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**Stříbrné mincovnictví pozdní doby římské**  
(Od doby Arcadia a Honoria do konce 5. století n.l.)

**Late Roman Silver Coinage**  
(From Arcadius and Honorius to the end of the 5<sup>th</sup> century AD)

Disertační práce

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Federico Gambacorta

## ABSTRACT

This PhD research has furnished the occasion to update the outdated works about Late Roman coinage focusing especially on a topic not so commonly examined like the Late Roman silver coinage.

More precisely, it is analysed and discussed some of its more intriguing aspects. First of all how silver, as metal, was considered and perceived in Late Roman society and, therefore, why during fifth century AD silver bullion was used to produce fine silver objects rather than coins.

Two different Late Roman customs concerning silver coinage are then reviewed: hoarding, with a list of most recent findings, and clipping.

Finally a chapter is dedicated to the metrology and fineness of Late Roman silver coins together with an accurate analysis of the 7 different denominations.

This extensive and deep discussion about Late Roman silver coinage's main problematics is completed by the most recent and updated catalogue of all the Late Roman silver denominations known so far.

Such a review has given not only the possibility of updating or modifying some of the previous theories but also the opportunity to suggest some new ideas.

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Podrobně jsou zkoumány některé konkrétní zásadní otázky, především jakým způsobem bylo v pozdně římské společnosti vnímáno stříbro jako kov a proč tedy bylo v pátém století po Kr. užíváno k výrobě stříbrných předmětů spíše než k ražbě mincí.

Tato práce poskytla příležitost revidovat některé zastaralé teze o pozdně antickém mincovnictví, a to především díky svému zaměření na pozdně římské stříbrné oběživo, které dosud nebylo běžným předmětem badatelského zájmu.

Následně jsou předmětem studia dva významné jevy spojené s problematikou stříbrných mincí, konkrétně ukládání do depotů a ořezávání střížku.

Závěrečná kapitola se věnuje jednak metrologii a ryzosti pozdně římských stříbrných mincí, jednak podrobné analýze sedmi různých nominálů.

Tato rozsáhlá a hluboká diskuse o hlavních aspektech problematiky pozdně římského mincovnictví ve stříbře je doplněna dosud nejaktuálnějším katalogem známých pozdně římských stříbrných nominálů.

Tento přehled umožnil nejen upřesnit či opravit některé stávající teorie ale poskytl zároveň příležitost k vyslovení nových myšlenek.

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## INTRODUCTION

Between the 80s and the beginning of the 90s a huge interest of the scholars was brought upon late

Roman coinage. Description of collections<sup>1</sup> as well as incisive and fundamental works<sup>2</sup> were published. They formed the pillars for any numismatic study conducted on Late Roman Coinage from that moment on. During the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, though, new studies and discoveries, sparsely published, would create the occasion for a revision of such dated studies. A systematic review of such works, however, was never carried out leaving them, like RIC 10 for instance, as still the most important works on Late Roman Coinage, though missing recent updates and revisions.

This PhD research has furnished the occasion to update such masterpieces focusing especially on a topic not so commonly examined like the Late Roman silver coinage.

More precisely, it is analysed and discussed some of its more intriguing aspects. First of all how silver, as metal, was considered and perceived in Late Roman society and, therefore, why during fifth century AD silver bullion was used to produce fine silver objects rather than coins.

Two different Late Roman customs concerning silver coinage are then reviewed: hoarding, with a list of most recent findings, and clipping.

Finally a chapter is dedicated to the metrology and fineness of Late Roman silver coins together with an accurate analysis of the 7 different denominations.

This extensive and deep discussion about Late Roman silver coinage's main problematics is completed by the most recent and updated catalogue of all the Late Roman silver denominations known so far.

Such a review has given not only the possibility of updating or modifying some of the previous theories but also the opportunity to suggest some new ideas.

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1 ROBERTSON 1982; PCR 3.

2 KENT 1994; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992; HAHN 1989; KING 1987b.

## METODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

The starting point of this research has been the study and analysis of some fundamental catalogues of Late Roman Coins: The Roman Imperial Coinage Volume 10, published in 1994; The Catalogue of Late Roman Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks collection and in the Whittemore collection, published in 1992 and Die ostprägung des Römischen reiches im 5. jahrhundert, published in 1989. These studies have constituted the basis of the present thesis especially for the composition of the final catalogue.

For the scientific discussion in the four main chapters the candidate has collected and critically reviewed and analysed both dated and recent studies. To this purpose he visited some of the most important numismatic libraries in different European cities: Rome, Wien, London, Prague, Copenhagen; and also, thanks to the Grantová agentura Univerzity Karlovy, has purchased specialized numismatic literature. The researcher has systematically checked all the available numismatic journals in order to gather all possible articles dealing with silver metal and silver coinage in Late Antiquity from different points of view such as metrology, circulation, distribution, hoarding, clipping, economy, etc.

Together with the scrutiny of the specialized journals, the candidate examined the most recent monographs such as The late Roman gold and silver coins from the Hoxne treasure, published in 2005; proceedings of congresses, discussions and other forms of publications. The participation to several International Congresses on Numismatics like the 1<sup>st</sup> Workshop Internazionale di Numismatica held in Rome the 28-30 September 2011 was also important. In such contexts the exchange of ideas and opinions with other numismatists was very inspiring.

Finally the creation of the final catalogue has required an even more wide spectrum of investigation. The researcher in addition to the above mentioned publications, in fact, had to take into account several other sources of information: coins and hoards findings series such as the Coin Hoards from Roman Britain; archaeological reports, new publications of private as well as public coin collections, sales catalogues of many auction houses and at last even the Web (Forums, Specialized portals, etc.). The research has been also enriched by the unique opportunity of inspecting two different and so far unpublished coin collections: the Coin collection of the National Archaeological Museum of Florence in Italy and the Royal Collection of Coins and Medals of the National Museum of Copenhagen, Denmark.

## CHAPTER 1

### ***SILVER IN THE LATE ROMAN EMPIRE***

*Argentum, árgyros, siolfor, silbir, hedj*<sup>3</sup>, silver! Since ancient times really high valued metal, second only to gold for its preciousness. Apparently the white metal was discovered sometimes in the fourth millennium BC probably thanks to some small “native” deposits on the ground surface<sup>4</sup>, but its production on a significant scale did not began until the third millennium BC as some slag heaps found in Anatolia, Mesopotamia, Iran and on the islands of the Aegean Sea would indicate. In these regions silver was not found in a pure state but in alloys with other metals like lead, so it needed to be further more processed<sup>5</sup>.

The fact that in nature almost does not exist “native” silver, as on the contrary occurs very often for gold and copper, was a major problem in its production: it required indeed the identification of silver-bearing ores and a ready supply of wood or charcoal for fuel. Ore-bearing rocks were heated to smelt out the lead, and the lead then re-heated to separate out the silver content. It would always have been a matter of extracting mere ounces of silver from tons of mineral<sup>6</sup>.

Despite the complexity of the process to produce the white metal, it reached almost immediately a great success among different cultures becoming even a motivation for trades. Whit time many silver-yielding ores were discovered and exploited<sup>7</sup> so that silver became widely produced and traded.

During the Roman Era silver played a predominant role in the coin production and it did it until the end of the fourth-beginning of the fifth centuries AD: after the “usurpers” period between 407-413 AD<sup>8</sup>, indeed, silver coins virtually went out of production. During the fifth century AD and for the whole following century the production of Roman silver coins was very limited and discontinuous<sup>9</sup>. The phenomenon of lack of late Roman silver coins is something what still today can’t find a final solution despite the numerous attempts to explain it. Perhaps, to interpret the scarcity of silver denominations during this period it is necessary to look for various as well as different reasons

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3 Different forms of the word silver in ancient languages, respectively: Latin, Greek, Anglo-Saxon, Germanic and ancient Egyptian.

4 HAMMOND 2000, p. 68.

5 MERRIMAN 2009, pp. 6-8.

6 MERRIMAN 2009, p. 8.

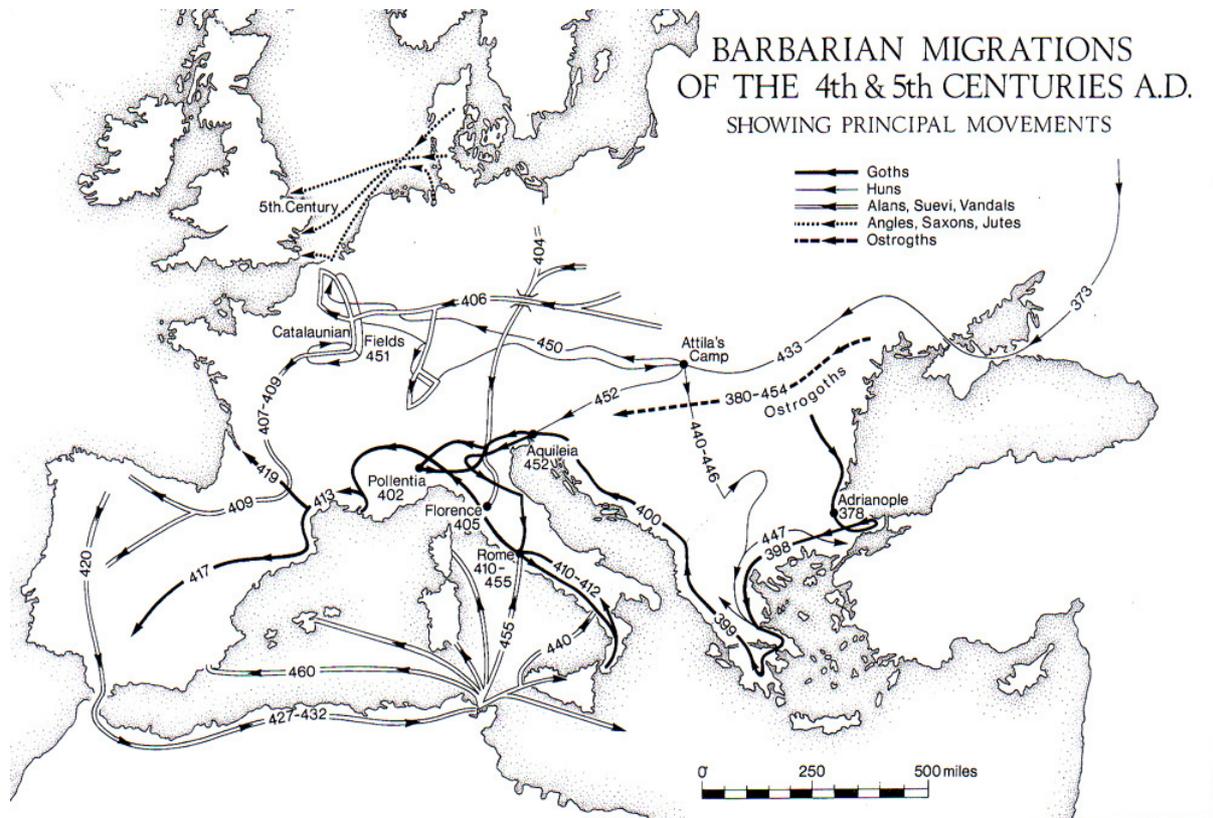
7 Mines were activated in Turkey (Region of Taurus Mountains), in Greece (Laurium), in the Balkans, in Spain, etc.

8 Apparently the last production of silver coins (so called “*siliquae*”) on a relevant scale has to be assigned to those usurpers what between 407 and 413 AD contended the Western Roman Imperial throne to the legitimate Emperor Honorius: Constantine III (407-411 AD); his son Constans II (409-411 AD); Priscus Attalus (409-410 and 414-415 AD); Jovinus (411-413 AD); his brother Sebastianus (412-413 AD); Maximus (410-411 AD).

9 Only with Heraclius’ creation in 615 AD of the hexagram, the heavy silver coin of 6,82 g., reminiscent of those of the Hellenistic period, did silver coins re-establish themselves as a major element in the circulating medium.

which, acting simultaneously, influenced the production of silver coins.

The first point that has to be made clear is that the lack of silver coins was not the result of lack of



silver bullion.

Fig. 1 – Map of the barbarian migrations in the course of the fourth and fifth centuries AD (from KENT-PAINTER 1977, p. 20).

Despite the barbarian invasions of Europe between the end of the fourth century AD and the first half of the fifth century AD caused the loss of the three greatest provincial areas of the Roman West (Gaul, Spain and Africa) and consequently the loss of the control on the silver mines in those territories (**Fig. 1**), in the Eastern Empire it was still possible to extract and produce silver.

It seems, indeed, that the silver-mining areas of the Taurus Mountains, in Turkey, quite far from the Sassanian territories (**Fig. 2**), were continuously exploited by the Romans for the whole fifth century AD at least<sup>10</sup>.

Besides, if not mined, silver was often recovered and recycled as some sources of the time would suggest: for instance, in 349 AD the Emperor Constantius II had to mandate capital punishment against metal workers who criminally were purifying the billon coins called *maiorinae* by separating off the silver from the copper<sup>11</sup>; at the end of 408 AD the Roman Senate, in order to pay to the Visigoths of Alaric a subsidy of 30000 lb of silver, found necessary to let melt down certain

10 ASLIHAN YENER-AYYÜZ TOYDEMİR 1992

11 *CTh.* IX.21.6.

silver statues, including that of *Virtus*<sup>12</sup>; later, perhaps in 409 AD, but most likely at the beginning of 410 AD, the usurper Priscus Attalus on short notice re-coined the silver plate of Rome into spectacular multiples weighing 24 carats<sup>13</sup> (Fig. 3).

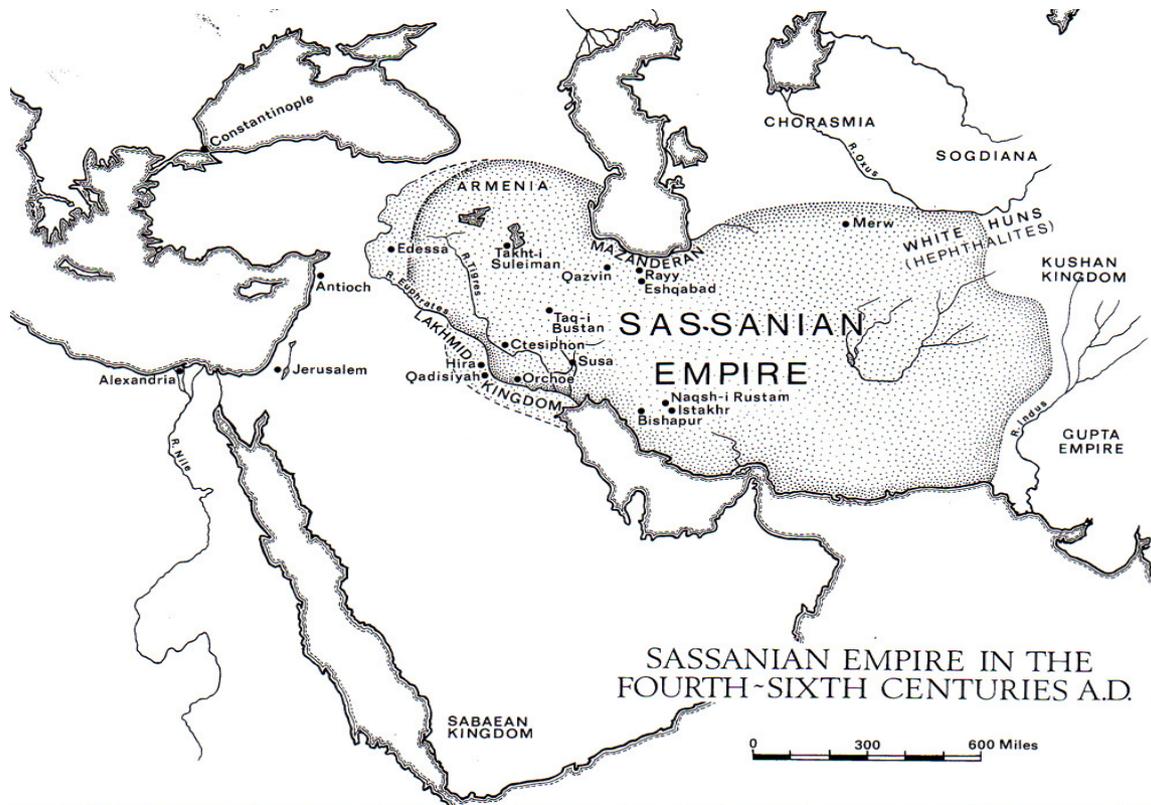


Fig. 2 – Map of the Sassanian Empire between fourth and sixth centuries A.D. (from KENT-PAINTER 1977, p. 120).



Fig. 3 – One of the multiples of Priscus Attalus, Rome 410 AD (75,12 gr., 50 mm)  
(Bode Museum, Room 242. BM-041/25 Roman Meddallions. Gold and silver) (RIC 10 - 1408).

A very indicative example of recycling silver is then given in the Corippus' account of the Justin II's consulship ceremony in 566 AD. Referring to the *largitio* given by the Emperor to the representatives of the highest ranks of the society Corippus says:

12 The 30000 lb of silver were just a part of the whole subsidy; see HENDY 1985, p. 261, who cites Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, v. 41.4-7.

13 HARL 1996, p. 177.

“Here they brought on their tall shoulders old silver renewed in different shapes and forms, embossed with legends and engraved with figures...”<sup>14</sup>.

Moreover, it has to be mentioned that late Roman silver was not recycled only during Late Antiquity but it was subject to recovery and reuse until really recent periods. A very extraordinary case is the one told by an Italian Mediaeval Chronicler, Niccola della Tuccia, who reports on the discovery of two imperial coffins plated with 854 lb of silver in the chapel of St. Petronilla in St. Peter’s in Rome. The chapel originally was the Mausoleum of Honorius, the two bodies were presumably the ones of the Empress Galla Placidia and of her infant son Theodosius, the discovery happened on 25 June 1458, the silver was dispatched at once to the papal mint to be turned into coins<sup>15</sup>.

Both the ancient sources and the archaeological evidences tell us that silver was available in huge quantities between the second half of the fourth-fifth centuries AD but it circulated in other shapes than coins; mainly ingots and vessels.

Silver ingots were used for payments of donative to the army on the occasion of an imperial accession since the elevation of Julian in 360 AD and still with Leo I in 457 AD and Leo II in 473 AD<sup>16</sup>.

Not coined silver, possibly in ingots’ shape, was used to finance military operations like the great but unsuccessful naval expedition undertaken by Leo I and his Western colleague Anthemius against the Vandals in 468 AD. In that occasion the prefectural reserve paid out in addition to an extraordinary amount of golden *solidi* also 700000 lb of silver<sup>17</sup>.

We do know also that silver, most likely in the form of ingots, was used for the payment of fines: the *Codex Theodosianus* registers several cases between the second half of the fourth-beginning of the fifth centuries AD. Five lb was the penalty for whoever diverted the mules of the imperial post for private purposes<sup>18</sup>; 50 lb was the regular fine for interfering with the process of appeals<sup>19</sup>; an African constitution of 414 AD provides a scale of fines for obstinate Donatists, from the 200 lb of silver due from a proconsul down to the 10 pounds due from a simple decurion<sup>20</sup>.

Silver ingots could have been used to pay out subsidies to the barbarian invaders as the 30000 lb

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14 HENDY 1985, p. 195, cites Corippus, *In Laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*, IV.109-110.

15 GRIERSON 1992, p. 141, who cites Niccola della Tuccia, *Cronache di Viterbo*.

16 The customary donative amounted to five *solidi* and a pound of silver (most likely shaped as an ingot weighing a pound) per man; see: HENDY 1985, p. 177. For a discussion about the “numbers” of the Late Roman Army see: WHITBY 2008.

17 HENDY 1985, p. 221, who cites Candidus, *Fragmenta*, ed. K.MÜLLER, IV, p. 137; and John Lydus, *De Magistratibus*, III.43.

18 *CTh.* VIII.5.35.

19 *CTh.* XI.30.48.

20 *CTh.* XVI.5.54.

collected by the Roman Senate for the Visigoths<sup>21</sup>.

Sometimes silver bullion could have been even used to pay out special taxation as the *aurum oblativum* offered by the senatorial class to the Emperor in the occasion of his accession or for the celebration of his quinquennial anniversary. This is the case of the 3000 lb of silver offered by the Constantinopolitan Senate on the occasion of Leo I's accession in 457 AD<sup>22</sup>.

The use of silver in the form of manufactured objects is also very documented by the late Roman sources.

Silver vessels, particularly bowls and plates (*missoria*), were distributed to the "notables" of the late Roman society as Imperial *largitiones* during several ceremonies. For example silver vessels filled with gold were distributed to the senators and palatine guards during the ceremony for the Justin II's consulship in 566 AD<sup>23</sup>.

Powerful Romans imitated the example of the Emperor in giving gifts, of course on a less extravagant scale, to commemorate important events such as family or religious celebrations, political appointments and the awarding of imperial posts or titles<sup>24</sup>. In such occasions silver bowls were among the favourite gifts to distribute and letters from the head of one of the wealthiest of senatorial families, *Quintus Aurelius Symmachus*, provide a good insight into this custom. In the occurrence of his son's quaestorian and praetorian games in 394 and 401 AD *Symmachus* writes:

*"It is a solemn and delightful obligation for quaestors candidati to present the customary gifts to people of consequence and close friends, in which number you are naturally included. So I offer you an ivory diptych and a small silver bowl (canistellum argenteum) weighing 2 pounds in my son's name, and I beg you to accept this token of respect with pleasure"*<sup>25</sup>.

And:

*"Please deign to accept the diptychs and gifts in [my son's] name...I have also honoured the rest of my friends with ivory tablets and silver bowls"*<sup>26</sup>.

"Silverware" were exchanged also between individuals outside the formal, hierarchical, gift-exchange system of the Late Roman Empire as it seems to attest for example the elegiac couplet which encircles the central medallion of the great silver Hunting Dish of the Sevso Treasure (**Fig. 4a, b**):

*"May these, O Sevso, yours for many ages be / Small vessels fit to serve your offspring worthily"*<sup>27</sup>

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21 HENDY 1985, p. 261.

22 HENDY 1985, p. 221, who cites Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De Ceremoniis*, 1.91.

23 HENDY 1985, p. 195.

24 GUEST 2005, p. 25.

25 LEADER-NEWBY 2004, p. 41, who cites Symmachus, *Epistulae*, 7.76.

26 GUEST 2005, p. 25

27 The treasure trove consists of 14 large decorated silver vessels and the copper cauldron which contained them, and has been dated to the late fourth or early fifth century AD (see: MUNDELL MANGO-BENNETT 1994; and MUNDELL



Fig. 4a - The Sevso Treasure.



Fig. 4b - A detail of the Meleager plate, one of the 14 pieces of Roman silver in the Sevso Treasure.

The exchange of silver object among private individuals is even more evident from a Palladius' account about an aristocratic ascetic Melania the Elder, who took her movable wealth with her when she left Rome for Alexandria and there presented the Egyptian abbot Pambo with a silver casket filled with 300 lb of silver, which he immediately ordered to be distributed among the monasteries of Nubia<sup>28</sup>.

In the context of late antique Christian piety, well represented by the latter case, the believers could dispose of their belongings both to charitable ends and to show their devotion. Very striking is the testimony of written sources also for this particular aspect of the silver-exchanging, notably the *Liber Pontificalis*<sup>29</sup>, setting out in detail the endless church furnishings and liturgical vessels given to the churches of Rome by Constantine the Great, his successors, and popes and private persons.

For instance, very impressive is the list of silverware, decorations and furnishings what Valentinian III, during the papacy of Sixtus III, donates to the churches of S. Peter and S. Laurence in Rome<sup>30</sup>. But even these vestments were subject to recycling during history; many churches, indeed, over the centuries were destroyed or looted and all the precious metal found was stolen, sold or remelted. Quite famous is the episode of the French occupation of Malta in 1798 during which they sacked many churches on the island registering all the objects taken away: the church of St. John yielded no less than 6750 *livres* of manufactured silver objects what were immediately turned over to the mint<sup>31</sup>.

Tangible evidence of the existence of late Roman silver, although not in such a huge amount as described in the written sources, exists in a series of hoards of precious metal found all over the Roman Empire as well as in the *Barbaricum*, with an exceptional concentration of them in the north-western territories of Europe and in Great Britain<sup>32</sup>.

What is it very striking is the composition of these late Roman precious-metal deposits: in fact, if in the hoards closed by the very beginning of the fifth century AD (about 410 AD), silver coins still represent a noteworthy part of them, in the fifth century AD's treasures they virtually disappear.

In the Hoxne hoard (Suffolk, Britain), what was hidden probably around 410 AD, together with all the golden and silver objects<sup>33</sup> were hoarded 580 *solidi*, 60 *miliarenses*, 5 *demi argentei* and as many as 14136 *argentei*!<sup>34</sup> This is of course an exceptional case, but anyway silver coins can be

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28 LEADER-NEWBY 2004, p. 3, who cites Palladius, *Lausiaca History*, X.2-4.

29 An anthology of the Popes' biographies since S. Peter (*Liber Pontificalis*, I).

30 *Liber Pontificalis*, I, p. 233.

31 GRIERSON 1992, p. 141.

32 Today many publications about findings of treasures do occur; for instance see: HOBBS 2006; ROBERTSON 2000; BLAND 1997; PAINTER 1997; KENT-PAINTER 1977.

33 JOHNS 2010.

34 GUEST 2005.

found in many others “contemporary” hoards: in the Bishop Cannings hoard (Blagon Hill, Wilts., Britain), for example, there were 7 *miliarenses* and 1560 *argentei*<sup>35</sup>; in the Cleeve Prior hoard (Worcs., Britain) were registered c.3000 *argentei*<sup>36</sup>; the Stanchester hoard (Wilts., Britain) counted 33 *miliarenses* and 1168 *argentei*<sup>37</sup> and the Haynes hoard (Bedford., Britain) registered 8 *miliarenses* and 440 *argentei*<sup>38</sup>.

These are only a little example of treasures closed at the beginning of the fifth century AD, but enough to make a point: in such deposits silver coins were hoarded as well as precious-metal objects.

The situation radically changes in the course of the fifth century AD: besides manufactured precious-metal objects, the vast majority of hoards show a predominance of golden coins; the number of silver coins dramatically drop in and the handful of treasures what include silver denominations register very few specimens, which often are even Barbaric imitations.

The Trier X hoard (Germany) lists 6 *argentei* dating between 407 and 424 AD<sup>39</sup>; in the Arcy-Sainte-Resstitute (France) are recorded 21 *argentei* (408-456 AD)<sup>40</sup>; in the Fano treasure (Italy), besides the golden denominations, there are 8 *argentei* and 18 *demi argentei* attributed to Theodosius II, Valentinian III and Galla Placidia<sup>41</sup>.

What it is more common to be found in precious-metal deposits between the end of the fourth-fifth centuries AD, as it can be imagined from the ancient written sources, are silverware, silver ingots and, mostly in the *Barbaricum*, “hacksilber” that it means fragments of cut and bent silver items treated as bullion, either for ease of carrying before melting down for re-use, or simply used as currency by weight.

Some of these deposits are really impressive: the Traprain Law treasure (East Lothian, Britain), hidden approximately between the end of the fourth-the very beginning of the fifth centuries AD, shows not less then 22 kg. of silver with pieces of hacksilber belonged to 101 different vessels (**Fig. 5**)<sup>42</sup>; the contemporary Hoxne hoard with its 6 kg. of really superb silver works of art<sup>43</sup>; the outstanding Mildenhall Treasure (Suffolk, Britain), a major hoard of highly decorated Roman silver tableware from the end of the fourth century AD, what consists of two large serving platters, two small decorated serving plates, a deep fluted bowl, a set of four large decorated bowls, two small

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35 HOBBS 2006, p. 228, n. 1478.

36 HOBBS 2006, p. 229, n. 1492.

37 CHR B XII – *Stanchester*.

38 CHR B XII – *Haynes*.

39 HOBBS 2006, p. 238, n. 1622.

40 HOBBS 2006, p. 238, n. 1628.

41 HOBBS 2006, p. 239, n. 1640; KENT 1994, p. clxxiv.

42 PAINTER 1997, p. 93.

43 JOHNS 2010.

decorated bowls, two small pedestalled dishes, a deep flanged bowl with a deep, domed cover, five small round ladles with dolphin-shaped handles, and eight long-handled spoons<sup>44</sup> (Fig. 6).



Fig. 5 - The Traprain Law treasure and its pieces of "hacksilver".



Fig. 6 - The fourth century "Great Dish" from the Mildenhall Treasure.

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44 HOBBS 2008; PAINTER 1977.

The huge Orbetello (Italy) silver dish dated to 434 AD<sup>45</sup> or the small hoard from Konarzew (Poland), hidden sometime during the second half of the fifth century AD, what includes jewellery such as one silver brooch, four pieces of wire, one silver bracelet, one silver-gilt buckle, one silver pin, one silver buckle and a silver ear-ring<sup>46</sup>.

So far we have seen that in the Late Roman Empire silver was available and used in huge amounts, but what we have to try to explain now is why during the fifth century AD silver coins were almost not produced.

During the first four centuries of the Roman Empire, silver coins constituted the regular military payments. By the Severan period a clear policy of supplying military frontier provinces with silver coins can be deduced from the numismatic evidence<sup>47</sup>. This tradition was never really lost from the mid-third to the mid-fourth centuries AD: the interlude of the billon coinage was still intended to be silver of sorts and fulfil the same functions. It's reasonable to imagine that *argentei* (called "*siliquae*") were still produced for the same purpose still at the very beginning of the fifth century AD by the Usurpers<sup>48</sup> but no longer after that.

