THE ANTIOCH HOARD

GALLIENUS



ALEX G. MALLOY

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Abbreviations

abt about	G
AE bronze or copper	hd head
AHG Antioch Hoard of Gallienus	1
AR	laur laureate
EF extra fine	o, obv obverse
ex exergue	B , rev reverse
F fine	r right
FDC fleur de coin: mint state	rad radiate

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THE ANTHOCH HOARD OF GAILLENUS

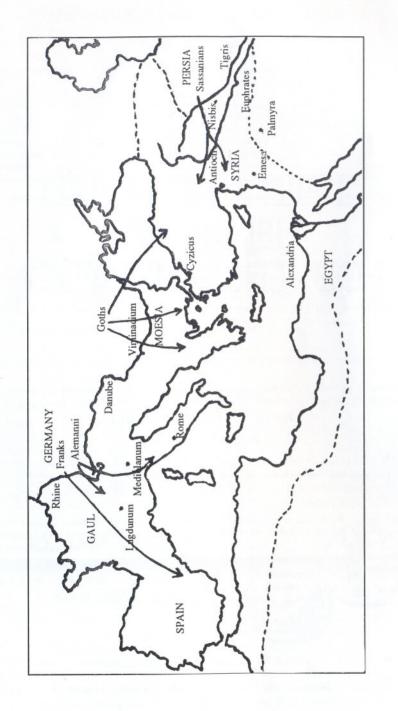
Camden W. Percival David W. Sorenson, Ph.D. Alex G. Malloy



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THE ROMAN WORLD IN THE TIME OF GALLIENUS





THE AGE OF GALLIENUS Camden W. Percival



Valerian AHG 129

The middle of the third century was a particularly turbulent time in Roman history. The empire was under attack by her neighbors on all sides; her soldiers, more loyal to their own interests than to the Empire itself, continually proclaimed new emperors; even nature itself seemed to be conspiring to destroy the old order. We will examine in detail the time of the emperor Gallienus (P. Licinius Egnatius Gallienus), who ruled from 253 to 268. Gibbon states: "The whole period was one uninterrupted series of confusion and calamity."

The half-century from 235 to 284 is known as the period of the "Barracks Emperors." During this period there were 21 emperors, plus numerous unsuccessful aspirants to the purple. Of this number only two died of natural causes, the rest falling in battle or the victims of assassins (generally their own troops). These emperors were successful generals, mainly of provincial and non-aristocratic stock, vying for the loyalty of the troops with promises of money. The legions, made up largely of mercenaries, swung from emperor to emperor.

Perhaps due to the continual warfare of the times, much of the ancient world was struck with the plague, probably bubonic, in the early 250's. It may have begun among the Germanic invaders or in the slums of Alexandria where, according to Gibbon's estimate, half the population succumbed. The illness reached pandemic proportions among the troops (killing among others the emperor Hostilian), and returned home with the soldiers. At one point five thousand people per day died in Rome. Agriculture was particularly affected by the continual warfare and illness.

Valerian (P. Licinius Valerianus), the father of Gallienus, is described as being of noble birth, prudent, and experienced. He had been named Censor by Decius; in 253 he was serving as Governor of Raetia, an area between the Rhine and Danube. Summoned home by then-emperor Trebonianus Gallus to combat the uprising of Aemilian, he marched the Gallic legions back to Italy. Before the reinforcements could arrive, Gallus was assassinated by his own troops, who went over to Aemilian. Valerian continued marching into Italy; Aemilian's troops, showing loyalty typical of the period, murdered him and hailed the newcomer as emperor. Valerian marched to Rome, where the Senate, probably delighted to see an emperor of old Roman aristocratic stock, confirmed his imperial titles. Valerian, then about sixty years old, had his son Gallienus named as co-emperor. Gallienus' older son, Valerian II (P. Cornelius Licinius Valerianus), was named Caesar. When this prince died about two years later, the younger son Saloninus (P. Licinius Cornelius Saloninus Valerianus) became Caesar.

The two Augusti inherited an empire beset with problems; there was no time to rest and consolidate their position. The plague which had killed Hostilian still raged. The economy was in disarray, with rampant inflation; the silver content of the coinage

continued to decrease. An Egyptian papyrus of about 260 ordered money-changers to stop refusing Imperial coins. The Christians were considered a threat (or at least a useful scapegoat); in 257 Valerian issued edicts resuming the persecutions of Decius. These required that the established religious formalities be respected, ordering participation by clergy in sacrifices to the gods. The edicts were not directed at the laity; the body of Christians was not bothered, although gathering for religious purposes and entry into the cemeteries was forbidden. At this point the punishment was exile. The edicts of 258 were sterner: recalcitrant clergymen were to be put to death. Christian senators or equites who refused to sacrifice were subject to confiscation of their property and, if they continued to refuse, to death. The *caesares*, those in the employ of the emperor, were subject to exile to the mines. Leading churchmen were arrested; in 258 Pope Sixtus was apprehended leading a service in the catacombs and was beheaded.

The empire was under external pressure from all sides: the Germanic tribes of Goths, Franks, and Alemanni attacked the various frontiers, and the resurgent Persian empire under the Sassanian emperor Shapur wreaked devastation in the East. The loyalty of the emperor's own generals and troops remained in question.

As soon as Valerian removed the Gallic legions to Italy to secure the throne, the Franks crossed the Rhine and attacked Gaul. Valerian sent Gallienus to combat the invaders; he probably arrived on the frontier sometime in 254. He made his headquarters in Cologne, walling the city and taking the precaution of paying his soldiers in gold rather than the silver coins of questionable value. He remained for four years, fighting five German campaigns. Older historians portray Gallienus as irresponsible and lazy; newer archaeological evidence suggests that his time was spent rushing about the Rhineland fortifying cities and battling Franks. The Roman army, strung along the frontier, was not sufficient. Gallienus could defeat the invaders, but they would simply attack somewhere else. In an attempt to combat this tactic, he created a highly effective mobile cavalry force, which would be stationed after 260 in Milan. This group, generaled by Aureolus, was probably Gallienus' most effective weapon.

In about 257 the Franks poured into northern France; by about 259 they penetrated into Spain. The Alemanni moved into the empire further south than the Franks; beginning about 256 they attacked the *limes*, the barricade marking the frontier. About 258 some went through Raetia into northern Italy. Gallienus was forced to rush his troops back to Italy, defeating the Alemanni at Milan. He made agreements with some German tribes which gave them lands on the frontiers, which they were then to defend against further incursions. In one such agreement, Attalus, king of the Marcomani, gave Gallienus in return his daughter Pipa, who became the emperor's concubine.

Meanwhile, in the east, the resurgent Persia, under the new Sassanian dynasty, was attempting to win back Roman territories which had once been Persian. The energetic emperor Shapur, whose reign began in 241, seems to have invaded the Roman territories almost annually. The rich cities of Syria were tempting targets. In 254 Shapur's armies took the city of Nisbis in Mesopotamia and Tyana in Asia Minor. In 256, supposedly with the help of a traitor, Shapur captured and sacked the great city of Antioch. According to Libanius, writing in the fourth century, the populace was attending the theatre; an actor looking over the crowd saw the Persian hordes and ad-libbed "If I'm not dreaming, there are the Persians!" Meanwhile, another Germanic horde, the Goths, was swarming south through the Balkans into Greece and Asia Minor.



At this point, it was necessary for Valerian to take charge of the Eastern defenses. The empire was divided administratively (though not legally), with Gallienus in charge of the west, Valerian the east. Valerian began rebuilding Antioch, which Shapur did not defend, having taken its treasure back to Persia. Valerian set up his headquarters in Samosata, where he could combat the Persians and Goths. In 259 he led his troops to Asia Minor to face the Goths; with the bad luck which seems to have haunted Valerian's reign, his army was struck with the plague and had to struggle home. Shapur chose this time to advance once again. Valerian, unable to allow his army to recuperate, finally came to battle against Shapur before Edessa, probably in the summer of 260. What followed was one of the most shameful episodes of Roman history. Valerian was captured by the Persians. It is not certain whether he was taken in battle or when attempting to negotiate. Shapur had a number of monuments erected to commemorate the great victory, one of which gloats:

"In the course of the third campaign, ...Valerian Caesar came against us...[with] 70,000 men. And beyond Carrhae and Edessa we fought a great battle against Valerian Caesar, and we took Valerian Caesar with our own hands, and as for the others, the *Praefectus*, senators and officers who held command in the army, we took them and deported them to Persia. And the province of Syria and the province of Cilicia and the province of Cappadocia we burned with fire, and devastated, and made the people captive, and seized."

Several monuments still exist showing the Roman emperor kneeling in submission to the Sassanian. Valerian's fate at the hands of Shapur is unknown: Gibbon repeats stories that he in life was used as a mounting-block and at death his body stuffed and displayed in a Persian temple. It is also possible that, like other captured officers, the elderly Valerian was used as an engineer in the construction of Shapur's prisoner-of-war city (whose original name translated to "Better than Antioch Shapur made this"), later the intellectual centre of Gundeshapur.

The dishonour of Valerian's loss shocked the empire; Gallienus apparently made no attempt to recover his father. The two had disagreed in manner and policy, and Gallienus wished to distance himself from Valerian's unpopularity. At any rate, a rescue attempt would have been a fruitless gesture. So Valerian disappears from history; Gallienus' problems were getting worse. When it became necessary to depart for the Danube frontier, he left his teenaged son Saloninus in nominal control in Cologne. The general Postumus, probably governor of southern Germany, took advantage of his commander's absence to declare himself emperor. After a short siege the troops in Cologne handed Saloninus over to Postumus, who had the boy executed. The separate Gallic empire lasted until 274, when control passed back to Aurelian (Postumus himself having been killed by

his troops in 268 because he refused to allow them to sack the city of Mainz). At one point in the year 260, the Emperor in Rome controlled only Italy and North Africa.

The Roman generals Callistus and Macrianus defeated Shapur and recovered Antioch. Odenathus of Palmyra collected an army and attacked Shapur on his was back to Carrhae, inflicting serious losses. This lessened the Persian threat, but the two Roman generals then proclaimed Macrianus' sons Macrianus and Quietus emperors. Macrianus was defeated in the Balkans by Gallienus' general Aureolus, commander of the mobile cavalry unit; Odenathus of Palmyra defeated Quietus at Emesa. Odenathus was then entrusted with command of the Roman armies in the east, eventually regaining Carrhae, Nisbis, and all of Roman Mesopotamia. Although nominally under Roman control, the Palmyrene leader, termed "Dux Orientis," exercised effective control over the eastern provinces. (The eastern mints continued to coin in the name of the emperor). After Odenathus' death, his widow Zenobia did declare independence and rule for a while until crushed by Aurelian.

