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THE GALLIC EMPIRE

A thesis for the degree of M.A. by C.D.Bishop.

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE TEXT.

A.de G.	A.de Grassi, "I Fasti consolari dell'Impero Romano", Rome, 1952.
A.E.	L'Annee Epigraphique.
A.f.P.F.	Archiv für Papyrusforschung.
Aus.	Ausonius, "Parentalia".
A.V.	Sextus Aurelius Victor.
B.G.U.	Berliner Griechische Urkunden.
C.	Caesar, Bellum Gallicum.
C.A.H.	Cambridge Ancient History.
C.I.L.	Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.
Coh.	Cohen, "Medailles Imperiales de Rome".
C. & M.B.	Seaby's "Coin and Medal Bulletin".
D.C.	Dio Cassius, ed. Boissevain.
Eck.	Eckhel.
E.E.	Ephemeris Epigraphica, Corporis Inscriptionum Latinarum Supplementum.
El.	Elmer.
Epit.	"Epitome de Caesaribus".
Eum.	Eumenius, "Panegyrici Latini".
Eut.	Eutropius, "Breviarium ab urbe condita".
F.M.	Frankfurter Münzzeitung.
G.	Germania.
G.B.	G.Barbieri, "L'Albo senatorio de Severo a Carino", Rome, 1952.
G.J.	G.Jullian, "Comptes rendus de l'academie des inscriptions et belles lettres", 1896.
L.H.	L.Homo.
Holder	Holder, "Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz".
I.L.G.	Inscriptiones Latinae Germaniae.
I.L.S.	H.Dessau, "Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae", 1892-1916.

J.d.a.I. Jahrbuch der deutschen arch.Instituts.
 J.R.S. Journal of Roman Studies.
 M & S. Mattingly and Sydenham, "Roman Imperial Coinage", Vol.V.
 M.B. Melanges Boissier.
 M.G.H. Monumenta Germaniae Historica.
 N.C. Numismatic Chronicle.
 N.Z. Numismatiker Zeitschrift.
 Oros. Orosius, "Historiae".
 Pap.Oxyr. Oxyrhynchus Papyri, ed.B.P.Grenfell and A.S.Hunt.
 P.I.R.¹⁻² Prosopographia Imperii Romani
 1st.edition:E.Klebs & H.Dessau,1897-8.
 2nd.edition:E.Groag & A.Stein,1933-.
 P.P. Petrus Patricius.
 P.S. Polemius Silvius.
 P/W. A.Pauly,G.Wissowa,W.Kroll,"Real-Encyclopadie d.
 klassischen Altertum-wissenschaft."
 R.J. Rhein.Jahrbuch.
 R.M. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.
 R.N. Revue numismatique.
 S.B. S.Bolin,"Die Chronologie der gallische Kaiser",
 Arshara Helse,1931;Lund,1932.
 S.H.A.¹⁻⁵ Scriptorum Historiae Augustae
 1.Vita Gallieni.
 2.Triginta Tyranni.
 3.Ingenuus.
 4.Vita Claudii.
 5.Vita Aureliani.
 Z.f.N. Zeitschrift für Numismatik.
 Zon. Zonaras.
 Zos. Zosimus.

PREFACE.

I wish to acknowledge the debt I owe to several friends and colleagues who have helped me with this thesis - to Dr. John Kent of the British Museum's Department of Coins and Medals for advice on the coinage of the Gallic Empire; to Dr. John Mann of the University of Durham Department of Archaeology for much useful comment on inscriptions; to Brian Cooke, John Hepworth, and John Wilkes, fellow-students at Durham in 1959-60, who in many searching discussions made several helpful suggestions; to David Parsons, who so kindly supplemented my negligible knowledge of German; to my wife, who patiently endured many hours listening to a chattering typewriter; and most of all to Professor Eric Birley of the University of Durham Department of Archaeology for first of all encouraging my interest in archaeology and later, as my supervisor, offering invaluable advice and being a continual source of inspiration and careful scholarship.

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INTRODUCTION.

Sources.

The greatest difficulty facing the intending historian of the Gallic Empire is the paucity of his source-material. There is no writer contemporary with the events of the years 260 to 273. For the history of the period we have to rely upon three broad fields of evidence, which are:-

a) Inscriptions.

These are extremely useful for showing the extent of the Gallic Empire under the three emperors, that at the start it comprised the Germanies, the Gauls, the Spains, and Britain; that Spain seems to have returned to the control of the main empire under Claudius II; and to a limited extent for the dating of the emperors. Furthermore they record the fact that consuls were appointed in the same way as they were at Rome. What they do not tell us is the detailed history of the three reigns except in the case of Victorinus' previous career, the stationing of Julius Placidianus at Grenoble, the confirmation of Aurelian's takeover in 273, and a most interesting inscription, as yet unpublished, and found in 1964 at Brougham in Cumberland (vd. Appendix III), which suggests that there might have been a "civitas" in that part of northern England.

b) Coins.

From these we are able to discover the "tribunicia potestas" and consulships of the emperors and to compare them with the evidence of the inscriptions. But more important than this they ~~are~~ shed light on the imperial policies and propaganda (vd. Chapter IV, where this is discussed in greater detail); interesting examples of this are the reverses of Postumus referring to the sea, where, reading between the lines, we might see evidence of naval operations in the Channel and a possible naval suppression of Britain shortly after his revolt (vd. Chapter IV). In addition from the legionary coins of Victorinus we are able to work out the

rough composition of his field-army from the legionary detachments so honoured.

c) Literary.

We have eight basic literary authorities and I intend to treat them in chronological order:-

1) Eumenius.

Eumenius is said to be the author of at least two of the speeches contained in the "XII Panegyrici Latini", composed on themes of recent history and addressed to the rulers of the day. He was of Greek origin, and after being a teacher of rhetoric and "magister memoriae" at court had been appointed head of the Autun school by Constantine I. He is important in that he is the authority closest in time to the events of 260 to 273, but so few are his references to these years that unfortunately we cannot glean much information from them.

2) Sextus Aurelius Victor.

To this man, who had been governor of Pannonia Secunda in A.D.361 and "praefectus urbi" in 389, are attributed two books, the first of which - the "Caesares" - is probably genuine, the other - the "Epitome de Caesaribus" - not. The "Caesares" deals with the empire from Augustus to Constantius (A.D.360) and the earlier part of it is based on Suetonius' "Lives". Victor is fond of moralising and he writes from the viewpoint of a pagan. This book was probably published in A.D.360. The passage of nearly a hundred years since the end of the Gallic Empire is enough to warn us not to take as reliable everything Victor says.

The "Epitome de Caesaribus" was most probably not written by Victor although it appears to be like the "Caesares" in its earlier parts. It goes as far as Theodosius in A.D.395.

3) Decimus Magnus Ausonius.

This man, like Victor, had served as a provincial governor - notably in Gaul - and had been tutor to Gratian at Treves, an appointment given him by Valentinian. He was a poet of no mean ability, and he dedicated his "Parentalia" to his dead relatives. The fact that before

his employment in the imperial service Ausonius had worked first as a "grammaticus", then as a "rhetor" for thirty years at Bordeaux, added to which he was a native of Aquitania, makes his evidence extremely valuable, scant though it is. He - or rather his family - had had first-hand experience of the reign of the Gallic emperors and they had moved to Bordeaux not long before it was made the imperial capital by Tetricus (vd. Chapter II). When Ausonius wrote his poems we are not quite certain; they were probably composed at different periods of his life.

4) *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*.

I hesitate to describe this work as our chief authority for the history of the Gallic Empire for the reason that, although it contains the largest number of references to Postumus, Victorinus and Tetricus, yet it is very unreliable. It covers the reign of the thirty emperors from Hadrian to Numerian, i.e. A.D. 117-284, and its authors are six in number - Aelius Spartianus, Julius Capitolinus, Vulcacius Gallicanus, Aelius Lampridius, Trebellius Pollio, and Flavius Vopiscus - of whom the most important for our purposes is Trebellius Pollio.

When dealing with the "Historia Augusta", we must continually bear in mind three problems :-

- i) Why was it written ?
- ii) When was it written ?
- iii) How much can we believe it ?

The answer to all these has been admirably stated elsewhere by N. Baynes (N. Baynes, "The Historia Augusta. Its Date and Purpose". 1926), but I will briefly outline the arguments here. The solution to the first problem really lies in that to the second, but, assuming Baynes' date of A.D. 362-3, we can with a fair degree of certainty say that it was written both as a general history of imperial lives and even more so as a propaganda book for the emperor at that time, Julian.

The dates of its composition originally suggested by H. Peter and M. Schanz ("Geschichte der römischen Literatur", iv, I², 1914, 51ff.) were between 284 and 337 on the ground that several of the lives seem to be dedicated to Diocletian and Constantine the Great. Mommsen, however, refuted this and preferred the view that it was first written under

Diocletian and Constantine about A.D.330 and then revised under Valentinian and Theodosius. H.Dessau, O.Seeck, and A.von Domasewski disagreed, the first suggesting some time between A.D.380 and 395, the second 409-10, and the third as late as the end of the sixth century. Baynes rejects all these and places the history in the year A.D.362-3 under Julian.

There are two main groups of sources used by the compilers of the "Historia Augusta". The first are mainly Latin and are used for the period up to Caracalla ; the second are Greek and carry us up to the time of Julian. The writers have made a reasonably good job of the years up to Caracalla and they have shown a keen understanding and knowledge of the problems of public administration ; but when we reach the later part of the history, we meet an increasing volume invention and fantasy - what might be termed in the fairest light "imaginative journalism". "Facts" are only to be accepted when we have independent proof of them. Continually we are presented with senatorial decrees and emperors' letters that seem to be nothing but pure fiction, e.g. the letter of Valerian to the Gauls in which he appoints Postumus to the suzerainty of the Rhine frontier. Admittedly there may be a germ of truth in these, but it is usually so well-hidden that we can only guess at its substance. Sometimes people are mentioned who are probably the imaginative creation of the writers, e.g. a consul named Antoninus Gallus (vd.S.H.A. III,viii, 2-5).

To sum up, we are forced to treat the relevant sections of the "Historia Augusta" with extreme caution and scepticism. It is entertaining on many occasions - yes ; but entertainment is not always the truth, and if we are to reach the truth, we must check and double-check every "statement" and "fact". The result of this is that we very frequently are compelled to limit our picture of the Gallic Empire's history to conjecture.

5) Eutropius.

This author also wrote in the 360's ; when exactly we cannot be certain. He had taken part in Julian's campaign against

the Persians in A.D.363 and he was "magister memoriae" under Valens. His history takes us as far as the reign of Julian, and appears to be quite carefully produced. To quote the Oxford Classical Dictionary (O.C.D., Eutropius, by A.H.McDonald) it is "well-balanced, showing good judgement and impartiality". Orosius (no.6) was later to make use of his work.

6) Orosius.

Paulus Orosius, a Spaniard who had fled from the Vandals to Africa in A.D.414 to become a pupil of Augustine, wrote a history which was probably published in 418. As has been stated in section 5, he made use of the earlier work of Eutropius. His writings have no great value, partly because they were produced as an apologia for the church, partly because they survey the period only briefly, and partly because Orosius' opportunities to discover accurate details were rather limited.

7) Zosimus.

Zosimus was a Greek who served as "advocatus fisci" and "comes" under Theodosius II and wrote six books on the decline of Rome (from Augustus to A.D.410), which were not published until after 425. His authorities are of high quality - such as Dexippus and Eunapius - but he is not as accurate on western as on eastern affairs and his dating is not always reliable.

8) Zonaras.

Zonaras, writing in the twelfth century, used as one source for his *Ἐπιτομή Ἱστοριῶν* Xiphilinus (an epitomator of Dio Cassius), and the result is a quite trustworthy account of Roman history.

Historical background.

The political and economic history of Rome in the third century A.D. is an essay in the decline of a great empire. The close of the second century had heralded what was to come only too clearly. After the murders of Commodus and Pertinax in 193

a struggle for power developed between rival generals from different parts of the empire - Pescennius Niger from Syria, Clodius Albinus from Britain, and Septimius Severus from Pannonia. The result was a civil war far more dangerous to the internal and external stability of Rome than the events of A.D.69. Despite Severus' ultimate victory at the bloody battle of Lugdunum in A.D.197 and the comparative peace that reigned while he was on the throne, the pattern for the future had been set. No doubt Tacitus would have reiterated his famous maxim that the secret of empire was out, namely, that an emperor could be made elsewhere than at Rome ; but even he could not have foreseen the depths to which Rome was to sink in the next seventy-five years.

Caracalla succeeded his father, Severus, in 211, but ruled with a cruelty and a thirst for blood that reaped its own reward in his assassination in 217. In the next thirty-six years there were twelve emperors (excluding Caesars and junior Augusti), and not one of them died naturally. The army reigned supreme, acclaiming an emperor one moment, cutting him down the next, and the senate and common people of the empire did not have the power to call a halt to this anarchy. Intrigue and murder followed each other in quick succession, and an emperor could afford to congratulate himself if he stayed on the throne for more than three years.

In addition the Franks on the Lower Rhine, the Alamanni on the Upper Rhine and the Upper Danube, and the Goths on the Lower Danube were beginning to make their presence felt to a very uncomfortable degree. And furthermore in A.D.226 the Arsacid dynasty in Parthia was overthrown by Artaxerxes, who professed to be a descendant of the Achaemenids, the Persian royal house in the heyday of the Persian Empire in the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., and who claimed as his own all the territory once ruled by Darius the Great. It was no time for the Roman Empire to be split by civil war ; through some miracle, however, it survived.

This was the background of crisis and uncertainty against which P.Licinius Valerianus came to the throne in 253. He associated his son, Gallienus, with him as co-regent, and it appears from a

fairly reliable authority that the empire was divided between father and son, Valerian taking the east, Gallienus the west. Valerian left for the east in 257, and at this point our study of the Gallic Empire begins.

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CHAPTER ONE - POSTUMUS.

Origins.

a) Names.

Of Postumus' origins we know next to nothing. On the other hand his full name is very well attested on coins and inscriptions from the provinces which formed the Gallic Empire, i.e. Britain, Spain, the Germanies, and the Gauls. Two examples will suffice here ; first an early sestertius from the mint of Lugdunum which has the obverse type 1A (radiate and draped bust right) or C (radiate, draped, and cuirassed bust right)¹:-

IMP.C.M.CASS.LAT.POSTVMVS P.F.AVG. (Imperator Caesar Marcus Cassian-
-ius Latinus Postumus Pius Felix Augustus).

second a milestone from the territory of the Aedui near Auxerre in Gallia Lugdunensis²: "imp.Caes.M.Cas/si[a]nio Latinio/
Postumo P.F.inv./ Aug....." (Imperatori Caesari Marco Cassiano
Latinio Postumo, pio felici, invicto Augusto....."

Therefore his names are firmly established as "Marcus Cassianus Latinus Postumus". In the "Epitome de Caesaribus"³ we find him called "Cassius Latienus Postumus", but this is most probably a mistake by the author, who was writing a good hundred years after Postumus' death.

Another error, this time by "Trebellius Pollio", is apparent in his "Thirty Tyrants"⁴, where we read, "Victorino, qui Gallias post Iulium Postumum rexit". The weight of numismatic and epigraphic evidence, however, is sufficient for us to dismiss this additional gentile name without further comment.

The nomen "Latinus" and the cognomen "Postumus" are fairly common throughout the Roman Empire (mainly in the West) at all periods and I have found it impossible to trace Postumus' antecedents along that line of research. But the nomen "Cassianus" proves slightly more fruitful. In looking through all the indices of the "Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum" I have found not one single reference to a Cassianus apart from those to the emperor himself.

But "Cassianus" is very common in all provinces, not Cassianus. The closest to it is an inscription from Ravenna⁵, where among a list of other names I found "Cassianuus". This, however, is in all probability an error of the stonemason for "Cassianus"; and in any case the inscription appears to be late and Christian. The most likely hypothesis is that "Cassianus" was a Gallic or Celtic variant of "Cassianus"; and Professor Eric Birley has given evidence of similar Celtic "fabricated" nomina, particularly in the Rhineland⁶. Barbieri⁷ adds that it was a common practice in Gaul to take a common Roman cognomen and by the insertion of a letter (quite often an "i") to create a new gentile name.

b) Birthplace.

Furthermore Barbieri claims that there is a possible hint at Postumus' birthplace contained in Gallienus' jest on hearing the news of the loss of Gaul⁸: "perdita Gallia risisse ac dixisse perhibetur, Num sine Atrebatibus sagis tuta res publica est?" The Atrebates were a tribe of northern Gaul whose centre was the modern Arras; and Barbieri would make this town Postumus' home. His argument is not final, however, and it is possible that the quotation is merely a general reference to Gaul although Postumus' names do suggest that he was a native of Upper Germany or Gaul.

c) Family.

The only other information about his early life that we can glean is that he was not of an upper class family: "Lolliani autem vita in multis obscura est, ut et ipsius Postumi, sed privata; virtute clari, non nobilitatis pondere vixerunt";⁹ and Eutropius¹⁰ supports this view: ".....Postumus..., obscurissime natus,..." What these humble beginnings were we cannot know for certain. In all probability he came from peasant stock in one of the provinces that formed the Gallic Empire, but it would be futile to make any further conjecture about his origins.

Position before usurpation.

The only helpful references to Postumus' early career that we possess are in a letter written by Valerian to the Gauls and in Zonaras' brief description of his rebellion¹¹. In the first Valerian is quoted as having personally appointed Postumus "Transrhenani limitis dux et Galliae praeses"; and there follows a list of Postumus' virtues. Despite the somewhat tiresome rhetoric of this letter one would be prepared to accept most of the information it supplies ; but one must always treat the writings of "Trebellius Pollio", the author of this part of the Historia Augusta, with caution (vd. Introduction, "Sources", Scriptores Historiae Augustae). Postumus is portrayed as a senior officer of sound discipline and sober judgement, the direct opposite (so Trebellius would have us believe) of his contemporary and rival in Rome. The contrast is heightened even more emphatically by the information that Valerian and not Gallienus appointed to this post of responsibility¹²:

" nec a Gallieno quidem vir iste promotus est sed a patre eius Valeriano, ut et Claudius et Macrianus et Ingenuus et Postumus et Aureolus...." This still leaves us with the problem whether he was ever appointed "Transrhenani limitis dux et Galliae praeses". However much we may dismiss Trebellius as a propagandist, we cannot regard this statement lightly, as many modern historians of the ancient world have done, e.g. Barbieri, who regards the whole letter as apocryphal.

Though we lack inscriptions to prove or disprove it, Zonaras tells us¹³:

Ποστουμὸς δὲ εἰς φυλάκην τοῦ Ῥηνοῦ ποταμοῦ ἐθεῖς, ὥστε κωλύειν τοῖς πέραν βαρβάροις τὴν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμαίδα χώραν διάβασιν "

Zonaras is a much more reliable historian than Trebellius, despite the fact that he was writing in the twelfth century, and uses sources from the fourth century that have since been lost. Therefore I can see no reason to doubt the appointment of Postumus to a post involving the defence of the Rhine frontier against the German barbarians. Dio Cassius tells us, though in slightly vaguer terms¹⁴:

τὰς ἐπαρχίας τούτας ὑπὸ τοῦ (sc. Gallieno) ταχθεῖς διασωθεῖν "; and if we connect this statement with that of the Epitome¹⁵, "Barbaris per Gallias praesid-

-ebat" (sc. Postumus), we have fairly convincing support for the supposedly apocryphal letter of Valerian.

Whether the post was specifically called "dux limitis" is questionable. Certainly "duces" ~~limitis~~ are to be found under Gallienus and even earlier, but "duces limitis" only appear with any degree of regularity from Diocletian onwards. On the other hand "dux et praeses" is fairly common after the middle of the third century. It is quite possible the Trebellius ascribed to Postumus an office - or combination of offices - that was only created after Diocletian had risen to the throne. Barbieri¹⁶, by far the most informative of the modern authorities on Postumus' early career, suggests that he was probably governor of one of the Germanies, with which Alföldi agrees¹⁷, and more probably of Germania Inferior, as Ritterling¹⁸ had previously proposed; but at the same time Barbieri adds that Postumus may equally have been a military commander of lower rank, a "dux" or a "praepositus vexillationum". M. Stein¹⁹ has defined his position even more closely by suggesting that he was the consular governor of Germania Inferior, consular because he had held the consulship (suffect) before being given the command on the Rhine (not on his assumption of the throne), and that the praetorian prefect at Cologne, Silvanus, was an equestrian. Nevertheless despite this flurry of conjecture I feel it reasonable to assume that Gallienus, suddenly and unexpectedly drawn away from the Rhine frontier by the revolt of Ingenuus on the Lower Danube and detained there by the subsequent rebellion of Regalianus, may have made a quick promotion to safeguard the situation. There was already the danger of a conflict of interest at least with Silvanus; and we also hear that one of Gallienus' sons was left at Cologne as the symbol of imperial authority in the west.

Valerian II, Saloninus, or "Q. Gallienus"?

The problem as to which of the two known sons of Gallienus, Valerianus II or Saloninus, was entrusted to Silvanus at Cologne and subsequently executed on the orders of Postumus stems originally from the similarity in their names. Valer-

-ianus II is known as²⁰: "P.Licinius (or Cornelius Licinius) Valerianus Caesar" and Saloninus as²¹: "P.Licinius Cornelius (or Cornelius Licinius) Saloninus (or Saloninus Valerianus) Caesar". The mere omission of "Saloninus" from an inscription, coin, or history causes utter confusion.

a) Valerianus II and Saloninus.

That Valerianus was the elder of the two is attested in the Epitome²², where his appointment as Caesar is mentioned before that of Saloninus; by Zonaras²³; and by Barbieri²⁴. Who appointed him Caesar is in doubt, the Epitome at one time saying that it was Valerianus I²⁵, Victor at another saying it was Gallienus²⁶, and this will only be solved when we know the exact date of the appointment. The Epitome implies that it was very soon after Valerianus I came to the throne in A.D.253, and Mattingly and Sydenham²⁷ and Barbieri²⁸ agree with this. Mattingly and Sydenham quote Alexandrian coins of Valerianus II bearing the legend Π.ΛΙΚ.ΚΟΡ.ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣ.ΣΕΒ. which they date to the years 253-5, and a further series, attributed to Saloninus, inscribed ΠΟ.ΛΙΚ.ΚΟΡ.ΣΑ.ΟΥΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑ.ΣΕΒ. and dated from 255-8. Barbieri claims that an inscription set up by a primipilus of the legion reformed by Valerianus I after his success against Aemilian in 253, III Augusta, at Lambaesis, Numidia,²⁹ substantiates the appointment of Valerianus II as Caesar in that year by the titles "Valeriana Galliena Valeriana," added in honour of Valerianus I, Gallienus, and Valerianus II. The note to I.L.S. 2296 says that the titles represent the joint emperors and Gallienus' two sons; and yet in a later note on the same inscription, when commenting on "Auggg." says that "non raro adhibitum de duobus Augustis et Caesare" (only one Caesar). That the legion was reformed in 253 and not later is attested at Gemellae³⁰. The date is given precisely on this as in the year of the second consulship of Volusianus, the emperor, and the first of Maximus; they were the "consules ordinarii" of 253.

In a letter I received from Dr. John Kent of the British Museum's Department of Coins and Medals, dated 13th. May, 1960, he

says ".....it is certain from inscriptions and coins that Valerian II died during the joint reign of Valerian I and Gallienus and was replaced as Caesar by Saloninus". The clearest proof of this is given in the article in Pauly-Wissowa, written by Wickert³¹, who quotes the "Rescript of the Codex Iustinianus",³² dated to the 18th. May, 256, as the earliest recorded instance of Valerian II as Caesar. His elevation to that office was first recognised and acclaimed in the interior of Egypt (Fayum) between the 28th. of June, 256 = 'Επεφ. δ of year γ³³ (the last recorded papyrus without Valerian II as Caesar) and autumn of the same year, 'Αθου λ of year δ = 26th. November, 256³⁴ (the first recorded instance of Valerian II as Caesar on the Egyptian papyri). Supposedly, then, we can say that Valerian II became Caesar before the 28th. June, 256, and even as early as the 18th. May the same year. This being so, his series of Alexandrian coins, quoted by Mattingly and Sydenham as running from 253 to 256, should really start in the Egyptian year γ of the joint reign of Gallienus and Valerian I, i.e. A.D. 255-6, as Wickert has suggested. If this was all the evidence we had to hand, we should be able to fix the "terminus ante quem" for Valerian II as Caesar between the first day of the Egyptian year γ of the joint reign (29th. August, 255) and the 18th. May, 256. But two inscriptions exist which tend to confuse the issue.^{35 & 36.} In the fourth line of the former the restored reading is "[Augg.,....]" and not "Auggg.", the two "g's" implying that there was no Caesar at this time. This is in direct contradiction to the second inscription, line 14, where we read quite clearly and without any need for restoration "Auggg.pr.pr." If we assume that no. 35 was set up a year after the arrival of III Augusta at Gemellae, i.e. in late 254, that still leaves a full half-year to be accounted for before we hear of Valerianus' appointment in the papyrus. In a conversation with Dr. J.C. Mann he suggested that no. 35 would most probably be set up at the end of Sattionius' Iucundus' year as "primus pilus" because the "vitis" was his staff of office and "posuit" surely means that he was laying it down and dedicating it as a token of gratitude for the successful completion of his duties. On the other hand we cannot date this inscription much later than 254 because by that time "legio renovata" would have become somewhat trite. Therefore we can fairly safely conclude from the weight of evidence that Valerian II became Caesar

at some time between late 254 and the 29th. August, 255. The explanation for his late appearance in the Egyptian papyri may be that the news of his elevation took quite a considerable time to reach the Fayum.

Our evidence for the death of Valerian II and the appointment of his brother as Caesar is not so confusing. Valerian is mentioned as alive on one papyrus³⁷ in Choiak (November-December) of the joint reign's year 2 (August, 257-258) and in another³⁸ on the 15th. February; three others³⁹ support this evidence by mentioning him on the 9th. February of the same year. Valerian's Alexandrian coins run from 29th. August, 255, to 28th. August, 258, according to Vogt⁴⁰, who says that the issues for Valerian I stopped in the second half of the year 2. As far as Saloninus is concerned, a papyrus refers to him as Caesar on the 24th. September, 258,⁴¹ and his Alexandrian coins start in the same year 2.

So far everything seems to fit together neatly. But a further piece of evidence causes us some trouble⁴². The Codex Justinianus mentions Valerian II for the last time on the 29th. May, 259. I think, however, that we must come down on the side of the view that Valerian II died in the first half of 258, at least before the 24th. of September. We cannot be more precise than this unfortunately. It is indeed a pity that we cannot date an inscription from Sitifensis in Mauritania⁴³, which would have been extremely valuable for our present argument. If only it contained a consular or tribunician date, our problem would have been somewhat eased.

b) "Q. Gallienus".

