

NOTAE NUMISMATICAE

ZAPISKI NUMIZMATYCZNE



Tom XIV

MUZEUM NARODOWE W KRAKOWIE
SEKCJA NUMIZMATYCZNA
KOMISJI ARCHEOLOGICZNEJ PAN
ODDZIAŁ W KRAKOWIE

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Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019) podczas wykopalisk archeologicznych w Egipcie (1960/1961)
Ze zbiorów Ośrodka Dokumentacji Filmowej Nauki Polskiej Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie
Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019) during archaeological excavation in Egypt (1960/1961)
From the Center of Visual Documentation of Polish Science (Pedagogical University of Cracow)

Szanowni Państwo,

oddajemy w Państwa ręce tom XIV *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*. Zgodnie z przyjętymi przez nas zasadami wszystkie teksty publikujemy w językach kongresowych, z angielskimi i polskimi abstraktami. Polskojęzyczne wersje tekstów odnoszących się w większym stopniu do zainteresowań czytelnika polskiego są zamieszczone w formie plików PDF na stronie internetowej Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). W podobny sposób udostępniamy cały obecny tom oraz tomy archiwalne. Na stronie internetowej dostępne są ponadto wszelkie informacje ogólne o czasopiśmie oraz instrukcje dla autorów i recenzentów.

11 czerwca 2019 r. w wieku 91 lat odszedł prof. dr hab. Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019), nestor polskiej numizmatyki, wieloletni pracownik i kierownik Gabinetu Numizmatycznego Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie, wybitny znawca numizmatyki antycznej, wykładowca i pracownik Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego w Krakowie, wykładowca Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, członek wielu towarzystw i organizacji naukowych, w tym członek honorowy Sekcji Numizmatycznej Komisji Archeologicznej Polskiej Akademii Nauk Oddział w Krakowie.

Jego pamięci poświęcamy XIV tom *Notae Numismaticae – Zapisków Numizmatycznych*, czasopisma, które mocno wspierał jako autor i członek Komitetu Naukowego.

Redakcja

Dear Readers,

It is with great pleasure that we present volume XIV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne* to you. In accordance with the principles that we have adopted, our texts are published in the conference languages with English and Polish abstracts. The Polish-language versions of the texts that are more relevant to the interests of the Polish reader can be found as PDFs on the website of the National Museum in Krakow (<https://mnk.pl/notae-numismaticae-zapiski-numizmatyczne-1>). Similarly, the whole of the present volume is available online, as are previously published volumes of the journal. The website also contains general information about the journal as well as information for prospective authors and reviewers.

Prof. Dr. Hab. Stefan Skowronek (1928–2019), the doyen of Polish numismatics, died on June 11, 2019, at the age of 91. For many years, he worked as an employee – and then as head – of the Numismatic Cabinet at the National Museum of Krakow. He was also a lecturer and employee of the Pedagogical University of Krakow, a lecturer at the Jagiellonian University, and a member of numerous scientific societies and organizations, having honorary membership status at the Krakow branch of the Numismatic Section of the Polish Academy of Sciences' Commission on Archaeology.

It is to his enduring memory that we dedicate volume XIV of *Notae Numismaticae – Zapiski Numizmatyczne*, a journal that he helped to support as both an author and as a member of the Scientific Committee.

The Editors

MATEUSZ OKOŃSKI

Tarnowiec, Independent Researcher

Images of Central European *externae gentes* in Trajan's Monetary Iconography and Their Role in the Propaganda of the Imperial Era

ABSTRACT: Images of Central European *externae gentes* were an important element of Roman art. They played both a propaganda and informative role, which made them appear in all branches of visual arts. This theme was particularly popular during the time of Marcus Ulpius Trajan, who propagated his military successes in Dacia on an unprecedented scale. The content of the article is focused on the monetary issues of Trajan, on which images of Central European barbarians, Dacians and Germans, were placed. The results of the coin analysis were included in the broader context of Roman art during the reign of the Best Emperor.

KEY WORDS: Trajan, coinage, personifications, images of barbarians, propaganda

ABSTRAKT: Wizerunki środkowoeuropejskich *externae gentes* w ikonografii monetarnej Trajana i ich pozycja w propagandzie imperialnej epoki

Wizerunki środkowoeuropejskich *externae gentes* stanowiły ważny element sztuki rzymskiej. Pełniły one funkcję propagandową i informacyjną, przez co pojawiały się we wszystkich gałęziach sztuk plastycznych. Motyw ten był szczególnie popularny za czasów Marka Ulpiusza Trajana, który na niespotykaną skalę propagował swoje sukcesy militarne w Dacji. Treść artykułu skupia się wokół emisji monetarnych Trajana, na których umieszczano wizerunki środkowoeuropejskich barbarzyńców – Daków i Germanów. Wyniki analizy mennictwa zostały wpisane w szerszy kontekst sztuki rzymskiej w okresie panowania Najlepszego Cesarza.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: Trajan, mennictwo, personifikacje, wyobrażenia barbarzyńców, propaganda

One of the main themes of the monetary iconography in the Imperial era was the motif of an enemy – a foreign representative of an enemy people. This theme was taken from earlier republican issues, which in turn took it from Greek art.¹ These images appeared both in architectural and full sculpture, on sarcophagi, decorative reliefs, as well as in fine figurative art. The frequent presence of protagonists on Roman monuments may testify to the important participation of these images in spreading the achievements of Imperial power. But what was the purpose of placing this type of image on monuments and smaller objects? One of the key tasks of imperial propaganda was to present the emperor as a winner, something which could be clearly linked to images of conquered tribes and peoples.² These *simulacra gentium*, which constituted one of the foundations of the emperor's image, therefore had a primarily symbolic function – they were to show the personal power and dominance of the victorious ruler, and thus of the whole Empire, personified by the figure of the princeps. The second level on which one should interpret and analyze the silhouettes of barbarians in Roman art is the informative function, which they undoubtedly also performed. Artistic images were a perfect complement to tractates and literary works in which the representatives of foreign peoples were described – their appearance, customs and social organization. The texts, however, were directed mainly to the upper, literate and interested in literature social classes. Art, through its imagery, significantly broadened the circle of recipients that the central authorities wanted to reach. The best example of the use of the images of foreign peoples in propaganda remains the institution of triumph, although its scope was limited to the residents of the capital.³ It was during their victorious processions that the inhabitants of Rome most often had the opportunity to observe the representatives of the barbarian tribes and their gear. As Christian Heitz has calculated, at least thirty-three of more than fifty emperors (i.e. about 66%) from Tiberius to Diocletian placed images of representatives of foreign peoples on the issuances of their coins.⁴ This

¹ In Roman art, the concept of a stranger initially had no value. Only the experience of the Persian wars changed this situation, creating a dissonance along the line of Greeks – barbarians. At that time, the evaluation and recognition of strangers as being at a lower cultural and civilization level also appeared. This depiction of barbarians was adopted by the Romans from the Greeks. Issues of perception of strangers by Greeks and Romans were raised by, among others: DUBUISSON 2001; IDEM 1985; HODOT and JOUIN 2008; LAMPINEN 2011.

² On propaganda in Roman art, see among others OSTROWSKI 1985; HANNESTAD 1988; HÖLSCHER 2011. The term “propaganda” is used here with the awareness of its limitations in relation to ancient times. More on this topic: KOPIJ 2017; OSTROWSKI 1996. Further literature there. The issue of representations of foreign peoples in the art of Rome was raised by BIENKOWSKI 1900; SCHUMACHER 1935; FERRIS 2000; KRIEGER 2004; HEITZ 2009.

³ KACZMAREK 2011: 154. It was during triumphal processions that captured prisoners of war were brought out and displayed, armament was presented, as well as images showing the sequence of events from a given campaign. For more on Roman triumphs, see OSTENBERG 2009; BEARD 2007; BALBUZA 2005; ITGENSHORST 2005; VERSNEL 1970.

⁴ HEITZ 2006: 175.

undoubtedly proves the popularity and significance of this motif. The money issued by the imperial mints were the strongest propaganda tool due to its universality, mass occurrence and wide distribution, although they also had some limitations stemming from the limited space for placing figural representations on it. Military successes and the subordination of new territories was one of the main tasks of the emperors, which is why this theme appeared as often as possible.⁵ Not surprisingly, the popularity and frequent appearance of barbarian figures in Roman coinages is not surprising.

