over the altar, and being without the patera, this type has somewhat the appearance of a marriage; but the fascia declares its object. In the foreground is the recumbent Tiber, to shew that the ceremony took place on his banks. This was struck A. D. 204, on the eighth celebration of the grand Secular Games, which, from the political disturbances, had not taken place for 116 years: and by it the relations of Herodian and Zosimus are corroborated. See Nos. XCIX, to CIV.

#### CCCXXXVI.

- Obverse. L. SEPT. SEVERVS PIVS AVG. (Lucius Septimius Severus Pius, Augustus.) The laureated profile of Severus, with smaller features than before, and the neck bare. A medal of yellow brass, and in good preservation, though barely patinated; it was bought at the Hon. R. E. Digby's sale, in 1825.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. COS. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia, potestate Decimumoctavum, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergnm S. C. The Emperor in his campattire, armed with a lance, and accompanied by two soldiers bearing standards, stands between his two sons. On the ground is a captive. This was struck A. D. 210, to commemorate an advantage over the Picts—who, however, by ambuscades and desultory attacks, sorely harrassed their enemies.

### CCCXXXVII.

- Obverse. L. SEPT. SEVERVS PIVS AVG. (Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Augustus.) A fine and expressive profile of Severus, with the laurel wreath, and a bare neck. This coin, in very excellent condition, though unpatinated, was purchased from Mr. Young, in 1825.
- Reverse. VICTORIAE BRITTANNICAE. On the exergum S. C. Two winged victories holding a shield against a palm-tree, at the foot of which two captives are sitting. This was struck about A. D. 210, on account of the same campaign as the last—but the success was dearly purchased, for the Emperor lost 50,000 men, from fatigue, hardships, and the incessant attacks and stratagents of their wily foes. By perseverance, however, he surmounted all difficulties, and compelled the Caledonians to purchase a peace; for this he was honoured with the title of *Britannicus Maximus*, and his son with that of *Britannicus*. It should be observed that the orthography of Britain on this legend, differs from that on the medal of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, by the additional T.

### CCCXXXVIII.

- Obverse. DIVO SEPTIMIO SEVERO PIO. The unlaurelled head of the defunct Emperor, with placid features, and the neck naked. This medal is of yellow brass without patina, and is in very high preservation : it was found near the marshes of Astura, in 1822, and fell into my possession shortly afterwards.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the exergum S. C. A magnificent rogus, with elaborate decorations, surmounted by a quadrigated car, in compliment to the memory of the Emperor, whose ashes were transported to Rome. It is said that when he found his end approaching, he cried out "Omnia

fui, et nihil expedit." Then ordering the porphyry vase in which his ashes were to be inclosed to be brought-"" little urn," said he, " thou shalt soon contain him whom the world could not."" This pyre, having but five stories, cannot represent the septizonium of Severus, as some medallists have supposed : that towering edifice was destroyed by Sixtus Vth, is said to have been little short of the Moles Hadriana, in point of size and splendour.

# JULIA DOMNA.

Julia Domna was the daughter of Bassianus, a Syrian priest of the Sun, but of mean extraction. She was born at Emessa, and would probably have passed a life of obscurity, had not her horoscope foretold that her husband would become a sovereign. Severus heard of this, and taken more by the prophecy than by her personal charms, which were very great, married her A. D. 173; the ceremony took place in the temple of Venus, and the Empress Faustina was singularly condescending on the occasion. Julia bore two sons, Caracalla and Geta, and two daughters, who were called Septimia, but whether they had any other names is not recorded. After the death of Severus, she made an attempt to maintain peace between her sons, but without success, for Geta was murdered in her arms; and though she was wounded at the same time, she dared not openly repine. After the fall of Caracalla she starved herself to death, A. D. 217, apparently more from the dread of Macrinus, than through regret for her son.

Julia was beautiful, graceful, and witty; had great talents, and affected the company of mathematicians and philosophers; but was cunning, and ambitious-and, for the honour of letters, it is to be regretted that her virtue did not equal her capacity. Without believing the odious scandal retailed by Spartian and Aurelius Victor, respecting Caracalla-but which is not mentioned by contemporary writers-it is readily seen that she disgraced Severus-as far as so passive a husband could be dishonouredand the whole court, by her profligacy. She lived, however, in apparent harmony with Severus, accompanied him on his expeditions, and was with him when he died in Britain; and the only slight which she appears to have received, was the insult given to her by Plautian, the Emperor's favourite. Brantome thinks her frailty may be excused, because she happened to bear the contaminated name of Julia;-and a sarcasm which the wife of Argentocox, a British Prince, uttered in her presence, has been duly noted. Tristan sums up her character with great severity-" Elle estoit autant vicieuse, qu'aucune autre Imperatrice qui l'eust devancée. Comme estant superbe, arrogante, maligne, trompeuse, et artificieuse à la Syrienne;

<sup>\*</sup> And thus it hath been said of the Macedonian, "Magnus Alexander parvæ non sufficit urnæ." Shakspeare finely alludes to this sentiment :---

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ill-weaved ambition, how much art thou shrunk?

When that this body did contain a spirit,

A kingdom for it was too small a bound; But now, two paces of the vilest earth

Is room enough."

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et de plus estoit quereleuse, et lubrique, lascive, et foit subjecte à ses pluisirs." Still her exaltation, esteem for learning, sorrows, and melancholy death, have united in giving celebrity to her name; and she herself, her sister Mæsa, and her nieces Sæmias and Mamæa, had no small share in the affairs of the empire, from the days of Severus to those of Alexander. She was consecrated by Elagabalus, a fact which is only known from the medals struck on the occasion.

The coins bearing her image are rare, except in silver, and large and middlebrass; the tritest types being Pudicitia, Concordia, Felicitas, Fecunditas,\* Cybele, Juno, Vesta, Diana, Venus, and Ceres. Inscribed with *Domna* they are more prized than when they have *Pia*, a name given to Julia at Rome, in honour of Fulvia Pia, the mother of Severus.† It has been disputed whether Domna is Syrian, or a Latin corruption of *Domina*; but it seems to be merely a family name.

### CCCXXXIX.

- Obverse. IVLIA DOMNA AVG. (Julia Domna Augusta.) A profile of the Empress, with remarkably handsome features, and a placid expression of countenance. The hair is curiously brought over the ears, and turned up at the back of the head. The appearance indicates a female of about 30 years of age. This medal is varnished with brown patina, and is in excellent preservation; it was procured at Alexandria, in 1822.
- Reverse. VESTA. On the exergum S. C. The Empress, as Vesta, veiled and seated on a throne, with the palladium on her right hand, and a sceptre in her left. The adoration of this goddess was pretended to have been brought from Phrygia into Italy, by Æneas and his followers; and the first oblations in all sacrifices were made to her. It does not appear that there were any statues of Vesta, and Ovid expressly says " Effigiem nullam Vesta, nec ignis habent."

### CCCXL.

- Obverse. IVLIA PIA FELIX. AVG. (Julia Pia, Felix, Augusta.) The head of Julia, with her hair dressed in a singular taste, and her bosom robed. A fine spread patinated medal, in good condition, which was procured at Cagliari, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. VESTA MATER. On the exergum S. C. A circular temple, before which the vestal virgins, arrayed in suffibula,<sup>±</sup> are sacrificing at an altar, whence a flame rises. This seems to have been struck on Domna's rebuilding the temple which was burnt in the reign of Commodus, and replacing the palladium therein. The name of Vesta is attributed to Terra, as typifying internal heat, and as fire produces nothing, so she was held to be the emblem of virginity, and all the world knows what awaited any of her priestesses who violated her rules. She was worshipped in a round fane possibly in allusion to the rotundity of the earth, "nullus procurrit in illo angulus," with her fire ever burning in the centre. See the last medal, and No. XC. On her temple at Rome, now a picturesque ruin, Horace gives those beautiful lines :—

"Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis Littore Etrusco violenter undis, Ire dejectum monumenta regis, Templaque Vestæ."

<sup>+</sup> The suffibulum, according to the useful *Dictionary* of Pompeius Festus, is—"Vestimentum album protextum quadrangulum oblongum, quod in capite Vestales Virgines sacrificantes habebant, idque fibula comprehendebatur."

<sup>\*</sup> A medal of Domna's, which somewhat confounds Fecunditas with Tellus, as a source of fertility, must be excepted from this list. A half naked female is seated on the ground, with her left arm resting on an urn, from which issue fruit and flowers; her right hand is placed on a globe marked with stars, on the surface of which are four children, symbolical of the seasons. These are supposed to represent the two sons and two daughters of Domna, "et voila" observes a French writer, le veritable symbole de la fecondite." Addison describes this type, but he is mistaken in saying that the lady's head is crowned with turrets.

<sup>+</sup> Some curious ancient clay moulds, for forging Denarii of Domna, are figured in the Philosophical Transactions for 1750; they were found at Ryton, in Shropshire.

### CCCXLI.

- Obverse. IVLIA AVGVSTA. A charming profile of Julia, with her breast neatly clothed, and her hair dressed as in No. CCCXXXIX. A medal of yellow brass, barely patinated, but in excellent preservation; it was found in the Pontine Marshes, in 1823.
- Reverse. MATR1 CASTRORVM. On the exerguin S. C. A veiled female standing before an altar, with an acerra in one hand, and a patera in the other. Opposite the altar are three military standards. The device, though less noble, is borrowed from Faustina Junior, see No. CCLXX.; and this title, so flattering to Julia's vanity, was bestowed about the fourth year of her husband's reign.

#### CCCXLII.

- Obverse. IVLIA AVGVSTA. The profile of Domina, with a pleasing aspect, finely-turned neck, and her bosom robed; but with the hair unbecomingly dressed. A medal in high condition and varnished with reddish-brown patina, which was obtained by exchange from M. Carstensen, the Danish Consul-General at Tripoli, in 1816.
- Reverse. MATER AVGG. (Mater Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. Cybele, with a pine-branch in her right hand, is seated on a throne placed upon a car, which is drawn by four noble lions. This piece of servile adulation compares Domna with the mighty "Mater Deorum," in her being the mother of Caracalla and Geta; and it was probably struck when Geta was declared Augustus, about A. D. 209. See No. CCLIX. The representations of Cybele, are usually accompanied by the lion; whence the great poet says—

"Hinc Mater cultrix Cybele, Corybantiaque æra Idæumque nemus ; hinc fida silentia sacris ; Et juncti currum Dominæ subiere Leones."

#### CCCXLIII.

- Obverse. IVLIA PIA FELIX AVG. (Julia Pia, Felix, Augusta.) The head of the Empress, with a countenance of great feminine beauty, and the bust richly robed. The hair is ungracefully braided close round the head and over the ears, resembling the remarkable moveable head-dress which is still seen on her bust in the Capitol at Rome.\* This medal is coated with russet-green patina, and is in very fine condition; it was presented to me by Admiral Sir Sydney Smith, at Naples, in 1819.
- Reverse. MAT. AVGG. MAT. SEN. M. PATR, (Mater Augustorum, Mater Senatus, Mater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. Domna seated on a throne, with a sceptre in her left hand, and a branch of laurel in her right: she is attired in rich robes, and wears the "wig," as on the obverse. These comprehensive titles are highly adulatory: and the new one of Mater Senatus alludes to the capacity of the Empress for state affairs. Severus placed great reliance on her judgment. Under Caracalla she retained the dignity of Augusta, her name was joined to that of the Emperor in the despatches which he addressed to the Senate; and she was intrusted with the care of the most important records.

# CARACALLA.

Bassianus, the son of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, was born at Lugdunum, A. D. 188. He was afterwards called Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, in consequence of his father's dreaming that one under that appellation would succeed him; but he is better known as Caracalla, a nickname which he obtained from wearing a peculiar Gaulish garment. At the age of eight he was declared Cæsar, and two years afterwards was decorated with the title of Augustus. He married Plautilla, A. D. 202,

<sup>•</sup> For the probable introduction of periwigs into Italy, see No. LXIII. Lucian's false prophet, Alexander, when afflicted with a complaint in the head, was discovered to wear a wig.

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and treated her with inhuman barbarity. He attended his father on the British expedition, and after trying to murder him, succeeded to the throne, A. D. 211, conjointly with his brother Geta, whom he, however, killed in the following year. An atrocious career of folly and barbarity ensued, till having rallied Macrinus, the Prætorian Prefect, for cowardice, and threatened his life, that officer caused the tyrant to be assassinated in the spring of A. D. 217, in the 30th year of his age; and this execrable "Man of Blood" received the honours of deification, by command of the soldiers.

Caracalla exceeded his father in cruelty and perfidy, without inheriting one of his virtues; and he had the faculty of adding the keenest insults to torture. When told that his fratricide might be explated, in some degree, by consecrating his brother, he answered-" sit Divus, dum non sit vivus." He destroyed the whole of his brother's friends and adherents, together with their families, nor would he suffer the bodies of many of them to be buried. He revenged himself for the railleries of the Alexandrians by a general massacre. He killed the celebrated lawyer, Papinian, because he would not justify paricide—Fadilla, the only surviving daughter of Marcus Aurelius, for condoling with Domna on the death of Geta-and Helvius Pertinax, because his father had Tristan thinks him the most cruel of tyrants—" Car Caligula, sat on the throne. Neron, Vitelle, Domitian, ny Commode ne se peuvent pas dire avoir tous ensemble fait tailler en pièces vingt mille hommes, comme il fit en une seule fois." Besides his cruelty, he was a most intolerable oppressor of his subjects, for no prince ever employed more iniquitous means of raising money than Caracalla, or squandered it away more prodigally. By an extravagant largess he emptied, in one day, the exchequer, which his father had filled by innumerable murders, and unjust confiscations, during the space of 18 years. He was not only ignorant, but a despiser of literature and learned men; yet Oppian dedicated his treatise "de Venatione" to him. What with remorse and cowardice, he lived in constant dread of all mankind-not satisfied with consulting augurs, emissaries, and spies, he longed for ears sufficiently quick to hear all that was said of him—and after his death it was discovered that he had purchased at an enormous cost, poison enough to give a quietus to all his "loving subjects."

Caracalla is said to have shewn symptoms of goodness in his tender years, and even to have imbibed the principles of Christianity; but he quickly proved himself a professed enemy to the human race. Whoever was the author of the famous law, which made all free subjects of the Provinces citizens of Rome, Caracalla is entitled to the merit of its promulgation; yet the motive may have been rather to extend the legacy duties throughout the empire, than to give an act of grace. This, and the embellishing of Rome with some magnificent edifices, are the only actions deserving of praise, in the whole of his detestable career. The medallions and gold medals of this Emperor are of considerable rarity, as are also the small-brass; but the denarii, the large and middle brass,\* together with the Greek, Colonial, and Egyptian, are common. As the coins of this reign are not readily distinguished by the tyro from those of Elagabalus, it may be mentioned that the legends of the latter commence with IMP. which is not the case with the large-brass series of Caracalla, who however has sometimes the distinguishing titles of Britannicus and Germanicus. There is also a star, or small radiated sun, on many of the coins of Elagabalus, which I have never met with on those of Caracalla.

## CCCXLIV.

- Obverse. M. AVR. ANTONINVS CAES. (Marcus Aurelius Autoninus Cæsar.) A youthful and unlaurelled head of Caracalla, with an apparently ingenuous countenance; the bust is in armour, over which the paludamentum is fibulated. This medal is in singularly high perfection, and covered with chocolate-coloured patina; it was struck about A. D. 196, and was found near Cape Miseno, in 1820.
- Reverse. SPEI PERPETVAE. In the field S. C. The personification of Hope in light drapery, with the lotus-blossom in her hand. This type is well delineated, but falls very short of the elegant one described under No. XXXIX. Of this virtue, says Erasmus—" Plato dicere solet, SPES esse vigilantium somnia : and Ovid—

"Hæc Dea, cum fugerent sceleratus numina terras,

In Dis invisâ sola remansit humo."

### CCCXLV.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with a stern expression of countenance. A well-spread medal of yellow brass without patina, and in very fine condition; it was purchased from Mr. Young, in 1826.
- Reverse. PONTIF. TR. P. XII. COS. III. (Pontifex, Tribunitia potestate decimum-secundum, Consul tertium. On the exergum S. C. Severus and Caracalla, in camp-dresses, accompanied by three soldiers, two of whom bear standards, and one a spear and shield; at their feet is a captive bound. This was struck A. D. 209, to commemorate an advantage over the Britons.

### CCCXLVI.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augnstus.) The laureated head of Caracalla, with short hair and beard, bare neck, and harsh forbidding features. A remarkably fine medal, and covered with deep-brown patina; it was procured by exchange from a numismatic friend in London, in 1828.
- Reverse. PONTIF. TR. P. XIII. COS. III. (Pontifex Tribunitia potestate decimum-tertium, Consultertium.) On the exergum S. C. Two figures in sacerdotal attire, take each other by the hand, in presence of a third person, who is robed and veiled; an altar in the centre adds sanctity to the ceremony. This was probably struck upon the reconciliation of Caracalla and Geta, after some quarrel, A. D. 210; and the figure in the middle may be Severus.

### CCCXLVII.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus.) The head of the Emperor, with the laurel wreath, short hair and bare neck. This medal is in very fine condition, and incrusted with reddish-brown patina; it was procured at Pisa, in 1823.
- Reverse. VICT. BRIT. P. M. TR. P. XIIII. COS. III. (Victoria Britannica, Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum-quartum, Consul tertium.) On the exergum S. C. Victory with

<sup>\*</sup> One of the dupondii, inscribed ARCVS AVGG., is interesting : it represents the triumphal arch of Septimus Severus, at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, exactly as it appears now that the rubbish is removed, in which it was half hidden.

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with her left foot standing on a helmet, is writing on a buckler placed against a magnificent trophy. On the opposite side stands a female in long robes, whom Eckhel, from the cistifer on her head, concludes to be Isis-Pharia, on account of the veneration in which Caracalla held that goddess: this however is not quite satisfactory, for her hands seem to be tied down; she may therefore represent a nation driven to purchase peace, but is erect, because not wholly subdued. At her feet is a captive bewailing his fate. This was struck A. D. 211. See No. CCIX.

#### CCCXLVIII.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus.) The head of Caracalla, with a laurel wreath over short hair, a thin beard, and a better expression of features than in the last. This medal is incrusted with red patina, apparently the effect of fire, but is in very high conservation; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. VICTORIAE BRITTANICAE. On the exergum S. C. A winged Victory writing on a buckler, a trophy, a female, and a captive, as in the last; but here the head-dress of the deity or province, is much more distinct, as well as the suffibulum. This device seems to represent some advantage in Britain, but all that Caracalla did was to purchase a shameful peace, and desert the fortifications raised with such labour by his father. See the Victoriæ Brittanicæ of Severus. The Romans seem to have become very desirous of securing a country, of which they found Horace knew nothing when he devoted it to plague, pestilence, and famine.
  - "Hic bellum lacrymosum, hic miseram famem

Pestemque, a populo et principe Cæsare, in

Persas atque Britannos

Vestra motus aget prece."

#### CCCXLIX.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. BRIT. (Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, Augustus, Britannicus.) The laureated head of Caracalla, with an evil cast of countenance, and his neck bare. The portraits of the Emperor, from about this date, are represented with an older appearance than belongs to one who was killed in his 30th year. A medal covered with Saxon-green patina, and in most excellent preservation, which was bought at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XVI. IMP. II. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum-sextum, Imperator iterum.) In the field S. C.; and on the exergum COS. IIII. P. P. (Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ.) The Emperor, in a triumphal car, slowly drawn by four horses, as if in a consular procession, holds the reigns in one hand, and a sceptre, surmounted by an eagle, "volucrem sceptro," in the other. Instead of a slave behind him, bawling in his ear "Respice post te, hominem te esse memento," there is a graceful winged victory in the act of placing a crown on his head. This was struck A. D. 213, and most probably records his expedition against the Catti and Alemanni, now first mentioned, but which Tillemont and Vaillaut suppose to have taken place a year later.

#### CCCL.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. BRIT. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus, Britannicus.) The laurelled profile of Caracalla, with the pallium on the shoulder, and a gloomy ferocious physiognomy. This medal is of yellow brass, without patina, and is in singular perfection; it was found in the Pontine Marshes, in 1798, and passed into this collection from the cabinet of the Abbate Balsamo, of Palerino, in 1814.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XVI. IMP. II. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum-sextum, Imperator iterum.) On the exergum COS. IIII. P. P. (Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ,) and under it S. C. A very magnificent circus, with obelisk, statues, ostia, metæ, and chariotraces, in the style of Trajan's medal, described under No. CXXVII. This is of the mintage of A. D. 213, and is usually mentioned as commemorating a structure which Caracalla raised outside the city, a little beyond where the church of S. Sebastian now stands, on the Appian way. But it seems more probable that it was struck on the making of some addition to the Circus Maxi-

mus; for had this Emperor erected so magnificent a pile as the one on the medal, Eutropius would hardly have said—" Opus Romæ egregium fecit Lavacra, quæ Antoniniana appellantur, nihil præterca memorabile." My late friend, Mons. le Baron Cuvier, considered the hippotigris which Caracalla killed in the circus, as having been a zebra.

CCCLI.

- Obrerse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. BRIT. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus, Britannicus.) The laurelled head of Caracalla, with harsh sensual features, and a thick throat. This medal, cased in grass-green patina, and in very superior perfection, was procured at Susah, a town of Tunis, in 1822.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XVII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum-septimum, Imperator tertium, Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergunt S. C. The Emperor, between two Prætorian officers, on a camp-tribunal, is haranguing the aquiliferi of the cohorts. The foremost warrior holds a short implement in his hand, which Visconti took for a palm-branch, but it is more likely to be a weapon. This reverse of Caracalla is of considerable rarity, and represents an address to the soldiers on taking the field--the allocution being so customary that Cæsar, mentioning the suddenness of an attack, says he had not even time to harangue his army.

#### CCCLII.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus, Germanicus.) The laureated profile of the Emperor, with curled hair and beard, protuberant throat, and harsh forbidding features. This medal, in high perfection and incrusted with a deep olive-green patina, was procured at Corinth, in 1820. It seems that Caracalla assumed the title of Germanicus A. D. 213, but the exact cause is unknown—"vel joco, vel serio, ut erat stultus, et demens," says Spartian. Indeed he was obliged to purchase peace from the Germans, at so dear a rate, that he was reduced to coin false money: "instead of silver and gold," quoth Dio, "he provided us with lead silvered over, and brass gilt."
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XVII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum-septimum, Imperator tertium, Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C. and on the exergum LIB. AVG. VIIII. (Liberalitas Augusti nonum.) The Emperor, seated on a curule chair upon a suggestum, between a military officer and the figure of Equity, superintends the distribution of a congiary to the Roman people, symbolized by a togated figure on the steps. This reverse was struck A. D. 214, and as largesses were seldom bestowed unless the donors were in the city, we may infer that Caracalla was in Rome in some part of that year. On this occasion he gave every man a cloak, or Gaulish habit, resembling the one from which he was nicknamed—and it was the last donation he made.

### CCCLIII.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM.) Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus, Germanicus.) The laureated profile of the Emperor, with curled hair and beard, stern countenance, and thick throat; the bust is in armour, over which the pallium is buckled. This medal, coated with a light-brown patina, and in singular preservation, was procured at Sassari, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum-octavum, Imperator tertium, Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C. A bold figure of Æsculapius with the mystic wand, which typifies the support of life, and the bare arm and robe, as described in No. CCCXX.—besides which the fasciæ tibiales are plainly seen on his legs, and the crepidæ on his feet :—

"Med'cine is mine; what herbs and simples grow

In fields and forests, all the powers I know :

And am the great physician call'd below."

By his side stands Telesphorus, the deity of convalescents, who is always represented very small, and closely wrapped in a cloak, to denote the necessity of keeping patients warm, and treating them as children. At the feet of Æsculapius is a globe, which not only signified the world and its dominion, but also eternity—" apud Romanos perpetuitas est per sphæram indicata." saith P. Valeriano. See No. CCCIX. But, notwithstanding this profession of universal power, the Romans slighted the power of medicine, and for a long course of years left the practice of it wholly to persons of a servile condition, or freedmen; and this important art was sunk still lower in their opinion, by the palpable ignorance of the quacks who professed it. Nor was this all. The priests of the college of Augurs arrogated to themselves the sole privilege of supplicating the gods for the health of every individual, and of the whole state—as if any one could not ask it for himself: hence Cicero's "Salutem Populi Sacerdotes augurantor." Yet nothing was more profitable. Pliny mentions several physicians who were pensioned at about £ 2000. per annum; and in the reign of Clandius, one Dr. Stertinus complaining of the smallness of his income, it was doubled for him.

This medal was struck A. D. 215, on the Emperor's visiting Pergamos, and there sacrificing to Æsculapius for the recovery of his health, but that god, says Herodian, was deaf to all his prayers. For now he began to be afflicted with several strange diseases: and besides this he was frequently scared with dreadful visions, fancying that he saw the ghosts of his father and brother rushing upon him with angry gestures and drawn swords.

#### CCCLIV.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus Germanicus.) The laurelled head of Caracalla, with a countenance of meanness and cruelty. This medal was struck A. D. 215, and was purchased at Lord Morton's sale in 1830; it is of yellow brass, thinly patinated, but in excellent condition.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum-octavum, Imperator tertium, Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ. A colossal figure of Caracalla, with a radiated head, in a low car swiftly drawn by four spirited horses, of which he holds the reins, in imitation of Apollo: "dicebat se in agitandis curribus solem imitari, eaque in remaxime gloriabatur," says Xiphiline. On account of that propensity, and his being engaged in oriental campaigns, the Senate complimented him with the device before us, during his absence. Apollo was distinguished above his competers by having four horses assigned to his chariot; the team, however, appears to have been changed after Homer's days, as the deity then only drove a pair, neither of which are among those whose names are recited by Ovid. The Circensian games were dedicated to the sun; as appears in the poem "De laudibus Justini:"—

"Solis honore novi grati Spectacula Circi, Antiqui sanxere patres, qui quatuor esse Solis equos quâdam verum ratione putabant, Tempora continui signantes quatuor anni."

#### CCCLV.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus, Germanicus.) A harsh profile of the Emperor, with a laurel crown over curly hair, a thin beard, and thick throat; the armour of the bust is covered with the pallium. This medal is in very high preservation, and incrusted with a dense-green patina; it was bought from a peasant near Mazzara, in Sicily, in 1817.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum-octavum, Imperator tertium, Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. Diana in a biga drawn by two bulls galloping; her head is ornamented with a crescent, and surrounded with the floating veil described under No. CCLXII. Erizzo thinks this device is an astronomical allusion to the moon in the sign Taurus—but Caracalla having been complimented as the sun, it is probable this reverse was struck to flatter his mother. The moon, from the admirable beauty of her waxing, waning, and supposed influences, was worshipped as Regent of the night and Queen of chastity : yet Lucian parodies the fine episode of Luna and

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Endymion, by saying it was customary for her to fall in love with handsome young men while they slept. Claudian mentions her car as being drawn by stags :---

"Dixit, et extemplò frondoså fertur ab Alpe

Trans pelagus, cervi currum subiere jugales."

#### CCCLVI.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus Germanicus.) The laurelled profile of Caracalla, with a gloomy expression of countenance, but on the whole more spirited than on the preceding coins. Part of the pallium and the ægis appear on the bust. This medal, in exceedingly-fine condition and varnished with a reddishbronze coloured patina, was procured at Frejus, in 1823, having been found near the amphitheatre.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum-octavum, Imperator tertium, Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. A gaunt lion crowned with rays, holding a fulmen in his mouth. A wild beast with the symbols of power was not an inappropriate emblem of Caracalla, for he was designated by an oracle as the "rabid animal of Italy." But as satire was neither safe nor customary on Roman medals, the device was, no doubt, selected as a compliment to the Emperor, whose lordly magnanimity vied with that of the king of the forests. It may also represent the lion which the Emperor had constantly with him, at bed and board; or that which he said came out of the woods and fought for him in Parthia. But he had a "large mouth," and

" Talk'd as familiarly of roaring lions,

As maids of thirteen do of puppy-dogs."

#### CCCLVII.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. (Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus Germanicus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with curled hair and beard, a thick throat, and shoulders covered with the pallium over armour. The ear of this portrait is remarkably well placed, and the features are less repulsive than in some other coins of Caracalla. This medal, which is in the highest possible perfection, and covered with bronze-green patina, was procured at Corfu, in 1819.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus Tribunitia potestate decimum-octavum, Imperator tertium, Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ.) On the exerguin S. C. The Emperor in his paludamentum, standing with his right foot on a crocodile, the emblem of Egypt, holds a lance with its point downwards, in his left hand, as a token of peace. He is received by a female personating a Province, and hastening towards him with a sistrum and some ears of wheat; she is represented in light and short drapery to denote her readiness to meet him. This evidently alludes to Caracalla's arrival at Alexandria, whither he repaired for the purpose of consulting Serapis respecting his malady. The Alexandrians received him with joyous pomp, with which the "man of blood " outwardly seemed pleased; but inwardly he meditated a terrible revenge for some lampoons formerly thrown out against him. He had been exposed for murdering his brother, and his mother was called Jocasta, for living with him afterwards; and what was still worse, he was ridiculed for endeavouring to imitate Achilles and Alexander. As a retribution for these offences, he ordered his soldiers to fall on the assembled multitude, in the midst of their festivities, and to make an indiscriminate slaughter. His commands were executed with such barbarity, that the whole city flowed with blood, thousands of strangers as well as inhabitants fell in the carnage, and a general pillage succeeded this horrible and treacherous massacre.

#### CCCLVIII.

- Obverse. M. AVREL. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. (Marcus Aurelius Autoninus Pius, Augustus, Germanicus.) An ill-favoured profile of Caracalla, with the laurel crown over his head, and a Vitellian throat. A medal of fine yellow brass, without patina, but in splendid condition; it was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. XVIII. IMP. III. COS. IIII. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum-octavum, Imperator tertium, Consul quartum, Pater Patriæ.) On the

exergum S. C. The Emperor on horseback, extending his right hand, and holding a sceptre in his left; he is preceded by an officer on foot, who carries a trophy, and is followed by two soldiers bearing military standards. This alludes to one of those progresses in which, during his restless state of mind and body, he wandered about till his death, the laughing-stock of foreign nations, and the disgrace of his own. Among other freaks, he declared war against Parthia, and having, like a dastard, ravaged the tombs of the Arsacidæ, he boasted that he had conquered the Parthians, whom he had not even seen—a lie by which he wrung from the Senate the agnomen of Parthicus,\* and a decree for a triumph.

This is the last medal of Caracalla, contained in this collection—but some of the twentieth tribunate are extant. I had a *consecratio*, with the funereal pyra, and *Divo Antonino Magno* as a legend on the obverse, but it was not in sufficient preservation for the series.

## PLAUTILLA.

Fulvia Plautilla, the daughter of Fulvius Plautianus, a Prætorian Præfect, was married to Caracalla A. D. 202. The nuptials were celebrated with the utmost pomp and magnificence, for they took place at a happy conjuncture, the Emperor having just returned from the East, laden with spoils; and the consequent spectacles, largesses, and rejoicings, lasted many days. As the lady happened to be as haughty as she was handsome, her happiness was of short duration; she quickly became an object of aversion to him who had never loved her, and was exiled to Lipari in the following year.<sup>†</sup> After lingering in wretched affliction, wanting even the common necessaries of life, she was murdered A. D. 212, by order of her inhuman husband, who despatched assassins for that purpose the instant that he was released from restraint by his father's death.

The unhappy wife of Caracalla is less known by her qualities, than by her exaltation and fall. Her father was as great and powerful a favourite with Severus, as Sejanus had been with Tiberius; and a vile insinuation is thrown out as the cause: "*ut vero alii affirmant magnis flore ætatis per stuprum conciliatus.*" Being a native of Africa, as well as the Emperor, the meanness of his descent was overlooked, and the highest honours heaped upon him. He was adorned with the consular dignity, created senator without being removed from the command of the Prætorians, and, to crown his ambition, his daughter was united to the heir of the empire. During his elevation, the conduct of Plautian is represented as having been proud, arbitrary, cruel, and treacherous; and so delighted was he with Plautilla's marriage—albeit it proved in the end "*un vrai menage d' enfer*"—that he gave her a dower which Dio thought

<sup>\*</sup> A pleasantry of the younger Pertinax, upon the appellatives of Caracalla, cost him his life. Finding that the cowardly despot had taken the names of Britannicus, Germanicus, Parthicus, and Arabicus, he said the Emperor ought also to assume that of Geticus—alluding to his having murdered his brother. Tyrants, however, are perilous butts for wits to shoot at.

<sup>+</sup> This is Dio's account. Herodian says Plautilla was banished to Sicily; but as Lipari is on the coast of that island the one might easily be named instead of the other.

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sufficient for fifty queens, besides which, he appointed a hundred free citizens of birth to attend her, who—notwithstanding many of them had become fathers of families were emasculated for that purpose. Indeed, so much were the lives and property of the Romans at his disposal, that the senators and soldiers swore by his fortune. But the arrogant mortal who figured as the main-spring of a mighty government, quickly presented another example of the instability of the fickle goddess. Being tricked into an apparent conspiracy by Caracalla, he was slain in the presence of Severus, and the calamity was communicated to Plautilla in the most brutal manner : an officer abruptly entered the chamber in which she and the Empress Julia were sitting—" See here," exclaimed he, "a part of your father," at the same time throwing at her a handful of Plautian's beard, which he had torn off his face.

The Latin medals of Plautilla are very rare in gold, and supremely so in largebrass, common in silver, and moderately rare in second and small-brass. I possessed an interesting aureus, which proved that the marriage of Caracalla occurred in his fifth tribunate. This was similar to the one cited by the learned Eckhel, who remarks upon another which bears CONCORDIÆ ÆTERNÆ—" Tam parum concors fuit Caracalla cum uxore, quam cum fratre Geta." There exist Greek-Imperial and Colonial coins in her honour, which are also scarce.

### CCCLIX.

- Obverse. PLAVTILLA AVGVSTA. The head of Plautilla, with handsome features apparently when about twenty years of age—her hair is closely but elaborately dressed in the wig style of Domna, and her shoulders are neatly covered with drapery. This is a full spread second-brass medal, in excellent condition and brownly patinated; it was procured by exchange from the Rev. Mr. Hall, of Leghorn, in 1823.
- Reverse. VENVS VICTRIX. In the field S. C. A female, naked to the loins, standing with her arm on a shield, which has an animal as its device; she holds a palm-branch in her left hand, and the golden apple in her right. At her feet is Eros, a winged cupid, with his bow and arrow; he seems at once playful and powerful, and is represented as *seeing*, to denote judgment of choice. Plutus and Ambition, however, had more to do with the marriage of poor Plautilla than Venus and Cupid; and if Love did at all intervene, it must really have been that "Chi poco dolce molto amaro appaga."

The most common reverse of this Princess is Pietas, bearing an infant on her left arm. This is not an unusual type of piety as connected with charity; but Pellerin, who is followed by others, considers the figure as representing Lucina, and that consequently Plautilla became a mother. The question has been much contested. Several of the moderns affirm that Plautius, the brother or uncle who was banished and slain with her, must have been her son. Some think she had a daughter—and Frœlich further maintains that she bore three children : although he ought to have recollected the early separation of the parents. But no authority from the ancient writers is produced for any of these assertions; and as Herodian assures us that Caracalla, from the first, disliked his bride, and shared neither bed nor board with her, it seems clear that this ill-omened marriage could not have been fruitful. Several plausible, yet equally vain conjectures, have been derived from medallic evidence, and the legend *Propago Imperi*, which merely expresses a hope for the continuance of the family of Severus, has been advanced in proof. Dr. Alexander Visconti describes a *Fecunditas* of Plautilla, in his "*Indicazione delle Medaglie Antiche del Signor Pietro Vitali*," printed at Rome, in 1805, but I have found no mention of it elsewhere.

# GETA.

Lucius vel Publius Septimius Geta, the second son of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna, was born at Mediolanum A. D. 189, while his father was yet a private man. At the age of nine years he was decorated with the title of Cæsar; and about A. D. 209, on receiving that of Augustus, was invested with the Tribunitian Power: so that there were now three Augusti in Rome at once, a circumstance which had never occurred before. On the death of Severus, Geta shared the empire with his brother, but after a reign of only 13 months, was assassinated in the arms of his mother, by Caracalla, A. D. 212, at the age of 22 years and 9 months. While in Britain, the murderer had attempted to destroy his victim by poison, but the servants of the latter were too faithful to be corrupted, and he feared the army to whom Geta was dear: " primum paravit insidias veneno, quibus non procedentibus, nihil tale expectante Geta, in ejus irrumpit cubiculum, et suprá Matris pectus obtruncat, quod ea illi aliquando joco prædixisse ferebatur in hanc sententiam : Maledicta Parricida! fratrem tuum occidisti." This atrocity was followed by a massacre of all the friends and adherents of the deceased, neither age, sex, nor quality, escaping the merciless mandate : about 20,000 fell, and it was death but to utter the name of Geta.\*

The two brothers had manifested an insuperable aversion towards each other from childhood; and, after succeeding to the empire, their implacable animosity rent the city and state into factions. To avoid the disorders which might arise from this state of semi-warfare, it was proposed to divide the empire; and Geta, who was inclined for quiet, promised that if Asia and Egypt were allotted to him, he would surrender to Caracalla the undisturbed possession of the rest of the world. The proposal was about to be accepted, when Julia Domna, throwing herself at their feet, begged, with many tears, that they would divide her also between them; this action broke off the treaty, and the mother, by endeavouring to keep her children together, lost them both—for the dying prediction of the heart-broken Severus, that the weaker of his sons would fall a sacrifice to the stronger, who, in his turn, would be ruined by his own vices, was very soon fulfilled.

Geta had been inclined to harshness in his tender years—adolescens asperis moribus, non tamen impiis; but by degrees he became affable and moderate, affected the society of men of learning, and grew exceedingly popular with the soldiers and people. While yet a boy, he was so moved with compassion at the calamitous fate of some of the partisans of Niger and Albinus, who were ordered for execution, that he

<sup>\*</sup> Among the victims of this outrage was Fadilla, the only remaining daughter of the great Marcus Aurelius: she was barbarously executed for exhibiting signs of sorrow on the occasion.

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dissuaded the relentless Severus from his purpose, and obtained a remission of their sentence. Spartian, however, tells us that he was addicted to gluttony and wine:\* and Julian, in his Satire, says, that when the brothers would have entered the assembly of the gods, Minos forbade them; but better discerning one from the other, admitted Geta as the least wicked. From these intimations it seems that he was "no better than he should be;" and the public probably lost little by his death.

Notwithstanding Caracalla's attempt to destroy every trace of his brother's memory, there exist great numbers of his medals, of all sizes and metals, and those of silver and second-brass are very common. The prænomen of Lucius appears on those minted previously to A. D. 205, but, except on some of the Greek Imperial coinage, it is afterwards discontinued. In Mezza-barba's Occo, p. 304, there is a denarius inscribed *Divo Getæ Pio*; but never having heard of any other medallic evidence of Geta's consecration, I cannot but place it among the numerous errors which disgrace that work.

### CCCLX.

- Obverse. P. SEPTIMIVS GETA CAES. (Publius Septimius Geta, Cæsar.) The youthful and unlaurelled head of Geta, with close hair, and good features; the bust shews the laticlavium buckled over armonr. This medal, thinly patinated, but in excellent preservation, was purchased from Mr. M. Young, in 1829.
- Reverse. PRINC. IVVENT. (Principi Juventatis.) On the right side of the field S. C.; and on the exergum COS, which shews the date to be A. D. 205. Three youths on horseback, the foremost of whom represents the Prince—a device which alludes to his rank, and known attachment to the martial exercises. Geta prided himself greatly upon his horsemanship, and a silver coin was struck to his honour, under the style and title of Castor. See No. CCLXXXIII.

#### CCCLXI.

- Obverse. P. SEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS AVG. BRIT. (Publius Septimius Geta, Pius, Augustus, Britannicus.) The laureated head of Geta, with his hair and beard neatly trimmed, good features, and bare neck. This rare medal, in the most perfect condition and richly covered with intense green patina, was purchased at Mr. Willett's sale, in 1834. It is, as far as I can collect, unpublished; not being mentioned by Occo, Erizzo, Oiselius, Vaillant, Pedrusi, Visconti, Eckhel, Havercamp, nor Mionnet.<sup>+</sup>
- Reverse. ADVENTVS AVGVSTI. On the exergum S. C. Geta, in a camp-dress and bare-headed, is mounted upon a charger, with a pointed spear in his left hand, and extending his right. Before the horse marches a galeated warrior bearing a vexillum. Though the legend of a medal has been aptly styled its soul, it is often deficient in affording entire satisfaction; and here is nothing to assist exact chronology. The device probably records the return of the Prince from Britain, as corroborated by other types of "Adventus," shewing an equestrian figure of Geta, but without the foot-soldier.

### CCCLXII.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. P. SEPT. GETA PIVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Publius Septimius Geta, Pius, Augustus.) A remarkably fine and expressive profile of Geta, with short hair,

<sup>\*</sup> Geta is said to have had his dishes served up in alphabetical order, as anser, aprugna, acarne, aper, and anas together; baccha, banchus, botetus, and brabyla; fartu, fasianus, and ficus; pavus, perdix, perna, piscis, porcellus, and pullus; and so on.

 $<sup>\</sup>uparrow$  Mons. Mionnet sometimes omits from his list of "revers rares," medals which are acknowledged as such by the highest authorities, as in the instance of Hadrian's Restitutori Nicomedia - No. CLXXIV. of this Catalogue.

thin beard, and bare neck; but certainly with an older aspect than suits a man of 21. This medal, densely coated with dark-green patina, and in splendid condition, was procured at Corinth, in 1820.

Reverse. PONTIF. TR. P. II. COS. II. (Pontifex, Tribunitia potestate iterum, Consul iterum.) On the exergum S. C. Three figures at a tripod altar, the centre one of whom is a tibicen with his double flute: the others are in sacerdotal vestments, and the right-hand one holds a staff and a patera. At the foot of the altar lies a bound victim. This shews a sacrifice celebrated on some particular occasion in A. D. 210; and I cannot but think Havercamp had a less perfect specimen under his eye, when he described a similar device as Domua exhorting her sons to mutual concord.

### CCCLXIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. P. SEPT. GETA PIVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Publius Septimius Geta, Pius, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of Geta, with a sensible expression of countenance, and short hair and beard; the neck is naked, but some drapery appears over the left shoulder. This medal, though thinly patinated, is in good preservation; it was presented to me by Mr. Stephenson, the Surgeon of H. M. ship Adventure, in 1823.
- Reverse. PONTIF. TR. P. II. COS. II. (Pontifex, Tribunitia potestate iterum, Consul iterum.) On the exergum S. C. Caracalla and Geta in camp-dresses, with lances reversed, and hands joined ;—the former is crowned by Hercules, and the latter by Bacchus—the Dii Auspices of Severus, as mentioned in No. CCCXXVIII. This was struck A. D. 210, and probably records the temporary reconciliation affected between those princes, through the intercession of their father.

#### CCCLXIV.

- Obverse. P. SEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS AVG. BRIT. (Publius Septimius Geta, Pius, Augustus, Britannicus.) The head of Geta, with a thin beard, bare shoulders, and a laurel crown. He appears to have assumed the agnomen Pius when he became Augustus, and had the title of Britannicus in common with his father and brother: but there is no medallic evidence to confirm Spartian and Capitolinus in their assertion, that he bore the honoured name of Antoninus. This medal, struck A. D. 211, is in very good condition, and covered with a dark-brown patina; it was purchased at Lord Morton's sale in 1830.
- Reverse. VICT. BRIT. TR. P. III. COS. II. (Victoriæ Britannicæ, Tribunitia potestate tertium, Consul iterum.) On the exergum S. C. A winged Victory seated upon armour, and writing on a buckler: this device, similar to that of Commodus, No. CCLXXXVII, relates to a success gained in Britain, the year in which Severus died.

#### CCCLXV.

- Obverse. P. SEPTIMIVS GETA PIVS AVG. BRIT. (Publius Septimius Geta, Pius, Augustus, Britannicus.) The laureated head of Geta, with intelligent features, thin beard, and bare neck. This medal is varnished with a greenish-brown patina, and is in the highest preservation; it was presented to me at Tripoli, by Mr. Anderson, the American Consul-General, in 1821.
- Reverse. CONCORDIAE AVGG. (Concordiæ Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. Caracalla and Geta standing in the centre of the field, are crowned by robed females behind them the one near the elder brother, carries a palm-branch. The princes are in camp habiliments, with the paludamentum over their shoulders; each holds a lance, and they are taking each other by the right-hand, an ancient token of love and friendship: "Dextra fidei consecrata fuit, Auris memoriæ, Frons genio, Digiti Minervæ, Genua misericordiæ." This device was struck A. D. 211, on an attempt to soften the antipathy between the brothers. Dio tells as that, when their dissensions became public, the Senate ordered a sacrifice to the Immortal Gods, and particularly to Concord.

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## MACRINUS.

