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HADRIAN, A NUMISMATIC LAPSE, AND... JANUS*

Abstract. The image of the “founder”, who marks the boundaries of the city with a plough drawn by a pair of animals was one of the obvious themes placed on the reverses of colonial coins. Such a symbolic foundation scene (*araturum* motif) was also one of the leading themes on coins from the colonial mint in Parium in the east of the Roman Empire. During the reign of Hadrian (AD 117–138), this mint issued coins (RPC 3, nos 1539 and 1540), which, apart from the *araturum* motif, have an unobvious legend on their reverses, especially in its connection with the obverse inscription on these coins.

Keywords: Roman provincial coins, Parium, founder and the plough, *araturum* motif

During the reign of the Roman emperor Hadrian (AD 117–138), the colonial mint in the Mysian Parium in the Hellespont issued bronze coins with interesting reverses. Above the scene of the “ploughman” with a plough drawn by two animals, two oxen, or an ox or a bull and a cow, it reads IANVS AVG, which is supplemented by the notation C G I P¹. The unusual juxtaposition of such a scene with the indicated legend, known only in Hadrian’s coinage, leads to an analysis of the content of the reverses of these coins.

I begin by commenting on the significance of the scene featuring the “ploughman”, which I situate in the context of the foundational tradition. I compare its numismatic arrangement – more widely known in Roman coinage – with bas-reliefs addressing the same theme². Subsequently, I consider the inscriptions on

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¹ M. AMANDRY, A. BURNETT, J. MAIRAT, W. METCALF, L. BRICAULT, M. BLET-LEMARQUAND, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. III, *Nerva, Trajan and Hadrian (AD 96–138)*, London–Paris 2015 (cetera: RPC 3), nos 1539, 1540.

² I do not include illustrations of Hadrian’s coins from Parium (cf. <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/1539>; <https://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/coins/3/1540>, with the relevant commentary [30 IX 2023]). The originality of these coins pertains to the inscriptions, not the imagery on the reverse.

Hadrianic coins from Parium. There is an error in these inscriptions, which lies in the letters IANVS. The explanation is straightforward, but – for non-specialists – the inscription may be construed as the name Janus (Ianus), one of the Roman gods. In conclusion, this (non)obvious association serves as a pretext for accentuating the characteristics of Janus, the “god of beginnings”. The intermingling of various themes and connotations thus remains the essence of this tripartite composition, and is intended to suggest the diversity – not always valid – of interpretations that a cursory examination of Roman coins may inspire.

*Vrbem designat aratro*³

The reverses of the Hadrianic coins in question depict the ritual of founding a city by marking its territory. The ploughman leads draught animals harnessed to a plough and, symbolically, draws the furrow indicating the boundaries of the city. He repeats an act which according to tradition, on the 21st of April of the third year of the sixth Olympiad, on the Pales holiday (Palilia/Parilia) was once performed by the founder (*conditor*) of Rome, the son of Mars, Romulus. It was Romulus who equipped a plough (*aratrum*) drawn by a pair of animals, one female and one male, with a ploughshare (*rallum*) and marked out the first furrow (*sulcus primigenius*), thus indicating the boundaries (*pomerium*) of emerging Rome. In the literary tradition, there are many references to this founding act involving the first Roman king, in the mythical year 753 BC⁴. Among these there is Ovid’s poetic description⁵:

³ VIRGILE, *Enéide*, V, 755, ed. et trans. J. PERRET, Paris 1992–1993 (cetera: VERGILIUS).

⁴ For instance: CATON, *Les origines (Fragments)*, frg. 18, ed. et trans. M. CHASSIGNET, Paris 1986 (cetera: CATO); DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSENSIS, *Antiquités romaines*, I, 88, vol. I, ed. et trans. V. FROMENTIN, Paris 1998; TACITE, *Annales*, XII, 24, vol. III, ed. et trans. P. WUILLEUMIER, Paris 1994; PLUTARQUE, *Vies*, vol. I, *Thésée – Romulus – Lucurgue – Numa, Romulus*, 11, 3, ed. et trans. R. FLACELIÈRE, É. CHAMBRY, M. JUNEUX, Paris 1993 (cetera: PLUTARCHUS). The sources for the foundation of Rome: *La leggenda di Roma*, vol. I, *Dalla nascita dei gemelli alla fondazione della città*, ed. A. CARANDINI, Milano 2006, p. 183–219. Cf. D. BRIQUEL, *La leggenda di Romolo e il rituale di fondazione delle città*, [in:] *Roma, Romolo, Remo e la fondazione della città*, (Catalogo della Mostra), ed. A. CARANDINI, R. CAPPELLI, Milano 2000, p. 39–44; P. CARAFA, *Il rito dell’aratura e la costruzione delle mure palatine*, [in:] *Roma, Romolo, Remo...*, p. 275–276; IDEM, *Commento*, [in:] *La leggenda di Roma...*, p. 410–440; S. SISANI, *Qua aratrum ductum est. La colonizzazione romana come chiave interpretativa della Roma delle origini*, [in:] *Roman Republican Colonization. New Perspectives from Archaeology and Ancient History*, ed. T.D. STEK, J. PELGROM, Rome 2014, p. 357–404. The Etruscan origin of the *aratrum* ritual, cf. VARRON, *De lingua latina. Livre V*, V, 143, ed. et trans. J. COLLART, Paris 1954 (cetera: VARRO); MACROBE, *Les Saturnales*, V, 19, 13, ed. et trans. H. BORNECQUE, F. RICHARD, Paris 1937 (cetera: MACROBIUS); Aeneas’ role in the ritual: VERGILIUS, V, 755–756. In contrast: the *aratrum* ritual in the act of destroying, not erecting the city: *Quinti Horati Flacci Opera omnia*, vol. I, *Carmina et epodon librum continens, Carm. I*, 16, 20–21 (Carthago), ed. O. JUREWICZ, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1986.

⁵ *Ovid’s Fasti*, IV, 825–830, trans. J.G. FRAZER, London–Cambridge 1959 [= LCL, 253] (cetera: OVIDIUS).

inde premens stivam designat moenia sulco;
 alba iugum niveo cum bove vacca tulit.
 vox fuit haec regis: condenti, Iuppiter, urbem
 et genitor Mavors Vestaque mater, ades;
 quosque pium est adhibere deos, advertite cuncti.
 auspiciibus vobis hoc mihi surgat opus.

Then pressing on the plough-handle he drew a furrow to mark out the line of the walls: the yoke was borne by a white cow and snow-white steer. The king spoke thus: 'O Jupiter, and Father Mavors, and Mother Vesta, stand by me as I found the city! O take heed, all ye gods whom piety bids summon! Under your auspices may this my fabric rise! [...]'⁶.