The last written source what clearly relates silver coins to a military payment/donative dates back to the year 363 AD: after the victorious siege of the Pisisobara town, Julian promised to each soldier "*argenteos nummos centenos*" as reward for their success but they voiced their opposition probably considering that amount not an appropriate sum<sup>49</sup>. This passage has been interpreted by the scholars in many ways and, perhaps, the idea that the soldier's discontent was due to the fact that the *argenteus* of 1/96<sup>th</sup> of a pound had been replaced in 358 AD by a coin of approximately 1/144<sup>th</sup> of a pound is a realistic hypothesis: the soldier would get less than expected<sup>50</sup>. Perhaps the soldiers were unsatisfied because had received much less respect to the 130 *argyra nomismata* distributed or promised to them by the Emperor on the eve of the Persian campaign<sup>51</sup>. Nevertheless the reaction of the soldiers might have represented a tendency what was beginning in this very period and what became the rule during the fifth century AD: soldiers got paid with golden coins (*solidi*)! From some papyri found in Egypt we found out that a common soldier, at the half of the fourth century AD received a ration allowance of four or five *solidi* a year<sup>52</sup>; on the occasion of an imperial

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45 HOBBS 2006, p. 240, n. 1657.

46 HOBBS 2006, p. 242, n. 1695.

47 HOBLEY 1998, p. 128.

48 See note 6.

49 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, XXIV.3.3-4; Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, III.18.

50 This hypothesis is based on the assumption that the *argentei* distributed corresponded to the so-called *siliquae*, see ADELSON 1958, pp. 4-5.

51 Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, III.13.3.

52 KENT-PAINTER 1977, p. 18; a century later (half of fifth century AD), according Elton, a comitatensian infantryman would get c.6 *solidi* while a trooper c.10 ½ (ELTON 1996, pp. 120-125).

accession, as we have already seen, the customary donative to the army amounted to a pound of silver and five *solidi* per man<sup>53</sup> while the customary quinquennial donative amounted to five *solidi* per man<sup>54</sup>.

Since its introduction in 309-310 AD by Constantine the Great, the *solidus* had a high purchasing power (because of it later were created two golden fractions: the *semissis* and the *tremissis*) and during the fifth century AD it reached such a prestige that it became almost the unique value used for transactions within the Roman Empire and also to regulate relationships with the Barbarian people.

*Solidi* were used for payments of *stipendia et donativa* to the army, as we have seen; they were used to pay out extraordinary taxation as the *aurum coronarium* and the *collatio lustralis* on the occasion of Imperial accession and quinquennial celebrations<sup>55</sup>; a lot of *solidi* were expended for the salaries of the members of the civil administration<sup>56</sup>; the Emperor himself distributed that golden value as largesse during several as well as different occasions<sup>57</sup>.

The list of payments in *solidi* in the course of the Late Roman Empire is very long but, one expenditure above all scoured the Imperial coffers during the fifth century AD: subsidies to the Barbarians!

If yet in the second half of the fourth century AD it was strictly forbidden to supply barbarians with gold<sup>58</sup>, during the fifth century AD it became the only way to deal with them either to create alliances or to establish and/or preserve peace.

For instance, in 408 AD the Roman Senate agreed to pay 4000 lb of gold to Alaric for not launching a new invasion of Italy<sup>59</sup>. In 422 AD the government in Constantinople began paying 350 lb of gold every year to the Huns' leader Rua as the price for his keeping the peace<sup>60</sup>, but by 440 AD his two successors (the brothers Bleda and Attila) were able to extort an annual payment of 700 lb of gold from the Eastern Empire and to let Theodosius II pay a ransom of eight *solidi* for each Roman taken prisoner by the Huns. Since that moment there was an escalation of the Huns' claims: in 442 AD,

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53 HENDY 1985, p. 177.

54 HENDY 1985, p. 221, who cites Zachariah of Mitylene, *Syriac Chronicle*, VIII.8 and Procopius, *Historia Arcana*, XXIV.27-29.

55 The *aurum coronarium* was a theoretically voluntary offering levied on the curial class, while the *collatio lustralis* was levied on artisans, merchants and members of the professions (HENDY 1985, pp. 175-176).

56 HENDY 1985, pp. 178-181.

57 HENDY 1985, pp. 192-201.

58 A law passed in 374/375 AD by the Emperors Valentinian I and Valens commands: "Not only shall gold not be supplied to the barbarians, but even if it is found amongst them it shall be removed by means of subtle ingenuity. If, henceforth, gold is supplied by merchants to the barbarians, either for sale or in exchange for whatever kind of commodities, they shall suffer not just a fine but an even heavier punishment. And if a governor does not confiscate such gold as is found, he is immediately party to the concealment of a criminal act." (= CJ IV.63.2; translation in HENDY 1985, p. 257).

59 GOLDSWORTHY 2009, p. 296.

60 GOLDSWORTHY 2009, p. 320.

after the fall of the town of Naissus, the two Barbaric brothers most likely doubled the subsidy the Eastern Empire had to pay out<sup>61</sup> but perhaps already in 443 or 444 AD Constantinople interrupted the payment.

In 447 AD, once again, Theodosius II was forced to buy peace from the Huns. Attila, what by now was the sole king after the Bleda's assassination in c. 445 AD, was now to be sent no less than 2100 lb of gold each year plus an immediate payment of 6000 lb more as arrears due since the Romans had stopped paying the earlier subsidy. More over the ransom for each Roman prisoner rose to 12 *solidi*<sup>62</sup>.

By 460s the new Eastern Emperor, Leo I, most likely started paying a tribute to the Goths located in Thrace what had acquired formal status of *foederati* but, after their revolt in 471 AD, which Leo was only able to end in 473 AD, they got an annual subsidy of 2000 pounds of gold<sup>63</sup>.

Few years later (476 AD), Zeno gave that subsidy to the new allies of the Eastern Empire: a second cluster of Goths what settled in Pannonia during the late 450s and 460s<sup>64</sup>.

There is no doubt that part of such tributes were paid with golden ingots<sup>65</sup> but *solidi* were the most common means used in those "transactions" as many coin hoards found all over the Empire and even more in the *Barbaricum*, with a particular concentration in the Baltic area, would show<sup>66</sup>.

As we have seen, so far, between the end of the fourth-fifth centuries AD gold was used mainly for coins while silver was used almost exclusively to produce very impressive manufactured object or in the form of ingots (by weight). A reference to a silver denomination we can find in this period<sup>67</sup> is in a law passed in 384 AD by Theodosius I concerning the distribution of largesses on the occasion of the election of a new consul. The non-imperial consul, when ceremonies were enacted, was allowed to use only "*argentei nummi*" for gifts. More specifically that consul was not permitted to expend silver coins larger than that which was customarily formed when a pound of silver was divided into sixty pieces of coin (today so called heavy-*miliarensis*)<sup>68</sup>.

Another reference to a silver coin, even if controversial, can be found in a law promulgated more

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61 HEATHER 2009, p. 373.

62 GOLDSWORTHY 2009, p. 323; HEATHER 2009, p. 379.

63 LEE 2008, p. 48.

64 LEE 2008, p. 50.

65 An example are the stamped gold bars found in Aboukir (Egypt) or in Kronstadt (Transylvania) dated to the late fourth century AD (see KENT-PAINTER 1977, p. 173, nn. 533-536).

66 For an overview of the main publications concerning findings of coin hoards, especially late Roman *solidi*, within the Roman Empire and in the *Barbaricum* see BLAND 1997, pp. 30-31, notes nn. 9, 10. About the exportation of Roman coins, particularly late Roman *solidi*, into *Barbaricum* and their changing of function once they crossed the frontier see: BURSCHE-CIOLEK-WOLTERS 2008; and *Monnaie et espace*, Histoire & Mesure, volume XVII, numéro 3/4, Paris 2002.

67 Other contemporary sources mentioning silver denominations will be discussed in the Chapter 4.

68 HENDY 1985, pp. 193-194 who translates *CTh.* XV.9.1. Most likely this enactment was still in force during the fifth century AD since it was included within the Theodosian Code which was published in 438 AD.

than a century later. This amendment, dated 536/537 AD, deals once again with the consular scattering of largesse to the people in the course of some processions. It establishes:

“Silver, which is considered most precious directly after gold, is a suitable largesse for other consuls. Therefore We command them to scatter largesse in what are called *miliaresia* and *mela* and *kaukia* and *tetragonia* and so on”<sup>69</sup>.

The *miliaresia* cited in the law, what someone has proposed to identify with the silver vessel *miliaria*<sup>70</sup>, were most likely the silver denominations what today are known as heavy-*miliareses* or, at least, the light ones.

These two sources, of course, cannot be used for any general hypothesis about the paucity of silver coins from the Late-Roman Empire, nevertheless, what seems to emerge from their content is a different “status” of the silver coins since the second half of the fourth century AD or, at least, a change in the use of such denominations.

We have seen, indeed, that at least until 363 AD “*argenteos nummos*” were still used for some kind of payments to the army and most likely as an everyday value; moreover, archaeological findings allow us to believe that this use of the silver coins continued until the very beginning of the fifth century AD but, after this date such a role of them seems to disappear completely.

In 384 AD, on the other hand, it begins to be specified a new function for the silver denominations. This new role at the beginning was accessory to the everyday value’s one but then, in the course of the fifth century AD, it became the exclusive role: silver coins in the Late-Roman Empire became kind of “celebratory denominations”.

In the fifth century AD silver coins were struck, perhaps, exclusively on the occasion of some ceremonies to the purpose of being a kind of “tokens of memory”: souvenirs of the event<sup>71</sup>. They could have been scattered amongst people during public processions or games (for these purposes were probably used lower denominations as the so called *siliquae* and later the so called half-*siliquae*) or handed out as *largitiones* to the “notables” of the late Roman society (for these purposes were probably used higher denominations as the so called light and heavy *miliarerenses*)<sup>72</sup>.

The reasons of such a change are most likely economical but, unfortunately, they are only presumable.

In 368 AD Valens and Valentinianus I proclaimed a monetary reform concerning mainly the

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69 HENDY 1985, p. 194 who translates *Novellae Iustiniani*, CV.2.1.

70 *Miliaria*, *mela*, *kaukia* and *tetragonia* were silver vessels (see MARICQ 1950).

71 Many of such occasions during which silver coins as well as golden coins could be distributed are listed by Hendy (HENDY 1985)

72 In this period the particular use of the silver coins out of the economical circuit (= out of circulation) seems to be confirmed by the really good status of preservation of almost all of the silver pieces purchased on modern coin auctions.

production of gold coins<sup>73</sup>; contextually important decisions, even if not openly declared, were taken about the production of silver coins. All the coins collected from taxes had to be melted down and the silver had to be refined; only after this procedure silver, in the form of certified ingots, could be minted again. The silver coins struck since that moment showed the letter PS (*pusulatum* = refined) added to the mint abbreviation.

With this decision the two Emperors, of course, tried to impose an official standard for the fineness content of the silver coins. The content of silver in the *argentei* struck at 1/144<sup>th</sup> to the pound, indeed, was improved from the 94-95% between 355-368 AD, to 99%<sup>74</sup>. Since that moment *argentei* were struck abundantly and most likely accepted at a face value.

The *argenteus*'s silver content, nevertheless, remained at this new, reformed level for only ten years before gradually declining to c. 97% by 395-402 AD<sup>75</sup> (Fig. 7).

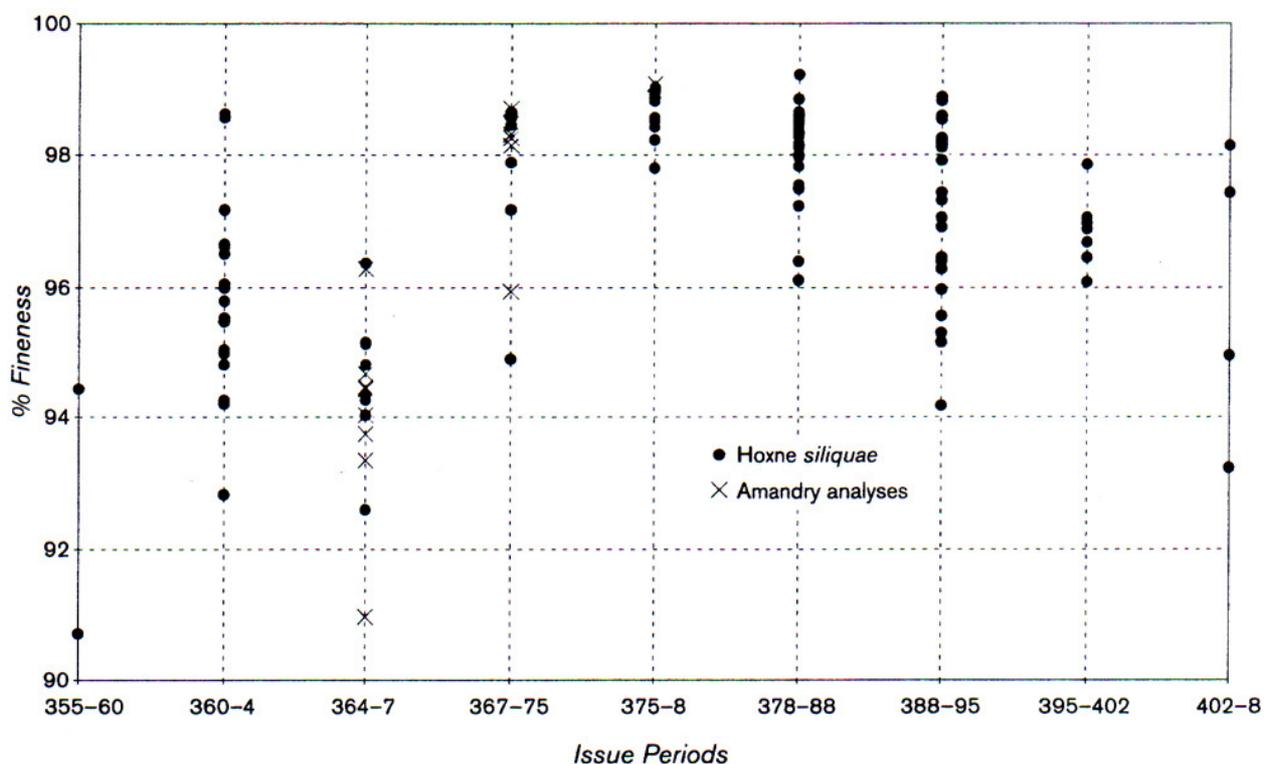


Fig. 7 – Chart of the fineness of 102 *argentei* analysed from the Hoxne Treasure (from GUEST 2005, p. 43).

To the debasement of the silver content, even if minimum, it has to be added the fact that in the course of the second half of the fourth century AD the metrological standard of the *argenteus* fluctuated: with the usurper Magnus Maximus it seems that this denomination was reduced to 1/216<sup>th</sup> to the pound, later with Eugenius or Honorius the weight was restored to 1/156<sup>th</sup> or 1/144<sup>th</sup>

73 On the reform see: AMANDRY-BARRANDON-BRENOT-CALLU-POIRIER 1982.

74 GUEST 2005, p. 42.

75 GUEST 2005, p. 42.

to the pound and finally dropped to 1/288<sup>th</sup> to the pound, perhaps with the usurper Maximus of Spain, in 411 AD<sup>76</sup>.

Therefore, it seems that the production of silver coins (*argentei* in this case) was out of control and that the authority could not re-establish a standard what could let still accept on the market silver *argentei* by their face value. In this context it seems more understandable the law entitled *de argenti pretio, quod thesauris infertur* enacted in 397 AD by the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius. They allowed taxpayers to substitute five gold *solidi* for a pound of silver if they have been assessed in that metal<sup>77</sup>: with the fluctuation both of the weights and the fineness of the silver *argentei* in the last quarter of the fourth century AD, it was not possible any more to accept such a denomination for its face value but only for its intrinsic value<sup>78</sup>.

The said law, establishing a correspondence between gold and silver of 5 *solidi* for a pound of white metal (**Fig. 8**), shows that by the end of the fourth century AD silver was tightly connected to gold circulating with a steady gold/silver *ratio* of 1:14,4<sup>79</sup>.



Fig. 8 – An example of silver ingots from around 400 AD. Approximately 500 grams of silver each. Stamp says: “From the shops of Piscus in Trier, One pound of silver”.

76 CARLÁ 2007, pp. 203-204.

77 *CTh* XIII.2.1.

78 Perhaps also the clipping phenomenon forced the passage from the face to the intrinsic value of the *argentei* (see Chapter 3)

2. 79 CARLÁ 2007, p. 207.

That instrument does not clarify, though, if the pound of silver had to be meant as refined or raw; perhaps, the distinction between the two types of metal was excised from the text on purpose: probably the Imperial Authority was trying once again to take control of the production of silver denominations (mainly *argentei*) allowing possessors of specimens struck at a different standard (both fineness and weight) than the official one to bring them back to the tax collectors so that they could be melted down and reused for the production of lawfully silver coins.

Not so long after the issuing of that law, however, the Imperial *argenteus*' standard was defied again: a series of usurpers at the beginning of the fifth century AD struck *argentei* at their own standard.

Lyon's *argentei* of Constantine III (407-411 AD), for instance, show an average weight of 1,54 g.<sup>80</sup> and only 94% of fineness<sup>81</sup>; Maximus, in Barcino, between 410 and 411 AD struck the same denomination at an average weight of 1,16 g.<sup>82</sup>; and Jovinus (411-413 AD) struck his *argentei* not only at an average weight of 1,43 g. but, apparently, even at a really low content of silver<sup>83</sup>. What it is more striking is that even the mint of Milan under the direct control of the Western Emperor Honorius between 397 and 402 AD struck *argentei* with a huge degree of deviation from the average weight: more than half of them, indeed, weighed 20% more or less than the notional average<sup>84</sup>.

Reasons for such a variation in both non imperial and imperial *argentei*'s standards could be several: shortage of silver metal; or perhaps they were issued in so a large quantity to supply army that it became very difficult to control closely their weight standard; or, even, that control of silver coin production was not restricted to the *comitatus* mint alone, and that different *Sacrae Monetae* had their own sources of supply<sup>85</sup>.

What seems anyway to appear clear is the passage from a circulation of the *argenteus* at face value to an intrinsic value's one (exchanged by weight) by the beginning of the fifth century AD.

A final prove of it comes from a register of prices drawn up by the local administration of Arcadia at the beginning of the fifth century AD. In there it was specified that a pound of refined silver was worth 5 *solidi* while a pound of raw silver corresponded to 4,75 *solidi*<sup>86</sup>.

It demonstrates that silver on the market was definitely circulating by weight<sup>87</sup> because the raw

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3. 80 KENT 1994, p. 143.

81 GUEST 2005, p. 42.

82 KENT 1994, p. 150.

83 The absence of the *pusulatum* acronym, usually added to the mint-mark, is perhaps indicative of such a debased content of silver. The figure of 75% of fineness is anyway unlikely (KENT 1994, p. 152).

84 GUEST 2005, p. 42.

85 All this hypothesis are proposed by GUEST 2005, p. 42.

86 CARLÁ 2007, p. 207 who cites the P. Oxy. LI, 3628-3633.

87 MORRISSON 1989, p. 241.

silver could be constituted only by not certified ingots, scrap metal, silverware or, at the most, non-imperial coins; while the refined silver, of course, could be represented by stamped ingots as well as standard refined coins. The only difference made between those two classes is in their price what it is almost the same.

With the Authority allowing people to use not certified silver at weight for ordinary transactions at almost the same price of the certified one, it is clear that the production of silver coins for everyday life as well as for army's payments became meaningless: the owners of silver preferred, of course, to keep it rather than have it refined, while the Emperor, perhaps, preferred to avoid mint expenditure to produce coins what then on the market would be valued almost the same as scrap metal.

The small number of silver specimens struck in the fifth century AD still surviving could have depended not only from the fact that they were produced only for particular occasions but also from the fact that, perhaps, once collected, they might have been melted down. Being silver valued for its intrinsic value, indeed, it pushed its owners to manufacture it in splendid silverware! Silver became an important sign of status to be displayed and, for such a purpose, coins could not be used and successfully exhibited. Silverware, instead, was not just a sign of wealth, but wealth itself<sup>88</sup>. It had, indeed, a very concrete financial value for its owner and the weight of the silver owned could reflect an individual's overall wealth. At the same time, it constituted a cash reserve, which could be converted in ingots in times of need<sup>89</sup>.

This is only an hypothesis, others have been proposed<sup>90</sup>, but the problem of the paucity of silver coins from the fifth century AD still needs further discussions (**Fig. 8a**).

It has been shown that in the Late-Roman Empire, namely the second half of the fourth-fifth centuries AD, supplies of silver were available in abundant quantities. The white metal did circulate and was used a lot for different kinds of payments as well as to manufacture astonishing silverware. Moreover, until the beginning of the fifth century AD plenty of silver coins were struck, mainly for payments to the armies and, perhaps, also as everyday value (*argentei*). Nevertheless, in the course of the fifth century AD silver denominations virtually disappeared. This phenomenon had most

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88 LEADER-NEWBY 2004, p. 27.

89 LEADER-NEWBY 2004, pp. 2-3.

90 Kenneth Harl argued that: "*Relentless debasement of the billon currency fueled [in Late Roman Empire] alarming rates of inflation and affected the ratio between gold and silver; and, as a result, the minting of full-bodied silver coins, which would quickly end up in melting pots, was discontinued*" (HARL 1996, p. 162.); Philip Grierson, on the other hand, hypothesized that: "...it may be suggested...with the mint price of silver fixed in the late fourth century at a figure that became so out of touch with the market rate during the next century that serious minting in the metal became impossible" (GRIERSON 1992, p. 146); George Depeyrot instead proposed: "*En Occident, le développement de l'économie naturelle favorisa sans doute également la baisse des émissions monétaires. Cette baisse de la production fut en partie compensée par une longue durée d'utilisation des monnaies du IVe siècle*" (DEPEYROT 2005, p. 65).

likely economic reasons what led to a fundamental change in the circulation of such a denominations (mainly *argentei*): from a face value they started to be exchanged by their intrinsic value/weight.

On the market a pound of refined silver (the one used for coining), at the beginning of the fifth century AD, was worth almost the same as a pound of raw metal. At these rates and with golden denominations dominating the markets it became meaningless for the Imperial Authority to mint silver coins as circulation value and, the owners of white metal preferred to keep it and use it to show their own status. In this period, indeed, many fine silver objects were manufactured.

In this idea of silver as a sort of prestigious metal, it might be thought that silver coins were struck only for celebratory occasions both to show the munificence of the celebrant, who scattered and handed out largesses, and to represent a kind of “tokens of memory”.

In this context it is not hard to believe that once collected, silver denominations might have been even melted down to create ingots or silverware.

Hence, a possible explanation for the scarcity of silver coins struck in the fifth century AD.

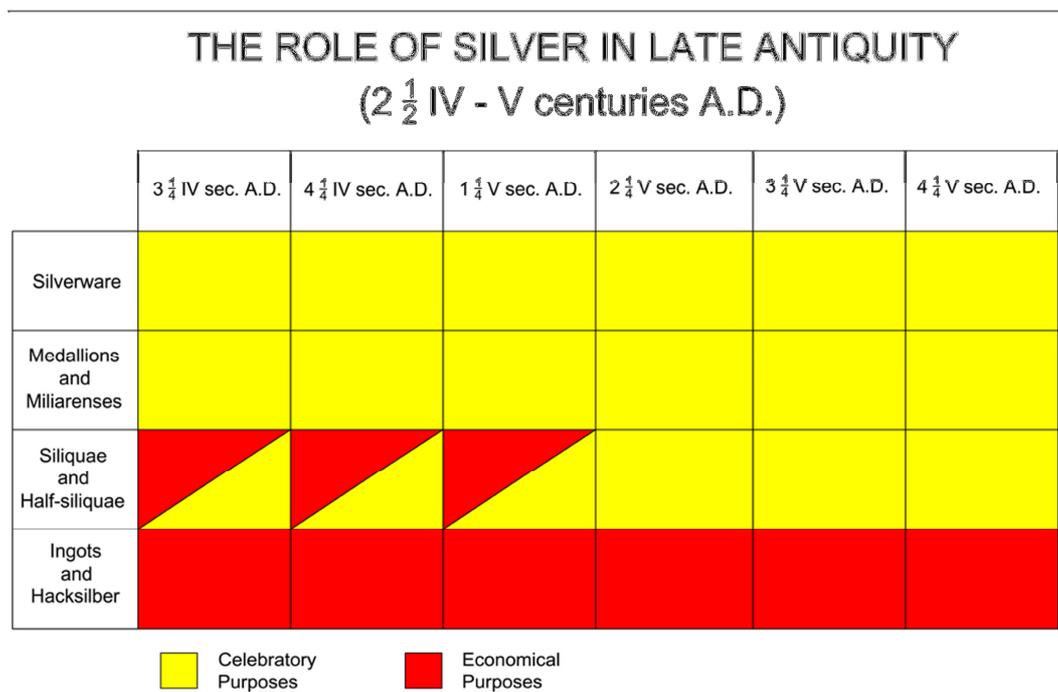


Fig. 8a – Scheme of the role of silver in Late Antiquity.

## CHAPTER 2

### ***PRECIOUS METAL HOARDS IN THE LATE ANTIQUITY***

As we have seen in the previous chapter a fundamental instrument for the study of the Late Roman silver are the archaeological findings, namely the hoards what can be constituted by coins, jewellery, tableware, ingots, scrap metal and, most of the time, by some combinations of those elements.

The phenomenon of the hoarding lately has excited a lot of interest in the world scientific community what has produced a lot of scientific literature on the topic, analysing that process from different points of view and furnishing both several and disparate explanations as well as interpretations of it.

It is not so simple to try finding the reason or reasons what brought to the concealment of a precious-metal deposit; every hoard, indeed, first of all needs to be analysed as a unite: composition, size, etc. and then put in the context both geographical and historical and finally compared with other hoards which present similarities in the content or from the chronological and geographical point of view.

Today it has been widely accepted that hoarding as a “threat response” it cannot be the universal explanation for the concealment of all the deposits of precious-metal; of course it might be a major factor, but today other aspects what could have led to the “hiding” of a treasure have been identified.

A hoard of precious metal, indeed, could be hidden as a precaution, or as a savings kept often in the house, or it might represent simply an accidental loss of a container such as a purse, while “votive” hoards may be different again. Any particular hoard, however, may fall at the same time into more than one of these categories<sup>91</sup>.

Of course, in some cases, it is possible to distinguish the category to which the treasure belongs.

A savings hoard of coins, for instance, is likely to consist of coins which were accumulated over period of time, as opposite to an emergency hoard, which may rather consist of coins which were to hand when the emergency arose<sup>92</sup>.

Mixed hoards of small vessels or spoons, found together with jewellery, ingots, and above all coins, as the Hoxne one, are most convincingly interpreted as savings hoards, preserved for their monetary and bullion values<sup>93</sup>. Nevertheless, the only late-Roman treasures which might be qualified as

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91 PAINTER 1997, pp. 102-103.

92 PAINTER 1997, p. 104.

93 PAINTER 1997, p. 104.

saving hoards are the “hacksilber” hoards like the Traprain in which the broken-up silver has no function as plate but it is presumably intended primarily for exchange<sup>94</sup> as ingots.

More problematic is the identification of “accidental hoards”: usually represented by a random group of coins for everyday use lost accidentally with their container. Such accidental hoards are not impossible for silver plate, in spite of its greater bulk. Perhaps, deposits like these found along or inside rivers, like the Hagenbach or Neupotz hoards, between Mannheim and Karlsruhe in the Rhine, might well represent such accidental hoards<sup>95</sup>.

A particular class of hoards are, then, the “votive hoards”. They are to be recognised, whatever they consist of, by the way or the place in which they were deposited: one obvious group of such votive hoards is those assemblages which were hidden within a religious building or inside its precinct, as a gift to the gods or to invoke the protection or help of the gods<sup>96</sup>. But its really hard to identify this kind of hoards when they are discovered somewhere out of a religious context.

In the last years it has been paid a lot of attention to such a category of hoards and a votive explanation it has been successfully assigned to the groups of both Bronze and Iron Ages metalwork found in watery contexts, such as rivers, bogs and wells<sup>97</sup>. According recent theories, perhaps too contrived, a votive explanation could be even applied to some British Late-Roman hoards. “The practice of burying but not recovering hoards of precious metals and Roman coins may have been directly related to the Romano-British population finding itself not only beyond the legal administration and military protection of the Empire, but also outside the empire-wide elite exchange networks of gold and silver which, therefore, ceased to be of continued social value and were hence discarded”<sup>98</sup>. The population in certain areas of Late-Roman Britain would have buried hoards fully intending to leave them in the ground<sup>99</sup>. In this perspective, today, it has been interpreted, for instance, the Mildenhall treasure<sup>100</sup>.

Whatever the reason of the concealment of a treasure, after a careful reckon of all the published hoards found all over the Roman Empire as well as in the *Barbaricum*, it has emerged that “different regions exhibit different levels of deposition at different times”<sup>101</sup>.

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94 PAINTER 1997, p. 105.

95 PAINTER 1997, p. 105.

96 PAINTER 1997, p. 105.

97 On this topic see: MANNINGS 1972. It has been also the subject of the Portable Antiquities Scheme Conference held in the British Museum the 29<sup>th</sup> October 2011: *Hoarding and deposition of Metalwork: a British perspective*. Specifically the speeches of R. BRADLEY, *Implements in their places: the topography of Bronze Age hoards*, and C. HASELGROVE, *Hoarding and other forms of metalwork deposition in Iron Age Britain*.

98 GUEST 2005, p. 31.

99 GUEST 2005, p. 32.

100 PAINTER 1997, p. 106

101 HOBBS 2006, p. 124.

In the course of the fourth century AD hoards seem to be concentrated mainly in two areas: the Imperial and free sides of the Rhine river and Britain (**Fig. 9**).