Images of foreign peoples in the iconography of Roman coins have already been a subject of study, but usually in a general, cross-sectional outline, with papers on this subject by A. Caló Levi, E. Demougeot and C. Heitz.⁶ Also noteworthy are the much more detailed articles of A. Kluczek, devoted to the image of an alien-enemy on the example of the coinage of Aurelian and the imaginations of eastern peoples in the political propaganda of Roman emperors of the Antonine dynasty, as well as an article by W. Kaczanowicz, devoted to the propaganda of the conquest policy during the reign of Trajan.⁷ On the pages of the present text we focus on issues of the latter emperor, although in order to compare and present the transformations of imagining individual peoples, we will refer to older coinages and other monuments from the era. The main purpose of this approach will be a general attempt to characterize the coinage of the Trajan era in the context of the images of Dacian and Germanic *externae gentes*, and to answer the following questions: what was the purpose of using the image of an alien-enemy and what were the representations of Central European barbarians in the Trajan era? Were only men, warriors and rulers, represented on the coins or were women and children included as well? What did these images symbolize? How are they different from images known from previous issues? Did similar types of depictions appear also in later periods, or are they only a special sign of the coinage of Trajan's day?

Marcus Ulpius Trajan's successes in both internal and external politics meant that he was accorded the title of Best Emperor (*Optimus Princeps*) by the senate. The victories in many fields were used by the Emperor on an unprecedented scale – they were referred to in every field of art, proclaiming the personal merits of the ruler. Numerous references to the emperor's war achievements give a large sample for comparison, which allows us to take a closer look at the issue of using the images of barbarians in creating imperial propaganda that is of utmost interest for us.⁸ Coins struck by Trajan which meet the characteristics of the type can be divided into two

⁵ On the value of coins as a carrier of ideology, see HANNESTAD 1988: 11; THOMPSON 2007: 53.

⁶ CALÓ LEVI 1952; DEMOUGEOT 1984; HEITZ 2006.

⁷ KLUCZEK 2007; EADEM 2005; KACZANOWICZ 1976.

⁸ The creation of Trajan's imperial ideology was described in more detail by BENNET 1997: 64–74; MUSIELAK 1979: 119–130.

main groups.⁹ The first set consists of those which refer to achievements in the field of internal policy and present the following: the motive of alimony, motifs related to the improvement of Rome's water supply, or the effects of the architectural activity of the emperor (e.g. his forum, column, basilica, port in Ostia, or road – *Via Traiana*). The second group includes coins whose iconography refers to military and political successes, such as the subjugation of Germania (referring to the period when Trajan held the office of governor of the province of Germania Superior), the conquest of Dacia, and victories in the war with Parthia, resulting in the incorporation of Armenia and Mesopotamia into the Roman Empire. To this group we include all the coins of interest to us, on whose sides next to the emperor, god or other symbols of majesty and Roman power, appear the silhouettes of foreign peoples. Due to the focus of this text on images of Central European barbarians, we will be interested in issues which refer to Germania and Dacia, i.e. areas located in the Central European Barbaricum. Consequently, coins referring to Trajan's victories in the east are excluded from our field of interest. The reverses of coins belonging to this group present some common features. The first and most basic one is the presence of elements related to the policy of conquest – the characters of the enemies of Rome appear here as defeated and beaten, sometimes at the time of their clash with the might of the Roman army, as personified by the emperor. They are also accompanied by characters of foreign enemies, as well as Roman symbols related to war and victory (e.g. trophies and images of deities responsible for war triumphs). Central European barbarians appear on the monetary issues as powerless and humiliated, meant to symbolize their defeat in the clash with the Roman army, as well as in a way that suggests their civilization and prosperity under Roman rule. Thus, the way of depicting enemies had their symbolic purposes and which has already been noticed by other researchers – it was primarily to reflect Rome's superiority over its opponents.¹⁰ This domination was supposed to be a fulfillment of a historical mission, the concept of which was written by Virgil for the first time in Augustus' age: "You rule over the peoples, Roman! These are your arts: bring peace, as your will tell you, spare the godly and break the haughty" (*Aeneid*, priest VI, 851–854).¹¹ It is particularly important here to recall the idea of peace that Rome (through military conquest) was to bring to the whole world.

Trajan era issues give the opportunity to observe a whole series of depictions of representatives of foreign peoples, by which we mean both male and female

⁹ Numismatic material of the Trajan period is cited according to WOYTEK 2010. This is the most current catalogue of Trajan's coinage, containing references to older works devoted to this subject.

¹⁰ KLUCZEK 2007: 307–310; EADEM 2009: 11–12; HÖLSCHER 2003: 1–17; OSTROWSKI 1998.

¹¹ Translated by KLINE 2002: 155.

characters in various poses, groups and configurations. The images of men include, above all, barbarian warriors and chiefs, most often representing the military abilities, strength and power of a given people. The second group consists of less popular representations of women,¹² which are usually personifications of conquered provinces. Like J. Ostrowski, we understand the term “personification of the province” as a graphic representation of a *gentium* or *nationum* (i.e. the people who lived in a given place) and not the image of an administrative unit.¹³ The image of a woman can also be considered more directly. Women could symbolize both vitality and fertility, and thus the physical existence of a specific people. The images of children appear most rarely in Roman art, and thus correspondingly on coins. They usually occur in larger groups, along with adult caregivers. Above all, they symbolize the future and vital forces of the conquered group. Pulling minors into the Roman orbit gave hope to instill *Romanitas* in them – which was equal to taming their barbaric savagery and, ultimately, civilizing them.¹⁴ Although all of the above-mentioned characters or groups of characters were depicted on coins (primarily due to the small area) in a very schematic (and often also fragmentary) manner, their assignment to a specific people can be based on some characteristic elements, such as armaments, clothes, or even a particular type of haircut. The combination of individual characters with an appropriate ethnos is also possible through elements of legends placed on the reverse.¹⁵

As already indicated, the reverses of Trajan’s coins refer to the emperor’s achievements in the arena of internal and external policy. With regard to the depictions of Central European barbarians, the representation of the province of Germania comes to the fore, something which the second of the so-called good emperors was already connected before the start of his reign. The successor of Nerva, just before the death of his predecessor (January 97), stayed in Mogontiacum, where he was the governor of the province of Germania Superior,¹⁶ and probably this fact is associated with the images of women described as Germania. Personifications of this province appear on coins already during the reign of Domitian.¹⁷ The last of the Flavians led the campaign against the Germanic Chatti around the year 83,

¹² BIENKOWSKI 1900: 9; FERRIS 2003: 54. The female figure occupied a prominent place in Roman art. After all, the homeland of the Romans took the form of a woman – Roma. In light of this information, it is hardly surprising that the area occupied by enemies was depicted as a woman.

¹³ OSTROWSKI 1985: 18–20.

¹⁴ Cf. HEITZ 2009: 88; DILLON 2006: 244; FERRIS 1997: 26.

¹⁵ This is the case, for example, with DAC (ia) CAP (ta) coins.

¹⁶ BENNETT 1997: 46.

¹⁷ It is about the personification of the province. The motif of victorious campaigns against the Germans already appears during the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, certainly in Claudius’ time (e.g. RIC I: 3, 4, 71, 72, on which an arch with the inscription DE GERMANIS is visible). For the earliest issues with the image of a Germanic man, from the time of Augustus, see KRIERER 2004: 72.

as well as against the Dacians in the years 84/85–88.¹⁸ The successes on the German front allowed Domitian to be nicknamed Germanicus, which he used from mid-83.¹⁹ This achievement resulted in the image of the subdued Germania being added to the already existing catalogue of monetary representations. It is characteristic for the Domitian coins that Germania was shown in total humiliation. On coins from this period we see her as half-naked (from the waist up), stripped of her robes, with her head in her hands in a gesture of despair.²⁰ The most meaningful should be considered variants in which the woman symbolizing the province sits on a shield, expressing sadness and despair with her fate, and at her feet lies a spear with a broken shaft (a typical German weapon²¹) – a symbol of military defeat.²² Other types of performances juxtapose the personification of Germania with accompanying characters – a Roman deity (Victoria) crowning the trophy,²³ or a Germanic captive.²⁴ In this group of images, Germania is depicted as a prisoner of war, bound at the trophy. Domitian, however, was not the first of the rulers to put scenes referring to conflict with the Germans on their coins. Earlier issues of coins, dating back to the rule of the Julio-Claudian dynasty, also alluded to military campaigns in Germania and showed its inhabitants as defeated, although this time we cannot speak of impersonation, because the oldest issues referring to triumphs in Germania depict images of men, not women. Such images can be found on the coins of Claudius, commemorating the campaigns of his father – Drusus the Elder. On the reverse of aurei and denarii minted at the beginning of his reign, Claudius placed a triumphal arch with the inscription DE GERM and a monument of a horseman flanked by two trophies, under which the figures of prisoners of war were placed.²⁵ The figure of a man on the left was depicted in profile, while his opposite counterpart – *en face*. The schematic nature of the images makes it impossible to accurately describe them, but both have their hands arranged in a way that suggests they have been bound. All these types of depictions express contempt and a willingness to humiliate the conquered people by the conquerors, and also manifest the Roman triumph over savagery and barbarism. Trajan's coinage is quite different in this respect. There is no question of introducing prisoners or personifying Germania in humiliation. Germania was portrayed during the reign of the Best Emperor as an

¹⁸ For the Domitian campaign, see JONES 1992: 126–158. And the further literature therein.

