

COINS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: THE VILLA OF TITUS

COINS IN THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT: THE VILLA OF TITUS CASE
STUDY

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Abstract

In 2019, three coins were found in the same stratum in a large Roman villa called the Villa of Titus, which was constructed between the late first century BC to the early first century AD. Two of the coins are bronze *asses* and one is a copper *quadrans*, all of which were struck under the emperor Claudius and range in date from AD 41-54. This thesis, through the use of methodologies, determines as much information as possible about the coins and the stratum within which they were found in order to learn more about the villa's past. In the first chapter, the main methodologies that are used to examine the coins and context will be examined in detail, which include iconographic, epigraphic and archaeological analyses. The second chapter uses iconographic analysis, along with epigraphic analysis, to examine the coins found at the Villa of Titus. First, there is an overview of the Roman mint and imperial coinage with a focus on Claudius' coinage; since, all three coins are struck under Claudius. Then, a synopsis of Claudius' iconography on all of his coinage is used to determine where the villa coins fit in his iconography. The historical context is also surveyed in order to determine why certain images were chosen for the coins. In the third chapter, the archaeological context in which the coins were found is examined. First, two case studies on coins in the archaeological context are studied to determine how coins are interpreted differently depending on the context in which they are found. Then, the methodologies from these examples are used to analyse the Villa of Titus context, which includes taking a detailed look at the materials found in the stratum,

determining the function, determining the depositional process and finally describing the interpretation of the stratum.

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Introduction

When looked at in an archaeological context, coins can give a lot of important information about themselves and the site they were found in. Coins, which are usually thought to be exclusively used for dating, can be equally as important as pottery when they are analysed as an archaeological artifact. They are not only able to corroborate or even give a much more precise date than pottery and other materials, but they can also give insight into daily activities at that site and further information about the use of the coins themselves.

In 2019, there were three coins found in the same context at a large Roman villa on the foothills of a steep mountain side. This site is called the Villa of Titus and recent excavations, of which I took part in, were conducted during the 2018 and 2019 field seasons that have discovered some of its material finds and architecture.¹ The Villa of Titus is located in Italy, north of Rome, on the slopes of the northern side of the Velino river valley overlooking the ancient lake *Cutiliae* (Figure 1). Also located near the villa is the *Via Salaria*, which is an ancient Roman road that ran through the valley from Rome to the Adriatic coast. The architecture of the villa consists of a *cryptoporticus*, which is a group of rooms located underneath the main living quarters and large concrete and brick faced pillars that run along the entire length of the front of the villa supporting a large terrace. In the main living quarters, so far from the excavations, there are multiple rooms that run

¹ For the most recent information on the villa and a full report on findings see Myles McCallum, Martin Beckmann, Simone Nardelli, Matt Munro, Greg Baker. "Excavations at the so-called Villa of Titus, Castel Sant'Angelo (RI), May to June, 2019". *FOLD&R Fasti On Line Documents & Research*, 486, (2020).

along the back wall cut into the hill side and some large pieces of stone. In the most recent excavation, a long wall that runs the length of the back wall (east-west) was discovered, perhaps indicating a long hallway that runs in front of the back rooms. Also, discovered from the excavations, notably, was a curved wall (apse) with a niche at the north side of the western most excavated room, which seems to have been a finely decorated room or a triclinium. The villa is the only excavated building in the area thus far; however, through ground penetrating radar, evidence of a large building has been discovered in an olive grove northeast of the villa.² Further excavations could be conducted in the future to determine if there are any other buildings in the vicinity. Materials and architectural features so far have indicated that the villa could have been initially constructed at the end of the first century BC to the beginning of the first century AD, which is the late Republican period to the early imperial period (Figure 2).

During the 2019 excavation, in a small room in the eastern side of the villa, a stratum, which is a distinguished layer in an archaeological site, was excavated that contained three coins (Figure 3). This thesis looks at the three coins and the stratum within which they were found. Two of the coins are bronze *asses* and one is a copper *quadrans*, all of which were struck under the emperor Claudius (AD 41-54) and range in date from AD 41-54. The goal of this thesis is to determine as much information as possible about the coins and the stratum within which they were found in order to learn more about the villa's past. There will be a

² McCallum *et al*, 2020, pg 2.

number of questions that I will look to answer in this thesis, and they can be divided into three chapters.

The first chapter includes questions that will focus on the methodologies. First, what are the different methodologies used when analysing coins? And how are they applied to the material? To answer both of these questions, the three main methodologies I will be using to analyse the coins and the stratum will be described in detail. The first section of the chapter will include the epigraphic and iconographic analyses, as well as the cultural context of coin images. The second section of the chapter will include the archaeological analysis, which will be divided into three parts including the stratum, the site and multiple sites. In addition to explaining the methodologies, I will analyse case studies that use these methodologies to show how they can be applied to material.

The second chapter includes questions that will focus on the Villa of Titus coins. First, what is the iconography and inscription on each coin? Where do these images belong in the overall iconography of Claudius' coinage? And what historical events during Claudius' reign could have influenced the type selection? In order to answer the first question, I will use iconographic and epigraphic analyses on the villa coins, which are the analyses of the images on the coins and the inscriptions on the coins. To answer the second question, I will create a synopsis of Claudius' coins, which is the analysis of all the reverse types of his coinage in chronological order. From this synopsis, I will determine further patterns and themes of Claudius' coinage and I will determine the iconographic context of the Villa of Titus coins. To answer the third question, I will examine the historical events of Claudius'

reign through primary sources and compare them to the iconography on his coinage with the aim of finding any events that can be directly linked to the selection of a coin type.

The third chapter includes questions that will focus on the archaeological context. First, how are coins interpreted in different contexts? In order to answer this question, I will look at two different case studies of coins studied in their contexts, one is from Morgantina, and the other is from Pompeii. Both of these case studies use different methodologies when interpreting the coins. Then, I will use these interpretations along with the archaeological analysis to help me analyse the context from the Villa of Titus. The questions I will look to answer for this include what is the function of the stratum the coins are found in? What are the materials found within the stratum and why are they important? And what is the depositional process of the stratum? The answers from these questions will help determine the interpretation of the stratum, and therefore, what was happening at the villa when the stratum was created.

Chapter 1:

Methodologies used in the Study of Coinage

Introduction

In this chapter, the methodologies that are used to analyse coins will be examined and explained in depth. The purpose of this chapter is to explain the methodologies that I will be using on the coins found at the Villa of Titus site and the stratum they were found in. These methodologies will allow me to determine all possible information that can be extracted from the coins and stratum together. Methodologies are specific methods that are used to extract certain information from a set of data. The first section of the chapter is on the methodology that is used to look at the coins themselves as material evidence which can be divided into two analyses, iconographic and epigraphic. The cultural context of coins will also be examined in this section, which is how coins were perceived by the audience receiving them. In addition to this, the topic of propaganda and coinage will also be surveyed. The second section of this chapter is about the methodology that is used on the context of where coins are found, which is called the archeological analysis. Examples of this methodology used in case studies will be examined to determine how it is used in different contexts.

Iconographic and Epigraphic Analyses

How are coins analysed? How are they dated? These questions will be answered through the examination of the methodologies that are used to look at the physical appearance of coins. These methodologies are iconographic and epigraphic analyses, which include the examination of all of the images, markings and inscriptions on the coins.

Before these analyses can be applied to coins the denomination and metal of the coins must be determined. Firstly, a coin has an obverse and reverse side, which are different from one another. When a coin was manufactured, the obverse die was fixed in an anvil and the reverse die was held and the flan or blank piece of metal was put in between, then a hammer would hit the reverse die to engrave the flan. Every die, which is the stamp that would put the design on the coin, was hand engraved, and therefore, they would all be unique.³ All coins are of certain denominations, which have specific weights and metals that they are made of to distinguish themselves from one another. The metals that coins are made out of include gold, silver, bronze, copper and brass; these can be divided between the fine metals which include gold and silver and the *aes* metals which include bronze, brass and copper. The most common denominations and their weights issued during the reign of Claudius include: the *aureus*, which is the gold coin of the empire weighing c.7.80-7.65g; the *denarius*, which is a silver coin weighing c.3.85-3.60g; the *sestertius*, which is a large bronze coin weighing c.29.50-27.50g; the *dupondius*, which is a brass coin weighing

³ Metcalf, E. William. *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Coinage*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pg 5.

c.16.25-15.00g; the *as*, which is a bronze coin weighing c.11.50-10.25g; and the *quadrans*, which is a copper coin weighing c. 3.50-3.00g.⁴ The relationship of the coins to one another are as follows:

-25 *denarii* equal one *aureus*
-4 *sestertii* equal one *denarius*
-8 *dupondii* equal one *denarius*
-16 *asses* equal one *denarius*
-64 *quadrantes* equal one *denarius*⁵

Epigraphic Analysis

After the denomination and metal are determined, then the epigraphy of the coin is looked at. The epigraphy of the coin is any inscriptions on the coin, which can be called the legend of the coin. The legend can contain the names and title of the issuers of the coins, descriptions of the types, and any messages or characteristics the issuer wished to include.⁶ The inscriptions can be found most of the time encircling the type. The type is the image or design on the coin.⁷ When looking at a coin there is an obverse and reverse side. Each side has specific characteristics that allow them to be distinguished from one another.⁸ First, the obverse legend of the coin is analysed, which is done by reading the inscription and determining what each word means, most commonly the words are in short form to fit on

⁴ Sutherland and Carson. *The Roman Imperial Coinage Volume 1 Revised Addition from 31 BC to AD 69*. London: Spink and Son LTD, 1984, pg 114.

⁵ Klawans, Z. *Reading and Dating Roman Imperial Coins*. Wisconsin: Whitman Publishing Company, 1959. Pg 17.

⁶ Metcalf, 2012, pg 4.

⁷ Metcalf, 2012, pg 4.

⁸ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 11.

the coin. The following are the most common titles found on the coinage of Claudius: CAESAR (*Caesar*), which is the inherited name of the Julian family and it was also adopted by following emperors.⁹ AVG (*Augustus*), which is the most common title used by Roman emperors. It was only used by the reigning emperor or members of his family. PM (*Pontifex Maximus*), which was the emperors title as supreme head of the Roman religion. TRP (*Tribunicia Potestate*), which is the tribunician power and this power represents the Roman people and made the emperor the civil head of the state.¹⁰ IMP (*Imperator*), which is a title awarded to the emperor and it is a title used only by the emperor himself. PP (*Pater Patriae*), which is the title that makes the emperor father of the country and it was originally a title bestowed on the emperor by the senate. COS (*Consul*), which is the title held by one of the two chief magistrates of the Roman state lasting for one year and the emperor frequently held this title himself.¹¹ GERM (*Germanicus*), which is another title earned by the emperor through victories. And DES (*Consul Designatus*), which is a title given to someone before they enter the consul position. The name or names of the emperor who issued the coins or his family members names can also be included in the obverse inscriptions. The following is an example of an obverse inscription of an *as* struck under Claudius: TI(berius) CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG(ustus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunicia) P(otestate) IMP(erator) (Figure 1.1).¹²

Similar to the obverse, the reverse inscription encircles the type. Inscriptions found on the reverse can include some of the same titles as seen on the obverse; however, the

⁹ Klawans, 1959, pg 24.

¹⁰ Klawans, 1959, pg 23.

¹¹ Klawans, 1959, pg 24.

¹² Sutherland and Carson, 1984, RIC Claudius 95.

reverse inscriptions commonly include the names or characteristics of the type it encircles. On Claudius' coinage some of his reverse inscriptions include CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI, PACI AVGVSTAE, VICTORIA AVGVSTI, DE BRITANN and LIBERTAS AVGVSTA.¹³ The most distinguishing feature that is commonly put on the reverse is the inscription S C (*senatus consulto*). There are differing thoughts on what S C actually means. Woytek states that "S C originally served to identify as legal tender the denominations created at the mint of Rome in the reform of Augustus in 23 BC."¹⁴ Whereas Sutherland and Carson state that "S C likely marked the Senate's continuing authority to draw on the public treasury for *aes*, while absolute control of stocks of gold and silver remained in the powerful hands of the emperor."¹⁵ Either way S C remained a common inscription on the reverse of coins.

The epigraphy on a coin is important to analyse because a lot of information about the coin can be determined from it. From the names on the coin, the issuer and any types that represent a deity or a personification can be determined with certainty. Most importantly the titles can help determine the date when the coin was issued. This is called titular dating, which is using the titles to date the object. Since the reigns of emperors and when they received certain titles are well documented, those dates can be cross referenced with the titles on coins to determine when it was struck. In Claudius' coinage there are both coins

¹³ A complete list of Claudius' reverse inscriptions can be found in Sutherland and Carson. *The Roman Imperial Coinage Volume 1 from 31 BC to AD 69*. London: Spink and Son LTD, 1984.

¹⁴ Woytek, B.E. 2018. "The Depth of Knowledge and the Speed of Thought. The Imagery of Roman Republican Coins and the Contemporary Audience." Pg. 355-385 in P.P.Iossif, Fr. De Callatay and R. Veymiers (eds.) TYPOI. Greek and Roman Coins Seen through their Images. Presses universitaires de Liege. Pg 367.

¹⁵ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 3.

with titular dates, which are called the dated coins and coins without titular dates, which are called the undated coins. In order to determine the dating of the undated coins of Claudius' coinage the dated coins are used. The undated coins were probably produced during the time when the gold and silver coins, which are the dated coins, were not being produced. Using the number of *officinae* that were in use can also help determine when coins were produced. One *officina* produces one type; therefore, by determining how many *officinae* were in use each year determines how many types were produced. The production of Claudius' *aes* extended regularly over the period from AD 41-50 and perhaps a year or two after. The four years 42-3, 45-6, 47-8 and 48-9 had no dated gold and silver, which means it is very likely that the non-PP *aes* of Rome were struck during this time and during the years of 50-54 the *aes* with PP were probably produced.¹⁶

Iconographic Analysis

After looking at the epigraphy, the image on the coin, which is the type, can be looked at using iconographic analysis. The definition of iconographic analysis is the analysis of a work of art that focuses specifically on the subject matter and content. To do this the most effectively, prior knowledge and background information on the culture and society that produced the art is required in order that the content and subject matter associated with that culture can be identified; since, certain images, objects and symbols used in the art can be

¹⁶ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 117.

connected to aspects of that culture. For example, Hercules is known to always have a lion-skin and club; therefore, any figure with those attributes is most likely Hercules.

In order to look at a coin with iconographic analysis, the obverse and reverse sides have to be analysed separately. On the obverse side, the most common image that is used is a bust or head of the emperor who issued the coin or his family members. All of the features including hair and facial features on the image are analysed and compared to other coins issued by the same emperor and other emperors to determine any similarities or patterns in the types. Any symbols or objects that are attached or held by the main motifs are called attributes. An example of this is the laurel crown depicted on the heads of emperors. These attributes can be used as typologies to determine trends used by the emperors in their art and can be used to group coin types together.