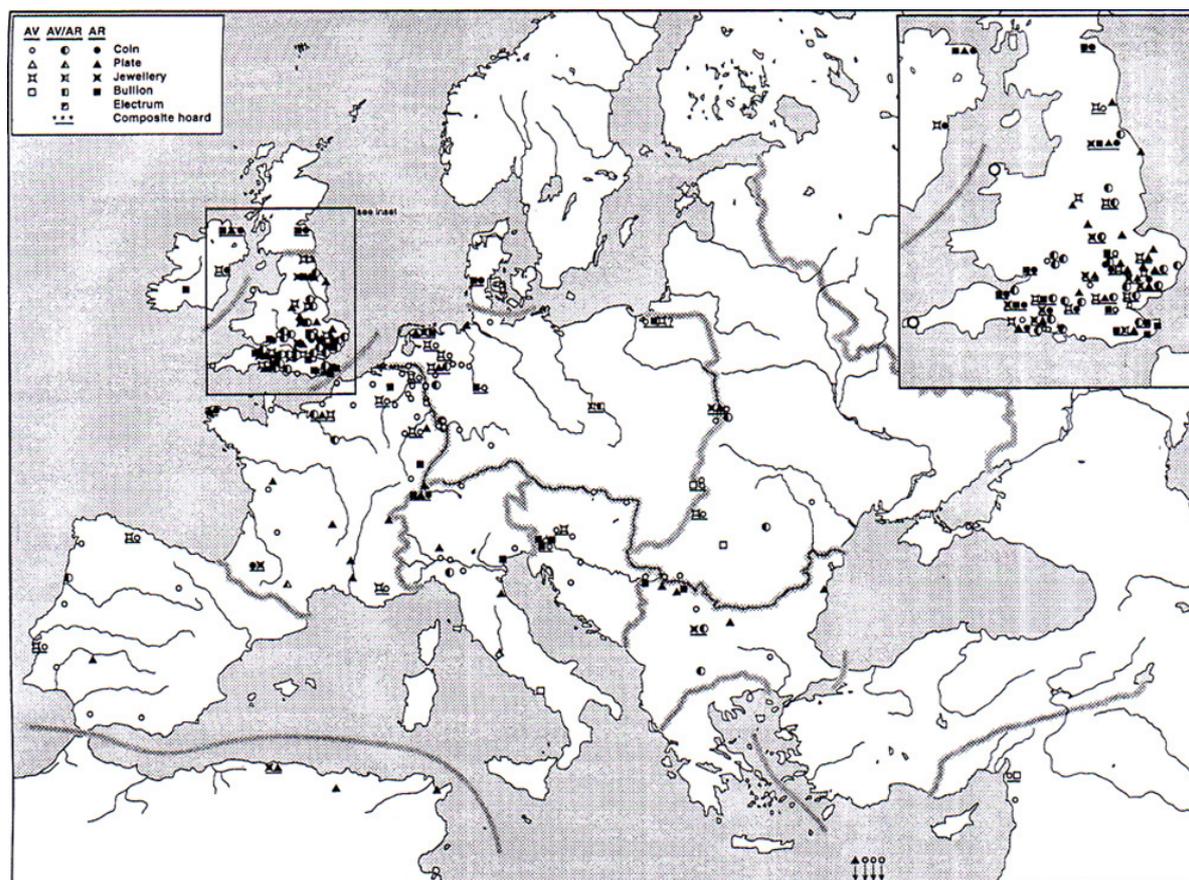


Fig. 9 – Map of the spatial distribution of selected deposits dated between 318 and 410 (from HOBBS 2006, p. 87).

Unlike the third century AD, artefact classes seem to favour more localised regions. In the two main hoarding areas, gold coin and jewellery are present on the Continent, whilst in Britain silver is the principal component of many finds in the form of coin, plate and jewellery, although gold is also present<sup>102</sup>.

In the fifth century AD the focus of deposition shifts north and eastwards once again, this time to Scandinavia, and particularly the islands of Bornholm, Öland and Gotland. Gold coin is the prevalent artefact class in the Scandinavian group, with other artefact types (for instance silver plate) present on the continent but in much reduced quantities in comparison to the fourth century AD<sup>103</sup>. (**Fig. 10**).

How to explain such a pattern of deposition in the Late-Roman Empire? Why do some regions produce much higher levels of hoard activity at different times whilst other regions do not?

The interpretations might be different and, in many cases, they might be acting simultaneously.

102 HOBBS 2006, p. 124.

103 HOBBS 2006, p. 124.

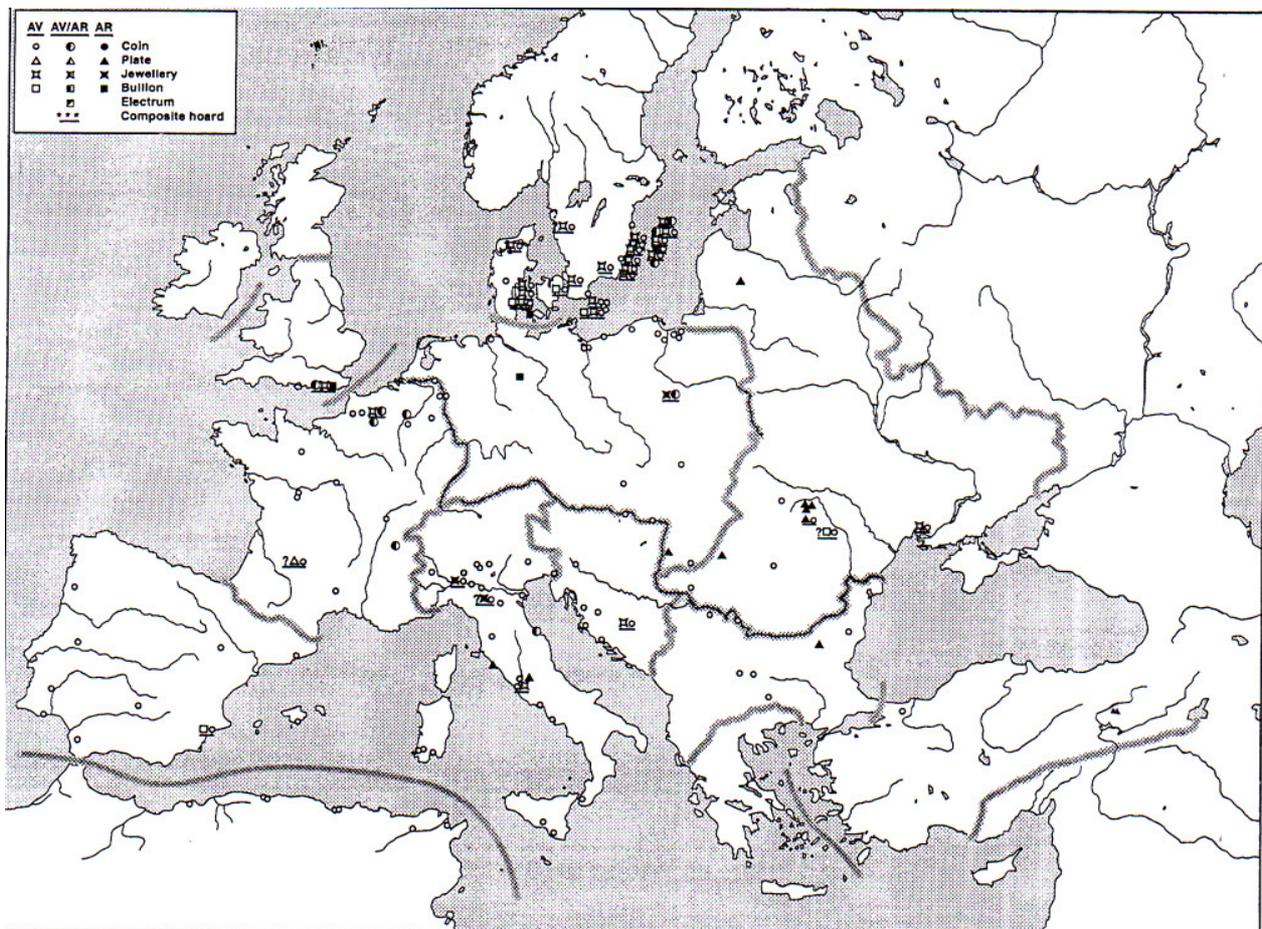


Fig. 10 - Map of the spatial distribution of selected deposits dated between 411 and 526 AD (from HOBBS 2006, p. 88).

A first hypothesis might be that the pattern of hoarding is determined by the finding and survival of material in recent times.

In Britain, for instance, in the last years an increasing number of new discoveries have come to light thank to the widespread hobby-use of metal detector<sup>104</sup> and to legislation what allows people to look for treasures even rewarding them for declaring finds of “treasure”<sup>105</sup>. An important link exists, then, between areas which have been heavily cultivated and the number of finds which have emerged; consequently, other regions which consist of, for instance, upland pasture, may still have precious metal deposits lying undisturbed<sup>106</sup>. Heavily urbanised conglomerations, particularly those with continuous occupation since Roman times, are likely to produce far less finds than sparsely populated rural regions<sup>107</sup>.

A major modern factor what might affect the pattern of hoarding is, then, the unreported discoveries. There is, in fact, a much longer tradition of recording and studying precious metal deposits in the western provinces of the Empire then elsewhere and this is still the case today:

4. 104 ABDY 2006, p. 75.  
 5. 105 BLAND 2004.  
 106 HOBBS 2006, p. 126.  
 107 HOBBS 2006, p. 126.

scarcely any hoards are known from many countries in the eastern part of the Empire, particularly Turkey, Syria and Jordan, although it is hard to believe that they do not exist<sup>108</sup>. This latter point might depend on different reasons like the dispersal of the treasure into the antiquities trade; lack of research funding to conduct proper analyses; social conditions related to attitudes towards antiquities, in terms of social conscience and awareness of good citizenship<sup>109</sup>.

If on the other hand we accept those patterns as being ancient, they might be interpreted as the response to the changing levels of wealth and prosperity of different regions at different times. Though this perspective is very tricky: the hoards tend, indeed, to come from the “periphery” rather than the “core” provinces. Most material comes from the frontier provinces of Gaul, Britannia, Thrace, Dacia and Illyricum rather than the “core” provinces of Italy, Africa, Iberia, Pontica and Asiana. In those regions, perhaps, where the army was usually more active, hoards could be viewed as resultant from wealth tending to be held in the form of precious metals, rather than, for instance, in the form of land and property<sup>110</sup>. However, if precious-metal deposits have not been located within the “core” provinces, this does not mean they never existed: perhaps, we have more hoards from the frontier regions because there they could have been buried and not recovered<sup>111</sup>; or, maybe, because within the Empire during Late Antiquity precious metal, namely silver, was often recovered and recycled<sup>112</sup>.

The levels of hoarding might simply relate to changes in the availability and quantity of the coinage or, as we have already mentioned, deposition of precious metals might be related to social behaviour<sup>113</sup>. This possibility has been hinted for Late-Roman Britain, while it is well attested and documented for the Scandinavian regions: the “main producer” of precious-metal hoards from the fifth century AD. What it has to be understood is that the role of Roman coinage exported beyond the Rhine and the Danube, whether as tribute or as payment for goods, captives or services, radically changed once it reached the Barbarian hinterland settled by *superiores barbari* (Germanic and West Baltic communities)<sup>114</sup> (**Fig. 11**). Roman currency may have been used in gift-exchange transactions; it might have played an economic function as means of exchange; it was used, apparently, even as gaming pieces<sup>115</sup>. Roman coins in Northern Europe were often made into amulets, ornaments or jewellery. Another function Roman coins had among Barbarians was ideological: they were used as a symbol of prestige and power by the Germanic elite.

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108 BLAND 1997, pp. 30-31.

109 HOBBS 2006, p. 126.

110 HOBBS 2006, p. 128.

111 HOBBS 2006, p. 128.

112 See Chapter 1.

113 HOBBS 2006, pp. 130-133.

114 BURSCHE 2002, p. 125.

115 BURSCHE 2002, pp. 127-128.

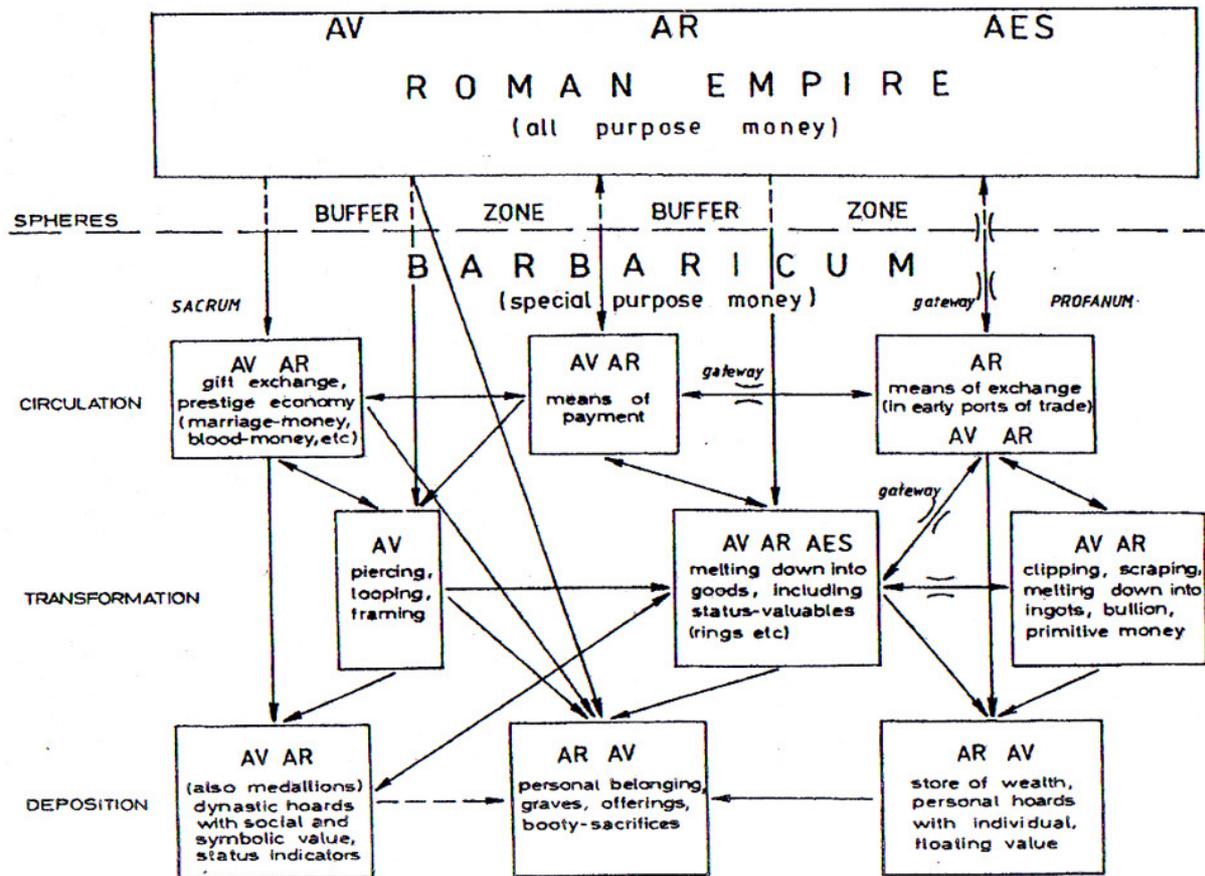


Fig. 11 – Function of Roman coins in German societies in the third-fifth centuries c. AD (from BURSICHE 2002, p. 126).

Roman coins were also used as a handy stock of scrap metal: silver and gold ornaments, valuables and armour fittings often are identical in chemical content to *solidi*, for instance, and some of them even corresponding to the coins weight!<sup>116</sup>. A very important role played by Roman coins in Late Antiquity Baltic societies was in funerary contexts. As they represented only individual wealth and no objective value, items of personal possession rather than units of wealth, their purpose in depositions might have been exclusively apotropaic. Sagas of the 5<sup>th</sup> A.D. recording traditions of the Baltic zone inhabitants, suggest that the dead were buried together with their own belongings for later use in the Valhalla, consequently their burial had a sacral and symbolic dimension.

Roman coins found, then, in springs, wells, lakes and moors presumably played a similar role of chthonic offerings<sup>117</sup>.

In conclusion, we have seen that it does not exist “a “unified theory of hoarding”: no single explanation is ever likely to suffice for either individual acts of burial or sets of hoards...context is of overriding importance to understand both individual finds and whole sets of deposits, be it the

116 BURSICHE 2002, p. 129.

117 BURSICHE 2002, p. 130.

archaeological context on an individual discovery, or the spatial and chronological context of whole groups”<sup>118</sup>.

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118 HOBBS 2006, p. 134.

## ***SINGLE FINDS AND NEW HOARDS***<sup>119</sup>

### **Portugal**

#### *Conimbriga*

Honorius, argenteus, Ravenna, 408-423,

Obv. DN HONORI-[VS PF AVG], bust diademed, draped and cuirassed to r.

Rev. VICTORI-AAVGG, helmeted Roma seated to l. with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. PSRV.

Inv. 65414; gr. 1,21; 0°; 12,5/13,5 mm<sup>120</sup>.

### **Great Britain**<sup>121</sup>

#### *Bowerchalke, Wiltshire*

4 gold rings, 1 solidus, 4 miliarenses, 61 siliquae to AD 394

- Arcadius, Trier, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, RIC 9 - 106(b), 1,49 g.<sup>122</sup>
- Arcadius, Trier, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, RIC 9 - 106(c), 1,74 g.<sup>123</sup>
- Arcadius, Trier, VIRTVS ROMANORVM, RIC 9 - ?, 1,19 g.<sup>124</sup>
- Arcadius, Lyon, VRBS ROMA, RIC 9 - 43(c), 1,86 g.<sup>125</sup>.

#### *Chippenham, Cambridgeshire*

10 argentei to AD 395

Arcadius, Trier, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 9 - 106(b), 1,10 g. (irregular?)<sup>126</sup>

#### *Near Eye, Suffolk*

32 argentei to AD 402

- Honorius, Milan, VOT/V/MVLT/X, RIC 10 - 1226, 0,70 g.<sup>127</sup>.
- Honorius, Milan, VOT/V/MVLT/X, RIC 10 - 1226, 0,62 g.<sup>128</sup>.
- Arcadius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227a, 0,83 g.<sup>129</sup>
- Arcadius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227b, 0,93 g.<sup>130</sup>

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119 Here are listed all the single findings of silver coins what was possible to collect throughout the published literature. They represent the silver denominations found in the course of archaeological excavations within the Roman Empire as well as in the *Barbaricum*. Of course this list does not have pretensions to gathering up every single silver coin ever found during excavations, but it constitutes a first step to a possible and desirable database. Together with the single findings are recorded the few Late-Roman hoards of silver coins or containing silver denominations what have not been registered in the main publications: RIC 10; BLAND 1997; and the newest HOBBS 2006; practically the hoards discovered after 2006 dating between Arcadius and Zeno.

120 PEREIRA-BOST-HIERNARD 1974, n. 3803.

121 From the British Hoards are described only the pieces from Arcadius.

122 CHRB XII – *Bowerchalke*, n. 22.

123 CHRB XII – *Bowerchalke*, n. 23.

124 CHRB XII – *Bowerchalke*, n. 24.

125 CHRB XII – *Bowerchalke*, n. 27.

126 CHRB XII – *Chippenham*, n. 10.

127 CHRB XII – *Near Eye*, n. 16.

128 CHRB XII – *Near Eye*, n. 16b.

129 CHRB XII – *Near Eye*, n. 17.

130 CHRB XII – *Near Eye*, n. 18.

- Arcadius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227e, 1,16 g.<sup>131</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8a, 0,61 g.<sup>132</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8c, 0,58 g.<sup>133</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8c, 0,84 g.<sup>134</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8c, 1,17 g.<sup>135</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8?, 0,29 g.<sup>136</sup>

*Thetford, Norfolk*

4 argentei to AD 402

- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228b, 0,70 g. (3 frags)<sup>137</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228b, 1,40 g.<sup>138</sup>

*Worlington, Suffolk*

55 argentei to AD 402

- Arcadius, Trier, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 9 - 106(b), 1,14 g.<sup>139</sup>
- Arcadius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227c, 0,94 g.<sup>140</sup>
- Arcadius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227f, 1,07 g.<sup>141</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228b, 0,93 g.<sup>142</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228c, 0,85 g.<sup>143</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228c, 0,62 g.<sup>144</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228c, 0,50 g.<sup>145</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228e, 0,80 g.<sup>146</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228e, 0,79 g.<sup>147</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228f, 1,14 g.<sup>148</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8b, 0,69 g.<sup>149</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8b, 0,94 g.<sup>150</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8b, 0,84 g.<sup>151</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8c, 0,64 g.<sup>152</sup>

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131 CHR B XII – *Near Eye*, n. 19.  
 132 CHR B XII – *Near Eye*, n. 20.  
 133 CHR B XII – *Near Eye*, n. 21.  
 134 CHR B XII – *Near Eye*, n. 21b.  
 135 CHR B XII – *Near Eye*, n. 21c.  
 136 CHR B XII – *Near Eye*, n. 22.  
 137 CHR B XII – *Thetford*, n. 3.  
 138 CHR B XII – *Thetford*, n. 3b.  
 139 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 23.  
 140 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 29.  
 141 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 30.  
 142 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 31.  
 143 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 32.  
 144 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 32b.  
 145 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 32c.  
 146 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 33.  
 147 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 33b.  
 148 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 34.  
 149 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 35.  
 150 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 35b.  
 151 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 35c.  
 152 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 36.

- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8c, 0,63 g.<sup>153</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8c, 0,63 g.<sup>154</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8c, 0,83 g.<sup>155</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8e, 0,83 g.<sup>156</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8f, 0,87 g.<sup>157</sup>

*Thirsk area, North Yorkshire*

4 solidi and 6 argentei to AD 406

- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228, 0,63 g.<sup>158</sup>
- Honorius, ?, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - ?, 0,94 g.<sup>159</sup>

*Melcombe Horsey, Dorset*

1 Iron Age silver stater, 2 miliarenses, 82 argentei (many fragmentary) and one bronze coin to AD 402

- Arcadius, Trier, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 9 - 106b, 1,83 g.<sup>160</sup>
- Arcadius, Trier, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 9 - 106b, 0,85 g.<sup>161</sup>
- Arcadius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 9 - 32b/RIC 10 - 1227a, 1,20 g.<sup>162</sup>
- Arcadius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 9 - 32b/RIC 10 - 1227c, 1,03 g.<sup>163</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8a, 0,75 g.<sup>164</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8b, 1,05 g.<sup>165</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8e, 1,00 g.<sup>166</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228a, 0,88 g.<sup>167</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228a, 1,36 g.<sup>168</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228a, ? g.<sup>169</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228b, 1,16 g.<sup>170</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228?, 0,49 g.(frag.)<sup>171</sup>

*Stanchester, Wiltshire*

3 solidi, 33 miliarenses and 1168 argentei and 1 nummus with pot and a bronze ring fragment to AD 406

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- 153 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 36b.  
 154 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 36c.  
 155 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 36d.  
 156 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 37.  
 157 CHR B XII – *Worlington*, n. 38.  
 158 CHR B XII – *Thirsk area*, n. 6.  
 159 CHR B XII – *Thirsk area*, n. 7.  
 160 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 40.  
 161 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 40b.  
 162 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 46.  
 163 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 47.  
 164 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 48.  
 165 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 49.  
 166 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 50.  
 167 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 51.  
 168 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 51b.  
 169 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 52.  
 170 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 53.  
 171 CHR B XII – *Melcombe Horsey*, n. 54.

- Arcadius, Milan, VOT/V/MVLT/X, RIC 9 - 13, 1,27 g.<sup>172</sup>
- Arcadius, Milan, VOT/V/MVLT/X, RIC 9 - 13, 1,41 g.<sup>173</sup>
- Arcadius, Trier, VRBS ROMA, RIC 9 - 95c, 1,78 g.<sup>174</sup>
- Arcadius, Trier, VRBS ROMA, RIC 9 - 95c, 1,88 g.<sup>175</sup>
- Arcadius, Trier, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 9 - 106b, 64 pcs., 1,51 g. (of 58)<sup>176</sup>
- Arcadius and Honorius, Milan, 395-402, RIC 10 - 1224, 1226-1228, 197 pcs.<sup>177</sup>

*Cattal, North Yorkshire (addenda)*

11 argentei to AD 402

- Arcadius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 9 - 32b/RIC 10 - 1227, 1,09 g.<sup>178</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228, 1,03 g.<sup>179</sup>

*Lindsell, Essex*

25 argentei to AD 402

- Arcadius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227a, 0,69 g.<sup>180</sup>
- Arcadius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227c, 0,79 g.<sup>181</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - ?, 0,77 g.<sup>182</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - ?, 0,58 g.<sup>183</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - ?, 0,71 g.<sup>184</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228c, 0,94 g.<sup>185</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228c, 0,73 g.<sup>186</sup>

*Haynes, Bedfordshire*

8 miliarenses, 440 argentei, 1 bronze coin, pottery, rings, necklace frags. and silver spoon to AD 408.

- Arcadius, Trier, VRBS ROMA, RIC 9 - 95c, 1,35 g.<sup>187</sup>
- Arcadius, Trier, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 9 - 106b-c, 32 pcs.<sup>188</sup>
- Arcadius, Milan, VOT/V/MVLT/X, RIC 9 - 13, 3 pcs.<sup>189</sup>
- Arcadius, Milan, VOT/X/MVLT/XV, RIC 9 - 27a/RIC 10 - 1224, 3 pcs.<sup>190</sup>

172 CHRB XII – *Stanchester*, n. 108.

173 CHRB XII – *Stanchester*, n. 108b.

174 CHRB XII – *Stanchester*, n. 131.

175 CHRB XII – *Stanchester*, n. 131b.

176 CHRB XII – *Stanchester*, n. 134.

177 CHRB XII – *Stanchester*, nn. 143-165 (note: n. 152 (Honorius, RIC 10 - 1228a) shows bust with “western style” pteryges characteristic of the previous period).

178 CHRB XII – *Cattal*, n. 10.

179 CHRB XII – *Cattal*, n. 11.

180 CHRB XII – *Lindsell*, n. 11.

181 CHRB XII – *Lindsell*, n. 12.

182 CHRB XII – *Lindsell*, n. 13.

183 CHRB XII – *Lindsell*, n. 13a.

184 CHRB XII – *Lindsell*, n. 13b.

185 CHRB XII – *Lindsell*, n. 14.

186 CHRB XII – *Lindsell*, n. 14b.

187 CHRB XII – *Haynes*, n. 75.

188 CHRB XII – *Haynes*, nn. 76-78.

189 CHRB XII – *Haynes*, nn. 79.

190 CHRB XII – *Haynes*, nn. 80.

- Arcadius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 9 - 32b/RIC 10 - 1227a-e, 42 pcs.<sup>191</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VOT/V/MVLT/X, RIC 9 - 26/RIC 10 - 1226, 2 pcs.<sup>192</sup>
- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228a-f, 104 pcs.<sup>193</sup>
- Constantine III, Lyon (LDPV), VICTORI-A AVGGGG, RIC 10 - 1526, 1,10g.<sup>194</sup>
- Constantine III, Lyon (SMLD), VICTORI-A AVGGGG, RIC 10 - 1529, 1,30g.<sup>195</sup>

*Patching, West Sussex*

23 solidi, 3 miliarenses, 23 argentei, 1 denarius, 2 gold finger rings and 54 silver fragments to AD 465.

- Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1228c, 1,28 g.<sup>196</sup>
- Arcadius/Honorius, Milan, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 1227/8, 0,51 g.<sup>197</sup>
- Constantine III, Arelate, VICTORI-A AAVGGG, RIC 10 - 1543, 1,05 g.<sup>198</sup>
- Theodosius II, Trier, VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 2101 (425-430c.), 0,19g.<sup>199</sup>
- Honorius, GLORIA RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 3708, 0,73 g.<sup>200</sup>
- Honorius, GLORIA RO-MANORVM, RIC 10 - 3708, 0,44 g.<sup>201</sup>
- Valentinian III, VICTORI-A AVGGG, RIC 10 - 3723 (439-455), 0,76 g.<sup>202</sup>

**Belgium**

*Doubres (Namur, Belgique), la Roche-a-lomme*

- Constantine III, argenteus, Arelate, 408-411  
Obv. DN CONSTAN-TINVS PF AVG, bust to r.  
Rev. VICTORI/A AAVGGG, Rome enthroned to l. with victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. SMAR.  
1,13 g., 180°<sup>203</sup>
- Jovinus, argenteus, ?, 411-413  
Obv. VV IOVI/NVS PF AVG, bust to r.  
Rev. VICTOR/IA AVGG, Rome enthroned to l. with victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand; beside, cuirass. SMAR.  
1,01 g., 0°<sup>204</sup>.

**France**

*Vireux-Molhain (Ardennes, France): la chapelle*

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191	CHRB XII – <i>Haynes</i> , nn. 81-85.
192	CHRB XII – <i>Haynes</i> , n. 86.
193	CHRB XII – <i>Haynes</i> , nn. 87-96.
194	CHRB XII – <i>Haynes</i> , n. 97.
195	CHRB XII – <i>Haynes</i> , n. 98.
196	CHRB XII – <i>Patching</i> , n. 41.
197	CHRB XII – <i>Patching</i> , n. 42.
198	CHRB XII – <i>Patching</i> , n. 43.
199	CHRB XII – <i>Patching</i> , n. 44.
200	CHRB XII – <i>Patching</i> , n. 45 (Visigothic Issue).
201	CHRB XII – <i>Patching</i> , n. 46 (Visigothic Issue).
202	CHRB XII – <i>Patching</i> , n. 47 (Visigothic Issue).
203	DOYEN 2007, p. 279, n. B.
204	DOYEN 2007, p. 279, n. C.

