

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LOST TEMPLE OF JANUS: NERONIAN *SESTERTII*, 64/65  
CE

M.A. Thesis – Melissa Choloniuk; McMaster University – Classics

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LOST TEMPLE OF JANUS: NERONIAN *SESTERTII*, 64/54  
CE

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### **Abstract**

The Temple of Janus was an important and symbolic temple in Rome. The doors served as an index for peace and war and were either opened or closed accordingly. The only contemporary depiction of the temple is the Neronian coins that were struck in 64/5 CE in both Rome and Lugdunum in celebration of Nero's defeat of the Parthians. This coin type is the only evidence that we have left of the Temple of Janus since the temple is lost and has no remains left. Therefore, it is necessary to analyze the depictions of the temple on these coins to discover the most reliable and accurate representation of the Temple of Janus since they are the only evidence left of its appearance. By discovering the exact order of striking and observing how the appearance of the temple changed over time in the earliest Neronian *sestertii*, I will attempt to uncover the most accurate depiction of the Temple of Janus. The architectural features present on the earliest dies, which will be discovered by means of a die study, will be further analyzed by un-manipulating its numismatic representation; this is because die engravers had certain working methods that they would use to manipulate the appearance in order to depict a large monument on such a small medium. I will then undo these changes made to the depiction of the temple in order to discover the true architectural features of the temple and therefore reconstruct the lost Temple of Janus and uncover its original appearance.

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## Introduction

The Temple of Janus is known for its twin-doors and its relationship with both peace and war. Theorized to have been established by Numa, the doors to the temple had an important and symbolic function. Whenever Rome was at war, the doors of the temple would be opened, and whenever Rome was at peace, the doors would then be shut. Augustus himself claimed to have closed the doors to the temple three times and then later in the Julio-Claudian period it was closed once more by Nero after his defeat of the Parthians.<sup>1</sup> To commemorate Nero's achievement, coins were struck in 64/5 CE with the image of the Temple of Janus bearing closed doors.<sup>2</sup> These Neronian coins are the only evidence that we have left of the Temple of Janus since the temple is lost and there are no other contemporary depictions of the temple. Therefore, it is important to analyze the appearance of the temple that survives in order to establish the most accurate and reliable representation of the temple. I will do this by first uncovering the master dies and then by analyzing how the appearance would have been further manipulated by the die engravers. This will reveal the true architectural features of the lost temple of Janus.

I will discover the master dies by conducting a die study. This study is possible since, throughout the production of a certain coin type, the dies would break or be worn out and subsequently be replaced with a new die. This can be achieved by analyzing both the obverse and reverse dies. This process led to the dies gradually becoming less accurate and less detailed as the coin continued to be struck since the new dies created would move further away from the more accurate and detailed dies created by the master die engravers. Having conducted a die

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<sup>1</sup> Livy, *History of Rome*, 1.19; Suetonius, *Augustus*, 22; Suetonius, *Nero*, 6.13.

<sup>2</sup> Syme, "Problems about Janus", 205.

analysis, Fred Kleiner observed that the dies created by the master die engravers, or the master dies, which are the first coins created, were more detailed than their latter counterparts. This theory is likely to hold true for coins of the Temple of Janus. Therefore, by conducting a die analysis, the most accurate representation of the temple on the Neronian coins will be uncovered.

The first chapter is dedicated to introducing the Temple of Janus. It delves into the various sources that mention and discuss the Temple of Janus, which spans as early as the second century BCE down until approximately the sixth century CE. Here it will be important to note how the temple is described by each source, what nouns or adjectives they use to describe the temple and its doors, and what details each source focuses on when they discuss the temple. Many sources clearly focus on Augustus' opening of the temple and its previous closures while others use the doors of the temple to invoke a certain image or scene in a narrative or description. Following the introduction to the temple, I will briefly touch on those who use these coins as evidence and their conclusions before finally introducing the coins by discussing how coins were produced, where they were produced, and how one is able to date a coin.

My second chapter will focus on a discussion of my die analysis. I will first start by briefly summarizing my methodology and then provide the guidelines that I followed whilst I conducted my die analysis. This was comprised of compiling various coins and subsequently analyzing their obverse and reverse dies. An explanation of how I grouped and labeled both the obverses and reverses will be provided before delving into what was further uncovered from my die analysis. The results of the die analysis will finally be discussed and the architectural features that emerged from the die analysis will be elaborated on.

My third chapter is a continuation of the analysis of the results of the die analysis. Even though the earliest dies or the master dies are the most accurate and detailed representation of the



building or monument that is attempting to be portrayed, further complications arise in interpreting the true appearance of the Temple of Janus. Die engravers would have a certain shorthand method that they would use when transposing a monument onto a coin. Therefore, many details and features would have incurred changes from how they would have originally appeared since the die engravers would modify their appearance in order for a monument to be accurately portrayed on a coin. This means that the appearance of the temple on the Neronian coins would have incurred certain modifications by the die engravers and therefore the image is different from the original appearance of the temple. I will attempt to un-modify the temple's portrayal and uncover its true appearance by discovering the working methods of the Neronian die engravers. I will do this by analyzing how the Ara Pacis was portrayed on the Neronian coins and deduce how the altar was modified. This will reveal what their standard practice for manipulating a larger image was in order to accurately reflect its appearance on a small coin. I will then take these findings and compare them to the Temple of Janus coins. This will allow me to see how the coins may or may not reflect the reality of the building and what the working methods of those die engravers were when they were creating coins bearing the Temple of Janus. Therefore, I will undo the modifications given to the appearance of the Temple of Janus on the Neronian coins and reveal what the architectural features and details of the original Temple of Janus would have been and establish its most likely appearance.

## Chapter 1: The Lost Temple of Janus

### The Temple

The Temple of Janus, which is also called Ianus Geminus, Ianus Quirinus, *sacellum* (shrine), *sacrarium* (sanctuary), and the twin-doored shrine, is an important Roman temple that served as an index for peace and war.<sup>3</sup> It was easily identifiable by its distinct double-doors that led to the temple being synonymous with important Roman victories. These doors and its traditional practice of being open and closed resulted in the temple being one of the most important and symbolic temples in Rome. Despite this, however, many ancient authors have contradictory views of who originally constructed the temple, when it was originally constructed, and for how long the temple lasted until.<sup>4</sup> Writing in the third to second century BCE, Ennius' *Annales* briefly hints at the Temple of Janus and the symbolic practice of closing its twin-doors: “*postquam Discordia taetra / Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit*,”; “after loathsome Discord broke open the ironbound posts and portals of War,”.<sup>5</sup> A similar phrase is later re-stated by Horace in his *Satires* when he seeks to recall Ennius' earlier passage: “*postquam Discordia taetra / Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit*”; “After which horrid discord smashed the thresholds and iron gates of war”.<sup>6</sup> Varro in his *De Lingua Latina* is one of the first sources to directly mention the Temple of Janus and its construction:

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<sup>3</sup> Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 110-111; Livy, *History of Rome*, 1.19; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 205; Taylor, “Watching the Skies”, 5; Quirinus appears to have been the older epithet for the temple of Janus.

<sup>4</sup> Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 205.

<sup>5</sup> Ennius, *Annales*, 225-226. Translated by Sander M. Goldberg.

<sup>6</sup> Horace, *Satires*, 1.4.60-62. Translated by Sidney Alexander; Curran, “Nature, Convention, and Obscenity in Horace, *Satires* 1.2.”, 244.

*“Tertia est Ianualis, dicta ab Iano, et ideo ibi positum Iani signum et ius institutum a Pompilio, ut scribit in Annalibus Piso, ut sit aperta semper, nisi cum bellum sit nusquam. Traditum est memoriae Pompilio rege fuisse opertam et post Tito Manlio consule bello Carthaginensi primo confecto, et eodem anno apertam.”*<sup>7</sup>

“The third gate is the Janual Gate, named from Janus, and therefore a statue of Janus was set up there, and the binding practice was instituted by Pompilius, as Piso writes in his Annals, that the gate should always be open except when there was no war anywhere. The story that has come down to us is that it was closed when Pompilius was king, and afterwards when Titus Manlius was consul, at the end of the first war with Carthage, and then opened again in the same year.”<sup>8</sup>

He also mentions that the practice of opening and closing the doors to the temple was established by the second king of Rome, Numa Pompilius.<sup>9</sup> This practice was as follows: when Rome was at peace, the doors to the temple would be shut, and if Rome was at war, the doors to the temple would be opened. In Varro’s account, it was Numa who founded the temple and its tradition. This makes Varro the first source to place Numa as the founder of the temple. Shortly afterwards, Horace also mentions the temple and the closing of its doors when he mentions how Augustus took back the standard from the Parthians and subsequently closed the doors to the temple:

*“Phoebus volentem proelia me loqui  
victas et urbis increpuit lyra,  
ne parva Tyrrhenum per aequor  
vela darem. tua, Caesar, aetas  
fruges et agris rettulit uberes,  
et signa nostro restituit Iovi  
derepta Parthorum superbis  
postibus et vacuum duellis  
Ianum Quirini clausit et ordinem  
rectum evaganti frena licentiate  
iniecit emovitque culpas  
et veteres revocavit artis,  
per quas Latinum nomen et Italiae  
crevere vires, famaue et imperi*

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<sup>7</sup> Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 5.165.

<sup>8</sup> Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 5.165. Translated by Roland G. Kent.

<sup>9</sup> Numa is the second king of Rome following Romulus; Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 279: The most believed tradition of the temple is that Numa dedicated and constructed the temple.

*porrecta maiestas ad ortus  
solis ab Hesperio cubili.*”<sup>10</sup>

“When I wanted to sing of battles and the conquest of cities, Phoebus banged on the lyre, to prevent me from setting sail in my tiny craft across the Etruscan Sea. Your age, Caesar, has brought back rich harvests to the fields, and restored to our Jove the standards torn down from the proud doorposts of the Parthian; it has closed the temple of Janus Quirinus, now empty of war; it has put a bridle on licence which was straying beyond the proper limits, removed sin, and revived the ancient arts by which the name of Latium, the power of Italy, and the prestige and majesty of the Empire were extended from the sun’s western bed to his rising.”<sup>11</sup>

While Varro alludes to the temple by calling it *Ianualis*, Horace now calls the temple by one of its most recognizable names, Janus Quirinus. Some have theorized what the etymology behind this epithet is, however *quirinus* still appears to have been the older epithet for the Temple of Janus.<sup>12</sup> Livy soon afterwards does not follow Horace in his use of the common epithet of the Temple of Janus and instead in his *History of Rome* he simply refers to the temple as *Ianum*:

*“Qui regno ita potitus urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat. Quibus cum inter bella adsuescere videret non posse, quippe efferari militia animos, mitigandum ferocem populum armorum desuetudine ratus, Ianum ad infimum Argiletum indicem pacis bellique fecit, apertus ut in armis esse civitatem, clausus pacatos circa omnes populos significaret. Bis deinde post Numae regnum clausus fuit, semel T. Manlio consule post Punicum primum perfectum bellum, iterum, quod nostrae aetati di dederunt ut videremus, post bellum Actiacum ab imperatore Caesare Augusto pace terra marique parta. Clauso eo cum omnium circa finitimorum societate ac foederibus iunxisset animos...”*<sup>13</sup>

“When he had thus obtained the kingship, he prepared to give the new City, founded by force of arms, a new foundation in law, statutes, and observances. And perceiving that men could not grow used to these things in the midst of wars, since their natures grew wild and savage through warfare, he thought it needful that his warlike people should be softened by the disuse of arms, and built the temple of Janus at the bottom of the Argiletum, as an index of peace and war, that when open it might signify that the nation was in arms, when closed that all the peoples round about were pacified. Twice since Numa’s reign has it been

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<sup>10</sup> Horace, *Odes*, 4.15.

<sup>11</sup> Horace, *Odes*, 4.15. Translated by Niall Rudd.

<sup>12</sup> Taylor, "Watching the Skies", 5; Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 110-111: Macrobius is an ancient source who has theorized behind the etymology of the epithets: “*Quirinum, quasi bellorum potentem ab hasta quam Sabini curin vocant*” Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.9.16.

<sup>13</sup> Livy, *History of Rome*, 1.19.

closed: once in the consulship of Titus Manlius, after the conclusion of the First Punic War; the second time, which the gods permitted our own generation to witness, was after the battle of Actium, when the emperor Caesar Augustus had brought about peace on land and sea. Numa closed the temple after first securing the good will of all the neighbouring tribes by alliances and treaties...”<sup>14</sup>

Livy also elaborates more on the founding of the temple by Numa and his reasoning behind its construction in comparison to Varro, who fails to recount this in his *De Lingua Latina*. Besides the closure of the temple by both Numa and Titus Manlius, Livy now adds the closure of the temple after the battle of Actium by Augustus in 31 BCE.<sup>15</sup> Yet, one of the most important details that Livy reveals in his discussion of the temple is its supposed location. Livy describes the supposed location of the temple as *ad infimum Argiletum* or “at the bottom of the Argiletum”.<sup>16</sup> The Argiletum was a street located between the Subura, which was a valley located between the Viminal and the Esquiline hill, and the Roman forum.<sup>17</sup> Most agree that the original location was somewhere near the Argiletum and was between the Forum Romanum and the Forum Iulium.<sup>18</sup> However, despite Livy giving the approximate location of the temple, it cannot be said with any certainty where the temple was located as there are no remains left of the temple and none have ever been uncovered; therefore, the Neronian coins are the only contemporary depiction that we have left of the temple.<sup>19</sup> Following the reveal of the temple’s supposed location, Livy further describes Augustus’ achievement and the corresponding closure of the

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<sup>14</sup> Livy, *History of Rome*, 1.19. Translated by B. O. Foster.

<sup>15</sup> There is no mention of Augustus or his closure of the temple after the battle of Actium in Varro’s *On the Latin Language* as there is in Livy’s *Histories* since it was most likely written years before any of these events took place in 31.

<sup>16</sup> Livy, *Histories*, 1.19.2. Translated by B. O. Foster. Livy’s statement of the temple, *ad infimum Argiletum*, is perhaps the most contested location of the original location of the temple.

<sup>17</sup> Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 53-54, 500-501.

<sup>18</sup> Livy, *Histories*, 1.19.2; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 205-207; Taylor, *Watching the Skies*, 27; Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 108: There has been much scholarly debate on this topic, however, for a more comprehensive look at where the temple was located, Holland dedicates a whole chapter on the matter.

<sup>19</sup> Müller, “The Shrine of Janus Geminus in Rome”, 437.

temple's doors by stating "*pace terra marique parta*". This is quite similar to the legend found on the reverses of the Temple of Janus coins as all of the words stated above can be seen on its legend: PACE P(opulo) R(omano) TERRA MARIQ(ue) PARTA IANVM CLVSIT (fig. 6). It is also the first time that this phrase has been used in reference to the temple and the nature of its doors. At relatively the same time, Vergil briefly mentions the practice of closing the doors to the temple in his *Aeneid*: "*Dirae ferro et compagibus artis claudentur Belli portae*": "The gates of war, grim with iron and close-fitting bars, shall be closed."<sup>20</sup> Here Vergil only describes and identifies the temple by its function and connection to war rather than using its common epithet, *quirinus*, or directly outlining why the doors would need to be closed; it may not have been necessary to do so as it is clear what doors Vergil is referencing. Later in his *Aeneid*, Vergil now provides a lengthier description of the temple and again makes no reference to any epithets as he instead introduces the Temple of Janus by mentioning its recognizable twin-doors: "*sunt geminae Belli portae (sic nomine dicunt)/ religione sacrae et saevi formidine Martis;/ centum aerei claudunt vectes aeternaque ferri/ robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus.*": "There are twin gates of War (so men call them), hallowed by religious awe and the terrors of fierce Mars; a hundred brazen bolts close them, and the eternal strength of iron, and Janus their guardian never quits the threshold".<sup>21</sup>

Following alongside Vergil, Ovid poetically mentions the purpose of the temple in his *Fasti* during a discussion between Janus and the poet.<sup>22</sup> The conversation between them reveals a lengthy aetiology of the temple given by Janus.<sup>23</sup> It also reveals a key feature of the temple by Ovid that, apart from Livy, most do not mention. This is the potential location of the temple of

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<sup>20</sup> Vergil, *The Aeneid*, 1.293-294. Translated by G. P. Goold.

<sup>21</sup> Vergil, *The Aeneid*, 7.607-610. Translated by G. P. Goold.

<sup>22</sup> Green, *Fasti*, 67; Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.253-284.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

Janus and how it may be located between the Forum Romanum and the Forum Iulium.<sup>24</sup> No other ancient source directly mentions the two *fora* in their discussion of the temple's location: “*cum tot sint iani, cur stas sacratus in uno, hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes?*”; “Since there are so many gateways, why do you stand consecrated in just one, here where you have a temple adjoining two *fora*?”<sup>25</sup> In Ovid's discussion of the temple as told by Janus, in line 275 Janus uses *sacellum* when he is referring to his temple: “*Ara mihi posita est parvo coniuncta sacello*”; “An altar was set up for me, next to a little shrine.”<sup>26</sup> This is the first time that *sacellum* has been used in reference to the temple.

Augustus unsurprisingly expresses in his *Res Gestae* how he closed the doors of the temple and briefly mentions its previous closures. Here the common name Janus Quirinus and a phrase similar to “*pace terra marique parta*”, which was previously used by Livy and can be seen on the legend on the Neronian coins, can be seen:

“*(I)anum) Quirin(um, quem cl)aussum ess(e maiores nostri voluer)unt, cum (p)er totum i(mperium po)puli Roma(ni terra marique es)et parta victoriis pax, cum pr(iusquam) nascerer, (a condita) u(rb)e bis omnino clausum (f)uisse prodatur m(emori)ae, ter me princi(pe senat)us claudendum esse censui(t).*”<sup>27</sup>

“Our ancestors wanted Janus Quirinus to be closed when peace have been achieved by victories on land and sea throughout the whole empire of the Roman people; whereas, before I was born, it is recorded as having been closed twice in all from the foundation of the city, the senate decreed it should be closed three times when I was leader.”<sup>28</sup>

Once more, Velleius Paterculus in his *Compendium of Roman History* also briefly mentions the history of who closed the doors to the temple and uses the other epithet, *geminus*:

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<sup>24</sup> Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 205.

<sup>25</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.254-255. Translated by Anne and Peter Wiseman.

<sup>26</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.275. Translated by Anne and Peter Wisemasn; Müller, “The Shrine of Janus Geminus in Rome”, 429.

<sup>27</sup> Augustus, *Res Gestae*, 1.13.

<sup>28</sup> Augustus, *Res Gestae*, 1.13. Translated by Alison E. Cooley.

*“Immane bellicae civitatis argumentum, quod semel sub regibus, iterum hoc T. Manlio consule, tertio Augusto principe certae pacis argumentum Ianus geminus clausus dedit.”*<sup>29</sup>

“It is a strong proof of the warlike character of our state that only three times did the closing of the temple of the double-faced Janus give proof of unbroken peace: once under the kings, a second time in the consulship of the Titus Manlius just mentioned, and a third time in the reign of Augustus.”<sup>30</sup>

Lucan, on the other hand, gives no mention to its history when he mentions the temple in his *The Civil War* nor uses *quirinus* as an epithet of *Ianus*, which had often been used by the earlier sources, or *geminus*:

*“Pars aetheris illa sereni tota vacet, nullaeque obstant a Caesare nubes. Tum genus humanum positis sibi consulat armis, inque vicem gens omnis amet; pax missa per orbem ferrea belligeri conpescat limina Iani.”*<sup>31</sup>

“May that region of the sky be bright and clear, and may no clouds obstruct our view of Caesar! In that day let mankind lay down their arms and seek their own welfare, and let all nations love one another; let Peace fly over the earth and shut fast the iron gates of warlike Janus.”<sup>32</sup>

Instead, he only alludes to the purpose of the temple and its association with peace by contrasting it with the temple’s association with war. He does this by employing *belligeri* as an adjective with *Iani* to further show its relationship with war and the corresponding outcome of it.

Pliny the Elder again mentions the history of the temple and employs the epithet *geminus*. He also only mentions Numa and the function of the temple and thereby foregoes all mentions of the preceding closures of the temple that were usually expressed:

*“Fuisse autem statuariam artem familiarem Italiae quoque et vetustam, indicant Hercules ab Euandro sacratus, ut produnt, in foro boario, qui triumphalis vocatur atque per triumphos vestitur habitu triumphali, praeterea Ianus geminus a Numa rege dicatus, qui*

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<sup>29</sup> Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History*, 2.38.

<sup>30</sup> Velleius Paterculus, *Compendium of Roman History*, 2.38. Translated by Frederick W. Shipley.

<sup>31</sup> Lucan, *The Civil War*, 1.58-66.

<sup>32</sup> Lucan, *The Civil War*, 1.58-66. Translated by J. D. Duff.



*pacis bellique argumento colitur digitis ita figuratis, ut CCCLV dierum nota et aevi esse deum indicent.*”<sup>33</sup>

“That the art of statuary was familiar to Italy also and of long standing there is indicated by the statue of Hercules in the Cattle Market said to have been dedicated by Evander, which is called ‘Hercules Triumphant,’ and on the occasion of triumphal processions is arrayed in triumphal vestments; and also by the two-faced Janus, dedicated by King Numa, which is worshipped as indicating war and peace, the fingers of the statue being so arranged as to indicate the 355 days of the year, and to betoken that Janus is the god of the duration of time.”<sup>34</sup>

Martial, who was now writing in the first century CE, suggests something entirely different about the temple that was not previously mentioned by other ancient sources or had not yet occurred.

In his *Epigrams*, Martial alludes to the possibility that Domitian moved the site of the Temple of Janus to the Forum Transitorium:

*“Annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi,  
publica quem primum vota precesque vocant,  
Pervius exiguous habitabas ante penates,  
plurima qua medium Roma terebat iter:  
Nunc tua Caesareis cinguntur limina donis  
et for a tot numeras, Iane, quot ora geris.”*<sup>35</sup>

“Begetter most fair of the years and the bright universe, first to be invoked by public vows and prayers, formerly you lived on a passage in a tiny dwelling, where Rome in her crowds trod the thoroughfare. Now your threshold is encircled by Caesar’s gifts, and you number as many forums, Janus, as you have faces.”<sup>36</sup>

When looking more closely at the passage in Martial, some attribute the meaning of “*exiguous Penates*” to mean the Janus Geminus, whereas Holland in his analysis in *Janus and the Bridge* concludes that, although *exiguos penates* and *limina* are most likely referring to the same place,

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<sup>33</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.16.

<sup>34</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.16. Translated by H. Rackham.

<sup>35</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 10.28.3-6.