The Romans repeated this ritual, creating subsequent colonies⁷, since they constituted a miniature image of Rome itself, founded in the likeness of Rome. This ritual was carried out to celebrate the beginning of the colony⁸. Its symbolic images were reflected in the coinage issued by numerous mints in the empire, especially in the colonial coinage, thus indicating the status of a given city and recalling the birth of the colony and its refounding, as well as honoring important events from its history (although these are not always known today). This ritual was preserved in the iconography used in emissions from the forties of the 1st century BC until the 3rd century, which brought an end to provincial coinage (fig. 1)⁹. However, the *aratrum* motif is rather rare in imperial coinage¹⁰.

⁶ Trans. by Sir J.G. Frazer.

⁷ CICÉRON, *Discours, 19: Philippiques I à IV*, II, 40, 102, ed. et trans. A. BOULANGER, P. WUILLEUMIER, Paris 1959; VARRO, V, 143; and, e.g., *CIL*, X 3825; *CIL*, VI 1233. Cf. A.I. COLES, *Roman Colonies in Republic and Empire*, Leiden 2020 [= BRP], p. 1–119.

⁸ A.M. ECKSTEIN, *The Foundation Day of Roman "Coloniae"*, *CSCA* 12, 1979, p. 88–94.

⁹ For instance: A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY, P.P. RIPOLLÈS, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. I, *From the Death of Caesar to the Death of Vitellius (44 BC–AD 69)*, London–Paris 1992 (cetera: RPC 1), nos 2268 (Lampsacus, c. 45 BC (?): C G I L / Q L V C R E T I (O) L P O N T I (O) I I V I R M T V R I O L E G), 261 (Lepida-Celsa, s.a.: C (O L) V (I C) I (V L) L (E P) / M F V L C O T A C P R Q V I N); H. VON AULOCK, *Münzen und Städte Pisidiens*, vol. II, Tübingen 1979, p. 143–144, nos 1697–1709 (Cremna, AD 270–275: I M P C S L D O M A V R E L I A N O / D I V O A V G C O L C R E). For an overview of the types and their discussion: E.A. ARSLAN, *L'aratro. Semantica civile*, [in:] *L'agricoltura in età romana*, ed. S. SEGENNI, Milano 2019, p. 212, 232–260; cf. also S. JELLONEK, *Roman Foundation Myths on Colonial Coinage*, *NNum* 13, 2018, p. 104–110.

¹⁰ Octavian/Augustus' coins: C.H.V. SUTHERLAND, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. I, *From 31 BC to AD 69*, London 1984 (cetera: RIC 1), nos 272 (D, uncertain mint, c. 29–27 BC), 402 (Au, Rome, 13 BC); Vespasian's coins: I.A. CARRADICE, T.V. BUTTREY, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. II.1, *From AD 69–96 Vespasian to Domitian*, London 2007, nos 943–945, 951–952 (D, Rome, AD 77–78); Trajan's coins: B. WOYTEK, *Die Reichsprägung des Kaisers Traianus (98–117)*, Wien 2010 [= DKAW.PhH, 387], nos 310 (Ses, Rome, AD 107–108), 819 (D rest., Rome, AD 112/113) = H. KOMNICK, *Die Restitutionsmünzen der frühen Kaiserzeit. Aspekte der Kaiserlegitimation*, Berlin–New York 2001, no 20.0; Commodus' coins and medaillons: H. MATTINGLY, E.A. SYDENHAM, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. III, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, London 1930 (repr. 1968) (cetera: RIC 3), nos 247 (Au, Rome, AD 192), 560, 570 (Ses/As, Rome, AD 190), 616, 629 (Ses/ Dp, Rome, AD 192); F. GNECCHI,



Fig. 1. Æ, Parium, [AD 138–161]; obv.: ANTONINVS AVG, laureate head of Antoninus Pius, r.; rev.: C G I H P, founder ploughing with two oxen, r.; RPC 4, no 613 temp.; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Auction 332, Lot 182; <https://cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=265257>.

Numismatic images constitute the basis of the iconographic sources of the foundation scene, or the *aratrum* motif. Other representations are scarce. The monuments of ancient art show various versions of the ploughing scene, with the participation of human and animal figures (ploughman, oxen) and a basic tool (plough), which brings agricultural activities closer to the viewer¹¹. However, only two works from the Roman era can be associated with the symbolism of the city's origins.

One can mention the famous relief monument from Aquileia (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Aquileia, inv. 49100)¹², detailed in 1931 by Giovanni Battista

I medaglioni romani, vol. II, Milano 1912, p. 54, nos 23–24 (ÆMed, Rome, AD 192), p. 62, no 98 (ÆMed, Rome, AD 187). The Roman foundation myths on Roman imperial coinage: A.A. KLUCZEK, *Primordia Romana. Mityczna przeszłość Rzymu i pamięć o niej w rzymskich numizmatach zakłęta*, Katowice 2019, *passim*.

¹¹ E. SAGLIO, *Aratrum*, [in:] *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romaines*, vol. I.1, ed. Ch.V. DAREMBERG, E. SAGLIO, Paris 1873, p. 353–356; P. CARAFA, *I documenti figurati relativi al rito dell'aratura*, [in:] *Roma, Romolo, Remo...*, p. 272–274. For a description of the types of plough in the Roman world and their intended use for farming, cf. G. FORNI, *Semantica degli strumenti rurali in età romana. Il caso dell' aratro: sua matrice ed evoluzione*, [in:] *L'agricoltura...*, p. 181–183.

¹² G. BRUSIN, *Aquileia. Bassorilievo col tracciato del sulcus primigenius*, NSA 1931, p. 472–475; M. BEARD, J. NORTH, S. PRICE, *Religions of Rome*, vol. II, *A Sourcebook*, Cambridge 1998, p. 244; P. CARAFA, *I documenti...*, p. 272–273; E. DI FILIPPO BALESTRAZZI, *Il rilievo storico*, [in:] *Aquileia dalle origini alla costituzione del Ducato longobardo. Topografia, urbanistica, edilizia pubblica*, ed. G. CUSCITO, M. VERZÁR-BASS, Trieste 2005, p. 94–106; M. VERZÁR BASS, *Il rilievo con scena di*

Brusin, dated to the mid-1st century (fig. 2). Aquileia received the rank of colony under the Latin law in 181 BC, and under the reign of Augustus it became Aquileia Colonia Romana¹³. It is difficult to determine which of the two episodes changing the status of Aquileia the bas-relief refers to, but, as is generally assumed, the bas-relief shows the practice of digging the *sulcus primigenius*, the furrow ploughed in the founding ceremony¹⁴. However, it is likely that it commemorates the expansion of the city in the times of Augustus, symbolically embedding the beginnings of the new *colonia Romana* in the mythical aura characteristic of the Julio-Claudian era, referring to the deeds of the legendary protagonists, including Romulus the *conditor*.

