

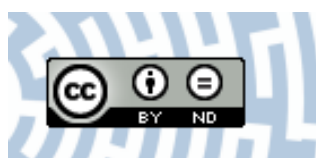


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AGATA ALEKSANDRA KLUCZEK\*

## The ruler in ‘citizen’s garb’ or the image of dynasts in Trajan Decius’s coinage (249–251)\*\*

**Abstract:** The article tackles the promotion of Trajan Decius’s family members in representations featured on medallions and coins (249–251). It focuses on images that feature two or three representatives of the dynasty. Such joint representations manifested the stability of the dynasty’s rule, the collaboration of the members of the dynasty and the resulting benefits for the empire and its inhabitants, which is indicated by the following ideas: *concordia*, *pietas*, *liberalitas*, promoted by the mint in Rome. What links the imperial coinage with the provincial one is the representation of rulers in *togae*, seated on *sellae curules*. This image of the dynasty members was utilised on the coins from Anazarbus. This bears testimony to the practical significance of the imperial representations, especially in terms of the rivalry of the provincial elites vying for their position in this region of the empire.

**Keywords:** Roman imperial coins; Roman provincial coins; dynasty; Roman emperor; Trajan Decius

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In 249 Trajan Decius (C. Messius Quintus Traianus Decius) became emperor of the Roman Empire. Soon afterwards, in 251, he perished in a battle waged against the Goths at Abritus.<sup>1</sup> His reign is interesting in many ways, including aspects associated with dynastic ideology. Decius had two sons: Herennius Etruscus (Q. Herennius Etruscus Messius Decius) and Hostilian (C. Valens Hostilianus Messius Quintus). This was exceptional: for the mere third time in the history of the Roman Empire, the emperor incumbent fathered, at a capable age to boot, two non-adopted sons whom he could train to become future rulers and his successors. This point should be emphasised. In this context the only predecessors of Trajan Decius were Vespasian (69–79), the founder of the Flavian dynasty, and Septimius Severus (193–211), the first representative of the Severan dynasty. Both could take into account their two male descendants for succession.

The dynastic arrangements of the Roman emperors and their families, their connections with their predecessors, the plans related to succession, were represented, among others, in coin inscriptions (e.g. [...] AVGG/Augustorum) or in the iconography of coins and medallions. In Trajan Decius's coinage, dynastic themes are featured either in reference to deified rulers, which was expressed in commemorative issues (the 'divi' series), or in reference to the living members of the ruling family.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cf. A. R. Birley, *Decius reconsidered*, in: *Les empereurs illyriens*, éd. E. Frézouls, H. Jouffroy, Strasbourg 1998, pp. 57–80; U. Huttner, *Von Maximinus Thrax bis Aemilianus*, in: *Die Zeit der Soldaten-Kaiser. Krise und Transformation des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (235–284)*, hrsg. von K.-P. Johné unter Mitwirkung von U. Hartmann und Th. Gerhardt, Berlin 2008, pp. 201–212; D. Potter, *Decius and Valerian*, in: *Imagining emperors in the later Roman Empire*, eds. by D. W. P. Burgersdijk, A. J. Ross, Leiden 2018, pp. 18–37; L. Grozdanova, *The Roman emperors against the Goths of Cniva: political mythology, historical documents and retrievable reality*, Sofia 2019, pp. 81–117.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., M. Horster, *The emperor's family on coins (third century): Ideology of stability in times of unrest*, in: *Impact of empire*, vol. 7, *Crises and the Roman Empire*, eds. O. Hekster, G. De Kleijn, D. Slootjes, Leiden–Boston 2007, pp. 297–398. Cf. also: U. Huttner, *Zwischen Traditionalismus und Totalitarismus. Zur Ideologie und Praxis der Regierung des Kaisers Decius*, in: *'Deleto paene imperio Romano'. Transformationsprozesse des Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert und ihre Rezeption in der Neuzeit*, hrsg. K.-P. Johné, T. Gerhardt, U. Hartmann, Stuttgart 2006, pp. 37–56.

In the methodology that is put forward here, the object of interest are numismatical pieces which documented, in the iconography, at least two members of the ruling *domus* at the same time, therefore ones that promote Trajan Decius's family as a certain whole and which indicate the existence of co-ruling successors, and which are focused to a lesser degree on the promotion of the virtues and the accomplishments of the particular members of the family. Material for consideration is furnished by the representations featured on medallions and coins issued during Trajan Decius's reign, including the coins which were made for his wife, the *augusta* Herennia Etruscilla (Herennia Cupressenia Etruscilla) and the sons of the imperial couple: Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian, *caesares* (250), and – subsequently – *augusti* (251).<sup>3</sup>

The promotion of the imperial family was facilitated – to a certain extent – by the individual types of medallions and coins from the capital-city mint in Rome.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, coins which featured more than one representative of the imperial *domus* at the same time were issued at several provincial mints.

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The representatives of Trajan Decius's dynasty – apart from the emperor himself, they were Herennia Etruscilla and sons Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian – were featured in imperial and provincial coinage in a dozen or so family configurations (cf. tabl. 1). If we consider the iconographical components of the specific representations, we may classify them within three groups. The imperial family members were most commonly represented *en profil* in busts (sometimes only their heads were represented). Another group involves scenes in which complete figures of the dynasts are

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<sup>3</sup> The fine points associated with the promotion of Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian and the discussion of the chronology and the circumstances of the reception of the titles *caesar* and *augustus* are beyond the scope of this text.

<sup>4</sup> The imperial mint in Antioch did not issue coins presenting more than one representative of the imperial *domus* in a single scene.

represented. The last group – the least numerous one – features the use of a symbol which may refer to the participation of more than one ruler.

Table 1.

Obverse	Reverse	Denomination / mint
<b>bust / head</b>		
Trajan Decius	Etruscus and Hostilian	ArM, ÆM, Ant, Ses / Roma
Trajan Decius and Etruscilla		ÆM / Roma
Etruscus and Hostilian		Æ / Aelia Capitolina
Etruscus and Hostilian	local themes	Æ / Aelia Capitolina, Bostra, Flaviopolis
Trajan Decius and Etruscus		Æ / Rhesaena
Etruscilla	Trajan Decius, Etruscus and Hostilian	Æ / Cremna
Trajan Decius	Etruscilla, Etruscus and Hostilian	ArM, Ant / Roma
<b>figural scene</b>		
Trajan Decius	Trajan Decius and Etruscus (seated)	2Ses / Roma
	Trajan Decius and Etruscus or Etruscus and Hostilian (standing)	Æ / Aelia Capitolina
Etruscilla	Trajan Decius, Etruscus, Etruscilla or Etruscus, Hostilian, Etruscilla? (standing)	Æ / Caesarea Maritima
Etruscus		
Trajan Decius, Etruscus and Hostilian	local themes	Æ / Anazarbus
<b>Symbol</b>		
Etruscus	<i>dextrarum iunctio</i>	Ant / Roma
Hostilian		