Marcus Opelius \* Macrinus was born at Cæsarea, in Mauretania, of obscure parents, A. D. 164. The story of his having been a slave and a gladiator, may be passed by as unworthy of notice; but it seems that he was originally bred to the law, and improved his fortunes by becoming the steward of Plautian, the powerful minister of Severus. On the fall of that favourite, he was banished to Africa, but after his recall, rose gradually to the office of Prætorian Præfect: though if Capitolinus, who is evidently prejudiced against him, may be credited, his exaltation was more owing to the venal charms of Nonia Celsa, his wife, than to his own merit. Having heard Caracalla express a sarcasm by which he thought his life in danger, he procured the assassination of that tyrant, but with such precaution, that he remained for a time unsuspected, and the soldiers elected him Emperor A. D. 117: whence he is called in Julian's Satire, "cautus homicida." An attempt to regulate the abuses in the army, rendered him unpopular in the camp, and induced Julia Mæsa, who resided at Emesa with her daughters and youthful grandsons, to tamper with the authorities in favour of Bassianus. When Macrinus first heard of the revolt, he despised it as a mere faction of women, boys, and effeminate ministers: but having, in consequence of desertions, been driven from the field in which his cause was contested, he lost both the battle and the throne. Being overtaken, he was slain, and his head was exposed on a spear, by the side of that of his son Diadumeniau, A. D. 218. He reigned-" annum unum, menses duos, tribus diebus, si usque ad pugnæ tempus numeres, exceptis:" and was then in the 54th year of his age.

As first Advocate of the treasury, and Commander of the guards, we are told that Macrinus displayed such integrity, that his decisions were always right when he heard causes himself, and Caracalla was not present; and though he was not greatly skilled in the laws, yet he made up for that defect by his moderation and impartiality. In person he was not at all indebted to the Graces, and has been stigmatized as haughty, vulgar, cowardly, and luxurious. But it must be confessed that the accounts respecting him are very contradictory. Capitolinus, who probably gleaned from the writers employed by Elagabalus to blacken his memory, says he was so cruel that his servants called him, instead of Macrinus, Macellinus, because his house was like a shamble filled with murdered corpses ;† and that he was named Mezentius, because, like him, he tied living to dead bodies. The worthy Tristan indignantly exclaims, "Les accouploit avec des corps morts, les y laissant

<sup>\*</sup> He is called Opilius by the historians,—but 1 have followed the surer testimony of medallic orthography.

<sup>+</sup> In a similar manner the ferocious and bloody governor of Acre, of our times, was called Djezzar Pasha, or the Butchering Pasha.

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mourir enragez : ou bien en faisoit enfermer vifs dans des boeufs ouverts, et vivants, et les y laissoit mourir de faim : il en faisoit aussi sceler dans un mur, ou ils mouroient miserablement; et toutefois ce Busire, et Phalaris estoit mol. et effeminé aimant son plaisir." Now Dio, who was a contemporary, and seems alike free from personal hatred and regard, asserts, that he was a person of a mild and humane temper, which gained him the affections of the people, and caused the meanness of his birth and first employments to be forgotten. He was accused of neglecting public business for pleasure, and of loitering at Antioch instead of hastening to Rome, where his interests called him. But Herodian tells us his object in remaining there was to let his beard grow before his return, in order that he might resemble Marcus Aurelius, whose measured pace and low voice he had already imitated, as a stroke of policy. Among other regulations, he punished false accusers with death, a rigour which stifled the venom of those reptiles; and even Capitolinus acknowledges that he had planned a reform of the Roman jurisprudence, and the abolition of those Imperial Rescripts which had arbitrarily obtained the authority of the law. Such are the conflicting opinions respecting a man who, elevated by accident and overthrown by chance, would have died unlamented, had he not been succeeded by Elagabalus.

We may infer that Macrinus was superstitious, from his having recourse to oracular divination. Desirous of ascertaining his future destiny, he tried the *Sortes Homericæ*, and chanced to hit upon an ominous passage in the eighth Iliad :--

"Great perils, father ! wait th' unequal fight; These younger champions will oppress thy might. Thy veins no more with ancient vigour glow: Weak is thy servant, and thy coursers slow."\*

Though during his reign there was a copious Latin mintage of gold, silver, and brass, of all sizes, except small-brass,<sup>†</sup> the medals of Macrinus are not easily procured,—those of silver and middle-brass being the least rare. Greece, Egypt, and the Colonies, also struck coins of every module in his honour, none of which can be said to be common. The *Triumviri Monetales*, who so long superintended the mint, appear, from an examination of Gruter's inscriptions, to have been discontinued about this time. See No. XI. It should be added, that though Nonia Celsa was declared Augusta, no medals of her are known to exist; nor is her fate, after the murder of her husband and son, recorded in history.

<sup>\*</sup> The translation of the last line hardly expresses the faintness of the Charioteer, and the exhausted state of the horses, which rendered the Sortes so additionally ominous, in the original.

<sup>+</sup> The genuineness of the small-brass coinage of Macrinus is doubted, because the specimens hitherto produced, are merely moulded from the silver types.

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### CCCLXVI.

- Obverse. 1MP. CAES. M. OPEL. SEV. MACRINVS AVG. (Imperator Casar Marcus Opelius Severus Macrinus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Macrinus, with close hair, beard, and mustachios, short neck, turned-up nose, and ordinary features : the bust is in armour. Besides the proud agnomen of Augustus, he assumed those of Pius, Felix, and Antoninus, as is seen on marbles, but they do not appear on coins. This medal, of unpatinated yellow brass, and in excellent condition, was presented to me, in 1822, by Mr. Stephenson, Surgeon of H. M. Ship Adventure.
- Reverse. PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. A female, splendidly attired, and seated upon a throne, is feeding a huge serpent which rises from a decorated cippus. This represents Salus, whose wand, or hasta salutis, was planted in the public market in times of distress. See No. CCCIX. Lucian, with his habitual pleasantry, describes the fraudulent use which the false prophet, Alexander, made of one of the snakes tamed at Pella, where those reptiles were allowed to suck milk from women's breasts !

### CCCLXVII.

- (bverse. IMP. CAES. M. OPEL. SEV. MACRINVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Opelius Severus Macrinus, Augustus.) The laureated head of the Emperor, with similar characteristics, but a more wrinkled forehead, and a more animated expression. This medal, as well as all the others in large-brass, bear the prænomen Severus, which Macrinus had assumed for the sake of popularity; it is of pale-yellow brass without patina, in capital preservation, and was found near Astura in 1823, while the survey was carried on in the vicinity.
- Reverse. PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. COS. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C. A robed female, wearing a diadem, rests her right foot upon a helmet, and holds a military standard in each hand, one of which is the manipulus. This was struck A. D. 217, to testify the fidelity of the troops; and Faith, who is here impersonated by the female, was honoured for preserving the public peace, by keeping the army true to its allegiance. A large donation was, however, necessary to secure this devotion; for Caracalla, vile as he was, had been idolized by the soldiers, because to enrich them, he had oppressed and impoverished all the other orders.

### CCCLXVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. OPEL. SEV. MACRINVS AVG. (Imperator Casar Marcus Opelius Severus Macrinus, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of Macrinus with close hair, and a fuller beard than in the last; the shoulders are cased in armour. This medal has a thin coating of yellowish-brown patina and is in high perfection; it was purchased on the 27th day of Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Recerse. VICTORIA PARTHICA. On the exergum S. C. A winged Victory seated upon a pile of bucklers and armour, with her left foot on a suppedaneum, is writing upon a shield. While the army was changing its masters, Artabanes, highly exasperated at the perfidy of Caracalla, invaded the Roman territory to avenge himself, and retaliate the injuries he had received. Macrinus, partly from irresolution and partly from motives of equity, was anxious to treat; but the Parthian rejected the overture, defeated the Romans in two or three encounters, and compelled the Emperor to purchase peace at the price of more than a million and a half sterling, besides the spoils and prisoners seized by Caracalla. Macrinus, rejoicing in having got out of the scrape, couched his report according to his feelings, and the Conscript Fathers decreed him a triumph, celebrated sacrifices, and struck medals for his Parthian Victory. They offered him, moreover, the title of Parthicus; here however his modesty interfered, and he declined the honour. A medal of the first magnitude was coined, having a pompous quadriga, with the Emperor crowned by Victory, on the reverse; but as he never entered Rome after being raised to the Purple, this was a triumph devised by anticipation.

#### CCCLXIX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. OPEL. SEV. MACRINVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Opelius Severus Macrinus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Macrinus, with the usual peculiarities, and the lorica strapped over his shoulders. This medal is in very fine condition, and densely coated with a rich dark-red patina; it was procured at Patras, in 1820.
- Reverse. VICT. PART. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. II. (Victoria Parthica, Pontifer Maximus, Tribunitia potestate iterum, Consul iterum.) On the exerguin S. C. A winged Victory seated as upon the last medal; this having been struck upon the same occasion A. D. 218. When we consider the vigour of Artabanes, who, though cooled by the resistance he met with, was yet a most formidable foe, the treaty of Macrinus may, perhaps, be allowed to rank as equivalent to an advantage.

### CCCLXX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. OPEL. SEV. MACRINVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Opelius Severus Macrinus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with close hair, short thin beard, and features more intelligent and animated than usual on his likeness. This medal, thickly incrusted with a rich olive-green patina, and in splendid preservation, came into my possession in Egypt, in 1822.
- Reverse. IOVI CONSERVATORI. In the field S. C. A grand figure of Jupiter majestically standing, with a fulmen in his right hand, and in his left the lance of divinity :---- *Nam et ab* origine rerum pro Diis immortalibus hastas coluere, ob cujus religionis memoriam adhac Deorum simulacris hastæ adduntur." Except a light mantle gracefully reaching from one shoulder to the other, the figure is naked, and finely expressed. Beneath the mantle on the god's right arm, and consequently under protection, stands a small togated figure representing the Emperor. This medal was probably struck after the sanguinary Parthian battles. The title of Conservator, or Preserver, was introduced by Domitian, when he was saved from the fury of the Vitellian party, see No. CV.; and the lance without iron, indicates a mild yet efficacious providence. This device became common, but the small figure is varied, as it sometimes holds a palladium, sometimes a Victory, and at others grasps a thunderbolt : on one which I had of Commodus Cæsar, the Deity stands on a wavy line of the exergum.

#### CCCLXXI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. OPEL. SEV. MACRINVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Opelius Severus Macrinus, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of Macrinus, with the usual expression, but the beard longer than in the last,—a paludamentum appears over the armour of the bust. A medal in the highest conservation, and covered with dark-green patina, which was purchased at Mr. M. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. SECVRITAS TEMPORVM. In the field S. C. A female figure in full robes, resting on a column, in a singularly easy and graceful attitude, and holding the hasta pura in her right hand; a device probably minted A. D. 218, when Macrinus, being at peace with the Parthians, acknowledged by the Senate, and, having no competitor, had reason to consider himself firmly established. This is the usual emblem of Security; but the arm of the figure is sometimes raised above the head; and at others she is reposing in a chair, resting her head against her hand in easy confidence. The trite legends, Securitas Augusti, Imperii, Orbis, Perpetua Populi Romani, and Publica, express the security which the reigning emperor enjoyed, and at the same time bestowed upon the world. In that beautiful passage of the second Georgic, where Virgil extols the happy fortune of him who contentedly cultivates his own ground, he makes use of Quies in the same sense:—

"At secura Quies, et nescia fallere vita."

#### CCCLXXII.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. OPEL. SEV. MACRINVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Opelius Severus Macrinus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Macrinus, with short hair and beard, animated features, and well-proportioned throat;—the bust is in armour, with ornaments on the neck. This medal, coated with chocolate-coloured patina with green spots, is in excellent preservation; it was procured at Sassari, in Sardinia; in 1824.

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Reverse. ANNONA AVG. (Annona Augusti.) On the exergum S. C. A sedent female, with ears of wheat in one hand, and a cornucopiæ, filled with fruits and flowers, in the other : at her feet is a modius with corn issuing out of it. The Annona, was such a quantity of corn as was sufficient to supply the city for a year, the providing of which was among the first duties of the emperors, either from care for the people, or from dread of them. See No. LXXXVI. The Annona Militaris, was the provision laid up in the magazines for the subsistence of the army during a campaign. By the code de Naviculariis—the mariners appointed to carry corn from Egypt, were capitally punished if they did not keep the proper course; and if they did not sail in the proper season, the skipper was banished.

It seems that Macrinus was sufficiently liberal; and though congiaria were not usually given unless the donor was in the city, we have medallic proof that this restriction was waived, that he might ingratiate himself with the people. But the indulgence of Severus, and the prodigality of Caracalla to the army, shackled the means of their successors, and, indeed, debilitated the whole empire till the days of Diocletian. With a treasury at low water, and guards at least quadrupled since Cæsar's time, Macrinus was obliged, on proclaiming his son Augustus, to promise the old donative of 5000 denarii a man, of which he gave them each 1000 in hand. While the soldiers—who had already pocketed the Emperor's first gift of 750 denarii—enjoyed these substantial pickings, the people of Rome were promised a congiary of 150 denarii each. Such was the state of the Empire, A. D. 218.

## DIADUMENIANUS.

Marcus Opelius Diadumenianus, the son of M. O. Macrinus and Nonia Celsa, was born A. D. 208. At the age of nine he was proclaimed Cæsar, in the camp at Edessa, and the Senate willingly confirmed the soldiers' choice, by gracing him with the title of Leader of the Youth. That he might be still further ingratiated with the army, Macrinus gave him the revered name of Antoninus; and in order to gain a pretence for giving a large donative to allay the discontents of the army, he also declared him Augustus. His father, when obliged to quit Antioch, sent Diadumenian to be placed under the care of the king of Parthia; but the young Prince being apprehended by the enemy, Elagabalus caused him to be publickly executed as a common malefactor, A. D. 218, at the tender age of eleven years,—and his head was exposed on a pike.

Diadumenian was a boy of exquisite symmetry and engaging aspect,\*-" puer omnium speciocissimus, staturâ longiusculâ, crine flavo, nigris oculis, naso deducto." He has been charged with cruelty of disposition, but the proof brought forward is a very absurd one; it seems that upon his father's pardoning Arabianus, and other conspirators, the child wrote letters upon the impolicy of clemency. These letters, as given by Capitolinus, are conceived in such set terms, as to carry internal

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<sup>\*</sup> Haym, in his "Tesoro Britannico," has figured a silver medal, struck in compliment to this boy's beauty; it assimilates him to Endymion, by the reverse being inscribed Diana Lucifera; but I have found no mention of this medal elsewhere.

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evidence of imposture; and it is singular that this prejudiced historian should also aver that the young prince shewed great mildness and sweetness in his temper! The Latin historians, not keeping the fear of medals and marbles before them, always call him **Diadumenus**, and assert that the name was thus given, because he was born with a strong membrane round his head, resembling the diadem which was worn by the Roman Kings, and which therefore became hateful, in the eyes of the Public, till it was afterwards resumed by several emperors of the Lower Ages. This, however, is both fanciful and improbable, for Nonia Celsa's father being a Diadumenus, affords a better clue to the appellative. Eutropius terms Macrinus and his son "facti Imperatores;" and Capitolinus repeats the jeer uttered on the assumed names,—

"Sic Macrinus est Severus, quomodo Diadumenus Antoninus."

Although no faith is to be placed in the story of the membranous fillet round Diadumenian's head, "which could not be broken," it appears that he was actually born with the omentous fold familiarly termed *caul*; and he has been cited as an instance of its presaging good fortune, by his rise to sovereign dignity: though after all he merely gained a fall,—" *Cui hoc solum adtulit Imperium, ut interficeretur a milite.*" As the "luck" of these membranes was held to be transferable by purchase, they were bought with as much avidity by the Roman lawyers to ensure preferment, as they have since been by modern voyagers to escape drowning. The superstition still remains. I was once shewn one carefully put up in a tin case, by a gentleman in the West Indies, who assured me that he never embarked, even in a boat, without it ;—and the other morning, accidentally tearing up the wrapper of a parcel which proved to be the Times newspaper, for April 15th, 1830, the following advertisement struck my eye.

"TO CAPTAINS and others. To be DISPOSED OF, a CHILD'S CAUL. To prevent trouble, lowest price £20. For cards of address apply to Miss Thornton's library, Doctor's Commons."\*

Though the devices are few, there are Latin medals of Diadumenian of every size and metal, except the small-brass; but they are all of great rarity,—the middle brass being the most common. One Colonial coin is remarkable, as having the name **Diadumenus**; and some of the Greek ones give the title of Augustus, which is not found in those of the Roman mintage. Notwithstanding the admissions of many authors, it is disputable whether this prince was ever Consul, for the

<sup>\*</sup> While recording this superstition in England, I must add that I believe it exists on this point pretty generally over Europe. Nor is it the worst. Even so late as 1817, two works were published at Paris, Les Precurseurs de l'Antichrist, and Les Superstitions et Prestiges des Philosophes, in which the existence of magic is formally maintained, and the zeal of the learned and virtuous men applauded, who of erst burnt sorcerers alive!

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numismatic evidence hitherto adduced, is certainly undeserving of credit; and Mediobarba, who classes him COS. and COS. II. does not mention his authority. CCCLXXIII.

- Obverse. M. OPEL. DIADVMENIANVS CAES. (Marcus Opelius Diadumenianus, Cæsar.) An interesting boyish head of Diadumenian, with short hair; the neck is gracefully turned, and the shoulders in armour, under the pallium. This medal is thickly incrusted in a deep-green patina with red spots, and is in admirable condition; it was purchased from Mr. Till, of London, in 1832.
- Reverse. PRINC. IVVENTVTIS. (Principi Juventutis.) On the exergum S. C. A youthful warrior with a paludamentum over camp attire, and bareheaded, holds a sceptre in his right hand, and a lance pointed downwards in his left. Two legionary standards, surmounted by eagles, are planted in the ground by his side. See No. CCLXXXIII.

#### CCCLXXIV.

- Obverse. M. OPEL. ANTONINVS DIADVMENIANVS CAES. (Marcus Opelius Antoninus Diadumenianus, Cæsar.) The profile of the Cæsar, with curled hair, and handsome interesting features; the bust in armour, with the pallium buckled on the left shoulder. This medal is varnished with a bright-brown patina, and is in surprising preservation; it was procured at Cagliari, in 1824, in exchange for several Carthaginian coins.
- Reverse. PRINC. IVVENTVTIS. (Principi Juventutis.) On the exergum S. C. A graceful youth attired as on the last medal, holds a military standard with his right hand, and a sceptre with his left. Behind him are two other standards, united at the top by an ornament,—but there are no eagles. These probably may especially represent the ensigns placed by Macrinus in the camp, and named Antoninian, from the name now assumed by Diadumenian: "Signa in castris, et vexilla fieri Antoniniana jussit," saith Lampridius.

### CCCLXXV.

- Obverse. M. OPEL. ANTONINVS DIADVMENIANVS CAES. (Marcus Opelius Antoninus Diadumenianus, Cæsar.) The naked head of Diadumenian, with a handsome chin, full lips, and expressive, though very boyish features; the bust exhibits the pallium over armour. This medal, densely cased in dark-green patina, is in the highest possible preservation, and was procured at Jerbah, on the North-coast of Africa, in 1822.
- Reverse. SPES PVBLICA. In the field S. C. A fine figure of Hope with flowing drapery, and the blossom, as described under No. XXXIX. This was struck A. D. 217, and is significant of the happiness likely to follow the elevation of the young Cæsar: but this expectation was blighted, and thus another proof was afforded that "Hope is a cur-tail dog in some affairs."

# ELAGABALUS.

Varius Avitus Bassianus, the son of Varius Marcellus and Julia Soæmias, the daughter of Mæsa and niece of Domna, was born at Emesa, about A. D. 205, comely in person, and of a prepossessing address. In his childhood he was created high-priest of the sun; and by a surprising revolution, compassed by the well-conducted intrigues and profuse largesses of his grandmother—who palmed him off as being in fact a bastard of Caracalla's—was proclaimed Emperor by the legions in Syria, A. D. 218. The event being duly announced to the venerable "Patres," that august and servile body confirmed the choice of the Legions, added the usual honours,

and expressed their hope that he might prove "like Caracalla !" He entered npon his first consulship, A. D. 219, calling it, however, his second, because he had struck Macrinus's name out of the Fasti, and soon afterwards inserted his own, though he had not acted as *Consul suffectus* in 218. He speedily displayed in all their glaring colours, his inhumanity, lust, gluttony, and folly; and after a reign so infamous that even Lampridius apologizes for writing it, he was put to death by the Prætorians, together with his mother, A. D. 222, at the age of eighteen years. The soldiers were incensed at his plotting the death of his cousin Alexander; and having found him and Soremias in the filthy sink where they had sought to hide themselves, their heads were struck off, their bodies dragged through the streets, and the mangled trunk of the Emperor was thrown into a common sewer, with a weight tied to it, that it might never receive the rites of burial.

It has been remarked that this monster had more names than the Hydra heads; and the remark is not far from the truth. He was first known as Varius Avitus, from his family connexions, though the former has been applied to him as "a son whom *various* fathers shared;" he was presented to the soldiers as *Bassianus*; and immediately afterwards, the majesty of the name of Antoninus was profaned by his assuming it. He was called *Felix*, though his ideas of happiness were those of a mere brute; and among other titles, he ridiculously took that of Pater Patria, before he was arrived at the age of manhood. Some writers designate him Heliogabalus, as priest of the sun, but others more properly call him Elagabalus from *El Gabal*, a Phœnician god; the last are confirmed by the decisive proof of medals. He was termed *Lupus* from some cause now unknown; *Assyrius* from the oriental garments which he wore; and after his self-degradation he was, by his own desire, named *Bassiana*, as priestess of Cybele. In *soubriquets* he was equally polyonymous. From disgracing the Purple he became *Pseud-Antoninus*, and various authors have distinguished him as the Roman Sardanapalus; though it is surely too fair a name for an abandoned pathic. His many appellations did not end with his authority, for when his corpse was dragged from the Cloaca where he died it was titled Impurus, while drawn about by hooks it was Tractitius, and from its ultimate fate *Tiberinus*.

It is indeed most painful to wade through the memoirs of this flagitious wretch whose criminal excesses would hardly gain belief, but for the unshaken testimony of history: yet in historical questions such repugnance must not be allowed to shield, vice—a few traits will therefore be selected, to answer the "ends of justice"—and the rest are omitted "euphemiæ gratiâ."

Elagabalus certainly fought with great personal bravery under Gannys, in the decisive battle against Macrinus; but this is the only bright trait which can be traced in his career, and it was quickly eclipsed by the murder of the same Gannys—his friend, preceptor, and benefactor-with his own hand. He surpassed all his predecessors in every kind of vice, folly, and excess. He placed his grandmother as a colleague between the consuls, and instituted a senate of women to settle fashions and fashionable ceremonies. He made consuls of the sons of slaves, and assigned to great persons the basest employments. He was drawn publicly by naked women. He commanded the business of the day to be despatched by night, and that of the night by day. He sacrificed children of high birth to magical superstition. He suffered no other god to be worshipped at Rome, but the Syrian block of stone called El Gabal; and to shew his scorn of the acknowledged deities, he profaned their temples, sacred fire, ancilia, and palladium; married a vestal virgin; and fed his dogs with the livers of geese, in contempt of the saving of the capitol. He converted the palace into an infamous brothel, wherein he wallowed with the vilest rabble of Rome—the very *facula* generis humani. He pompously celebrated a marriage between his god and the Astarte of Carthage,\* taking care to charge his dominions with a heavy exaction for the fantastical nuptials. He put senators to death that he might seize their widows with impunity; and notwithstanding his early years and brief career, besides having a train of concubines, married no fewer than six wives, all of whom he made Augustæ in their turns, and then divorced them. No offspring followed these irregularities, and satiety and disgust closely attended all his criminal pleasures. His assuming female attire, and further degradations, we leave to Lampridius, and shall only remark, that there was good ground for taking out a statute of lunacy against him : yet his insanity seems to have been only of that spurious kind which is generated by an unbridled indulgence of the passions.

The luxury and profusion of Roman gastrology were attested by their piscinæ, and vivaria, their aviaries, their lepories, their lobsteries, and their snaileries; and their banquets had been on a scale of indulgence so tremendous as to place them beyond the competition of pretenders in these degenerate days. But it was reserved for Elagabalus to beat all his predecessors "out of sight" in costly extravagance. Nothing appeared at his table but what was brought from distant countries at a vast expence: mullets' livers, tongues of nightingales, camels' heels, combs torn from living cocks, and parrots' heads, were among his common dishes; and high

<sup>\*</sup> This fact is curiously authenticated by a Greek-Imperial medal, struck at Emesa, in honour of Sulpitius Antoninus, one of the gang called the "Thirty Tyrants." The reverse represents the black conic stone *El Gabal* in a temple, on which appears a crescent, the form in which Astarte, or Vcnus Cœlestis, was adored at Carthage.

honours awaited him whose racked genius invented a new sauce. When he was near the sea he would eat no fish; but when any where inland nothing but the roes of the rarest sea-fish could please him. His baths were filled with essences, and his beds and couches were of massy silver, furnished with cloth of gold. Though his clothes were richly bedecked with jewels and costly stones, they were never twice put on; nor would he keep a ring which he had once used. He squandered away eunuchs, horses, gold, silver, and all kinds of property so profusely, that nothing but the whole wealth of the Roman empire could have supplied his wasteful prodigality.\* Indeed, from the drainage which Caracalla had made in the treasury, it is clear that the empire must have been grievously oppressed to raise money for him.

He was trickish as well as mischievous in his profusion. Instead of a regular distribution of money or grain at his largesses, he made a scramble for valuables, which were cast among droves of cattle and other animals, whereby battles were produced, and loss of life resulted. Sometimes he would torment his hungry parasites with *Barmecide* feasts in wax, ivory, or painted wood; and at others would force them to eat and drink to a beastly excess. He smothered men under heaps of roses and violets, thrown over them in such prodigious quantities that the poor wretches were unable to extricate themselves. He would divide his presents into lots, some consisting of rich and others of worthless prizes—as 10 camels or 10 flies; 10 ostriches or 10 eggs; 10 bears or 10 crickets; 10 pounds weight of gold or 10 of lead. He likewise gave dead dogs, frogs, scorpions, and serpents, as presents, in vessels supposed to contain choice viands. He made separate parties of decrepit, bald, deaf, and blind men, negroes, cripples, and Falstaff-built men. At these times, when the meal was half over, he would cause bears, lions, and leopards, which had been deprived of their teeth and claws, to be suddenly let loose among them. In one of his pranks he ordered 10,000 pounds weight of spiders to be collected, that he might estimate the grandeur of the city; and at another time he formally exhibited to the public 10,000 mice, 1000 rats, 1000 weasels, and as many pole-cats. In a word, it is difficult to say which is most deserving of contempt—his folly or his extravagance; but his monstrous lasciviousness and unnatural depravity raise nothing but a feeling of abhorrence. The senate branded his name with eternal infamy, and the decree has been ratified by historians of all ages: Dio says "Homo turpissimus, et nequissimus, ac contaminatissimus:"<sup>†</sup> Egnatius condemns him as the most impure prince of history : Julian repulses him from the sacred meeting

<sup>\*</sup> The revenue of Rome, about this time, may be roughly estimated at 13 or 14 millions sterling.

<sup>+</sup> The worthy old soldier merely quoted Cicero's "Homo turpissimus, sceleratissimus, contaminatissimus."

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of the Cæsars: Eutropius sums up his character—"probris se omnibus contaminavit; impudicissimé, et obscænissimé vixit: and old Tristan indignantly exclaims—" Un abominable prodige d'iniquité, d'impureté, vilènie, gourmandise, prodigalité, d'impiété, et cruauté. Car un demon infernal conversant parmy les hommes sous la figure d'hermaphrodite, ne pouvoit faire parade de plus d'infamie, ordure et abominations sur la terre, qu'il en fit voir entous ses deportemens."

Latin medals of Elagabalus are found of every metal and size; but except silver and middle-brass, they are all of some degree of rarity. There are also numerous Greek-Imperial, Colonial, and Egyptian coins, obtainable at reasonable prices. Among the peculiarities of the mintage of this reign, is the celebrated denarius in the cabinet of the king of Spain, with *Antoninus* V. on its legend. This, if a genuine coin, must signify that Elagabalus was the fifth emperor who took the name of Antoninus, thereby ejecting Diadumenian as an impostor: and, according to Eckhel, it affords the only example of a person's distinguishing himself by a number, from his predecessors of the same name, on an ancient medal. Bernard de la Bastie considered the V as a superabundant letter, accidentally made, and Mazzoleno thought that it might mean Uranius; but neither of these opinions are admissible.

At p. 192, the difficulty which young numismatists experience in distinguishing the coins of Elagabalus, from those of Caracalla is mentioned; and as Eckhel's diacritical rules for determining the question are very satisfactory, they may without impropriety be inserted here.

1. When the head is much bearded, or of a more advanced age, it cannot belong to Elagabalus, who died at the age of 18. The beard begins to be long, and the lineaments of the face in the TR. P. X. of Caracalla to become fixed. Elagabalus has not a beard till the last year of his reign, and that a small one.

11. The appellations PART. MAX. or BRIT. or GERM. can only belong to Catacalla, as history teaches us.

III. History, in like manner, easily supplies a distinction for many others of these medals. Thus when you read "Victoria Parthica," or "Ludi Sœculares" or "Arcus Augg." &c., it is the money of Caracalla: and by similar analogy may the medals of Elagabalus be ascertained.

IV. A bare head, or the name of Casar alone, without mention of Augustus, belongs solely to Caracalla; for Elagabalus was at once Casar and Augustus. By the same rule, the coins inscribed *Princeps Juventutis* are to be assigned to Caracalla.

V. Give all those coins to Caracalla on which you read PONTIF. without MAX. for at that time there were two Augusti, and by a rule which held till the time of Balbinus and Pupienus, he only was Pontifex Maximus who was highest in dignity. Yet there are coins of Caracalla, stamped during the life of Severus, in which he is called P. MAX., but I have shewn under Caracalla V. C. 955, that these words are not to be read Pontifex Maximus, but *Parthicus Maximus*.

VI. If the Consulship and Tribunate are joined on a medal, all doubt is removed; for Caracalla in TR. P. V. was COS. I. while Elagabalus in TR. P. V. was COS. IV. Those coins which exceed the fifth tribunate are of Caracalla, for in his fifth Elagabalus was killed.

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VII. Coins, on the reverse of which a star appears, belong to Elagabalus; that device never being found on those of Caracalla, or those who held supreme authority with him—Severus, Domna, Plautilla, Geta. It is frequent on the coins of Elagabalus, but is not seen before his third consulship, "quin et ejus gynæcei." It is agreed, that Sol Elagabalus, a surname of the Emperor, is thus indicated.

VIII. When the face is very puerile, doubtless it is that of Caracalla, for he was called Augustus, by his father, before he was fourteen years of age. Where the coins are disposed in chronological order, the progress of age in each Augustus, plainly appears.

IX. When AVGG. occurs on the inscription of the reverse, it belongs to Caracalla, for by it two Augusti are denoted. Caracalla reigned partly with Severus, partly with his brother Geta. Elagabalus had no Augustus or partner in the empire.

X. The discrimination between them is greatly assisted by the legend around the head. Although the names of *M. Aurelius Antoninus* were common to both, yet they are distinguished either by the head itself, or by the addition of other titles. I have hitherto observed only one inscription common to both emperors, namely—ANTONINVS PIVS FEL. AVG. and this is rare in Caracalla, whose beard then sufficiently distinguished him. Wherefore you will find whose coin it is without difficulty, by comparing its inscription with the catalogue of the coins of Elagabalus, for V. C. 971, which I have given. I confess that Vaillant thinks otherwise, for in his "Numis. Præst." Vol. I. p. 136, he says :—" *The coins of Elagabalus may be distinguished from those which belong to Caracalla, as they for the most part have a star in the area, but the inscription round the head is the same for each.*" This Vaillant might assert, who did not value the legends of the obverse at a rotten nut, for which erroneous judgment we have often seen, in this work, that he pays dearly.\*

#### CCCLXXVI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Pius, Augustus.) The laureated head of Elagabalus, with short hair, smooth chin, and handsome features—the shoulders covered with the chlamys over armour. This medal, in good preservation and thinly varnished with greenish-brown patina, was purchased on the 27th day of Mr. M. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. FIDES EXERCITVS. On the exergum S. C. A sedent robed female holds a military standard in each hand—a device struck A. D. 218, on Elagabalus being saluted Emperor by the legions in Syria, as recording the faith of an army bought by Mæsa's gold. The province of Fides, who was at once the impersonation of frankness and candour, was to take care that oaths were punctually observed.

#### CCCLXXVII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Pius, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of the Emperor, with short hair and good features. A medal covered with dark-brown patina, and in splendid condition; it was purchased at Rome, in 1823.
- Reverse. SALVS ANTONINI AVG. (Salus Antonini Augusti.) In the field S. C. A standing figure of Hygeia, in full robes, supporting a patella on her left hand, from which a serpent, held in her right one, is feeding. This device, dedicated to the salvation of the Emperor, was minted at the same time and on the same occasion as the last. There was also a denarius struck with the legend Nobilitas, under pretence of his being the son of Caracalla; but, says Eckhel, "Istud si verum, miserum sane ævum, quo adulterium non infamiam, sed nobilitatem intulit."

### CCCLXXVIII.

Obverse. 1MP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Pius, Augustus.) A fine laureated head of Elagabalus, with characteristics as above. This medal is finely coated with olive-coloured patina, and is in singularly fine preservation; it was procured at Algesiras, in 1824.

\* Several numismatists have asserted that they found the star on the coins of Caracalla—but they must have been deceived. Another rule might have been added to Eckhel's—the countenance of Caracalla in manhood is so coarse and ill-favoured, that it can never be mistaken for that of Elagabalus, who was the handsomer though not the better of the two.

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Reverse. VICTORIA ANTONINI AVG. (Victoria Antonini Augusti.) In the field S. C. Victoria gradiens—with short robes and a palm-branch "pretium victoribus"—holds forth a laurel crown. This was struck A. D. 218, and commemorates the only spirited act in the life of Elagabalus, his bravery against Macrinus. The popular name of Antoninus was made the most of, as an ad captandum lure. After his death the delighted Senate immediately caused the venerated appellation to be razed out of all the public registers and inscriptions of the reign: but the medals were beyond their power, and the debasement to which they contributed, survives to their eternal shame.\*

### CCCLXXIX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Pius, Augustus.) A handsome laurelled head of the Emperor, with short hair and smooth chin,—the shoulders covered as before. This medal, in very superior condition, and covered with Saxon-green patina, was presented to me by my friend Col. Hanmer Warrington, at Tripoli, in 1816.
- Reverse. ADVENTVS AVGVST1. On the exergum S. C. An equestrian figure of Elagabalus, with his right hand elevated, a sceptre in his left, and the chlamys floating behind his shoulders. Mæsa, well aware of what Macrinus had lost by not proceeding to Rome immediately after his election, urged her grandson, who was wallowing in brutal debauchery at Nicomedia, to repair thither. She prevailed; and he entered Rome A. D. 219, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy: largesses being distributed to the populace, and public shews exhibited.

### CCCLXXX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Pius, Augustus.) The laureated head of Elagabalus, with the same characteristics as before described. A medal coated in dark-green patina, and in excellent condition, purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. III. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate tertium, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor in a quadriga, with a laurel branch in one hand, and a sceptre in the other. This device has been called a triumph but as the miserable Prince never fought except against Macrinus, it more probably represents the consular procession for A. D. 220. In the field, over the horses' heads, is a star, which has been described as Phosphorus, though the greater number of medallists think it represents a radiated sun, in allusion to the sacerdotal duties of Elagabalus. Dio has omitted the Pater Patriæ in his enumeration of the titles of this Emperor, whence the evidence contained in a fragment of the "Arvalian Brothers" has been doubted—but the medal before us affords an irrefragable corroboration.

### CCCLXXXI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of Elagabalus, with a coarser aspect than before, the chin smooth, and the bust in armour under a pallium. This medal is in high preservation, and covered with brownish-red patina: it was presented to me in 1825, by Mr. H. Beechy, who procured it at Cyrene.
- Reverse. INVICTVS SACERDOS AVG. (Invictus Sacerdos Augustus.) In the field S. C. and a star. The Emperor stands by a flaming altar, with a victim at its base, holding a patera in his right hand, and part of a palm-branch-trimmed so as to resemble a torch-in his left.<sup>+</sup>

\* I was greatly struck with a modern instance of the inutility of attempting to destroy the mechanical evidences of persons and things, when I visited France, after the restoration of the Bourbons. The name of Napoleon, and his eagles, and initials, had been carefully defaced, and his pictures prohibited,—but almost the only current coins, gold, silver, and copper, were stamped with his effigies and titles.

+ Pedrusi calls this a laurel-branch, as an allusion to the love of Apollo or the Sun, for Daphne-but it is decidedly a palm branch, with the leaves closely cut.

He is attired in the oriental silk dress with "long hanging sleeves," at which the Romans were so scandalized, and which Herodian describes as being between the sacred stola of the Phœnicians and the military læna of the Medes. This was stamped A. D. 221, by the obsequious and supple senate to the "Rerum Dominus,"—a mere foreign boy, whom they permitted to set at nought the morals and institutions of Rome, and disgrace the world by his profligacy, cruelty, and atrocious infamy in "peccatum illud horribile, inter Christianos non nominandum.

### CCCLXXXII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. (Imperator Cœsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Pius, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with the shoulders attired as before, and a young beard on the chin. This medal is of yellow brass without patina, and in capital preservation; it has the little silver eagle of the Modena Cabinet stamped upon it, and was purchased at Ostia, in 1823.
- Reverse. SACERDOS DEI SOLIS ELAGAB. (Sacerdos Dei Solis Elagabali.\*) In the field S. C. and a star. The Emperor in his oriental garb, richly bedecked with jewels, stands by a decorated altar, on which is a flame; he holds a patera in his right hand, and a trimmed palm-branch in his left. This commemorates the fact of the Romans permitting a wretched Syrian boy to bring them a new god to the displacement of their own deities, and of all that they held in sacred reverence ! An aureus and a medallion of this reign, shew us that this important deity consisted of a mere conical block of stone; which in the device is seen riding in a triumphal quadriga. Elagabalus himself officiated as high-priest, wishing, though he lived in brutal infamy, to appear pious. His superstition, however, was unattended with many privations; it is true that he abstained from pork; but whole hecatombs of oxen, and flocks of sheep, were laid on altars smoking with spices, and washed with streams of the rarest and most generous wines, while dances were performed to exquisite music, by women brought out of Phœnicia for the purpose. Indeed, feasting at sacrifices was so general and voluptuous, that "Saliares Epulæ," and "Pontificum Cæna," had become common proverbs for profuse cheer; but it was reserved for Elagabalus to carry gourmandise to its fullest extent.† See XXV.

As there is nothing more conspicuous or agreeable to the human senses, than the splendid structure, regular motion, and sensible influences of the sun, that luminary was probably the earliest object of divine honours with the worshippers of second causes. The early descendants of Noah, perhaps, gave the example; Diodorus Siculus mentions its prevalence in Egypt; and Philo Biblius, out of Sanchoniathon, tells us that the Plucenicians adopted it from the remotest ages. In the exhortation of Moses to obedience, he warns the children of Israel against being allured to ethnic adoration, when lifting their eyes towards the heavenly bodies. Ezekiel, in his vision, saw five-and-twenty men "with their backs turned toward the temple of the Lord, and their faces toward the east ; and they worshipped the sun." Job exclaimed-"If I beheld the sun when it shined, or the moon walking in brightness, and my heart hath been secretly enticed, or my mouth hath kissed my hand : this also were an iniquity to be punished by the judge; for I should have denied the God that is above." The emperor Julian, in his "Oration to the Sun," says, that the grand luminary had been worshipped at Edesa from all eternity; and Amelian, returning thanks for the honours conferred upon him by Valerian, closed his speech by an appeal to the undoubted God.-" Deus Certus Sol." Such was the veneration in which the ancients, losing sight of the First Cause of all blessings, held the glorious orb of day; but the extraordinary madness of diverting this admiration towards a mis-shapen stone, proves that superstition-whether lashed with the cord, trembling under obi, or crushed by the wheels of Jagernat, is, under all its varied forms, essentially the same degradation of the best faculties of man. See CCCCIII.

<sup>\*</sup> Vopiscus mentions that the god Elagabal existed at Emesa, in the time of Aurelian.

<sup>†</sup> The custom was to offer up a part of the victim to the Gods, and to distribute the remainder among those who assisted in the ceremony. The forbidding of musicians to feed with the priests, by the severe Appius Claudius, led those lovers of good eating to desert Rome, to the infinite grief of the Senators and Magistrates. A well applied feast, however, incited them to jollity, and when far gone in drunkenness, they were tossed into carts, and awoke in the Forum.

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The medal which has given rise to these remarks, was one of the last minted by Elagabalus, for the vengeance of heaven shortly afterwards overtook him. As a violent end had been predicted to the effeminate monster, he built a lofty tower, decorated with gold and pearls, whence he might precipitate himself, in case of need. He also prepared cords of crimson silk for strangling, and golden daggers for stabbing himself; and expensive poisons in caskets of emeralds and jacinths, that he might choose a death according to his humour—declaring that his should be more glorious than that of any one before him ; whereas, on the contrary, none was ever more ignominious than his.

## CORNELIA PAULA.

Julia Cornelia Paula, the daughter of Julius Paulus, a Prætorian præfect, was married to Elagabalus A. D. 219, on which occasion the Senate waited upon her in a body, to offer their homage and present her with the title of Augusta. Though this lady was beautiful in person and blameless in character, she was repudiated within a few months, stripped of her honours, and dismissed into private life. As a plausible pretext for his inconstancy, her infamous husband imputed to her a personal blemish which made her unfit for the wife of so great a prince ;—well knowing that her modesty would not permit her to disprove his assertion. The time of her death is unknown, but she probably enjoyed greater happiness in retirement than she had experienced as an empress.

From the appellation Cornelia, which is only given on the Greek-Imperial medals, it is conjectured that this Princess was descended from the illustrious family of that name : that of Julia was assumed by most of the Augustæ, as Antoninus was by the Augusti. The Emperor selected her, as he said, to make himself a father betimes, whence some imagine that she had been previously married, and as the mother of children, had proved her fertility. Her nuptials were most splendidly celebrated, a magnificent congiary was given, and an elephant and 51 tigers were killed in the amphitheatre. All ranks in the city partook of the Emperor's prodigal bounty, and favours were heaped upon the senators, the knights, and the principal ladies.

The Roman medals of Cornelia Paula are rare in all metals, those of silver being the commonest; and there are none known in small-brass. The Colonies, Greece, and Egypt, commemorated her on their coins; and Vaillant produces a noble medallion struck by the Perinthians, to testify their gratitude for the metro-political privileges which they acquired as *Neocoræ*, after the disgrace of Byzantium.

### CCCLXXXIII.

Obverse. IVLIA PAVLA AVG. (Julia Paula Augusta.) A pleasing profile of the Empress, with the hair closely dressed and turned up at the hinder part of her head, on which is a frontal diadem; the features are handsome and intelligent, the neck finely turned, and the bust enveloped in drapery. This fine medal is covered with green and red patina, and is in the highest preservation; it was purchased at El Marsa, near Tunis, in 1822.

Reverse. CONCORDIA. On the exergum S. C. In the field the star of Elagabalus. A sedent female richly attired, with a double cornucopiæ on her left arm, holds forth the sacred patera— a device emblematic of the union and fruitfulness expected from the imperial marriage.

## CCCLXXXIV.

- Obverse. IVLIA PAVLA AVG. (Julia Paula Augusta.) The head of Cornelia Paula, with features indicating beauty, sense, and an age of about twenty years. This medal, in very fine condition and coated with a brownish-green patina, was purchased on the 27th day of Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. CONCORDIA. On the exergum S. C. In the field a star. A sedent female with attributes similar to those on the last medal; from which this differs in the form of the throne which has a high and ornamented back.

## AQUILIA SEVERA.

Julia Aquilia Severa, the daughter of Quintus Aquilius Sabinus "vir consularis," was a vestal virgin, till in A. D. 220 she was, to the indignation of all Rome, sacrilegiously married to Elagabalus. This fickle wretch seemed only to exalt women to the throne for the pleasure of hurling them down from it again; Aquilia was soon repudiated to make room for others, and the downfall wrought the ruin of her father : but after three or four more wives had been equally the victims of his caprice, Aquilia was recalled into the despot's favour, and lived with him till his death, in A. D. 222. What became of her afterwards is not known; probably the gratification of her ambition, by consenting to cast off the suffibulum and veil, exposed her to insult and detestation,—but the being married to so impure a husband, was almost a sufficient penalty for the breach of her vows.

This Princess is represented as one of the most beautiful women in Rome, and the vestal's habit added to the power of her personal attractions. No sooner was Cornelia Paula divorced, than Elagabalus affecting excessive love for Aquilia, drew her from the temple, and justified this odious cohabitation to the Senate, by assuring the sage Patres, that nothing could be more commendable than a marriage between the priest of a God and the priestess of a Goddess, as from them might spring a divine race, worthy of the immortals ;—thus audaciously sporting with a crime, for which, says Herodian, he deserved the worst of deaths.