In a long strip (width 0,98 m., height 0,445 m.), a multi-figure, left-oriented scene was developed. It is framed at the bottom with a plinth, while it lacks marked lateral borders, so it may have been continued in non-preserved fragments. The solemn procession of six men in togas is presented. The first man (*victimarius*?) leads a pair of oxen¹⁵, or perhaps a cow and a bull¹⁶, wearing a *dorsuale* and a *frontale* between their horns¹⁷, in the yoke, which pull a plough consisting of a handle (*stiva*) and a plough-tail (*bure*). The plough is supported by a man in a toga draped in the particular ritual fashion of the *cinctus Gabinus*, and with a stick in his right hand, perhaps used to keep the plough in the right direction or to clean the plough-share¹⁸. It is this *togatus* that seems to be the protagonist of the whole scene. This central group is followed by a procession of four figures in gowns (togas), who may be, as Brusin supposed, new colonists or perhaps a group of senior city magistrates (e.g. *quattuorviri*, which would correspond to the number of these silhouettes).

aratura di Aquileia riconsiderato, [in:] *Archeologia Classica e Post-classica tra Italia e Mediterraneo. Scritti in ricordo di Maria Pia Rossignani*, ed. S. LUSUARDI SIENA, C. PERASSI, F. SACCHI, M. SANNAZZARO, Milano 2016, p. 265–274; E.A. ARSLAN, *L'aratro...*, p. 240–242; S. STEVENS, *The Emperor and the Plough; (Re)founding the City and Extending the Empire*, BAB 94, 2019, p. 147, 151; Ubi Erat Lupa: <http://www.ubi-erat-lupa.org> (no 14373) [16 VIII 2022].

¹³ U. LAFFI, *L'amministrazione di Aquileia in età romana*, AAlt 30, 1987, p. 39–62; IDEM, *Colonie e municipi dello Stato romano*, Roma 2007, p. 24–25, 41–42, 55–56.

¹⁴ Cf. G. BRUSIN, *Aquileia. Bassorilievo...*, p. 474: the *sulcus primigenius* ritual; but K. STÄHLER, *Der Herrscher als Pflüger und Säer. Herrschaftsbilder aus der Pflanzenwelt*, Münster 2001, p. 114: the festival celebrated to honour of Ceres. Discussion, cf. M. VERZÁR BASS, *Il rilievo...*, p. 266–270. Original placement of the monument, cf. G. BRUSIN, *Aquileia. Bassorilievo...*, p. 474: decoration of an arch or gateway; similar scene in the drawing reconstruction of the arch decoration from Aquinum, cf. G. BRANDS, *Der Bogen von Aquinum*, AA 4, 1991, p. 561–609, but the matter is disputable.

¹⁵ G. BRUSIN, *Aquileia. Bassorilievo...*, p. 474; M. VERZÁR BASS, *Il rilievo...*, p. 264, 266.

¹⁶ E. DI FILIPPO BALESTRAZZI, *Il rilievo...*, p. 95.

¹⁷ Cf. J. TOUTAIN, *Sacrificium*, [in:] *Dictionnaire des Antiquités Grecques et Romains*, vol. IV.2, ed. Ch.V. DAREMBERG, E. SAGLIO, Paris 1873, p. 975.

¹⁸ Cf. GAJUSZ PLINIUSZ SEKUNDUS, *Historia naturalna*, vol. III, *Botanika, Rolnictwo i Ogrodnictwo*, XVIII, 49, 2, ed., trans. et comm. I. MIKOŁAJCZYK, Toruń 2022: *stimulus cuspidatus rallo*. Cf. E. SAGLIO, *Rallum*, [in:] *Dictionnaire des Antiquités...*, vol. IV.2, p. 810.



Fig. 2. Relief from Aquileia depicting the *sulcus primigenius*. G. BRUSIN, *Aquileia. Basorilievo col tracciato del sulcus primigenius*, NSA 1931, p. 473.

The scene on the marble *sella plicatilis* from Fidenae (Museo Nazionale Romano – Terme di Diocleziano, Chiostro piccolo della Certosa, inv. 394442)¹⁹ was arranged in a different manner. It is a fragment of a funeral monument (width 1,17 m., height 0,84 m.) dating back to the 2nd century, decorated with a large bas-relief. In its lower section, a *sella curulis* and a *capsa*, a box for scrolls, were depicted, which probably referred to the profession of the deceased – he was a senior magistrate with *imperium*. On the other hand, in the upper section, the founding scene is shown; it is directed to the left. In its center there is a ploughman leading two animals that pull a plough, presented in a *toga (cinctus ritu Gabino)*; his head is covered with the hem of the *toga (capite velato)*²⁰. Behind him, on the right side,

¹⁹ F. DI GENNARO, *Rilievo con sella curulis*, [in:] *Terme di Diocleziano. Il chiostro piccolo della Certosa di Santa Maria degli Angeli*, ed. R. FRIGGERI, M. MAGNANI CIANETTI, Verona 2014, p. 131; E.A. ARSLAN, *L'aratro...*, p. 241; S. STEVENS, *The Emperor...*, p. 151–152.

²⁰ Cf. CATO, I, 18a = *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii carmina commentarii*, vol. I, *Aeneidos librorum I–V commentarii*, V, 755, rec. G. THILO, Lipsiae 1881: *Vrbem designat aratro quem Cato in originibus dicit morem fuisse. Conditores enim civitatis taurum in dexteram, vaccam intrinsecus iungebant, et incincti ritu Gabino, id est togae parte caput velati, parte succincti, tenebant stivam incurvam, ut glebae omnes intrinsecus caderent, et ita sulco ducto loca murorum designabant aratrum suspendentes circa loca portarum. Unde et territorium dictum est quasi terrorium tritum bubus et aratro*. The gesture of covering the head in a tradition associated with Aeneas: PLUTARQUE, *Oeuvres morales*, vol. IV, *Conduites méritoires de femmes. Étiologies romaines – étiologies grecques. Paralleles mineurs*, Q.Rom. 10–11, ed. et trans. J. BOULOGNE, Paris 2002 (cetera: PLUTARCHUS); PSEUDO-AURÉLIUS VICTOR, *Les Origines du Peuple Romain*, 12, 2, ed., trans. et comm. J.-Cl. RICHARD, Paris 1983 (cetera: PSEUDO-AURÉLIUS VICTOR); on the covering of the head during the sacrifice: VERGILIUS, III, 405 and 545, also during the foundation rites: VERGILIUS, V, 738–764, VII, 149–179 (Aeneas); OVIDIUS, IV, 807–862; TITE-LIVE, *Histoire romaine*, I, 7, vol. I, ed. J. BAYET, trans. G. BAILLET, app.

two togate men can be seen (originally there might have been more silhouettes – the monument has not been preserved in its entirety). In front of this group, there appear two more men (also *togati*). They are looking towards the walls of the city gate, the view of which closes the bas-relief on the left. This architecture could symbolize the newly emerging city: two chronological plans are juxtaposed in the image, the future is projected from the founding act made in the present.