On the reverse side, the type is usually a figure representing a god, goddess, or a personification of a place, characteristic or virtue. It can also be a depiction of an event or a building. Similar to the obverse side, iconographic analysis is used on the image. Any attributes on or held by the figure are analysed to determine a symbolic meaning or reference to a god/goddess or personification. For example, the god Neptune will often be shown holding a trident. On the reverse side there are also commonly adjuncts included on the type, which are objects not attached to the figure but in close proximity. These are also analysed like the attributes. One of the types from Claudius' coinage has the inscription *LIBERTAS AVGVSTA* and the image is Libertas standing and holding a pileus; thus, the pileus is an attribute (Figure 1.2).¹⁷ Another type issued under Claudius has architecture

¹⁷ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, RIC Claudius 97.

instead of a figure, it has the inscription DE GERMANIS which is on the architrave of a triumphal arch surmounted by an equestrian statue between two trophies (Figure 1.3).¹⁸ The types on the reverse side of coins can give a lot of information regarding what kind of message the emperor or issuer wanted to portray or what kind of characteristics they wanted to be represented with. Types can also be put into typologies within an emperor's reign and within multiple emperor's reigns to determine patterns and preferences used by the issuers. Additionally, if a type depicts a certain building or architectural feature that does not exist in the archaeological record anymore, then that can provide information, such as what it could have looked like. Also, if a certain image or design came into use after a specific year or event, that design can date when the coin was made. For example, Burnett states that "Pyrrhus was the first commander to bring war elephants to Italy. These animals were so unfamiliar to the Romans that they did not know what to call them, so the appearance of one on an *aes signatum* bar means that the bar can hardly have been produced before the period of the Pyrrhic war."¹⁹

Cultural Context

Another sub-section that can be included in the iconographic analysis is the cultural context of the coin. The cultural context of a coin includes how the audience receiving and using the coins responded to them, which can also give an idea as to why these certain

¹⁸ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, RIC Claudius 3.

¹⁹ Burnett, A. *Coinage in the Roman World*. London: Seaby, 1987. Pg 8.

images were chosen to be put on the coins. Before looking into those questions, the question of who chose the images needs to be discussed. Starting in the 130s BC multiple types reflected the concerns of the *triumviri monetales*, who were the moneyers that held an annual office, or they would reflect the other magistrates or commanders who struck coins.²⁰ Because of the choice of personal types by annual officials the coin types could be considered political and led to the reflection of contemporary events and powerful individuals. Only in c.54 BC did recent portraits of ancestors appear on the coinage of Rome and shortly after Julius Caesar became the first living individual to appear on coinage.²¹ Then, in 23 BC the *triumviri monetales* names appeared on the coins again until 11 BC where all names of the moneyers disappeared from precious metal coinage and in c.4 BC from *aes* coinage. For the imperial period, the situation for who chose the coin types is less clear. There are some references of emperors choosing coin types of particular significance but not enough to make the assumption that they always or regularly chose them. The *triumviri monetales* may have still played a role in choosing even though their names no longer appeared on them because the tightening of autocracy.²²

It is important to know who chose the types to determine whether they were chosen for the purpose of systematic and official propaganda. The question of the coins as propaganda also brings in the question of the audience's reaction to the coinage. If it was known that coins had an impact on the audience receiving them, then the choice of types probably would have been important to those choosing the type. According to Howgego

²⁰ Howgego, Christopher. *Ancient History from Coins*. New York: Routledge, 2001. Pg 67.

²¹ Howgego, 2001, pg 68.

²² Howgego, 2001, pg 70.

“there is scarcely any evidence that coin types were ‘targeted’, that is to say aimed at a particular group within the community who would receive the coins”.²³ However, there are some examples of this occurring, such as when Brutus struck a coin type to show that he and Cassius had freed the fatherland. Cassius Dio wrote “Brutus stamped upon the coins which were being minted his own likeness and a cap and two daggers, indicating by this and by the inscription that he and Cassius had liberated the fatherland”.²⁴ This clearly shows that the coins were purposely struck with that image to portray a message.

Norena looks at coins as a means of spreading messages in his article “The Communication of the Emperor’s Virtues”.²⁵ In this case study he looks to prove that specific virtues were chosen by emperors to be put on the reverse side of coins to convey a certain image of themselves. To do this, he quantified the different themes that appeared on the imperial coinage to establish the relative frequency these reverse types were minted, and therefore, determined which of those reverse types were emphasized.²⁶ The data he used in the study were 148,421 imperial *denarii* from multiple hoards minted between AD 69 and 235.²⁷ The first observation he made from the data is that not all imperial virtues were used to the same degree, some were very common and others were very rare; therefore, some imperial ideals and values played a greater role than others in constructing the public image of the emperor. The second observation he made was that six virtues in particular stood out as the main ideals commemorated on imperial *denarii* which were *aequitas*,

²³ Howgego, 2001, pg 71.

²⁴ Cassius Dio, Book 47.25.3.

²⁵ Norena C.F. “The Communication of the Emperor’s Virtues,” *Journal of Roman Studies* 91 (2001) 146-168.

²⁶ Norena 2001, Pg 147.

²⁷ Norena, 2001, pg 149.

pietas, virtus, liberalitas, providentia and *pudicitia*.²⁸ From these results Norena determined that it seemed that the issuer of the coinage knew that the audience would be paying attention to the types on coins, and thus, chose specific ones.

Hekster looks directly at audience targeting in his article “Coins and Messages: Audience Targeting on Coins of Different Denominations?”. In this case study he looks to find out if different denominations were used to target specific audiences with the types on them. After an analysis of the examples, which were looking at different denominations of a reign of a specific emperor, he concluded that different denominations were targeting specific audiences. Generally, the gold and silver denominations targeted the more elite audience and the lower denominations targeted the lower classes.²⁹ One example he found was during the civil war in AD 68-69, Galba’s gold and silver coinage had types referring specifically to the importance of his provincial support and coins of the lower denomination had more urban themes.³⁰ He also looked at Claudius’ coinage to prove this point. He states that the precious metal coinage in his first years had the image of the emperor on the left greeted by a member of the praetorians. However, references to the praetorians are absent from coins of lesser value which displayed Ceres. Then from AD 46 onwards the praetorian reference disappears altogether suggesting that Claudius could have become less dependent on the praetorians.³¹ From this, it can be seen that some choice of the types depending on the audience could have taken place.

²⁸ Norena, 2001, pg 159.

²⁹ Hekster, O. “Coins and Messages: Audience Targeting on Coins of Different Denominations?” in de Blois et al. eds. *The Representation and Perception of Roman Imperial Power*. Gieben 2003. Pg 20-35.

³⁰ Hekster, 2003, pg 26.

³¹ Hekster, 2003, pg 28.

Kemmers also tries to determine whether messages were sent to specific audiences in her article “Sender or Receiver, Contexts of Coin Supply and Use”. For this study, she only looks at the reverse coin types. She states that this approach looks at the idea that coins could be used by the emperor to communicate messages to those receiving them and that the messages could be targeted to specific users.³² She looks at the Severan coin types minted between AD 231 and 235 in four Roman provinces, of which two have similar frequencies of the same types, Upper Germany and Belgic Gaul and two of which have more varied types, Lower Germany and Raetia. Looking at the same assemblage in a functional context, the types showing Jupiter, Providentia and Spes are equally frequent in military and civilian contexts. The type depicting Mars is much more common in military contexts than in civilian, and the Sol type is more common in civilian than military contexts.³³ And in ritual contexts Sol is the most common type. Some questions arise from this data: If coins with the image of Mars were sent to soldiers in AD 231-235, why did they not spread to the civilian settlements nearby? She states that this implies either civilian and military coin circulation were separate or that secondary users selected coins based on the images on them. She determined two conclusions: the first implies that the issuer of the coins in the Severan period consciously sent coinage to selected receivers. Thus, the army received silver coins as military pay, predominately displaying a certain type, which stayed circulating within the military *vici* and a second strand of coin supply went to the civilian

³² Kemmers, Fleur. “Sender or Receiver, Contexts of Coin Supply and Use”. In *Coins in Context 1, New perspectives for the interpretation of coin finds*, edited by Fleur Kemmers and Hans-Markus Von Kaenel, 137-156. Colloquium Frankfurt, 2007. Pg 149.

³³ Kemmers, 2007, pg 151.

populations with another type on it and it circulated only within the civilian context. Therefore, in this model the soldiers and civilians never have any interaction.³⁴ The second alternative conclusion is that there was interaction and thus the receiver made the decisions. So, there is interaction between the two and that the civilian context preferred the non-military type and gave the military type away more than the other.³⁵ This would mean that the receivers have a particular preference towards the images on the coins. With either model the images on the coins had some sort of influence over the receiver.

Once the coins are thoroughly examined with epigraphic and iconographic analyses and all of the information that can be possibly extracted from the coins has been determined, the next step is to use the archaeological methodology on the coins.

Archaeological Analysis

How are coins analysed in the archaeological context? What questions can the coins answer about the context they are found in? In this next section, these questions will be answered with a detailed look at the archaeological methodology that is used to examine coins, which is the method of looking at a coin in the context in which it was found. This methodology is divided into three sections; the first is on the context of a stratum, the second is on the context of a site and the third is on the context of multiple sites.

³⁴ Kemmers, 2007, pgs 153-154.

³⁵ Kemmers, 2007, pg 155.

The Stratum

Coins found in an archaeological context are first examined in a single context, which is the stratum that they were found in. An archaeological site is made up of stratigraphic layers, which are strata (singular, stratum) or layers that can be distinguished from one another either by material such as dirt or sand, or the materials found within it such as pottery or stones, or different layers of architectural features. These stratigraphic layers or strata can date the site or determine the occupational sequence and they can help determine how the site was made, which is the depositional process of a site. Strata can have different functions, some strata can be natural and formed over time, some can be fill, which means it goes into a cut of a layer that is older, some can be as a result of destruction, some can be a result of construction and so on. Once the function of a stratum is determined, its depositional process, meaning how it was formed or created can be determined.

If a coin is in-situ, the stratum it is within can provide a lot of information about the coin.³⁶ In order to determine this information, the stratum needs to be analysed and recorded. The analysis of a stratum includes determining the material it consists of, which could include soil, sand, clay, natural debris like plants, rocks, and man-made material like cement or tile or plaster. Once the stratum is properly analysed, it can then be compared to the strata above, below and adjacent to it. The material the strata consist of determine how they relate to each other. If the strata consist of different materials both natural and man-made, they can then be identified as separate strata. The strata on top are the most recent

³⁶ In-situ means that an object is found in its original find spot and has not been moved.

ones and the strata underneath are the older ones. Once the different strata and their relation to one another are identified, where the coin is situated in the timeline of the site can be determined. If no ways of dating the coin can be found on the coin, then the strata can be used to give it a relative date, which is a general time period, not an exact date. If there are a number of occupational phases in the site, where the coin is situated in the phases would be its relative date.

In order to give the coin closer to an absolute date, the other objects found within the same stratum are used. These objects could include different types of pottery, other metal objects such as nails, buttons and belt buckles, roof tiles, plaster, decorative floor tile such as mosaic pieces and many more objects. Once these objects are analysed, some of them can give a more accurate relative date. Most commonly pottery is used for this purpose because different types of pottery can be identified with relative dates. Thus, the coin found with a certain piece of pottery could have been circulated around and deposited in the stratum around the same period that the pottery was made and in use. If a coin is found with an object of metal, which can have a more absolute date, then it can be given an absolute date when it was deposited in the stratum and used. If the coin has a date on it, then it can be used to date the other materials in the same stratum, or it can corroborate the dates that the other materials give to the stratum. The date on the coin can indicate that the materials found with it were also deposited or used around the same time the coin was circulating and deposited.

The coin in a stratum with a date on it can also give a relative date of that stratum, which can then give a relative date of the accumulation of the other layers above and below

it. As Casey states “at its simplest a coin in a sealed context dates the deposition of all the material stratified above it to a date later than the production of the coin. Thus, a floor laid on top of a coin, say, 1900 must have been laid later than the year in which the coin was produced; the coin provides a *terminus post quem* date for this event.”³⁷ Thus, the layers above the coin could not have been accumulated or made earlier than the date of the coin. For the layers beneath the coin it is more complicated, because they could be older than the date of the coin, but the coin could have also circulated for a long time before being deposited, therefore, the exact date of the layer becomes unclear. However due to the position of the layer, which is underneath, it is know that it is older than the layer in which the coin is found.

The analysis of the coin within its stratum could determine the possible use of the coin. If the coin is found with multiple other coins, it could be classified as a coin hoard. Casey states that “the minimum size of a hoard is just two coins and the qualifying factor which creates a hoard is that the coins should have been brought together in a deliberate manner. This excludes from consideration associations of coins which have accumulated in archaeological strata over a period of time by normal factors of loss or chance.”³⁸ If the coin is found with other objects of higher value such as jewels, ivory, other metal objects, and rare pottery, it could have been hoarded with those other expensive objects, possibly as some sort of treasury. Most commonly, if it is a coin of lower value it was probably dropped and lost or forgotten. Depending on what type of context coins are found in, a large

³⁷ Casey, P. J. *Understanding Ancient Coins an Introduction for Archaeologists and Historians*. United States of America: University of Oklahoma Press, 1986. Pg 76.

³⁸ Casey, 1986, pg 51.

number of coins can indicate that monetary transactions were occurring at that particular site.

If a coin is found with other coins in the same stratum, an analysis of them can determine whether these coins circulated together. Since they are found within the same stratum, they were most likely deposited at the same time, which indicates that the coins were probably in use and circulating at the same time. If the coins are from different issuers or time periods, this can give information about the circulation of certain coin types, such as whether a coin type was still circulating many years after it was initially struck.

Evans looks at coins found in their archaeological context to find out more information about the coins, contexts and site in her examination of Sardis, the capital of the Lydian empire. By examining coins and pottery in the same stratum, she was able to conclude the date that the stratum was sealed. In a domestic context, pottery was resting on top of floors and sealed underneath a collapse of a roof, which included rooftiles, mudbrick and stones. Also, in this deposit were nine bronze coins, probably from a small purse. This initially was thought to be the destruction of the city after Achaeus's revolt in 215-213 BC. However, after the analysis of the pottery, the dates were different from the initial thought and were actually late fourth to early third century BC.³⁹ The analysis of the coins corroborated this date. The latest date of a coin in the deposit was 305-288 BC, and all of the other coins fit into the late fourth to early third century BC date. Thus, the analysis of

³⁹ Evans, Jane DeRose. *Coins from the Excavations at Sardis: Their Archaeological and Economic Contexts, Coins from the 1973 to 2013 Excavations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2018. Pg 55.

the pottery and coins together determined that the destruction was earlier than Achaeus's revolt and was most likely a local destruction incident.⁴⁰

The Site

After the analysis of the single stratum that the coin is found in, the site as a whole can be analysed in relation to the stratum. First, if the site is a villa, the date of the coin, either from on the coin itself or determined through the materials that are found with it can give a relative date to the villa. If coins are found in multiple strata throughout the villa, that means the villa was most likely in use at the time those strata were formed. This is because coins had a specific use, which was to be used in transactions; therefore, the villa must have been occupied when they were in use. This information then allows for the occupational sequence of the villa to be determined, which are the years the villa was in use.⁴¹ The occupational sequence is important because it determines different phases or time periods when the villa was in use, which places the villa in a timeline. Therefore, all of the other materials and objects found within each phase can give information regarding what people were doing in that specific phase. This information can then date those other materials such as pottery as to when they were being used and produced.

If coins are found in different rooms of the villa, then when those rooms were in use can be determined and if each of the different strata the coins are found in are analysed

⁴⁰ Evans, 2018, pg 56.

⁴¹ Casey, 1986, Pg 98.

as in the “stratum” section above, the date and use of those coins could be determined. Thus, this information put together can determine uses of the different rooms in the villa and the dates in which these rooms were in use. If coins are only found in some rooms and not in others, that can give some indication as to what the use of the room was. For example, the presence of coins indicates that transactions could have been conducted there and during those transactions, coins were dropped and lost. It could mean that coins were stored there and left there or forgotten when the structure was abandoned or that only people who had access to coins and used coins were using that particular room. If a room had no coins perhaps it was a room where less foot traffic occurred, and therefore, coins were less likely to be dropped. If different types or denominations were found in different rooms this can also give some valuable information. For example, if gold and silver coins are only found in certain rooms then only people who were using those higher value coins were probably using that room. However, unless a clear example of how the coins were being used in that room were found, for example a sealed hoard, then any ideas as to how the room was used in relation to the coins are just assumptions based on the material.