The emissions from the imperial mint in Rome represent the busts of dynasts placed side by side. They were commented by inscriptions, which expressed the unity of the ruling family (*concordia Augustorum*) and the mutual concern of its members and their devotion to their fatherland (*pietas Augustorum*). The busts of Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian, represented on the reverse side, constitute a counterpoise to the obverse representations of Trajan Decius himself or of Herennia Etruscilla. Such an arrangement was applied on a silver medallion and *antoniniani* of the PIETAS AVGG type<sup>5</sup> and *sestertii* of the CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM type.<sup>6</sup> Also the bronze medallion of the emperor, of the Q HER ETR DECIVS F C VALEN HOSTIL type, represents the heads of the young dynasts facing each other.<sup>7</sup> One may distinguish silver medallions and *antoniniani* of the CONCORDIA AVGG type, with three busts: of the empress and both sons facing her.<sup>8</sup> Equally interesting is a bronze medallion, whose obverse features the inscription CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM, presenting the bust of Trajan Decius and Herennia Etruscilla in an antithetical arrangement, while the PIETAS AVGVSTORVM reverse presents, in an analogous manner, the young Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian (fig. 1).<sup>9</sup> However, heretofore the instances of the busts of the father of the family with one or both of his sons presented side by side have not been unearthed. As a matter of fact, in Rome there is only one figural representation of the emperor shown next to one of his sons (LIBERALITAS AVG S C).<sup>10</sup>

The *antoniniani* of the CONCORDIA AVGG type, with a bust of Herennius Etruscus,<sup>11</sup> and Hostilian<sup>12</sup> on the obverse, were issued. The reverse side shows two right hands (*dextrarum iunctio*). They emphasised the

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<sup>5</sup> MedR 2, Tr. Decio, Erennio e Ostiliano, p. 49, no. 1, pl. 24.10; RIC 4.3, Tr. D., no. 32.

<sup>6</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D., no. 131 = MedR 3, Tr. Decio, Erennio e Ostiliano, p. 49, no. 2.

<sup>7</sup> MedR 2, Tr. Decio, Erennio e Ostiliano, p. 101, no. 1, pl. 110.6.

<sup>8</sup> MedR 1, Tr. Decio, Etruscilla, Erennio e Ostiliano, p. 49, no. 1, pl. 24.11; RIC 4.3, Tr.D., no. 31.

<sup>9</sup> MedR 2, Tr. Decio, Etruscilla, Erennio e Ostiliano, p. 101, no. 1, pl. 110.5.

<sup>10</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D., no. 122 = MedR 3, Tr. Decio, p. 92, no. 5, pl. 161.3.

<sup>11</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D. (Her. Etr.), no. 138.

<sup>12</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D. (Host.), no. 174; RIC 4.3, Host., no. 186.

harmony, affinity, and loyalty of the brothers. This iconographical theme, which was a well-established feature of Roman coinage, was associated with various legends, illustrating *inter alia* the idea of *concordia (concordia exercituum)*,<sup>13</sup> including the following modifying adjective: *concordia Augustorum*.<sup>14</sup> The novelty consisted in the family context: the theme was presumably associated with the imperial couple: Trajan Decius and Herennia Etruscilla.<sup>15</sup>

In provincial coinage these were relatively common images of busts or the heads of dynasts, similarly as in the case of imperial coinage. In a number of mints (Aelia Capitolina, Bostra, Cremna, Flaviopolis and Rhesaena) the busts or the heads of dynasts were also introduced. The inscriptions indicated their identity: AETRVSCVS ET QVINTVS CAESS (Aelia Capitolina, cf. figs. 2–5),<sup>16</sup> IMP M DECIVS ET C VALENS CVINTVS CAISARES (Bostra, cf. fig. 6),<sup>17</sup> Κ Ε Ε ΜΕΚΚΙ ΔΕΚΙΟΚ ΓΑ ΟΥΟΚ ΜΕ ΚΥΙΝΤΟΚ (Flaviopolis),<sup>18</sup> ΑΥΤ Κ Γ Μ Κ ΤΡ ΔΕΚΙΟΚ ΣΕΒ ΚΥ ΕΡ ΕΤΡ Μ ΔΕΚΙΟΚ ΚΑΙCΑΡ (Rhesaena, cf. fig. 7).<sup>19</sup>

Conversely, the coins issued in the Roman colony of Cremna for Herennia Etruscilla present three busts on the reverses (COL IVL AVG FEL CREMNA). The names of the people represented on the coins were not indicated. The identity of the people seems to be obvious. What is also significant is the very presence of the young dynasts at the side of the emperor. There is an eagle presented *en face*, with outstretched wings, and three male

<sup>13</sup> *Concordia exercituum*: e.g. RIC 2, Nerva, nos. 2–3, 14–15, 26–27 (Au/D), 53–55 (Ses/Dp/As), 69–70 (As/Ses), 79–81, 95–97 (Ses/Dp/As); RIC 3, M.Aur., nos. 1123–1125 (As); RIC 3, Com. (Crispina), no. 279 (D) *etc.*; see also: RIC 3, Ant.P., no. 1050 (As): CONCORD COS IIII S C, three clasped hands.

<sup>14</sup> RIC 4.2, Balb., no. 10 (Ant).

<sup>15</sup> Similarly as in the case of the coinage of Emperor Aemilianus (253), in the context of the presence of Gaia Cornelia Supera (*augusta*) at his side. See: RIC 4.3, Aem., no. 28 (Ant).

<sup>16</sup> RPC 9, nos. 2202–2205. Also RPC 9, no. 2201: the reverse features representations of *caesares* that are replicated in an antithetical arrangement with the following inscription: AETRVSCVS ET QVINTVS CAESS, COL.

<sup>17</sup> RPC 9, nos. 2212–2214, 2219.

<sup>18</sup> RPC 9, no. 1533.

<sup>19</sup> RPC 9, nos. 1596–1598.

busts above the eagle – the representation of Trajan Decius flanked by Hostilian on the left, and Herenius Etruscus on the right (fig. 8).<sup>20</sup>

Original coins include those which provide testimony, in figurative representations, to the existence of successors to the 'throne', and – broadly speaking – the functioning of the dynasty. These are four different approaches which were utilised at the Roman mint and in four provincial ones (Aelia Capitolina, Anazarbus and Caesarea Maritima). The rulers appear as *togati* in all of those representations.