Representations in Roman coinage – rare in imperial coinage, not very popular in provincial coinage, and numerous in colonial coinage – reduced the image of the founding ritual to a minimum. There are no “spectators” of the ceremony here, and the topographical context is also missing. The “ploughman” (*arator*) – founder (*conditor*)²¹ is shown, and there may be two of them²². There are also animals shown – usually a pair – pulling a plough²³. Other elements were rarely added. They could include, for example, legionary signs (*vexilla*)²⁴ signaling the military origin of the colony, the figure of Victoria crowning a ploughman²⁵ or a palm branch in his hand²⁶. The ceremonial setting was indicated by the attire usually worn by the *arator-conditor*: a gown, the hem of which covered his head (*capite velato*)²⁷. Sometimes the ploughman was presented in the everyday clothes he used for work, thus in a short robe²⁸, which in turn reduces the ritual overtones of the image, exposing the economic dimension of the depicted activity instead²⁹.

ed. R. BLOCH, Paris 2012; PLUTARCHUS, *Romulus* 9, 5; cf. VARRO, V, 143 (*Etruscus ritus*). Cf. also: P. CARAFA, *Il costume e l'aratro del fondatore*, [in:] *Roma, Romolo, Remo...*, p. 277.

²¹ The problem is the identification of this figure: he may be a member of the *triumviri coloniae deducendae* college / an emperor / a priest, cf. G. BRUSIN, *Aquileia. Bassorilievo...*, p. 473–474; A. FILGES, *Münzbild und Gemeinschaft. Die Prägungen der römischen Kolonien in Kleinasien*, Bonn 2015 [= FAS, 29], p. 244. On some reverses of Cremna, an inscription may be a clue, which in the form of the dedication: *Divo Augusti*, indicates the figure of August, the founder of this colony (*colonia Iulia Augusta Felix Cremna*) recalled in this way, e.g., H. VON AULOCK, *Münzen und Städte...*, p. 136, no 1518, p. 143–144, nos 1697–1709; RPC 4, no 7763 temp.; J. MAIRAT, M. SPOERRI BUTCHER, M. AMANDRY, K. BUTCHER, J. NURPETLIAN, U. PETER, comm. E. LEVANTE, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. VIII, *Philip (AD 244–249). All provinces except Asia*, online: <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/> [30 IX 2023] (cetera: RPC 8), no 20908 temp.

²² For instance: RPC 1, nos 2129, 2133, 2140 (Sinope), 1656–1660 (Philippi?).

²³ They look like oxen or bulls, but sometimes they resemble, for example, “zebu”, e.g., RPC 1, no 3538 (Lystra), 3529 (Antioch of Pisidia); A. BURNETT, M. AMANDRY, I. CARRADICE, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. II, *From Vespasian to Domitian (AD 69–96)*, London–Paris 1999 (cetera: RPC 2), no 1604 (Antioch of Pisidia). Cf. E.A. ARSLAN, *L'aratro...*, p. 259–260.

²⁴ For instance: RPC 2, no 253 (Patras); RPC 3, nos 272 (Patras), 3968 (Aelia Capitolina); RPC 8, no 20908 temp. (Cremna).

²⁵ For instance: RPC 3, no 3958 (Caesarea Maritima).

²⁶ For instance: RPC 2, no 2300 (Caesarea Maritima).

²⁷ M. VERZÁR BASS, *Il rilievo...*, p. 268.

²⁸ For instance: RPC 2, no 1107 (Tralles); D. CALOMINO, A. BURNETT, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. VI, *From Elgabalus to Maximinus (AD 218–238)*, <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/> [30 IX 2023], no 3956 temp. (Comama).

²⁹ E.A. ARSLAN, *L'aratro...*, p. 259.

This distinction is not always clear. Nevertheless, the scene shown on the reverses of the mentioned Hadrian bronzes from Parium, constructed in a minimalist and traditional way with the *togatus* urging on a team of cattle, drawing a plough, probably depicts the *aratrum* motif and commemorate the ancient act of (re)founding the city.

The Hadrianic coins from Parium and the erroneous reverse legend RPC 3, 1539

During Hadrian's reign, only a few types of coins were minted at the Parium mint on the Hellespont. Coins with portraits of Hadrian and empress Sabina, i.e. the imperial couple³⁰, and Sabina and Aelius Caesar³¹, are likely to have been issued in this place. The legends on the reverses of these coins provide the names of the portrayed people, but, unfortunately, they do not indicate the *ethnikon*. The attribution of these coins to the mint in Parium is at best probable³².

There are no such doubts in relation to Hadrian's other coins, on which information about the *ethnikon* is introduced in the inscriptions C G I P and C G I H P. In this group of coins, the following iconographic solutions, known in the coinage of Hadrian's predecessors, were used: the foundation type (the scene of designating the *sulcus primigenius*), known here since the decline of the Republic³³ – Parium is considered to be a colony founded by Julius Caesar³⁴, and the depiction of a Capricorn is believed to represent Augustus³⁵, who may have refounded the colony.

These are the two basic motifs used by this mint, which only slightly expanded the range of themes addressed on its coins in the second half of the 2nd century and then in the 3rd century. In the early period until the time of Hadrian, the set of themes employed here was limited. Until the year 138, each of the two indicated motifs was used in more than 30% of all types and variants of Parium coins. In turn, Hadrian, traveling in the year 124 from Cyzicus to Troy, visited Parium; it is likely that he changed the status of the city, granting it *ius Italicum*³⁶. The old

³⁰ RPC 3, nos 1544 (HADRIANVS AVG P P / HADRIANVS ET SABINA), 1545 (HADRIANVS AVG P P / SABINA HADRIANVS), 6574 ([IMP] CAES TRAI A HADRIAN[]V[/ HA]DRIAN [S] ABINA).

³¹ RPC 3, no 1546 (HADRIANVS AVG P P / AELIVS ET SABINA).

³² RPC 3, p. 184–186.

³³ Cf. RPC 1, nos 2253A (c. 45 BC?), 2261, 2262 (27 BC–AD 14); RPC 2, no 889 (81–96); RPC 3, nos 1533 (96–98), 1534–1535 (98–117); cf. E. A. ARSLAN, *L'aratro...*, p. 252.