It is necessary at this point to clear up something in the nature of a red herring. Cohen⁴⁴ refers to a coin with the obverse legend "DIVO CAES. GALLIENO" and the reverse "CONSECRATIO", which he attributes to a certain "Quintus Iulius Gallienus", a son of Gallienus and Salonina. He doubts whether it is genuine and notes that the British Museum specimen has been altered. But Voetter mentions another coin of white metal in the Cabinet of Vienna supposedly from the Rome mint and dated to 255 with the obverse legend "DIVO CAES. Q. GALLIENO". Dr. Kent in the letter referred to earlier says of the British Museum specimen that it is a consecration type of Valerian II and is most probably an

altered example of one of these. There is certainly no independent evidence to suggest that Gallienus had a third son called "Quintus Julius Gallienus" nor that he died at about the same time as did Valerian II, and on these grounds I think it reasonable to dismiss him from our argument.

A. Alföldi has offered an interesting explanation to this problem.⁴⁵ He suggests that the coin comes from the great issue of coins from the Rome mint at the end of 260 and that the "Q." does not stand for "Quintus", as Mattingly would have us believe, but for "Quondam", which is frequently found on sepulchral inscriptions. This certainly implies that Saloninus had died recently, especially when we consider that there were numerous "Consecratio" types issued from Rome at the same time. If Saloninus were not dead by then, too, why did Gallienus not share the consulship with him on the 1st. January, 261? Instead he took as his co-consul a private citizen. There are coins from this issue bearing the legend "DIVO CAES. GALLIENO" and Alföldi has suggested that after the death of Valerian I in 260, both Gallienus and Saloninus dropped the name "Valerianus". If this is so, this legend would refer to Saloninus.

The issue has most probably been confused by the fact that Gallienus did have a third son, but not called "Q.J. Gallienus". He was Marinianus, the "consul ordinarius" of 268, who may have been adopted (as Regling says)⁴⁶ or the genuine son of the emperor and Salonina, if the coin-type of the empress from the mass issue of the mint of Rome in 265-6⁴⁷, bearing the legend "FEQVNDITAS AVG." refers to his birth and who might have become Caesar soon if he had not been murdered in A.D. 268.

c) Summary.

Thus it is clear that if Postumus' revolt occurred after the death of Valerianus II in early 258, it must have been Saloninus who was entrusted by Gallienus to the safe keeping of Silvanus at Cologne; a fact which is incontrovertibly borne out by an inscription from Cingula.⁴⁸ Where he is mentioned as "Publius Licinius Cornelius Saloninus nobilissimus Caesar" and next to which is a dedication to "divo Valeriano" undoubtedly his dead brother, Valerian II, just as inscription no. 29 does.

Causes of revolt.

a) Guardian of Saloninus.

Before discussing the causes of Postumus' revolt I think it advisable to offer a solution to another problem which confronts us at this stage of our study. By most of our authorities Gallienus is said to have entrusted one of his sons to Postumus or his praetorian prefect at Cologne. But who did in fact act as his guardian? First of all, I would like to bring to notice a rather curious statement which appears in the Historia Augusta's life of Aurelian⁴⁹. Valerian I is writing a letter to Antoninus Gallus, a consul otherwise unknown: "Valerianus Augustus Antonino Gallo consuli. Culpas me familiaribus litteris, quod Postumo filium meum Gallienum magis quam Aureliano commiserim, cum utique severiori ut puer credendus fuerit et exercitus". We may with all fairness dismiss this as ludicrous for two reasons. Firstly Valerian was in the east by the time of Postumus' revolt, and secondly Gallienus was then almost fifty years of age!

Zonaras and Zosimus both state that Silvanus (or Albanus, as the praetorian prefect is variously called) was put in charge of Saloninus. Zonaras⁵⁰ says, "ἦ (Salονίνο) καὶ τινὰ Ἄλβανον κεκλήμενον ἐπέστῆσε (Γαλλιένου) διὰ τὸν νεότητά τοῦ υἱοῦ" and Zosimus⁵¹, when describing the siege of Cologne, "αὐτὸν (Salονίνου) τε καὶ τὸν παραλαβόντα τὴν τούτου φυλακὴν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς Σιλβανου". And yet in the Historia Augusta we find the information that Gallienus entrusted his son to Postumus to be educated in the arts of princely rule⁵²: "Hic vir bello fortissimus, in pace constantissimus, in omni vita gravis, usque adeo ut Saloninum filium suum eidem Gallienus in Gallia positum crederet, quasi custodi vitae et morum et actuum imperialium institutori". But I see no reason to believe that Postumus was of sufficient seniority to justify this action by Gallienus above the head of Silvanus, his prefect; and subsequent events tend to emphasise this, since, when Postumus revolted and laid siege to Cologne, Gallienus' son and Silvanus were both trapped inside the city. Apparently Postumus was of somewhat lower rank than the Historia Augusta would admit, and one is still conscious of Trebellius' desire to denigrate Gallienus,

even if meant exaggerating the importance of Postumus' previous rank. Added to this, we must once again remember that it is ~~usually~~ our usually more reliable sources, Zonaras and Zosimus, who say Silvanus, our less reliable, the Historia Augusta, Postumus. It looks as if Silvanus was given charge of the boy and Postumus put in command of the Rhine frontier defences while Gallienus was away fighting Ingenus; thereby the emperor would avoid the concentration of too much power in the hands of one man (and the presence of his son in Cologne would be a constant reminder of that fact). Later the success of Postumus' revolt led to a distortion of the real situation and an exaggerated view of the rank he held.

b) The Quarrel.

A. Stein in his article on Postumus Senior in Pauly-Wissowa⁵³ gives as the apparent cause of the revolt the undetermined apportionment of authority between Postumus and Silvanus. A clash was inevitable in the situation such as that which arose after Postumus repelled a barbarian plundering raid on Germany in the course of his duty as the guardian of the frontier. He retrieved the booty which the barbarians had carried off, but instead of returning it to its rightful owners distributed it among the troops under his command. Not surprisingly Silvanus declared this action illegal and insisted on the immediate return of the booty; but Postumus refused and, finding ready support for his defiance among his troops, had them proclaim him emperor. He marched on Cologne, where Silvanus and his ward were stationed, and besieged it until the inhabitants were forced to capitulate and surrender the Caesar and the praetorian prefect for execution. This is the substance of the story as given by most of our authorities:—⁵⁴

Ποστουμὸς δὲ εἰς φυλακὴν τοῦ Ῥήνου ποταμοῦ ἐκθῆς ὥστε κωλύειν τοῖς περὶν οἰκοῦσιν βαρβάρους τὴν εἰς τὴν Ῥωμανίδα χώραν διέβασιν λαθροῦσι τισι καὶ διαβάσει τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ λείαν ἐπαγομένους πολλὴν ἐν τῷ ἀνιένκι ἐπέθετο, καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἀνεῖλε τὴν δὲ λείαν ἀφέλετο συμπαῖσαν, καὶ αὐτίκα ταύτην τοῖς στρατιώταις διένειμεν. ὁ μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἄλβανος, πέμφας ἀποκομισθῆναι αὐτῷ καὶ τῷ νέῳ Γαλιηνῷ τὴν λείαν ἀπέηται. καὶ ὁ Ποστουμὸς συγκαλέσας τοὺς στρατιώτας εἰσέπραπεν ἐξ αὐτῶν τὰ τῆς λείας εἰς ἀποστασίαν αὐτοῦ παρακινήσει μηχανώμενος· ὃ καὶ γέγονε. καὶ μετ'

αὐτῶν τῇ πόλει τῇ Ἀγριππινῇ προσέβαλε, καὶ οἱ τῆς πόλεως
τὸν τε παῖδα τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν Ἄλβανον αὐτῷ ἐκδεδώκασιν,
οὓς καὶ ἄμφω ἀπέκτεινε " and ⁵⁵:" ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ Ποστοῦμος
ἀρχὴν ἐν Κελτοῖς στρατιωτῶν ἐμπειστούμενος ἐς τὸ νεωτέρισαι
προήχθη, τοὺς συναποστάτας αὐτῷ στρατιώτας ἀναλάβων ἐπὶ
τὴν Ἀγριππιναν ἤλαυνεν, πόλιν ἐπικειμένην τῷ Ῥήνω
μεγίστην κἀνταῦθα Σαλωνίνον τοῦ Γαλιήνου παῖδα ἐπολιόρκει, καὶ
εἰ μὴ παραδοθείη, τῆς πολιορκίας οὐκ ἔφασκεν, ἀποστῆσέθαι.
τῶν δὲ στρατιωτῶν ἀναγκῇ τῆς πολιορκίας αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν
παραλαβόντα τὴν τούτου φυλακὴν ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς Σίλβανον παραδόντων,
ἀμφοτέρους ὁ Ποστοῦμος ἀνέλων αὐτὸς τὴν ἐν Κελτοῖς ἐπικρατείαν εἶχε ".

and the Historia Augusta ⁵⁶:"Sed, quantum plerique adserunt (quod eius non
convenit moribus), postea fidem fregit et occiso Salonino sumpsit imper-
-ium". The Epitome says ⁵⁷:"Namque primus omnium Postumus, qui forte bar-
-baris per Galliam praesidebat, imperium ereptum ierat". Earlier it had
said:".....Cassius Latienus Postumus in Gallia filio"(sc.Gallieni)
"interfecto imperatores effecti sunt".⁵⁸

But another reason is supplied by the Historia Augusta and
Eutropius ⁵⁹⁻⁶²:"Ut autem verius plerique tradiderunt, cum Galli vehement-
-issime Gallienum odissent, puerum apud se imperare ferre non possent, cum
qui commis-sum regebat imperium, imperatorem appellarunt missisque
militibus adolescentem interfecerunt." (59)

"Cum Gallienus in luxuria et improbitate persisteret cumque lud-
-ibriis et helluactione vacaret neque aliter rem publicam gereret, quam cum
pueri fingunt per ludibria potestates, Galli, quibus insitum est leves ac
degenerantes a virtute Romana et luxoriosos principes ferre non posse,
Postumum ad imperium vocarunt, exercitibus quoque consentientibus, quod
occupatum imperatorem libidinibus querabantur", (60).

" Ita Gallieno perente rem publicam in Gallia primum
Postumus, deinde Lollianus, Victorinus deinceps, postremo Tetricus (nam
de Mario nihil dicimus) adsertores Romani nominis exstituerunt".(61).

"Ita Gallieno rem publicam deserente Romanum imperium
in Occidente per Postumum, per Odenathum in Oriente servatum est".(62).

The blame for Postumus' revolt is laid fairly and squarely

on the shoulders of Gallienus and his careless government. The Gauls are set up as paragons of virtue who knew by instinct when an emperor was unfit to rule; and so they recognised that Postumus was a better man than Gallienus and revolted in his favour.

c) Postumus' ambitions.

Yet no mention is made of Postumus' personal ambition. Trebellius Pollio skilfully ignores this in his continual attempts to blacken Gallienus' character. If the story of the quarrel between Silvanus and Postumus be true - and there is no reason to doubt it - it shows that Gallienus was by no means at fault for what happened after he left Gaul for the Danube. Postumus seems to have been all too ready to come to grips with his sole remaining rival. But I doubt whether Stein is right in attributing the revolt to the undetermined apportionment of authority between Silvanus and Postumus. Postumus might disagree with him, but Silvanus was the overall representative of the emperor in Gaul (and giving his personal protection to the emperor's son), and as such Postumus had to obey him. The booty he had recovered from the barbarians he should have handed back to its rightful owners; that he straightaway distributed it among his troops lays bare his ultimate objective. The cause of the revolt was the usurper's own greed and self-seeking, characteristic of the age in which he lived.

d) Position of Gallienus.

Again, Gallienus could in no way be called a weak emperor. At first he might seem so because of the large number of cracks which became apparent in the imperial colossus during his reign. The old Augustan system had long since given way to a naked autocratic militarism from Septimius Severus onwards. But Gallienus, despite his ability as a general, was the victim of circumstances beyond his control. His father, Valerianus I, had gone to the East to pursue his ambitions of conquest and had there been captured by the duplicity of the Persian king, Sapor. There was no other member of the imperial family suitable enough to share the burden of government with Gallienus; for Valerianus II had died in 258 and Saloninus, his brother, who had succeeded him as

Caesar, was a mere boy. Gallienus' brother, [Licinus] Gallienus, is a shadowy figure⁶³ who, although consul in 265, appears on only very rare occasions in our literary sources and not at all on inscriptions. So Gallienus was on his own and one man was not enough to safeguard the frontiers all the time. Try as they might, his generals' hands were forced by the critical situations in which they found themselves. Typical of these was the case of Ingenuus, governor of the Pannonias, who was proclaimed emperor really as a convenient and visible focus of loyalty as much as anything else.⁶⁴ The provinces of the Lower Danube had suffered severely from barbarian incursions and, though Gallienus had left^{for} the Rhine in 259-60 in the belief that he had brought them lasting peace, not long after his departure the barbarians broke through the defences again and wrought havoc among the frontier towns. On this occasion, however, Gallienus was too occupied with similar trouble in Germany to be able to spare time for rallying the Pannonias. Consequently, since the legitimate emperor could do nothing to help them, the Danubians elected one of their own - a reasonable step in the circumstances, but one which Gallienus naturally could not allow. He immediately left the Rhine and defeated Ingenuus. Yet instead of staying on the Danube he left it again, and, as was to be expected, another usurper, Regalianus, took up Ingenuus' standard. He was put down more ruthlessly, however, and the situation was saved for the time being. But meanwhile Postumus had revolted in Gaul, not, I believe, because the Gauls had complained of the emperor's desertion of them; for had he not left his son behind at Cologne? I think that Postumus was no more than an able opportunist, who by taking the authority into his own hands laid the foundation for the "new order" of imperial government later developed by Diocletian and his successors (vd. Chapter IV). Gallienus could not possibly introduce such a system; he had not the men at his command capable or loyal enough to make it workable. And for that fact he deserves more credit for his attempts to preserve imperial unity than is given him by the author of the *Historia Augusta*.

Date of the revolt and Saloninus' death.

a) Date of Saloninus' death.

Once again our main modern authority is

Wickert⁶⁵, who quotes a papyrus, giving the latest attestable date on which Saloninus is mentioned by name as the 27th. January, 260⁶⁶. Kubitschek, however,⁶⁷ interprets another papyrus⁶⁸ as implying that Saloninus was still alive on the 26th. March of the same year. Saloninus' Alexandrian coins run from the joint regnal years ε to η, i.e. 29th. August, 257 - 28th. August, 261⁶⁹, and in fact they end before the close of η. But we must remember that Macrianus and Quietus revolted against Gallienus in 260, and they were recognised in Egypt at the end of that year, as attested by a papyrus dated according to them to the 29th. September, 260 (discussed by Stein⁷⁰). The two usurpers were defeated before the Egyptian year η had ended, i.e. before the 28th. August, 261, and so, if Saloninus were still alive, we would expect a resumption of the issue of his α Alexandrian coinage and further references to him in papyri. But we do not, and in fact all the coins that were minted in Alexandria after the revolt are dated according to Gallienus' regnal years. In addition to this there is not one single source which mentions Saloninus as alive after 260/1. We have in my opinion incontestable evidence that he died in that Egyptian year η - August 29th., 260 - August 28th., 261.

b) Saloninus - Caesar or Augustus ?

The only problem which remains is whether Saloninus was still Caesar when he was executed by Postumus or whether he had been raised to the level of Augustus. The evidence for him as Augustus is provided by Cohen (coins from the Rome mint)⁷¹ and Mattingly and Sydenham⁷², who mention two coins from Lyon, all of which have the obverse legend "IMP. SALON. VALERIANVS AVG." and a coin of Temenothyrae in Phrygia, quoted by Blanchet⁷³ and reading "[Σεβ.] Κ. Σαλῶνινος Οὐαλεριανος". The last of these we can perhaps overlook as an oddity, but the others deserve some discussion. It is quite possible that the inhabitants of Gaul still loyal to Gallienus felt that the desperate situation in which they found themselves after Postumus' revolt demanded a desperate solution, and so in the absence of the emperor himself they elevated his young son to Augustus as a rallying-cry for his

army and to try to preserve the imperial unity. Elmer has quite reasonably suggested that the proclamation of Saloninus as Augustus and his death followed very closely on one another since coins with the legend "SALON.AVG.", many of them gold pieces possibly minted for the new year 261, are extremely rare. Patti, however, has come forward with quite a different theory. He has said that such a title was never given to Saloninus by his father. But the implication of this, that Saloninus usurped his father's authority, appears to be wrong for two reasons. Firstly, if Saloninus had revolted, why would Gallienus have issued coins after Saloninus' execution bearing the title "DIVO SALONINO" ? Surely Gallienus would have made no reference at all to Saloninus if his son had revolted ?⁷⁴ Perhaps the solution would have been made much easier if only it had been possible to date three inscriptions accurately. The first of these⁷⁵ refers to Saloninus as "nob.Caes.fratrī Valeriani II"; the second⁷⁶ mentions Valerianus II as "nob.Caes." and carries the dates "Val.t.p.V.,cos.III; Gall.t.p.III,cos.III". The third⁷⁷ mentions Saloninus as "nob.Caes." on the dates "Val.t.p.VII,cos.III ; Gall.t.p.VII,cos.III" ; but the precise dating of the reigns of Valerian I and Gallienus I consider to be a difficult problem outside the scope of this thesis and which I propose to tackle independently on a later occasion. I think the evidence here presented for the dating of Valerian II and Saloninus should be sufficient grounds for my argument.

In these circumstances, then, I would consider it was perfectly justifiable for Saloninus to be made Augustus and the evidence points to this having happened, followed very quickly by his death in the early part of 261.

Dating of the Gallic Emperors and their consuls.

a) Summary of emperors' consular dates.

1.POSTVMVS.

Assuming that Postumus' revolt took place in 260, that he assumed the "tribunicia potestas" as soon as he revolted, and that he renewed this and the consulship on their customary dates, i.e. 10th. December and 1st. January respectively, I would suggest the follow-

-owing dating for the reigns of the Gallic Emperors:-

260	(before the 10th.December)	TR.P.(assumed during the revolt) COS.
	(after ")	TR.P.II.COS.
261	(January 1st.)	TR.P.II.COS.II.
	(10th.December)	TR.P.III.COS.II.
262	(January 1st.)	TR.P.III.COS.III.
	(10th.December)	TR.P.IIII.COS.III.
263	(January 1st.)	TR.P.IIII.COS.III.
	(10th.December)	TR.P.V.COS.III.
264	(")	TR.P.VI.COS.III.
265	(")	TR.P.VII.COS.III.
266	(")	TR.P.VIII.COS.III.
267	(")	TR.P.IX.COS.III.
268	(January 1st.)	TR.P.IX.COS.IIII.
	(10th.December)	TR.P.X.COS.IIII.
269	(January 1st.)	TR.P.X.COS.V. ⁷⁸

2.VICTORINVS.

[266	(10th.December)	TR.P.
267	(")	TR.P.II.] These are in doubt.
268	(January 1st.)	TR.P.II.COS.
	(10th.December)	TR.P.III.COS.
269	(after Postumus'death or or from the start of the year ?)	TR.P.III.COS.II ?
	(10th.December)	TR.P.IIII.COS.II ?
270	(January 1st.)	TR.P.IIII.COS.III ?

3.TETRICVS.

271	(on assumption of power)	TR.P.COS.
	(10th.December)	TR.P.II.COS.
272	(January 1st.)	TR.P.II.COS.II.
	(10th.December)	TR.P.III.COS.II.

until his surrender to the main Roman Empire that year.

b) Detailed evidence.

I propose at this point to set out the detailed evidence upon which I base my dating of the emperors' consulships and also the names of and evidence for the other consuls whom I would attribute to the Gallic Empire. As there is no ground for believing that the usurpers departed from the common Roman practice of appointing two eponymous consuls for each year to take office on January 1st., we need not discuss that problem any further.

POSTVMVS COS.I.

The gravestone of a certain Domitia, a citizen of Trier, found in 1868 at Burdigala, Aquitania, was set up to celebrate the first consulship of Postumus, and is dated precisely to the 28th. January⁷⁹. The style of the lettering suggests that this inscription comes from the third century A.D., and since we know of no other Postumus as consul, it must be attributed to the Gallic emperor. Carmelo Patti⁸⁰ suggests that Postumus' first consulship was suffect, as has M.Stein. We possess aurei, antoniani, denarii, and dupondii, all from the Lugdunum mint, with the various legends "P.M.TR.P.COS.P.P."; "P.M.TR.P.COS.I.P.P."; and "P.M.T.P.COS." which can be dated to late 260⁸¹. We have also another inscription on a column found on the borders of Auvergne and Gavaudan in Gaul⁸². M.Stein⁸³ says that the suffect consulship of Postumus was held before he was appointed to guard the Rhine frontier. and before becoming the consular governor of Germania Inferior. Despite its precise dating the Bordeaux inscription is decidedly vague about Postumus' consulship, and all we can say about the second - a milestone - is that it was set up after Postumus' first consulship and probably in the early part of his reign. There is no evidence to suggest that Postumus was ever sole consul.

POSTVMVS COS.II.(261).

A milestone from Auxerre in Lugdunensis records

Postumus' second consulship⁸⁴, and this is further supported by a milestone found in 1877 at Pregilbert in the canton of Vermanton (now in the Auxerre Museum)⁸⁵. It is noteworthy that both of these describe the emperor as "Germanicus Maximus", probably because of his successful operations against the barbarians on the Rhine frontier. Another inscription found at Altrip in Germania Superior in 1842 mentions the second consulship, but not the title of "Germanicus Maximus"⁸⁶.

Once again the numismatic evidence is all from Lugdunum and this time the obverse legend is invariable on the aurei, antoniani, quinarii, sestertii, dupondii, and asses: "P.M.TR.P.COS.II.P.P."⁸⁷

POSTVMVS COS.III (262).

Three inscriptions attest that Postumus held a third consulship. The first of these was found near Quintinilla in Hispania Tarraconensis in 1781⁸⁸; the second is a milestone found at Guadix (Acci) in the same province⁸⁹; while the third, another milestone, was found on the territory of Fontado⁹⁰.

Numismatic evidence for the third consulship, which coincides on the coins with the third and fourth "tribunicia potestas", is plentiful and, as usual at this stage of Postumus' reign, comes from the Lugdunum mint. On aurei down to asses we find the following varieties of legend⁹¹:-

P.M.G.M.T.P.COS.III.P.P.

P.M.TR.P.III.COS.III.P.P.

P.M.TR.P.IIIII.COS.III.P.P.

P.M.TR.P.COS.III.P.P.

PROVID.DEOR.COS.III.

COS.III.

IMP.C.POSTVMVS.P.F.AVG.COS.III.

POSTVMVS TR.P.IIIII - V.COS.III (263) to TR.P.VIII -IX.COS.III.(267).

From 263 to 268 we have no inscriptional evidence for Postumus' "tribunicia potestas" and consulships mainly because he did not hold his fourth consulship until 268. However, the coin material is fairly

full and provides reasonably good grounds for my system of dating.

263.

Legends on aurei, quinarii, aurei, denarii, sesterii, dupondii, of Lugdunum.⁹²

P.M.TR.P.IMP.V.COS.III.P.P.

VICT.GERM.P.M.TR.P.V.COS.III.P.P.

QVINQVENNALES POSTVMI AVG.(X. or VOT.X. on shield)

VICTORIA AVG.(VOT.X. on shield)

QVINQVENNALES AVG.(V.X. or Q. on shield).

GERMANICVS MAX.V.

264. ⁹³

VICT.GERM.TR.P.V.COS.III.

TR.P.IMP.V.COS.III.

P.M.TR.P.VI.COS.III.P.P.

265. ⁹⁴

P.M.TR.P.VII.COS.III.P.P. (Aureus of Lugdunum).

" (Aureus of Cologne).

266 & 267. I can find no numismatic evidence for the gap in these two years that would be filled by coins bearing the legend "...TR. P.VIII.COS.III".

POSTVMVS COS.IIIII.(268).⁹⁵

Two inscriptions attest Postumus' fourth consulship. A column found in 1828-9 on the bank of the River Tre-boulin in Gallia Lugdunensis⁹⁶ is one, and the other was found at Conventus Asturum in northern Spain⁹⁷. The interesting feature that arises from a study of these two inscriptions is the absence of Victorinus on the first. It seems possible, although we must note that the first is a standard reference to the emperor by names and titles and the second is dated by the consuls of the year, that Postumus may have been made sole consul at the beginning of the year and that for reasons which I shall discuss later Victorinus was appointed as co-consul later in the year; but again, although we lack any evidence to support this idea, Victorinus may have been "cos.II"

from the beginning of the year together with Postumus - the more likely event in my opinion.

At this point Postumus' coins cease to be issued from Lugdunum and they bear the imprint of the Cologne mint. They carry the following legends on aurei, antoniniani, and sestertii:-⁹⁸

P.M.T.P.COS.IIIII.P.P.

~~P.M.T.P.~~ P.COS.IIIII.P.P.

P.M.TR.P.VIIII.COS.IIIII.P.P.

C.C.A.A.COS.IIIII.

COL.CL.AGRIP.COS.IIIII.

COS.IIIII.

POSTVMVS COS.V.(269).

Our evidence for the fifth consulship is entirely numismatic, and that only from the Cologne mint. The legends on aurei, antoniniani, denarii, and sestertii are :-⁹⁹

P.M.TR.P.X.COS.V.P.P.(VOT.XX. on shield).

COS.V.

IMP.X.COS.V.

TR.P.X.COS.V.P.P.

P.M.TR.P.COS.V.

VICTORINVS COS.II.(269).

This is attested by an inscription found at Liesenich near Zell on the Moselle¹⁰⁰. While this contains a veritable mine of information about several officers in Victorinus' army, we must not disregard the reference to Victorinus, the emperor, and a certain "Sa(n)ctus" as consuls on the 23rd. of May of an undated year. Granted that it would indeed be dangerous to claim that this definitely belongs to 269, yet the very absence of the full titles of the emperor tends to suggest that Victorinus' takeover of power after Postumus' death in that year was a hurried affair. Dessau has suggested, too,¹⁰¹ - and I would be inclined to agree with him - that the sculptor of the stone might well have added "II" in reference to Victorinus, when we remember that he had already been

Postumus' partner in the consulship of 268.

Aurei, quinarii aurei, and antoniniani from his southern mint attest this consulship, too, and their legends read as follows¹⁰² :-

COS.II.

P.M.TR.P.III.COS.II.P.P.

P.M.TR.P.COS.II.P.P.

[P.M.TR.P.II.COS.]II.P.P.

VICTORINVS COS.III.(270).

The only dated evidence we have of this consulship is from antoniniani of the emperor's southern mint¹⁰³ whose legend is :-

[P.M.TR.P.]III.COS.III.P.P.