The toga identified the one who belonged to the Roman world as a citizen (cf. Plin. *Ep.* 4.11.1; Ath. 5.213b). Martial (*Epigr.* 3.46.1) suggested that the wearing of a toga involved a great effort in itself (*opera sine fine*). Presumably he referred to the weight and the impractical nature of the garment. Even when he wrote about the service of a client, his words are evocative of the promise of *imperium sine fine*, expressed by Virgil in the *Aeneid* – a thing which was promised by Jupiter to the Romans (Verg. *Aen.* 1.279), about whom he remarks straightaway: 'Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam' (Verg. *Aen.* 1.282).<sup>21</sup> Earlier on he intimated that the establishment of the empire by Aeneas' descendants was no easy feat – on the contrary: it was an arduous task (Verg. *Aen.* 1.33). The toga was strongly associated with the political and civic duties of the Roman. These associations were expressed by Livy, who wrote eloquently about L. Quinctius Cincinnatus. The former was appointed as a dictator *consensu omnium*, and 'he was requested to put on his toga that he might hear the mandate of the senate, and they expressed the hope that it might turn out well for him and for the State' (Liv. 3.26.9: 'quod bene verteret ipsi reique publicae'). Then the toga-clad Cincinnatus made his way to the city in order to discharge his civic duties. The toga was also a symbol of peace (Cic. *De orat.* 3.42). These and a number of other ideological connotations demonstrate that the *togatus* was a true *vir Romanus*, who was completely devoted to the service of the citizen in the political life of the empire. If we follow Caroline Vout's remarks, who discusses the peculiar 'myth of the toga', then:

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<sup>20</sup> RPC 9, no. 972. Cf. K. W. Harl, *Civic coins and civic politics in the Roman East A.D. 180–235*, Berkeley–Los Angeles–London 1987, pp. 40–41 ('a clever innovation').

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Suet. *Aug.* 40.



To wear the toga was to shout I am Roman [...]. The toga defined the wearer as peaceful, civilized, male, Roman [...]. To be *togatus* was to be actively involved in the working of the state, whether a priest, an orator, a magistrate, a client or the emperor himself: all these as opposed to the rest of the population, whom Tacitus (*Dial.* 7) calls ‘the tunic-clad populace’.<sup>22</sup>

In this context, the toga, the attire of Trajan Decius and his sons who are represented on coins, continued to represent cultural and civic symbolism. Nevertheless, in the mid-third century, the scenes in which these *togati* were represented had a long history in numismatic portraiture. In the light of this, the representation of the *togati* in Trajan Decius’s coinage may be considered an expression of the well-established tradition of presenting the Roman ruler in his ‘non-military’ role (*domi*).

In the provincial coinage from Aelia Capitolina the *togatus*, who is wielding a sceptre, a token of his high office and status which elevates him above the ‘ordinary’ citizens, is standing in front of his ‘twin’ reflection: the reflection of another *togatus* to whom he extends his hand. The remarkable similarity of the figures and the *dextrarum iunctio* gesture which they share expresses the idea of harmonious collaboration between both dynasts. It is difficult to determine which representatives of Trajan Decius’s family are portrayed – whether it is the emperor himself and his elder son, or two brothers, the emperor’s sons. The hierarchy – if it is there at all – was indicated in a very subtle way, it may both facilitate the differentiation of the position of the emperor and the *caesar* and suggest the seniority of Herennius Etruscus in reference to the younger Hostilian. However, considering the fact that some of these coins were made for the emperor (fig. 9),<sup>23</sup> and others were made for Herennia Etruscilla,<sup>24</sup> one may assume that in this way the descendants of the imperial couple were indicated by placing both

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<sup>22</sup> C. Vout, *The myth of the toga: Understanding the history of Roman dress*, “Greece & Rome” 1996, vol. 43, issue 2, p. 214.

<sup>23</sup> RPC 9, no. 2176.

<sup>24</sup> RPC 9, no. 2182.

of them on the reverses; nevertheless, the opinions of scholars differ on this point.<sup>25</sup>

The reverses of the coins of *caesar* Herennius Etruscus (fig. 10),<sup>26</sup> and *augusta* Herennia Etruscilla,<sup>27</sup> from Caesarea Maritima, are interesting. Two *togati* make the *dextrarum iunctio* gesture. Here the family group is joined by the empress. She was represented in the centre, similarly as in the case of some elements of bas relief, especially sarcophagus bas relief, where two figures perform the *dextrarum iunctio* and the third figure in the guise of Concordia supports their harmony and unity.<sup>28</sup> It is also in the case of these coins that we are unable to identify the male figures – they represent either the emperor and his elder son, or both sons of the imperial couple. The second option seems to be more plausible,<sup>29</sup> for if the idea of the unity of Trajan Decius's family is promoted on the coins, it would be considered unusual if the figure of Hostilian were omitted in these family presentations.

The reverses of the double *sestertii* from Rome, which proved to be the only figural representation of two dynasts that is known in Trajan Decius's imperial coinage, feature the figures of *togati* which were incorporated into another scene. The emperor with one of his sons at his side (it is probably

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<sup>25</sup> Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian – Y. Meshorer, *The coinage of Aelia Capitolina*, Jerusalem 1989, p. 54. The legitimacy of this approach is underpinned also by the parallel representation featured on Septimius Severus' coins from Aelia Capitolina: Caracalla and Geta are standing, performing the *dextrarum iunctio* gesture, see: Y. Meshorer, *The coinage of Aelia Capitolina*, no. 81. Contra: Trajan Decius and Herennius Etruscus – BMCG, Judaea, Aelia Capitolina, p. 100, no. 101; cf. K. W. Harl, *Civic coins and civic politics...*, p. 42.

<sup>26</sup> RPC 9, no. 2082.

<sup>27</sup> RPC 9, no. 2077.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. P.G. Hamberg, *Studies in Roman imperial art, with special reference to the state reliefs of the second century*, Uppsala-København 1945, pp. 25–26; L. Reekmans, *La dextrarum iunctio dans l'iconographie romaine et paléochrétienne*, "Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome" 1958, 31, pp. 31–37. See: MedR 2, Adr., p. 3, no. 4, pl. 38.3 = RMed, Hadr 101; MedR 2, El., p. 9, no. 1, pl. 42.7 = RMed, Hadr 130: Hadrian and Aelius Caesar standing, clasping right hands; between them Concordia standing facing.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. L. Kadman, *The coins of Caesarea Maritima*, Jerusalem 1957, nos. 170 and 179: depicting three standing figures, perhaps those of Trajan Decius and his two sons.

the elder of the descendants, Herennius Etruscus) are represented on a platform (*tribunal*) seated on *sellae curules*, with Liberalitas standing next to them, holding an *abacus* and *cornucopia*. A citizen whose identity is not specified is presented below. The scene is commented by an inscription: LIBERALITAS AVG S C (fig. 11).<sup>30</sup>