Reece uses this methodology on the coins found at the villa site of Fishbourne in Roman Britain. He analyses the coins in the contexts that they were found in and divides them into the three occupational phases of the villa, which include the coins stratified in or below Period 2 palace, coins associated with robbing, destruction and later activity and finally plough-soil.⁴² He states that “the coins fall into definite groups, each group having a distinct and different history, being deposited by different classes and numbers of people,

⁴² Reece, 1971, pg 92.

and governed by different laws of selection, causation, and chance.”⁴³ Reece assumed that coins assigned to any date, entered and were lost at the site within the same general period. Within the three main groups, Reece divided the coins by which emperor struck them and then those groups into periods of occupation and destruction. Through the analysis of the context of the coins, he was able to make conclusions about the separate sections. The coins from the occupation layer have an unknown relation to the coins which were lost, but because of the continual sweeping and cleaning of the palace it can be said that they represent a small fraction of coins dropped. The coins from robbing and later activity are a better representation of total coins lost because they were in a severely disturbed site; thus, what was lost was most likely found. Unlike the stratified coins which show episodic occupation, the coins in the plough-soil layer show a continuous occupation in the later first and early second century. When looking at the coins, Reece states there are two pitfalls that must be avoided; first, only the presence or absence of a particular coin type is important not the quantity because it depends on what types were circulating in Britain. Second, large numbers of coins lost will only accumulate in middle and lower class conditions.⁴⁴ This is shown by the copper coins of Vespasian, which were mainly found in construction levels; since, these coins were associated with building labourers and craftsmen. Whereas, the equally common coins of Domitian were rarely found because they entered the site when it was a clean, finished palace. Thus, the number of coins found does not depend on the intensity of occupation, which would have been similar, but the conditions of the site, which

⁴³ Reece, 1971, pg 96.

⁴⁴ Reece, 1971, pg 99.

was construction versus living.⁴⁵ Therefore, through this analysis Reece was able to get an idea of why certain coins were deposited more in some contexts than others and the occupational sequence of the site.

Multiple Sites

The final way a coin can be analysed is in relation to other archeological sites. Looking at multiple contextual sites allows for larger questions to be answered, such as how coins were circulating between multiple sites. If the coins of the same type are found in the same archaeological sites, for example villas, then this indicates that perhaps these coins circulated mainly between villas. From this information, it can be determined whether specific types were made to target different functional contexts. Then, when comparing multiple types of sites together, such as urban versus rural sites, conclusions about the circulation of coins between those sites or the differences between coin use at those sites could be made.

Kemmers uses this methodology in her case study on coin circulation and supply in the Severan period in AD 193-235.⁴⁶ She focuses this study on a single period over a large area and investigates the indications of differentiated coin supply and use of coins, based on economic need and ideological potential. To do this, she looked at an inventory

⁴⁵ Reece, 1971, pg 99.

⁴⁶ Kemmers, Fleur. "Sender or Receiver, Contexts of Coin Supply and Use". In *Coins in Context I, New perspectives for the interpretation of coin finds*, edited by Fleur Kemmers and Hans-Markus Von Kaenel, 137-156. Colloquium Frankfurt, 2007.

of Severan coin finds in Upper and Lower Germany, Raetia, Belgic Gaul, Gallia Lugdunensis, Gallia Aquitania and Britannia.⁴⁷ She chose the Severan period because this was the final period of a regular coin supply to the north western provinces, the size of the coin supply was not as large, and little pre-Severan silver coinage would have circulated in the Severan period because debasement of the *denarius* before his reign; additionally, Severan coins ceased circulating on a large scale in the 240s.⁴⁸

Kemmers looks to answer the question of how coins entered circulation if no army camps were nearby, by including both military and civilian provinces. She uses the contextual analysis of the coin finds from the two Germanies, Belgic Gaul and Raetia. For each coin the denomination, reverse type, reverse legend, issue and mint were recorded and its archaeological information including single find or hoard, name of site, location of the site, and functional context. The coin finds were not evenly distributed over various functional contexts or the geographical contexts. When making any observations or comparisons three aspects of coin use and supply were analysed in their functional context, which were denominations, issues and types.⁴⁹ To start off her findings, she mentions that the Severan period had a lack of bronze coinage; therefore, there is an overwhelming dominance of silver coinage in the inventory of Severan denominations. Comparing this to the first and second centuries AD, this is completely opposite because they had bronze coins as the dominant site finds.⁵⁰ However, when the relative proportions of Severan denominations per emperor in their functional context are examined, it does not match this

⁴⁷ Kemmers, 2007, pg 141.

⁴⁸ Kemmers, 2007, pg 141.

⁴⁹ Kemmers, 2007, pg 142.

⁵⁰ Kemmers, 2007, pg 146.

information. There are three contexts looked at which are military contexts, civilian contexts, and ritual contexts. In the military contexts bronze coins make up six percent. In civilian contexts bronze coins make up twenty percent of all coin finds. In ritual contexts, fifty percent of Severan coins are bronze.⁵¹ These percentages bring about questions as to why they are so different. The ratio of Severan bronze coins to Severan silver coins is heavily influenced by the functional context of the sites. For example, there is a large proportion of Severan bronze in ritual contexts because coins of small monetary value were usually given to the gods. This shows that conscious selection took place and it discredits the idea that Severan bronze coins did not cross the alps and they did not enter military circulation but were in use in civilian and ritual spheres.⁵²

Next, Kemmers looks at how coins spread across the empire using contexts. During the Severan period, coins issued at imperial mints of the Near East appear in the western provinces. An explanation of this is that they could have been spread by travelers and traded westward or that the Eastern issues were a part of the military pay of Septimius Severus' troops in the British campaigns. Eastern imperial coins are significantly more common in military contexts, while the same applies to ritual contexts in Eastern provincial issues. This last instance could be more evidence for coin selection. Kemmers states that regarding the Eastern imperial coins, the hypothesis that these coins were direct payments to the soldiers in the West seems plausible.⁵³ Another example can be seen from the issues of Elagabalus, when looked at together in the four provinces there is very little variation of types. However,

⁵¹ Kemmers, 2007, pg 146.

⁵² Kemmers, 2007, pg 146.

⁵³ Kemmers, 2007, pg 149.

when looked at between ritual, military and civilian contexts there are much clearer differences. Ritual contexts show a preference for issues with the female members of Elagabalus' family; hence, some selection process might have taken place.⁵⁴ Thus, Kemmers' study shows that by looking at different archaeological contexts it is clear that there are differences in finds between different contexts, and that could indicate a difference in coin distribution and conscious selection of those receiving the coins.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the three main methodologies used together are able to determine the most information about the coins. Epigraphic analysis determines the issuer of the coinage and all of the titles associated with the issuer. From these titles the date or date range the coin was struck is able to be found. Iconographic analysis is able to determine what type was struck on the coin and when the whole typology/iconography of an emperor's coinage is analysed the overall themes and possible messages the emperor wanted to use can be determined. Archaeological analysis can date the stratum and the site and can be used to compare the materials found with the coin. In addition, the archaeological analysis can determine the possible use of the stratum and the coins found within it and when multiple sites are compared, patterns of coin circulation can be determined.

⁵⁴ Kemmers, 2007, pg 149.

These methodologies will be the most useful for the analysis of the Villa of Titus coins and will be used throughout the rest of the thesis. In the next chapter, the iconographic analysis and epigraphic analysis will be used on the coins from the villa of Titus to properly identify them. The coinage of Claudius will also be analysed as a whole to determine where these coins fit in the production of coinage including which year and which themes the types belong to.

Chapter 2:

The Coinage of Claudius and the Iconographic Analysis of the Coins

Introduction

In this chapter, the identification of the Villa of Titus coins will be determined, along with the iconographic and the historical context of them. This chapter will be divided into two main sections which include “The Imperial Coinage” and “The Identification of the Villa of Titus Coins”. The first section will explain in detail the inner workings of the mint, the development of the denominations, and the specific details of all of Claudius’ coinage during his reign. Which leads into the second section that focuses on all of the information that can be determined from the analysis of the Villa’s coins. First, iconographic and epigraphic analyses will be used on the coins, then there will be an analysis of all of the reverse types from Claudius’ reign using a synopsis to determine the iconographic context of the Villa’s coins. Lastly, historical sources on Claudius’ reign will be analysed to determine the historical context of the types.

The Imperial Coinage

The Mint

To give the clearest picture possible of the coinage system of Rome the best place to start is the mint itself and all of its inner workings. The mint is the building where the production of coinage takes place. The imperial period of coinage, which started in the time of Augustus, late 1st century BC, followed the sequence of the Republican period. In 289 BC, the office of the *tresviri monetales* was instituted, these three men had the responsibility of producing refined bronze, silver and gold. Later on, the *tresviri monetales* were given the responsibility of striking the metal into coinage until the end of the Republic, temporarily their numbers were expanded to four by Julius Caesar.⁵⁵ Under Augustus the *monetales* reverted back to three, but in c. 5 BC Augustus himself then raised it back to four. The mint consisted of moneyers and working sections called *officinae*, there were probably six at one point.⁵⁶ Howgego states the mint workers occupations could have been “the contracting of operations, the preparation of metals, the engraving of dies, the striking of coins in workshops, the quality controllers (*aequatores*), a cashier *?(dispensator rationis)*, and bankers? (*nummularii*)”.⁵⁷ The location of the mint in Rome was on the Capitoline during the Republic and was moved due to a fire in AD 80 to the site of Nero’s

⁵⁵ Sutherland and Carson, 1984. Pg 1.

⁵⁶ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 1.

⁵⁷ Howgego, 2001. Pg 26.

Domus Aurea.⁵⁸ Howgego describes in detail the structure of the building, “it was a long rectangular building with a width of c.30m, and of unknown length. It had two main storeys, the lower of which was divided into two floors in the earliest phase of the building. The exterior of the building was formed by a substantial wall, probably with only one entrance and no other openings. The lower floor was composed of a large number of rooms arranged around a courtyard with a peristyle”.⁵⁹

From the Republican period and into the imperial period there was also a continuation of the use of the mint of Rome as the central and primary mint in the empire. However, the mint of Rome did discontinue use in c.40 BC, this was because since Sulla’s time the political forces led to the *imperatores*, who had their own legions, provincial base, supply of bullion with their own mint or mints, which enabled them to produce their own coinage. In 28-27 BC the mint re-opened after the defeat of Antony and there was no longer shortage of bullion at the mint.⁶⁰ Decentralization of minting, which began in the early 1st century BC continued into the imperial period, the *princeps* who possessed supreme military power struck coins in their own provinces. Therefore, as Sutherland and Carson state “Augustus opened and closed mints for gold and silver and *aes* as he judged useful or desirable at Emerita, two in Spain, Lugdunum, Greece, Samos, Ephesus and Pergamum”.⁶¹ The provincial mints were made to serve the immediate area around it and produced almost entirely *aes* coinage alone.⁶²

⁵⁸ Howgego, 2001, pg 27

⁵⁹ Howgego, 2001, pg 27.

⁶⁰ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 1.

⁶¹ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 2.

⁶² Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 2.

In the Roman Empire the metal or bullion required to mint the coins were from “the stored-up wealth of the Hellenistic world, and the systematic extraction of mineral resources within the empire”.⁶³ It could have also been acquired through “indemnities, gifts, purchase, and the melting of wealth stored up in various forms, additionally, old or foreign coins could also be restruck”.⁶⁴

Denominations

Besides the mint itself, the other important factor of the coinage system are the coin denominations. The following is an overview of the development of the denominations and their weights and metals into the imperial period. From the Republican period there was a continuation of the gold *aureus* and the silver *denarius*. The coinage system was created in Rome in c.300 BC and then that system collapsed in the Hannibalic/Punic war (218-201 BC), all of the coinage up to that point was melted down and restruck.⁶⁵ The date of the new coinage system was marked by the introduction of the *denarius* and began in 212-211 BC. Evidence for this was found at the site of Morgantina, which was destroyed in this period and had evidence of the new *denarii*. The half and quarter of the *denarius*, the *quinarius* and the *sestertius* played a minor role because they were only struck in times of financial stress.⁶⁶ According to Sutherland and Carson these are the weights of the *denarius*:

⁶³ Howgego, 2001, pg 24.

⁶⁴ Howgego, 2001, pg 24.

⁶⁵ Burnett, 1987. pg 33.

⁶⁶ Burnett, 1987, pgs 34-35.

“first it was c. 4.5g falling soon to 4.0g, then settling to a later and well-maintained weight of c. 3.95g, at which figure it was confirmed into the first principate”.⁶⁷ Besides the decline of its silver fineness, the *denarius* was a stable coin for over 400 years.⁶⁸ During the entire imperial period the *denarius* was struck alongside the *aureus*, which was created during the Hannibalic/Punic war as an emergency measure and it also appeared during the time of Sulla, Pompey and Caesar. Its weight settled at c. 8.0g, 1 *aureus* was equivalent to 25 *denarii*, which was the weight that Augustus began producing them at.⁶⁹ From the time of Caesar onward it was coined regularly at Rome as the sole gold coin in the empire.⁷⁰ Concerning the *aes* of the empire, the imperial period departed from the Republican developments.⁷¹ From 80 BC until the reign of Augustus no bronze was produced at the mint of Rome, with exceptions of bronze that was made in other parts of the empire during civil wars.⁷² Augustus solved the need for massive supplementation of low-value small change with the making of *sestertii* and *dupondii* with *orichalcum* and *asses*, along with their fractions, with pure copper.⁷³

Claudius' Coinage

⁶⁷ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 2.

⁶⁸ Burnett, 1987, pg 48.

⁶⁹ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 2.

⁷⁰ Burnett, 1987, pg 49-50.

⁷¹ *Aes* is defined as all bronze or copper coinage or non-precious metal coins.

⁷² Burnett, 1987, pg 36.

⁷³ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 3.

This section examines in detail the weights and production of Claudius' coinage. The following are the weights of Claudius' coinage according to Sutherland and Carson⁷⁴:

Denomination	Weight
<i>aurei</i>	c. 7.80-7.65 g
<i>denarii</i>	c. 3.85-3.60 g
<i>sestertii</i>	c. 29.50-27.50 g
<i>dupondii</i>	c. 16.25-15.00 g
<i>asses</i>	c. 11.50-10.25 g
<i>quadrantes</i>	c. 3.50-3.00 g

Claudius' *aes* coinage differ slightly from Gaius', which could be because of the great wear of his *aes* since Nero struck no *aes* from 54 to c.62/3 and this probably lowered the *aes* weight standards of Claudius. In regard to the minting of the coins, Gaius had transferred the silver and gold from the Lyons mint back to Rome; therefore, Claudius must have continued the production of gold and silver in Rome along with the SC *aes*. Although Rome was producing Claudius' *aes* coinage, most of the *aes* issued under him was not of Roman mintage.⁷⁵ There was a relative frequency of Claudian *aes* that was not of Roman origin but that were imitations based on Roman prototypes, and the production of these Roman prototypes lasted to the end of Claudius' reign. Some areas where these imitations have been found are in the Rhineland, Gaul, Spain, and Britain. The production of these imitations could have happened because of the closure of the Lyons mint and other city mints in Spain, which lead to a coinage supply that was not enough to satisfy the local demand, even with the supply of Claudius' new *aes*. The occurrence of plated *denarii*

⁷⁴ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 114.

⁷⁵ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 114.

became much more common, which suggests the supervision of the coinage was less efficient under Claudius. These plated *denarii* could have been intended to stretch the supply of silver bullion, which devalued Claudius’ silver as a whole. However, it is more plausible that these plated *denarii* were from forgers using official dies.⁷⁶

Claudius’ Mints and Coinage Production

According to Sutherland and Carson “each *officina* was responsible for coining one type or closely linked group of types”.⁷⁷ The examination of the gold and silver allows for the general organization and production of types to be determined during his reign. Looking at the dated gold and silver coins alone, if one type equals one *officina*, this is the production of the mint each year for dated gold and silver⁷⁸:

Year	Type/ <i>officinae</i>
41-2	6
42-3	none
43-4	3
44-5	3
45-6	none
46-7	6
47-8	none
48-9	none
49-50	4
50-1	3
51-2	2

⁷⁶ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 115.