In 262 the governor of Egypt, Aemelian, revolted. Easily defeated, he was shipped back alive to Gallienus, who had him strangled. The Goths continued to sporadically plague the east. In about 263 they burned the famous Temple of Diana at Ephesus, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. In 267 they took Byzantium and burned Athens, Corinth and Sparta. The citizens of Athens used the blocks from their ancient buildings to construct a new wall, thereby completing the destruction. Indeed, the only construction which seems to have been done anywhere during this period is the building of fortifications.



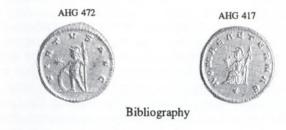
Beginning about 263, Gallienus, with his generals Claudius and Aureolus, attempted to remove the Gallic emperor Postumus. Although successful in battle, he was unable to remove the rival emperor. It was possible that Aureolus, still the leader of the elite cavalry, deliberately failed to follow up on military victories. So Gallienus' son Saloninus, like his father Valerian, remained unavenged.

During the quieter periods during his sole reign, Gallienus spent more time in Rome. He rescinded his father's ordinances against the Christians, returning the places of worship to their former owners and removing the penalties for Christian worship. He probably did not, however, sympathize with the religion, having supposedly been initiated into the mystery cult of Demeter at Eleusis. Unlike his father and most of the other emperors of the period, he was interested in the arts. He was considered a gifted orator, and wrote poetry in Greek and Latin. Interested in Greek culture, he was like Hadrian named the *archon*, or chief magistrate, of Athens. Gallienus was a patron of the Neoplatonist philosopher Plotinus, whose book, the *Enneads* (edited by his student Porphyry), is considered one of the most important philosophical works to come down to us from antiquity. Plotinus requested that the emperor establish a philosophers' city, Platanopolis, in Campagnia. Apparently Gallienus was willing, but following his advisors' recommendation, the city was never built.

Gallienus attempted to reduce the importance of the senate, excluding its members from command in the army (although he belonged to the senatorial class himself). Given the history of hostility between senate and emperor, he did not wish the control of troops added to the senators' wealth and connections. Civil posts remained open, but military positions were to be reserved for the *equites*. There seems to have been little outcry from the senators on this loss, though it lessened their political strength. In eliminating from bronze coinage the letters SC (standing for *senatus consulto*), he removed even the fiction of senatorial issue.

Gallienus' end came, like that of most emperors of the period, from his own generals. It was mentioned earlier that Aureolus, the general of Gallienus' elite cavalry stationed in Milan, might have deliberately avoided defeating Postumus. In 268, while Gallienus was in the Balkans fighting the Gothic Heruls, Aureolus publicly defected to the Gallic emperor. Gallienus and his former general met in battle outside Milan, after which Aureolus retreated into the city. While Gallienus settled down for a siege, his principal officers -- Claudius and Aurelian among them -- formed a conspiracy against him. One of the plotters rushed into the emperor's tent during dinner, announcing the approach of Aureolus' troops. Gallienus rushed out, without his bodyguard, into the arms of the waiting assassins. Claudius was named his successor, followed by Aurelian when Claudius died of plague.

Gallienus ruled for fifteen years, half with his father and half alone. His reign was a period of barbarian invasion, natural disaster, economic decline, and rebellion. He stopped the persecution of the Christians, and encouraged cultural pursuits during a time dominated by soldiers. He attempted to hold the empire together; his cavalry became the mainstay of later imperial armies. Though not one of the great emperors, Gallienus tried hard during a difficult time.



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HOARD ANALYSIS THE ANTIOCH HOARD OF GALLIENUS David W. Sorenson, Ph.D.

The hoard itself exhibits a few peculiarities which are worth noting. When considering these peculiarities, one ought to keep in mind the motivation behind such a hoard. A hoard was always intended as a means of saving money, whether as a sort of savings account in lieu of a bank, or as an emergency stash during hard times (particularly during wartime). Coins would be selected on the basis of their real or apparent quality; the most apparently valuable ones would be kept, and others spent.

All of the coins, from the earliest issues present up to the single coin of Aurelian, were either silver, billon, or silver-washed. They were evidently selected as coins which at least looked as if they had significant bullion content. Many of them may have had no silver other than the wash, but at least they had that.

The coins themselves date between the reigns of Elagabalus (218-222) and that of Aurelian (270-275). Both of these are represented by a single coin apiece. The earliest emperor represented by more than one coin is Trebonianus Gallus (251-253), of whose mint output 21 coins are present. At that time the anoniniani still had some silver content; it was only toward the end of the reign of Valerian (in c. 258) that the coins became silver-washed bronze. During this time Valerian and his son Gallienus reigned jointly, so that coins of Gallienus follow the same pattern of issue.

The condition of the coins is of interest. With few exceptions, notably the earliest pieces, all of the coins in this hoard are virtually as struck. It would have been necessary for the fiction of silver content to have been kept up in the case of the washed coins; even a little wear on a coin with a thin wash would have worn the wash through somewhere and given the game away. Even the coins of Gallus are virtually unworn, however. This indicates that two things are likely: first, that the owner lived near a mint town, and second, that the hoard was probably begun in the joint reign, sometime before 258, and ended (for whatever reason) during the reign of Aurelian, probably in 274. The most probably reason for the cessation of hoarding would have been the death of the owner, whether from natural causes or otherwise.

Many of the coin types can be precisely dated, and datable issues show up in significant quantities in this hoard. The distribution of dates is of interest, since it is strange. There is a notable gap in the dates, covering the period 260-262. The only coins found in the hoard which definitely correspond to this period are two coins, one each of Macrianus and Quietus, usurpers in the East. Their mint was located at Antioch, and it may be more than a coincidence that, despite the large number of coins from Antioch and other Asian mints (over 80% of the

hoard), no coins of Gallienus are known from this hoard from any mints between 260 and 262.

The predominance of coins from Asian mints is interesting. Even the coins of Treb. Gallus are mainly from the East; all but one are from there. The find-site of the hoard is unknown, unfortunately, but the predominance of Antioch/Asia coins indicates that the site is somewhere in the East, and that it is not too far from the mint where the coins were struck. A good guess might be in the northern part of Syria or Lebanon; a site in Turkey would most probably have meant a hoard containing more coins from Cyzicus and allied cities, whereas only one coin (of Claudius Gothicus) can be assigned to that mint, and nothing at all can be ascertained from a single coin like that. An area along the seacoast in likely as well; coins from Rome are reasonably common. What is odd is that coins from Viminacium are common as well in this hoard; in Dacia, the latter city is a long way away from any reasonable trade route which would have caused its coins to appear in this hoard, without significant accompaniment from nearer mints such as Cyzicus. It might be, however, that the coins were obtained in trade from a merchant from Dacia, as they are all of the 250's; it might even be that the owner of the hoard had journeyed there about 255 on business. The coins from Rome are more widely distributed by date, from the coin of Elagabalus to the sole reign of Gallienus.

Without more data than this, it is impossible to determine too much about the owner and his or her circumstances. The coins indicate someone of some means; that many coins would have been a substantial sum of money even in those inflationary times. It would have been a sum equal to at least several month's wages for a labourer. The distribution of the coins by date indicates that, if the hoarding had been connected with any sort of invasion, the distribution of dates fits the Persian invasions, the usurpation of Macrianus, and the Palmyrene incursions of Syria and Lebanon much better than it does the Gothic attacks of Asia Minor, where the area was quiet except for short periods in the 260's. The Palmyrene invasion of c. 269-270 might explain the second gap; the owner may have been unable to save, or may have not have considered the low-quality Palmyrene issues worth saving. After the addition of one Aurelian of the first post-reform issue, the hoard abruptly ends.

This hoard is interesting in many ways. As the find site is unknown, many questions must remain unanswered. It can be localized to some extent, however. It can be said that the site was probably in north Lebanon, or possibly Syria, along the Mediterranean coast. It can also be said that the hoard was assembled over a period of years, from c. 255 to c. 274, and that collection ceased abruptly at the latter time. The owner was a person of some means, who was very choosy about the coins' appearance. This person lived very near a mint town, or conducted a lot of business there, and therefore had the pick of the new issues, and was able to collect coins before they had much chance to circulate. More than that cannot be determined with any probability of accuracy.

THE ANTIOCH HOARD OF GALLIENUS HOARD ANALYSIS, part 2 Camden W. Percival

The hoard consists of 583 silver and silver-wash antoniniani. While the location of discovery is not known, the contents of the hoard strongly suggest a site near Antioch. The coins date from Elagabalus (218-222 A.D.) to Aurelian (270-275). As is illustrated below, the vast majority (89%) - come from the period of Gallienus (253-268), with slightly over half dating from that emperor's joint reign with his father Valerian. Only two coins, one each of Elagabalus and Philip II, date from before 250; only the one coin of Aurelian was minted after 270.

Figure 1 shows the distribution of coins by emperor.

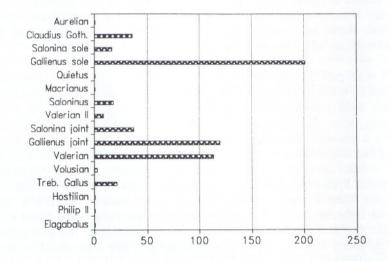
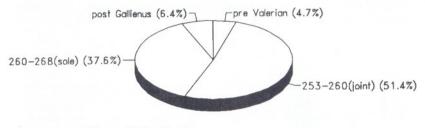


Figure 1: Distribution by Emperor

Figure 2 illustrates the heavy preponderance of coins dating from the reign of Gallienus.

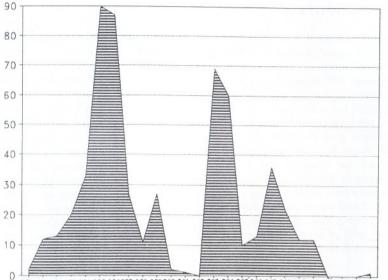




The most immediately noticeable physical aspect of this hoard is the coins' extremely good condition. With the exception of the earliest coins, they show little or no wear (although there is corrosion in some cases). This quality is unusual for coins of this period during which the antoninianus became increasingly debased; many seen today appear to be bronze, the wash which had originally been applied having long since worn off. The consistently high level of the hoard would indicate that they were chosen for at least the appearance of high silver content. Even those coins of the reign of Claudius Gothicus, when the silver level of antoniniani had sunk to about $2\frac{1}{2}\%$, the collector of this hoard managed to find unusually good coins.