The lack of any further evidence tends to suggest that Victorinus did not live long into 270 and was quickly succeeded by Tetricus I or other usurpers.

TETRICVS COS.I.(271).

We have only one dateable inscription from the whole of Tetricus' reign¹⁰⁴ and that is the fragment of a milestone found near Beziers on the coast of Gallia Narbonensis in 1890. I say dateable, but with no great confidence, for this inscription is dedicated to Tetricus' son, Tetricus II, and one cannot say for certain whether his consulships and "tribunicia potestas" were held in conjunction with his father's or not. If they were, this inscription would be dated to this year, 271.

Thus my theses must rest on the numismatic evidence alone for the reign of the two Tetrici. From the coins we learn that Tetricus I held three consulships, and, since we know that Aurelian recovered the lost provinces of the Gallic Empire in 273 (vd. Appendix I), we must assume that they were in 271, 272, and 273. The coin evidence is as follows:-

Lepidus. One is a marble altar found at Mogontiacum (Mainz), Germania Superior, in 1896¹⁰⁸; another a building inscription found at Lancaster in Britain¹⁰⁹; and the third was found in the crypt of the cathedral at Bonn¹¹⁰. The importance of these inscriptions is twofold. Firstly, Censor and Lepidus are completely unknown to the regular consular fasti of the main Roman Empire despite Mommsen's attempt in reference to the second¹¹¹ to claim that their names should really be "Seniore II et Philippo iuniore II". Secondly, all three inscriptions mention them as being consuls for the second time. On the second it must be noted that the name of the emperor has been erased in the first line and, later, so has the title of the "ala" conferred upon it by the emperor. What better reason for this than that the soldiers wished to express their loyalty to Postumus? Since Censor and Lepidus do not occur in the regular fasti, I agree with Dessau¹¹² that they would appear to have been appointed by Postumus between the years 263-7 and even to go further than this and say that, because they were appointed for a second time, they must have been very trusted lieutenants of the usurper. Why then should we not assume that they shared the consulship with him between 260 and 263? If Postumus was suffect consul before 260, presumably we can say that Censor and Lepidus could have held their first consulships in 261 and 262.

ii) Dialis and Bassus.

An inscription from Viducasses (Vieux) in Gallia Lugdunensis supplies the name of two more possible consuls of 263-7¹¹³. Once again Dialis and Bassus do not appear in the regular fasti and this fact, coupled with the find-spot, indicate the Gallic Empire.

iii) "Apr. et Ruf."

Lastly an inscription found in Milecastle 52 on Hadrian's Wall in Britain¹¹⁴ - "Apr. et Ruf." is said by the editor of C.I.L. to refer to the consuls of an uncertain year, namely P. Septimius Aper and M. Sedatius C. f. Severianus Iulius Rufinus¹¹⁵, but his argument is too tenuous. For one thing, "Ruf." is the usual abbreviation for Rufus and not for Rufinus. And there is another problem

here - what were the soldiers of this legion (the XXth. Valeria Vict-
-rix) doing on the Wall at this time anyway ? Were they only a vex-
-illation seconded for the repair of a part which was in bad condition ?
Or was there some other more significant reason ?

d) Summary of Gallic Empire's consular fasti.

To conclude this section we can now draw up a list, admitted-
-ly somewhat lacking in finality, of the Gallic Empire consuls as
suggested by the evidence.

Before 260	POSTVMVS COS.I.(suffex)
261	" COS.II + Censor cos.I or Lepidus cos.I.?
262	" COS.III. + "
263	CENSOR + LEPIDVS COSS.II.
264	DIALIS + BASSVS
265	APR.(= APER ?) + RVF.(= RVFVS ?)
266	
267	
268	POSTVMVS COS.IIIII. + VICTORINVS COS.I.
269	" COS.V. + ?
	<u>or</u> POSTVMVS COS.V. + VICTORINVS COS.II. ?
	<u>followed by</u> VICTORINVS COS.II + SANCTVS ?
270	VICTORINVS COS.III + ?
271	TETRICVS COS.I (+ TETRICVS II.COS.I ?)
272	TETRICVS COS.II (+ TETRICVS II.COS.II ?)
273	TETRICVS COS.III (+ TETRICVS II.COS.III ?)

Events of Postumus' reign.

a) The early months.

As we have seen from an earlier section of this chapter, Postumus took the opportunity to revolt offered by Gallienus' absence from the Rhine frontier in 260. The fact that he did not immediately gain control of the emperor's campaign headquarters at Cologne is shown by two events - his minting of coins at Lugdunum and his siege of Cologne, where the young Saloninus and his protector

Silvanus were still stationed. All Postumus' early coins of every denomination were minted at Lugdunum¹¹⁶ and most of them show from their portraits of him in military clothing or of appropriate military symbols (a radiate lion running with a thunderbolt in its mouth) that at the beginning of his reign his prime concern was the military establishment of his power. The Attack on Cologne must have come at the end of the year if we are to believe the evidence of the coins of Saloninus minted for the new year 261 at Cologne, and representing him Augustus, probably a desperate measure by the citizens when they saw that a siege was imminent.

b) 261 i. After Cologne.

Postumus' capture of Cologne and subsequent execution ~~of~~ of Saloninus and Silvanus has been adequately dealt with earlier, and it appears that this took place early in the year. That this did not bring an end to military operations is borne out once again by the coins, for on those dateable to his second consulship (261) he appears in military clothing and carrying a lance. Furthermore two inscriptions enable us to determine more exactly what those military operations were. On both¹¹⁷, dateable to 261, we find the description of the emperor as "GERM. MAX. TR. P. COS. II." Throughout the history of the Gallic Empire we find traces of the continuing pressure by the barbarian German tribes upon the Rhine frontier - the problem which Gallienus had so valiantly tried to surmount. The giving of the title "Germanicus Maximus" to Postumus suggests that he won a second victory against the invaders, as he had done in 260 before his rise to power. There seems little doubt that such was the pressure on the frontier that he could expect an attempt to cross the Rhine every year and sometimes on more than one occasion during the good weather.

ii. Senate ?

Another significant feature of this year is the first appearance of coins with "S. C." on their reverse from the mint of Lugdunum. Perhaps too much importance can be attached to this. On the surface it would suggest that a constitution on the old Roman model

was set up to govern the infant empire while the emperor was engaged in war. But on the other hand it might be a piece of pure propaganda and an attempt to rival the coinage of Gallienus. There is no evidence to suggest that either of these answers is the correct one.

c) Operations against Gallienus and Aureolus.

261.

But meanwhile Postumus had another cause for anxiety. In the summer of 261 Aureolus, Gallienus' skilful cavalry commander, had defeated and killed Fulvius Macrianus and his son, the usurpers, in Illyricum, and Gallienus could now turn his full attention to his western flank. According to a fragment of Petrus Patricius¹¹⁸ Postumus had occupied the passes of the Alps which gave access to his newly-won dominions, a wise move indicative of a sound general and a policy continued, as far as we can gather, on the Rhine frontier, where he built forts on the far bank to give ample warning of and delay barbarian attacks while his main forces could be deployed to await the crossing of the river by the enemy¹¹⁹ : "castra, quae Postumus.....

...in solo barbarico aedificaverat". The Historia Augusta tells us¹²⁰ that Gallienus began to attack Postumus at the head of his army, and, laying siege to the city in which Postumus was and meeting a vigorous resistance from its inhabitants, was struck by an arrow : "Contra hunc ipse Gallienus exercitum duxit; cumque urbem, in qua erat Postumus, obsidere coepisset, acriter eam defendentibus Gallis, Gallienus muros circumiens sagitta ictus est". Zonaras gives us a more detailed description of this first clash between the two emperors,¹²¹

and shows us for the first time that Aureolus was perhaps not as ruthless in his pursuit of Postumus after he had escaped from an initial defeat as he might have been :

" Ταῦτα γνοὺς ὁ ^{Γαλιένος} ~~Ποστούμους~~ πρὸς τὸν Ποστοῦμον ἀπέειπε, καὶ συμμίξας αὐτῷ πρότερον μὲν ἠτήθη, εἶτα καὶ ἐπεράτησεν, ὡς καὶ τὸν Ποστοῦμον φεύγειν. στέλλεται οὖν ὁ Αὐριόλος καταδιώξαι αὐτόν· ὁ δὲ, καίτοι δυνάμενος καταλαβεῖν αὐτόν, οὐκ ἠθέλησεν ἐπιδιώξαι ἐπὶ πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐπανέλθων εἶπε μὴ

δυνηθῆναι αὐτὸν καταληφθεῖσθαι. Ποστοῦμος δ' οὕτω διαφυγὼν αὐθις
συνίστα στρατόν· καὶ πάλιν ὁ Γαλιένος ἤλαυεν ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ
ἐν πόλει τῆς Γαλλίας τινὶ κατακλείσας ἐπολιόρκει τὸν τύραννον.
ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ πλῆττεται βελεῖ ὁ βασιλεὺς τὰ
μεταφρένα, καὶ νοσήσας ἐκ τούτου τὴν πολιορκίαν διέλυσε "

Gallienus would most probably have brought to an end the revolt of Postumus if he had been able to continue the siege and if Aureolus had remained faithful to the emperor long enough. But none problem raises its head at this point in the narrative. Which town are our sources referring to when they talk about the siege? No name is mentioned, but we might be able to pinpoint it when we consider that Postumus had occupied the Alpine passes and no doubt tried to safeguard himself against an attack by way of the Mediterranean sea-board. From the epigraphic evidence I have presented in the last chapter to show the extent of the Gallic Empire I have come to the conclusion that the province of Narbonensis was eventually divided between Rome and Cologne with the river Rhone acting as a rough frontier line. In the early years of the Gallic revolt, however, it would be very unlikely in my opinion for such a division to have been laid down or even contemplated by Gallienus. No doubt when Postumus first raised the standard of rebellion, the towns of Narbonensis would have transferred their allegiance to him - or at least those to the west of the Rhone did if we are to judge by their later loyalty to him. The most easterly of these towns we know to have been in Postumus' hands was Vienna, and further to the northeast of that is Grenoble, which was later to be the base of operations of the main Roman army against the Gallic legions. Could have one of these have been the siege-town? If I were to pick between the two, I would say Vienna because there is no evidence to suggest that Grenoble ever showed any great affection for the usurper.

The other point of note about the events of this year is the strong opposition which the inhabitants of the besieged city showed to the rightful emperor. We have already seen that Postumus was a general to be respected, but it needs more than good

military judgement to rouse a population to withstand a siege as they apparently did. I suggest that this indicates in Postumus' character an ability to endear people to him - both quickly and firmly.

However, all was not well on the Roman side. The Historia Augusta tells us that because of his wound Gallienus' hand was forced and that he had to make peace with his cavalry commander, Aureolus.¹²² "His coactis malis Gallienus cum Aureolo pacem fecit oppugnandi Postumum". What the dispute between them was we shall never know, but it could have arisen from the ambition of Aureolus, who was later to earn notoriety by revolting against Gallienus at Milan. Gallienus had other worries, too. He seems to have been called away from the Gallic campaign, presumably leaving Aureolus in command, to deal with a threat from the Alamanni, who crossed into northern Italy while Gallienus' back was turned (and incidentally another indication that Postumus was being attacked in the region of the southern Alps), and pushed forward to Ravenna. Gallienus caught them up and brought them to battle at Milan, where he inflicted a defeat upon them.¹²³

262.

The events of this year are very hard to determine . It appears that despite his wound Gallienus, through Aureolus, continued to step hard on the tail of Postumus without any lasting success. The coins of Postumus still indicate that he was in the field. The emperor wears armour and carries a globe in his hand. Mars is armed and carries a trophy. A trophy is shown between prisoners or we see the emperor sacrificing over a tripod - signs of victory, no doubt, but common enough propaganda in these perilous times not to deceive us into thinking that Postumus had won any decisive victory. It is a possibility that in this year because of the continued attacks of Gallienus and Aureolus Postumus decided to appoint Victorinus to be his second-in-command or "praefectus praetorianorum".¹²⁴ One fact we do know is that it was in this year that Gallienus celebrated his "decennalia" at Rome. Aemilian had revolted and been overcome in Egypt, Gallienus had paid a visit to Byzantium, and then pro-

-ceeded to Rome for his decennalia celebration. Certainly if he was thus otherwise engaged, and Aureolus pursued his campaigns against Postumus with his usual disaffection, the Gallic Empire could afford to relax a little. And certainly we do find coin evidence to suggest that such was the case. Providentia appears holding a flaming globe and with the inscription "PROVID.DEOR.COS.III" on a quinarius aureus from Lugdunum¹²⁵, and on a denarius from the same mint she carries a baton, globe, and a cornucopiae - the sign of peace and plenty and perhaps more than propaganda this time.¹²⁶

263-4.

Aurei and denarii from the Lugdunum mint bear the legend "VICT.GERM. P.M.TR.P.V.COS.III.P.P."¹²⁷, and since the fifth "tribunicia potestas" ran from December, 263, to December, 264, it is probable that at some time during these twelve months Postumus won a major victory against the barbarian invaders. Other coin legends tend to confirm this fact, although they lack the precise dating which would place them firmly within this period. Such legends read as follows: "P.M.TR.P.IMP.V.COS.III.P.P." (Aurei)¹²⁸; "VICTORIA AVG.(VOT.X.on shield)"¹²⁹; "GERMANICVS MAX.V." (Sestertii and dupondii)¹³⁰. The other notable feature of this year 263 was the celebration of Postumus' quinquennalia, certainly a telescoping of time if he only came to the throne in 260, but coinciding with his "trib.pot.V." and - a more important point - meant to rival the celebration of Gallienus' decennalia the previous year. The evidence for the quinquennalia is contained in coin-legends bearing the words "QVINQVENNALES POST-VMI AVG. (X. or VOT.X. on shield)" (Aurei)¹³¹; "QVINQVENNALES AVG. (V.X.orQ. on shield)" (quinarii aurei)¹³²; and incidentally these tend to bear out the victory over the Germans being in the same year because on some of the coins connected with that victory we find the inscription "VOT.X." written on a shield. Furthermore on other coins of this year Mars is depicted with a lance and a trophy, signs of the army on the march¹³³. In addition we may deduce that following the victory of Postumus over the barbarians this year and because of the celebration of his quinquennalia he announced a general amnesty.

The evidence for this is slender, however, resting solely on coins from Cologne and not Lugdunum, bearing the legend "INDVLG.PIA POST-VMI AVG." ¹³⁴ and showing the emperor seated on a curule chair with a suppliant before him. But I doubt this. For one thing the attribution of the coins to Cologne tends to suggest that they were minted in a later year.

265-6.

These two years appear to be relatively uneventful from the lack of evidence of any detailed campaigns in the historians. One can only conclude that peace and prosperity reigned, and the coinage of Postumus confirms this. An aureus of 265 ¹³⁵ bears on its reverse a portrait of Roma with a shield in her left hand and holding out her right hand to Postumus, who holds a sceptre. Does this imply that, if not a formal peace, there was at least a truce between the warring sides? Or does it mean that Postumus was trying by propaganda methods to force recognition from Rome? Again in 266 we find the reverse portrait of Postumus holding a sceptre and on his left is Mercury, the symbol of trade (surely a sign of peace?) with two quiet and tranquil serpents by his side. Previously hissing and striking at each other, they have been separated by the god's peace-bringing staff. If this is not an indication that the times were settled and commerce beginning to regain its lost momentum, I do not know what it is. May we even dare to suggest that the frontier posts between the two armies had been opened to allow the free passage of merchants?

267.

267 was, however, a year of quite a different character from 265-6. Gallienus was fully occupied at its outset by a great invasion of the Balkans by the Goths and Heruli, the former penetrating as far south as Athens, where they were defeated by Dexippus, the latter being defeated by the emperor outside Thessalonica. But trouble was imminent nearer home than the Balkans. Despite the truce between Gallienus and Aureolus ¹³⁶, his general in charge of the war against Postumus, Aureolus took the opportunity offered by the absence of

Gallienus in Greece to revolt and march on Rome. He advanced as far as Milan, where he was besieged by the emperor ; but during the siege a conspiracy among the officers of the imperial army murdered Gallienus in 268 and set up an Illyrian, M.Aurelius Claudius, in his place. Claudius continued the siege of Milan until Aureolus was forced to surrender to inevitable execution. Very soon after Claudius repulsed an Alamannic attack at Lake Garda.

But we digress. Important events had been taking place in Postumus' domain.²⁶⁷ was the last year in which Postumus was regarded as cos.III, for in 268 he became consul for the fourth time. Webb has indicated¹³⁷ that between the year of Postumus' third consulship and that of his fourth the chief Gallic mint was moved from Lugdunum to Cologne. There followed no marked alteration in the lettering of the coinage, and Webb assumes - quite rightly in my opinion - that the whole mint (tools, machinery, and personnel) went to Cologne and that the mint at Lugdunum ceased functioning. The date of the removal is fairly well attested by antoniniani of Cologne bearing the reverse legends "COL.CL.AGRIP.COS.IIIII" (Colonia Claudia Agrippinensis consule IIIII) and "C.C.A.A." (Colonia Claudia Agrippinensis Augusta consule IIIII). An incidental point of numismatic interest is that the mint-mark "GIA" first appears on other coins of this period, the first appearance of a mint-mark recorded in Gaul.

d) M.Laelianus.

Towards the end of 267 or more probably at the ~~end~~ beginning of 268 it appears that the war between Gallienus and Postumus flared up again, soon to be forgotten in the revolt of Aureolus and - more significant for our present purposes - of Laelianus, an officer of the Gallic army. References to Laelianus in our sources are not at all helpful. Even the date and length of the revolt are uncertain, but to judge from the events of 268-9 it seems fairly likely that it did take place in 268. Briefly, Laelianus is reported to have started his rebellion at Mainz (Mogontiacum). His army occupied Trier and Postumus was forced to withdraw to Cologne. (It is quite possible that the

removal of the Gallic mint from Lugdunum to Cologne took place at this time as a precaution against the danger of Laelianus capturing it.

The full names of Laelianus appear to be from his coins "C. Ulpus Cornelius Laelianus" although the *Historia Augusta* wrongly calls him "Lollianus"¹³⁸. That the revolt took place is attested by Victor¹³⁹, where he refers to the death of Postumus (vd. later) in that city. I would agree with Webb¹⁴⁰ that far from Laelianus being a serious rival to the throne of Postumus he was no more than a "local rebel", soon crushed by the emperor. The rarity and the lack of variety of his coinage supports this view for in addition to the fact that its style is poor, suggesting that it was an ad hoc issue from Mainz, the only types that appear are ^{five} ~~six~~ of a distinctly military and propagandist character: "TEMPORVM FELICITAS", "VIRTVS AVG.", "VIRTVS MILITVM", "PAX AVG.", "VICTORIA AVG." From these, however, we can deduce two interesting points. Firstly, on the aurei bearing the legend "TEMPORVM FELICITAS"¹⁴¹ there appears a portrait of either Hispania or Tellus. If Hispania, it might denote the origin of the rebel as Sain. Secondly, on some aurei inscribed "VIRTVS MILITVM"¹⁴² besides Virtus wearing a robe and holding a spear, she also bears an ensign inscribed "XXX". Does this mean that part, if not all of the legion XXX Ulpia Victrix, whose headquarters were at Xanten (Vetera), took part in the revolt? Another interesting fact that might have some bearing on the revolt is that before Postumus came to the throne, a vexillation from Legion XX Valeria Victrix from Chester in Britain had been transferred to Mainz by Gallienus. This is attested by an altar from Mainz.¹⁴³

The *Historia Augusta*, in a masterpiece of irrelevance and contradiction, tells us that Laelianus restored some of the forts built on the barbarian bank of the Rhine by Postumus: "Et Lollianus quidem non nihilum rei publicae profuit. Nam plerasque Galliae civitates, nonnulla etiam castra, quae Postumus per septem annos in solo barbarico aedificaverat, quaeque interfecto Postumo subita inruptione Germanorum et direpta fuerant et incensa, in statum veterem reformavit".¹⁴⁴ How Laelianus could have achieved this in his short spell of power is rather puzzling. So is another statement in the same chapter. In one part¹⁴⁵ we are told that Laelianus was killed by Victorinus: "Interemptus

autem est a Victorino", and in the next breath that he died at the hands of his own soldiers for demanding too much work from them¹⁴⁶: "Deinde a suis militibus, quod in labore nimius esset, occisus est". Which is the correct version of his death? Or rather, can we place such trust in Trebellius Pollio as to believe either of them? The only possible fact about Laelianus that we can ascertain is, as Stein has already suggested¹⁴⁷, that he must have had some command in Germania Superior to be able to persuade the troops to support him. Perhaps he was the governor of the province.

~~268~~ e) Events of 268.

In 268 Postumus took his fourth consulate and from the inscriptions that we possess¹⁴⁸ he might have been sole consul at the beginning of the year and later made Victorinus consul with him. A. Alföldi has proposed¹⁴⁹ that the reason why Postumus did not send any help to Aureolus when he was besieged in Milan (although coins were minted there for Postumus¹⁵⁰) was because he was too occupied by the revolt of Laelianus, and this could equally well be the reason why Victorinus was given the consulship. Postumus thought that he had better safeguard the succession in the event of his own death. We suspect that after Victorinus had been Postumus' "tribunus praetorianorum"¹⁵¹ he had become the Gallic Empire's praetorian prefect. I would suggest that the possible sequence of events was that at the outset of the year 268 Postumus took his fourth consulship; later in the year Aureolus revolted and was besieged at Milan. The death of Gallienus is recorded as having occurred on the 24th March, 268¹⁵², so that the revolt of Laelianus must have started either just before or at that time. Alföldi says it was in the spring of 268¹⁵³. Soon after that Victorinus was made co-consul, and Postumus and he concerned themselves with the besieging of Mainz. The city was captured either at the end of 268 or the beginning of 269, and very quickly after its capture Postumus died¹⁵⁴. On the other hand it is more likely that Postumus was never sole consul during his reign if he followed the regular Roman pattern of having two eponymous consuls each year, and that Victorinus was co-consul with him from the beginning of the year ~~xxxxxx~~. Perhaps an additional and more compelling reason for appointing Victorinus - at whatever point of the year - was the accession of Claudius to the throne

of Rome. He was a more capable general than Gallienus had been, and Postumus quite possibly thought that it would be wiser to prepare for a more powerful attack on his eastern frontier now that Aureolus had been removed from the scene.

f) Death of Postumus.

The nature of Postumus' death must concern us now. The Historia Augusta records that the Gauls murdered him on Laelianus' orders because they felt like a change of government¹⁵⁵: "..... more illo, quo Galli novarum rerum semper sunt cupidi, Lolliano agente interemptus est". A. Alföldi has another version which seems far more logical and probable¹⁵⁶. He says that after the death of Laelianus in the capture of Mainz Postumus refused his troops permission to sack the city in revenge for its support of the rebel. This is what the Historia Augusta hints at when it says that Postumus died as a result of the revolt of Laelianus¹⁵⁷: "Huius rebellione in Gallia Postumus... interemptus est". But the plainest account is contained in Victor¹⁵⁸, where the author states that the troops wanted to sack the city, and met with a refusal from the emperor: "...explosaque Germanorum multitudine Laeliani bello excipitur (sc. "Postumus"); quo non minus feliciter fuso suorum tumultu perit, quod flagrantibus Mogontiacorum direptiones quia Laelianum iuverant, abnuisset". Further support for this view comes from the pages of Orosius and Eutropius, Orosius says¹⁵⁹ that Postumus was killed as a result of a military insurrection: ".....seditione tamen militum interfectus est"; and Eutropius, while calling Laelianus "L. Aelianus" by mistake, gives the full outline of the story¹⁶⁰: "Qui (sc. Postumus) seditione militum interfectus est, quod Mogontiacum, quae adversus eum rebellaverat, L. Aeliano res novas moliente, diripiendam militibus tradere noluisset".¹⁶¹ The weight of evidence, then, confirms that Postumus died at the hands of his soldiers and that this occurred in the early part of 269.¹⁶²

Postumus iunior - fact or fiction ?

Before we pass on to a description of the events of the reign of Victorinus, we must briefly discuss the

problem of the supposed son of Postumus¹⁶³. It is noteworthy that the Historia Augusta attributes sons to all three main Gallic emperors, Post-
-umus, Victorinus, and Tetricus. While generally accepted that Tetricus had a son (and this is confirmed beyond doubt by the numismatic evidence), it is by no means certain that Postumus and Victorinus had sons. The Historia Augusta says that practically nothing is known of Postumus iunior except that he was appointed tribune of Vocontii - whatever that may have been - by Valerian (according to the same probably spurious letter which records the appointment of Postumus as "Transrhenani limitis dux et Galliae praeses")¹⁶⁴: "..huius (Postumi) filio Postumo nomine tribunatum Vocontiorum dedi,..." Mommsen has proposed that this is a military rank and should really read "tribunus cohortis Vocontiorum".¹⁶⁵ The other facts we learn of him are that he was killed together with his father after the revolt of Laelianus ; and that he had first been given the title of Caesar and later Augustus by his father. His only claim to fame appears to be his speeches, parts of which were, we read, inserted into the "Controversiae" of Quintilian. This rather surprising story is not confirmed by any other source, and while admitting that it is probable that Postumus had a son or some family, I cannot accept the description of him in the Historia Augusta before we discover further evidence.

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CHAPTER TWO - VICTORINUS.

Origins.

a) A problem inscription.

The earliest dated reference to Victorinus is in 268, when we find mention of him on an inscription from Conventus Asturum in northern Spain¹. As I said in the previous chapter, this presents a puzzle, because on it Victorinus is depicted as consul together with Postumus (cos.IIIII), while on another inscription from Gallia Lugdunensis² we find Postumus mentioned as sole consul (or at least no other name is mentioned) for that same year. In the absence of any further evidence for the consulship of that year I favour the view, however tentative, that Postumus probably took Victorinus as his partner in the consulship at the start of the year out of sheer military necessity. We must remember that 268 saw the death of Gallienus before Milan, the murder of Aureolus, and the accession of Claudius II Gothicus, who had a fine reputation as a soldier and would surely offer a serious threat to Postumus' position. The only other solution - apart from the fact that one of the inscriptions is only a formal dedication to the emperor and not really concerned with precise dating - seems to be an error on the part of the stonemason who cut the first inscription, but I hardly think that this argument carries much weight in the face of the events of 268.

b) Family and names.

Victorinus' antecedents are as shrouded in mystery as are those of his predecessor. According to the Historia Augusta³ he was the son of a certain Victoria (or Vitruvia as she is variously called), and he appears to have been of Celtic origin if we go by his name.⁴ His full names, which we find on his coins and inscriptions, are "Marcus Plavonius Victorinus", e.g. on a milestone from Lincoln in Britain, found in 1879⁵. A slight discrepancy occurs at this point with an inscription from Lescorono-by-Suzur in Gaul⁶, where the praenomen Marcus is missing, but the weight of inscrip-

-tional and numismatic evidence would suggest that this is only an error on the part of the stonemason.

c) Earlier career.