⁷⁷ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 116.

⁷⁸ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 116.

For the *aes* coinage, the only dated *aes* to a specific year are *quadrantes* from 25 Jan.- 31 Dec. 41, 1-4 Jan. 42, and 5 Jan.- 31 Dec. 42. The undated *aes* fall into two groups, one has PP in the inscription and the other does not. The ones without PP were produced from 41 to c.50. The *aes* with PP were produced from c.50-54.⁷⁹ Sutherland gives a detailed description explaining why they are dated like this stating that “ it has been argued that PP did not become a regular element in obverse titulature on gold and silver until AD 50-51, that *aes* with PP is greatly outnumbered in site finds by *aes* without PP, that of the abundant number of coins imitating Claudian *aes* prototypes the great majority lack PP, and therefore that the PP *aes* was not produced until c. 50. Therefore, *aes* without PP could have been produced not simply in AD 41-2, but at any time over the period AD 41-50”.⁸⁰ For the production of *aes* it is proposed that there were 4 *officinae*. Because the majority of the *aes* are undated the analysis of the gold and silver *officinae* can help determine what years they were produced. The four years, 42-3, 45-6, 47-8, and 48-9 had no dated gold and silver produced; thus, this is when the *aes* with no PP in the inscription could have been mainly struck. There would have had to have been enough *officinae* to produce about 12 *aes* types and dated *quadrantes*, which were common in 41-2 and 42-3. But many of these *quadrantes* were produced in small quantities, which meant they took up a small amount of time in the *officinae*.⁸¹

⁷⁹ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 118.

⁸⁰ Sutherland. *The Emperor and the Coinage, Julio-Claudian Studies*. London: Spink and Son LTD, 1976, pg 115.

⁸¹ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 117.

Identification of the Villa of Titus Coins

Now that the general overview of the weights and dating of Claudius’ coinage have been surveyed, the coins from the Villa of Titus can be analysed using iconographic and epigraphic analyses. There are three coins, two *asses* and a *quadrans*, which will be listed in order from the earliest struck to the latest struck. Each coin will be dated according to the *Roman Imperial Coinage* (RIC) catalogue, which uses the methodology mentioned previously in “Claudius’ Mints and Coinage Production” section. For the inscriptions on the coins, the letters that are not in the square brackets are the only letters that are able to be identified on the coin and the letters that are in the square brackets are known from other existing examples of the same coin that have been found. Below is a catalogue of the three coins:

#	Denomination	Obverse	Reverse	Date	Mint, Frequency
1	<i>Quadrans</i> , copper	TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG around hand holding scales with PNR beneath	PON M TRP IMP COS DES II around SC	25th Jan. 41 to 3rd Dec. 41	Rome, Common
2	<i>As</i> , bronze	TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG PM TRP IMP around bust of Claudius	CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI SC around Constantia in military dress, a helmet and holding a spear	Undated AD 41-50	Rome, Common
3	<i>As</i> , bronze	TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG PM TRP IMP PP around bust of Claudius	LIBERTAS AVGVSTA SC around Libertas holding a pileus	Undated AD 50-54	Rome, Common

The first coin (Figure 2.1) is a copper *quadrans* which was struck from 25th January 41 to 3rd December 41 and minted in Rome. According to *RIC* it was a common coin.⁸² The obverse inscription is [TI(berius) CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG(ustus)]. There is a beaded border. On the obverse side, in the centre, there is a right hand holding a pair of scales. Under the scales are the letters P(ondus) N(ummi) R(estitutum), which translated means “restoring the weight of money”.⁸³ According to Sutherland and Carson “PNR is an allusion to a brief improvement by Claudius in the weights of the *aureus* and *denarius* at the outset of his reign.”⁸⁴ The reverse inscription is [PON(tifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunica)P(otestate) IMP(erator) COS(consul)] DES(ignatus) [II]. The type is the letters S(enatus) C(onsulto) in the centre of the coin.

The second coin (Figure 2.2) is a bronze *as* which was struck between AD 41-50 and minted in Rome. According to *RIC* it was a common coin.⁸⁵ The obverse inscription is [TI(berius)]CL[AVDIVS] CA[ESAR AVG(ustus) P(ontifex)M(aximus) TR(ibunica)P(otestate) IMP(erator)]. There is a beaded border. There is a bust of Claudius facing the left side. It extends to his neck except for a small portion that extends to his chest in the centre. His hair is brushed in uniform waves towards his face. He has no attributes. The reverse inscription is CONSTANTIAE AV[G]VS[T]I S(enatus) C(onsulto). The inscription translated is “To the Constantia (steadiness, perseverance) of Augustus”. *Constantiae*, which is translated as steadiness or perseverance, is a dative, feminine, noun

⁸² Sutherland and Carson, 1984, Claudius 85.

⁸³ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 118.

⁸⁴ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 118.

⁸⁵ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, Claudius 95.

and *Augusti* is a genitive, masculine, noun. According to Sutherland and Carson because of the genitive case, *Constantiae Augusti* is a personal tribute.⁸⁶ For the type there is a beaded border. There is a female figure standing in the contrapposto position in the centre. Her head is turned to the left and her right hand is raised to head height. Her left hand is resting above her head on a spear. She has a tunic that reaches her knees and a cloak on her back. She also has a helmet on. She is the personification Constantia indicated by the inscription.

The third coin (Figure 2.3) is a bronze *as* which was struck between AD 50-54 and minted in Rome. According to *RIC* it was a common coin.⁸⁷ The obverse inscription is [TI(berius) CLAV]DIVS C[AESAR AVG(ustus) P(ontifex)M(aximus) TR(ibunica)P(otestate) I]M[P(erator) P(ater)P(atriae)]. There is a beaded border. There is the bust of Claudius facing the left side. It extends to the bottom of his neck except for a small portion that extends to his chest in the middle. His hair is brushed in uniform waves towards his face. He has no attributes. The reverse inscription is LIBER[TAS AVG]VST[A] S(enatus) C(onsulto). The inscription translated is “Augustan Freedom”. *Augusta* is a nominative, feminine adjective and *Libertas* is a nominative, feminine, noun. According to Sutherland and Carson “*Libertas Augusta* presumably alludes to governmental relaxation after Gaius’ despotic regime”.⁸⁸ For the type there is a beaded border. There is a female figure standing in the centre in the contrapposto position, her head is turned toward the right. Both of her arms are raised to chest height. Fabric is draped from her chest to her right hand, she also holds a pileus, which is a cap that represents freedom, in her right hand.

⁸⁶ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 119.

⁸⁷ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, Claudius 113.

⁸⁸ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 119.

She is wearing a tunic that reaches the floor. A small line is under her feet to represent the floor line. She is the personification of Libertas indicated by the inscription.

Now that the types on the Villa of Titus coins are identified, their iconographic context within the coinage of Claudius as a whole can be determined.

Synopsis and Analysis of Claudius' Reverse Types

Were there certain themes that emperors chose to be depicted on coins? Were there any patterns that can be found throughout the production of types in relation to the denominations/metals? Are these patterns important when contextualizing the Villa of Titus coins? In this section these questions will be answered through the use of a synopsis of Claudius' reverse types. The synopsis will present types produced at the same time as the Villa's coins, and from that information, why these types are produced at the same time or in close proximity to each other. In addition, the coins will be contextualized in what year they are produced, which will help determine why Claudius was producing these types during that time of his reign. *Roman Imperial Coinage*, which is a catalogue that lists all known types produced by the emperors in chronological order using the titular dates on the obverse inscriptions of the coins, was used to create the synopsis.⁸⁹ From this catalogue, all of the reverse types listed were divided into the years they were produced in a chart (Figure 2.4). As was previously mentioned in the section on Claudius' coinage, the gold and silver coins can be dated using the titular dating on the obverses, however, all of the *aes* coinage,

⁸⁹ Sutherland and Carson, 1984.

except for the *quadrantes*, do not have titular dates on the obverses, and therefore, have to be dated based on the number of gold and silver coins produced in each year and whether or not they have PP in the inscription.⁹⁰ Therefore, the *aes* coinage can only be divided into two blocks of years. The gold, silver and *aes* coinage was recorded for each type in the chart and only the types from the Roman mint and struck in the name of Claudius are included in this analysis. This is because the coins from the Villa of Titus are all from the Roman mint and in the name of Claudius; therefore, all of the other types are less relevant to this study. For this analysis the theme of the types will be looked at, and the denominations/metals will also be included. This analysis will only include the iconography as evidence. The historical evidence will be looked at in the following section.

Typology in Chronological Order

First, the reverse types will be analysed by the years they were struck in. Since, the precious metal coins are dated by year and the *aes* coinage is not, except for the *quadrantes*, they can be separated into precious metals and *aes*. All of the new types, re-introduced types and discontinued types will be mentioned as they are struck.⁹¹

Gold and Silver

⁹⁰ See previous section “Claudius’ Mints and Coinage Production” for a detailed explanation.

⁹¹ For a complete list of all of the types produced each year in the name of Claudius see the synopsis chart (Figure 2.4).

In the beginning of Claudius' reign in 41-42 there are six types struck which include CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI which has Constantia seated on a curule chair, DE GERMANIS which has a triumphal arch with an equestrian statue and trophies on either side of the arch, EX SC/OB CIVES/ SERVATOS which is in an oak wreath, IMPER RECEPT which has a battlement wall encircling the praetorian camp in which a soldier is standing, PACI AVGVSTI which has Pax-Nemesis winged and advancing and holding a winged caduceus pointing down at a snake, and PRAETOR RECEPT which has Claudius bare-headed and togate and clasping hands with a long-haired soldier, he has a shield on one side and holds an aquila. The type EX SC/OB CIVES/ SERVATOS is only produced in this year with two different obverse inscriptions. In 41-42 GERM TRP there are two of the same types CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI and EX SC/OB CIVES/ SERVATOS and a new type that has two versions VICTORIA AVGVSTI which has Victory seated on a globe with a wreath in her hands and VICTORIA AVGVSTI which has Victory seated on a globe and inscribing a shield. Both VICTORIA AVGVSTI types are only struck in this year. In 43-44 the same types from the previous years are used, IMPER RECEPT, PACI AVGVSTAE and PRAETOR RECEPT. This is the last year that PRAETOR RECEPT is struck. In 46-47 the types CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI and DE GERMANIS are brought back again in addition to IMPER RECEPT and PACI AVGVSTAE. There are two new types DE BRITANN(us) which has a triumphal arch with an equestrian statue and two trophies and SPQR/PP/OB CS which is in an oak wreath. This is the last year that IMPER RECEPT and DE GERMANIS are struck. In 49-50 TRP VIII IMP XVI the types are CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI, PACI AVGVSTI, DE BRITANN(us) and SPQR/PP/OB CS.

This year is the last time DE BRITANN(us) is struck. From 50 to 52 the only types struck are PACI AVGVSTAE, SPQR/PP/OB CS and CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI.

Dated *Aes* (*quadrantes*)

Next, the dated *aes*, which are all *quadrantes*, will be analysed. In Jan. 1st 41- Dec 3rd 41 the types were PON M IMP COS DES IT which is around SC and PONT MAX TRPOT IMP which is around SC. In Jan. 1st 42- Jan. 4th 42 the only type was PON M TRP IMP COS II which is around SC. In Jan. 5th 42- Dec. 31st 42 the only type produced was PON M TRP IMP PP COS II which is around SC. Although there is not an image on the reverse types of these *quadrantes*, on the obverse was either an image of a three-legged modius, which could have represented the distribution of corn to the citizens, or there was an image of a hand holding scales with the letters PNR under it. Sutherland and Carson state that this could have referred to either a monetary rectification or a brief improvement of the weights of the *aureus* and *denarius* at the beginning of Claudius' reign.⁹²

Undated *Aes*

The undated *aes* can be divided into two sections, the ones with PP and the ones without PP. Without PP *aes* were produced from 41-50. There were seven types: CERES AVGVSTA SC which has Ceres veiled, seated on an ornamental throne, holding two corn

⁹² Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 118.

ears and a long torch, CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI SC which has Constantia helmeted in military dress with a spear, EX SC /OB CIVES/ SERVATOS which was in an oak wreath, LIBERTAS AVGVSTA SC which has Libertas holding a pileus, NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS GERMAN IMP which has a triumphal arch with an equestrian statue and two trophies, SPES AVGVSTA SC which has Spes advancing holding a flower and raising her skirt, DIVA AVGVSTA which has Livia seated holding corn ears and a long torch, and a type that only has SC as the legend with Minerva holding a javelin and a shield. *Aes* with PP were produced in 50-54, the same types as in 41-50 were produced except for the DIVA AVGVSTA type.

Themes

Now that the general overview of the types in chronological order have been looked at, what are the main themes present throughout Claudius' coinage? Since only the gold and silver coins are dated to a year, with the exception of the *quadrantes*, they will be analysed first then the *aes* coins can be analysed and compared with the gold and silver. The precious metal coins can be divided into three main themes. The first main theme evolves around the praetorian guard. In 41-42 there were three coins struck that refer to the praetorians. The first one is IMPER(ator) RECEP(us), which can be translated as “restoring the power”, and it shows the image of a battlement wall encircling the praetorian camp. The second one is PRAETOR RECEP(us), which can be translated as “restoring the praetorians”, and it shows the image of Claudius clasping hands with a praetorian soldier.

The third coin is EX SC OB CIVES SERVATOS, which can be translated as “for having saved the citizens”, and it depicts a crown around the inscription implying the crown as an honour for saving the citizens. Sutherland and Carson suggest that those types “allude in simple form to the Senate’s acceptance of the emperor chosen by the praetorians”.⁹³ Interestingly, these types only get struck up until 46-47, which suggests that after 47 Claudius no longer needed the support of the praetorians or there was no longer the need to dedicate coinage to them. The second main theme is strictly military. The two types DE BRITANN(us) and DE GERMANIS both have triumphal arches on them with trophies; therefore, they must be referencing military victories. Along with these types, there are two versions of VICTORIA AVGVSTI, which again reference the theme of victory or military victory in general. Sutherland and Carson also suggest that the type SPQR/PP/OB CS was “presumably to mark the reaffirmation of state gratitude for military victories”.⁹⁴ The third theme seems to be generally referencing the peace and prosperity of Rome under Claudius with the types CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI, which has the image of Constantia seated on a curule chair, and PACI AVGVSTI, which has an image of Pax-Nemesis. Both of these personifications conjure the image and message of a prosperous empire under Claudius.

All of the *aes* coinage has more generic images and personifications; however, it can be split into two broad themes. The first theme is a more generic military theme, which includes CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI SC with the image of Constantia in a military dress with a spear, SC with the image of Minerva and NERO CLAVDIVS DRVSVS

⁹³ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 117.

⁹⁴ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 118.

GERMAN(icus) IMP(erator) with the image of a triumphal arch. The second theme consists of common personifications that imply a prosperous reign, which includes the types LIBERTAS AVGVSTA SC with the image of Libertas holding a pileus, a cap which represents freedom, CERES AVGVSTA, and SPES AVGVSTA SC.