Theodosius II, argenteus, Trier, 443/444-450,  
Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG, bust to r. crowned by the hand of God (*sic.*)  
Rev. VRTVS RO-MANORVM, Rome seated to l. \*/-/TRPS  
0,92 g., 16,5 mm, Tomb n. 14<sup>205</sup>.

*Delincourt, arr. Beauvais, cant. Chaumont-en-Vexin*

Anthemius, argenteus, 467-472,  
R/ SALVS REIPVBLICAE<sup>206</sup>.

*Poitiers, ch.-l. dep.*

Anthemius, argenteus, 467-472,  
D/ ANTHEMIVS PF AVG, b. r.  
R/ SALVS REI[PVBLIC]AE, Roma seated facing holding long cross and shaft. CONOB  
Ag: 0,48 g.<sup>207</sup>.

*Bourg-en-Bresse, ch.-l. dep.*

Arcadius, argenteus, Milan, 383-408,  
R/ VIRTVS ROMANORVM<sup>208</sup>.

*Yssandon, arr. Brive-la-Gillarde, cant. Ayen*

Constantine III, silver denomination, Mint not specified, 407-411<sup>209</sup>.

*Sauveterre, arr. Nîmes, cant. Roquemaure*

Constantine III, argenteus, Mint not specified, 407-411<sup>210</sup>.

*Soulac-Sur-Mer, arr. Lesparre-Médoc, cant. Saint-Vivien-de-Médoc*

Constantin III, argenteus, Mint not specified, 407-411<sup>211</sup>.

*Chaley, arr. Belley, cant. Saint-Rambert-en-Bugey*

Jovin, argenteus, Mint not specified, 411-413<sup>212</sup>.

*Saint-Mitre-Les-Remparts, arr. Et cant. Istres, l.-d. Saint-Blaise*

Jovin, argenteus, Lyon, 411-413<sup>213</sup>.

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205 DOYEN 2007, pp. 275-276, n. C.

206 LAFAURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 60.195.2.

207 LAFAURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 86.194.1 (“Imitation d’un siliqua”).

208 LAFAURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 1.53.1.

209 LAFAURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 19.289.1.

210 LAFAURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 30.312.1.

211 LAFAURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 33.514.1.

212 LAFAURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 1.76.1.

213 LAFAURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 13.98.1.1.

*Bretenière, arr. Dijon, cant. Genlis, l.-d. Rouve*

Jovin, argenteus, Lyon, 411-413  
D: DN IOVINVS AVG (*sic*), b. r.  
R: VICTORIA AVGG; in exergue, SMLDV.  
Ag: 33 gr. (*sic*)<sup>214</sup>.

*Lyon, ch.-l. dép., l.-d. Saint-Just*

- Jovin, argenteus, Lyon, 411-413  
D: DN IOVINVS PF AVG, b. r.  
R: VICTOTIA AVGG, Victoire seated to l. holding victory on globe and a shaft. SMLG.  
Ag: 1,16<sup>215</sup>

- Jovin, argenteus, Lyon, 411-413  
D: DN IOVINVS PF AVG, b. r.  
R: [] IA AVGG, Victoire seated to l. holding victory on globe and a shaft.  
Exergue out of flan.  
Ag: 1,01<sup>216</sup>

*Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon, arr. Millau, cant. Cornus*

- Julius Nepos, argenteus, 474-475,  
D: [DN IVL N]E[PO]S PF AVG, b. r.  
R: Cross within wreath.  
Ag: g. 0,12, mm. 8<sup>217</sup>.
- Julius Népos, argenteus, 474-475,  
D: [DN IVL NEP]OS PF AVG, b. r.  
R: Cross within wreath.  
Ag: g. 0,15, mm. 1 (*sic*)<sup>218</sup>.

*Saint-Rémy-de-provence, arr. Arles, ch.-l. cant.*

Majorian, argenteus, 457-461<sup>219</sup>.

*Argelès-sur-mer, arr. Céret, ch.-l. cant.*

Maximus, usurper, argenteus of Barcelona (Spain), 409-411,  
D: DN MAXIMVS PF AVG, b. r.  
R: VICTORIAAAVGGG, Roma seated to l. SMBA  
Ag: g. 1,28<sup>220</sup>.

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214 LAFURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 21.106.1.  
215 LAFURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 69.123.7.1.  
216 LAFURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 69.123.7.2.  
217 LAFURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 12.220.1.1.  
218 LAFURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 12.220.1.2.  
219 LAFURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 13.100.1.3.  
220 LAFURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 68.8.1.

*Châtelailлон-plage, arr. La Rochelle, cant. Aytré*

Valentinianus III, argenteus, 425-455,

D: []PL[], b. r.

R: Roma seated. RVP(S)

Ag: 3 fragments<sup>221</sup>.

*Fel, arr. Argentan, cant. Exmes*

Valentinianus III, argenteus, Trier, 425-455,

D: DN VAL[]PF AVG, b. r.

R: []TVS []ANORVM

Ag: fragments, 0,65<sup>222</sup>.

*Mans (Le), ch.-l. arr.*

Valentinianus III, argenteus, Trier 425-455,

D: DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG, b. r.

R: VIRTVS ROMANORVM, Roma seated to l.<sup>223</sup>.

**Switzerland**

*Basel Kleinhüningen*

Grave 83,

Majorian, demi-argenteus, Arles ?, 457-461,

Obv. DN MAIORIANVS, helmeted bust, cuirassed and draped to r.

Rev. VITV.∞, Victory standing l. with cross. ∞\* .

0,45 g., 10,3-13,7 mm., 195°<sup>224</sup>.

Grave 126<sup>225</sup>,

Valentinian III, Trier, argenteus, 424-455

Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANNS (*sic.*) P F AVG; Rev. VRTVS RO-MANORVM, Emperor standing with labarum and globe; TRPS,

- 0,99 g., 15,7-16,5 mm, 165°<sup>226</sup>
- 0,70 g., 14,9-16,4 mm, 165°<sup>227</sup>
- 0,80 g., 15,3-16,4 mm, 165°<sup>228</sup>
- 0,66 g., 15,1-15,5 mm, 360°<sup>229</sup>

Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANNS (*sic.*) P F AVG; Rev. VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, Emperor standing with labarum and globe; TRPS,

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221 LAFURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 17.94.2.

222 LAFURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 61.161.1.

223 LAFURIE-PILET-LEMIERE 2003, 72.181.1.

224 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 62, SFI 2701-1.4: 1.

225 The coins have been used to compose a piece of jewellery: all of them are pierced and were connected by ten rings.

226 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 1.

227 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 2.

228 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 3.

229 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 4.

- 0,84 g., 15,7-16,7 mm, 180°<sup>230</sup>

Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANNS (*sic.*) P F AVG; Rev. VRTVS RO-MANORVM, Roma Enthroned to l. holding Victory on globe and long cross; \* | - // TRPS,

- 0,52 g., 14,5-16,8 mm, 345°<sup>231</sup>
- 0,66 g., 14,4-16,2 mm, 360°<sup>232</sup>
- 0,54 g., 13,6-15,1 mm, 165°<sup>233</sup>
- 0,29 g., 10,2-13,0 mm, 180°<sup>234</sup>
- 0,50 g., 13,5-16,1 mm, 180°<sup>235</sup>
- 0,50 g., 14,3-15,9 mm, 195°<sup>236</sup>

Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG; Rev. VRTVS RO-MANORVM, Roma Enthroned to l. holding Victory on globe and long cross; \* | - // TRPS,

- 0,58 g., 14,4-16,2 mm, 360°<sup>237</sup>
- 0,44 g., 14,2-16,0 mm, 180°<sup>238</sup>

Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANNS (*sic.*) P F AVG; Rev. VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, Roma Enthroned to l. holding Victory on globe and long cross; \* | - // TRPS,

- 0,60 g., 14,2-15,6 mm, 180°<sup>239</sup>

Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG; Rev. VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, Roma Enthroned to l. holding globe and spear; TRPS,

- 0,82 g., 15,1-17,2 mm, 180°<sup>240</sup>
- 0,55 g., 9,7-15,5 mm, 195°<sup>241</sup>

Theodosius II, Trier, argenteus, 408-450

Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS P F AVG; Rev. VRTVS RO-MANORVM, Emperor standing with labarum and globe; TRPS,

- 1,01 g., 16,7-17,6 mm, 165°<sup>242</sup>
- 0,92 g., 16,6-18,7 mm, 345°<sup>243</sup>

Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS P F AVG; Rev. VRTVS RO-MANORVM, Roma Enthroned to l. holding Victory on globe and long cross; \* | - // TRPS,

- 0,52 g., 12,3-16,0 mm, 180°<sup>244</sup>
- 0,93 g., 15,0-16,2 mm, 165°<sup>245</sup>

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- 230 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 5.  
 231 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 6.  
 232 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 8.  
 233 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 9.  
 234 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 10.  
 235 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 11.  
 236 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 12.  
 237 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 7.  
 238 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 13.  
 239 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 14.  
 240 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 15.  
 241 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 16.  
 242 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 17.  
 243 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 18.  
 244 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 19.  
 245 FREY-KUPPER-DUBUIS 1993, p. 63, SFI 2701-1.8: 20.

## Austria

### *Ringelsdorf*

Theodosius II, Trier, argenteus, c. 430

Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS P F AVG, bust diademed, draped and cuirassed to r.

Rev. VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, Emperor standing with labarum and globe with christogram. TRPS.

RIC 10 - 2094<sup>246</sup>.

### *Maria Saal, Flur Zollfeld. Bereich des antiken Virunum*

Honorius, Mediolanum, argenteus, 397-402

Obv. DN HONORI-VS P F AVG, bust diademed, draped and cuirassed to r.

Rev. VOT/V/MVLT/X, legend within wreath. MDPS.

1,44 g; RIC 10 - 1226<sup>247</sup>.

## Italy

### *Vimercate – Piazza Marconi*

Honorius, argenteus<sup>248</sup>

### *Garda-Rocca*

Leo I, demi-argenteus, Rome, 472-473

RIC 10 - 2528 (*sic.*)<sup>249</sup>

### *Ariano Polesine. San Basilio, Territorio*

- Honorius, demi-argenteus, Rome, 404, 407-408  
RIC 10 – 1269-1270<sup>250</sup>.
- Honorius, argenteus, Ravenna (RVPS), 402-423  
RIC 10 - 1316-1317, 1354<sup>251</sup>.
- Honorius, argenteus, Ravenna (RVPS), 402-423  
RIC 10 - 1316-1317, 1354<sup>252</sup>.
- Valentinian III, demi-argenteus, Ravenna (RV..), 420-430  
RIC 10 - 2084-2085<sup>253</sup>.

### *Ravenna-Porto di Classe*

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246 ALRAM-HAHN-WINTER 1998, n. 1.

247 ALRAM-HAHN-WINTER 1998, n. 14.

248 CUNEGAI 2002.

249 PAVONI 2005, p. 124, n. 15/3(3).1 (note: in the index at page 365, the authority is identified with Zeno. see: SALZANI 1993).

250 CALLEGHER 2000, p. 270, n. 2/4(2).266 (note: in the index at page 521 the denomination is identified with a *siliqua*).

251 CALLEGHER 2000, p. 270, n. 2/4(2).267.

252 CALLEGHER 2000, p. 270, n. 2/4(2).268.

253 CALLEGHER 2000, p. 270, n. 2/4(2).305.

Honorius, argenteus, Milan, 395-402

- VIRTVS ROMANORVM, Roma seated on cuirass to l. holding Victory on globe and spear; RIC 10 - 1228; inv. 6085, 0,49 g.<sup>254</sup>

Honorius, argenteus, Ravenna, 402-403, 405-406

- VIRTVS ROMANORVM, Roma seated on cuirass to l. holding Victory on globe and spear; RIC 10 - 1297; inv. 6112, 0,96 g.<sup>255</sup>

Honorius, argenteus, Roma, 404, 407-408

- VIRTVS ROMANORVM, Roma seated on cuirass to l. holding Victory on globe and spear; RIC 10 - 1266-1267; inv. 6092, 0,54 g.; inv. 6104, 1,46 g.<sup>256</sup>

Honorius, argenteus, Ravenna or Milan, *after* 408

- VRBS ROMA, Roma enthroned to l. holding Victory on globe and spear; RIC 10 - 1316 or 1351; inv. 6090, 1,04 g.; inv. 6105, 1,23 g.; inv. 6093, 1,05 g.; inv. 6109, 0,67 g.; inv. 6094, 1,13 g.; inv. 6110, 0,69 g.; inv. 6096, 0,47 g.<sup>257</sup>

Honorius, argenteus, Ravenna, *after* 408

- VRBS ROMA, Roma enthroned to l. holding Victory on globe and spear; beside, cuirass; RIC 10 - 1317; inv. 6087, 0,78 g.; inv. 6088, 0,74 g.<sup>258</sup>

Honorius, argenteus, Ravenna, *after* 408

- VRBS ROMA, Roma seated on cuirass to l. holding Victory on globe and spear; RIC 10 - 1345 or 1353; inv. 6086, 0,58 g.; inv. 6089, 1,55 g.; inv. 6095, 1,05 g.; inv. 6097, 1,14 g.; inv. 6107, 0,83 g.; inv. 6108, 0,77 g.; inv. 6111, 1,25 g.<sup>259</sup>

Honorius (?), argenteus, Ravenna or Rome, *after* 408

- VRBS ROMA, Roma seated on cuirass to l. holding Victory on globe and spear; RIC 10 - 1345; inv. 6098, 0,77 g.; inv. 6106, 1,01 g.; inv. 6099, 0,94 g.; inv. 6100, 0,76 g.; inv. 6102, 0,72 g.; inv. 6101, 0,75 g.; inv. 6103, 1,20 g.<sup>260</sup>

Honorius, argenteus, Arelate, 411 (?)

- VICTORI-A AAVGGG, Roma enthroned to l. holding Victory on globe and spear; RIC 10 - 1364; inv. 6091, 1,26 g.<sup>261</sup>

#### *Trento-Teatro sociale*

- Arcadio, argenteus, Milan, 383-387  
D/DN ARCADI-VS P F AVG, bust to r.  
R/VOT/V/MVLT/V. MDPS  
gr. 1,31, mm. 16,20, h. 6, sett. 3, us 302. RIC 9 – 79/13<sup>262</sup>

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254 MORELLI 2000, n. 1.  
255 MORELLI 2000, n. 2.  
256 MORELLI 2000, nn. 3-4.  
257 MORELLI 2000, nn. 5-11.  
258 MORELLI 2000, nn. 12-13.  
259 MORELLI 2000, nn. 14-20.  
260 MORELLI 2000, nn. 15-27.  
261 MORELLI 2000, n. 28.  
262 CALLEGHER 1998, p. 152, n. 431.

- Arcadio, argenteus, Milan, 388-394  
D/[DN ARCA]DI-VS P F AVG, bust to r.  
R/VOT/X/MVLT/XV. MDPS  
gr. 1,74, mm. 17,30, h. 6, sett. 5, us 625. RIC 9 – 82/27a<sup>263</sup>

*Loppio-S.Andrea*

- Zeno, demi-argenteus, Milan, 476-491  
D/ DN(retroverse) ZEN(retroverse)O [...], bust to r.  
R/ Eagle on branch to r. with spread wings and head to l.; above, cross  
RIC 10 - 3623<sup>264</sup>

**Serbia and Western Bulgaria**<sup>265</sup>

- Honorius, argenteus, Milan, 395-402  
R/ VIRTVS RO-MANORVM
- Honorius, Light miliarensis, Constantinople, 395-402  
R/ GLORIA ROMANORVM
- Constantine III, argenteus, uncertain mint, 408-411  
R/ VICTORI-A AVGGG
- Maximus, argenteus, Barcino, 410-411  
R/ [VICTORI]-A AVGGG

**Rumania**<sup>266</sup>

*Oltenia*

- Honorius ?, argenteus ?, Ravenna, 393-423.
- Theodosius II ?, 1 argenteus ?, Constantinople;
- Theodosius II ?, 1 argenteus ?, Constantinople;
- Theodosius II ?, 1 argenteus ?, uncertain mint, 402-450.

*Transylvania*

- Honorius ?, argenteus ?, uncertain mint, 393-423.
- 1 argenteus ?, Ravenna; 2 argentei?, uncertain mint, 402-450.
- 1 argenteus ?, Thessalonica, 408-422.
- Valentinianus III ?, 2 argentei ?, uncertain mint, 425-455.
- 1 argenteus ?, Constantinople; 7 argentei?, uncertain mint, 430-440.
- 1 argenteus ?, uncertain mint, 439-443.
- Leo I ?, 2 argentei ?, uncertain mint, 457-474.
- 1 argenteus ?, Rome, 465-466 ???
- Zeno ?, 1 argenteus ?, uncertain mint, 474-491.

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263 CALLEGHER 1998, p. 184, n. 656.

264 CALOMINO-MAURINA 2011.

265 VASIĆ 2008, p. 115 (It is not specified the provenance of the specimens).

266 MOISIL 2002, pp. 116-117.

### *Dobrogea*

- Theodosius II ?, 1 argenteus ?, uncertain mint, 402-450.
- Marcian ?, 1 argenteus ?, Constantinople; 1 argenteus ?, uncertain mint, 450-457.
- Leo I ?, 1 argenteus ?, Constantinople, 457-474.

### **Armenia**

#### *Garni (formely Bash Garni) – Abovian region*

Theodosius II, argenteus, Constantinople, 438-450

Obv. DN THEODOSIVS (*sic.*) PF AVG, bust to r.

Rev. VOT/MVLT/XXXX in wreath. CONS\*

RIC 10 - 389

1,13 g., Museum of Yerevan 22300, 17592 (doc. Kh. Mousheghian)<sup>267</sup>

Obv. DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG, bust to r.

Rev. vota in wreath.

1,23 g. broken, ASM 22301, 17592/14; found in 1957 (doc. Kh. Mousheghian)<sup>268</sup>

#### *Ani*

Theodosius II, argenteus, Constantinople, .....

Obv. DN THEODOSIVS (*sic.*) PF AVG, bust to r.

Rev. VOT/XXX//MVLT/XXXX in wreath. CONS\*

RIC 10 - 385

1,53 g., 0°; ASM 4645; 1351<sup>269</sup>

### **U.R.S.S.**

#### *Ostrynya, Tlumachski raion*

A silver denomination of Honorius (?).

Lvov, ancient musée Ukrainien (jusqu'en 1914), n. 15334<sup>270</sup>

#### *Erévan*

A treasure has been found in a quarter of the town, about 50 silver coins of Theodosius I, Honorius and Valentinian II.

1907, collection d'E.A.Pachomov, Bakou (30 coins)<sup>271</sup>

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267 MOUSHEGHIAN-MOUSHEGHIAN-DEPEYROT 2000, p. 49, n. 30.

268 MOUSHEGHIAN-MOUSHEGHIAN-DEPEYROT 2000, p. 49, n. 31.

269 MOUSHEGHIAN-MOUSHEGHIAN-BRESC-DEPEYROT-GURNET 2000, p. 70, n. 12.

270 KROPOTKIN 2005, p. 183, n. 912.

271 KROPOTKIN 2005, p. 252, n. 1552.

## CHAPTER 3

### *CLIPPED ARGENTEI: STATUS QUAESTIONIS*

A practice what affected many late Roman silver *argentei* was the systematic clipping of their edges. This phenomenon, noticed mainly on Roman coins hoarded within British treasures, has been analysed by many scholars what have proposed many as well as different theories to explain it but, still today, it constitutes a subject of debate.

What seems to be ascertained is that this feature concerned mainly silver *argentei* what were struck between the half of the fourth century AD and the very beginning of the fifth century AD<sup>272</sup> with a widespread of the practice on specimens struck between the late 380s and 402 AD. With very few exceptions, indeed, epidemic clipping occurs in silver hoards closing with the Milan VIRTUS ROMANORVM type of Arcadius and Honorius<sup>273</sup> dated, at least, at 402 AD<sup>274</sup>.

Initially it has been thought that clipping was random and careless, that it was practised by private individuals either fraudulently or for reasons which today are unclear<sup>275</sup>, or that it reflected an attempt to bring silver back into an acceptable ratio with gold<sup>276</sup>, but, as many more hoards came to light, new theories were formulated.

A general idea what developed among the scientific community was that, unlike the previous hypothesis, clipping was a deliberate practice that occurred perhaps during the reign of Constantine III or later.

According Cathy King clipped *argentei* were cut down to identifiable weight standards and the irregularity of the clipping let her hypothesize that there could exist more than one standard employed. The “new” coins were probably meant to match either official fifth-century issues or imitations put out by the Vandals in North Africa or by the Visigoths in Gaul, consequently clipping had to be a post-Roman phenomenon what continued into the 430s<sup>277</sup>.

Andrew Burnett, on the other hand, argued that clipping probably took place in 409 AD during the reign of the British Usurper Constantine III. It was a Britons’ practice carried on in order to obtain a new source of silver bullion, what in the end caused the end of the coin-using economy in Britain, for clipping brought the collapse of the silver coinage<sup>278</sup>.

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272 The Hoxne Hoard shows without any doubts that clipping affected *argentei* from Constantius II to Constantine III without interruption (GUEST 2005, p. 111).

273 ABDY 2006, p. 84.

274 RIC 10 - 1227-8.

275 PEARCE 1938, pp. 57-58; PEARCE 1942, pp. 99-102.

276 This theory was revived later by Hendy who assumed this phenomenon to have been a reaction (whether private or public) to some governmental adjustment in the relative values of silver and gold (HENDY 1985, p. 318).

277 KING 1981a, p. 12; KING 1981b, pp. 53-55, 58.

278 BURNETT 1984, p. 168.

Few years later Philip Grierson and Melinda Mays suggested that the cut coins might have been intended as *demi-argentei*, produced in 406/407 AD when three soldiers in succession tried to make themselves emperors in Britain. Such pretenders would have used those “coins” as largesses to scatter among members of the ordinary public<sup>279</sup>.

An important contribute to the understanding of the clipping phenomenon has been given by the recent Peter Guest’s survey of the Hoxne hoard. The analysis of more than 14000 *argentei* constituting the deposit allowed him to make some points. The different degrees of clipping, what Guest classified into four categories (**Fig. 12**), would demonstrate that *argentei* were most likely not being clipped to achieve a predetermined weight standard but in order to provide a source of metal for the production of other high-quality silver objects.



Fig. 12 – The four degrees of clipping (from GUEST 2005, p. 111).

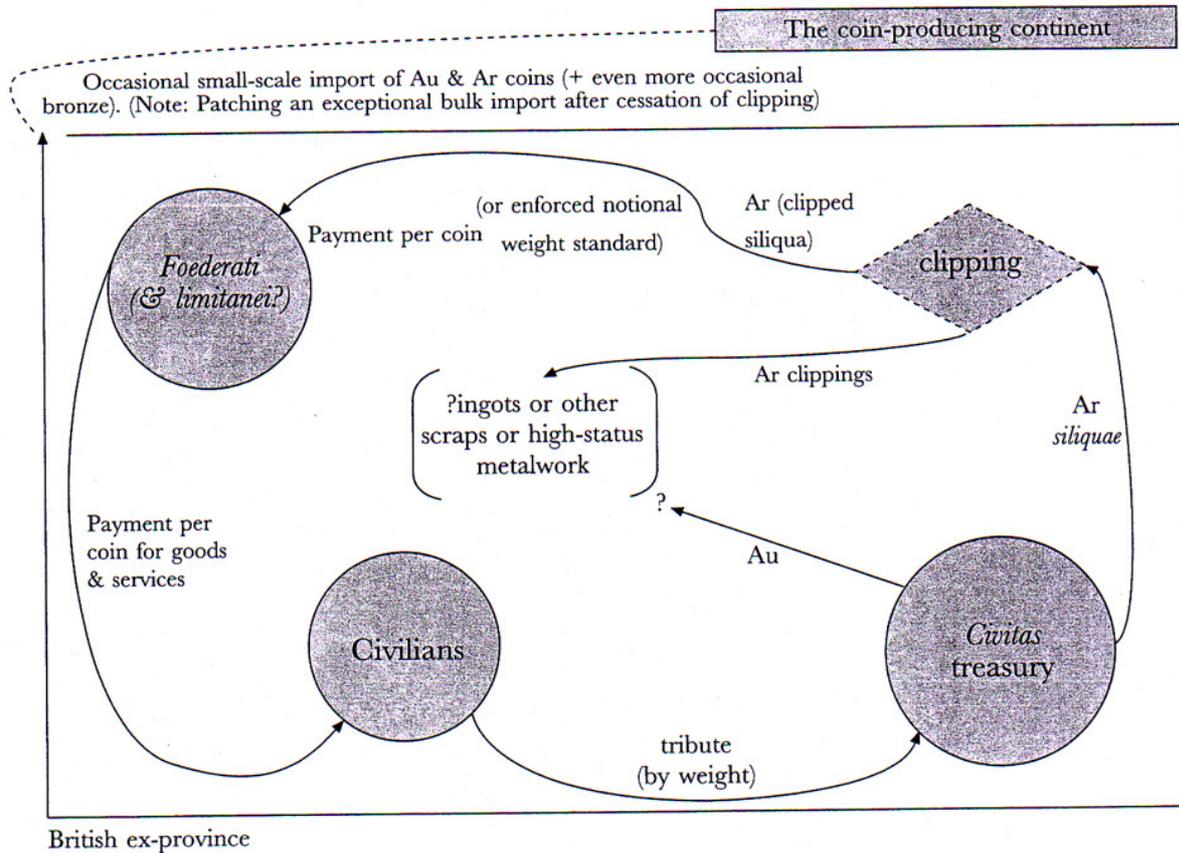
The care and effort involved in clipping and filing the edges of so many *argentei* would indicate that whoever was responsible for this activity, despite the need for silver metal, was equally concerned not to reduce the overall number of *argentei* and not to impair the status as coins. The presence within the Hoxne hoard of many local imitation *argentei* produced using the same silver source as the officially struck *argentei*, as the metallurgical analysis have shown, would demonstrate that the stock of existing *argentei* was carefully clipped to provide metal for more coins, struck locally, in order to increase the number of silver coins<sup>280</sup>.

A really suggestive theory about clipped *argentei* has been proposed recently by Richard Abdy. Assuming that that activity was a peculiarly British phenomenon, he imagined a model for the recycling of clipped *argentei* in sub-Roman Britain (**Fig. 13**). When in 407 AD the usurper Constantine III left Britain for the continent he took with him the field army leaving the sub-Roman inhabitants of Britain potentially exposed to an exponential increasing of the barbarian attacks. In

279 GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 39.

280 GUEST 2005, pp. 113-114.

410 AD, then, the western Roman Emperor Honorius himself divorced Britain from the rest of the Empire with a letter in which he commanded the British cities to look to their own defence. Consequently the coin supply to Britain, as proved by the numerous coin hoards, was dramatically



interrupted.

Fig. 13 – Model for imported and recycled precious metal coinage in Britain, AD 410-470 (from ABDY 2006, p. 98).

In this situation the *civitates* had to rely on defence from any static frontier troops that existed (*limitanei*) and an increasing number of *foederati* what, of course, needed to be paid. Without a mint and without any coin supply, the only chance was to reuse as long as it could be possible the coins already circulating.

The *civitates* must have been able to draw *argentei* from the civilians by weight and distribute the clipped coinage to the *foederati*, enforcing their acceptance at face value. The various degrees of clipping may then indicate that coins went through this cycle varying numbers of times. The clippings must have been changed into something else since there are no *argentei* clippings to be found in the archaeological records. They might have been used to produce *argentei* forgeries or melted down into crude ingots for the payments of the *foederate* leaders. Presumably clipping

ceased when the coinage became so clipped that all parties had lost confidence in it<sup>281</sup>.

All the theories we have seen until now constitute a reasonable and possible explanation for the clipping phenomenon, nevertheless, they all present a limitation: they all analyse the problem as it was exclusively a British phenomenon.

Britain, of course, is the best context for the studying of such a topic. As we have seen in the previous chapter, indeed, in that country the culture of collecting and documenting late-Roman hoards has a long tradition and the process is really accurate unlikely most of the Countries within the former Roman Empire. As a consequence it could seem that the clipping activity was a phenomenon what affected only Britain during Late-antiquity. Though, the theories formulated by Hobbs to explain the different patterns of deposition in the Late-Roman Empire could be applied to the clipping phenomenon as well: the scarce documentation or the absence of clipped *argentei* on the Continent do not imply that that activity was not practised in the rest of the Roman Empire. Perhaps it was performed for different reasons than in Britain but, anyway, it was carried out.

There are several ancient sources what refer to the clipping of coins during the Late-antiquity. In the *Codex Theodosianus*, for instance, there is a meaningful law entitled “*Si quis solidi circum exeriorem incidit vel adulteratum in vendendo subiecerit*”, originally enacted by *Constantius II* in 317 AD, what commands the death penalty for whoever is caught in the act of clipping *solidi*<sup>282</sup>.

The same provision was then re-enacted in 343 AD<sup>283</sup> but, in spite of the savage penalties, the malpractice had to be really widespread amongst people if in 363 AD Julianus had to institute a body of officials (*zygostatoi* = weighers) whose primary function was to adjudicate in the disputes that arose from the buying and selling *solidi* what had been clipped down, diminished or nibbled away for avarice<sup>284</sup>. Moreover, the fact that all this laws are incorporated into the Theodosian Code, what was published in 438 AD, tells us that the Authority had still to deal with the problem during the fifth century AD.