While a complete analysis of the weights of coins was not done, those coins which were weighed are on the high end of the normal spectrum for these types. This probably does not suggest that the collector selected for weight, but simply reflects the coins' lack of wear.

The low level of wear indicates that the coins were generally collected soon after minting, and would suggest that they were collected somewhere near the mint. As described by Dr. Sorenson, collection of the hoard appears to have been begun during the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus with some older coins, some more recent slightly worn coinage of Gallus from circulation, along with the newer coins of the family of Valerian. New coins were then added to the hoard as they were minted. It is, of course, also possible that the collector added good coins of previous issue whenever he found them in circulation after the initial setup. This factor cannot be controlled for, but the condition of the coins suggests that few spent much time in circulation. Figure 3 shows the mint dates of the coins in this hoard. Where mint issues span more than one year, the assignment of dates to individual coins cannot of course be certain; those coins have been averaged over the years of issue. (This involves a small number of coins and does not alter the tendencies of the graph.)



pre-251 251 252 253 254 255 256257 258 259 260 261 262 263 264 265 266 267 268 269 270 271 272 273 274

Figure 3: Date Distribution

Since we must assume from the condition of the coins that, with the exception of the earliest, the date of collection shortly follows mint date, it becomes immediately obvious that the amassing of the hoard was far from consistent.

Twenty-seven coins date from before the joint reign of Valerian and Gallienus, all but two of these from the 250's. Fifty-odd coins represent the first two years of the joint reign; suddenly the next two leap to 175. This is followed by a drop, then by the virtual lack of coins from 260 to 262. Only two coins of the Eastern usurpers Macrianus and Quietus occur, and none of Gallienus. This is followed by another large accumulation of coins from 263 and 264, a dip in 265 and 266, and another smaller peak in 267 and 268. No coins appear from the Palmyrene period. After a four-year hiatus, we find the one coin of Aurelian dated to the first post-reform issue of Antioch in 274.

Table I: Mint Distribution

	Rome	Lugdunum	Mediolanum	Viminacium	Cyzicus	Antioch	Total	%
Elagabalus	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2
Philip II	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.2
Hostilian	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.2
Treb. Gallus	1	0	0	0	0	20	21	3.6
Volusian	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	0.5
Valerian	3	0	0	32	0	79	114	19.6
Gallienus J.	4	2	0	10	0	104	120	20.6
Salonina J.	3	0	0	0	0	34	37	6.3
Valerian II	0	0	0	0	0	9	9	1.5
Saloninus	0	0	0	0	0	18	18	3.1
Macrianus	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.2
Quietus	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.2
Gallienus S.	5	0	5	0	0	192	202	34.6
Salonina S.	0	0	0	0	0	17	17	2.9
Claudius II	0	0	0	0	1	35	36	6.2
Aurelian	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0.2
Total by Mint	19	2	5	42	1	514	583	
t by mint	3.3	0.3	0.9	7.2	0.2	88.2		
<253	4	0	0	0	0	23	27	
253-260	10	2	0	42	0	244	298	
260-268	5	0	5	0	0	209	219	
>268	0	0	0	0	1	36	37	

As Table I indicates, the coins are overwhelmingly (88%) from the Asian mint. Since we established earlier that the coins were collected soon after minting and close to the mint, the timing of additions to the hoard has major significance in establishing the location of the Eastern mint during the sole reign of Gallienus. The coins have been attributed by various authors to Antioch, Cyzicus, or simply Asian mint. We feel that the contents of this hoard strongly suggest that these coins should be attributed to Antioch. Looking back at Figure 3, we see that the years when coinage is practically missing - 260 to 262 - correlate with the period of Shapur's second attack on Antioch, and with the city's falling under the control of Macrianus and Quietus. The only coins which unquestionably date from that period are one each of Macrianus and Quietus, probably from Antioch or possibly from Emesa. One undocumented transitional issue of Salonina (a CONCORDIA AVG, of the type of an earlier CONCORDIA AVGG, which looks as if the second G has been struck from the mold) is possibly a hastily-done attempt to update the coinage when it was learned that Valerian had fallen into Shapur's hands, during the short period between the emperor's defeat and the Persian's capture of Antioch.

Figure 4 further illustrates the distribution of coins to the various mints.

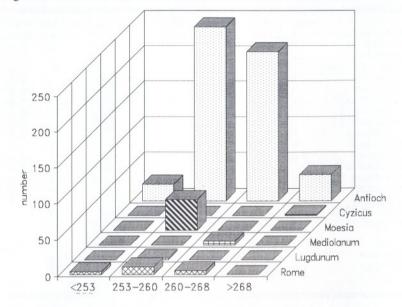


Figure 4: Mint Distribution-Breakdown

(Note that AHG numbers below refer to "Antioch Hoard of Gallienus," and indicate the identification assigned to the 583 coins of the entire hoard. 339 of the coins have been included in the catalogue; thus AHG and catalogue numbers do not correspond. While the catalogue number is also listed below, only the AHG number should be used in scholarly reference.)

The hoard contains several previously undocumented coins:

- AHG 7: Trebonianus Gallus of 251. O: IMPCC VIB TREB GALLVS PF AVG, rad, bust, dr. r. B: FELICITAS AVG, Felicitas. (cat#7)
- AHG 304: Valerian II. O: PC LIC COR VALERIANVS CAES, rad. bust dr. r. **R**: PRINCIPI IVBENTVTIS, Valerian stg. l. holding spear and baton. (cat#165)
- AHG 367: Gallienus sole reign. O: GALLIENVS AVG, rad. bust dr. r. R: AETERNITATI AVG, Sol, crescent mintmark in field l. (cat#205)
- AHG 442: Gallienus sole reign. O: GALLIENVS AVG, rad. bust dr. r. R: VENER VICTRICI, Venus. (cat#254)
- AHG 533: Salonina, early sole reign. O: CORN SALONINA AVG, diad. bust r. on crescent. **R**: CONCORDIA AVG, Gallienus and Salonina holding hands. (cat#310)

A second coin of the sole reign of Gallienus, AHG 493 VIRTVS AVG (cat. #286) shows the rare crescent mintmark. This coin has been previously noted but is not included in the standard sources.

A number of coins vary from previous listings in regard to mintmarks. The more important variations:

- AHG 18: ROMAE AETERNAE, with VI below bust on obverse, IV in ex. on reverse. (cat#14)
- AHG 19: Trebonianus Gallus SAECVLLUM NOVVM with four pellets in ex. (cat#15)
- AHG 198: Gallienus, probably of 255-6 RESTITVT ORIENTIS with five pellets in ex. - the type is listed in standard sources with one or two pellets. (cat#110)
- AHG 497: Gallienus of 266-8, VIRTVS AVG with VIIC in ex. Similar in type to C. 1245 which carries the date PXV. (cat#288)

Additionally, a number of minor variants (inclusion or lack of mintmark, obverse ciurassed or draped, etc.) are mentioned in the catalogue.

Several previously undocumented misstrikes occur:

AHG 10: Treb. Gallus FELICITAS PUDL. (cat8) AHG 344: Gallienus sole reign, AEQVITATS AVG. (cat#191) AHG 374, 375: Gallienus of 267, IOVI CONSEREVT. (cat#209,#210).

The reverse types are listed, with distributions, on the following page.

In conclusion, in analyzing the hoard we should of course remember that there must remain many uncertainties. The coins which we see do not necessarily constitute all the money which passed through the collector's hands. He or she may have had possession of other coins not considered worth saving, may have been unable to save during some years, and may have been forced to spend some of the good coins as well as poorer ones. He or she may have been separated from the hoard at some points. We can only make assumptions based on the information still available to us from the hoard.

REVERSE TYPES FOUND IN THE ANTIOCH HOARD OF GALLIENUS

ADVENTVS AVG: Gallus (1) AEOVITAS AVG: Gallus (2), Gallienus S (18: 7=263, 11=264), Salonina S (4:267), Claudius (7) AEOVITATS AVG: Gallienus S (1: 264) AEOVITAS AVGG: Gallienus J (1: 253-4) AETERNITAS AVG: Gallienus J (5: 267) **AETERNITATI AVG: Gallienus S (18:** 263=11, 264=7AETERNITATI AVGG: Valerian I (4: 254-5). Gallienus J (1: 255-6) APOLINI PROPVG: Valerian 1 (1: 253) CERERI AVG: Salonina S (1: 265) CONCORDIA AVG: Salonina S (1: 260) CONCORDIA AVGG: Salonina J (19: 255-8) CONSER AVG: Claudius (1) DIANA LVCIFERA: Valerian I (1: 254-5) DII NVTRITORES: Saloninus (5) FELICITAS AVG: Gallus (1) FELICITAS AVGG: Valerian I (3: 254-5) FELICITAS PVBL: Gallus (2) FELICITAS PVDL: Gallus (1) FELICITAS SAECVLI: Valerian I (3: 254-5) FIDES AVG: Gallienus S (1: 267), Salonina J (1:267), Claudius (3) FIDES EXERCITVS: Elagabalus (1) FORTVNA REDVX: Valerian I (4: 254-5), Gallienus S (5: 256-8) IOVI CONSEREVT: Gallienus S (2: 267) IOVI CONSERVAT: Gallienus S (5: 267) IOVI CONSERVATORI: Gallienus J (12: 255-6), Gallienus S (1: 266) IOVI PROPVG: Gallienus S (1: 266) IOVI STATORI: Gallienus S (15: 8=263, 7 = 264) IOVI VLTORI: Gallienus S (2: 260-8) IVBENTVS AVG: Gallienus S (1: 266-8) IVNO MARTIALIS: Gallus (1) IVNO REGINA: Salonina J (7: 3=257-8. 4=258-9), Salonina S (8: 264), Claudius (4) **IVVENTVS AVG: Claudius (2)** LAETITIA AVG: Gallienus S (1: 266-8) LAETITIA AVGG: Gallienus J (2: 256-7) LIBERALITAS AVGG: Gallienus J (3: 256-7) LVNA LVCIF: Gallienus S (3: 267) MARS VICTOR: Gallienus S (1: 265) MARTEM PROPVGNATOREM: Volusian (1) MARTI PACIFERO: Gallus (4) MINERVA AVG:Gallien. S(3:2=265,1=266-8) NEPTVN AVG: Claudius (2) ORIENS AVG: Gallienus J (16: 259) PACATORI ORBIS: Valerian I (3: 254-5), Gallienus J (1: 256) PAX AVGG: Valerian I (1: 256-7), Gallienus J (2: 1=253, 1=257-8) PAX AVGUS: Gallus (1)

