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#### PETER KOS

## Medallions of the Local Mint of Viminacium

The Coin Cabinet of the National Museum in Ljubljana (Slovenia) recently acquired from the F. Kecskés collection (Bezdan in Serbia) a hitherto undocumented medallion of the local mint of Viminacium (today Kostolac in Serbia) in the province of Moesia Superior. The medallion was found in the early eighties by a farmer in a field in the vicinity of Roman Viminacium.<sup>1</sup>

The obverse of the bronze medallion shows a draped and cuirassed bust of Valerian, seen from the back, to the right and a draped and cuirassed bust of Gallienus, seen from the front, to the left. The obverse legend reads IMP VALERIANVS P AVG IMP GALLIENVS P AVG.

On the reverse two emperors wearing cloak and cuirass, stand facing one another, each one holding a globe and a long vertical spear. There is the normal reverse legend P M S COL VIM, which appears on all bronze coinage of the mint, used; the exergue contains AN XVI, the notation of the year of the local era. The weight of the specimen is 28.17 gr., its diameter 35 mm, the axis  $\downarrow$  (Pl. 3, 2).

A total of eight medallions struck in the mint of Viminacium has been known to date.<sup>3</sup> Although three coins of Gordian III had not previously been attributed to the group of medallions,<sup>4</sup> they actually show all the characteristics of the medallions

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> For the history of the site, see M. Mirković, Inscriptions de la Mésie Supérieure. Vol. II. Viminacium et Margum, Beograd 1986, 21 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> It has often been argued whether the colonial or provincial era was denoted on the coins; cf. D. Kienast, Römische Kaisertabelle, Darmstadt 1990, 14 n. 55. G. Elmer, Die Münzprägung von Viminacium und die Zeitrechnung der Provinz Ober-Moesien, NZ 68, 1935, 35–43, for instance, pleads for a provincial era whereas Mirković, op. cit. 48 and 50, argues for the colonial era.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> B.Borić-Brešković, The Reverse Types of the Colonial Coinage of Viminacium, Zbornik Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu 12, 1986, 150, notes only two medallions struck by this mint.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> B. Pick, Inedita der Sammlung Mandl in Budapest, NZ 23, 1891, 31, when mentioning two specimens of the year II thinks that they had been minted due to some mistake in the mint. Cf. also B. Pick, Die antiken Münzen Nordgriechenlands, Bd. I. Die antiken Münzen von Dacien und Moesien, Berlin 1898, 29 (= Pick). B. Borić-Brešković, Coins of Viminacium in the Collection of Svetozar St. Dušanić, Beograd 1976, 48, uses a terminus «thick coins». According to J.-P. Callu, La politique monétaire des empereurs romains de 238 à 311, Paris 1969, 59, these coins would be triple sestertii.

since they exceed ordinary bronze coins in diameter, thickness of flan and weight.<sup>5</sup> Two specimens show the normal obverse legend IMP CAES M ANT GOR-DIANVS AVG with a draped and cuirassed bust of Gordian III. The reverse is of the usual type proper to the majority of the bronze coinage of the mint of Viminacium, <sup>6</sup> showing the personification of the province of Moesia Superior standing between a bull on her right (symbol of the legio VII Claudia) and a lion on her left (symbol of the legio IV Flavia). The reverse legend reads P M S COL VIM; in the exergue AN II. <sup>7</sup> The first specimen, once part of the Löbbecke collection, <sup>8</sup> but since 1906 in the Berlin Coin Cabinet, has a diameter of 35 mm, a weight of 55.90 gr., 9 thickness of flan 6 mm and axis  $\downarrow$  (Pl. 1, 1). The second specimen is in the Coin Cabinet in Vienna and exhibits the same diameter and thickness of flan with a weight of 66.30 gr. Its axis is  $\rightarrow$  (Pl. 1, 2). The obverse legend of the third specimen reads IMP GORDIANVS PIVS FEL AVG, the reverse legend P M S C – OL VIM, in the exergue AN IIII. The obverse shows a bust with cuirass and paludamentum to the right; on the reverse is the normal type as exhibited on the first two specimens. It is in the Belgrade National Museum and was once part of the Dušanić collection. It weighs 66.08 gr., 12 the thickness of the flan is 9 mm, with a diameter of 34 mm and axis  $\rightarrow$  (Pl. 1, 3).<sup>13</sup>