The practice of this illicit activity is confirmed also by private documents as, for instance, an early fourth century papyrus in which *Eudaemon* asks *Longinus* to come to him and bring with him the *hualos*, apparently a stone implement of some kind for clipping coins, in order that the writer might get some wine with the proceeds of this (nefarious) transaction<sup>285</sup>.

In the sixth century AD, then, *Procopius* reported that the logothete Alexander was nicknamed “the scissors” because of his skill in clipping down *nomismata* without altering their appearance<sup>286</sup>.

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281 ABDY 2006, pp. 86-90.

282 *CTh*.IX.22.1.

283 *CTh*.IX.21.5.

284 HENDY 1985, p. 317 who translates *CTh*.XII.7.2.

285 P. Fay. 134; a slightly different translation of the last part of the papyrus is in HENDY 1985, p. 316.

286 HENDY 1985, p. 316 who quotes Procopius, *De Bello Gothico*, III.I.28-31.

It appears clear from the few documents reported above that clipping coins was an illicit process spread all over the Roman Empire which the Roman Emperors had to deal with since the fourth century AD at least. Against this malpractice the Roman Imperial authority enacted several laws which were addressed to the Romans: practically, a Roman phenomenon within the Roman Empire!

As it has been stated beforehand, also this interpretation can not be generalized: probably in Britain clipping was indeed a sub-Roman phenomenon initiated after its “separation” from the rest of the Empire, but it was definitely perpetrated contemporaneously within the Roman Empire. A confirmation to this hypothesis comes from the recent survey of a small hoard of *argentei* found in 1975 in Ravenna, the core of the Western Roman Empire. The hoard is composed by 28 *argentei* of Honorius dated between 402 and 411 AD; all of them have been cut down with different degrees of clipping<sup>287</sup>.

This appears to be an indirect proof of the fact that by the beginning of the fifth century AD, silver was circulating by weight. There is no way that such modified coins could be still accepted by their face value.

A coin that had to be accepted at a face value and worth the same in all the Provinces of the Empire like the *solidus*, was protected by specific laws which punished every kind of alteration<sup>288</sup>. On the contrary silver coinage was not secured by any enactment.

*Miliareses*, constituting since the beginning a sort of “celebratory value”<sup>289</sup> to be handed as *largitiones*, perhaps never intended as a daily value, were mostly excluded from the clipping process: not so many specimens are known being clipped down. Their *status* bestows prestige to themselves and their owners had to be proud of being in possession of such medals<sup>290</sup>; at the most they could have been melted down to manufacture either silver vessels or ingots. *Argentei*, on the contrary, were for a long time the currency of the army and most likely an everyday value so they were more suitable to such modifications.

Perhaps till the very beginning of the fifth century AD, when there was still an abundant production of *argentei* both as an everyday value and for the *stipendia* of the soldiers, the clipping, directed most likely to the illicit recovery of the white metal, had to be light not to invalidate their value but, since the Authority did not intervene to regulate the phenomenon on these specific denominations, it had to become rapidly epidemic destroying the silver coin circulation. This could be either one of

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287 MORELLI 2000. Paradoxically, following the arguments of some of the British scholars, it might be thought that the owner of such a small group of coins was a Briton or a merchant who had direct contacts within Britain, but the fact that almost all the *argentei* composing the hoard were struck in Ravenna confirms his Italian “origin”, for in British hoards apparently are not included Ravenna’s *argentei*, only rare *solidi*.

288 All the laws we have seen were formulated with the specific intention of avoiding the clipping of *solidi*, without any reference to silver coinage.

289 Babelon described the *Miliaresis* as a “*monnaie de luxe*” (BABELON 1901, pt. I, col. 568)

290 This idea was already proposed by Adelson: ADELSON 1957, p. 127.

the causes or a consequence of the change in the use of such a denomination from a face value to an intrinsic value/weight. What it seems to be reasonable is that as soon as on the market the refined silver started to be almost equalized to the raw white metal<sup>291</sup>, the clipping had to become meaningless: *argentei*, especially the clipped ones, became possibly a sort of scrap metal comparable with *hacksilber*, to be exchanged by weight if not melted down into ingots or fine silverware. This could even explain why within the territories of the Roman Empire do not almost occur hoards of clipped *argentei*: they were melted down!

The rare silver coinage of the fifth century AD is apparently not affected by the clipping activity. The new status of “celebratory value” of the silver denominations in the fifth century AD had apparently to save them from that malpractice: representing a sort of “coins of memory” they were out of the circulation; at most, once collected, they might have been melted down to create ingots or silverware.

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291 See Chapter 1.

## CHAPTER 4

### ***METROLOGY, FINENESS AND DENOMINATIONS***

#### *The Roman Pound and the Weight System*

The weights of the Late Roman silver coins, as well as the ones of the golden and the bronze denominations, were based on the Roman *libra* according a system what was basically duodecimal. Unfortunately its original weight it is not known and the scholars have been discussing this problem a lot over the years. Despite the skepticism of few scholars<sup>292</sup>, some attempts at determining the weight of the Roman pound have been made. Böckh in 1838 was the first one to propose a possible weight for it: he suggested the figure of 327.45 g.<sup>293</sup> which was fully accepted by Hultsch<sup>294</sup>, used by Mommsen in his monumental work on the Roman Coinage<sup>295</sup> and retained by Grierson and Mays<sup>296</sup>. The Böckh's hypothesis was harshly rejected by Naville who put forward the idea of a lighter weight: 322.56 g.<sup>297</sup>. This new figure was adopted by a group of French numismatists as Lafaurie, Bastiene and Durliat<sup>298</sup> and, even if with some reservations, it was welcomed also by Panvini Rosati<sup>299</sup>.

In the 1972, then, Thirion challenged both the previous theories proposing for the Roman *libra* a weight of 326.34 g.<sup>300</sup> Finally Crawford, with the "blessing" of Kent<sup>301</sup>, came up with the convenient duodecimal figure of 324 g.<sup>302</sup>.

Recently, the dealer and expert in the metrological field Jean Elsen, in a paper of his on the Romano-Byzantine weight system, has suggested the figure of 326.7 g. as probable weight of the Roman pound<sup>303</sup>.

This number, opportunely rounded down to 326 g., as Elsen himself suggested, is used in here.

On the assumption of a duodecimal system, the Late Roman weight system would be as follows:

- 1 libra = 12 unciae = 72 exagia (solidi) = 288 scripula = 576 oboli = 1728 siliquae (carati)
- 1 uncia = 6 exagia (solidi) = 24 scripula = 48 oboli = 144 siliquae (carati)
- 1 exagium (solidus/miliarensis) = 4 scripula = 8 oboli = 24 siliquae (carati)
- 1 scripulum = 2 oboli = 6 siliquae (carati)
- 1 obolus = 3 siliquae (carati)

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292 HENDY 1985, pp. 337-338; GUEY 1976.

293 BÖCKH 1838, p. 165.

294 HULTSCH 1882, pp. 160-161.

295 MOMMSEN 1865-1875.

296 GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 30.

297 NAVILLE 1920.

298 DURLIAT 1980.

299 PANVINI ROSATI 1953.

300 THIRION 1972.

301 KENT 1994, p. 7.

302 RRC 2, pp. 590-592.

303 ELSSEN 2005.

- 1 siliqua (caratus)

Having a *libra* of 326 g. the correspondent weights in grammes of the mentioned units of weight would be:

- 1 libra	=	326 g.
- 1 uncia (1/12 of p.)	=	27,1 g.
- 1 exagium (1/72 of p.)	=	4,52 g.
- 1 scripulum (1/288 of p.)	=	1,131 g.
- 1 obolus (1/576 of p.)	=	0,565 g.
- 1 siliqua (1/1728 of p.)	=	0,188 g.

### *The Silver Fineness*

During the whole Late-Antiquity, at least from the second half of the fourth century AD „down to the fall of the Ostrogothic kingdom“<sup>304</sup> the fineness content of the Roman silver coinage was so high that in some occasion almost came close to purity<sup>305</sup>. The turning point of this severe refinement of the silver coinage was the monetary reform introduced by Valens and Valentinianus I between 366 and 367 AD<sup>306</sup>. It concerned mainly the golden coinage but, for sure, important decisions, even if not openly declared, were contextually taken about the production of silver coins. Since then, indeed, all the silver coins collected from taxes had to be melted down and the metal had to be refined „in the customary manner“<sup>307</sup>; only after this procedure silver, in the form of „certified“ ingots<sup>308</sup>, could be minted again. The silver coins struck since that moment showed the letters PS (*pusulatum* = refined) added to the mint abbreviation<sup>309</sup>.

The metallurgical analyses conducted on the material, namely *argentei*<sup>310</sup> and ingots<sup>311</sup>, have confirmed this trend. The content of fineness of the *argentei* was improved from the 94-95% of the period 355-368 AD, to 99%; it remained at this new reformed level of silver content for ten years before gradually declining to c. 97% by 395-402 AD<sup>312</sup>. Few anomalies have been registered<sup>313</sup> but

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304 KENT 1994, p. 13.

305 Grierson and Mays believed that „the silver coins of the later Empire were clearly of as pure metal as the techniques of the day allowed“ (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 31), but other reasons cannot be ruled out completely such as technical reasons: a coin made of pure silver would have been way too malleable causing the immediate destruction of the flan.

306 On the reform see: AMANDRY-BARRANDON-BRENOT-CALL-POIRIER 1982.

307 CHALLIS 1992, pp. 109-110.

308 Few exemplars of such ingots bearing the indication of refined silver have been registered. See for instance: PAINTER 1972; WILLERS 1898.

309 The mark **PS**, however, was exclusive prerogative of the western coins, it was never applied to the silver coins produced in the Eastern mints (Constantinople and Thessalonica), „perhaps because *pusulatum* was Latin and there were no Greek equivalent“ (GRIERSON-MAYS 1982, p. 31).

310 Analyses on *argentei* have been realized by: GUEST 2005, pp. 118-132; AMANDRY-BARRANDON-BRENOT-CALL-POIRIER 1982, pp. 282-284; REECE 1963; VON RAUCH 1857; HAMMER 1908, p. 110. Guest has also conducted analysis on few „demi-*argentei*“ (GUEST 2005, p. 121).

311 For analyses on late fourth and early fifth centuries AD silver ingots see: KENT 1994, p. 14; HUGHES-HALL 1979; PAINTER 1972.

312 GUEST 2005, p. 42.

on the whole the quantity of pure silver within the late Roman silver coinage was maintained very high during the whole period.

### *The Gold:Silver Ratio*

The same kind of “stability” seems to have been respected also in the relative values of gold and silver. Despite the different gold:silver ratios registered, or simply hinted, by the ancient sources (1:12, 1:14,4, 1:15, 1:18), it appears quite clear, today, that between the second half of the fourth century AD and, at least, till the end of the sixth century AD only the ratio 1:14,4 was actually applied. As we shall see, the relative value of the two metals did not “varied from time to time, place to place or according to shifts of government policy”<sup>314</sup> but it was steady during the whole Late Antiquity.

In the Edict of Prices, promulgated by Diocletian between 20 November and 9 December 301 AD, the gold:silver ratio was fixed at 1:12<sup>315</sup>. Such a relative value apparently was used at least till the thirties of the fourth century AD as a receipt for the *aurum coronarium*, dated to 323-337 AD, would show<sup>316</sup>, but probably about the half of the century it (was?) changed<sup>317</sup>.

The so much debated papyrus SB III, 6086, indeed, what was usually dated at the beginning of the fourth century AD<sup>318</sup> and what was considered the evidence of using a gold:silver ratio of 1:18 in that period<sup>319</sup>, shows in reality the relative value of 1:14,4<sup>320</sup> and, most likely, must be dated at the half of the century<sup>321</sup>. At the same period or perhaps at the second half of the fourth century AD has to be dated also another papyrus in which for the first time it is clearly expressed the new ratio 1:14,4<sup>322</sup>: “it records (in fact) the purchase of one pound of silver bullion for five *solidi*”<sup>323</sup>.

This ratio is then confirmed by a law entitled *De argenti pretio, quod thesauris infertur*, enacted in

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313 A figure of 94%, for instance, has been registered for the Lyon's *argentei* of Constantine III (GUEST 2005, p. 42); c.95% was registered for his Arles' *argentei* (KENT 1997, p. 39); 94% of fineness has been recorded also for Julius Nepos' *argentei* (KENT 1994, p. 13) while a figure of 94,6% was discovered even for some Milan *argentei* of Honorius (REECE 1963). The figure of 75% of fineness reported by Hammer for a Jovinus silver coin is more unlikely (HAMMER 1908, p. 110). The reasons for such odd standards could have been several (GUEST 2005, p. 42; KENT 1994, p. 13).

314 KENT 1994, p. 13. Of the same idea was Hendy: HENDY 1985, p. 480.

315 A lot of literature has been produced in the years about the Diocletian Edict of Prices; see, for instance, the references cited at the notes 145-147 in CARLÁ 2007.

316 BANAJI 2001, p. 41 who cites: P. Vindob. G 13174 v.

317 In one of the Oxyrhynchus' Papyri dated to 340 AD (P. Oxy, LIV, 3773) it is perhaps already recorded the changed ratio 1:14,4 between the two raw metals but this is not clear (CARLÁ 2007, pp. 207-208).

318 ADELSON 1958.

319 MICKWITZ 1933, p. 8.

320 See all the calculations made by DURLIAT 1980, pp. 140-142.

321 The reasons for the introduction of this new ratio are not known; perhaps the price of gold had arose steadily through the reign of Constantine (RÉMONDON 1957, pp. 138-140); maybe its value increased in proportion to the rise of the demand for gold coinage (ADELSON 1958, p. 25); possibly “the market was so much flooded with gold...that it forced an alteration in the ratio” (BANAJI 2001, p. 41). Perhaps it was related to the introduction of a new *argenteus* cut at 1/144<sup>th</sup> of the pound in c.358 AD.

322 P. Oslo, 162.

323 ADELSON 1958, p. 9.

397 AD<sup>324</sup>. In this ordinance it was stated that “taxpayers could substitute five gold *solidi* for a pound of silver if they have been assessed in that metal”<sup>325</sup>. The same relative value appears to have been registered in a contemporary inscription (c.400 AD) from *Concordia Sagittaria*<sup>326</sup>. In one of its lines, indeed, are engraved the letters: SOL XX VIA L. The Mommsen’s expansion of the abbreviations as SOL(*idos*) XX V(*el*) I(*n*) A(*rgento*) V(*ncias*) L, would give a gold:silver ratio of 1:15 but, as it has been proposed, the odd figure of 50 was perhaps the rounding up of the 48 *unciae*<sup>327</sup> what would result from the using of the usual ratio 1:14,4<sup>328</sup>.

At the beginning of the fifth century AD<sup>329</sup>, then, according an official register of prices drawn up by the office of the provincial governor of Arcadia (P. Oxy, LI, 3628-3633), a pound of silver was still sold for 5 *solidi*, giving once again the usual gold:silver rate of 1 to 14,4<sup>330</sup>.

The ratio 1:18 implied in a decree passed by Honorius and Theodosius II in 422 AD it is, instead, unexpected. The decree allowed the *primipilares* to pay the *sportulae* to their *duces* either with a pound of silver or with four *solidi*<sup>331</sup>. This latter source, however, cannot be included in the more general argument of the gold:silver ratio: it had not, in fact, a wide application; it was more „a concession of a particular character to a quite limited number of persons“<sup>332</sup>.

The 1:14,4 ratio was still in use at the half of the fifth century AD: the above-mentioned law *De argenti pretio*, enacted in 397 AD, indeed, was actually registered in the Theodosian Code what was published in 438 AD.

The same relative value it is confirmed also for the period between the end of the fifth and the first half of the sixth centuries AD. It is indeed not only „implied by the Life of St Caesarius of Arles (468/70-542 AD)“<sup>333</sup> but even ratified by the Justinian Code in which it is repeated, once again, the text of the *De argenti pretio* law<sup>334</sup>.

Even in the *Nomic Glosses*, work that has to be probably dated within the second half of the sixth century AD, it is again expressed the gold:silver ratio of 1:14,4. In it, in fact, one *solidus* is made equal to 14 *miliarense*<sup>335</sup>: if we identify the latter denomination with the so called light-*miliarense*, as we shall see later, which weight (4,52 g.) was the same as the *solidus*, we obtain once more the

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324 CTh XIII.2.1.

325 GRIERSON 1992, p. 146.

326 CIL 5, 8734.

327 Perhaps the number 48 was rounded up to 50 only for the mere reason of saving space in the inscription’s field (L instead of XLVIII).

328 CARLÁ 2007, p. 209; DURLIAT 1980, p. 143.

329 Banaji suggests a dating for the document about 423 (BANAJI 2001, p. 42, note 17).

330 CARLÁ 2007, p. 207; BANAJI 2001, p. 42.

331 CTh VIII.4.27.

332 GRIERSON 1992, p. 146.

333 KENT 1994, p. 13. See: *Vita Caes. Arel.*, I.37.

334 CJ X.78.1. The first edition of the Justinian Code was published in 529 AD but the final version was released in 538 AD.

335 MSR 1, p. 307.

usual ratio.

The account of Tiberius II accession in 578 AD given by John of Ephesus<sup>336</sup> is on the other hand controversial. It has been interpreted by many scholars as the proof of the passage from the 1:14,4 ratio to a 1:18 one<sup>337</sup>, but this needs some considerations. When in 360 AD Julian became Emperor he distributed a donative (called *Augustaticum*) of one pound of silver and five *solidi* to each soldier; since then this kind of largess apparently became a custom carried on at the elevation of a new Emperor<sup>338</sup>. When Tiberius II was announced *Basileus*, on the contrary, he seemingly hand out to the soldiers nine *solidi* each and no silver. It has been hypothesized that the pound of silver was replaced by four *solidi* according a gold:silver ratio of 1:18, but this theory is quite without foundations and different explanations might be suggested.

In the John of Ephesus' account, Tiberius II is described as a lavish man who wanted

“...to scatter his gifts more bountifully than any one of his predecessors...”<sup>339</sup>;

if he would have substituted a pound of silver with four *solidi* instead of five he would have given to the soldiers less than his predecessors! Most likely John of Ephesus, to underline the great munificence of the new Basileus, stressed on the fact that the customary five *solidi* were increased to the unprecedented number of nine *solidi* simply omitting the pound of silver. After all in the whole account of the distribution of the largesses are oddly missing any references to silver.

The last testimonies of the use of the relative value 1:14,4 are from the end of the sixth century AD as would suggest a letter of the Pope Gregory I dated to 597 AD<sup>340</sup>.

The definitive shift in the gold:silver ratio finally arrived at the beginning of the seventh century AD, most likely with the introduction of the Heraclian silver hexagram of 6.78 g. in 615 AD. The new ratio appeared to be 1:12, exactly the relative value what could be obtained if it was assumed that the hexagram represented the double of an *argenteus* cut at 1/96<sup>th</sup> of the pound at a gold/silver ratio of 1:12 which was the Diocletianic *argenteus* (3,39 g. x 2 = 6,78 g.).

#### *The Denominations*

Late Roman silver denominations were struck both *al marco*<sup>341</sup> and *al pezzo*<sup>342</sup>. The smaller denominations like the so called “*siliquae*” and “half-*siliquae*” were most likely produced *al*

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336 John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.11.

337 See for instance HENDY 1985, p. 481; ADELSON 1958, p. 9.

338 The exact same donative was distributed also by Leo I in 457 AD, Leo II in 473 AD, Anastasius in 491 AD and Justin I in 518 AD (HENDY 1985, p. 481 who quotes all the sources).

339 John of Ephesus, *Ecclesiastical History*, III.11.

340 DURLIAT 1980, p. 145.

341 “So many pieces struck to the Roman pound without any attempt at control of the weights of individual coins” (from GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 30).

342 “So many pieces to the pound but within quite narrow margins of accuracy and with the weight of each coin being checked before it left the mint” (from GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 30).

*marco*<sup>343</sup> while the other denominations, namely the *miliarenses* and the multiples, were probably struck *al pezzo*<sup>344</sup>.

The names usually applied to the Late Roman silver denominations are modern conventions because in the ancient sources, unfortunately, there are not references to different kinds of silver coins, on the contrary, they are indiscriminately called *argyra nomismata* in the Greek writings and *argentei nummi* in the Latin sources. The only sure name of a late roman silver coin attested in the ancient sources is *miliarensis* but its identification is still matter of discussion.

Despite of the lack of documents and the scarcity of material, especially for the fifth century AD, today not less than seven different kind of late roman silver denominations are known<sup>345</sup>.

### Multiples

1/3 of pound = 108,6 g. A unique and hitherto unknown specimen of Valentinianus I has recently appeared on the numismatic market (**Fig. 14**)<sup>346</sup>.



Fig. 14 – The unknown multiple of Valentinianus I, Antiochia, 368 AD (Ira & Larry Goldberg Auctioneers, sale 53 (May 24-27, 2009), lot. 1931)

It shows at the obverse the pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust of the Emperor to the right with the legend DN VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG while, at the reverse, the legend

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343 *Argentei* played a role of everyday value till the end of the fourth-very beginning of the fifth centuries AD and, because of this, they circulated at their face value but, since the beginning of the fifth century, they started to be „exchanged“ by weight (CARLÁ 2007, pp. 209-210) and practically produced only for some particular occasion such as *Vota* celebrations, new consulships, elevations of new Emperors, etc.

344 Such multiples, including in my opinion also the *miliarenses*, were never meant to be used as „everyday value“ but, as Babelon once suggested, they had to be considered as „*monnaie de luxe*“ (BABELON 1901, I, pt. I, col. 568) struck exclusively on the occasion of some ceremony to the purpose of being a kind of “token of memory”: souvenir of a particular event. For such a purpose, of course, the weight of each specimen had not to be so „accurate“ but still could not vary that much as the numismatic evidence show. (The same opinion is expressed by ADELSON 1957, pp. 127-128. Grierson and Mays, on the contrary thought that the “light-miliarenses...served as currency” (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 35).

345 Not all of them were continuously struck during the whole period: some denominations are actually known only for a single authority.

346 Ira & Larry Goldberg Auctioneers, sale 53 (May 24-27, 2009), lot. 1931.

VOTIS/X/MVLTIS/XX in the field within a wreath. At the exergue the abbreviation AN for Antiochia. Such a “medallion” (104,3 g.; 66 mm.) of the value of 1 *solidus* and a half was struck on the occasion of the celebrations for the *quinquennialia* of Valentinianus I the 26<sup>th</sup> of February 368 AD. Most likely, it constituted part of the imperial customary largitio for some member of the “high-society”<sup>347</sup>. Specimens struck in the name of Valens might exist as well.

¼ of pound = 81,5 g. Several specimens of such a multiple are known. All of them were struck by the usurper Priscus Attalus in the mint of Rome (RMPS) probably between January and June 410 AD (**Fig. 3**)<sup>348</sup> and meant probably to represent the equivalent of 1 *solidus* and a quarter (at a ratio 1:14,4)<sup>349</sup>. They all show at the obverse the band-diademed, draped and cuirassed bust of the Usurper to the right with the legend PRISCVS ATTA-LVS P F AVG; at the reverse, the personification of Rome enthroned facing, holding Victory on globe and inverted spear, and the legend INVICTA RO-MA AETERNA. The average weight of the known specimens is 76,4 g., a bit less than the supposed standard, while the diameters are all about 50 mm. The function of these multiples, which perhaps were “coined from the silver plate of Rome”<sup>350</sup>, is not completely clear<sup>351</sup>: perhaps they constituted a gift offered by Priscus Attalus to his Germanic allies who put him on the throne<sup>352</sup>; perhaps they were part of the customary *Augustaticum*<sup>353</sup>; or, even, they could have represented the Priscus’ attempt to ingratiate the Roman Senators to whom was forcefully imposed a new Emperor.

1/24 of pound = 13,58 g. This multiple was first struck at the end of the reign of Constantine I and, in that period, considering that the *argenteus* was still struck at 1/96<sup>th</sup> of the pound, it had to correspond to 4 *argentei*. After the introduction about 358 AD of a reduced *argenteus* intended to be cut most likely at 1/144<sup>th</sup> of the pound, it became the equivalent of 6 *argentei*. In both the cases, anyway, such a medallion was equal to 3 *miliarenses*.

This multiple is well attested during the second half of the fourth century AD, as the eight pieces

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347 It has been suggested as a possible recipient of such a largitio the Count Theodosius, but it is unlikely (GAMBACORTA 2013).

348 LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ 2003.

349 At a ratio 1:18 these multiples would be practically the equivalent of one *solidus* and, in fact, they „resemble grossly enlarged solidi“ (KENT 1994, p. 14) but, as we have seen in that period the official gold:silver ratio was 1:14,4. Perhaps Priscus chose to use a different ratio?

350 HARL 1996, p. 177.

351 The idea proposed by Kent that they „may have been a method of supplementing the *solidus* coinage“ (KENT 1994, p. 140) it is unlikely.

352 GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 223.

353 KENT 1994, p. 140.

from the Italian San Genesio hoard would suggest<sup>354</sup>, and it had to be “continuously” struck at least till Arcadius’ death in 408 AD. It has not to be excluded, anyway, that this kind of multiples were still occasionally struck in the course of the fifth century AD as the unique specimen of Leo I with *Vota* type (RIC 10 - 640) would suggest.

Their weights go from 11,12 to 14,00 g. but the majority are attested around 13 g.<sup>355</sup>; the diameters are not so fixed as well: they vary indeed from 30 to 40 mm. Almost all the known pieces were struck in western mints such as Milan, Aquileia, Rome and, later, Ravenna but exemplars from eastern mints also exist<sup>356</sup>. The main recurring reverse legend was TRIVMFATOR GENT(IVM) BARB(ARARVM). The uncut version of this legend was initially associated to the figure of the standing Emperor holding *labarum* and long scepter (Fig. 15). Later on, the legend was shortened and, to the figure of the Emperor, now with *labarum* and globe, was added a captive crouching at his feet (Fig. 16).



Fig. 15 – Multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of pound, Constans, Siscia, 342-343, AD (12,96 g.) (Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 62 (06. 10. 2011), lot. 2100) (RIC 8 – 360/148).

Fig. 16 – Multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of pound, Honorius, Rome, 404, 407-408 AD (13,03 g.; 37 mm; 0°) (Bode Museum, Room 242. BM-041/24 Roman Meddallions. Gold and silver) (RIC 10 – 1261).

Quite common was also the *Vota* type (Fig. 17).



Fig. 17 - Multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of pound, Valentinian II, Aquileia, 384 AD (13,31 g.; 35 mm) (Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 29 (11. 05. 2005), lot. 647) (RIC 9, -).

354 ULRICH-BANSA 1954.

355 Grierson-Mays gave an average weight, based on the San Genesio specimens, of 13,383 g. (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 36); Kent, instead, after the analysis of 11 specimens, put forward the figure of 12,54 g. (KENT 1994, p. 14).

356 They are virtually the ones struck by the sons of Constantine I.

There is no doubt that these multiples had exclusively celebratory purposes: the reverse types speak for themselves.

1/60 of pound = 5,43 g. This denomination, that according Elmer definition is today known as “Heavy *miliarensis*”<sup>357</sup>, should be more suitably included in the group of the multiples/medallions. Its existence is well attested both by mid-fourth century AD pieces which present the mark LX at the exergue (**Fig. 18**) and by a law passed in 384 A.D. (see *infra*) that clearly refers to a celebratory silver value cut at 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound to be handed out by the new non-imperial consuls. Its association with the *miliarensis*, however, it is quite doubtful: there are no sure proofs of it.



Fig. 18 - Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of pound, Constans, Aquileia, 340-350 AD (5,21 g.)(AUREO & CALICÓ S.L. IMAGINES IMPERATORUM (15.02.2012), lot. 345) (RIC 8 – 320/57). To be noticed the mark LX at the exergue.

Fig. 19 - Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of pound, Constantine I, Sirmium, 320 AD (4,75 g.)(Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 64 (17. 05. 2012), lot. 1309)(RIC 7 – 469/14).

This coin was introduced under Constantine I (**Fig. 19**) and, while in the West it was struck till the Honorius reign, in the East, even if rarely and exclusively in the mints of Constantinople and Thessalonica, it was struck till the sixth century AD. Its common type for the period between the end of the fourth and the fifth centuries AD was the standing Emperor, usually nimbated, holding a spear/long scepter in his right hand and resting the left hand on a shield, all along with the legend GLORIA ROMANORVM. The bust of the Authority on duty was represented to the r.

During the reign of Theodosius II the same exact reverse started to be used also for the “light-*miliarenses*” struck in Thessalonica (RIC 10 - 392) fact that, most likely, had to create serious problems of distinction between the two denominations. Marcian, later, re-introduced a solid distinction between them. At the beginning he only eliminated the star from the field of the Thessalonian specimens but then, even if maintaining the type and re-introducing the star in the field, he changed both the legend (GLOR ORV-S TERRRHR) and the mint mark (THESOP)(RIC 10 - 534). His successors, namely Leo I and Zeno, apparently struck only the latter version (RIC 10 - 651, 946).

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357 ELMER 1933, p. 26.

## Miliarensis<sup>358</sup>

The word *miliarensis*, often associated with a silver coin, is well attested both in Latin and Greek sources. It was recorded for the first time in a law issued in 384 AD<sup>359</sup>. The law concerned the arrangement of the *Palatinis Sacrarum Largitionum* bureau and, among its departments, was mentioned a *scrinium a miliarensia*<sup>360</sup>. Such office was most likely intended to deal with the coins called *miliarenses* but in which manner it is not clear yet<sup>361</sup>. Few years later, in 392 AD, the metrologist Epiphanius of Salamis in his work on weights and measures not only referred to a silver coin “called by the Romans *miliarision*” but explained its name as a derivation from its original purpose: a largess for the *militia*<sup>362</sup>.