PAX FVNDATA: Gallienus S (1: 265) PIETAS AVGG: Gallus (1), Volusian (1), Valerian I (21: 5=253, 16=255-6), Gallienus J (11: 255-6) PIETATI AVGG: Valerian I (3: 254-5), Gallienus J (1: 253-5) PMTRPIICOSPP: Valerian I (2: 254) PMTRPVCOSIIIIPP: Valerian I (9: 257) PMTRPXIICOSVPP: Gallienus S (12: 264) PMTRPXVPP: Gallienus S (1: 268) PRINCIPI IVBENTVTIS: Hostilian (1), Valerian II (1) PRINCIVVENTVTIS: Valerian II (5) **REGI ARTIS: Claudius (1) RESTITVT GENER HVMANI: Valerian I (3:** 254-5) **RESTITVT ORBIS: Aurelian (1)** RESTITVT ORIENTIS: Valer. I (37: 4=253, 33=255-6), Gallienus J (7: 2=254, 5=255-6) ROMAE AETERNAE: Philip II (1), Gallus (1), Gallienus J (4: 2=258-9, 2=259), Gallienus S (14: 6=263, 8=264, Salonina J (10:255-6), Macrianus (1) ROMAE AETERNAE AVG: Volusian (1) SAECVLVM NOVVM: Gallus (2) SALVS AVG: Gallienus S (3: 2=267, 1=267-8), Salonina S (1:268), Claudius (8) SOL AVG: Claudius (1) SOL INVICTO: Ouietus (1) SOLI INVICTO: Gallienus S (7: 3=266, 3=267, 1=264-8)SPES PVBLICA: Valer. II (1), Saloninus (13) **VDERITAS AVG: Gallus (2)** VENER VICTRICI: Gallienus S (1: 264-8) VENER VICTRIX: Gallienus S (1: 268) VENVS AVG: Salonina S (2: 267) VESTA AETERNA: Salonina J (1: 258) VICTORIA AVG: Gallus (2), Gallienus J (12: 255-6), Gallienus S (24: 12=263, 12=264) VICTORIA AVGG: Valerian I (4: 255). Gallienus J (3: 1=253, 2=253-4) VICTORIA GERMAN: Gallienus J (16: 256-7), Claudius (1) VICTORIA PART: Valerian II (2) VICTORIAE AVGG: Valerian I (4: 254). Gallienus J (5: 254-5) VIRTVS AVG: Valerian I (2: 1=254, 1=254-5), Gallienus J (5: 259), Gallienus S (41: 11=263, 13=264, 4=265, 3=266, 3=267, 4=266-8, 3=260-8), Claudius (6) VIRTVS AVGG: Valerian I (7: 4=253-4, 3= 255-6), Gallienus J (17:3=253-4, 14=255-6) VIRTVS AVGVSTI: Gallienus S (20: 14=263. 6=264)VOTA ORBIS: Valerian I (2:253), Gallienus J (1:253-4)

SELECTIONS FROM THE ANTIOCH HOARD OF GALLIENUS

All are antoniniani. Silver or silvered unless otherwise mentioned

ELAGABALUS 218-222

1.	218-219.	R: FIDES	EXERCIT	VS.	Fides	std. l. o	n throne,	holding	eagle,	standard.
	Standard	before. Ro	me. AHG 1	. cf.	C. 28	, 31; cf.	BMC 13	, 106. 1	Rough.	VG

PHILIP II 247-249

2.	R: ROMAE	AETERNAE,	Roma std. l.	holding victo	ry + spear.	Antioch. AHG 2. C	
	70					VI	F

HOSTILIAN 251

3.	 as Caesar, 250-1. B: PRINCIPI IVVENTVTIS, Hostilian 	n stg. l.	holding standard +
	spear. Rome. AHG 3. C. 34. Rev. die weak. Superb p	portrait	- one of the finest
	portraits we've seen.		abt Uncirculated

TREBONIANUS GALLUS 251-253

	I REDOMIANUS GALLOS 251-255
4.	O: Four pellets below bust. B : ADVENTVS AVG, Emperor on horseback l. holding sceptre, raising r. hand. Four pellets in ex. Antioch. AHG 4. RSC 3c. <i>Weak obverse die, sharp reverse. Scarce.</i>
5.	R : AEQVITAS AVG, Aequitas stg. l. holding scales + cornucopiae. Antioch. AHG 5. C. 6. Slight flan crack
6.	As above. (no crack). AHG 6 F
7.	of 251. O: IMP CC VIB TREB GALLVS PFAVG. Rad. bust draped r. R: FELICITAS AVG, Felicitas stg. l. holding staff + cornucopiae. Antioch. "AVG" types are very rare- from the short period while Hostilian was still striking coins as Caesar. AHG 7. C, Hunter _, RSC_, RIC_, Mazzini Unpublished. A major new type not known to major references
8	B : FELICITAS PVDL. Felicitas stg. l. as above. Two pellets in ex. Antioch. AHG 10. C. 34 var. "PVDL" a misstrike for "PVBL"?
9.	B : IVNO MARTIALIS, Juno std. l. holding corn ears + transverse sceptre. No mintmarks. Antioch. AHG 11. cf. C. 47, RIC 83. <i>Listed only with mintmarks. Verdigris on reverse.</i> EF
10.	B : MARTI PACIFERO. Mars running l. holding branch + spear, ex. empty. Antioch. AHG 13. C. 72 var. C, RIC_, Mazzini_, Hunter <i>Listed only with mintmark</i> .
11.	As above. AHG 14 VF
	B : PAX AVGUS, Pax stg l. holding branch + transverse sceptre. Four pellets in ex. and below bust on obv. Antioch. AHG 16. RSC 80d, RIC 86 VF
	PIETAS AVGG, Pietas stg. half l., raising both hands. Rome. AHG 17. C. 84. Bold Portrait VF
14.	O: VI below bust. R : ROMAE AETERNAE, Roma std. l. holding victory + spear, shield behind. IV in ex. Antioch. AHG 18. C. 108 var. RSC-, RIC-, Hunter-, Mazzini Undocumented mintmark combination. Sharp strike, some legends not
	<i>struck up.</i>

Treb. Gallus (continued)

15.	O: Four pellets below bust. R: SAECVLLVM NOVVM, Six-columned temple w/figure inside. Four pellets in ex. Antioch. AHG 19. C. 111 var. RSC-, RIC-,
16.	Hunter-, Mazzini <i>This type undocumented w/more than three pellets.</i> VF B : VDERITAS AVG, Uberitas stg. l. holding purse + cornucopiae. Antioch. AHG
	21. RSC 125t
17.	B : VICTORIA AVG, Victory running l. holding wreath + palm. Antioch. AHG 23. RSC 126b. VF/VF+ VOLUSIAN 251-253
18.	B: PIETAS AVGG, Pietas stg. l., hands raised. Rome. AHG 25. C. 85. Superb
19.	portrait
	VALERIAN I 253-260
20.	of 254-5. R: AETERNITATI AVGG. Saturn veiled stg. r. holding scythe.
	Viminacium. AHG 28. C. 8. Saturn is rarely encountered on Roman coins VF
21.	As above. AHG 30. Little actual wear. EF of 254-5. R: AETERNITATI AVG. Sol stg. l. holding globe, raising r. hand.
	Viminacium. AHG 31. C. 9 VF
23.	of 253. R : APOLINI PROPVG. Apollo, mantle flowing, stg. r. drawing bow. Rome. AHG 32. C. 25. <i>Bold</i> . EF
24.	of 254-5. B : DIANA LVCIFERA. Diana stg. r. holding torch. Viminacium. AHG 33. C. 51. Slight pitting to surface
25.	of 257-9. B : FELICITAS AVGG. Felicitas stg. l. holding caduceus + cornucopiae.
	Antioch. AHG 36. C. 56. Large flan EF/VF
26.	of 254-5. R: FELICITAS SAECVLI. Diana walking r. holding torch. Viminacium. AHG 37. C. 61. Large bold portrait
27.	of 254-5. B : FORTVNA REDVX. Mercury stg. half-left holding purse and caduceus,
	mantle over arm. Viminacium. AHG 41. C. 75. Very scarce type. Legends weak. VF+/EF
28.	As above, AHG 43. Very scarce, abtEF
29.	of 254-5. R : PACATORI ORBIS. Jupiter std. l. holding patera + sceptre. Eagle at feet. Viminacium. AHG 44. C. 145
30	of 256-7. R : [PAX] AVGG. Pax stg. l. holding branch + sceptre. T in field r. Rome.
50.	AHG 47. C. 149 var., RIC 109 var. Listed without mintmark. RIC 110 has same
	reverse and mintmark but different obverse EF+
31.	of 255-6. R: PIETAS AVGG. Valerian and Gallienus stg. face-to-face sacrificing
	over altar. One emperor holds sceptre, other holds parazonium. Antioch. AHG 48. C. 152
32.	As above, AHG 49
	As above. AHG 52 EF
34.	As above. AHG 56 VF
35.	As above. AHG 59 EF/VF
36.	As above, AHG 61, VF+
	of 253. B : as above. AHG 64. C. 153. Nice silver content EF
38.	As above. AHG 67 VF+/EF
39.	of 254-5. R: PIETATI AVGG. Pietas stg. l. leaning on column, holding sceptre.
	Viminacium. AHG 70. C. 155 abtVF
40.	As above. AHG 71