The Paris specimen of Hostilian<sup>14</sup> (Pl. 1, 4; total weight 45.47 gr.) must be attributed to the so-called framed medallions<sup>15</sup> since the orichalcum rim had already been added to the bronze coin in ancient times. The coin exhibits the normal obverse legend C VAL HOST M QVINTVS CAE, with a draped and cuirassed bust seen from the back to the right, and the usual reverse type with the notation of the local era AN XII in the exergue.<sup>16</sup> Its weight of 21.77 gr. exceeds the normal

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For a discussion of this problem, see J.M.C.TOYNBEE, Roman Medallions, New York 1986<sup>2</sup>, 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For the typology see Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 3) 123–197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For large bronze coins of the normal type, see Pick no. 75.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> A. Löbbecke, Griechische Münzen aus meiner Sammlung, III, ZfN 15, 1887, 37. See also Ріск, Inedita (n. 4), 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> The average weight of 41 large bronze specimens of the local year II in the Dušanić collection is 16.8 gr.; cf. Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 4) 39–40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> I cordially thank H.-D. SCHULTZ for plaster casts and relevant data.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Ріск, Inedita (n. 4); Inv. No. 7.666. For the data and plaster casts I am very grateful to G. Dемвsкi.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> The average weight of 100 large bronze coins in the Dušanić collection of year IIII is 17.92 gr.; cf. Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 4) 48–52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 4) p. 48 no. 304, pl. 27, 304.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> BN 427 = Pick no. 154 who notes a weight of 45.5 gr. and remarks «durch den profilierten Rand wird sie aber zum Medaillon».

<sup>15</sup> J.M.C. TOYNBEE, op. cit. (n. 5) 17; R. GÖBL, Antike Numismatik, München 1978, Bd. 2, 141, however, mistakenly attributes this specimen to «Münzproben».

16 PICK no. 148.

weight of coins of this type by almost 10 gr.;<sup>17</sup> its diameter is 27 mm (Pl. 2, 1). This coin, however, was later inserted into an orichalcum rim weighing 23.7 gr.<sup>18</sup>

The second medallion of Hostilian was struck during the same local year XII (Pl.2, 2). A draped and cuirassed bust of Hostilian to the right is accompanied by the obverse legend C VAL HOST M QVINTVS CAES. On the reverse the normal type and legend are depicted. The medallion with a diameter of 35 mm, weight of 47.2 gr. and axis ↑ is in the Paris Cabinet des Médailles. <sup>19</sup>

A bronze medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian is preserved in the British Museum<sup>20</sup> (Pl. 2, 3). Its obverse shows a draped and cuirassed bust of Trebonianus Gallus to the right and a draped and cuirassed bust of Volusian to the left. The obverse legend reads IMP C VIBIO TREBON GALLO AVG IMP C C VIB VOLVSI AV. The reverse shows both emperors standing facing one another. Each holds a globe surmounted by a small Victory with a wreath in the right and left hands respectively and a vertical spear in the left and right hands respectively.<sup>21</sup> There is the usual reverse legend P M S COL VIM. In the exergue the notation of the local year in two lines (AN / XIII) is placed between a bull on the left side, standing to the right, and a lion on the right side, standing to the left. The medallion with a diameter of 33 mm weighs 17.42 gr.; its axis is ↑.<sup>22</sup> A medallion of the same obverse and reverse type (the reverse was struck from the same die as the specimen in the British Museum) with a diameter of 33.7 mm, weight of 22.59 gr. and axis ↓ is preserved in the G. Weifert collection, today part of the Numismatic Collection of the Narodni muzej in Belgrade (Pl. 2, 4).<sup>23</sup>

A second medallion of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian also belongs to the Numismatic Department of the National Museum in Belgrade and has been part of the Weifert collection. This very worn specimen shows a draped and cuirassed bust of Trebonianus Gallus to the right and a draped and cuirassed bust of Volusian to the left and the obverse legend IMP C VIBIO TREBON GALLO AVG IMP C C VIB

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> The average weight of 76 specimens of this type from the Dušanić collection is 11.29 gr.; cf. Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 4) nos. 1287–1362.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> For the exact data and photos I am deeply indebted to M. AMANDRY.

<sup>19</sup> BN 428 = РІСК по. 153. On p. 29 РІСК does not classify this specimen among medallions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum. The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, London 1877, 19 no. 44; PICK no. 170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> For the reverse type see Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 3) 150.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> I would like to thank ROGER BLAND for the plaster casts of the medallion and the relevant data.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Inv. no. W 1842. I am grateful to Mrs. B.Borić for the data and photos. G.Elmer, Sammlung Georg Weifert der Beograder Universitätsbibliothek, Wien 1929, 22 no. 193; id., Zwei Schaumünzen des Gallus und Volusianus aus Viminacium in der Sammlung Weifert, Numizmatićar 2, 1935, 21–27; B. Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 3) 185, pl. 13, 1–2. She, however, incorrectly reads the end of the obverse legend as VOLVSIA AV. See also M. R. Vasić, La Collection Numismatique Weifert, Vl. Popović (ed.), Trois legs numismatiques à l'Université de Belgrade, Beograd 1991, 8.