How do the themes of the precious metal coins and *aes* compare to one another? Clearly, there are some major differences between the two. Almost all of the types are different on the precious metal than on the *aes* coinage. The *aes* types seem to be the more general themes and are more targeted to the masses receiving the coins, unlike the gold and silver coins which had some general types but mostly types that directly referenced events such as DE BRITANN(us) and the praetorians. Therefore, it could be said that Claudius was targeting specific audiences with the themes on his coins. Sutherland confirms this stating that “Claudius’ *aes* was designed on lines which were less specifically informative and more generally suggestive than those of his gold and silver. The lower *aes* denominations presented a variety of simple types which would have been suggestive to the illiterate, and very positively so to the literate”.⁹⁵ Out of all of the types only one is represented the same in both precious metal and *aes*, which is EX SC /OB CIVES/ SERVATOS; therefore, this suggests that Claudius wanted both the audiences receiving gold, silver and *aes* coinage to see this type. This could be because this theme of “saving the citizens” resonates with both the upper and lower classes. Another indication that Claudius wanted different audiences to receive different messages is that the type CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI is on both precious metal and *aes*, except that the image is

⁹⁵ Sutherland, 1976, pg 116.

different between the metals. The precious metal types show Constantia seated in a curule chair and the *aes* version has her standing in military attire. Seemingly, Claudius found the military theme more appropriate for the masses and the stability theme more appropriate for the upper classes.

Iconographic Context of the Villa of Titus Coins

Now that the overall iconography of Claudius' coinage has been analysed, where do the Villa of Titus coins fit into the iconography? Since the *quadrans* has an exact date the other types produced with it can be determined. The *quadrans* is the reverse type PON M IMP COS DES IT which is around SC; therefore, it was produced in Jan. 25th 41- Dec. 3rd 41. The obverse has the type with the hand holding the scales with PNR beneath it, which as was said previously, probably had to do with some type of policy or decree concerning money. The other type produced at the same time on the *quadrantes* was the modius, a measurement for grain, which most likely refers to the grain supply; therefore, both of these types have to do with improving the lives of the common populace. Again, both of these types are only seen on *quadrantes*, which are low denominations and used more by the common populace, which could mean that these types were specifically chosen to target this audience. These *quadrantes* were produced in the same year as all the gold and silver types from 41-42 TRP, which had different themes than the *quadrantes* focusing on Claudius' traits, the military and the praetorians; thus, Claudius was conveying different messages on the *aes* and precious metals during the same year.

The first *as* has PP in the inscription, therefore, it could have been produced in 50-54 and it is the type LIBERTAS AVGVSTA SC. The second *as* does not have PP in the inscription, therefore, it could have been produced from 41-50, and it is the type CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI SC. Both of these types fit in to the more general themes of the *aes* coinage. Sutherland confirms this by stating that “the *asses* underlined three qualities of the Claudian administration- Constantia, seen as a military figure; Libertas, holding a cap of freedom- an imperial ‘virtue’ new to the coinage of the principate; and on the commonest of all Claudian *aes*, the unnamed but vigorous figure of Athena Promachus, the wise but well-armed goddess who protected her own”.⁹⁶ Sutherland and Carson state “*Libertas Augusta* presumably alludes to governmental relaxation after Gaius’ despotic regime”.⁹⁷ Thus, the type with Libertas on it fits into a theme regarding the prosperity and freedom that Claudius’ reign will produce. And the *as* with Constantia in military dress most likely fits into a general military theme. Since there is the precious metal type CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI the *as* version was probably struck at the same time; so, one version would be used by the upper classes and the other by the lower classes.

Historical Context of Claudius’ Iconography

After analysing the iconography of Claudius’ coinage, the reasoning for the specific choices of types could be suggested based on the themes and images; however, in order to

⁹⁶ Sutherland, 1976, pg 116.

⁹⁷ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 119.

get a more concrete reason for the type choices the historical context must be taken into account. To determine the historical context of the iconography primary and secondary accounts of Claudius' reign will be analysed and the most important or prevalent events will be compared to the images on the coins to determine whether there is a connection between them. The three ancient sources that write about Claudius' reign will be analysed: the first ancient source is *Roman History* by Cassius Dio who lived from AD 164-229.⁹⁸ The second ancient source is *The lives of the Caesars* by Suetonius who wrote it in the early 2nd century.⁹⁹ The third ancient source is *The Annals* by Tacitus which he wrote around AD 120.¹⁰⁰ In addition to the ancient sources, Levick's book *Claudius* will also be referenced for a modern historian's analysis on Claudius' reign.¹⁰¹

The first main event in Claudius' reign that both Suetonius and Cassius Dio write about is how Claudius became the emperor. In Suetonius he writes that on the day of Gaius' murder Claudius was found cowering by a common soldier and was hailed as emperor. The populace then called for Claudius to be ruler and he allowed the armed assembly of soldiers to swear allegiance to him.¹⁰² Cassius Dio writes that after the murder of Gaius, some soldiers found Claudius and hailed him emperor and conducted him to camp, and together with their comrades gave to him the supreme power.¹⁰³ Therefore, both sources write that Claudius gained the position of emperor from soldiers, who were most certainly part of the

⁹⁸ Rich, J. "Cassius (RE 40) Dio". In *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

⁹⁹ Bradley, K. "Suetonius". In *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

¹⁰⁰ Martin, R., & Woodman, A. "Tacitus". In *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. Oxford University Press, 2012.

¹⁰¹ Levick, Barbara. *Claudius*. London: Routledge, 2015, pg 109.

¹⁰² Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 10.2-4.

¹⁰³ Cassius Dio, Book 60, 1.3.

praetorian guard because they were the body guards of the emperors and would be in Rome. Two coin types make direct reference to this event: the first one is PRAETOR RECEPT which both references the praetorian soldiers in the legend and depicts Claudius clasping hands with a soldier. The second one is IMPER RECEPT which depicts a battlement wall encircling the Praetorian camp in which a soldier is standing. Both of these types are probably referencing the fact that Claudius only became emperor because of the praetorian soldiers; therefore, these types may be his dedication and thanks to them. The type CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI on the precious metal coins, which has Constantia seated on the curule chair, could also be indicating to the public that they can trust Claudius to be a good ruler for them and for the Roman empire. All of these types are first struck in the first years of his reign, which is another reason why they could be referencing this event.

Both Suetonius and Cassius Dio write about decrees that Claudius enacts in the beginning of his reign. Before Claudius was hailed emperor, the senate was debating whether Rome should become a democracy, monarchy or have an emperor. Concerning this, Suetonius states that Claudius, in order to remove the memory of the two days before “made a decree that all that had been done and said during that period should be pardoned and forever forgotten”.¹⁰⁴ Cassius Dio states that Claudius “abolished the charge of *maiestas* not only in the case of writings but in the case of overt acts as well and he did not punish anyone on this ground for offences committed either before this time or later”.¹⁰⁵ The coin types that could be referencing this decree are the precious metal

¹⁰⁴ Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 11.1.

¹⁰⁵ Cassius Dio, Book 60, 3.6.

CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI and PACI AVGVSTI, both because they convey the message that Claudius is promoting peace and steadiness in the empire, which correlates with this decree he made in the beginning of his reign, and because they were both struck in the first year of his reign. Levick, unlike the ancient sources, writes that in AD 41 Claudius was declared a public enemy, which resulted in a civil war against him in AD 42; therefore, to fix this he made immediate gestures which included the amnesty for senators.¹⁰⁶ As a result of the consuls' proclamation in AD 41, he struck the *aes* coinage with LIBERTAS AVGVSTA SC, which represents freedom from the Republic.¹⁰⁷ Levick also states that in the beginning of his reign "Claudius' need to deal fairly with the mass of people led to a temporary rectification of the weight standard of gold and silver coins, which had fallen under Gaius".¹⁰⁸ She, similar to Sutherland and Carson, believes the *quadrans* with P(ondus) N(ummi) R(estitutum), is referencing this rectification of the weights.¹⁰⁹

Another event that all three sources mention is the victory over Britain. Suetonius states that Claudius wanted the glory of a legitimate triumph, and thus, chose Britain to gain it. Claudius "made the journey from Massilia (Marseille, France) all the way to Gesoriacum (Nord, France) by land, crossed from there (to Britain) and without any battle or bloodshed received the submission of a part of the island and returned to Rome six months after leaving the city and celebrated a triumph of great splendour".¹¹⁰ Cassius Dio states that a senator Aulus Plautius made a campaign against Britain and had persuaded Claudius to

¹⁰⁶ Levick, 2015, pg 109.

¹⁰⁷ Levick, 2015, pg 110.

¹⁰⁸ Levick, 2015, pg 154.

¹⁰⁹ Levick, 2015, pg 154.

¹¹⁰ Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 17.1-2.

send a force.¹¹¹ Claudius sailed down to Massalia and crossed over to Britain and joined the legions there, where he defeated the barbarians and captured Camulodunum (Essex, England), where “he was saluted as imperator several times”.¹¹² The senate “gave him the title Britannicus and granted him permission to celebrate a triumph”.¹¹³ In addition to the triumph, the senate voted that “two triumphal arches should be erected, one in the city and the other in Gaul”.¹¹⁴ Tacitus also gives a detailed account of the war on Britain and the defeat of Caratacus by the Romans.¹¹⁵ Levick states that this campaign in Britain (AD 44-46) must have been important to Claudius because it had many political risks. However, there was considerable impact throughout the empire from the conquest including offerings of gifts, and an arch and reliefs depicting the victory.¹¹⁶ There are many coin types that make reference to this military campaign or military theme. The type DE BRITANN(us) is the most specific because it depicts the triumphal arch that was probably erected in Rome. The other type that could be referencing this is the *aes* type CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI SC, since it has a military theme of Constantia in military dress and it could have been produced in the beginning and later on in his reign. The type PACI AVGVSTI could also be referencing the victory because it could be implying that Claudius brought peace in the empire by conquering Britain and it is produced in the same year, AD 46.

Famine during Claudius’ reign and the supply of grain by him is another event mentioned by two authors. Suetonius states that “he (Claudius) always gave scrupulous

¹¹¹ Cassius Dio, Book 60, 19-21.

¹¹² Cassius Dio, Book 60, 21.1-4.

¹¹³ Cassius Dio, Book 60, 22.1.

¹¹⁴ Cassius Dio, Book 60, 22.1.

¹¹⁵ Tacitus, *Annals*, Book XII, 33-40.

¹¹⁶ Levick, 2015, pg 169-170.

attention to the care of the city and the supply of grain”.¹¹⁷ Do to long-continued droughts there was a scarcity of grain, thus “he resorted to every possible means to bring grain to Rome, even in the winter season”.¹¹⁸ Cassius Dio states that “on the occasion of a severe famine he (Claudius) considered the problem of providing an abundant food supply, not only for that particular crisis but for all future time”.¹¹⁹ Levick also writes that in AD 41 there was a grain shortage, which “was at once countered by emergency measures: insurance money would be paid by the Emperor himself to persons who took the risk of bringing in winter supplies and lost their vessel”.¹²⁰ She suggests that “the new emperor’s efforts were noted on the coinage: the goddess of grain appeared as CERES AVGVSTA and a new *quadrans* obverse showed a grain measure (modius)”.¹²¹ The primary sources corroborate that the coin type CERES AVGVSTA SC could be referencing the fact that Claudius made sure to supply the populace with grain and that he was a generous emperor. Also, the modius on the *quadrantes* could also be in reference to his efforts on fixing the grain supply issues. In addition, Sutherland states that “the CERES AVGVSTA was struck in some quantity and referred emphatically to Claudius’ re-organization of the corn-supply, on which he spent large sums of money”.¹²²

It is notable that there are major events that did not get any representation on Claudius’ coinage, which included two large building projects: the construction of the harbour at Ostia and the draining of Lake Fucinus. The fact that all three authors write about

¹¹⁷ Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 18.1.

¹¹⁸ Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 18.2.

¹¹⁹ Cassius Dio, Book 60, 11.1.

¹²⁰ Levick, 2015, pg 126.

¹²¹ Levick, 2015, pg 126.

¹²² Sutherland, 1976, pg 116.

these building projects and their sheer size means that they must have been important events during Claudius' reign. Cassius Dio states that the region near the mouth of the Tiber had no suitable harbours and, therefore, Claudius decided to build the harbour. He writes that "he excavated a very considerable tract of land, built retaining walls on every side of the excavation, and then let the sea into it; secondly, in the sea itself he constructed huge moles on both sides of the entrance and thus enclosed a large body of water, in the midst of which he reared an island and placed on it a tower with a beacon light. This harbour, then, as it is still called in local parlance, was created by him at this time".¹²³ Cassius Dio goes on to write that "he desired to make an outlet into the Liris for the Fucine Lake in the Marsian country, in order not only that the land around it might be tilled but also that the river might be made more navigable".¹²⁴ Suetonius also writes in great detail about the construction of the harbour at Ostia and the drainage of Lake Fucinus by tunneling through a mountain and leveling a mountain.¹²⁵ Tacitus corroborates this by stating that the tunnelling of the mountain between Lake Fucine and the river Liris had been achieved.¹²⁶ Levick states that Claudius developed the harbour at Ostia to assist the safe reception of grain, which was the destination of the transports from Africa that supplied two thirds of Rome's supplies. He began to build the harbour in the first year of his reign and made substantial progress by AD 46, however he was not able to bring this work to a conclusion.¹²⁷ She also states that to alleviate food shortages, Claudius started a second great construction project, which was

¹²³ Cassius Dio, Book 60, 11.

¹²⁴ Cassius Dio, Book 60, 11.

¹²⁵ Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 20.

¹²⁶ Tacitus, *Annals*, Book XII, 56.

¹²⁷ Levick, 2015, pg 126-7.

draining Lake Fucine into the Liris, in AD 41. To do this he drove a water channel under with side walls partly under Monte Salviano in order to prevent flooding and provide more farmland. However, this project was unsuccessful, and the lake was not fully drained until the nineteenth century.¹²⁸

Historical Context of the Villa of Titus Coins

After the analysis of the iconography of Claudius' coinage, the general themes of the types were determined and from that, what was going on during his reign could be assumed from the themes and types; therefore, how can these assumptions be confirmed or backed up? The historical context can give more detail on what events were happening, and thus, what was influencing the type selection on the Villa of Titus coins can be determined more exactly. The *quadrans* which has the PNR and the hand holding scales can be attributed to the temporary rectification of the weight standard of the gold and silver coins which had fallen under Gaius.¹²⁹ The letters under the scales P(ondus) N(ummi) R(estitutum) mean “restoring the weight of money”, thus it seems very plausible that this type is referencing this event.¹³⁰ Also, the scales portray the meaning of balancing which also reflects the word “restoring”. According to Levick, this happened in the very beginning of his reign and this type was struck in AD 41.¹³¹ Clearly, since this type is struck on *quadrantes*, Claudius

¹²⁸ Levick, 2015, pg 128.

¹²⁹ Levick, 2015, pg 154.

¹³⁰ Sutherland and Carson, 1984, pg 118.

¹³¹ Levick, 2015, pg 154.

wanted the masses to see this image and know that he restored the weights of the coinage. The *asses* are harder to connect to an exact event because they are not dated to an exact year; therefore, there is a possibility of two different events that they could have been struck for. The first is that they were struck in the first year of his reign. In the first year of Claudius' reign he made a decree that the argument over whether the government would remain with an emperor would be forgotten.¹³² The precious metal type of CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI could be referencing this event and since the *as* type has the same inscription CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI SC perhaps it was struck at the same time but with a different image that would be more understandable to the masses, the military type opposed to the administrative type. The *as* with LIBERTAS AVGVSTA SC is most likely representing this event because the pileus could symbolize freedom from the Republic.¹³³ The second event that these two *as* types could be referencing is the war and triumph over Britain. Both of the types have military themes on them, one with Constantia in military dress, thus, this type could be showing Claudius' support towards the military. And less likely, the other with Liberty could symbolize Rome's freedom and victory after defeating Britain with the pileus symbol.

¹³² Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 11.1.

¹³³ Levick, 2015, pg 110.

Conclusions

The analysis of the Villa of Titus coins and the analysis of all of the iconography of Claudius' coinage determined which themes the villa coins fit into. In addition, the analysis of the historical sources determined their possible historical context. The *quadrans* has to do with restoring the weight of money, which was a theme concerning the well-being of the masses and could be referencing temporary rectification of the weight standard of the gold and silver coins which had fallen under Gaius. The first *as* with the type CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI SC fit into the more general military theme and could be representing Claudius' support to the military or more specifically the victory over Britain. The second *as* with the type LIBERTAS AVGVSTA SC fits into the general theme of a prosperous reign and could be referencing his liberty from the Roman Republic with his decree in the beginning of his reign to keep Rome an imperial empire.