Valerian I (continued) 41. of 254. R: PM TRP II COS PP, Valerian in toga stg. l. sacrificing, holding baton. 42. of 257. B: PM TRP V COS II PP. Valerian + Gallienus stg. facing each other, hands on shield. Copy of a coin of Augustus. Antioch. AHG 75. C. 169. Superb portrait. EF+ 43. As above. AHG 81. Slight pitting. abt Uncirculated 45. of 254-5. B: RESTITVT GENER HVMANI, Valerian stg. r. radiate, cloak floating behind, Holding globe, hand raised. Viminacium, AHG 84. C. 179. Large bold portrait. EF 46. As above. AHG 85. Weak to left. EF 47. of 253. B: RESTITVT ORIENTIS. Orient stg t, handing wreath to emperor stg. l. Antioch. AHG 86. C. 188. VF 48. As above. AHG 87. Well struck. EF 49. As above. AHG 90. Weak to right. EF 50. As above. AHG 92. VF 52. As above. AHG 97. Edge flaw. VF 53. As above. AHG 99. Some reverse lustre. EF/abtUncirculated 54. As above, AHG 100, Obverse weakish die, reverse well struck, EF+ 56. 57. As above, rev. with wreath above. Antioch. AHG 109. C. 190. Obv. weak. . . VF 58. As above, AHG 110. VF As above, but rev, with star above. VF 60. 61. As above, AHG 120. EF 62. As above, but obv. has two pellets beneath bust. AHG 121. RSC 190a. VF 64. of 254-5. R: VICTORIA AVGG. Victory stg. facing, hd. l. holding wreath + branch. Viminacium. AHG 123. C. 230. Weak die. EF/abtUncirculated 65. As above. AHG 125. Crude. VF/F 66. of 254. R: VICTORIAE AVGG. Soldier stg. r. holding spear, leaning on shield. Viminacium. AHG 128. C. 241. Rev. weak. VF 67 As above. AHG 129. Large portrait and bold style. abtUncirculated 68. As above. AHG 130. Attractive portrait. Bold. EF/VF+ 69. of 254. B: VIRTVS AVG. Soldier stg. l. holding spear, leaning on shield. Rome. AHG 132. C. 271. Legend weak to left. EF 70. of 255-6. B: VIRTVS AVGG, Valerian and Gallienus stg. face-to-face. One emperor holds spear and globe, the other a victory and reversed spear. Antioch. AHG 133. C. 71. As above. AHG 136. Well struck reverse. EF 72. of 253-4. B: VIRTVS AVGG, as above, Antioch, AHG 137, C. 277, Bold, sharp reverse. EF 73. As above, AHG 139. EF/abtUncirculated 74. of 253. B: VOTA ORBIS. Two victories placing shield inscribed SC on palm tree. Antioch. AHG 140. C. 280. Rare type. strongVF+

AHG numbers refer to Antioch Hoard of Gallienus, total hoard. 339 of the 583 coins are here listed.

GALLIENUS 253-268, Joint Reign with Valerian I 253-260 75. of 253-4. R: AEOVITAS AVGG. Aequitas stg. l. holding scales + cornucopiae. Viminacium. AHG 142. RSC 32a. Large, realistic portrait. VF 76. of 155-6. B: AETERNITATI AVGG. Saturn stg. r. holding scythe. Viminacium. AHG 143. C. 53. Saturn is scarce on Roman coins. Crude. VFVEF 77. of 255-6. B: IOVI CONSERVATORI. Gallienus stg. r. receiving globe from Jupiter stg. l. holding sceptre. Wreath above. Antioch. AHG 145. C. 378. Pitting to face. abtVF 78. As above, AHG 146. Sharp. EF/VF 79. of 255-6. B: IOVI CONSERVATORI, as above, but Gallienus holds sceptre. Antioch, AHG 149, C. 379. VF 80. As above. AHG 150. VF 81. As above. AHG 153. Hint of porosity. Variegated. EF 82. of 255-6. B: IOVI CONSERVATORI. as above, but no wreath in rev. field. Antioch. AHG 154. RSC 379a. Slightly granular. VF 83. As above. AHG 155. abtUncirculated/EF 84. of 256-7. B: LAETITIA AVGG. Laetitia standing left Antioch. AHG 156. 85. As above. AHG 157. Sharp reverse. VF/VF+ 86. of 256-7. R: LIBERALITAS AVGG. Liberalitas stg. l. holding tessera + cornucopiae. Antioch. AHG 158. C. 567. EF/abtEF 87. of 256-7, as above, obv. differs. Antioch. AHG 159. C. 568. Lovely portrait. Weak 88. of 259. R: ORIENS AVG. Orient stg. r. presenting wreath to Gallienus stg. l. holding spear. Antioch. AHG 161. C. 705. Scarce. VF 89. of 259. **B**: as above, but wreath above figures. Antioch. AHG 167. RSC 705a. EF/abtVF 90. As above. AHG 168. Scarce. EF+ 91. As above. AHG 169 VF+/VF 92. As above. AHG 170. Scarce. abtUncirculated 93. As above. AHG 171. Scarce. EF 94. As above, AHG 173. abtVF 95. As above. AHG 175. Scarce. abtUncirculated 96. of 256. B: PACATORI ORBIS. Jupiter std. l. holding patera + sceptre, eagle at feet. Viminacium, AHG 177, C. 714, Well engraved. abtEF 97. of 253. B: PAX AVGG. Pax stg. 1. holding branch + sceptre. Rome. AHG 178. C. 754. Usual weak die. VF 98. of 257-8. B: PAX AVGG. Pax walking l. holding olive branch. Rome. AHG 179. 99. of 255-6. B: PIETAS AVGG. Valerian + Gallienus stg. face-to-face sacrificing over altar. One holds eagle-tipped sceptre, other parazonium. Antioch. AHG 180. C. 100. As above, AHG 181 VF 101. As above. AHG 182. VF-EF 102. As above, AHG 184. Lustre. EF+ 103. of 255-6. R: as above, wreath above. Antioch. AHG 187. RSC. 792a. Lightly porous..... EF 104. of 255-6. B: as above without wreath, obv. differs. Antioch. AHG 189. RSC 792b. EF

Gallienus joint reign (cont.)

	Gamenus John Teign (cont.)
105.	of 255-6. B: as above, with wreath. Antioch. AHG 190. RSC 792c abtEF
106.	of 253-5. R: PIETATI AVGG. Pietas stg. l. leaning on column, holding sceptre.
	Viminacium. AHG 191. C. 795. Large and well-engraved bust EF
107.	of 253-4. R: RESTITVT ORIENTIS. Orient stg. r. handing wreath to emperor stg.
	l. Antioch. AHG 193. C. 902. Nice portrait VF
108.	of 255-6. R: as above, obv. differs. Antioch. AHG 194. C. 903 VF/abtEF
109.	of 255-6. R: as above, two pellets in ex. Antioch. AHG 197. C. 903 EF
110.	of 255-6 (?). R: as above but five pellets in ex. Antioch. AHG 198. C. 903 var. C-,
	RIC-, RSC-, Hunter-, Mazzini This coin type is only listed with one or two pellets
	(officinae marks) in ex abtEF
111	of 259. B : ROMAE AETERNAE. Roma std. l. on shield holding victory + spear.
	Lugdunum. AHG 199. RSC 920a EF
112	of 258-9. B : ROMAE AETERNAE. Gallienus receiving victory from Roma std. l.
112.	on shield holding spear. Antioch. AHG 202. C. 921. Sharp reverse EF
112	of 255-6. B : VICTORIA AVG. Victory stg. r. handing wreath to Gallienus stg. l.
115.	holding spear. Antioch. AHG 203. C. 1109
114	of 255-6. R : as above, wreath above. Antioch. AHG 205.
114.	of 255-6. H: as above, wream above. Annoch. And 205.
115	RSC 1109a abtUncirculated-FDC
115.	As above. AHG 206 EF
116.	As above. AHG 209. Sharp, slightly porous EF
117.	As above. AHG 210. Sharp obverse, weak reverse EF
118.	of 255-6. as above, obv. differs. Antioch. AHG 214. RSC. 1109b abtEF
119.	of 253-4. R: VICTORIA AV[GG]. Victory walking l. holding wreath + branch.
	Rome. AHG 216. C. 1154 VF
	of 253-5: B: as above. Viminacium. AHG 217. RSC 1154a. Large portrait VF
121.	of 256-7. B: VICTORIA GERMAN. Victory stg. r. handing wreath to Gallienus stg.
	l. holding globe + sceptre. Antioch. AHG 219. C. 1173. Scarce F/VF
	As above. AHG 220. Scarce VF
	As above. AHG 221. Scarce abtEF
	As above. AHG 225. Scarce. Bold EF
	As above. AHG 227. Sharp reverse EF
126.	As above. AHG 231. Scarce EF/VG
127.	of 256-7. as above, star above. Antioch. AHG 233. RSC 1173a EF
	of 254-5. R: VICTORIAE AVGG. Soldier stg. r. holding spear, leaning on shield.
	Viminacium. AHG 235. C. 1196. Bold realistic portrait EF
129.	As above. AHG 237 VF+
130.	As above. AHG 238 VF-EF
131	of 259. R: VIRTVS AVG. Gallienus stg. r. holding trans. spear, receiving victory
1.51.	from Roma std. 1. Wreath above. Antioch. AHG 239.
	C. 1266
132	As above. AHG 242 abtUncirculated
132.	As above, without wreath. AHG 243. C. 1266 VF+
124	of 255-6. B : VIRTVS AVGG. Valerian + gallienus stg. face-to-face. One holds
154.	spear + globe, other victory + reversed spear. Antioch. AHG 244.
	c. 1310 EF+
105	
135.	As above. AHG 246. VF
136.	As above. AHG 249 EF
137.	As above. AHG 252. VF
138.	As above. AHG 256 EF-Uncirculated

AHG numbers refer to Antioch Hoard of Gallienus, total hoard. 339 of the 583 coins are here listed.

Gallienus joint reign (cont.)