The Latin medals of this frail Vestal are all very rare, except the dupondii, or second-brass, which are by no means common; and in small-brass none are known. There also exist Greek-Imperial, Colonial, and Egyptian coins in honour of her, all of which, if in good condition, bear high prices.

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### CCCLXXXV.

- Obverse. IVLIA AQVILIA SEVERA AVG. (Julia Aquilia Severa Augusta.) A profile of the Empress, with her head ornamented and dressed after the fashion of Cornelia Paula: the face is small and pretty, the neck well turned, and the shoulders covered by robes. This medal, in excellent preservation, and slightly varnished with brown patina, was purchased from an *antiquist* at Pisa, in 1823.
- Reverse. CONCORDIA. In the field S. C. and a star. A stately female figure in full robes, with a double cornucopiæ on her left arm, is standing by a blazing altar, over which she holds a patera. Notwithstanding the grief affected by the Senate, at the daring jest of the Imperial maniac, who overstepped all the barriers of decency, we have here their own signature to an acknowledgment of this faithless priestess as an Augusta; and also to their pious wishes for the mutual love and fertility of the guilty pair, as expressed by Concord and her cornucopiæ.

### CCCLXXXVI.

- Obverse. IVLIA AQVILIA SEVERA AVG. (Julia Aquilia Severa Augusta.) The head of the Empress, with the same characteristics as in the last, but rather fuller cheeks. A medal in tolerable condition, and thinly coated with Saxon-green patina, procured at Patras, in 1820.
- Reverse. AEQVITAS PVBLICA. On the exergum S. C. Three females standing in full robes, with the attributes of Fortune. This is an uncommon device for medals in honour of females; and is, I believe, only known upon this, and one of Cornelia Paula—so that it may be taken for an allusion to the high fortune to which Elagabalus elevated those ladies. But in this sense the device has little relation to the legend.

# ANNIA FAUSTINA.

Annia Faustina, the daughter of Claudius Severus and Vibia Aurelia Sabina, daughter of Marcus Aurelius and Faustina Junior, has been scarcely noticed by historians. It seems that she was a woman of extraordinary beauty, and endued with a greater share of principle and prudence than was shewn by her predecessors of the same name. She was happily married to the worthy senator, Pomponius Bassus, and was living in domestic tranquillity, when the lascivious Elagabalus was attracted by her charms, A. D. 221. To murder the husband, obtain the widow, honour her as an empress, and degrade her by divorce, was the work of a few weeks—and she is never mentioned after her fall.

The learned Patin, who is followed by other numismatists, considered this princess as the first wife of the Emperor; but the splendid nuptials of Cornelia Paula seem to give her the priority, as well as the declaration of Elagabalus, that he married her in order that he might be a father betimes. Honest old Tristan gives a cogent reason why he never became one.

Unlike her cotemporaries, this lady did not assume the name of Julia, thinking, no doubt, that she was sufficiently ennobled as the grand-daughter of Marcus Aurelius, as well as by her belonging to the Annian family. Her Latin medals are excessively rare, being only known in gold, silver, and large-brass; and of the latter

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there is but one reverse. There are Greek-Imperial, Colonial, and Egyptian coins with her effigies, but they are also very valuable. Owing to this scarcity, the *Falsarii* have palmed off some ingenious forgeries, among which may be placed the famous Aureus described by Khell.

### CCCLXXXVII.

- Obverse. ANNIA FAVSTINA AVGVSTA. The head of the Empress, with her hair dressed after a fashion between that of Domna and Aquilia, and having the frontal diadem. Her features are lively and pretty, without being intelligent, her neck is finely turned, and her bosom neatly robed. This rare medal is in the highest preservation, though but thinly patinated. It formerly belonged to the collection of Mr. Henderson, where I first became acquainted with it. After his decease it was purchased at the sale of his collection in 1830, for  $\pounds 22.$ ; a price certainly below its value. On this occasion, Mr. Young was instructed not to bid against the officers of the British Museum—which does not possess one—should a reasonable sum be offered by them; a courtesy which in general would be observed towards that Institution. Shackled, however, as they are, by short-sighted enactments, they are seldom authorized to bid even a fair price where there is competition; and it may be readily conceived how mortified the talented numismatists, who have the charge of the public medals, and are naturally zealous for the literary and scientific pre-eminence of their country, feel on such occasions. In a similar manner the rare and beautiful gold Albinus which belonged to the late Mr. Trattle, was lost to our national cabinet, and purchased by a foreigner. It is essential that the Trustees should arm their officers with greater power in cases of moment.
- Reverse. CONCORDIA. On the exergum S. C. and in the field a star. The Emperor and Empress, in imperial robes, take each other by the right hand, a marriage ceremony symbolical of sincere affection, which was probably derived from the Persians. See CCCLXV. Yet this love must have been sorely constrained on the part of the female, who was just torn from a murdered husband: "Postea uxorem duxit, nec ei, ut mariti mortem lugeret, permisit."

This medal is beautifully figured by Mionnet, but there are two important points in which that plate differs from the specimen before us. Though the fashion of the Empress is the same, she is there older, and with a different expression of feature; while on the reverse, the figure of the Emperor is too large. It is curious, but probably correct, that on this medal Elagabalus is made smaller and younger than Faustina. The drawing of one in Queen Christina's collection, is liable to similar objections; besides which the artist, perhaps mistaking some peculiar blemish, has introduced an altar under the star.

# JULIA SOÆMIAS.

Julia Soæmias\* was the eldest daughter of Julius Avitus, a man of consular dignity, and Julia Mæsa. She was living at the court of Caracalla A. D. 204, but afterwards resided at Emesa. She married Varius Marcellus, the brother of Gessius Marcianus, her sister's husband, by whom she had Elagabalus—though Mæsa scrupled not to prostitute her daughter's honour, by reporting this child to be

<sup>\*</sup> This lady may have been named after the king Sohemus of whom Josephus speaks, see CCLXXVI; Dio and Herodian call her Soæmis; Capitolinus and Lampridius Semiamira; and the Greek marble quoted by Eckhel, which informs us that she had more children than one, terms her Bassiana: in this choice of names I have preferred that of the medals.

the son of Caracalla by an adulterous intercourse—and Soæmias seems to have readily assumed the *merit* of the crime. After Varius was gathered to his fathers, she agreed to unite herself to Gannys, her son's principal favourite and prime minister, who was to have been declared Cæsar A. D. 218; but before the marriage could take place, that brave and meritorious man was murdered by Elagabalus himself. When the Prætorians put the tyrant to death, she was found hanging upon his neck—her head was struck off, together with her son's, and their mutilated bodies were dragged through the streets, A. D. 222.

Soæmias was a haughty and profligate woman, and is said to have stimulated her son to the wickedness which he afterwards practised, by encouraging all his vicious propensities. In the battle against Macrinus, she shewed great courage and address, by leaping from the chariot, with her mother, to animate the desponding soldiers. When Elagabalus came to Rome, he gave Soæmias and Mæsa places in the Senate whereby a couple of Syrian women were raised to a dignity which Agrippina never could obtain, nor Livia even ask. Nor was Soæmias content with intruding into the councils of men; she had also a senate of females, convened regularly in a palace on Mons Quirinalis, where all petticoat-interests were gravely discussed, and the rank, precedence, equipage, apparel, and formalities of the fair sex settled. After the death of this lady and her son, the insulted Fathers immediately assembled to vindicate what little character they still retained; and in their first decree excluded women from the senate for ever, and loaded with curses such as should in future attempt to intrude themselves into it.

There are Latin medals of this Princess in all metals and sizes, except bronze medallions and small-brass; they are all of rarity and high price, except the denarii and middle-brass. Greece, Egypt, and the Colonies stamped coins in honour of her, and on all her name is spelt in the same manner.

### CCCLXXXVIII.

- Obverse. IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG. (Julia Soæmias Augusta.) The head of Soæmias, apparently in middle-age, with the hair dressed like that of Cornelia Paula, and the bosom closely robed. This medal, in excellent preservation, and thinly varnished with apple-green patina, was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. VENVS CAELESTIS. In the field S. C. and a star. Venus Cælestis, Astarte, or Urania, standing in full robes, with the prize-apple in her right hand, and the lance marking divinity in her left. As the aureus cited by Mediobarba cannot be trusted, this seems to be the medal on the reverse of which she first appears; nor was this emblem repeated, except on the small-brass coins of Magnia Urbica,—a princess who lived nearly 60 years after Soæmias, and is only known from her medals. Cicero—who derives venustas from Venus, rather than Venus from venustas—expressly tells us that there were two goddesses of that name : and Patin says—"Duplex Venus, alia Cælestis, quæ conjugalem amicitiam fovebat, et liberos donabat; altera Popularis, quæ scortatorum Dea." The device before us, however, must be

confined to the Syrian Astarte—the Astoreth of the Philistines,\* the tutelary deity of Avitus's family. As the fair voluptuary was alternately a goddess, a planet, or a passion, I should certainly have understood her as the beautiful evening and morning star, but that Lucian, Vossius, and others, have so expressly declared her to be the moon. Had the Chaldees used telescopes, the horns would have suited the one as well as the other. Milton has placed her among the fallen angels :—

Came Astoreth, whom the Phœnicians call'd Astarte, queen of Heaven, with crescent horns; To whose bright image nightly by the Moon Sidonian virgins paid their vows and songs."

#### CCCLXXXIX.

- Obverse. IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVG. (Julia Socamias Augusta.) The head of the Princess, with her hair elaborately but closely dressed, and a frontal diadem; the features are more pleasing than on the last, the neck is fine, and the bosom gracefully attired. This medal, densely coated with a rich olive-green patina, and in perfect preservation, was presented to me at Genoa, by my excellent friend the late Baron de Zach, in 1820.
- Reverse. VENVS CAELESTIS.<sup>†</sup> On the exergum S. C. A beautiful figure of Venus-Urania, magnificently attired, and seated on a throne; in her left hand she holds the hasta pnra, and in her right an apple, which a naked boy before her is catching at. Some medallists insist that she holds a globe, in allusion to the "round light" said to have darted down, at certain times, from the summit of Libanus into the river Adonis: but had it struck me as otherwise than the trite symbol of Venus, the playful attitude of the boy would have confirmed me in the opinion that it was not a "globe of light." See No. CXC.

Pedrusi thinks that the child may represent Elagabalus, and that the taking of the apple from Venus is a reference to his personal beauty ;-but he adds, with due cantion-" Vaglia tuttavia il pensiero per semplice conghiettura."

#### CCCXC.

- Obverse. IVLIA SOAEMIAS AVGVSTA. The profile of Sozmias, with her hair closely dressed, but differently from the above, without the diadem, and the features less pleasing. This medal, in extraordinary preservation and covered with a verdigris-green patina, was procured at Ben Gházi, in 1821.
- Reverse. MATER DEVM. On the exergum S. C. The Mother of the Gods, seated between lions, veiled and attired, as described under No. CCLIX. This goddess was a meet companion for the lithophite deity of the Emperor—for Cybele was no other than a stone, brought in solemn pomp from Pessinus, in Phrygia, to Rome, in order to drive the Carthaginians out of Italy, in the second Punic war: and the device was probably stamped when, by an extravagant act, Elagabalus attempted to make himself her priestess.

# JULIA MÆSA.

Julia Mæsa, the wife of Julius Avitus, was sister to Julia Domna, mother to Soæmias and Mamæa, and grandmother to V. A. Bassianus and Alexianus. She was named Mæsa, from being priestess of the sun at Emesa: car Mese en Syro-Phenicien significit le soleil." After residing upwards of twenty years in the imperial palace with Domna, she was commanded by Macrinus to retire into Syria,

<sup>†</sup> Occo mentions medals of Sozmias with the legend COELESTIS,—but I have never yet met with any on which the word is so spelt.

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A. D. 217; but was permitted to carry with her the immense wealth which she had acquired—and was accompanied by her daughters, who were widows, and their two sons. In the following year she had the address to corrupt the Emperor's army, and ruin his fortunes, with the very riches which he had allowed her to retain. After weathering the distracted reign of Elagabalus, she died in a full old age A. D. 225, and was consecrated by the Senate.

Mæsa, who was a woman of virtue, merit, and sound judgment, became an adept in the management of political intrigues, during her residence at court under Severus and Caracalla. She not only originated and conducted the conspiracy against Macrinus with consummate skill, but also by her personal courage, in the battle which ensued, secured the empire to her grandson. On her arrival in Rome, Elagabalus took her with him to the Senate, and placing her next to the Consuls, ordered her name to be inserted among those of the Senators, and appointed that she should vote as the rest, and be consulted on all matters of importance. Being a judicious woman she appeared there but seldom ;\*--she was not, however, actuated by the same prudence when, attired as an amazon, she visited the camp, and reviewed the Prætorian cohorts. The monstrous follies of Elagabalus were deeply bewailed by her, and she endeavoured to restrain his extravagance, but so fruitless was the attempt, that he was on the point of elevating the infamous Hierocles-a slave and camel-driver-to the rank of Cæsar. To prevent this disgrace and avert the indignation of the soldiers, Mæsa employed her whole power, and with difficulty succeeded in persuading him to adopt Alexianus, under the pretence that while he was occupied with divine offices, his cousin-german could attend to earthly affairs. By this politic stroke she saved her family from the storm which threatened to sweep it off; and she died in happy ignorance of the fatal one which was soon to follow.

Latin medals, and many Greek-Imperial and Colonial coins, were struck in honour of Mæsa, in the three metals, and of various sizes; and all except that which has the consecration as its device, are common, unless in gold.

## CCCXCI.

Obverse. IVLIA MAESA AVGVSTA. The profile of Mæsa, when well stricken in years; with good features, and an intelligent expression of countenance; the hair is combed smoothly down the side of her face, over the ears, closely plaited behind, and ornamented with a small tiara on the crown of her head. This medal, covered with reddish-brown patina, and in superior condition, was procured from Mr. J. C. Ross, at Malta, in 1821.

Reverse. PVDICITIA. On the exergum S. C. A female, magnificently robed, in cathedrâ sedens, holds a sceptre in her left hand, and with her right, draws a veil before her face. This Goddess was the symbol of fidelity to the marriage-bed, as well as of modesty and self-command—

\* See what has been said on this subject in the sketch of Julia Soæmias.

to intimate which she points her finger to her face. It is singular enough that this deity was worshipped at Rome, in separate temples, as patroness of patrician and plebian modesty, the latter being a sort of "dissenting chapel" opened in consequence of an affront received by Virginia, as related by Livy, 1. 10, c. 23. Juvenal believed that Pudicitia did once dwell upon earth, but that the corruption of morals had long ago driven her and Justice back to heaven; and Propertius quaintly asks—

> "Templa PUDICITIÆ quid opus statuisse puellis, Si cuivis nuptæ quidlibet esse licet ?"

#### CCCXCII.

- Obverse. IVLIA MAESA AVGVSTA. The head of Mæsa, with sensible, aged features, and her hair similarly smoothed over her ears, as in the last. A medal in remarkably fine preservation, and covered with olive-green patina; it was procured from a ruin on the site of Sipontum, near Manfredonia, in 1819.
- Reverse. PIETAS AVG. (Pietas Augustæ.) In the field S. C. A veiled female standing before a cylindrical altar, which is decorated with festoons of flowers, and has a flame on it: her right hand is open, as in the act of adoration, and her left bears the acerra, or small casket, which held the incense at sacrifices. It was for refusing to perform the ceremony of taking the perfume out of this box, and casting it into the fire upon the altar, as an offering to the pagan deities, that the Heathens frequently persecuted the Christians with such relentless severity.

deities, that the Heathens frequently persecuted the Christians with such relentless severity. Piety was always considered as the foundation of Virtue; and it was well said by Eusebius— "Sunt omnes Virtutes veluti partes Pietatis." But a rational, sober, and affectionate devotion to the Author of all Good, is to be carefully discriminated from the morbid and arrogant exclusiveness of many who, in all persuasions, have neglected the most sacred duties of religion, by a puritanical seclusion from those proper enjoyments of life, in which the social condition of our being is best exemplified.

#### CCCXCIII.

- Obverse. DIVA MAESA AVGVSTA. A profile of Mæsa, with her head veiled, and her bosom robed. This medal, covered with a dark brown patina and in superior condition, was purchased from a peasant, near Nice, in 1823.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the exergum S. C. A grand rogus of four stories, profusely ornamented with statues, festoons, and hangings, and surmounted by a car of triumph. This device commemorates the tribute of respect, which was publickly paid to the talents and judiciousness of Mæsa—who certainly was an extraordinary woman. Though rogus is often used as synonymous with pyra, the distinction between them is clearly pointed out by Servius— "Pyra est lignorum congerics: Rogus, cùm jam ardere cæperit: Bustum verò jam exustum vocatur." See No. CCLIII.

# ALEXANDER.

Bassianus Alexianus, the son of Genesius Marcianus and Julia Mamæa, was born at Arca Cæsaria, in Phœnicia, A. D. 205. Though his father died when he was very young, yet that loss was abundantly compensated by the care which his mother took of him in his infancy : and he was soon considered a youth of admirable parts. Following the fortunes of his family, he became the delight of the public ; and was adopted by Elagabalus by the persuasion of his politic grandmother, A. D. 221, under the name of Alexander. But what was the most absurd, the emperor on (224)

this occasion commanded the Senate to issue a decree, pronouncing Alexander to be his real offspring—whence the versifier of Herodian says ;—

"No more than four years 'twixt their ages run, Yet th' one must father be ; and t'other son."

The first act of the *father* was an attempt to sap the moral principles of his *son*; and on the failure of that design, he tried to cut him off by poison or the daggerbut all his machinations were foiled by the circumspection of Mæsa and Mamæa. The enraged emperor then ordered the Senate to annul the adoption, an order which they thought proper to decline obeying-this refusal being the only instance, in the Imperial History, in which the Patres ventured to disobey a mandate of importance: but they were confident in the support of the army. Some further attempts against the life of the prince excited a tumult in the camp, and Elagabalus perishing in his effort to suppress it, Alexander was saluted Emperor A. D. 222. The delighted Senate immediately honoured him with the titles of Augustus, Pater Patriæ, and all other marks of distinction peculiar to the imperial dignity-offering him at the same time, the name of Antoninus, and surname of Magnus-but he modestly declined the first because it had been polluted by the "filthy beast" who preceded him, and the second, because, from having performed no exploits, he had no more right to it than a mule had to that of Cicero : he took, however, the names of Marcus Aurelius Severus.\* After a meritorious and useful reign of 13 years, he was murdered in his tent, at Sicila, on the Rhine, A. D. 235, a victim to the treachery of Maximin, one of his generals, at the age of 29 years, 3 months, and 7 days: and at the same time his mother, and all the friends and persons of distinction who were with him, were massacred. His death was universally regretted : a speedy vengeance overtook his murderers; and the Senate not only decreed him divine honours, with altars, priests, and sacrifices, but also an annual festival, which was celebrated on the 1st of October, the day of his nativity.

The character of this Prince is variously represented; for while some writers adorn him with all the qualities of a perfect sovereign, others barely allow him those virtues which he must have possessed, or Rome could not have enjoyed the "breathing time" which it did, from the horrors of the preceding reigns. There is, however, sufficient evidence to shew, that with considerable mental acquirements, he combined a humane and generous disposition; that he was temperate, chaste, and prudent; that he was affable in his demeanor, inexorably impartial in the administration

<sup>\*</sup> Lampridius says that Alexander was named Severus by the soldiers, from being a disciplinarian—as well might it be asserted that *Almack's* noted ball-room derives its name from the beautiful double-star *Almaach*, which decorates the foot of Andromeda, and might therefore be thought to typify dancing : it is clear that he assumed it himself, on account of bis connection with the family of the emperor Severus.

of justice, and rigidly economical of the public purse. He purged the city from the superstition and profligacy which his predecessor had introduced, by sending home the foreign gods, dismissing the infamous partizans of Elagabalus, and appointing men of integrity and ability to places of trust. Besides restoring the Senate to its ancient dignity, he, with the consent of that body, chose a standing Council of State, consisting of sixteen of the wisest Senators; moreover, he never issued any enactment without the approval of at least twenty of the most learned in the law, nor discussed any military business but in the presence of the ablest officers. He founded schools for the dissemination of learning among all classes of his subjects; allotted pensions to the most distinguished men in the arts and sciences; secured to the soldiers a decent and comfortable retreat in old age; and established a bank where the poor could obtain money at a moderate interest. And he was the first Emperor who positively favoured the Christians, whose moral precepts he seems to have been acquainted with; for he caused to be inscribed over the palace gate, that golden rule of the Gospel : "Do as you would be done by."\*

In attending to the hackneyed "Audi alteram partem," there is little to counterbalance such material benefits as Alexander bestowed. One of the principal contra animum suum;" but a woman who had at so great a risk preserved his life, and had instilled such wise and virtuous principles into his mind, certainly deserved the utmost deference and affection. He is accused of banishing his first wife, on account of Mamæa's dislike to her; but Dexippus contradicts this, by ascribing it to the treason of her father.<sup>+</sup> His vanity in imitating Alexander the Great is arraigned, and he is charged with being suspicious and inquisitive: but it is difficult now to estimate how far this might have resulted from policy and caution, for he who frequently exclaimed, "Imperium in virtute esse, non in decore," could not have been dangerously vain. Both he and his mother are accused of avarice : but that frugality which contributed so largely to the relief of the public, could hardly be considered as a vice. His being unable to suppress a mutiny among the Prætorians, which terminated in the shameful massacre of his friend, the excellent Ulpian, as well as his advising **D**io to spend his consulship in retirement in order to avoid the insolent soldiery, have been branded as acts of timid imbecility: but it may be imagined that so youthful a sovereign had no easy task in curbing the turbulent and depraved empire to which he had succeeded. His mind, however, acquired vigour with

<sup>\* &</sup>quot;Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> There is some little confusion as to the question whether Alexander had three wives. Of Sulpicia Memmia, said to have been the second, the name only is mentioned; but even of her no coins appear to have been struck; that cited by Goltzius being a gross forgery. Nor does history relate whether Alexander left any children.—See Orbiana.

the ripening of his age; and the question respecting his personal courage is settled by his conduct at Antioch. The punishment of some soldiers for their debaucheries with the abandoned wretches of Daphne, was followed by the mutiny of a whole legion. The Emperor intrepidly exposed himself to their rage, and in dignified and spirited language commanded obedience. Their clamours, and menaces with brandished swords, became more violent and furious. "Your bravery," said he, "would be more nobly exerted against the enemy; me you may destroy, but you cannot intimidate; and the just vengeance of the Republic will punish your crime?" Yet the men became still more insolent and outrageous; when Alexander in a loud voice exclaimed—"CITIZENS! lay down your arms, and begone !" This decisive sentence, which at once deprived them of their military honours, acted like The sedition was instantly allayed; the soldiers acknowledged their a charm. guilt, and supplicated pardon; nor were they restored to their rank till the ringleaders were punished. This legion atoned for their misconduct by fidelity and bravery: gratefully serving the Emperor while living, and avenging him when dead.

The prejudice of Herodian against Mamæa and her son, would have been easily discernible, even if Capitolinus had not warned us of it. Herodian's colours are hoisted by Zonaras and Cedrenus; but he is abandoned in this particular by Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, and Syncellus. In this dilemma it is the more to be regretted that Dio—a friend, counsellor, and colleague of Alexander—should have closed his useful history so soon in this reign. It has been suggested that the hatred which Herodian bore towards Mamæa, was on account of her being a Christian; and a similar reason may be assigned for the contemptible appearance of Alexander in Julian's "Cæsars," where he is placed below the company, bewailing his assassination. Assuming these motives as postulates, it will not be difficult to guess why " the luminous" Gibbon followed in their wake.

There are Latin medals of this Prince of all sizes, and in each of the metals; of which the large and middle brass are *generally* common. Alexander occupied himself closely in reforming the affairs of the mint, which accounts for the legend, "Moneta restituta," on some of his coins; he being the only Emperor who styled himself, on medals, a restorer of money. He also used that beautiful amalgam called *electrum*, as we learn from Lampridius,—" Alexandri habitu nummos plurimos figuravit; et quidem electreos aliquantos, sed plurimos tamen aureos." About this time the sestertii diminish in magnitude; public events are given in less detail on the reverses,—and the Deities and moral Virtues appear more frequently; the coins are, however, mostly trite and common, and are retained only according to their perfection, or individual interest. These virtues, as may have been noticed in the preceding part of this catalogue, are inscribed sometimes in the Nominative, and at others in the Dative Case : in the latter instances it is inferred that the merit is ascribed to the deity represented, and in the former to the prince in whose honour the device is struck. Among the numerous coins of the Colonies, Greece, and Egypt, in his honour, the noble medallion stamped by the Perinthians deserves especial notice. In an orb, encircled by the twelve signs of the zodiac, is seated Jupiter, with his eagle and mystical wand; above them are the sun and moon in opposition, pursuing their courses; and below, are a man and a woman, as the representatives of the human race. Vaillant has, rather hastily, called the last figures *rivers*; but they are without urns or reeds, and have no similitude to such impersonations but in their recumbency; besides which, only one river, the Eridanus, has its representative in the heavens.

# CCCXCIV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. (Imperator Casar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Alexander, with comely features, and his bust covered with the pallium over a cuirass. This medal, though without patina, and partly rubbed by a file, is in excellent condition; it was found near Oxoï, in Ithaca, in 1820.\*
- Reverse. LIBERALITAS AVGVSTI. On the exergum S. C. The Emperor seated on a curule chair, upon a suggestum, is inspecting a donative; before him stands a female with a cornucopiæ and frumentarian tessera; and behind him a Prætorian officer. It was struck A. D. 222, to commemorate the first congiary of Alexander, given, as usual, on taking the empire. This, with four other *liberalities* seen on his medals, disproves Herodian's charge of covetousness against Alexander: of these the first and second are the least rare in cabinets, the third and fourth are rarer, and the fifth the rarest.<sup>+</sup> This good Emperor not only practised a custom which had long prevailed, but also at a vast charge, replenished the public granaries, and made weekly distributions of oil and corn among the indigent citizens. To some he gave lands, slaves, cattle, and implements of industry, as more beneficial and less degrading than giftsin money. He also made an extraordinary reduction in the market-price of meat: "ut quum fuisset octominutalis libra, ad duos, unumque, utriusque carnis libra redigeretur."

# CCCXCV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, Augustus.) A youthful laureated head of the Emperor, with pleasing features, and the bust covered with a sagum. This medal is of pale yellow brass, scarcely patinated, and in very fine preservation.
- Reverse. MARTI PACIFERO. In the field S. C. The common representations of Mars are as Victor, Ultor, or Propugnator; but here, instead of a fighter or avenger, he stands in an easy, composed

<sup>\*</sup> My series of Alexander's reign was headed with a medal purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale; it has the bare head of the Prince as Cæsar, with *Pietas* and the pontifical instruments as the reverse. I had some misgivings about its purity, yet it might have retained its station, but that, of the hundreds of Alexander's which have passed through my hands, I never yet met with one bearing that device; neither Eckhel, Pedrusi, Havercamp, Visconti, nor Mionnet, describe it; nor is there one in the British Museum, or the Bodleian collection.

<sup>†</sup> Medals record only five of these acts-but Lampridius expressly says -" Congiarium populo TER dedit, donativum militibus TER, carnem populo addidit."

attitude, as a "peace-maker,"—for though he is in armour and galeated, his spear is pointed downwards, and he holds an olive-branch in his right hand. See No. CCCXXIII. In the early part of Alexander's reign, the Romans were at peace with all the world, and the olivebranch is probably placed in the hands of a warrior, to denote that the best way to preserve peace, is to be always ready for war. Ovid seems to allude to Mars Pacifer in the Fasti, where he asks why the matrons kept the festival of so manly a deity?

"Sic ego. Sic positâ dixit mihi casside Mavors ;

Sed tamen in dextrâ missilis hasta fuit :

• Nunc primùm studiis pacis, Deus utilis armis,

'Advocor; et gressus in nova castra fero.

' Nec piget incepti ; juvat hâc quoque parte morari ;

' Hoc solam ne se posse Minerva putet.' "

The incident by which I procured this medal is curious. In the summer of 1819, a labourer at work near Casal Zurika, in the island of Malta, struck his spade into an amphora which proved to be full of large-brass Roman medals. Further search being made several other jars were discovered, laden in a similar manner. I was, unfortunately, absent on a cruize at the time, or most probably should have obtained them. As it was, the finder offered them to three individuals in succession, for 100 dollars, which for 14 or 15,000 medals in the highest preservation, was surely no great risk for any one, however "dunder-headed." His proffers being refused, the peasant deeming his prize almost worthless, sold it for four dollars the cantar of 175lbs. English, to a brass-founder in Valetta, who was actually melting them down, when a friend accidentally saw him, and thus rescued 12 or 13 hundred coins-all that were left-from destruction. Some of them were dispersed, but the greater part fell into the hands of Mr. St. John, the present Consul-General at Algiers, and myself. They comprised a series of about 40 years, from the time of Alexander to that of Gallienus; and had generally the device of Deities or Virtues, and therefore not rare; but their singularly high preservation rendered them very valuable, and the numerous duplicates were exchanged to great advantage. It is curious that this hoard, probably hidden in troublous times, remained so many ages undiscoveredfor the amphoræ were but a few inches below the surface of the ground. What was lost in the copper-smith's furnace, can unfortunately never be ascertained.

Much astonishment has been expressed at the number of ancient coins which have been found. D'Hancarville suggests Charon's fare as a leading cause, observing that from Phidon of Argos to Constantine, there are thirty-six generations; and from Magna Gracia to the Euphrates, and from Cyrene to the Euxine, the inhabitants amounted to about 30,000,000, making a total who died in that time and region, of no fewer than ten thousand millions of people who were all buried with money. This, however, is not all. As coins are found in prodigious numbers wherever the Roman arms extended, it is not unlikely that some were hidden for future resources, as there were no banks; others were scattered among the missilia, and a large portion may have been deposited as records for fame. They abound in every part of Europe and Asia, and even in the remote regions of Africa. Busbequius mentions the quantity of medals, especially of the later emperors, which he met with in his travels; in the neighbourhood of Ancyra he found them used as weights,\* under the name of giaur manguri, or infidel's money; and he arrived too late to redeem a valuable quantity, just melted down by the brazier into pots and kettles. In the same century, 60,000 Roman coins were found at Modena, supposed to have been a military treasure, hidden after the battle of Bedriacum, when Otho was defeated. In 1760, 30,000 were found in earthen vessels near Brest, in Bretagne ; in 1764, in digging a foundation at Lisbon, 300 gold coins of Titus were discovered; and in 1765, at Brindisi, 100 rotoli, each 30 English ounces, of denarii were dug up, embracing the period from Severus to Philip. In 1775 nearly a hundred weight of silver coins were found at Morton Banks, near Bingley, in Yorkshire, in a copper chest; and in the following year a great number of Greek medals were found at Terranova, in Sicily, by the falling of a cliff. In 1800, a vase containing

\* I saw the same thing at Dernah, near Cyrene, where I purchased some fine bronze medallions of Carthage, in the shops of the bazaar.

about 2000 Roman coins was discovered near Beauvais, in France, consisting chiefly of the emperors from Galba to Geta; they were dispersed principally in the neighbourhood, where they were long concealed from the fear of their being claimed by the lord of the manor. In the same year a peasant of Stiria found in an urn 298 fine gold coins, from Nero to Marcus Aurelius, of which 274 were secured for the imperial cabinet. Even now we hear of numerous coins being dug up at Colchester, Sandy, Shefford, Kempston, and many other parts of Eugland. A curious circumstance occurred at Hexham, in 1831. In digging a grave rather deeper than usual the sexton struck a sort of large *kettle*, when out flew a shower of stycas, of which nearly 20,000 were collected: and of those chronologically arranged in the cabinet of my friend George Musgrave, Esq. it is to be hoped that an account will ere long be printed.

#### CCCXCVI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, Augustus.) An expressive profile of Alexander, with the laurel crown. This medal, struck A. D. 223, is in high preservation and covered with chocolatecoloured patina, and was procured, by exchange, from Admiral Sir C. V. Penrose, in 1819.
- Reverse. PONTIF. MAX. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate iterum, Consul, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. The Flavian Amphitheatre, between the Meta Sudans and the Domus Aurea, as described under No. LXXXVIII; but with the addition of two figures, one a togated civilian, and the other apparently military, standing by the meta. Though History affords no positive clue for the application of this device to Alexander, we may infer, that it either marks his transferring the tax upon harlots, from the treasury to the use of the theatres; or, that it commemorates his undertaking an extensive repair of that vast edifice—for we are informed of the spirit with which he improved the city: "Opera veterum Principum instauravit, ipse nova multa constituit."

#### CCCXCVII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with a mild expression, and a pallium fibulated upon his right shoulder. This medal was procured at Frejus, in 1823, having been formerly in the cabinet of M. Cary, of Marseilles, who died in 1754. Some of his medals were dispersed, and the French government purchased the remainder for about £ 700. sterling; but such was the state of the treasury, that the minister could only pay the sum by instalments. Barthèlemy ascribed his taste for medals to the attentions of M. Cary.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. V. COS. II. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate quiatum, Consul iterum, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C. An elegant structure adorned with statues and surrounded by a portico, probably representing the celebrated thermæ which bore the Emperor's name. This coin was struck A. D. 226, and either commemorates the erection of the baths, or the lighting them up by night, at Alexander's expense: "addidit et oleum luminibus thermarum, quum ante non antea Auroram paterent, et ante solis occasum clauderentur." The temples of idleness, called Thermæ, were imitations of the Greek Gymnasia, and consisted of vast buildings replete with splendid and fascinating luxuries, calculated to relax the mind, and afford voluptuous exercise for the body. But it may be questioned whether the health of the citizens was not substantially better, when they only bathed in the Tiber, than when hot baths became necessary to the very fæx civitatis.

Ut fortunatam plenè præstantia vitam."

The hardy warriors of the republic lost but little time at their toilet, despised the "matutino amomo," and made no difference between winter and summer rings; but even before the age of Cæsar, a "pretty gentleman" was unable to get under weigh, until he had been shaved, scraped, shampooed, perfumed, and what not; as the father of the "Carmina Morum," says:—

"Scabor, suppelor, desquamer, pumicor, ornor, Expilor, pingor."

#### CCCXCVIII.

- Obverse. 1MP. CAES. M. AVR. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Severus Alexander, Augustus.) A laureated head of the Emperor, with his hair cut very close, features mild and expressive, and a short beard. This medal, which is one of the Maltese hoard, mentioned at CCCXCV, is in the highest possible condition, for from having been, as it were, hermetically sealed, the metal is barely discoloured.
- Reverse. AEQVITAS AVGVSTI. In the field S. C. A female, habited in the robes of a Roman matron, stands with a cornucopiæ on her left arm, and holds a balance in her right hand. This device differs but little from the modern representations of the same Virtues;\* the scales, indeed, that natural emblem of Equity, are used by Persius to express the decision of right and wrong,—and the cornucopiæ signifies the good that results from examining into the real merits of cases. This is a very trite reverse, but the attributes are sometimes varied, by a pointless lance, or sceptre, instead of the horn of plenty. Oiselius thought he perceived, on a coin of Vitellius, that, instead of a hasta pura, the goddess held a measuring rod, with marked subdivisions. See the next medal, and No. CCCXII.

## CCCXCIX.

- Obverse. IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. (Imperator Severus Alexander, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of Alexander, with close hair, and a pleasing expression of features; the neck is bare, with part of a pallium appearing on the left shoulder. This medal, in high preservation and slightly varnished with brown patina, was one of those found at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. IVSTITIA AVGVSTI. On the exergum S. C. A stately robed female, seated on a throne, holds a sceptre in her left hand and a patera in her right, and looks steadfastly before her, as in No. CLXXXVII. This personification differs from that of our modern painters and sculptors, who represent her with scales, brandishing a sword, and, notwithstanding the "aureus est oculus Justitiæ" of Athenæus, hoodwinked. The devices of this medal and the last are palpably different; and in discriminating between Justice and Equity, as virtues, it will be recollected that the first is based on the law of society, and the latter results from conscientious rectitude. See No. CCCXII. There is but little mention of this Deity among the poets; and we may gather from Ovid, that when meu became wicked and litigious, they had but a spurious justice. Petronius Arbiter, among other effects of the strife between Cæsar and Pompey, describes Peace as hiding her head in a helmet, Fidelity as dejected, Justice with dishevelled hair, and Concord as sorrowing in a rent cloak :—

"Mitis Turba Deum terras exosa furentes Deserit; atque Hominum damnatum deserit agmen. PAX prima, ante alios, niveos pulsata lacertos Abscondit galeâ victum caput: atque relicto Orbe fugax Ditis petit implacabile regnum. Huic comes it submissa FIDES; et crine soluto JUSTITIA; ac mœrens lacerâ CONCORDIA pallâ."

From the apparent age of the head, and the style of the legend around it, this medal was probably struck A. D. 229, for that was a year memorable for a dreadful instance of the

\* A good painting of Equity, in a public office at Corfu, has, as a companion, Temperantia, a virtue typified by a woman rooling a bar of red-hot iron in water. Neither Temperantia, nor Voluptas, the goddess of feasts, seem to have been honoured on medals, since none have been found with their legends; nor does Sapientia appear till the time of Constantine.

Emperor's scrupulous impartiality in the administration of justice. He caused Vetronius Turinus, one of his chief favourites, to be publicly executed for abusing the confidence reposed in him, by the corrupt practice called "fumos vendere," a traffic in lucrative posts, wherein the fraudulent seller pretends to possess court favour. On this occasion the criminal was tied to a stake, and suffocated by the kindling of a pile of green wood and wet stubble, whilst the crier proclaimed aloud—" Let him that dealt in smoke perish by smoke !"

#### CCCC.

- Obverse. IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. (Imperator Severus Alexander, Augustus.) The laureated head of the Emperor, with very short hair, close beard, and features denoting maturity; the bust is bare, save that the strap of an ægis appears on the left shoulder. A medal in high preservation and thinly tinged with brown patina; it was one of those mentioned under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. VIII. COS. III. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate octavum, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. Alexander, in a grand quadriga, holding the "Sceptrum eburneum" as described under No. CCXXXIX; whence some medallists—who think that high badge of authority only proper to conquerors—conclude the device to represent a triumpl. But as it was struck A. D. 229, it only commemorates the procession for the third consulship of Alexander, whose colleague was the celebrated historian, Dio Cassius. Lampridius says—"Consulatum ter iniit tantum: ac primo nundino sibi alios semper suffecit." It should be noticed, that Pedrusi, Havercamp, Cooke, and others, who have figured this medal, place the reins of the horses in the Emperor's right hand,—whereas they are fastened to the front of the car, and the open hand is elevated above them, as a known indication of sovereign command.

#### CCCCI.

- Obverse. IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. (Imperator Severus Alexander, Augustus.) The lanrelled profile of the Emperor, under the usual characteristics. A medal in high preservation and coated with Saxon-green patina, which was presented to me by Signor Rossoni, at Ben-Gházi, in 1821.
- Reverse. PROFECTIO AVGVSTI. On the exergum S. C. An equestrian figure of the Emperor, preceded by a winged Victory holding out a garland of laurel. This was probably struck A. D. 231, to celebrate the departure of Alexander against the Persians. On another of these occasions public sacrifices were offered, and the Senate and all the people attended him many miles, to take a solemn leave of him : "post hæc cum ingenti amore apud Populum, et Senatum viveret, et sperantibus Victoriam cunctis." Alexander was esteemed a good officer, and his army was numerous and well disciplined. A select company had their shields glittering with gold and silver, in imitation of the Argyraspides of Alexander the Great; and there was also a plalanx, consisting of six incorporated legions. He was remarkable for the care and attention which he bestowed upon his troops, frequently declaring, that "the soldier does not fear his commanders unless he be fed and clothed, and has money in his purse :" whence Cassiodorus probably derived his "Disciplinam non potest servare jejunus exercitus." An aphorism as shrewd as that of Cæsar—" with money we procure soldiers, and with soldiers we collect money."

# CCCCII.

- Obverse. IMP. SEV. ALEXANDER AVG. (Imperator Severus Alexander, Augustus.) The laureated head of the Emperor, with intelligent features, and the neck bare. This medal, which was one of the Maltese hoard, is covered with a bottle-green patina, and in the highest perfection. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. VICTORIA AVGVSTI. In the field S. C. A winged Victory, inscribing VOT. X. (Vota decennalia,) on a buckler, which is placed on a palm-tree; she is naked to the waist, and has her left foot upon a helmet. Among these medals I found three types of Victory,—one standing with a palm-branch and laurel crown, a second rapidly advancing, and the one

before us, which is the best. As they were all minted about A. D. 231, they may relate to some operations of the Emperor's commanders, or even to an advantage gained by himself over Artaxerxes, the restorer of Persia. In this instance, Victory has a double duty to perform, in registering with the Decennalian vow, a success over the enemy, indicated by the helmet upon which she treads.

## CCCCIII.

- Reverse. IMP. ALEXANDER PIVS AVG. (Imperator Alexander, Pins, Augustus.) The laureated profile of Alexander, with handsome and expressive features, the neck bare, and part of an ægis over the left shoulder. The title of Pius was now given him, for the affection he displayed towards his mother; and he assumed also that of Felix, on some medallions. This was one of the Maltese hoard; it is slightly covered with reddish-brown patina, and is in fine condition. See No. CCCX CV.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. X. COS. III. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate decimum, Consul tertium, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C. Apollo standing in an easy attitude, his right hand pointing upwards, and his left holding a whip, indicative of his power to promote rapidity, in allusion to his horses. With the exception of a mantle on the shoulder, the figure is naked, and the head is radiated—the "bis sena signa cursu vario regit," in Seneca's (Edipus. Under No. IX. a reason is given for the twelve rays; in addition to which Martianus Capella accounts for them, by observing, that the sun is every day above the horizon for so many hours. Virgil compares king Latinus to the grand luminary :—

Aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt, Solis avi specimen."

As this medal was evidently struck A. D. 231, it possibly commemorates an advantage gained in the East, because Apollo was the ordinary type of oriental successes. But considerable perplexity is occasioned by the coins which record Alexander's victories; and though Lampridius has carefully collected a "heap" of valuable facts, he sets all chronology at defiance. Herodian describes the campaign against Artaxerxes, A. D. 232, as a most inglorious one to the Roman arms; while Lampridius says, that the mighty host of the "Great King" was totally defeated, and that Alexander approved himself a valiant soldier and expert commander. In this dilemma I prefer Lampridius to Herodian, because he transcribes the original speech which the Emperor delivered to the Senate, from the journals of the "House,"-and he is moreover corroborated by Eutropius, Victor, and others. It is also quite clear that several medals were struck to commemorate a victory gained in the East; and historians testify that Alexander returned to Rome, gave a donative, exhibited the Circensian sports, and triumphed with great splendour: "Post hoc, Romam venit, triumphoque pulcherrimo acto, ad Senatum verba habuit." It is true that Domitian was applauded for his imaginary virtues and victories, by the Senate; but history has been careful to inform us that the Fathers were then constrained. Even if Alexander had been conquered, we may infer, from his integrity and prudence, that he would have spurned undeserved honours.

#### CCCCIV.

- Obverse. IMP. ALEXANDER PIVS AVG. (Imperator Alexander, Pius, Augustus.) A laureated profile of Alexander, with a handsome and intelligent expression of countenance; the bust is covered with a sagum over a cuirass. and preservation; it is slightly tinged with a brownish-green patina, and was one of those found at Malta. See CCCXCV.
- Reverse. IOVIS PROPVGNATOR. (Jovis Propugnatoris.) In the field S. C. A bold figure of Jupiter brandishing a thunderbolt—the type of supreme authority—

" Cœlo tonantem credidimus Jovem Regnare." Jupiter—whose nod made Olympus shake, while his follies provoked the ridicule of Lucian's Momus—was styled *Propugnator* when the Emperor was engaged in a foreign war : and under that title sacrifices were offered to him on an altar in the palace. The representation on this medal is singularly excellent for that period of art; the figure is naked, except a floating pallium behind the left shoulder—and the whole expression is that of majesty and power. Jovis is not common on legends with this device. From the titles of the obverse, it was probably struck A. D. 234, on Alexander's taking the field to stay the incursions of the Germans—a measure which he was warned against by a female druid, who exclaimed—"Vade ! Nec Victoriam spers, nec militi tuo credas."

This appears to have been one of the last large-brass medals struck in the present reign; for though the Senate defined Alexander the instant they heard of his foul murder, there are no medals which record the honour, except one of the restored *consecrations* which Gallienus minted, in the adulterated silver now called *potin*, or *billon*.

# ORBIANA.

Sallustia Barbia Orbiana is generally understood to have been the third wife of Alexander ; but this is a point on which historians differ, for the lady mentioned by Dio, who was not permitted to assume the title of Augusta, is by many identified with Sulpicia Memmia, who, according to Lampridius, was the second wife. We know nothing respecting the family, or time of birth of Orbiana, nor does history even mention her name, from which uncertainty, the antiquaries for a long time classed her as the spouse of Decius. In doubtful cases, medals afford the best evidence, and Seguin tells us that Francesco Gotifreda, a nobleman of Rome, first restored her to her true husband, by producing a quinarius with the heads of Alexander and Orbiana together. Since that discovery Vaillant has published an Egyptian coin, which by its device, and the letters  $L \varepsilon$ ,\* shews that the marriage took place in the 5th year of the Emperor's reign, or A. D. 226. Thus was a name restored to its proper place, which, but for numismatic inquiry, had been lost for ever.