VOLVSI AV. The reverse shows the emperor in military dress riding a horse to the right. In front of him, Victory standing to the left with a palm is offering him a wreath.<sup>24</sup> The reverse legend reads P M S COL VIM AN XIII. In the exergue a bull to the right is facing a lion to the left. The medallion of 36.5 mm diameter weighs 36 gr. Its axis is \$\psi\$ (Pl. 3, 1).<sup>25</sup> A medallion of the same type was owned and published by W. Boyne<sup>26</sup> and it seems that trace of it was lost after 1868 when it was auctioned in London.<sup>27</sup> As the Belgrade specimen was purchased by G. Weifert in England in ca. 1910, it is extremely probable that the specimen from the Weifert collection is actually the specimen published by Boyne.<sup>28</sup> In any case, Boyne's reading of the reverse legend must be regarded as correct on the basis of the Belgrade specimen.<sup>29</sup>

The medallions of Hostilian as well as specimens of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian are executed in a rather poor style, typical of the majority of the bronze coinage of the local mint of Viminacium.<sup>30</sup>

The obverse of the medallion of Valerian and Gallienus (Pl. 3, 2), on the other hand, shows portraits of both Augusti in a very fine style which otherwise appears only rarely on the bronze coinage of the mint of Viminacium. The very same style, however, occurs on antoniniani of the mint of Viminacium with portrait heads of Göbl's third and fourth issues of the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus minted from the first half of 254 onwards.<sup>31</sup> The medallion must certainly have been executed by engravers working in the antoniniani-mint of Viminacium. Furthermore, in the Kecskés collection<sup>32</sup> there are bronze coins of the local year XVI of Valerian (IMP VALERIANVS P AVG) (Pl. 3, 3) and Gallienus (IMP GALLIENVS P AVG) (Pl. 3, 4) with the very same style,<sup>33</sup> most probably executed by the same die-cutters as the medallion. However, in the same collection there are also bronze

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> For the reverse type, cf. Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 3) 151.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Inv. no. W 1843. The data and photos were kindly supplied by Mrs. B. Borić. Elmer, Sammlung Georg Weifert (n. 23), 22, no. 194; id., Zwei Schaumünzen (n. 23) 22; Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 3) 185, pl. XIII, 3–4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> W.BOYNE, NC 1864, 158. He, however, notes the ending of the obverse legend as VOLV(S CAES).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Pick no.171. The identity of both specimens had already been suggested by Elmer, Zwei Schaumünzen (n. 23) 22 n. 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Unfortunately, Boyne does not give the weight of the specimen.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Boyne, op. cit. (n. 26). On the contrary, already Elmer, Sammlung Georg Weifert (n. 23), no. 194, erroneously claimed AN XIII to be in the exergue. Pick, no. 171, probably following him, incorrectly proposed that AN XIII had been inscribed in two lines in the exergue between bull and lion. The same interpretation as Pick's is also given by Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 3) 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> For the rich comparative material see Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 4).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> R. Göbl, Der Aufbau der römischen Münzprägung in der Kaiserzeit. V 1. Valerianus und Gallienus (253–260), NZ 74, 1951, 28.

 $<sup>^{32}</sup>$  The Ljubljana Coin Cabinet is preparing the publication of this rich collection in the SNG volumes.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Eight specimens.

coins of both emperors of the same local year distinctly showing the unskilled hand of a die-cutter of the local mint (Pl. 3, 5–6).<sup>34</sup> It seems, therefore, that die-cutters skilled in engraving dies for the silver antoniniani of the mint of Viminacium must also have been occasionally employed there for the local bronze coinage, at least during the year XVI of the local era.<sup>35</sup>

There are further traces of the influence of other elements of the bronze coinage of Viminacium on the production of antoniniani of the same mint, and vice versa.

The following table shows the occurrence of obverse legends on bronze coins of the mint of Viminacium and on contemporary antoniniani of the same mint during the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus.