About 400 AD<sup>363</sup>, then, in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, a unique document of the Roman imperial chanceries, it is recorded again a *scrinium a miliarensibus*<sup>364</sup>. In the same period another metrologist, Dardanius, stated that the word *miliarisium* meant a coin worth 1000 obols<sup>365</sup>. John Lydus at the first half of the sixth century AD repropounded the Epiphanius’ etymology: he asserted not only that “*miliarisia a militia dicta sunt*”<sup>366</sup> but even “that the coin came into existence as a donative during the Hannibalic War”<sup>367</sup>. In the Codex Justinianus, then, where it is transcribed the law of 384 AD, appeared a *Scrinium a militarensibus*<sup>368</sup>. Perhaps it was just a misspell of the word *miliarensibus* written in the *Notitia* or, perhaps, it was a conscious decision of the compilers of the Code who decided to follow the John Lydus’ idea that “*miliarisia a militia dicta sunt*”.

Since the sixth century AD, anyway, the *miliarision*-coin appears more frequently in the written sources but unfortunately, as Kent wrote, “its true identification is less certain, and it may have been a generic term, for the name was certainly applied to different coins at various time”<sup>369</sup>.

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358 In here, as already Kent has argued (KENT 1994, p. 14), the name *Miliarensis* is preferred to *Miliarensis* (on this matter see for instance GUEY 1965).

359 According Mattingly the coin called *miliarensis* „was introduced in 348 AD and its name commemorated the millenary of the foundation of Rome“ (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 27 who quotes MATTINGLY 1946, p. 115).

360 *CTh* VI.30.7.12 (In the original version of the Codex Theodosianus, the text of this law is corrupt and the part concerning the *Scrinium ad miliarensia* is missing. It was Mommsen who reinstated the missing text transcribing it from the Krueger’s edition of the Codex Justinianus. Nevertheless, in the Krueger’s edition of the Codex Justinianus the *scrinium* is recorded as a *militarensibus*).

361 Very precious are still today the studies of King and Hendy (KING 1980; HENDY 1989).

362 In the Greek version of the Epiphanius’ work the term used is *μλιαρίσιον* (MSR 1, p. 269, n. 16); in the Syrian version it is spelled *miliarision* (Epiphanius, *De Mensuris et Ponderibus*); only in the early mediaeval Latin translation it is *militarensia* (MSR 2, p. 105, n. 17). The latter version, anyway, could have been inspired by John Lydus’ work.

363 The dating of the *Notitia* it not sure: the *Pars Orientis* is usually dated to c.400, while the *Pars Occidentis* in 420s.

364 *Notitia Dignitatum*, *Pars Orientis* XIII.30 (p. 36); *Pars Occidentis* XI.96 (p. 156).

365 The Dardanius’ *carmen De Ponderibus* it is actually known only thanks to the work of John Lydus, *De Mensibus*. For this part see in particular lib. IV.9.

366 John Lydus, *De Mensibus*, IV.9.

367 ADELSON 1957, p. 132.

368 *CJ* XII.23.7.12.

369 KENT 1994, p. 14.

The traveler *Cosmas Indicopleustes*, for instance, in his work *Topographia Christiana*, compiled about 550 AD, wrote that the Roman silver *miliarensis* corresponded to the Sassanian *δραχμή*<sup>370</sup>; the monk John Moschus, on the other hand, at the second half of the sixth century AD, referred to the *μλιαρίσιον* as to a Persian coin<sup>371</sup>. In the *Nomic Glosses*, instead, the term *μλιαρίσιον* would imply a (Byzantine) silver unit worth 1/1000<sup>th</sup> of a pound of gold, fact that would have determined its name<sup>372</sup>. *Theophanes*, then, called *μλιαρίσια* the hexagrams introduced by Heraclius in 615 AD<sup>373</sup>. Despite the numerous mentions, as said, its identification with a specific silver denomination it is quite problematic. Kent argued that the *miliarensis* had to be perhaps identified with the so called “Heavy *miliarensis*”, the one cut at 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound<sup>374</sup>. His hypothesis could apparently be supported, in a certain way, by the speculative combination of two laws enacted respectively in 384 AD and 536/537 AD. The first one, passed by *Theodosius I*, concerned the distribution of largesses on the occasion of the election of a new consul. The non-imperial consul, when ceremonies were enacted, was allowed to use only *argentei nummi* as gifts. More specifically he was not permitted to expend silver coins larger than the ones customarily formed when a pound of silver was divided into sixty pieces of coin (just our heavy *miliarensis*)<sup>375</sup>. The second decree, dealing once again with the consular scattering of largesse to people in the course of some processions, established:

*“Silver, which is considered most precious directly after gold, is a suitable largesse for other consuls. Therefore We commend them to scatter largesse in what are called miliaresia and mela and kaukia and tetragonia and so on”*<sup>376</sup>.

The *miliaresia* cited in this law, that somebody has proposed to identify with the silver vessel *miliaria*<sup>377</sup>, were most likely intended as silver coins.

Perhaps the *miliaresia* cited in the latter regulation were intended as the silver coins cut at 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound described in the first writ and, therefore, they might have been corresponded with the “Heavy *miliarenses*”, but that is not demonstrable and, anyway, a very long shot.

Adelson<sup>378</sup>, Callu<sup>379</sup> and Grierson-Mays<sup>380</sup> had a different opinion. All of them, indeed, were inclined to recognize in the *miliarision* named in the late antique sources the “light version” of the *miliarensis*. After all, as we have already seen, the few sixth century AD written sources that clearly

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370 Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, XI.338.

371 John Moschus, *Pratum Spirituale*, X.185.

372 MSR 1, p. 307.

373 Theophanes, *Chronographia*, 6113.

374 KENT 1994, p. 15.

375 HENDY 1985, pp. 193-194 who translates *CTh* XV.9.1. Most likely this enactment was still in force during the fifth century AD since it was included within the Theodosian Code what was published in 438 AD.

376 HENDY 1985, p. 194 who translates *Novellae Iustiniani*, CV.2.1.

377 *Miliaria, mela, kaukia* and *tetragonia* were silver vessels (see MARICQ 1950).

378 ADELSON 1957.

379 CALLU 1980.

380 GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 27-28.

gave a definition of that coin, seem to support this latter hypothesis. John Lydus, quoting Dardanius, described it as a coin worth 1000 obols<sup>381</sup>; the association of the silver *miliarision* with the Sassanid drachma made by Cosmas Indicopleustes<sup>382</sup>, established the weight of it, at the half of the sixth century AD, at something a bit more than 4 gr.; the *Nomic glosses*<sup>383</sup>, then, not only said that the *solidus* was the equivalent of fourteen *miliarenses*<sup>384</sup> but gave even the value of the *miliarensis* itself as 1 ¾ carats<sup>385</sup>. All these data not only combine to suggest an average weight of about 4,5 gr., but even confirm for the period the late roman ratio gold:silver of 1:14,4. In conclusion, between the second half of the fourth and the end of the sixth centuries AD the *miliarensis* cited in the late roman and early byzantine sources had to be most likely intended as the silver coin cut at 1/72<sup>nd</sup> of the roman pound (“incidentally” the silver metrologic correspondence of the *solidus*). Since the beginning of the seventh century AD, then, when a new gold:silver ratio was introduced and a new large silver coin came into existence, the name was adapted to the new denomination.

1/72 of the pound = 4,52 g. Despite the late appearance of the word *miliarensis* in the ancient sources, the denomination was introduced already during the reign of Constantine the Great (**Fig. 20**). Such a denomination was struck in the West only down to Honorius reign while in the East, namely in the mints of Thessalonica and Constantinople, it was virtually struck continuously into the sixth century AD.



Fig. 20 – Miliarensis, Constantine I, Nicomedia, 324-325 AD (4,27 g.)(Gemini, LLC, Auction VI (10.01.2010), lot. 576) (RIC 7 – 614/86).

Honorius’ western *miliarenses* presented the same exact typology of the Constantinopolitan “heavy *miliarenses*” with the only exception of the reverse legend that was VIRTVS EXERCITVM (RIC 10 - 1221). The *miliarenses* struck in the “new Rome”, on the contrary, showed at the obverse the bust of the Emperor to the r. but with the head turned to the l. and, at the reverse, the Emperor standing facing, holding a globe in the l. hand and raising the r. hand together with the legend

381 John Lydus, *De Mensibus*, IV.9.

382 Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, XI.338.

383 In my opinion they should be dated within the second half of the sixth century AD, before the introduction of the hexagram in 615 AD when the ratio gold:silver was been already fixed at 1:12. In this way the ratio and the values of the silver coins expressed in it make perfectly sense.

384 MSR 1, p. 307.

385 MSR 1, p. 309.

GLORIA ROMANORVM (RIC 10 - 370). Such typology remained fixed throughout the whole fifth century AD.

Very remarkable are the two *miliarenses* struck at Constantinople in the name of Aelia Eudoxia showing at the reverse the Empress enthroned facing with hands clasped over her breast between two crosses and crowned by the Hand of God (Fig. 21)<sup>386</sup>.



Fig. 21 – Miliarensis, Aelia Eudoxia, Constantinople, 400 AD (4,46g, 25mm.)(Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 33 (6 April 2006), lot. 617) (RIC 10, -).

These specimens not only underline once again the “celebratory” nature of such a denomination, at least in the course of the fifth century AD, but give us the hope that other unknown and astonishing pieces may come to light.

### Argenteus

The name applied in here to the silver coin commonly known as *siliqua* it is not completely an exact match, but still it has to be preferred to the usual one. In the ancient sources, as we have seen, with the exception of a denomination called *miliarensis*, no further distinctions were made among silver denominations and, generally, they all were called *argentei nummi*<sup>387</sup>. On the other hand, some of the ancient writings, when recording the use or the existence of such a denomination, seem to refer to a smaller silver unit used all over the Roman Empire. *Vopiscus*, for instance, in his *Vita Aureliani*, perhaps to be dated to the half of the fourth century AD, spoke about *argenteos Philippeos minutulos*<sup>388</sup>; the *centenos argenteos nummos* distributed by Julian to the soldiers in the year 363 AD after the victorious siege of the Pirisobara town<sup>389</sup>, were most likely to be intended as the coins cut perhaps at 1/144<sup>th</sup> of the pound<sup>390</sup>; small silver coins were often mentioned in Greek Patristic Literature of the Fourth century AD as common alms for the poor<sup>391</sup>; six stolen *argentiolos* were even mentioned in a *Tabella defixionis* of the second half of the fourth century AD from Hants

386 Now published in GAMBACORTA 2011.

387 Among the *Argentei nummi* mentioned in the law *CTh* XV.9.1 were clearly included also the ones cut at 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound.

388 *Vopiscus*, *Vita Aureliani*, IX.7; XII.1.

389 Ammianus Marcellinus, *Res gestae*, XXIV.3.3-4; Zosimus, *Historia Nova*, III.18.

390 ADELSON 1958, p. 5. If the coins distributed would have been *miliarenses*, for instance, at a gold:silver ratio of 1:14,4, each soldier would get *c.7 solidi*: much more than a year wage which would not have aroused any complaints. On the contrary 100 *argentei* corresponded to *c.3,5*, less than the usual 4,5-5 *solidi* distributed as largesses during such occasions (a common soldier, at the half of the fourth century AD received a ration allowance of four or five *solidi* a year; see KENT-PAINTER 1977, p. 18).

391 MILEWSKY 2002, pp. 28-33.

(Great Britain)<sup>392</sup>.

What it is absolutely clear it is that a silver coin called *siliqua* never existed<sup>393</sup>. It was Theodor Mommsen in 1860 that proposed to apply the word *siliqua* to a concrete silver coin, the one that since 358 AD was struck at 1/144<sup>th</sup> of the pound<sup>394</sup>, even if in the ancient sources that term was never associated to a coin.

On the contrary, in the historical documents the *siliqua* (in greek κεράτιον) was always connected to gold and described as a unit of weight<sup>395</sup>. It corresponded to 1/24<sup>th</sup> of the *solidus*<sup>396</sup>, that meant 1/6<sup>th</sup> of a *scripulum* or 1/1728<sup>th</sup> of the pound, in other words 0,188 g. The supposed *siliquae*-coins were never struck!

It is hard to try to determine the theoretical weight standard of late-antique *argentei*.

First of all it has to be said that after the half of the fourth century AD the production of pieces struck at 1/96<sup>th</sup> of the pound continued<sup>397</sup>. They were still considerably struck by Valentinian I and Valens at Constantinople and Nicomedia with *Vota* type and, even if much rarely, in some western mints: isolated specimens are known for Valens from Rome, for Gratian from Aquileia and Valentinian II from Lugdunum (RIC 9 – 51/42)<sup>398</sup>. It is also known a unique specimen struck by Jovinus at Arles weighing 3,01 g. (RIC 10 - 1709; PCR 3 - 1524). It presents the same type of his usual Arles' *argentei* RESTITV-TOR REIP; its authenticity has been questioned by King<sup>399</sup>, nevertheless there are not reasons to doubt its genuinity<sup>400</sup>.

Also an hitherto unknown silver coin of Pulcheria from Constantinople weighing 3,72 g. may have been perhaps intended as a “heavy-*siliqua*” (Fig. 22)<sup>401</sup>.



Fig. 22 – (Heavy) Argenteus, Aelia Pulcheria, Constantinople, 414 AD (3,72 g.)(Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.; Mail Bid Sale 61 (25. 09. 2002), lot. 2149) (RIC 10, -).

392 TOMLIN 1997, pp. 455-457.

393 This fact has been well proven by CARLÁ 2007, pp. 171-175. Only in an Inscription found at Feltre in 1906 and dated to 323 AD appears the abbreviation **SIL** in speaking of coinage (ILS 3, n. 9420), but these ambiguous letters were not associated to a particular silver coin (GUEST 2005, p. 90).

394 MOMMSEN 1860, pp. 791, 837. It was only a proposal, but it was immediately welcomed by other scholars becoming soon the standard name for such a silver coin.

395 For a wide list of sources see: CARLÁ 2007, p. 171, note 49.

396 Really clear is the definition given by Isidore of Seville: „*Siliqua vicesima quarta pars solidi est, ab arbore, cuius semen est, vocabulum tenens*” (Isidore of Seville, *Etymologiarum libri XX*, XVI.9.25).

397 These coins, quite rare however, are called by Kent „heavy-*siliquae*“ and present weights about 3,0 g. or a bit more (KENT 1994, p. 15).

398 PEARCE 1951, p. xxviii.

399 KING 1987a, p. 291.

400 KENT 1994, p. 15.

401 Pulcheria's coinage is currently under revision by Federico Gambacorta.

During the reign of Constantius II, nonetheless, perhaps in 355<sup>402</sup> or 358 AD<sup>403</sup>, a reduced *argenteus* came into existence and, at least during the second half of the fourth century AD, it was produced in huge amounts. Most of the scholars, mainly on the basis of the evidence of the San Genesio hoard<sup>404</sup>, and perhaps with the idea of an assimilation of this new coin to the *semmissis*' standard, assumed that these *argentei* were intended to be minted at 1/144<sup>th</sup> of the *libra* (2,26 g.)<sup>405</sup>.

Silver coins at this standard were indeed produced down to the end of the fifth century AD but, between the end of the fourth and the fifth centuries AD, they apparently were issued very rarely and virtually only in Western mints. Well-preserved specimens of Honorius can weigh up to 2,26 g.; Constantine III's *argentei* can reach a weight of 2,33 g. while Jovinus' exemplars achieve up to 2,13 g.<sup>406</sup>. An *argenteus* of Theodosius II from Constantinople weighs 2,14 g. and one of Julius Nepos struck in Ravenna weighs 2,22 g.<sup>407</sup>.

Not all the reduced *argentei* issued after the half of the fourth century AD, anyway, were conformed to the weight of a coin struck 1/144<sup>th</sup> of the pound. On the contrary, the average weight of the majority of the know specimens struck since that period was actually a tenth lighter than its supposed ideal weight<sup>408</sup> rarely exceeding 2.00 g.<sup>409</sup>. Such conflicting evidence let other numismatists think that the meant ideal standard of the reduced *argentei* was since the beginning something different. Depeyrot, for instance, suggested that in 358 AD was introduced the standard of 1/156<sup>th</sup> of the pound (2,08 g.)<sup>410</sup>; Cathy King, on the other hand, proposed the adoption of the figure 1/168<sup>th</sup> of the pound (1,94 g.) between 355 and 387/8 AD<sup>411</sup>.

*Argentei* weighing about 2 g. are recorded, even if rarely, during the whole period down to the reign of Zeno at least.

After the introduction of the said reduced *argenteus*, however, between the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries AD an even more reduced *argenteus* began to circulate. Since the average weight of the analyzed specimens is about 1,5 g., the standard to whom this new denomination was perhaps intended to be cut was 1/216<sup>th</sup> of the pound<sup>412</sup> (exactly the metrological correspondence of the *tremissis*), but severe deviations from the supposed standard are frequently

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402 GUEST 2005, p. 92.

403 CARLÁ 2007, p. 203.

404 See note n. 64. The proposed figure is supported, at least for the period 370s and early 380s, by the weights of most of the *argentei* in the hoard which are comprised between 2,1 and 2,3 g. (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 37.)

405 CARLÁ 2007, p. 203; GUEST 2005, p. 92 (even if with doubts); KENT 1994, p. 16 (Kent suggest that such a standard was maintained till c. 430 AD); GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 37; PEARCE 1951, p. xxviii.

406 KENT 1994, p. 16.

407 GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 38-39.

408 GUEST 2005, p. 92

409 GUEST 2005, p. 92; KENT 1994, p. 16.

410 DEPEYROT 2005, p. 59.

411 KING 1981a, p. 7.

412 Against this idea GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 37.

recorded<sup>413</sup>. The scholars had different ideas about the appearance of these “new” *argentei*: Depeyrot proposed as possible dating for the second drop in the weight c. 385 AD<sup>414</sup>; King argued that it was Magnus Maximus who reduced the weight to 1,5-1,6 g. at Milan about 387/388 AD and that it became the standard after 392 AD<sup>415</sup>; Guest detected a fall of the weight to 1,7 g. after c. 388 AD and to 1,5 g. after 395 AD<sup>416</sup>; Kent, instead, thought that the standard 1/144<sup>th</sup> was used until the end of 430s when the new figure 1/216<sup>th</sup> of the *libra* was introduced and maintained down to the reign of Zeno<sup>417</sup>.

The truth is that it is impossible to establish the exact theoretical weight standard at which the *argentei* were meant to be minted between the second half of the fourth and the fifth centuries AD; not only because their weight “differed according to time and space”<sup>418</sup>, but also because a huge percentage of “specimens appear to have suffered some considerable loss of original weight by clipping or corrosion”<sup>419</sup>. The supposed official standards, if there were any, were anyway constantly defied: Lyon’s *argentei* of Constantine III, for instance, show an average weight of 1,54 g.<sup>420</sup>; *Maximus*, in Barcino, between 410 and 411 AD struck the same denomination at an average weight of 1,16 g. (1/288<sup>th</sup> of the pound ?)<sup>421</sup>; *Jovinus* struck his *argentei* at an average weight of 1,43 g.; in the mint of Milan, then, between 397 and 402 AD were struck *argentei* at a weight 20% more or less than the notional average<sup>422</sup>.

Everything seems to suggest the coexistence of different standards during the same period or, perhaps, the absence of an official one<sup>423</sup>.

Despite the variety of weights (standards?), however, all of them had to be meant as the same denomination. With the exception of the so called “heavy-*siliquae*”, indeed, that in some cases

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413 Since weights of 1,10-1,20 g. have been frequently recorded Depeyrot has proposed the introduction of the standard 1/288<sup>th</sup> of the pound since Jovinus (DEPEYROT 2005, p. 63), but since there is no change in type, especially for the eastern *argentei*, they are better to be thought as very irregular issues perhaps aiming to the hypothetical 1/216<sup>th</sup> standard rather than “demi-*argentei*” (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 39).

414 DEPEYROT 2005, p. 63.

415 KING 1981b, p. 53.

416 GUEST 2005, p. 92.

417 KENT 1994, p. 16.

418 KENT 1994, p. 16.

419 KENT 1994, p. 16.

420 KENT 1994, p. 143.

421 KENT 1994, p. 150.

422 GUEST 2005, p. 42. Reasons for such a variation in both non imperial and imperial *argentei*’s standards could have been several: shortage of silver metal; perhaps they were issued in so a large quantity to supply army that it became very difficult to control closely their weight standard; or, even, that control of silver coin production was not restricted to the *comitatus* mint alone, and that different *Sacrae Monetae* had their own sources of supply (GUEST 2005, p. 42). For sure it meant that the *argentei* in that moment did not have any fixed relationship with gold (KENT 1994, p. 16) and circulated by weight (CARLÀ 2007, p. 209).

423 Grierson and Mays suggested that the reason for such a variety of standards in the fifth century AD could have been depended on „casual mint practice in regard to a denomination now regarded as unimportant and struck on a much smaller scale“ (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 37), but the explanation could be a bit more complex.

presented peculiar reverse types<sup>424</sup>, the typology on both western and eastern *argentei* was very static<sup>425</sup> with only some changes in the reverse legends. Western *argentei* have, with few exceptions, the type of Rome enthroned facing or to the left with spear or long scepter in the left hand and globe with or without small Victory on it in the right hand. The main legends associated to such a type are VRBS ROMA and VIRTVS ROMANORVM<sup>426</sup>. In the East, on the other hand, the main type is Vota. Since the beginning of the fifth century, indeed, they are invariable down to the reign of Marcian and from his reign a three-line inscription in a wreath has the same general appearance<sup>427</sup>. For the Empresses instead a cross within wreath without any legend is virtually the only *argentei*'s reverse type.

### Demi-Argenteus

Two different legal texts of the mid-fifth century AD mention a coin corresponding to half of a “*siliqua*”<sup>428</sup> but their trustworthiness it is not out of suspicion<sup>429</sup>.

A silver coin of the weight of half *argenteus* came into existence already at the beginning of the reign of Constantine the Great. The typical reverse type was a camp gate associated to the legend VIRTVS MILITVM and its average weight was about 1,5 g. since in that moment the *argenteus* was still struck at 1/96<sup>th</sup> of the pound (Fig. 23).



Fig. 23 – Demi-Argenteus, Constantine I, Treveri, 309-313 AD (1,53 g.)(Gemini, LLC, Auction III (09. 01. 2007), lot. 461)(RIC 6 – 224/828).

The production of such a denomination, however, was apparently interrupted almost immediately to be resumed only in the second half of the fourth century AD<sup>430</sup> Since then down to end of the fifth century AD it was struck not only very rarely but also exclusively in the Western Empire.

It is quite hard to try to define the standard of the *demi-argenteus*. On the assumption of an official

424 See for instance the Valens' piece from Rome with two Victories holding up a shield inscribed VOT/V and the legend VICT DD NN AVGG (RIC 9 – 118/9).

425 If the types were static the mint styles were not and would change over time often bringing slight variations to the same type (GUEST 2005, p. 49).

426 Other recorded legends are CONCORDIA AVGGG, VICTORIA A(AA)VGG(GG), RESTITVTOR REIP and Vota.

427 KENT 1994, p. 16.

428 Novellae Valentiniani XV.1.1 : “...*dimidia siliqua ab emptore, dimidia a venditore...*“ (444/445 AD); Novellae Maioriani VII.1.16 : “...*officium sane praefectorum sex semis siliquas consequatur...*“ (458 AD).

429 Doubts about the real presence of such names into these documents arise from the fact that, as we have seen before, a silver coin called *siliqua* never existed and the ancient sources never mention it. Mommsen, who was the first to apply such a name to real silver coin, is the editor of the two texts.

430 The first known specimens can be attributed to Gratianus, produced in Treveri, and struck about 367 AD (RIC 9 – 19/28).

standard of the *argenteus* of 1/144<sup>th</sup> of the pound, it is generally believed that the *demi-argenteus* was struck at 1/288<sup>th</sup> of the pound (1,13 g.). Nevertheless, as we have already seen, it is not even clear which was the official standard of the Late Roman *argenteus* therefore it would be a nonsense to assign an official one to its half.

Moreover, the weight's range of the known specimens struck from Gratianus to Zeno is quite wide and irregular (from 0,60 to 1,20 g.)<sup>431</sup> with a peak about 0,90 g., consequently if it had to be found a possible standard it should be at least 1/326<sup>th</sup> of the pound, but again, this is not the case.

From Gratianus into the reign of Valentinian III the virtually exclusive reverse type was the Victory advancing to the left holding a wreath with the right hand and a palm-branch with the left hand, with the legend VICTORIA AVGG(G)<sup>432</sup>.

During Valentinian III's reign were introduced two new reverse types: the first was a cross within wreath (RIC 10 - 2089), that was already used on *tremisses*, *argentei* and AE4, the second was a chi-ro within wreath (RIC 10 - 2091) that had appeared before only on *semisses*. The latter type replaced the Victory type<sup>433</sup> and was produced till the end of the fifth century AD.

At the beginning of the 470s, then, other two new reverse types were struck. Both of them without legend, the first representing a turreted figure on prow and the second an eagle. Both these types were still produced during Zeno's reign.

### Quarter-argenteus

Pace Adelson<sup>434</sup>, Roman Emperors never struck a silver denomination smaller than the half of the *argenteus*. Even if the smallest *demi-argentei* could weight also half of a gram, that could fit with an hypothetical quarter-*argenteus*, they retained always the same type, fact that excluded such idea. Such a denomination appeared only at the end of the fifth century AD: it was an Italian Ostrogothic emission in the name of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius (**Fig. 24**).



Fig. 24 – Quarter-*argenteus*, Theodoric in the name of Anastasius, Milan, c.491-501 AD (0,86 g.)(Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 59 (04. 04. 2011), lot. 1263) (MEC 1 – 119).

431 Kent „detected“ an „almost imperceptible decline in average weight“ in the course of the fifth century AD (KENT 1994, p. 17), but this is quite unlikely since weights of *demi-argentei* struck by a same ruler are way too irregular, and this applies to every Emperor who produced this denomination between the second half of the fourth and the fifth centuries AD (see for instance the weights recorded by Grierson and Mays for the Zeno specimens. GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 38)

432 Other reverse types and legends are recorded for the period but their rarity is extremely high. **SALVS REIPUBLICAE** and Victory advancing (RIC 10 - 1244); **VICTORIA ROMANORVM** and Victory advancing (RIC 10 - 1413); No legend, Cross flanked by Alfa and Omega (RIC 10 - 1545). *Demi-argentei* of Honorius were imitated bountifully by Vandals (MORRISON-SCHWARTZ 1982).

433 The type of the Victory advancing to the left but without legend was resumed by Glycerius (RIC 10 - 3111) and used also by Zeno (RIC 10 - 3615).

434 ADELSON 1958, p. 15.

## THE CATALOGUE

## ***INTRODUCTIVE NOTE***

In the catalogue are listed all the late Roman silver coins known up to this time. The base for the realization of such a database has been furnished, of course, by the specimens listed in the main published catalogues of late Roman coins like RIC 10 or DOCLR. These coins, nevertheless, have been placed in the catalogue after accurate revision in the light of new studies and researches mainly. New dates have been proposed and, in few cases, attributions to some mints have been corrected.

The core of the catalogue has been then enlarged and integrated with new specimens found in Auctions' catalogues or discovered in recent archaeological excavations.

The catalogue has been organized into two sections: the first one, "Eastern Empire", contains the specimens produced by, or in the name of, the Emperors who ruled the Eastern part of the Roman Empire after the split in 395 AD. Exactly they include the rulers who were in charge of the Imperial function from Arcadius (383–408 AD) to Zeno (474–491 A.D.).

The next section is dedicated to the "Western Empire" with the emissions produced by, or in the name of, the Augusti of the Western Empire from Honorius (393–423 AD) down to the "fall" of the Western Empire itself, generally placed in the year 476 AD with the removal of Romulus Augustus.

In spite of the division into two separate sections the numbering of the specimens is continuous.

The coins are listed firstly by Authority; then by mints. For every mint, then, the specimens are classified chronologically, that is, by period of emission. The final criterion of ordering is based on the denomination: from the "higher" to the "lower" one.

The coins are described according the RIC 10 system: catalogue number; a number (legend) and a letter (type) for the obverse; a brief but accurate description for the reverse; mint-mark and finally a literature's reference.

## ***EASTERN EMPIRE***

### **ARCADIUS**<sup>435</sup>

Titular Augustus 19 Jan. 383-17 Jan. 395 AD

Senior Augustus 17 Jan. 395-1 May 408 AD

Flavius Arcadius was born in 377 AD to then general Theodosius and Aelia Flavia Flaccilla. Shortly after his birth, his father was raised to the imperial purple in 379 AD. At the age of six he was proclaimed Augustus in Constantinople and he succeeded to the Eastern throne after Theodosius I's death at Milan in 395 AD. He was never successful in holding effective power in his own hands, rather he was ridiculed for allowing his ministers to lead him. He was lethargic by nature, halting of speech and totally incapable of leading his armies or directing government. Effective power laid first with the Pretorian Prefect Rufinus, and later with the Eunuch Eutropius. After Arcadius' marriage to Eudoxia she quickly dominated him, and in consequence manipulated imperial policy as well, but following her death in 404 AD, power passed into the hands of the Pretorian Prefect Anthemius. Arcadius died in his palace in Constantinople in 408 AD.