<sup>36</sup> Martial, *Epigrams*, 10.28.3-6. Translated by D. R. Shackleton Bailey; Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 207; Servius, *ad Aeneid*, 7.60; Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5.25; Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 279: Platner and Ashby claim that the temple was never rebuilt or moved from its original location and that this is attested by all ancient sources, however Richardson later claims that Domitian moved the temple during his reign to the *Forum Transitorium* and suggests that this is the temple that Procopius is describing in his *History of the Wars*. Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 96; Statius, *Silvae*, 4.1.

the passage as a whole is not referring to the Ianus Geminus and therefore not the temple of Janus.<sup>37</sup> What the passage is most likely referring to, as Holland further points out, is that many ancient sources often interchanged the two *Iani*, the Ianus Geminus and the Ianus Quadrifons, with one another; therefore, the passage is most likely not referring to Domitian moving the Temple of Janus, but rather him erecting a shrine to Janus in the new forum Transitorium.<sup>38</sup> Soon afterwards, Tacitus first refers to the temple as *Ianus* in his collection of fragments:

*“Deinde, ut verbis Cornelii Taciti loquar, sene Augusto Ianus patefactus, dum apud extremos terrarum terminos novae gentes saepe ex usu et aliquando cum damno quaeruntur, usque ad Vespasiani duravit imperium. Hucusque Cornelius.”*<sup>39</sup>

“Next, to quote the words of Cornelius Tacitus, “the gate of Janus, that had been opened when Augustus was old, remained so while on the very boundaries of the world new peoples were being attacked, often to our profit and sometimes to our loss, even down to the reign of Vespasian.” Thus far Cornelius.”<sup>40</sup>

Then in the next fragment he uses *Iani portas*:

*“Gordianus . . . Iani portas aperuit: quas utrum post Vespasianum et Titum aliquis clauserit, neminem scripsisse memini, cum tamen eas ab ipso Vespasiano post annum apertas Cornelius Tacitus prodat.”*<sup>41</sup>

“Gordianus . . . opened the gates of Janus: as to the question whether anyone closed them after Vespasian and Titus, I can recall no statement by any historian; yet Cornelius Tacitus reports that they were opened after a year by Vespasian himself.”<sup>42</sup>

Plutarch, however, clearly explains the history of the temple and its purpose and, although he too does not employ the standard epithet, he describes the temple as δίθυρος or “with two doors”:

“Ἔστι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ νεὸς ἐν Ῥώμῃ δίθυρος, ὃν πολέμου πύλην καλοῦσι. νομίζεται γὰρ ἀνεῶχθαι μὲν αὐτὸν ὅταν ᾖ πόλεμος, κεκλειῆσθαι δὲ εἰρήνης γενομένης. ὁ δὲ χαλεπὸν ἦν

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<sup>37</sup> Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 102.

<sup>38</sup> Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 102; Syme, “Problems about Janus”, 206; Coarelli, *Rome and Environs*, 175. Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 280.

<sup>39</sup> Tacitus, *Fragmenta Historiarum*, 4.

<sup>40</sup> Tacitus, *Fragmenta Historiarum*, 4. Translated by Clifford H. Moore and John Jackson.

<sup>41</sup> Tacitus, *Fragmenta Historiarum*, 5.

<sup>42</sup> Tacitus, *Fragmenta Historiarum*, 5. Translated by Clifford H. Moore and John Jackson.

καὶ σπανίως γινόμενον, αἰεὶ τιμὴν συνηρητημένης πολέμου τῆς ἡγεμονίας, διὰ μέγεθος τοῖς κύκλω περιεχυμένοις γένεσι βαρβάροις ἀντεριδούσης. πλὴν ἐπὶ γε τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ἐκλείσθη καθελόντος Ἀντώνιον· καὶ πρότερον ὑπατευόντων Μάρκου Ἀτιλίου καὶ Τίτου Μαλλίου χρόνον οὐ πολὺν· εἶτα εὐθὺς ἀνεφύθη πολέμου συρραγέντος. ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γε τῆς Νομᾶ βασιλείας οὐδεμίαν ἡμέραν ἀνεφύθη ὄφθη, τρία δὲ καὶ τετταράκοντα ἔτη συνεχῶς ἔμεινε κεκλεισμένος· οὕτως ἐξήρητο παντελῶς τὰ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ πανταχόθεν. οὐ γὰρ μόνον ὁ Ῥωμαίων ἡμέρωτο καὶ κατεκεκήλητο τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ πραότητι τοῦ βασιλέως δῆμος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς κύκλω πόλεις, ὥσπερ αὔρας τινὸς ἐκεῖθεν ἢ πνεύματος ὑγιεινοῦ φέροντος, ἀρχὴ μεταβολῆς ἔλαβε καὶ πόθος εἰσερρῦν πάντας εὐνομίας καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ γῆν φυτεύειν καὶ τέκνα τρέφειν ἐν ἡσυχίᾳ καὶ σέβεσθαι θεούς.<sup>43</sup>

“He also has a temple at Rome with double doors, which they call the gates of war; for the temple always stands open in time of war, but is closed when peace has come. The latter was a difficult matter, and it rarely happened, since the realm was always engaged in some war, as its increasing size brought it into collision with the barbarous nations which encompassed it round about. But in the time of Augustus Caesar it was closed, after he had overthrown Antony; and before that, when Marcus Atilius and Titus Manlius were consuls, it was closed a short time; then war broke out again at once, and it was opened. During the reign of Numa, however, it was not seen open for a single day, but remained shut for the space of forty-three years together, so complete and universal was the cessation of war. For not only was the Roman people softened and charmed by the righteousness and mildness of their king, but also the cities round about, as if some cooling breeze or salubrious wind were wafted upon them from Rome, began to experience a change of temper, and all of them were filled with longing desire to have good government, to be at peace, to till the earth, to rear their children in quiet, and to worship the gods.”<sup>44</sup>

The most distinguishable and recognizable feature of the Temple of Janus is its twin-doors.

Therefore, even though Plutarch does not use Janus as a possessive with νεὼς, it is all but certain that he is referring to the Temple of Janus since he mentions the most well-known indicator for the temple.

Suetonius returns to the standard practice of using an epithet when mentioning the Temple of Janus, however here he employs both epithets. In Augustus' portion of his *Lives of the Caesars*, the older epithet, *quirinus*, is used and then he later switches to the standard epithet, *geminus*, when he is describing how Nero closed the doors to the temple. This is the last source that refers to the temple as Ianus Quirinus:

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<sup>43</sup> Plutarch, *Numa*, 22.

<sup>44</sup> Plutarch, *Numa*, 22. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin.

*“Ianum Quirinum semel atque iterum a condita urbe ante memoriam suam clausum in multo brevioris temporis spatio terra marique pace parta ter clusit. Bis ovans ingressus est urbem, post Philippense et rursus post Siculum bellum. Curulis triumphos tris egit, Delmaticum, Actiacum, Alexandrinum continuo triduo omnes.”*<sup>45</sup>

“The temple of Janus Quirinus, which had been closed but twice before his time since the founding of the city, he closed three times in a far shorter period, having won peace on land and sea. He twice entered the city in an ovation, after the war of Philippi, and again after that in Sicily, and he celebrated three regular triumphs for his victories in Dalmatia, at Actium, and at Alexandria, all on three successive days.”<sup>46</sup>

*“Ob quae imperator consalutatus, laurea in Capitolium lata, Ianum geminum clausit, tamquam nullo residuo bello.”*<sup>47</sup>

“Because of all this Nero was hailed as Imperator, and after depositing a laurel wreath in the Capitol, he closed the two doors of the temple of Janus, as a sign that no war was left anywhere.”<sup>48</sup>

Suetonius is the first and only source to directly mention the closing of the doors by Nero. This is also a departure from the standard description of the closing of the doors by Numa, Titus Manlius, and Augustus who were previously always emphasized whenever the temple’s closure was discussed. Suetonius does, however, use the standard expression of “*terra marique pace parta*” which was previously also employed by Livy in his description: “*pace terra marique parta*”.<sup>49</sup> In comparison to Livy, Suetonius’ description is much closer to the exact legend seen on the reverse of the coins: PACE P(opulo) R(omano) TERRA MARIQ(ue) PARTA IANVM CLVSIT (fig. 6).

Florus also refers to the temple as Ianus Geminus, but now does not mention the closing of the temple by Nero and instead focuses on the past by mentioning Numa and his founding of the temple.<sup>50</sup> This again follows what Livy reported earlier on about the history of the temple and its

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<sup>45</sup> Suetonius, *Augustus*, 2.22.

<sup>46</sup> Suetonius, *Augustus*, 2.22. Translated by J. C. Rolfe.

<sup>47</sup> Suetonius, *Nero*, 6.13.

<sup>48</sup> Suetonius, *Nero*, 6.13. Translated by J. C. Rolfe.

<sup>49</sup> Suetonius, *Augustus*, 2.22; Livy, *History of Rome*, 1.19.

<sup>50</sup> Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, 1.1.2, 1.18.1-2.

connection to Numa. Unlike the other sources, Florus also continues to look further back to the Carthaginian War before both Augustus and Nero ever closed the temple and mentions a closing of the temple that was otherwise unstated by the other sources:

*“Peracto Punico bello secuta est brevis sane quasi ad recuperandum spiritum requies, argumentumque pacis et bona fide cessantium armorum tum primum post Numam clausa porta Iani fuit; deinceps statim ac sine mora patuit.”*<sup>51</sup>

“The Carthaginian war being ended, a period of rest ensued, brief, indeed, for the Roman people to recover their breath. As a proof of peace and a genuine cessation of hostilities, the door of the Temple of Janus was closed for the first time since the reign of Numa; but immediately afterwards it was quickly opened again.”<sup>52</sup>

Florus later on in his *Epitome of Roman History* finally mentions how Augustus closed the doors to the temple and once more uses the common epithet *geminus*:

*“Sic ubique certa atque continua totius generis humani aut pax fuit aut pactio, aususque tandem Caesar Augustus septingentesimo ab urbe condita anno Ianum geminum cludere, bis ante se clusum sub Numa rege et victa primum Carthagine.”*<sup>53</sup>

“Thus everywhere throughout the inhabited world there was firmly-established and uninterrupted peace or truce, and Caesar Augustus ventured at last, in the seven hundredth year since the foundation of the city, to close the double doors of the temple of Janus, which had previously been shut on two occasions only, in the reign of Numa and after the first defeat of Carthage.”<sup>54</sup>

Now in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE, Cassius Dio is the first Greek source to mention the epithet *geminus* or Γέμνος and once more mentions how Augustus closed the doors to the temple:

*“Αὐγουστος μὲν ταῦτά τε ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἔπραξε, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἰανοῦ τεμένισμα ἀνοιχθὲν δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐκλείσεν, Ἀγρίππας δὲ ἐν τούτῳ τὸ ἄστυ τοῖς ἰδίοις τέλεσιν ἐπεκόσμησε.”*<sup>55</sup>

“After these achievements in the wars Augustus closed the precinct of Janus, which had been opened because of these wars. Meanwhile Agrippa beautified the city at his own expense.”<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>51</sup> Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, 1.18.1-2.

<sup>52</sup> Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, 1.18.1-2. Translated by E. S. Forster.

<sup>53</sup> Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, 2.32.64-65.

<sup>54</sup> Florus, *Epitome of Roman History*, 2.32.64-65. Translated by E. S. Forster.

<sup>55</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 53.27.1.

<sup>56</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 53.27.1. Translated by Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster.

“Ἐψηφίσθη μὲν οὖν τὸν Ἴανὸν τὸν Γέμινον ὡς καὶ πεπαυμένων τῶν πολέμων (ἀνέωκτο γάρ) κλεισθῆναι, οὐ μέντοι καὶ ἐκλείσθη· οἱ τε γὰρ Δακοὶ τὸν Ἰστρὸν πεπηγότα διαβάαντες λείαν ἐκ τῆς Παννονίας ἀπετέμοντο, καὶ οἱ Δελμάται πρὸς τὰς ἐσπράξεις τῶν χρημάτων ἐπανέστησαν.”<sup>57</sup>

“It was voted that the temple or Janus Geminus, which had been opened, should be closed, on the ground that the wars had ceased. It was not closed, however, for the Dacians, crossing the Ister on the ice, carried off booty from Pannonia, and the Dalmatians rebelled against the exactions of tribute.”<sup>58</sup>

There is also the interchange between the temple and the gates of Janus with the accompaniment of πύλας and Ἴανοῦ. Nevertheless, it is clear that it is the Temple of Janus since the primary function of the temple is mentioned beforehand:

“πλεῖστον δὲ ὁμῶς ὑπὲρ πάντα τὰ ψηφισθέντα οἱ ὑπερήσθη ὅτι τὰς τε πύλας τὰς τοῦ Ἴανοῦ ὡς καὶ πάντων σφίσι τῶν πολέμων παντελῶς πεπαυμένων ἔκλεισαν, καὶ τὸ οἰώνισμα τὸ τῆς Ὑγιείας ἐποίησαν.”<sup>59</sup>

“Nevertheless, the action which pleased him more than all the decrees was the closing by the senate of the gates of Janus, implying that all their wars had entirely ceased, and the taking of the *augurium salutis*, which had at this time fallen into disuse for the reasons I have mentioned.”<sup>60</sup>

The *Historia Augusta* continues to describe the use of the temple when it tells of its closure by Commodus: “*Ianus geminus sua sponte apertus est, et Anubis simulacrum marmoreum moveri visum est.*”, “The twin gates of the temple of Janus opened of their own accord, and a marble image of Anubis was seen to move.”<sup>61</sup> Then again when it discusses the three Gordians:

“*Sedato terrae motu Praetextato et Attico consulibus Gordianus aperto Iano gemino, quod signum erat indicti belli, profectus est contra Persas cum exercitu ingenti et tanto auro, ut vel auxiliis vel militibus facile Persas evinceret.*”<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 54.36.2.

<sup>58</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 54.36.2. Translated by Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster.

<sup>59</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 51.20.4-5.

<sup>60</sup> Cassius Dio, *Roman History*, 51.20.4-5. Translated by Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster.

<sup>61</sup> *Historia Augusta*, Commodus XVI. Translated by David Magie.

<sup>62</sup> *Historia Augusta*, The Three Gordians XXVI .3

“But after this earthquake was stayed, in the consulship of Praetextatus and Atticus, Gordian opened the twin gates of Janus, which was a sign that war had been declared, and set out against the Persians with so huge an army and so much gold as easily to conquer the Persians with either his regulars or his auxiliaries.”<sup>63</sup>

This is the last source that uses the common epithet *geminus*.

Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the theoretical idea of someone closing the doors to the temple in his *History*:

“*Haec dum per eoas partes et Gallias pro captu temporum disponuntur, Constantius quasi cluso Iani templo stratisque hostibus cunctis, Romam visere gestiebat, post Magnenti exitium absque nomine ex sanguine Romano triumphaturus.*”<sup>64</sup>

“While these events were so being arranged in the Orient and in Gaul in accordance with the times, Constantius, as if the temple of Janus had been closed and all his enemies overthrown, was eager to visit Rome and after the death of Magnentius to celebrate, without a title, a triumph over Roman blood.”<sup>65</sup>

The temple continued to be closed down until approximately the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE when the last known closings of the temple are reported by Ammianus Marcellinus and the Roman poet Claudian.<sup>66</sup> Unlike many other earlier sources, the Roman poet Claudian in his account of Stilicho’s consulship makes no reference to those who previously closed the Temple of Janus and now simply refers to the temple as *Ianum*: “*Nullus Boreae metus, omnis et Austriora silet: cecidit Maurus, Germania cessitet Ianum pax alta ligat.*”, “No danger threatens from the north, the south is quiet; the Moors have been subdued, Germany has yielded, profound peace holds fast the doors of Janus’ temple.”<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>63</sup> Historia Augusta, The Three Gordians XXVI.3 Translated by David Magie.

<sup>64</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, 16.10.1.

<sup>65</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, 16.10.1. Translated by J. C. Rolfe.

<sup>66</sup> Ammianus Marcellinus, *History*, 16.10.1; Claudian, *On Stilicho’s Consulship*, 2. 287; Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 279.

<sup>67</sup> Claudian, *On Stilicho’s Consulship*, 2. 285-7. Translated by M. Platnauer; Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 279.

Eventually, Macrobius in his *Saturnalia* deviated from the traditional belief surrounding who inaugurated the temple by stating that the temple was already constructed during the time of Romulus and Titus Tatius and their notoriously famous encounter with the Sabine women.<sup>68</sup> Few sources contest this story of the founding of the temple:

*“Cum bello Sabino, quod virginum raptarum gratia commissum est, Romani portam quae sub radicibus collis Viminalis erat (quae postea ex eventu Ianualis vocata est) claudere festinarent, quia in ipsam hostes ruebant, postquam est clausa, mox sponte patefacta est; cumque iterum ac tertio idem contigisset, armati plurimi pro limine, quia claudere nequibant, custodes steterunt, cumque ex alia parte acerrimo proelio certaretur, subito fama pertulit fusos a Tatio nostros. quam ob causam Romani, qui aditum tuebantur, territi profugerunt cumque Sabini per portam patentem inrupturi essent, fertur ex aede Iani per hanc portam magnam vim torrentium undis scatentibus erupisse multasque perduellium catervas aut exustas ferventi aut devoratas rapida voragine deperisse. ea re placitum ut belli tempore, velut ad urbis auxilium profecto deo, fores reserarentur. haec de Iano.”<sup>69</sup>*

“In the war with the Sabines over their kidnapped maidens, the enemy were attacking the city-gate at the base of the Viminal—later called “Janus’ Gate,” from the outcome of this story—and the Romans were hurrying to close it. No sooner was it closed than it opened again of its own accord. After this happened two more times and they were unable to close the gate, a mass of armed men stood guard at its threshold, and while fierce fighting was going on in another part of the city, a rumor suddenly circulated that our men had been routed by Tatius. At that, the Romans who were guarding the entry fled in terror, and it is said that just as the Sabines were about to burst through the open gate, a great torrent of boiling water erupted from Janus’ temple and poured through the gate, killing many companies of combatants who were either scalded by the burning water or swallowed up by the swift whirlpool. It was therefore decided that since the god had sallied forth to help the city, the doors of his temple would be left unbarred in time of war. So much for Janus.”<sup>70</sup>

Previously many others, such as Livy, Varro, and Pliny the Elder, believed that Numa, who was the second king of Rome following Romulus, constructed and dedicated the temple during his

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<sup>68</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 9.17-18. Titus Tatius was the King of the Sabines during the time of Romulus, who was the first king of Rome, and during the famous rape of the Sabine women in which Romulus seized the Sabine women at a banquet in order to supply Rome with women: Hejduk, *The Offense of Love*, 18, 56. Ovid is one of the many poets and ancient sources to make reference to this event in their work: “You, Romulus, first made the games a scene of turmoil, when ravished Sabines cheered up wifeless men.”: Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 1.101-102. Translated by Julia Dyson Hejduk.

<sup>69</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.9.17-18.

<sup>70</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.9.17-18. Translated by Robert A. Kaster.



reign.<sup>71</sup> Even though Macrobius' account of the flood provides a satisfactory explanation as to why the doors of the Ianus Geminus are opened and closed, one cannot always force every reference and story of the Temple of Janus to the Porta Ianualis, despite the common urge by ancient sources to do just that.<sup>72</sup> For relatively earlier sources writing of this event, including Ovid and Varro, Taylor draws a similar conclusion in that an earlier source must have combined the Porta Ianualis with the Ianus Geminus despite them being two separate monuments that share a similar name, Janus.<sup>73</sup> Even though some have accepted that the Ianus Geminus was previously a city gate, there is still much speculation surrounding the various mentions of Janus, its beginning, and how or if any of the references truly relate to the shrine.

Macrobius also theorizes what the etymology behind Janus' epithet is: "*Quirinum, quasi bellorum potentem ab hasta quam Sabini curin vocant*", "and "Quirinus" as a god of war, from *curis*, the Sabine word for "spear"<sup>74</sup>. Servius in his *Commentary on the Aeneid* also theorizes on the legend of the temple and, similar to Macrobius, proposes that it was Romulus and Titus Tatius who created the temple as an index of peace or as a result of their encounter with the Sabines.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Livy, *Histories*, 1.19-20; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 34. 33; Varro, *On the Latin Language*, 165; Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 279.

<sup>72</sup> Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 103-107: In the original story of the flood, Holland suggests that the fundamental meaning behind how Janus helped early Rome is that Janus should be interpreted as being a river who, when the bridge was functional, would allow passage into Rome, but when broken, it would bare anyone from entering into Rome and potentially attacking the city. Therefore, when the bridge is "open" enemies are prevented from attacking and when the bridge is "closed" the city is at peace, which resonates with the fundamental ideology of the opening and closing of the temple of Janus. This similarity is perhaps the reason why Macrobius and many others drew connections with the Porta Ianualis and the Ianus Geminus, however, Macrobius was especially writing quite late into the empire and thus would not have known about the original bridge of Janus that potentially stood there and only of the long history of the twin-doored shrine. Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.9.17; Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 278-279; Taylor, *Watching the Skies*, 6.

<sup>73</sup> Taylor, *Watching the Skies*, 6-7; Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 14.775-804; Varro, *Ling.* 5.165.

<sup>74</sup> Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 1.9.16; Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 110-111.

<sup>75</sup> Servius, *Aen.* 1.291; Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 278-279.