The iconographical theme – a *togatus* seated on a *sella curulis* – dated quite far back. Embedded in the symbolism of the *sella curulis* itself, which was represented in republican coinage individually or along with *fascēs* (RRC 494.26), a *lituus* and a wreath (RRC 434.2), ears of corn (RRC 473.2a–b), *etc.* It was associated with the holding of an office and the wielding of the power of the magistrate, as indicated in the issues of L. Regulus featuring the names of his office, *praefectus Urbi* (RRC 494.31) and of Octavian with a mention of the office of G. Iulius Caesar: *Caesar dictator perpetuo* (RRC 497.2). The theme served the promotion of Octavian who was seated toga-clad on a *sella curulis*. On some coins (LEGES ET IVRA P R RESTITVIT) he is represented holding a scroll (*volumen/rotulus*) in his right hand, a case placed before him (*scrinium/capsa*),<sup>31</sup> while other coins (IMP CAESAR) show him holding a *victoriola* in his hand,<sup>32</sup> and in some other coins (IMP X) a laurel twig is offered to the *princeps*.<sup>33</sup>

In imperial coinage of the successive emperors, the image of a *togatus* seated on a *sella curulis* is also introduced.<sup>34</sup> This theme symbolised,

<sup>30</sup> RIC 4.3, Tr. D., no. 122 = MedR 3, Tr. Decio, p. 92, no. 5, pl. 161.3.

<sup>31</sup> J. W. Rich, J. H. C. Williams, *Leges et iura P.R. restituit: A new Aureus of Octavian and the settlement of 28–27 BC*, “Numismatic Chronicle” 1999, vol. 159, pp. 169–213; R. A. Abdy, N. Harling, *Two important new Roman coins*, “Numismatic Chronicle” 2005, vol. 165, pp. 175–176. Cf. D. Mantovani, *Leges et iura p(opuli) R(omani) restituit: principe e diritto in un aureo di Ottaviano*, “Athenaeum” 2008, vol. 96, pp. 5–54; A. A. Kluczek, *Obywatel i władca. Propaganda idei restytucyjnej w ikonografii monetarnej (I w. p.n.e.–I w. n.e.)*, “Klio. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Polski i powszechnym” 2018, vol. 47, no. 4, pp. 111–130.

<sup>32</sup> RIC 1, Aug., no. 270 (D).

<sup>33</sup> RIC 1, Aug., nos. 162–165 (Au/D).

<sup>34</sup> See, e.g., RIC 1, Tib., no. 48 (Ses): CIVITATIBVS ASIAE RESTITVTVS; RIC 1, Cal., no. 56 (Dp): CONSENSV SENAT ET EQ ORDIN P Q R. Cf. RIC 1, Galb., nos. 469–473 (Ses): HISPANIA CLVNIA SVL S C, emperor in military dress, seated in curule chair, woman standing, holding Palladium and cornucopia.

among others, the holding of public office. The subject-matter of the monetary inscriptions pointed to such associations, and they also presented the advantages of the emperor especially, for the purpose of the theme, which was sometimes extended to include other figures and their attributes was to illustrate subjects such as the following: *congiarium*,<sup>35</sup> *liberalitas*,<sup>36</sup> *alimentation*,<sup>37</sup> *aequitas*,<sup>38</sup> *felicitas*.<sup>39</sup> Sometimes the ruler was represented as a *pontifex maximus*.<sup>40</sup> In other coins the theme portrayed the *adlocutio* (in otherwise rare cases the *sella curulis* replaced the usual *sella castrensis*).<sup>41</sup> The purpose of all of these representations was to portray the Roman emperor. In some cases there was some variation in the theme, whereby the successors or co-regents were represented next to the ruler: two<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> See, e.g.: RIC 1 Nero, nos. 101, 102 (Ses): CONG II DAT POP (R); RIC 2.1, Vesp. (Tit.), no. 456 (Ses): CONGIAR PRIMVM P R DAT S C; RIC 2, Nerva, nos. 56, 57 (Ses): CONGIAR P R S C; MIR 14, no. 160 (Ses): COS V CONGIAR SECVND.

<sup>36</sup> See, e.g.: RIC 2.3, Hadr., nos. 235 (Ses): PONT MAX TR POT COS III / LIBERALITAS AVG / S C; 236 (Ses): PONT MAX TR POT COS III / LIBERTAS RESTITVTA / S C; 825 (Ses): PONT MAX TR POT COS II / LIBERALITAS AVG / S C; RIC 3, Ant. P., no. 915 (Ses): LIBERALITAS VII COS IIII S C; RIC 3, M. Aur. (Com.), nos. 1516 (Ses), 1517 (As): LIBERALITAS AVG S C; RIC 3, Com., no. 37 (Au): LIBERAL V TR P VII IMP IIII COS III P P.

<sup>37</sup> MIR 14, nos. 357 (Ses), 358 (Dp), 447 (As): S P Q R OPTIMO PRINCIPI S C ALIM ITAL.

<sup>38</sup> RIC 4.1, Sept. Sev., no. 154 (D): AEQVITAS AVGG.

<sup>39</sup> RIC 4.2, Sev. Al., no. 317 = MedR 1, Al. Sev. e Giulia Mammea, p. 5, no. 1 (A/M); RIC 4.2, Sev. Al., no. 661 (As): FELICITAS TEMPORVM.

<sup>40</sup> RIC 2.1, Vesp., nos. 545, 546 (D): PONTIF MAXIM.

<sup>41</sup> See, e.g. RIC 3, M. Aur., L. Ver., nos. 1370–1375 (Ses/Dp): *Rex Armeniis datus*.

<sup>42</sup> The two emperors, togate, seated on curule chairs on a platform, etc. see, e.g.: Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius – RIC 3, Ant. P., nos. 92 (Au): TR POT COS III; 544A (S): S C; Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus – RIC 3, M. Aur., nos. 15–17 (Au): LIB AVGVSTOR TR P XV COS III; RIC 4.1, L. Ver., no. 459 (Au): LIB AVGVSTOR TR P COS II; Marcus Aurelius and Commodus – RIC 3, M. Aur., nos. 1207–1209 (Ses): IMP VIII COS III P P LIBERALITAS AVG VII S C; 1211 (Ses): LIBERAL AVGVSTOR IMP VIII COS III P P S C; Septimius Severus and Caracalla – RIC 4.1, Sept. Sev., no. 822 (As): AVGVSTI COS S C; RIC 4.1, Car., no. 73A (Au): AVGVSTI COS; RIC 4.1, Car., no. 430A (As): LIBERALITAS AVGG COS II S C; Caracalla and Geta Geta – RIC 4.1, Car., nos. 215 (Au), 509 (Ses): LIB AVGG VI ET V (S C); RIC 4.1, Geta, nos. 185 (Ses),

or three<sup>43</sup> people were seated on *sellae curules*. In such cases the inscription may have alluded to the beneficence of the ruler i.e. to *congiaria, liberalitates etc.*, but sometimes it could be replaced by the names and the honorific titles of the dynasts, for example (in the coinage of the Flavii) T ET DOM C EX S C,<sup>44</sup> TITVS ET DOMITIAN PRIN IV,<sup>45</sup> TITVS ET DOMITIAN(VS) CAES(ARES) PRIN IV(EN),<sup>46</sup> and in the coinage of the Severi: IMP ET CAESAR AVG FILI COS.<sup>47</sup> Mariangela Puglisi aptly refers to such compositions in which a duo or a trio of rulers is presented as a ‘segno distintivo di successione’.<sup>48</sup>