### **CATALOGUE**

- Obverse legends:   **DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG (1)**  
                          **DN ARCAPI-VS PF AVG (2)**  
                          **DN ARCADIVS PF AVG (3)**
- Obverse busts:     Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)  
                          Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. with head to l. (B)  
                          Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. ©  
                          Consular bust to l., holding mappa in r. hand and eagle-  
                          topped scepter in l. hand. (D)

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435     For the historical introduction see: NATHAN 1998a; KENT 1994, p. 63; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 93-97.

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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*CONSTANTINOPLÉ*

385

Argenteus

1	1D	<b>GLORIA RO-MANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate, in consular robes, seated facing, with <i>mappa</i> in the raised r. hand and holding eagle-topped sceptre in l. hand.	<b>CONS•</b>	DOCLR 73
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388<sup>436</sup>

Argenteus

2	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS•</b>	RIC 9 – 232/77d
3	1C	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS•</b>	RIC 9 – 232/77e

392

Argenteus<sup>437</sup>

4	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath <sup>438</sup> .	<b>CONS</b>	RIC 9 – 235/87b
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393-402/403

Miliarensis<sup>439</sup>

5	1B	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 47
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402

Argenteus<sup>440</sup>

6	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS</b>	RIC 10 - 48
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402/403-408

Miliarensis

7	1B	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	Kent 1996
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436 The vota celebrated on this *argenteus* are the Theodosius' ones.

437 This emission can be distinguished from the other **CONS** one because shows a smaller bust.

438 **TOV/X/MVLT/XX** is registered by Grierson and Mays (DOCLR - 160).

439 This emission began already at the end of Theodosius' reign (RIC 9 – 234/85b) and most likely continued into the next period to 403 AD, before the introduction of the star in the reverse field. Pearce dated this coin to the period 388-392 (RIC 9 – 234/85b).

440 This vota *argenteus* can be distinguished from the previous one because shows a bigger bust. Moreover, it was struck also in the name of Honorius (RIC 10 – 49) and perhaps the vota celebrated on it are his ones.

Argenteus

8	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 51
9	1C	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 52

*THESSALONICA*

388<sup>441</sup>

Argenteus

10	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>TES</b>	RIC 9 – 185/58d
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*TRIER*

384?<sup>442</sup>

Argenteus

11	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated on throne facing with head to l., with globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>TRPS</b>	DOCLR 206
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388-389<sup>443</sup>

Argenteus

12	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>TRPS</b>	RIC 9 – 31/95c
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392-394<sup>444</sup>

Argenteus

13	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>TRPS</b>	RIC 9 – 33/106b
14	2A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>TRPS</b>	RIC 9 – 33/106b

*LYON*

441 The vota celebrated on this *argenteus* are the Theodosius' ones.

442 This emission is documented exclusively by one specimen in the Dumbarton Oaks and Whittemore collections. That particular coin was identified as an ancient imitation of a presumable official issue (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, see the note to the n. 206). If an official *argenteus* was actually struck, its possible dating has to be placed most likely during the usurpation of Magnus Maximus. This coin, indeed, is of the same type struck in the usurper name and that of his son Flavius Victor. A probable occasion for the issuing of such a silver denomination could have been the short period during which Theodosius I recognized Maximus as Augustus in 384 AD. Maximus struck silver coins in the name of Theodosius (RIC 9, 29/83a, 84a) and, perhaps, in Arcadius' name to thank him for the recognition as Augustus. The production of these coins, carried out exclusively in the mint of Trier, lasted most likely few months until, still in 384 AD, Maximus named his infant son Victor as Augustus and no longer recognized Valentinian II.

443 For the dating see GUEST 2005, p. 68. Grierson and Mays dated this emission to the period 388-392 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 116-117).

444 For the dating see GUEST 2005, pp. 69-71.

392-394<sup>445</sup>

Argenteus

15	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>LVGPS</b>	RIC 9 – 51/43c
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*MILAN*

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445 For the dating see GUEST 2005, pp. 71-73. Grierson and Mays would have rather dated this emission to the period 388-392 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 116-117).

387

Argenteus

16	1A	VOT/V/MVLT/X, legend within wreath.	MDPS	RIC 9 – 79/13
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388-391<sup>446</sup>

Miliarensis

17	1A	GLORIA ROMANORVM, Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand.	MDPS	RIC 9 – 82/25b
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392?

Miliarensis<sup>447</sup>

18	1A	VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, Emperor nimbate standing to l., with globe in the r. hand and labarum in the l. hand.	MDPS	Bernareggi 1984
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Argenteus<sup>448</sup>

19	1A	VOT/X/MVLT/XX, legend within wreath.	MDPS	RIC 10 - 1229
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393-394

Miliarensis<sup>449</sup>

20	1A	GLORIA ROMANORVM, Emperor facing with head to l., with standard in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	MDPS	RIC 9 – 82/31b
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Argenteus

21	1A	VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand <sup>450</sup> .	MDPS	RIC 9 – 83/32b
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395-402

Demi-argenteus

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446 This Miliarensis is currently known only for Arcadius and Theodosius (RIC 9 - 81/25a). Most likely it was struck during the staying of Theodosius in Italy after Maximus' defeat. Grierson and Mays suggested as date of emission 390 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 115).

447 Bernareggi dated this coin to the end of the year 394 AD (BERNAREGGI 1984, pp. 249-255) while Grierson and Mays proposed as possible period of emission the period 388-391 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 115). Nevertheless, this unique specimen was apparently struck only in the name of Arcadius; the medium-sized bust suggests a dating about 390s (his decennalia?), but it is not to be excluded also an earlier dating.

448 Kent believed that this *argenteus* was struck on the occasion of the celebrations for Honorius' *decennalia* in 402 AD (KENT 1994, p. 127). Nevertheless, both this specimen and the one from Rome (Hx - 690) are known exclusively in Arcadius' name. Perhaps corresponding *argentei* in Honorius' name might come to light but, on the other hand, there is no reason not to assign the issuing of these two coins to the proper Arcadius' *decennalia*. Since Valentinianus II already struck coins celebrating Arcadius' *quinquennialia* in 387, it is not to be excluded that he did the same on the occasion of Arcadius' *decennalia*.

449 This coin was apparently struck only in the name of Eugenius (RIC 9 – 82/31a) and Arcadius.

450 Western *pteryges* (GUEST 2005, p. 73).

22	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>MD</b>	RIC 10 - 1230
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395-408?

Miliarensis<sup>451</sup>

23	1A	<b>VIRTVS EXERCITVS</b> , Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1222
24	1A	<b>VIRTVS EXERCITVM</b> , Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1220

Argenteus<sup>452</sup>

25	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand <sup>453</sup> .	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1227
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402?

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound<sup>454</sup>

26	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1218
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Argenteus<sup>455</sup>

27	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XV</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1224
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?402/403-408?<sup>456</sup>

Demi-argenteus

28	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand <sup>457</sup> .	<b>MD</b>	RIC 10 - 1233
29	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>MD</b>	RIC 10 - 1235

451 Kent dated this emission to the period 397-402 AD (KENT 1994, p. 126); Grierson and Mays placed it in 402 or 404 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 130); Guest, on the contrary, put forward an earlier dating: 388-395 AD (GUEST 2005, p. 135) but since these denominations are known only for Arcadius and Honorius (RIC 10 - 1221, 1223) a later dating must be preferred. Perhaps between 395 and 402 AD.

452 GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 130 (394-402 AD); GUEST 2005, p. 73 (397-402 AD).

453 Eastern *pteryges*.

454 Pearce dated this coin to 392 AD (RIC 9 - 81/24) but the vota celebrated on this multiple are surely the Honorius' ones since such a multiple was struck also in his own name (RIC 10 - 1219). Moreover, for Arcadius, who celebrated his own anniversary in the same moment, a **VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX** would have been more appropriate. Grierson and Mays would have rather placed the issuing of such a multiple in 404 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 130).

455 Pearce attributed this coin to the period 388-393 AD (RIC 9 - 82/27a) while Kent proposed to date the emission of this argenteus to 397 AD when Honorius celebrated his own quinquennalia and Arcadius, perhaps his *quindicennalia* (KENT 1994, p. 126).

456 The presence of three Gs in the reverse legend would suggest that this demi-argenteus was actually struck in the name of three Emperors: Theodosius II? However, it must be said that at the moment no specimens in Theodosius II' name are known.

457 Pearce attributed this coin to the period 394-395 AD (RIC 9 - 84/39a); wrongly in Kent opinion (KENT 1994, p. 322, notes 1233-36).

*AQUILEIA*

383-386

Argenteus<sup>458</sup>

30	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>AQPS·</b>	-
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Argenteus

31	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated on throne facing with head to l., with globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>AQPS</b>	DOCLR 68
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387 ?<sup>459</sup>

Multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of the pound

32	1A	<b>VOT/V/MVLT/X</b> within wreath	<b>AQPS</b>	-
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Argenteus

33	1A	<b>VOT/V/MVLT/X</b> within wreath	<b>AQPS</b>	Hx 564
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388-392

Miliarensis

34	1A	<b>GLORIA RO-MANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand.	<b>AQP[S]</b>	RIC 9 - 106/56b
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Demi-argenteus<sup>460</sup>

35	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>AQPS</b>	RIC 9 - 106/57b
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?395-408?<sup>461</sup>

458 Perhaps a contemporary imitation.

459 Both the multiple and the *argenteus* were most likely part of the huge coin production realized in almost all the mints of the Empire, in all the three metals, on the occasion of Arcadius' *quinquennialia* at the very beginning of 387 AD. Nevertheless, the appearance on the coin-market of an hitherto unknown multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of pound struck in Aquileia by Valentinianus II and celebrating his own *decennalia* (Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 29 (11.05.2005), lot. 647. 13,31 g.; 35 mm), raises some doubts about the dating of Arcadius' specimens. Perhaps, the latter were produced on the occasion of Valentinianus II' *decennalia* in 384 AD together with his own multiple. The very young bust of Arcadius depicted on both the silver denominations could play in favour of such an hypothesis, being Arcadius in that moment a junior *Augustus*. On the other hand, in 384 AD it would have been very odd to celebrate the first *quinquennium* of an Emperor what was crowned only a year before. Those *quinquennialia*, in that case, should have been interpreted as both *suscepta*, something that at that moment was not in usage (CHASTAGNOL 1996). More likely, the two coins represented in here were struck by Valentinianus II in honour of Arcadius in 387 AD and the similarity of the multiple's reverses was only the consequence of the specific mint-style.

460 The appearance of an identical specimen in the name of Valentinian II (PAOLUCCI-ZUB - 751) confirms that such a denomination was struck during this period.

461 For a later dating see GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 131 (404 AD); GUEST 2005, p. 76 (407-408 AD).

Argenteus

36	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>AQPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1241
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ROME

383-386

Multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of the pound

37	1A	<b>TRIVMFATOR GENT BARB</b> , Emperor standing facing with head to l., with globe in the l. hand and <i>labarum</i> in the r. hand; at his feet, on the l., a crouching captive.	<b>R€</b>	RIC 9 – 129/52b
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Argenteus

38	3A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on throne, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RP</b>	-
39	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on throne, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>R€</b>	RIC 9 – 129/53c

389 ?<sup>462</sup>

Argenteus

40	1A	<b>VOT/X/MV•LT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>RT</b>	RIC 9 – 132/62c
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392?<sup>463</sup>

Argenteus<sup>464</sup>

41	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	-	Hx 690
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395-408?<sup>465</sup>

Miliarensis

42	1A	<b>VIRTVS EXERCITVS</b> , Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1264
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462 Since *argentei* with the same exact reverse are known both for Theodosius (RIC 9 - 132/62b) and Valentinianus II (RIC 9 - 132/62a), it is most likely that the *Vota* celebrated on this *argenteus* are the *decennalia* of Theodosius (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 115) which were celebrated on 388 and not 387 AD (CHASTAGNOL 1996, pp. 178-179). This particular emission, however, was probably issued on the occasion of Theodosius' visit to Rome in 389 AD: the Italian mints were indeed occupied by Magnus Maximus between summer 387 and August 388 AD.

463 Kent believed that this *argenteus* was struck on the occasion of the celebrations for Honorius' *decennalia* in 402 (KENT 1994, p. 127). Nevertheless, both this specimen and the one from Milan (RIC 10 - 1229) are known exclusively in Arcadius' name. Perhaps corresponding *argentei* in Honorius' name might come to light but, on the other hand, there is no reason not to assign the issuing of these two coins to the proper Arcadius' *decennalia*. Since Valentinianus II already struck coins celebrating Arcadius' *quinquennalia* in 387 AD, it is not to be excluded that he did the same on the occasion of Arcadius' *decennalia*.

464 Guest attributes this *argenteus* to the mint of Rome on the basis of the style (GUEST 2005, p. 145, note 62).

465 These denominations are known only for Arcadius and Honorius (RIC 10 - 1265, 1267 and 1269-70). Because of this they should be perhaps better dated between 395 and 402 AD.

Argenteus<sup>466</sup>

43	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1266
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402?<sup>467</sup>

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

44	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1262
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?402/403-408?<sup>468</sup>

Demi-argenteus

45	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 1268
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404

Multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of the pound

46	1A	<b>TRIVMFATOR GENT BARB</b> , Emperor facing with head to l. with standard inscribed $\text{☩}$ in the r. hand and globe in the l. hand; at his feet, on the l., a bound captive	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1260
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*RAVENNA*

466 For a later dating see GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 131 (404 AD); GUEST 2005, p. 76 (407-408 AD).

467 The vota celebrated on this multiple are surely the Honorius' ones since such a multiple was struck also in his own name (RIC 10 - 1263). Moreover, for Arcadius, who celebrated his own anniversary in the same moment, a **VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX** would have been more appropriate. Grierson and Mays, noticing that the Arcadius portrait it was identical with the one on the Triumfator multiple, would have rather placed the issuing of such a multiple in 404 AD, when Honorius went to Rome to celebrate Stilicho's victories of 402 and 403 AD over the Visigoths (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 129-130).

468 The presence of three **G**s in the reverse legend would suggest that this demi-argenteus was actually struck in the name of three Emperors: Theodosius II? However, it must be said that at the moment no specimens in Theodosius II's name are known.

403?<sup>469</sup>

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

47	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1293
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402/403-408

Miliarensis

48	1A	<b>VIRTUS EXERCITVS</b> , Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1295
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Argenteus

49	1A	<b>VIRTUS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1296
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469 The mint of Ravenna was perhaps opened between the end of 402 and beginning of 403 AD. Because of this, such a multiple celebrating Honorius' *decennalia* had most likely to be struck at the beginning of 403 AD. Grierson and Mays would rather date it to 404 (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 130) while Kent to 402-403, 405-406 AD.

## EUDOXIA<sup>470</sup>

Augusta 9 Jan. 400-6 Oct. 404 A.D.

Aelia Eudoxia was the daughter of the Frank Bauto and was brought up in Constantinople. In April 395 AD she married the Emperor Arcadius and bore him five children: Flaccilla, Pulcheria, Arcadia, Theodosius II and Marina. In 400 AD she was proclaimed Augusta but she died at Constantinople already in 404 AD.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **AEL EVDO-XIA AVG** (1)  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed bust with pearl earrings and necklaces  
to r. crowned by the Hand of God (A)  
Pearl-diademed bust with pearl earrings and necklaces  
to r. (B)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### *CONSTANTINOPLE*

400

Miliarensis

50	1A	No legend, the Empress enthroned facing with hands clasped over her breast between two crosses, crowned by the Hand of God.	<b>CON</b>	Gambacorta 2011
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Argenteus

51	1A	† within wreath	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 50
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403

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

52	1B	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>CONS</b>	RIC 10 - 46
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Argenteus

53	1A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RSC – 196/11 (Eudocia)
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470 For the historical introduction see: LONGO 2009; MAYER 2002; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 133.

## THEODOSIUS II<sup>471</sup>

Titular Augustus 10 January 402-1 May 408 AD  
Senior Augustus 1 May 408-28 July 450 AD

Theodosius II, the son of Arcadius and Aelia Eudoxia, was born in 401 AD and proclaimed Emperor already in 402 AD. He succeeded to the throne of Eastern half of the Empire in 408 AD, on his father's death, and married Aelia Eudocia in 421 AD, by whom he had three children. His interests were primarily intellectual and religious; he was the moving force behind the collection of imperial legislation which bears his name: the Codex Theodosianus. The second half of his reign was dominated by the threat of Attila and the Huns. The barbarians invaded the Eastern Empire after Theodosius failed to pay agreed indemnity in 435 AD, and sacked Singidunum, Sirmium, Naissus and Serdica. Theodosius died in 450 AD as a result of a hunting accident in which he fell from his horse.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN THEODO-SIVS P F AVG** (1)  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)  
Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. with head to l. (B)  
Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. ©  
Pearl-diademed, bearded, draped and cuirassed to r. (D)  
Pearl-diademed, bearded, draped and cuirassed to r. with head to l. (E)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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### *CONSTANTINOPLE*

402/403-408

*Miliarensis*<sup>472</sup>

54	1B	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 370
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*Argenteus*<sup>473</sup>

55	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 54
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408-423 ?<sup>474</sup>

471 For the historical introduction see: NATHAN 1999; KENT 1994, p. 63; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 136-137.

472 The discovery of a *miliarensis* of the same type struck in the name of Arcadius at Constantinople indicates that this issues began to be struck already at the beginning of Theodosius II's reign. The iconography of these pieces allows also to determine a chronology of their emission. The first group (GROUP A) is defined by a young bust with pearl diadem with four "tails". A three or four tailed diadem was a typical feature for Empresses' iconography of the period but in this case it could have represented the status of Theodosius II as junior Augustus respect to Arcadius and Honorius, the two senior Augusti.

473 Arcadius' VOTA.

474 The starting date for the production of this emission is uncertain. There are no Arcadius specimens either from Constantinople or Thessalonica while Honorius' exemplars are known from Constantinople, but without star in the reverse field (before 402/403 AD), and from Thessalonica. This emission will be produced also by Theodosius II's successors.

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

56	1A	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 368
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Miliarensis<sup>475</sup>

57	1B	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 370
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411<sup>476</sup>

Argenteus

58	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 372
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415

Argenteus

59	1A	<b>VOT/XV/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 374
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420

Argenteus

60	1A	<b>VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 381
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423-438 or 439<sup>477</sup>

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

61	1D	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 377
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Miliarensis<sup>478</sup>

62	1E	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 378
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430

475 The second group (GROUP B) is characterized by a more mature bust with two tails diadem and, on some specimens, even a slight hint of moustache and goatee.

476 This VOTA emission can be distinguished from the previous one thanks to the different style of the ties (see KENT 1994, p. 89).

477 The introduction of a bearded bust on Theodosius II' coinage took place most likely around 420 AD, when Theodosius became, according the Roman law, an adult. A possible reason for the introduction of such a feature, though, could have been the death of Honorius in the August of 423 AD. In this case, the beard would not have represented an attempt to reproduce a likeness but more his mourning for his uncle's departure.

478 The third group (GROUP C) shows a bearded bust of Theodosius II.

Argenteus

63	1A	VOT/XXX/MVLT/XXXX, legend within wreath.	CONS*	RIC 10 - 385
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435

Multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of the pound<sup>479</sup>

64	1D	VOT/XXXV/MVLT/XXXX, legend within wreath.	CONS*	RIC 10 - 376
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438 or 439

Miliarensis<sup>480</sup>

65	1E	GLORIA ROMANORVM, Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand. * in the l. field.	CON	RIC 10 - 378
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Argenteus

66	1A	VOT/MVLT/XXXX, legend within wreath.	CONS*	RIC 10 - 389
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*THESSALONICA*

408-423

Miliarensis

67	1A	GLORIA ROMANORVM, Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	COM	RIC 10 - 392
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423-450

Miliarensis

68	1A	GLORIA ROMANORVM, Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	COM	RIC 10 - 393
69	1A	GLORIA ROMANORVM, Emperor nimbate facing with head to r., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	COM <sup>481</sup>	RIC 10 - 394

479 Such a coin does not exist, however, as Kent has argued (KENT 1994, note 376), “this entry is inferred from the multiple of Leo I (RIC 10 – 640). The vota on this coin are applicable only to Theodosius II’s seventh quinquennialia”.

480 The fourth group (GROUP D), represented only by a unique specimen (FORVM ANCIENT COINS, lot. 8479), shows again a bearded bust of Theodosius II. If compared with the previous one, though, a more developed style can be noticed: it seems in this case that an attempt of likeness was tried since not only the bust looks more mature, but also the beard appears to be more realistic. It actually resembles a portrait of Hadrianus. A possible date for its issuing was 438 or 439 AD, a very significant date for Theodosius II who not only celebrated his 16<sup>th</sup> or 17<sup>th</sup> consulship together with his eighth quinquennialia, but also published the Theodosian Code. Perhaps, in an attempt to be compared to Hadrianus, the Emperor philosopher, he decided to struck coins what could remind of him.

481 Kent writes CON but is is most likely that is COM in a very poor style.

*TRIER*<sup>482</sup>

425-ca. 430

Argenteus

70	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Emperor standing to left with labarum in the right hand and christogram <sup>483</sup> on globe in the left hand.	<b>TRPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2094
71	1A	<b>VRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Emperor standing to left with labarum in the right hand and christogram on globe in the left hand.	<b>TRPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2096

Argenteus

72	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to left on curule chair with Victory on globe in the right hand and long cross in the left hand.	*   - // <b>TRPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2099
73	1A	<b>VRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to left on curule chair with Victory on globe in the right hand and inverted spear in the left hand.	*   - // <b>TRPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2101

*AQUILEIA*

May-23 Oct. 425

Argenteus

74	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>AQPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1809
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Demi-argenteus

75	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>AQ</b>	RIC 10 - 1810
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*RAVENNA*

408-423 or 425<sup>484</sup>

Demi-argenteus

76	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>RV</b>	RIC 10 - 1347
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482 For a discussion about the dating of these *argentei* see the Valentinian III ones.

483 The Christogram can be either oriented towards right or left.

484 This emission was started by Honorius, continued under Johannes and struck also in the name of Valentinian III. It is not clear if the two Augusti celebrated on these demi-argentei were Honorius and Theodosius II or Theodosius II and Valentinian III.

## PULCHERIA<sup>485</sup>

Augusta 4 July 414-July 453 AD

Aelia Pulcheria was born in 399 AD, the daughter of Arcadius and Aelia Eudoxia and the sister of Theodosius II. She played a prominent role in the education and training of her brother and was instrumental in selecting his bride. In 414 AD she was proclaimed Augusta, playing a dominant role in administering affairs of state from the time she was fifteen years old. She remained single by choice throughout most of her life and persuaded her sister to do likewise. After her brother died in 450 AD she supported Marcian as his successor and entered into a form of marriage with him. Pulcheria died in July 453 AD, leaving all her possessions to the poor.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **AEL PULCH-ERIA AVG (1)**  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed bust with pearl earrings and necklaces to r.  
(A)  
Rosette-diademed bust with pearl earrings and necklaces to r.  
(B)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### *CONSTANTINOPLÉ*

414<sup>486</sup>

(Heavy) Argenteus<sup>487</sup>

77	1A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>CON*</b>	-
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Argenteus

78	1B	† within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 375
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420s

Argenteus

79	1A	† within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 383
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430s

Argenteus

80	1A	† within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 387
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485 For the historical introduction see: LONGO 2009; GREATREX 2004a; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 152.

486 The distinguish element for these *argentei* with Cross in the reverse field is the type of wreath-ties (see KENT 1994, pp. 89-90).

487 Classical Numismatic Group, Inc.; Mail Bid Sale 61 (25.09.2002); lot. 2149. The type of wreath-tie (n. 5 according to Kent's classification), would place this unpublished specimen to the very beginning of Pulcheria's reign. Most likely it was struck on the occasion of her accession in 414 AD.

450-453<sup>488</sup>

Argenteus

81	1A	SAL/REI/PUI, legend within wreath	CONS*	RIC 10 - 531
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488 This emission took place under Marcianus, Pulcheria's husband.

## EUDOCIA<sup>489</sup>

Augusta 2 January 423-20 October 460 AD

Aelia Eudocia was an Athenian, the daughter of the sophist Leontius, a pagan, and originally called Athenais. After her father's death she went to Constantinople to press her claims to her inheritance. While living there with a paternal aunt, she was seen by the Empress Pulcheria who decided she would be a suitable consort for the Emperor Theodosius II. In order for the marriage to take place, the bride had to become a Christian, and it was on this occasion that she changed her name from Athenais to Eudocia. She married Theodosius II in 421 AD and their union resulted in three children: Licinia Eudoxia, Flaccilla and Arcadius. Two years after the wedding she was elevated Augusta. She was not only well educated but extremely beautiful and the author of several literary works. She outlived her husband by a decade and devoted much of her later years to the erection of churches and monasteries.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **AEL EVDO-CIA AVG** (1)  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed bust with pearl earrings and necklaces to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### *CONSTANTINOPLE*

423<sup>490</sup>

Argenteus

82	1A	† within wreath	CONS*	RIC 10 - 384
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430s

Argenteus

83	1A	† within wreath	CONS*	RIC 10 - 388
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Early 440s

Argenteus

84	1A	† within wreath	CONS*	RIC 10 - 390
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423-442<sup>491</sup>

489 For the historical introduction see: LONGO 2009; GREATREX 2004b; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 155-156.

490 The distinguish element for these *argentei* with Cross in the reverse field is the type of wreath-ties (see KENT 1994, pp. 89-90).

491 The existence of this specimen has to be confirmed. Grierson and Mays report a similar specimen but without mint-mark. They also regard it as a demi-argenteus (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 154). Unfortunately without a depiction of the coin it is not possible to narrow down a possible date for its emission. Because of this, it can be only assumed that it was probably struck between the elevation as Augusta of Eudocia and her retirement to Jerusalem in 442 AD.

Argenteus

85	1A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RSC – 196/5
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## MARCIAN<sup>492</sup>

Augustus 25 Augustus 450-27 January 457 AD

Marcian was the son of a soldier and himself chose a military career, rising to high rank under Theodosius II and eventually becoming a senator. Despite the relative obscurity of his origins he was proclaimed emperor at Constantinople in 450 AD, having been the favoured candidate of the Empress Pulcheria who married him to legitimize the succession. He refused to pay tribute to Attila and the Huns, and the threat of invasion was only averted by the timely death of the barbarian king in 453 AD. Marcian ruled the Eastern Empire wisely until his death, by natural causes in 457 AD. His reign is chiefly remembered for the famous Fourth Ecumenical Council which was convened at Chalcedon in 451 AD and laid down the principles of the Orthodox Faith.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN MARCIA-NVS P F AVG (1)**  
**DN MARCIANVS P F AVG (2)**  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)  
Pearl-diademed, bearded, draped and cuirassed to r. (B)  
Pearl-diademed, bearded, draped and cuirassed to r.  
with head to l. (C)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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### *CONSTANTINOPLE*

450-457

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

86	1B	<b>GLORIA R-OMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 526
87	1B	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	-

### Miliarensis

88	1C	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 527
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### Argenteus

89	1A	<b>VOT/MVLT/XXXX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 528
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### Argenteus

90	1A	<b>SAL/REI/PUI</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 529
91	2A	<b>SAL/REI/PUI</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 530
92	1A	<b>SAL/REI/PYI</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 532

492 For the historical introduction see: NATHAN 1998b; KENT 1994, p. 95; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 157.

*THESSALONICA*

450-457

Miliarensis

93	1A	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	<b>COM</b>	RIC 10 - 533
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Miliarensis

94	1A	<b>GLOR ORV-S TERRRHR</b> , Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	<b>TESOP</b>	RIC 10 - 534
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## LEO I<sup>493</sup>

Augustus 7 February 457-18 January 474 AD

Leo, a native of Dacia, was a soldier of considerable experience who reached the rank of tribune, though he had little formal education. He succeeded Marcian on the throne of the Eastern Empire in 457 AD, thanks to the support of Aspar who hoped to control policy by using him as a puppet. Leo remained under Aspar's domination for ten years and it was only after he began to promote the interests of the Isaurian chieftain Zeno, who became his son-in-law in 467 AD, that Leo's independence began to increase. He intervened actively in the affairs of the Western Empire by appointing Anthemius, and later Julius Nepos, as emperors but he never succeeded in dominating the West. His campaign against the Vandals failed because its commander Basiliscus, the brother-in-law of the emperor, lost the whole of his fleet through his own incompetence. Despite the assassination of Aspar in 470 AD Leo continued to experience difficulties with his Gothic federates, but he had laid the foundation of the freedom of the Eastern Empire from Germanic domination. He died of natural causes in 474 AD having named his infant grandson, Leo II, as his successor.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends:	<b>DN LEO PE-RPET AVG (1)</b> <b>DN LEO PE-PRET AVG (2)</b> <b>DN LEO PER-PET AVG (3)</b> <b>DN LEO PER-PETVVS AVG (4)</b> <b>DN LEO PERPETVVS AVG (5)</b>
Obverse busts:	Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A) Pearl-diademed, bearded, draped and cuirassed to r. (B) Pearl-diademed, bearded, draped and cuirassed to r. with head to l. © Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (D)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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### CONSTANTINOPLE

457-474

Multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of the pound

95	1B	<b>VOT/XXXV/MVLT/XXXX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 640
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Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

96	1B	<b>GLORIA R-OMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 641
97	1B	<b>GLORIA R-OMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	<b>CONOB</b>	RIC 10 - 642
98	1A	<b>GLORIA R-OMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 643

493 For the historical introduction see: ELTON 1998a; KENT 1994, p. 101; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 161; KOLLGAARD 1992.