Finally, Procopius attests to the eventual decline of the use of the temple. He describes how, after Christianity was introduced to the Romans, they began to cease in using this symbolic practice of opening and closing the doors to the temple, despite the valiant effort of a few men:

“ἐπει δὲ τὸ Χριστιανῶν δόγμα, εἶπερ τινὲς ἄλλοι, Ῥωμαῖοι ἐτίμησαν, ταύτας δὴ τὰς θύρας οὐκέτι οὐδὲ πολεμοῦντες ἀνέκλινον. ἀλλ’ ἐν ταύτῃ δὴ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τινὲς τὴν παλαιάν, οἶμαι, δόξαν ἐν νῶ ἔχοντες ἐγκεχειρήκασιν μὲν αὐτὰς ἀνοιγνύναι λάθρα, οὐ μέντοι παντάπασι ἴσχυσαν, πλήν γε δὴ ὅσον μὴ ἐς ἀλλήλας, ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον. μεμυκέναι<sup>1</sup> τὰς θύρας. καὶ ἔλαθόν γε οἱ τοῦτο δρᾶν ἐγκεχειρηκότες· ζήτησις δὲ τοῦ ἔργου οὐδεμία ἄτε ἐν μεγάλῳ θορύβῳ ἐγεγόνει, ἐπεὶ οὔτε τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐγνώσθη, οὔτε ἐς τὸ πλῆθος, ὅτι μὴ ἐς ὀλίγους κομιδῆ, ἦλθεν.”<sup>76</sup>

“But when the Romans came to honour, as truly as any others, the teachings of the Christians, they gave up the custom of opening these doors, even when they were at war. During this siege, however, some, I suppose, who had in mind the old belief, attempted secretly to open them, but they did not succeed entirely, and moved the doors only so far that they did not close tightly against one another as formerly. And those who had attempted to do this escaped detection; and no investigation of the act was made, as was natural in a time of great confusion, since it did not become known to the commanders, nor did it reach the ears of the multitude, except of a very few.”<sup>77</sup>

Besides the eventual decline in the temple’s use, Procopius also gives a small description of the temple when he visited Rome during 535 CE.<sup>78</sup> This is the only other detailed account of the appearance of the Temple of Janus apart from the numismatic evidence from Nero’s reign:

“ὅ τε νεῶς ἅπας χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἔστηκε, τοσοῦτος μέντοι, ὅσον τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἰάνου σκέπειν. ἔστι δὲ χαλκοῦν οὐχ ἦσσον ἢ πηχῶν πέντε τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἐμφορὲς ἀνθρώπῳ, διπρόσωπον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχον, καὶ τοῖν προσώποιν θάτερον μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται. θύραι τε χαλκαῖ ἐφ’ ἑκατέρῳ προσώπῳ εἰσίν, ἃς δὴ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνόμιζον, πολέμου δὲ σφίσις ὄντος ἀνέωγον.”<sup>79</sup>

“And the temple is entirely of bronze and was erected in the form of a square, but it is only large enough to cover the statue of Janus. Now this statue is of bronze, and not less than five cubits high; in all other respects it resembles a man, but its head has two faces, one of which is turned toward the east and the other toward the west. And there are brazen doors

<sup>76</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5.25.

<sup>77</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5.25. Translated by H.B. Dewing.

<sup>78</sup> Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 108.

<sup>79</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5.25.

fronting each face, which the Romans in olden times were accustomed to close in time of peace and prosperity, but when they had war they opened them.”<sup>80</sup>

There is of course the question of whether Procopius is accurately observing and describing the temple that he is claiming to have visited or even if the temple was still standing during his time. One scholar, Holland, even suggests that there is reason to cast doubt upon the authenticity of his description when he explains:

“Our fullest source for the details of the temple is Procopius (*Bell. Goth.* 1. 25) who visited Rome with Belisarius in 535 A.D. It might be questioned whether he achieved in his observation and reporting the accuracy with which he has been credited. His interest was in the surreptitious opening of the building and what he had been told about its tradition rather than from what he distinctly remembered having seen.”<sup>81</sup>

Given the doubtfulness regarding the authenticity of Procopius’ description of the temple, the coins themselves undoubtedly occurred during a time when the temple was not only in use but was also actively being used as it was closed before and after the reign of Nero. Therefore, the numismatic evidence is the only evidence that we have left that accurately reflects the appearance of the Temple of Janus. These Neronian coins, however, occurred from around 64/5 to 67 CE and at both Rome and Lugdunum; therefore, some depictions may be less accurate and may have incurred changes over time.<sup>82</sup> I will seek to find the most accurate depiction of the temple by analyzing the numismatic evidence.

## Studies on the Temple

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<sup>80</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5.25. Translated by H.B. Dewing.

<sup>81</sup> Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 108.

<sup>82</sup> Elkins, *Monuments in Miniature*, 74; Syme, "Problems about Janus", 205.

Few scholars focus solely on the Neronian coins bearing the Temple of Janus. Those that do choose to either briefly mention their appearance or use them as evidence for something else. There are two primary studies on the temple that focus on solely using these coins as a main source of evidence and a main source for their discussion. In Townend's study, he questions Tacitus and Suetonius' account of Nero's closing of the Temple of Janus after his defeat of the Parthians by comparing their accounts to the numismatic evidence.<sup>83</sup> He first begins by discussing how both Suetonius and Cassius Dio make light of Tiridates' visit to Rome which led to the ceremonial closing of the temple's doors by Nero.<sup>84</sup> He then states that the Greek and Latin accounts differ as Dio fails to mention a few details that are present in Suetonius' account, such as the closure of the temple; however, Townend concludes that they are nonetheless the same.<sup>85</sup> Suetonius claims that the temple was closed sometime during the summer of 66 CE, which is two years after the coins bearing the Temple of Janus were issued (64 CE).<sup>86</sup> Tacitus, on the other hand, fails to mention any closure of the temple's doors by Nero since his *Annals* breaks off sometime in 66 CE.<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, Townend theorizes that Orosius, who was writing centuries later, only claims that there were six closures of the temple before that of Vespasian's and that he was basing his description off of Tacitus' account.<sup>88</sup> Therefore, Tacitus' supposed account would leave no room for Nero's closure when accounting for all other closures of the temple thereby contradicting what Suetonius wrote regarding Nero and the temple.<sup>89</sup>

Throughout his study, Townend continues to naturally pose various theories as to why Nero would issue these coins two years before the official closing of the temple by Nero

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<sup>83</sup> Townend, "Tacitus, Suetonius and the Temple of Janus", 232-242.

<sup>84</sup> Townend, "Tacitus, Suetonius and the Temple of Janus", 234-235; Suetonius, *Nero*, 13; Dio, *Roman History*, 62.1-7.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>86</sup> Townend, "Tacitus, Suetonius and the Temple of Janus", 236; Suetonius, *Nero*, 13.

<sup>87</sup> Townend, "Tacitus, Suetonius and the Temple of Janus", 234; Tacitus, *Annals*, 16.35.

<sup>88</sup> Townend, "Tacitus, Suetonius and the Temple of Janus", 238; Orosius, *Adversus Paganos*, 6.20.1, 7.3.7.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.*

according to Suetonius.<sup>90</sup> Such theories include one made by C. H. V. Sutherland who suggests that Nero was simply anticipating the closure of the Temple of Janus and by B. H. Warmington who theorizes that the ceremony was repeated and thus it occurred in both 64 and 66; Townend is ultimately unsatisfied with either of these theories or suggestions.<sup>91</sup> He further questions these theories and suggests various theories of his own, such as the possibility that Suetonius simply made a mistake when he was recording the date.<sup>92</sup> He ultimately concludes, however, that this is a rare discrepancy between the historian and the biographer that was further brought to light by the numismatic representation of the event.<sup>93</sup>

Valentine Müller is one of the only scholars to focus solely on the temple's appearance on the Neronian coins. Müller first discusses the key features of the temple, such as the columns, arch above the door, and its iconic double doors, and attempts to compare those key features to features found on other temples, such as other Roman, Greek, and Etruscan temples.<sup>94</sup> Further comparisons are also made by Müller in regard to the temple and its description by Procopius. Müller states that since the temple on the Neronian coins shows evidence of ashlar work, the temple could not have been made of bronze as Procopius originally suggested and perhaps had an interior composed of this material instead.<sup>95</sup> Müller further questions the long history of the temple since, even if the temple had lasted until at least the fifth century CE, the temple must have undergone some rebuilding at one point or another despite no one mentioning it.<sup>96</sup> From this, Müller ultimately concludes that, although the temple must have incurred some renovation and rebuilding, some of the predominantly old and

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<sup>90</sup> Townend, "Tacitus, Suetonius and the Temple of Janus", 236.

<sup>91</sup> Townend, "Tacitus, Suetonius and the Temple of Janus", 236, 238; Sutherland, *Coinage in Roman Imperial Policy*, 166; Warmington, *Nero*, 95.

<sup>92</sup> Townend, "Tacitus, Suetonius and the Temple of Janus", 237-238.

<sup>93</sup> Townend, "Tacitus, Suetonius and the Temple of Janus", 242.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>95</sup> Müller, "The Shrine of Janus Geminus in Rome", 437, 439; Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5.25.

<sup>96</sup> Müller, "The Shrine of Janus Geminus in Rome", 439-440.

archaic features of the temple were probably maintained and the other more decorative ones were eventually modernized.<sup>97</sup>

It is clear from the lack of discussion of the temple's appearance and the coins themselves that, although its depiction on Neronian coins is fascinating and unique, it has not been sufficiently exploited despite how important the numismatic evidence is to our understanding of the temple. There are no remains left of the temple or any other contemporary depictions of the temple besides Nero's coins. Therefore, these coins are an important link to the lost Temple of Janus that will pave the way for a greater understanding and reflection of something once lost. From my study, I hope that these coins will be utilized to their fullest potential and help in our understanding of this lost Roman monument.

#### Introduction to the Study of the Coins

The coins that were produced during the reign of Nero include *aurei*, *denarii*, *semisses*, *sestertii*, *dupondii*, *asses*, and *quadrantes*.<sup>98</sup> A wide array of possible reverse types could be found upon all denominations. These could range from the Temple of Janus to a triumphal arch to a seated depiction of Roma.<sup>99</sup> They were produced at two different mints, both in Rome and Lugdunum, at different *officinae*, which were sub-branches of the mint, and in different years.<sup>100</sup> From a combination of all of these factors, there must be multiple depictions of the temple that would ultimately make it difficult to determine which depiction of the temple is the most accurate

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<sup>97</sup> Müller, "The Shrine of Janus Geminus in Rome", 440.

<sup>98</sup> MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero*, 24; Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 138.

<sup>99</sup> See Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 154-157, for a complete overview of the legends, obverse types, and reverse types found at both Rome and Lugdunum under the reign of Nero.

<sup>100</sup> MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero*, 112.

and reliable. Furthermore, besides Procopius' description that dates to after the end of the empire, there are no physical depictions left of the Janus Geminus apart from the Neronian coins that bear its image. Therefore, since these coins are the only evidence for the appearance of the Temple of Janus, the image that does appear on those coins ought to be questioned and analyzed in order to identify what the most accurate and reliable representation of the temple is.

These coins were produced for almost two years, from approximately 64/65-67 CE during the latter part of Nero's reign.<sup>101</sup> It was only natural for the appearance of the temple found upon the coins to differ throughout its production as it was quite common for dies to break and subsequently be replaced.<sup>102</sup> In order to observe how the appearance of the coins may have changed and deviated over time, I will conduct a die analysis in order to identify the most accurate appearance of the temple using the earliest Neronian *sestertii* that portray the Temple of Janus.<sup>103</sup> The most accurate portrayal of the temple will be observed on the master dies or the first dies produced by the master engravers since those dies bear the most skilled and accurate portrayal of the temple.<sup>104</sup> This is because, as Kleiner observed, eventually the dies become less accurate and less detailed as a result of them slowly deviating and moving further away from their original appearance found on the master dies.<sup>105</sup> In the following chapters, I will study the appearance of the Temple of Janus as it is portrayed on the coinage of Nero and subsequently the earliest dies in order to identify the most likely appearance of the lost Temple of Janus.

## The Coins

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<sup>101</sup> Elkins, *Monuments in Miniature*, 74; Syme, "Problems about Janus", 205.

<sup>102</sup> Metcalf, *Greek and Roman Coinage*, 5.

<sup>103</sup> A die analysis is the process of analyzing both the obverse and reverse dies by observing the systematic changes made to the dies over the course of its production.

<sup>104</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 100.

<sup>105</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 77.

The Roman coinage system was always liable to change throughout the Roman empire and more specifically during the different reigns of emperors, including changes in where and which coins were minted and the eventual debasement of coins. The standard system of creating coins during the time of Nero began with first weighing the blanks, which were coins that had yet to receive an obverse and a reverse; orichalcum, which is more commonly known as brass, was weighed in bulk and gold and silver blanks were weighed individually.<sup>106</sup> The blank or flan would then be heated in order to become malleable before it was struck and ultimately received its obverse and reverse images.<sup>107</sup> The obverse die was located on an anvil and once the *suppositor*, whose job it was to insert the flan in between the dies, inserted the flan, the *malleatores* or hammer-men would then strike where the reverse was located on top, thereby stamping the coin with its respective images.<sup>108</sup>

The largest of the coins was the *sestertii* that was comprised of orichalcum and weighed approximately one ounce or the equivalent of 4 *asses*, which are coins of a lower denomination.<sup>109</sup> The material orichalcum was originally naturally derived, however, it later changed and was then created artificially around the middle of the first century CE when the Romans began making alloys from copper and zinc.<sup>110</sup> The *sestertii* will be the denomination

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<sup>106</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 18-19.

<sup>107</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 19; Metcalf, *Greek and Roman Coinage*, 5-6.

<sup>108</sup> Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 15; Metcalf, *Greek and Roman Coinage*, 5-6.

<sup>109</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 22.

<sup>110</sup> MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero*, 24; Rickard, "The Nomenclature of Copper and Its Alloys", 284; Caley, "Orichalcum and Related Ancient Alloys", 92-94; Pliny also describes the process of manufacturing orichalcum in his *Natural History*; "Livia copper also quickly gave out: at all events it is found in very small quantity. The highest reputation has now gone to the Marius copper, also called Cordova copper; next to the Livia variety this kind most readily absorbs *cadmea* and reproduces the excellence of gold-copper (*aurichalcum* or orichalcum) in making sesterces and double-as pieces, the single as having to be content with its proper Cyprus copper. That is the extent of the high quality contained in natural bronze and copper." Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.2.4. Translated by H. Rackham. For a more detailed and comprehensive explanation of orichalcum and the chemical processing involved, it is extensively expressed and discussed throughout Caley's "Orichalcum and Related Ancient Alloys"; MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero*, 24.



that I will use during my research, which is the same denomination used by Fred Kleiner in his study of the arch of Nero. As Kleiner points out, the large size of the coin allows for more details from the die engravers in comparison to smaller coins which have a smaller surface area.<sup>111</sup>

During the reign of Nero, Nero's *aes* coins, which included *asses*, *semisses*, *quadrantes*, *sestertii*, and *dupondii*, were struck at two primary mints, the central mint in Rome and another auxiliary mint located in Lugdunum.<sup>112</sup> The mint in Lugdunum was established around the middle of the first century BCE.<sup>113</sup> Sydenham suggests that the mint was established at the more precise date of 42 BCE; this date coincides with the earliest recorded coins from Lugdunum that were struck by Mark Antony during his governorship in Gaul.<sup>114</sup> The mint continued to produce various metals of coins, including gold, silver, and bronze, and continued to be used during the Augustan period and later became increasingly used during the time of Nero until Vespasian put an end to the local mints in favour of having Rome solely produce the imperial currency.<sup>115</sup> In the later years of Nero's reign, 60-68 CE, the mint at Lugdunum significantly increased in the production of the imperial currency.<sup>116</sup> As for the mint in Rome, the earliest Roman mint was reportedly located on the Capitoline Hill in the Temple of Juno Moneta from the Republic down

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<sup>111</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 78.

<sup>112</sup> MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero*, 9; Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 7, 11.

<sup>113</sup> Sydenham, "The Mint of Lugdunum", 54-56.

<sup>114</sup> Sydenham, "The Mint of Lugdunum", 54.

<sup>115</sup> Sydenham, "The Mint of Lugdunum", 54-56, 88; Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 7-8: It was not until Albinus in 196-197 CE that coins were produced again at Lugdunum and then subsequently closed again following his defeat. The mint inevitably fell in 258 CE to Gaul and there it remained with the Gallic emperors until the fall of Tetricus.

<sup>116</sup> Sydenham, "The Mint of Lugdunum", 54-56, 88; Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 7-8.

into the Empire.<sup>117</sup> It remained quite active during the Augustan period and throughout the reign of the Julio-Claudians, including Nero.<sup>118</sup>

The mints themselves were divided into *officinae* or working-sections.<sup>119</sup> MacDowall speculates that each *officinae* at Rome were distinguishable by their reverse types since, as he suggests, each *officinae* possessed different reverse types.<sup>120</sup> He further goes on to theorize that there may have been a record that recorded where the reverse types were assigned and that once an *officina* received a certain reverse type, that type most likely remained with that *officina*.<sup>121</sup> This suggests that all future modifications made to that type would be attributed to that *officina*; however, it is hard to attribute which reverse type belonged to which *officinae*.<sup>122</sup>

The designs that were engraved upon a die were done by hand.<sup>123</sup> The first dies in the sequence or the master dies were created by the master engravers who were highly skilled men that were tasked with creating a die of either an obverse that bore the bust of the emperor or a reverse that bore an important monument, god, goddess, a personification, or some other significant symbol.<sup>124</sup> These dies, therefore, would have been from a higher standard than the later ones.

For the process of creating an obverse die, the method is as follows: a three-dimensional representation of the emperor or *imago* (*imagines* pl.) would be created in clay or plaster by a

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<sup>117</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 1; Meadows and Williams, "Moneta and the Monument", 27: The location of the mint and the use of the temple of Juno Moneta as a temple and a mint is attested by Livy in regards to the execution of Marcus Manlius: "To his death were added marks of ignominy: one of a public nature, because the people were asked to vote that, since his house had stood where the temple and mint of Moneta now are, no patrician might dwell in the Citadel or the Capitol" Livy, *History of Rome*, 6.20.13. Translated by B. O. Foster.

<sup>118</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 1.

<sup>119</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 17; Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 1.

<sup>120</sup> MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero*, 117, 119.

<sup>121</sup> MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero*, 119-120.

<sup>122</sup> Metcalf, *Greek and Roman Coinage*, 5.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid.

<sup>124</sup> Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 16.

sculptor; from this, the die engravers would use their assigned portrait of Nero or the current emperor and engrave the metal dies with their image.<sup>125</sup> This same process of viewing a three-dimensional image must have been followed for some reverses since various reverse types contain different views of the same image, including the portrayal of the Temple of Janus which shows the temple from the left, right and front.<sup>126</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that many pains were taken by the die engravers in order to somewhat accurately reflect the monument in which they were attempting to emulate on their reverse dies.<sup>127</sup> The same, however, cannot be said for the later versions since less-skilled men would most likely have been the ones to create further variations of a die and thus the dies would undoubtedly begin to deviate from the original work done by the master die engravers.<sup>128</sup> This is attested by Fred Kleiner since he witnessed the eventual digression from the more accurate portrayal on the master designs to a less accurate and less detailed one.<sup>129</sup>

The reverse types in particular were subject to change a lot within a single year.<sup>130</sup> This is perhaps attributed to the multiple roles of imperial coinage, which not only included being their currency, but could also portray current or recent events and various types of propaganda.<sup>131</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham poetically liken coins to modern day newspapers as they could portray and spread the news, so to speak, of recent or current events.<sup>132</sup> Since both the obverse and reverses frequently endured many changes to their appearance, one aspect of the obverse that was subject to yearly change was the legend that was inscribed upon it. The tribunician power or

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<sup>125</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 21; MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero*, 128-129.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid.

<sup>127</sup> Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 16; Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 77.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid.

<sup>130</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 22.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid.

the ascribed regnal year of the current emperor is almost always included in the lengthy legend found specifically on the obverse side of the coin or the side that contained the portrait of the emperor.<sup>133</sup> The legend, therefore, is one of the most helpful and useful methods of dating coins since majority of the time they not only contain the tribunician year, but they also sometimes include the consular year; the tribunician year is the most useful tool for dating coins followed by the year of the consulship.<sup>134</sup> Finally, if a coin does not contain any of the usual methods of dating, other such methods of dating include looking at its iconographic details, any changes made to his imperial title, portrait, and/or any reverse portrayals that may suggest a certain year of his reign.<sup>135</sup>

One such method of dating Neronian coins includes a significant change made to the legends on the obverse that will reveal if a coin belongs to the earlier or latter part of Nero's reign. Before 66 CE, the legends on Neronian obverses usually bear the title IMP(erator) as a *cognomen* or the title simply appears towards the end of the legend.<sup>136</sup> At some point in 66 CE, the title IMP was changed to a *praenomen* and so it appears at the beginning of his name.<sup>137</sup> Hence, from 66 CE onwards, IMP only ever appears at the beginning of the legend. This is a simple yet useful way to quickly date one of Nero's coins since, if the coin has IMP as a *cognomen*, then the coin was issued before 66 CE, and if the coin has IMP as a *praenomen*, then the coin was issued after 66 CE. This can undoubtedly be seen on the obverse legends of the coins that I have collected for my research since they date to 64/65 CE and thus should have IMP as a *cognomen*; on coins from RIC 264, the legend is NERO CLAVD(ius) CAESAR

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<sup>133</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 15.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid.

<sup>136</sup> Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 133.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid.

AVG(ustus) GER(manicus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunicia)P(otestate) IMP(erator) P(ater)  
P(atriae) and on coins from RIC 353, the legend is IMP(erator) NERO CLAVD(ius) CAESAR  
AVG(ustus) GER(manicus) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunicia)P(otestate) XIII P(ater)  
P(atriae).<sup>138</sup>

## Methodology

In the following chapters, I will conduct a die analysis with the ultimate intention of forming their die combinations and creating a die linkage which will eventually reveal the master dies. The fundamental goal of my analysis will be to identify these master dies, or the earliest dies created by the Neronian die engravers, in order to fully establish the most accurate representation of the Temple of Janus on the coinage of Nero. The first methodology that I will use in order to discover these coins will be a die analysis. Throughout the production of a coin type, both the obverse and reverse dies would eventually break or be worn out due to the continuous stress placed upon the dies daily. When this occurred, a new link between dies would appear since, when one die broke, it was then replaced with a new die; therefore, the new coins that were being created would now possess either the old obverse or old reverse, which would create a link with the previous die. These multiple changes and replacements that occurred throughout the lifecycle of a coin type are able to be observed and analyzed and ultimately create a die linkage by means of observing the sequence of these changes and linking the dies to one another.<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Note the different placement of the IMP.

<sup>139</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 77.

This methodology is similar to the one used by Fred Kleiner in his study of the arch of Nero. Similar to the Temple of Janus, the arch of Nero is a lost monument where the only physical depiction of the arch that remains is its portrayal on Neronian coins. Kleiner begins his study by comparing the arch of Nero as it is represented on the numismatic evidence with other Roman honorary arches and their standard features.<sup>140</sup> I will not be employing his first step in my study since the Temple of Janus is unique and would therefore not adhere to any standard conventions established for Roman temples. Nevertheless, the next step in his study, which I will be following, consist of him conducting a die analysis using the earliest Neronian *sestertii* that bear the arch of Nero with the intention of identifying the master dies or the earliest designs of a coin type.<sup>141</sup> His reconstruction of the lost arch of Nero is therefore based upon how it appears on the earliest Neronian *sestertii* that depict the arch of Nero rather than on a random sampling of coins struck both in Rome and later in Lugdunum.<sup>142</sup> Whilst I am conducting my die analysis in chapter two, I will be following this approach by Kleiner as my analysis will also focus on the earliest *sestertii* minted at Rome. As previously mentioned, the earliest coins will have IMP as a *cognomen* since coins after 66 CE have IMP as a *preanomen*. The coins that I will be analyzing will be from 64/65 CE and therefore will have IMP as a *cognomen*. They will consists of coins from RIC 263-272, with the inclusion of Roma from RIC 272-282. From the coins produced in the earliest year, I will find the first or earliest dies struck by establishing an approximate sequence of production.<sup>143</sup>

The material that I will use in order to conduct my die analysis will be in the form of images of coins. Since a tremendous amount of coin images can now be found online, I have

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<sup>140</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 9-63.