Bronze coinage	Anton	Antoniniani <sup>36</sup>	
Year Obv. leg.	Issue	Year	Obv. leg.
XIV IMP P LIC VALERIANO	1	253	IMP P LIC VALERIANO
$AVG^{37}$			AVG
IMP VALERIANVS P AVG <sup>38</sup>	2	253	IMP VALERIANVS P AVG
	2	253	IMP GALLIENVS P AVG <sup>39</sup>
XV <sup>40</sup> IMP P LIC VALERIANO			
$AVG^{41}$			
IMP VALERIANVS P AVG4	3/4	254-6	IMP VALERIANVS P AVG

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Ten specimens.

Taianus Decius from the year XII in the Vienna Coin Cabinet there are also three specimens exhibiting an outstandingly fine style which clearly differs from the execution of dies of other specimens of this period. The strong similarity of portrait heads on some aes specimens of the local year XII with those on antoniniani has already been noticed by K. Pink, Der Aufbau der römischen Münzprägung in der Kaiserzeit, NZ 69, 1936, 15. There are also the specimens of Etruscilla of the year XII of very good style, cf. J.-M. Doyen, Die stilistische Entwicklung der Münzikonographie unter den Kaisern Valerian I. und Gallienus (253–268 n. Chr.), GN 107, Mai 1985, 109, fig. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> See Göbl, op. cit. (n. 31) 27 ff., and J. Fitz, Der Aufbau der Münzprägung von Valerianus und Gallienus, in: Die Fundmünzen der römischen Zeit in Ungarn 1, Bonn-Budapest 1990, 405 ff. Cf. also J.-М. Doyen, La chronologie des premières émissions de Valérien I et Gallien à Viminacium: à propos d'un bronze inédit, in: Studia Numismatica Labacensia Alexandro Jeločnik Oblata, Ljubljana 1988, 43–52. These contributions supplement the proposal of J. Lallemand, Les premières émissions de Valérien et de Gallien à Viminacium et à Rome, Arheološki Vestnik 23, 1972, 17–22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Pick no. 185.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Pick no. 186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> GÖBL, op. cit. (n. 31), does not note coins of Gallienus from this issue. Cf. Fitz, op. cit. (n. 36) 418 no. 102, and Doyen, op. cit. (n. 36) 50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> It is, however, often wrongly claimed that local bronze coins of Viminacium were not minted during the local year XV, so lately Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 3) 123 and n. 2. The same opinion was recently shared by Mirković, op. cit. (n. 1) 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Pick no. 187.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Pick no. 188.

IMP GALLIENVS P AVG<sup>43</sup> 3/4 254-6 IMP GALLIENVS P AVG DIVAE MARINIANAE44 3/4 254-6 DIVAE MARINIANAE XVI IMP VALERIANVS P AVG45 3/4 254-6 IMP VALERIANVS P AVG IMP GALLIENVS P AVG46 3/4 254-6 IMP GALLIENVS P AVG DIVAE MARINIANAE<sup>47</sup> 254-6 DIVAE MARINIANAE 3/4 IMP VALERIANVS P F AVG<sup>48</sup> IMP GALLIENVS AVG49 IMP C GALLIENVS AVG50

6 257 IMP VALERIANVS P F AVG

The comparison of the obverse legends on the local bronze coinage and on antoniniani of the imperial mint of Viminacium shows striking similarities<sup>51</sup> and it seems that a strong mutual influence on production of both mints in Viminacium may be attested. The obverse legend IMP P LIC VALERIANO AVG from the bronze coinage of the local year XIV is found during the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus only on antoniniani of the first issue of the mint of Viminacium<sup>52</sup> and the obverse legend IMP VALERIANVS P F AVG from the bronze coinage of the local year XVI again only on the antoniniani of the last sixth issue (257) of the mint of Viminacium.<sup>53</sup> The obverse legend IMP GALLIENVS AVG on bronze coins of the last local year XVI, however, does not occur on antoniniani of the mint of Viminacium which in the course of the year 257 had already been transferred to Köln.<sup>54</sup> It can be seen, therefore, that the very early legend IMP P LIC VALERIA-NO AVG must have occurred on bronze coins and antoniniani at approximately the same time while there are also legends which first occur on the bronze coinage and were only later applied to the antoniniani (IMP VALERIANVS P F AVG). The hypothesis that the obverse legends occurred first on the bronze coinage and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Unknown to Pick; Kecskés collection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Pick no. 191.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Pick no. 190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Pick no. 193.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Unknown to Pick; Kecskés collection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Unknown to Picκ; 15 specimens in the Kecskés collection were minted from the same obverse and reverse dies.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Pick no. 192.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Pick no. 194,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> The obverse legends IMP P LIC VALERIAIO AVG and IMP C GALLENVS AVG are of rude local Viminacium production.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Fitz, op. cit. (n. 36) 405 no. 97 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Fitz, op. cit. (n. 36) 406 no. 137 ff. The legend occurs only on antoniniani of the fourth issue (256/257) of the mint of Antioch, cf. Fitz, op. cit. 409 no. 199 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> It appears on antoniniani of the last issue of the Rome mint in 260 (Firz, op. cit. [n. 36] 418 no. 95 ff.), on antoniniani of the third issue (258) of Colonia Agrippinensis (Firz, op. cit. 421 no. 196 ff.), on the first issue (259/260) of the mint of Milan (Firz, op. cit. 423 no. 258) and on the fifth issue (257) of the mint of Antioch (Firz, op. cit. 424 no. 292 ff.), respectively.