³⁴ RPC 1, p. 384. Cf. V. KELEŞ, *Some Observations on the Altar of Hermokreon in Parion*, [in:] *Paros and its Colonies*, ed. D. KATSONOPOULOU, Athens 2018, p. 180: *Parion was colonized [...] firstly during Julius Caesar or Augustus' reign*; cf. also B. LEVICK, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor*, Oxford 1967, p. 5–6; U. LAFFI, *Colonie e municipi...*, p. 32, 56–57.

³⁵ RPC 1, nos 2263–2265.

³⁶ *Digesta Iustiniani Augusti*, L, 15, 8, 9, rec. Th. MOMMSEN, Berolini 1870. Cf. B. LEVICK, *Roman Colonies...*, p. 5–6, 84, n. 7; A.-V. PONT, *L'empereur « fondateur » : enquête sur les motifs de la reconnaissance civique*, REG 120, 2007, p. 544.

colony honored Hadrian with the title of *conditor coloniae*, as can be read in the epigraphic material³⁷. Michael Zahrnt argues that the naming by no means commemorated Hadrian's re-founding of the Parium colony, but possibly the enlargement of the territory of its area to include some land across the Hellespont³⁸. In this way, Parium controlled the crossing in this particular section of the strait, which increased the importance of the center. This was a sufficient argument for the creation of dedicatory inscriptions and for Hadrian the benefactor being honoured as the "founder" (*conditor*)³⁹. The emperor's affection towards the city and a subsequent "refounding" of Parium is also reflected in the coinage. The earlier *ethnikon* Colonia Gemella Iulia Pariana (in the inscriptions on the coins in the form of an abbreviation: C G I P) was supplemented with another epithet and took the form Colonia Gemella Iulia Hadriana Pariana. The *ethnikon* abbreviated to the first letters – C G I H P – was placed on coins with an *aratum* motif on the reverse⁴⁰; the emperor's name was placed on the obverse – HADRIANVS AVG P P – indicating that the coins were struck in the year 128 at the earliest, when Hadrian received the title of Pater Patriae⁴¹. On the reverses of other bronzes with an *aratum* motif, along with a Capricorn motif, there is an inscription C G I P – which suggests that they were made earlier, before the caesura of the years 124–128⁴².

³⁷ *Die Inschriften von Parion*, nos 7, 9, and 8, ed. P. FRISCH, Bonn 1983 = *CIL*, III 374. Cf. A.-V. PONT, *L'empereur...*, p. 544 and n. 91; M.T. BOATWRIGHT, *Hadrian and the Cities of the Roman Empire*, Princeton 2000, p. 85–86.

³⁸ M. ZAHRNT, *Vermeintliche Kolonien des Kaisers Hadrian*, ZPE 71, 1988, p. 238–242. The text of the Parium inscription is echoed on an inscription found at Hexamili on the European coast of the Propontis: AE 1938, 140. Hadrian appears as *conditor* in Avitta Bibba – *CIL*, VIII 799; Althiburos – *CIL*, VIII 27775; Choba – AE 1949, 55; Turris Tamalleni – *CIL*, VIII 83 (*conditor municipii*); in Mursa – *CIL*, III 3279 (*conditori suo*); Samos – *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes*, IV 986, ed. G. LAFAYE, Paris 1927 (cetera: IGR); Elaea – IGR IV 268; Clazomenae – IGR IV 1551; Traianopolis – IGR IV 623. Cf. B. GALSTERER-KRÖLL, *Untersuchungen zu den Beinamen der Städte des Imperium Romanum*, *EpiS* 9, 1972, p. 78; A.-V. PONT, *L'empereur...*, p. 543–546; M.T. BOATWRIGHT, *Hadrian...*, p. 37, 39, n. 10, 41, n. 20.

³⁹ Compare the comments on the alternative title *ktistes*, which was given to mythical or historical founders, but also distinguished citizens (then a meaning similar to *euergetes*): A.-V. PONT, *L'empereur...*, esp. p. 528–530; E. MORTENSEN, *Ktistes: Mythical Founder Hero and Honorary Title for New Heroes*, [in:] *Tradition. Transmission of Culture in the Ancient World*, ed. J. FEJFER, M. MOLTESEN, A. RATHJE, Copenhagen 2015, p. 214. Hadrian hailed as *ktistes*, e.g., *SEG*, LXIV 166–167 (Athens); *SEG*, XVII 809 and *SEG*, XVIII 731 (Cyrene); *IG*, VII 70, 72 (Megara); *RPC* 3, nos 338–365, 367–387 (Argos); *RPC* 3, nos 1780–1781, 1783 (Stratonicea Hadrianopolis); *RPC* 3, no 2083 (Tralles).

⁴⁰ The honorific name "Hadriana" added to the titles of Parium, cf. M. ZAHRNT, *Vermeintliche Kolonien...*, p. 241; M.T. BOATWRIGHT, *Hadrian...*, p. 105, but here it is indicated that the name appeared on coins struck at the time of Antoninus Pius (AD 138–161).

⁴¹ D. KIENAST, W. ECK, M. HEIL, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie*, Darmstadt 2017, p. 123.

⁴² *RPC* 3, nos 1539–1541.

The reverse legends of this earlier phase are wider than just a reference to the *ethnikon*. These longer inscriptions are arranged in the forms: COS III C G I P TRIB P and IANVS AVG / C G I P. Could the name of Janus (Ianus) actually be found in the latter record? A simple explanation is suggested by juxtaposed legends on the obverses and reverses of the Hadrian coins from Parium. Apart from the above-mentioned coins with the names of the dynasty members – Hadrian, Sabina and Aelius Caesar, presented in duos in the inscriptions, which were hypothetically assigned to this mint, the legends of other Hadrian's coins are as follows:

| obverse | reverse (iconographic theme) | references |
|--------------------------------|---------------------------------------|-------------|
| IMP CAES TR HADRIANVS | IANVS AVG / C G I P (<i>aratum</i>) | RPC 3, 1539 |
| IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADR | IANVS AVG / C G I P (<i>aratum</i>) | RPC 3, 1540 |
| IMP CAES TRAIAN HADRIAN AVG | COS III C G I P TRIB P (Capricorn) | RPC 3, 1541 |
| HADRIANVS AVG P P | C G I H P (<i>aratum</i>) | RPC 3, 1542 |

In the legends there appears the name (*nomina*) of the emperor: Traianus Hadrianus, along with his respective titles, information about the dignities and offices he held: *imperator, caesar, augustus, pater patriae, consul, tribunicia potestas*. In the case of coins created in the later period (RPC 1452), the legends with selected data of this kind were placed only on the obverse. On coins issued earlier (RPC 3, 1539–1541), the titles are slightly more extensive on both the obverse and the reverse. In the Parium mint, including such information on the obverse and the reverse was quite common before – regardless of the length of the legend. Such a practice can be seen, for example, on the coins of Domitian (81–96): on the obverse, the legend DOMIT AVG appears next to the portrait of the emperor, but his victory title Germanicus (written in the abbreviation GERM) was placed on the reverse, where the motif of *aratum* is presented⁴³. In turn, on Traianus' coins (98–117), the obverse legend IMP CAES NER TRAIANO AVG GER DA, placed next to the head of the emperor, is extended on the reverse: OPTIMO PRINCIPI C G I P D D, being accompanied here by the image of a reclining Capricorn⁴⁴.