<sup>141</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 99.

<sup>142</sup> Ibid

<sup>143</sup> Ibid.

gathered a large amount of data that is composed of images found from two sources. The first source is Online Coins of the Roman Empire (OCRE), which is a database that has compiled a wide array of images of Roman imperial coinage, and the second is Coin Archives that contains coins that are and have been up for auction from around 1999 to the present. These coins will be *sestertii* from 64/65 CE minted in Rome.

In Kleiner's study, he eventually concluded that the earliest dies of a specific coin type are more carefully cut and more detailed than the later ones.<sup>144</sup> This means that the master dies, or the earliest dies created, which are the original dies engraved by the master engravers, are the most accurate representation of the monument which they are emulating.<sup>145</sup> Therefore, by finding the master dies, I will hopefully reveal the most accurate representation of the lost temple of Janus.

Once the master dies have been surmised, I will then attempt to uncover what the shorthand methods of the Neronian die engravers were at that time when they were producing the coins struck with the Temple of Janus. The shorthand methods of the die engravers enabled them to transpose large and complex monuments to the much smaller medium of a coin. The die engravers would therefore have a unique way of slightly altering a monument in order to depict the fullest extent of that monument and have the owner of the coin aware of what or who is depicted on its reverse. This makes it essential to discover the working methods of the Neronian die engravers as other die engravers would have their own methods of depicting a monument on a coin. Therefore, I will analyze coins engraved by the Neronian die engravers which show a monument that still survives today. One such monument that both survives today and is portrayed on the coinage of Nero is the Ara Pacis. Through observing how the appearance of the

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<sup>144</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 100.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*

Ara Pacis was manipulated by the Neronian die engravers, I will be able to see how the surviving monument was transposed by the die engravers in order to fit and be recognizable on its numismatic counterpart. This will thereby reveal how they must have manipulated the appearance of the Temple of Janus and thus it will allow me to un-manipulate its appearance on the coins by subtracting their shorthand methods from its numismatic portrayal. I will finally be able to see not only how accurately the coins reflect the reality of the once standing shrine, but I will also be able to see how the temple once would have stood.



## Chapter 2: Die Analysis

### Methodology

During the course of production of a certain coin type, either the obverse or reverse die would break or become worn out and would then be replaced while the other die would still remain in use.<sup>146</sup> This would create a link between the old die and the new die that can be observed whilst conducting a die analysis, which is the process of analyzing both the obverse and reverse dies, that will eventually yield a die linkage. The die study is able to occur since the progression of changes made to the dies and their eventual replacement can be observed over the course of a coin's production. After the die study, a die linkage can be created by identifying which dies are the same and which have been replaced during the production of that coin and thereby linking the dies together; this reveals the approximate order of striking of a coin type. At the beginning of the sequence there are master dies. The master dies, which are the first dies created and were done by hand by the master engravers, would be the most detailed and accurate reflection of the monument in which they were attempting to emulate in comparison to the later version of those dies.<sup>147</sup>

From Kleiner's work in which he too seeks to reconstruct a lost monument, the die analysis and the die linkage eventually revealed gradual changes and alterations made to the dies that occurred over the course of the coin's production.<sup>148</sup> He also observed that the earliest coins

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<sup>146</sup> Metcalf, *Greek and Roman Coinage*, 5.

<sup>147</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 77; Metcalf, *Greek and Roman Coinage*, 5.

<sup>148</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 100.

are more carefully cut, crafted, and therefore they are more detailed than the later dies.<sup>149</sup>

Following this principle, I will analyze the dies in order to observe any similarities, differences, and gradual changes that may occur over the course of the Neronian coin's production. From these observations, I will be able to tell which obverse and reverse dies are the same. This will allow me to eventually form a die linkage by linking the dies which share either an obverse or a reverse together. I will then group the coins together by observing any further changes or similarities in their features and establish an approximate order of striking for those dies and therefore identify the most accurate depiction of the Temple of Janus. Such changes may include the overall dimensions of the temple, its structure, the dimensions of the window, the façade, the front of the temple, and other relevant details. The door facing right or F and the door facing left or G will be analyzed separately.

## Types

My data set is comprised of the earliest Neronian *sestertii* that bear the Temple of Janus. These coins date to 64/65 CE. All coins analyzed below were produced in Rome; Kleiner observed that coins from Gaul were less accurate than those produced in Rome and contained small variations in their detailing.<sup>150</sup> I compiled my corpus of data using the extensive online resources available. This included OCRE (Online Coins of the Roman Empire), which is an online database established by the American Numismatics Society, and Coin Archives, which is an online forum used to auction coins that date to approximately 1999 to the present. In total, 572 coins were analyzed; however I acknowledge that, even though this is a large set of data, it is

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<sup>149</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 100.

<sup>150</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 77.

almost impossible to have every single die that occurred during the production of a specific coin type and therefore my set only represents a small section of the entire series of a coin.<sup>151</sup>

My data consists of five obverse types. The first is labelled ‘a’ and it is defined by having the legend NERO CAESAR AVG(ustus) IMP(erator) TR(ibunicia) POT(estate) XI PPP (proconsul pater patriae) with the bust of Nero facing right, laureate, and cuirassed (fig. 1). The next type is ‘b’, and it has the legend NERO CLAVD(ius) CAESAR AVG(ustus) GER(manicus) P(ontifex)M(aximus) TR(ibunicia)P(otestate) IMP(erator) P(ater)P(atriciae) with the bust of Nero facing right, laureate, and sometimes wearing the aegis (fig. 2). The next type is ‘c’, and it has the legend NERO CLAVD(ius) CAESAR AVG(ustus) GER(manicus) P(ontifex)M(aximus) TR(ibunicia)P(otestate) IMP(erator) P(ater)P(atriciae) with the bust of Nero facing left and laureate (fig. 3). The next type is ‘d’, and it has the legend NERO CLAVDIUS CAESAR AVG(ustus) GER(manicus) P(ontifex)M(aximus) TR(ibunicia)P(otestate) IMP(erator) P(ater)P(atriciae) with the bust of Nero facing right, laureate, and sometimes wearing the aegis (fig. 4). The last type is ‘e’, and it has the legend NERO CLAVDIUS CAESAR AVG(ustus) GER(manicus) P(ontifex)M(aximus) TR(ibunicia)P(otestate) IMP(erator) P(ater)P(atriciae) with the bust of Nero facing left and laureate (fig. 5).

There are also five reverse types. Each type has a different amount of dies that range from 5 to 155 dies per reverse type (tab. 1.).

Reverse Types	Amount of Dies
Temple of Janus, door right (F)	91
Temple of Janus, door left (G)	21

<sup>151</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 99.

Roma, holding Victory and parazonium (H)	155
Roma, holding Victory and shield (J)	5
Roma, holding Victory and spear (K)	14

Table 1. The amount of dies found within each reverse type.

The first is labelled ‘F’ and it depicts the Temple of Janus with the door facing right and having various adornments. Such adornments include a garland hung above or over both doors, a window with fluctuating dimensions, and two round door handles. It also has the legend PACE P(opulo) R(omano) TERRA MARIQ(ue) PARTA IANVM CLVSIT (fig. 6). The next type is ‘G’, and it has the same legend and characteristics of ‘F’ apart from the door now facing the left (fig. 7). There are considerably more dies that show the temple facing right than dies that show the temple facing left. This can be seen above in table 1. The next type is ‘H’, and it depicts Roma, who is seated and holding Victory in her right hand and a parazonium or sword in her left and has the legend ROMA (fig. 8). There is also a breast plate and multiple shields with varying heights and lengths located to the bottom-right of Roma. The next type is ‘J’, and it has Roma, who is seated and holding Victory in her right hand and clutching a shield with her left and has the legend ROMA (fig. 9). Similar adornments can also be seen to her bottom-right. The last type is ‘K’, and it has Roma, who is seated and holding Victory in her right hand and a spear in her left, and has the legend ROMA (fig. 10). There are also similar adornments to her bottom-right and now an additional detail of a motif, such as a gorgon’s head or snake, occasionally located on the front of the most prominent shield. Type ‘H’ has by far the most dies in comparison to all other reverse types. The opposite can be said for type ‘J’ that has the least amount of dies (tab. 1).

## Die Analysis and Die Linkage

Once all of my data was compiled in the form of images of coins, I began my die analysis by duplicating my data and placing them into two separate folders, “Data sorted by Obverse” and “Data sorted by Reverse”, in order to have the obverse and reverse dies analyzed separately. Then, having assigned different letters for each obverse and reverse type as I discussed above, I labelled each coin image with its corresponding obverse and reverse type. I analyzed the obverse dies first and then analyzed the reverse dies last. The analysis process is as follows: each obverse group (F, G, H, J, K) was opened separately and each die was analyzed individually; within each group, the first die was labelled with a 1, such as “F1”, and then it was compared to all other dies within that group; comparing each die consisted of observing the legends on each die, the space between Nero’s bust and the legend, and many aspects of Nero’s bust, such as his wreath or hairstyle; if one die matched the other, then it too was labelled as “F1” or with the correct respective label; once that die was analyzed and all matching dies had been identified, a new die is then opened and labeled “2”, such as “F2”; the process continues in this manner until all dies within that group have been identified and correctly labelled. The reverse dies in “Data sorted by Reverse” were analyzed using this same method. Once both the obverse and reverse dies were analyzed, I then created my die catalogue (see appendix 1). My die catalogue includes a comprehensive list of all of my dies that are organized using the different reverse types (F, G, H, J, K) followed by any corresponding obverse types, such as “F1 a1”. It also includes where the image is from, such as the auction house or museum, catalogue number, and the date of the auction, if applicable.

From the die catalogue, I was able to identify all die combinations in my data set and eventually create a die linkage (see appendix 2). The die linkage reveals which dies link to others and how many links a certain die has. It also shows, in theory, that the reverses within each link were most likely in use at the same mint at relatively the same time. For each reverse type in my die catalogue, a list of all obverse types that are struck with that reverse type are listed.

Therefore, I was able to identify all links found within each obverse and reverse type using my die catalogue. Starting with “F1” (temple right), I first identified all obverse dies that link with “F1”. Once all of those links were attached to “F1” (see appendix 2 for a representation of all die combinations), I searched for any other links between the obverse dies that links with “F1” to see if there are any other reverse types that contain any of those obverse dies. This process continued for each link between “F1” until no other reverse or obverse dies were found to link with that certain reverse type. Once all links were identified for that specific type, I then identified all possible links between “F2”. This process continued until all links for every die were identified.

Once my die linkage was complete, I created a new data set that consisted of coins that were likely to be master dies. This data set was comprised of reverse dies from the links that contained two or more F’s (temple right) or any F’s linked with G (temple left). From those dies I was able to observe any variations or distinctions among the data that would separate or distinguish the reverse dies from one another. This allowed me to eventually form four groups from within my data set that could form a plausible sequence for the production of the dies. Group one potentially contains the earliest dies and group four the latter.

The results of the die linkage unsurprisingly did not yield one continual link. Theoretically a perfect die linkage would reveal an unyielding and continual link between one die and another and would thereby reveal the exact order of striking of a certain coin type. This

is not possible as it is almost impossible to have every version of that coin and thus there are bound to be various breaks within the die linkage.<sup>152</sup> However, the die linkage does help to reveal various links between the dies. Even though most dies either have a link with one obverse die and the respective reverse die or two reverse dies linked to one or more obverse dies, there are some notable links that aid in our overall understanding of the coins. The obverse type labelled “b23” yields an interesting linkage and relationship between the Temple of Janus coins and Roma (fig. 20).

Within the b23 link, there are three coins from group F (temple right), four coins from group H (Roma with V. and p.), six coins from group K (Roma with V. and shield), three coins from group J (Roma with V. and spear), and no coins from group G (temple left). The amount of coins from group H found in this link is unsurprising as group H is significantly larger than all other groups (tab. 1). The coins from group K and J, however, are quite interesting since they appear to be rare versions of Roma and have a significantly lower amount of dies than H (tab. 1) and yet they both appear more than once in this link. Given the larger data set as a result of the inclusion of the Roma types, it is clear that the Temple of Janus coins found in this link ought to be earlier or among the earliest dies. Therefore, they were potentially created at the same time as the J and K types were introduced. This could therefore add to this idea of them being located at the beginning of production since J and K have a significantly lower amount of dies which may indicate that they were introduced earlier on before eventually being disused.

## Analysis

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<sup>152</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 99.

Various criteria were taken into consideration when deducing possible dies that may be or are close to the master dies. As determined by Fred Kleiner, the most detailed, well-executed, and proportional depictions of the temple will yield the first dies produced and therefore the master dies.<sup>153</sup> This still holds true for how I inferred what the master dies could be for the coins engraved with the Temple of Janus in addition to considering their die links. This is especially applicable for the expansive die linkage that is evident within the b23 group. As mentioned above, the b23 group contains all types apart from G (temple facing left). This could theoretically heighten the idea that those dies were produced earlier on in the production of a coin since such a large amount of various dies were struck during that time and therefore were in circulation. Following this idea, there was another criteria that I took into consideration after examining their die combinations. As previously mentioned, I focused on analyzing and observing link groups that have either two or more F (temple right) links or any F dies that link with G (temple left). Each die within that criteria was compiled and analyzed collectively within their die link groups. In total there were 20 link groups that were analyzed. From these link groups, I began to group the dies further into sections by looking at several features (tab. 2). These included any similarities, differences, differing dimensions, proportions of the temple, certain details that were present on the temple, the door, etc. This criteria yielded four groups.

Die Groups	Total amount of Dies
Group 1	18
Group 2	10
Group 3	8

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<sup>153</sup> Kleiner, *The Arch of Nero in Rome*, 100.



Group 4	6
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Table 2. The total amount of reverse temple dies found within each die group.

The first group, which is the earliest, is distinguished by various factors. One such feature that appears predominantly is the larger dimensions of the windows located on the side of the temple on the coins. Majority of the dies that are linked within group one feature a width of three blocks with some outliers having a width of two (F19, F34, F40, F42, F44, F51, and F81) and a length from between nine to five blocks. The matrix construction of the window is overall defined by a larger and more proportional frame.

An interesting architectural feature also emerges in this group. On a few dies in the beginning of the sequence, there are three, thick vertical lines located on the left side of the doorframe and two lines located on the right side of the doorframe (fig. 11-12). It is possible that the die engravers are attempting to depict a more accurate depiction of the details of the temple and its columns. Some level of accuracy must have been attempted by the engraver as the three lines on the left and the two on the right is exactly how one would observe the details of the temple when observing the temple from its left side. When viewing the temple from the left, that person would be able to see all details of the left and not the right; this accounts for why there are three lines on the left and only two on the right as it is only natural that some details from the opposite side would be obscured. It is also possible to theorize that the die engravers were viewing a three dimensional model of the temple and that is why the viewpoints are taken into consideration and reflected on the earlier dies. The idea that die engravers would view a three dimensional model has been expressed by MacDowall in his *Western Coinages of Nero*.<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>154</sup> MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero*, 128-129.

Ironically one of the best examples for this theory can be seen in the depiction of the Temple of Janus since three views (temple facing front, left, and right) of the temple are depicted on the Neronian coins.<sup>155</sup> MacDowall concludes his discussion by saying that, even though it may be hard to definitively say that three dimensional models were used during the creation of the dies, it is still clear that great care was taken into consideration to accurately reflect any building which they were attempting to emulate.<sup>156</sup> Therefore, the die engravers may be attempting to capture the more complex nature of how one would view the columns located on either side of the doorframe and the doorframe itself. This further helps to capture not only a more realistic view of the columns, but also aids in the reconstruction of the temple since the lines closest to the two doors may show further detailing on the doorframe, such as an architrave.

Almost all dies in every group have a small detail on the top and bottom of each column. This may be indicative of a capital, such as a Corinthian capital. All door fronts in this group appear to be proportional, even, and detailed. Some doors have a unique pattern with various horizontal lines and knobs located in various places. However, the most common doorframe is both doors having a door handle attached to a small circular knob, a horizontal line located above and below the door handles with circular embellishments located above and below the bottom horizontal line, and two vertical lines in the centre that separate both doors (fig. 13); the various lines may be evidence of paneling on the door. Nevertheless, this group is defined by the large dimensions of the window and a more accurate and detailed portrayal of the temple overall.

Group two is similar to group one. It still has a standard, well-proportioned, and detailed portrayal of the temple, although the dimensions of the temple are now beginning to change. It contains the temple's standard doorframe (fig. 14-15), however, aside from F83, all windows

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<sup>155</sup> MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero*, 128-129.

<sup>156</sup> MacDowall, *The Western Coinages of Nero*, 129.

now have a width of two rather than a standard width of three. The windows are also more elongated and simpler since the length is commonly nine squares long and still remain relatively proportional.

Group three still has a uniform and even appearance. A notable difference now, however, is a significant decrease in the dimensions of the window that began in group two. This group is also where the most changes begin to occur regarding the appearance of the temple. Similar to group two, all windows now have a width of two in addition to a much smaller length of between six and five (fig. 16-17) whereas previously the length was between nine and seven. This aids in the overall feeling of oversimplification and an easier appearance since, at the beginning of the sequence, the windows were much larger and more complex with typical dimensions of 3x7. Now the dimensions are significantly reduced as the typical dimensions of the window are 2x5. This is not the only reduction in size that is evident in group three. Not only are the dimensions of the windows changing, but the ratios of the temple itself are also being altered. In the beginning of the sequence, the dimensions of the side of the temple are always greater than the doorframe. However, towards the end of the sequence, the dimensions of the doorframe begin to become greater than the side of the temple. This steady alteration is most notably seen in group three and is then solidified in group four. Therefore, the ratio between the length of the door to the length of the side of the temple gradually reverses throughout the sequence of production. The doorframe in group three consists of the standard doorframe that is seen in group one and two.

Group four completely deviates from this standard door front as it is now very simple and contains the bare minimum of details. The most distinguishable feature of the doorframe now is the two large door handles on the front of the temple that are bisected by a single vertical line

and, apart from F65, are now lacking any additional circular embellishments that were usually directly above or noticeably attached to the two door handles (fig. 18-19); if any details are present, they are now over exaggerated or barely visible. There are still horizontal lines located above and below the door handles, however they are now located much closer to the handles and ultimately give the appearance of a flattened door. The changes to the proportions of the temple which began in the preceding group are now clearly seen and are now a main feature of this group. The door of the temple is now equal or larger than the side of the temple and, whereas the door in group one was elongated, the door in group four is now shorter and almost squished. It therefore appears as though there is an oversimplification and an easier appearance of the temple towards the end of the sequence of production.

## Results

In the beginning, the overall structure of the temple is elongated, somewhat proportional, and more detailed with many decorations or more effort put into the depiction of the temple by the die engravers. This can especially be seen in figure 11 since it is almost as if they tried to emulate the perspective of how one would view the columns when viewing the temple from the left side. There is also a progression of changes made to the dimension of the window and the proportions of the temple. The first group has very large dimensions with a standard width of three and a length of between seven and six, the next group has a standard width of two and a length of seven, and the last two groups have much smaller dimensions with a standard width of two and a length of five. There is also a decrease in the details on the door front that is especially evident in the last group. The side of the temple also begins by being larger than the doors and

eventually the side of the temple becomes smaller than the doors. Therefore, the design is becoming simpler and easier as the coins are produced, especially in regards to the overall design and dimensions of the temple. Nevertheless, from these observations and the identification of the earlier dies, I can begin to discern the main features of the Temple of Janus by using the earliest *sestertii*:

### Twin-Doors

On the front of the two doors, two vertical lines are found at the top and bottom of the door; this may be evidence of paneling on the door front. Two circular door handles are located in the middle of the door which are attached to a singular round protrusion or knob. Similar embellishments are occasionally also found directly above the top horizontal lines and below the bottom horizontal lines. The most common detailing is one knob located above and below the bottom register on both doors. The door front is arched with the arch comprised of either two or three arched lines and an additional line that continues down the side of the two doors and is beside the columns. This may be evidence of interior moulding or an architrave. Two lines can also be seen directly at the bottom of the door; this could perhaps be an attempt to show stairs leading up to the temple or simply more detailing on the bottom of the door. In every depiction of the temple, there is always a garland hung over the top of the door.

### Columns

The columns are perhaps Corinthian or Ionic columns, which are columns that have a unique type of adornment located on the top of the column, or appear to have some type of adornment located on the top and then a corresponding adornment at the bottom. This can especially be seen in figures 11 and 12 on the top of the left-frontal column and beside the top-

right of the window. There are two small vertical lines located on the left side of the doorframe with one bigger line located in between and two vertical lines located on the right of the temple (fig. 11-12). Towards the end of the sequence, there is only one thicker line located on each corner of the temple. This may be an attempt to emulate a column on each side of the temple by the die engravers with a total of four columns. There are two main frontal columns located on either side of the doors and two columns must also be located on either side of the back of the temple.

### Windows

The window is fairly large and most likely had a width of two or three blocks and a length of between seven and six. In some depictions there is additional detailing located directly below the window which consists of two horizontal lines. The window appears to cover the entire span of the side of the temple from the column at the front to the column at the back with no additional space in between them even though there must have been a gap between the window and the edge of the temple.

### Paneling

On the side of the temple and below the window, the paneling appears to be slightly raised and is embellished with vertical and horizontal lines that give the appearance of bricks or ashlar work.<sup>157</sup> Some depictions of the temple contain slightly elongated blocks while others have blocks that are more square. This trend continues as the blocks are either divided by one or two vertical and/or horizontal lines. It appears that having two lines on the paneling was the most popular choice throughout the entire sequence.

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<sup>157</sup> Müller, “The Shrine of Janus Geminus in Rome”, 439.

## Entablature

The upper portion of the temple or the entablature is simple and occasionally has a few lines of detailing surrounding it. There are various lines around the top portion of the temple or the pediment. In some depictions, the lower portion or band around the temple has three lines which may be evidence of a cornice.

## Conclusion

The die analysis yielded the same conclusion as Fred Kleiner. Dies at the beginning of the sequence appear to be more detailed, well-executed, and proportional in comparison to the latter part of production. In the beginning of the sequence, the dimensions of the side of the temple are always greater than the doorframe. However, towards the end of the sequence, the dimensions of the doorframe begin to become greater than the side of the temple. Therefore, the ratio between the distance of the door to the dimensions of the side of the temple gradually reverses throughout the sequence. This can most notably be seen in group one compared to group four. Furthermore, the overall structure starts with an elongated and somewhat proportional temple and eventually becomes shorter and wider. The details of the temple, more specifically those on the doorframe, slowly become more simple and occasionally possess just the bare minimum of details, such as the door handles. The windows start off with bigger dimensions with a width of between three and two and the length of between nine and five before decreasing to a standard width of two and a length of five. The doors in the beginning of the sequence each have a round door handle that is further attached to a circular protrusion, however the end of the

sequence mostly consists of just a round door handle (apart from F65). Therefore, it is clear that the details on the coins are gradually becoming more simplified.