Additionally, after the synopsis of the reverse types it became evident that the themes on the precious metal coins and the *aes* coins differed greatly. The *aes* coinage had images that had broader themes on them; whereas, the precious metal coins referenced more specific events and people such as the praetorians. Also, interestingly, one of the only types that was used in both precious and *aes* coinage was the type CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI; however, the image on them was different. Therefore, the differing themes and the two separate images on the Constantia type suggest that different themes were purposely put on the *aes* versus the precious metal. Which suggests that Claudius' coinage could have been targeting different audiences.

Chapter 3:

Archaeological Analysis of the Villa of Titus

Introduction

How do archaeologists interpret coins in archaeological contexts? Do different contexts significantly change the interpretation of coins? How do the contexts that coins are found in help determine more information about a site? In this chapter, I will be answering these questions to help analyse the context the coins were found in at the Villa of Titus. In order to answer these questions, I will first go over two different case studies that look at coins found in two different types of contexts. These case studies use similar methodologies as the ones I will be using on my material; therefore, they will present a clear picture as to how archaeologists interpret coin finds to better understand the Villa of Titus context.

Archaeology Contexts

Morgantina

This first example is of the excavations at the Morgantina site by Buttrey and Erim in their chapter “The Morgantina Excavations and the Date of the Roman Denarius”, in which they looked at the excavations in relation to the Roman *denarius*, which revealed evidence that challenged the thinking at the time of when the first *denarii* were issued through the

examination of coins and other materials found in sealed contexts.¹³⁴ Before the archaeological analysis of the site is looked at, a brief description of the Republican coinage will be given since Republican coinage is used throughout the analysis. The Roman monetary system, which was devised around 289 BC, had a heavy coinage of bronze which was instituted based upon an *as* of one pound containing 12 *unciae* (ounces), which included a base unit *as* (c. 322 g.), *semis* (6 *unciae*), *triens* (4 *unciae*), *quadrans* (3 *unciae*), *sextans* (2 *unciae*), *uncia*, and *semiuncia* (1/2 *uncia*).¹³⁵ In 269 BC, the Roman mint produced its first silver coinage, consisting of *didrachms*. During the Punic wars with Carthage (264-146 BC) new *didrachms* were made. Between the First and Second Punic Wars three issues of silver *didrachms* were made, which included the Mars/Eagle series mentioned in this case study, with accompanying *drachms* and small bronzes with different obverse and reverse images. After the First Punic War, the Roman monetary system changed by abandoning the Greek style silver *drachms* for the Roman style.¹³⁶ Then again in the Hannibalic war Rome's monetary system changed, silver was made on a new standard with new types, which were known by the Romans as “*victoriati*” from their types including Jupiter on the obverse and Victory on the reverse.¹³⁷

In the Morgantina excavations, Buttrey and Erim used the analysis of coins in their sealed contexts to determine the date of the earliest evidence of the Roman *denarius*. First, they determined with the archaeological evidence what the date of the destruction layers

¹³⁴ Buttrey and Erim. “The Morgantina Excavations and the Date of the Roman Denarius”. *Morgantina Studies Volume II*, by Buttrey, Erim, Groves and Holloway. Princeton University press, 2019, pp 215-219.

¹³⁵ Sutherland, C.H.V. *Roman Coins*. England: Barrie and Jenkins Ltd., 1974. Pg 25.

¹³⁶ Sutherland, 1974, pg 28.

¹³⁷ Sutherland, 1974, pg 47.

on the site were in order to compare that to date the coins and other materials. The site can be dated by two separate periods of deliberate destruction, which can be determined from the archaeological evidence and literary evidence; one was in 214 BC, and the other was in 211 BC. Buttrey and Erim first analysed the materials found with coins other than *denarii* to determine the date of destruction and then they could use that date to date the *denarii*. First, they started with the House of Ganymede where there was a *didrachm* of Heironymus (215-14 BC) and a heavy gold ring on the floor under the burnt layer and fallen roof tiles. The silver coin, the *didrachm*, was in almost uncirculated condition, which indicated that it was relatively new at the time it was deposited in the stratum; therefore, it was able to date the stratum to around its production date.¹³⁸ The fact that these materials were openly abandoned on the floor layer indicates that there was a rapid evacuation of the house. In addition to this evidence, they also used archaeological contexts from the sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore to further establish the dates of destruction, and therefore, the date of the *denarius*. Both sanctuaries had clear evidence of destruction, which included trampled vases. The material which was found under the fallen roof tiles dated to the late third century BC. Included in the broken materials, were vases and figurines which were trampled into pieces, some of which were pieced together from fragments scattered through several rooms. Specifically, the material under the roof tiles included fragments of Gnathia ware, Centuripae ware, terracotta votive figures, terracotta Kore busts and medicine bottles, which were all dated to the third century.¹³⁹ Also with the broken materials, there were

¹³⁸ Buttrey and Erim, 2019, pg 215.

¹³⁹ Buttrey and Erim, 2019, pg 215.

multiple coins found in three separate rooms of the south sanctuary. In the south room there were two pieces, both of Hieron II who died in 215 BC. In the rear room there were one Roman coin and four Syracusan coins dating down to Hieron II. In all three rooms there were 26 non-Roman coins and none of them date later than the third century BC. The numismatic evidence found was consistent within itself and with the ceramic, terracotta and architecture which agree that this site was purposely destroyed in 214 or 211 BC.¹⁴⁰

In order to determine the date of the Roman *denarius*, they compared other coins and archaeological materials that were found in the same context. In the sanctuary room proper, 2 Roman coins were found on the floor, one a post *semi-libral uncia*, which is third century, and another silver *sestertius*. Along with these coins, there was a small medicine bottle which contained nine silver coins; 4 anonymous *victoriati*, one anonymous *denarius*, 3 anonymous *quinarii* and one anonymous *sestertius*¹⁴¹. Buttrey and Erim concluded that these must represent the earliest silver of the *denarius* system because of the dates of the other coins and because these coins must have been deposited before the sanctuary was destroyed, and the whole context of the destruction is late-third-century BC.¹⁴²

Another example they analysed is a private house that was also destroyed by a fire toward the end of the third century. Here, there were coin deposits that were important; one deposit was found at the bottom of the cistern from the fill of which were taken two Greek bronzes, one was Siculo-Punic, and one was Hieron II, both are third century. There were 37 coins found at the bottom of the cistern which were all Roman, one was gold and the

¹⁴⁰ Buttrey and Erim, 2019, pg 216.

¹⁴¹ Buttrey and Erim, 2019, pg 216.

¹⁴² Buttrey and Erim, 2019, pg 216.

rest were silver and several pieces of Hellenistic jewelry.¹⁴³ The silver coin is the Mars/eagle series, a twenty piece with the grain ear symbol, another coin which was previously thought to date to 187 BC. Most of the coins were found on the floor, but one *quinarius* was found within a pitcher, which suggests that it was let down deliberately. In the fill is a mass of broken pottery which dates no later to the third century and two Greek bronzes of the third century.¹⁴⁴ In a building south of the agora, a large group of random coins were found sealed under fallen roof tiles. There was one Roman *semi-libral uncia*, 74 Greek bronzes, none of them later than third century and one Roman silver *sestertius*.¹⁴⁵

In conclusion, Buttrey and Erim stated that looking at the site as a whole, all of the evidence found in sealed strata or in definable strata are consistent with each other. Three separate buildings in which the earliest *denarii* or silver coins were found in a destruction layer show evidence all dating to the late third century; therefore, the *denarius* must have been in existence by 211 BC. However, although this does not prove an exact date when it was first minted, the sealed deposits together with the new condition of the coins suggested they were not very old at that time.¹⁴⁶

Pompeii

In the second archaeology example, Ellis used a methodology with the excavations at Pompeii to determine what coins revealed about the urban economy in his article “Re-

¹⁴³ Buttrey and Erim, 2019, pg 217.

¹⁴⁴ Buttrey and Erim, 2019, pg 217.

¹⁴⁵ Buttrey and Erim, 2019, pg 217.

¹⁴⁶ Buttrey and Erim, 2019, pg 218.

evaluating Pompeii's Coin Finds, Monetary Transactions and Urban Waste in the Retail Economy of an Ancient City".¹⁴⁷ He specifically looked at how the coins and the other materials that were found within a context could tell us about what the context is and how it was formed.

In his study on Pompeii, Ellis looked at the two important components of the urban economy, the shops and the coins found in them. His central aim was to re-evaluate the common approach to coin finds, which was that the higher density of coins in an area equals commercial activity; and in addition, to demonstrate that from a large dataset of coins different conclusions could be drawn. He surveyed the excavations of the retail landscape around the Porta Stabia in Pompeii.¹⁴⁸ Additionally, he looked to “report on the extent to which coin contexts can inform us of the creation and operation over time of retail spaces, and how any patterns in coin distribution, spatially across the two *insulae*, as well as chronologically over time, can lead us towards new information about the economic history of the city”.¹⁴⁹ The evidence he used for his study came from city block VIII 7 and I 1; the first number is the region and the second number is the *insulae* or block within that region. Near the Porta Stabia there were 41 trenches that covered a neighbourhood of 2 *insulae* with 10 separate building plots, which contained at least 17 or more shopfronts making it the greatest number of excavated shops at Pompeii.¹⁵⁰ From this area there were a total of 1,039 coins found, which were all single coin finds, low denominations and no hoards.

¹⁴⁷ Ellis, Steven J.R. “Re-evaluating Pompeii's Coin Finds, Monetary Transactions and Urban Waste in the Retail Economy of an Ancient City”. In Mike Flohr and Andrew Wilson, eds., *The Economy of Pompeii*. Oxford Scholarship Online, 2016.

¹⁴⁸ Ellis, 2016, pg 5.

¹⁴⁹ Ellis, 2016, pg 5.

¹⁵⁰ Ellis, 2016, pg 5.

First, he looked at the spatial patterns in the distributions of the coins at VIII 7 and I 1. It was apparent that from the number of coins found in the trenches that most of the coins were recovered along the street front, which mostly represented shops. In total, 701 coins were recovered from street front trenches, which was seventy percent of the total assemblage. Twice as many coins were found from within shop fronts than in the rooms further to the rear of each property. From these results, the assumption could be made that more coins equal more activity in the room they were found; however, this was not the case when the contexts the coins were found in were examined.¹⁵¹ Specifically, he looked at how the coins got into the context and if the contexts had to do with the primary ‘occupation/use phase’ activity when the coins were initially lost. Ellis stated that archaeologists typically do not find the coins laying on top of a floor, but that they are most commonly recovered from within construction fills; therefore, it is important to determine how they ended up in the construction fill.¹⁵² He broke down the contexts into two groups; “those that were deposited as part of the construction/ creation of the space or room or building (the terracing and levelling fills, subfloors and floors, and fixtures, etc.) and those that were a product of the use or occupation of that space (the fills from waste pits and drains, or from intact votive deposits, etc.)”.¹⁵³ The latter group can be referred to as primary contexts and the former as secondary or tertiary. On stratified and multi-phased urban sites like Pompeii construction fills form the vast majority of excavated contexts. Ellis stated that the sub-AD 79 floor surfaces survived; however, only on rare occasions

¹⁵¹ Ellis, 2016, pg 7.

¹⁵² Ellis, 2016, pg 12.

¹⁵³ Ellis, 2016, pg 13.

were artifacts recovered from the surface that was associated with its use because later construction layers destroy those assemblages.¹⁵⁴ No less than 93% of the contexts with artifacts were deposited as construction layers. Of the 970 coins from sub-AD 79 contexts, 897 or 92% recovered from the excavations were found within the floor, not found on the floor or trodden into the floor, and only 73 coins were found from occupational or use contexts.¹⁵⁵ The artifacts from the construction contexts were important for understanding waste management and the sorting, storage and the use of those materials in construction.¹⁵⁶ Ellis then stated how coins and the other materials ended up in the construction sites and how that information affects the understanding of coin finds and the development of those contexts. Dropped coins were most likely swept up into the local refuse piles unnoticed and then incorporated into more civic refuse deposits elsewhere; these larger piles of waste were then mined for construction materials.¹⁵⁷

Ellis looked at the other materials with the coins to determine how the context was made. Many of the construction fills in VIII 7 and I 1 were generally made up of fewer types of artifacts from primary contexts or occupational contexts, which suggested that they were from a more organized and sorted waste pile that was intended to be re-used for construction fill. In addition, these artifacts and the coins had significant signs of wear, and traces of mortar on broken edges and surfaces; further indicating that these coins were most likely from an imported rubbish pile. The mortar also indicated that the coins could have

¹⁵⁴ Ellis, 2016, pg 13.

¹⁵⁵ Ellis, 2016, pg 14.

¹⁵⁶ Ellis, 2016, pg 15.

¹⁵⁷ Ellis, 2016, pg 16.

already been incorporated in the construction of previous walls and other architectures.¹⁵⁸ He also described the coins as “afterlife” coins because they are “dead” coins, or no longer in use, but they are still moving as an object within a tertiary or quaternary context as reuse or construction debris.¹⁵⁹

Next, he looked at the chronological patterns in the distribution of coins at VIII 7 and I 1. There is uncertainty with the time a coin takes to become lost, become entrapped in reuse and used as construction fill; therefore, attempting to date the context the coin was entrapped in is better to focus on than the date of the coin. No less than 435 coins appeared in the Augustan era. There was a spike in coins in the Augustan period and increased construction activity during that time; many street-side productions were replaced with retail outlets. He also stated that “the clearest indication that these coins represent increased construction activity at this time, rather than the argument that there were more coins because there were more shops, is the fact that the same increased densities of coins in Augustan-period construction fills are not even remotely matched in the following periods of securely known retail activities”.¹⁶⁰

In conclusion, the abundance of coins under shop fronts was due to construction activities in the Augustan period more than to the loss of coins in those specific locations. From the archaeological evidence, it was clear that there was an intensification of monetary exchange leading up to and during the Augustan period as well as an increase in construction of more retail spaces at that time. Along the street front there were the most

¹⁵⁸ Ellis, 2016, pg 16.

¹⁵⁹ Ellis, 2016, pg 17.

¹⁶⁰ Ellis, 2016, pgs 19-20.

urban changes over time; therefore, because of the many construction fills there were the most artifacts discovered.¹⁶¹

Interpretations of Different Contexts

After analysing the two archaeology examples it is clear that both are looking at different contexts, and therefore, both use different methodologies to interpret the coins. In the Morgantina case study, Buttrey and Erim were examining coins that were found in the occupational contexts, which are the contexts that were used by the occupants. They looked at coins and other materials found on top of the floor, on top of the floor with materials overtop of them and inside of vessels and a cistern. Because the site was destroyed in 211 and 214 BC, coins and other materials such as terracotta were left on top of the floor and were then preserved under the destruction layer; thus, these coins were found in the occupational or primary context, which allowed Buttrey and Erim to determine that anything found with the *denarii* could be dated and linked directly with their date of issue and use. From their analysis of the contexts and materials, they were able to determine the earliest date of the *denarii* and possibly when they were first produced, which was around 211 to 214 BC.