afterwards influenced the selection of the obverse legends on antoniniani and not vice versa thus seems very tempting.<sup>55</sup> On the other hand, Alföldi's assumption of a strong intermingling and occasional collaboration of die-cutters from the Viminacium mints of antoniniani and bronze coins<sup>56</sup> is also justified, and a very close connection in the production of both mints enabling influence in both directions (style, obverse legends) seems to be most probable.

The medallion (Pl. 3, 2) struck during the local year XVI does not offer any new evidence for the problem of the very controversial dating of the beginning of the local era which, however, is often used as a «solid» basis for the complicated chronology of the political history of the mid-third century.<sup>57</sup> It has been suggested, on the basis of various arguments, that the beginning of the local era should be placed sometime between July 239 and November 240.<sup>58</sup> Most scholars, however, believe, that it should be dated to October 239, since otherwise the minting of bronze coins in the name of Trebonianus Gallus, Aemilian and Valerian in the year XIV would not have been possible. Such proposals, however, cannot be reconciled with the minting of coins of Philip II as Caesar during the year VI<sup>59</sup> as well as the minting of Philip II as Augustus in the year VIII. <sup>60</sup> The coins of Philip II as Caesar appear for the first time during the local year VI<sup>61</sup> but since the *dies Caesaris* of Philip II is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Cf. Lallemand, op. cit. (n. 36) 18.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> A. Alföldi, Die Vorherrschaft der Pannonier im Römerreiche und die Reaktion des Hellenentums unter Gallienus, in: Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus, Darmstadt 1967, 266.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Cf. e. g., R. Hanslik, RE 16, 1958, col. 1987.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> July 1, 239: Elmer, op. cit. (n.2) 35–43; id., Zwei Schaumünzen (n.23) 22; E. Manni, L'acclamazione di Valeriano, Rivista di filologia classica 25, 1947, 107 n. 1; B. SARIA, RE 16, 1958, col. 2177; X. LORIOT, Chronologie du règne de Philippe l'Arabe, ANRW II 2, 1975, 794; GÖBL, op. cit. (n. 15) 86; E. PEGAN, Tiberius Claudius Marinus Pacatianus, Ljubljana 1984 (unpublished PhD thesis), 186. July/August: H. MATTINGLY, JRS 25, 1935, 56. August: A. AL-FÖLDI, A got mozgalom es Dacia feladasa, Archivum Philologicum 1929-30, 35. End of August: Göbl, op. cit. (n. 31) 39. August/October: Pink, op. cit. (n. 35) 25. September: M. Mir-KOVIĆ, Das Jahr XI der Münzstätte Viminacium, ŽA 19, 1969, 61. September/October: B. BORIĆ, The Coinage of Philip II in Viminacium and the Problem of the VI Year of the Viminacium Era, Numizmatićar 10, 1987, 30. October: Pick, p. 25. CALLU, op. cit. (n. 4) 100-101, 200 n. 6. October 21, 239: S. Dušanić, in: Frappe et ateliers monétaires dans l'antiquité et moyen age, Beograd 1976, 53-58; BORIĆ-BREŠKOVIĆ, op. cit. (n. 4) 9; Ž. DEMO, Münzfunde aus der Zeit Galliens im Gebiet zwischen den Flüssen Sava und Drava, Arheološki vestnik 33, 1982, 285. November: S. Dušanić, The coins of colonia Viminacium and the dates from the Roman history of the middle third century, Starinar 12, 1961, 144. December 9, 239: O. Voet-TER, Noch einmal Viminacium, Mittheilungen des Clubs der Münzen- u. Medaillenkunde 7, 1896, 100. January 1, 240: I. ECKHEL, Doctrina Numorum Veterum vol. II, Vindobona 1839, 11; W. Kubitschek, NZ 41, 1908, 50. November 240: М. М. Vasić, Glas SKA 52, 1896, 218. For the dating cf. also MIRKOVIĆ, op. cit. (n. 1) 48–54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Pick no. 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Ріск по. 118.