¹⁹ JONES 2002: 129.

²⁰ For example RIC II.1: 325, 326 or 331.

²¹ The so-called *framea* – a spear with a short and narrow head, used in melee combat or as a missile (Tacitus, *Germania* 6).

²² For example RIC II.1: 326, 347.

²³ RIC II.1: 285 lub 365.

²⁴ RIC II.1: 295, 351 or 397.

²⁵ RIC I: 69, 70.

already civilized province. The woman representing her is resting in a dignified pose on a pile of shields and holding an olive branch in her hand – a symbol of peace and prosperity. Although the province was portrayed as a woman, she wears a typical male outfit – pants and a cape (covering the upper, bare half of the body).²⁶ As we can see – the image of subordinate Germania evolved very quickly. and, unlike coins from the Julio-Claudian or Flavian dynasties, it shifted the point of view from Germania as a hostile area to Germania as a province – part of the Roman state. Also, Trajan's successors, for example Hadrian, already presented Germania as civilized – standing proudly, leaning on a spear and a shield.²⁷ Another change in the presentation of the province in question occurs during the reign of Marcus Aurelius, in connection with his campaign against the Marcomanni and Quadi, where there is a return to the depictions of Germania beaten and humiliated.²⁸ This transformation is particularly important due to the fact that a similar change also occurred in the presentation of the next province – Dacia, which will now be the subject of our considerations.

One of the main themes appearing on Trajan coins are references to his two campaigns in Dacia, which ended with the incorporation of the territory of the state of Decebalus into the Roman Empire and creating a new Roman province within its territory.²⁹ The success that was achieved then resulted in an unprecedented number of images of defeated enemies in almost all fields of art. This gives the opportunity to combine monetary representations with those placed on other types of monuments. The purpose of this comparison is to attempt to create a catalogue of barbarian depictions and their function in promoting Trajan's victories.

Aurei and denarii issues, referring to the Dacian campaigns, appear very early on, already during the first conflict. On the reverse of an aureus, struck in the years 101–102, we see the emperor crowning a trophy and resting his right leg on a reclining figure.³⁰ We can identify her with an undefined Dacian (perhaps Decebalus?), which is suggested by the characteristic headgear – an attribute of the highest social class functioning in Dacian society.³¹ This figure was depicted in a reclining position – he rests on his left hand, raising his right hand in an

²⁶ WOYTEK 2010: 23 (aureus), 55 (aureus), 56 (denarius) and 71 (aureus).

²⁷ An example of such a presentation is Hadrian's denarius with the legend GERMANIA – RIC II 302.

²⁸ For example RIC III 1021, 1022, 1023.

²⁹ Trajan's campaigns took place in the years 101–102 and 105–106. The source basis and detailed course of the Dacian wars were developed by BENNETT 1997: 87–105; DUBICKI 2013.

³⁰ WOYTEK 2010: 120 (aureus).

³¹ A characteristic cap, referred to in the sources as a pileus. A similar item of headgear is to be found in the Decebalus's scene on Trajan's Column (Table XIX, scene XXIV according to Cichorius) or on the sculptures of Dacians placed on the Arch of Constantine. The aristocracy of Dacia is called by Roman sources as "wearing hats" (pileati) (Cassius Dion, *Roman History* 68). On the whole column, as many as 121 Dacian warriors have such headgear, see COULSTON 1988: 302; DAICOVICIU 1969: 17.

imploing gesture towards the emperor. Placing such a scene on an early issue, almost simultaneously with ongoing military operations, suggests that the emperor had managed to quickly launch a wide-ranging offensive and thus force his enemies to submit. Also interesting are the coins from the early period of the Dacian wars where the reverses depict Trajan on horseback with a defeated Dacian warrior before him (again, perhaps Decebalus?).³² Interestingly, Trajan cannot be described as charging at his opponent – the emperor is not holding a weapon; he is wearing a toga, and his horse is not galloping. We can therefore conclude that the figure lying before Trajan is not fighting him, but only playing the role of complementing the scene of the emperor's triumph. Coins depicting attacks on the enemy also appeared in the reign of Trajan – here we are talking about later issues of aurei.³³ This motif is not entirely new – it appeared for the first time in Pergamene art. In Roman art, however, it became permanently established in the 1st century, although it was also occasionally used in republican times and during the rule of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Domitian popularized it on coins.³⁴ Both forms of representations refer to the personal successes of the ruler – they show Trajan triumphant, in direct battle with the enemy or as the author of victory, because in this case the emperor may symbolize the entire Roman army and its military power. It shows, therefore, that before achieving full triumph, the Best Emperor launched a propaganda machine to spread his achievements to the people. Coin issues with depictions of the defeated Dacia come from the beginning of the year 103. They were minted with a high degree of probability shortly after Trajan's triumph, which crowned the struggle in the First Dacian War, because they were preceded by issues with depictions of the emperor on quadriga (probably during the triumphal procession).³⁵ The personification of the defeated people was presented in a typical mourning pose – she sits (turned to the left) on the shield, with her right hand leaning on the ground, while with left hand she supports her head which is bent in despair. The figure is dressed in a typical Dacian costume, characteristic mainly for men. Accompanied by a curved sword (perhaps it is a falx), placed below the shield – a symbol of lost strength and

³² WOYTEK 2010: 119 (denarius).

³³ *Ibidem*: 202 (aureus).

³⁴ *Ibidem*: 119 (denarius). An example of the occurrence of this motif in Roman art are monuments from the reign of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. These include tombstones: Q. Carminius Ingenuus, Leubius, Licinius, Petronius Disacensus, Dolanus Bessus, and C. Romanus Capito. See KRIERER 2004: 176–177; HEITZ 2009: 230. Slightly more problems with dating are provided by the Brescia plaque, dating from the 1st century BC (BIENKOWSKI 1928: 2) or from the reign of Tiberius (KRIERER 2004: 204). For the chronology of using this motif in coinage, see OSTROWSKI 1985: 75.

³⁵ Between December 10 and December 31, 102, Trajan was given the title of *Dacicus*. At that time, the emperor had to celebrate a triumph. See BENNETT 1997: 98. Coins commemorating the triumphal march over Dacia, depicting Trajan on the quadriga: WOYTEK 2010: 139 (aureus), 144 (denarius), 145–147 (aureus), 149 (aureus). The humiliated Dacia appears for the first time at the beginning of the year 103, that is after the triumph, see *ibidem*: 148 (aureus). Later coins of this type: *ibidem*: 161 (aureus), 162 (denarius).

lost military capabilities. The number of coin types minted after the first Dacian victory is therefore quite small. This may be due to the fact that the victory in this war was not complete and it was necessary to conduct an additional campaign. A much wider range of motifs appeared on the reverses of Trajan's coins after his second triumph over Dacia, in 107. Other coins were issued at this point with the depiction of the emperor on the quadriga. A little later, there were issues with the image of a character defeated and sitting on a pile of weapons (a personification of Dacia or a warrior – Decebalus, once again?) and with their hands tied behind their back, or with their head resting on one hand.³⁶ In both cases, the depictions are quite schematic, which makes it difficult to interpret them clearly. However, some variants and specimens of the discussed issues allow a slightly more detailed view of the details of the subdued Dacian adversaries. The best in terms of transparency of the reverse is the coin from the American Numismatic Society collection (catalogue number 1992.52.15), which clearly shows a woman sitting on a pile of weapons. Her outfit undoubtedly refers to those items of clothing that are depicted on Trajan's column – the woman has her hair in a characteristic bun, a necklace is visible on her neck, she wears a long, tied-up robe. In some cases, we can also find decorative bracelets on the shoulders of the character in the presented scene.³⁷ The fact that we are dealing with the personification of Dacia also supports the description, placed under the image of the character, proudly proclaiming – DAC (ia) CAP (ta) – Dacia conquered. Very similar in terms of depictions are coins with the image of a despairing figure minted in parallel or slightly later. In this case, the weapon pile was replaced with a trophy, under which the personification of Dacia was placed.³⁸ During this period, slightly different forms of representations also appear, in which the emperor was also depicted. We are talking here about issues dated to the years 103–104, on the reverses of which the left-facing figure of Trajan is visible, placing his right leg on the body or head of a fragmentarily represented personification of the conquered province.³⁹ In the period between the end of the first and second campaigns in Dacia, similar issues were also struck, on which a Roman deity i.e. Pax was depicted instead of Trajan.⁴⁰ The goddess sat on a throne and is shown

³⁶ Trajan triumphed in mid-107, cf. BENNETT 1997: 105. Another series of coins depicting the emperor on the quadriga dates back to this period. These types include: WOYTEK 2010: 273 (denarius), 275 (denarius) and 274 (aureus). Coins appearing at the same time with the image of the defeated Dacia or Dacian warrior: *ibidem*: 276 (denarius; character facing right) and 283 (denarius; character facing left).