On the other hand, Ellis in Pompeii was working with a completely different context, the construction layer; therefore, he came up with a different interpretation of the coins and his conclusions looked at a bigger picture, both the commercial activity, construction, the

¹⁶¹ Ellis, 2016, pgs 20-21.

creation of a context and the depositional process of a coin into a context. Because the coins Ellis were looking at were found in construction layers/contexts, he labelled them as secondary or tertiary objects. Thus, to fully understand why they ended up in those contexts he had to determine how they got there. Due to the evidence of wear on the coins and other materials and the presence of mortar on the materials, he concluded that they must have come from piles of waste/materials collected for reuse in construction. In addition, the presence of mortar also suggested that some objects and the coins could have been used in previous constructions, broken down, put in a reuse pile and then used again for a new construction. He determined this movement of the coins was the coin's "afterlife" because they were still being used as objects but no longer with their intended purpose in transactions. After he determined that they were recovered from construction contexts and what the depositional process was, he was able to conclude that there was an increased use of coins in the years prior to the construction boom, which was during the reign of Augustus. Therefore, from the context of the coins he confirmed there was an economic boom and a construction boom during that time in Pompeii.

Villa of Titus Archaeological Analysis

In this section, the stratum that the coins were found in at the Villa of Titus will be analysed. This stratum consists of a very diverse and interesting collection of materials and objects. The goal of this section is to determine how and why these materials ended up in

the same stratum. There will be a detailed analysis of the stratum the coins were found in and both methodologies that were used in the Morgantina and Pompeii examples will be used to determine the depositional process and the interpretations of the stratum.

First, a brief description of the stratum (Figure 3.1). The stratum itself is labelled Stratigraphic Unit 1170 and is a stratum on the ground that is abutted by walls on the north, east and west sides and another tile and rock stratum on the south side. Beneath SU 1170 is bedrock which is relatively level but not smooth. SU 1170 is directly on top of the bedrock, which is hard stone, there is no stratum that separates them. SU 1170 itself is mostly composed of a dense layer of tegulae and imbrices and has pottery and other materials intermixed with the roof tiles (Figure 3.2). Between the materials there is hard packed dirt and it is relatively level. (Figure 3.3). SU 1170 takes up the back half of room 5 running 210 cm north-south by 250 cm east-west. There is no stratum on top of it and what was there is unknown because previous excavations from over a decade ago left no records of their findings. The stratum that abuts it on the south side, SU 1171, is composed of rock, plaster and tile. It also has deposits of roof tiles and pottery, but not to the extent of SU 1170.

Materials of SU 1170

This is the list of all of the materials found within SU 1170, which can be divided into two broad categories: “pottery” and “other”, since there is such a mix of different types of objects.

“other” Materials	Number or Weight
Tegulae	318 kg
Imbrices	56 kg
Ceramic Pipe Fragment	1 piece
Plaster	1.7 kg
Herringbone Floor Tiles	8 (complete, 10.5x6x3 cm)
Large Bricks	2 (complete, 20.5x20.5x3 cm)
<i>Aes</i> Coins	3
Iron Nails	3
Bronze Nails	1
Glass (vessels)	2 pieces (1x1 cm)
Lead	1 piece (1x3 cm)
Pearl	1
Tesserae	7 (1x1x1x1 cm)
Beads	1
Bones	8 fragments

Pottery	Number of Sherds
Red Slip Cup	6
Red Slip Cup	1
Red Slip Plate or Platter	2
Red slip (undiagnostic)	4
Thin Wall	40
Plain Ware	95
Cookware	12
Lamp Fragment	9
African Amphorae	13
Gallic Amphorae	4
Flat Bottom Amphorae (Dressel 2/4)	46
Amphorae (Dressel 21/22)	1
South Spanish Amphorae	15

Condition and Wear of the Materials

First, the condition and wear of the materials, specifically the pottery, ceramics and coins, needs to be discussed in order to help determine the depositional process and where this material came from. The tegulae and imbrices, which are large roof tiles, comprise the majority of the stratum. They are all broken in relatively large pieces and the broken edges are sharp with minimal rounding on them, which indicates that the roof tiles were either broken shortly before they were deposited, or they broke while they were put in the stratum. If the broken edges were very rounded and blunt that would indicate that the materials had already been moved around for a long time before they were deposited. The other construction materials, the bricks and herringbone tiles, are fully intact and have minimal signs of wear on them. The fine ware pottery also has relatively sharp broken edges, indicating that they were not moved around a lot after they were broken, or they broke once they were deposited into the stratum. In addition, there were two fine wares: a hemispherical cup with short vertical rim, and a plate or platter with smooth or finely molded vertical rim, that all had multiple sherds that were found together, and therefore, able to be identified as these fine wares. This is important because it also confirms that these sherds were not moved and disturbed a lot before they were deposited into the stratum. If they were moved around a lot before, sherds from the same vessel would most likely not be found together.¹⁶² The three coins in the stratum also show whether they have wear on

¹⁶² For more information on pottery in the archaeological context see Orton, Clive, and Michael Hughes. *Pottery in Archaeology*. 2nd ed. Cambridge Manuals in Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

them (Figure 3.4). All three of them still have clear and sharp images and inscriptions on them, which indicates that they have little to no wear on them and that they were not used for a long time, nor moved around a lot before they were deposited.

Dating the Stratum

The dates of the pottery and the coins can also give a date range of when the stratum was constructed, which then allows the stratum to be placed within the occupational sequence of the villa. Some of the pottery that was recovered from the stratum was able to be identified and dated by Melissa Choloniuk. The first pottery sherds were identified as a hemispherical cup with a short vertical rim and pronounced flange on the wall, it is very common and dates to the late Tiberian period (AD 14-37) up to the Flavian period (AD 69-96) (Figure 3.5). The second pottery sherd can be identified as a hemispherical cup with a variously articulated rim, it dates from use in the middle of the 1st century AD to sparse use until the end of the 1st century AD. The third pottery sherds can be identified as the base of a platter from the Tiberian to Flavian period or a plate or platter with smooth or finely molded vertical rim, which dates from the late Tiberian or early Claudian period (Figure 3.6). Therefore, since all of the diagnostic pottery dates to the first century AD, particularly the middle of the first century AD, the stratum can be placed in the Roman period of occupation.

How do the coins in the stratum compare to the pottery? There were three coins found in SU 1170, all of them are low denominations/*aes* coins; two are bronze *asses* and one is

a copper *quadrans*. They were minted in AD 50-54, AD 41-50 and AD 41. Since, they had little to no wear on them, they would have been deposited shortly after they were struck in the mid-1st century. Thus, they were struck in the same time period that the pottery was produced.

Therefore, if the dates of the pottery and the dates of the coins are taken together, the date of the stratum can be determined. Both the dates of the pottery and the coins are in the middle 1st century and since the earliest struck coin was in AD 41, it cannot be dated earlier than AD 41; thus, this is certainly the date range when the stratum was constructed, which places it in the Roman occupational period.

Depositional Process

The function of SU 1170 is clearly a subfloor due to the bedrock below it and the assemblage of materials.¹⁶³ Therefore, how did all of these materials end up mixed together in this layer? SU 1170 could not have been created as a natural process overtime; thus, it must have been constructed by people due to the assemblage of materials that make up the stratum. The stratum directly beneath SU 1170, which is SU 1190, is bedrock; so, there is nothing anthropogenic beneath it. This also supports that it is a subfloor because it is clearly the foundation for a floor. The bedrock itself seems to have been worked in order to get it somewhat level; however, there are no visible tool marks, perhaps because it is friable

¹⁶³ For more information on Roman construction techniques see Taylor, Rabun. *Roman Builders, a Study in Architectural Process*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

stone.¹⁶⁴ The materials and objects themselves tell a lot about how this context was formed. All of the ceramics including the fine ware pottery and the amphorae are all broken and in many sherds. Out of all the pottery there are no complete or unbroken vessels; there are some sherds that clearly come from the same piece and there are sherds that seem to be the same type but are not able to be identified as belonging to the same vessel. The sherds that come from the same vessels include a hemispherical cup with short vertical rim, and a plate or platter with smooth or finely molded vertical rim. These are all fine wares with thin walls, red slip and intricate designs. Other sherds of pottery that were found in the stratum include plain ware pottery, which is thin walled, no slip and less decorated than the fine ware. There was also cookware which is distinguished by the charring and burning visible on its surface. All of these types of pottery were used in the domestic setting to prepare food, to use for eating and drinking and other domestic activities. The other kinds of pottery that were found in the stratum were different kinds of amphorae (Figures 3.7 and 3.8). Amphorae were large storage vessels with two handles used to transport and store wine, olive oil, grain and other foods and liquids; all of them were found as sherds which could have been from the same vessel or different vessels. Amphorae could have also been used in a domestic setting. The other materials in the stratum that could be found in a domestic setting were the coins, which were all low denomination. There were two shards of glass, one orange in colour and one blue in colour, both of them are thin and small (around 1x1cm), they were most likely from glass vessels opposed to from windows (Figure 3.9). There was a bead, which was circular and flat around 1x1 cm and black in colour. There was also a pearl, white in

¹⁶⁴ SU 1190 form indicates there are no visible tool marks.

colour and spherical. There was also a bronze hobnail, around 1 by 1cm around. And 8 bone fragments, which are all around 1 to 10 cm in length and they are neither fowl nor fish bone; thus, they are most likely a small animal such as a pig or goat.

The other materials that were found in the stratum are all construction materials. These included the tegulae and imbrices which make up the majority of the layer; both are large ceramic tiles that are used to make up the roof top of Roman buildings. The tegula is larger and flat with two raised edges on the sides with a notch that allows them to be overlapped. The imbrex is smaller and curved so it can be placed over top of the crevice between the joined tegulae. In the stratum there was 318 kg of tegulae and 56 kg of imbrices deposited. There were also 8 herringbone floor tiles which are thinner bricks (10.5x6x3 cm) that fit together diagonally to create an intricate flooring pattern (Figure 3.10). There were 2 complete large bricks (20.5x20.5x3 cm) that would be used to make walls and other features. There was a piece of pipe that looks to be some type of fired material around 30 by 15 cm. There were 3 iron nails, one is almost complete with the sharp end missing and around 2 by 6 cm, another is smaller around 1 by 3 cm and the third is just the sharp end of the nail around 0.5 by 2 cm. There was a small amount of plaster that could have been from a ceiling or wall. There was a piece of lead which is 1 by 3 cm and is irregular in shape, probably broken off of something larger or used for soldering. There were also 7 tesserae which are white in colour and a cube shape 1x1x1 cm in size. There is a mosaic in the adjacent room to the east, and when the 7 tesserae are compared to this mosaic, they are the same tesserae used, both in size and colour (Figure 3.11).

When SU 1170 is compared to the two archaeological examples it is evident that the depositional process and the function of the stratum, a construction layer, is similar to Ellis' Pompeii case study and the assemblage of materials of SU 1170 is similar to the materials of Erim's and Buttrey's Morgantina case study; however, the materials are completely different than the Pompeii study and the context is completely different than the Morgantina case study. Therefore, the context can be compared to Pompeii and the material assemblage can be compared to Morgantina. Comparing these sites and their methodologies will help determine the depositional process of SU 1170. In Ellis' study he determined that the objects in the construction layer were secondary and tertiary materials because they were collected from a waste pile, and therefore, no longer used for their original purpose, which is the same as the materials found in SU1170. In regard to the coins, they are also similar to the ones found in SU1170. They are all single finds and low denominations; hence, as according to Ellis, they are more likely to be dropped, forgotten about and swept up into a waste pile.¹⁶⁵ However, there are some major differences to the Villa of Titus site. Pompeii is a large urban site, and thus, the waste was first collected into a local waste pile and then moved to a larger facility outside of the city and sorted there. Whereas, the villa is located in a rural setting with very few other buildings around; therefore, the waste is only from the vicinity of the villa. The materials also have major differences. Both the coins and the other materials from Pompeii had a lot of wear and some had mortar on them, which indicates that they were moved around a lot and could even have come from previous

¹⁶⁵ Ellis, 2016, pg 16.

constructions, broken down and used for another construction.¹⁶⁶ The materials from SU 1170 had very little wear on them and many pottery sherds belonged to the same vessel which meant they were probably not moved around or disturbed a lot before they were deposited into the subfloor. The majority of the Pompeii coins were also from a larger date range, the Augustan era, opposed to the villa coins which were from a smaller date range AD 41-54.

Next, looking at Erim's and Buttrey's case study in Morgantina, there are also many similarities to SU 1170. The context of the two sites are very different, Morgantina is an occupational layer and SU 1170 is a construction layer; however, it is the assemblages that are very similar. Because Morgantina was preserved due to destruction, the assemblages, which are the groups of materials found together, are all from similar time periods. The pottery and the coins found at Morgantina all date to around the same time period, and therefore, they are able to date when the destruction took place. Similarly, SU 1170 had both pottery and coins that were dated to the same time period and were thus able to determine when the subfloor was constructed. The condition of the materials from Morgantina was also very similar to SU 1170. Erim and Buttrey stated that the pottery was trampled on and scattered because of the destruction, which meant that they were recently broken before or during the destruction, which is similar to SU 1170 because it was also recently broken before it was deposited.¹⁶⁷ The coins from Morgantina also had little to no wear on them, which indicated that they were freshly minted and were moved around for a

¹⁶⁶ Ellis, 2016, pg 16.

¹⁶⁷ Buttrey and Erim, 2019, pg 215.

very short time before they were abandoned.¹⁶⁸ The coins in SU 1170 also had little to no wear on them indicating that they were not circulating very long before they were deposited.

Interpretation of SU 1170

So, how did all of these very diverse materials and objects come together to create this stratum? The most likely explanation is that all of these materials came from a deposit in the vicinity of the villa. This deposit was probably a waste pile where all of these materials were collected; therefore, this deposit would have been comprised of both domestic materials and construction materials. The low denomination coins and the construction materials rule out a waste pile directly made from the villa itself because the owners of the villa would most likely not be using low denomination coins nor would construction materials be collected from the everyday activities of the villa. The location of the villa can also account for where the waste pile was collected from. The villa is located in a rural location, not in a crowded urban city, on the side of a hill that overlooks a lake. The isolated location most likely indicates that the villa would have been on its own; however, there must have been other buildings on and around the property of the villa. These other buildings in the vicinity were probably workshops and small buildings where the construction materials were stored and where the workers who did the construction lived. There probably would have to be workshops for materials near the villa because it is located high up on a steep hill; therefore, workers and materials constantly going up and down the

¹⁶⁸ Buttrey and Erim, 2019, pg 215.

hill would be a waste of time and energy. If there were workshops there for constructing/renovating the villa and other projects in the vicinity, that means there would also have been workers and if there were workers, there would need to have been domestic buildings for them to live in. The activities of the workers, whether they were slaves or not, could account for the pottery and coins found in SU 1170. Firstly, the food and drink for the workers, which could have included grain, olive oil, wine and milk, would have had to be transported or stored there in amphorae. Then, the workers would have eaten and drank the food and liquids using the fine ware cups and plates. The animal bones also indicate that there would have been animals kept or sent there for them to eat or use for other agricultural activities. The cookware also indicates that some of this pottery was used to cook food because of the charring on them. Thus, both the amphorae and pottery could have been discarded into a waste pile after they were broken during use or no longer needed for use. The coins were most likely brought in from the workers and used for transactions between themselves or other people coming to the villa for transactions; and because the coins are low denominations they were probably dropped, lost and swept up into the waste pile where the pottery was discarded. The other small objects such as the pearl, bead and glass shards also indicate that the workers living there probably had a permanent residence where they would be in possession of such objects and dropping and losing them.

The wear of the pottery and coins can determine how they were moved around before they were deposited into SU 1170. The pottery, as mentioned before in the “condition and wear” section, still has relatively sharp edges and many sherds from the same vessels were found together. This indicates that the pottery was not moved around or disturbed a lot

between the time they were deposited in the waste pile and moved into SU 1170. Therefore, the pottery was probably discarded into the waste pile and directly moved from there into the subfloor, not moved into different waste piles or sorted through or used as tertiary materials moved from other constructions. Also, the fact that these are fine ware and other pottery suggests that they were not deliberately broken or taken for the use of subfloor fill, the pottery just happened to be in a waste pile that was used for fill. The coins are very similar to the pottery, they have very little to no wear and were probably deposited into the waste pile and directly moved from there into the subfloor.