The provincial coins represent a *togatus* (or *togati*) seated on a *sella curulis* relatively rarely.<sup>49</sup> Trajan Decius’s coinage utilises this approach in bronze issues from Anazarbus. The inscriptions AYT K K TPAI ΔEKIOC ΕΤΡ ΜΕC CΙ ΔΕΚΙΟΝ ΜΕ ΚΟΥΙΝΤΟΝ (fig. 12)<sup>50</sup> and AYT KA TPAI ΔΕΚΚΙΟC (sic) ΕΤΡ ΜΕC ΔΕΚΙΟΝ ΜΕ ΚΥΙΝΤΟC (fig. 13)<sup>51</sup> are supplemented by a representation of the three *togati* seated on the *sellae cu-*

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190 (As): LIBERALITAS AVGG VI ET V S C; RIC 4.1, Geta, no. 87 (Au): LIB AVGG V ET VI.

<sup>43</sup> Septimius Severus, Caracalla and Geta seated on curule chairs on a platform, *etc.* RIC 4.1, Sept. Sev., no. 279 (Au); RIC 4.1, Car., no. 159 (Au): LIBERALITAS AVGG VI; RIC 4.1, Sept. Sev., nos. 263 (D), 815, 823 (Ses): FELICITAS SAECVLI (S C); RIC 4.1, Car., nos. 128 (Au), 470 (As); RIC 4.1, Geta, no. 126 (Dp/As): FELICITAS SAECVLI (S C).

<sup>44</sup> RIC 2.1, Vesp., no. 13 (Ses).

<sup>45</sup> RIC 2.1, Vesp., nos. 1362 (Au), 1363, 1376 (D).

<sup>46</sup> RIC 2.1, Vesp., nos. 6 (D), 1123, 1125 (Au), 1126 (D).

<sup>47</sup> RIC 4.1, Car., no. 75 (D).

<sup>48</sup> M. Puglisi, *Origine e tradizione iconica di un’immagine monetale: la ‘sella curulis’: proposta di strutturazione di un lemma*, in: *L’immaginario e il potere nell’iconografia monetale*, a cura di L. Travaini, A. Bolis, Milano 2004, p. 69. Cf. A. Alföldi, *Die monarchische Repräsentation im römischen Kaiserreiche*, Darmstadt 1980, pp. 140–143; O. Wanscher, *Sella Curulis. The folding stool: An ancient symbol of dignity*, Copenhagen 1980, pp. 121–190; Th. Schäfer, *Imperii insignia. Sella curulis und fasces. Zum Repräsentation römische Magistrate*, Mainz 1989, pp. 24–195.

<sup>49</sup> O. Hekster, *Hadrian ant the limits to power*, “Journal of Ancient History and Archaeology” 2020, vol. 7, no. 1, p. 283.

<sup>50</sup> RPC 9, no. 1469.

<sup>51</sup> RPC 9, no. 1483.

*rules* located on a platform. The distinctive feature of the central figure is associated with an attribute – a *globus* held in the right hand. All of the figures face the same direction, which emphasises their participation in an activity. Without doubt Trajan Decius, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian are presented together in one scene, for their names are indicated by the inscriptions. Other pieces of such kind are only the coins from Cremna (RPC 972) which present this trio. In terms of presentation in busts, in this case, in Anazarbus, they were portrayed in full form. It is an exceptional representation due to the countenance of the rulers, which is an unusual feature in provincial coinage, as is the fact that all male representatives of Trajan Decius's dynasty are presented in one scene.

The iconographical themes introduced in coins issued in Rome (RIC 122) and Anazarbus (RPC 1469 and 1483), are a part of the canon of representation in coinage, *primo*, of the ruler who discharges his civil obligations, *secundo*, of the members of the dynasty who perform civil tasks together, *tertio*, the heirs of the emperor who are promoted. As far as the double *sestertii* from Rome (RIC 122) are concerned, the image was illustrated by an inscription which pointed to the imperial *liberalitas*, an action which was documented in a number of other issues and which is featured in the *Chronographus a. 354*.<sup>52</sup> The coins from Anazarbus do not feature an inscription which could point to the significance of the scene and explain the choice of a specific image. Only the identity of the figures, the partners in the action performed, is indicated.

The dynastic priorities of Emperor Trajan Decius overlapped with the ambitions of Anazarbus and the status which this city acquired at that time. Anazarbus, which competed with Tarsus for primacy in Cilicia, enjoyed the rank of a metropolis, the seat of the *koinon*, was the first city in the province to receive, for the third time, the title of *neokoros*. Information about this honour was disseminated by the coins (AD 249/250), representing three

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<sup>52</sup> *Liberalitas* standing, holding *abacus* and cornucopiae – RIC 4.3, Tr.D., nos. 19, 120 (Au/As/Dp): LIBERALITAS AVG (S C), no. 123 (Dp): LIBERALITAS AVGG S C, or emperor seated on *sella curulis* on a platform, accompanied by lictor and *Liberalitas*, facing citizen – RIC 4.3, Tr.D., nos. 106, 121 (Ses): LIBERALITAS AVG S C. Cf. Chron. 354 (MGH AA 9.1), p. 147. Cf. also: U. Huttner, *Zwischen Traditionalismus und Totalitarismus*, p. 40.

buildings: a temple between two other temples (fig. 14).<sup>53</sup> Presumably the theme of the three dynasts replicated in coins RPC 1469 (AD 249/250) and RPC 1483 (AD 250/251) is an echo of the acquisition of the privilege of *neokoros*. In any case, the splendour of the city was also celebrated with other types of coins from Anazarbus. The ones which were issued for Trajan Decius and his younger son Hostilian commemorated the festivities held in honour of the neokoria: Dekios oikoumenikos, as documented by the legend, which was illustrated by the theme of an agonistic wreath.<sup>54</sup> Some reverses, including that of RPC 1469, featured five agonistic wreaths.<sup>55</sup> One may suppose that the *agon*, according to Barbara Burrell, '[went] beyond mere celebration of the new Decian festival'.<sup>56</sup> Ruprecht Ziegler advanced a hypothesis that some of these coins feature an allusion to the Severeia Olympia Epineikia which was held during Trajan Decius's reign. This event