³⁷ These types of decorations appear on the column, e.g. in the scene XXIX, XXX or XXXIX. For more on the depictions of women on Trajan's column, see below. The bracelets schematically depicted on the shoulders of the figure are visible, for example, on a coin from the British Museum collection (catalogue number R.11679) or from Münzkabinett in Vienna.

³⁸ WOYTEK 2010: 163 and 190 (both denarii).

³⁹ Cf. CALÓ LEVI 1952: 17.

⁴⁰ WOYTEK 2010: 194 (denarius).

extending an olive branch to a kneeling Dacian – a symbol of peace. The propaganda of this depiction is clear. The emperor shows the domination of Pax Romana – the Roman peace understood as establishing Roman rule – over the world and over the peoples inhabiting it. Setting both characters also suggests that the defeat of Dacia opens the way for the arrival of order and prosperity in the conquered area. In the company of the defeated enemy, it was not only the emperor and deities which appeared on monetary issues in the discussed period. We mean coins with the image of a group of characters (from the left): Trajan standing to the right, a kneeling barbarian and a Roman senator (or genius of the Roman Senate).⁴¹ The emperor's right hand rests on the arm of the figure placed in the center of the scene. The position and gestures of the person suggests his submission to the will of both Trajan and the Roman Senate. His downward pointing hands suggest that he is bowing or asking the senator for mercy. The whole scene, therefore, symbolizes the right of the Senate to rule over the barbaric territory (Dacia), which power will begin to be exercised after the subjugation of the enemy by Trajan. The issue of 106–107 comes from the presentation of another Roman deity, in the company of a Dacian prisoner of war. On these coins the figure of Mars is immortalized. The god puts a shield on the shoulders of a kneeling Dacian, one that the humiliated enemy is barely able to lift with both hands raised above his head.⁴² From the same period also comes a denarius with the reverse side depicting the goddess Pax sitting on a throne, before whom a humiliated Dacian kneels in a pleading pose.⁴³ Later are coins on which depiction of the goddess of peace reappears, this time standing next to a weapons pile.⁴⁴ However, the schematic representation of the goddess's arms makes it impossible to determine exactly which people it belonged to. Bronze and copper coins with a similar image on the reverse are a sure clue here, along with the deity a typical inventory of objects – a hexagonal shield, battle sickles (falces), as well as a schematically drawn battle trumpet in the shape of a dragon's head are depicted.⁴⁵ Denarius of the year 110, show on the reverse a Dacian standing on the left, with inscription DAC CAP below.⁴⁶

As mentioned above, not only gold and silver coins were the bearers of imperial victory propaganda. Victoria over Dacia and the subordination of this land was also one of the motifs that also decorated bronze and copper coins of lower denominations

⁴¹ *Ibidem*: 183 (aureus).

⁴² *Ibidem*: 219 (denarius).

⁴³ *Ibidem*: 220 (denarius).

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*: 347 (denarius), 353 (denarius) and 390 (denarius). These coins were minted in the years 111–112.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*: 201 (dupondius), minted in the years 104/105–107. Representations of the Dacian weapon itself can be seen e.g. on WOYTEK 2010: 196 (dupondius), 198 (as), 268 (denarius) and 269 (denarius).

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*: 289 (denarius).

– sestertii, dupondii and asses, for which the Senate was responsible.⁴⁷ It should be noted here that most of the images coincide with those referred to in the case of silver and gold money. The first coins to mention here are dupondii minted at the end of the year 102.⁴⁸ On the reverse, a group of two characters is visible: on the left side there is a male figure kneeling on one knee, shown in the profile. In front there is a facing figure of a man in a gown – probably a senator or senate genius is represented. The scene refers in its content and overtones to the aureus discussed above, which, however, also features the figure of the emperor. Already after the first triumph over Dacia, sestertii were minted with the image of Trajan, placing one foot on a fragmentarily depicted figure symbolizing the conquered territory.⁴⁹ Repetition of the motif functioning in the silver coinage is also visible in an issue of dupondii and asses with the image of Pax, placing one foot on the body of Dacia.⁵⁰ A similar situation is encountered in the case of dupondii and asses, with a depiction of an emperor on horseback attacking a Dacian warrior.⁵¹ The goddess of peace appears also on issues from the years 106–107, on which she was depicted sitting on the throne, in the company of a Dacian kneeling in a pleading pose.⁵² Another of the motifs we already know from gold and silver coins is the scene in which the personification of Dacia sits in a funeral pose under a trophy.⁵³ Scenes that are unknown on silver and gold coins appear on bronze and copper issues too. Particularly noteworthy is an issue of sestertii, struck 104–111.⁵⁴ These coins depict Trajan, holding a triumphant insignia and standing on a podium. The emperor is being crowned with the crown of victory by Victoria floating on the right side of the presented scene. At the foot of the emperor, there are four eagles (two on each side), over which we see two figures of barbarians in a pleading gesture towards Trajan. Therefore, these coins commemorate the recent triumph of the emperor over Dacia. The figures of the enemies of Rome have been presented in a schematic way, but we can see that they have long coats and headgear characteristic of Dacian representations in Roman art. The scene with the emperor in the center symmetrically flanked by barbarians appears for the first time in Trajan's time, although some researchers have sought its inspiration in republican times, giving

⁴⁷ KACZANOWICZ 1976: 159.

⁴⁸ WOYTEK 2010: 136 (dupondius).

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*: 181 (sestertius).

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*: 206 (dupondius) and 207 (as).

⁵¹ *Ibidem*: 208 (dupondius) and 209 (as). These coins were minted according to WOYTEK 2010: 286, in the years 104/105–107. From the second half of 107 up to 110, coins with such an image also appeared, where the opponent Dacians are placed under, not in front of the imperial horse, see *ibidem*: 317 (sestertius), 318 (dupondius) and 319 (as).

⁵² *Ibidem*: 247 (sestertius), 248 (dupondius) and 249 (as).

⁵³ *Ibidem*: 243 (sestertius), 244 (dupondius) and 245 (as). Coins with this representation were also minted at the end of the first decade of the 2nd century, see *ibidem*: 326 (sestertius), 327 (dupondius) and 328 (as).

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*: 184 (sestertius). For more on these coins, see OSTROWSKI 1985: 77–78.

the example of a denarius signed by Faustus Cornelius Sulla from around 62 BC, on the reverse of which Sulla appears in the company of Bocchus and Jugurtha – kings of African countries.⁵⁵ These coins, however, differ from Trajan's issue in the details of the representation – the Roman commander sits on the throne on Republican denarii, while on the sestertii, Trajan stands on the elevation. The images of the eagles and the goddess Victoria are also missing on earlier coins. This motif appeared in a slightly modified version also during the times of Probus⁵⁶ or tetrarchs (e.g. Licinius or Maximinus Daia).⁵⁷ Perhaps the discussed sestertii, as well as the already mentioned issues with the image of Trajan on horseback next to a reclining Dacian, as well as the emperor supporting his leg on the body or head of the opponent, refer to the preserved monuments of the victory of the Best Emperor.⁵⁸

Shortly after the end of the Dacian wars, a series of coins were also issued, with the depiction of a pile of weapons, on the top of which a prisoner of war kneels, with his hands tied behind his back.⁵⁹ Undoubtedly, this is a Dacian warrior since, despite the schematic image, we can find typical Dacian armaments and the whole scene is embellished with the legend of DAC (ia) CAP (ta). Another interesting image referring to the campaign in the areas north of the Danube are sestertii with the depiction of a muscular, half-naked man attacking a reclining woman.⁶⁰ Older literature interpreted this scene as a clash of two impersonations: Dacia (the woman) and Tiber (the man). However, this interpretation has not stood the test of time. It is now recognized that the woman depicted on the reverse of these coins is indeed Dacia, but the man is an impersonation not of the Tiber, but of the Danube.⁶¹ The placement of such a scene on coins can be explained by the emperor's attempt to emphasize the role of river crossings that he used during the campaign. The tremendous engineering works which culminated in the construction of the Danube bridge by Apollodorus of Damascus, was also an achievement of the emperor and one which was worthy of being included in the work of imperial propaganda of success. Extensive engineering work on erecting this crossing was not only a show of the advancement

⁵⁵ CALÓ LEVI 1952: 16, note 12.

⁵⁶ Cf. RIC V 136.

⁵⁷ RIC VI Treveri 817.

⁵⁸ We know that his equestrian statue was supposed to have stood in Trajan's Forum, and perhaps it was this which was depicted on the coins mentioned above. From the time of Hadrian comes a statue that depicted the emperor in ceremonial dress, resting his left foot on a defeated barbarian. Perhaps it was an imitation of a similar statue of Trajan, which was depicted on the coins in question.