Three forms of the obverse legends were used in the earlier period of the activity of the Parium mint during Hadrian's reign. These legends begin with the standard information IMP CAES/AR, they then specify the ruler in various developments (TR/AIAN HADRI/IAN/VS), but are continued in some elements of the reverse legends. The proper name of the emperor appears on the obverses

⁴³ RPC 2, no 889.

⁴⁴ RPC 3, no 1538.

in full: HADRIANVS or shortened: HADR and HADRIAN. On the other hand, on the reverses there is – apart from the *ethnikon* – information about the dignity of *augustus* (AVG), the consulate (COS III) and the tribunician power (TRIB P). In two cases, the legend of the ending of Hadrian's name was also transferred to the reverses. In the case of RPC 1540 coins, the name of the emperor was divided in such a way that its beginning, written on the obverses with the letters HADR, ends on the reverses, where it reads IANVS, all of which gives the complete name: Hadrianus. A similar procedure was used on the RPC 1539 coins. IANVS was also written on their reverses, but because the obverses gave the name in full: HADRIANVS, some part of the imperial name was doubled. Was it only the result of a mistake committed by a master engraver or the result of the unwitting use of the reverse die RPC 1540 on coins with a different RPC 1539 obverse in the minting process? It is hard to decide one way or the other.

The peculiarity of the reverse variant of the RPC 1539 coins is therefore a defect in the production of these numismatic items. There are not many such coins. The *Roman Provincial Coinage* catalogue lists eight known examples. Even less common are the RPC 1540 coins, of which only four were enumerated. The image of a ploughman with yoke of oxen ceremonially performing the founding act, described by the legend IANVS AVG C G I P, was by no means widely known to the ancient users of coins made in Parium. In the next period of Hadrian's reign, the same image was supplemented on the reverse in the form of a shorter legend, containing only the *ethnikon* inscribed in the abbreviation C G I H P. It was devoid of the element introducing potential ambiguity. There are more of these RPC 1542 than of the RPC 1539–1540 coins⁴⁵.

Nevertheless, one should take into account the association evoked by the unusual composition of the image and the legends of the reverses of the RPC 1539–1540 coins. In Roman coinage, there appeared such combinations of graphic elements and letters that provoked ambiguity – intended or not – and triggered associations other than those literally defined in the inscription or representation. In the discussed case, a numismatic lapse resulting from an error allows us to associate the god Janus with the *aratum* motif (I omit the grammatical and semantic inconsistency of the IANVS AVG inscription).

(Non-)obvious associations: Janus

Janus was not a popular motif in the Roman coinage of the imperial era. In provincial coinage, Janus appeared late and was represented quite rarely, which can be explained by the fact that Janus, the god of the Roman world, had no counterpart in the Greek world⁴⁶. The figure of Janus, recognizable thanks to the two-faced head of

⁴⁵ RPC: 16 specimens.

⁴⁶ OVIDIUS, I, 91: *nam tibi par nullum Graecia numen habet*. But cf. PLUTARCHUS, *Q.Rom.* 22: Janus was a native Greek of Perrhaebia.

the god, is represented by coins issued at the beginning of the independent reign of Commodus (180–192) in Alexandria *Troas*⁴⁷, a city that he had the opportunity to get to know during his journey to the East along with his father, emperor Marcus Aurelius⁴⁸. It cannot be ruled out that the reminiscences of this trip influenced the thematic revival of the monetary production of this mint. Many types of coins from Alexandria *Troas* addressed the founding motif during the rule of Commodus. Among these coins there were also those with the *aratrum* motif, rarely used at all in this mint⁴⁹. Later, during the rule of Trajan Decius (249–251), the image of Janus appeared in another local mint. When Thessalonica received the status of a colony, a *metropolis*, and a fourth neocorate⁵⁰, those distinctions were honored with exceptional coin emissions, some of which featured the figure of Janus. It is interesting that this motif, known in Thessalonica in the time of the Republic⁵¹, reappeared, but now it was given a new shape. The figure of Janus was juxtaposed with the figure of Marsyas, a symbol of freedom and one of the numismatic icons of the Roman colonies⁵². On other coins, it was represented – again along with Marsyas – as a statuette held in the hand by Tyche, the tutelary deity of the city⁵³.

The Roman emissions that mention Janus' name in legends are also infrequent. Such cases are recorded only by imperial coinage. The name of Janus appears on Pertinax's IANO CONSERVAT denarii (193)⁵⁴ and Gallienus' aureus of IANO PATRI type (253–268)⁵⁵, along with a representation of Janus standing. Coins struck under Nero (54–68) included Janus' name in long reverse inscriptions:

⁴⁷ V. HEUCHERT, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. IV, *The Antonines (AD 138–192)*, online, with temporary numbers, <http://rpc.ashmus.ox.ac.uk/> [30 IX 2023] (cetera: RPC 4), no 171 temp.

⁴⁸ M. CHRISTOL, Th. DREW-BEAR, *Remarques sur le voyage de Marc Aurèle dans les provinces grecques et orientales en 175–176*, [in:] *Les voyages des empereurs dans l'Orient romain. Époques antonine et sévérienne*, ed. A. HOSTEIN, S. LALANNE, Arles 2012, p. 135–153.

⁴⁹ The Marsyas theme: RPC 4, nos 168 temp., 169 temp., 170 temp., 188 temp., 1298 temp.; the she-wolf suckling the twins: RPC 4, nos 166 temp., 167 temp., 185 temp., 186 temp., 3170 temp., 3171 temp., 9197 temp., 11291 temp.; and the *aratrum* motif: RPC 4, nos 620 temp.; cf. T.M. LUCHELLI, *Un nuova emissione di Commodo ad Alexandria Troas*, RINSA 118, 2017, p. 55–74.

⁵⁰ B. BURRELL, *Neokoroi. Greek Cities and Roman Emperor*, Leiden 2004 [= CiCS, NS 9], p. 199–200.

⁵¹ H. GAEBLER, *Die antiken Munzen von Makedonia und Paionia*, vol. II, Berlin 1935, p. 130, no 67, pl. 23.8.