If it may be inferred that Orbiana is the lady of whom Lampridius speaks in "Vita Alexandri," cap. 41, she was a woman of good sense and discretion, who by exemplary plainness of dress, led the Roman ladies to economy in their apparel. What became of her after her husband's death, as well as the time of her own demise, are alike unknown; nor is there any proof of her having borne issue to Alexander—though a medallion in the French Cabinet, inscribed *Fecunditas Temporum*, on which she is represented with children, seems to imply that she had.

<sup>\*</sup> This L preceding a Greek numeral, has amused and perplexed the learned and the pseudo-learned for many generations; and the question is still open to further discussion. Hardouin thought it was a gamma reversed; Casaubon considered it as a mere separation between the legend and the date; Petau decided it to mean something of annual occurrence; Scaliger and Reinesius pronounced that it meant nothing but the lustrum; and Salvini clearly shewed that it was an imperfect E, but without explaining why the imperfection should be stamped on so many bushels of Egyptian coins, of various ages, sizes, and sovereigns. The best opinion seems to be, that it is the initial of Lycabas, an archaic poetical term for year, adopted when the Greek *lumbda* was so formed; and that to avoid confusion with the numeral  $\Lambda$ , the antiquated letter was retained.

There are Latin, Greek, and Egyptian medals in honour of this Princess, but I have never met with a Colonial one. They are all rare, the dupondii being the least so, and there are none known in small-brass. Mionnet has figured the silver coin inscribed *Propago Imperi*, which formerly belonged to M. Gosselin; and Eckhel has described another with *Minerva Victrix*; but those are the only uncommon legends.

# CCCCV.

- Obverse SALL. BARBIA ORBIANA AVG. (Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, Augusta.) The profile of the Empress, with small, but pretty features, an animated air, and the appearance of about 20 years of age. The head-dress resembles that of Soæmias, the neck is delicately turned, and the bust is neatly robed. This medal, in excellent preservation and covered with a dense-green patina, was purchased at Zante, in 1820.
- Reverse. CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM. On the exergum S. C. The Emperor and Empress in imperial attire, take each other by the right hand—the symbol of union. Concord is inscribed upon all the Latin large-brass Orbianas which I have seen or heard of, and expresses the mutual harmony which subsisted between Alexander and his wife. See No. CCCLXXXVII.

#### CCCCVI.

- Obverse. SALL. BARBIA ORBIANA AVG. (Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, Augusta.) The head of the Empress with her hair closely dressed, and charming features, the neck is finely shaped, and the bosom robed. This beautiful medal is in the best possible condition, and varnished with olive-green patina; it was one of the Maltese hoard described under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM. On the exergum S. C. A stately female, magnificently attired and seated on a throne, with a patera in her right hand, and a double cornucopiæ in her left. The cornucopiæ is the well-known emblem of plenty—but it is difficult to say why two of them so often occur upon medals : Jobert holds that they denote extraordinary abundance, or unbounded happiness; but Addison thinks they relate to the double tradition respecting the horns of Amalthæa and Achelöus.

# JULIA MAMÆA.

Julia Mamæa, the younger daughter of Avitus and Mæsa, was born at Apamea, and married to Genesius Marcianus, by whom she had Alexander, and a daughter named Theoclia. She became a widow while her son was yet very young; but she made up to Alexander the loss of his father, by the extraordinary care which she took of his infancy, and the precaution with which she afterwards prevented his morals from being poisoned by Elagabalus, from whom she, with no little difficulty, saved his life. She married a second husband whose name has not come down to us—but from a rescript, by which Caracalla decreed that she should not lose her precedency, we learn that he was of inferior dignity to herself. He must have died before A. D. 218, for no mention is made of him when the family of Mæsa were ordered, by Macrinus, to retire to Emesa. In the commotion of the Prætorians against Elagabalus A. D. 222, the two imperial sisters repaired to the camp, to

# (235)

advocate the cause of their respective sons, when Soæmias was slain with the despot, and Mamæa became an Augusta. It was her misfortune, however, to undergo a fate similar to that of her sister, being murdered also with her son in another military sedition, which happened A. D. 235. But a different destiny awaited her memory instead of the contumely which poured forth on Soæmias, the Senate publickly expressed their regret for the fate of Mamæa, exalted her to a place among the Gods, and appointed altars, priests, and sacrifices, for the celebration of her worship.

On considering the times in which Mamæa lived, and the domestic examples by which she was surrounded, it is impossible to refuse homage to her prudence and integrity, in spite of all that Herodian ungallantly musters up against her. "Mulier sancta, sed avara," are words designed no doubt to convey a censure; but a glance at the state in which Elagabalus left the public coffers, and the rapacity of the army, aggravated by the pernicious maxims of Severus, will at once shew that the strictest frugality was requisite. She is also accused of arrogance, but this imputation may have arisen from the *incuriæ* by which she avoided the impure society that debased the court. She merited the honours decreed to her, were it only on account of her maternal virtues, exemplified in the careful education of her son, and her solicitude in placing none but persons of integrity about him. Though it is uncertain whether she was baptized, Mamæa had the great advantage of being instructed in the Christian religion by Origen,—and Eusebius highly commends her piety.

Excepting those of silver, and large and middle brass, the medals of Mamæa are rare—as well Latin, as Greek-Imperial, Colonial, and Egyptian. The types are generally trite, but not without interest, when in good condition. That which has excited the greatest attention among antiquaries, is inscribed IVLIA MAMMIAS: some ascribed it to Memmia, the wife of Alexander, while others thought it indicated a new empress, not heard of before, and a third class questioned its authenticity. At length Father Chammillardt, in his "Selecta Rei Nummariæ," shewed it to be one of the earliest coins struck to Mamaa, whose name being Syrian, would have had the termination AS, like that of her sister Soæmias, had it not been modified by the Romans.\* This assertion is supported by the features of the portrait, while the reverse, Juno Conservatrix, expresses the safety of Alexander from the snares of Elagabalus. A second-brass medal is also of historical interest, as it proves that Mamæa, as well as Faustina Junior and Julia Pia, bore the title of " Mater Castrorum."

<sup>\*</sup> I have inserted this solution, because it has been sanctioned by the Numismatic Elders: but before the good Father can require us implicitly to admitit, he must prove that all Syriac and barbarous female names were terminated by the Greeks in A S, and none in A.

## CCCCVII.

- Obverse. IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA. The head of Mamæa, with her hair closely dressed, and bound in an anadema. The features, though sedate, are handsome, and expressive of an age of about thirty years; the neck is full, and the bosom neatly robed. This medal, in singularly high perfection, is coated with red and green patina, and was presented to me by an Arab, at Leptis Magna, in 1816.
- Reverse. FECVNDITAS AVGVSTAE. In the field S. C. Mamæa, habited as a Roman matron, holds a cornucopiæ with her left hand, and a sacred patera in her right,—before her stands the uaked figure of a child. This device differs from the one described under No. CCLXXIII, but is of similar import, in vaunting a quality highly prized among the Romans.

#### CCCCVIII.

- Obverse. IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA. The head of the excellent Princess, with her hair in an anadema, as before,—her features are handsome and intelligent, and her bosom robed. This medal is in extraordinary preservation, though unpatinated; it was from one of the amphoræ described under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. VENVS VICTRIX.\* In the field S. C. Venus, elegantly attired, stands with a lance in her left hand, and supports a helmet on her right, with a shield at her feet. These attributes sometimes allude to the *power* of love, as also does the rudder; but here they may intimate the triumph of Mamæa over Soæmias, the legend being from the word given by Julius Cæsar, at Pharsalia,—as we have it in Propertius—

"Vexit et ipsa sui Cæsaris arma VENUS.

Arma resurgentis portans victricia Trojæ."

And as the emperors, and greatest generals, ascribed their successes to the same Goddess, Prudentius exclaims-

Præmia diminuit qui quicquid fortiter actum est

Adscribit VENERI, palmam victoribus aufert."

This medal disproves the assertions of those who, following Fulgentius, insist that Venus Victrix is always represented naked. Mamæa was frequently honoured "sub cultu Veneris," for I have had her coins inscribed Venus Felix, with the figure holding an infant, both erect and sedent, and Venus Genetrix with the apple, which, from the judgment of Paris, became the symbol of Love—and all of them represent the goddess stolated. For other types of Venus consult the Index.

### CCCCIX.

- Obverse. IVLIA MAMAEA AVGVSTA. The profile of Mamæa, with her hair closely dressed, as on the preceding coins, and with similar features; but the neck is longer, and the bosom differently robed. This medal is in the most perfect possible preservation, having been so hermetically shut up in the Maltese hoard, as to be barely discoloured. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. FELICITAS PVBLICA. On the exergum S. C. A female in magnificient attire, and wearing a rich diadem, is seated with a caduceus, significant of celestial benefits, in one hand, and a cornncopiæ, the type of terrestrial benefits, in the other. These emblems signify the happiness conferred by peace and plenty, which are the consequences of wise counsel. And so greatly did the public security seem to be owing to the advice which Mamæa gave her son in his administration, that the Senate struck other coins in her honour,—with "Felicitas temporum"—"Sæculi Felicitas"—and "Felicitas Perpetua,"—the last of which has a group of figures, supposed by Patin, to represent Mæsa, Memmia, and Theoclia, around Mamæa, whose form, he observes, is so accurately copied, that one drop of water is not more like another. See CCCXXII.

<sup>\*</sup> Hardouin, describing a coin of Galeria Valeria with this inscription, says—with less paradox than usual that the Remans I clore an engagement, supplicated both Mars and Venus. If they defeated their enemies with great shaughter, they thanked *Mars Victor*; but if they slew but few, or made an advantageous peace, then they ascribed the victory to *Venus Victrix*. This epinion is countenanced by Pliny's description of the myrtle used in the ovation of Posthumius Tubertus, after a bloodless advantage over the Sabines.

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# MAXIMINUS.

Caius Julius Verus Maximinus, the son of Micca and Abala, was born in Thrace, A. D. 173—his father being an obscure Goth, and his mother an equally obscure Alan; so that he sprung from two of the least civilized nations then existing. He was brought up as a herdsman; but being of a gigantic stature, and well proportioned, he caught the eye of Severus, by his vigour and activity, in the rejoicings with which the birth-day of Geta was celebrated. Being appointed to the Imperial guards, he distinguished himself by attention and fidelity, though his character was savage and ferocious. Under Caracalla, he rose to the rank of centurion; but refused to serve Macrinus, the assassin of his benefactor's son-nor did he mingle in the depraved court of Elagabalus, though he was invited to become a Military Tribune. Alexander treated him with singular kindness, created him a Senator, and honoured him with the command of a newly-raised legion, in which station he acquitted himself so ably, that the Emperor employed him in reforming the army, and thereby afforded him a fatal opportunity for corrupting the soldiers. The ambition of the Barbarian was stimulated by this elevation; and his sense of gratitude and duty gave way to selfishness: Alexander was treacherously murdered, A. D. 235,\* and Maximinus immediately assumed the Purple: but after a sanguinary reign of three years and a few days, he was himself assassinated before Aquileia, A. D. 238, together with his son Maximus-their heads being exhibited on spears, and their bodies thrown into the river.

Maximinus possessed valour and resolution, but was execrably deceitful, avaricious, and cruel. On his metamorphosis from subject to sovereign, he arrogantly assumed the names of *Caius*, *Julius*, and *Verus*; and, as if to hide the meanness of his birth, the proud‡ epithets, *Invictus*, *Fortissimus*, and *Nobilissimus*. The Senate greeted him with the titles of Germanicus, Dacicus, and Sarmaticus; while his parasites complimented his fierce courage and prodigious strength with the appellatives of Hercules, Achilles, Antæus, Ajax, and Milo; but the great mass of his subjects—from his encouraging informers, feigning plots, condemning without proof, and punishing without reason all who were accused—were more wont to call him Busiris,

<sup>\*</sup> The temper of Maximinus was ungovernable, especially when crossed. It is, therefore, not unlikely that his treason originated in vindictiveness—though he managed so well as scarcely to appear the base instrument of his master's murder. Mamæa, it is said, once intended to have married her daughter Theoelia to Maximus, the son of the Thracian; but Alexander, disliking the moroseness of the Maximins dissuaded her from it; and, what was a still greater exasperation, bestowed her upon Messala, a Roman of illustrious birth.

<sup>†</sup> It was at the siege of this place by Maximinus, that the women of Aquileia afforded a memorable instance of their courage and devotion; for the cordage belonging to the machines of war being worn out, they all cut off their tresses to supply the defect.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> One might add barbarous, for such an epithet as Nobilissimus would hardly have been admitted in a better age.

Gyges, and Phalaris. He had the address, by donatives and rewards, to attach the soldiers to his person; yet his barbarity to others was such, that those whom he dislikedand they comprehended nearly all the virtuous, noble, and wealthy-were crucified, or thrown to wild beasts, or sewed up in the hides of newly-slain cattle, without distinction of age, sex, or quality. He became an object of universal dread and detestation. Balbinus trembled when he heard his name mentioned ; the elder Gordian strangled himself in fear of him; and Pupienus, being ordered against him, said he was not going to encounter a man, but a Cyclops. In short, Rome was filled with consternation, and no messenger was ever received with greater transport, than the one who brought tidings of the death of a monster so odious.

Wonderful and incredible instances are related of the matchless strength and appetite of this gigantic savage. His height exceeded eight feet, and his joints were so large that his wife's bracelet served him for a thumb-ring.\* He was known to draw loaded waggons, to tear up trees by the roots, and to crumble pebbles between his fingers.<sup>†</sup> When he first attracted the notice of Severus, he floored sixteen of the stoutest followers of the camp; and on the next day, after racing against a horse, overthrew seven of the strongest soldiers, as so many children. He usually devoured from forty to sixty pounds of flesh, and drank six gallons of wine, daily, without inconvenience-whence some wit proposed inscribing on his tomb,---

# "Hic jacet amphora vini."

It is remarkable, that Maximinus, while in the plenitude of his power, and insolently confident in the invincibility of his strength, was addressed by a buffoon in the amphitheatre, with a striking allusion to his situation. The words would probably have cost the wag his life, had the Emperor understood Greek well enough to have comprehended their meaning. Capitolinus gives us the following Latin version of them :---

" Et qui ab uno non potest occidi A multis occiditur. Elephas grandis est, et occiditur : Leo fortis est, et occiditur : Tigris fortis est, et occiditur : Cave multos, si singulos non times."

There are Latin medals of this Emperor, in each of the metals and sizes; of which the denarii, and large and middle-brass are the most common, they being

<sup>\*</sup> This extraordinary fact deserves express quotation from Capitolinus. "Erat præterea (ut refert Cordus) magnitu-

dine tasta, ut octo pedes digito videretur egressus, pollice ita vasto, ut uxoris dextrocherio uteretur pro annulo." † The late Prince of Butera, in Sicily, had prodigious muscular powers. He once destroyed a poor rope-maker's stock, by snapping his cords, and calling them rotten—paying, however, the damage, for he was as kind as he was humorous. I once saw him bend a dollar with his thumb and finger.

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little prized where the types are trite, unless in high preservation. The Roman coins give the name simply *Maximinus*, the Colonial ones prefix *Julius*, and the Greek-Imperial bear *Caius Julius Verus Maximinus*.

#### CCCCX.

- Obverse. IMP. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG. (Imperator Maximinus, Pius, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with large features and a surly physiognomy—"aspectu quoque horrendus" as Herodian observes. This medal, thinly varnished with green and red patina, was obtained from among those found at Malta. See CCCXCV.
- Reverse. LIBERALITAS AVG. (Liberalitas Augusti.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor seated on a curule chair, elevated upon a suggestum, between two warriors and a figure of Liberality, who bears a cornucopiæ and a tessera. A citizen on the steps appears rather in the attitude of salutation, than that of receiving the donative, and may therefore be uttering the exclamation used on such occasions—"De nostris annis augeat tibi Jupiter annos!" The suggestum differs from that of any other medal in the cabinet, as it is supported by several military statues, which, perhaps, are intended to shew that Maximinus was indebted to the army for his elevation. This appears to have been minted A. D. 235.

#### CCCCXI.

- Obverse. IMP. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG. (Imperator Maximinus, Pius, Augustus.) The laureated profile of Maximinus, with large features and wrinkled forehead. This medal, in good preservation, and coated with olive-green patina, was presented to me by Mr. H. Salt, our late Consul-General in Egypt.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate iterum, Consul, Pater Patriæ.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor in a triumphal quadriga, in the act of being crowned by a winged Victory; he holds a branch of laurel in one hand, and a sceptre, surmounted by an eagle, in the other—a badge of command, which was continued till the Emperor Phocas substituted the Holy Cross in its place. This device, struck A. D. 236, most probably represents a consular procession, as on No. CCCC; and the addition of the Victory may be complimentary to the sovereign's being actually engaged in a distant war, at the time of his assuming the Purple.

The art of driving was highly prized among the young nobles of Rome; for, according to Jnvenal, skill in this *accomplishment* was a certain passport to the favour of the fair-sex: and he asserts, that a vain charioteer gained as much in a few hours, as a school-master received for a year's laborious drudgery. Still it is somewhat difficult to guess how the ancients contrived to stand in those two-wheeled vehicles, when under a four-horse power; nor does an examination of the car which is preserved in the Vatican, solve the perplexity. The *jugales*, or two centre horses, must have been fastened to the pole; and the *funales*, or outer ones, to a bolt on the axle-tree, between the wheel and the body of the car.

#### CCCCXII.

- Obverse. IMP. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG. (Imperator Maximinus, Pius, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with very close-cut hair and beard, wrinkled forehead, large chin, stern features, and his shoulders covered with a sagum. This medal, in singularly high condition, and unpatinated, was from the hoard discovered at Malta. See CCCXCV.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. II. COS. P. P. (Pontifer Maximus, Tribunitia potestate iterum, Consul, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C. A paludated warrior with a lance in his left hand, and his right raised, standing by three military standards. This device was struck A. D. 236, and seems merely a complimentary expression of the fidelity of the army, resembling the Fides Militum, which was also stamped in honour of him: but the Rev. W. Cooke thinks it may intimate a particular event, and mentions, that the Emperor, when struggling in a marsh in Germany, would have been killed, had he not been rescued by his own troops. The figure, however, is certainly not that of the over-grown Thracian, it being both young and graceful, similar to that which represents his son Maximus, as First of the Roman youth.

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# CCCCXIII.

- Obverse. IMP. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG. (Imperator Maximinus, Pius, Augustus.) The laureated head of the Emperor, with large features, sharp eye, and lengthy chin; the hair and beard very close, the neck short and thick, and the shoulders covered with drapery over a cuirass. This medal, in high condition and scarcely patinated, was taken from the amphoræ described under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. VICTORIA GERMANICA. On the exergum S. C. Maximinus in a camp-dress, standing with his right hand elevated in token of command, and a spear in his left, the point of which is towards a captive at his feet, whose hands are bound behind him. On the right, a winged Victory is placing a laurel crown on the Emperor's head. This was stamped A. D. 236, to record his success in Germany, which he invaded shortly after he was raised to the empire. He fought there several battles, always engaging in person at the head of his troops—and was not a little vain of the advantages he gained; for in addition to the accounts transmitted to the Senate, he ordered his exploits to be represented in painting, and hung up in the squares and public places of Rome. For these victories the Fathers decreed both to him and his son, the title of Germanicus; and besides the medal under discussion, I have had three other distinct types of a similar tenor, which corroborates what Capitolinus says of the exclamation— "Virtute inter omnes milites clarus."

# CCCCXIV.

- Obverse. MAXIMINVS PIVS AVG. GERM. (Maximinus, Pius, Augustus, Germanicus.) The laureated profile of Maximinus, with short hair and beard, stern features, and a prodigious chin; the neck is thick, and the shoulders covered with a sagum. This medal is in sound but secondary condition, having been touched with a file, when found, perhaps to ascertain its metal; it was procured at Naples in 1823, where it formerly belonged to the well-known philologist, Professor A. S. Mazzochi.
- Reverse. VICTORIA AVGVSTORVM. On the exergum S. C. The Emperor, in camp-attire, takes a togated figure—probably typifying the Senate—by the hand, and they support an idol of Victory between them. Each is attended by a galeated warrior: and in the centre are two captives in bonds, seated on the ground in attitudes of subjection and woe. This was struck about A. D. 237, to commemorate an advantage over the enemy; and the obverse shews that Maximinus had now assumed the agnomen Germanicus. Augustorum relates to the Emperor and his son—but as Maximus never was honoured with the title of Augustus, it merely implies that he shared it with his father.

# PAULINA.

Paulina being unnoticed in history, is assigned, by the inference of medals only, to Maximinus:—but the *appointment* is strengthened to conviction by the fashion and fabric of the coinage, as well as by the striking resemblance between the head thereon, and that of Maximus, the emperor's son. Yet, although her name is not recorded, we learn from Ammianus Marcellinus and Zonaras, that she was of mild and humane disposition, and exerted herself in checking the barbarity of her husband, and moderating his violence.

Camerarius has mistaken Calpurnia, of the illustrious family of the Pisos, for the wife of the Thracian. That lady, so celebrated for her beauty and virtue, as well as the devotion of her widowhood, was united to the unfortunate Titus Quartinus, a favourite of Alexander's, who, hoisting the standard of revolt against Maximinus, was murdered by the *friend* by whom he had been instigated, while tranquilly sleeping in his tent.\*

The medals of Paulina are restricted to the silver, and large-brass of the Latin mint, and are consequently rare; the devices hitherto found being only types of consecration. A gold coin, bearing her head, has been foisted into cabinets, although the best authorities have pronounced it to be a modern fabrication.

# CCCCXV.

- Obverse. DIVA PAVLINA. A middle-aged head of Paulina, with the veil of divinity over hair dressed like that of Mamæa, and her bosom closely robed. The features are handsome and intelligent, with a resemblance to those of Maximinus and Maximus, especially the latter. This medal, in the highest preservation and barely discoloured, was found among its cotemporaries in the Malta hoard,—an additional fact for discountenancing the notion of its being struck in honour of Hadrian's sister, even if such an idea was not at variance with all the peculiarities of its workmanship.
- **Reverse.** CONSECRATIO. In the field S. C. The Empress is "wending her way" to the spheres, on the back of a flying eagle; she is veiled, and holds the sacred sceptre in one hand, and extends the other in the ancient attitude of prayer. Those who only think Paulina "vulgò creditur" the wife of Maximinus, object to her consecration, on the ground that the Senate would not have thus honoured the spouse of a man so greatly detested. But as she probably died before her husband's fall, the ever-complying Fathers would have met the imperial wishes, even had the lady's character been less estimable than it really was.

## CCCCXVI.

- Obverse. DIVA PAVLINA. A veiled head of the Empress, with characteristics as above. This medal is in good but secondary preservation, and covered with an apple-green patina; it was \* purchased from Mr. M. Young, of London, in 1825.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the exergum S. C. Paulina, with a floating veil—" a foggia d'Iride"—in a two-wheeled biga, drawn by prancing horses; she holds a long torch in one hand, and the reins in the other. This compliments the memory of the Empress, by assimilating her to Luna Lucifera, one of the class styled "Dii Selecti."

# MAXIMUS.

Caius Julius Verus Maximus, the son of Maximinus and "*perhaps*" Paulina, was born about A.D. 218, and declared Cæsar when his father was advanced to the empire, A. D. 235. Maximinus, after making him his partner in authority, advised him to reside at Rome, in order to over-awe the citizens; for refusing which he would have killed him, when he heard that the Senate had proclaimed the Gordians, had not the Prince withdrawn himself. In the tumult before Aquileia, his good qualities might have saved his life, but that the infuriated soldiers resolved to spare

<sup>\*</sup> A denarius has been placed in collections, as struck by Quartinus, having on the obverse a radiated head inscribed *Divo Tito*, and on the reverse an altar, with *Consecratio*. It is, however, in honour of the Emperor Titus; being one of those stamped by Gallienus, in commemoration of the princes who had received the dignity of an apotheosis.

none of the race, exclaiming "Ex pessimo genere ne catulum habendum." He was therefore slain with his father, A. D. 238, their heads being sent to Rome, and their bodies cast into the river.

Maximus was a youth of extraordinary beauty and symmetry, and in stature almost equal to his father. He was brave and liberal, but though not cruel, so haughty, that he suffered the soldiers not only to salute his hand, but kiss his knees and feet—a degree of adulation which his father never could endure. He was magnificent in his apparel, and neglected nothing that could possibly set off his person; in his fondness for parade he wore a golden coat of mail; his gilt shield and helmet were richly adorned with gems; and, according to Capitolinus, no woman was ever more fastidious in her dress. This foppery might have worn off with age; but it probably influenced Alexander's refusal of his sister to such a consummate *dandy*, and thus thwarted a marriage which might have secured the safety of both families. Yet it is recorded that Maximus was a mighty favourite with the ladies of Rome, and, at the time of his death, was betrothed to Junia Fadilla,\* a great granddaughter of the revered Antoninus Pius.

There are Latin, Greek-Imperial, and Colonial, but, I believe, no Egyptian medals in honour of Maximus. Of the Roman mintage, the only genuine aureus yet found is a *Pietas*, with the instruments of sacrifice; and Khell describes a silver quinarius. The denarii and large and middle-brass are more common than the other coins, but are yet of some rarity—and there are none known in small-brass.

### CCCCXVII.

Obverse. C. IVL. VERVS MAXIMVS CAES. (Caius Julius Verus Maximus<sup>+</sup> Cæsar.) The head of Maximus without a laurel wreath, his hair cut very close, chin smooth, and shoulders robed. The features bear a strong resemblance to those of Paulina, and are singularly handsome; almost justifying the vain father in his boast that he had given the Romans their most comely emperor. Even in death this beauty continued, and drew from Ælius Sabinus this eloquent sentence—" Tantam pulchritudinem oris fuisse in filio, ut etiam caput ejus mortui jam nigrum, jam sordens, jam maceratum defluente tabo, velut umbra pulcherrima videretur."

This medal is in such high conservation, that it may be styled perfect; it was one of the Malta hoard described under No. CCCXCV. where it had been for ages so closely sealed that the metal is barely discoloured. My late friend, Taylor Coombe, albeit no admirer of this period of art, was particularly pleased with its fabric and condition.

Reverse. PIETAS AVG. (Pietas Augusti.) On the exergum S. C. The praefericulum, the lituus, the simpulum, and other sacrificial instruments, as described under No. CCXXXVII. This device appears to have been stamped A. D. 235, on the young Cæsar's being appointed to the usual sacerdotal office, which preceded the imperial dignity; for the Senate, incapable of resisting, found it necessary to add their approbation to the dicta of the army.

<sup>\*</sup> The learned Heyne has edited a coin of Fadilla, from the Bentinck Museum, but owns that he never saw it; it is almost needless to add that it must be false.

<sup>†</sup> Capitolinus calls this prince Maximinus Junior; but the evidence of the medals is indisputable; however, it seems from the epithet, that he was sometimes called by his father's name, unless it can be shewn that Maximinus is a false reading for Maximus.

## CCCCXVIII.

- Obverse. MAXIMVS CAES. GERM. (Maximus Cæsar, Germanicus.) The unlaureated head of the Cæsar, with handsome features, and the characteristics as on the last. This medal is also one of the Malta hoard, and so perfect that it seems fresh from the mint; yet it was probably struck A. D. 237.
- Reverse. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. In the field S. C. A graceful figure of Maximus, in camp attire, with the pallium on his shoulders, in his left hand, a lance, perhaps his gilt one, held transversely with the point downwards, and a truncheon in his right ; behind him two military standards are planted in the ground. See No. CCLXXXIII.

## CCCCXIX.

- Obverse. MAXIMVS CAES. GERM. (Maximus Cæsar, Germanicus.) The naked head of Maximus, with close hair, smooth chin, handsome features, and intelligent aspect; the shoulders being covered with a pallium over armour. This medal has the little silver eagle of the Modena Cabinet stamped on it, and was exchanged by Mr. M. Young, in 1826, for one of those found at Malta; it is in beautiful preservation, and densely coated with olive-green patina.
- Reverse. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. In the field S. C. A fine figure of the Cæsar, as Prince of the Roman Youth, with emblems similar to those described above. But one of the standards is here surmounted by a human hand, and is therefore the *Manipulus*, the descendant of the wisps of hay borne by the party of Romulus, at the attack on the palace of Amulius. The manipulus became one of the most celebrated of the Roman ensigus, and the mark of a select battalion : like the horse's tail in the Ottoman armies It is thus mentioned by Ovid :--

"Pertica suspensos portabat longa Maniplos : Unde Maniplaris nomina miles habet."

# GORDIANUS AFRICANUS, SENIOR.

Marcus Antonius<sup>\*</sup> Gordianus—son of Metius Marcellus, of the Gracchi family, and Ulpia Gordiana, a descendant of Trajan—was born A. D. 158, and inherited enormous wealth. Though he seems to have kept aloof from public distinctions, he became exceedingly popular on account of his merit, affability, and liberal spirit; for during his Ædileship he gave monthly games, and magnificent festivals both to Rome and the Provinces—a step, which it is surprising so prudent a man should risk in those turbulent times. It was not till A. D. 214, that he became Consul, perhaps from motives of personal safety ; and he again assumed the Fasces, in 229, with Dio Cassius. In the year following he went to Africa, as Alexander's lieutenant, whence some writers suppose he derived the surname of *Africanus*, while others think it was rather because he was descended from the Scipios. He remained in his pro-consulship till the insupportable exactions of Maximinus roused the province to insurrection, and the Emperor's odious procurator was slain. Gordian was then at Thydrus, where the people came unexpectedly and saluted him with the title of Augustus, an honour which he attempted to decline under the plea of his being an

<sup>\*</sup> Capitolinus seems uncertain whether the Gordiani were Antonii, or Antonini; but both marbles and Greek-Imperial coins decide in favour of the former.

octogenarian—but drawn swords and menaces of instant death prevailed. He had no sooner been constrained to accept the ensigns, than, to the delight of the public, he appointed his son as his associate in the empire, and entered Carthage, arrayed in purple. This exaltation caused tumults of joy at Rome; the Senate, without hesitation, confirmed the election, many obnoxious functionaries were executed, and the Maximins declared enemies to the state. The triumph was unhappily short-lived. Capelianus, the governor of Numidia, who had been at variance with the Pro-Consul, declared for Maximinus, amd advanced towards Carthage with a well-appointed army of veterans. The younger Gordian was despatched against him, at the head of a numerous, but ill-disciplined body of troops, and after a bloody engagement was overthrown, and slain on the field. The death of his son, together with the loss of the battle and the rapid approach of the enemy, reduced the father to such despair, that he strangled himself with his girdle, A. D. 238, after a reign of scarcely five weeks. The two bodies were embarked for sepulture in Rome, but were lost at sea.

This catastrophe occasioned universal regret and consternation. The Senate, to oppose the savage Thracian, raised Balbinus and Pupienus to the Purple. Rome was filled with faction and tunult, and the people demanded a prince of the Gordian family. Thus, though the Africani unfortunately perished, the flame kindled by them, shortly afterwards consumed Maximinus and all his adherents.

The elder Gordian, of a comely stature and majestic aspect, was thought to resemble Augustus in person and gesture : "Erat longitudine Romana, canitie decorâ, et pompali vultu, ruber magis, quàm candidus, facie benè latâ; oculis, ore, fronte verendus."\* He was liberal, just, humane, and magnanimous, of irreproachable habits, and great kindness of disposition—whence he was more beloved in Africa, than any of his predecessors. He was well versed in all branches of literature, and excelled in eloquence. He wrote several poems in his youth, which were greatly esteemed, particularly one entitled "Antoniniades," describing, in 30 books, the acts of Antoninus Pius, and Marcus Aurelius. He married Fabia Orestilla, a descendant of those illustrious emperors, by whom he had the son who shared his short-lived elevation, and a daughter named Mæcia Faustina, married to Junius Balbus, a man of consular rank.<sup>+</sup>

The Latin medals of Gordianns Senex are of great rarity, as well as high price, and are confined to silver and large-brass; for the gold *Romæ* Æternæ of Father Khell is pronounced to be a modern fabrication. There is, indeed, one of small-brass

This quotation is inserted for its descriptive quality; but with no respect for the style of its Latinity.
 + A silver coin was lately produced in London, purporting to have been struck in honour of Mæcia Faustina; but it was palpably a gross forgery. No coin of her is known, and, in all probability, she died before her father came to the empire.

cited in Ennery's catalogue, but its claim is questionable; for, with respect to the Assaria, it may here be observed, that though, in accordance with the practice of most medallists, I have mentioned small-brass, there are none, properly so called, from the time of Pertinax, till the end of the reign of Gallienus, except a few of Trajanus Decius: and all those may be reckoned mere forgeries from the silver, where the S. C. is wanting. There are numerous false coins of this Emperor to be guarded against. No Colonial ones have yet, I believe, been found, and only a few Egyptian. It was doubted whether there existed any which were struck in Greece, till a second-brass of Samos was published in Ennery's Catalogue; since which, Dr. A. Visconti has described an unique large-brass one of the same island, in his "Indicazione delle Medaglie Antiche;" and Havercamp describes a small-brass struck by the "Métropolites," which he purchased at the sale of Mons. de Wilde's cabinet.

As the coins of both the Africani have similar legends and types, they can only be assigned to the father or the son, by the character of the portrait. The countenance of the elder is long, thin, and aged ;—that of the younger is fuller, and has a bolder forehead—a difference easily discernible on large-brass. Vaillant thinks that all those on which the Tribunitian power is inscribed, belong to the father alone; and I have met with nothing which impugns that opinion, though it can be merely received as a conjecture.

## CCCCXX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS AFR. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, Africanus, Augustus.) The laureated head of the elder Gordian, with expressive and aged features, more like Julius Cæsar than Augustus, whom he has been said to have resembled. This medal, covered with dark-brown patina, and in very high preservation, was procured at Sassari, in Sardinia, in 1824.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. COS. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitiâ potestate, Consul, Pater Patriæ) In the field S. C. The Emperor, in senatorial garments, holding an olive-branch in his right hand, and a truncheon in his left. The term consul is singular, though Gordian had twice served that high office, while a subject, and with universal applause—" In Consultatibus clarior fuit sui temporis Consulibus."

### CCCCXXI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS AFR. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, Africanus, Augustus.) The laureated head of the Emperor with short hair, smooth chin, and aged features. This medal, in excellent condition, and slightly tinged with apple-green patina, was found in one of the amphoræ at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. SECVRITAS AVGG. (Securitas Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. A female elegantly attired, is seated with a sceptre in her right hand, and her left foot upon a low stool but she has not a cornucopiæ as on the one described by Visconti. This device was struck A. D. 238, by the Senate, who were happy under the idea, that the election of two such popular nobles as the Gordiani, had secured the empire from the tyranny of the dreaded Maximinus. But, as Shakspeare has said, "Security gives way to Conspiracy," and the hope of a stable government from that election quickly vanished.

Among other types of security, a curious one on a coin of Helena, mother of Constantine the Great, deserves mention. It represents a female, habited as a Roman matron, who

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stands without the support of the column which is usually introduced, where the figure is not sedent, to imply stability—as Pierio Valeriano says—" Invenire est in nummis, aliquot columnam ad Securitatem additam." This woman holds a branch of laurel in her hand, inverted; because the laurel-tree is said to be a charm, and preservative against lightning, and poison. Hence the proverb " Laureum gesto baculum," used by those who had escaped securely from danger or difficulty. See No. CCCLXXI; and the Securitas of Hostilianus.

#### CCCCXXII,

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS AFR. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, Africanus, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of Gordianus Senex, with his usual characteristics. A medal in sound but secondary condition, varnished with lightbrown patina, which was purchased at Mr. M. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. VICTORIA AVGG. (Victoria Augustorum.) In the field S. C. A marching winged Victory, with a laurel crown. This device must be intended as a happy presage, rather than the record of a victory obtained; and was probably struck by the Senate as a token of their confidence in the success of one so worthy of the laurel. Alexander, in writing to the Fathers, had characterized Gordian, with the strictest truth, as :--"Virum nobilem, et magnanimum, disertum, justum, continentem, bonum." And he discharged the office of Pro-Consul in Africa, with such equity and benevolence, that he was extolled as a Cato, a Scipio, and a Lælius.

# GORDIANUS AFRICANUS, JUNIOR.

Marcus Antonius Gordianus Africanus, Junior, the son of Gordianus Africanus Senior, and Fabia Orestilla, was born A. D. 192. He was Quæstor under Elagabalus; Prætor and Consul under Alexander; and was sent into Africa A. D. 230, as his father's lieutenant, with whom he was saluted joint-emperor A. D. 238. He enjoyed the imperial honours scarcely more than five weeks, for he was defeated and killed in the battle fought with Capelianus, Intendant of Mauretania, being then in the 46th year of his age. His remains, with those of his father, were lost at sea, but their memory was consecrated by the Senate.

The younger Gordian was tall, and remarkably handsome, courageous, and liberal; and as generally beloved as his father. He was esteemed a man of integrity; and his love of learning and extensive knowledge may be inferred, from the legacy of 60,000 volumes left to him, by his tutor, Serenus Sammonicus. He possessed a brilliant genius, was a proficient in polite literature, an author both in prose and verse, and thoroughly acquainted with the Roman law. But he was a "bit" of a sensualist being an epicurean in his tastes, "curious" in his wines, finical in his dress, and passing much of his time in the voluptuous amenity of baths, groves, and gardens. He kept twenty-two concubines, by each of whom he had children, whence he was nick-named the *Priamus*, and a name still more satirical, of his age. His intimacy with Elagabalus would have injured his reputation, but that it was counterbalanced by the regard and friendship of Alexander. Ælius Cardus asserts that

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Gordianus was never married, and consequently had no lawful issue ; but Dexippus declares he had a wife, and that his son afterwards became emperor. See Gordianus Pius.

# CCCCXXIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS AFR. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, Africanus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Gordianus Juvenis, with short hair and beard—the forehead being more bald, and the face fuller than on the coins of the father. A paludamentum is buckled over armour on the left shoulder. This fine and valuable medal in the highest preservation, though but slightly patinated with deep-green ærugo, was one of the hoard found at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. VIRTVS AVGG. (Virtus Augustorum.) In the field S. C. A military figure, galeated, stands with a spear in one hand, and rests his other on a shield upon the ground. This compliment to the moral courage of the Prince, is a personification of Valour or Fortitude, alluding to exertion in the public cause, which was the supposed fountain of good conduct : "Virtuti omnia parent." But this Virtue is more commonly found under a female form, whence some have considered the figure to represent Bellona, a goddess created to share the fatigues of Mars, but whether as wife, sister, or companion, is not told.\* The galeated Amazon is distinguished from Minerva by holding a parazonium; and from Roma, by not bearing an idol of Victory; and excepting the right breast, and the left foot, which rests on a helmet, her limbs are covered with drapery:--

### CCCCXXIV.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS AFR. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, Africanus, Augustus.) The laureated head of the younger Gordian, with handsome middle-aged features, and characteristics as before. This medal, in high condition, and thinly encrusted with an apple-green patina, was taken from one of the amphoræ found at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.

Reverse. PROVIDENTIA AVGG. (Providentia Augustorum.) In the field S. C. A female figure in the robes of a Roman matron, and adorned with a diadem, leans gracefully against a column,

<sup>\*</sup> Fenelon draws a portrait of Mars and Bellona :--- "Bellone et Mars avec les Furies infernales vêtues de robes toutes dégoutantes de sang, repaissoient leurs yeux cruels de ce spectacle, et renouvelloient sans cesse la rage dans les cœurs. Ces Divinités enormies des hommes, repoussoient loin des deux partis la pitié généreuse, la valeur modérée, la douce humanité: ce n'étoit plus dans ces amas confus d'hommes acharnés les uns sur les autres, que massacre, vengeance, désespoir et fureur brutale. La sage et invincible Pallas elle-même l'ayant vu, frémit, et recula d'horceur."

the emblem of stability, on which she supports a cornucopiæ, and with her right hand holds a sceptre over a globe, as a symbol of universal command. This is not the divine Providentia described under No. CCCXI, but *Prudentia*,\* or Fore-thought, a quality which stands in the front of Cicero's catalogue of virtues, though Petronius merely terms it the sister of Poverty: and it is remarkable that none of the Latin poets mention Providentia, though they supposed her to preside over the universe, and were inclined to allow her a special influence even "in the fall of a sparrow;" as if confounded with their notions of Fate. On the coins of Constantine, and others of that age, the common reverse—a tower inscribed *Providentia Augusti*—indicates a corn magazine built for the public.

#### CCCCXXV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS AFR. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, Africanus, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of the younger Gordian, with short hair and beard, full face, bold forehead, and intelligent aspect; the bust is bold, and covered with a sagum. This rare medal, thinly varnished with brown patina, and in the highest possible preservation, was one of the hoard described under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. ROMAE AETERNAE. On the exergum S. C. Roma Nicephora seated on a throne, with her left foot on a suppedaneum, holding a hasta pura in her left hand, and supporting a small winged victory on her right. By the side of the throne is a buckler. This device alludes to the eternity promised to Rome, by all the oracles of antiquity, and echoed by all the Latin poets—the Prince of whom represents Jupiter as comforting Venus with the prospect of the Eternal City's greatness:—

"His ego nec metas, rerum nec tempora pono; Imperium sine fine dedi. Quin aspera Juno, Quæ mare nunc terrasque metu cœlumque fatigat, Consilia in melius referet ; mecumque fovebit Romanos, rerum dominos, gentemque togatam."

#### CCCCXXVI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS AFR. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, Africanus, Augustus.) The laureated head of Gordianus juvenis, with short hair and beard, and other characteristics as on the above. This valuable medal is in the very best condition, and thinly coated with a chocolate-coloured patina; it was found at Malta, as described under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. ROMAE AETERNAE. On the exergum S. C. A galeated female, seated as Rome " the Victorious," with attributes as on the last, except that the left foot does not rest on a suppedaneum. The *Eternity* of the Empire, like that of all other earthly things, has passed :--

"There is the moral of all human tales;

'Tis but the same rehearsal of the past :

First freedom, and then glory-when that fails,

Wealth, vice, corruption-barbarism at last."

#### CCCCXXVII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS AFR. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antonius Gordianus Africanus, Augustus.) The head of the younger Gordian, with the laurel wreath, and characteristics as above. A medal tinged with light-brown patina, and in excellent condition, which was purchased from Mr. Young, in 1826.
- Reverse. VICTORIA AVGG. (Victoria Augustorum.) In the field S. C. Victoria gradiens, with a palm-branch "lentæ, Victoris præmia, Palmæ"in her left hand, and a garland of laurel in her light :— the lower folds of her drapery are gathered back by the wind, as if from the rapidity of her advance, as with Ovid's Daphne :—

### "Obviaque adversas vibrabant flamina vestes."

\* Prudentia is not represented upon medals till the time of Gallienus, when Aureolus, one of the "Tyrants," struck the aureus quoted by Count Mezza-barba from Oiselius—but no other coin of the kind is known. (249)

This device is equally premature with that which was given to Gordianus Senior, for if the father did not merit it, still less did the son, who lost the battle. Count Mezza-barba describes a denarius of these Princes, with—" Duo Milites hastati, et paludati, circumstantes Signa Militaria," inscribed GLORIAE EXERCITVS. There can be but little doubt that this is a modern fabrication;—nor does Gloria appear upon medals till the reign of Magnentius, upwards of 100 years after the time of the Gordians.

Raimondo Congia, of Oliena, in Sardinia, made the fate of this Prince, the subject of his best poem : but he has failed miserably in describing the field in which the fatal battle was lost, although all the war-deities of the Pantheon are drawn out in succession—like the shades in Banquo's line—to grace it. What a contrast to the immortal stanza which occupied the genius of Tasso for ten entire months ! After the usual parade of broken armour, weapons, and ghastly corses, follow these inimitable lines :—

> "Giace il cavallo al sno signore appresso : Giace il compagno appo il compagno estinto ; Giace il nemico appo il nemico ; e spesso Sul morto il vivo, il vincitor sul vinto. Non v' è silenzio, e non v' è grido espresso ; Ma odi un non so che roco, e indistinto. Fremiti di furor, mormori d'ira ; Gemiti di chi langue, e di chi spira."

# BALBINUS.

Decimus Cælius Balbinus, was born A. D. 178, of an illustrious family, his pedigree being derived from Cornelius Balbus Theophanes, a celebrated historian, and the friend of Pompey the Great. He had been twice Consul, and had governed with credit in Bithynia, Galatia, Pontus, and other provinces, when news of the disastrous fate of the Africani, and the approach of the odious Maximinus, filled Rome with consternation. In this exigence, the Senate having gone too far to recede, or hope for mercy, unanimously elected Balbinus and Pupienus Co-Emperors, and they were proclaimed A. D. 238. Though the new Augusti were men of unblemished reputation, the populace were tumultuous for a prince of the Gordian family to be added to the imperial dignity, as a return of gratitude to those who had sacrificed their lives for the public ; nor did their clamour cease, till young Gordian was brought forth, and saluted Cæsar.