⁵⁹ WOYTEK 2010: 311 (dupondius).

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*: 199 (sestertius).

⁶¹ As the personification of the Tiber he was described by: MATTINGLY and SYDENHAM 1926: 283. For a change in identification see OSTROWSKI 1985: 77; WOYTEK 2010: 287. The role and importance of the personification of rivers in Roman art has been described by, among others OSTROWSKI 1990.

of Roman engineering. The creation and maintenance of a permanent crossing over the Danube was a remarkably important element of the whole Dacian conquest, since its existence conditioned communication with the Empire's homeland, so important during the campaign. After the end of the Dacian wars, the goddess Roma also appeared on bronze and copper issues. She was placed on sestertii, dupondii and asses issued in the years 106–107.⁶² This motif refers to the images of an alien-enemy in the company of the goddess Pax. Also in this case we are dealing with a goddess standing in the central part of the coin field (facing left and holding Victoria in her right hand). Under her feet, a defeated and humiliated Dacian kneels in a pleading pose. The personification of the Roman state also appears on slightly later (108–109/110) issues of lower denominations.⁶³ This time, the deity is sitting on a throne, resting his right leg on a helmet and his left leg on a Dacian's head. The symbolic character of this scene is clear – the personification of Rome dominates a Dacia which has been defeated and attached to the Empire. Images of Roma close the catalogue of Roman deities, accompanied by Central European Dacians. The last of the interesting scenes present on bronze and copper issues refers in its content to the relationship that occurred between the coins of Domitian and Trajan in the context of Germania. On three denominations issued in 112–114, the representation of Dacia sitting on a rock appears.⁶⁴ However, this is not an impersonation similar to those previously described. This time the woman representing the province is proud and upright. In his left hand he holds a legionary banner. The whole performance is complemented by a legend proclaiming DACIA AVGVST PROVINCIA, emphasizing that the area north of the Danube belongs to the Roman state. It is accompanied by a Dacian woman, with two children, holding a bunch of grapes and an ear of grain in their hands.

J. Ostrowski suggests that the children represent Roman colonists who came to the Dacia area after the Roman conquest, and the attributes they are wielding are symbols of the prosperity and fertility of the areas they inhabit.⁶⁵ In our opinion, this representation can also be interpreted in a different way. Images of children appear on numerous monuments of Roman art in the context of the subordination of the hostile community and homage paid by it to the victorious emperor.⁶⁶ Particularly important here is the motif of the offspring brought to the imperial court by barbarian leaders.⁶⁷

⁶² WOYTEK 2010: 250 (sestertius), 251 (dupondius) and 252 (as).

⁶³ *Ibidem*: 332 (sestertius), 333 (dupondius) and 334 (as).

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*: 467 (sestertius), 468 (dupondius) and 469 (as).

⁶⁵ OSTROWSKI 1985: 78.

⁶⁶ See FERRIS 1997: 26.

⁶⁷ We know this type of image e.g. from one of the vessels from Boscoreale, in which August received an allegiance from a barbarian chief. Cf. KACZMAREK 2011: 155; ZANKER 1988: 187.

In these cases, children are a guarantee of peace, while symbolizing the future and vitality of individual nations.⁶⁸ The image of Dacia, resting in the company of children, may symbolize the perpetual subordination of this area and the fruits it will bring for its inhabitants and for Rome. The image of Dacia as a Roman province also appears later, during the time of Trajan's successor – Hadrian, where she was also depicted as a woman sitting on a rock holding a legionary banner.⁶⁹ The legend is the name of the province – DACIA. Antoninus Pius placed the image of a civilized Dacia on his sestertii of the year 139 – she stands left, holds the crown in her right hand and a legionary banner in the left.⁷⁰ The province also appears in the time of Decius and refers to the depictions from the Antonine dynasty. The difference, however, is that Dacia holds in her right hand either a legionary banner or a staff topped with a donkey's head.⁷¹ The last appearance of the province on Roman coins is in the times of Aurelian⁷² and it does not differ from the type that arose during Decius. The inscription DACIA FELIX was placed on the reverse. Similarly, as was the case with the images of Germania, also in the case of Dacia, the way it was depicted on imperial coins underwent an evolution from a hostile and conquered terrain to one which had been subdued and civilized.

The last interesting numismatic item from the Trajan period which carries the representations of Dacian opponents, is a medallion minted around 109–110, on the reverse of which Trajan was depicted charging on the enemy.⁷³ The uniqueness of this performance lies in the fact that not one (as was the case of the issues discussed above), but two Dacians, disappear under the hooves of the imperial horse. The whole scene resembles the emperor's attack on Dacian warriors depicted on the so-called The Great Frieze of Trajan, which now adorns the Arch of Constantine (see below).

As the above analysis shows, representations of Central European *externae gentes* were a popular motive in the coinage of Trajan's time. The alien-enemy theme appeared in the coinage in relation to real successes which the emperor achieved in the military field (mainly in Dacia). Trajan appears to us on the basis of our considerations as a victor. To systematize the catalogue of barbarian images placed on Trajan coins, we can try to draw some conclusions. What was the purpose of placing barbarian opponents on coins? Above all, Trajan tried to emphasize his personal merits in the fight against Germans and Dacians. Evidence of this are the issues with depictions of the emperor charging the enemy, crowning a trophy or taking

⁶⁸ HEITZ 2009: 88.

⁶⁹ RIC II 829, 849 and 850.

⁷⁰ RIC III 581.

⁷¹ RIC IV 2, 12, 13, 35, 101, 112, 113, 114 and (Staff topped with donkey's head), 14, 37 (standard).

⁷² RIC V 108.

⁷³ WOYTEK 2010: 343.

a triumph on the podium. In the case of these representations, it can be stated that barbarians were only a backdrop for the Roman ruler here, representing the majesty of the entire state. Prisoners of war, captured and humiliated, symbolized the power of Rome, which had dominated her opponents militarily. However, the emperor not only emphasized his own merits, but also the favor of the senate. In the case of these coins (issues showing the tribute paid by defeated Dacia to the genius of the senate) we can speak of the symbolic submission of Dacia to the domination of the Roman people, represented by the assembly of senators. From the point of view of creating imperial propaganda, it is also important to recall depictions of barbarians in the company of Roman deities. Here the most important are those that relate to military and triumphant themes, i.e. gods associated with the war – Mars and Victory. The second group of gods who were imagined in the company of Central European barbarians are the deity of peace – Pax, which extends its dominion over the already conquered people, and Roma – the personification of Rome, which triumphs over newly captured territory. The message of these coins is similar to the first group discussed, except that it is not the emperor but the deities that symbolize the majesty and power of Rome. Barbarians are in this case portrayed as defeated and dominated by representatives of the Roman pantheon. However, depictions showing the new provinces as civilized and organized in Roman fashion have a different meaning. The whole range of these images creates a system expressing the power of the Roman state, as represented by the emperor, the deities, or ultimately the genius of the senate. It is necessary to consider here to what extent the coins from the period of the reign of the Best Emperor, which depicted barbarians stood out against the background of monetary issues in other periods, and whether they have any characteristic, unusual types. Some of the motifs appearing in the coinage of the Trajan era have their sources already in republican times. In the last century of the republic's existence, when the Roman state began its expansion into the Central European Barbaricum, scenes referring to these campaigns appeared on coins. One of these types are coins with the image of a Roman rider attacking a barbarian infantryman. An example of such a coin is a denarius signed by P. Fonteius Capito.⁷⁴ Similar scenes occurred also during the empire – even in the times of Vespasian and Titus,⁷⁵ but above all under the rule of Domitian.⁷⁶ We know this motif also from Trajan's issues.⁷⁷ Coins minted both during and after the First Dacian War, which depicted the emperor in the company of a barbarian who is sometimes identified as Decebelus, may refer

⁷⁴ CRR 900; RRC 429.1.

⁷⁵ RIC II.1: 429, 430, 497 and 564.

⁷⁶ RCV 2771. A detailed discussion of the history of this theme: OSTROWSKI 1985: 66–75.