⁵² A. HOSTEIN, J. MAIRAT, comm. E. LEVANTE, *Roman Provincial Coinage*, vol. IX, *From Trajan Decius to Uranian Antoninus (AD 249–254)*, London–Paris 2016 (cetera: RPC 9), no 141. Marsyas as a symbol of liberty: Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.20; P. VEYNE, *Le Marsyas “colonial” et l'indépendance des cités romaines*, BSNF 1960, 1962, p. 56–58; N. RUSSO, *Il vero volto del Sireno*, Roma 2018, p. 113–118.

⁵³ RPC 9, no 176.

⁵⁴ H. MATTINGLY, E.A. SYDENHAM, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. IV.1, *Pertinax to Geta*, London 1936 (repr. 1968) (cetera: RIC 4.1), Pert., no 3.

⁵⁵ P.H. WEBB, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. V.1, *Valerian to Florian*, London 1927 (repr. 1968) (cetera: RIC 5.1), Gall. SR, no 45 = R. GÖBL, *Die Münzprägung der Kaiser Valerianus I., Gallienus, Saloninus (253/268), Regalianus (260) und Macrianus, Quietus (260/262)*, Wien 2000, no 449.

PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT (S C)⁵⁶ and PACE P R VBIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT S C⁵⁷. However, the images on these coins – here the meaning of the reverse is consistent – do not present a figural image of the god, but its “temple” with closed doors, which symbolized the introduction of peace on the borders and emphasized the fact that the empire was not waging any war⁵⁸.

In the provincial coinage of Hadrian’s reign, there is no image of Janus, nor is the name of the god mentioned on the coins issued by this emperor.



Fig. 3. Au, Rome, AD 121–123; obv.: IMP CAESAR TRAIAN HADRIANVS AVG, laureate, draped and curiaised bust of Hadrian, r.; rev.: P M TR P COS III, Janus *Bifrons* stg.; RIC 2.3, no 510; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Triton XIV, Lot 707; <https://cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=175811>.

On the other hand, Janus was depicted in Hadrian’s imperial coinage. He was not named, but his image is unmistakable⁵⁹. It is the first full-figure depiction of this god in Roman coinage. The period of Hadrian’s rule saw a significant change

⁵⁶ RIC 1, Ner., nos 50, 58 (Au), 51 (D), 263–271, 323–328, 353–355, 438–439, 510–512, 583–585 (Ses), 283–288, 337–338 (Dp), 300–305, 421, 468–472, 537–539 (As).

⁵⁷ RIC 1, Ner., nos 289–291, 339–342, 362 (Dp), 306–311, 347–350, 366–367 (As).

⁵⁸ For a description of the “temple” and the meaning of its ceremonial opening/closing, e.g.: VERGILIUS, VII, 607–622; PROCOPIUS, *History of the Wars*, I, 25, ed. et trans. H.B. DEWING, London–Cambridge Massachusetts 1914 [= LCL]. Cf. OVIDIUS, I, 279–281; PLUTARCHUS, *Numa* 20, 1–3; cf. also VARRO, V, 165 (*porta* “dicta ab Iano”).

⁵⁹ A recognizable image, but even the ancients had difficulty in identifying it, cf. PLINE L’ANCIEN, *Histoire Naturelle*, XXXIV, 32, ed. et trans. H. LE BONNIEC, comm. H. GALLET DE SANTERRE, H. LE BONNIEC, Paris 1953 (an account of the two-headed statue of Janus erected by the legendary king Numa Pompilius) and PLINE L’ANCIEN, *Histoire Naturelle*, XXXVI, 28, ed. J. ANDRÉ, trans. R. BLOCH, comm. A. ROUVERET, Paris 1981 (the account of “Ianus pater”, a gold-plated statue brought by Augustus from Egypt – probably a herm of Hermes).

in the way Janus was treated by ancient minters. It is worth mentioning here that he is not represented in this way in the known official monumental sculpture, but he appears in monetary images instead. The emission of P M TR P COS III aureus, with the representation of two-faced Janus (Ianus Bifrons), is dated to 121–123 (fig. 3)⁶⁰. The asses of type COS III S C, date back to the years 124–127. They present Janus with four faces (Ianus Quadrifrons) – three faces are shown, one *en face*, two *en profile*, while the fourth, obviously, remains invisible (fig. 4)⁶¹. Janus' characteristic long beard can be recognized⁶². On these Hadrianic coins Janus is represented standing in the foreground with the long sceptre or rather the staff (*baculum*) mentioned by Ovid when describing the god's appearance⁶³:

tunc sacer ancipiti mirandus imagine Ianus
 bina repens oculis obtulit ora meis. [...]
 ille tenens baculum dextra clavemque sinistra

Then of a sudden sacred Janus, in his two-headed shape, offered his double visage to my wondering eyes. [...] He, holding in his right hand his staff and in his left the key [...]⁶⁴.

Janus *Quadrifrons* is a unique version of the representation of Janus; in the light of the known numismatic evidence, it occurs only in Hadrian's coinage. On the other hand, the image of Janus *Bifrons* was used not only in the aforementioned provincial emissions of the late 2nd and mid-3rd centuries, but it also appeared in the imperial coinage of several rulers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries⁶⁵.

⁶⁰ R. ABDY, P. MITTAG, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, vol. II.3, *From AD 117 to AD 138 – Hadrian*, London 2019 (cetera: RIC 2.3), nos 509–510. Cf. H. MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. III, *Nerva to Hadrian*, London 1936 (repr. 1966) (cetera: BMCRE 3), p. 254, no 100 (AD 119–122); P.L. STRACK, *Untersuchungen zur römischen Reichsprägung des zweiten Jahrhunderts*, vol. II, *Die Reichsprägung zur Zeit des Hadrian*, Stuttgart 1933, p. 80 and no 91 (122 or 123); Ph.V. HILL, *The Dating and Arrangement of the Undated Coins of Rome, A.D. 98–148*, London 1970, p. 54, 156, no 178 (AD 121).

⁶¹ RIC 2.3, no 748. Cf. P.L. STRACK, *Untersuchungen...*, p. 80 and no 601 (summer 123); BMCRE 3, p. 437, no 1335–1336 (AD 125–128); Ph.V. HILL, *The Dating...*, p. 60, 160, no 323/4 (AD 126, *decennalia*; cf. D. KIENAST, W. ECK, M. HEIL, *Römische Kaisertabelle...*, p. 123: *ludi votivi decennales – 20 X 127*). Harold Mattingly (BMCRE 3, p. clxvii) emphasized the novelty of Janus' depictions in Hadrian's coinage.

⁶² OVIDIUS, I, 259.

⁶³ OVIDIUS, I, 95–96 and 99. Cf. OVIDIUS, I, 177. Janus bears the key too: OVIDIUS, I, 228, 254; MACROBIUS, I, 9, 7.