The die analysis also revealed several key features that would overall comprise the Temple of Janus. The two doors each possess a door handle attached to a knob and several other embellishments, such as other round ornamentations and paneling. Above the door, there is an architrave and on the sides of the two doors there is interior molding. On the side of the temple there is a large window that spans the length of the temple from the front column to the back column and is approximately three blocks high and seven or six blocks wide. Below the window there is paneling, which may be an attempt to mimic ashlar work, and above the window there is a wide space with a cornice that likely encompasses the length of the temple just below the pediment.

From the compiled list of architectural features, I will further analyze these features by un-manipulating their appearance on the coins and attempting to hypothesize how the die engravers manipulated the appearance of the temple as they were engraving it upon the dies; die engravers would have a certain shorthand method that they would use when transposing a monument onto a die. Therefore, the architectural features found on the coins would have been slightly altered in order to accurately reflect the monument on a smaller medium. Since the Temple of Janus is a lost monument, we are unable to see how they directly altered the monument onto the coins. The Ara Pacis, however, still survives and is found on Neronian coins. Using these coins, I will analyze their depiction to see how the Ara Pacis was portrayed in order to see how the Neronian die engravers altered the features of the Ara Pacis. This will ultimately reveal how the Temple of Janus would have been manipulated by the die engravers and therefore reveal the true architectural features of the Temple of Janus.



### Chapter 3: Reconstruction

#### Material

Some ancient authors may hint towards the possible material of the Temple of Janus. One such example is Procopius who clearly states the material of the temple twice in his *History of the Wars*:<sup>158</sup>

“ὅ τε νεὸς ἅπας χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἔστηκε, τοσοῦτος μέντοι, ὅσον τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἰάνου σκέπειν. ἔστι δὲ χαλκοῦν οὐχ ἦσσον ἢ πηχῶν πέντε τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἐμφορῆς ἀνθρώπων, διπρόσωπον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχον, καὶ τοῖν προσώποιν θάτερον μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται. θύραι τε χαλκαῖ ἐφ’ ἑκατέρῳ προσώπῳ εἰσίν, ἃς δὴ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνόμιζον, πολέμου δὲ σφίσις ὄντος ἀνέωγον.”<sup>159</sup>

In his description of the temple, Procopius uses the adjective χάλκεος, -οῦς or “of bronze” in relation to both the temple and its doors.<sup>160</sup> He makes it clear in the first sentence that “the temple is entirely of bronze”.<sup>161</sup> The idea of an entirely bronze monument is not entirely lost or foreign to the Romans. Many important Roman and Greek monuments included various aspects being either entirely made from bronze or simply sheathed in bronze. One such example is the Roman

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<sup>158</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5.25.

<sup>159</sup> Ibid.

<sup>160</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5.25. Translated by H.B. Dewing.

<sup>161</sup> Ibid.

Pantheon. Up until approximately 655 CE when the tiles were re-located to Constantinople by Constans II, the roof of the Pantheon consisted of stunning bronze roof-tiles.<sup>162</sup> Various other examples are also given by Pausanias who describes multiple artworks and architectural features, such as statues, temples, and doors, in his *Description of Greece* that were constructed from bronze.<sup>163</sup> Pausanias, when he is describing the various re-buildings of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi, claims that the third construction of the temple was made from bronze; Middleton suggests that this may show that Pausanias, although he is rightfully doubtful at the possibility that the temple was constructed out of bronze at the hands of the Greek god Hephaestus, shows that buildings made of bronze were a possibility in the ancient world.<sup>164</sup> He even mentions the Roman forum in his discussion of the Temple of Apollo when he states:

“τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν τρίτον τῶν ναῶν, ὅτι ἐγένετο ἐκ χαλκοῦ, θαῦμα οὐδέν, εἴ γε Ἀκρίσιος μὲν θάλαμον χαλκοῦν τῇ θυγατρὶ ἐποίησατο, Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ Ἀθηναῖς ἱερὸν Χαλκιοῖκου καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι λείπεται, Ῥωμαίοις δὲ ἡ ἀγορὰ μεγέθους ἔνεκα καὶ κατασκευῆς τῆς ἄλλης θαῦμα οὐσα παρέχεται τὸν ὄροφον χαλκοῦν. οὕτω καὶ ναὸν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι οὐκ ἂν ἀπὸ γε τοῦ εἰκότος εἶη γενέσθαι χαλκοῦν.”<sup>165</sup>

“It is no wonder that the third temple was made of bronze, seeing that Acrisius made a bedchamber of bronze for his daughter, the Lacedaemonians still possess a sanctuary of Athena of the Bronze House, and the Roman forum, a marvel for its size and style, possesses a roof of bronze. So it would not be unlikely that a temple of bronze was made for Apollo.”<sup>166</sup>

This may be an example of how it was a relatively common practice among the Romans to use bronze tiling on their buildings as the roof of the Pantheon again consisted of bronze roof-tiles.

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<sup>162</sup> Heinzelmann and Heinzelmann, “The Metal Roof Truss of the Pantheon’s Portico In Rome – 152 Tonnes Of Bronze”, 1; Moore, “The Gilt-Bronze Tiles of the Pantheon”, 40-43; Smith and Anthon, *A New Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology and Geography*, 602.

<sup>163</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 5.10.10, 9.26.7, 10.5.9-12.

<sup>164</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 10.5.11; Middleton, “The Temple of Apollo at Delphi”, 285.

<sup>165</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 10.5.11.

<sup>166</sup> Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, 10.5.11. Translated by W.H.S Jones; Middleton, “The Temple of Apollo at Delphi”, 285; Middleton observes that this may be referring to the Forum of Trajan, which had bronze roof-tiles.

Therefore, there must have been some commonality among the Romans to use bronze as a material for the construction of certain aspects of buildings and monuments.

Besides being used as a material for roofs, however, the same practice can further be seen on certain Roman doors as they too were occasionally made from bronze. For example, the doors of the Roman senate house or the Curia, which was located in the north side of the Comitium, were made of bronze.<sup>167</sup> Their construction dates to the reign of Diocletian before they were later removed in the 1600's and now adorn the entrance of St. John Lateran, a Roman cathedral.<sup>168</sup> The doors of the Pantheon, which still remain, were also constructed of bronze.<sup>169</sup> It is therefore possible that, even if the temple was not constructed entirely of bronze, its twin-doors may have been instead. Even though it is hard to say with any certainty what the true material of the temple was, the doors to the temple may have likely been constructed of bronze, especially given Pliny's statement on the matter: "*Prisci limina etiam ac valvas in templis ex aere factitavere*": "In early times the lintels and folding doors of temples as well were commonly made of bronze".<sup>170</sup>

However, since Pliny does mention a fair number of buildings made from bronze during his time, the question inevitably arises that if the shrine was made entirely out of bronze at that time, as Procopius claims, then why did Pliny not mention the Temple of Janus in his description?<sup>171</sup> It is possible, as Holland points out, that the temple could have been reconstructed to the now entirely bronze shrine after the time of Pliny.<sup>172</sup> Furthermore, given that there was a fire in 283 CE, the temple may have been destroyed and then re-built by Diocletian and therefore the re-built temple may have been the one seen and described by Procopius.<sup>173</sup> Procopius was writing relatively late

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<sup>167</sup> Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 142; Testa, *Rome is Love Spelled Backward*, 9.

<sup>168</sup> Testa, *Rome is Love Spelled Backward*, 9.

<sup>169</sup> Allen, "The Day after Rome Was Built", 341.

<sup>170</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.13. Translated by H. Rackham.

<sup>171</sup> Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 135.

<sup>172</sup> Ibid.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

into the empire, which was almost four centuries later than when the Neronian coins were struck, since a lot happened during those four centuries, it is only natural to deduce that the temple underwent some change or modification at one point or another. Many, including Holland and Müller, also speculate that the temple could have been sheathed in bronze plates rather than the whole building being made entirely out of bronze; however, this theory incurs other various problems, including why the Vandals, who sacked Rome in 455 CE, would not have stripped the temple of its bronze encasing thereby preserving the bronze to be later noted by Procopius in his description.<sup>174</sup>

In Vergil's first mention of the temple in his *Aeneid*, he uses a different adjective when describing its doors: "*Dirae ferro et compagibus artis claudentur Belli portae*"<sup>175</sup> While Procopius stated in his *History of the Wars* that the temple was entirely made of bronze by using the Greek adjective *χάλκεος*, -οῦς, Vergil instead uses the Latin noun *ferrum* or "iron".<sup>176</sup> The use of this noun by Vergil in his *Aeneid* may hint towards a different material other than bronze for the doors of the temple, which is iron. Vergil is not alone in his suggestion of a different material. There are some ancient sources who also describe the material of the temple's doors as such. Lucan in his *The Civil War* also alludes to the material of the temple when he writes:

*"Pars aetheris illa sereni tota vacet, nullaeque obstant a Caesare nubes. Tum genus humanum positis sibi consulat armis, inque vicem gens omnis amet; pax missa per orbem ferrea belligeri conpescat limina Iani."*<sup>177</sup>

Ennius, who was one of the earliest sources to mention the Temple of Janus, also alludes to what the material of the doors of the temple was when he uses the adjective *ferratus* in his *Annales*:

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<sup>174</sup> Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, 135; Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 3.4.

<sup>175</sup> Vergil, *The Aeneid*, 1.293-294. Translated by Robert Fitzgerald.

<sup>176</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5.25; Vergil, *The Aeneid*, 1.293-294.

<sup>177</sup> Lucan, *The Civil War*, 1.58-66.

“*postquam Discordia taetra/ Belli ferratos postes portasque refregit*”.<sup>178</sup> It is similarly expressed by Horace who is referencing Ennius’ *Annales* in his *Satires* “*postquam Discordia taetra / Belli ferratos postis portasque refregit*”.<sup>179</sup> Green suggests that this phrasing and use of iron could instead be referring to how the description of the Temple of Janus in Ennius’ *Annales* is being equated with a prison.<sup>180</sup> Therefore *ferratus*, instead of being used to reveal the material of the doors of the Temple of Janus, may be attempting to invoke the image of a prison that is intended to prevent Discord from breaking free.<sup>181</sup> He further suggests that Vergil’s similar mention of the temple in his *Aeneid* is also trying to allude to a prison from his use of certain words, such as *portae Belli*, which he theorizes may be an attempt by Vergil to echo the earlier work of Ennius.<sup>182</sup> However, Vergil also uses *aereus* or “bronze” in his later description of the temple when he is describing the bolts that comprise the door of the Temple of Janus: “*centum aerei claudunt vectes aeternaque ferri/ robora, nec custos absistit limine Ianus*”.<sup>183</sup> This may further indicate that the material of the door was instead made out of bronze. Nevertheless, even though the material of the temple and its doors cannot be definitively stated, it is possible, given the evidence and examples of other buildings around that time, that the doors to the temple could have been made of a different material, such as bronze or iron.

## Architectural Features

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<sup>178</sup> Ennius, *Annales*, 225-226.

<sup>179</sup> Horace, *Satires*, 1.4.60-62; Curran, “Nature, Convention, and Obscenity in Horace, *Satires* 1.2.”, 244.

<sup>180</sup> Green, “Multiple Interpretation of the Opening and Closing of the Temple of Janus”, 306.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> Vergil, *The Aeneid*, 7.607-610. Green, “Multiple Interpretation of the Opening and Closing of the Temple of Janus”, 306-307.

<sup>183</sup> Vergil, *The Aeneid*, 7.609-610. Translated by G. P. Goold.

After the completion of the die analysis, several key architectural features were able to be observed from the first and earliest coins. The famous twin-doors, which are clearly seen on all numismatic representations of the shrine, had several details and embellishments on both doors. The most common detailing at the beginning of the sequence was both doors had two horizontal lines at the top and bottom of the door; this may be evidence of paneling on the door front. Between the two panels, there are two circular door handles which are each attached to a circular embellishment or knob. Further circular embellishments are then found directly above and below the lower horizontal line (fig. 13). Two to three lines comprise the arched doorway and on either side of the doors, which may be evidence of interior moulding or an architrave. It is then followed by a column on either side of the doors. The columns, which can be found on each corner of the temple, may be Corinthian or Ionic given the small detailing located above and below the columns (fig. 11-12). Above the two doors, the upper portion of the temple or the entablature appears to be embellished with a band on its exterior (fig. 11-12). This may suggest that there is a cornice on the temple. On the side of the temple, there is a fairly large window with a width of approximately seven and a height of three. This matrix comprises the window grille that appears to be placed over the window.<sup>184</sup> It appears to cover the entire width of the temple from column to column, although there must have been a gap separating the end of the window from the end of the temple. Below the window, further paneling is embellished with what appears to be ashlar work or a matrix pattern comprised of one or two lines.<sup>185</sup>

From the coins alone it is hard to discern whether the temple had a roof. Taylor, on the one hand, suggests that, just above the arched door-way, the large entablature may have held an

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<sup>184</sup> Taylor, *Watching the Skies*, 25.

<sup>185</sup> Müller, “The Shrine of Janus Geminus in Rome”, 439.

attic on the inside.<sup>186</sup> On this idea, Taylor postulates that there must have been a roof or a vault.<sup>187</sup>

Procopius in his description states that “τοσοῦτος μέντοι, ὅσον τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ἰάνου σκέπειν”;

“but it is only large enough to cover the statue of Janus”.<sup>188</sup> Taylor infers that Procopius could

therefore be alluding to the temple having a roof.<sup>189</sup> Yet there are various problems with these

assumptions, as Taylor points out, such as how his account is undoubtedly unreliable since he is

writing centuries later and the verb he uses to describe this phenomenon, σκέπειν, may describe the

height of the walls and therefore not alluding to a roof.<sup>190</sup> Furthermore, he also compares the

numismatic representation of the Temple of Janus with the representation of the Ara Pacis and

states that the Ara Pacis coins also give no indication regarding whether it had a roof or not.<sup>191</sup> On

the other hand, the temple is frequently called a *sacellum*, such as in Ovid’s *Fasti*: “*ara mihi posita*

*est parvo coniuncta sacello*”.<sup>192</sup> This may indicate that the Temple of Janus was roofless since

Festus describes this term as “*sacella dicuntur loca diis sacrata sine tecto*”.<sup>193</sup> The idea of an open

space may be fitting to Janus as he belongs to a certain set of gods, liminal gods, who preside over

spaces which were open to the sky.<sup>194</sup> The idea is further expressed by Varro in his *De Lingua*

*Latina*:

“*Hoc idem magis ostendit antiquius Iovis nomen: nam olim Diovis et Di<e>spiter dictus, id est dies pater; a quo dei dicti qui inde, et dius et divum, unde sub divo, Dius Fidius. Itaque inde eius perforatum tectum, ut ea videatur divum, id est caelum. Quidam negant sub tecto per hunc deierare oportere.*”<sup>195</sup>

“This same thing the more ancient name of Jupiter shows even better: for of old he was called *Diovis* and *Diespiter*, that is, *dies pater* ‘Father Day’; from which they who come

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<sup>186</sup> Taylor, *Watching the Skies*, 25.

<sup>187</sup> Ibid.

<sup>188</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5.25. Translated by H.B. Dewing.

<sup>189</sup> Taylor, *Watching the Skies*, 26.

<sup>190</sup> Ibid.

<sup>191</sup> Ibid.

<sup>192</sup> Ovid, *Fasti*, 1.275.

<sup>193</sup> Festus 422 L; Taylor, *Watching the Skies*, 26; Müller, “The Shrine of Janus Geminus in Rome”, 439.

<sup>194</sup> Taylor, *Watching the Skies*, 26.

<sup>195</sup> Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 5.66.

from him are called *dei* ‘deities,’ and *dius* ‘god’ and *divum* ‘sky,’ whence *sub divo* ‘under the sky,’ and *Dius Fidius* ‘god of faith.’ Thus from this reason the roof of his temple is pierced with holes, that in this way the *divum*, which is the *caelum* ‘sky,’ may be seen. Some say that it is improper to take an oath by his name, when you are under a roof.”<sup>196</sup>

Therefore, it is likely that the Temple of Janus, similar to the Ara Pacis, was unroofed. However, it cannot be said with any certainty.

### Questions Regarding the Coins

Even though the iconographic details on the Neronian Ara Pacis coins correspond with the Ara Pacis Augustae, some scholars have questioned whether the Neronian coins are truly portraying the Ara Pacis Augustae or something else. Toynbee, in a response to Weinstock’s article *Pax and the “Ara Pacis”*, delves deeper into the idea that the monument on the Neronian coins may not be the Ara Pacis Augustae. Weinstock originally claims that the numismatic representations of the altar by Nero and Domitian do not definitively prove that the altar being depicted on their coins is the Ara Pacis Augustae.<sup>197</sup> Weinstock further suggests, similar to Mattingly, that if the Neronian coins depicting the Ara Pacis were only produced for Lugdunum, then Nero possibly constructed a new Ara Pacis in Gaul in order to commemorate his victory and himself.<sup>198</sup> However, Toynbee questions this statement by stating:

“But both are concerned with Pax and there seems to be a reasonable case for believing that they were intended to represent our altar. And why should not those Emperors have recalled on their coinages an Augustan monument? Nero, as Dr. Weinstock says, ‘liked to stress his connection with Augustus’; and Domitian, like Augustus, ‘wanted to inaugurate

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<sup>196</sup> Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, 5.66. Translated by Roland G. Kent.

<sup>197</sup> Toynbee, “Ara Pacis Augustae”, 154.

<sup>198</sup> Toynbee, “Ara Pacis Augustae”, 155-153; Weinstock, “Pax and the ‘Ara Pacis’”, 51-52; Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 166.



a new era' of prosperity and peace, such as the founding of the Ara Pacis Augustae had been regarded as heralding."<sup>199</sup>

Even though it is natural to ponder the true nature of a depiction, it is hard to say with any certainty whether these coins are depicting the Ara Pacis Augustae or a new altar in Lugdunum. Ryberg further explains that, since the Temple of Janus was closed at the same time that the constitution of the Ara Pacis was created, the depiction of the Ara Pacis Augustae by Nero would not be unusual, especially since Nero's defeat of the Parthians is reminiscent of Augustus's similar victory years earlier.<sup>200</sup> Ryberg then concludes that this coin type undoubtedly depicts Augustus' altar from 13 BCE.<sup>201</sup> Other scholars, although they may refer to the altar and its portrayal on coins in passing, usually accept that the Neronian coins show Augustus's altar from 13 BCE. Nero's portrayal of the Ara Pacis Augustae also appears to be justifiable since, as Weinstock points out, "he liked to stress his connection with Augustus".<sup>202</sup> Therefore, it would not be unusual for Nero to portray an Augustan monument on his coinage.

### Ara Pacis Coins

The master dies or the earliest dies that have been observed from the die analysis are the closest and most accurate representation of the Temple of Janus. However, even though these are the most accurate depictions, the Neronian die engravers would still have a specific shorthand method that they would employ when attempting to transpose a monument onto a coin. Such methodology would have undoubtedly been used by the Neronian die engravers in their creation of

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<sup>199</sup> Toynbee, "The 'Ara Pacis Augustae'", 154.

<sup>200</sup> Ryberg, "The Procession of the Ara Pacis", 94; Syme, "Problems about Janus", 201-202.

<sup>201</sup> Ibid.

<sup>202</sup> Weinstock, "Pax and the 'Ara Pacis'", 51.

the Temple of Janus dies. Therefore, the numismatic representation of the temple must be further analyzed by comparing the temple's representation on the Neronian coins to the Neronian numismatic representation of the Ara Pacis. The Ara Pacis is a surviving monument that was also struck on Neronian coins at relatively the same time as the Temple of Janus coins (64 CE).<sup>203</sup> By comparing a known monument and its corresponding coin, I will be able to observe how the Neronian die engravers altered monuments when they wished to portray them on a smaller medium and therefore uncover their working methods at that time. These methods could include exaggeration of features, miniaturization or enlargement of otherwise standard features, and bringing certain features or details to the forefront. Once their methods are uncovered, the numismatic representation of the Temple of Janus can be un-modified and the true appearance of the temple can finally be revealed.

The Ara Pacis was built to commemorate Augustus in 13 BCE. It was located in the Campus Martius and, despite Augustus' construction of the monument, it was not until the reign of Nero that the altar was struck on coins.<sup>204</sup> These coins were produced on *asses* from Lugdunum and were introduced in 64 CE at the same time as the Temple of Janus coins.<sup>205</sup> Similar to the Temple of Janus, the Ara Pacis coins show two doors located at the front of the altar. The doors appear to show similar detailing to the doors of the Temple of Janus as there are also two door handles attached to a circular embellishment and occasionally horizontal lines located above and below the door handles (fig. 6 & 12). On both doors of the Ara Pacis there is further circular embellishments above and below the door handles (fig. 21-22). This is again reminiscent of the details on the doors of the Temple of Janus (fig. 6). On either side of the doors there are two panels that are bisected

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<sup>203</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 166.

<sup>204</sup> Weinstock, "Pax and the 'Ara Pacis'", 53: Following Nero, Domitian also created coins showing the Ara Pacis.

<sup>205</sup> Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 166.

with a horizontal line. The above portion of the register on each side shows one seated figure; the seated figures are both facing one another. When comparing the coins to the Ara Pacis, the only seated figures who are facing each other are Roma on the right of the East panel of the altar and Tellus on the left (fig. 28).<sup>206</sup> This is a simplification of the original friezes since Tellus, who is the largest figure on the left panel, is with two other female figures who may be interpreted as representing land and sea.<sup>207</sup> They are slightly smaller in stature in comparison to the central female figure (fig. 25). In the bottom portion of the panels on the Neronian coins there is an ascending simple floral pattern that can be seen on both the right and the left side of the Eastern panel. A more detailed floral design can also be seen on the Ara Pacis in the same locations. On figures 21 and 22 there is a simple pattern near the top of the altar that contains various circles in a row and in figures 23 and 24 there is no geometric pattern except a single linear band. This could be evidence of a cornice. The top of the altar is flat, similar to the Temple of Janus. On the very top of the Ara Pacis there are various lines that curl inwards on both sides of the altar. This may be an attempt to depict smoke from the altar or flames and may therefore reflect that it is open to the sky.<sup>208</sup>

There are various similarities and differences between the Ara Pacis and its Neronian numismatic representation. As previously mentioned, on the East side of the altar there are four seated female figures. Two female figures on the left side of the East panel, land and Tellus, are facing the right and the third figure, sea, is facing the left followed by their respective adjuncts below them as indicators of who they are. The only figure on the right side of the East panel is Roma who is seated and facing left. The friezes on the altar are quite detailed. Each figure has

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<sup>206</sup> De Grummond, “Pax Augusta and the Horae on the Ara Pacis Augustae”, 663: Some have suggested that the central figure may be Italia, Pax, or Venus.