<sup>61</sup> Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 58) 24–33.

dated to before mid-August 244,<sup>62</sup> minting of his coins – assuming that the local era would have begun in October – would be expected to have already occurred during the year V. The coins of Philip II as Augustus occur for the first time in the year VIII in which also a small number of coins of Philip II as Caesar was minted.<sup>63</sup> The *dies imperii* of Philip II is dated to the period between July and August 30, 247.<sup>64</sup> The hypothesis that the local era began in October would exclude the minting of his coins as Caesar in the year VIII but would also presuppose the existence of his coins as Augustus during the year VII, which, however, is not the case. On the other hand, the above evidence could lead to a possible hypothesis that the beginning of the local era should be sought as early as July/August 239 but this, again, would exclude the minting of the coins of Trebonianus Gallus, Aemilian and Valerian in the year XIV. The problem, therefore, is very complicated, complex and far from being solved satisfactorily.

ECKHEL was the first to propose that the beginning of the local year corresponded to the beginning of the Iulian year and therefore began on January 1, 240. His suggestion was later adopted without further arguments only by Кивітьсьнек but I believe that in many respects it deserves further careful reconsideration.<sup>65</sup>

It should also be noted here that the mint most probably did not operate during the whole year but rather minted bronze coins and medallions only for a shorter period of time, as was suggested long ago by Alföld, 66 but which has never been properly taken into consideration by other authors. 67 Clear and decisive evidence for such argumentation is the absence of minting of bronze coins during the local year X due to the usurpation of Pacatianus 68 who must have reigned only for a short period of a few months in early 249. 69 I also believe that the coins were minted occasionally, not necessarily only once a year, according to the special needs of the minting authority which was, as I have argued elsewhere, 70 the provincial assembly (concilium provinciae) of the province Moesia Superior.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Kienast, op. cit. (n.2) 198; cf. also D. W. Rathbone, The Dates of the Recognition in Egypt of the Emperors from Caracalla to Diocletianus, ZPE 62, 1986, 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> In the Kecskés collection, for example, there are 2 specimens of Philip II as Caesar and 31 coins of Philip II as Augustus from the year VIII.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Kienast, op. cit. (n. 2) 199.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> A detailed study of the chronology on the basis of the Kecskés collection is currently being prepared by the present author.

<sup>66</sup> ALFÖLDI, op. cit. (n. 58) 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> With the exception of J. Fitz, Der Geldumlauf der römischen Provinzen im Donaugebiet Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts, Bonn – Budapest 1987, 615 n. 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> W. Kubitschek, NZ 41, 1908, 47 ff.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> His usurpation is traditionally dated to the period between July 248 and June 249; cf. LORIOT, op. cit. (n. 58) 794. His reign, however, is usually considered to have lasted only a very short time in 248 (Kienast, op. cit. [n. 2] 200) or more than a year from April 248 to May 249 (Pegan, op. cit. [n. 58] 134 and 159), to list only the two most controversial suggestions.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> P. Kos, The Provincia Moesia Superior in Viminacium, ZPE 91, 1992, 96–104.

An exact dating for the striking of the medallions in the mint of Viminacium is therefore rather difficult to establish and is related to the highly disputed problem of the exact beginning of the local era of Viminacium.

I believe that medallion minting during the local year XII in the name of Hostilian as Caesar in Viminacium would confirm his still disputed presence in Viminacium<sup>71</sup> and that the production of his medallions would hardly be possible if he had been resident in Rome and not in Viminacium prior to his father's death in mid 251. 72 His presence in Viminacium would further be confirmed by the fact that of all members of the family of Traianus Decius the strongest production of the local mint during the local year XII is attested for Hostilian. Theoretically, the possibility also exists that these medallions were planned to celebrate the victory of Traianus Decius over the Goths, near Nicopolis in mid 250,74 which was indicated almost a year later only by the mint of Viminacium with the striking of antoniniani for Decius and Herennius as Augusti<sup>75</sup> with the reverse legend VICTORIA GERMANI-CA. <sup>76</sup> In that case, however, the medallions would most probably have been struck in the names of both participants in the campaign, Traianus Decius and Herennius. The idea, therefore, that the medallions of Hostilian were minted in Viminacium at the time of his presence in the capital of Moesia Superior, some time during early 251, seems to be the most tempting.