	Gamenus John reign (cont.)
139.	of 255-6. as above, star above. Antioch. AHG 258. RSC 1310a. Flan flaw.
	abtEF/VF
	As above. AHG 260 EF
141.	of 253-4. R: VOTA ORBIS. Two victories attaching shield inscribed SC to palm
	tree. Antioch. AHG 261. RSC 1335b abtEF
	SALONINA, wife of Gallienus. Joint Reign
142	of 255-8. B : CONCORDIA AVGG. Gallienus + Salonina stg. face-to-face holding
142.	hands. Antioch. AHG 265. C. 31 VF/EF
142	As above. AHG 266 EF
	As above. AHG 267 EF+
	As above. AHG 269
	As above. AHG 273. Bit porous EF
	As above. AHG 274. Top legend weak abtUncirculated
	As above. AHG 276 EF+
1/10	As above, wreath above. AHG 277. RSC 31a VF
	As above, AHG 279 EF+
151	of 258-9. B : IVNO REGINA. Juno stg. 1. holding patera + sceptre. Antioch. AHG
151.	282. C. 60. Large superb portrait abtUncirculated
152	As above. AHG 283 VF
	of 257-8. R: IVNO REGINA. Juno stg. l. holding patera + sceptre, peacock at feet.
155.	Rome. AHG 286. C. 67. Uncirculated Uncirculated
154	As above. AHG 287
	of 255-6. R: ROMAE AETERNAE. Gallienus stg. r. receiving victory from Roma
	std. 1. holding spear, shield beneath. Antioch. AHG 288. C. 103 EF
156.	As above. AHG 290 EF-Uncirculated
	As above. AHG 291 EF
158.	As above. AHG 294 EF/EF+
159.	As above. AHG 295. Large portrait VF+
160.	As above, wreath above. AHG 296. RSC 103a EF-abtUncirculated
161.	of 258-9. R: VESTA AETERNA. Vesta stg. 1. holding victory + sceptre. Antioch.
	AHG 298. C. 146 EF
Sec. 1	VALERIAN II, elder son of Gallienus. Caesar 253-255
162.	of 254-5. R: PRINCIVVENTVTIS. Prince stg. l. crowning trophy, holding spear.
	Antioch. AHG 300. C. 67 VF-EF
	As above. AHG 301 EF
164.	As above, obv. differs. AHG 302. RSC 67a abtEF
165.	of 254-5. O: PCLIC COR VALERIANVS CAES, Radiate bust draped r. R:
	PRINCIPI IVBENTVTIS. Valerian stg. 1. holding spear + baton. Antioch(?) AHG
	304. C, RSC-, RIC-, Hunter-, Mazzini Obverse and reverse legends sim. C. 78,
	rev. type sim. C. 74. <u>A new type.</u> EF
166.	of 254-5. R: SPES PVBLIC[A]. Spes walking l. holding flower. Antioch. AHG 305.
	C. 92 EF

16/.	of 255. H: VICTORIA PART. Victory stg. r. holding	, paim, handing wreath to
	prince stg. l. holding spear. Antioch. AHG 307. C. 97	. Exceptionally bold large
	portrait	abtUncirculated

SALONINUS, younger son of Gallienus. Caesar 255-259, Augustus 259

168. of 255, as Caesar. R: DII NVTRITORES. Jupiter stg. l. holding spear, handing
victory to prince stg. r. Antioch. AHG 308. C. 21. Scarce. Superb portrait . EF+
169. As above. AHG 311. Scarce abtUncirculated
170. As above. AHG 312. Scarce abtEF/EF
171. of 256. R: SPES PVBLICA. Spes stg. 1. handing flower to prince stg. r. Antioch.
AHG 313. C. 95 VF+
172. As above. AHG 315. Bold portrait EF+
173. As above. AHG 318 VF
174. As above. AHG 320. Slightly porous EF/VF
175. As above, star in field. AHG 322. RSC 95a abtEF
176. As above. AHG 323 EF/Uncirculated
177. As above. AHG 324 EF+

GALLIENUS Sole Reign 260-268

	GALLIENUS Sole Keign 200-208
178.	of 264. B: AEQVITAS AVG. Aequitas stg. l. holding scales + cornucopiae. Rome.
	AHG 326. C. 25. Little actual wear EF-Uncirculated
179.	of 264. R: as above, star in field. Antioch. AHG 327. RSC 25c Uncirculated
180.	As above. AHG 328 FDC
	As above. AHG 330. Porous VF
182.	of 264. as above, star in ex. Antioch. AHG 332. RSC 25e, RIC S627 abtUnc
	of 264. as above, star in field. obv. differs. Antioch. AHG 333. RSC 25f, RIC
	S627 EF-Uncirculated
184.	As above. AHG 334. Excellent strike! abtUncirculated
185.	of 264. as above, SPQR in ex. Antioch. AHG 336. RSC 25g, RIC S627 F
186.	of 263. R: as above, star in field. Antioch. AHG 337. RSC. 28c, RIC S626VF-EF
187.	As above. AHG 339 EF
188.	As above, no mintmark. Antioch (?) AHG 341. cf. RSC 28c, RIC S626 EF+
189.	As above. AHG 342. Pitted EF
	As above. AHG 343 VF
191.	of 264 (?). R: AEQVITATS AVG. Acquitas stg. 1. holding scales + cornucopiae.
	Misstrike for C. 25? Antioch. AHG 344. C, RIC-, Hunter-, Mazzini Pitting to
	obv: edge and field EF
192.	of 267. R: AETERNITAS AVG. Saturn stg. r. holding scythe. PXV in ex. Antioch.
	AHG 345. C. 44 EF
193.	As above. AHG 348 F
194.	of 263. R: AETERNITATI AVG. Sol stg. l. hand raised, holding globe. Antioch.
	AHG 350. C. 50
	As above. AHG 352 abtUncirculated
	As above, star in field. Antioch. AHG 354. RSC 50a EF+
	As above. AHG 356. Some pitting EF
198.	As above. AHG 359. Uncirculated Uncirculated
199.	As above, AHG 360. Uncirculated Uncirculated
200.	of 264. R: AETERNITATI AVG. as above, star in ex. Antioch. AHG 361. C. 51
	var., RIC S630 abtUncirculated
201.	As above. AHG 363. Porous VF/EF
202.	As above. AHG 364. Uncirculated Uncirculated
203.	of 264. R: AETERNITATI AVG. as above, star in field. Antioch. AHG 365. C. 51
	var., RIC \$630

Gallienus sole reign (cont.)

	As above. AHG 366. Uncirculated Uncirculated
205.	of 264. O: GALLIENVS AVG. Radiate bust draped r. R: AETERNITATI AVG.
	as above, crescent in field. Antioch. AHG 367. C-, RIC-, Hunter-, Mazzini
	Crescent mintmark is extremely rare, not previously documented for this reverse
	type abtUncirculated
206.	of 267. R: FIDES AVG. Mercury stg. l., mantle on arm, holding purse + caduceus.
	PXV in ex. Antioch. AHG 368. RSC S219h abtUnc/EF
207.	of 266-8. R: FORTVNA REDVX. Fortuna stg. 1. holding caduceus + cornucopiae.
	VIIC in ex. Antioch. AHG 371. C. 277 EF
208.	As above. AHG 373 EF
209	of 267. B: IOVI CONSEREVT. Jupiter stg. l. holding globe + sceptre. PXV in ex.
	Antioch. AHG 374. C, RIC-, Hunter-, Mazzini (cf. RIC S608 below for type).
	Misstrike for IOVI CONSERVAT?
210	As above. AHG 375 EF
211	of 267. B : IOVI CONSERVAT. Jupiter stg. 1. holding globe + sceptre, PXV in ex.
211.	Antioch. AHG 376. C. 362, RIC S608 VF-EF
212	As above (struck low on flan: date not visible). AHG 379 EF+
213.	As above, obv. bust draped. Antioch. AHG 380. C. 362 var., RIC S608 EF
214.	of 266. B: IOVI CONSERVATORI. Jupiter stg. 1. holding globe + sceptre. Antioch.
	AHG 381. C. 375
215.	of 266. R: IOVI PROPVG. Jupiter stg. l., hd. r., hurling thunderbolt, holding
	sceptre. Antioch. AHG 382. RSC 381a EF/Uncirculated
216.	of 264. R: IOVI STATORI. Jupiter stg. l., hd. r., holding staff + eagle. Star in ex.
	Antioch. AHG 383. C. 394 EF
	As above, star in field. AHG 387 EF
	As above. AHG 388 EF+
219.	of 263. B: IOVI STATORI. Jupiter stg. l., hd. r. holding sceptre + victory. Star in
	field r. Antioch AHG 390. C. 396. Weak obverse EF
220.	of 263. R: IOVI STATORI. Jupiter stg. l., hd. r. holding sceptre + victory.
	Mediolanum. AHG 391. RSC 396a. Good strike abtUncirculated
221.	As above. AHG 393. Sharp reverse VF
222.	of 263. as above, with star in field. Antioch. AHG 396. C. 396 var., RIC S644.
	Green coloring on reverse EF+/EF
223.4	As above. AHG 397. Bit porous EF
224.	of 260-8. R: IOVI VLTORI. Jupiter walking l. hd. r. holding thunderbolt, cloak on
	arm. S in field 1. Rome. AHG 398. C. 402 VF
225.	of 260-8. B: IOVI VLTORI. Jupiter stg. facing, hd. r. holding thunderbolt, cloak.
	S in field I. Rome. AHG 399. RSC 408a. Very weak reverse VF
226.	of 266-8. R: IVBENTVS AVG. Gallienus stg. l. holding victory + spear. VIIC in
	ex. Antioch. AHG 400. C. 415 EF
227	of 266-8. R: LAETITIA AVG. Laetitia stg. l. VIIC in ex. Antioch. AHG 401.
227.	C. 425 EF/VG
228	of 267. B : LVNA LVCIF. Luna walking r., crescent on head, holding torch, scarf
220.	floating behind. PXV in ex. Antioch. AHG 402. C. 599 EF-Unc
220	
229.	As above. AHG 404 VF of 265. B : MARS VICTOR. Mars walking r. holding spear + shield. Palm in ex.
230.	of 203. M: MARS VICTOR, Mars walking r. nolding spear + shield. Palm in ex.
221	Antioch. AHG 405. RSC 606a EF-Uncirculated
231.	of 265. B: MINERVA AVG. Minerva stg. r. holding spear + shield. Palm branch
	in ex. Antioch. AHG 406. C. 632 VF