The two Emperors, though invested with equal power, voluntarily divided their functions : Balbinus taking the direction of the civil and Pupienus assuming the charge of the military affairs, for which each was best qualified. Preparations were immediately made for taking the field against Maximinus, who, upon hearing of the election, quickened his march into Italy, breathing nothing but vengeance and destruction. Scarcely had the army left Rome, when a tumult between the guards and the populace ravaged the city, in which the temples were prophaned, private houses pillaged and burnt, much blood shed, and Balbinus himself dangerously wounded in the head : but young Gordian being produced in his purple robes, at once assuaged the fury of both parties. Pupienus, in the mean time, had advanced as far as Ravenna, where he received the head of his dreaded enemy, which he forthwith dispatched to Rome, with the usual formalities. No sooner were the laurelled spears and letters perceived, than the greatest joy prevailed; the people testified their transports by all sorts of rejoicings, and Balbinus, who used to tremble at the very name of Maximinus, offered the unusual sacrifice of a whole hecatomb to the gods, for so happy a delivery from the savage Thracian. Peace being thus unexpectedly established, the two Emperors governed with such prudence and moderation, that a golden age succeeded the iron one, and the Senate and People loudly boasted the superior wisdom of their choice, over that usually made by the Army. This taunt, together with the bitter invectives daily uttered against Maximinus, whom the soldiers had raised to the Empire, deeply irritated the licentious Prætorians, who scowled with an evil eye upon sovereigns in whose election they had no share, and considered the general acclamations as so many sarcasms on their own conduct. They therefore seized an opportunity, during the absence of the guards and domestics at the Capitoline games, of rushing into the palace, and securing the two Emperors. On dragging their prisoners forth, they ignominiously stripped them, tore their purple robes to shreds, and then hurried them towards the camp; but hearing that the German followers of Pupienus were advancing to rescue the princes, they instantly killed them both, and left their mangled bodies in the street. This inhuman deed would have been attended with dreadful consequences, if the murderers had not appeased the incensed populace, by declaring it was done with no other view than to secure the empire to young Gordian.

So calamitous a termination of a happy reign, was the more to be lamented, inasmuch as it proved that with all their great qualities, the two Princes were not free from petty jealousy—the one priding himself on birth and fortune, and the other on talent and resolution—sed discordiæ tacitæ, et quæ intelligerentur potius, quàm viderentur." When Pupienus heard of the arrival of the Prætorians, he proposed calling in his faithful German soldiers, but was opposed by Balbinus, who fatally suspected the whole to be a scheme of his colleague to overpower him, and obtain the supreme power. This unhappy delusion prevented their uniting in any vigorous measure of defence, and occasioned a warm dispute, during which the mutineers gained time to break into the palace, and accomplish the destruction of two sovereigns, who deserved a better fate.

Balbinus was murdered in the 60th year of his age, after a reign of about three months, and he was deeply regretted. Possessed of immense wealth he had lived

with corresponding splendour and his portly person afforded evidence that he was addicted to pleasure: "*Epicuri de grege porcum*." But at the same time he was universally beloved on account of his integrity, humanity, and affability. He was esteemed an excellent orator, a good poet, a ready *improvisatore*, an upright magistrate, an able politician, and a pious man. And his clemency was the more valuable when he had attained the sovereign power, because it moderated the rigour of his colleague.

The medals of this Emperor, whether Latin, Greek, or Egyptian, are all rare and of a high price—the denarii and sestertii being the most common: nor are any Colonial nor small-brass known. Though the arts were now on the decline, the moneyers still possessed the power of executing accurate likenesses, for a comparison of the heads of Balbinus and Pupienus, throughout all the metals and sizes, affords internal evidence of the fidelity of their resemblance.

## CCCCXXVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. D. CAEL. BALBINVS AVG. (Imperator Casar Decimus Calius Balbinus, Augustus.) The laureated head of Balbinus, with close hair and beard, very full face, intelligent features, and a large throat; the bust is broad and in atmour. This medal is in secondary condition, and somewhat rubbed; it is tinged with a brownish-red patina; and was purchased at Genoa, in 1818.
- Reverse. FIDES PVBLIC. (Fides Publica.) In the field S. C. Two right hands joined, the symbol of faith and loyalty, as Virgil's "accipe daque fidem" expresses; and the caduceus, held by them is a type of the peace and prosperity arising from such confidence. See Nos. CXII. CCCLV. Besides this device, denarii of Balbinus were inscribed with Amor mutuus, Caritae mutua, Concordia Augg. Fides mutua, Patres Senatus, and Pietas Mutua, all denoting the happy agreement between the two Emperors, by the well-known emblem of the joined right hands. Statius says:—

"Jam pariter coëant animorum in pignora Dextra."

## CCCCXXIX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. D. CAEL. BALBINVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Decimus Cælius Balbinus, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of the Emperor, with a face still more full than on the above, and a "regular-built" double-chin: but the countenance is interesting from its expressive eye, and handsome nose and forchead. This fine medal is in the best preservation, the metal being barely discoloured; it was one of the hoard found at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. CONCORDIA AVGG. (Concordia Augustorum.) On the exerguin S. C. A sedent robed female, with a double cornucopiæ and a patera, as on No. CCCCVI.; a device also struck in token of the mutual love which subsisted between the two Emperors. This harmony was well maintained in respect to every thing that tended to the welfare of the state, and the benefit of the public; for their jealousies of each other were so carefully concealed as to be only suspected.

## CCCCXXX.

- Obcerse. IMP. CAES. D. CAEL. BALBINVS AVG. (Imperator Casar Decimus Calius Balbinus, Augustus.) A laureated profile of Balbinus, with characteristics as before-mentioned. This rare medal, which I purchased in 1817, from an Arab at Beni-Welid, an inland town of Tripoli, is in capital condition, and covered with an olive-green patina.
- Reverse. LIBERALITAS AVGVSTORVM. On the exergum S. C. Three togated figures on curule chairs upon a suggestum, inspecting a donation to the citizens; they are assisted

by a military officer, and before them is a statue of Liberality with a frumentarian tablet, and a cornucopiæ. This represents the congiary which was given when the army marched against Maximinus, an act to conciliate the people, known only by the medals of this reign. The *sitters* are Balbinus, Pupienus, and young Gordian, who, from the centre one being the smallest, was probably placed in the seat of honour, in order to court popularity; and on a coin of Pupienus, the youth appears with a radiated head, though only a Cæsar.

#### CCCCXXXI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. D. CAEL. BALBINVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Decimus Cælius Balbinus, Augustus.) The laureated head of Balbinus, with a full yet expressive face, short hair and beard, thick neck, and the bust covered with a sagum over a cuirass. This medal, in excellent condition, and varnished with brown patina, was purchased on the 28th day of Mr. M. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. VICTORIA AVGG. (Victoria Augustorum.) In the field S. C. A standing figure of Victory, with a diadem and long robes, holding a laurel-wreath in her right hand, and in the left a palm-branch-whence the "Palmaris Dea" of Apuleius. This was struck on the fall of Maximinus; for though Balbinus had not quitted Rome, the Senate eulogized him on the success of his colleague's army-a compliment, however, which did not prevent him from feeling somewhat ruffled, at the profuse honours which the Fathers, in the fulness of their joy, conferred upon Pupienus:-

"Invidia Siculi non invenire tyranni

Majus tormentum."

#### CCCCXXXII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. D. CAEL. BALBINVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Decimus Cælius Balbinus, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of the Emperor, with full cheeks, double chin, broad throat, and expression as above. This fine medal, cased in black patina and in remarkable preservation, was procured at Orbitello, in 1823.
- Reverse. P. M.TR. P. COS. II. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consul iterum, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C. The Emperor, attired as a Senator, displays an olive-branch with his right hand, and grasps a truncheon in his left—a device probably struck when the death of Maximinus promised a stable peace. It had been usual when there were two emperors, that the elder alone should be styled Pontifex Maximus, but Balbinus and Pupienus

wisely bloke through this custom, and each assumed that title.

The extraordinary merit of these Augusti acquired them the honourable epithet of *Patres* Senatus—a title which had been procured by Vipsanius for Claudius, but that emperor declined it. Afterwards the Senate, dreading the vengeance of Commodus, on the failure of Lucilla's conspiracy, styled him *Pater Senatus*, through fear—and a large-brass medal attests the fact. But it was not a popular designation till it was assumed by Balbinus and Pupienus, men of whom the historian says—" Omnesque omnia bona dicerent, lætareturque Populus, et gloriaretur Patritiis, Imperioque dignis Principibus."

# PUPIENUS.

Marcus Clodius Pupienus Maximus\*, the son of Maximus, a mechanic, and Prima, a woman of low birth, was born A.D. 164. But though his parentage was

<sup>\*</sup> Capitolinus is absolutely "taken aback" by this Prince's being called Pupienus by the Latin, and Maximus by the Greek historians; and after considerable hesitation, arrives at the conclusion to which a reference to the Greek medals would immediately have brought him : "nisi forte iden est Pupienus, qui et Maximus; quod ideo testatum posui, ne quis me hoc nescisse crederet, quod revera magnum stuporem, ac miracutum creat." Had Pupienus been the name used by our English historians, the memory would have been spared the perplexity arising from Maximus's having to encounter Maximinus and Maximus.

mean, his personal merit was extraordinary; for, entering the army, without a friend to assist him, he successively became a Centurion, Tribune, Præfect of a legion, Senator, Governor of a province, and Prætor of Rome. He rose to the Consulship A. D. 227, and on the fall of the Gordians, was elevated to the Purple, with Balbinus, A. D. 238. He was immediately charged with the conduct of the war against Maximinus, and appears to have taken every precaution which experience could suggest. Care was taken to remove all the provisions into the adjacent walled towns, and the country was laid waste along the expected line of his march, that the tyrant and his forces might be distressed by famine. The consequence was the assassination of Maximinus, and his son, before Aquileia,-and so great was the joy of the Romans at this happy result, that while Pupienus still remained in that city, the Senate sent a deputation to him, consisting of twenty of their body, who had all been Consuls, Prætors, or Quæstors,-and among other high honours, decreed him an equestrian statue of pure gold. Soon after his return to Rome, he shared the deplorable fate of his colleague, and was barbarously murdered by the Prætorians in the 74th year of his age; after a reign of little more than three months.\*

Pupienus was of so grave an aspect and deportment, that he was called *Tristis*: but though feared for his strictness, he was easily entreated. As a man, he was virtuous and temperate; as a soldier, prudent, and brave; as a statesman he was diligent, firm, and "straight-forward;" and as a sovereign, just, moderate, and wise. His disposition to severity, never amounting to inhumanity, was tempered by the affability of Balbinus; and the excellent qualities of the two Emperors fully justified the choice of the Senate. Their mutual confidence and agreement were of vital service to the Commonwealth; and their vigorous efforts to induce integrity into the different branches of the administration, promised to secure an equitable government to the Roman world. Pupienus, however, had his misgivings: "What reward," demanded he, "may we expect for delivering Rome from such a monster?" To which Balbinus replied—" The love of the Senate, of the people, and of all mankind." "Alas !" rejoined his more deeply-thinking colleague, "Alas ! I dread the hatred of the soldiers, and the fatal effects of their resentment."

The medals of this Emperor, though of similar types with those of Balbinus, are thought to be rather more rare. Besides the Latin mintage, there are Greek-Imperial and Egyptian coins—but no Colonial ones, nor small-brass.<sup>+</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> This duration is not given without due inquiry. Historians usually assign these good Emperors a reign of fourteen or fifteen months; but it is impossible to read the able and erudite descant of Eckhel—" De annis et trib. potestate Maximini, ut et de terminis imperii Gordianorum, Balbini, et Pupieni,"—without adopting his conclusions.

<sup>†</sup> A coin has been fabricated, and even admitted into cabinets, which purports to have been struck in honour of Quintia Crispilla, the wife of Pupienus. That described by Menestrier represents a bandsome female head with the hair gracefully

# CCCCXXXIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. CLOD. PVPIENVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Clodius Pupienus, Augustus.) A laurelled head of the Emperor, with aged but good features, a long beard carefully trimmed, and a bold forehead; the whole expression bearing out the description—" Domi, forisque sempcr severus, ità ut et Tristis cognomen acceperit, vultu gravissimus, et verecundus, staturâ procerâ, &c." This medal in the highest preservation, and only stained over a part of its surface by a green patina, was one of the hoard found at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. CONCORDIA AVGG. (Concordia Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. A sedent female, magnificently attired, with a double cornucopiæ and a patera, as on No. CCCCXXIX, and struck with the same object, that of testifying the unanimity of the two Emperors: "Ambo unà, et quidem benè imperarunt."

#### CCCCXXXIV.

- Obverse, IMP. CAES. M. CLOD. PVPIENVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Clodius Pupienus, Augustus.) The laureated head of Pupienus, with the same character as before, and the bust covered with a sagum over armour. This medal, cased with dark-brown patina and in very fine condition, was purchased at Mr. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. LIBERALITAS AVGVSTORVM. On the exergum S. C. The two Emperors, and the Cæsar, seated on curule chairs, upon a suggestum, superintending a donative. On the right side stands a Prætorian, and on the left the figure of Liberality, with a cornucopiæ, and the tessera, or ticket, on which was stamped the amount of money, or corn, that constituted the donation. On the steps is a citizen holding up the folds of his robe. This liberality, unneticed by historians, is probably that described under No. CCCCXXX.

#### CCCCXXXV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. CLOD. PVPIENVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Clodius Pupienus, Augustus.) A laurelled profile of Pupienus, with a grave aspect; in other respects as above. This medal, in high condition and slightly patinated, was one of those found at Malta, as described under No. CCCXCV.

# CCCCXXXVI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. CLOD. PVPIENVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Clodius Pupienus, Augustus.) The head of Pupienus, with a laurel-wreath over very short hair, and his beard dressed with singular care in small curls. The countenance is expressive of seriousness—" gravitate, ac severitate venerabilis." This fine medal is in surprising preservation, and curiously patinated—the obverse being green and the reverse reddish-brown; it was purchased at Mr. Henderson's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. VICTORIA AVGG. (Victoria Augustorum.) In the field S. C. Victoria alata stands with a palm-branch in her left hand, and holds out a laurel crown with her right. This was struck on the delivery of Rome, from the horrible threats of Maximinus. The express who brought the joyful tidings of the monster's death, arrived in only four days from Aquilea, having

dressed, but in the style of a better age, and it is inseribed QVINT. CRISPILLA CLAVD. PVP. MAX. On the reverse is a temple of four columns, with VEN. CAL. (Veneri Catvæ) across the pediment, and under it the letters Q. V. P. R. S. E. (Quod votum pro Republica solutum est.) In front of the temple sits a female with a bald head, in commemoration of the women of Aquileia, who cut off their hair for the use of the soldiers, when that place was besieged by Maximinus.

# (255)

travelled with unparalleled rapidity. The most extravagant exultation prevailed among all ranks of people : and when Pupienus returned, Balbinus, Gordian, the Senate, and the whole city, went out to meet and conduct him in triumph to the palace.

#### CCCCXXXVII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. CLOD. PVPIENVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Clodius Pupienus, Augustus.) A laureated profile of the Emperor, with the character as before. This medal is in the highest possible preservation, the metal being barely discoloured, having been, as it were, hermetically sealed in one of the amphoræ described under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. PAX PVBLICA. On the exergum S. C. As Maximinus, against whom Pupienus marched with his army, was declared by the Senate a public enemy to the Roman State, the peace that ensued upon his death, might very properly be styled a public one. The device is a female richly attired, and seated upon a throne, with a sceptre in one hand, and an olivebranch in the other—corresponding to the description of Silius Italicus—

#### - " Pignora Pacis

#### Prætendens dextrå ramum canentis olivæ."

Pax often bears a cornucopiæ to shew that plenty is ensured by peace; and sometimes her vest is gathered up like an apron, as if also full of fruits, to which Tibullus alludes. On a Colonial second-brass coin of Agrippina Junior, she is represented with a fillet of wheat-ears, and the inscription EIPHNH, implying that Peace secures Agriculture.

#### CCCCXXXVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. CLOD. PVPIENVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Clodius Pupienus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Pupienus, with grave features, close hair, and a long beard as before; but with the forehead more wrinkled. This medal is in the finest condition, and barely discoloured, being one of those found at Malta. See CCCXCV.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. COS. H. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate, Consuliterum, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C. The Emperor having laid aside his sword, is here habited in a toga, and stands with a truncheon in his left hand, and a branch of olive in his right. This device was struck on the re-establishment of order, after the death of Maximinus. A. D. 238. See No. CCCCXXXI.

The toga was a robe without sleeves, worn by the Romans, in times of peace—" cedant arma tog æ." It was brought over the left shoulder, in order to leave the right arm at liberty, as the Moors in Barbary use their baracans; while the other part was just passed over the right shoulder, and was easily drawn back, upon occasion, to cover the head—which was usually kept bare in the city, and only guarded against intense sun, rain, or cold. In the early ages of Rome, common people were only permitted to wear the tunic, and not the toga; but the latter was afterwards the usual dress of all ranks, whence the "gentemque togatam" of Virgil. This oblong wrapper was called domestica, forensis, militaris, or triumphalis, according to the occasion on which is was worn; Punica, Melibœa, Spartana, Sarrana, Sidonia, Phænicia, or Assyria, from the place where it was manufactured; and aperta, picta, vitrea, aurata, pexa, pura, virilis, pulla, prætexta, purpurea, or palmata, from its texture and colour. Those who aspired to magistracy appeared in the Comitia, in a toga newly blauched for the occasion; from the extreme whiteness of which, they were termed "Candidali." The Jus Togæ was the same with the privilege of citizenship, or, as it was also explained, the right of fire and water thronghout the Roman Empire.

## CCCCXXXIX.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. CLOD. PVPIENVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Clodius Pupienus, Augustus.) A laurelled profile of the Emperor, with the appearance of age and gravity, as before, the beard elaborately trimmed and the shoulders covered with a sagum. This medal, in excellent condition and coated with yellowish-brown patina, was purchased at Catania, in Sicily, in 1814. Reverse. VOTIS DECENNALIBVS. S. C. (Votis Decennalibus, Senatus Consultu.) This is an inscription, a term restricted, by medallists, to those epigraphs which fill the field to the exclusion of figures. It is surrounded by a civic garland, and testifies a promise to perform the decennial games, when the Emperor should have reigned ten years. See No. CCXLVI. This vow must have been made as a token of regard, for at the age of 74—when no fair usurer would have allowed an "expectation" of more than seven years there could be but a chance of Pupienus's wearing the august leaves on his brow to that period. And that the Senate understood how to compliment a good Emperor, is proved by a medallion of Antoninus Pius, inscribed—"S. P. Q. R. A. N. F. F. OPTIMO PRINCIPI PIO." (Senatus Populus Que Romanus, Annum novum, faustum felicem, Optimo Principi Pio.)

# **GORDIANUS PIUS.\***

Marcus Antonius Gordianus, surnamed Pius, was born A.D. 222, being, according to Dexippus, the son of Gordianus Africanus Juvenis; but other accounts insist that his parents were Junius Balbus, and Mæcia Faustina, the daughter of Gordianus Senex: at all events he was the grandson of the latter. The election of Balbinus and Pupienus, after the death of the Gordians, A. D. 238, was met by considerable opposition from the populace; which was only appeased by arraying the youthful Gordian in purple, and proclaiming him Cæsar. When the soldiers had murdered the two Emperors, in the same year they proclaimed the Prince as the sole sovereign; to which the Senate consented with a good grace, as it appeared to conciliate jarring interests, and they had in reality no power of resistance. Being only 16 years old, when thus exalted to a dignity which equally required years and experience, he fell into the hands of licentious courtiers, who abused his confidence for a time ; but he was happily rescued from this misfortune, by the councils of the sage Misitheus, whose daughter he married A. D. 241. In the following year he took the field against Sapor, king of Persia, who had over-run the Roman dominions in the East ; and after gaining many laurels, he perished A. D. 244, by the insidious intrigues of Philip, whom he had appointed Præfect of the Prætorian bands.

The murder of Gordian took place on the borders of Persia, near a town called Zantha; but it is uncertain—from the conflicting statements of the younger Victor, Eutropius, and Festus—whether his body was conveyed to Rome, or buried on the spot. We are told, however, that the nine soldiers who imbrued their hands in the blood of this worthy Prince, were either killed, or dispatched themselves, with the very swords which they had employed against him. After the delusion of the army had subsided, they erected a stately tomb to his memory, on which—we must

<sup>\*</sup> It is usual to style this Prince, Gordianus III., but I prefer the agnomen, as more consonant with the Roman practice; and because the elder Gordians reigned jointly. It is also common to call him Antoninus, which is clearly an error.

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suppose after the death of Philip-was engraven the following inscription, in the Greek, Latin, Persian, Hebrew, and Egyptian tongues :---

DIVO<sup>\*</sup> GORDIANO VICTORI PERSARVM. VICTORI GOTHORVM. VICTORI SARMATARVM. DEPVLSORI ROMANARVM SEDITIONVM. VICTORI GERMANORVM. SED NON VICTORI PHILIPPORVM.<sup>†</sup>

Gordian was a youth of comely person and an agreeable disposition, addicted to study, and possessed of every quality that could form an excellent monarch, and render him an object of love and veneration to his subjects. After his marriage with Tranquilling, and the dismissal of those who took advantage of his inexperience, his conduct excited universal esteem; and the Senate, the People, and the Army, united in hailing him as their son and favorite. "Wretched is the Prince," said he, "from whom TRUTH is concealed; who, ignorant of what passes abroad, is compelled to act upon the insinuations of others." But he unfortunately lived in a corrupted age, when the soldiery had gained so great an ascendency, that there was no security for either good or bad sovereigns; and his unsuspecting temper was fatally imposed upon. The choice of his father-in-law for Prætorian Præfect was as judicious, as, after the sudden death of that able counsellor, the appointment of the unprincipled Philip to the post, was unfortunate. Misitheus, who was at once brave and sagacious, had carefully watched over the safety of the expedition, and maintained regular magazines of provisions and necessaries; but the art of Philip was exerted to foment discontent among the soldiers, by impeding the supplies, and imputing the want of them to the incapacity of Gordian for his weighty charge: "Frumentariæ naves ejus operå, interceptæ sunt, exercitusque esuriæ cúm laboraret, ad loca difficiliora traductus, ad quæ, per Euphratem, commeatus advehi non posset," saith that energetic antiquary, Pomponius Lætus Infortunatus. The traitor was successful. A suborned party insisted upon the admission of Philip as joint-emperor; and the virtuous Prince, unwilling to shed Roman blood by bringing the matter to open issue, in an evil moment yielded his assent. But the ambition of the crafty Arab was not yet glutted: no sooner did he find himself armed with power, and supported by a faction, than he ungratefully determined to supplant his too-indulgent benefactor,

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<sup>\*</sup> Gordianus was not only deified by the Senate, but his family were for ever exempted by an extraordinary privilege from undertaking, except by their own choice, guardianships, embassies, or any other public office whatever. There was a time when some of the members of our own Parliament, instead of ruining themselves and debasing their constituents, in order to secure their election, would have enjoyed such an immunity—as may be inferred from the fine they were liable to, in cases of non-compliance with the duties imposed.

<sup>† &</sup>quot;Five languages," saith Sir Thomas Browne, "secured not the epitaph of Gordianus; the man of God lives longer without a tomb, than any by one." Licinius, who pretended to derive his pedigree from Philip, erased the inscription, but the monument was still to be seen, A.D. 363. The pun supposed to exist in the *Philipporum*, is probably a more "ben trovato."

and, by overbearing and insulting acts, produced the rupture which terminated in the deplorable murder of one, to whom long life only was wanting, to place his name beside those of the best emperors with whom Rome was ever blest.\*

There are Latin medals of Gordianus Pius, in the three metals, and of all the sizes, except small-brass; and also Colonial, Greek, and Egyptian. The most common are the silver, and large and middle-brass, which are so numerous as to be valued only in proportion to the rarity of their reverses—the trite types being only admitted into good cabinets, when in that state of perfection which is technically termed "flower." An extraordinary number of these are personifications of moral Virtues, who, in truth, are generally of more respectable character than the higher Deities.<sup>†</sup> A larger and heavier silver coin began now to be used, with a reverse generally inscribed Æquitas, or Moneta. See No. CCCCXCIII.

# CCCCXL.

- Obverse. M. ANT. GORDIANVS CAES. (Marcus Antonius Gordianus, Cæsar.) The naked head of Gordian, with short hair, and an engaging expression of features, answering to the "juvenis lætus, pulcher, amabilis," of the historian. Yet the conntenance is so boyish, that a controversy has arisen, whether it may not represent a fourth Gordian; but I am persuaded that the Augg. on the reverse can only apply to the Cæsar who was admitted to govern with Balbinus and Pupienus. This medal, in perfect condition, and tinted with an apple-green patina, was one of those found at Malta, as described under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. PIETAS AVGG. (Pietas Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. The præfericulum, lituus, and other implements used—"in re divinå." As it was customary to place the pontifical instruments upon the coins of a prince, when he was declared Cæsar, the opinion of Mr. Neave, that they denote Gordian's appointment to the dignity of Pontifex—on which history is silent—is untenable. The accounts of the age of this Prince, at the time he was elevated to the rank of Cæsar, vary from that of eleven to sixteen years; but Junius Cordus seems positive in stating that he was killed in his 22nd year. See No. CCXXXVII.

### CCCCXLI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. M. ANT. GORDIANVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Marcus Antonius Gordianus, Augustus.) The laureated head of Gordian as Emperor, with a somewhat older cast of countenance than on the former medal, though probably struck A. D. 238. It is in beautiful preservation, and tinged with reddish-green patina, having been one of the Maltese hoard. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. ABVNDANTIA AVG. (Abundantia Augusti.) In the field S. C. A standing female, habited in the stola and wearing a diadem, is emptying the Amalthæan horn, from which a shower of money descends. Abundantia was a profuse giver of all things, at all times;

<sup>\*</sup> Capitolinus relates some entreaties made by Gordian, in the crisis of his fate, which, however human, are not heroic: but as they are not in unison with his acknowledged courage, and are unnoticed by other writers, they are entitled to no credit, and therefore canuot scathe the young Emperor's character.

 $<sup>\</sup>uparrow$  A Clementia is enumerated in the Æ class of Occo's Gordian; but of the dozens of Virtues of his reign, which have passed through my hands, I have never met with one. Clemency, an appropriate reverse for Nerva, Vespasian, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, and even Albinus—was wretchedly misapplied as a device for Tiberius, and Vitellius. She is generally represented as a stolated female, with a hasta pura and a patera, or an olive-branch. Statius mentions ber humble altar, and unassuming rites at Athens; at Rome, however, it is probable that she was not greatly respected in the earlier ages. Another large-brass of Gordian has been mentioned to me, inscribed *Patientia*, but I never saw or read of one, in corroboration—nor indeed do I know of any medal bearing a representation of that Virtue, except the denarius of Hadrian, which has a sedent matron.

but Copia seems to have been applied to provisions, and Annona was restricted to the manageinent of the supply for the current year. See No. LXXXVI. About the time of Decius, the moneyers introduced Ubertas to denote fruitfulness and plenty, under the device of a matron with a purse and a full horn: the name is derived "da Ubera, cioè mammella," says the Archbishop of Tarragona. The Abundantia of Trajan, sits on a throne composed of two cornucopiæ placed saltier-wise; but the one here described best illustrates Horace :--

# 

Italiæ pleno diffudit copia cornu."

## CCCCXLII.

- Obverse. IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG. (Imperator Gordianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laureated head of the Emperor, with characteristics as on the last; but the aspect is rather of a graver cast. This medal is coated with a fine green patina, spotted with red on the obverse, and is in surprising preservation; it was one of the Maltese hoard. See CCCXCV.
- Reverse. IOVI STATORI. In the field S. C. A bold and naked figure of Jupiter, standing with a fulmen in his left hand, and a lance in his right. Stator was a title given to this Deity, by Romulus, in memory of the happy moment when the Romans, recovering from a panic, stopped, and again made head against the Sabines. Cicero invokes him thus :--- "O Jupiter Stator ! Quem vero majores nostri statorem imperii nuncupárunt." This was probably struck on Gordian's advancing upon Thrace, after having received a check from the Alani, A. D. 242; though some of the numismatic elders think it may relate to the earthquakes, which happened in the beginning of his reign, on the globe's becoming "fixed and immoveable again !"

## CCCCXLIII.

- Obverse. IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG. (Imperator Gordianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Gordian, with a serious though pleasing expression of countenance; the shoulders are covered with a pallium over armour. This rare medal is in sound but secondary condition, and partially covered with a poplar-green patina; it was purchased from Sig. Benucci, the artist, at Malta, in 1818.
- Reverse. LIBERALITAS AVGVSTI IIII. (Liberalitas Augusti Quarta.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor seated on a curule chair, upon a suggestum, is assisted by a Senator and a Prætorian, in the distribution of a congiary to the people;—before him stands Liberality with her usual attributes, and, on the steps, a citizen. There are four donations recorded upon the medals of Gordian, but as they are not mentioned in history, it is difficult to determine their dates. Eckhel thinks one of them must commemorate that at which he presided as an associate of Balbinus and Pupienus. This seems likely enough; and as we are to infer that a largess was given to the populace, during the shews exhibited on his accession, it may be noted as the second. The third, perhaps, was distributed upon the suppression of the dangerous sedition of Sabinianus, in Africa, A. D. 240; and the fourth, or the one under consideration, we see, by the titles, must have taken place after the second year of his reign. Mionnet even mentions a fifth, but as he does not give the legend of the obverse, I can say nothing more about it.

### CCCCXLIV.

- Obverse. IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG. (Imperator Gordianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of the Emperor, with characteristics as before-mentioned. This medal has been slightly injured on the obverse, in ancient times, since the bruises are covered with the olive-green patina which varnishes the rest of the field; but the reverse is in splendid preservation; it was procured near Pisa, in 1823.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate tertium, Consul, Pater Patrice.) On the exergum S. C. The Emperor upon a light prancing horse, with his right hand elevated, and a sceptre in his left,—he is bare-headed, and the pallium floats gracefully behind him. As this is a device typifying the return of peace, and was stamped A. D. 240, it may allude to the quelling of the insurrection in Africa, an event which was followed by an act of Gordian's clemency, in his granting a pardon to the rebels.

# CCCCXLV.

- Obverse. IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG. (Imperator Gordianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of Gordian, with a more animated expression than usual; the hair is closely cut, the chin smooth, and the shoulders covered with a sagum. This medal is in the highest preservation, and its metal scarcely discoloured; it was one of the treasure mentioned under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. III. COS. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate tertium, Consul, Pater Patriæ). On the exergum S. C. The Emperor, in consular vestments, is seated on a handsome curule chair, with a truncheon in his left hand, and a globe supported on his right. This is one of a great number of medals, struck A. D. 240, to testify the popularity of Gordian:—"Omnes Milites eum Filium appellasse, ab omni Senatu Filium dictum, omnem Populum delicias suas Gordianum dixisse." Yet not a few of his adherents prognosticated the shortness of his reign, from the unfortunate presage under which he took possession of his dignity; for on that very day there was so total an eclipse of the sun, that people could not find their way, even at noon, without lighted torches.\*

The "Orbis Terrarum" was proper enough in the hands of a Roman Emperor, as significant of his command of the universe; but it is now strangely misapplied, as an attribute of sovereigns, whose dominions are not larger than what was once a diminutive Roman province. In the days of Petronius, it might well be said :--

"Orbem jam totum victor Romanus habebat,

Quâ mare, quâ tellus, quâ sidus currit utrumque."

#### CCCCXLVI.

- Obverse. 1MP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG. (Imperator Gordianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of the Emperor, with intelligent features, short hair, and slight mustachios,—indicating, on the whole, an age of about 20 years. This medal is in the highest conservation, and barely discoloured on the obverse, having been found in one of the amphoræ at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. MARTEM PROPVGNATOREM. In the field S. C. The Emperor, galeated and armed with a spear and shield, in the character of Mars Gradiens. This medal is singular from its having the legend in the accusative case, as has been noticed by Rubenius. It was probably struck A. D. 241, when Gordian commenced his preparations against the powerful King of Persia, on which occasion he threw open the temple of Janus, a custom which had long been omitted, and perhaps was never afterwards resumed. Mars was the reputed founder of Rome, as well as the patron and protector of the Roman armies; and was so early an object of worship on the Seven Hills, that he was adored under the form of a Spear, before the art of statuary was known. The Equiria, or games celebrated with horse and carriage races, were instituted in his honour; whence Ovid—
  - "Jamque duæ restant noctes de mense secundo,

MARSque citos junctis curribus urget equos.

Ex vero positum permansit EQUIRIA nomen ;

Quæ Deus in Campo prospicit ipse suo."

But Juvenal sneers at this God's popular designation of Ultor; in which he was so highly honoured, that the Romans deposited their treasures in his temple, till it was robbed, and even his own helmet carried off—

"Great MARS THE AVENGER slumber'd, to his cost, And, with his helmet, all his credit lost !"

<sup>\*</sup> This phenomenon presents a chronological difficulty, which may perhaps be the subject of a future investigation. It appears from Struyk's Catalogue, that a total eclipse of the sun occurred on the 12th of April, A. D. 237; and another in which  $S\frac{3}{2}$  digits of the solar disc were obscured, on the 1st of April, 238. But the middle of the latter being at 20 h. 20 m. proves, as well as the slight loss of light, that the first is the one meant by historians :—yet in reckoning the year of Gordian's inauguration, the reader must recollect that some chronologists date the Christian æra from the commencement, and others from the termination of the year of our Saviour.

#### CCCCXLVII.

- Obverse. IMP. GORDIANVS PIVS FEL. AVG. (Imperator Gordianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of Gordian, with an intelligent and pleasing aspect, and a pallium fibulated over his right shoulder. This medal is in the highest possible preservation, and thinly tinted with brown patina; it was one of those found at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. AETERNITATI AVG. (Æternitati Augusti). In the field S. C. A noble figure of Apollo, standing with an air of command, his right hand elevated, and supporting a globe on his left; he wears an acuminate crown, but, except the chlamys over his shoulder, is naked. The device of the Sun, is a compliment which was paid to those Emperors who achieved conquests in the East, and the present one recognizes the repeated victories over Sapor, which are also recorded by various other medals. The ingenuous youth ascribed his success to the wisdom of his adviser,—"it is therefore," he wrote, addressing the Fathers, "incumbent upon you to appoint public processions, to recommend us to the Gods, and to return thanks to Misitheus." The delighted Senate thereupon decreed the Prince a triumph, in which he was to be drawn by two elephants; and they ordered to Misitheus, a triumphal horse-chariot, and the title of "Guardian of the Commonwealth." These honours, however, did not take place; the wily Philip assumed the Purple : and Pedrusi, alluding to the legend of this coin, says—" Onde presto terminò l'Eternità al diletto Monarca dal Senato augurata."

Gordianus was honoured with a consecration, but, perhaps from political causes, no medals record the fact, except a suspected one in the Vienna-Collection.\* It is probable that he left no children; for the fanciful story, which Victor relates, of the birth of the valiant Claudius Gothicus, is not entitled to credit.

## TRANQUILLINA.

Furia † Sabinia Tranquillina, the daughter of Misitheus, the Prætorian Præfect, was married to Gordianus Pius, A. D. 241, being then, from medallic inference, under 20 years of age. She was immediately honoured with the title of Augusta; but the felicity of her wedded life was of short continuance, for her husband took the field against the Persians, A. D. 242, and she never afterwards saw him. Of her subsequent fate, or whether she bore issue or not, history does not inform us.

The Emperor chose Misitheus—though of a name somewhat ominous ‡—for his father-in-law, and counsellor, purely on account of his judgment, learning, integrity, and irreproachable character; and he proved himself so worthy and capable of the important trust, that the Senate decreed him—" Quadriga equorum, et triumphalis currus, et titulus hujusmodi: Misitheo eminenti viro, Parenti Principum, Prætorii Præfecto, et totius Urbis, Tutori Reipublicæ S. P.Q.R.

<sup>\*</sup> The medals of Gordian should not be quitted without observing, that a dupondius inscribed *Trajectus*, is said to attest that his army passed the Hellespont, over a bridge of boats,—though no writer records such a *feat*, from the time of Xerxes: but the device more probably represents the passing of the Eupbrates. It will not be forgotten that, the celebrated Plotinus enlisted himself in this army, to gain an opportunity of conferring with the Persian and Indian philosophers.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>+</sup> The name of *Furia* appears only on the Greek medals of this Princess, and some marbles; and the *Sabinia* of the Latin mint, is spelt CABEINA, by the Greeks—whence some authors write Furia Sabina Tranquillina

t Could this name "God-Hater" have originated in any supposed favor towards Christianity?

vicem reddidit," We are assured that Tranquillina inherited all her father's good qualities, uniting the greatest beauty with the strictest virtue, and that she did honour to the high rank to which she was exalted. Indeed her noble conduct and affability gained the affection of the ladies of Rome so strongly, that they erected a statue in honour of her, with a laudatory and appropriate inscription. The failure of a long reign to sovereigns so deserving, was a misfortune deeply to be deplored by Rome, and the whole world:

" But long before had Freedom's face been veil'd, And anarchy assumed her attributes; Till every lawless soldier who assail'd Trod on the trembling Senate's slavish mutes, Or rais'd the venal voice of baser prostitutes."

The Latin medals of Tranquillina are of supreme rarity, and consequent high price; those of the Greek mint, though very scarce, are less difficult to procure; and the most common are the small *potin* of Egypt. For some years, I retained a *Concordia*, with two figures taking each other's right hand; but as it was, on repeated scrutiny, suspected to be a Carteron, I was obliged to discard it for a large brass one struck at Singara.\*

## CCCCXLVIII.

- Obverse. AYTOK. K. M. ANT. FOPAIANOC CAB. TPANKYAAEINA CEB. (Imperator Casar Marcus Antonius Gordianus. Sabinia Tranquillina Augusta). The profiles of Gordian and Tranquillina adversa, the former with the characteristics already described, and the latter with handsome features, a well-turned neck, and the hair curiously plaited towards a frontal diadem, so as to give the head an elegant helmetted air. This fine medal is in perfect preservation, and covered with an apple-green patina; it was a present from my friend, Mr. T. Burgon, in 1825.
- Reverse. AYP. CEΠ. KOA. CINΓAPA. (Aurelia, Septimia, Colonia Singara.) A veiled female, seated on a rock, as a personification of Singara, an important town of Mesopotamia, which obtained the Iso-politan franchise; and from whence Zingari, the widely-extended appellation for Gypsies, may have taken its rise. She holds an ear of wheat in her right hand, as emblematic of plenty; and over her head is the sign Sagittarius, significant of skill in archery. At her feet, a swimmer typifies the river Mygdonius, on the banks of which Singara was built; and she is crowned with turrets :--

"Felix prole virûm, qualis Berecynthia mater Invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes, Læta deûm partu."

## PHILIP SENIOR.

Marcus Julius Philippus, the son of a predatory chieftain, was born at Bostra, in Arabia, about A. D. 204; and being brought up in the Roman armies, added

<sup>\*</sup> The ingenious Mr. Doubleday, whose skill in making casts of seals, medals, and gens, is so well known, having lately told me his intention of visiting Paris, I begged him to request M. Mionnet's permission to take an impression from the large-brass Tranquillina, in the French Cabinet—which was liberally granted. On this medal, the bust of the Empress is placed upon a crescent, which is at once typical of chastity and majesty, from its allusion to Diana—" Donce totum impleat orbem."

experience and valour to the wariness which he may have inherited. Upon the death of Misitheus, whom he was strongly suspected of poisoning, he was made captain of the Prætorians, and general of Gordian's army, in which capacity he had the address to gain so much upon the passions of the soldiers, as to accomplish the destruction of his amiable benefactor, and cause himself to be proclaimed Emperor, and his son, Cæsar, A. D. 244. On the news of Gordian's death, it is said that one Marcius was raised to the Purple, who died, or was slain shortly after his election; and in his room Severus Hostilianus was pitched upon, who expired under venesection: for both of whom Goltzius conjures up coins. It is more probable, however, that the Senate without hesitation confirmed the choice of the army, since Philip patched up a hasty and rather dishonourable peace with the Persians, and returned to Rome.\* The better to establish his throne, he gave to his brother, Priscus, the command of the troops in Syria, and made Severian, his son-inlaw, governor of Mœsia and Macedonia; employments which proved above the capacity of those officers. A revolt under lotapian was speedily quieted; but the legions of Pannonia having saluted Marinus as Emperor, Philip ordered Decius, a general of courage and experience-much against the will of the latter-to that government; who was no sooner arrived at the camp, than the soldiers compelled him to accept the sovereignty. Philip was thunderstruck at the tidings; and well knowing that this revolt was more dangerous than that which the Usurper had been sent to suppress, marched against him with all expedition. The sagacious rebel, having timely notice of his master's approach, met him in battle-array, and a bloody engagement ensued, in which "abundance of men were destroyed." The Arabian being defeated, fled to Verona, and lost the empire by means of treason as he had himself obtained it. His head was severed through the teeth, from his body, A. D. 249, a mutilation to which the ancients had a singular abhorrence; and though no medals confirm the fact, we are assured by Eutropius, that both he and his son, who was also murdered, received the honours of consecration.

Philip has been detractingly styled "a robber by birth," and depicted as cruel, proud, and pompous;—" fort insolent, altier, arrogant, audacieux, perfide, et ingrat," says old Tristan. But these invectives are not borne out

<sup>\*</sup> From the death of the younger Gordian, there is an hiatus of nine or ten years, in the Augustan Writers, in parts of which the statements of Zonaras and Zosimus are at variance with other testimonies. Sir Walter Raleigh was not the first who deplored the difficulty of substantiating historical facts; for Vopiscus, one of the best of those "Scriptores," who compiled a life of Probus, only fourteen years after the death of that Prince, says—"Probum—scriptorum inopia jam pene nescimus." Bryant doubted whether Troy ever existed, and Scaliger proves that it was taken when the moon was at full. In like manner the rural antiquaries of the town I am now writing in, believed that the redoubtable Offa was buried in a chapel near Bedford bridge—while Panvinio, in his account of the seven principal churches of Rome, published in 1570, distinctly asserts that the corpses of Cedoaldo and Offa, kings of England, are interred in St. Peter's. Offa deserves mention in a medallic catalogue, because his coins, from A. D. 758 to 796, are the best executed of all the Anglo-Saxon series.

by general inference; nor even by such accounts of him as, from the loss of Trebellius Pollio's works, we are obliged to receive from writers who are evidently his enemies. It seems that he was energetic, bold, and unprincipled, little troubled with scruples as to the means by which he gained power; but withal so politic, that he won the affections of the Senate and People, by a popular demeanour and mild administration. He had the honour of reviving the Scantinian law, against that detestable impurity which equally dishonoured Rome and humanity; and he exercised the principles of good government so far, that St. Jerome, Nicephorus, Cedrenus, the Syncellus, and many others, wished to claim him as a Christian. But those claims are as difficult to establish as that of our own King Lucius, of contested memory; for although those writers affirm that Philip was a convert from paganism, and mention the penance he underwent at Antioch, to wash away his villainous treason, there is no sufficient authority for supposing that he did more than befriend the "new sect," either on his wife's account, or, as has been insinuated, to attach it to his party. On the contrary,—the silence of all the heathen authors upon this subject, his deification of Gordian, his celebrating the Secular Games, his medallion inscribed "Ex Oraculo Apollinis," and his being consecrated, though not positive proofs, are certainly strong arguments against the supposition of his having been a Christian.\*

There are Latin medals of Philip, in each of the metals and magnitudes, except the small-brass; and there are also numerous coins of the Colonies, Greece, and Egypt. A peculiarity in the mintage of this reign, is observable on those denarii which record the Secular Games, in their being marked arithmetically from I to VI, as if to shew the order in which the animals were exhibited : and others bear Greek initial letters, apparently signifying numbers. The Greek Imperial Medallion, said to have been struck by the Apameans in honour of Philip, must not be forgotten; for, however slight its claims to genuineness may be, Jacob Bryant has quoted it as an authentic traditional evidence of the Mosaic Deluge. An ark is seen on the waters, with a dove perched on it, and a man and a woman inside it, the latter veiled; the letters  $N\Omega \mathcal{E}$  under the man. On the left of the field, the same persons are represented as having just landed, with hands uplifted in thanksgiving, and over them is a dove on the wing, with a branch in its bill.

## CCCCXLIX.

Obverse. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) The laureated head of Philip, with a short beard, and hair cut so closely as to merit the epithet "vertice raso; the features are manly and intelligent, the neck short, and the shoulders robed. This medal, the metal of which is hardly discoloured, was found in one of the amphoræ described under No. CCCXCV.

\* Tillemont admits Philip's claim, but clogs it with such difficulties, as to remind us of Gibbon's sarcastic remark that he "never dismisses a virtuous emperor without pronouncing his damnation."