<sup>53</sup> RPC 9, no. 1467, rev.: ANAZAPBOY ΕΝΔΟΞ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΙ ΕΤ ΗΕC Γ ΚΑΙ Γ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΥ, temple with seven columns in frontal view; below, two temples with four columns shown in perspective, facing each other; RPC 9, no. 1468, rev.: ANAZAPBOY ΕΝΔΟΞ Γ ΚΑΙ Γ ΝΕΟΚ ΕΤ ΗΕC, temple with five columns in frontal view, below, two temples with four columns, shown in perspective. The title of *mētropolis* ('mother-city') was achieved by 204/5, cf. R. Ziegler, *Kaiser, Heer und städtisches Geld: Untersuchungen zur Münzprägung von Anazarbos und anderer ostkilikischer Städte*, Wien 1993, pp. 267–268, nos. 301–307. Rivalry Anazarbus with Tarsus, cf. R. Ziegler, *Das Koinon der drei Eparchien Kilikien, Isaurien und Lykaonien im späten 2. und frühen 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, in: *Studien zum antiken Kleinasien IV*, Bonn 1999, pp. 137–152; D. O. A. Klose, *Festivals and games in the cities of the East during the Roman Empire*, in: *Coinage and identity in the Roman provinces*, eds. Ch. Howgego, V. Heuchert, A. Burnett, Oxford–New York 2005, p. 132; B. Burrell, *Neokoroi. Greek cities and Roman emperor*, Leiden 2004, pp. 212–218 (Tarsus), 220–228 (Anazarbus). Tarsus had finally also become *neokoros* for the third time, cf. SNGvA, no. 6077 (the reign of Valerian and Gallienus).

<sup>54</sup> RPC 9, nos. 1476, 1479, rev.: ANAZ ΕΝΔΟΞ ΕΤ ΗΕC Γ Γ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟC, agonistic crown containing a palm, with the inscription ΔΕΚΙΟC; RPC 9, no. 1472A, rev.: ANAZ ΕΝΔΟΞ ΕΤ ΗΕC Γ Γ ΟΙΚΟΥΜΕΝΙΚΟC, agonistic crown containing palm.

<sup>55</sup> RPC 9, nos. 1481, 1482, rev.: ANAZAPBOY ΕΝΔΟΞ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΙ Γ Γ ΕΤ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΟΛΥΜΠΙ ΘΕC, five agonistic crowns, the three in the upper row containing palms. Cf. also: RPC 9, no. 1493, rev.: ANAZAPBOY ΜΗΤΡΟ[Π?] ΕΤ ΙΕΡΟΥ ΟΛΥΜΠΙ ΘΕC Γ Γ, agonistic crown containing palm, with inscription ΟΛ[ ]; RPC 9, no. 1495, rev.: ANAZAPBOY ΕΝΔΟΞ ΜΗΤΡΟ Γ Γ ΕΤ ΘΕC, agonistic crown on table. Wreath as symbol of games, festivals, whole city, cf.: D. O. A. Klose, *Festivals and games...*, pp. 129–132.

<sup>56</sup> B. Burrell, *Neokoroi...*, p. 227.

was established in 198/199 to commemorate Septimius Severus's victory over Pescennius Niger and the Parthians.<sup>57</sup> The festivities were documented in the Severan coinage in a manner similar to that represented in Trajan Decius's issues.<sup>58</sup> In the coinage of the Severi one may perceive further iconographical analogies, namely coins whose reverses indicate the title *neokoros* which was acquired by Anazarbus and the coins whose iconography alludes to the role of the city in maintaining the cult of the emperor. The said coins represent Emperor Septimius Severus along with his sons Caracalla and Geta. The trio, toga-clad, are seated on *sellae*.<sup>59</sup> The same theme was also introduced in Smyrna on coinage issued by Kl. Roufinos, strategos.<sup>60</sup> These provincial issues which portray three members of the Severan dynasty could have been a model for coins RPC 1469 and 1483.

Neokoria and the celebrations are testimony to the prosperity which Anazarbus enjoyed during Trajan Decius' reign – prosperity which probably (the available data is insufficient) – resulted from the strategic significance of the city, or from his support for this ruler.<sup>61</sup> A numismatic

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<sup>57</sup> R. Ziegler, *Städtische Prestige und kaiserliche Politik. Studien zum Festwesen in Ostkilikien im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr.*, Düsseldorf 1985, p. 48, cf. ibidem, p. 41, nos. B49, B50.

<sup>58</sup> See, e.g.: ibidem, p. 34, nos. B10, B11, cf. ibidem, pp. 77–78.

<sup>59</sup> Ibidem, p. 33, no. B8, pl. 3.23, obv.: [A CE ΓETAC K] AV K MA ANTΩNINOC AV K Λ CE CE [OV]HPOC; rev.: CEV ANTΩ KAICAP ANAZAPBΩ ΠΠO NEΩKOPOV ET ZIC AΛV TAPXIAIC, crown of the Cilicarch; pp. 33–34, no. B9, pl. 3.24, obv.: Λ CE [Γ]ETAC K AV K M[A] ANTΩNINOC AV K Λ CE CE OVHPOC; rev.: CEVHP ANTΩ [...] ANAZA [...] NEΩK EΠ O, Nike. After 253 in Anazarbus the image of two *togati* (emperors Valerianus and Gallienus) seated on *sellae curules* was reintroduced, see: BMCG, Cilicia, Anazarbus, p. 39, no. 39; SNG vA, no. 5507; R. Ziegler, *Städtische Prestige*, p. 42, no. B60, pl. 7.63, obv.: AVT K Π ΛΙΚ OVAΛEPIANOC CE, bust of Valerian; rev.: AVT K OVAΛEPIANOC ANAZAPB AVT ΓAΛΛIHNOC AMK BOC.

<sup>60</sup> BMCG Ionia, Smyrna, p. 238, nos. 368–371: obv.: Λ CE ΓETAC K AV K MA ANTΩNIN AV K Λ CE CEOVHPOC; rev.: EΠI CTPA KA POVΦINOV COΦI ΠΠO TA KOIN A ACIAC CMVPN AIΩN, wreath.