⁷⁷ Cf. e.g. WOYTEK 2010: 202, 203, 343.

in their genesis to republican issues on which defeated people were represented by portraying the leader of the enemies.⁷⁸ The motif of the Roman rider attacking a barbarian also became popular during the wars with barbarians in the second half of the second and in the third centuries. Examples of such coins are issues from the times of Marcus Aurelius, with a portrait of Lucius Verus on the obverse and an interesting combination of characters on the reverse, as well as coins of Caracalla, Geta or Probus.⁷⁹ This type of image was present in Roman coinage until the 4th century.⁸⁰ Therefore, this motif appeared over a broad time spectrum and was quite popular for several hundred years of the existence of the Roman state, and was always associated with the military achievements of rulers. Another theme that appeared in Trajan's coinage were the images of a woman (personifying Dacia) sitting in a mourning pose on a shield or a pile of weapons. Similar images in which the motif of a distressed woman occur (depicted alone or with a male companion) also occurred before Trajan's time. Examples of such coins are issues struck during Cesar's campaign in Gaul,⁸¹ or the one issued by Vespasian and Titus to celebrate their triumph in the Jewish war.⁸² Domitian's coins with depictions of Germania have already been mentioned. This motif also appeared later, although not only in relation to Central European barbarians, but also eastern ones. For example, Marcus Aurelius issued coins with the image of a seated and crushed Armenia.⁸³ The same emperor issued coins with a depiction of a defeated Germania during the Marcomannic Wars.⁸⁴ This type of image is also neither solely unique nor characteristic for the time of Trajan. In the Best Emperor coinage an important role, along with images of barbarians, was also played by Roman deities – Victor, Pax, Mars or the personification of Rome, Roma herself. This motif also cannot be considered to have been a Trajan innovation, although some specified forms were unique and stood out from the issues of other rulers in his time. That group of characters also had its roots in the republican era and occurred with varying intensity during the empire. Let us briefly discuss the coins on which individual deities were depicted, beginning with Victoria.

⁷⁸ OSTROWSKI 1985: 66. Republican coins of this type include C. Fundanus quinarius minted in 91 BC with the image of Teutobodus, the leader of the Teutons (BMCRR 1669–1703).

⁷⁹ Cf. RIC III 545, 549, 567; *ibidem* 1405, 1406, 1407 (here this scene symbolizes fighting in Armenia); RIC IV 108, 113, 155, 155; *ibidem* 64B, 68, 72; RIC V 818, 819, 877, 878.

⁸⁰ Among others on coins of Constans, Constantius II and usurpers of Decentius and his brother Magnentius.

⁸¹ RCV 1405.

⁸² Vespasian, for example: RIC II 134, 163, 164, 165, 166, 233, 234. Titus, cf.: RIC II 57, 145–153, 184, 185, 186, 369, 500, 501.

⁸³ RIC III 501, 505, 506, 609, 526.

⁸⁴ *Ibidem* 1023–1027.

The image of a tamed barbarian in the company of the goddess of victory was not very popular during the republic. It appeared on a few coin issues, which include C. Fundanius quinarius from 101 BC with reverse depictions of Victoria (from the left), a kneeling barbarian and a trophy, which the goddess crowns above the head of a humbled enemy.⁸⁵ A little later, this motif appeared on a quinarius signed by T. Cloelius. Also in this case there is a scene of Victoria's crowning the trophy on the reverse, under which lies a tamed barbarian.⁸⁶ A group of characters consisting of Victoria and barbarians were also placed on coins issued by the predecessors of Trajan on the imperial throne, as well as by his successors. Among others, Vespasian struck sestertii and aurei with the image of Victory either writing on the shield or placing a shield on the trophy at the foot of which the defeated enemy was sitting.⁸⁷ The same motif appeared on Titus aurei or Commodus denarii.⁸⁸ Slightly different scenes were depicted on the coins of Septimius Severus, which features Victoria with a trophy on her shoulder and a prisoner sitting at her feet, the goddess of victory leading a captive by the hand, or standing between two bound prisoners.⁸⁹ The co-occurrence of the images of Victoria and the barbarian or Roman enemy on imperial coins was also popular in the 3rd, 4th or even the 5th century.⁹⁰ All these motifs, however, differ from the issues of Trajan's sestertii discussed above, with the image of the emperor on the podium, assisted by two figures of barbarians and Victoria putting a diadem on the head of the ruler. Thus, it can be concluded that although the very motif showing the Roman goddess of victory in the company of barbarians was quite common in the Roman coinage (especially imperial), during the Trajan era it took on a form that was unknown either before or later, which makes Trajan's sestertii unique in comparison to the issues of other rulers. There were also Trajan's issues showing a standing Mars resting his hand on a shield which was carried above the head of a kneeling barbarian. This motif also appeared later, in the days of Marcus Aurelius and Septimius Severus.⁹¹ In times of Caracalla, the arrangement of figures changed: the god of war stood leaning on a shield, holding the figure of Victoria in his hand, and at his feet lay a bound enemy.⁹² A slightly different set of figures can be seen on Aurelian's coins. They present a figure of a walking Mars, wielding a spear and a trophy, at whose

⁸⁵ RCV I 205.

⁸⁶ RRC 332.

⁸⁷ RIC II.1: 223, 224, 225 and 1067. These coins alluded to Vespasian's victories in Judaea.

⁸⁸ RIC II.1: 363; RIC III 67, 79, 87; RIC IV 237, 142a, 142b.

⁸⁹ RIC IV 142, 237, 805, 807, 806. These coins refer to the Parthian campaign.

⁹⁰ Among others it was placed on coins of Maximianus Thrax (RIC IV 73, 90, 91, 93), Gordian III (RIC IV 154–156, 165, 166), Valerianus (RIC V 231, 260, 262, 263, 265) and Valentinianus III (RIC X 2104, 2106).

⁹¹ RIC III 1106, 1107, 1121; RIC IV 114a, 509.

⁹² RIC IV 492, 501, 524, 528, 493, 496.

feet sits a tethered barbarian.⁹³ This scene also appears on the coins of Tacitus, Florian or Probus.⁹⁴ A different motif comes from the Aurelian radiatus minted in Kizykos. We see Mars standing to the right, holding the spear and receiving a globe from Sol standing on the left. Both deities are accompanied by a prisoner sitting or kneeling between them.⁹⁵ Therefore, the combination of Mars with the image of a defeated enemy was not only characteristic for Trajan's coinage. However, what is important is that it was Trajan who was the first to use this type of performance and juxtaposed the figure of Mars with the figure of a barbarian. Later rulers either used this pattern, transferring it entirely to their coins, or gently transformed it.

Another of the Roman deities that appears on Trajan's emissions in the company of a barbarian was Roma, personifying both the capital and the entire empire. There are two ways of depicting Roma on Trajan's coins. The first shows the deity standing, leaning with his left hand on the spear, and holding Victoria in the right. The second, however, shows her sitting (with similar attributes as in the first variant), resting her left foot on the head of a defeated Dacian. Both the first and the second variant of Roma's image had appeared in the imperial coinage before Trajan's time, but never showing the goddess next to a defeated barbarian or some part of him on a *pars pro toto* basis. Therefore, Trajan updated and adapted this theme to his goals, promoting the success achieved in Dacia. Did this motif appear later in the form it had taken in the time of the Best Emperor? In the first option discussed above, Roma appears on the coins of other emperors, e.g. Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus or Septimius Severus, but always alone, without the form of a defeated barbarian. The situation with the second variant is similar: the whole motif was quite popular in the coinage of Trajan's successors, however, there is no accompanying enemy next to the goddess. Only in the time of Caracalla does the image of a barbarian German appear at the feet of a seated Roma.⁹⁶ It can, therefore, be concluded that the representation of the deity standing for either the city or the entire empire in the company of a defeated enemy is one of the elements characteristic of Trajan's coinage, which only appeared rarely later. Nerva's successor adapted the previous scheme of the victorious Roma and used it to promote his success in the war with the Dacians. The last of the deities that appeared on Trajan's coins was the goddess of peace – Pax. Although she is present on the coins of other emperors, we do not know of those on which a kneeling barbarian was depicted in her company. This

⁹³ RIC V 15, 380, 388.

⁹⁴ Tacitus: RIC V 112; Florianus: RIC V 24; Probus: RIC V 5, 35, 602. In case of Probus coin (RIC V 603) there are two barbarians sitting at the foot of Mars on his both sides.

⁹⁵ RIC V 358, 359.

⁹⁶ RIC IV 530, 533.

type is only characteristic for Trajan's times. Thus, it can be said at this point that, although Trajan's coinage was to some extent derived from the earlier issues, it created certain characteristic features and patterns that were later adapted by other rulers. The coins associated with the conquest of Dacia included all of the elements of Trajan's imperial propaganda – from conquest, through triumph, to showing the province as pacified and civilized. This completes the characteristics of Trajan's coinage in the context of Roman coins from other periods.

However, how do the coins look in comparison to other groups of monuments from the Trajan era? Was the enemy motif equally popular, e.g. in architecture, sculpture or other visual arts? Do we find these motifs and scenes in other fields of art?

The exceptional prosperity and wealth that Rome enjoyed in the times of Trajan meant that during this era numerous architectural works were carried out, and all branches of art developed smoothly and undisturbed. Images of foreign peoples, and especially the Germans and Dacians, appeared frequently, both in architectural and full sculpture, as well as in fine figurative art. In the case of the latter, one should note the particularly interesting fact of using motifs directly referring to imperial propaganda by Roman citizens, such as the *praefectus praetoriae* – Tiberius Claudius Livianus.⁹⁷ Due to the richness of monuments and works of art from the Trajan era, we will only focus on the most important representations used on coins.