<sup>207</sup> De Grummond, “Pax Augusta and the Horae on the Ara Pacis Augustae”, 671.

<sup>208</sup> Haerinck and Overlaet, “Altar Shrines and Fire Altars?”, 215.

certain details and features, such as Roma's distinguishable armour and shield located below her and the billowing fabric above the two smaller figures on the left side of the East panel (fig. 28). In comparison to the Neronian coins, the figures are then transposed onto the smaller medium by being completely devoid of specific details which may indicate their identity and any additional features. The lower friezes on the Ara Pacis contain a detailed floral pattern that begins at the bottom and flourishes upwards and outwards (fig. 25). The frieze is similar to the image on the coins since it too shows a floral pattern that rises upwards and spreads outwards, although it is much more simplified (fig. 23).

On the altar, there is a thick band that shows a meander, which is a continuous geometric pattern, that encompasses almost all of the altar and divides the altar into two friezes on all sides of the altar.<sup>209</sup> On the coins, there is a simple horizontal line that divides the two East friezes. Therefore, the detailed band on the altar is replaced with a single thick line or occasionally two small lines.

The friezes on the East are also surrounded by large vertical lines on either side (fig. 27). The two lines that divide the frieze from the doors are smaller in size in comparison to the two other lines at the end of the altar. On the altar itself, these lines contain the same features and embellishments. Each column or pilaster has a decorative Corinthian capital on top followed by floral detailing that stretches upwards towards the capital.<sup>210</sup> However, on the coins, there are either no additional patterns or embellishments on the columns or the designs are simplified to a simple geometric pattern.

On the upper portion of the altar on the coins, there is a cornice that surrounds the entire altar. The altar as it appears today has a cornice that is devoid of any decorations, however, there

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<sup>209</sup> Toynbee, "Review", 120.

<sup>210</sup> Toynbee, "Review", 119.

presumably was a floral-like pattern that would have encompassed the entire band and what is potentially portrayed on the cornice in figures 21-22.<sup>211</sup> However, the representation on the coins would still be a simplified version of the decorative vestiges that would have adorned the altar.<sup>212</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that the Neronian die engravers simplified the friezes and details of the Ara Pacis and chose to only provide the simplest and easiest details, such as the complex and highly detailed East friezes being simplified to only two large, seated figures who are facing one another.

### Shorthand Methods

The shorthand methods of the Neronian die engravers are overall a simplification of the original monument in which they are emulating. Yet the details on the coins, although they are simplified, are still detailed enough that the holder of the coin would be able to interpret what building or monument is depicted on the coinage. It was highly unlikely that a monument or building would have an identical numismatic representation.<sup>213</sup> Instead, as Weinstock and Toynbee justly point out, they would simplify the design of the monument and therefore they would have a method of “telescoping” the larger image in order for it to fit and be accurately portrayed on a smaller medium.<sup>214</sup> The fundamental architectural features are clearly present on the coins, such as the shape of the structure, its supportive or decorative columns, doors, and any windows. However, any additional details that were quite complex, such as a highly detailed cornice or frieze, would then be simplified to a single recognizable figure or simplified version of a complex pattern. For instance, the meander pattern on the coins of the Ara Pacis is

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<sup>211</sup> Toynbee, “Review”, 119.

<sup>212</sup> Ibid.

<sup>213</sup> Toynbee, “The ‘Ara Pacis Augustae’”, 154.

<sup>214</sup> Toynbee, “The ‘Ara Pacis Augustae’”, 154; Weinstock, “Pax and the ‘Ara Pacis’”, 53.

simplified to a single line with no detailing and the three female figures on the South-East frieze is simplified to the one female figure who is in the center. Toynbee provides an excellent example of this common practice by the die engravers when he compares Trajan's column with its numismatic representation; Trajan's column has twenty-three bands that surround the column whereas its numismatic representation by Trajan only has three.<sup>215</sup>

When comparing how the Ara Pacis is portrayed on the Neronian coins to the Temple of Janus, it is safe to assume that any details that may consist of simple vertical or horizontal lines, especially in multitude, most likely held a complex pattern or detailing. This would lead the die engravers to then simplify the design to a simplified version for the numismatic representation of the temple and therefore only show one large line or multiple lines rather than a highly detailed small portion of the temple. It is then clear that the Neronian die engravers, like all others, focused on the larger architectural features of the temple and the details that were most recognizable and noticeable on the original monument.

## Reconstruction

From the die analysis and interpretation of the shorthand methods of the Neronian die engravers, there are several architectural features and adornments that the Temple of Janus must have had. The cornice on the Ara Pacis coins sometimes shows a simple pattern containing a continuous line of circular embellishments while others have only a thick horizontal line abutted by two smaller lines. While the Ara Pacis that is seen today does not have any floral patterns on the cornice, it is presumed that there was some detailing located on the upper portion. This most

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<sup>215</sup> Toynbee, "The 'Ara Pacis Augustae'", 154.

likely can be said for the Temple of Janus and how the upper portion of the temple is only comprised of an additional line that is close to the edge of the entire length of the entablature and pediment. It too was most likely detailed. The door, although it has some embellishments, was probably more detailed than what is shown on the coins. Following how the meander pattern on the band located between the two friezes on the Ara Pacis coins is only represented by a single line, it is possible that the various lines seen on the two doors of the temple contained further embellishments and designs. The area surrounding the doors and the arched door front may have also had a similar design to the moulding found on the door-way of the Ara Pacis. This can especially be seen in figure 11 since various lines are noticeable on the arched portion above the doors. This may indicate a similar pattern that is seen on the Ara Pacis which is also comprised of various lines of detailing (fig. 27). Small details can also be seen on the top portion of the columns on the Temple of Janus coins (fig. 11-12). The Ara Pacis coins, however, do not contain any noticeable additions to the upper portion of the columns or pilasters even though it is clear from the altar that Corinthian capitals are located on all pilasters (fig. 23-28). This may further indicate that, although there is only minimal detailing on the columns on the Temple of Janus coins, there must have been a more intricate and detailed column, such as a Corinthian capital, that was minimalized and simplified by the Neronian die engravers. Given their shorthand methods, the architectural features of the temple were much more detailed and embellished than they appear on the Neronian coins.

## Conclusion

Even though the Temple of Janus is a lost monument, many architectural features can still be seen upon its Neronian numismatic representation. The temple may have been unroofed in correlation with Janus' role as a liminal god and since both the Ara Pacis and the Temple of Janus coins appear to have a flat roof and the altar was indeed unroofed. On the side of the temple, there is a window that is located relatively higher up on the temple and starts almost in line with where the two-doors begin. The grille of the window most likely had dimensions of approximately three squares in height and seven squares in length. Below the window there is a block-like pattern that may be imitating bricks or ashlar work. Three columns can be seen on either side of the temple with a fourth column undoubtedly on the far-right corner. A small detail can be seen on the top and bottom of the column that hints at further detailing on the columns, such as a Corinthian capital that is not noticeable on the Ara Pacis coins but can be seen on the altar itself.

The two doors on the temple have identical patterns to one another. The most common pattern is a horizontal line above the door handles, and another located slightly farther below. The circular door handles have a circular knob attached at the top of the handle and further circular embellishments above and below the bottom horizontal line. Due to the die engravers' method of oversimplifying the original design and detailing of a monument, presumably there would have been more detailing on the original doors of the Temple of Janus. This can clearly be seen on the Ara Pacis coins since the altar has a band that bisects all friezes on the altar and is highly detailed; it has a meander pattern whereas the two friezes on the coins are bisected by a simple horizontal line. Therefore, the simple lines on the Temple of Janus may have also contained an additional pattern. On either side of the two-doors, there may be evidence of an interior moulding or architrave that surrounds the entirety of the two-doors. This can be



presumed from the detailed arched door and how in figure 11 the arched moulding appears to continue downwards on either side of the doors and beside the two columns. Similarly, the entablature and pediment of the temple is decorated with a simple line that is located directly below all sides of the entablature. In comparison to the Ara Pacis coins, the numismatic altar only appears to either have a simple linear pattern or no pattern at all. Since it can be presumed that the altar would have had a decorated cornice, it is possible that the Neronian die engravers simplified the design of the cornice on the temple and merely depicted a single band surrounding the entablature.

Some ancient authors have used certain adjectives in their description of the temple that may suggest what the original material of the temple was. Procopius in his description of the temple clearly stated that the entire temple and its doors were constructed out of bronze by using the adjective *χάλκεος*, -οῦς.<sup>216</sup> Many Roman monuments and buildings had various aspects that were constructed of bronze. One such example is the Pantheon, which has a large bronze door and previously had bronze roof-tiles, and the Curia or the Roman senate house, which also had bronze doors. Vergil, Lucan, and Ennius use the material *ferrum* or iron in their references to the Temple of Janus.<sup>217</sup> This may suggest that the doors to the temple were instead made of iron rather than bronze. Nevertheless, all references to the doors to the temple may hint that the material of its doors were made of a different material, such as iron or bronze. Since it appears that many monuments in Rome had doors made of bronze, I am inclined to speculate that the doors to the Temple of Janus at one point must have been bronze. All of these uncovered details of the Temple of Janus will aid in establishing, not only a better understanding of the architectural features of the temple of Janus, but also a true representation of this lost monument.

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<sup>216</sup> Procopius, *History of the Wars*, 5.25.

<sup>217</sup> Ennius, *Annals*, 225-226; Lucan, *The Civil War*, 1.58-66; Vergil, *The Aeneid*, 1.293-294.

## Conclusion

During the reign of Nero, coins were struck that portrayed the Temple of Janus with closed doors. The doors of the temple had an important symbolic function; in times of peace, the doors would be closed, and in times of war, the doors would then be opened. The temple is unfortunately lost as there are no remains left of the temple nor have any ever been uncovered. The only contemporary depiction of the Temple of Janus that remains are the Neronian coins. However, even though these coins are the only evidence that we have left of the appearance of the Temple of Janus, the coins were produced in 64/65 CE for two years and incurred various changes to its appearance as the dies would break and subsequently be replaced during production.<sup>218</sup> Therefore, as the dies would change, the replacement dies would eventually move away from the master designs, which are dies that are the first and most accurate, and eventually bear a less accurate and less detailed depiction of the temple. Therefore, it is important to discover which numismatic depictions of the temple are the most accurate and reliable in order to thereby establish the most likely appearance of the Temple of Janus.

The methodology that I used in order to uncover the master designs and therefore the most accurate representation of the temple was a die study. This method was previously employed by Fred Kleiner in his study of the lost arch of Nero as he too sought to uncover a lost monument that only survives on Neronian coins. A die study was useful in establishing the potential sequence of production of my specific coin type and identifying which dies were the

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<sup>218</sup> Syme, "Problems about Janus", 205.

earliest. However, there are unavoidable limitations that one encounters when conducting a die study. In a die study, it is almost impossible to have every die ever struck of a specific coin type. Therefore, several dies are missing from the die linkage which results in an incomplete sequence of production of that coin type. This causes the die linkage to contain various breaks between the links rather than one continual link that would connect all dies together and reflect a complete sequence of its production. The incomplete die linkage and the various gaps in the sequence can result in the potential identification of the sequence being misconstrued or more difficult to interpret. Nevertheless, by following Fred Kleiner's theory that the most accurate and detailed dies are at the beginning of the sequence and thereby grouping the dies, I was able to create a possible sequence of production. From my four groups that I established, it is clear that there is a decrease in the accuracy and elaborateness of the dies. Therefore, both the die study and identification of the die linkage provided a better understanding of the potential sequence of the dies and aided in identifying the earliest dies. It allowed for me to analyze the appearance of the temple on the earliest dies in comparison to the later ones and therefore identify the main architectural features of the Temple of Janus.

Die engravers, however, would have their own working methods in order to transpose a monument or building onto a coin. This would result in the appearance of that building or monument being altered or simplified in order for it to be accurately reflected and recognizable on that coin. Therefore, their architectural features and details were altered in order to fit on such a small medium. Since the Temple of Janus is a lost monument, I employed another method in order to uncover what the shorthand methods of the Neronian die engravers were and thereby reveal how the architectural features of the temple were manipulated. This was achieved by comparing a surviving monument, Ara Pacis Augustae, and its Neronian numismatic counterpart

with the Temple of Janus' portrayal on Neronian coins. This method of deducing the working methods of the Neronian die engravers was effective in further revealing what the key features of the Temple of Janus were before they were manipulated and portrayed on Neronian coins. The result of the analysis yielded many significant findings, including how they simplified various details and architectural features and what features they chose to focus on. This helped to un-manipulate the architectural features that were previously uncovered in the die analysis and helped to theorize what the details and features of the temple would have originally looked like on the Temple of Janus.

These methods allowed for me to establish the most likely appearance of the Temple of Janus by uncovering several key architectural features and details that were present in the earliest dies and taking the short hand methods of the Neronian die engravers into consideration. The original door of the temple would have had two doors handles attached to a circular detail. This detail was presumably what connected the door handle to the front of the door and allowed for the handle to be functional in order for the doors to open and close. The mechanism is perhaps similar in design to a modern doorknocker. There are two vertical lines located in the middle of the doors. This detail on the coins shows where the two doors were separated from one another and perhaps may be evidence of further detailing or a small pattern where the two doors would abut one another. Above and below the door handles there are vertical lines that may be evidence of a decorative frieze that may have adorned the front door. The single or double lines may have been a result of the Neronian die engraver simplifying a complex or detailed pattern on the front of the door by instead simply depicting small horizontal lines. This modification is seen on the Neronian coins that depict the Ara Pacis on its reverse. On the Ara Pacis coins, there is a simple, thick line that bisects the friezes on top and below the Eastern panel. The altar itself, however,

shows a continuous horizontal meander that bisects all friezes that encircle the altar. It is highly likely that this method of simplifying small, complex patterns and friezes was employed on the Temple of Janus and any further complex details that it would have had. Further circular embellishments can also be seen on the temple's doors both above and below the bottom horizontal line. Presumably there would have been more knobs that decorated the front of the two-doors and within any paneling. The top of the temple appears to have further linear detailing on the entablature and pediment. This may be a simplification of a cornice that could have adorned the top of the temple. The window grille on the side of the temple would have a width of three and a length of between nine and seven. A window would have been located on the other side of the temple; this is certain since the Neronian *sestertii* portrays both a temple facing right and left with a window adorning both versions of the temple. Below the window there is a brick-like pattern that spans the entire width of the temple and from the bottom of the temple to the bottom of the window. This may be evidence of ashlar work or paneling on the bottom of the temple. Three columns can be seen on each portrayed corner of the temple. Each column appears to have a detail on the top and bottom which may indicate that the column was Corinthian or Ionic. Even though the material of the temple cannot be said conclusively, it is theorized that the entire temple was constructed of bronze, or the door was made from bronze or iron. This idea is further aided by Pliny's statement on bronze doors and the examples of other bronze doors that occurred on important Roman buildings, such as the Curia and the Pantheon which both had doors constructed of bronze.<sup>219</sup> The temple may have been unroofed, although it is hard to say with any certainty.

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<sup>219</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 34.13.

These uncovered details help to reconstruct and establish what the lost temple of Janus would have looked like during a time when the temple was still standing and actively being used. Therefore, the die study and recognition of the shorthand methods of the die engravers ultimately allows for a better understanding of the true architectural features of the temple and its overall appearance. This is an instance where numismatic evidence aids in our understanding of a lost monument and allows for the appearance of a once lost monument to be revealed once again.

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## Figures

### Abbreviations for Collections in OCRE and the Coin Archive Database

American Numismatic Society = ANS

Bertolami Fine Arts = Bertolami

British Museum = BM

Classical Numismatic Group = CNG

Dr Busso Peus Nachfolger = Nachfolger

Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co = Kunker

Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung = Giessener

Münzkabinett Berlin = Berlin

Stack's Bowers Galleries (& Ponterio) = Bowers

UBS Gold & Numismatics = UBS



Fig. 1. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 263 (Berlin, 1820638). F1, a1, group 2.



Fig. 2. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 273 (Berlin, 18221120). H14, b32.



Fig. 3. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 274 (Berlin, 18226275). H85, c12.



Fig. 4. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 275 (Berlin, 18226265). H33, d23.





Fig. 5. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 282 (Berlin, 18226289). K7, e9.



Fig. 6. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 265 (ANS, 1957.172.1544). F40, c1, group 1.



Fig. 7. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 271 (Bowers, 12 January 2009, 2252). G10, d18.



Fig. 8. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 273 (Berlin, 18221120). H14, b32.





Fig. 9. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 277 (Bowers, 12 January 2013, 6073). J1, b23, group 1.



Fig. 10. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 277 (Kunker, 7 October 2013, 960). K5, e3.



Fig. 11. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 266 (Giessener, 13 October 2013, 1012). F55, d9, group 1.



Fig. 12. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 266 (Bowers, 10 September 2008, 68). F41, c2, group 1.





Fig. 13. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 263 (Berlin, 1820638). F1, a1, group 1.



Fig. 14. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 265 (Bowers, 12 January 2009, 2250). F8, b11, group 2.



Fig. 15. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 264 (UBS, 29 January 2002, 140). F48, b27, group 2.



Fig. 16. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 264 (CNG, 19 September 2012, 871). F33, b20, group 3.





Fig. 17. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 264 (Bertolami, 8 November 2018, 253). F6, b6, group 3.



Fig. 18. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 264 (Bertolami, 15 July 2015, 251). F15, b8, group 4.



Fig. 19. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 265 (CNG, 19 January 2021, 1055). F65, c5, group 4.



Fig. 20. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 264 (Nachfolger, 3 November 2004, 727). F34, b26, group 1.





Fig. 21. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 531 (ANS, 1953.171.1292).



Fig. 22. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 527 (Berlin, 18221644).



Fig. 23. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 529 (BM, 10068).



Fig. 24. RIC 1 (second edition) Nero 460 (Berlin, 18221646).





Fig. 25. South-East panel of the Ara Pacis Augustae.



Fig. 26. North-East panel of the Ara Pacis Augustae.





Fig. 27. Entrance of the East panel of the Ara Pacis Augustae.



Fig. 28. Front of the East panel of the Ara Pacis Augustae.

## Appendix 1: Die Catalogue

### Die Catalogue-Temple of Janus and Roma-*Sestertii*

#### Obverse Types

- a NERO CAESAR AVG IMP TR POT XI PPP (Nero, right, laur., cuir.)
- b NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER PM TRP IMP PP (Nero, right, laur., [sometimes] with aegis)
- c NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GER PM TRP IMP PP (Nero, left, laur.)
- d NERO CLAVDIUS CAESAR AVG GER PM TRP IMP PP (Nero, right, laur., [sometimes] with aegis)
- e NERO CLAVDIUS CAESAR AVG GER PM TRP IMP PP (Nero, left, laur.)

#### Reverse Types

- F Temple of Janus, door right
- G Temple of Janus, door left
- H Roma holding Victory and parazonium
- J Roma holding Victory and shield
- K Roma holding Victory and spear

#### F

PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT Temple of Janus, door right, with a garland hung over both doors and a window with a matrix-pattern comprised of fluctuating dimensions.

- F1 a1 a. Berlin 1820638.  
b. BM 1900,0402.10.  
c. Lanz, 22 November 1999, 249
- F2 b1 a. ANS 1937.158.469.
- F3 b2 a. ANS 1944.100.39735.
- F4 b3 a. BM 9946.  
b. Berk, 30 June 2020, 375.
- F5 b5 a. Berlin 18220899.  
b. CNG, 23 May 2007, 1009.
- F6 b4 a. Berlin 18220898.  
b6 a. Roma, 29 October 2020, 558 = Bertolami, 8 November 2018, 253.
- F7 b8 a. Paris, 15 June 2021, 98.
- F8 b11 a. Bowers, 12 January 2009, 2250.
- F9 b13 a. Bowers, 15 January 2007, 4197.  
b15 a. CNG, 1 December 1998, 815.  
c29 a. BM 9947.
- F10 b12 a. Bowers, 12 January 2013, 6070.

- F11 e5 a. Goettingen 123085.
- F12 b7 a. Bertolami, 14 May 2012, 509 = NAC, 25 June 2003, 386.
- F13 a1 a. BM 9916.
- F14 b9 a. BM 9945.
- F15 b8 a. Bertolami, 15 July 2015, 251.
- F16 b6 a. CNG, 2 December 2020, 541.
- F17 b24 a. Kunker, 16 March 2020, 934 = Kunker, 25 September 2017, 706 = Nachfolger, 2 November 2016, 177.
- F18 b17 a. CNG, 5 December 2000, 474.  
b. Spink, 25 September 2017, 84.
- e7 a. Paris, 4 December 2018, 36 = Kunker, 18 May 2016, 7549.
- F19 b17 a. CNG, 28 March 2007, 209.
- F20 b23 a. Kunker, 2 October 2015, 8616.
- F21 c5 a. Bertolami, 29 October 2014, 672.  
b. Paris, 27 April 2021, 80.
- F22 b18 a. CNG, 9 June 2021, 546.
- F23 d10 a. Lanz, 5 June 2014, 495 = Heritage, 6 January 2013, 21365 = Heritage, 6 September 2012, 25194 = Roma, 2 October 2011, 597.
- F24 d11 a. Kunker, 27 September 2010, 693 = Kunker, 6 October 2008, 494 = Kunker, 28 September 2009, 534.
- F25 d11 a. NAC, 6 May 2019, 1443 = NAC, 17 May 2012, 2523 = Nachfolger, 22 April 2010, 338.
- F26 b25 a. Kunker, 25 September 2017, 705.
- F27 b45 a. Naville, 29 April 2018, 537.
- F28 c3 a. Berlin 18220909.
- F29 c11 a. Kunker, 11 October 2007, 8647.  
b. Nachfolger, 28 April 2004, 455.
- F30 e3 a. CNG, 15 May 2019, 342 = Giessener, 11 October 2017, 545 = Kunker, 14 March 2011, 572.
- F31 d5 a. Bowers, 10 January 2011, 134 = Bowers, 9 December 2009, 214.
- e1 a. Bertolami, 11 January 2016, 731.  
b. Bertolami, 29 October 2014, 674.  
c. Naville, 29 April 2018, 536 = NAC, 20 May 2015, 929.
- F32 b19 a. CNG, 12 September 2007, 1409.
- F33 b20 a. CNG, 19 September 2012, 871.
- b28 a. Nachfolger, 10 May 2004, 517.
- b73 a. Naumann, 5 April 2020, 632 = Kunker, 19 March 2018, 1056.
- F34 b26 a. Nachfolger, 3 November 2004, 727 = Nachfolger, 23 April 2003, 619.
- F35 b28 a. Nachfolger, 25 April 2013, 366.  
b. Naville, 23 September 2018, 434.
- F36 b31 a. Roma, 9 January 2020, 883.
- F37 d2 a. VA, 8 April 2019, 376 = Berk, 5 September 2019, 358 = Nomos, 25 March 2018, 185.
- F38 b21 a. Heritage, 3 January 2016, 31053 = CNG, 21 September 2005, 880.
- F39 d1 a. Nachfolger, 2 November 2016, 1072 = Agora, 31 March 2015, 186.
- d3 a. Bertolami, 29 April 2014, 459.