According to ELMER the medallions of Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian were minted in honour of the *adventus* of both Augusti in Viminacium in June/July 251.<sup>77</sup> On the other hand, Dušanić dates the presence of both Augusti and henceforth the minting of both medallions to November/December 251.<sup>78</sup> On the basis of a fragmentary inscription from Viminacium in which both Augusti are men-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> As suggested by Elmer, Zwei Schaumünzen (n. 23) 15 and 27; Pink, op. cit. (n. 35) 19, and Dušanić, op. cit. (n. 58) 144. It is more often argued that at the time of his father's death he was in Rome: R. Hanslik, RE 2, 16, 1958, col. 1987; E. Demougeot, La formation de l'Europe et les invasions barbares des origines germaniques à l'avènement de Dioclétien, Paris 1969, 411.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Kienast, op. cit. (n. 2) 205. Cf. also Rathbone, op. cit. (n. 62) 113.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> As implied by the numbers of specimens of coins of Traianus Decius and his family of the year XII in the Kecskés collection: Traianus Decius – 171 specimens; Etruscilla – 95; Herennius – 61; Hostilian (Caesar) – 239 specimens.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> A. Alföldi, Die Bewegungen der dakischen und germanischen Völker am Pontus, an der Donau und am Rhein, in: Studien zur Geschichte der Weltkrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus, Darmstadt 1967, 318.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Therefore it could not have been minted before mid 251 when Herennius was acclaimed Augustus; Alföldi, op. cit. (n.74) 319. See also Kienast, op. cit. (n. 2) 204.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Pink, op. cit. (n. 35) 16; Fitz, op. cit. (n. 67) 648.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Elmer, Zwei Schaumünzen (n. 23) 20.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Dušanić, op. cit. (n. 58) 144. He, however, based his entire dating on his own proposal that the local era would have begun in November 239.

tioned as consuls,<sup>79</sup> the presence of both Augusti and the minting of medallions is dated by Borić to November 29, 251.<sup>80</sup> However, the inscription should correctly be dated to the year 252 when both Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian were Augusti and consuls,<sup>81</sup> and, if its reading and emendation is correct, more accurately to November 29, 252. The interpretation of this inscription as having been erected on the occasion of the arrival of both Augusti in the capital of the province Moesia Superior on their way to Rome is, however, doubtful and can hardly be used as an evidence for the dating of both medallions. Their arrival in Rome is dated to the autumn of 251,<sup>82</sup> the end of 251/beginning of 252 respectively<sup>83</sup> or, more broadly, to the second half of 251.<sup>84</sup>

It is evident, that both medallions were struck at the beginning of the local year XIII since the use of the obverse legend of Gallus in the dative case continued uninterruptedly from bronze dated by the local year XII. 85 It is further important that in the obverse legends of the medallions both Gallus and Volusian appear as Augusti. During the local year XII of the mint of Viminacium only bronze coins for Gallus, Hostilian and Volusian as Augusti were minted (specimens minted for Decius' family are excluded). Volusian became Augustus only after Hostilian's death which has controversially been dated to July<sup>86</sup> or November 251<sup>87</sup> but in any case not before mid-August 251 when Gallus and Hostilian still appear as Augusti on Egyptian papyri.<sup>88</sup> A not insignificant number of bronze coins of Volusian as Augustus<sup>89</sup> minted during the local year XII implies that the striking of these coins in that year was most probably not of a very short duration. That, again, would support a late beginning (post-October) of the local Viminacium era. The choice of types of both medallions (both Augusti holding a globe surmounted by Victory; Victory standing in front of a riding emperor) would probably imply some victory, although it evidently does not refer to the victory over the Goths immediately after the death of Decius in mid 251, when Volusian was still Caesar. The medallion would thus have been minted during the local year XII. I think, however, that the appropriate occa-

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> P.Petrović, La «schola mensorum» de Viminacium, Živa Antika 21, 1971, 532; cf. also Mirković, op. cit. (n. 1) 79–80 no. 40 b.

<sup>80</sup> Borić-Brešković, op. cit. (n. 3) 168.

<sup>81</sup> Mirković, op. cit. (n. 1) 80.

<sup>82</sup> Pink, op. cit. (n. 35) 24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Elmer, Zwei Schaumünzen (n. 23) 25; Dušanić, op. cit. (n. 58) 144 dates the *adventus* to early 252.

<sup>84</sup> Kienast, op. cit. (n.2) 207.