The only sound clue to Victorinus' earlier career before his coming to the throne (apart from the evidence of his consulship with Postumus) appears on an inscription from Trier in Gallia Belgica⁷. This certainly seems to be a reference to the emperor because of the names, and, if we are to assume that Postumus kept a praetorian guard, like his rivals on the throne of Rome, Victorinus seems to have been a senior officer of that force. Unfortunately the inscription is undated, but it is clearly reasonable to say that Victorinus was tribune of the praetorians before his first consulship in 268.

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d) Additional note on his "family".

The only other possible traces of Victorinus and his family that I can find are on two inscriptions from the Wall fort at Birdoswald in Britain⁸⁻⁹. The interesting point about these two is the reference to the first cohort of Dacians, which we know from two inscriptions of Postumus and Tetricus I had the titles "Postumiana" and "Tetricianorum". Is it possible that some relative of Victorinus held the office of tribune of this cohort at some time in the third century before the usurpation of Postumus? I doubt it for one thing on the grounds that Ammonius is quite clearly an eastern nomen.

Elevation to the throne.

a) Situation after the death of Postumus.

Laelianus died in the capture of Mainz. Postumus was murdered by his own soldiers shortly afterwards. That much we have established; but here, as so often in the past, our authorities are in confusion. They fail to agree on the order of succession of the Gallic emperors. For example, the Historia Augusta says¹⁰ that after the deaths of Victorinus,

Laelianus, and Postumus Marius ruled for a short time :"Victorino, Lolliano, et Postumo interemptis Marius...triduo tantum imperavit". Trebellius had earlier clarified this statement¹¹ without mentioning Victorinus as emperor: "Interemptus (sc, Laelianus) autem est a Victorino, Vitruviae filio vel Victoriae, ...cum ipsa...primum in Marium,contulisset imperium", and later¹²: "Victoria enim, ubi filium ac nepotem a militibus vidit occisos, Postumum, deinde Lollianum, Marium etiam,interemptos". But Trebellius is the master of contradiction. After having put Marius in a place of importance as the man to whom Victorinus' supposed mother, Victoria, passed on the purple, he dismisses him at another point in his narrative as if he were of little significance¹³: "Ita Gallieno perdente rem publicam in Gallia primum Postumus, deinde Lollianus, Victorinus deinceps... (nam de Mariorum nihil dicimus) adsertores Romani nominis exstituerunt". Why does he say nothing about Marius? But, as usual, we can go to our other and more reliable sources to discover the answer. Victor¹⁴ says Marius seized the power after the death of Laelianus: "Igitur eo (Laeliano) occiso Marius...regnum capit". Eutropius says that he did so after the death of Postumus and adds that he reigned for three days only¹⁵: "Post eum (Postumum) Marius...purpuram accepit et secundo die interfectus est". Finally, the best account of all, that fits the facts as closely as we can admit, is contained in Orosius¹⁶, who, although making a mistake over the name of Laelianus, says that he was beaten in the attack on Mainz, Postumus died after this, Marius shortly after him, and that then Victorinus was made emperor by the Gauls: "Aemilianus apud Mogontiacum cum res novas moliretur oppressus est. Post mortem Postumi Marius ibidem invasit imperium sed continuo interfectus est. Deinde Victorinus a Gallis ultro creatus.....". So the correct order of succession was Postumus, Laelianus, Marius, and Victorinus.

b) Marius.

i) Sources.

What do we know of Marius? Our sources are

scanty concerning him, but most of them do agree on one thing - that he was a man of low origins and rather vulgar nature. Victor has some rather stern comment to make on his character¹⁷ and describes him as a onetime blacksmith and a soldier of little credit: "Ferri quondam opifex neque etiam militiae satis clarus". Eutropius calls him "a most humble smith"¹⁸: "vilissimus opifex". But Trebellius is a little more lenient in his attitude towards Marius. He was a "worker in iron, an active man who rose through the ranks of the army and was nicknamed Mamurius or Veturius"¹⁹: "Et vir quidem strenuus ac militaribus ad imperium gradibus evectus, quem plerique Mamurium, nonnulli Veturium, opificem utpote ferrarium, nuncuparunt".

ii) Death.

The manner of Marius' death is described by Trebellius alone. After making some reference to the great strength of the rebel he tells how he was murdered by a soldier who had suffered a personal insult from him once in the smithy and who, as he killed him, uttered the dramatic words, "This is a sword which you yourself have made!"²⁰: "Occisus est a quodam milite, qui, cum eius quondam in fabrili officina fuisset, contemptus est ab eodem, vel cum dux esset vel cum imperium cepisset. Addidisse verba dicitur interemptor, 'Hic est gladius quem ipse fecisti'".

iii) Reign.

One problem remains. How long did Marius reign? If we were to rely upon our literary authorities alone, the answer would be three days and no more. Trebellius says²¹: "triduo tantum imperavit"; and later gives the briefest of summaries of the events of his reign²²: "..qui (Marius) una die factus imperator, alia die visus est imperare, tertia interemptus est". Eutropius says²³: "secundo die interemptus est"; and Orosius - a little more vaguely²⁴: "sed continuo interfectus est". But the numismatic evidence contradicts this. Webb's study of Marius' cointypes²⁵ indicates that they came from two mints, Cologne and an unidentified town which may have been Mainz; that Marius is fairly firmly to be placed in time after Postumus and Laelianus since his coins from Cologne are like those of Postumus' later years in style and lettering

while those from the unidentified mint resemble those of Laelianus ; and, finally, that the large number of Marius' coins, although offering no definite proof, do suggest that his reign lasted some weeks and maybe months. Other than these facts Marius' coinage allows little scope for conjecture. No unusual types or legends appear, and perhaps the most fitting conclusion to our brief discussion of his reign would be to quote Victor's opinion of him²⁶ : "Proinde cuncta ad extremum reciderant, uti talibus imperia ac virtutum omnium ludibrio essent. Hinc denique ioculariter dictum nequaquam mirum videri, si rem Romanam Marius eiusdem artis auctor stirpisque ac nominis solidavisset".

c) Victorinus' accession.

So we are left with a situation in which, to quote Trebellius,²⁷ "Tunc interfecto etiam Lolliano solus Victorinus in imperio remansit". How did he achieve that position of power ? And why did he become emperor and not anyone else ? The first indication of his rise to power has been discussed earlier in this chapter²⁸, when we find a reference to him as tribune of the praetorian guard on an inscription from Trier. And in 268 we find him appointed consul together with Postumus, presumably to help ward off the threatened danger when Claudius II Gothicus became emperor at Rome. Our epigraphic sources only show him as consul, but our literary authorities tell us more. Trebellius says that Postumus realised that the military situation demanded he should appoint a colleague in power²⁹ : "Postumus senior, cum videret multis se Gallieni viribus peti atque auxilium non solum militum, verum etiam alterius principis necessarium, Victorinum, militaris industriae virum, in participatum vocavit imperii et cum eodem Gallienum conflixit". And later he repeats the story in greater detail³⁰ : "Contra Postumum igitur Gallienus cum Aureolo et Claudio duce, qui postea imperium obtinuit, principe generis Constantii Caesaris nostri, bellum inivit. Et cum multis auxiliis Postumus iuvaretur Celticis atque Francicis, in bellum cum Victorino processit, cum quo imperium participaverat". The odd thing here is that the coins of Postumus, on which we might expect to find some reference to Victorinus' appointment, carry

only one legend which might possibly bear on the subject. A sestertius of Lugdunum³¹ carries the obverse "SAECVLVM AVGG." and the portrait of a lion. The only coin of Victorinus with "AVGG." is the mistake of the moneyer and of no significance. So we can only come to the conclusion that our literary authorities have not stated the full facts of the case. Perhaps Postumus did elevate Victorinus to a position of authority, but without any such official rank as Caesar or Augustus. Victorinus may have been appointed the general of the Gallic army, solely responsible to the emperor himself. When Gallienus had left the war against Postumus in the charge of Aureolus and Claudius II to deal with some trouble at Byzantium, Victorinus had taken defensive measures to prevent disaster.³² But we do not know his position for certain. We must be satisfied at the moment with conjecture.

d) Coinage.

So we find Victorinus as the only candidate left to take over the throne vacated by Postumus. Marius had captured Cologne, as we can see from the issue of his coins from that city's mint, but Victorinus soon recaptured it. His gold coins were minted there very early in his reign. The other city which Marius had used as a mint Victorinus captured, too, and about half of his coins were issued from there. Webb has said³³ that this second mint was not at Mainz although the lettering was similar to that on Laelianus' coinage. Laelianus' moneyer had no mint in which to work at Mainz, and the issue of his coins was very much an adhoc arrangement. Webb suggests Lugdunum was reopened by Victorinus with new staff probably from Mainz. He goes on to discuss the appearance of mint-marks on the Gallic coinage. Under Postumus we find "C'A" and "P'" on his coins from Cologne (the latter especially on coins with the reverses "ORIENS AVG." and "PAX AVG.") and "V'*" on "PAX AVG." reverses. This last also appears on Victorinus' coins, as does "V'P". He questions the significance of the "V". Does it refer to Victorinus? But, if so, why does it appear under Postumus and the Tetrici? Then does it refer to another mint? This opens an interesting line of enquiry. Mowat

has recored a coin of Tetricus II³⁴ bearing the mint-mark "V C ___", which Webb suggests might stand for Vienna (Vienne) or Valentia (Valence) in Gallia Narbonensis. The mint could have been at Vienna because it does seem to have been an important frontier town in the later years of the Gallic Empire³⁵, and according to Polemius Silvius 36 was one of the empire's seats of government. Did Victorinus move his moneyer from Cologne to the new mint? The mint which Victorinus took over from Marius, i.e. the one so far unidentified, was probably closed soon after his accession. The portraits of Victorinus on its coinage are not like those on the coins of Cologne. In fact, it appears that the mint had no picture of Victorinus among its die-stamps. So its moneyer compromised. He used the head of Marius and substituted the legends ~~mf~~ and titles of Victorinus.³⁷

Events of his reign.

a) Sanctus.

The first inscription that we have from the reign of Victorinus³⁸ contains as well as the name of the emperor that of his colleague in the consulship for 269, a certain "Sa(n)ctus". This inscription is part of a building and comprises three stone blocks. It comes from Liesenich on the Moselle near Zell-am-Main, and there is a dedicatinn to Mars Smertrius and other Gallic gods on the back of the middle block. "Sacto" seems to be a fairly common Gallic misspelling for "Sancto", for we find similar examples of an "n" being omitted in this and other words, e.g. "Sa(n)cte Visucie" on an inscription from K6ngen³⁹, and "defucto" for "defuncto" from Neu-magen⁴⁰. Sanctus was probably a Gaul or a German by birth for his name is a little more common in Gaul than elsewhere. In some four thousand inscriptions from Rome and Latium I found only five (or possibly six) examples, while in the rest of Spain, Italy, and Africa I found none. But in some ten thousand inscriptions from the three Gauls and Germany I found it occurring fifteen times. Apparently it was an hereditary name in a number of Gallic noble families, if we can judge by an inscrip-tion from Aquitania⁴¹. But of Sanctus we have

no more knowledge. One might ask what important position did he hold so that Victorinus chose him to be his colleague in the consulship ? Was he the commander of the praetorian guards ? Or an important provincial governor ? Or commander of the imperial cavalry ? Or a leading official of the civil service ?

b) Events in the south.

It is quite noteworthy that after Victorinus came to the throne none of the coins that refer to his tribunician power or his consulships were issued from Cologne, but from his southern mint. Amongst his coins from both these mints we find an antoninianus bearing the legend "AEQVITAS AVG."⁴² and the figure of Aequitas, carrying scales and a cornucopiae. As far as Cologne was concerned, would this refer to an amnesty after the city was recaptured from Marius ? But, to return to the main point, that fact that consular and tribunician legends only appear from the southern mint. Surely this implies that Victorinus was away from Cologne ? And, if so, where was he and why ? The southern mint's coinage contains the aureus reverse-type "ADVENTVS AVG.", showing the emperor stretching out his hand and holding a spear. This must indicate Victorinus' arrival in the south in a military capacity. But what military necessity called him there ? We have no evidence of a campaign against the barbarians, and in any case they were on the northern frontier. One event known from his reign stands out as an obvious reason for Victorinus' southern campaign - the defection of Autun (Augustodunum).

c) Julius Placidianus at Grenoble.

In 269 Claudius II departed for Illyricum to deal with his frontier problems there, but he left an expeditionary force of legionaries and cavalry from the Danube legions in Grenoble under the command of Julius Placidianus, later to be promoted to praetorian prefect⁴³. Their main object was to guard the Alpine passes, much as Aureolus had done under Gallienus⁴⁴: "τὸν τῆς ἵππου πάσης ἡγούμενον Αὐρίολον ἐν Μεδιολάνῳ τῇ πόλει ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν παρόδον προσταύμενον" and to use Grenoble as a spring-board for the eventual reconquest of the Gallic Empire, once Claudius had successfully dealt

with the eastern Germans in Illyricum. It is quite possible that at this time Claudius restored communications with the Spanish provinces, but this will be discussed later.⁴⁵

d) Autun.

In an area which seems to have been doubtful in its loyalty to the Gallic Empire the citizens of Autun closed their gates to Victorinus and appealed for help to Claudius and Julius Placidianus. The story is told in Eumenius⁴⁶ and in an uncertain panegyric to Constantine the Great. The rebellion seems to have arisen from a conflict between the townspeople and the occupying troops (Batavians or Bagaudae or Aquitanians as they are variously called in the manuscripts of Eumenius)⁴⁷: "civitatem istam et olim fraterno populi Romani nomine gloriatam et tunc demum gravissima clade percussam, latrocinio Batavicae (Bagaudicae, Aquitanicae) rebellionis obsessa auxilium Romani principis invocaret". Julius Placidianus could not help, however, probably because Autun was too far to the north and it would have been too dangerous to risk ~~that~~ the small number of troops at his command with the main Gallic army so near. So Autun had to withstand a long siege - of seven months according to our authorities⁴⁸: "nuper quod divum Claudium parentem tuum ad recuperandas Gallias primi sollicitaverunt expectantesque eius auxilium septem mensibus clausi et omnia imopiae miseranda perpassi tum demum inrupendas rebellibus Gallicanis portas reliquerunt, cum fessi observare non possent". But eventually the town had to capitulate in the face of Victorinus' determined attack. Ausonius has later recorded that his father was prescribed during the siege.⁴⁹ The siege is discussed by Damerau⁵⁰, and it seems likely that when the city surrendered, Claudius II was already dead, so in all likelihood the city started its rebellion towards the end of 269 and continued it until 270 (the year of Claudius' death).

e) The field-army of Victorinus.

Of great importance in connection

with this campaign against Augustodunum are the legionary aurei, issued from the southern mint and now very rare⁵¹. They are fully listed by Webb and are as follows with the headquarters of each legion :-

I Minervia	Lower Germany.
II Augusta	Upper Britain.
III Traiana	Egypt.
III Gallica	Syria Phoenice.
IIII Flavia Felix	Upper Moesia.
V Macedonica	Dacia.
X Fretensis	Syria Palaestina.
X Gemina	Upper Pannonia.
XIII Gemina	Dacia.
XIII Gemina	Upper Pannonia.
XX Valeria Victrix	Upper Britain.
XXII Primigenia	Upper Germany.
XXX Ulpia Victrix	Lower Germany.

One may ask why only some legions are honoured and why do some of the coins refer to legions whose headquarters were far away from the Gallic Empire. There are two possible reasons for this; the first was suggested by Sir Charles Oman and reiterated by Webb⁵². It may have been for the sake of propaganda. Victorinus, like his predecessor Postumus, may have had ideas of conquering the whole empire eventually. Certainly the mint of Cologne issued antoniniani bearing the reverse legend "ORIENTIS AVG." What other reason would the emperor have for allowing such a coin to be issued than that he had at least some intention of increasing his dominions? Earlier we find Gallienus issuing legionary coins to honour his field-army between 257 and 259 and later Carausius, the British usurper, doing the same for purposes of propaganda. Victorinus may have wished to honour the legions or, at least, the vexillations which formed his army and which had helped in the conquest of Augustodunum. But can this be the whole reason for

the issue of the coins when we see that not only did Victorinus honour legions whose headquarters were far away from the Gallic Empire, but very often the legionary badges on the coins were blundered. Webb has indicated these as follows :-

IIII Flavia Felix	two lions, head of a god, and elephant-skin headdress instead of the usual single lion.
V Macedonica	an eagle facing a bull instead of an eagle or Victory crowning a bull (Blanchet has suggested this is a new badge given to the legion by Victorinus for joining him in 268).
X Gemina	Dioscuri instead of a lion.
XXII Primigenia	tutelary god of legion with its capricorn badge.
XXX Ulpia Victrix	Jupiter and Capricorn instead of Neptune.
I Minervia	Victory crowning a ram (does this imply that the legion had recently won a notable victory ?)

In conclusion I think that the solution to the publication of these coins is that, since they did come from the southern mint, which seems to have been fairly near to Augustodunum, they were in all probability to celebrate the capture of that city and the legions which helped to secure the emperor's final victory; in effect these were the legions and vexillations which made up Victorinus' de facto field-army⁵³. Which vexillations and legions these were exactly we might never know. At least we might fairly guess that they included some of those honoured on these coins.

The reign of Victorinus contained no other events of which we have record in our literary sources, inscriptions, or coins, and so we must pass on to a description of his death.

Victorinus' death.

If Victorinus came to power after the deaths of

Postumus, Laelianus, and Marius in 269, he must have died in 270 - and fairly early in that year, too - to judge by the evidence, both literary and numismatic, which we have in our possession. The numismatic has been discussed earlier⁵⁴; the literary comes from Eutropius, Victor, and Orosius. Strangely Trebellius had no comment to make on the length of his reign. Judging by the paucity of the material he has written on the events of Victorinus' reign, he probably thought this unimportant. Orosius is the vaguest of our authorities; he says that Victorinus was murdered "after a short while"⁵⁵: "post paululum occisus est". Eutropius and Victor are more explicit. The former says "in the second year of his reign"⁵⁶: "occisus est. imperii sui anno secundo"; the latter "after a reign of two years"⁵⁷: "...post bienii imperium...occiditur". The cause of his death, however, is more fully documented. It appears that one of Victorinus' chief qualities was the debauching of women, and he does not seem to have been careful whose wife he chose for his pleasure. An outraged husband, a clerk named Attitianus, took his revenge by forming a conspiracy among the soldiers at Cologne, where no doubt Victorinus had returned after his siege of Augustodunum, and as a result the emperor met an ignominious death. Trebellius tells the story with a fair degree of relish⁵⁸: "Victorinus... qui et ipse, quod matrimoniis militum et militarum corrupendis operam daret, a quodam actuario, cuius uxorem stupraverat, composita factione Agrippinae percussus,..." Eutropius tells much the same tale⁵⁹: "...sed cum nimiae libidinis esset et matrimonia aliena corrumpere, Agrippinae occisus est actuario quodam machinante dolum imperii sui anno secundo"; and so does Victor, although he is the only authority to give the name of Attitianus⁶⁰: "Victorinus...libidine praecipiti, qua cohabita in exordio post bienii imperium constupratis vi plerisque, ubi Attitiani coniugem concupivit facinusque ab eo viro patefactum est, accensis furtim militibus per seditionem Agrippinae occiditur".

Character and personality.

But what can we glean about the character and personality of

Victorinus apart from these details of his sexual appetite ? His victory at Augustodunum confirms his ability as a commander; but it is doubtful whether the claims made for his qualities as an emperor by Trebellius in a quotation from an unknown author called Julius Atherianus - that he possessed outstanding courage, generosity, and nobility, that he safeguarded the finances of the empire, and that he was a strict disciplinarian - can be substantiated through our lack of evidence. Trebellius says⁶¹: "Victorino, ...neminem aestimo praeferendum, non in virtute Traianum, non Antonium in clementia, non in gravitate Nervam, non in gubernando aerario Vespasianum, non in censura totius vitae ac severitate militari Pertinacem vel Severum..." These claims sound rather far-fetched, but we do not have knowledge of any barbarian attacks during Victorinus' reign. Apart from the revolt of Augustodunum the years 269 to 270 were peaceful. Beyond that Victorinus' character and personality are a mystery.

Number of consulships.

One final problem - how many consulships did Victorinus hold ? Dessau has devoted a few notes to this, as has Bolin, and Dessau has stated⁶² that the dispute whether Victorinus had four consulships or not arises from a coin quoted from the Karlsruhe Coin Cabinet by W?Bramabch which calls him "COS.IIIII". We know that Postumus definitely had five consulships, the last of them in 269, and that prior to his accession Victorinus had been co-consul with Postumus in 268. On coming to the throne after Postumus' death he would naturally continue the consulship which he probably held with his predecessor in that year (his second), and there is ample evidence of this⁶³. In 270 it appears that he became consul for a third time, and the evidence for this has been discussed earlier.⁶⁴ He was murdered early in 270, so, unless he was consul during the years 263-7 when there is a gap in our consular records (and this seems rather unlikely), he could have had no more than three consulships.

Victorinus Iunior - fact or fiction ?

Perhaps in Trebellius' desire for a certain degree of symmetry in his history of the Gallic emperors he gave a son to Victorinus, as he had earlier done to Postumus. If all we read of Victorinus' exploits with the fairer sex were true, it would not be surprising to learn that he had a family. In fact it would not even cause the raising of an eyebrow if he had a large number of sons ! The only information we have about this particular offspring comes from Trebellius, who says that he was the grandson of Victoria and raised to the rank of Caesar by his grandmother or his father just prior to the latter's death⁶⁵: "De hoc (Victorino II) nihil amplius in litteras est relatum, quam quod nepos Victoriae Victorini filius fuit et a patre vel ab avia sub eadem hora qua Victorinus interemptus Caesar est nuncupatus..." and⁶⁶: "Victorino filio Caesare a matre" (of Victorinus I) "Vitruvia sive Victoria... appellato", and that he died at the hands of the soldiers who rebelled against his father⁶⁷: "...qui et ipse puerulus statim est interemptus, cum apud Agrippinam pater eius esset occisus", and later⁶⁸: "..ac statim a militibus ira occisus". It was after the death of Victorinus II and his father that Trebellius says that Victoria handed the throne to Tetricus⁶⁹: "Victoria enim, ubi filium ac nepotem a militibus vidit occisos...., Tetricum...ad imperium hortata est". He goes on to add that in his day one could still see the graves of the Victorini at Cologne and there was an inscription on them, saying, "Here lie buried the two Victorini, tyrants"⁷⁰: "Extant denique sepulchra circo Agrippinam, brevi marmore impressa humilia, in quibus titulus est inscriptus, 'Hic dno Victorini tyranni siti sunt'". There is no trace of them today.

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CHAPTER THREE - TETRICUS.

Origins.

a) Names.

The names of Tetricus I are well-attested on coins and on inscriptions from his reign. Typical of the latter is the milestone found at Rom in Gaul in 1840¹. Expanded, his names would be "CAIVS PIVS ESVVIVS TETRICVS". An unusual feature of this is the insertion of "Pius" before the gentile name; and we do possess another inscription where the names are differently placed (from Dijon and found in 1866)². From the evidence of this inscription his names would appear to be "GAIVS ESVVIVS TETRICVS" and the only "Pius" we find is that which forms part of his official titles as emperor ("Pius Felix Invictus Augustus", etc.). However, as this is the only evidence we have of the omission of Pius before Esuvius, we can safely regard it as a mistake of the stonemason.

b) Birthplace.

The only evidence we possess of the possible home area of the Tetrici is contained in Julius Caesar, where in his history of the Gallic War he refers to the Esuvii, coastal tribes who live on the Atlantic shores of France³: "Ad...Esuvios..., quae sunt maritimae civitates Oceanumque attingunt". This fits in with the moving of the Gallic capital to Bordeaux, where Tetricus would have been happier among his home people.

c) Previous career.

From Victor we can gather⁴ that Tetricus came from a noble family of Gaul: "(Tetricus) qui familia nobili praesidatu Aquitanos tuebatur,..." and the issue of his coins with the reverse legend "NOBILITAS AVG(G)." may also be a reference to this. From the passage of Victor quoted above and from Eutropius⁵ "(Tetricus) qui Aquitaniam honore praesidis administrans" it seems that he was praeses of the province of Aquitania under Victorinus (further evidence of this is supplied by the Historia Augusta's description

of Aurelian's triumph, where Tetricus is the one "qui iure praesidali omnes Gallias rexerat"⁶, probably a slight exaggeration to enhance the glory of the triumph, but nevertheless containing a germ of truth) - and furthermore may have been a member (the only one we know of) - of the Gallic Empire's senate if we are to believe Eutropius' reference to him as "senator"⁷. It would be hardly credible that he should be a member of the senate at Rome, as the Historia Augusta would have us believe⁸: "..Tetricum senatorem populi Romani".

The mother of Victorinus, Victoria (or Vitruvia, as she is variously called), was allegedly related to Tetricus according to some authorities, as reported in the Historia Augusta⁹: "..quod eius erat, ut plerique loquuntur, affinis.." This is the only evidence we possess of this relationship, and it may be noteworthy that if it did exist, it is rather surprising that no coins honouring her during her lifetime or even a "Commemoratio" series at her death were issued during the reign of Tetricus. On the other hand we do possess an inscription which might conceivably refer to her¹⁰, but for one thing Victorinus never had the praenomen "Lucius" and secondly why is there no reference to him as emperor on this stone ?

Elevation to the throne and the role of "Victoria".

The Historia Augusta suggests¹¹ that at the death of her son Victoria, the mother of Victorinus, urged her supposed relative, Tetricus, to become emperor and personally ensured his enthronement and the conferment of the title of Caesar upon his son, Tetricus II: "VictoriaTetricum ad imperium hortata,..Augustum appellari fecit filiumque eius Caesarem nuncupavit." Eutropius does not mention Victoria as the emperor-maker¹², but tells us that Tetricus was elected by the army in his absence and was crowned at Bordeaux: "...absens a militibus electus est at apud Burdigalam purpuram sumpsit". (Presumably Bordeaux was his administrative capital for the government of the province of Aquitania).

At this point it would be as well to discuss the position of Victoria. She is a shadowy figure who flits through the

Historia Augusta's lives of Victorinus and Tetricus, but whose substance escapes us. We find no reference to her elsewhere than in the Historia Augusta (except in a doubtful inscription¹³). This does not mean that we must think of her as a creation of Trebellius Poggio. She is - according to him - called "Mater Castrorum" as a result of her machinations in the camp¹⁴; but it would be interesting to know whether she did exist or whether she was conjured up by Trebellius as a convenient reason for the sudden appearance of a previously unknown civil servant on the throne after the death of Victorinus. Certainly the making of emperors from the boudoir was no novelty to the Roman Empire when we remember such names as Livia and Agrippina.