<sup>61</sup> Cf. R. Ziegler, *Städtische Prestige*, pp. 99–108; Th. Gerhardt, *Die Städte*, in: *Die Zeit der Soldaten-Kaiser. Krise und Transformation der Römischen Reiches im 3. Jahrhundert n. Chr. (235–284)*, hrsg. K.-P. Johne unter Mitwirkung von U. Hartmann und Th. Gerhardt, Berlin 2008, pp. 701–704. Anazarbus – despite the *damnatio memoriae* of Trajan Decius, cf. CIL 11.4086 = ILS 6149 – manifested its splendour during the reign



manifestation of the ambitions of Anazarbus of that time has to do with the representation of the three Tychai (Cilicia, Isauria, Lycaonia). They offer wreaths to the Tyche of Anazarbus as a token of the recognition of her primacy (fig. 15).<sup>62</sup> This novelty is interesting because Tarsus located nearby, which competed with Anazarbus, at the same time issued similar coins of Trajan Decius and Herennia Etruscilla. The three Nikai and the wreath pointed to the significance of the city of Tarsus in Cilicia.<sup>63</sup> The theme itself introduced in the coins from Anazarbus (Tychai's theme), has an iconographical and ideological affinity with previous issues of Septimius Severus from Anazarbus itself and Tarsus.<sup>64</sup>

of the successive emperors. Coins which referred to the *agones* were issued. See: coins of Trebonianus Gallus – RPC 9, nos. 1498, 1516; coins of Volusian – RPC 9, nos. 1506, 1517–1518. Anazarbus called 'prôtè, mégistè, kallistè' (first, greatest, most beautiful), cf. abbreviation AMK (or AKM): coins of Trebonianus Gallus – RPC 9, nos. 1498–1500, 1504, 1505, 1515, 1526; and of Volusian: RPC 9, nos. 1501–1503, 1506, 1507, 1509–1514, 1516–1523, 1525, 1527, 1528; cf. at time of Trajan Decius – RPC 9, nos. 1342–1381, 1383–1389. For a synthetic account of the content of the coins from Anazarbus see: E. Dąbrowa, *Coinage of the Cilician cities as a mirror of historical and cultural changes (Vc. BCE – III c. CE)*, "Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization" 2019, vol. 23, pp. 124–125.

<sup>62</sup> RPC 9, no. 1492 (AD 250/251): Tyche seated, at her feet, Pyramus swimming; in front, two city-goddesses; behind, another (third) city-goddess. Cf. J. Nolle, H. Zellner, *Von Anazarbos nach Mopsuestia. Historische Anmerkungen zu zwei unpublizierten Stadtprägungen der Römischen Kaiserzeit aus Kilikien*, "Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte" 1995, Bd. 45, pp. 42–43. Cf. also the coins of Septimius Severus – R. Ziegler, *Städtische Prestige*, pp. 99–108; idem, *Ergänzungen zum Münzcorpus der Stadt Anazarbos in Kilikien*, "Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte" 1998/1999, Bd. 48/49, p. 111, no. 12.

<sup>63</sup> RPC 9, nos. 1381, 1384, rev.: TAPCOY ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ ΑΜΚΓΒ, demiourgos crown over altar; at r., crown of the Cilicarch decorated with six imperial busts and three Nikai.

<sup>64</sup> Anazarbus – R. Ziegler, *Ergänzungen zum Münzcorpus der Stadt Anazarbos in Kilikien*, "Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte" 1998/1999, Bd. 48/49, p. 111, no. 12, rev.: Tyche of Anazarbus seated l.; at her feet, the river god Pyramus swimming; three Tychai (Cilicia, Isauria and Lycaonia) standing; and Tarsus – BMCG Lycaonia, Tarsus, p. 193, nos. 175–176; SNG vA, no. 6001, rev.: Tyche of Tarsus seated l., at her feet, the river god Cydnus swimming; in front, two Tychai (Cilicia and Isauria); behind, a third Tyche (Lycaonia). Cf. also coins of Volusian: RPC 9, no. 1417.

The original scene featuring three dynasts *togati* in the issues from Anazarbus, which has no counterpart in the coinage from Tarsus, seems to be a manifestation of the rivalry between these two *metropoleis* for supremacy in the region with the help of the Roman emperor's name. Such an evaluation is consistent with Marietta Horster's opinion who writes the following in her compelling account of the presence of the dynasts in provincial coinage:

The cities were free to draw their own picture of the standing, power, influence or popularity of an imperial family member. We may assume that the variations in the choice of coin types did not reflect directly the imperial view of Roman rule or the dissemination of specific understandings of Roman leadership, or even an imperial propagation of the succession. Choices of coin types and legends – except for the case of shared or linked dies in the late 2nd and 3rd c. – thus reflect the understanding of life under Roman rule the way the local élites wanted to see it. By the choice of coin types and legends, a city's élite reacted and responded to its perception, its imagination of imperial power, as well as its perception of comparable reactions and responses by the élites of other cities. [...] The choice was often influenced by a regional aspect of imitation and emulation or by rivalry between cities and regions. However, by choosing to place representations of members of the imperial family on their coins, the minting cities (or, better, their élites) may have demonstrated their alleged close relationship, and more personalised expression on that relationship, to the ruling Romans.<sup>65</sup>

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The dynastic theme was not a common one in Trajan Decius's coinage. Erika Manders classifies a mere 2% of this ruler's coins within the category of 'dynastic representation'.<sup>66</sup> This paucity of specimens refers to the imperial coinage. Only a few types of numismatical pieces from the mint in Rome

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<sup>65</sup> M. Horster, *Coinage and images of the imperial family: Local identity and Roman rule*, "Journal of Roman Archaeology" 2013, vol. 26, pp. 257–258.

<sup>66</sup> E. Manders, *Coining images of power: Patterns in the representation of Roman emperors on imperial coinage, A.D. 193–284*, Leiden–Boston 2012, pp. 262–263.

featured dynastic themes, promoting the ideas of *concordia*, *pietas*, *liberalitas*, and presenting the images of the dynasts. Even though the iconography of these medallions and coins was not diversified to any great extent, the inscriptions clearly pointed to the attributes/features of the representatives of the dynasty and their relations. This aspect is particularly discernible in the bronze medallion *CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM/PIETAS AVGVSTORVM*, whose obverse and reverse iconography features the entire imperial *domus*. Other issues provide testimony of the participation of its representatives in the distribution ceremonies (*liberalitas*).

This context is further developed by the iconographical methods featured in provincial coinage. If we limit ourselves to an account of the coins discussed above – coins which presented two or three members of the ruling *domus* – we may state that they constituted 1.5% of all provincial issues. They were produced by a mere handful (7) out of over 80 provincial mints which operated in 249–251.

In the provincial coinage the representations which promote the members of the dynasty are more varied than in the case of imperial coinage. These are busts or the heads of dynasts represented in various family configurations, as well as the figures of the emperor, the empress, and their sons in various ‘family groups’. Such a methodology is testimony to the fact that the young dynasts, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilianus were accepted as those who stood on the side of Trajan Decius as his collaborators and successors.

In the common numismatical projections they were not represented as warriors by any means. After all, such a ruler-fighter model was rarely utilised in the coinage issued in 249–251.<sup>67</sup> Instead, the pieces which feature whole figures of two or three dynasts provide a representation of *togati*. This is quite a unique circumstance, for in this case, in the years of war, the balance between *militiae* or *domi* was tipped in favour of the latter: the representation of the emperor and his sons as *togati*. This is also interesting due to the fact that such representations featured on provincial coins were

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<sup>67</sup> Cf. A. A. Kluczek, *Barbarians on the coins of Trajan Decius (249–251)*, “Studia Ceranea. Journal of the Waldemar Ceran Research Centre for the History and Culture of the Mediterranean Area and South-East Europe” 2020, vol. 10, pp. 337–359.

not directly illustrated by inscriptions. Indeed, they featured the names of dynasts. However, as far as the role of the dynast and its members are concerned, then at least in the places where more distinct numismatic representations were developed, these people, who wore *togae* instead of any other 'citizen's clothes', were supposed to be the benefactors of the specific cities and their *élites* who collaborated with others.