<sup>85</sup> Pick no. 160.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Kienast, op. cit. (n. 2) 205.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Hanslik, op. cit. (n. 71) col. 1988.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> C. Préaux, Trébonien Galle et Hostilianus, Aegyptus 32, 1952, 152–157; see also Rathbone, op. cit. (n. 62) 114; Kienast, op. cit. (n. 2) 208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Significantly, there were no coins of Volusian as Caesar minted in Viminacium. Such specimens were only minted for a very short time at Rome (RIC 129–134).

sion for the minting of medallions during early XIII would have been the *adventus* of both Augusti to Viminacium on their way to Rome. The *adventus* in Viminacium, in that case, should be dated to the very beginning of 252.

A comparison of the style of the obverse busts on the bronze coins and on the antoniniani is helpful for an exact chronological determination of the minting of the medallion of Valerian and Gallienus (Pl. 3, 2).

The obverse legend IMP VALERIANVS (GALLIENVS) P AVG occurred on Viminacium antoniniani for the first time during the second issue, beginning according to Göbl on October 22, 253% and was subsequently in use during the remainder of their joint reign. The style and obverse bust types of the medaillon are characteristic for the antoniniani of the third issue which is dated to the beginning of 254<sup>91</sup> and, yet more so, of the fourth issue which is dated from the spring of 254 to the beginning of 256 (Pl. 3, 7-8). 92 However, the coins of Diva Mariniana (who became a Diva early in 254)93 were struck in the third issue of antoniniani, whereas the local bronze coins of the mint of Viminacium for Diva Mariniana were minted for the first time during the local year XV.94 Thus further indications exist that the medallion of Valerian and Gallienus was minted simultaneously with the striking of the fourth issue of antoniniani of the mint of Viminacium. The above data combined with the evidence that Diva Mariniana bronze coins had already been minted during the local year XV would further imply that the minting of the medallion had occurred no earlier than 255. This, however, is well in accordance with Christol's suggestion that Gallienus was residing in Illyricum in 255,95 and hence it is hypothe sized that his presence in Viminacium was the special occasion for the minting of this medallion.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Göbl, op. cit. (n. 31) 27; see also Fitz, op. cit. (n. 36) 405.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> Fitz, op. cit. (n. 36) 402.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Fitz, op. cit. (n. 36) 403. I am very grateful to Dr. J. Fitz for an illuminating discussion of the style.

<sup>93</sup> GÖBL, op. cit. (n. 31) 39; see also Fitz, op. cit. (n. 36) 413.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Pick no. 191.

<sup>95</sup> M. Christol, Les règnes de Valérien et de Gallien (253–268): travaux d'ensemble, questions chronologiques, ANRW II 2, 1975, 815; id., L'état romain et la crise de l'empire sous le règne des empereurs Valérien et Gallien (253–268), Thèse de doctorat, Paris 1981, 31 and n. 69, 465; Göbl, op. cit. (n. 31) 28 ff. and 39, dates his presence in Viminacium more broadly from early 254 to early 256.

# Key to plates

#### Pl. 1

- 1 Gordian III, AE, Vim, PICK 75, 55.9 gr., ↓, Berlin
- 2 Gordian III, AE, Vim, PICK 75, 66.3 gr., →, Wien
- 3 Gordian III, AE, Vim, Pick –, 66.08 gr., →, Beograd
- 4 Hostilian, AE, Vim, PICк 148, 45.47 gr., Paris

## Pl. 2

- 1 Cf. Pl. 1, 4
- 2 Hostilian, AE, Vim, PICK 153, 47.2 gr., ↑, Paris
- 3 Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, AE, Vim, PICK 170, 17.42 gr., ↑, London
- 4 Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, AE, Vim, Pick 170, 22.59 gr., ↓, Beograd Pl.3
  - 1 Trebonianus Gallus and Volusian, AE, Vim, PICK 171, 36 gr., ↓, Beograd
  - 2 Valerian and Gallienus, AE, Med, Pick −, 28.17 gr., ↓, Ljubljana
  - 3 Valerian, AE, Vim, PICK 190, 9.90 gr., ↑, Ljubljana
  - 4 Gallienus, AE, Vim, PICK 193, 10.4 gr., ↑, Ljubljana
  - 5 Valerian, AE, Vim, PICK 190, 9.89 gr., ↓, Ljubljana
  - 6 Gallienus, AE, Vim, PICK 193, 9.14 gr., ↑, Ljubljana
  - 7 Valerian, An, Vim, RIC 245 c, 3.23 gr., ↓, Ljubljana
  - 8 Gallienus, An, Vim, RIC 397 c, 3.20 gr., ↓, Ljubljana