	Gallienus sole reign (cont.)
232.	of 265. B: as above, no mintmark. Antioch. AHG 407. RIC 651, cf. C. 633. Some
	porosity EF-Uncirculated
233.	of 266-8. B: as above, VIIC in ex. Antioch. AHG 408. C. 634 var.(obv. bust
	cuirassed), RIC S617 VF+
234.	of 265. R: PAX FVNDATA. Trophy between two captives. Antioch. AHG 409.
	RSC 770a. Portrait head left. Scarce F
235.	of 264. R: PM TRPXII COSV PP. Serapis stg. 1. holding sceptre. Antioch. AHG
001	411. C. 839 abtUncirculated
	As above. AHG 412 EF
	As above. AHG 413
238.	ex. Antioch. AHG 414. C. 849. Obverse corrosion VF
230	of 264. R : ROMAE AETERNAE. Roma std. l. holding victory + spear. Star in ex.
239.	Antioch. AHG 417. C. 919. Uncirculated
240	As above. AHG 421. Porous obverse EF/Uncirculated
	As above. AHG 423
	As above. AHG 424 abtUncirculated
243.	of 263. B: as above, star in field. Antioch. AHG 425. C. 920 abtUnc/EF
244.	As above. AHG 427. Weak obverse EF-abtUncirculated
245.	As above. AHG 430 EF
246.	of 267. R: SALVS AVG. Apollo stg. 1., tripod to r. PXV in ex. Antioch. AHG 431.
	RSC 927a. Weak reverse EF
247.	of 267-8. B: SALVS AVG. Salus stg. r. feeding serpent in arms. Antioch. AHG
	433. RSC 932f VF
248.	of 264-8. O: GALLIENVS AVG, rad. bust draped r. A: SOLI INVICTO. Sol stg.
	facing, hd. l., cloak over l. arm. R. hand raised, l. holding globe. Antioch(?). AHG
	434. C. 986 var. C-, RIC-, Hunter-, Mazzini. Undocumented with this obverse, holding globe. Documented coins show Sol holding whip VF-EF
240	of 266. B : SOLI INVICTO. Sol stg. l., hand raised, holding whip. Antioch. AHG
249.	435. C. 987 abtUncirculated/EF
250	As above. AHG 437
	of 267. B : SOLI INVICTO. Sol stg. r., hd. l. Draped, r. hand raised, l. holding
2011	whip. PXV in ex. Antioch. AHG 438. C. 989
252.	of 267. B: SOLI INVICTO. Sol as above, holding globe. PXV in ex. Antioch. AHG
	440. RSC 989b EF-abtUncirculated
253.	of 268. R: VENER VICTRIX. Venus stg. l. holding helmet, shield, spear. SPQR in
	ex. Antioch. AHG 441. C. 1020 F
254.	of 264-8. O: GALLIENVS AVG. Radiate bust draped r. R: VENER VICTRICI.
	Venus stg. l. holding helmet, spear, shield. Antioch. AHG 442. C. 1020-1021 var.
	C, RIC-, Hunter-, Mazzini Undocumented variant. (VENER VICTRIX, VENERI
	VICTRICI, or VENRI VICTRICI are listed) EF
255.	of 264. B : VICTORIA AVG. Victory walking l. Star in field. Antioch. AHG 443. RSC 1094b
256	As above. AHG 445 EF+
257	of 264. as above, but star in ex. Antioch. AHG 446. RSC 1094c. Uncirculated
	As above. AHG 448 EF-Uncirculated
259	of 264. Obv. draped. B : as above, star in field. Antioch. AHG 449. RSC 1094h.
	Uncirculated Uncirculated
260.	As above. AHG 450 abtUncirculated

AHG numbers refer to Antioch Hoard of Gallienus, total hoard. 339 of the 583 coins are here listed.

Gallienus sole reign (cont.) 261. As above. AHG 451. abtUncirculated 262. of 264. Obv. draped + cuir. R: VICTORIA AVG, as above, field empty. Antioch. AHG 453. C. 1094 var., RIC S663. Obverse porous. VF 263. of 263. B: VICTORIA AVG. Victory walking left, holding wreath + palm. Star in 264. As above. AHG 457. Nice surface. EF 265. As above. AHG 459. EF-Uncirculated 266. As above. AHG 461. EF-abtUncirculated 267. As above, field empty. Antioch. AHG 464. RSC 1098c. Bit weak. abtEF 268. As above. AHG 465. abtUncirculated 269. As above. AHG 466. EF+ 270. of 260-268. R: VIRTVS AVG. Mars stg. l. holding globe + spear. P in field r. Rome. AHG 467. RSC 1221c. Weak reverse. VF 271. **R**: as above. Rome. AHG 468. C. 1222. EF+ 272. of 263. R: VIRTVS AVG. Soldier stg. l. holding spear, leaning on shield. Antioch. AHG 470. C. 1235. EF 273. As above. AHG 471. Reverse off-centre. EF-Uncirculated 274. of 263. R:as above, star in field. Antioch. AHG 472. RSC 1235a. . Uncirculated 275. As above. AHG 474. VF-EF 276. As above. AHG 475. EF-Uncirculated 277. As above. AHG 477. EF 278. of 260-8. R: VIRTVS AVG. Soldier stg. l. holding spear, leaning on shield. Mediolanum. AHG 480. C. 1236. Nice style. EF-Uncirculated 279. of 264. B: as above. Antioch. AHG 481. C. 1237. abtUncirculated 280. of 264. as above, star in field. Antioch. AHG 482. RSC 1237b. Bit porous. EF 281. As above. AHG 483. EF 282. As above. AHG 485. Bit porous. EF+ 283. As above. AHG 486. Slightly porous. EF 284. As above. AHG 490. Strong portrait. VF 285. As above. AHG 491. Uncirculated. Much lustre. Uncirculated 286. of 264. B: VIRTVS AVG. as above, but crescent mintmark. Antioch. AHG 493. C-. RIC-, Hunter-, Mazzini-. cf. Hunter p. lxx. Crescent mintmark is extremely rare. Pitting to obverse. VF+ 287. of 267. B: VIRTVS AVG. Soldier stg. r. holding spear, leaning on shield. PXV in ex. Antioch. AHG 495. C. 1245. EF 288. of 266-8. R: as above, but VIIC in ex. Antioch. AHG 497. C.-. RIC-. Hunter-. 289. of 266. R: as above, but no mintmark. Antioch. AHG 498. C. 1246. Porous. F 291. of 266-8. B: VIRTVS AVG. Hercules stg. facing, hd. l. leaning on club, holding apple. VIIC in ex. Antioch. AHG 502. C. 1250. EF 292. of 266-8. Obv. cuir. R: as above. Antioch. AHG 503. RSC 1250a. . . VF-EF/VF 293. of 265. O: GALLIENVS AVG, Rad. bust l. R: VIRTVS AVG. Gallienus, laur., walking r. holding globe + transverse spear. No mintmark (type listed with branch in ex). Antioch. AHG 504. C. 1256 var. C.-, RIC-, Hunter-, Mazzini-. . . . VF+ 294. of 265. R: VIRTVS AVG. as above, branch in ex. Antioch. AHG 506. C. 1258. EF 295. of 264. B: VIRTVS AVGVSTI. Hercules stg. r. holding lionskin + club resting on rock. Star in field r. Antioch. AHG 508. RSC 1320c. abtUncirculated

Gallienus sole reign (cont.)

296. of 264. B: as above. Antioch. AHG 510. RSC 1320d EF+/abtUncirculated
297. As above, but star in ex. Antioch. AHG 511. RSC 1320d. Flan flaw abtUnc/EF
298. As above. AHG 512 EF
299. of 263. R: as above, but no mintmark. Antioch. AHG 514. C. 1321 VF
300. As above. AHG 519. Weak EF
301. As above. AHG 520. Uncirculated Uncirculated
302. of 263. R: as above, but star in field r. Antioch. AHG 521. C (C.1321 var.), RIC-,
Hunter-, Mazzini Tav. XXVII EF-abtUncirculated
303. As above. AHG 522 abtUncirculated
304. As above. AHG 525 VF+
305. As above. AHG 526. Uncirculated Uncirculated

SALONINA Sole Reign

201	
306.	of 267. R: AEQVITAS AVG. Aequitas stg. 1. holding scales + cornucopiae.
	Crescent in field, VIIC in ex. Antioch. AHG 528. C. 4 EF-Uncirculated
307.	As above. AHG 529 EF
308.	of 267. R: as above, but without crescent mintmark. Antioch. AHG 531. RSC. 4a.
	Quite weakly struck
300	of 265 D: CEDEDI AVC Come and I halding some start Anti-
509.	of 265. R: CERERI AVG. Ceres std. 1. holding corn ears + torch. Antioch. AHG
	532. C. 22 VF
310.	of early sole reign. O: CORN SALONINA AVG. Diademed bust r., on crescent.
	R: CONCORDIA AVG. Gallienus + Salonina stg. face-to-face, holding hands.
	Wreath above. Antioch. AHG 533. C, RIC-, Hunter-, Mazzini Similar to C. 31
	CONCORDIA AVGG. Transitional? Undocumented reverse type with this
	inscription. May have been struck immediately after Valerian's defeat and capture
	by Shapur
311	of 264 D. IVNO DECINA June ato I helding nature i another and the first
511.	of 264. R : IVNO REGINA. Juno stg. l. holding patera + sceptre, peacock at feet.
	Star in field l. Antioch. AHG 534. RSC 67b abtUncirculated
312.	As above. AHG 536. Uncirculated Uncirculated
313.	As above. AHG 540. Lightly porous abtUncirculated
314.	of 267. B: SALVS AVG. Salus stg. r. feeding serpent from patera. Antioch. AHG
	542. C. 105 VF
315	of 267. B: VENVS AVG. Venus stg. 1. holding helmet + spear. PXV in ex.
- 101	Antioch. AHG 543. C. 113 EF-abtUncirculated
	Anuocii. And 545, C. 115, EF-adiUncirculated

MACRIANUS Rival emperor 260-261

QUIETUS Rival emperor 260-261

317. **R**: SOL INVICTO. Sol stg. l. holding globe, r. hand raised. Two pellets in ex. Antioch (Hunter p. lxxvi: possibly Emesa). AHG 546. RSC 12b. VF-EF

CLAUDIUS GOTHICUS 268-270

318.	R: AEQVITAS AVG. Aequitas stg. l. holding scales + cornucopiae. H in ex	х.
	Antioch. AHG 547. C. 6 VF/	F
319.	As above. AHG 549. Bit porous V	F
320.	As above. AHG 552. Well engraved E	F

AHG numbers refer to Antioch Hoard of Gallienus, total hoard. 339 of the 583 coins are here listed.

Claudius Gothicus (cont.)