1.  $\text{ÆM}$ , Rome, 249–251; obv.: *CONCORDIA AVGVSTORVM*, bust of Trajan Decius, radiate, r., and bust of Herennia Etruscilla, diademed, l.; rev.: *PIETAS AVGVSTORVM*, bare-headed busts of Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian; *MedR* 2, pl. 110.5.



2.  $\text{Æ}$ , Aelia Capitolina, 250–251; obv.: *AETRVSCVS ET QVINTVS CAESS*, jugate busts of Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian, both radiate, draped, and cuirassed, r.; rev.: *AETRVSCVS ET QVINTVS CAESS COL AEL*, radiate, draped and cuirassed busts of Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian, vis-à-vis. *RPC* 2201; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



3. Æ, Aelia Capitolina, 250–251; obv.: AETRVSCVS ET QVINTVS CAESS, jugate busts of Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian, both radiate, draped, and cuirassed, r.; rev.: COL AEL KAP COM P F, Jupiter standing r., holding a human bust and leaning on a long sceptre, at l., *thyrsus* filled. RPC 2202; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



4. Æ, Aelia Capitolina, 250–251; obv.: AETRVSCVS ET QVINTVS CAESS, jugate busts of Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian, both radiate, draped, and cuirassed, r.; rev.: COL AEL KAP COM(M) P F, Hygeia seated l., feeding a serpent from a phiale. RPC 2203; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



5. Æ, Aelia Capitolina, 250–251; obv.: AETRVSCVS ET QVINTVS CAESS, jugate busts of Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian, both radiate, draped, and cuirassed, r.; rev.: COL AEL KAP COM(M) P F, Tyche standing, l., holding a human bust and leaning on a long

sceptre, *aquila* to l., Nike standing on a column. RPC 2205; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



6. Æ, Bostra, 250–251; obv.: IMP P M DECIVS ET C VALENS CVINTVS CAISARES, laureate, draped and cuirassed bust, r., and radiate, draped and cuirassed bust, l. (Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian); rev.: ACTIA DVSARIA COL METR BOSTRENORVM, the baetyls of the god Dusares: large baetyl between two small baetyls on a raised platform. RPC 2212; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



7. Æ, Rhessaena, 249–251; obv.: ΑΥΤ Κ Γ Μ Κ ΤΡ ΔΕΚΙΟC CΕΒ ΚΥ ΕΡ ΕΤΡ Μ ΔΕΚΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡ, radiate, draped and cuirassed bust of Trajan Decius, r., facing bare-headed, draped and cuirassed bust of Herennius Etruscus, l.; rev.: CΕΠ ΚΟΛ ΦΗCΑΙΝΗCΙΩΝ Λ ΙΙΙ Ρ, two Tychai standing facing each other, and clasping right hands over an altar; above, eagle on palm; to l., statue on column; at r., centaur holding a bow; in exergue, river god (Chaboras) swimming, r. RPC 1597; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



8. Æ, Cremna, 249–251; obv.: EREN ETRVSCILLA AVG, bust of Herennia Etruscilla, r., on crescent; rev.: COL IVL AVG FEL CREMNA, eagle standing, r., spreading wings, supporting three busts, from l. to r.: bare-headed and draped bust, r., laureate, draped and cuirassed bust, r., and bare-headed and draped bust, l., (Herennius Etruscus, Trajan Decius and Hostilian). RPC 972; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



9. Æ, Aelia Capitolina, 249–251; obv.: IMP C C MES Q TRA DECIVS AVG, laureate and cuirassed bust of Trajan Decius, r.; rev.: COL AEL KAP COM(M) P F, two *togati* standing facing each other, and clasping right hands. RPC 2176; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



10. Æ, Caesarea Maritima, 249–251; obv.: MES Q EREN ETRVSCO DECIO CAES, radiate, draped and cuirassed bust of Herennius Etruscus, r.; rev.: COL PR F AVG F C CAES MET S P, two *togati* standing facing each other, and clasping right hands; between

them Herennia Etruscilla standing facing. RPC 2082; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



11. Æ, 2Ses, Rome, 249–251; obv.: IMP C M Q TRAIANVS DECIVS AVG, radiate, draped and cuirassed bust of Trajan Decius, r.; rev.: LIBERALITAS AVG S C, two rulers seated on curule chairs, l., on a platform, Liberalitas and citizen standing. MedR 3, pl. 161.3.



12. Æ, Anazarbus, 249/250; obv.: ΑΥΤ Κ Κ ΤΡΑΙ ΔΕΚΙΟC ΕΤΡ ΜΕCΚΙ ΔΕΚΙΟΝ ΜΕ ΚΟΥΙΝΤΟΝ, three *togati* (Trajan Decius, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian) seated, l., all on curule chairs; rev.: ΑΝΑΖΑ ΕΝΔΟΞ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΙ Γ Γ ΕΤ ΗΕC, five agonistic crowns. RPC 1469; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



13. Æ, Anazarbus, 250/251; obv.: ΑΥΤ ΚΑ ΤΡΑΙ ΔΕΚΚΙΟC (*sic*) ΕΤΡ ΜΕC ΔΕΚΙΟΝ ΜΕ ΚΥΙΝΤΟC, three *togati* (Trajan Decius, Herennius Etruscus and Hostilian) seated, l., all



on curule chairs; rev.: ANAZAPBOY ENΔOΞ MHTPOΠIO Γ Γ ET ΘEC, female figure (personification of Synthysia), standing, l., with a double axe and a bull. RPC 1483; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



14. Æ, Anazarbus, 249/250; obv.: AYT K KYI TPAIAN ΔEKIOC CE, radiate, draped and cuirassed bust of Trajan Decius, r.; rev.: ANAZAPBOY ENΔOΞ Γ KAI Γ NEOK ET HEK, three temples. RPC 1468; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.



15. Æ, Anazarbus, 250/251; obv.: EPENNIAN ETPOYCKIΛΛAN CEΒ, bust of Herennia Etruscilla, r., wearing stephane, set on crescent; rev.: ANAZAPBOY ENΔOΞ MHTPOΠIO Γ Γ ET ΘEC, Tyche seated, l., on rocks, and receiving a crown from three Tychai (Cilicia, Isauria and Lycaonia); river god (Pyramos) swimming at feet. RPC 1492; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.