Reverse. FIDES EXERCITVS. On the exergum S. C. Four standards planted in a row, the inner being the legionary eagle and a manipulus, and the outer ones common ensigns. This symbol of the adherence and allegiance of the army, was usually struck on the soldiers' taking their Sacramentum, or military oath, to a new emperor, and thereby insuring the public tranquillity. Nothing was more sacred in theory than this fidelity, as having religion itself for its foundation, and forming a security against deceit and falsehood :—"Take away," says Cicero, "the reverence that is due to the Gods, and Faith is at an end." Attilius Calatinus consecrated a temple to her in the Capitol, perhaps that alluded to by Juvenal—

----- "Colitur Pax, atque FIDES, Victoria, Virtus."

The standards were worshipped by the soldiers, as the "Numina legionum," in order to secure the smiles of Fortune,—good luck being, according to the Satirist, better for a warrior, than a letter of introduction to Mars, even from the Deity's mistress, or mother. See No. CCCXXVII. Du Choul, who wrote in 1581, mentions a curious medal of this description, which was given him by his friend M. Grolier—"Amateur singulier de l'antiquité." It bears, on both sides, two right hands joined in concord, the obverse being inscribed Fides Exercituum, and the reverse Fides Provinciarum.

#### CCCCL.

- Obverse. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of Philip, with close hair and beard, serious expression of countenance, and broad throat. This medal, in excellent condition, and slightly tinged with brown patina, was one of the Maltese hoard. See CCCXCV.
- Reverse. NOBILITAS AVGG. (Nobilitas Augustorum.) In the field S. C. A female, habited as a Roman matron, stands with a sacred virga in her right hand, and a globe on her left. Philip's foul treachery to Gordian, and his giving up Mesopotamia and Armenia, to purchase a peace from Sapor, had rendered him unpopular in the "Eternal City." But his obliging behaviour, and repeated *liberalities*, of which three are recorded on medals, soon gained its affections,—especially as those provinces were soon afterwards restored, to commemorate which, the denarius inscribed "Pax fundata cum Persis," was probably struck. Among other modes of courting popularity, the Emperor, by this device, proclaimed the nobility of his origin,—and, indeed, his father's having been a robber, was no mark of a mean extraction, in Arabia. Commodus was the first who assumed this type upon medals,—for a noble descent was a distinction on which the Romans of family greatly piqued themselves; ostentatiously exhibiting the images of their ancestors at games, triumphs, and funerals,—and none were prouder, on those occasions, than the Novi Homines. Juvenal lashes such vanity with a heavy thong, in his VIIIth Satire, and perhaps suggested to Pope his well known phrase of the "Noblest work of God :"—
  - "Fond man! though all the heroes of your line Bedeck your halls, and round your galleries shine, In proud display; yet, take this truth from me, VIRTUE ALONE IS TRUE NOBILITY.

#### CCCCLI.

- Obverse. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Philip, with short hair and beard, and an intelligent aspect. This medal, slightly spotted with pea-green patina, and in high perfection, was found at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. TRANQVILLITAS AVGG. (Tranquillitas Augustorum.) In the field S. C. A stolated female, standing with a sceptre in her left hand, and a monster on her right, which some medallists have termed a capricorn, and others—regardless of its legs—a dolphin; but Alexander Visconti describes the lady as holding a "cavallo marino nella sinistra, denotante la tranquillità nell 'onde del mare,"—which is about the last emblem a sailor would have

suggested.\* This type, however, was complimentary to the army, whose faith and valour had preserved the public quiet, being, as Eckhel has said, the military standard called the Dragon, which was appropriated to the cohort as the Eagle was to the legion ; and this legend, as well as " Letitia fundata," "Pax æterna," "Felicitas temporum," and "Fortuna Redux," which are found in abundance, was meant as a vain boast of the happiness of the reign. One would think Shakspeare had seen this and the preceding medal side by side, when he made Gadshill class Nobility and Tranquillity together, as good burgo-masters.

Tranquillitas was supposed to rule the mind in the steadiest manner; for though morally distinguishable from Peace and Concord, she was considered as the happy effect of both, and as implying a still more absolute preservation of order and prosperity. St. Augustine was surprised at finding her temple outside the Porta Collina, while Agerona, Stimula, Murcia, and Strenua, were admitted into the city. But Vivez, the Valencian, in his Commentary on that Saint's work, dedicated to our Henry VIIIth, supposes Tranquillitas to have been a companion of Orcus Quietalis, who presides over the repose of the dead, from her temple being placed among the tombs.

#### CCCCLII.

- Obverse, IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) The laureated head of the Emperor, with short hair and beard, good features, small mouth, aquiline nose, and full throat; but the expression is so serious as to be hardly consistent with the "horse-laugh," in which he is said to have indulged. This fine medal, in the most perfect condition and barely discoloured, formed one of the Maltese hoard. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. ADVENTVS AVGG. (Adventus Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. An equestrian figure of the Emperor, in camp-attire, but bare-headed, with a sceptre in his left hand, and his right elevated. This has usually been considered a commemoration of Philip's return from Persia, after founding Philippopolis, A. D. 244 ;--but, from the AVGG., I cannot but date it three years later, and assign it to his successful return from the expedition against the Carpi, + when his son was associated with him as an Augustus.

From the extraordinary disproportion between the steed and its rider, the Empcror is probably mounted on the Asturco, or ambling nag, as a more appropriate emblem of returning peace, than the Equus bellator, or charger. The last formed a good device for the medals inscribed with the "Profectio," or departure, because it was the symbol of war, even to its very shoes--- "Bellum calces Equi."--- or as Virgil says---

" Bello armantur Equi, bellum hæc armenta minantur."

### CCCCLIII.

- ()bverse, 1MP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) A manly and characteristic head of Philip, with the laurel wreath, and his shoulders covered by a sagum. This medal, in the highest condition, and partially tinged with Saxon-green patina, was one of those found at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse, MILLIARIVM SAECVLVM. In the field S. C. A cippus inscribed COS. III. (Consul tertium.) This was struck A. D. 248, the year in which Philip celebrated the Secular Games, in honour of the completion of the 1000th anniversary of Rome; for which purpose he had retained the Fasces, with his son for a colleague, from the preceding year. This was the ninth and last performance of the famous "Ludi Circenses," as they were subsequently merged into the Christian Jubilees; and the rejoicings of Honorius, more than 150 years afterwards, for the timely victory over Alaric, are to be regarded as Ludi Triumphales. Zosimus grieves over the degeneracy of the times, and ascribes the decline of the empire, to the neglect of such

<sup>\*</sup> Jobert had previously described the medal of Antoninus Pius, where Tranquillity is represented holding a rudder,

and some cars of wheat, as signifying that, in fine weather, abundance of grain may be brought by sea to Rome, - a supposition somewhat more admissible than Visconti's, who probably had Neptune's car, as described by Virgil, in view. + What could have induced Father Hardouin to suppose that these Trans-Danubians were located in Africa? Though history fails, at this particular period, the medallic evidence is satisfactory, as he might have seen in Spanheim, "De Prastantia et usu Numismatum Antiquorum."

pious solemuities. Those, in commemoration of which this medal was struck, were carried to an unprecedented degree of magnificence, and lasted—with scrupulous regard to triplicity three days and nights without intermission, a brilliant glare from innumerable torches, supplying the absence of the sun. Among other shews, all the wild and strange animals which Gordian had collected, for his Persian triumph, were exhibited, baited, and slain; and the populace, under a plenary direption, were permitted to "bag" whatever they could secure. Orosius says, that Philip turned the extraordinary festival to the interests of Christianity; but he has not pointed out in what mauner. See No. CCCXXXVI.

The exact *zero-point* for this 1000th year of Rome, is rather puzzling to determine, and it is therefore customary to follow in the wake of Varro; for Chronologists too often adopt what suits their scheme, and boldly erase what it is difficult to arrange—after the manner of Paul Pezron, with the Chronicle of Manetho. In one point, however, the medal is important, since it confirms, beyond contradiction, the correctness of the vulgar calculation, against Sir Isaac Newton's Essay, which cuts off 125 years from the age of the Eternal City.

#### CCCCLIV.

- Obverse. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with peculiarities as before-mentioned. This medal, in fine perfection and incrusted with a dense-brown patina, was purchased at Mr. Henderson's sale, in 1830; being superior in execution to those of a similar type, which were found at Malta.
- Reverse. SAECVLARES AVGG. (Sæculares Augustorum.) On the exerguin S. C. A noble lion, which, from its attitude, must represent one of the "Leones mansueti" mentioned by Capitolinus. It seems that there were provided no fewer than 32 elephants, 10 tigers, 10 elks, 60 lions, 30 leopards, 10 hyænas, 1 hippopotamus, 1 rhinoceros, 40 wild horses, 20 wild asses, and 10 camelopards, with a vast quantity of deer, goats, antelopes. and other beasts. And still further to increase the public hilarity, 2000 gladiators were matched in mortal affray:—

### 

The arena swims around him-he is gone,

Ere ceased the inhuman shout which hail'd the wretch who won."

"He heard it, but he heeded not-his eyes

Were with his heart, and that was far away;

He reck'd not of the life he lost, nor prize,

But where his rude hut by the Danube lay;

There were his young barbarians all at play,

There was their Dacian mother-he, their sire,

Butcher'd to make a Roman holiday-

All this rush'd with his blood-shall I expire

And unavenged? Arise ! ye Goths, and glut your ire ! "

CCCCLV.

- Obverse. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Philip, with the aquiline nose, and serious expression before-mentioned. This fine medal, in perfect preservation and slightly spotted with grass-green patina, was one of the Maltese hoard mentioned under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. SAECVLARES AVGG. (Sæculares Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. A huge she-wolf in the act of suckling Romulus and Remus. The founding of Rome could not be celebrated without noticing its founders; and here we have a device in their honour, rather different from that described under No. CCXIII. Some writers tell us, that these rejoicings ended in the conflagration of Pompey's theatre, together with the Centum Columnae and other noble edifices;—while others say it was burnt in the preceding year—perhaps while they were rehearsing the midnight spectacles.\* Be this as it may, the loss of a theatre was

<sup>\*</sup> Eckhel is surprised at the damage done to ancient Rome by fire, and asserts that they manage better in the present city, insomuch that a modern Erostratus would be baffled in trying to burn St. Peter's: "Sane si quis hodie existence Herostratus, qui cuperet magnificentissimam Romæ D. Petri basilicam flammis abolere, modum, quo facinus patrare posset, non reperiret."

a heavy calamity to the luxurious Romans; and the illustrious factions of White, Grey, Green, and Red-thus enumerated by Sidonius Apollinaris:--

## Albus cum veneto, virens rubensque "----

must, for a while, have compounded their weighty contests. See No. LXXXVIII.

### CCCCLVI.

- Obverse. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) An excellent profile of the Emperor, with the laurel crown over short hair, and an intelligent but serious aspect. This medal, of unpatinated brass, and in the highest condition, was found by one of the Arabs whom I employed in the excavations at Leptis Magna, near Tripoli, in 1816.
- Reverse. SAECULARES AVGG. (Sæculares Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. A stag, apparently of the red-deer kind, standing with his head erect. Pedrusi, who has figured this medal, thinks it symbolises longevity; but it, more probably, merely represents one of the animals provided on this occasion for a counterfeit chase, such as that for which Probus transplanted whole trees in full verdure, till the circus resembled a forest. Smollett sneers with supreme contempt at those Roman attempts at artificial Nimrodism; and, ridicnling their naumachia, exclaims—" How would it sound in the ears of a British sailor, an advertisement, that a mock engagement between two squadrons of men-of-war would be exhibited on such a day in the Serpentine river?" Poor Smollett! Within 50 years of his writing that letter, all London was thrown into ecstacies by a miniature sea-fight, on that very piece of water, at the national expence.

### CCCCLVII.

- Obverse. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) A fine profile of the Emperor, laurelled, and with the sagum over his shoulders. This medal, in very excellent preservation and slightly stained with grass-green patina, was found at Malta, as mentioned under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. SAECVLARES AVGG. (Sæculares Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. The Damis, an antelope of the species now known by the name of Gazelle, a corruption of the Arab Ghazalthe "Capra Africana" of the Italians; and probably representing another of the animals presented for the sport of the populace. Oiselius, describing this medal, says—" videre est animal quoddam ignotis cornibus, quod Strepsicerota esse existimat A. Rubenius;" but according to the "old" scholiast, that seasonable friend of all puzzled antiquaries, the name of Strepsiceros is applicable to those varieties of the genus, which have turbinated horns.

#### CCCCLVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Philip, attired as before, but with the nose rather more aquiline, and the features firmer. This remarkably fine medal is in the highest possible preservation, and only slightly discoloured with spots of grass-green patina; it was one of the hoard discovered at Casal Zurika. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. AETERNITAS AVGG. (Æternitas Augustorum) On the exergum S. C. A caparisoned elephant, with a naked rider, who holds a goad in each hand, and sits on the animal's back, a less usual berth than the neck, or shoulders. This was one of the collection of beasts, which Gordian had prepared for his triumph, but which became an organ of his destroyer's popularity and fame; for there can be no doubt that the medal was struck on the occasion of the secular games, though the legend merely augurs the length of Philip's reign, of which the longevity of the elephant was deemed typical; and has no relation to the Emperor's asserted deification. See Nos. VIII. and CCCXXXIV. I once heard it remarked upon this medal, that the cube of 10, a complete number, multiplied by itself, answers to the date of the city, and might therefore be properly typified by Eternity; and also, that the celebration of so rare a solemity, would perpetuate the memory of the two Augusti.

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### CCCCLIX.

- Obverse. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) The lanreated profile of Philip, with an expressive but very sedate expression of features, and the pallium upon his shoulders buckled over armour. This medal, in the finest condition and cased with greenish-black patina, was presented to me by Sir Patrick Ross, of the 75th Regiment, at Zante, in 1819.
- Reverse. SAECVLVM NOVVM. On the exergum S. C. A superb temple of eight columns on a triple plinth, with three small statues on its apex, and one on each side of the pediment, with waving veils. -- "a guisa d'Iride," and apparently seated. In the centre sits a figure with a hasta pura; some will have this to be the Emperor himself: while others, among whom is the discerning Vaillant, insist that it represents Jupiter Capitolinus. Had it, however, been meant for the latter, there would have been, as on that of Vespasian, the other two Capitolinu deities; moreover the upper part of the idol would have been naked—which is not the case—and the head appears to be tutulated. It probably alludes to a temple consecrated, perhaps in A. D. 248, to commemorate the New Æra; for the Saculum Novum of the legend intimates, that the 1000th year from the building of Rome having expired, another age had commenced; as has been already observed in the 9th Dissertation of Spanheim, one of the best medallists who ever applied F. R. S. to his name. It is remarkable, that this reverse appears on the denarii of Etruscilla, Hostilianus, Trebonianus, and Volusianus.

# OTACILIA.

Marcia Otacilia Severa is one of those Empresses of whom so little mention is made in history, that it is not known whether she was of Dacian, Arabian, or, as her name would imply, of Roman birth. She appears to have been married to Philip Senior about A. D. 234, and was saluted Augusta, on her husband's elevation to the Purple, ten years afterwards. Besides the younger Philip, she had a daughter, whose name is unknown, but who, according to Zosimus, was the wife of Severianus, the Prætor of Mœsia and Macedonia. When her husband and son were murdered, A. D. 249, Otacilia was permitted to retire into private life, and nothing further is related respecting her.

The several writers assert that this Princess was religious, prudent, and virtuous; and that she not only professed christianity herself, but also persuaded her husband and son to embrace it. Yet I am "free to confess," as our statesinen say, that after having handled so many of her coins in honour of the goddesses of Fecundity, Piety, Modesty, Security, and Concord, besides her participation in the Secular ceremonials, and her Juno Conservatrix,\* I feel inclined to agree with the worthy Tristan, that instead of the pure doctrine of revealed religion— "elles semblent marquer toute autre verite, par la multitude de diverses sortes de déitez, qui y sont representées." But this consideration must not suppress an anecdote which has been recorded on the authority of St. Chrysostom, in

<sup>\*</sup> Juno was struck both on silver and brass; and is incompatible for a Christian, even if the Virtues might be allowed.

support of the contrary position. When Gordian was "done away with," the new Imperial family arrived at Antioch towards the end of Lent, and were desirous of joining in the service that was to be performed on Easter eve. Babylas, the Bishop of that city, met them at the church door, prevented them from advancing, and unawed by the presence of the master of the world, represented to Philip the impropriety of his entering that holy place with hands that were polluted with the blood of his benefactor; and that after having committed so heinous a crime, he could not assist at those sacred rites, till he had explated his guilt by penance. The Emperor and Empress on this remonstrance sacrificed dignity to duty, and having submitted to the penalty imposed by the Bishop, received absolution. This story is the less probable, because the best authorities assure us, that Philip carefully concealed his having been instrumental to the death of the beloved Gordian.

There are Latin medals of Otacilia, in each of the metals and sizes, except assaria; the silver, and large and middle-brass being so common, as only to be retained for singularity of type, or height of perfection. There are also Greek and Colonial brass, from medallions to coins of the third magnitude, besides the *potin* of Egypt. A remarkable coin bearing the Furies, struck by the Antiochians of Caria, in honour of Otacilia, deserves distinct mention, because it was not usual to represent the vices, or hurtful beings, though deified, upon Imperial medals; and not only Luxuria, Superbia, Vindicta, Ambitio, Mephitis, and other inauspicious ladies, were banished from the Roman mint-but even the twin brothers, Mors and Sommus, and Pluto,\* the "Jupiter infernus et Stygius." On this coin, the awful "agmina sæva sororum"-whom Apollo, in Æschylus, abusingly designates "Old Maids"-are armed with the snakes, torches, and poniards, to punish and torment wickedness ; and at their feet are gaunt dogs-" visæque canes ululare per umbrgs." The hags awaited the judgment of Rhadamanthus, upon sinners, with an impatience that marked them as Furies; and they were attended by Terror, Paleness, and Death :---

" Fear, and Dismay, and agonizing Pain,

With frantic Rage, complete the loveless train."+

CCCCLX.

Obverse. MARCIA OTACIL. SEVERA AVG. (Marcia Otacilia Severa, Augusta.) The profile of the Empress, with a serious but pleasing expression of countenance, considerable beauty, and an appearance of about 30 years of age. The hair is parted in front, carried behind the

<sup>\*</sup> Tanini thought he had discovered Pluto on a denarius of Valerianus, inscribed Æternitati Augg., where a bearded man, veiled and togated, is seen with a sickle; but it is evidently Saturn. + Spanheim mentions a coin, also bearing Tisiphone, Alecto, and Megæra, which was struck at Lyrbe, a Pamphylian

town, to the southward of Antioch, in the reign of the younger Gordian.

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ears in waves, and brought up at the back of the head in a broad plait to a diadem on the crown, so as to give the lady a galeated appearance. This medal, in the highest preservation, and slightly tinged with spots of pea-green patina, was one of the Maltese hoard. See No. CCCXCV.

Reverse. PIETAS AVGVSTAE. In the field S. C. A standing female, robed in the suffibulum, and veiled with the long flammeum, holds an open acerra with her left, and bears a flame upon her right hand. This alludes to the devotion with which the Imperial family celebrated the Secular Games, and is certainly against the notion entertained by so many learned men, for the incense-casket alone is sufficient to demolish the tale of Otacilia's baptism. See CCCXCII. Piety was a term of extended application, not only comprehending the duty of man towards the Gods, but also the respect of children towards their parents, and the due performance of the social compact; so that although it was short of Grace, in our sense of the word, it must be classed among the perfections of the soul. The filial attribute of this Virtue will be recollected in the interesting story of the "Roman Charity," by which a prison was converted into a temple of Piety; it is told both by Valerius Maximus, and the elder Pliny.

### CCCCLXI.

- Obverse. MARCIA OTACIL. SEVERA AVG. (Marcia Otacilia Severa, Augusta.) A fine head of Otacilia, with a modest air, head-dress as before, and the bosom neatly robed. This medal, in splendid perfection, and thinly varnished with brown patina, was one of the collection found at Casal Zurika, as related under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. SAECVLARES AVGG. (Sæculares Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. A wellrepresented Hippo-potamus walking, which, though not altogether unknown, being the only one exhibited, was probably "the lion" of the Secular spectacles of A. D. 248; having been, according to a denarius of the same Empress, stamped with the numerals IIII, the fourth of the curious beasts introduced into the Circus on that occasion. This animal was well known in Egypt in ancient times, and though it disappeared from thence in the age of Julian, it is so associated with the recollections of that country, that some of the Italian medallists still call it the "Elefante Nilotico." Some of the old naturalists insisted upon its being actually like a horse; though it resembles that spirited and beautiful quadruped, no more than does a porcupine, a tiger, a badger, or any thing that has the faculty of running upon four legs. Bochart asserts it to be the Behemoth of Job : the description, however, is not so clear as that of the Leviathan, or Crocodile, in the succeeding chapter. But though the modern Hippo-potamus does not quite equal the monstrous Behemoth of Scripture, it is nevertheless a most formidable creature, and the importation must have given no little trouble to those who shipped him. Having "tried my hand" at this kind of work, I entertain a fellow-feeling for the distresses of the ancient mariners; whose terrors, as they transported the wild beasts over the sea, are well depicted by Claudian,—

"The fainting slave let fall his trembling oar, And the pale master fear'd the freight he bore."

# PHILIP JUNIOR.

Marcus Julius Philippus Junior, the son of Philip Senior and Otacilia, was born about A. D. 237, and declared Cæsar at the early age of seven years. He was the first who bore the title of *Nobilis Cæsar*, a distinction which was continued afterwards to the princes not associated in the empire—and was also bestowed on those to whom the Emperors intrusted the cares of the State. The young Philip was associated in the government, with the title of Augustus, A. D. 247, and served the office of Consul for that, and the following year, with his father, that they might jointly celebrate the Secular Games. Zosimus thinks he was killed with his father, at Verona; but more accredited accounts say, that when the news of the Emperor's death arrived at Rome, Otacilia carried the youth to the camp for protection, where the soldiers immediately slew him, in the arms of his mother. This happened in the summer of A. D. 249; and though he was deified by the Senate, Padre de Natalibus reckons him among the martyrs of the church.

Most authors agree in describing young Philip, as a youth well educated, and of promising hopes, but withal so grave that, after his fifth year, no one, by any contrivance, ever could make him smile; and when his father once laughed aloud in the circus, the boy was observed to frown at him, with manifest displeasure :---"Nam Ludibus Sæcularibus ridentem Patrem severo vultu inspexisse dicitur, velut illum corrigens." It is asserted that his mother wisely instructed him in the tenets of the Christians; but the part he played in the celebration of the Secular Games—so abhorrent to their faith—seems to contradict the assertion. Apprehension, however, whether moral or religious, may have infused the melancholy for which—though of such tender years—he was remarkable; for never were times in which it was more necessary, for the Princes of Rome, to repeat the almost inspired lines of Horace :---

> "Inter spem curamque, timores inter et iras, Omnem crede diem tibi diluxisse supremum : Grata superveniet, quæ non sperabitur, hora."

The silver and large and middle-brass Roman medals of this Prince are so common as to be valued principally according to their perfection; but the aurei and medallions are rare, and high priced. There were also Colonial, Greek-Imperial, and Egyptian coins struck in his honour; and among them was one bearing the Three Furies, which, like that of his mother, was stamped at Antioch. Struvius plausibly thinks that this device alludes to the triple powers of Diana, to whom the ancients assigned duties in hell, on earth, and in heaven.

In mixed Cabinets, the coins of the younger Philip are followed by those of Marinus and Jotapianus, the rebel chiefs; and also by those of Pacatianus and Sponsianus, two "pretenders" entirely unknown to history: but there are no Latin medals of either of them.

#### CCCCLXII.

Obverse. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS CAES. (Marcus Julius Philippus, Cæsar.) The bare and boyish head of the younger Philip, with innocent features, and so pleasing an air as afford little corroboration to the story of his never smiling. This medal, in the highest possible perfection, with the metal hardly discoloured, was one of the Maltese treasure, mentioned under No. CCCXCV. Reverse. PRINCIPI IVVENT. (Principi Juventutis.) In the field S. C. The young Prince, habited in a camp-dress, holds a globe and a hasta pura, or wand, so called because it was not pointed with iron. This simple distinction, the precursor of the white rods of our court officers, was often the reward of military merit, and at all times a badge of honour, as well as a symbol of authority; whence Virgil describes Marcellus as—

----- " purâ juvenis qui nititnr hastâ."

This medal was probably struck A. D. 244,\* on the Cæsar's becoming "First," or—as following the example of Conyers Middleton, who puts *Emperor* for *Imperator*—I have in this Catalogue rendered it, "Prince" of the Roman Youth. See No. CCLXXXIII.

#### CCCCLXIII.

- Obverse. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) A handsome profile of Philip Junior, who has now assumed the Augustan laurels; his shoulders are covered with a chlamys over a cuirass. This singularly fine medal is in perfect condition, and barely discoloured; it was one of the hoard found at Casal Zurika. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. LIBERALITAS AVGG. III. (Liberalitas Augustorum, tertia.) On the exergum S.C. The two Philips seated on X-formed curnle chairs, in imperial robes, and stretching out their right hands open, in token of benevolence to all ranks. This device was evidently struck upon the donation made to the Public, in A. D. 248; but it differs from others typical of Liberality, in being without the usual attributes.

The *Ebur curule*—Sella *Eburnea*—or Curule Chair, an ivory seat not unlike our folding camp-stools, was appropriated to certain magistrates, as the Ædiles, Prætors, Censors, and Consuls. These dignified senators were carried in them, and also those who triumphed,— the chair being fitted into the *Currus*, a kind of chariot, from whence *Curulis* is derived: and the loss of the *r* is justified after *Farina a farre.*<sup>†</sup> It seems to have been adopted from the Etrurians, in the early days of Rome, but we are not informed from whence they procured their ivory. Upon medals, the Curule Chair expresses a curule magistracy; and also steadiness and duration of office,—as Bolzani remarks—"Perennitatis, æternæque quietis hieroglyphicum esse sellam." The learned author perhaps arrived at this conclusion, from his close study of Egyptian antiquities, where the sedent figures are not only characteristic of eternal rest from being seated, but also from the arms being in coherence with the body, and the legs joined.

#### CCCCLXIV.

- Obverse. IMP. M. IVL. PHILIPPVS AVG. (Imperator Marcus Julius Philippus, Augustus.) The profile of Philip Junior, with the laurel wreath over short hair, and the features expressing an age beyond boy-hood. This medal, in complete preservation, and slightly tinted with brown patina, was one of those found as described under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. SAECVLARES AVGG. (Sæculares Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. A strange beast of the cervine tribe, which medallists have termed Alces, or Elk, though it has not the very high shoulders, nor large head of the Cervus Alces: its horns, instead of dilating to a broad palmated form, are small and erect; and it has a long tuft of hair pendant from the throat—not appended to the under-jaw as Pedrusi has figured it—and which evidently is not the caruncle alluded to by Linnæus. The Alce, described in the Bœotics of Pausanias, as being between a stag and a camel, is not without some analogy to the creature under consideration; but it is not to be recognised in that mentioned by Julius Cæsar, "De Bello Gallico," L.VI, cap. 27,—nor in the Alce or Bonasus of Pliny, nor in the Equi-cervus of the Scholiast. From the striking accuracy with which lions, elephants, hippo-potami, antelopes,

<sup>\*</sup> The younger Philip's medals inscribed Principi Iuventutis, appear to have been minted between A.D. 244 and 246, a slight difference of age being perceptible on the portraits. Among the first struck after he was declared Augustus, are those with Virtus as a type, a term uniting fortitude and gallantry; but it is remarkable that *Fortitudo*, and *Magnanimitas*, are Virtues unknown on the fascia of Imperial medals.

<sup>+</sup> This etymology is supported by Aulus Gellius and Isidore, who are respectable, though not very ancient authority.

and deer, are delineated upon the medals of Philip, the faithfulness of this representation cannot be questioned; and it is much to be regretted that we have not yet found more of the rarer quadrupeds, which were exhibited on that great occasion. A reverse with the Camelopard, would have stifled the ebullitions of ignorance vented, less than 50 years ago, when Vaillant brought the skins of several of those animals, from Africa,—one of which was examined under a magnifying lens, to detect whether it was a composition.\* These considerations made me the more regret the medals lost by the accident mentioned at p. 228, as there were possibly some inedita destroyed.

## DECIUS.

Caius Messius † Quintus Trajanus Decius was born, of an illustrious family, at Bubalia, near Sirmium, in Pannonia, A.D. 201. He was a man of courage, wisdom, and experience, which carried him to the highest honours; but history throws no light upon his early career. Being an excellent soldier, he was selected by Philip, much against his inclination, to quell the revolt in Mœsia and Pannonia; but he had no sooner arrived at his camp, A.D. 249, than the legions proclaimed him Emperor. As he was threatened with death in case of refusal, necessity got the better of fidelity, he assumed the imperial title and dignity, and having defeated Philip, was acknowledged by the Senate and the People. In the following year Decius took the field against a formidable invasion of the Goths, and obtained such advantages over them, that they sued for peace. But the Emperor, desirous of securing future repose, resolved to continue hostilities till his enemies were destroyed, a measure which drove them to desperation. In a furious battle at Abricium, in Thrace, young Decius was slain ; to revenge whose death the Emperor rushed forward, exclaiming to his troops-"Be not cast down, we have lost but one man." He was soon, however, entangled in a morass, where he perished, with great numbers of his army, partly suffocated in the mud, and partly destroyed by the showers of arrows and darts which the Barbarians discharged upon them, while they could neither advance nor retreat ; and to this fatal catastrophe, Gallus, his successor, is by some thought to have treacherously contributed. Decius, together with three of his sons, thus fell, A. D. 251, after a reign of nearly two years and six months, and his unhappy end was attributed by Ecclesiastical historians, to divine vengeance. It appears from

Eutropius, that the honour of apotheosis was paid him, with the usual ceremonies; but the denarii quoted by Mezzo-barba and Eckhel, which would otherwise corroborate that fact, are both suspected.\*

Decius was a prince endowed with many good qualities and great ability, affecting the ancient manner, so as to be generally beloved by the Pagans, insomuch that the Senate voted him not inferior to Trajan, and bestowed upon him the admired title of Optimus. But his high reputation was stained, and his name rendered infamous, by the seventh and most terrible persecution of the Christians; which was so rancorously and inexorably inflicted, as to drive thousands of people into deserts, caves, and fastnesses, and foster monachism: and it is not a little remarkable, that, under the inscrutable decrees of Providence, some of the best emperors were the most bitter persecutors of that sect, whose "halcyon days" were under the vile Commodus. On other points, his character seems to have been unimpeachable, as a Sovereign. He shewed the greatest deference for the Senate, and restored to them the important office of appointing a Censor, which had been laid aside from **Domitian's time**, and had been monopolized, neglected, or abused, by the princes before him. He also built or repaired the walls of Rome, and solemnly consecrated them; a ceremony usually performed on removing the Pomærium, or area adjoining them, as was customary with every increase of territory. This was a matter of great exultation; but the desire of extending their dominions beyond just bounds, proved fatal in the event-" Immunitas peperit Impunitatem, et Filia devoravit Matrem."

The medals of Decius are found in each of the metals, and sizes ; as well Latin, as Greek-Imperial, Egyptian, and Colonial, the last of which only bear the epithets *Pius, Felix.* The denarii are very common, and it is curious that some of the types of the former reign are used upon them; one, with a fascia stamped TR. P. III., is quoted by Eckhel, as a proof that they are in error who assert that the Tribunitian Power is not marked, because the Emperor had restored that authority to the people. The large and middle-brass are as common as the silver; but there is a novelty in the mintage of Decius, in the medalets,<sup>†</sup> or coins, which, though not much larger than the early large-brass, weigh two of the sestertii of his own reign. They are well known, having the types of Felicity, Liberality, and

<sup>\*</sup> Banduri, from Victor, says that Decius perished in the 50th year of his age; and also proves from an Egyptian coin, where mention is made of the *third* year of his reign, that he must have died about the beginning of December.

<sup>+</sup> This term, though it now obtains, has been very bally chosen, since the diminutive *et* seems rather to apply to medals, than medallions. The portrait of Decius, on these medalets, is ornamented with the radiated crown, which though placed on the posthumous coins of Augustus, as a token of deification, was afterwards put upon those of living emperors. The large-brass, however, invariably appears with the laurel-wreath; and the custom has descended to our times, with what Pinkerton terms—" a most risible and truly Celtic absurdity."

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Victory; and—unlike the medallions—being marked with S. C. were probably used as ordinary money. Assaria, or third-brass, which had not been struck by the Senate since the days of the Antonines, now re-appear. See page 245.\*

CCCCLXV.

- Obverse. IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG. (Imperator Caius + Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Decius, with sensible features, and the appearance of rather more than middle age; the bust being in armour. This medal is in capital preservation, and incrusted with green and red patina; it was procured from Mr. M. Young, in 1825, having formerly belonged to the well-known cabinet of Mr. Miles.
- (Liberalitas Augusti.) On the exergum S.C. The Emperor Reverse. LIBERALITAS AVG. seated on a tribunal, assisted by a togated figure, superintends a public donation; before him stands the personification of Liberality with her tessera and cornucopiæ, and a citizen ascends the steps. Besides the ticket held by this statue, to notify the amount of the largess, the *Curatores Annonæ* distributed small tesseræ among the populace, as orders for the receipt of such a portion, as was stamped upon them ; whence Juvenal-

"Summula ne pereat, qua vilis tessera venit

Frumenti."

This medal was probably struck A. D. 249, upon the Emperor's arrival in Rome, where he was received with every demonstration of joy. The city now seemed to abound in plenty, for besides Liberality, and Abundance, a new type of Fruitfulness was struck on the denarii of this reign, under the title of Ubertas. Veritas is also assigned to a silver coin of Decius, but as that legend does not appear upon other Roman medals, it may possibly be a mis-reading of Vberitas, which now becomes frequent. Indeed Veritas, though a virtue of the highest import, has not been duly honoured; the ancients neglected her, and among the moderns, the word is commonly subscribed to the falsehoods of anonymous slanderers.

#### CCCCLXVI.

- Obverse. IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG. (Imperator Caius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, Augustus.) The laureated profile of the Emperor, with a wrinkled brow, and older features than above. This medal, in excellent condition and partially stained with grass-green patina, was one of the Maltese hoard. See CCCXCV.
- Reverse. GEN. ILLYRICI. (Genius Illyrici.) In the field S.C. A virile figure standing, with a cornucopiæ and the sacred patera; he is naked except a chlamys over his left shoulder, and a modius on his head. The Genius of a province was equivalent to Bonus Eventus, or Good Success, a deity who presided over agriculture, and great actions, and as such he was complimented by Titus, and other Princes, upon medals. The Genii in general, being inferior to the Lares, must have been the prototypes of the modern ghosts; though excepting that of Cæsar at Philippi, the vision of Varus emerging from the marshes, ‡ and the one recorded by Pliny, those bugbears do not appear in Roman story. Virgil, indeed, shews that the people believed-"Simulacra modis pallentia miris." See No. CCCCXCVI.

#### CCCCLXVII.

Obverse. IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG. (Imperator Caius Messius Quintus Tra-janus Decius, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with close hair and beard,

<sup>\*</sup> Baudelot describes some small pieces of money, resembling assaria in size, but bearing the head of an old woman, with S.C. on the reverse. These, he says, were struck for the slaves during the Saturnalia; and the initials, instead of + Dr. A. Visconti, following Banduri, calls this Cneius; but the latter contradicts himself, by producing a Greek

inscription which plainly shews Caius.

 $<sup>\</sup>uparrow$  The Roman camp was beset by the active Arminius, whose followers were spending the night in jollity. The broken slumbers of Cæcina were disturbed by a fearful dream, which is thus related by Tacitus:—"Ducemque terruit dira quies, nam Quinctilium Varum sanguine oblitum ex paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est, velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus, et manum intendentis repulisse!

grave features, a wrinkled brow, and the bust in a cuirass. This medal is in the finest condition, the metal being hardly discoloured, owing to its having been shut up in one of the amphoræ found at Malta. See CCCXCV.

Reverse. GENIVS EXERCITVS ILLYRICIANI. In the field S. C. A naked Genius, as on the last medal, but with the addition of a military standard behind him. This was struck A. D. 249, to shew that Decius, justly enough, ascribed his advancement to the Illyrian army: "à militibus Illyricianis Imperator factus, ab Senatu Augustus est appellatus." The medals in honour of this event are numerous, and I have had several with the ensign planted before the figure. Of the province Juvenal says—

> "Horrida vitanda est Hispania, Gallicus axis, Illyricumque latus."

#### CCCCLXVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. C. MESS. Q. DECIO TRAI. AVG. (Imperatori Cæsari Caio Messio Quinto Decio Trajano, Augusto.) The head of the Emperor, with old but intelligent features, attired as before. This medal, in fine preservation and varnished with Saxon-green patina, spotted with red, was purchased at Albano, near Rome, in 1823.
- Reverse. DACIA. In the field S. C. A stolated female, with her hair richly attired, and holding a staff surmounted with the head of an animal which, from its shape, and ears, most men would pronounce to be that of an ass. But this is a point much disputed among antiquaries, apparently because so ignoble an animal seems unworthy of decorating a national standard. Engelius, whose coin was probably in an indifferent condition, says that it is part of a dragon, of which the body and tail have been omitted by the artist; Padre Blasi calls it the head of a horse, for a reason equally applicable to five hundred other countries, "that of the people being great riders ;" and Mons. le Bon, who makes out a beard, will have it to be the true "tête d'une chèvre," on account of Dacia's being mountainous. It is, however, clearly an ass's head, and I think the medal before me would have convinced the doubters. The origin of this symbol is now unknown: some think it was assumed as a warlike ensign, because the bray of an ass resembled the Paphlagonian trumpet; others suppose it was derived from the Scythian custom of sacrificing the long-eared beast to Apollo; and a third set consider it as the emblem of valour, because the animal was called Zãov dvinntov. Be this as it may, a spear thus decorated seems to have been a common standard of the northern nations; nor was the patient quadruped itself always despised, since we find Jacob in blessing his sons, complimented Issachar as a "strong ass," alluding no doubt to his fortitude and contempt of danger :-- " Nominat Issachar, seu asinum fortem, quod constans esset, firmus, et intrepidus," saith Patin-and it may be added, that the native ass of the Great Asiatic Desert is a very different animal from our ill-used donkey, as may be seen in Sir Robert Porter's Travels. This medal was struck A. D. 250, to record the liberation of Dacia, from the incursions of the Barbarians. See No. CLXXI. Count Mezzo-barba inserts a denarius, inscribed Dacia Capta, among the coins of this year; but he is palpably in error, and may have mis-read an injured legend of Dacia Felix, which was then struck.

### CCCCLXIX.

- Obverse. IMP. C. M. Q. TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG. (Imperator Caius Messius Quintus Trajanus Decius, Augustus.) The laureated head of Decius, with very close hair and a smooth chin; the features are strongly marked and handsome, but indicative of a more advanced age than the Emperor had attained. This medal, cased with green and red patina, and in the highest preservation, was presented to me by the Bey of Bisertah, in 1822, it having recently been found among the ruins of Utica.
- Reverse. PANNONIAE. In the field S. C. Two stolated and veiled females stand in the middle of the field, the one on the right hand holding a sceptre, and that on the left having a military standard before her. This interesting device illustrates the ancient divisions of the province into superior and inferior, the separation being made by the river Arabo; one of these divisions was

called Pannonia prima, which must be the figure with the sceptre, and the other Pannonia secunda, which by the standard is shown to have been garrisoned. The medal was struck about A. D. 250, on the same account as those of Illyricum and Dacia; and the women elevate their right hands in token of thanks for their liberation. Decius had beaten the Barbarian invaders, and obliged them to abandon all the country they had taken possession of. This success made him hope for still greater, and resolving to take advantage of the consternation his enemies were in, he determined utterly to extirpate them. Thus was he led to abandon his usual prudence, and involved in the disastrous result already mentioned.

# ETRUSCILLA.

Annia Cupressenia Herennia Etruscilla is a princess known only by medals and marbles, for as historians have not given the name of Decius's wife, there was a considerable difficulty respecting her, till the inscriptions of Muratori and Maffei were published. It is recorded that she bore several children; but though I have admitted that Decius had four sons, out of sheer courtesy to other authorities, there is no substantial testimony for more than two: to these a daughter is added, who was named after the Empress, and is said to have been married to Volusianus. Etruscilla became an Augusta A. D. 249, and lost her honours, after the disastrous death of her husband, in 251; but from the deification of the latter, and the policy of Gallus, she was probably respected in private life.

For a long time the antiquaries assigned Orbiana as a wife to Decius; but one of his coins being found in the French cabinet, with Etruscilla's head upon the reverse, the former lady was restored to Alexander, as has been already related: besides which, the Egyptian medal marked  $L\varepsilon$ , or year 5, is decisive of her not having been united to Decius, who reigned only half that period. Before the time of Seguin, Etruscilla was mistaken for the daughter of Decius; but as a son of that Emperor was named Herennius Etruscus, it is evident that she was his wife.

There are Latin medals of Etruscilla in the three metals, and of all the sizes except small-brass; and there are also Greek-Imperial, Egyptian, and Colonial coins in honour of her. In the Roman mintage, the gold is very rare, but the silver and middle-brass are common, and the large-brass—of which the reverses are few and trite—is only of a slight degree of rarity, the value depending upon comparative perfection. A high-priced dupondius is mentioned by Mionnet, representing three females, but as it is of two kinds of copper, and without the Senatorial stamp, it is only an exception to what is here stated.

### CCCCLXX.

Obverse. HERENNIA ETRVSCILLA AVG. (Herennia Etruscilla, Augusta.) A fine head of the Empress, her hair smoothed down with stripes across and bound by a vitta, her features good but not expressive, and her bosom robed. This medal is in perfect condition, and stained with Saxon-green patina on the obverse and brownish-red on the reverse; it was one of the Maltese hoard described under No. CCCXCV.

Reverse. FECVNDITAS AVG. (Fecunditas Augustæ.) In the field S. C. A female, magnificently attired, stands with a cornucopiæ in her left hand, and extends her right towards a child by her side which is trying to reach it. See No. CCCCVII. Some who assert that Etruscilla bore four sons and a daughter to Decius, appeal to this medal in proof of her fertility; but the type was a customary compliment to those Empresses who had families: and would answer as well for one child, as for a dozen. The deity herself seems to have been no other than Juno, who was invoked in child-birth, and by those who desired children, in a manner at once absurd and obscene: and well they deserved the scourging which the priests administered, with goat-skin whips, to their naked bodies, as part of the ceremony.

#### CCCCLXXI.

- Obverse. HERENNIA ETRVSCILLA AVG. (Herennia Etruscilla, Augusta.) The profile of Etruscilla, apparently in middle age, with her hair smoothly waving, and a diadem in front; her neck is graceful, but the features are expressive of pertness, and are meaner than on the last. This medal, thinly varnished with brown patina, and in capital preservation, was one of those found at Malta. See CCCXCV.
- Reverse. PVDICITIA AVG. (Pudicitia Augustæ.) On the exergum S. C. A richly robed female seated on a high-backed throne, holds a long sceptre in her left hand, and with her right lifts the flammeum which covers her head. See No. CCCXCI. Chastity was a virtue more highly prized than practised by the Romans: and Horace, recounting the benefits which the presence of Augustus brought upon the city, says—

"Nullis polluitur casta domus stupris; Mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas; Laudantur simili prole puerperæ."

A modern Italian proverb distinguishes the double attributes of this goddess, by making chastity a virtue, and modesty a beauty of the fair sex : but Propertius best describes her-

" Non illis studium vulgo conquirere amantes,

Illis ampla satis forma, PUDICITIA."

## HERENNIUS.

Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius Trajanus Decius—one of the princes who, as Eckhel \* complains, had more names than there were years in his reign—was the eldest son of Decius and Etruscilla, and is commonly called Decius Junior. Nothing is known of him till his father's accession to the Sovereignty, A. D. 249, when he was declared Cæsar, and invested with the Tribunitian Power, as is proved by medals, though not mentioned in history. In the following year he was sent, at the head of a well-disciplined army, to check the incursions of the Gothic King Cniva; by whom, after gaining some successes, he was attacked when off his guard, and totally defeated, with dreadful carnage, himself hardly escaping. In the beginning of A. D. 251, his father marched to his relief, decorated

\* "Aevum imperatorum occipimus, quo plerumque majorem videmus nominum numerum, quam annorum, quibus imperavere, quibus adeo brevitatem imperii quâdam ratione compensavere."

him with the fasces, and elevated him to the dignity of Augustus, as an associate in the Imperial dignity. The honours thus conferred, were not long enjoyed. The Decii, it seems, by the advantages which they gained in the field, reduced the Goths to offer the cession of their booty and prisoners, for an unmolested retreat. But the Emperor would listen to no terms, and the enemy being driven to desperation, fought furiously in the ensuing battle. Young Decius signalised himself in an eminent manner, and killed several adversaries with his own hand; but being in front of the lines, he was mortally wounded with an arrow, and fell from his horse in the sight of the whole army. The saying of Decius on this occasion, I have already recorded in the sketch of his life; but surely Tristan mistakes the spirit of the Emperor's exclamation, in rendering it—"La perte d'un soldat ne luy sembloit pas de grande conséquence." The youth was deified, together with his father, by the Senate. Some writers assert that he was married to a lady named Tryphonia, who suffered martyrdom in the Christian cause, under Valerian, but the authority is most questionable.