- b. Lanz, 11 June 2018, 123.
- F40 c1 a. ANS 1957.172.1544.
- F41 c2 a. Baldwin, 2 May 2006, 172\_29.36.  
b. Bowers, 12 January 2009, 2251 = Bowers, 10 September 2008, 68 = Bowers,  
December 2007, 357.
- F42 c2 a. Hirsch, 7 July 2015, 408 = Lanz, 8 December 2014, 355 = Hirsch, 24 September  
2009, 2661.
- F43 c16 a. Nachfolger, 26 April 2005, 398.  
b. Roma, 23 July 2020, 739.
- F44 e8 a. Kunker, 26 May 2020, 6143.  
b. Kunker, 16 March 2007, 8882.  
c. NAC, 17 May 2012, 1122.  
d. Nachfolger, 2 November 2016, 178.
- F45 b99 a. Naumann, 5 February 2017, 497.  
c7 b. CNG, 17 March 1999, 1481.
- F46 c1 a. Elsen, 13 September 2014, 14 = Elsen, 14 June 2014, 248.
- F47 d7 a. Kunker, 16 March 2007, 8881 = CNG, 22 September 2004, 1333.
- F48 b27 a. UBS, 29 January 2002, 140.
- F49 d19 a. CNG, 11 July 2018, 446.  
b. Naville, 15 June 2013, 93.
- F50 b33 a. UBS, 9 September 2008, 1494.
- F51 c8 a. CNG, 24 September 2014, 458 = CNG, 2 November 2011, 376.
- F52 c44 a. Giessener, 22 November 2010, 396.
- F53 b10 a. BM 9944.  
c51 a. Noonan, 11 February 2015, 12.
- F54 b95 a. Hamburg, 14 November 2013, 110.
- F55 c26 a. Kunker, 19 March 2018, 1057.  
d9 a. Giessener, 13 October 2013, 1012 = NAC, 2 April 2008, 992.
- F56 b84 a. CNG, 20 February 2019, 472.
- F57 c39 a. Nachfolger, 31 October 2001, 445.
- F58 b98 a. Nachfolger, 1 November 2017, 228.  
e7 a. Hirsch, 26 September 2012, 2716.  
b. Roma, 6 May 2021, 595.
- F59 b22 a. Giessener, 17 October 2019, 3576.
- F60 c9 a. CNG, 23 July 2014, 244.
- F61 b88 a. Kunker, 27 September 2010, 692.
- F62 c14 a. Kunker, 25 September 2006, 437.
- F63 c21 a. NAC, 6 May 2019, 1442.
- F64 c13 a. CNG, 23 April 2014, 559.
- F65 c5 a. CNG, 19 January 2021, 1055.
- F66 c6 a. Bertolami, 5 October 2015, 381.
- F67 c4 a. Noonan, 8 December 2014, 2021.
- F68 b96 a. Elsen, 15 March 2008, 362.
- F69 b16 a. CNG, 4 December 2002, 109.  
b. Elsen, 18 September 2020, 338.
- F70 d12 a. Kunker, 19 March 2018, 1058.

- F71 c26 a. Gadoury, 1 December 2012, 120.  
d4 a. BM 9948.
- F72 d32 a. Heritage, 6 January 2013, 21528.
- F73 d8 a. CNG, 25 July 2007, 215.
- F74 d6 a. CNG, 16 February 2005, 98.  
e6 b. Heritage, 18 April 2013, 24855.
- F75 c23 a. Verlag, 20 February 2017, 269.
- F76 d42 a. CNG, 19 March 1997, 1785.  
b. Naville, 14 June 2020, 512.
- F77 c22 a. CNG, 30 November 1999, 1011.
- F78 c54 a. Spink, 1 October 2009, 947.
- F79 b14 a. Bowers, 17 January 2020, 22121.
- F80 b31 a. Paris, 8 February 2007, 140.
- F81 c6 a. CNG, 10 October 2012, 394.
- F82 c7 a. Roma, 22 March 2021, 396.
- F83 c10 a. Giessener, 14 October 2014, 2055.
- F84 d44 a. Heritage, 24 April 2020, 32159.
- F85 d30 a. BM 1947,0606.1432.
- F86 b79 a. CNG, 18 March 1998, 1913.  
c10 a. Nachfolger, 29 October 2000, 1309.
- F87 c52 a. Harvard 1942.176.123.
- F88 d46 a. Kiel 305.
- F89 d49 a. ANS 1952.81.4.
- F90 e2 a. CNG, 13 September 2000, 1154.
- F91 e4 a. CNG, 15 November 2006, 203.

## G

PACE P R TERRA MARIQ PARTA IANVM CLVSIT Temple of Janus, door left, with a garland hung over both doors and a window with a matrix-pattern comprised of fluctuating dimensions.

- G1 b11 a. Schulman, 4 March 2021, 66 = Elsen, 12 March 2016, 137.
- G2 b27 a. CNG, 12 February 2020, 349.  
b. Roma, 12 February 2019, 700.  
b86 a. CNG, 8 August 2018, 505.  
b. Goldberg, 29 January 2019, 2094.
- G3 b29 a. Noonan, 15 February 2017, 22.  
c19 a. CNG, 19 June 2019, 341 = CNG, 6 September 2006, 203.  
c. Roma, 6 May 2021, lot596.
- G4 b44 a. CNG\_31\_May\_2017\_lot508.  
b58 b. Elsen, 4 June 2021, 438 = CNG, 31 January 2007, 314.  
b100 c. ME, 7 December 2017, 358.
- G5 d8 a. BM 1964,1203.231.  
b. Naville, 28 January 2018, 584 = Giessener, 15 October 2018, 762 = Naumann, 6 May 2018, 577.

- c. Nachfolger, 9 July 2016, 122.
- G6 b62 a. Hirsch, 18 June 2020, 413.
- G7 d13 a. Berlin 18221048.  
b. BM 9950.  
e11 a. Berlin 18221050.
- G8 d16 a. Roma, 22 March 2014, 1008 = Bowers, 12 January 2013, 6071.  
b. CNG, 10 January 2006, 1404.
- G9 d17 a. BM 9951.  
b. Hirsch, 7 February 2018, 2399 = Tradart, 18 December 2014, 259.  
d23 a. NAC, 7 October 2009, 978.
- G10 d18 a. Berlin 18221047.  
b. Bowers, 12 January 2009, 2252.
- G11 d21 a. Giessener, 11 October 2010, 466 = Rauch, 12 September 2006, 634.
- G12 e10 a. Berlin 18221049.
- G13 e12 a. CNG, 14 January 2009, 191.  
b. Heritage, 17 September 2015, 32238.  
c. VA, 17 April 2014, 315.
- G14 e12 a. UBS, 8 September 2009, 181.
- G15 d14 a. Bowers, 7 July 2011, 1091.
- G16 d23 a. Roma, 17 June 2021, 1575.
- G17 d27 a. Kunker, 27 September 2010, 694.
- G18 e12 a. Roma, 3 March 2018, 597.  
e13 a. Kunker, 12 March 2010, 7680.
- G19 e13 a. Roma, 28 June 2018, 627.
- G20 d15 a. ANS 0000.999.17230.
- G21 d18 a. CNG, 26 May 2021, 360.

## H

ROMA Roma, seated, holding Victory in her right hand and a parazonium in her left.

- H1 a1 a. MFA 59.181.
- H2 b50 a. Roma, 7 April 2016, 766 = Roma, 28 September 2014, 939 = Roma, 23 March 2013, 696 = Roma, 31 March 2012, 438 = Kunker, 8 October 2012, 829.
- H3 c18 a. Bowers, 9 December 2009, 213 = Bowers, 10 September 2008, 687 = Bowers, 21 February 2007, 174 = Bowers, 18 December 2007, 360 = Bowers, 19 April 2006, 136.
- H4 b23 a. Nachfolger, 15 May 2019, 231 = NAC, 26 May 2014, 2134.  
b52 a. TF, 24 November 2020, 98.
- H5 b3 a. NAC, 25 May 2020, 901.
- H6 b51 a. Heritage, 5 September 2019, 30265.  
b59 a. Vico, 6 June 2019, 452.  
b94 a. BM 9963.
- H7 b35 a. Kunker, 20 October 2020, 4147 = Bowers, 12 January 2013, 6072.  
b. NAC, 2 April 2008, 993.
- H8 b46 a. Giessener, 14 October 2019, 1308.  
b60 a. Hirsch, 22 September 2016, 2370 = Hirsch, 7 May 2015, 409.



- b105 a. CNG, 6 July 2011, 303.
- H9 b23 a. BM 9962.
- H10 b33 a. Giessener, 5 March 2007, 1976.  
b55 a. Naville, 23 July 2019, 462.  
b70 a. Kunker, 19 March 2018, 1059.  
b83 a. ICE, 17 May 2014, 37.
- H11 b31 a. VA, 6 April 2018, 418 = Noonan, 13 September 2017, 1816 = Spink, 25 June 2014, 142 = Bowers, 16 August 2011, 21603 = Bowers, 12 January 2009, 2253 = Bowers, 18 August 2009, 4280 = Bowers, 24 April 2008, 2292.
- H12 b68 a. Bowers, 12 January 2017, 5167.
- H13 b37 a. Goldberg, 20 February 2018, 2181 = Goldberg, 5 September 2017, 2172 = Bertolami, 4 February 2014, 492.  
b. Bowers, 17 January 2020, 22122.
- b41 a. Roma, 30 August 2018, 579 = Roma, 23 March 2017, 775.
- H14 b32 a. Berlin 18221120.  
b. CNG, 22 September 2004, 1334.
- b101 a. BM 1931,0609.2.
- H15 c4 a. CNG, 9 June 2021, 547 = CNG, 25 March 2015, 496 = CNG, 14 September 2011, 1246.
- H16 b35 a. Goettingen 184539.  
b. Baldwin, 9 January 2013, 275.
- H17 b67 a. NAC, 10 May 2021, 1226.
- H18 d7 a. Roma 9, January 2016, 393 = Baldwin, 27 September 2016, 599 = Roma 22, March 2015, 601 = Roma 23, March 2013, 694 = Giessener, 15 October 2013, 2953 = Rauch, 5 December 2012, 298.  
b. Bertolami, 22 March 2017, 432.
- H19 c28 a. Giessener, 22 November 2010, 397 = CNG, 6 January 2009, 560 = Lanz, 25 May 2009, 383 = Lanz, 26 May 2008, 330.
- H20 d25 a. Baldwin, 5 January 2012, 1060 = CNG, 16 May 2018, 580 = CNG, 18 May 2016, 878 = Goldberg, 6 April 2000, 3546.  
d27 a. Naville, 4 November 2018, 448.  
d37 a. Bowers, 17 January 2020, 22124.  
b. Naville, 21 July 2019, 504.
- H21 b93 a. MFA 2004.1248.  
b. Kunker, 11 October 2007, 8648.
- H22 b44 a. CNG, 21 May 2003, 1249.  
b75 a. Bertolami, 24 September 2016, 499.  
b. Hirsch, 27 September 2007, 2500.  
c. Inasta, 19 May 2002, 56.  
d. MS, 6 April 2009, 29.
- b102 a. Bruun, 7 June 2020, 5017 = Bruun, 12 May 2015, 5040.  
c27 a. Hirsch, 2 May 2012, 688 = Hirsch, 24 September 2009, 2665 = Giessener, 17 March 2008, 1862 = Inasta, 23 November 2008, 321.
- H23 d16 a. CNG, 30 September 2009, 438.  
d22 a. CNG, 5 May 2010, 974 = Kunker, 27 September 2010, 696 = Bowers, 9 December 2009, 215 = UBS, 9 September 2008, 1495.

- H24 b52 a. Gemini 11 January 2015, 344 = CNG, 1 July 2015, 505.
- H25 d9 a. CNG 2 December 1997, 1329.  
b. Elsen, 4 June 2021, 439.
- H26 d33 a. Nomos, 17 May 2017, 339.  
d34 a. Roma, 29 October 2020, 550 = Roma, 29 September 2016, 668 = CNG, 6 January 2015, 1033.  
d48 a. Goettingen 123086.  
b. Naumann, 3 May 2020, 412 = Naumann, 2 August 2020, 730.
- H27 e15 a. Berlin 18226281.
- H28 b64 a. ANS 1937.158.470.  
b. CNG, 14 September 2011, 1245 = Bowers, 21 February 2007, 173.
- H29 c33 a. Giessener, 10 March 2009, 2162 = Giessener, 12 October 2009, 2070 = Kunker, 16 March 2007, 8871.
- H30 d7 a. Hirsch, 18 February 2016, 1955.Hirsch, 2 May 2012, 689 = Hirsch, 17 February 2011, 2255.
- H31 d25 a. CNG, 10 May 2017, 828 = Inumis, 23 March 2012, 165.
- H32 c4 a. Inumis, 25 March 2011, 195.
- H32 c17 a. Berlin 18226274.
- H33 d23 a. Berlin 18226265.  
d26 a. Naumann, 4 August 2013, 348 = CNG, 18 May 2011, 968 = Rauch, 5 December 2011, 1384 = Spink, 8 October 2003, 172.
- H34 b2 a. Bowers, 17 January 2020, 20092.
- H35 d27 a. NAC, 4 April 2011, 923 = Helios, 17 April 2008, 428.  
d38 a. CNG, 14 June 2000, 1465 = CNG, 23 June 1999, 1444.
- H36 d23 a. Inasta, 19 May 2007, 423 = CNG, 13 September 2006, 856 = MM, 4 October 2004, 119.
- H37 d30 a. Ibercoin, 7 April 2020, 33.  
b. Schulman, 4 November 2017, 450.
- H38 e16 a. Bowers, 12 January 2009, 2254 = NAC, 13 May 2004, 1912 = CNG, 2 December 1997, 1330.
- H39 b6 a. Bowers, 10 September 2008, 685 = Bowers, 18 December 2007, 359 = MM, 16 May 2006, 822.
- H40 d29 a. Freiburg 1259.  
d31 a. Roma, 7 February 2019, 701.  
e18 a. CNG, 6 September 2017, 439 = Helios, 11 April 2008, 235.  
b. Naville, 25 September 2016, 418.
- H41 b6 a. CNG, 20 November 2013, 380.  
b. CNG, 21 September 2005, 881.  
b34 a. Nomos, 14 June 2015, 233 = Auctiones, 23 November 2014, 70.  
b. Heritage, 6 September 2012, 25615.
- H42 c30 a. Naumann, 1 May 2016, 854 = Gartner, 24 October 2015, 34454.
- H43 b69 a. Heritage, 22 April 2010, 20081.  
b71 a. Varesi, 30 April 2013, 84.
- H44 b40 a. Noonan, 15 March 2017, 1147.
- H45 b23 a. Inumis, 20 March 2009, 169.
- H46 b29 a. BM 9961.

- c28 a. CNG, 6 March 2019, 487.
- H47 b36 a. Bertolami, 14 December 2020, 507.  
b. Bertolami, 20 April 2018, 362.
- H48 b47 a. CNG, 15 July 2015, 485 = CNG, 13 March 2013, 118.
- H49 c30 a. CNG, 22 May 2002, 1537.  
c43 a. CNG, 4 December 1996, 1394.
- H50 b36 a. Rauch, 1 June 2007, 100.  
b76 a. HAE, 24 May 2016, 338 = CNG, 24 July 2013, 288.
- H51 c14 a. Nomos, 15 December 2019, 463 = Giessener, 7 March 2011, 2561.
- H52 d35 a. Nomisma, 18 May 2018, 70 = Bolaffi, 28 November 2019, 97.
- H53 c38 a. CNG, 16 January 2013, 638.  
b. Goldberg, 2 June 2002, 4585.
- H54 b39 a. CNG, 8 January 2019, 1027.  
b. Inasta, 20 November 2010, 117.  
b49 a. Rauch, 26 November 2009, 405.
- H55 b47 a. Nomos, 20 November 2016, 758 = Nomos, 8 February 2015, 277.
- H56 b28 a. CGB, 20 February 2013, 245.  
c45 a. CNG, 22 February 2012, 346.
- H57 c6 a. Heritage, 16 May 2021, 99048 = CNG, 17 September 2014, 623 = Hirsch, 2 May 2013, 681.
- H58 c25 a. Berlin 18226277.
- H59 b66 a. Bochum 397.
- H60 c19 a. Savoca, 26 January 2020, 82 = UBS, 27 January 2004, 4226.
- H61 c4 a. Freiburg 1258.  
b. Inasta, 12 November 2005, 199.  
c17 a. Bowers, 20 October 2020, 71047.  
b. Paris, 30 January 2018, 66 = Paris, 6 December 2007, 147.
- H62 b54 a. Roma, 22 August 2019, 647.  
b65 a. BM 9960.  
b. Roma, 14 January 2021, 717.  
b94 a. Baldwin, 11 October 2005, 2128.
- H63 b29 a. Roma, 27 February 2020, 989 = Roma, 1 August 2019, 743.  
c16 a. Giessener, 7 March 2019, 3591.
- H64 c20 a. Bertolami, 22 June 2016, 640 = Hirsch, 23 September 2015, 2717.  
b. CNG, 6 August 2003, 33.  
c. Giessener, 10 October 2011, 2451.
- H65 b89 a. Kunker, 26 September 2016, 523.  
c24 a. NAC, 24 May 2016, 2096.
- H66 c3 a. Nomos, 10 May 2018, 164.  
b. Sternberg, 29 October 2000, 463.
- H67 b7 a. Hirsch, 11 February 2010, 1945.  
c24 a. ANS 1948.19.1065.
- H68 b87 a. CNG, 14 June 2007, 188.
- H69 b81 a. Goldberg, 29 October 2009, 146 = CNG, 1 December 1998, 816.
- H70 b103 a. CNG, 4 January 2006, 327.
- H71 e14 a. Berlin 18226280.

- H72 b28 a. CNG, 8 November 2017, 563 = CNG, 23 October 2013, 218.  
H73 c32 a. Giessener, 4 March 2019, 665 = Giessener, 7 March 2017, 1568.  
H74 b38 a. CNG, 14 November 2007, 225.  
b. Nomisma\_13\_Feb\_2020\_lot28.  
b61 a. Roma, 6 May 2021, 598.  
H75 d50 a. Bowers, 17 January 2020, 22123.  
H76 b59 a. Heritage, 29 May 2008, 50106.  
b. Varesi, 29 April 2015, 175.  
b71 a. Nomisma, 26 October 2013, 111.  
H77 b82 a. Giessener, 8 March 2010, 1919.  
b. NAC, 7 October 2009, 979.  
H78 c13 a. Naumann, 3 June 2018, 445.  
H79 c20 a. CNG, 30 November 1999, 1012.  
H80 d4 a. BM 9965.  
b. Mainz 175.  
d9 a. Berlin 18226270.  
H81 b30 a. Auctiones, 16 June 2013, 57.  
H82 b36 a. Nomisma, 18 May 2018, 71.  
H83 b69 a. CNG, 29 July 2020, 308.  
H84 c36 a. Vico, 7 June 2017, 575.  
H85 c12 a. Berlin 18226275.  
H86 b66 a. Kunker, 27 September 2010, 695.  
H87 d9 a. NAC, 7 October 2009, 980.  
H88 c41 a. Kunker, 11 March 2019, 1059.  
H89 c31 a. CNG, 23 June 1999, 49.  
H90 c52 a. Vico, 11 June 2015, 3100 = Vico, 6 March 2014, 313.  
H91 b32 a. CNG, 29 January 2020, 501.  
b. Noble, 2 April 2019, 3154.  
b105 a. Wurzburg 39.  
H92 b42 a. Kunker, 27 September 2004, 1848 = MM, 7 November 2002, 983.  
H93 d20 a. CNG, 26 May 2021, 361 = Giessener, 5 March 2018, 500.  
H94 b32 a. Bolaffi, 31 May 2018, 173.  
H95 b80 a. ANS 1957.172.1545.  
H96 c37 a. SINCONA, 21 May 2014, 135.  
H97 b58 a. ANS 1978.64.395.  
H98 b45 a. TF, 24 June 2020, 157 = Roma, 19 December 2019, 726.  
c49 a. Kunker, 7 October 2019, 1323.  
H99 b63 a. Nomisma, 28 April 2018, 3190.  
H100 b77 a. Naumann, 6 December 2020, 424 = Savoca, 25 November 2018, 515.  
H101 c42 a. Hirsch, 13 February 2019, 2523.  
H102 b33 a. CNG, 2 March 2005, 206.  
H103 b81 a. Bertolami, 29 October 2014, 673.  
H104 d16 a. Naville, 22 March 2020, 471.  
d22 a. Kunker, 2 October 2015, 8617.  
H105 d26 a. Roma, 29 July 2021, 706.  
H106 b75 a. Baldwin, 29 September 2009, 85.