⁶⁴ Trans. by Sir J.G. Frazer.

⁶⁵ RIC 3, Ant. P., nos 644 (Ses, 140–144), 693a–b (As, 140–144); RIC 3, Comm., no 141 (Au, 186–187); RIC 3, nos 460 (Ses, 186), 479 (As, 186); F. GNECCHI, *I medaglion...*, p. 62, no 94, pl. 84.5; RIC 4.1, Pert., no 3 (D, 193); RIC 4.1, Geta, no 79 (D, 211); RIC 5.1, Gall. SR, no 45 = R. GÖBL, *Die Münzprägung...*, no 449 (Au); R. ABDY, *A New Coin Type of Gallienus Found in Hertfordshire*,



Fig. 4. Æ As, Rome, ca. AD 124–125, obv.: HADRIVS AVGVSTVS, laureate head of Hadrian, r.; rev.: COS III S C, Janus *Quadrifrons* stg.; RIC 2.3, no. 748; © Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Auction 72, Lo: 437; <https://cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=308985>.

The significance of each of these cases in imperial and provincial coinage should be considered separately, in the context of the historical events and ideological circumstances of each reign⁶⁶. At this point, therefore, I only offer a general comment, trying to find in them a connection between the Janus motif and the *aratrum* motif, even despite the lack of such intentions of the producers of the RPC 1539–1540 coins. This is made possible by the polyvalency of Janus himself: the god of peace and war, transition and beginning, chaos and repetition, sunlight and Time, *etc.*⁶⁷

NC 162, 2002, p. 346–350 (Æ). The bust of Janus was also used in the iconography of the restitution denarii of Trajan (98–117), which resembled the images on earlier coins; the image of Janus familiar from Republican coinage was used; cf. B. WOYTEK, *Die Reichsprägung...*, no 801 = H. KOMNICK, *Die Restitutionsmünzen...*, no 2.0, prototype: M.H. CRAWFORD, *Roman Republican Coinage*, Cambridge 1974 (cetera: RRC), no 28.3 (225–212 BC). Cf. also RRC, no 378.1 (81 BC) – these coins have the same iconographic scheme (“ploughman with yoke of oxen”), but it is debatable whether they represent the founding ritual. For depictions of Janus, cf. R. PETTAZZONI, *Per l’iconografia di Giano*, SÈt 24, 1955–1956, p. 79–90; J. HAMER, *The Physiognomy and Artistic Representation of Janus with Special Reference to the Coinage in Southern Italy*, [in:] *XIII Congreso Internacional de Numismática, Madrid, 2003: actas – proceedings – actes*, vol. I, ed. C. ALFARO, C. MARCOS, P. OTERO, Madrid 2005, p. 619–624.

⁶⁶ R. TURCAN, *Janus à l’époque impériale*, [in:] ANRW II, 17.1, 1981, p. 374–402.

⁶⁷ Cf. I. KACZOR, *Deus, ritus, cultus. Studium na temat charakteru religii starożytnych Rzymian*, Łódź 2012, p. 255–258.

Let us turn again to Ovid's arguments, which in this case constitute an instructive synthesis of various ideas about Janus circulating in the Roman world at the beginning of the Empire. Among the many associations there is Janus as the mythical king of the land on the Tiber⁶⁸:

arx mea collis erat, quem volgus nomine nostro
nuncupat, haec aetas Ianiculumque vocat.
tunc ego regnabam, patiens cum terra deorum
esset, et humanis numina mixta locis.
nondum Iustitiam facinus mortale fugarat
(ultima de superis illa reliquit humum),
proque metu populum sine vi pudor ipse regebat;
nullus erat iustis reddere iura labor.

My castle was the hill which common folk call by my name, and which this present age doth dub Janiculum. I reigned in days when earth could bear with gods, and divinities moved freely in the abodes of men. The sin of mortals had not yet put Justice to flight (she was the last of the celestials to forsake the earth): honour's self, not fear, ruled the people without appeal to force: toil there was none to expound the right to righteous men⁶⁹.

Janus is above all the ruler of the primordial land of bliss. It was him – the oldest and, in terms of priority, the most important king of Italy, and at the same time a newcomer from far away – who ruled over the wild and primitive natives, introduced the worship of the gods here and introduced cult rituals⁷⁰. He was accompanied by another newcomer, Saturn, and gave the local people more benefits, such as a sedentary lifestyle, the art of farming, laws, smelt bronze. Thus, the figure of Janus alludes to Roman protohistory and myth, and he himself and his reign – along with Saturn – are responsible for the golden age, *saeculum aureum*, in Latium⁷¹. This is how Harold Mattingly read some references to Janus in coinage, writing in the relevant volume *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum: Janus [...] seems to be rather the primitive king of Latium than the index of peace and war*⁷². Other researchers follow him in such interpretations of Janus as *l'archétype des souverains italiques, modèle de circonspection politique : d'ou sa gemina facies, croyait-on*⁷³.

⁶⁸ OVIDIUS, I, 245–252.

⁶⁹ Trans. by Sir J.G. FRAZER.

⁷⁰ For instance PSEUDO-AURÉLIUS VICTOR, 3, 1 and 3; PLUTARCHUS, *Q.Rom.* 22 and 41; PLUTARCHUS, *Numa* 19, 9–11.

⁷¹ On this “dyarchy” and on etymological aspects (Janus – Janiculum): P. GRIMAL, *La colline de Janus*, RA 24, 1945, p. 56–87.

⁷² H. MATTINGLY, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, vol. IV, *Antoninus Pius to Commodus*, London 1940 (repr. 1968), p. lxxx.

⁷³ R. TURCAN, *Janus...*, p. 375.

If such associations of Janus are further combined with another idea characteristic for him, namely the beginning in the temporal sense⁷⁴, then one can seek an explanation for the presence of the figure of Janus on provincial coins – especially those whose image – the *aratrum* motif – symbolized and resembled the beginning of a given colony. At the same time – referring to its place of origin, i.e. Vrbs – they develop a series of associations, including references to the Janiculum and other Roman Hills, Latium, Italy, and Roman Empire, i.e. the whole Roman world with its ideological center: Rome itself. In this way, a capacious circle of associations is closed.

To recapitulate, the originality of the reverse of the coins of RPC 1539–1540 is the result of an (un)intentional mistake, as a result of which the scene of the ritual delimitation of the city borders was commented on by legends containing the form IANVS. In the image of these coins, the figure driving the plough does not have the visual features of the god Janus. Nevertheless, it may trigger associations with the Italian Janus, who – before Rome was established on the Tiber – had been present in Roman history.

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⁷⁴ Cf. OVIDIUS, I, 103–114, 125; MACROBIUS, I, 9, 14.

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