The Roman medals of this unfortunate Prince, with the exception of silver, are scarce, especially the aurei; and there are no small-brass. The Colonies, Greece, and Egypt, also struck coins to commemorate his career, but there is nothing remarkable in the types. Of the sestertii, that with the temple of Peace, and those bearing the title of Augustus, are esteemed the most rare.

### CCCCLXXII.

- Obverse. Q. HER. ETR. MES. DECIVS NOB. C. (Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius, Nobilis,\* Cæsar.) The bare head of Herennius with very close hair, a mild intelligent countenance, and an appearance of not more than fourteen or fifteen years of age; the shoulders are covered with a sagum. This medal, in remarkably high condition and thinly tinted with green and brown patina, was one of the store found at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. In the field S. C. A juvenile and graceful figure of the Prince in camp attire, holding a dart transversely with its point upwards in his left hand, and a "baculum inclinatum" in his light. This was probably struck A. D. 249; and the type, by the position of the dart, expresses the brave youth's readiness to defend the empire, of which he very soon gave unequivocal proofs. See No. CCLXXXIII. Eckhel quotes an aureus from Pellerin with this reverse, but which from the inscription and laureated portrait, proves that Herennius was "Princeps Juventutis" after he had become an Augustus.

### CCCCLXXIII.

Obverse. Q. HER. ETR. MES. DECIVS NOB. C. (Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius, Nobilis, Cæsar.) The naked head of Herennius, with remarkably short hair, and an anxious expression of countenance, though the features resemble those described above; the bust is covered with drapery. This medal, in splendid perfection and tinged with brown and green patina, was one of those described under No. CCCXCV.

\* I mentioned on p. 271, that Philip the Younger was designated Nobilis on his coins; but this epithet, I believe, now first appears upon large-brass. Vir Nobilis belongs to the Declining Empire.

Reverse. PIETAS AVGVSTORVM. On the exergum S. C. The præfericulum, the lituus, the aspergillum, and other pontifical instruments, as detailed under No. CCXXXVII. From this type it seems, that though the relentless persecutions of the Christians disgraced the reign of the Decii, those Princes paid every outward respect to their own religion, feeling with Cicero that Piety is—"Justitia adversus Deos." Indeed piety was a virtue which received the highest applause, for it was well thought that men who zealously worshipped the gods, would also be disposed to govern well; and it was deemed a fortunate omen to commence a reign with religious ceremonies. The adage of Tully differs little from the sentiment of St. Austin, who bases piety in the thinking highly of God :—" de Deo optimé existimare Pietatis est exordium."

There is a peculiarity in the legend of this medal, because it shews that though Herennius was yet but a Cæsar, he enjoyed the title of Augustus as well as his father. Of this there is no mention in the frequently-quoted inscription given by Gruter, whose admirable skill in philology reflects credit on his first instructress—the University of Cambridge.\*

#### CCCCLXXIV.

- Obverse. Q. HER. ETR. MES. DECIVS NOB. C. (Quintus Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius, Nobilis Cæsar.) The unlaureated profile of Herennius, with characteristics and attire as before, but rather older features. This medal, in very fine condition and covered with brownish-green patina, was purchased at Manfredonia, in 1819, for a sum equivalent to two-pence sterling.
- Reverse. PIETAS AVGG. (Pietas Augustorum.) In the field S. C. This is a manifestation of Roman Piety, as opposed to the devotion of the Christians, which was now degraded with the appellation of "The Impiety," rather than the more usual meaning of the fascia—filial affection, voluntas grata in parentes." It represents Mercury with the virga somnifera in his left hand, and the crumena, or leathern purse in his right; and except the petasus on his head, the talaria to his feet, and the chlamys over his shoulders, he is naked. See No. CCL. The light form and swift attributes of this God were probably derived from the phenomena of the planet of the same name, with whose motions the ancients were, to the credit of their acuteness, somewhat acquainted, though many modern astronomers are content to pass through life without looking out for it:

Jupiter occasu premitur; Venerisque salubre Sidus habet : motu celer Cyllenius hæret."

In allusion to the celerity of their prototype, the Roman messengers wore a feather in their caps, a custom continued in Italy to the present day, with the *Volanti*, or running footmen; and when the business was very pressing, a feather was put into the letter itself, which may explain Juvenal's

The "caducifer alis" may have derived its origin from the rod of Moses, since the worship of Mercury travelled from Egypt into Greece; or, as the illustrious Bacon expressed it— "a light air which passed from more ancient people into the flutes of the Grecians, and became modulated into the many beautiful harmonies of their most plastic and poetic religion." In proof of this I may mention that the figure strongly resembles one of a large Thoth, or Mercury, on a basaltic stone, which I accidentally picked up in Egypt, and which now stands in the library of the princely palace at Stowe.

<sup>•</sup> One can hardly mention Gruter's Alma Mater, without recollecting his obligations to his natural mother, who is an ornament to British female biography. This lady's maiden name was Catharine Fisher, and besides French, Italian, and English, she was completely mistress of Latin, and so well skilled in Greek, that she could read Galen in the original, which according to Bayle, is more than one physician in a thousand can do.

# HOSTILIANUS.

Caius Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus, the younger son of Decius and Etruscilla, was declared Cæsar at the same time with his brother Herennius, A. D. 249. It seems that he was left at Rome, when his father and brethren marched against King Cniva, by which he escaped the miserable fate that befel them, A. D. 251. Trebonianus Gallus, who succeeded to the empire, hoping to remove all impressions of his having been accessary to the calamity which had befallen the Roman army, politically adopted the young Prince, and married Volusian, his son, to the daughter of the deceased Emperor. There are few further particulars respecting this youth, except that he received the Fasces, and soon afterwards died of the dreadful plague which desolated Europe A. D. 252; a year marked by the combined scourges of famine, drought, and universal war.

Such is the whole of the brief story of Hostilianus, as it can be gleaned from very conflicting evidence, for there is not only great obscurity, but a mass of positive contradictions in the history of these times; and were it not for the intelligible and unquestionable testimony of medals and marbles, we should be all adrift. Thus one party declares that the Prince was elected by the Senate, when Gallus was proclaimed by the army; and another imputes his adoption to Decius, who was his real father. Eutropius seems to confound him with Gallus; and while Victor, reasonably enough, ascribes his death to the plague, Zosimus assures us that the Emperor caused him to be secretly assassinated. Some writers assert that he was married to Orbiana, while others are as sure that he was united to a daughter of Decius; and do not scruple to say that there are medals which prove it, though they omit telling us where they may be seen. Those who call him the son of Decius ground their opinion on the authority of Zosimus; while their opponents quote Zonaras and Cedrenus, and contend that the names "Valens Hostilianus" never belonged to the But Eckhel, in an able review of the controversy, shews the family of the Decii. weakness of the latter argument, and proves that the medal of *Severus* Hostilianus, cited in defence of this opinion by Goltzius, is a fabrication.

There are Latin medals of this Prince in each of the sizes and metals, yet they are not easily obtainable in high condition, and the gold is especially rare: there are also Greek-Imperial ones, and Colonial, but I never met with any struck in Egypt. Of the large-brass, those bearing the title and attributes of Augustus, are reckoned the scarcest, though the types are unimportant. The silver series is the most common; and is remarkable for having some inscribed C. OVAL. OSTIL. MES.

# (283)

COVINTVS CAESAR, which are evidently Greek words in Latin letters, and seem to prove that some of the Roman money, particularly that without the S. C., was made in the provinces.

## CCCCLXXV.

- Obverse. C. VALENS. HOSTIL. MES. QVINTVS N. C. (Caius Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus, Nobilis Cæsar.) The naked head of Hostilian, with very close-cut hair, smooth chin, projecting nose, and pleasing features, expressive of about fourteen years of age. This medal, in beautiful condition and covered with brown patina, was one of the Maltese hoard. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. In the field S. C. A young paludated warrior, with a spear in one hand, and a legionary ensign in the other: a device probably struck A. D. 249. It is corroborated by an inscription given in Gruter, which was found at Valencia. See No. CCLXXXIII. The Paludameutum was a square cloak, made of the finest wool, and worn from the shoulders—where it was fastened by the jewelled button called "candidus umbo" hanging down the back. It was principally assumed in camps, as being more suitable for action than the toga, whence the saying—" Togam paludamentum mutavit."

### CCCCLXXVI.

- Obverse. C. VALENS. HOSTIL. MES. QVINTVS N. C. (Caius Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus, Nobilis Cæsar.) The unlaurelled head of the Prince, with peculiarities as before, but the sagum on the shoulders is more widely spread. This medal is in extremely fine preservation, though thinly varnished with brown-and-green patina; it was one of the store found at Malta, as described under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS. On the exergum S. C. A female with her hair tastefully attired and diademed, but otherwise naked to the waist, is seated on a singular throne, with her left arm leaning upon a lyre, and her right hand holding an olive branch. This represents Juventas, the Goddess who presided over youth among the Romans, taking her charge at the assumption of the prætexta; but who, according to Vossius, should not be supposed identical with the Grecian Hebc. In the early modals of Marcus Aurelius, this deity is personated by a stolated matron standing at an altar; it is therefore difficult to decide why she is here unrobed: the olive-branch may indicate the exemption from war, enjoyed by the youth of Rome, when Gallus purchased his inglorious peace—if so, the medal must have been struck A. D. 251, just before Hostilian was associated in the Empire.

#### CCCCLXXVII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAE. C. VAL. HOS. MES. QVINTVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Caius Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Hostilian, with the expression of feature as above, save that the nose is less prominent. This medal, though mishapen from the dye, a fault which now becomes very common, is in excellent condition, and scarcely patinated; it was procured in exchange for a colonial one of the same Prince, from the Cavalier Ludovico Baille, of Cagliari, in 1824.
- Reverse. SECVRITAS AVGG. (Securitas Augustorum.) In the field S. C. A noble female leaning gracefully on a column, with her right hand upon her head—an attitude by which the Ancients symbolised sleep, the period of which requires the security afforded by a good government; she is naked to the loins, and in an attitude not unlike that of Venus Callipyga. This medal was struck to denote the stability of the state on the political union of Gallus and Hostilian, towards the close of A. D. 251. See No. CCCCXXI.

About this time there were medals struck to the young Prince, with Hygieia feeding her snake, and inscribed *Salus Augusti*, indicating that he had either recovered, or was convalescent from illness: these may have been premature, but they prove that he had been attacked; and his death, considering the circumstances of the time, is more likely to have resulted from disease, than from the treachery of his Imperial Associate.

## (284)

# TREBONIANUS GALLUS.

Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus was born about A. D. 207, his ancestry and country being alike uncertain, though there is ground for believing him to have been of good family, and a native of Meninx, the modern Jerbah, a spot which may be termed the Isle of Wight of Barbary. He rose to rank and station; but there is no mention of his employment, till we find him commanding the troops on the frontiers of Mœsia A. D. 250. In the following year, hastening to succour those Romans who had escaped the carnage at Abricium, he was proclaimed Emperor; and the Senate, having neither authority nor courage enough to resist the army, prudently acquiesced in the appointment.\* The history of his reign is involved in dense obscurity, and what one author asserts, is contradicted by another. It seems to be generally admitted that Hostilia Severa was his wife, though nothing more is said of her: yet there are some who mention Cornelia Supera as his consort, and others who assert that he was married to Afinia.<sup>†</sup> He was killed, together with his son, by his own soldiers, near Interamna, when marching against Æmilianus, A. D. 254, after a reign of two years and four months.

The character of Gallus has been most severely impugned, from allegations written recentibus odiis. He is accused of having betrayed Decius into the hands of the Goths; but that disaster is certainly as attributable to rashness as to any possible perfidy : besides which, his deification of Decius, his adoption of Hostilian, and marrying the daughter of the deceased emperor to his own son, are such cogent testimonies of his regard for the family of the Decii, as to invalidate the details of Zosimus. The imputation of his having destroyed his young co-adjutor has been already dismissed; and it remains to notice the third great charge which has been brought against him. It is averred that instead of revenging the death of his predecessor, he concluded a dishonorable peace, which rendered the Lords of Nations tributary to Barbarians; and that by purchasing his safety, he led on the future distress of his country : "The dangerous secret," says Gibbon, "of the wealth and weakness of the empire had been revealed to the world." But when the loss of two armies by the prowess of the same formidable foe is considered, and also that the Persians were then invading and the plague desolating his dominions, it seems to have been imperiously necessary that he should close with such terms

<sup>\*</sup> It is said that on receiving advice of Decius's death, the Senate clevated one Perpenna to the Purple, but that he died soon after his inauguration. The ever ready, and it must be added skilful, Goltzius produces a medal of him, inscribed IMP. CAES. AVF. PERPENNA LICINIAN. (Imperator Cœsar Aufidius Perpenna Licinianus.) But no other medallist has ever had the luck to see one.

<sup>+</sup> The Alexandrian Chronicle makes one of these ladies to be a very fury, cutting her husband's throat.

as could be obtained :---nor was he the first who had been driven to a pecuniary composition---for Domitian paid a yearly stipend to Decebalus; and Macrinus purchased a peace from the Parthians, at the price of a million and-a-half sterling, besides booty and captives. See Nos. CXXIII and CCCLXVIII.

But in endeavouring to vindicate Gallus from calumny, it is not my intention to shield him from the odium which he really deserves; for at a time of unexampled public misery-when the plague raged with unremitting violence, when great part of the empire was afflicted with drought and famine, and while the provinces were devastated by successive swarms of Barbarians—this effeminate ruler wallowed in all the sensualities of a mere brute, and consumed his time as a slave to his own voluptuous pleasures. Nay more—he revived and rigorously executed his predecessor's edicts against the Christians, and proved himself to be as cruel as he was unmanly : "As for Gallus," says Eusebius, alluding to this persecution, "he neither remembered the calamities of Decius, nor did he consider, so diligently as he ought, what had been the chief occasion of his ruin, but unhappily stumbled against the same stone." The defence of the state being thus abandoned by the Emperor, it was assumed by Emilianus, the commander in Mæsia, who gallantly cleared his province of the Goths, and killed many thousands of them, in consequence of which the soldiers saluted him as their sovereign. This measure aroused Gallus from the ignominious lethargy into which he had fallen; but it was now too late-the die was cast, he met with the end he merited, and left a name which is deservedly contemptible.

There was a large coinage of Trebonianus Gallus in Rome, Greece, Egypt, and the Colonies, though there is nothing very important in the types, except some particulars of the tribunitian power, which have enabled medallists to correct the chronology of those confused times. Of the Latin mintage, the silver, and large and middle-brass are common, but there are no assaria. Le Menestrier describes a medal of Gallus, in honour of his wife : the obverse shewing the head of a middleaged woman, with her hair short and negligently dressed, is inscribed HOSTILIA SEVERA AVGVSTA—the reverse has a female seated, with IVNO MARTIALIS; but the old gentleman must have been imposed upon. The sestertii, which have been declining for some time, now fall off rapidly both in execution and spread; besides which they are so mishapen that the engrailment, or ring of dots, is seldom perfect, and the characters are indistinct from the similarity of N to M, while the latter resembles IVI.

## CCCCLXXVIII.

Obverse. IMP. CAES. C. VIBIVS TREBONIANVS GALLVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with close hair and beard, and a large throat, the face being, as Tristan says, assez martiale et virile, but at the same time rather *plebeian*. This medal, though somewhat mishapen, is in the best preservation, and partially tinted with grass-green patina; it formed one of the hoard described under No. CCCXCV.

Reverse. IVNONI MARTIALI. On the exergum S. C. A richly attired and veiled matron is seated on a throne, and what is remarkable, holds up a globe in her left hand: in her right she has a bunch, which has been called an olive-branch, ears of wheat, and heads of lances ;—but Eckhel very positively maintains that it is a pair of shears for cutting hair, and supports his argument by learned quotations, summing up in these words: "At vero iterum aio nummos hujus argumenti copiosos, et nitidissimos musei Cæsarei certam nobis forficulam offerre." On those medals which represent the deity in a temple, only one pair of scissars is observable but this figure holds three, so that each of the Parcæ might have been accommodated. This type appears to have begun and ended with the present reign, though the worship of Juno Martialis was dated from the rape of the Sabines; but she was now invoked, with all the Gods of Olympus, to stay the plague which afflicted the empire. See No. CLXXXIX.

### CCCCLXXIX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. C. VIBIVS TREBONIANVS GALLVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, Augustus.) The laureated profile of Gallus, with peculiarities as on the last, but with a sharper and more anxious look. This medal, in excellent preservation and varnished with black patina, was purchased at Lord Morton's sale, in 1830.
- Reverse. AETERNITAS AVGG. (*Eternitas Augustorum.*) In the field S. C. A noble female richly attired, holding back her vest with the left hand, and upon her right, supporting a globe, on which rests a phœnix with a radiated head. See No. CCXXXI. This was struck in the vain hope that the empire would continue for ever in the Vibian family. If it was issued A. D. 251, then it related to Hostilian, but if in the following year, the associated Augustus was Volusian: "hac sola pernicie, insignes Gallus, et Volusianus," says Paulus Orosius, in speaking of the horrid plague then raging. The Rev. W. Cooke, who engraved this type, has made a serious mistake as to its import, in adducing it as a proof that both the father and son were deified.

#### CCCCLXXX.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. C. VIBIVS TREBONIANVS GALLVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, Augustus.) The laurelled profile of the Emperor. with short hair and character nearly as before, but a more sedate expression; the shoulders are covered with a sagum. This medal, in full preservation and incrusted with dense-green patina, was purchased from a collector at Naples, in 1820.
- Reverse. APOLL. SALVTARI. (Apollini Salutari.) In the field S. C. A bold and well-executed naked figure of Apollo—"intonsus et crinitus;" he looks to the left, with one hand on a lyre, placed upon a rock, and the other holding a branch of laurel, which was sacred to him. As the ancients generally ascribed to this deity cases of sudden death, especially when the deceased was "sun-smitten," so also they deemed his power omnipotent in assuaging pestilence.\* The malady which gave occasion to the striking of this medal, seems to have travelled from Ethiopia, and is said to have raged 15 years, in an unheard of manner, destroying incredible numbers of people; so that the altars of the Gods were earnestly resorted to, and Apollo was implored by the whole empire. Nor was his sister forgotten, for *Diana Venatrix*, with her bow and arrow, first appears on medals, in this reign; she was therefore probably invoked to avert the scourge, being considered a *doctress*. From this plague St. Cyprian, the martyred Bishop of Carthage, took occasion to write his excellent treatise " De Mortalitate." See Nos. CCII and CCCLIV.

\* Second-brass medals are found, inscribed to Apollo Arnazi, which, from wanting the S. C. are apparently Colonial. Pellerin conjectures the word to be compounded from Arna and Asisium, two towns of Umbria.

### CCCCLXXXI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. C. VIBIVS TREBONIANVS GALLVS AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Caius Vibius Trebonianus Gallus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Gallus, with short hair and beard, good features, and a calmer expression than on the last. This medal is in excellent preservation, being round, and cased with brown patina, on which are some pea-green spots; it was one of the Maltese hoard mentioned under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. P. M. TR. P. IIII. COS. II. P. P. (Pontifex Maximus, Tribunitia potestate quartum, Consul iterum, Pater Patriæ.) In the field S. C. Gallus in sacerdotal vestments and veiled, stands before an altar, with the sacred patera in his right hand, and a truncheon in his left. He is therefore in the character of Pontifex Maximus, for the patera held by a mortal, shews his priestly office; but in the hand of an immortal, indicates that he was sacrificed to. In this character the Emperor presided over all religious ceremonies, feasts, and institutions; he was also the Annalist—""Pontificum libri"—and Astronomer of the State, and by consequence the regulator of the year; for to his care it was owing, that the festivals appointed for certain days, fell at their appropriate seasons.\* See No. XXIV. This medal was struck A. D. 254, on Gallus's taking the field against Æmilianus; for it was a sacred obligation that the Commander of an army, previous to quitting Rome on an expedition, should implore the favour of the Gods, and especially sacrifice in the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus—"in hoc templo Imperatores ad bella ituri vota nuncupabant."

It may be remarked, that Volusianus, the son, has a medal exactly of this type and date; but it is known that all Augusti, colleagues in the empire, from the time of Balbinus and Pupienus, were Pontifices Maximi together. See No. CCCCXXXII.

## VOLUSIANUS.

Caius Vibius Afinius Trebonianus Gallus Veldumnianus Volusianus was the son of Trebonianus Gallus, and—according to many—of Hostilia Severa; but from appearances, it is probable that his mother's name was Afinia. He seems to have been a young man when Gallus obtained the sovereignty, having been declared Cæsar, at the close of A. D. 251; and on the death of Hostilian, in the year following, styled Augustus. He was married to Herennia Etruscilla, as before mentioned, but we do not find that he had any children by her. He shared in all the dangers and prosperity of his father, and was assassinated with him, A. D. 254. Occo mentions a denarius inscribed *Consecratio*; but it is not probable that he received the honour of an apotheosis, and the genuineness of the coin may well be doubted.

Volusian is said to have resembled Gallus in manners as well as in fortune, being strongly given to indolence, yet withal so charitable and kind, that during the horrors of the plague, he attended personally, and was careful that the rites of

<sup>\*</sup> Julius Cæsar first published the debates of the Senate; and though this "liberty" was checked by the cautious Augustus, four different records came into vogue: the first related to the acts of the Emperors,—the second to those of the Conscript Fathers,—the third to the public transactions of the People,—and the fourth to the festivals, births, marriages, deaths, and domestic occurrences. The last was called the *Diurna*, and was circulated through Italy and the Provinces.

sepulture should be paid to those who died. A noble medallion which informs us of his magnificent entry into Rome, and, like that of Philip, is inscribed Virtus Augustorum, was stamped as an evidence that the father and son had gained the throne by valour and merit, and not by treachery. But that ardent antiquary, Lætus, in his "Compendium" describes their reign as—" infaustum, atque infelix, rerum gestarum monumentis obscurum, verùm clade generis humani memoriæ traditum."

The medals of this Prince are nearly of similar value and device with those of his father, and were also struck in Rome, Greece, Egypt, and the Colonies; though the types are mostly trite. Of the Latin mint, the silver, and large and middle-brass are common, but there are no small-brass known. It should be observed, that the name of Trebonianus is given to Volusian, only upon the Greek-Imperial coins; and his titles of *Pius*, *Felix*, are confined to the colonial ones.

## CCCCLXXXII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAE. C. VIB. VOLVSIANO AVG. (Imperatori Cæsari Caio Vibio Volusiano, Augusto.) The laureated head of Volusian, with close hair, smooth chin, and whiskers on the side of the face; the features are good, but common, and are expressive of about 25 years of age. This medal is round, even to the beads of the engrailment, and is in the highest preservation, though scarcely patinated; it was found at Malta. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. CONCORDIA AVGG. (Concordia Augustorum.) In the field S. C. A stolated matron stands with a patera in her right hand, and two cornucopiæ in her left, alluding to the peace and abundance which must result, from the happy harmony existing between the father and son, when it was minted, in A. D. 252. Peace, Tranquillity, and Concord,\* present but one idea; yet the Romans made three distinct goddesses of them. The last was a beneficent deity, and promoted peace in families; the first settled the animosities of states: Concord was also the founder of amity and good-will among people under the same prince; as was Peace between them and nations under other sovereigns. This virtue is said to be often represented "sub imagine Ciconiæ;" but it certainly cannot be frequent on Roman medals, that bird being rather a symbol of Maternal Love, whence Petronius calls it "Pietatis cultrix." See No. CXCI.

#### CCCCLXXXIII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAE. C. VIB. VOLVSIANO AVG. (Imperatori Cæsari Caio Vibio Volusiano, Augusto.) The laureated portrait of Volusian, with particulars as above, but with somewhat of a better expression of countenance, and the robes over the shoulders more distinctly marked. This medal, in the highest preservation and barely discoloured, was one of the Maltese hoard. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. IVNONI MARTIALI. In the field S. C. A circular temple on a triple plinth, with an ornamented dome, and festoons between the columns; in the adytum sits a female figure, with the "forficula" in her right hand, but there is no peacock. This device was struck on the

<sup>\*</sup> I cannot mention these words, without recollecting a humorous misunderstanding of the last. During the rejoicings for the peace in 1802, some English sailors passing by the house of M. Otto, the French Ambassador, in Portman Square, and sceing, among other preparations for the illumination, the words *Peace* and *Concord*, by mistake read the latter conquer'd. On which one of them furiously should out "they conquer us; they be d-d!" and immediately thundlered a peal at the door. Half a dozen lacqueys answered the knock from within, and a crowd collected without. The indignant sailors demanded the reason for placing that obnoxious word, which was carefully explained, but to no purpose; so that M. Otto actually ordered it to be taken down, and the word *Amity* placed in its stead.

same occasion, as No. CCCCLXXVIII. The epithet of martial, applied to Juno-" cui vincla jugalia curæ,"-was probably derived from her being the mother of Mars, whom she had so singularly conceived. She was adored by the Sabines, as a curite Goddess, or one armed with a spear : and Ovid makes Mars consign to her, the care of the "Eternal City" and of Romulus, who as his son, was her grand-son :--

"Sed neque poeniteat; nec gens mihi carior ulla est:

Hîc colar, hîc teneam cum Jove templa meo.

Ipse mihi Mavors, 'Commendo mœnia,' dixit, 'Hæc tibi ; tu pollens urbe nepotis eris.'"

On thus introducing an uncommon edifice, it may be remarked that besides the Capitol, the Pantheon, and others of the first rank, there were no fewer than 400 temples in Rome, exclusive of their Lararia, and other places, wherein sacred statues were placed. They preferred the most elevated sites for them, whence Virgil's--

> "Tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis, Urbe fecit summâ.'

## **ÆMILIANUS**.

Marcus Sallustius Caius\* Julius Aemilius Aemilianus was born in Mauretania, of a humble family, about A. D. 208-"obscurissime natus, obscuriùs imperavit," says Eutropins. Serving as a soldier, he raised himself through successive ranks, and is said to have gained the Fasces; but this is not recorded in the Fasti. He governed Mœsia and Pannonia under Gallus; and having rallied the intimidated Romans, defeated the barbarian invaders with immense carnage, and compelled them to retire; a gallantry for which the elated soldiers saluted him Emperor, on the field of battle, in the autumn of A. D. 253. The intelligence of this revolt, and the consequent hostile approach of the rebel, broke Gallus from his pleasures, and he marched forth at the head of a considerable army; on which occasion the Senate branded the usurper as a public enemy to the State. But the contest was quickly decided, and that accommodating Body readily confirmed the victor in all those titles which the army had bestowed upon him, adding their legal sanction to the right of conquest. The historical fog of these times is dense indeed. It seems that on the advance of Valerian with his disciplined legions, the army of Æmilianus. composed of traitors to their former sovereign, again "turned tail," and slew their late idol. But while some agree that Æmilian's revolt thus met with its desert. others affirm that he was executed by order of his rival; and a third party maintains that he died a natural death. "They fell upon their leader, to avoid shedding the blood of their fellow-citizens," says Zonaras; "he died of disease," cries Aurelius Victor, who is followed by Casaubon; and, according to Victor the Younger, he

<sup>\*</sup> The prænomen of Caius is only seen upon one coin; but Marcus is common on those of Dacia and Viminacium. Banduri mentions a medal with the name of Julius, but Eckhel thinks it is only to be found in Goltzius. Sallustius is derived from SAL. on a coin of Damascus, which is also cited by Banduri.

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was butchered near Spoletum, at a place thenceforward called the "bloody bridge." Eutropius only remarks, that he died after an obscure reign of three months (Zonaras says four,) but does not hint that he was murdered; what he says, however, is sufficient to shew clearly that Æmilian came between Gallus and Valerian, and vanished in A. D. 254.

The character of this Prince labours under the same conflicting uncertainty as his end; but he must have had much personal merit, to have raised himself from the humblest to the highest stations. He seems to have been brave without rashness; and had he lived, would probably have accomplished the promises he made to the Senate, of clearing the empire from all its enemies, by driving the Goths out of Thrace, and the Persians out of Mesopotamia. According to some authors, he governed with mildness and moderation; according to others, he was arbitrary and tyrannical, acting more like a soldier than a prince, and doing many things highly unbecoming an Emperor. Pedrusi abuses him as barbarous and sordid; and, irritated at his vile extraction, asserts "non era capace di spiriti nobili, e generosi." As these invectives go beyond what can be proved by evidence, I cannot agree with him; nor altogether with the peroration which a modern historian has delivered, in these words:—" He got the empire by treachery and ingratitude, kept it without any reputation, and lost it shamefully."

Though some fastidious authors will hardly admit the title of this Emperor, his *reign* is one of interest to numismatists and antiquaries. The employment of *Comes Domesticorum*, so celebrated in the fourth century, now first appears as the Commander of the *Domestici*, or household guards; they were superior to the Prætorians in rank; and were, under the Christian Emperors, honoured with the sacred Labarum. Comes, (whence the modern term Count,) was therefore already a title of dignity, and does not, as some imagine, owe its original to Constantine. There is also some slight medallic evidence, that the despotic appellation of *Dominus* was assumed as a title by Æmilian; though the "*Domino Nostro Cæsari Æmiliano fortissimo principi*" of Goltzius, seems rather suspicious.

A Roman mintage in honour of Æmilian took place, in each of the metals, and of the three general sizes; for there are even assaria with the S. C.; but they are all, together with the Colonial and Greek-Imperial coins, of great rarity, and, I believe, no Egyptian ones have been found. As the large-brass are especially valuable, and the head bears a considerable resemblance to that of Philip Senior, the falsarii have ingeniously, but roguishly, made some transformations to cheat the unwary. Yet about this time, strange mistakes occur, even on medals which are undoubtedly true; and such incongruous reverses appear, that it seems as if, on the accession of a new

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Emperor, only the portrait was shifted; as was the case, a few years ago, with the English local tokens. It is not in the close observance of such types as the Apollo, and Diana Venatrix, which might have been re-engraven, that this is so apparent, as in the legends "Concordia Augg." and "Æternitas Augg." which, from their plural form, if not relating to this Emperor's wife, must have belonged to Gallus, Hostilianus, or Volusianus.

Æmilian was married to Caia vel Cnea Cornelia Supera, a Princess known only by her medals, which, of the Latin mint, are restricted to silver and small-brass, and are of extreme rarity. She was formerly assigned as a wife to Valerian Junior; while others gave her to Gallus; but the judicious Eckhel produces medallic and irrefragable proof that those opinions are erroneous, and restores the lady to her true place. On a denarius shewn me, in the museum of the Benedictine Convent of S. Martino, near Palermo, she seems about 30 years of age, having good features, and her hair arranged somewhat similar to Etruscilla's, but with a band at the hinder part of the head. The bust is placed upon a crescent, perhaps in recollection of Cicero's—" Infra Lunam jam nihil est nisi mortale et caducum, supra Lunam sunt æterna omnia." See note to p. 262.

## CCCCLXXXIV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. AEMILIANVS P. F. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Æmilianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laureated head of the Emperor, with short hair, a close but thick beard, and a sensible middle-aged countenance, with somewhat of a Moorish cast. This medal, though mishapen from the mint, is in very excellent preservation, and partially tinged with greenish patina; it was one of the Maltese hoard. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. VICTORIA AVG. Victoria Augusti.) In the field S. C. A winged Victory in transparent robes—" tenues sinuantur flamina vestes"—marching across the field, with a palm-branch in one hand, and a laurel crown in the other. The decree which had declared Æmilian a public enemy, was now rescinded; he was invested with the imperial power and honours, and his late victory over the Goths celebrated by the medal before us. Some have supposed it to commemorate his advantage over Gallus, which is very unlikely, as there was no battle. Gibbon thinks the conflict was with new swarms of Barbarians, who did not hold themselves bound by the obligation into which their brethren had entered with the Romans; but Pomponius Lætus, self-styled Infortunatus, whose advantages were surpassed only by his enthusiasm and diligence, expressly says—" Cum Scythæ, solertissimum latrocinaudi genus, contenti pretio non essent."

### CCCCLXXXV.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. AEMILIANVS P. F. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Æmilianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with details as before, but the expression more placid, and the robes over the shoulders better expressed. This medal, though mishapen, is in admirable perfection, and varnished with brown patina; it was obtained at Lepanto, in 1820.
- Reverse. SPES PVBLICA. In the field S. C. The figure of Hope, attired in transparent drapery, and holding the blossom, as on No. XXXIX. This device expresses the general wish for an auspicious government, and an anticipation of the fulfilment of the Emperor's promises. But the great and good Valerian was advancing with forced marches, and the hope faded before his approach, so that, according to Eutropius, "tertio mense extinctus est;" that writer,

however, must have reckoned Æmilian's reign only from the death of Gallus—and not from the time when the former was proclaimed, as others have done. The same type was also struck in small-brass.

#### CCCCLXXXVI.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. AEMILIANVS P. F. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Æmilianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laurelled head of Æmilian, with good but very sedate features, and the hair, beard, and other particulars, as on the last. This medal, densely cased in Saxon-green patina and in capital condition, was purchased on the 28th day of Mr. M. Trattle's sale, in 1832.
- Reverse. VOTIS DECENNALIBVS S. C. (Votis Decennalibus, Senatus Consultu.) An inscription encircled by a garland, as on No. CCCCXXXIX. This expresses the vows for a happy decennium, which were publicly voted at the accession of the new Emperor, in the prospect of a prolongation of his reign: but the solemnity was of no avail against the progress of his puissant adversary.

Some difficulty occurs as to the date of these medals, from the circumstance of there being legends with TRIB. POT. I., which must have been in A. D. 253: but the coins which bear them were Colonial, as is evident from the numeral. And  $\pounds$ milian having only reached Rome early in A. D. 254, we may safely assign all the Latin mintage to that year. It should be added that the three medals which record the Consulship, as mentioned by Angeloni, Tanini, and Mezzo-barba, are doubted. This circumstance of the Tribunitian Power appears to have escaped the recollection of the ablest forgers; and I have before me a coin which has been fabricated from a Philip Senior, with the portrait carefully tooled to resemble the Moorish expression of  $\pounds$ milian, and the legend apparently so perfect as to deceive any eye, but that of an experienced medallist—yet the reverse has been left P. M. TR. P. 1111. COS. II. P. P. !

### CCCCLXXXVII.

- Obverse. IMP. CAES. AEMILIANVS P. F. AVG. (Imperator Cæsar Æmilianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laureated profile of the Emperor, with close hair and beard, and grave but intelligent features. This rare medal seems to have received a bruise in minting, but is otherwise in the highest perfection though scarcely patinated; it was one of those found at Malta, as described under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. APOLL. CONSERVAT. (Apollini Conservatori.) In the field S. C. Apollo Lyristes, beardless and crinite, stands, as the author of all harmony, with a branch of laurel in his right hand, and his left supporting a lyre which rests on a rock. See No. CCCCLXXX. Apollo was a most popular deity, though Lucian stigmatized him as a vain and lying fortune-teller. He appears upon the medals of all sizes and metals of this reign; not in the feminine apparel of the Palatine statue, but as a noble youth, delicate yet vigorous, with limbs free, and an attitude not very dissimilar from that of the immortal Apollo Venator, thus celebrated by a poet of our day:-

" Or view the Lord of the unerring bow, The God of life, and poesy, and light— The SUN in human limbs array'd, and brow All radiant from his triumph in the fight; The shaft hath just been shot—the arrow bright With an immortal's vengeance; in his eye And nostril beautiful disdain, and might, And majesty, flash their full lightnings by, Developing in that one glance the Deity."\*

<sup>\*</sup> This poetic description of what, to my own feeling, is the finest statue in the world, must be softened by the prose one of Master Edmund Warcupp, who wrote for "General Satisfaction," in 1660 :— "In the fifth armory (of the Vatiean) is the Apollo Pitheo, with a serpent at his feet, and carcase having a piece of cloth upon one arm, a bow and arrows in his hand, and all over naked." It should be noticed, that modern antiquaries, if they see a serpent, however peaceful its attitude, as an attribute of Apollo, will have it to be Python,—whereas it is merely an emblem of the God of Health.

# VALERIANUS.

Publius Licinius Valerianus \* was born of a noble family, A. D. 190; and served with such signal reputation, in the principal civil and military employments of the State, under both good and bad emperors, that he was judged worthy of supreme authority, before he attained it. He rose to the consular dignity A. D. 237; and was deputed by the Africans, in the following year, to advocate the cause of the Gordians, at Rome. When the office of Censor was revived, A. D. 251, Valerian, who was then serving in Thrace, was unanimously named by the Senate, for that important station, saying :---" Let Valerian be Censor : let him, who has no faults of his own, note and correct the faults of others; he, whose prudence, modesty, and gravity, become the Senator; who is the friend of good men, the foe of tyrants; the enemy of vice, illustrious by descent, correct in life, eminent for learning, unexcelled in morals, the counterpart of antiquity." Being ordered against Æmilian, his soldiers, on learning the death of Gallus, invested him with the Purple A. D. 253, and their choice was confirmed in the following year. In A. D. 258 he marched to oppose the Persians, who were laying waste Asia-Minor with fire and sword; where, about two years afterwards, he had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the cruel Sapor, who had been worrying the Romans from the time of the Gordians. Here the venerable sovereign underwent the Væ Victis ! so often uttered by his countrymen; and after suffering the most brutal indignities, died in captivity, about A. D. 263, in the 74th year of his age. His calamity was commiserated by all the princes of the earth, save his son Gallienus,-who, however, taking advantage of a report of his death, deified him.

Valerian was undoubtedly a man of integrity and praise-worthy conduct, and must have steered clear of the vices of those dissolute times, or he could not have obtained such an established and popular character: but his capacity appears to have been over-rated; and it may be doubted whether he were not deficient in the activity, discretion, and resolution required in emergencies. On his accession, he studied to justify the great opinion which the world had conceived of him. He enacted many excellent laws, advanced men of merit, moderated the taxes, suppressed many prevalent disorders of the age, and, had he remained merely a Censor at Rome, might have preserved the affections of the Senate and the People. He began by treating the Christians with singular kindness and humanity; but in the third year of his reign, instigated by one Macrianus, an Egyptian *Conjuror*, commenced a furious persecution against them, throughout

<sup>\*</sup> To these names Victor the Younger adds "Colobius," which does not appear upon medals.

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the whole empire; and many thousands of these victims were put to unheard-of tortures and shameful deaths, in the hope of averting the plague! For this the learned Dr. Holyday—who owns that he felt a divine rapture in publishing *poetry*—thus lashes him—

"Valerian Christians vext, Sapores flay'd him, How cruelty helps justice ! they repaid him."

The captivity of Valerian threw the Empire into the deepest affliction, being the most signal disgrace which had befallen the Romans, since the defeat of Crassus, or, indeed, since the foundation of their City. But whether he was fairly taken in the field, or perfidiously seized during a conference is uncertain. The haughty Persian tarnished the glory of his success by ungenerous insolence towards his unfortunate prisoner. After having exhibited him loaded with chains, over purple robes, he made him his footstool, while mounting his horse; jocosely remarking, that " this posture was a better proof of who had conquered, than all the pictures which the Romans could paint."\* The unhappy and aged Emperor endured the humiliations of the vilest slaves; and, after death, his body was flayed, and the skin, died red and stuffed with straw, was exposed to public derision in a temple.<sup>+</sup>

The medals of Valerian are found in every form and metal, as well Latin, as Greek-Imperial, Colonial, and Egyptian; the most common being the silver, the middle and the small-brass. Numerous sestertii were struck, but with trite reverses, resembling those of the other Emperors about that time, as Apollo, Fides, Salus, Concordia, Securitas, and Votis Decennalibus. Some of these are poor in design, and clumsy in shape; wherefore those are most prized which have roundness, and a fair spread. One of the denarii bears a type of Diana the huntress, drawing an arrow from its quiver, inscribed RELIGIO; a legend which otherwise only appears on a medal of Marcus Aurelius. See No. CCL. Another denarius bears DEO VOLKANO, which from the orthography, was probably not struck at Rome. The types of this hard-working God—alike ridiculed for his lameness, which was his misfortune, and his dirtiness, which was the fault of his trade—are very scarce, and supremely so upon large-brass : he is usually represented meanly attired, with a beard and matted hair, as when he officiously limped into the berth of Ganymede :—

"Vulcan with awkward grace his office plies, And unextinguish'd laughter shakes the skies."

<sup>\*</sup> The triumphs of Sapor, and his contest with Valerian, were the subjects of many sculptures in bas-relief, several of which are still extant.

<sup>↑</sup> The account of Agathias, that the aged Monarch was skinned alive, and rubbed with salt, is not corroborated by any other ancient historian. Occosays—" Tandem ipsum crudellissima morte, à cervicibus cute ad imos pedes detracta, necavit."

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### CCCCLXXXVIII.

- Obverse. IMP. C. P. LIC. VALERIANVS P. F. AVG. (Imperator, Cæsar, Publius Licinius Valerianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laureated profile of Valerian, with close hair, smooth chin, good eye, and aquiline nose; but the face is fat; the throat short and thick. This medal, in very superior condition, the metal being barely discoloured, was one of those found at Malta, as mentioned under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. ORIENS AVGG. (Oriens Augustorum.) In the field S. C. Appollo Gradiens, with his right hand raised, and a globe in his left; he is naked except a light chlamys over the shoulders, and a "corona radiata" on his head—"imposuitque comæ radios." I cannot deem this device a vain boast of advantages gained in the East, as it has been called, but rather take it for a tribute of Pagan piety. The Sun, as observed under No. CCCLXXXII, was always a favourite object of worship; and it was now regarded with unusual veneration, on account of the increasing desolation of the plague, especially because the Lord of the Silver Bow, was looked upon as an inflictor, as well as a stayer of pestilence. Thus Shakspeare makes Leontes, the King of "Sicilia," on hearing of his son's sudden death, exclaim—

" Apollo's angry; and the heavens themselves

Do strike at my injustice."

## CCCCLXXXIX.

- Obverse. IMP. C. P. LIC. VALERIANVS P. F. AVG. (Imperator, Cæsar, Publius Licinius Valerianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with a physiognomy resembling the above; and somewhat corroborative of the description which says he was tall, well-made, and of a majestic air : his constitution, it is added, was robust. This medal, though not well spread, is in admirable perfection, and the original colour of the metal scarcely altered, from its having been hermetically sealed, in one of the Maltese amphoræ. See No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. FIDES MILITVM. In the field S. C. A female figure, in the full robes of a Roman matron, with her hair splendidly arranged, stands in the centre of the field, holding an ensign in each hand, to which are suspended little bucklers and other military ornaments, in order to commemorate the fidelity of the legions to the Emperor. This coin was probably minted early in A. D. 254, on an occasion similar to that mentioned under No. CCCCXLIX. The army was certainly devoted to Valerian, which was fortunate for the empire, since hordes of Barbarians were sorely harassing the frontiers, on all sides; and the Franks now make their first appearance in history. But though most able generals—as Aurelian, Postumus, Balista, Probus, Aureolus, Ingenuus—were put into commission, the Public was longing for a peaceful delivery from war, as may be seen by the denarii struck about this time, to Jupiter Pacator Orbis.

#### CCCCXC.

- (bverse, IMP. C. P. LIC. VALERIANVS P. F. AVG. (Imperator, Casar, Publius Licinius Valerianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with characteristics as before, and the shoulders clothed in Senatorial vestments. This medal, which is in high preservation, round, and varnished with green-and-brown patina—was presented to me by Lieutenant Thomas Graves, R. N. in 1825.
- Reverse. LIBERALITAS AVGG. III. (Liberalitas Augustorum tertia.) In the field S. C. A stolated female, personifying Liberality, with her attributes, the cornucopiæ, and a tessera marked with six spots, as the amount of the donation. This was probably struck about the end of A. D. 257, when Valerian had occupied himself in regulating the disorders of the State, and making provision for their future prevention : and among other acts for maintaining his popularity, he was liberal to the people--" Congiariis Populum mollivit," says Trebellius Pollio. But the arts of peace were too sadly depressed by the disorganised condition of public affairs, and the hostile invasions on the Rhine, the Danube, and the Euphrates. Count Mezzo-barba reasonably suggests, that this donative was given upon the Emperor's quitting Rome, to assume the command in the East.

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### CCCCXCI.

- Obverse. IMP. C. P. LIC. VALERIANVS P. F. AVG. (Imperator, Cæsar, Publius Licinius Valerianus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laureated head of Valerian, with details as before, and a sedate expression of features. This medal, in the very best condition and slightly covered with brown patina, was one of the Maltese hoard. See No. CCCCXCV.
- Reverse. VICTORIA AVGG. (Victoria Augustorum.) In the field S.C. A winged Victory, habited in long robes, stands with her right hand upon a shield resting on the ground, and in her left, holds a palm-branch—" pretium victoribus." On the Roman family medals this Goddess is very frequently represented in a chariot drawn rapidly along by two horses, from which they were called Victoriati; but on large-brass she generally appears with a laurel crown and the palm-branch : this type, therefore, with a shield is unusual. She was afterwards represented with a trophy, whence Claudian, De Laudibus Stilichonis:

Gaudia, cum totis exsurgens ardua pennis, Ipsa Duci sacras Victoria panderet ædes, Et palmâ viridi gaudens, et amicta trophæis Custos Imperii Virgo."