The idea of Victoria playing the role of Warwick the King-maker is further supported by Victor¹⁵, who states quite clearly that Victoria bribed the soldiers of the Gallic army to secure the succession of Tetricus and the appointment of his son as Caesar: "I^terim Victoria, amisso Victorino filio, legionibus grande pecunia comprobantibus Tetricum imperatorem fecit, qui familia nobili praesidatu Aquitanos tuebatur, filioque eius Tetrico Caesarea insignia impartiantur". But another version of the elevation of Tetricus to the throne is provided by Victor¹⁶, who says that he was chosen by the army: "..Tetricum, qui imperator ab exercitu in Gallis effectus fuerat". Yet although on the surface these two accounts of the rise of Tetricus contradict one another, in fact Victor's second description is really a confirmation of that contained earlier in his work and that in the Historia Augusta, merely omitting any mention of Victoria. I find it hard to believe that Victoria existed because there is so little evidence about her. Admittedly it seems odd that the army should have acquiesced in the accession of Tetricus without some good financial reason! He is - and was perhaps in his own time - an obscure figure although apparently in a responsible position in the government of the Gallic Empire.

The last we hear of ^{Victoria} ~~Tetricina~~ is in Trebellius. After being given the title of "mother of the camp" - and is this an honorary title awarded by Tetricus in honour of her valiant work on his

behalf ? - the author tells us that her bronze, silver, and gold coins were issued. She died soon after the accession of Tetricus owing to fate (of all things!): "Insignata est praeterea hoc titulo, ut castrorum diceret matrem. Cusi sunt eius nummi aerei, aurei, et argentei, quorum hodieque forma exstat apud Treveros. Quae quidem non diutius vixit. Nam, Tetrico imperante, ut plerique loquuntur, occisa, ut alii adserunt, fatali necessitate consumpta".¹⁷ Trebellius says in this passage that the majority of his sources (whoever they might be) assert that Victoria was murdered. That would not be surprising in the nature of the age. No coins of Victoria have come to light since the end of the Gallic Empire so that I think that we can fairly ask did she ever exist ?

Events of Tetricus' reign.

a) The army and the frontiers.

From the evidence of his coins Tetricus I was on the throne of the Gallic Empire from 270 (after the death of Victorinus) until 273, when he surrendered to Aurelian at the "battle" of the Catalaunian Fields. But despite this reign of almost four years we know very little indeed about him. If it is true that Victorinus' mother had secured the empire for him, it is apparent that the army did not stay loyal to him for very long, and reading between the lines, I think that throughout his reign Tetricus had his hands full preventing him from rebelling. He probably had to deal with attacks by the German barbarians on his frontiers, and met with some success to judge by Trebellius' comment:¹⁸ "et cum multa Tetricus feliciterque gessisset.." and Victor's¹⁹: "Simul Germanis Gallia dimotis". Homo has evidenced this frontier trouble and pressure from pirates on the British and French coasts from numerous coin-hoards in Germany and along the coasts of the Gallic Empire provinces.²⁰ The coins in them end with Tetricus I and only start again with Diocletian.

b) Rebellion.

But the most serious threat to the stability and

continued existence of Tetricus as emperor came probably in 272. The majority of our authorities bear witness to the lack of respect and indiscipline of the Gallic army towards Tetricus. Eutropius says that Tetricus could not put up with the plots against him²¹: "... exercitum suum, cuius assiduas seditiones ferre non poterat". Orosius says much the same²²: "Tetricum, in Gallia minime sufficientem sustinere seditiones militum suorum..". Trebellius confirms this and at the same time gives us a clue to the date by stating that this situation arose after Tetricus had been on the throne "a long time" - and in the third century three years was a long time²³: "Et cum...Tetricus diu...imperasset,...cum militum suorum impudentiam et procacitatem ferre non posset,..." At another point in his narrative Eutropius describes the situation with clarity²⁴: "seditiones multas militum pertulit". And the bitter and derisive comment of Trebellius in his biography of the emperor Claudius perhaps is indicative of the fact that for most of his reign Tetricus' hands were tied by the army²⁵: "Tetricus nihil fecit...".

c) Faustinus.

We know little of these plots by the military apart from their frequent occurrence ; but the name of one rebel has been preserved for us - that of a certain Faustinus. Victor tells briefly how in the position of praeses he incited the soldiers to revolt²⁶: "cum Faustini praesidis dolo corruptis militibus plerumque peteretur". Barbieri²⁷ says that Faustinus was governor of Gallia Belgica at the end of Tetricus' reign, i.e. 272-3. Certainly Tetricus had been a praeses or provincial governor before his elevation to the throne ; but it is doubtful whether we can pinpoint Faustinus' province so accurately. There is no evidence to help us. It is interesting to note, too, that Polemius Silvius refers to a usurper ("tyrannus")²⁸ called Faustinus at Trier under Aurelian. Could this be a mistake for the rebel under Tetricus ? If he had revolted at Trier, then he would have been the praeses of Gallia Belgica.

d) Tetricus II.

Apart from the subjects discussed in the last chapter

- such as the administration, religion, and coinage of the Gallic Empire - this is the sum total of our knowledge of Tetricus' reign. Of the three emperors known to us he certainly had a son, as evidenced by his coinage ; there are many issues with reverse legends which include the the word "AVGG." and even joint issues from Tetricus' regular mint which incidentally issued coins of a style very close to those of Victorinus' southern mint with the legend "IMP.TETRICI AVGG."²⁹. Did Tetricus II become Augustus with his father in 270 ? Victor states that he was made Caesar when his father became emperor through the machinations of Victoria³⁰ : "Hic puerulus a Victoria Caesar est appellatus". On this evidence it seems that at first Tetricus II was only the heir apparent ; but on the numismatic evidence he must have been promoted to be his father's junior colleague, much as the later emperors at Rome became junior and senior Augusti. And on the joint issues of coins mentioned above it is noteworthy that although the heads of both father and son appear, that of Tetricus I is laureate, while his son's is bare surely a sign of seniority ?

[* Insert here: "Trebellius says exactly the same thing³¹".]

The final reckoning - the battle of the Catalaunian Fields, A.D. 273.

a) Aurelian.

While Tetricus was in control of the Gallic Empire, there came to the throne of Rome a very able and powerful military commander, Aurelian. Where Tetricus was weak, Aurelian was strong. He had seen service under Gallienus and Claudius, and, once cloaked in the purple, he set about the reunification of the empire with great energy and success. The most concise summary of his achievements is given in Trebellius' biography of him, where he tells of his restoration of the Gauls, Illyricum, and Thrace to the fold of Rome, the freeing of Italy, and the removal of the barbarian threat to the Vindelici³² : "Ille nobis Gallias dedit, ille Italiam liberavit, ille Vindelicis iugum barbaricae servitutis amovit. Illo vincente Illyricum restitutum est, redditae Romanis legibus Thraciae".

He did even more than this, however ; he dealt successfully with the queen of Palmyra, Zenobia, who with her husband Odenathus had maintained Roman authority for so long in the Middle East ; and he quickly disposed of Firmus, a usurper in Egypt. It was after his reconquest of these eastern provinces that Aurelian turned to the Gallic Empire. Gallienus and Claudius had nibbled at its borders for a long time ; but Aurelian was not content with nibbling. He was determined to bring all the lost provinces of the west under his sway.

b) The beginning of the end.

Our authorities give us two reasons for his determination. The first is his anger because Tetricus was emperor in Gaul. Aurelian was of an irascible nature - or so Trebellius would have us believe - and this feeling is quite in character:³³ "....atque, ut ferox animi, cogitationem ultus, vehementer irascens, quod adhuc Tetricus Gallias obtineret, occidentem petiit,..." On the other hand Victor, Eutropius, and Orosius tell us that because of the continued opposition of the army and the insecurity of his throne Tetricus wrote letters to Aurelian begging him to come to Gaul and free him from his ills, even quoting a line from Vergil's "Aeneid" to add a little extra colour to his plea. (Eutropius)³⁴: "Quin etiam per literas occultas Aurelianum ita fuerat deprecatus, ut inter alia versu Vergiliano uteretur, 'Eripe me his, invicte, malis!'" (Victor)³⁵: "Namque Tetricus...Aureliani per litteras praesidium imploraverat"; (Orosius)³⁶: "Tetricum....scribentemque etiam: 'Eripe me his, invicte, malis!'"

c) The battle.

Aurelian accepted this invitation gladly, and when he came to the territory of the Catalauni, the modern Chalons-sur-Marne, Tetricus led out his army, perhaps with the pretence of putting up resistance to Aurelian, perhaps because his generals forced him to take the field. No matter. When he had to make the decision whether to fight or not, Tetricus chose to betray his army and surrender³⁷: "Tetricus..., ab Aureliano victus,..volens

se gravissimo principi et severissimo dedit". "...Tetrici..
caesae legiones proditore ipso ducce": here Victor says that Aur-
 elian did not restrain his troops from slaughtering the Gallic
 army; and he goes on³⁸ :"...eique (Aureliano) adventanti pro-
ducta ad speciem acie inter pugnam se dedit". Eutropius tells us
 the exact location of the "battle"³⁹ :"Superavi in Gallia Tetricum
apud Catalaunos ipso Tetrico prodente exercitum suum". Orosius⁴⁰,
 Trebellius⁴¹, and Zosimus⁴² say much the same thing: "...ac per hoc
proditorem exercitus sui, sine labore superavit". "..atque ipso
Tetrico exercitum suum prodente, quod eius scelera ferre non
posset, deditas sibi legiones obtinuit". τούτων οὕτω διωκμένων,
Τέτρικον καὶ ἄλλους ἐπαναστάντας οὐσιν πόνω καθελὼν κατὰ τὴν
Ἀσίαν μετήλθεν ". So after a promising start under
 the able Postumus the Gallic Empire crumbled away without any
 serious resistance. Tetricus, admittedly, was no soldier ; nor
 was he so strong a character as Postumus, Victorinus, or his rival
 in Rome, Aurelian. But it was a sad and ignominious end. On the
 surface Aurelian was the only one to benefit. "Sic orientis et
aquilonis receptor magna gloria triumphavit!"⁴³

d) The order of events.

One difficulty arises here. At what precise point in his campaigns did Aurelian attack Tetricus ? Trebellius in his life of Aurelian says that the emperor celebrated his triumph in Rome, and then set out for Gaul⁴⁴ : "His gestis (triumph) ad Gallias profectus". But this must not be confused with his earlier conquest of the rebel empire. Trebellius tells us later that Aurelian's purpose in returning to Gaul was to deal with barbarian persecution of the Vindelici. As usual, he was successful⁴⁵ : "... Vindelicos obsidione barbarica liberavit". Zonaras has placed Aurelian's triumph immediately after the capture of Gaul - and he is perhaps the most reliable of our authorities on this period-⁴⁶ :

" οὗτος (Aurelianus) καὶ τὰς Γαλλίας ἐπὶ πλείστοις ἔτεσι παρὰ
τῶν τυραννούντων κατεχομένων τῷ Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ αὐτοῦ

ἔπανεσώσατο, καὶ ἀρχόντας ταύτας ἐγκαταστήσας αὐτὸς ἐπὶ Ῥωμαίων
ἔπανελήλυθε, καὶ ἐθριάμβευσεν ἐπὶ σχήματος ἐλεφάντων τεσσάρων.
ἀλλὰ καὶ Γάλλους τότε κινηθέντας κατηγωνίσσατο". There is no

doubt that now Aurelian's prime object, the complete reunification of the empire, had been achieved. It is not surprising that we find him issuing coins bearing the titles "RESTITUTOR ORBIS" and "PACATOR ORBIS". For had he not subdued the whole world? Had he not, in Trebellius' words,⁴⁷ "Princeps igitur totius orbis Aurelianus pacatis oriente et Gallis atque ubique terrarum victor Romam iter flexit, ut de Zenobia et Tetrico, hoc est de oriente et de occidente, triumphum Romanis oculis exhiberet"?⁴⁸

Later life.

a) Tetricus I.

After the surrender of Tetricus to Aurelian's army at Chalons-sur-Marne in A.D.273 he seems, like his contemporary, Zenobia, to have had a much less ignominious fate than did most of the usurpers of the third century. After being led in Aurelian's great triumph through the streets of Rome he seems to have been given a position in the local government of Italy, described by the *Historia Augusta* as "Corrector totius Italiae"⁴⁹ with reference to the regions of "Campania, Etruria, Umbria, Samnium, Lucania, Bruttium, Apulia, Picenum, the Flaminian region, and all the grain-bearing region"; but this appears to be very exaggerated and it would indeed have been generous of Aurelian if he had given as much authority as this to his former antagonist, however grateful he may have been to Tetricus not only for his surrender, but also for his safeguarding the imperial peace in the west. Much more probable is the limiting of the appointment to the correctorship of Lucania ("Corrector Lucaniae"), as evidenced by the majority of our literary authorities⁵⁰. We are not told what work the position ~~the~~ of corrector of Lucania involved; it was probably the governorship of an Italian province. Originally a corrector was an adhoc appointment to review the finances of a town or district. The earliest correctors of areas in Italy

are dated to the years 283-4 although we do have some evidence of them as temporary appointments for the whole of Italy at an earlier date, but without enabling us to define Tetricus' powers more closely.⁵¹

b) Tetricus II.

Tetricus II was treated in a similarly generous way by Aurelian for he was apparently made a senator and lived quite comfortably for the rest of his life without any deprivations on his family fortune⁵²: "Qui (Tetricus II) et ipse cum patre per triumphum ductus postea omnibus senatoriis honoribus functus est inlibato patrimonio, quod quidem ad suos posteros misit, ut Arellius Fuscus dicit, semper insignis". The only other evidence of the later life of the Tetrici is supplied by Polemius Silvius⁵³, who says that they became "iudices provinciarum". What this means we cannot say with any confidence. It is probably a general reference to the appointment of the father as "corrector Lucaniae".⁵³

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References for Chapter 3.

1. Insc.no.64.
2. " 87.
3. C.II,34.
4. A.V.33,14.
5. Eut.IX,10.
6. S.H.A.2,XXIV,4.
7. Vd.above.
8. S.H.A.2,XXIV,1.
9. As for 8.
10. Insc.no.55.
11. S.H.A.2,XXIV,1.
12. Eut.IX,10.
13. Insc.no.55.
14. S.H.A.2,XXV,1.
15. A.V.33,14.
16. A.V.35,7.
17. S.H.A.2,XXXI,1-4.
18. S.H.A.2,XXIV,2.
19. A.V.35,3.
20. L.Homo,54;116 f.
21. Eut.IX,13,1.
22. Oros.VII,23,5.
23. S.H.A.2,XXV,2.
24. Eut.IX,10.
25. S.H.A.4,IV,4.
26. A.V.35,3-4.
27. G.B.,1563.
28. Vd.G.B.above and P.S.552.
29. M.& S.,ii,399-425.
30. A.V.33,14.
31. S.H.A.2,XXV,1.
32. S.H.A.5,XL,8.
33. S.H.A.5,XXXII,3.
34. Eut.IX,13,1.
35. A.V.35,3-4.
36. Oros.VII,23,5.
37. S.H.A.2,XXIV,2.
38. A.V.35,3-4.
39. Eut.IX,13,1.
40. Oros.VII,23,5.
41. S.H.A.5,32,3.
42. Zos.I,61,5.
43. Oros.VII,23,5.
44. S.H.A.5,35,4.
45. As for 44.
46. Zon.XII,27,p.153(Dindorf).
47. S.H.A.5,32,4.
48. Vd. Appendix II for further discussion of the date of the take-over of the Gallic Empire by Aurelian.
49. S.H.A.2,XXIV,5.
50. S.H.A.5,39,1;Epit.35,7.;A.V.35,5;Eut.IX,13,2.
51. P/W,iv,1651 f.
52. S.H.A.2,XXV,2.
53. P.S.,op.cit.

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CHAPTER FOUR - THE GALLIC EMPIRE.

Extent.

x) The maximum extent of the Gallic Empire, as attested by the inscriptions of its emperors and consuls, included the provinces of Spain, Transalpine Gaul, Germany, and Britain. I propose to take the evidence for the allegiance of each province to the empire separately and to begin with

a) Britain.

The allegiance of Britain to the breakaway empire seems never to have been in doubt, and we possess an ample number of inscriptions from various parts of the province to prove this. Under Postumus we find three from Wales ; a milestone found near Brecon¹; from Brecknock²; from Margam in Glamorgan³⁻⁴. We have a milestone from Breage in Cornwall⁵. The first of Victorinus' inscriptions comes from Pyle near Neath⁶; the second from near Chesterton in Huntingdonshire⁷; the third is a milestone from Lincoln⁸; the fourth is probably a milestone and comes from Old Penrith⁹; the fifth and final one is a milestone from Corstopitum¹⁰.

There are two inscriptions from Bitterne near Southampton dedicated to Tetricus,¹¹⁻¹² and for the ~~the~~ first of these I propose to adopt the reading of "Ephemeris Epigraphica" for the sake of brevity and to avoid the argument as to how many actual inscriptions belonging to Tetricus have come from this area.

We also possess an inscription from Lancaster¹³ mentioning the second consulship of both Censor and Lepidus, which I would date to the reign of Postumus. Before the start of this inscription there is something erased, probably "POSTVMVS"; and after "Sebussia(nae)" "POSTVMIANAE"(?) might have been erased.

There is another inscription mentioning two Gallic Empire consuls, this time "Apr.et Ruf."¹⁴. It comes from Milecastle 52 at Bankshead, Cumberland.

I have left till last an interesting trio of inscriptions, all of them coming from Camboglanna (Birdoswald) and all referring to the same cohort, Cohors I Aelia Dacorum,^{15a,b,c.} which was given titles

by both Postumus and Tetricus. These are interesting in that they supply us with the names of three "tribuni cohortis" who served under the Gallic Empire - Marcius Gallicus and Probilius (?) Augendus under Postumus, Pomponius (?) Designatus under Tetricus. Nowhere else do we possess such a detailed record of officers serving in the usurpers' army.

A. Stein has argued that from his coins bearing the legends "NEPTVNO COMITI" or "REDVCI" we can infer that Postumus made an attack - or at least paid a visit - to Britain. This is really conjecture, but we must also ask why did the first Aelian cohort receive the title "Postumiana" (and later "Tetricani")? Were they the first soldiers of the army of Britain to side with Postumus when he revolted? And was their loyalty to Tetricus during his troubled reign similarly honoured? On the other hand Bush-Fox in his excavations at Richborough discovered an earth-fort, which he dated to before the erection of the Saxon Shore defences and most probably to the middle of the third century. If this dating is accurate, it might imply the erection of a protective fort by Postumus (or his successors) against the raids of the Saxons, who were beginning to cross the North Sea on plundering raids about this time; and it would fit in very neatly with these coin reverses on the grounds that Postumus had made the seas safe. And yet it seems strange that he did not assume the title of "Saxonicus" if he had been successful against these invaders, as he had been called "Germanicus Maximus" after his victories on the Rhine frontier.

b) Gallia Lugdunensis.

The largest number of inscriptions relating to the Gallic Empire and coming from one province come from Lugdunensis. We possess three from Rennes (Condate) dedicated to Postumus¹⁶⁻¹⁸; a milestone from St. Jean-de-Nay near the Roman town of Vellaunodunum¹⁹; a fragment of a column from Eutrais²⁰; and three milestones, the first from the territory of the Aedui near Auxerre (Antessiodorum)²¹; the second from Pregilbert²²; and the third from the banks of the River Treboulin²³.

Also under Postumus there is an inscription from Viducasses (Vicux in Normandy), giving us the names of two otherwise unknown Gallic Empire consuls, Dialis and Bassus²⁴.

Under Victorinus we find, as under his predecessor, a large number of inscriptions and milestones emanating from Rennes and its environs - this time ~~five~~ ^{six}; a milestone²⁵; and another²⁶; part of a column²⁷; and part of another²⁸; and a milestone from Brimont near Rennes²⁹.

We have four inscriptions from other parts of Lugdunensis; from Lescorono-by-Suzur³⁰; a milestone found in 1864 near Mayenne³¹, which I think it would be fair to say could be expanded to read "PIAVO]NIO.V[ICTORINO]/INVIC[TO]/AVG.P[P...../L.IIII....." The editor of C.I.L.XIII has suggested that the last line means that the place where the stone was set up was four "leugae" from Jublains (Novio-dunum). This seems a quite reasonable point of view. From Nantes (Condivicnum)³²; and from the territory of the Coricsclites near St.Meloir-des-Bôis, Dol, Brittany³³.

Rennes supplies us with three inscriptions for Tetricus³⁴⁻⁵; and probably two fragments of the same column³⁶. There are five other inscriptions of Tetricus from Lugdunensis; from St. Goudran and dedicated to Tetricus II³⁷; from Bayeux (Augustodurum) and also dedicated to Tetricus II³⁸; from Nantes (Tetricus II)³⁹; from Dibio (Dijon) near the Lugdunensis-Gallia Belgica border and dedicated to Tetricus I (a milestone)⁴⁰; and a milestone from Barbaira (Aude), which is dedicated to Tetricus II, not only as "nobilissimus Caesar", but also as "princeps iuventutis"⁴¹.

From the fact that we possess inscriptions in ample numbers for all three emperors from Gallia Lugdunensis I think it firmly established that this province, as well as Britain, remained loyal to the Gallic Empire until the surrender of Tetricus I in A.D. 273.

c) Aquitania.

There are only five Gallic Empire inscriptions from this province, but despite the fact that none of them refer to Victorinus, it is evident that Aquitania must have remained faithful

to the end because Tetricus I on his accession was proclaimed at the central town of the province, Bordeaux (Burdigala).

Three of the inscriptions refer to Postumus, and the first of these contains our earliest epigraphic evidence of this emperor (from Bordeaux)⁴²; the second is a milestone found near Fontado on the territory of the Arverni⁴³; the third is another milestone found on the borders of the Auvergne and Gavaudan in the territory of the Gabali near the western frontier of Gallia Narbonensis⁴⁴.

The first of Tetricus' two inscriptions is a milestone from St.Leger-Magnaseix near Limoges (Augustoritum) on the territory of the Lemovices⁴⁵; and the other again a milestone from Rom (Rauranum) in the territory of the Pictones⁴⁶.

d) Tarraconensis.

When we study the inscriptions from this province, the point of view suggests itself that at some time during or at the end of Postumus' reign a change of control must have occurred; for we find no inscriptions relating to Victorinus' sole reign nor to that of Tetricus, but several to that of the emperor Claudius II Gothicus, who ruled from A.D.268 to 270⁴⁷. And furthermore we possess evidence of an uninterrupted series of aes coinage issued for the same emperor from the Tarraco mint⁴⁸.

The inscriptions for Postumus are as follows:- a milestone from Acci (Guadix) near the border with Baetica⁴⁹; from near Quintinilla⁵⁰; and a stone found at Conventus Asturum, dated to the joint consulship of Postumus and Victorinus⁵¹. It will be clear from these inscriptions - and most especially from the last - that after A.D.268 (or more properly during the course of that year) the province must have reverted to the main empire. We have no evidence that the armies of either Victorinus or Tetricus reconquered it and so we can assume that only during the years ~~26~~260-268 did it form part of the Gallic Empire.

Of the inscriptions we possess from Tarraconensis that refer to Claudius II mentioned above C.I.L.II,3737, could possibly be dated to 268; II,3833 is dateable to the same year owing to the

absence of any consular or tribunician numbering; II,4879 is dateable from the 10th.December,268, to the 9th.December,269; II,3619 contains a reference to the second consulship of the emperor, held in 269; II,4505 belongs to the same year; and II,3834 is probably dateable from the 10th.December,269, into 270 until the emperor's death in that year.⁵²⁻⁷

e) Baetica.

We possess no inscriptions from this province relating to the Gallic Empire, but one dedicated to Claudius II. It is on a marble base and comes from Tucci⁵⁸. The date of this is probably A.D.269 or 270. In the absence of any references to any of the Gallic emperors it is difficult to assume that the province ever formed part of the empire, but nevertheless one would imagine that if Tarraco-nensis and Aquitania were occupied by Postumus' troops, why not the rest of Spain? It seems probable that because the centre of the empire was so far away Postumus and Victorinus found it hard to hold on to such a border province as Baetica and that it returned to the fold of Rome at much the same time as did Tarraconensis (in A.D.268) or even earlier. Strategically it can hardly have been as important as Gallia Narbonensis. Furthermore we have no Gallic Empire inscriptions from Lusitania.

On the other hand in Trebellius' life of Claudius the author sums up the situation in the empire during that emperor's reign, and implies that the Gallic Empire was still in control of the Spanish provinces⁵⁹; "Gallias et Hispanias, vires rei publicae, Tetricus tenet." I doubt the truth of this on the grounds of the epigraphic evidence above.

f) Gallia Narbonensis.

There is strong evidence for this province being divided in its allegiance between the Gallic and the Roman empires - at least from 268 onwards. We possess two inscriptions dedicated to Tetricus II as "nobilissimus Caesar" and on one "princeps iuventutis!" The first of these is a milestone found to the

east of Carcassonne⁶⁰; the second is a fragment of a milestone found near Beziers on the coast⁶¹. On the other hand there are two inscriptions from Narbonensis referring to a certain Julius Placidianus, who was an officer in the army of Claudius II. The earlier of these is a stone tablet found in 1879 at Grenoble (Gratianopolis)⁶²; Julius Placidianus is mentioned as being appointed to the post of "praefectus vigilum" to command vexillations, cavalry, and praepositi in Gaul with the specific responsibility of protecting Narbonensis. The date of the inscription is A.D.269, and it is noteworthy that Claudius II is called "Germanicus Maximus" probably as a result of his victory over the Alamanni at Lake Benacus in 268. The second inscription comes from Vif near Grenoble⁶³: no date is given on this, but the reference to "ignibus aeternis" probably means Sol and Luna, which are often found together and called "aeterni"; and furthermore Aurelian was a very keen enthusiast for Sol. We can therefore assume that Julius Placidianus was promoted in the latter half of Claudius' reign or in Aurelian's. In 273 he was appointed consul by Tacitus, and from this fact it would be reasonable to assume that he had played a leading part in the surrender of the Gallic Empire under Tetricus to Aurelian.

One point of importance remains to be noted. It will be seen that the inscriptions of Tetricus II both come from the western half of the province (west of the river Rhone), those of Julius Placidianus from the eastern half (east of the Rhone). This suggests a division of the province with the river as the frontier - at least during the reign of Tetricus (and possibly earlier in the reign of Victorinus). Perhaps the furthest that the Gallic Empire penetrated into the eastern half of the province was at Vienna, where there probably was a mint.⁶⁴

g) Gallia Belgica.

Surprisingly enough we have only one inscription from this province - surprising because in it was situated the important town of Trier (Treveri). The inscription comes from here and is a reference to Victorinus in his position of tribune of Postumus' praetorian guard⁶⁵.

h) Germania Inferior.