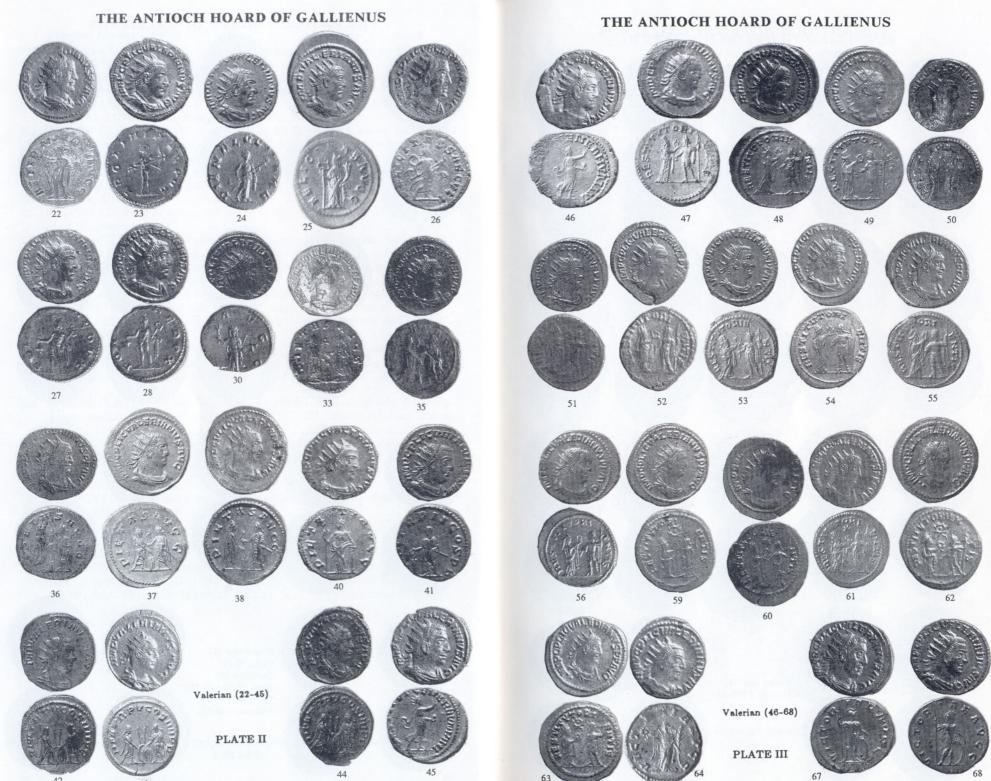
	Claudius (cont.)
321.	O: Rad bust 1. R: AEQIT AS AVG. Aequitas stg. 1. holding scales + cornucopiae.
	Antioch. AHG 553. C. 8. Very scarce obverse VF
322.	R : CONSER AVG. Serapis stg. l., r. hand raised, l. holding sceptre. Γ in ex.
	Antioch. AHG 554. C. 58. Obverse flaw to face EF
323.	B : FIDES AVG. Mercury stg. l. holding purse + caduceus. Z in ex. Antioch. AHG 556. C. 83, RIC 207. Flaw through coin EF/VF
324.	O: IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG, Rad. bust 1. B: FIDES AVG. as above, but nothing
	in ex. Antioch. AHG 557. C, RIC-, Hunter-, Mazzini Not documented without
	mintmarks. Weak, but scarce obverse VF
325.	R: IVNO REGINA. Juno stg. 1. holding patera + sceptre, peacock at feet. B in ex.
	Antioch. AHG 558. C. 134, RIC 212 VF-EF
326.	As above. AHG 559 VF
327.	R: IVNO REGINA. as above, but pellet in ex. Antioch. AHG 561. C, RIC-,
	Mazzini-, Hunter p. lxxxii VF+
328.	R: IVVEN TVS AVG. Hercules stg. 1. holding club + lionskin. Pellet in ex.
	Antioch. AHG 563. C. 137 var., RIC 213 VF+
329.	B: NEPTVN AVG. Neptune stg. 1. holding dolphin + trident. A in ex. Antioch.
	AHG 564. C. 183. Reverse weak VF-EF
330.	O: Head I. R: NEPTVN AVG. as above, but without mintmark. Antioch. AHG 565.
	C. 184 (RIC and Hunter list only with mintmarks). Scarce obverse F
331.	REGI ARTIS. Vulcan stg. r. holding hammer + tongs. Antioch. AHG 566. C.
	239, RIC 215. Rare VF+
332.	R: SALVS AVG. Isis Faria stg. 1. holding sistrum + basket. Ex. empty. Antioch.
	AHG 567. C. 255, RIC 217 VF
333.	R : SALVS AVG. as above, but ε in ex. Antioch. AHG 570. C. 256, RIC 217.
	Sharp VF-EF
334.	O: IMP C CLAVDIVS AVG. Rad. bust 1. R: SALVS AVG. Apollo stg. 1. holding
	branch, leaning on lyre. Antioch. AHG 573. C. 251, Hunter 80. Very scarce
	obverse EF
335.	R: SOL AVG. Sol stg. 1., hand raised, holding whip. Pellet in ex. Antioch. AHG
	575. C. 273. Variegated color EF
336.	AE Antoninianus. R: VICTOR GERMAN. Trophy between two seated captives.
	Cyzicus. AHG 576. C. 289. Verdigris. Very scarce VF/EF
337.	R: VIRTVS AVG. Minerva stg. r. holding spear, leaning on shield. S in ex.
	Antioch. AHG 578. C. 316
338.	As above. AHG 580. VF

AURELIAN 270-275

339. RESTITVT ORBIS. Woman stg. r. handing wreath to Aurelian, stg. l. holding spear. Δ in ex. Antioch. AHG 583. C. 194. Pitting to lower third of obverse not affecting face. Upper part of coin is amazing. Uncirculated/abtUnc

AHG numbers refer to Antioch Hoard of Gallienus, total hoard. 339 of the 583 coins are here listed. 30





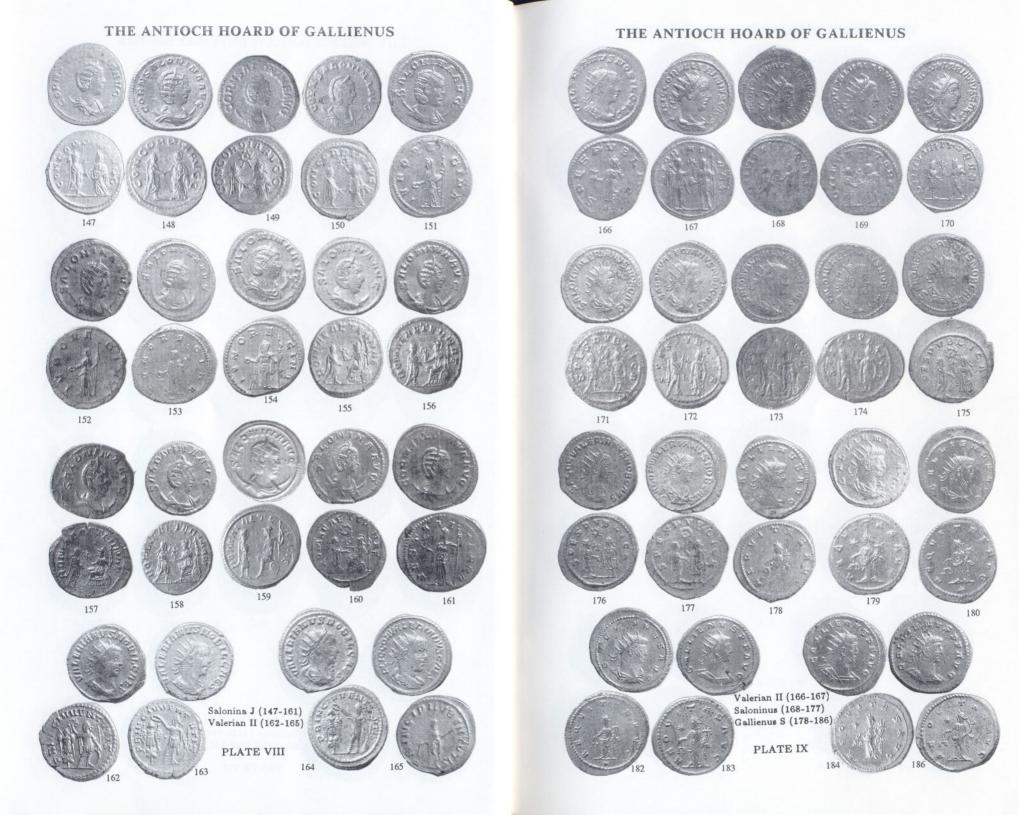






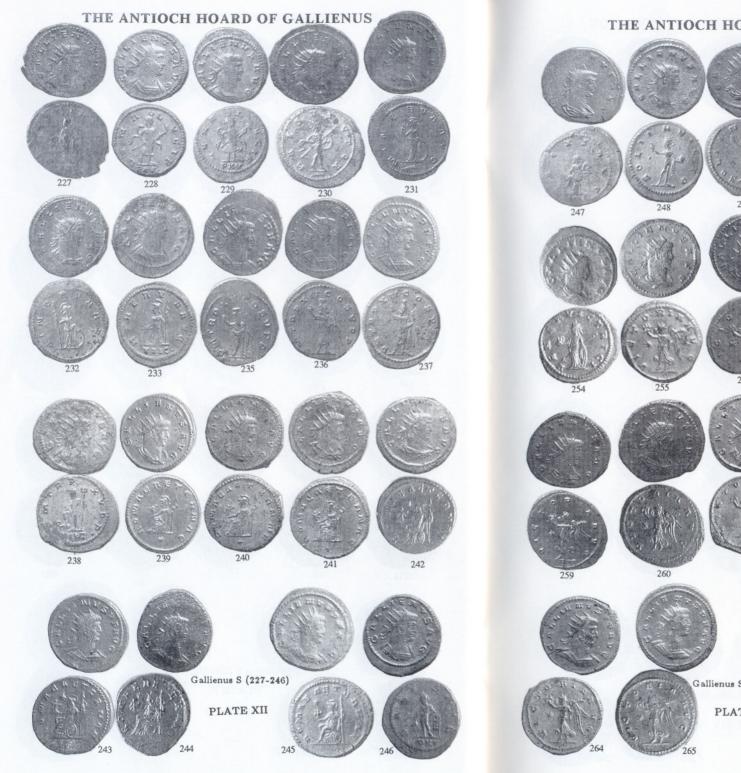
THE ANTIOCH HOARD OF GALLIENUS





















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332



333

334







Claudius II (327-338) Aurelian (339)

PLATE XVII



338