- b. NAC, 17 May 2007, 1451.
- H107 b93 a. Kunker, 7 October 2013, 959.
- H108 c25 a. Naumann, 6 August 2018, 534.
- H109 b44 a. CNG, 9 May 2007, 137.
- c27 a. Berk, 18 February 2021, 309 = Berk, 9 September 2020, 450.
- H110 c47 a. Savoca, 27 January 2019, 328.
- H111 b88 a. Nomos, 5 May 2019, 293.
- b92 a. Noble, 24 March 2015, 3346.
- c39 a. CNG, 13 February 2013, 253.
- b. NAC, 5 March 2009, 197.
- H112 c41 a. Vienna University 619.
- H113 b48 a. CNG, 14 June 2007, 1399.
- b91 a. Lanz, 8 December 2014, 364.
- H114 b56 a. Goldberg, 25 May 2008, 1287.
- c34 a. MFA 60.140.
- b. Roma, 6 May 2021, 597.
- c52 a. Inasta, 7 September 2010, 542.
- H115 b82 a. CNG, 22 May 2002, 1536.
- H116 b48 a. Nachfolger, 24 April 2014, 201.
- H117 c38 a. BM 9964.
- d9 a. Nachfolger, 2 November 2016, 176.
- H118 c4 a. CNG, 21 May 2003, 250.
- H119 b106 a. Elsen, 10 December 2016, 157.
- c35 a. Nomisma, 30 August 2016, 142.
- H120 c40 a. Lanz, 27 November 2001, 282 = Lanz, 22 November 1999, 250.
- H121 d35 a. Freiburg 1260.
- H122 b25 a. NAC, 13 May 2004, 1911.
- b53 a. Herbert, 20 May 2008, 151.
- H123 b74 a. NAC, 2 April 2008, 994.
- H124 d9 a. Baldwin, 24 September 2015, 3224.
- H125 d27 a. Berlin 18226269.
- H125 d45 a. Giessener, 5 March 2002, 1501.
- H126 b57 a. Elsen, 14 May 2020, 494.
- H127 b72. a. BM 1903,0703.14.
- H128 b97 a. CNG, 9 March 2016, 387.
- H129 b31 a. Giessener, 15 October 2013, 2954 = Giessener, 7 March 2011, 2560.
- H130 b85 a. Noonan, 8 December 2014, 2022.
- H131 b32 a. Inumis, 11 October 2016, 63.
- H132 c48 a. Nachfolger, 2 November 2016, 175.
- H133 b69 a. VA, 21 June 2019, 317.
- H134 c53 a. Inumis, 7 June 2016, 54.
- H135 b63 a. Goldberg, 6 April 2000, 3548.
- H136 c21 a. BM 135.
- H137 d32 a. Ibercoin, 28 October 2020, 2111.
- e8 a. Giessener, 10 October 2016, 454.
- H138 b90 a. CNG, 4 December 1996, 1393.

- H139 c46 a. Heritage, 26 May 2019, 40121.  
H140 c39 a. Herbert, 12 November 2012, 227.  
H141 d24 a. Inasta, 12 September 2007, 524.  
H142 d28 a. Bowers, 12 August 2015, 30092.  
H143 b104 a. CNG, 6 February 2019, 403.  
H144 d43 a. Lanz, 22 May 2000, 490.  
H145 d13 a. CNG, 22 May 2002, 1538.  
H146 c50 a. CNG, 27 January 2016, 459.  
H147 b88 a. Herbert, 15 November 2007, 203.  
H148 d20 a. CGB, 18 June 2004, 2356.  
H149 d14 a. CNG, 6 August 2003, 34.  
H150 e17 a. Bowers, 12 January 2017, 5166.  
H151 d27 a. Roma, 15 April 2021, 1173.  
H152 d39 a. Naumann, 6 September 2020, 410.  
H153 d36 a. Oslo, 28 November 2015, 585.  
H154 d51 a. Roma, 1 August 2015, 602.  
H155 e19 a. NAC, 29 May 2017, 1782.

J

ROMA Roma, seated, holding Victory in her right hand and clutching a shield with her left.

- J1 b23 a. Bowers, 12 January 2013, 6073.  
b. Kunker, 16 March 2007, 8883.  
c. MS, 1 October 2008, 293.  
b78 a. Nomisma, 28 April 2018, 3189 = Nomisma, 11 November 2018, 3078.  
J2 b26 a. CNG, 6 April 2016, 407.  
b43 a. CNG, 4 December 1996, 1395.  
b. Elsen, 12 March 2016, 138.  
c. Lanz, 22 May 2006, 274.  
c8 a. Kunker, 7 October 2019, 1326.  
J3 b57 a. Lanz, 8 December 2014, 357.  
c36 a. Heritage, 20 January 2014, 27215.  
J4 b71 a. Bolaffi, 5 June 2014, 204.  
J5 b43 a. Noble, 30 July 2019, 4754 = CNG, 7 March 2012, 81.

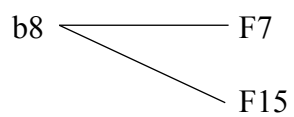
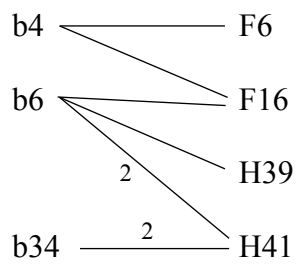
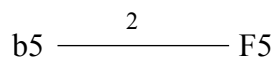
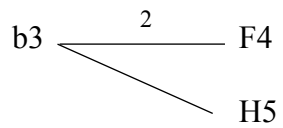
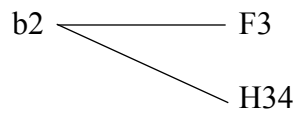
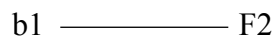
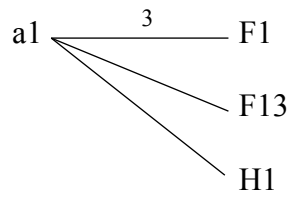
K

ROMA Roma, seated, holding Victory in her right hand and a spear in her left.

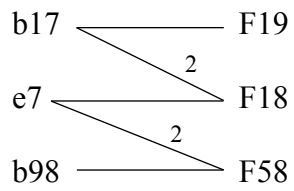
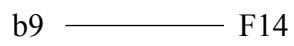
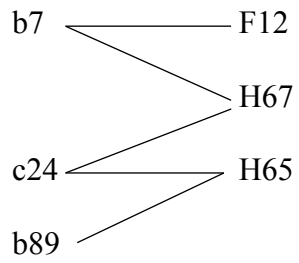
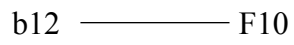
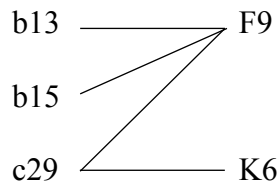
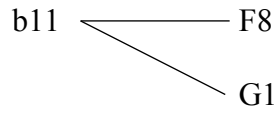
- K1 b23 a. Inasta, 9 December 2019, 269 = Bertolami, 26 April 2017, 415 = CNG, 31 January 2007, 315 = CNG, 23 July 2003, 97.  
b26 a. HEA, 21 May 2014, 212.  
K2 b26 a. NAC, 12 May 2005, 1923.  
K3 b78 a. CNG, 24 March 2021, 425 = CNG, 8 November 2017, 564.  
K4 c23 a. NAC, 10 May 2021, 1225 = NAC, 9 May 2018, 1382.

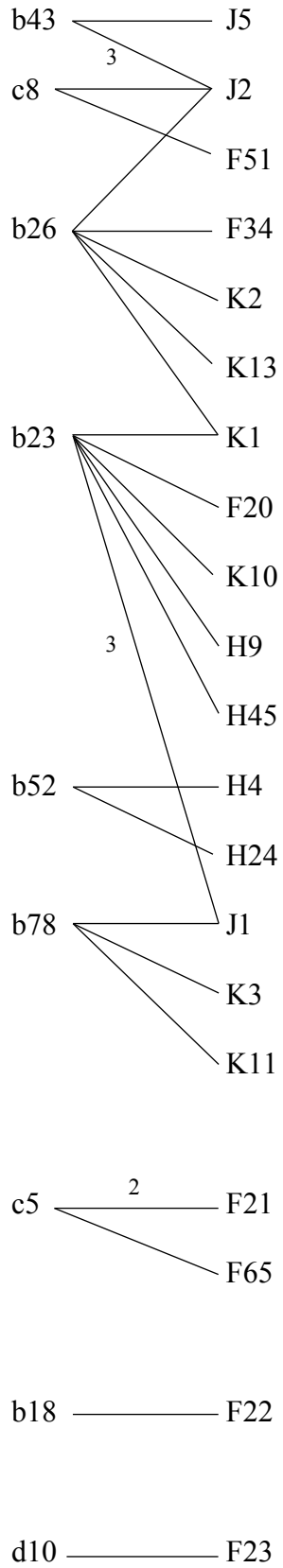
- K5 d14 a. Elsen, 11 March 2006, 1525.  
e3 a. CNG, 24 October 2018, 376 = Goldberg, 5 September 2017, 2175.  
b. Kunker, 7 October 2013, 960.
- K6 c29 a. Argenor, 29 April 2002, 142.
- K7 e9 a. Berlin 18226289.  
b. CNG, 2 September 2017, 440 = Helios, 17 April 2008, 236 = Nachfolger, 31  
October 2001, 446.
- K8 d47 a. BM 9957.
- K9 d41 a. CNG, 26 June 2013, 266.
- K10 b23 a. BM 9955.
- K11 b78 a. BM 9956.
- K12 d40 a. ANS 1988.5.5.
- K13 b26 a. Goettingen 184540.
- K14 b69 a. Berlin 18226286.

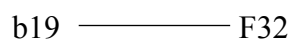
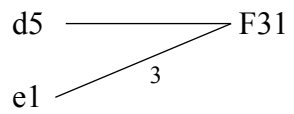
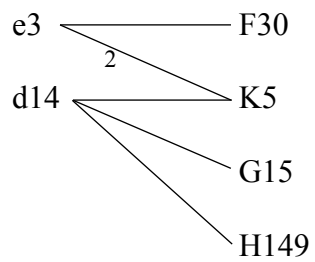
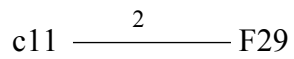
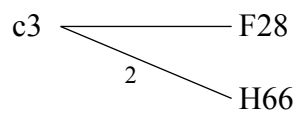
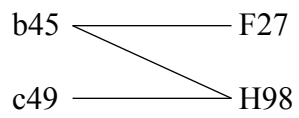
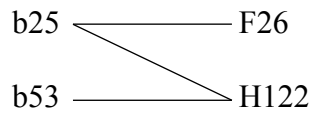
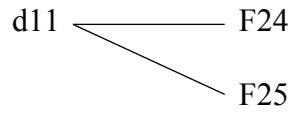
### Appendix 2: Die Linkage

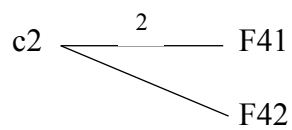
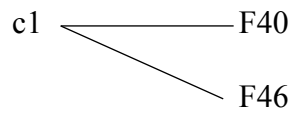
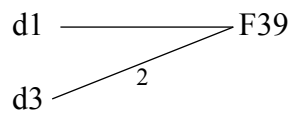
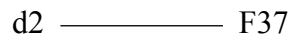
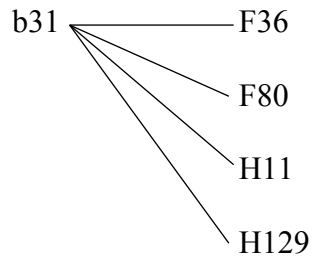
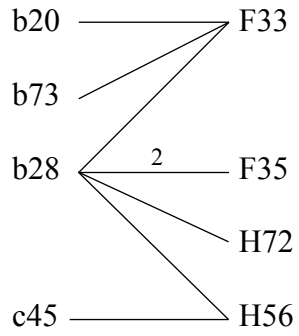


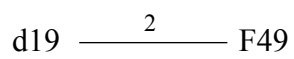
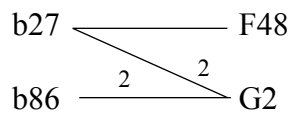
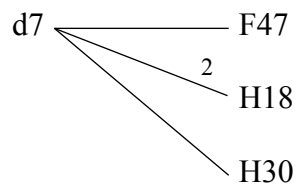
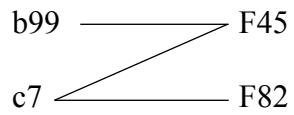
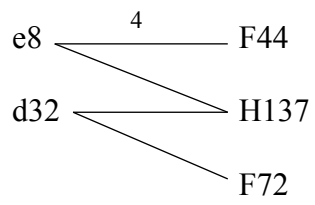
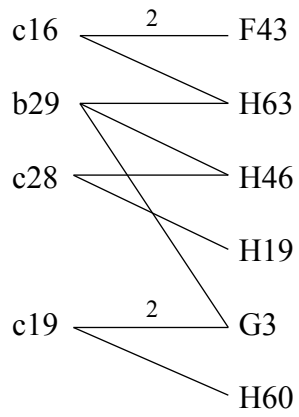


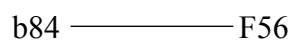
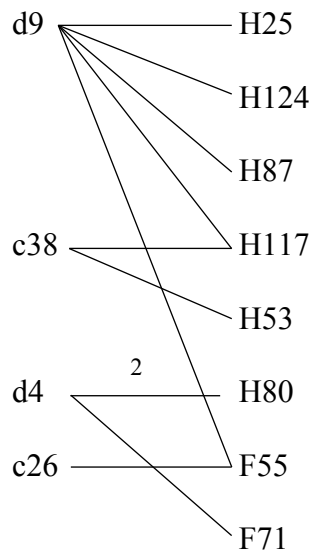
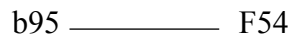
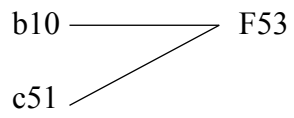
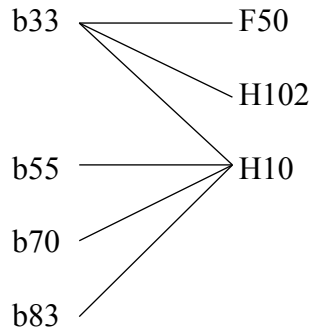


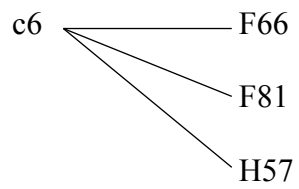
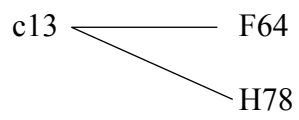
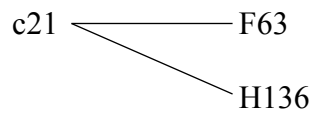
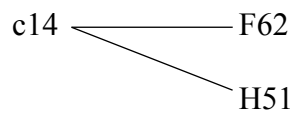
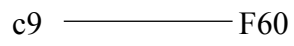
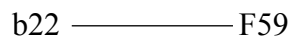
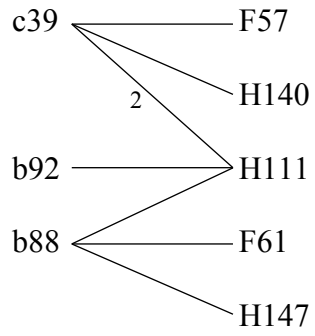


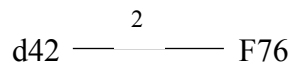
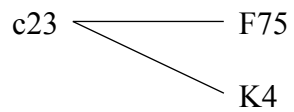
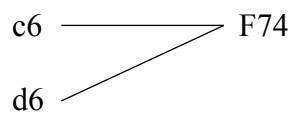
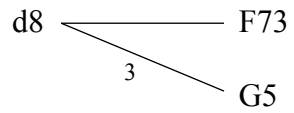
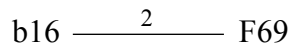
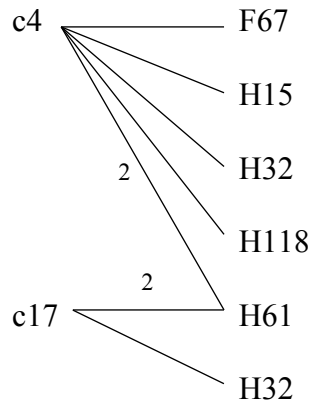














c2 ————— F77

c54 ————— F78

b14 ————— F79

c10 ————— F83

b79 ————— F86

d44 ————— F84

d30 ————— F85

2 ————— H37

c52 ————— F87

b56 ————— H90

2 ————— H90

c34 ————— H90

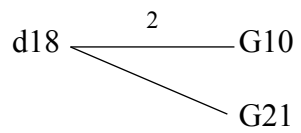
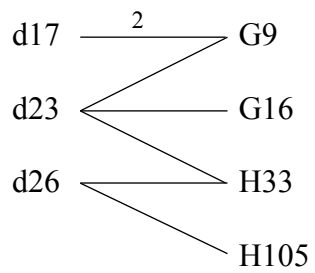
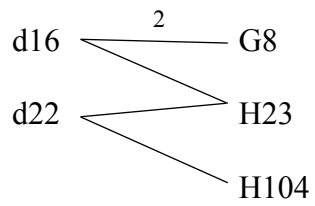
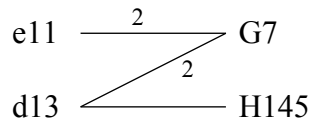
d46 ————— F88

d49 ————— F89

e2 ————— F90

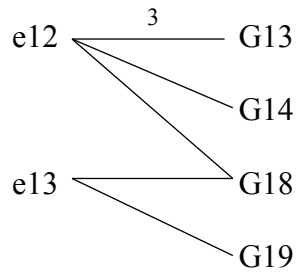
e4 ————— F91

b62 ————— G6



d21 ————— G11

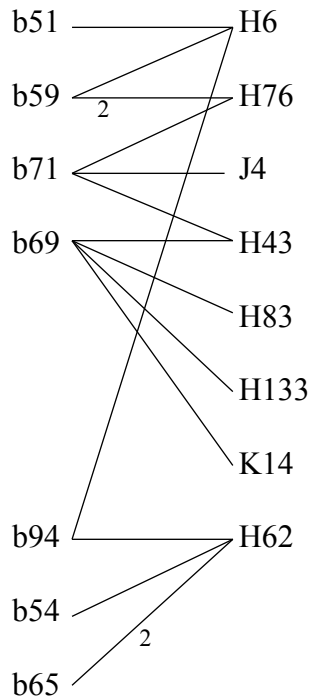
e10 ————— G12

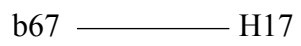
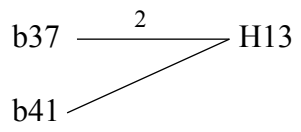
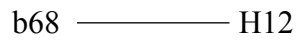
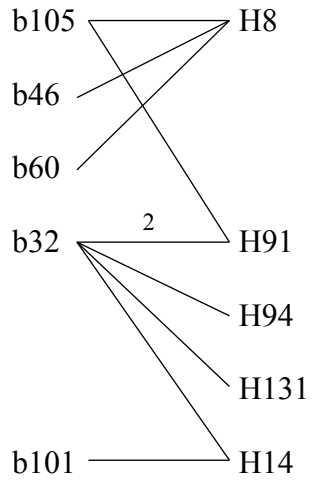
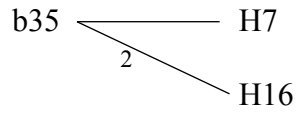


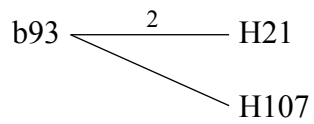
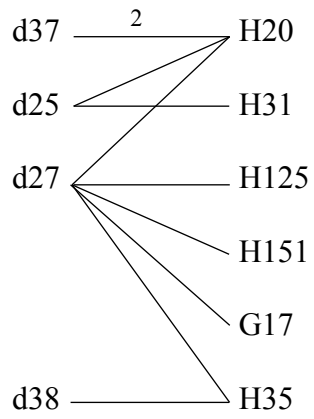
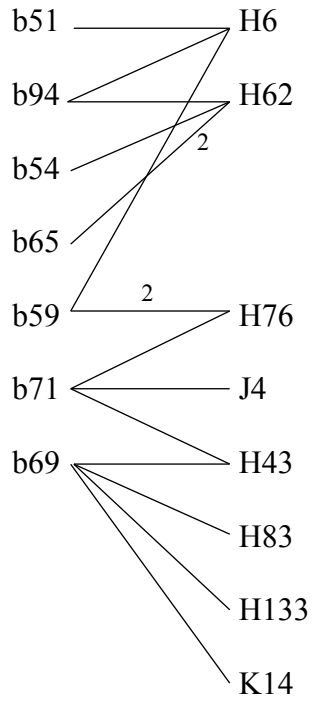
d15 ————— G20

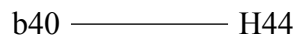
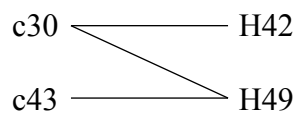
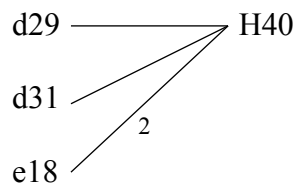
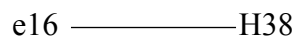
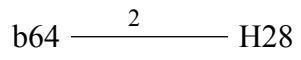
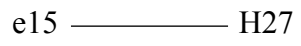
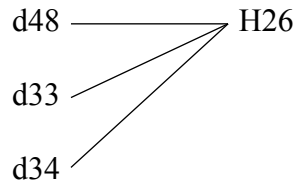
b50 ————— H2

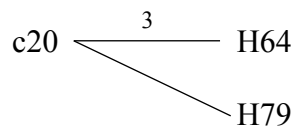
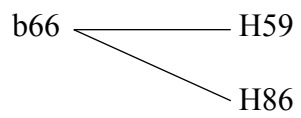
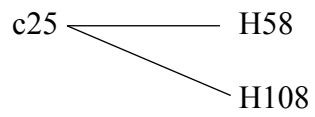
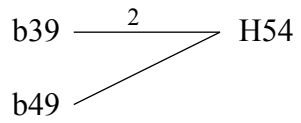
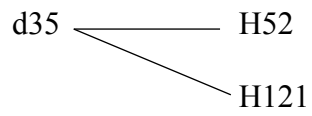
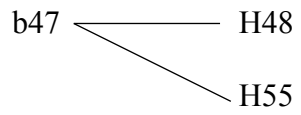
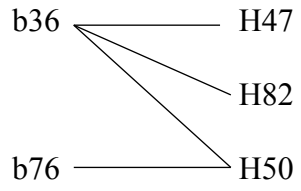
c18 ————— H3











b81 ——— H69  
          \        H103

b103 ——— H70

e14 ——— H71

c32 ——— H73

b38 —<sup>2</sup>—— H74  
b61 /        /

d50 ——— H75

b82 —<sup>2</sup>—— H77  
          \        H115

b30 ——— H81

c36 ——— H84  
          \        J3  
b57 /        /        H126



c12 ————— H85

c41 ————— H88  
                  \           H112

c31 ————— H89

b42 ————— H92

d20 ————— H93  
                  \           H148

b80 ————— H95

c37 ————— H96

b63 ————— H99  
                  \           H135

b77 ————— H100

c42 ————— H101

c47 ————— H110

b91 ————— H113

b48 ————— H116

c35 ————— H119

b106

c40 ————— H120

b74 ————— H123

d45 ————— H125

b72 ————— H127

b97 ————— H128

b85 ————— H130

c48 ————— H132

c53 ————— H134

b90 ————— H138

c46 ————— H139

d24 ————— H141

d28 ————— H142

b104 ————— H143

d43 ————— H144

c50 ————— H146

e17 ————— H150

d39 ————— H152

d36 ————— H153

d51 ————— H154

e19 ————— H155

e9 —————<sup>2</sup> K7

d47 ————— K8

d41 ————— K9

d40 ————— K12