The allegiance of this province is attested not only from an inscription found at Bonn and dated to the reign of Postumus, but also by the continued references to Cologne in the literary sources. Tetricus was declared emperor there in his absence after the death of Victorinus, and in all probability the province remained loyal till 273. The inscription relates to the second consulships of Censor and Lepidus⁶⁶. Apart from the obvious importance of this with reference to the consuls of the reign of Postumus, might we possibly have the name of another previously unknown consul of the Gallic Empire if we interpret the third line as ".....LVPVLVS IMM(ANENS) COS.", where "immanens" would really mean "designatus" - or is this idea too far-fetched?

i) Germania Superior.

There is an inscription from Vindonissa (Brugg) in Canton Argau, found in 1854,⁶⁷ which refers to an occasion when there was one Augustus and one Caesar and to the second consulships either of them or of two others. Two possibilities suggest themselves - firstly that it was when, after the death of Valerianus II and the capture of Valerianus I, Gallienus was sole Augustus and Saloninus sole Caesar, i.e. for the year 260, when we know that Saecularis and Donatus both had their second consulships; secondly in A.D.272, when Tetricus I was Augustus and his son, Tetricus II, Caesar, and when they both held their second consulships (if their coins are to be believed). However, Tetricus was very unlikely to build new forts here, and so the balance of the argument favours A.D.260 and Gallienus; this tells us that Gallienus was still in control of the province, control that was perhaps rather nominal by now.

Four inscriptions have come to us from the reigns of Postumus and Victorinus, but none from Tetricus'. However, there is no evidence to suggest that the province was recaptured by Rome before A.D.273. The inscriptions are as follows:- from Altripp⁶⁸; a marble altar found at Mainz (Mogontiacum) in 1896⁶⁹; from Liesenich near Zell on the Moselle⁷⁰; from the same place and found with the previous inscription, probably being connected with it⁷¹; and a

fragment of a column found at Kyllwald near Neustrassburg⁷².

j) Gallia Comata.

There is a suggestion that this part of Lugdunensis resisted the pressure of the rest of the Gallic Empire and remained loyal to Rome. Certainly Victorinus conducted an attack on its capital, Autun (Augustodunum), that met with strong resistance from the inhabitants. They seemingly made an appeal for help to Claudius II, but he was otherwise engaged and finally Victorinus entered the town. The story briefly told by Ausonius, who relates how his ancestors, presumably supporters of Victorinus and living in Autun at the time, fled from the town and settled in Aquitania, implying of course that that province was perhaps the most loyal of all to the usurper (confirmed when we see Tetricus still there at the regional capital of Bordeaux when he succeeded Victorinus- and maybe he even made that town the capital of the whole Gallic Empire).

Administration, defence, and prosperity.

a) Senate, consuls, and praetorian guard.

From all the evidence that we have at our disposal it would appear that the administration of the Gallic Empire was in no way different from that of the main Roman Empire. Certainly it seems that the emperors had a senate if we are to assume that their coins bearing the obverse legend "S.C." are anything to go by. And furthermore we know that Tetricus was (according to the Augustan History) a man of senatorial rank before being raised to the throne. As we have seen, too, in the first chapter, there are inscriptions which lead us to believe that Postumus (and from Chapter two Victorinus as well) appointed consuls for the years when he himself did not take the office, and that these men were used for dating purposes throughout the empire. Similarly the main empire's system of provincial government was adhered to for we find that Tetricus, besides being of senatorial rank when elected emperor, was also praeses of Aquitania. As we have seen, too, in the third chapter, the rebel Faustinus was the governor or praeses of his

provance when he incited his troops to revolt against the emperor. In addition to all these factors we also have evidence that suggests that Postumus at least maintained, like his rivals in Rome, an imperial body-guard of praetorians, for we have an inscription naming Victorinus as tribune of the praetorians under Postumus, and that it was stationed at Trier⁷³.

B) Postumus' defence policy.

If the Gallic Empire was to succeed and prosper, it was necessary to have a good defence policy; and from the evidence available Postumus seems to have given this priority during his reign. We hear of him building forts on the barbarian bank of the Rhine⁷⁴ and from the inscription from Birdswald where the first cohort of Dacians is nicknamed "Postumiana"⁷⁵ we may, I think, assume that Postumus had paid close attention to this particular frontier, too. Of course, Postumus had held an important post under Gallienus on the German frontier, and his experience there would stand him in good stead for solving the frontier problems of his new empire. Furthermore, we know of no rebellions during the reign (the coins of Postumus showing the river-god Rhenus confirm this) of Postumus except that in which he died - and that was not a revolt as such, but a fit of temper on the part of the soldiers prevented from looting a captured town - nor in the reign of Victorinus (except for those of Laelianus and Marius, which were really a hang-over from the murder of Postumus). Postumus and Victorinus were soldiers, and they knew how to handle the army; Tetricus was different - or apparently so. After initial successes against the Germans on his borders he lost the loyalty of his army and his years on the throne are a story of continual rebellion, culminating in that of Faustinus, which drove Tetricus to surrender to Aurelian. The moral is obvious - the empire needed a strong man on the throne, preferably a soldier who had before his accession lived, eaten, and drunk with the ranks, and who knew how to win their loyalty.

c) Evidence of the coinage.

The imperial coinage⁷⁶ reflects the different attitudes of Postumus, Victorinus, and Tetricus. Postumus has many types and legends directly connected with defence - from Lugdunum

"VICTORIA GERMANICA," "RESTITVTOR CALLIAR[VM]", and "SALVS PROVINCIARVM" (this last is associated with a picture of the Rhine god and the provinces referred to are probably the three Gauls); and from Cologne "RESTITVTOR ORBIS" and "PACATOR ORBIS". Postumus does not omit to honour the army on his coinage and express his military interests in general. He mentions the qualities he expects (and got) from the soldiers with such legends as "FIDES MILITVM", "VIRTVS MILITVM", and "FIDES EXERCITVS"; and he concerns himself with their well-being with "SALVS EXERCITI", a legend whose intention is clear when we see it coupled with a portrait of Aesculapius. These sentiments are reciprocated in the coinage issued in honour of Postumus from Milan by Aureobius, bearing such legends as "CONCORD(IA) EQVITVM", "FIDES EQVITVM", "VIRTVS EQVITVM", "PAX EQVITVM", and "SALVS EXERCITI". But Postumus goes even further than this. Through his coinage, which he used extremely well as a means of propaganda - as well as many modern states use their postage stamps - he conveys the idea of himself as a powerful ruler and as the invincible general with such legends as "RESTITVTOR/PACATOR ORBIS" (used later by Aurelian, who had greater claim to them), "INVICTO AVG.", "VIRTVS POSTVMI AVG.", "PAX AVGVSTI", "EXERCITVS AVG.", "VICTORI AVG.", and "VICT(ORIA) COMES AVG."; and he is far from reluctant to call in the inhabitants of Olympus to encourage the spreading of this image, for we find many of them mentioned with titles that exemplify the qualities that he wanted everyone to believe he himself possessed: "HERCVLI PACIFERO/INVICTO", "IOVI PROPVGNAT(ORI)/VICTORI", "MERCVRIO PACIFERO", and "MARS VICTOR". Nor were Postumus' interests confined solely to the military aspects of defence, for it is quite evident from his coinage that he had to pay considerable attention to naval defence. Such legends as "NEPT(VNO) COMITI" with a portrait of Neptune, his foot on the prow of a ship, and holding a trident, and "NEPTVNO REDVCI" with much the same portrait, confirm this.

This policy was continued by Victorinus - and even improved upon. Besides such legends as "FIDES MILITVM", "INVICTVS AVG.", "VICTORIA AVG.", "MARS VICTOR", "VIRTVS AVG.", "DEFENSOR ORBIS", and "INVICTVS", he issued a series of coins bearing the names of several legions or vexillations, a number of which could hardly have been

in the Gallic Empire at the time, but many of which must have formed part of Victorinus' de facto field-army. The soldiers would have been extremely pleased to handle this money ! The only difference from the coinage of Postumus is that there is no mention of the sea. Presumably the trouble with the pirates on the German coasts had been settled before Victorinus came to the throne.

But when we come to Tetricus, we notice a change. Certainly we have coins with military legends such as "IOVI VICTORI", "VICTORIA AVG(VSTI)", "VICTORIA GERM(ANICA)", "VIRTVS AVG.", "FIDES MILITVM", "INVICTVS", and "MARS VLTOR", but these were only token titles. There is no determined effort to present Tetricus as a strong military leader nor as a competent general who had achieved considerable success. We may perhaps excuse him for not mentioning the sea because of Postumus' achievements there. And this attitude of Tetricus is borne out by the number of army revolts that occurred during his reign and his action when faced with Aurelian's troops. Rather than lead his own soldiers into battle he deserted them and saw his dominions crumble away before his eyes.

d) Trade.

i) Postumus.

Once Postumus had seen that the defences of his empire were in order, it was only natural that internal and external trade should benefit. When the merchants realised that the empire had a strong man at its helm, one who could be relied upon to try his best to safeguard their livelihood, they took up their business with renewed vigour after a period when participation in it would have meant great personal risk owing to the daily threat of barbarian invasion. The coinage of Postumus bearing such legends as "PACATOR ORBIS" and "RESTITVTOR GALLIARVM" testify to the more settled nature of the times, while probably the most notable indication of the increased prosperity of the Gallic provinces is the coins inscribed "SALVS PROVINCIARVM", depicting the Rhine god holding an urn, a vessel, and an anchor - surely a reference to the river-trade in Germany ? - "FORTVNA REDVX", showing Fortuna, a wheel, a temple, a rudder, and a cornucopiae ; "NEPTVNO REDVCI", with Neptune

astride a dolphin and holding a trident and sometimes the bows of a ship in the background - undoubtedly an indication of Postumus' mastery of the seas, especially of the English Channel, which enabled trade to prosper between Britain and the Continent. - "SAECVLI FELICTTAS" and "SAECVLO FRVGIFERO"; "FELICITAS TEMP(ORVM)", portraying a galley containing four rowers (another reference to maritime trade). The very number of these coin-types should be enough to convince us that this was not mere propaganda on the part of the emperor, but a reflection of the improved commercial situation as he had created it.

ii) Victorinus.

Victorinus, despite the shortness of his reign, appears to have paid as much attention to trade as had his predecessor, if one can judge from his coinage alone. We find such legends as "FORT(VNA) REDVX", "SAECVLI FELICITAS" (sometimes with a portrait of Abundantia standing on the prow of a ship and holding a child on her knee - could this be anything other than a reminder that if prosperity declined, the next generation would suffer the evils which had only recently been laid to rest?); and "TEMPOR(VM) FELICIT(AS)".

iii) Tetricus.

But under Tetricus we again notice a difference. He issued many types, and yet the proportion devoted to the various aspects of trade and commercial prosperity is much smaller than under his predecessors. Granted that we do find "SAECVLI FELICITAS" with a figure of Felicitas sacrificing at an altar or holding a caduceus or a cornucopiae; but on some coins with that legend we see the emperor portrayed holding a spear and standing on a globe. Does this not imply that while ready to encourage commerce, Tetricus could not afford to forget the troubles in his army for too long? And where are the references to the river-trade and the safety of shipping, to the security of the provinces and to Neptune? They no longer appear, and it is quite obvious that in the reign of Tetricus traders could not have prospered as well as they had done under Postumus. If, as our literary authorities suggest, the years from 270 to 273 were plagued with military revolts, the main arteries of internal commerce would surely have been cut on several occasions.

Building.

One of the most notable features that becomes apparent from even the most cursory study of the Gallic Empire's inscriptions is that all of the emperors must have paid attention to building; yet we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by the large number of milestones among our collection into thinking that the emperors devoted a great part of their time to repairing the roads. R. Goodchild in his excavations at Cyrenaica has shown how the practice of setting up inscriptions or milestones as personal "advertisements" or propaganda grew from the reign of Caracalla onwards and how in one place there were many milestones, but no roadworks.

Near to Lincoln we find a milestone indicating that the city was fourteen miles away⁷⁷ (under Victorinus); from near Auxerre in Postumus' consulship comes another, indicating that Autun is sixty-two miles away⁷⁸. Again there is a fine series of inscriptions from Rennes and its environs under all three emperors indicating various distances from that town and already described in the first three chapters. Further examples of such milestones would be superfluous since they are all illustrated in the earlier parts of this thesis, and of other types of building the most interesting is the inscription from Lancaster⁷⁹, where a bath-house and basilica had fallen down through age and wear and the "ala Sebosiana" under the governor, Octavius Sabinus, (N.B. he is still a senator = "vir clarissimus") and his deputy, Flavius Ammausius, "praefectus equitum".

It would be impossible to detail the building operations of the emperors more precisely than this because no other evidence is to hand. The *Historia Augusta* has said that Postumus built forts on the barbarian bank of the Rhine, but we have no archaeological or numismatic confirmation of their exact sites.

Coinage and Religion.

First, a word of explanation. I have combined these two subjects in the one section because the great majority of evidence for religious attitudes in the Gallic Empire and especially those of the emperors comes from the coinage.

a) Mints.

I have already discussed the mints used by the three main emperors in the chapters dealing with their reigns, but a brief reminder would not be out of place here. The first mint of Postumus was at Lugdunum, where his coins closely resembled those of Gallienus that had recently been issued from there; but between his third and fourth consulships - and most probably not long before 268 - he removed the mint, lock, stock, and barrel, to Cologne, where it remained until his death. Victorinus continued issuing coins from Cologne, but with the revolt of Augustodunum he opened a new mint in the south of Gaul, probably in Narbonensis and probably at Vienna (Vienne). Tetricus' coinage (and that of his son) is very close in style to that of the products of Victorinus' southern mint and he probably used this as his main mint.

b) Postumus.

The coin-types and legends dealing with the emperor's consulships and tribunicia potestas and those relating to defence and commercial prosperity have been previously discussed. But there are several other aspects of the imperial coining which deserve closer study. I will take each emperor separately, starting with Postumus. It is quite evident that at some time in his reign he conceived the idea of closer contact with the government at Rome, if not actual conquest of the rest of the Roman Empire. To what other reason can we attribute such legends as "ROMAE AETERNAE" with Rome or Victory on a shield, "HERCVLI ROMANO AVG(VSTI)", and "I(OVI) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO) SPONSORI SAECVLI AVG(VSTI)", depicting Jupiter, the chief Roman deity, and the emperor with the insignia of power? Furthermore, we possess examples bearing the legend "MORIENS AVG(VSTI)" with a portrait of Sol holding a whip. What reason would there be for a western usurper to produce coins with this legend other than that of propaganda aimed at an eventual conquest of the eastern half of the empire? Postumus was an expert propagandist, and, had he lived longer, he might even have achieved this aim.

c) Victorinus.

The only coins of Victorinus which I think bear any relationship to this idea are aurei from the southern mint inscribed

"ROMAE AETERNAE" and showing a helmeted and draped figure of Roma. Considering that these were probably issued while Victorinus was fighting outside Augustodunum, I would suggest that they were meant to appeal to the citizens of that town in an effort to convince them that Victorinus had the interests of the whole Roman Empire at heart - not with the intention of expanding his dominions.

d) Tetricus.

Oddly enough, Tetricus, who might have been expected to have no interest in expansion, issued two coin-types likethose of Postumus - "ROMAE AETERNAE" on aurei, showing Roma, a shield, Victory, and a spear; and on antoniniani "ORIENTIS AVG(G)" with Sol holding a whip or on a globe. But surely these do not imply that Tetricus, too, intended to conquer the rest of the provinces? Can we doubt that he was merely continuing the practice of issuing such coins without himself being at all interested in their original meaning?

e) Religious coin-types.

i) Postumus.

1. Lugdunum.

By far the most interesting of the Gallic coin-types - apart from Victorinus' legionary coins, that is - are those connected with the gods, goddesses, and demi-gods. Postumus, as I have already said, was a very clever propagandist, and tried hard to encourage the idea among his subjects that he was something a little more than human. So on his "religious coinage we find a host of deities, many of them honoured as the "comites" or "conservatores" (preservers) of the emperor, while Minerva is once referred to as his "fautrix" or partisan. Such types are as follows:-

MINER(VA) FAVTR(IX)	-	Minerva, an olive-branch, spear, and shield.
NEPT(VNO) COMITI	-	Neptune, dolphin, and trident.
IOVI PRO VGVATORE	-	Jupiter and thunderbolt and or eagle; or seven stars and eagle.
MERCVRIO PACIFERO	-	Mercury, purse, and caduceus.
MINERVA AVG(VSTI)	-	Minerva and shield.
VICT(O-IA) COMES AVG(VSTI)	-	Emperor on horseback, Victory, palm.
I(OVI) O(PTIMO) M(AXIMO)	-	Jupiter; thunderbolt, emperor, etc.
SPONSORI SAECVLI AVG(VSTI).		

All these come from Lugdunum, according to Webb (op.cit.), and may perhaps best be summed up in another religious type from that mint, "PROVIDENTIA DEOR(VM)", showing Providence with a globe and spear.

2. Cologne.

From Cologne the types are more numerous and are as follows:-

CASTOR	-	Castor, horse, and spear.
COMITI AVG.	-	Emperor and Hercules.
CONSERVATORES AVG(VSTI)	-	Mars, Victory, wreath, and palm.
"	-	Apollo and Diana.
CONSERVATORI AVG(VSTI)	-	Postumus and Jupiter (sometimes with Victory).
IOVI STATORI	-	Jupiter, sceptre, and thunderbolt.
SERAPI COMITI AVG(VSTI)	-	Emperor and Mars or Hercules with club and lion's skin.
DIANA LUCIFERAE	-	Diana, torch, and quiver. Diana, xbow, xand xstag
DIANA RECVCI	-	Diana, bow, and stag.
IOVI CONSERVATORI	-	Jupiter, thunderbolt, sceptre, and child.
IOVI VICTORI	-	as above.
MARS VICTOR	-	Mars, shield, and spear.
MERCVRIO FELICI	-	Mercury, purse, and caduceus.

There is - perhaps strangely - no PROVIDENTIA DEOR(VM) type issued from Cologne. One may note in passing the attributes which Postumus appears to have been stressing on these coins - not only the fact that the gods were his constant companions and help-mates, but Jupiter, for example, brought victory to his armies, stability to the Gallic provinces, and supported the rule of Postumus.

3. "Hercules" series.

Yet the most famous and interesting of all Postumus' religious coinage is that in honour of Hercules. This hero was very popular in deed in Gaul, and the fact that he not only appears on the reverse, but very often on the obverse of Postumus' coins together with the emperor's portrait shows in how much accord the emperor was with the mood of the people. By allowing his moneymen the opportunity to portray the varied adventures of the hero when performing his celebrated Twelve

Labours he would not only give his subjects pleasure when they handled the coins, but indirectly project the image of himself as a latter-day Hercules. Postumus would have done the advertising departments of many a large industrial concern proud. The Heracleian types which appear are:-

a) Lugdunum.

1. HER(CVLES) DEVSONIENS (AVG)(or variant) - Hercules, sometimes with lion's skin, club, bow, or these and temple.
2. HERCVLI INVICTO - (Aur., antonin., denar., sestert., dup., asses).
Hercules and Nemaean lion or Cretan bull.
(Aur. and sestert.)
3. HERC(VLI) PACIFERO - Hercules, olive-branch, club, and lion's skin.
(Antonin., sestert., and dup.)
4. HERCVLI MAGVSANO - Hercules, club, lion's skin, and rock.
(As above).

b) From Cologne the series is far more complete:-

1. HERCVLI AVG(VSTO) - Hercules, bow, lion's skin, 2 St^m/Phalial vultures
(Aur.)
2. HERCVLI ARCADIO - Hercules and stag (Den.)
3. HERCVLI ARGIVO - Hercules, Hydra, and club (Den.)
- ~~HERCVLI~~
4. HERCVLI CRETENSIS - Hercules and Cretan bull (Aur.)
5. HERCVLI DEVSONIENSIS - Hercules, lion's skin, club (Den.)
6. HERCVLI ERVMANTINO - Hercules, boar, and winejar (Den.)
7. HERCVLI GADITANO - Hercules, 3 soldiers (= Geryon).(Den.)
8. HERCVLI IMMORTALI - Hercules, club, lion's skin, Cerberus (Den.)
9. HERCVLI INVICTO ♂ Hercules, Amazon, girdle, club, lion's skin
(Den. and Antonin.)
10. HERCVLI LIBVCO - Hercules and Antaeus. (Aur.)
11. HERCVLI NEMAEO - Hercules and Nemaean Lion (Aur. and Den.)
12. HERC[VLI] PISAEO - Hercules, mattock, and water-jar. (Den.)
13. HERCVLI ROMANO AVGVSTO - Hercules, Garden of the Hesperides, tree
and three nymphs or bow, club, and quiver.(Antonin. and den.)
14. HERCVLI THRACIO - Hercules and horses of Diomedes(Aur. and den.)

Two items that need explaining - firstly, Webb has already suggested that "DEVSONIENSIS" refers to Deutz (Deuso); secondly, "MAGVSANO". Deutz really is equivalent to Divitia, and Holder⁸⁰

suggests two possibilities :-

1. Deutz.
2. Duisburg.

It is noteworthy that Cassiodorus relates that the Saxons were slaughtered in A.D.373 at Deuso "in regione Francorum".

"Magusanus" is even more interesting, and once again Holder has a relevant section⁸¹, where he notes that there are many dedications to this god at Mumrills ; for example, by a duplicarius of the Ala Tungrorum , by equites singulares under Caracalla and Elagabalus (referred to as 'cives Batavi...sine Thracii'). These were picked forces from Germania Inferior (The Ala Thracum - to quote a similar example - was chosen as the imperial horseguards). So it becomes obvious that Hercules Magusanus is a Batavian deity. Webb is wrong in attributing the title to "Magusa", a town which does not exist. We are reminded of the frequency with which we meet references to these local tribal gods and cult-centres in the Rhineland when we find numerous dedications to the Matres or Matronae in Germania Inferior and the Aufaniae in Bonn. Obviously Postumus regarded the support of these Batavians as important and wanted either to secure or retain it by the issue of this particular reverse.

ii) Victorinus.

1.Sol.

Victorinus did not lay such emphasis on the religious aspect of his coinage. The figure of Hercules appears several times on the reverses, but no legend is devoted to him exclusively. Instead, Victorinus seems to have been a devotee of the sun-god, Sol, for he appears on several coins, none of them with a legend referring to him. In an article in the January, 1964, edition of Seaby's "Coin and Medal Bulletin" Lloyd R. Laing refers to the bronze coinage of Constantine I bearing the portrait of Sol, the sun-god, quite often, and reminds us that Sol appears as a coin-type in "the period in which Mithraism was most prevalent in the Empire", from the third century till the reign of Julian the Apostate. The two cults were very closely associated, and does this mean that Victorinus was a devotee of Mithras as well as of Sol ? And that he encouraged its spread during his reign ? Laing goes on⁸² : "They were both cults of the army; evidence for this can be seen in Britain, where

with the exception of the famous Walbrook Mithraeum (which was mercantile) all the Mithraea excavated - Caernavon, Carrawburgh, Housesteads, and Rudchester - are on military sites, as are all the other suspected but unexcavated Mithraea". This certainly seems to fit in with the character of Victorinus as we know it.

Other deities so honoured are Diana, Mars, and Jupiter, and the types are as follows:-

2. Southern mint.

ADIVTRIX AVG(VSTI)	-	Diana, bow and arrow, and quiver.
COMES AVG(VSTI)	-	Helmeted and cuirassed figure of Mars.
VOTA AVGVSTI	-	Diademed Sol and diademed Diana with bow or helmeted and draped figure of Roma and Diana with bow.
IOVI CONSERVATORI	-	Jupiter with suppliant or with Victorinus.
IOVI STATTORI	-	Jupiter and usual attributes.
MARS VICTOR	-	Mars, spear, and trophy.

3. Cologne.

INVICTVS	-	Sol.
ORIENTIS AVG(VSTI)	-	Sol.

iii) The Tetrici.

The coinage of the Tetrici, father and son, follows very much the same pattern as does that of Victorinus. One type refers to Hercules, carrying on the tradition set by Postumus, and the usual gods and goddesses appear - and one or two others such as Apollo, Minerva, and Juno. The types are:-

1. Tetricus I.

COMES AVG(VSTI)	-	Victory, wreath, and palm.
IOVI CONSERVATORI	-	Jupiter, thunderbolt, sceptre, and small figure of emperor.

IOVI VICTORI	-	Jupiter, Victory, and spear.
VIRTVTI AVGVSTI	-	Hercules, lion's skin, club, and rock.
AETERNIT(AS) AVGVSTI	-	Sol and whip.
COMIT(I) AVGVSTI	-	Mars, branch, and spear.
CONSERVAT(OR) AVGVSTI	-	Sol.
INVICTVS	-	Sol and whip.
IOVI STATORI	-	Jupiter, thunderbolt, and sceptre.
MARS VICTOR	-	Mars, spear, and trophy.
ORIENS AVGV(G).	-	Sol with whip or globe.
<u>2. Irregular mint.</u>		
APOLLINI CO..(NSERVATOR ?)	-	Centaur.
<u>3. Both Tetrici.</u>		
IOVI VICTORI	-	Jupiter, Victory, and sceptre.
<u>4. Tetricus II.</u>		
COMES AVGV(G).	-	Victory, wreath, and palm.
COM(ES) IMP(ERATORIS) AVGVSTI	-	Minerva, laurel-branch, and shield.
HERC(VLI) COMITI	-	Hercules in temple.
INVICTVS	-	Sol and whip.
IOVI VICTORI	-	IMP(ER)ATORIS AVGVSTI Jupiter, thunderbolt, and sceptre.
[IV]NO	-	Juno, and rudder.
MARS VICTOR	-	Mars, spear, and trophy.
VINE... (PVA)	-	Minerva, altar, patera, and spear.
ORIENS AVGVSTI	-	Sol with globe or whip.

These are the main types and legends in the Gallic coinage, but we are left with several unconnected oddments which with greater knowledge of the reigns of Postumus, Victorinus, and the Tetrici might prove to be of considerable interest. I propose to deal with these briefly and in rough chronological order below.

f) Oddments of the coinage.

i) Postumus.

1. Lugdunum.

We find numerous legends referring to the personal qualities of the emperor - or rather the qualities he wished his subjects to believe he possessed - all of them commonly found not only in the Gallic Empire, but under the emperors at Rome, too. They are:-

AEQVITAS AVG.	-	Aequitas with scales and cornucopiae.
AETERNITAS AVG.	-	Emperor and Hercules or 3 busts.
FELICITAS AVG.	-	Felicitas, caduceus, and cornucopiae.
FORTVNA AVG.	-	Fortuna, rudder, and cornucopiae.
LAETITIA AVG.	-	Galley and rowers.
LIBERALITAS AVG.	-	Emperor, Liberalitas, tessera, cornucopiae, and citizen.
PROVIDENTIA AVG.	-	Providentia, globe, and other attributes.