The very specific dates of the pottery and coins also make this assemblage of materials very interesting and can give further ideas of why they ended up deposited together. As was mentioned before in the “dating” section, both the pottery and the coins date to the mid- 1st century AD. This means that both the pottery and the coins were deposited into the waste pile probably around the same time and then soon after deposited into the subfloor. Because all of the coins and datable pottery are from the same time period, that means no coins or pottery from another time period were also deposited into the waste pile or subfloor, which gives a very small window to when the waste pile was accumulated and when the subfloor was constructed. The three coins give additional specificity because they are all from the same emperor, Claudius, the same time period, between AD 41-54, and have very little to no wear, meaning they were deposited into the stratum recently after they were minted. The time they were used for transactions was then a short time period; therefore, there would have to have been some activities that caused the coins in this short time to be dropped, lost and deposited into the stratum. Ellis calls this movement of the coins their

‘afterlife’ because they were no longer being used for transactions, but they were still moving and were used as objects.¹⁶⁹ It can be said that their afterlife started sometime after they stopped being used for transactions after they were minted, AD 50-54, AD 41-50 and AD 41, until sometime around the mid- 1st century when they were deposited into the subfloor, if we look to the dates of the pottery found with them.

The workers can account for the pottery, coins and other small materials, so how did the construction materials also end up with those materials in the subfloor? There must have been a warehouse or workshop where these construction materials were stored in the vicinity of the villa. All of these materials were probably used to construct or renovate the villa; the 7 tesserae connect these construction materials directly to the villa because they were the same tesserae used in the mosaic in the adjacent room to SU 1170. The majority of the subfloor is made up of tegulae and imbrices, which means that a large amount of the waste pile would have been composed of these roof tiles. Similar to the pottery and coins, the roof tiles, brick and herringbone floor tiles all have little wear on them, which means they were probably from an ongoing construction project. They were probably left over or unused materials from construction projects that were happening at the same time the subfloor was constructed. Along with connecting the waste pile to the vicinity of the villa, the tesserae from the adjacent room suggest that the mosaic or even the entire adjacent room was being constructed at the same time as the subfloor; thus, the mosaic tiles were mixed in with other construction materials that were left over or waste from the

¹⁶⁹ Ellis, 2016, pg 17.

construction of that room, which would have been deposited in the same waste pile as the other domestic materials.

Conclusions

In conclusion, the domestic materials and the construction materials were deposited into a single waste pile in the vicinity of the villa and moved directly from there into the subfloor as fill. This interpretation accounts for fine ware and other pottery, coins and other small objects and construction materials including roof tile, brick and a pipe fragment to be deposited into the same stratum. The dates and wear of the pottery and coins also confirm that the materials for the subfloor would have had to be collected and then deposited in the mid-1st century AD where they were left sealed until their recent excavation. The materials in the subfloor can provide a snapshot of what was going on at the villa during that time. There were clearly workers, either slave or lower-class, who were working and living around the villa. The materials suggest that they were living a semi-comfortable life, since they were using fine ware and glass vessels and owned small objects such as pearls and beads and that they were importing in amphorae oil, grain, wine or milk to eat or drink. The coins also suggest that they were conducting transactions of some sort, perhaps buying goods, and were using enough coins that some could be dropped and forgotten about. In addition to how they lived, the construction materials suggest that they were working on either the construction of the villa or some major renovations to the villa in the mid-1st

century, no earlier than AD 41, during the same time they deposited the domestic materials in the waste pile.

Conclusions

The analysis of the Villa of Titus coins and the stratum they were found in was able to produce some conclusions and observations about the material. First, to start with the coins themselves. Iconographic and epigraphic analyses of the three coins determined that the *quadrans* was struck between the 25th January AD 41 to 3rd December AD 41 and the iconography on it is a hand holding a pair of scales with the letters P(ondus) N(ummi) R(estitutum), which translated means “restoring the weight of money”. The first *as* was struck between AD 41-50 and has CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI SC inscribed, which translated means “To the Constantia (steadiness, perseverance) of Augustus” with Constantia in military dress. The second *as* was struck between AD 50-54 and has LIBERTAS AVGVSTA SC inscribed, which translated means “Augustan Freedom” with Libertas holding a pileus in her hand. Further, the analysis of the iconography of Claudius’ coinage determined what themes the villa coins fit into. Since the *quadrans* had to do with restoring the weight of money and it was produced along with the other *quadrans*, which had to do with grain distribution, this theme was concerning the well-being or appeasing of the masses. The Constantia *as* fits into the more generic military theme, and the Libertas *as* fits into the theme of a prosperous reign. The analysis of the historical context of Claudius’ reign also allowed for the historical events that could have influenced the type choice to be determined. The *quadrans* can be attributed to the temporary rectification of the weight standard of the gold and silver coins which had fallen under Gaius. The Libertas

as can be attributed to the decree that Claudius made in the beginning of his reign to keep Rome an imperial empire and the Constantia *as* can be attributed to the victory over Britain.

The synopsis of Claudius' coinage also led to some conclusions on the patterns found throughout his type choices. It became evident that the themes on the precious metal coins and the *aes* coins differed greatly. The *aes* coinage had images that had more broad and generic themes on them including Ceres and Spes, which would have appealed more to the masses; whereas, the precious metal coins referenced more specific events and people such as the praetorians and the victory over Britain. Therefore, it seems plausible to suggest that the images on the coins were chosen to appeal more to the audiences receiving them. The Constantia type further shows this, since it was one of the only types that was used in both precious metal and *aes* coinage and the image between the metals differed. Thus, the two separate images on the Constantia type suggest that different themes were purposely put on the *aes* versus the precious metal, which further suggests that Claudius' coinage could have been targeting different audiences.

The archaeological analysis of the stratum in which the coins were found unveiled some intriguing and new conclusions. After the analysis of the stratum, the function of it was determined as a subfloor, the depositional process was determined and what activities were happening at the villa in order to create this stratum were determined. Once the materials within the stratum were looked at in detail, it was clear that this stratum was something that was different from both of the other archaeological case studies. Within SU 1170 there was a mix of mostly construction materials and domestic materials, which alone was something that was not similar to either archaeology case studies. In the Pompeii case

study, the strata that were interpreted were construction layers, which were the same as SU 1170; however, the materials in the strata all had heavy wear on them, including the coins, and were secondary and tertiary materials, probably from previous construction projects. Whereas, the materials in SU 1170 had little to no wear on them, whether they were construction materials or not. Thus, the methodology used to determine how the subfloor was made was similar to Pompeii, however, this could not account to why the materials had little wear and why there were also domestic materials deposited. In the Morgantina case study, the condition of the materials, the fact that they were domestic materials and the fact that the materials were very close in date was similar to SU 1170; however, these materials were from an occupation layer and were preserved on the floor level because of the destruction to the city. Whereas, the materials in SU 1170 were clearly found in a construction layer. Therefore, neither examples were completely similar to the villa stratum, and thus, a different interpretation had to be made.

The uniqueness of SU 1170 enabled an interpretation to be made on how the stratum was formed and what was happening during that time at the villa; thus, it allowed us to get a glimpse into the past at that exact time. The interpretation that was determined was that people, either lower-class workers or slaves were living in the vicinity of the villa and were most likely there to work on major renovations to the villa. The amount of construction materials, which was mostly roof tiles, and domestic materials indicated that there was a waste pile in the vicinity of the villa where extra or broken construction materials, along with waste from the domestic buildings were both deposited at the same time. The very little to no wear on both types of materials indicated that the materials must have been

moved directly from the waste pile into the stratum. In addition, very interestingly, since the coins and the pottery are all extremely close in date, and the newly minted coins were all of emperor Claudius, it is clear that those materials were deposited into the waste pile at almost the same time and moved shortly after into the stratum. Thus, this allows for the interpretation to be made that these materials can indicate what activities were happening at the villa by people during this time. It was determined that they were importing food and drink, what dishes they were using to eat, that they were working on renovating the villa and that they were conducting monetary transactions often enough that they were able to drop coins and forget about them. The dates of the coins and the pottery put these activities in a very small time frame, mid- 1st century no earlier than AD 41.

This interpretation also indicates more about the workings of a luxurious Roman villa, specifically, the Villa of Titus. It tells us that not only were there the owners and their workers or slaves working and living in the villa, but there were other workers living in buildings in very close proximity to the villa, most likely apart of the same property, who also worked on the villa. It gives us archaeological evidence as to how complex and immense the workings of the Villa of Titus property were during the mid-first century AD.

Images



Figure 1- View of Lake *Cutiliae* and the valley from the Villa of Titus



Figure 2: Villa of Titus

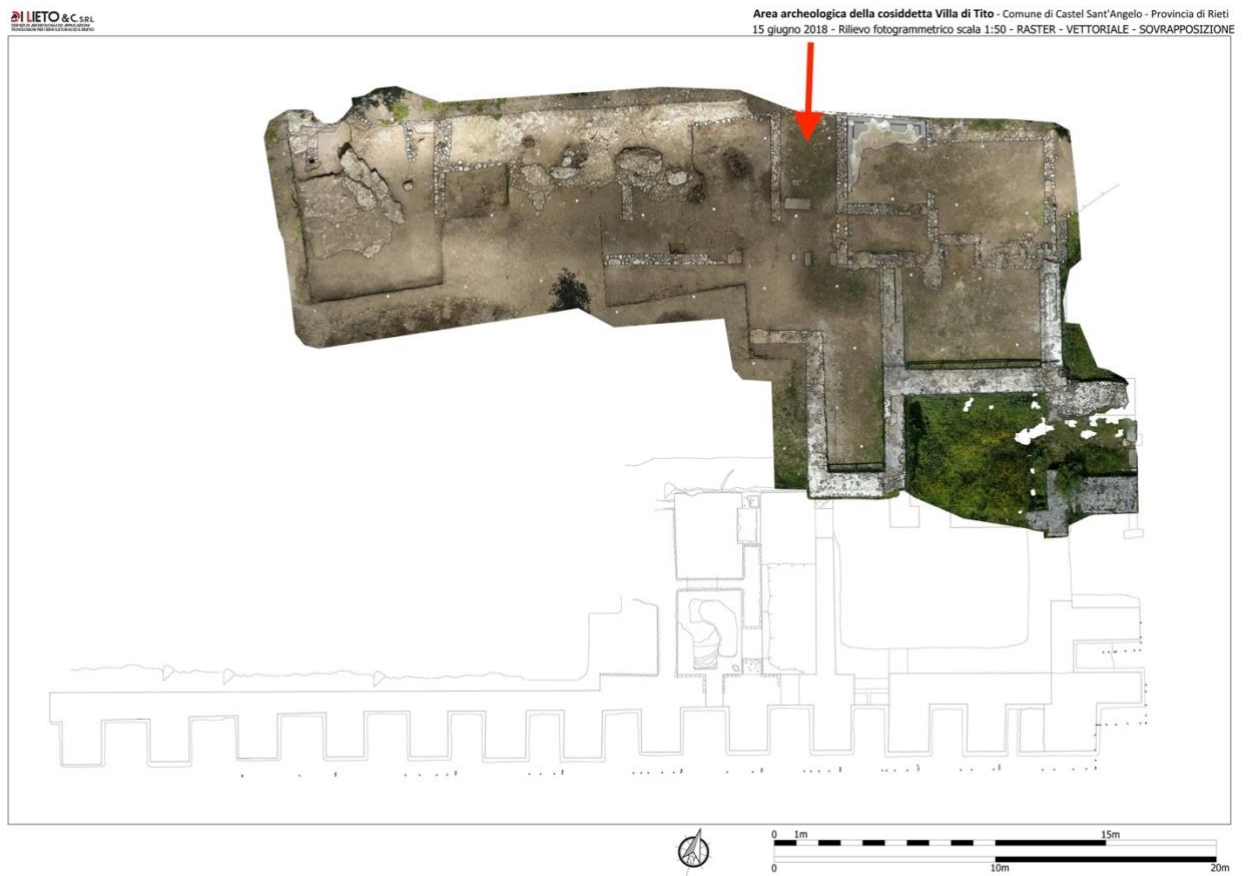


Figure 3: Map of the Villa of Titus with the room where the coins were found indicated.



Figure 1.1- Obverse: TI(berius) CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG(ustus) P(ontifex)

M(aximus) TR(ibunicia) P(otestate) IMP(erator)



Figure 1.2- Reverse with LIBERTAS AVGVSTA type.



Figure 1.3- Reverse type DE GERMANIS



Figure 2.1-

Obverse:
[TI CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG]

Reverse:
[PON M TRP IMP COS] DES II SC

Another example of the same *quadrans*.



Figure 2.2-

Obverse:

[TI] CL[AU]DIVS CA[ESAR] AV[G] PM TRP IMP]

Reverse:

CONSTANTIAE AV[G]VS[TI] SC

Another example of the same *as*.

Types	Jan. 25th 41- Dec. 3rd 41	41-42 TRP	41-42 GERM TRP	Jan. 1st 42- Jan. 4th 42	Jan. 5th 42- Dec. 31st 42	43-44 TRP III	44 TRP III	46-47 TRP VI IMP X	46-47 TRP VI IMP XI	49-50 TRP VIII IMP XVI	49-50 TRP VIII IMP XVIII	50-1 TRPX	50-51 TRP X IMP XVIII	51-52 TRP XI COS V	UN- DATED 41-50	UN- DATED 50-54 PP
PON M TRP IMP COS DES IT around SC*	B (quad.)															
PONT MAX TRPOT IMP around SC	B (quad.)															
PON M TRP IMP COS II around SC				B (quad.)												
PON M TRP IMP PP COS II around SC					B (quad.)											
CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI con. Seated on chair		G	G S						G S	G S			G S			
DE GERMANIS triumphal arch, eq statue, trophies		G S							G							
EX SC /OB CIVES/ SERVATOS		G S	G S												B	B
IMPER RECEPT battlement wall en. Prae. Camp		G S				G S	G S		G S							
PACI AVGVSTAE pax-nemesis, winged advancing		G S				G S	G S		G S	G S		G S	G S	G S		
PRAETOR RECEPT Claudius, togate clasping hands w/soldier		G S				G S	G									
VICTORIA AVGVSTI victory w/wreath			G													
VICTORIA AVGVSTI victory w/globe and shield			G													
DE BRITANN triumph. Arch, eq. st., trophies								G	G S	G S						
SPQR/PP/OB CS in oak wreath									G S	G S	G	G S	G S	G S		
CERES AVGVSTA SC ceres, seated w/corn e, torch															B	B
CONSTANTIAE AVGVSTI SC con. In military dress, w/spear															B	B
LIBERTAS AVGVSTA SC libertas holding pileus															B	B
NERO CLAUDIVS DRVSVS GERMAN IMP trium. Arch.															B	B
SPES AVGVSTA SC Spes advancing w/flower															B	B
SC minerva, w/javelin, shield															B	B
DIVA AVGVSTA livia seated w/corn, torch															B	

Figure 2.4-

Synopsis Chart

-Aureus= G Denarius=S Aes=B

-Highlighted are the Villa of Titus coins

*Obverse has a three-legged modius or a hand holding a pair of scales with PNR underneath



Figure 3.1- Image of SU 1170 with walls to the North, East and West.



Figure 3.2- Close up image of SU 1170.



Figure 3.3- Roof tiles and amphorae sherds intermixed together



Figure 3.4- *as in-situ*.



Figure 3.5- Hemispherical Cup



Figure 3.6- Plate or platter



Figure 3.7- Amphora (Dressel 2/4)



Figure 3.8- Amphora, roof tiles and *as* in-situ.



(Figure 3.8 continued) Second angle



Figure 3.9- Glass shards



Figure 3.10- Herringbone Brick



Figure 3.11- Tesserae from SU 1170 compared to the mosaic in the adjacent room.

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