A special place in the whole range of means of imperial propaganda is occupied by those that were placed in Rome itself and in other cities of Italy. These include, without a doubt, Trajan's Forum, with its famous column which served as a monument, the tomb of the emperor and his family, and a kind of pictorial chronicle of the Dacian wars.⁹⁸ The whole forum served as a monument proclaiming the glory of the emperor and was full of figures and reliefs with the images of Dacians. At the entrance to the Forum stood a triumphal arch, the keystone of which was probably a low relief that now adorns the base of the Roma monument, which stands in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori.⁹⁹ We see her as a woman in a funeral pose, sitting on a pile of shields. We can look for a connection here with monetary iconography, in which a figure of a woman or a man in a similar configuration appeared, sitting on a weapon pile or under a trophy.¹⁰⁰ The forum was also decorated with monumental

⁹⁷ He probably commissioned the production of bronze relief vessels depicting a rider attacking a Dacian warrior. Perhaps he distributed them to his protégés in the form of gifts. For a broad discussion of the battle scene vessel (from the London collection) and other vessels of this type, see SCHÄFER 1989: 283–317.

⁹⁸ SADURSKA 1980: 165–166. For the value of the column as a historical source for Dacian wars, see BENNETT 1997: 92 (there further literature).

⁹⁹ OSTROWSKI 1985: 78; BIEŃKOWSKI 1900: 31, fig. 5. Similarly, as in the case of coins with the image of the emperor, riding in a ceremonial dress on a horse in front of which is a defeated Dacian, we may have suspicions that these statues were reflected on the coins.

¹⁰⁰ See e.g. WOYTEK 2010: 169, 190, 243, 244, 245, 276, 283.

Dacian statues, which were later scattered and adapted to other buildings, e.g. to this day, they decorate the upper part of the Arch of Constantine in Rome. Interestingly, some of these figures have their hands arranged in a way which suggests they have been bound at the front, which also has some reference to the images placed on coins.¹⁰¹ To get to know the images of Central European barbarians, however, the most valuable and perhaps even invaluable source remains Trajan's column, and the scarcity of written sources regarding the conflict in Dacia further strengthens its value as a chronicle. Some researchers even claim that the column relief is a plastic representation of the literary (and unfortunately unpreserved) work of Trajan, bearing the title *Dacica*, of which only one phrase has survived.¹⁰² However, apart from its role as a chronicle, the column also had a strictly propaganda significance – it was a monument to imperial virtues and bravery. This is evidenced by the fact that the emperor was depicted on the column relief 59 times, always as an excellent leader, sharing the effort of fighting with his soldiers and watching over every element of the campaign. The researchers identified 155 scenes on a column, in which nearly 2,500 characters took part, of which over 600 are Roman enemies of Rome.¹⁰³ Such a huge amount of iconographic material allows to one to form an outline of the overall image of Dacians and compare it with that presented by the monetary issues already discussed.

As in the case of the coins, we can divide the images of Dacians on the Trajan's column into several groups: men-warriors, women and children. Of course, most are images from the first group. The figure of an alien appears on the monument for the first time in scene XVIII, when a representative of a hostile nation is brought before the emperor and his advisers. The person of the Dacian prisoner of war is portrayed in a typical barbarian outfit: he wears pants, a tunic with long sleeves, and a knee-length coat (sagum). However, there is a lack of pileum, a headgear that appeared in the monetary images. This may prove the fact that the characteristic hat was an attribute of a higher social class to which the Dacian presented in the scene did not belong (thus he was probably a scout or envoy).¹⁰⁴ Other typical images of barbarians in Roman art were also shown in the physiognomic features: longer hair and a thick beard. This set of appearance and dress features is typical for the representations of Dacian warriors on Trajan's column – they also appear in scenes (for example): XXIV, XXV, XXVII, XXVIII, LXXI, LXXV. The last

¹⁰¹ OSTROWSKI 1985: 78. On the particular sculptures see *ibidem*: 136, nos. 21–29.

¹⁰² WHEELER 2010: 1191.

¹⁰³ CLARKE 2003: 32; FEHR 1985–86: 39–60. The numbering of individual scenes was based on the work: CICHORIUS 1896–1900. The number of representations of Dacians has been determined by COULSTON 1988: 302.

¹⁰⁴ As Coulston (1988: 302) calculated, only 121 of all the Dacians shown on the column are wearing a hat and are representatives of the *tarabostes* class, later also called *pileati* (meaning “wearing caps”).

of the mentioned scenes is also interesting for another reason – behind a group of Dacians before the Emperor, Decebalus is depicted. The latter is presented in a similar manner to Trajan – he is much taller than the warriors crammed before him. In addition to the characters themselves, the elements of Dacian war gear were cast in a similar way on both the coins and the relief of Trajan's column. On the latter, therefore, we can see both folded swords and war sickles (*falces*), as well as rectangular or oval shields that can be seen in the shows of *tropaions* or weapon piles, placed on the coins of the Best Emperor. Elements of Dacian armament are visible particularly clearly in scene LXXVIII, where Victoria is shown writing on the shield. On both sides of the goddess there are piles of weapons and trophies, set up after the victory in the First Dacian War. In addition to the images of warriors on Trajan's column, we also see the figures of Dacian women. They occur both individually and in small groups, most often as mothers, less often in small groups and in the company of men or children.¹⁰⁵ To understand the images of Central European barbarians, the XLV scene is important, which consists of a group of five figures of Dacian women and three Roman prisoners being tortured by them. We do not know the context and details of the presented scene, but we can be tempted to interpret it. Let us first pay attention to the appearance of the prisoners: all three are naked and their hands are tied behind their backs. Their origin is not clear, but we can suggest that, by the lack of facial hair in two of them, they were probably Roman, because barbarians are usually depicted with luscious facial hair. The third of those captured has stubble, which suggests that he fought on the side of Rome in one of the barbarian auxiliary contingents (*auxilia*).¹⁰⁶ Particularly interesting, however, is the fact that the prisoners were given over to the women. We can understand this fact in two ways. Perhaps this scene was to prove the high position of women in the Dacian society. Following this interpretative path, we think of E. Hall's theory, which stated that, according to the Romans, the more barbaric the community was, the greater the role women played in it.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, if we refer to our reflection on the coins and images of women placed on them, we can draw yet another conclusion. Namely, if we assume that women represented the vitality and fertility of a given people, this scene may symbolize the savagery and barbarity of the Dacian society at its very lowest level, which I. Ferris has already noted.¹⁰⁸ The whole scene may also serve as an excuse for the Roman conquest

¹⁰⁵ DILLON 2006: 245–246.

¹⁰⁶ The existence of German warriors contingents is confirmed by the column relief itself in scene XXIV (the so-called Battle of Tapae), where half-naked warriors dressed in pants are visible between Roman legionnaires – they certainly did not come from Italy.

¹⁰⁷ HALL 1989: 95.

¹⁰⁸ FERRIS 2003: 56.

itself. The barbarian Dacians had to be distinguished by the *iniustitia* – the denial of order and justice that characterized Roman order.¹⁰⁹ Returning here, however, are the features of the appearance of Dacian women depicted in the scene it was obviously more detailed than the one we had in the case of monetary issues, but in its overall framework was very similar: the women wear similar dresses, consisting of a simple, tied at the waist garment, and their hair was tied in a characteristic bun.¹¹⁰ Women often appeared in the company of offspring. Due to the fact that the images of children did not appear on the coins alone, but only in groups, and because their representations were very schematic, it is difficult to attempt a thorough analysis of their appearance.¹¹¹

Trajan's column is undoubtedly the most important source available to learn about the image of the Dacians but it is not the only one. The group of available materials also includes another monument, erected not in the center of the Roman Empire, but in the newly created province – in Civitas Tropaensium (now, Adamclisi in Romania). The monument was probably built on the site of the defeat of Oppius Sabinus, which occurred during the reign of Domitian in Dacia. The inscription of the monument mentions the names of 3,800 Roman soldiers who fell in the said battle, and the entire monument was dedicated to Mars Ultor. Of particular interest to us are the decorative metopes and decorative panels placed on the monument's crenellations which depict images of Central European barbarians.¹¹² There are motifs here that we already know from the decoration of the column from Trajan's Forum, as well as from the monetary issues of the emperor. Visible on metopes marked with numbers, respectively: V, VI, VII and XXX, this group includes scenes with a Roman rider attacking a Dacian warrior.¹¹³ In the case of metope No. VI, we see the emperor's relief in exactly the same pose as shown on the coins.¹¹⁴ We can clearly see here the coherence of representations found in coinage and bas-relief. Interestingly, this motif did not appear on Trajan's column. Yes, the clash of a rider with an infantryman was presented (an example of this is the scene of CXLV –

¹⁰⁹ HANNESTAD 1988: 162.