Three other legends indicate Postumus' interests in the well-being of his empire:-

ANNONA AVG.	-	Annona, corn-ears, cornucopiae, basket of corn on tripod.
FELICITAS PVBLICA	-	Felicitas, caduceus, and cornucopiae.
SPEI PERPETVAE	-	Spes, flower, and globe.

Another wishes that he will continue in good health:-

SALVS AVGVSTI	-	Salus, rudder, altar, and serpent or Aesculapius and staff.
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While two others refer to his arrival in Lugdunum and his departure:-

ADVENTVS AVG.	-	Emperor riding and carrying a spear.
PROFECTIO AVGVSTI	-	Emperor on horseback, Victory, wreath, and trophy.

2. Cologne.

Some of the types of Lugdunum are repeated at Cologne, some are omitted, and some new ones are found:-

CIARITAS AVG.	-	Sol, Luna, and crescent.
FELICITAS AVG.	-	Victory, wreath, palm, Felicitas, and olive-branch or emperor and Hercules.
FORTVNA AVG.	-	Fortuna, rudder, and cornucopiae.
HILARITAS AVG.	-	Hilaritas, 2 children, palm, and cornucopiae.
INDVLG(FENTIA) PIA POSTVMI AVG.	-	Emperor on curule chair and suppliant (Does this refer to an amnesty ?)
PIETAS AVG.	-	Pietas and 4 children or on own. (Does this indicate the size of Postumus' family ? I doubt it).
LIBERALITAS AVG.	-	Liberalitas, tessera, and cornucopiae.
LIBERTAS AVG.	-	Libertas, pileus, and cornucopiae.
PROVIDENTIA AVG.	-	Providentia, globe, and sceptre.
SALVS (POSTVMI) AVG.	-	Salus and serpent or Aesculapius and staff.
UBER(I)TAS AVG.	-	Fertilitas, purse, and cornucopiae.

Although not an unusual type, this last might express a wish that a successor might be born to the emperor (provided that Postumus II is a mythical figure).

Two other types referring to the happiness of the times:-

FELICITAS TEMP(ORVM)	-	Galley, rowers, and standard.
SAECVLI FELICITAS	-	Emperor carrying spear and globe.

ii) Victorinus.

1. Cologne.

There are few types from this mint, but they follow the pattern of Postumus' coinage:-

AEQVITAS AVG.	-	Aequitas, scales, and cornucopiae.
PROVIDENTIA AVG.	-	Head of Medusa (an unusual portrait).
SALVS AVG.	-	Salus and serpent.
SAECVLI FELICITAS	-	Abundantia, modius, child, and rudder.

TEMPOR(VM) FELICIT(AS) - Felicitas, branch, and sceptre.

2. Southern mint.

Only one new type (Securitas) appears here:-

AEQVITAS AVG. - Aequitas, scales, and cornucopiae.
FELICITAS AVG. - Felicitas, caduceus, and cornucopiae.
FORTVNA AVG. - Fortuna, rudder, and double cornu-
-copiae.
INDVLGENTIA AVG. - Emperor, kneeling woman, and cornu-
-copiae.
LAETITIA AVG. - Lactitia, wreath, and anchor.
PIETAS AVG. - Pietas at altar.
PROVIDENTIA AVG. - Providentia, baton, and cornucopiae.
SALVS AVG. - Salus and serpent.
SECVRITAS AVGG. - Securitas and short sceptre.

This last is a doubtful coin referred to by Mowat⁸³
and now lost. What significance "Augg." had we cannot tell.

VBERTAS AVG. - Ubertas, purse, and cornucopiae.

A general type referring to peace:-

SAECVLI FELICITAS - Emperor, carrying javelin, and globe
or Abundantia and rudder.

A rather unusual military type, not matched by Postumus or the
Tetrici :*

DEFENSOR ORBIS - 2 soldiers and three women.

There remains a legend recording Victorinus' arrival at the mint,
but we possess no other mentioning his leaving it:-

ADVENTVS AVG. - Emperor raising hand and holding
spear.

iii) Tetrici.

There are the usual "character-references" on the coinage
of the Tetrici:-

AEQVITAS AVG(G). - Aequitas, scales, and cornucopiae.
ABVNDANTIA AVG. - Abundantia, and cornucopiae or
pontifical vase.
AETERNIT(AS) AVG. - Sol holding whip or Aeternitas
and phoenix on globe.

CARITAS AVGG.	-	Caritas and altar.
CONCORDIA AVG(G).	-	2 male figures (Tetrici ?) and Victory on globe or Concordia, paterna, and cornucopiae.
FECVNDITAS	-	Fecunditas, 2 children in arms, 2 at feet.
FELICITAS AVG.	-	Felicitas, paterna (or caduceus) and cornucopiae or Felicitas and 2 children.
FORTVNA AVG.	-	Fortuna, rudder, and cornucopiae.
HILARITAS AVG(G).	-	Hilaritas, wreath, or palm, sceptre (and 2 children).
LAETITIA AVG.(N[OSTRI])	-	Laetitia, wreath, and anchor or baton or pontifical implements.
LIBERALITAS AVG(G).	-	Liberalitas, tessera, or palm, and cornucopiae.
NOBILITAS AVGG.	-	Nobilitas, globe, and sceptre.

A new type referring to the probable aristocratic
birth of the Tetrici.

PIETAS AVG(G).	-	Pietas or pontifical implements.
PROVIDENTIA AVG(G).	-	Providentia, baton, and cornucopiae or pontifical implements.
SALVS AVG(G).	-	Victory or Salus.
VBER(I)TAS AVGG.	-	Ubertas and attributes.

Again there are references to the character of the age:-

FELICITAS PVBLICA	-	Felicitas, column, and caduceus.
SAECVLI FELICITAS	-	Emperor and globe or Felicitas and caduceus.
SPEI PERPETVAE	-	Spes and flower.

Several other types refer to Tetricus ~~xx~~ II as Caesar:-

PRINC(IPI) IVVENT(VTI)	-	Emperor and sceptre or Caesar and ensigns or with spear and globe.
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Two other types, unknown to Postumus and Victorinus,
appear, one of which refers to Tetricus I as the patron of the empire
- the idea of a civilian rather than of a soldier:-

TVTELA	-	Tutela, paterna, and spear.
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There is also a reference to Tetricus' arrival somewhere, the exact location of which is not known, but which might have been the southern mint of Victorinus since it is likely that Tetricus issued his coins from there:-

ADVENTVS AVG.

- Emperor riding, raising hand and holding sceptre.

We also have some commemorative antoniniani of an irregular nature, which bear the usual "CONSECRATIO" legend and show an eagle, altar, or a woman, altar, patera, and spear or baton or cornucopiae.

g) Summary.

Finally, a word on the coinage. All the emperors paid attention to the production of their coinage, if we are to judge by the legend "MONETA AVG." with Moneta, scales, and cornucopiae or sceptre (Tetricus II) or with Hercules and club (Postumus). Certainly Postumus must have concerned himself with it to a great extent considering the great variety of his legends and types; and Victorinus, too, although his shorter reign meant that he had less opportunity to do so. Tetricus as well introduced some new types and legends; but it is quite noticeable even from the limited number of coins in my own collection that there is a marked deterioration in the moneyers' work after the death of Postumus. Tetricus' coins are on the whole shoddily executed; the portraits and figures are rough and inartistic as compared with those of his predecessors, and the lettering is weak. Undoubtedly this confirms the general decline in the virility and strength of the empire that resulted in (and probably caused) its downfall in A.D. 273.

Reflections.

a) The situation in the third century.

Did the Gallic Empire, even in its short life of thirteen years, have any lasting effect and serve any useful purpose for the empire as a whole? And, perhaps more

important than these two questions, did it serve any purpose while it was in existence? I will try and answer the last question first. When Postumus took the opportunity offered him by Gallienus' absence from Gaul to raise the flag of revolt, I consider that he was doing the empire a great service. It was obvious from the events of Gallienus' reign that the emperor could not cope with the swelling tide of barbarians that was threatening and often overrunning his frontiers on the one hand, and on the other the numerous revolts that occurred in the various parts of the empire, which mainly arose to combat those selfsame barbarians and to establish a visible focus for the loyalty of the troops concerned. Gallienus in my opinion was a much better emperor and general than the vituperative and super-critical analysis of his reign by "Trebellius Pollio" in the 'Historia Augusta' would allow. Trebellius had an axe to grind against Gallienus.

But this strays a little from my point. Gallienus was the victim of circumstances beyond his control, and he could not have been expected to predict the pressures he would have to endure. He deserved to be congratulated on the years that he survived on the throne. Postumus, however, proved to be too much for him. He had had experience on the German frontier against the barbarians trying to push on to the richer lands of the south. If the story of his appointment as the commander of the Rhine frontier presented by Trebellius is accurate - and later events tend to confirm it - he had obviously proved successful in previous campaigns. Certainly during his reign we hear of no serious barbarian inroads into the Gallic provinces; on the contrary, his coins acclaim him as "Germanicus Maximus", which surely indicates here at least that he was successful, even if on many occasions the emperors at Rome might have used such titles for propaganda and nothing else. Postumus and his successors preserved the security and prosperity of the Gallic Empire at a time when, if it had been left to the control of Gallienus, it would have become the victim of invasion, plunder, and pillage. Not only did Postumus and Victorinus maintain the external security of their empire; they also promoted its internal well-being. We have seen and discussed numerous references to trade and commerce on the coinage; and it is also clear

from the amount of building repairs done under the three emperors that the Gallic provinces enjoyed a peace from 260 to 273 that they had not had for many years before. The most tangible proof of this is the coinage of Postumus and Victorinus, which in quality is far superior to the contemporaneous issues of Gallienus.

b) The army and the throne.

One of the greatest defects of the Roman imperial system was that it ultimately relied upon the emperor's control of the army. Augustus had secured himself on the throne after the defeat and death of Antony largely because he was the adoptive son and heir of Julius Caesar, and as such had an immense appeal to the legions. As years went by, it became obvious that the army had a dominant role in the making and breaking of emperors. And this is no more true than in the third century A.D. It continued to be true of the Gallic Empire, which arose by the sword, and ultimately died by the threat of the sword. Like the Rome of its day, the Gallic Empire was a naked military autocracy; Postumus had been a general, Victorinus a senior officer in the Gallic army; and however much they might temper their rule with justice and fair government, their first call when danger threatened was to the army. And the population of the Gallic provinces expected this. When Tetricus was on the throne, he failed to establish sufficient rapport with the legions. That must have been the cause of the numerous revolts in his reign; and what more convincing proof of it do we need than his extreme readiness to abandon his troops when faced with Aurelian? To whom else could he turn - the bureaucracy? the rich provincial nobility? the impoverished peasant, who was only too glad to see an end to civil war and the victory of some strong military commander so as to ensure comparative peace for a few years and thus allow him breathing space to cultivate his crops for a while without being troubled by marauding soldiers or barbarians? Granted that there seems to be evidence of the existence of a Gallic Senate; but it is so meagre and scanty that we can only assume it to have been a mere cipher, an imperial rubber-stamp. Rome had grown accustomed to successful generals reaching for the purple and she expected - and got - no alternative. So we can say that politically the Gallic Empire offered nothing

new.

c) The contribution of the Gallic Empire.

But this is not to say that the Empire made no contribution to the historical development of the main empire or even of Europe. I think it made two, both of them closely associated with each other in the long run. First of all, the idea of one part of the empire breaking away from the rest and looking after its own security and prosperity was novel and was later to be developed to its logical conclusion by Diocletian in his division of the empire into prefectures or, to use a modern term, "regional areas of government". Postumus' action was dictated to him by circumstances as well as by personal ambition; Diocletian's by policy and the intention of sharing much of the burden of the responsibility for government with others. Secondly, Postumus had encouraged - and most of all through his coinage - the idea of nationhood, perhaps even of nationalism, during his reign. As they handled the coins bearing the portraits of their popular demigod, Hercules, Postumus' subjects would more readily identify themselves with the Gallic Empire than with the more remote Rome. This idea did not have much opportunity to germinate, but at least the seed had been planted; and we can see in this and the later system of Diocletian the beginnings of European nationalism, of large national units with one common heritage, but with their own particular and peculiar contributions to make to the history of the continent⁸⁴.

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References for Chapter 4.

1. Insc.no.28.
2. " 103.
3. " 99.
4. Vd.JRS XXVII,1937,p.249.
5. Insc.no.96.
6. " 27.
7. " 95.
8. " 105.
9. " 102.
10. " 98.
11. " 24. Vd.EE IX,1249.
12. " 25.Vd. EE IX,1250.
13. " 17.Vd.Chapter I(dating of consuls).
14. Vd.Chapter I(dating of consuls) and insc.no.18.
15. Inscs.nos.21,22,23.
16. " 65.
17. " 66.
18. " 67.
19. " 59.
20. " 76.
21. " 104.
22. " 85.
23. " 61.
24. " 51.
25. " 68.
26. " 69.
27. " 70.
28. " 71.
29. " 86.
30. " 83.
31. " 78.
32. " 81.
33. " 84.
34. " 72.
35. " 73.
36. " 74.
37. " 75.
38. " 79.
39. " 82.
40. " 87.
41. " 94.
42. " 50.
43. " 100.
44. " 60.
45. " 63.
46. " 64.
47. Inscs.nos.4,5,7,8,12.
48. Vd.Markl,N.Z.1884,410-421.
49. Insc.no.14.
50. " 13.
51. " 15.
52. " 5.

53. Insc.no.7.
54. " 12.
55. " 4.
56. " 9.
57. " 8.
58. " 1.
59. S.H.A.4,VII,5.
60. Insc.no.94.
61. " 106.
62. " 39.
63. " 38.
64. Vd.Mowat,R.N.,1890,134ff.,140ff.
65. Insc.no.52.
66. " 97.
67. " 54.
68. " 88.
69. " 57.
70. " 91.
71. " 90.
72. " 92.
73. Vd.G.Hübner,R.J.XXXIV-XL,1866,1-9; insc.no.52; and vd.E.Krüger,
J.d.a.I.,1933,cols.687ff.
74. S.H.A.2,V,4.
75. Insc.no.21.
76. Vd.M.& S. under Postumus,Victorinus,Tetricus,Marius,and Iaelianus.
77. Insc.no.105.
78. " 104.
79. " 17.
80. Vd.Holder,Vol.I,col.1273.
81. Vd.Holder,Vol.II,cols.386-7.
82. C.& M.B., "Historical Significance of Coins,II",pp.3-6.
83. Vd.Mowat.
84. For further discussion of this idea and others concerning the
importance of the Gallic Empire vd.G.J.3pp.296-300.

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APPENDIX I - DATE OF THE TAKEOVER OF THE GALLIC EMPIRE BY AURELIAN.

Although it is generally accepted that the battle of the Catalaunian Fields took place in A.D.273, I think it advisable that I should produce evidence of the takeover of the Gallic Empire by Aurelian as supplied by the inscriptions of the rebellious provinces.

1. Britain.

There are only two inscriptions from this province - the first from Bitterne near Southampton¹, the second a milestone from Stanegate near Fell End, just east of Carveran². Of vital importance to this section, however, is an inscription found on a column at Serdica (Sofia), which, when expanded, would give Aurelian the title of "Britannicus Maximus"³, not previously known except from a papyrus. Unfortunately no date is provided. The style of the inscription suggests that the title is official.

2. Lugdunensis.

From Treteu on the Lyon-Clairmont road comes a milestone found in 1854 and dateable to A.D.275⁴. Near Orleans a column was found in 1843 which is also dateable to the same year⁵. A milestone found in 1841 near Elven can be dated between 274 and 275⁶. While another inscription from Orleans⁷ should also be dated to 275, for it appears that in that year Aurelian took his seventh "tribunicia potestas" if we can rely on his coins⁸.

3. Narbonensis.

We possess several inscriptions from this province dedicated to Aurelian, from both sides of the Rhone, which seem to have acted as the border between the Gallic and Roman Empires for a while during the reign of Tetricus; and on several of these Aurelian is referred to as the emperor who recaptured the lost provinces of the empire. They come from Alba Helvorum (Aps)⁹-Aurelian's second consulship was in A.D.274, and the inscription records that he not only "restored the Gauls", but showed clemency towards the "leaders" (PRI[ncipibus]) of the breakaway empire, which confirms the evidence of his treatment of the Tetrici in our literary ---104---

sources; a column found in 1823 at Foroiuli (Frejus)¹⁰ - once again we see a reference to Aurelian's restoration of the empire, but the date of the inscription is uncertain. He was "trib.pot.IIIII" in 273 and "cos.III" in 275; but it is obvious from the evidence of most of Aurelian's dated inscriptions that the stonecutters who cut them often made mistakes about the dates. From near Tain we have a milestone whose date is not given¹¹; surprisingly no reference is made to Aurelian's pacification of the empire. Could this inscription have been set up then in A.D.27? when Tetricus was as yet unconquered? There is a milestone found in 1879 near Valentia¹², which contains another probable reference to Aurelian's conquest of Tetricus' empire. The "R]ESTITVIT" towards the end of the inscription might possibly imply that Aurelian repaired buildings which had been damaged in the campaigns against the Gallic Empire. Other inscriptions come from Montelimar¹³; Arras¹⁴; and another from Alba Helvorum (Aps)¹⁵, which is very like C.I.L.XII,2673 from the same place. The editor of CIL XII suggests that the final line may have read "MILIA" and not "GALLIA", but the inscription is now lost and therefore we cannot come to a definite conclusion about this.

Two inscriptions remain. The first of these was found at Valentia with C.I.L.XII,5553¹⁶, although it has been suggested in CIL that it had no connection with Aurelian. The second is a column found at Vienna in 1856¹⁷. To judge from the titles this could be a reference to Aurelian (or perhaps to Probus). On inscriptions Aurelian's "tribunicia potestas IIII" and "cos,II" are often found together.

4.Germania Superior.

There is a milestone found at Salzig in existence, which, though undated, furnished evidence of Aurelian's takeover of this province¹⁸. It must be noted here that a serious omission at this point is ^{of} any inscription ^{relating} to his takeover of Germania Inferior.

5. Alpes Maritimae.

There is no evidence that this area ever formed part of the Gallic Empire, but we know that if it did, it was certainly taken over by Aurelian from an inscription from Brianconnet¹⁹.

6. Taфраconensis.

This province, like Baetica, was reconquered by Claudius II, and it appears from the following inscriptions that it stayed under the aegis of Rome from that point onwards - a marble column from Saguntum²⁰: this was no doubt set up after the emperor's death in A.D.275; from Barcino and since lost²¹: despite there being some argument about the reading of line eight, as it stands, the inscription is dateable to A.D.275, the year of the emperor's third consulship, but his third "trib.pot." was in 273. Once again there appears to be an error on the part of the stonemason.

7. Baetica.

A column from Corduba²² and another from the same place, found in 1673 and since lost²³. Both of these are undated.

8. Africa.

Probably the most informative inscription we possess that is dedicated to Aurelian comes not from any of the Gallic provinces, but from near Henschir Tuschin close to Timgad in Africa. From the date, which appears to be accurate for once, this was set up in A.D.274, and quite conceivably could have been erected to celebrate the emperor's triumph in that year. This and the fact that Aurelian is called "Restitutor Orbis" dovetail perfectly with our literary sources, which state that he held the triumph after his conquest not only of Palmyra, but also of Tetricus.²⁴

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References for Appendix I.

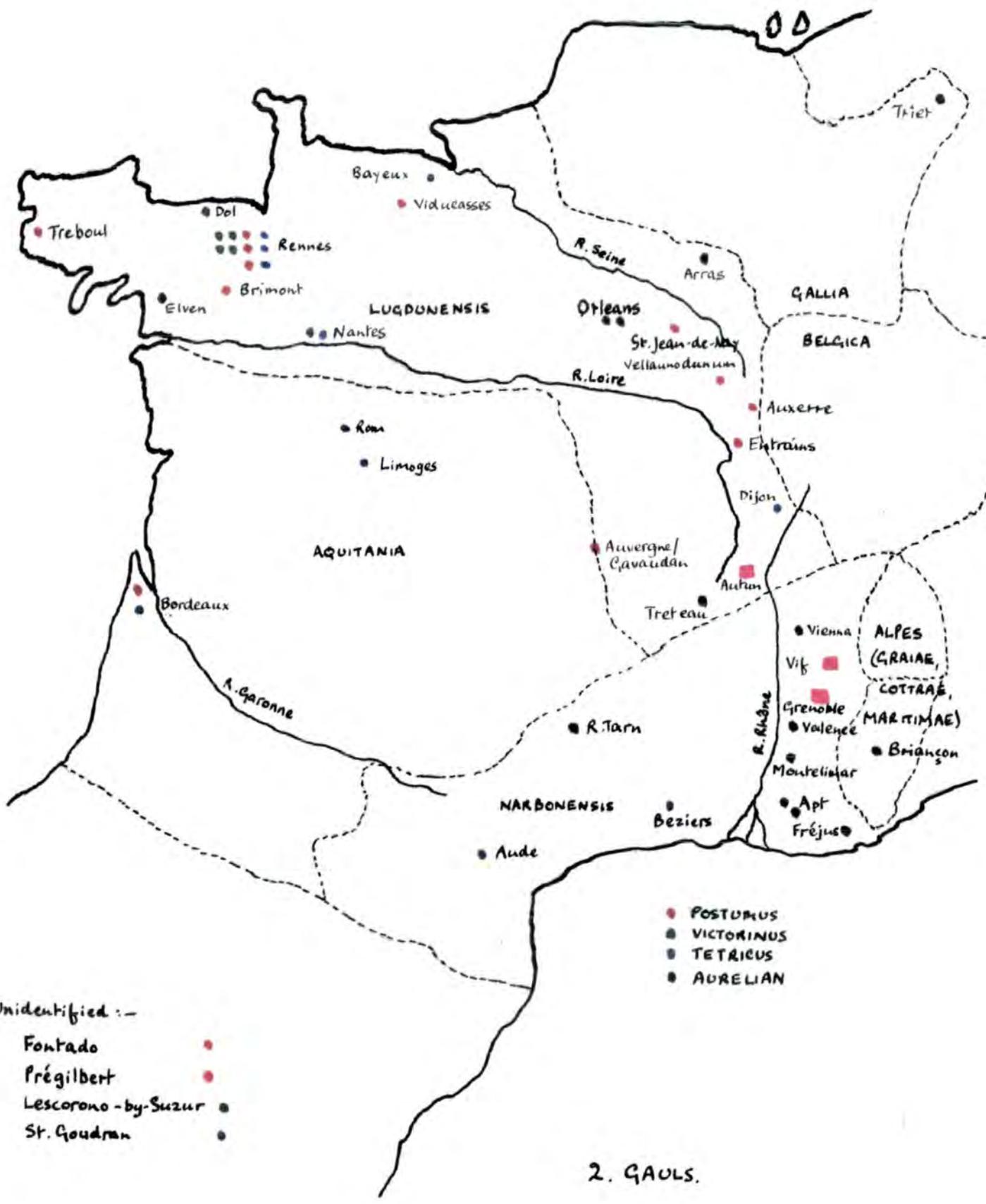
1. Insc.no.26.
2. Vd.Archæologia Aeliana,4,X,102-104(M.Birley). The inscription reads as follows:-
[IMP CAES]
[L] DOMI[TI]
[O] AVREL[I]
ANO PF
AVG
3. Insc.no.16.
4. " 62.
5. " 77.
6. " 80.
7. " 107.
8. Vd.Eckhel,7,485,488,481.
9. Insc.no.40.
10. " 41.
11. " 43.
12. " 44.
13. " 45.
14. " 46.
15. " 48.
16. " 47.
17. " 42.
18. " 89.
19. " 37.
20. " 6.
21. " 10.
22. " 3.
23. " 11.
24. " 33.
- 25.

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- POSTUMUS
- VICTORINUS
- TETRICUS
- AURELIAN



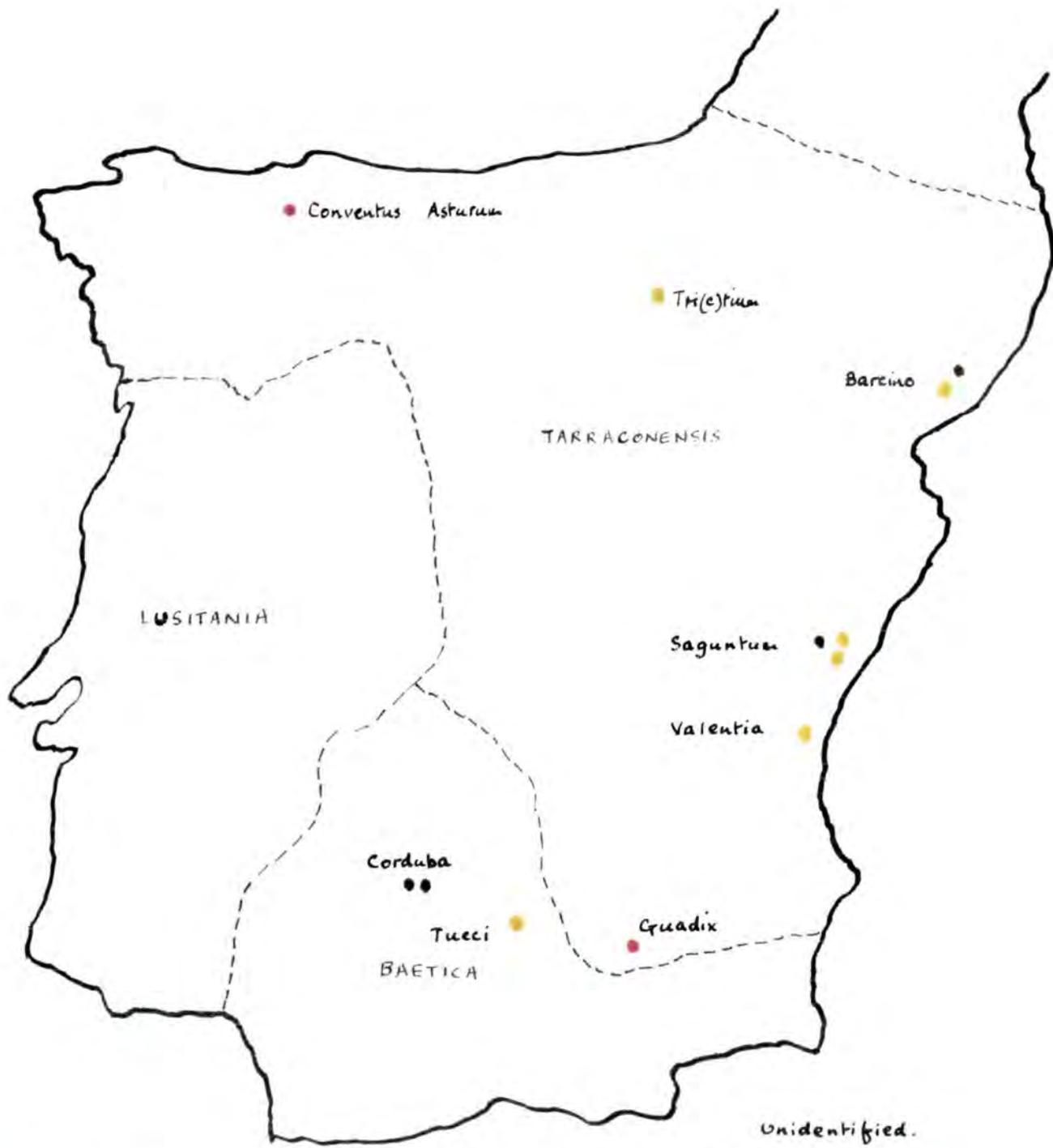
I. BRITAIN.