This medal was probably struck about A. D. 259, when Antioch was retaken, and the rebellious Cyriades slain. For as yet every thing prospered with Valerian; and the successes of Gallienus in the West, of Aurelian in Illyricum, and of Regillianus in Pannonia, authorised the present stable type of Victory. It is therefore difficult to surmise, why Sapor was not closely pressed after the catastrophe of A. D. 260. The graceless successor made no effort to redeem his father, though most of the foreign princes, and even the allies of the Persians, implored his freedom. The arrogant victor, however, was so elated with his success, that he would neither regard menaces, nor listen to entreaties; but the prowess of the chivalrous Odenathus, of Palmyra, humbled his pride, and must have destroyed him, had not the domestic treachery of Zenobia occurred. It is recorded, that nothing aggravated the anguish of the miserable captive, more than the ungrateful neglect of his son, feeling with Lear—

> "How sharper than a serpent's tooth it is To have a thankless child !"

## MARINIANA.

Nothing is known of Mariniana except from medals; but as Trebellius Pollio shews that Valerian was twice married, and that his sons Gallienus and Valerian Junior were by different mothers, she is considered as the second wife of that Emperor, especially as the fabric of their medals is in strict resemblance. On these premises a romantic and affecting tale of her captivity, by Sapor, has obtained currency; but whether mother, spouse, sister, or daughter of Valerian, which are alike uncertain,\* she could not have shared his humiliations, since a coin of Viminacium affords positive proof that she was deified in A. D. 254; and must consequently have died at the commencement of the reign.

\* It is, of course, most probable, that she was the wife of Valerian, but her title of Augusta is unrecorded.

The family of Valerian has greatly perplexed inquisitive antiquaries; and the name of his first wife is no where mentioned : Eckhel thinks it might have been Galliena-" Conjicere subit, fuisse dictam Gallienam, a qua nomen filio, ut Domitiano a matre Domitiâ, Herennio Etrusco ab Herenniâ Etruscillâ." Mariniana is *supposed* to have been the daughter of Carvilius Marinus, who commanded Pannonia under Philip; and she is usually recognized as the mother of Valerian Junior. Mons. de Serviez, who is never at a loss, tells us that her exaltation only served to make her modesty and humility more conspicuous; and, for the edification of the Duc de Chartres, boldly adds-" Mariniana had the same fate with her husband, and fell into the hands of the Persians. Sapor respected neither her sex nor her dignity. He treated her with the utmost brutality, so that a Roman empress was forced to submit to such mortifications as would scarce have been put upon the meanest of women. There are but few people that have philosophy enough to endure such heavy strokes of fortune as these. Mariniana, besides her own ill-usage, had always before her eyes that of Valerian. The Persians made their chains daily more insupportable, by adding to their miserable condition the most outrageous affronts. The poor unfortunate empress, not being able to bear it any longer, died, and had the vexation of leaving the most illustrious person on earth, in the power of his bitter enemies, who made a jest of his calamities."

The medals of Mariniana are rare, and, if in good condition, high-priced; and except the Colonial one of Viminacium already mentioned, they are confined to the silver, and three sizes of brass of the Roman mint. The fascia is generally *Consecratio*; but a denarius has been described with *Felicitas Deorum*, which is curious as being an unusual legend.

### CCCCXCII.

- Obverse. DIVAE MARINIANAE. The head of a beautiful womau, with a face expressive of thoughtfulness and intelligence. Her hair is carefully attired, and a sacred veil falls from the back of the diadem to the peplus, which covers the shoulders: thus recording the honours of consecration to a lady, whose imperial title is not given. This fine medal, in high perfection and slightly tinted with green-and-brown patina, was one of those found at Malta, as described under No. CCCXCV.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. In the field S. C. A peacock standing with his tail expanded. This is the only large-brass reverse of Mariniana among all those recovered at Casal Zurica, nor have I ever seen any other; yet a variation from it is priced by M. Mionnet-" Paon enlevant I'Impératrice"-at20 francs. This is another instance of the impropriety of pricing a catalogue; for as there is not a coin of that type either in the French Collection, the British Museum, or any other cabinet that I have inspected, it is clear that, if it could be purchased, 20 francs would be a very iuadequate sum. But such an attempt is liable to another and more serious objection: for no medal can be valued till it has been seen and examined. It is idle to say that such a step is an approximation towards a standard, because every hour of medallic experience proves the contrary. The portrait shews, that the veil was still the distinctive mark of deification, nor were

The portrait shews, that the veil was still the distinctive mark of deification, nor were the apotheosis done away from medals, till after the time of Constantine, when a hand from the clouds, bestowing a crown, was substituted.

### GALLIENUS.

Publius Licinius Gallienus,\* the son of Valerian by his first wife, was born about A. D. 218, and associated in the empire, A. D. 253. Having the command of the army in the West, he was, for several years, very successful over the Alemanni,+ the Heruli, and the Franks : and in A. D. 260, became sole Emperor, when his father unhappily fell into the hands of Sapor. But this rank was now an unenviable honour: for no sooner did the tidings of the defeat of the Romans reach the barbarous nations, than incredible multitudes poured in on all sides, while treason, and pestilence, floods and earthquakes, carried desolation through the heart of the empire. Gallienus was unequal to stem such a torrent, and after an inglorious reign of 15 years, was assassinated by his own officers, together with his son, ‡ and, it is thought, his wife also, before Milan, A. D. 268. The wretched assembly which still dishonoured the name of Senate, instantly declared him an enemy to the state, erased his name from all public inscriptions, and cast many of his ministers and friends from the Tarpeian Rock: on receiving his death-blow, however, he had ordered the insignia of the imperial dignity to be carried to Claudius Gothicus, who in return protected his remaining friends and relations, and caused the same Senate to deify him with the usual solemnities. Claudius was a magnanimous leader, and certainly almost the only man in the empire capable of sustaining the name and dignity of a Roman Emperor, in those turbulent times.

The character of Gallienus has not been spared by historians; but though he was a bad man and a worse prince, he was as good as some emperors who wear a fairer name. The unfeeling indifference which he shewed towards his captive father, was as base as it was disbonourable and criminal; and during the calamities of Rome, he was immersed in dissipation and gross sensuality, and was only roused from his sordid pleasures by danger;—shewing no more concern, according to Pollio, for the loss of a province, than for that of an old cloak. Thus when told of the revolt of Egypt, he exclaimed—" Cannot we live without Egyptian linen?" Being informed that Gaul was lost, he laughingly said—" Will not the land abide without

<sup>\*</sup> Besides these, some Greek coins give him the name of Egnatius, perhaps from his mother.

<sup>†</sup> Zonaras says, that with a body of only 10,000 men, Gallienus defeated 300,000 Alemanni-but he may tell that to the Marines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>†</sup> A urelius Victor says, that his son Gallienus, whom he had made Cæsar, and his brother who was honoured with the title of Augustus, were both slain with him at Milan; though according to Zonaras, the brother and the son of Gallienus were put to death at Rome, by order of the Senate. The soldiers were highly incensed, but the conspirators appeased them by the distribution of 20 pieces of geld to each man. This sum was taken from the coffers of Gallienus, who always carried an immense treasure with him whenever he left the city; exactly as I have seen practised in the present day, by the Bàshà of Tripoli, who never takes a ride without having his gold and jewels carried in the cavalcade, lest the castle gates should be shut at his return.

Gallic tunicks?" So also, when he learnt the desolation of Asia—"Cannot we subsist," said he, "without saltpetre." He was, moreover, so coxcomical as to delight in a display of jewels and glittering finery, even to powdering his hair with gold-dust. Yet he was not wanting in intelligence nor bravery, was very eloquent, and a great encourager of learning. He had also a considerable talent for poetry; and his historian tells us, that on the marriage of his brother's son, he made an extemporary epithalamium, which far excelled those that were written at the same time, after many days study, by the best Greek and Latin poets then in Rome. It is not devoid of elegance, but is barely admissible here :—

"Ite, agite, o Juvenes, et desudate medullis Omnibus inter vos; non murmura vestra columbæ, Brachia non hederæ, non vincant oscula conchæ. Ludite, sed vigiles nolite extinguere lychuos; Omnia nocte vident, nil cras meminere lucernæ."

The charge of cruelty appears to be that which lies most heavily against him. When Odenathus conquered the army of Sapor, Gallienus claimed the unmanly exultation of a triumph, and to swell the procession, mock-captives were led, dressed like Goths, Sarmatians, and Persians: during the shew, some wags gazed very earnestly on those who personated the latter, in order, they said, to discover the Emperor's father, a joke which so incensed Gallienus that he commanded them immediately to be burnt alive. His directions to Celer probably suggested those of Louis le Grand, in after-times, to ravage the Palatinate : "Let the inhabitants of Mœsia," said Gallienus, "be put to the sword, I shall not be satisfied with your killing such only as have borne arms against me, and might have fallen in the field : you must in every city destroy all the males, old and young : spare none who have wished ill to me, none who have spoken ill of me, the son of Valerian, the father and brother of princes." But the object of his conduct at Byzantium, so decried by Pollio, may have been to gain a good end without being scrupulous as to the means ; for his soldiers had sacked the place, and utterly destroyed its inhabitants; and not expecting otherwise to be admitted within the walls, he promised pardon to the murderers, whom, however, on his entry, he put to the sword. Yet his justice was not always merciless: when he condemned a seller of false jewels to be exposed in the amphitheatre, and the trembling wretch expected a ravenous lion, a cock was let loose at him, with the words-" Imposturam fecit, imposturam passus est." It is thought, however, that Salonina planned this punishment.

Latin medals of this Emperor exist of all metals and sizes, and the silver, with the middle and small-brass, are very common ; there are also Colonial, Greek-Imperial,

( 300 )

and Egyptian coins struck in honour of him. On account of the public calamities, all the deities of the Pantheon were now invoked; and an incredible quantity of denarii and assaria to Apollo, Bacchus, Castor, Diana, Escnlapius, Hercules, Janus, Juno, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Minerva, Neptune, Serapis, and Vulcan, corroborate the testimony of history. There is also a great number of silver legionary coins; and among the reverses peculiar to the time is *Alacritas*, well typified by a pegasus; *Dona. Aug.* illustrated by Mercury with a dog; and *Segetia*, the goddess of crops yet growing. In the abundance of his coinage, Gallienus restored the *consecrations* of Augustus, Vespasian, Titus, Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, Severus, and Alexander, in *billon*; but he has furnished no reason for introducing Commodus into such company.

I shall have more to say upon the coinage of this reign, in the sequel, but must here mention the strange aureus on which Gallienus is represented effeminately crowned with wheat-ears instead of laurel, and inscribed Gallienæ Augustæ, with Ubique Pax on the reverse. This has been thought to have been struck by one of the usurpers in contempt, or by the Senate in raillery; for it was coined when the empire was harassed by disease, barbarian aggression, and the struggles of the *Thirty* Tyrants,—a period, when heaven and earth seemed to concur in heaping afflictions upon Rome:\* but the Senators may be acquitted; for those were no "laughing" times for the Conscript Fathers; and his treatment of such as jeered at his triumph, shewed that Gallienus was not inclined to leave a joke unnoticed.

### CCCCXCIII.

- Obverse. IMP. GALLIENVS P. F. AVG. (Imperator Gallienus, Pius, Felix, Augustus.) The laureated head of Gallienus, with handsome features, a thick short beard growing on the throat and chin, and the bust robed. This medal, in excellent preservation and thinly patinated, was procured at Naples, in 1820.
- Reverse. MONETA AVGG. (Moneta Augustorum.) The stolated deities of the mint, with cornucopia, to signify that cash supplies all things, and balances to shew that equity is requisite in money transactions: a mass of metal, at the feet of each, represents gold, silver, and brass. This emblem of the Emperor's care to preserve the just weight of money, was struck about A. D. 263, when a sad adulteration of the coinage was taking place; and it is remarkable that this, as well as others of the same type struck by Probus, Carus, Numerianus, Carinus, Diocletian, Crispus, and other sovereigns, are without the S. C. or stamp of senatorial authority. From this it may be concluded that they were struck by the Emperor's order, for a particular purpose; and we, moreover, find that some of them were gilt, and others in some measure inlaid, so that the paludamentum of the obverse was covered with gold, the other parts remaining bare.

<sup>\*</sup> Besides wars and intestine commotions in every province, the year 262 was afflicted with other deplorable calamities. The whole atmosphere was overcast with dense and dark clouds, so that for several days together the light of the sun was obscured; this was followed by dreadful peals like thunder, from the bowels of the earth, which opened in many places and swallowed up great numbers of people, with their habitations. At the same time, the sea swelling beyond its bounds, desolated vast tracts, and drowned whole citics; and the plague still raged so violently as to carry off 5000 persons a day, in Rome only

"Arce quoque in summå Junoni templa Monetæ,

Ex voto memorant facta, Camille tuo.

Antê domus Manlî fuerat, qui Gallica quondam

A Capitolino reppulit arma Jove."

Gold has been worshipped through all ages, and by all classes, without hypocrisy. But in Juvenal's time, it seems, Moneta had no home, for he declares that though no temples rise, nor altars blaze to her name—

"Yet is thy full divinity confess'd,

Thy shrine established here, in every breast."

Some, however, think the Satirist in error; and Arnobius asks-" Quis ad extremum Deam pecuniam esse credat, quam velut maximum numen vestræ indicant Literæ?"

#### CCCCXCIV.

- **Obverse.** IMP. GALLIENVS AVG. (Imperator Gallienus, Augustus.) The laurelled head of the Emperor, with the shoulders robed. This medal, in secondary condition and thinly varnished with greenish patina, was purchased from Mr. Till, in 1830.
- Reverse. 10VI CONS. AVG. (Jovi Conservatori Augusti.) On the exergum S. C. Instead of the usual majestic figure, with the spear and fulmen of supreme power, we have here a huge goat, representing Amalthea, whose horns were converted to cornucopiæ, and skin into an ægis; it is not, like that of Oiselius—" cum uberibus distentis," yet it was no doubt derived from the fable of Jupiter's having been suckled by one of those animals—whence Ovid's "Oleniam Jovis altricem dixere capellam." Again—

"Stat quoque capra simul : Nymphæ pavisse feruntur Cretides ; infanti lac dedit illa Jovi."

And Germanicus, in his translation from the "Phænomena" of Aratus, says-

Nutrix esse Jovis, si verè Juppiter infans

Ubera Creteæ mulsit fidissima capræ : Sidere quæ claro gratum te gestat alumnum."

Besides the goat, there appear many other animals on the smaller coins of Gallienus, as the wolf, lion, bull, stag, panther, and boar; there are also the ibis, eagle, and stork; and the monsters centaur, griffin, pegasus, capricorn, and hippocampus. These were all sacred to tutelary deities, to whom Gallienus offered up so many supplications, that he obtained the title of *Conservator Pietatis*.

#### CCCCXCV.

- Obverse. GENIVS P. R. (Genius Populi Romani.) A very handsome head of Gallienus, radiated, and tutulated with a modius—or something resembling one—and the neck bare. This full spread round medal, in the very highest preservation, and incrusted with brown-pink patina, was obtained by exchange at Cagliari, in 1824.
- Reverse. INT. VRB. S. C. (Intrans Urbem, Senatus Consultu.) This is an inscription encircled by a garland of laurel, which compliments the Emperor, on his entering Rome—perhaps from his German campaign. This medal, however, not only bears no date or name, but is only assigned to Gallienus, on account of the strong resemblance of the portrait to that emperor.

<sup>\*</sup> The well known silver consular coin of the Carisian family was probably struck when T. Carisius superintended the mint: it bears the head of Juno, inscribed Moneta, as an obverse; with an anvil, hammer, pincers, and die-the implementa of coining-on the reverse.

The likeness is palpable, though the face from being beardless is certainly too youthful, and, coupled with his denarius inscribed *Jubentas*, has made some writers imagine him young; but this was only as compared with his father, since he was 34 years of age when he began to reign.

The obverse is a compliment to the emperor under the type of the Genius of Rome, and is remarkable as giving the bust only of a personification, a practice which had been discontinued from the age of Augustus till about A. D. 230. We see, by No. CCCCLXVI, that the ancients not only ascribed a genius to particular persons, but to places also. Thus Æneas, when a serpent glided from the tomb of Anchises, exclaimed—

> "Hoc magis inceptos genitori instaurat honores, Incertus, GENIUMNE LOCI, Famulumne parentis Esse putet."

Prudentius sarcastically ridicules the notion of a genius of Rome :--

"Quanquam cur GENIUM ROMÆ mihi fingitis unum ? Cum portis, domibus, thermis, stabulis, soleatis Adsignare suos Genios, perque omnia membra Urbis, perque locos, Geniorum millia multa Fingere, ne propriâ vacet angulus ullus ab umbrâ."

#### CCCCXCVI.

- Obverse. IMP. GALLIENVS P. F. AVG. GERM. (Imperator Gallienus, Pius, Felix, Augustus, Germanicus.) The laureated profile of Gallienus, with expressive features, knitted brow, the beard curled on the throat, and the shoulders robed. This medal, in excellent condition, and coated with pea-green patina on the obverse, and deep brown on the reverse, was obtained at Patras, in 1820.
- Reverse. RESTITVTOR ORBIS. On the exergum S. C. The emperor, paludated and grasping a lance, gives his right hand to a kneeling female, who wears the "corona turrita," but is represented as rather diminutive. See No. CLXXXII. This was probably struck on some advantage having been gained by Odenathus, or one of the Lieutenants of Gallienus—but, as in his "Bonæ Fortunæ," "Felicitas," "Restitutor Generis Humani," "Restitutor Orientis," and several others of his types, it is more boastful than true. That inscribed "Restitutor Galliarum," alludes, with more pretension, to successes in the three Gauls—Comata, Cisalpina, and Narbonensis."

### SALONINA.

Cornelia Salonina\* seems to have been married to Gallienus, about ten years before his advancement to the throne; but there are no particulars of her birth or family. Even the date of her death is uncertain, but it is thought she was assassinated, with her husband and younger son, A. D. 268. She bore several children to the Emperor, of whom Saloninus and Julius Gallienus, though confounded by historians, are distinguished by medals; and a marble of Gruter's has made us

<sup>\*</sup> These are the only names of this Empress upon the Latin medals—but the Greek-Imperial ones add Julia, Licinia, Publia, aud Chrysogone. Some writers have called her Pipa, or Pipara, thus confusing her with the daughter of Attalus, king of the Marcomanni, whom Galienus procured from her father, as his concubine, in return for a part of Pannonia. This precious compact must have taken place subsequent to the capture of Valerian, and many years after the marriage of Salonina;---yet Occo calls the latter "Regis Marcomannorum filia; and Pedrusi says she was of most noble birth---"perche fu figlia d'Attalo Re di Pergamo."

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acquainted with her daughter Julia—"nobilissima puella"—who was married to Sergius Terentianus, and became the grandmother of St. Luzena, who suffered martyrdom under Diocletian.

Salonina was a woman of extraordinary beauty, great talents, affable disposition, and irreproachable conduct. Though historians scarcely mention her, there is sufficient to gather that she was a warm encourager of learning, and very popular at Rome. She patronised Plotinus with great liberality; and Tristan records the high honour she did him—" de luy permettre de bastir une ville en la Campanie appellée Plotinopolis, en une situation propre, pour pouvoir philosopher commodément." Zonaras tells us that she accompanied Gallienus, when he marched against the Heruli; and how that being left in the camp, with but a very slender guard, she was in imminent danger of falling into the hands of the enemy, who had despatched a resolute band to carry her off. These men advanced so cautiously that they came within sight of the camp, without being perceived, when a Roman soldier, who had strayed out by chance, saw them, gave the alarm, and encountered the Barbarians till assistance arrived.

There are Latin medals of Salonina in each of the metals and sizes, but of which the silver and small-brass only are very common. There are also numerous Colonial, Greek-Imperial, and Egyptian coins, in her honour—but those of the Colonies, as well as the Greek large-brass, are rare, Some singular types were struck on her denarii—as the "Junoni Conservatrici Augustæ," with a hart; "Annona," now first given to an empress; and "Augusta in Pace," which is groundlessly considered as having been struck by one of the "Tyrants," in contempt, as a companion to the "Ubique Pax" of Gallienus.

### CCCCXCVII.

- Obverse. CORNELIA SALONINA AVG. (Cornelia Salonina, Augusta.) The profile of the Empress, with intelligent features, indicative of about 30 years of age, and her bosom robed. Her hair is carried in plaits to the hinder part of her head, with a portion reaching from the nape of the neck to the crown, where it meets a frontal diadem. This medal, though not well spread, is in excellent condition, and covered with green-and-red patina; it was procured at Nice, in 1823.
- Reverse. PIETAS AVGG. (Pietas Augustorum.) On the exergum S. C. A richly attired sedent female, with a hasta pura in her left hand, and extending her right towards a couple of children before her, while a third child stands by the side of the throne. In this group Pedrusi sees the offspring of Gallienus and Salonina—or, as he poetically expresses it—"In questi potiamo ravvisare i tre pegni preziosi, con cui la Cesarea Donna arricchì il Talamo del suo Augusto Consorte." This is, perhaps, the case, though it may be merely a symbol of charity towards the "Puellæ alimentariæ," as on No. CXLVII. The female is not veiled, for the reason which Laurence Beger gives, in his Thesaurus ex Thesauro Palatino selectus;— "Pietatis, quæ erga Deum est, effigiem velato solere pingi habitu, quæ verò erga homines, absquè velo."

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I have attempted to shew, under Nos. CCCCLXXIII-IV, that Pietas was not absolutely confuned in its meaning to filial affection; and it may now be added that it afterwards became an epithet of honour;—whence Theodoric addressed the emperor Anastasius "Ad Serenissimam PIETATEM vestram." From this the designation of "Holiness" probably obtained: for the good Catholics, would hardly have adopted the mere Ciceronian "Sanctitas hominis."

### CCCCXCVIII.

- Obverse. CORNELIA SALONINA AVG. (Cornelia Salonina, Augusta.) The head of the Empress, with a beautiful countenance, the hair attired as above, the neck finely turned, and the bosom neatly robed. This medal, in excellent preservation, and coated with grey patina, was presented to me by Mr. T. Burgon, in 1825.
- Reverse. IVNO REGINA. In the field S: C. A veiled female, standing, with the sacred virga in her left hand, and a patera in her right—the attitude being similar to that on No. CCCXXIII, but without the peacock. This device is in compliment to an empress "moribus sanctis;" and the goddess is habited in the robes of a Roman matron, as a mark of decorum and decency:—

" Matronæ, præter faciem, nil cernere possis, Cætera, ni Catia est, demissâ veste tegentis."

### SALONINUS.

Publius Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus Gallienus, the son of Gallienus and Salonina, as is indicated by his names, was born about A. D. 242, and declared Cæsar by his grandfather at the age of 11. He was sent into Gaul to learn the art of war under Postumus, one of the most puissant generals of the age; and was accompanied by a tutor named Sylvanus, or Albanus, who was to instruct him in the sciences. Authors differ as to the immediate cause of what followed, though they all agree in the catastrophe, and that the contentions between the general and the youth's preceptor, led to his death. It seems that Postumus, having defeated some German invaders, was ordered by Sylvanus to send the booty to Saloninus; at which the soldiers were so provoked, that they revolted, proclaimed their leader Emperor, and murdered the Prince, and his imprudent tutor, at Colonia Agrippina, A. D. 259.

Saloninus is said to have been a Prince of wit, and good abilities, but greatly addicted to pleasure, and, in the words of Tristan, "lascif comme son pere." Trebellius Pollio records that some officers, who were invited by Gallienus to a feast, having laid aside their richly-mounted girdles during the repast, the young Saloninus secretly stole them, and the losers were obliged to keep silence. The next time they received a similar invitation, being asked why they sat down with their girdles on, they answered—"Salonino deferimus."

There are Latin medals of Saloninus in all metals and sizes, of which those of billon and small-brass are common; the rest are rare, and when in good preservation

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bring high-prices. There are also Greek-Imperial and Colonial coins bearing his effigies, but I know of none that were struck in Egypt. A peculiarity in the legends of this Prince is, that some of the coins minted during his life bear the title of Augustus, while those after his death have but that of Cæsar—whence it may be inferred that the former was informally bestowed by his father, and not confirmed by the Senate. Eckhel thinks this may have arisen from Gallienus's having designated his son Imperator, when sent into Gaul, in order to give him authority ; and that some of the moneyers, accustomed to see this title accompanied by that of Augustus, made the mistake.\*

Much confusion has arisen from attributing some of the medals of Saloninus, to Valerian Junior, the brother of Gallienus, a prince of courage, virtue, and ability. But it is certain, notwithstanding the feeble admissions of Pollio, that the latter was never either Cæsar or Augustus, and that consequently no medals were struck in his honour. Eckhel has therefore—after ably discussing the ancient historians, the Fasti, marbles, and medals, in proof of his position—restored to Saloninus all those coins which had been assigned to Valerian Junior. The denarii of Julius Gallienus, the younger brother of this Prince, are involved in uncertainty; and the medal of Galliena—the cousin of Gallienus, who instigated the assassination of Celsus, the usurper—was only known to Goltzius.

#### CCCCXCIX.

- Obverse. P. C. S. VALERIANVS CAES. (Publius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus, Cæsar.) An interesting juvenile head of the youthful prince, with good features, close cut hair, and the sagum on his shoulders. This medal is round, and though scarcely patinated, is in superior condition; it was purchased from the collection of the late Mr. Paternoster, of Hitchin, in 1832.
- Reverse. PRINCIPI IVVENT. (Principi Juventutis.) In the field S. C. A young warrior, bare-headed, and in a graceful attitude, holds a spear, † with the point downwards, in his left hand, and a globe in his right: the one shewing the world ruled, and the other that arms are ready against those who distuib its peace. See No. CCLXXXIII. I have had two or three specimens of this type, but none with a slave at the prince's feet, as figured in Queen Christina's collection, and described by Occo and Angeloni. On all but the medal before us, he is styled Nobilis Cæsar, which agrees well with Spanheim's "Nobilissimus adolescentibus Equestris ordinis."
  - D.
- Obverse. DIVO CAES. VALERIANO. (Divo Cæsuri Valeriano.) The bare head of Saloninus, with boyish features, and short hair, as above. This medal, in capital preservation and coated with reddish-brown patina, was obtained at Corinth, in 1820.
- Reverse. CONSECRATIO. On the exergum S. C. A stately rogus of five stories, decorated with sculptures and festoons, surmounted by a triumphal biga, bearing a statue of the deceased Prince. See No. CCLIII. This marks the respect paid to the memory of the murdered

<sup>\*</sup> A new legend appears on a denarius of Saloninus: it represents Jupiter giving a Victory to the laureated Gallienus, and is inscribed "*Dit Nutritores*," whence Tristan thinks the Emperor calls himself one of the nourishers of the child. There is also another with "*Jovi Crescenti*," on which an infant sits upon a goat, holding on by one of its horns; and thus we are told, boys were taught to ride, being set upon sheep and goats, before they were allowed to try horses.

<sup>†</sup> From the length of the barbs of this spear, an antiquary has lately described it as the "pedum," or pastoral staff; an attribute not at all connected with the legend or device of the medal.

Saloninus, with whose untimely death Gallienus was much affected, though for several years he did not march to avenge it. This is the last "Divus" on large brass, though the title was continued on other medals, and was even applied to Constantine the Great :\* it may be supposed, however, that occasional gleams from the light of Christianity, had weakened the rays of divinity attached to it, and reduced its value to that of "sacred" majesty, assumed by our own kings, after James the First. Still it was presumed by the people, that these deified princes were so many additions to the corps of Semones, or mortals who obtained immortality. They had long fallen into disrepute. Lucian is confounded with their numbers, and is for making every deity produce certificates of his parentage and place of nativity, and how he came to be a god. And Juvenal, rallying the frequent apotheoses, represents poor Atlas, as almost sinking under the accumulated weight of such a multitude of celestials :---

> Talis, ut est hodie, contentaque sydera paucis Numinibus miserum urgebant Atlanta minori Pondere."

The mythic system of the Romans, however, inconsistent as it was, had no such absurdity as gods wounded, imprisoned, and enslaved by mortals; and on the whole was somewhat less fanatical than that of the Greeks. But it was based on the grossest materialism; and the sole prospect afforded by their Elysium, was merely a perpetuation of the exercises and sports enjoyed on the banks of the Tiber, to the faithful: the disbelievers consoled themselves under the adage—" Edamus et bibamus; post mortem nulla voluptas."

Thus closes the series of Roman Medals which I have attempted to describe; an attempt in which, however I may have failed, it must be seen that those precious relics are highly important to learning, taste, and moral feeling, as indisputable monuments of the grandeur, confirmations of the history, and demonstrations of the high state of the fine arts of the first city of the ancient world. But with the fall of the family of Gallienus, ends the history of the Higher Empire; and it is a singularly remarkable coincidence, that the very period at which historians have agreed to commence the Lower Empire, is also that where the Latin large-brass coinage terminates; or, at least, where the legitimate sesterious becomes extinct, and the fine yellow brass of the Roman mint disappears. But the real assarium, or small-brass coin of eight to the ounce, becomes surprisingly common-for though medallists make a trite application of the name, it was rarely minted till towards the end of Gallienus's reign. Nor are these the only numismatic peculiarities of that period : thenceforward Colonial and Greek-Imperial medals are seldom met with : notwithstanding those of *potin*, a mixture of copper and tin with a little silver, and of *billon*, or copper with a small alloy of silver, were still common in Egypt. The argentei, first materially debased by Severus, had now become so vitiated as to be little better than the coms called " Denarii æris," and " Philippei + ærei," which were merely

<sup>\*</sup> Mr. Thurburn, of Alexandria, presented me with a small-brass coin of Constantius Chlorus, having his deification legend on the obverse, and the reverse inscribed "Requies optimorum meritorum."

<sup>+</sup> The word philip had become a familiar appellation for any kind of coin-as argenteus phillippus, &c.

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copper washed with silver ;---a depreciation which will be at once perceived by the following scale :---

	Weight in grains.	Pure silver.
Augustus	55.7	54.3
Severus		
Caracalla	50.1	22.7
Decius	52.2	12.5
Postumus		9.9

The sun of the Roman Power was now descending rapidly to the political horizon, and besides the earthquakes, floods, pestilence, and other miseries of Gallienus's reign, the several armies advanced their own generals to the Cæsarian laurels, almost simultaneously, and filled the Provinces with insolence, rapine, and blood. These usurpers, who were mostly men of superior talents, are designated the Thirty Tyrants, an epithet perhaps given by some Philhellenes, since no more than 19 can be mustered by history, unless we admit that Lollianus, Ælianus, and Lælianus, were three distinct personages: they may be thus classed by a medallist—

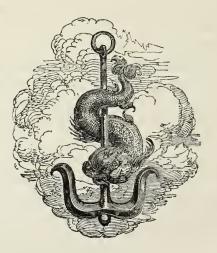
1.	2.	3.
Those whose coins are	Those whose coins are	Those of whom no coins
undoubtedly true.	suspected.	are known.
Postumus	Cyriades	Valens
Lælianus	Ingenuus	Balista
Victorinus	Celsus	Saturninus
Marius	Piso Frugi	Trebellianus
Tetricus	U U	
Macrianus		
Quietus		
Regalianus		
Alex. Æmilianus		
Aureolus		
Sulpitius Antoninus		
	1 / 1 1'	0 1 1 1

These *Tyrants* were a disunited set, each working for his own object; but amidst their treasons, the brave Odenathus continued faithful, and saved the Roman authority in the East. This excellent warrior was scarcely known till the captivity of Valerian, when by rich gifts and earnest entreaties he endeavoured to procure the enlargement of his sovereign. But the haughty Sapor tore the letters, threw the presents into a river, and threatened to destroy the donor, unless he prostrated himself in bonds to solicit forgiveness; which arrogance so exasperated Odenathus, that he swore to pursue the Persians with fire and sword, and to humble the pride of their monarch. His numerous victories indicate that, had he not been treacherously assassinated, he would fully have accomplished his vows; as it was, he had the satisfaction of driving Sapor through Edessa, capturing his wives and treasure, and reducing Ctesiphon—services for which Gallienus associated him in the Empire.

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But the public evils were irremediable; and such was the universal alarm, that many persons died through fear. Under circumstances like these, it is no matter of surprise that the "desperatio de Salutate Reipublica," which in the prouder days of Rome was a heinous crime, had now become general. In vain were the Sybilline books consulted, in vain were public processions made, and sacrifices offered on every altar-the plague raged with as great violence as ever, and all nature seemed to unite in rendering the division of the Upper and Lower Empires a memorable epoch. These extraordinary calamities so moved Gallienus to remorse, that thinking to pacify the wrath of Heaven, he relaxed the persecution against the Christians, and sent forth edicts in their favour. Such was the aspect of affairs at this crisis of Roman fate: and one of the most striking indications of decadence was, that after a long course of foreign war and conquest, Rome became indifferent to her external affairs, and absorbed by intestine commotions : and it is probable that this apathy led to the ruin of the "Eternal City," since it was merely the opinion of her inactivity that encouraged the Barbarians first to insult, and ultimately to conquer those who had become so degraded in moral virtue and physical strength :---

> "Non his juventus orta parentibus Infecit æquor sanguine Punico, Pyrrhumque, et ingentem cecidit Antiochum, Annibalemque dirum."



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### ADDENDA.

I mentioned at p. 36, that the medal of Britannicus, No. XLIII. was of questionable authenticity; and since those remarks were printed, an opportunity has been offered of replacing it by the following :—

- Obverse. KAAYAIOE BPETANNIKOE KAIEAP. A youthful unlaureated head, having sensible features, smooth small chin, prominent nose, well-placed eye, and a long throat, with the shoulders robed. This rare medal was formerly in the Rothlin collection. It is coated with olive-green patina, is in remarkable preservation, and was purchased at Mr. Willett's sale, in 1834, for 15 guineas.
- Reverse. AAABAN $\Delta E\Omega N$ . Apollo naked, standing in an easy attitude to the left, with a quiver at his back; his left hand holding a bow, and on his right hand a bird sitting. At his feet a ram standing. Apollo was the divinity most frequent on the coins or Alabanda, in Caria, and he is known to have been much worshipped there. No representation, however, of him occurs on other coins of this town in a similar attitude, and with similar attributes. The device is described by Seguin, San Clemente, Sestini, and Mionnet; but Sestini thinks his specimen was altered and retouched from a coin of Claudius, as described in Mionnet's Supplement, v. 6, p. 438.

Anxious to compress within moderate limits, the quantity of interesting matter arising from numismatic researches, I fixed on a series of 500 medals only for description; but it was quickly found that at least 100 more, from their perfection and expressive reverses, pressed hard for admittance :---but to adhere to round numbers, only 99 were replaced in the Cabinet, owing to the last of Sabina, and first of Ælius Cæsar, having by mistake, both been numbered CXCII. And although, from having made frequent reference to the others in their numerical order of arrangement, I can at present only enumerate the addenda here, I may take a future opportunity of descanting upon them.

Ι.

Tiberius	Ti. Caesar divi Aug. F. August. P. M. Tr. Pot. XXXVII.—Head of the Emperor. Absquè epigraphe.—A magnificent temple, with sculptures.
	11.
Agrippina Senior.	Agrippina Germanici Caesaris.—The head of Agrippina Senior. Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. Germ. P. M. Tr. P. Imp. P. P.—S. C. and countermarks.
	III.
Claudius	Ti. Claudius Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P. Imp. P. PThe head of Claudius, counter- marked.
	Nero Claudius Drusus German. ImpA triumphal arch.
	1V,
	Nero Claud. Caes. Aug. Ger. P. M. Tr. P. Imp. P. P.—The head of Nero. Adlocut. Coh.—The Emperor haranguing soldiers.

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	V.
	Imp. Ser. Sulp. Galba Caes. Aug. Tr. Pot.—The head of Galba. Adlocut.—The Emperor haranguing soldiers to the left.
	vI.
	Ser. Sulp. Galba Imp. Caesar Aug. P. M. Tr. P.—The head of Galba. Honos et Virtus.—The personifications of Honour and Virtue.
	VII.
	Imp. Ser. Sulp. Galba Caesar Aug. Tr. P.—The head of Galba. Absquè epigraphe.—A winged Victory marching.
	VIII.
Vacuation	
• espasian	Imp. Caes. Vespasian. Aug. P. M. Tr. P. P. P. Cos. III.—The head of Vespasian. Victoria Augusti.—Victory writing on a buckler.
	1X.
Vespasian	Imp. Caes. Vespasian Aug. P. M Tr. P. Cos. III.—The head of the Emperor. Mars Victor.—Mars with a trophy, at an altar.
	х.
Vespasian.	Imp. Caes. Vespasian. Aug. P. M. Tr. P. P. P. Cos. III.—The head of Vespasian. Roma.—Rome seated on the Seven Hills, with attributes.
	XI.
	T. Caesar Vespasian. Imp. IIII. Pont. Tr. P. II. Cos. II.—The head of the Emperor. Judaea.—The Emperor and two Jewish captives.
	XII.
raat .	
Titus,	Imp. T. Caes. Vesp. Aug. P. M. Tr. P. P. Cos. VIII.—The head of Titus. Felicit. Public.—A stolated female with a cornucopiæ.
	XIII.
Domitian	Imp. Caes. Domitian. Aug. Germ. Cos. XI.—The head of Domitian. Absquè epigraphe.—Peace burning a pile of arms.
	XIV.
Domitian	Imp. Caes. Domit. Aug. Germ. Cos. XI. Cens. Pot. P. P.—The head of Domitian. Absquè epigraphe.—The Emperor and four soldiers at an altar.
	XV.
Domitian	Imp. Caes. Domit. Aug. Germ. Cos. XI. Cens. Pot. P. P.—The head of Domitian. Annona August.—The types of Annona and Ceres.
	xvi.
w	
Domitian.	Imp. Caes. divi Vesp. F. Domitian Aug. P. M.—The head of Domitian. Tr. P. Cos. VIII. Des. VIIII. P. P.—Minerva galeated and standing.
	XVII.
Nerva	Imp. Nerva Caes. Aug. P. M. Tr. P. Cos. II. P. P.—The head of Nerva. Providentia Senatus.—Nerva receiving the globe from a senator.
	XVIII.
Tunion	
Trajan	Imp. Caes. Nervae Trajano Aug. Ger. Dac. P. M. Tr. P. Cos. V. P. P The head of Trajan.
	Portum Trajani.—A hexagonal haven with ships.

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### xxxIII.

Antoninus Pius..... Antoninus Aug. Pius P. P.—The head of the Emperor. Africa.—A female holding a basket and cornucopiæ.

XXXIV.

Antoninus Pius, .... Antoninus Aug. Pius P. P.—The head of Antoninus Pius. Alexandria.—A stolated female with a stork.

XXXV.

Antoninus Pius.... Antoninus Aug. Pius P. P.—The head of the Emperor. Dacia.—A female with a basket and vexillum.

#### XXXVI.

Antoninus Pius..... Antoninus Aug. Pius P. P.—The head of Antoninus Pius. Mauretania.—A tall female with a basket and dart.

XXXVII.

Antoninus Pius.... Antoninus Aug. Pius P. P. Tr. p. XXII.—The head of the Emperor. Fortuna Opsequens. (Sic.)—A female with rudder, cornucopiæ, and patera.

XXXVIII.

Antoninus Pius..... Antoninus Aug. Pius P. P. Tr. p. XXII.—The head of the Emperor. Aed. divi Aug. Rest. Cos. III.—An octostyle temple, with figures.

XXXIX.

Faustina Senior.... Faustina Aug. Antonini Aug. Pii P. P.—The head of the Empress. Junoni Reginae.—The throne of Juno, with a peacock and sceptre.

 $XL_{1}$ 

Faustina Senior..... Faustina Aug. Antonini Aug. Pii P. P.—The head of Faustina Senior. Concordia Aug.—A female with attributes, rests against a cippus.

XLI.

Faustina Senior..... Diva Faustina.—The head of the Empress. Ceres.—The goddess with a torch and some ears of wheat.

XLII.

Marcus Aurelius..... Aurelius Caesar Aug. Pii F. Cos.-The head of Marcus Aurelius. Juventas.-A young female before a tripod.

XLIII.

Marcus Aurelius..... Aurelius Caesar Antonini Aug. Pii F.—The head of Aurelius. Tr. Pot. VI. Cos. II. Honos.—A togated figure with a laurel branch.

XLIV.

Marcus Aurelius.....Aurelius Caesar Antonini Aug. Pii F.—The head of Aurelius. Tr. Pot. VI. Cos. II. Virtus.—A martial figure with a lance and parazonium.

XLV.

Marcus Aurelius..... M. Antoninus Aug. Tr. P. XXVI.—The head of the Emperor. Imp. VI. Cos. III.—A sedent female, with a victory, lance, and shield.

XLVI.

Faustina Junior..... Faustina Aug. Pii Aug. Fil.—The head of Faustina Junior. Pudicitia.—A sedent female lifting the Peplus.

XLVII.

Faustina Junior..... Faustina Aug. Pii Aug. Fil.—The head of the Empress. Absqué epigraphe.—Diana Venatrix, with her bow and arrow.

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XLVIII.

Faustina Junior..... Faustina Augusta.—The head of the Empress. Absqué epigraphe.—A stolated female between a lion and peacock.

XLIX.

Faustina Junior ..... Faustina Augusta. — The head of the Empress.

Venus Victrix .- Venus holding a shield with two cupids on its surface.

L.

Lucius Verus....... Imp. Caes. L. Aurel. Verus Aug.—The head of the Emperor. Prov. Deor. Tr. P. Cos. II.—A robed female with cornucopiæ and globe.

LI.

Lucius Verus....... Imp. Caes. L. Aurel. Verus Aug.—The head of Verus. Felic. Aug. Tr. P. III.—A Prætorian galley with four rowers.

LII.

Lucius Verus....... L. Aurel. Verus Aug. Armeniacus.—The head of the Emperor. Tr. Pot. V. Imp. II. Cos. II.—Verus between four military standards.

LIII.

Lucius Verus....... L. Verus Aug. Arm. Parth. Max.—The head of the Emperor. Tr. Pot. VI. Imp. IIII. Cos. 11.—Victory inscribing Vic. Par. on a shield.

LIV.

Lucius Verus...... Divus Verus.--The head of the Emperor. Consecratio.--A rogus bearing a quadrigated car.

LV.

Lucilla. ..... Lucilla Aug. Antonini Aug. F.—The head of the Empress. Pietas.—A female sacrificing at an altar.

LVI.

Lucilla. .....Lucilla Aug. Antonini Aug. F.—The head of the Empress. Venus.—The goddess holding the mystic apple.

LVII.

LVIII.

Commodus..... L. Ael. Aurel. Comm. Aug. P. Fel.—The head of the Emperor. P. M. Tr. P. XVII. Imp. VIII. Cos. VII. P. P.—The Emperor, and Victory on a column.

LIX.

LX.

LXI.

Jovi Juveni P. M. Tr. P. XIIII. Imp. VIII.-Jupiter with a lance and fulmen.

2s

### LXII.

Commodus,	M. Commodus Ant. P. Felix Aug. Brit. P. P.—The head of Commodus. Apol. Monetae P. M. Tr. P. XV. IMP. VII. Cos. VI.—Apollo leaning on a column.
	LXIII.
Commodus	M. Commodus Ant. P. Felix Aug. Brit.—The head of the Emperor. Gen. Aug, Felic. P. M. Tr. P. XVI. Imp. VIII. Cos. VI.—A Genius before an altar.
	LXIV.
Commodus	L. Aurel. Commod. Caes. Aug. Fil. Germ. Sarm.—The head of Commodus. Jovi Conservatori.—Jupiter affording protection to Commodus.
	LXV.
Commodus	L. Aurel. Commodus Aug. Germ. Sarm.—The head of the Emperor- Junoni Sispitae Tr. p. II. Imp. II. Cos. P. P.—Juno jaculatrix, and snake.
	LXVI.
Commodus.,	Commodus Ant. P. Felix Aug. Brit. P. P.—The head of the Emperor. Miner. Vict. P. M. Tr. P. XIIII. IMP. VIII. Cos. V. Des. VI.—Minerva Victrix and trophy.
	LXVII.
Pertinax	Imp. Caes. P. Helv. Pertinax Aug.—The head of the Emperor. Vot. Decen. Tr. P. Cos. II.—The Emperor sacrificing at an altar.
	LXVIII.
Severus	. L. Sept. Sev. Pert. Aug. Imp. III.—The head of the Emperor. Moneta Aug. Cos. II. P. P.—The three Monetæ, with attributes.
	LXIX,
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	LXX.
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xcvIII. Gallienus Imp. C. P. Lic. Gallienus P. F. Aug.—The head of the Emperor. Diana Felix.—Diana the huntress, with a dog.
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J. Webb, Printer, Bedford.

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