¹¹⁰ The hairstyle mentioned is particularly clearly visible on coin WOYTEK 2010: 199 (sestertius). The same outfit and hairstyle are also visible in other scenes of Trajan's column, e.g. on the presentation of a Dacian princess getting into a boat (scenes XXIX and XXX) or elsewhere on the column (scene XXXIX). For the identification of a woman with a child in her arms as a noble child, see FRERE and LEPPER 1988: 77; COARELLI 2000: 73.

¹¹¹ Children appear, for example, in scenes XXX and XXXIX. The child carried in the arms of his father in the XXXIX scene has a coat and trousers, which is a typical element of Dacian clothing.

¹¹² For the location of the monument, see HANNESTAD 1988: 171; FERRIS 2003: 62. Characteristics of the relief decoration of the monument are made by: COULSTON 1988: 357; SADURSKA 1980: 174. Detailed study of Trajan's Trophy: FLORESCU 1965; RĂDULESCU 1972; SĂMPETRU 1984.

¹¹³ The cited numbering of the decorative plates from Tropaeum Traiani was based on the study SĂMPETRU 1984.

¹¹⁴ WOYTEK 2010: 202, 208 and 209.

Decebalus' suicide), but the emperor was never depicted as a cavalryman. He is the commander, who gives orders on the battlefield, but does not fight personally on the column. On the surface of the plates decorating the monument in Adamclisi, we see the moments of the triumph of Roman might over their barbarian adversary.

We can see particularly clearly the power of the Roman army on metopes Nos. XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXXI, depicting the Dacians falling in clash with the legionaries. The images of prisoners of war depicted on Trajan's monetary issues should be combined with the metopes Nos. XLV, XLVI or XLVII. The decorations of the monument's crenellation also refer to the subordination of Dacia and its peoples, which consisted of twenty-six relief panels depicting Dacian, Germanic and Sarmatian prisoners.¹¹⁵ All of the characters are presented in a similar way: their hands are tied behind their backs, and the bonds are visible on their necks. When it comes to the external appearance of the characters in question, it primarily draws attention to a much more schematic style. The artist or artists who were responsible for decorating the trophy were far less talented than those working in the heart of the Empire. However, the features that distinguish the barbarians from the Romans were clearly mapped in terms of their clothing, long hair and thick beards. The decoration of the monument in Adamclisi therefore constitutes a coherent whole in terms of the theme along with the monetary issues and the frieze on Trajan's column. The main motifs placed on these refer directly to the triumph of Rome over the enemy. The emperor himself is credited here as the main father of victory, depicted in direct battle with his opponents.

The Optimus Princeps was presented similarly on the plates forming the so-called Trajan's Great Frieze. Originally it probably decorated the portico in the imperial forum, and it was eventually placed in a prominent location on the Arch of Constantine.¹¹⁶ They depict scenes related to Trajan's activities, including his martial achievements. Particularly important is the depiction of the emperor, located on the eastern side of the central span. It shows Trajan attacking a crowd of Dacian enemies before him. What is interesting in this scene is the absence of Decebalus or another Dacian commander who could be a match for Trajan. It is, therefore, the scene of the emperor's triumph over all hostile people, what T. Hölscher already suggested.¹¹⁷ Similar combat scenes also appear on friezes located on the attic of the Arch of Constantine. We see them as clashes between Roman legionaries and Dacian barbarians. The whole composition is a symbolic representation of

¹¹⁵ Germans and Sarmatians supported the Dacians in the battles against Rome.

¹¹⁶ KLEINER 2011: 166–168; SADURSKA 1980: 172. There, further literature on the monument of Constantine.

¹¹⁷ HÖLSCHER 2011: 70. For the frieze itself, see BIANCHI BANDINELLI 2003; LEANDER TOUATI 1987. Older literature there.

the Roman triumph, with defeated, dead enemies visible under each Roman rider. This motif also appeared on coins and other monuments, which makes it an important element of the entire system of signs created to depict Trajan's military success.

The considerations presented above allow some conclusions to be drawn. The images of barbarians in the art of the era of Marcus Ulpius Trajan appeared very often. It had both a purely informational dimension, but also one which was primarily about propaganda. The image of an alien-enemy was primarily meant to present the recipient with the people whom the Roman army had faced. This goal determined the realism and attention to detail of the scenes presented, especially the appearance of the barbarian enemies of the Empire. In this respect, both the coins (even if we consider their small area and the difficulty in displaying details in their fields), as well as other art monuments, are presented in a very clear and legible way. These monuments also perfectly match the emperor's care for the creation of a peculiar myth of himself. In the coinage and art, Trajan emphasized his achievements in all fields of activity and here the relations with Central European barbarians are only a fragment of the powerful propaganda campaign unleashed by the emperor throughout his reign. Placing images of Germans and Dacians on coins was primarily intended to show the emperor as a winner, a perfect and fearless leader, before whom every enemy must prostrate themselves. The whole set of motives and ways of presenting *externae gentes* in the iconography of the discussed period emphasizes Rome's dominance and supremacy over the enemies of the Empire.

ABBREVIATIONS

BMCRR = GRUEBER, H.A. *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, vols. I–III, London 1910.

CRR = SYDENHAM, E.A. *The Coinage of the Roman Republic*, London 1952.

RCV = SEAR, D.R. *Roman Coins and Their Values*, vol. I: *The Republic and the Twelve Caesars 280 BC–AD 96*, London 2000.

SEAR, D.R. *Roman Coins and Their Values*, vol. II: *The Accession of Nerva to the Overthrow of the Severan Dynasty AD 96–AD 235*, London 2002.

SEAR, D.R. *Roman Coins and Their Values*, vol. III: *The Accession of Maximinus to the Death of Carinus AD 235–285*, London 2005.

RIC = MATTINGLY, H., SYDENHAM, E.A. et AL. *Roman Imperial Coinage*, vols. I–X, London 1926–2020.

RRC = CRAWFORD, M.H. *Roman Republican Coinage*, vols. I–II, London 1974.

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PLATE 1

Fig. 1. RIC II.1. Domitian 331: the image of the province of Germania as a humiliated woman. Photo courtesy of Terence Cheesman

Fig. 2. WOYTEK 2010: 23 = RIC II. Trajan 15: the image of Germania from the time of Trajan. Photo courtesy of American Numismatic Society

Fig. 3. WOYTEK 2010: 273 = RIC II Trajan 139: Trajan on the quadriga. The issue minted in mid-107. Photo courtesy of Bertolami Fine Arts - ACR Auctions; E-Auction 83, Lot 1018

Fig. 4. WOYTEK 2010: 283 = RIC II Trajan 98 (reverse): a defeated Dacian. Photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group (<https://www.cngcoins.com/Coin.aspx?CoinID=166594>)

Fig. 5. WOYTEK 2010: 276 = RIC II Trajan 96: Dacia sitting on a weapon pile; below DAC CAP – Dacia Capta. Photo courtesy of Leu Numismatik AG, Web Auction 12, 30.05.2020, Lot 1102

Fig. 6. WOYTEK 2010: 180 = RIC II Trajan 210: Trajan in a triumphant pose, placing his right leg on the head of a tamed figure. Photo courtesy of Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, Argentum 2009 Summer Auction, 9 June 2009, Lot 204

Fig. 7. WOYTEK 2010: 220 = RIC II Trajan 187: on the reverse, a barbarian figure in a pleading pose in front of the goddess Pax. Photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group (Electronic Auction 461, 12 February 2020, Lot 363)

Fig. 8. WOYTEK 2010: 201 = RIC II Trajan 507 (reverse): Pax in front of a weapon pile. The presence of battle sickles and a hexagonal shield suggests that it is a pile of Dacian weapons. Photo courtesy of Romae Aeternae Numismatics (https://www.vcoins.com/en/stores/romae_aeternae_numismatics/136/product/trajan_ae_dupondius_pax_sets_fire_to_pile_of_arms_rome_103_ad_ric_507_var_scarce/600754/Default.aspx)

Fig. 9. WOYTEK 2010: 208 = RIC II Trajan 538: Trajan on horseback attacking a Dacian warrior. Photo courtesy of Triskeles Auctions (<https://www.numisbids.com/n.php?p=lot&sid=3785&lot=196>)

PLATE 2

Fig. 10. Trajan's column, scene XVIII: Dacian prisoner of war brought before Trajan

Fig. 11. Trajan's column, scene LXXV: Dacian warriors under the command of Decebalus surrender to Trajan

Pictures showing scenes from the Trajan's Column come from the website trajans-column.org (access on July 6, 2019).



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