- POSTUMUS
- VICTORINUS
- TETRICUS
- AURELIAN

- Unidentified :-
- Fontado
 - Prégilbert
 - Lescorono-by-Suzur
 - St. Goudran

2. GAULS.



- POSTUMUS
- CLAUDIUS II.
- AURELIAN.

Unidentified.
 Quintinilla ●

3. SPAINS



- POSTUMUS
- VICTORINUS
- VALERIAN + CALLIENUS
- AURELIAN

Unidentified

- Altripp (G.S.)
- Salzig (")
- Neustrassburg (Kyllwald)

4. GERMANIES.

APPENDIX 3 - INSCRIPTIONS REFERRED TO IN THE TEXT.

1. CIL II,1672.Tucci,Baetica.
Imp.Caes./M.Aurelio/Claudio.Pio.Fel./Invict.Aug.P.M./trib.potest/
III.Cos./res.pu[b].Tucsit./d.d.
2. CIL II,2008.
Contains references to "P.Septimius Aper" and "M.Sedatius C.f.
Severianus Iulius Rufinus", consuls of an uncertain year.
3. CIL II,2201.Corduba,Baetica.
Imp.Caes./Luc.Domitio./Aureliano.Pio./Fel.Invicto/Aug.res.pub./
Astig.devota/numini.maies/tatiq.eius.
4. CIL II,3619.St.Tecla,region of Pisana,Tarraconensis.
Imp.Caes./M.Aur.Clau/dio.Pio.Fel.In/victo.Aug.Pont./max.trib.pot./
cos.II.p.p.procos./d.d.
5. CIL II,3737.Valentia,Tarraconensis.
Imp.Caes.M.Aur./Claudio.Pio/felici.invict./aug.pont.max./trib.pot.
cons./p.p.proc.xlentini/veter.ani.et/vete.res.
6. CIL II,3832.Saguntum,Tarraconensis.
Deo/Aureli/ano.
7. CIL II,3833.Saguntum,Tarraconensis.
Claudio.invicto/pio.felici.imp./cos.pont.max./trib.pot.p.p.procos.
8. CIL II,3834.Saguntum,Tarraconensis.
Claudio.in/victo.pio.fel./pont.max./trib.pot.III/cos.II.procos.
9. CIL II,4505.Barcino,Tarraconensis.
Imp.Caes.M.Aur./Claudio.pio./fel.aug.pontif./max.trib.pot./cos.
II.procos./p.p.maximoq./principi.nost./ordo.Barc./devotus.numini/
maiestatiq./eius.
10. CIL II,4506.Barcino,Tarraconensis.
Imp.Caes./L.Domitio.Au/reliano.pio.fe/invicto.aug./arabico.max./
gothico.max./carpico.max./trib.p.III.cos.III/proc.III.princi/
pi.n.ordo.Barc./numini.maiestatiq.eius/[semper devotissimus].
11. CIL II,4732.Corduba,Baetica.
Imp.Caes./L.Domitius/Aurelian/pius.fel/invictus/p.m.tr.p./.....
12. CIL II,4879.Tricium,Tarraconensis.
Imp.C.A./Marco/Claudio/pont.m./trib.po/II.p.r.oc.
13. CIL II,4919.Quintinilla,Tarraconensis.
[Im]p.Ca[es.]/[M.]Cassi[anio]/[Lat]ini[o.Pos]/[tu]mo.[p.f.]/
[in]vi[cto.aug.]/[ger]m.[max.]/[p.m.tr]i[b.pot.]/[cos.]III[p.p.
proc.]
14. CIL II,4943.Guadix(Acci),Tarraconensis.
Imp.Caes./M.Cassiani/us.Latinus.Pos/tumus.pius.fel./invic[tu]s.
aug./ger.max./pont.max./trib.pot./cos.III.p.p./procos.res/tituit.
15. CIL II,5736.Conventus Asturum,Tarraconensis.
.....um/p.....usm/anibussc[o]pcia[o]/nnaca ummaiaii/
ca iilionigaii.iix/giintii piinioru/anno.xv/patir.filiaiio/
possuit/do.no.pos/IIII.iit.Vict.c[o]s.
The expansion of this in CIL is as follows:-
[monument]um/p(ositum)[dib]us M/anibus.../..... /..... /
Callionicae ex/gente Penioru(m)/anno(rum)XV/pater filiae
o[pt(imae)?]/possuit/do(mi)no Pos(tumo)/IIII et Vic(torino)
co(n)s(ulibus).
Guerra's reading (also quoted in CIL) is :-
[monument]um/p(ositum)[dis omnib]us M/anibus Scopeia O/

- unaca Ummaiae/Caelionigae ex/gente Penioru(m),/anno(rum)XV,/pater
 filiae q(arissimae)/possuit/do(mino)n(ostro) Pos(tumo)/IIII et
 Vict(erino) co(n)s(ulibus).
- 16.CIL III,12333.Sofia = Serdica.
 d.n./imp.caes./[Domitio Aur]eliano pio felic/[incompa]
 rabili ac invi/[cto semp]er augusto pon/[ticipi maxim]o
 germ maxi/[mo brit]tan maximo/[gothi]co sarmat.ma/[ximo
 repa]ratori con/[servatori]patriae proc/[urata? libe]rata
 re public.
- 17.CIL VII,287.Lancaster,Britain.
////////.....balineum refect./[et b]asilicam vetustate
 conlabsam/a solo restitut[a]m eqq.alae Sebussia/[nae]
 sub Octavio Sabino v.c./praeside n.,curante Fla.Ammausio
 praef.eqq.D.d.XI Kal.Septem./Censore II et Lepido II cos.
- 18.CIL VII,802.Milecastle 52,Hadrian's Wall,Britain.
 Deo/Cocidio/milites/leg.XX.V.V./v....slm/Apr.et Ruf.c[o]s.
- 19.CIL VII,806.Netherby,Britain.
 I.o.m./coh.Aelia/Dacorum/qub preest/Ammonius/Victorinus/
 trib.
- 20.CIL VII,807.Naworth,Britain.
 I.o.m./...../...../...../so.../cui prae/est Ammo/
 Victorinus/trib.
- 21.CIL VII,820.Birdoswald,Britain.
 I.o.m./coh.I.Ae.Dac./Postumi/////G.P.Marc./Gallicus/trib.
- 22.CIL VII,822.Birdoswald,Britain.
 I.o.m./coh.I.Ael./Dacoru///Postum////ana c.p./Prob.Au/
 gendus/trib.
- 23.CIL VII,823.Birdoswald,Britain.
 I.o.m./coh.I.Ael.Dac./Tetricianoro/m c.p.Pomio/us Desig/
 natus...../trib.
- 24.CIL VII,1150.Bitterne near Southampton,Britain.
 This is the reading of E.Birley(EE IX,1249):-
 ipmcex/suivio/Tetric/usp.f.aug.
- 25.CIL VII,1151.Bitterne near Southampton,Britain.
 Imp.C.C./Po Esuio/Tetrico/p.f.ag.
- 26.CIL VII,1152.Bitterne near Southampton,Britain.
 Imp.Caes.Lu/cio.Domi/tio [Aure]liano.
- 27.CIL VII,1160.Pyle near Neath,Britain.
 Imp/M.C.Pia/vonio/Victor/ino aug.
- 28.CIL VII,1161.Brecon,Britain.
 Imp.Bo./n.Mar./Cassia/nio Latinio/Postumo/pio fel.aug.
- 29.CIL VIII,473.Sitifensis,Mauretania.
 Divo Caesari P.Cornelio Licinio Valeriano nepoti/Imp.Caes.
 P.Licini Valeriani aug.;filio Imp.Caes.P.Licini Gallieni
 aug.;fratri P.Corneli Licini Salonini nobilissimi caes.aug.
- 30.CIL VIII,2482.Gemellae,Numidia.
 Vic.aug./pro.sal.d.d.nn./Valeriani et Gall./ieni [augg.
 vexi]llat.mill/[iaria leg.III.aug.rc]stitu/tae.e.Raet.Geme/
 ll.regressi.die/XI.Kal.Nove.Volusi/ano.II.t.et.Maximo/
 cos.votum solver/per.M.Fl.Valente/+leg.ss.L.Volumius/
 Cresces.op.pri./M.Aurel.Licinius.[o]p/C.Geminus.Victor.
 [o]p/esculp.et.S.Donatus.

31. CIL VIII, 2634. Lambaesis, Numidia.
Deo/Marti Militiae/Potenti statuam/in honorem leg./III
aug. Valerianae/Gallienae Valerianae/Sattonius Iu/cundus pp.,
qui/primus leg. reno/vata aput aquilam vitem posu/it. votum
dedit./dedicante Veturio Vetu/riano v.c. leg./auggg. pr. pr.
32. CIL VIII, 8473.
Refers to Saloninus as "nob. Caes. fratri Valoriani II".
33. CIL VIII, 10217. Near Henschir Tuschin near Timgad.
Perpetua victori/osissimo indvl/gentissimo imp./restitutori
or/bis. L. Domitio/Aureliano pio/felici aug. pont/max. trib. pot.
V/cos. II. p. p. procos. res p. Col. Tha/aug. /VIII.
34. CIL ~~XXXX~~ IX, 5683. Cingula.
Confirms that Saloninus was Caesar after Valerian's II's
death.
35. CIL XI, 261a. Ravenna, Italy.
Cassianus.
36. CIL XI, 826. Mutina, Italy.
Imp. Caes. P. Licinius/Valerianus. pius. fel. aug. pon./max. germ.
max. trib. pot. VII. cos. IIII/p. p. pro. cos. et. Imp. Caes. P.
Licinius/Gallienus. germ. pius. fel. aug. pont. max. trib./
pot. VII. cos. III. p. p. procos. et. P. Cornelius. Saloninus/
Valerianus. nobiliss. caes. p[on]t. secul. vi. ignis. consumpt.
indulg./sua. restitui. curaverunt.
37. CIL XII, 58. Brig. ... = Brianconnet, Alpes Maritimae.
Imp. Caes./L. Domitio/Aureliano/p. f. invic[t]/aug. p. m./ord.
Brig.
38. CIL XII, 1551. Vif, Narbonensis.
Ignibus/aeternis. Iul/Placidianus/v. c. praef. praef. tori/ex
voto. posuit.
39. CIL XII, 2228. Gratianopolis = Grenoble, Narbonensis.
Imp. Caesar/M. Aur. Claudio/pio. felici. invicto/aug. germanico/
max. p. m. trib. potes/tatis. II. cos. patri. pa/triae. proc. vexil/
lationes. adque/equites. itemque/praepositi. et. duce/Nar.
protect. ten/dentes. in. Narb/prov. sub. cura. Iul/Placidiani.
v. p. praef. lect. vigil. devoti/numini. maiesta/tiq. eius.
40. CIL XII, 2673. Aps = Alba Helvorum, Narbonensis.
This is the probable reading of the inscription:-
[Imp. Caes.]/L. Dom[itio]/Aureliano/p. f. aug. p. m./germ. max./
goth. [max.]/~~maxim~~[parth. max.]/[tr. pot. V(?)]/[p.]p. cos. II.
[procos. ?]/[in]d[u]l[g.] invictis[s]/pri[nc.]restit[ut]/
Gallia[rum].
41. CIL XII, 5456. Forciuli = Frejus; Narbonensis.
Restitutor orbis/Imp. Caes./L. D. Aureliano/pio fel. invicto/
aug. pont./max. germ. max./got. max. part. max./trib. p. IIII. cos.
III/p. p. p. cos. /V.
42. CIL XII, 5511. Vienns, Narbonensis.
[Ma]x. got[hico. max]/trib. pot. III. cos. II/p. p.
43. CIL XII, 5548. Tain.
Imp. Caes./Luc. Dom./Aureliano/p. fel. inv./aug./pont. max./
germ. max./gutico. max./car. max./pro. v. inp./III. cos./p. p./
XXXVIII.
44. CIL XII, 5549. Valentia.
Imp. Caesar. L. Domit[ius]/Aurelianus]p. [f.]in[vi]c[tus]/

[au]g.p.m.ger[manic.max.]/[go]thic.ma[x.carpic.max.]/[par]
thic.ma[x.trib.pot.cos.]/p.p.proco[s.restitutor et]/
[pacat]or.orb[is]////[r]estituit/////milia [passuum]/
III.

45.CIL XII,5553.Montelimar.

Imp.Caes./L.Domitio/Aureliano/pfiaugpm/vs.

46.CIL XII,5561.Arras.

Pacat.ori/et ri.s.tito/ri.orbis/Imp.Caes.ri/L.Domi.tio/
Aurei.i.ano/p.fel.f.nvito/aug.cer/max.cot.hmax/car.p.maxi/
per.s.max pont/[max/////].

47.CIL XII,5568a.Valentia.

There are two readings for this inscription.They are as follows:-

1./l////pf///I///g/pa////cos III/[a]lb:mp.VIIII.

2.////pp/cos.////mp//aIII.

48.CIL XII,5571a.Aps = Alba Helvorum,Narbonensis.

////L.Dom////Aureliano/p.f.aug.p.m./germ.max./
goth.////tr.pot.////
imp.cos.II/ddal invictis/pri//restit//Gallia/////.

The possible expansion of this inscription as suggested by the editor of CIL XII is as follows:-

Imp.Caes.]L.Dom[itius]Aurelian[us] p(ius) f(elix) Aug.

(ustus) p(ontifex) m(aximus) germ(anicus) max(imus) Goth

(icus) [max(imus) carp(icus) max(imus) parth(icus) max(imus)]

tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) [...p(ater)] p(atriciae) cos.II

[procos?][in]d[u]l[g(entissimus)] invictis[s9iaus)] pri

[nc(eps)] restit[uit].[mi]lia....

49.CIL XIII,395.Tarbes,Aquitania.

D . m/θ.V.V.San/cti.c.v.Q./provinc./Baetic.tu/tor.c.p.Iul./
Sancti.fili/eius.p.c.

The expansion of this inscription is as follows:-

D(is) M(anibus) C.V(alerii) V(aleriani) Sancti c(larissimi)

v(iri),q(uaestoris) provinc(iae) Baetic(ae); tutor(es)

c(larissimi) p(ueri) Iul(ii?) Sancti filii eius p(onendum)

c(uraverunt).

50.CIL XIII,633.Burdigala = Bordeaux,Aquitania.

Front.

/ . t memor/Domitiae/civis Tre/ver.df an/XX.Leo con/iugi.
ka.riss/posuit/X.

Right side.

Hic iacet/exanimen/corpus Do/mitiae civ/Treveraef/def.VK
Febr/Postumo/cos.

51.CIL XIII,3163.Viducasses + Vieux,Lugdunensis.

Deo.Marti/C.Victorius/Felix.pro.se.et/mnio.filio.suo/et.
maternae.Vic/toris.coniugis/mace.v.s.l.m/Diale/et.Basso
cos.idib/Martis.

52.CIL XIII,3679.Trier,Gallia Belgica.

M.Pivonius.Victo/rinus.tribunus.p/reto[ria]norum/)...;....
...estituit.

53.CIL XIII,4166.Neumagen.

Only important for illustrating the omission of 'N' in
"DEFVCTO".

- [V]ictorino/p.f./inv.aug/c.R.
- 72.CIL XIII, 8962. Condate = Rennes, Lugdunensis.
Imp. Caes./C. Pio Esvio/Tetrico p.f./invi.aug.
- 73.CIL XIII, 8963. Condate = Rennes, Lugdunensis.
[I]mp. Caes./[C.] Pio. Esu/[v]io. Tetri/[c]o. pio fel/
[inv]ic. aug./[p.m.tr.p.]p./[cos.pr]o/...../[cos.c]R.l.
- 74.CIL XIII, 8964. Condate = Rennes, Lugdunensis.
Two fragments:-
a) G. Pio/Tetr/inv/c.
b) Im/co/.../c.
- 75.CIL XIII, 8970. St. Goudran.
G. Pio/Esuvi/o Tetr/ico no/bil Caes/c.R.
- 76.CIL XIII, 8972. Intaranum = Entrains, Lugdunensis.
[Imp. Caes.]/M. Cas[s]/Latinu[s]/Postum[us]/p.f.aug.[p.m.]/
trib.[pot]..
- 77.CIL XIII, 8973. Near Orleans.
This is the reading of ILS 581:-
Imp. C. L. D. Aure/liano. p.f. invic/aug. pont. m. t. p. VII/
cos. III. ger. m. got. m. pa/r. m. da[ec]. m. car. m. im.
- 78.CIL XIII, 8975. Near Mayenne.
Nio V////////invic/////aug p/////i IIII.
- 79.CIL XIII, 8977. Augustodurum = Bayeux, Lugdunensis.
G. P. Esubio/Tetrico/nobilissimo/Caes./...../p.f.aug./
l. I.
- 80.CIL XIII, 8997. Elven.
Magno[et invicto]/Imp. Caes. [L. Domitio]/Aurelian[o pio
fel.]/invicto [aug.p.m.]/trib.pot.[VI(?) cos.]/III.p.p.p.
[rocos]/...../a d l. XI(?).
- 81.CIL XIII, 8999. Condovicum = Nantes.
mp. Caes./v/Piavo/nio Vic/torino/[a]ug. cñ.
- 82.CIL XIII, 9000. Condovicum = Nantes, Lugdunensis.
Caio/Pio/Esuvio/Tetrico/nobilis/simo/[Caesari].
- 83.CIL XIII, 9006. Lescorono-by-Suzur.
Imp. Caes./Piavonio/Victorino/pio felici/aug.
- 84.CIL XIII, 9012. St. Meloir-des-Bois, Dol, Brittany, Lugdunensis.
Imp. Ca[es] M. Pi/avonio Vic/torino pf nc/p.m.///c. Cor/
leuc. II//.
- 85.CIL XIII, 9023. Pregilbert, Lugdunensis.
Imp. Caes. M. Cas/siano Latinio/Postumo p.f. invi[c]/
aug. p.f. max. ger./max. tr. p. cos. II. p.p./...../
Aedi//b ab aug./...../m.p. LXXII/.....vos....
- 86.CIL XIII, 9040. Near Brimont near Rennes, Lugdunensis.
Imp. Caes. Mar./Piavonio V[ic]to/rino. pf in////ug./p.m.
trib. p. cos./p.p. procos. c. Rem./l. IIII.
- 87.CIL XIII, 9041. Near Dibus = Dijon on the Lugdunensis/Baetica
border.
Uli(?)/Gaio. Esvio/Tetrico. pio/felici. invicto/aug. p.m.
tr. p. pp/And m/l. XXV.
- 88.CIL XIII, 9092. Altripp, Germania Superior.
I[mp. Ca]es./Mar[co Cas]sian[o]/Latin[io Post]umo [p.]/
f. inv[icto aug.]. p.m./trib. [pot. c]os. II/p.p.p. [.....c]
olN.

89. CIL XIII, 9139. Salzig, Germania Superior.
Perpetuo/Domitio [Aure]/liano pi[o fel]/aug.p.m.t[p.]/
cos.p.p.pr[oc]/a Mog/XXV[III]?
90. CIL XIII, 11975. Liesenich on the Moselle.
In.h.d.d.numin/Marti.Smertrio.et/Vindoridi.Boud/nae.Cn.
Domitius.C....
91. CIL XIII, 11976. Liesenich near Zoll on the Moselle.
Ovi burgum edificaverunt.Lup.Am/minus.prefectus.Sab.Acceptio.
Vid/pei//petus Flu.Tasgillus co Lepidus/Min Luppus cum.
Ces.Ursuls.paratus/est Victorino.augusto.et/Sacto.cos.X
kal.Iunias.
92. CID XIII, 12090. Kyllwald near Neustrassburg.
[I]mp.C.M.Pia[vonio]/Victorino p[io.fel.inv.]/aug.pm.tri.
p.co[s.pro]/cos.aug.Tr.1./..../X[X].
93. A.A.4, X, 102-4 (E. Birley). Carvoran, Britain.
[[Imp.Caes.]/[L.]Domi[ti]/[o] Aurel[i]/ano p f/aug.
94. A.E., 1907, 139. Barbaira = Aude, Narbonensis.
C.Pio.o/Tetric/nobil.C/iuvent/princip/i.cos/XI ci.
95. A.E., 1914, 294. Chesterton, Hunts., Britain.
Imp.Caes./Marco/Piaonio/Victori/no p.f.aug.
96. A.E., 1924, 1. Breage near Helston, Cornwall, Britain.
Imp.[C.]/do.no./Marc./Cassi/anio.
97. A.E., 1930, 35. Bonn, Germania Inferior.
....i?/.....Mascello.bf.l/vi.Lupulus.imm.cos./Veran.
Verinus.c.a./v.s.l.m./[Ce]ns[or]e it. et Lep[i]d[o]/
cos.VII.kal.Oct.
98. A.E., 1937, 108. Corstopitum = Corbridge, Britain.
Impe.M./Pivonio/Victori/no p.p./aug.
99. A.E., 1938, 119. Margam, Glamorgan, Britain.
Imp.C./M.C.L./Pos/tum/o au/ce.
100. A.E., 1958, 53. Fontado, Aquitania.
Imp.C.M.Cl.Poc/tumo p.f.iv aug./p.m.tr.p.cos.III.p.p./
Car.1.XXXV.
101. E.E.VIII, 770.
Refers to Valerianus II as "nob.Caes." and carries the
dates "Val.t.p.V.,cos.III; Gall.t.p.III,cos.III".
102. E.E.IX, 1913, 1254. Old Penrith, Britain.
Imp.Cal.S/Momato/nius Vic/torinus/pius.p.f.
103. I.L.S. 560. Brecknock, Britain.
Imp.do.n./Mar.Cassia/nio Latinio/Postumo/pio fel.aug.
104. I.L.S. 561. Auxerre, Lugdunensis.
Imp.Caes.M.Cas/si[a]nio.Latinio/Postum.p.f.inv/aug.p.f.
max.ger./max.tr.p.cos.II.p.p./Aed.l.....b.ab.Aug./
m.p.LXXII.
105. I.L.S. 565. Lincoln, Britain.
Imp.Caes./Marco/Piaonio/Victori/no.p.f.inv/aug.pon/max./
tr.p.p.p./a.L.S.m./p.X.III.
106. I.L.S. 567. Beziere, Narbonensis.
Do.no/C.Pio.Esuvio.Te/trico.nobilis/simo Caes.filio/Imp.
C.Pii.Esuvi./Tetrici.p.f.in/victi aug p.m./trib.[pot]II
cos.

107. I. L. S. 581. Orleans, Lugdunensis.
Imp. C. L. D. Aure/liano. p. f. invic. / aug. pont. m. t. p. VII. /
cos. III. ger. m. got. m. pa/r. m. da[c.]. car. m. im.

108. A. E., 1929, 29. Arycanda.

[αὐτοκράτωρ καίσαρ πουβλιος Λικίνιος]
ὄσα [Λεριανός] Εἰσε[βης Σεβαστός]
'ἄρχ [ιερέως] μεγ[ιστος]
δημ[αρχικῆς] ἐξουσίας τ[ο].....πα]
της πατρίδος ἀνθύπ. και [καί]
σαρ πουβ. Λικ. Γαλλίηνος εἰσε[βης]
'Ἀρχιερέως Μεγ. Γερμανικός [δεμαρχικῆς ἐξου-]
σίας το γ ὑπάτος το γ π. π. ἀνθύπατος]
Ὁυαλεριανός ἐπιφανέστα[τος]
'Ἀρκαυδέων τῆς ἀρχόντου [καί τῆ βουλῆ] / και τῶ δημῶ. [χαίρειν].

109. Pap. Oxyr. VIII, 1119.

[ἔτους γ αὐτοκράτορων καίσαρων Γαίου Οὐβίου Τρεβωνιανοῦ
Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου Οὐβίου Ἀφινίου Γάλλου Οὐελδουμιανοῦ
Ὀδολουσιανοῦ Εἰσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν Σεβαστῶν (2nd. hand).
κεσορή κγ. (3rd. year, 23rd. kesore = 16th. August).
[Γαίου Οὐβίου Τρεβωνιανοῦ Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου Οὐβίου Ἀφινίου
Γάλλου Οὐελδουμιανοῦ Ὀδολουσιανοῦ Εἰσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν
σεβαστῶν (2nd. hand) κεσορή. (25th. July - 23rd. August).
(ἔτους) β κέρκων Ἰουλίων Ἄθου λ. (2nd. yr. 30 Hathur = 26 Nov.)
————— " ————— κεχοίρ γ. (" , 3 kechoir = 28 Jan.)
(ἔτους) β — " ————— Φαρμοῦθι ιγ (" , 13 Phamouti = 8 April)
(6th. hand?) (ἔτους) γ κεσορή. 3rd. year = April.

110. Pap. Oxyr. XII, 1407.

..... Νουμμίω Τούσκω καὶ Νουμμίω
C βάσση ὑπάτοις ἀπὸ Νέγας πόλεως ζ (ἔτους) Φαῶφι ιδ.
..... οἷς Εἰσεβῆς Εὐτυχῆς Σεβαστός
τὸ τρίτον ὑπάτος πατήρ πατρίδος
.....
1st. Phaothi = 28th. September.

111. Pap. Oxyr. XII, 1476.

A (ἔτους) Μακρίνιανου καὶ Κουήτου
Σεβαστῶν Φαῶφι β.....
1st. year, 2nd. Phaothi = 29th. September.

112. Pap. Oxyr. XIV, 1640.

(ἔτους) γ [αὐ]τοκράτορων
καίσαρων Γαίου Οὐβίου Τρεβωνιανοῦ
Γάλλου καὶ Γαίου Οὐβίου Ἀφινίου Γάλλου
Οὐελδουμιανοῦ Ὀδολουσιανοῦ Εἰσεβῶν
Εὐτυχῶν Σεβ[α]στῶν Φαῶφκ. 3rd. year, 20th. Phaothi = 17th. October.

113. Unpublished as yet. Brougham, Cumberland, Britain.

Imp. Caes. Ma/rc. Casianio/Latiniano/Postimo/aug. pio/
felici rpc/Car.

+++++