Miliarensis

99	1C	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 644
100	1C	<b>GLORIA R-OMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 645

Argenteus<sup>494</sup>

101	1A	<b>SAL/REI/PUI</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 646
102	2A	<b>SAL/REI/PUI</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 650 <sup>495</sup>
103	1A	<b>SAL/REI/PPI</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 647
104	1A	<b>SAL/REI/PVI</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 648
105	1A	<b>2AL/REI/PVI</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONS*</b>	-
106	1A	<b>SAL/REI/RVL</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONOS*</b>	RIC 10 - 649
107	1A	<b>SAA/RELI/OX</b> , legend within wreath	<b>COIS*</b>	-

*THESSALONICA*

457-474

Miliarensis

108	1A	<b>GLOR ORV-S TERRRHL</b> , Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	<b>THSOB</b>	RIC 10 - 651
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*ROME*

25 September 465-12 April 467

Demi-argenteus<sup>496</sup>

109	3D	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 2525
110	4D	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 2526
111	5D	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 2527

23 October 472-5 March 473

Demi-argenteus

112	1A	No legend, eagle to right on branch with spread wings and head to left. Cross above.	<b>no mark</b>	RIC 10 - 2534
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494 King reported a specimen with obverse legend **DN LEO PERPETVVS AVG** and reverse legend **SAL/REI/PPI** (RSC – 203/11).

495 These coins, usually lighter than the others, with a rougher style and with blundered obverse legend are regarded by Kent as imitative.

496 Grierson and Mays would rather assign these coins to Severus III (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 169).

## VERINA<sup>497</sup>

Augusta 457-484 AD

Aelia Verina was the wife of the Emperor Leo I, the sister of Basiliscus, and the mother-in-law of Zeno. She bore Leo two daughters, Ariadne and Leontia, the elder of whom married the Isaurian chieftain Tarasicodissa in 467 AD, whereupon he changed his name to Zeno. Verina was opposed to Zeno's elevation, following the deaths of Leo I and Leo II, and conspired with her brother Basiliscus to overthrow him, thus forcing Zeno to temporarily abandon his capital and to live in exile in Isauria (475-476 AD). Some years later she was implicated in the revolt of Leontius against Zeno and she eventually died in the Isaurian fortress of Papyrius in the autumn of 484 AD.

### CATALOGUE

No silver coins are currently known in Verina's name.  
However their appearance would not come as unexpected.

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497 For the historical introduction see: LONGO 2009; GREATREX 2004c; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 170.

## LEO II<sup>498</sup>

Augustus January-November 474 AD

Leo II was the grandson of Leo I, and the son of Zeno and Ariadne. He was appointed Augustus while still a very young child in 473 AD, and after the death of Leo I, early in the following year, the sickly Leo II was persuaded to crown his own father Augustus and co-emperor. The unfortunate boy-emperor died of natural causes just nine months later.

### CATALOGUE

No silver coins are currently known in Leo II's name.

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498 For the historical introduction see: KENT 1994, p. 109; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 172.

## ARIADNE<sup>499</sup>

Augusta 474-515 AD

Aelia Ariadne was the eldest daughter of the Emperor Leo I and Verina, and was born prior to her father's elevation to the purple. In 467 AD she was married to Zeno and the union resulted in the birth of a son, Leo II, who was proclaimed Augustus in 473 AD, briefly reigning with his father after Leo I's death in 474 AD. She fled with Zeno to Isauria when Basiliscus revolted and took possession of the capital, remaining with him there for twenty months before returning to Constantinople in October 476 AD. When Zeno died in 491 AD Ariadne selected his successor, Anastasius, and married the new emperor to legitimize his position. She died in 515 AD, toward the end of Anastasius' reign.

### CATALOGUE

No silver coins are currently known in Ariadne's name.  
However their appearance would not come as unexpected.

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499 For the historical introduction see: LONGO 2009; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 176.

## BASILISCUS<sup>500</sup>

Augustus 9 January 475-August 476 AD

Basiliscus was the brother of the Empress Verina, wife of Leo I, and thus enjoyed a highly influential position as the brother-in-law of the emperor. He adopted a military career, and commanded forces against the Goths in Thrace, between 464 and 467/468 AD, and was later given the command of the campaign against the Vandals in 468 AD. The African expedition ended in disaster, as Basiliscus lost the whole of his fleet prior to engagement with the enemy, and succeeded in forcing him into exile in Isauria. Basiliscus was proclaimed emperor by Verina and reigned for twenty months, but his unpopularity soon led to his downfall. Upon Zeno's return to Constantinople, in 476 AD, Basiliscus surrendered and he and his family were banished to Cappadocia, imprisoned in a dried-up reservoir, and allowed to starve to death.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN bASILIS-CUS PPAUG (1)**  
**DN BASILI-SCVS P F AVG (2)**  
**DN BASILI-SCVS P AVG (3)**  
**DN BASILISCVS P F AVG (4)**

Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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### *CONSTANTINOPLE*

475-476

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

113	1A	<b>GLORIA R-OMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 1013
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### *RAVENNA*

28 August-31 October 475

Argenteus

114	2A	<b>VRBIS ROMA</b> , Roma enthroned facing with head to l., Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>?[RV]PS</b>	RIC 10 - 3306
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### Demi-argenteus<sup>501</sup>

115	3A	No legend. Turreted figure of Ravenna standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	<b>R   V / -</b>	RIC 10 - 3307
116	4A	No legend. Turreted figure of Ravenna standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	<b>R   V / -</b>	RIC 10 - 3308

500 For the historical introduction see: ELTON 1998b; KENT 1994, p. 112; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 177.

501 Sabatier reports a reverse with Roma enthroned holding spear and victory on globe, mint-mark **R | V / -** (SABATIER 1862, I, Basiliscus 18). This specimen is disregarded by Kent as Cigoi false (KENT 1994, note 3308).

## ZENONIS<sup>502</sup>

Augusta 475-476 AD

Aelia Zenonis, the wife of Basiliscus, was proclaimed Augusta by him in 475 AD, during his short-lived revolt against Zeno. She bore him a son Marcus, who was created Caesar, and other children about whom little is known. When Basiliscus surrendered, Zenonis and her children accompanied him into exile in Cappadocia where they all starved to death after being imprisoned in a dried-up reservoir.

### CATALOGUE

No silver coins are currently known in Zenonis' name.

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502 For the historical introduction see: GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 180.

## ZENO<sup>503</sup>

First reign: November 474-9 January 475 AD

Second reign: August 476-9 April 491 AD

Flavius Zeno was an Isaurian by birth, and changed his name from Tarasicodissa after his arrival in Constantinople in 466 AD. He brought documents incriminating Ardabur (Aspar's son) in treasonous relations with the Persians. Ardabur was dismissed and Leo, anxious to rid himself of Aspar's domination, promoted Zeno and gave him his daughter Ariadne's hand in marriage (467 AD). Zeno is said to have been implicated in the murder of of Aspar in 471 AD and supported Leo in the troubles which followed the assassination. He was proclaimed emperor by his son Leo II after the death of Leo I in 474 AD, reigning jointly with him only for ten months. Zeno was sole ruler from November 474 AD until his death in 491 AD, except for the brief period of the usurpation of Basiliscus (475-476 AD), which he spent in exile in Isauria. As an emperor he was mild, indolent, in many respects weak and not especially popular. He died of natural causes in 491 AD.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN ZENO PERP AVG** (1)  
**DN ZENO PERP AVG** (2)  
**DN Z<sup>504</sup>ENO PERP AVG** (3)  
**DN ZENO PEPR AVG** (4)  
**DN ZENO P-ERP AVG** (5)  
**DN ZENO P-ERP AVG** (6)  
**DN ZENO PERP F AVG** (7)  
**DN ZENO PER F AVG** (8)  
**DN ZENO PERP F AV** (9)  
**DN Z<sup>505</sup>ENO PERP F AV** (10)  
**DN Z<sup>506</sup>ENO PERP F AVG** (11)  
**DN ZENO P-ERP F AVG** (12)

Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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### *CONSTANTINOPLE*

476-491

Argenteus

117	1A	<b>SRI/REI/R¶I</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONOS*</b>	RIC 10 - 943
118	1A	<b>SRA/REI/B¶I</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONO</b>	RIC 10 - 944
119	1A	<b>SRV/REI/B¶I</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CON*</b>	-

Argenteus

120	1A	<b>VOT/VMTI/LTIS</b> , legend within wreath	<b>CONOS*</b>	RIC 10 - 945
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503 For the historical introduction see: ELTON 1998c; KENT 1994, p. 116; KOLLGAARD 1993a, b; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 181.

504 The Z is written to the r.

505 The Z is written to the r.

506 The Z is written to the r.

121	1A	TOV/VIMV/MTI, legend within wreath	CONS*	RIC 10 - 945a
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*THESSALONICA*

476-491

Miliarensis

122	1A	GLOR ORV-S TARRAR, Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	THSOB	RIC 10 - 946
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*MILAN*

9 May 480-11 April 491

Demi-argenteus

123	2A	No legend, Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm-branch in the l. hand.	No mark	RIC 10 - 3615
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Demi-argenteus

124	1A	No legend. Turreted figure standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	M   D / -	RIC 10 - 3616
125	2A	No legend. Turreted figure standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	M   D / -	RIC 10 - 3618
126	3A	No legend. Turreted figure standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	M   D / -	RIC 10 - 3617
127	4A	No legend. Turreted figure standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	M   D / -	RIC 10 - 3619
128	5A	No legend. Turreted figure standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	M   D / -	RIC 10 - 3620

Demi-argenteus

129	1A	No legend, eagle to right on branch with spread wings and head to left. Cross above.	no mark	RIC 10 - 3621
130	2A	No legend, eagle to right on branch with spread wings and head to left. Cross above.	no mark	RIC 10 - 3623
131	3A	No legend, eagle to right on branch with spread wings and head to left. Cross above.	no mark	RIC 10 - 3622
132	6A	No legend, eagle to right on branch with spread wings and head to left. Cross above.	no mark	RIC 10 - 3624
133	2A	No legend, eagle to left on branch with spread wings and head to right. Cross above.	no mark	-
134	10A	No legend, eagle to left on branch with spread wings and head to right. Cross above.	no mark	-

*RAVENNA*

9 May 480-11 April 491

Demi-argenteus

135	7A	No legend, Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm-branch in the l. hand.	RV	RIC 10 - 3643
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### Demi-argenteus

136	1A	No legend. Turreted figure standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	<b>R   V / -</b>	RIC 10 - 3644
137	7A	No legend. Turreted figure standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	<b>R   V / -</b>	RIC 10 - 3645
138	8A	No legend. Turreted figure standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	<b>R   V / -</b>	RIC 10 - 3646

### Demi-argenteus

139	2A	No legend, eagle to right on branch with head to left. Above, $\Theta$ <sup>507</sup>	<b>no mark</b>	-
140	7A	No legend, eagle to right on branch with head to left.	<b>no mark</b>	-
141	9A	No legend, eagle to right on branch with head to left.	<b>no mark</b>	RIC 10 - 3647
142	10A	No legend, eagle to left on branch with head to right.	<b>no mark</b>	RIC 10 - 3648

### Demi-argenteus

143	11A	No legend, Victory standing on globe to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm-branch in the l. hand.	<b>No mark</b>	RIC 10 - 3649
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### *ROME*

9 May 480-11 April 491

### Demi-argenteus

144	12A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>·CM·</b> <sup>508</sup>	RIC 10 - 3664
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507 Attribution of this coin to the mint of Ravenna is uncertain.

508 This peculiar mint-mark has generated a lively discussion among scholars but its interpretation is not yet clear. It could have been a cut down of the mint-mark on the *solidi* struck in the name of Zeno in Rome (**·COMOB·**). Perhaps it represented the value of 240 nummi, “giving a satisfactory relationship with the large 40 nummi bronzes marked **·XL·** (KENT 1994, p. 218). Another interpretation would see in these two letters the abbreviation of *Caput Mundi* (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 186). This idea was initially rejected by Kent (KENT 1994, p. 217) who asserted that such a phrase was not attested at that time yet, however, Kent himself found later the prove that it was actually already known (KENT 1997, p. 40). In a passage of the Prosper’s *Carmen de Ingratis*, in fact, it is possible to read: “*Roma...facta caput mundo*” (Prosper, *Carmen de Ingratis*, 40-41, *PL* 51, 97).

## LEONTIUS<sup>509</sup>

Pretender to Eastern throne 484-488 AD

Leontius was a professional soldier, probably an Isaurian. In 484 AD Zeno sent him against the rebellious Illus. Illus persuaded Leontius to desert Zeno and then declared Leontius Augustus on 19 July 484 AD at Tarsus. He had the support of Zeno's mother-in-law, Verina, who issued a Chalcedonian proclamation. Antioch was occupied for 12 days (27 July - 8 August), during which time a few coins were hurriedly minted. At this point a second imperial expedition arrived, under Iohannes the Scythian. These troops rapidly defeated Illus and Leontius at Antioch. The rebels were then besieged at Papius in Isauria, a siege which lasted for four years. In 488 AD the fortress was betrayed. Leontius was executed at Seleucia-on-Calycadnus and his head was taken to Constantinople, where it was impaled on the walls.

### CATALOGUE

No silver coins are currently known in Leontius' name.

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509 For the historical introduction see: ELTON 1998d; KENT 1994, p. 122; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 190.

## WESTERN EMPIRE

### HONORIUS<sup>510</sup>

Titular Augustus 23 Jan. 393-17 Jan. 395 AD

Senior Augustus 17 Jan. 395-27 Aug. 423 AD

Flavius Honorius was the younger son of Theodosius I and Aelia Flaccilla. He was proclaimed Augustus by Theodosius I in 393 AD and eventually succeeded as Western emperor in January 395 AD on the death of his father. He never held more than nominal power, as effective control lay with the general Stilicho whose daughter Honorius married. Stilicho also claimed he was the guardian of Arcadius, the Eastern emperor, and this led to a rupture between the Eastern and Western halves of the empire. During Honorius' reign barbarian invaders overran Gaul and Spain and he was plagued by the usurpation of Constantine III (407-411 AD) and Jovinus (411-413 AD) in Gaul, and of Maximus in Spain (409-411 AD). Alaric's invasion of Italy and the realization of his own vulnerability led Honorius to remove his court to Ravenna in 402/403 AD, where he was safe amidst the marshes. Thanks to the competence of his general Constantius, the barbarian threat was temporarily held in check, the usurpations were put down, and large parts of Gaul and Spain were recovered for the empire though Roman control of the island province of Britain was permanently lost. Honorius died in 423 AD leaving no heir.

#### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN HONORI-VS PF AVG** (1)  
**DN HONOR-IVS AVG** (2)

Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)  
Pearl-diademed, bearded, draped and cuirassed to r. (B)  
Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. with head to l. (C)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### *TRIER*

393-394?

Argenteus<sup>511</sup>

145	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-[MANORVM]</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>TRPS</b>	Stoll 2000 - 243
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394-395?<sup>512</sup>

Argenteus

146	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe	<b>TRPS</b>	O'Neil 1933 <sup>513</sup> -
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510 For the historical introduction see: MATHISEN 1999a; KENT 1994, p. 123; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 192-195.

511 This unique and hitherto unknown coin was probably struck by Eugenius during his usurpation, together with the Arcadius' specimens. The rough style of the *argenteus* recorded by Stoll (STOLL 2000 - 243) suggests that it is an ancient imitation, but presumably an official issue existed.

512 For the dating see Grierson and Mays (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 206). Kent recognized these *argentei* as imitations made around 400 AD (KENT 1994, p. 135) but, once again, they had to imitate some official emission.

513 O'NEIL 1933.

		in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.		322
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411 or 413?<sup>514</sup>

Argenteus

147	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on curule chair with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand <sup>515</sup> .	<b>TRMS</b>	RIC 10 - 1360
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*ARLES*

411

Argenteus

148	1B	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on curule chair with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>CONT</b>	RIC 10 - 1364
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*MILAN*

393-394

Argenteus<sup>516</sup>

149	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>MDPS</b>	CHRB XII - <i>Stanchester</i> - 152
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395-402

Demi-argenteus<sup>517</sup>

150	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>MD</b>	RIC 10 - 1231
151	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>MD</b>	RIC 10 - 1232

395-408?

Miliarensis<sup>518</sup>

152	1A	<b>VIRTVS EXERCITVS</b> , Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1223
153	1A	<b>VIRTVS EXERCITVM</b> , Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1221

514 Grierson and Mays dated these *argentei* (only two specimens are known) to 411 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 206). Kent dated this emission to 413 AD (KENT 1994, p. 135).

515 For imitations see KENT 1994, note to the coin n. 1360.

516 One *argenteus* found in a hoard from Stanchester (Wiltshire) shows western *pteryges* characteristic of the *argentei* struck under Eugenius. This coin appears to confirm the early nature of RIC X – 1228.

517 Grierson and Mays would date this emission in 397 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 206).

518 Kent dated this emission to the period 397-402 A.D. (KENT 1994, p. 126); Grierson and Mays placed the -VM variety in 397 AD and the -VS in 404 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 205). Since these denominations are known only for Arcadius and Honorius (RIC 10 - 1220, 1222) a later dating must be preferred. Perhaps between 395 and 402 AD.

Argenteus<sup>519</sup>

154	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1228
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398<sup>520</sup>

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

155	1A	<b>VOT/V/MVLT/X</b> within wreath	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1217
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Argenteus

156	1A	<b>VOT/V/MVLT/X</b> within wreath	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1226
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402

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound<sup>521</sup>

157	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1219
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Argenteus<sup>522</sup>

158	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XV</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1225
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?402/403-408?<sup>523</sup>

Demi-argenteus<sup>524</sup>

159	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>MD</b>	RIC 10 - 1234
160	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>MD</b>	RIC 10 - 1236

404<sup>525</sup>

Multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of the pound

519 Eastern *ptyryges*. GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 204 (394-397 AD); GUEST 2005, p. 73 (397-402 AD).

520 The first Honorius' quinquennium was celebrated most likely at the end of his fifth year of reign, together with his fourth consulship in 398 AD, and not in 397 AD (BURGESS 1988, p 92).

521 Grierson and Mays would have rather placed the issuing of such a multiple in 404 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 230).

522 Kent proposed to date the emission of this *argenteus* to 397 AD (KENT 1994, p. 126).

523 The presence of three Gs in the reverse legend would suggest that this demi-argenteus was actually struck in the name of three Emperors: Theodosius II? However, it must be said that at the moment no specimens in Theodosius II' name are known.

524 Pearce attributed this emission to the period 394-395 AD (RIC 9 - 84/39b, 38b); wrongly in Kent opinion (KENT 1994, p. 322, notes 1233-6). Grierson and Mays dated these demi-argentei to 404 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 204-205).

525 Kent would rather date this multiple to the period 397-402 AD (KENT 1994, p. 126) but Grierson and Mays are, perhaps, more right in assigning such an issue to 404 AD when Honorius went to Rome to celebrate Stilicho's victories of 402 and 403 AD over the Visigoths (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 206).

161	1A	<b>TRIVMFATOR GENT BARB</b> , Emperor facing with head to l. with standard inscribed $\text{☩}$ in the r. hand and globe in the l. hand; at his feet, on the l., a bounded captive	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1216
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??<sup>526</sup>

Argenteus

162	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma enthroned to l., with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Cuirass also visible	<b>MDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1351
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*AQUILEIA*

?395-408?<sup>527</sup>

Argenteus

163	1A	<b>VIRTUS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>AQPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1242
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*ROME*

?395-408?<sup>528</sup>

Miliarensis

164	1A	<b>VIRTUS EXERCITVS</b> , Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1265
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Argenteus<sup>529</sup>

165	1A	<b>VIRTUS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1267
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400?

Demi-argenteus<sup>530</sup>

166	2A	<b>SALVS REI-PVBLICAE</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>No mark</b>	RIC 10 - 1244
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402?<sup>531</sup>

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

167	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1263
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526 Kent records this *argenteus* but does not give any further explanations.

527 Grierson and Mays dated this *argenteus* to the period 394-397 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 205); Guest to the period 407-408 AD (GUEST 2005, p. 76).

528 All these denominations are known only for Arcadius and Honorius. Because of this they should be perhaps better dated between 395 and 402 AD. Kent placed all of them in the period 404, 407-408 AD.

529 GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 205 (394-397 AD); GUEST 2005, p. 76 (407-408 AD).

530 For a discussion about this specimen see KENT 1994, p. 127.

531 Grierson and Mays would have rather placed the issuing of such a multiple in 404, when Honorius went to Rome to celebrate Stilicho's victories of 402 and 403 AD over the Visigoths (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 205).

?402/403-408?<sup>532</sup>

Demi-argenteus

168	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 1269
169	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 1270

404

Multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of the pound

170	1A	<b>TRIVMFATOR GENT BARB</b> , Emperor facing with head to l. with standard inscribed $\text{✠}$ in the r. hand and globe in the l. hand; at his feet, on the l., a bounded captive	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1261
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407

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

171	1A	<b>VOT/XV/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>RMPS</b>	Coh. 66
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c. 410-420

Argenteus

172	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1353
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*RAVENNA*

402-403<sup>533</sup>

Argenteus

173	1A	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Roma enthroned facing with globe in the r. hand and spear in the l. hand	<b>RVPS</b>	Ranieri 2006 - 42
174	1A	<b>GLORIA RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma enthroned facing with globe in the r. hand and spear in the l. hand	<b>RVPS</b>	Ranieri 2006 - 43

402/403 – 408

Miliarensis<sup>534</sup>

175	1A	<b>VIRTVS EXERCITVS</b> , Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 -1315
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532 The presence of three **G**s in the reverse legend would suggest that this demi-*argenteus* was actually struck in the name of three Emperors: Theodosius II? However, it must be said that at the moment no specimens in Theodosius II' name are known.

533 Kent regards these *argentei* as a Gallic production (KENT 1994, p. 135). Grierson and Mays, on the other hand, consider them as an Imperial emission to be dated c. 402/403 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 206).

534 Kent would date this *miliarensis* after Arcadius' death on stylistic grounds (KENT 1994, p. 132).

Argenteus

176	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1297
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Demi-argenteus

177	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>RV</b>	RIC 10 - 1298
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403?<sup>535</sup>

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

178	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1294
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404<sup>536</sup>

Multiple of 1/24<sup>th</sup> of the pound

179	1A	<b>TRIVMFATOR GENT BARB</b> , Emperor facing with head to l. with standard inscribed $\text{☩}$ in the r. hand and globe in the l. hand; at his feet, on the l., a bound captive	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1292
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407

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

180	1A	<b>VOT/XV/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1314
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c. 408 - 410?

Argenteus

181	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma enthroned to l., with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1316
182	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma enthroned to l., with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Cuirass also visible.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1317

?408 – 423?

Argenteus

183	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGG</b> , Roma enthroned facing with Victory on globe in the r. hand and spear in the l. hand	<b>RVPS</b>	Ranieri 2006 - 44
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535 The mint of Ravenna was perhaps opened between the end of 402 AD and beginning of 403 AD. Because of this, such a multiple celebrating Honorius' *decennalia* had most likely to be struck at the beginning of 403 AD. Grierson and Mays would rather date it to 404 AD (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 130) while Kent to 402-403, 405-406 AD.

536 Kent would date this multiple to the period 402-403, 405-406 AD but Grierson and Mays are, perhaps, more right in assigning such an issue to 404 AD when Honorius went to Rome to celebrate Stilicho's victories of 402 and 403 AD over the Visigoths (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 204-205).

Demi-argenteus<sup>537</sup>

184	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>RV</b>	RIC 10 - 1346
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c. 410 – 420?

Miliarensis

185	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Emperor facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 -1344
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Argenteus

186	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1345
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*CONSTANTINOPLE*

393-402/403

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

187	1A	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield.	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 45
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Miliarensis

188	1C	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand.	<b>CON</b>	Kent 1996
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402?

Argenteus

189	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS</b>	RIC 10 - 49
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402/403-408

Argenteus

190	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 53
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402/403-423

Miliarensis

191	1C	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to	<b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 369
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<sup>537</sup> This emission has to be placed perhaps at the end of Honorius' reign since it is known not only for him and Theodosius II, but also for Valentinianus III.

		l., rising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand. * in the l. field.		
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411<sup>538</sup>

Argenteus

192	1A	<b>VOT/X/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 371
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415

Argenteus

193	1A	<b>VOT/XV/MVLT/XX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 373
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420

Argenteus

194	1A	<b>VOT/XX/MVLT/XXX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 380
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*THESSALONICA*

408-423

Miliarensis

195	1A	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate facing with head to l., with spear in the r. hand and resting the l. hand on shield. * in the l. field.	<b>COM</b>	RIC 10 - 391
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538 The Vota celebrated on this *argenteus* most likely were the Theodosius II ones. This emission can be distinguished from the previous one thank to the different style of the ties (see KENT 1994, p. 89).

## CONSTANTINE III<sup>539</sup>

Usurper Early 407 – Sept. 411 AD

Flavius Claudius Constantinus was proclaimed emperor by the British legions in 407 AD, in succession to the ephemeral usurpers Marcus and Gratian. He quickly crossed over to Gaul and by the summer of 408 AD he had established his capital at Arles, had seized control of Spain and proclaimed his son Constans Caesar. In 409 AD he sent an embassy to Honorius claiming he had been forced to accept the purple. The emperor, who was having severe difficulties at the time coping with Alaric, sent him an imperial robe as a sign of temporary recognition. However, in 411 AD Constantine III was besieged by Honorius' general Constantius and surrendered; he and his younger son Julianus were murdered on their journey to the court of Honorius at Ravenna, and the usurper's head, mounted on a pole, was placed on public display in the city.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN CONSTAN-TINVS P F AVG (1)**  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### *LYON*

Early 407 – Early Summer 408

#### Argenteus

196	1A	<b>VICTORIA AAVGGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>LDPV</b>	RIC 10 - 1525
197	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>LDPV</b>	RIC 10 - 1526
198	1A	<b>VICTORIA AAVGGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>LDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1527
199	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>LDPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1528
200	1A	<b>VICTORIA AAVGGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>SMLD</b>	RIC 10 - 1530
201	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>SMLD</b>	RIC 10 - 1529

Early Summer 408-Sept. 411

#### Argenteus

539 For the historical introduction see: KULIKOWSKI 2000; ELTON 1999a; DRINKWATER 1998; KENT 1994, p. 143; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 214.

202	1A	<b>VICTORIA AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>SMLD</b>	King 1987 - 287
203	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>SMLD</b>	RIC 10 - 1531

Demi-Argenteus

204	1A	No Legend. Cross flanked by Alpha e Omega	<b>SMLD</b>	RIC 10 - 1545
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*TRIER*

Early Summer 408- Sept. 411

Argenteus

205	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>TRMS</b>	RIC 10 - 1532
206	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>TRMS</b>	RIC 10 - 1533
207	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>TRMS</b>	RIC 10 - 1534

Late Summer 410 - Sept. 411<sup>540</sup>

208	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure. * in the l. field.	<b>TRMS</b>	RIC 10 - 1535
209	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. * in the l. field.	<b>TRMS</b>	RIC 10 - 1536

*ARLES*

Early Summer 408- Sept. 411

Argenteus

210	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>SMAR</b>	RIC 10 - 1538
211	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>KONT</b>	RIC 10 - 1539

Late Summer 410 - Sept. 411

212	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure. + in the l. field.	<b>KONT</b>	RIC 10 - 1542
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<sup>540</sup> The star was perhaps introduced by Constantine III on his coinage to acknowledge his decision to promote his son Constans to Augustus.

213	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure. * in the l. field.	<b>KONT</b>	RIC 10 - 1543
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Kent reported a specimen with mint-mark NIC (RIC 10 - 1544) and attributed it to the mint of Nice (KENT 1994, p. 149). This is very unlikely, perhaps it was a modern false.

## CONSTANS II<sup>541</sup>

Usurper

Caesar Spring 408 – Late summer 410 AD

Augustus Late summer 410 – 411 AD

Constans was the eldest son of Constantine III. He was created Caesar by his father in 408 AD and sent to Spain to deal with resistance from supporters of Honorius. Having accomplished this he left the general Gerontius in charge of affairs in the province. Shortly before his father entered Italy, late in 409 AD or early 410 AD, Constans was elevated to the rank of Augustus, but in 411 AD he was attacked and killed at Vienne by Gerontius, who was supporting his own nominee to the throne, Maximus.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN CONSTA-NS P F AVG** (1)  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)  
Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (B)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### *TRIER*

Late summer 410 – 411

Argenteus

214	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on drum-shaped cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>SMTR</b>	-
215	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on drum-shaped cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>SMTR</b>	RIC 10 - 1537

#### *ARLES*

Late summer 410 – 411

Argenteus

216	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>KONT</b>	RIC 10 - 1540
217	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. <sup>542</sup>	<b>KONT</b>	Lafaurie 1953
218	1B	<b>VICTOR-IA AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on drum-shaped cuirass,	<b>KONT</b>	RIC 10 - 1541 <sup>543</sup>

541 For the historical introduction see: KULIKOWSKI 2000; ELTON 1999b; DRINKWATER 1998; KENT 1994, p. 143; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 218.

542 This specimen, what should correspond to RIC 10 – 1540, actually does not show the back of the throne. I have some doubts about the authenticity of this specimen, it has a bit of an “antiquarian taste”. This suspicion is perhaps confirmed by the appearance on the market of a coin “struck” virtually with the same dies (especially the reverse one) but with the odd mint-mark **KON** (Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH and Co. KG, Auction 124 (16 March 2007), lot. 9455 (1,59 g.). To a careful examination of the picture would seem that the letter **T** was professionally erased. An examination of the specimen would be necessary.

543 The reverse it is not properly described.

		with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.		
219	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AAVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	???	_544

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544 This coin was found in Languedoc-Roussillon and the auction house attributed it to the mint of Arles (Maison Palombo, Auction 9, 26 June 2010, lot 60). The mint-mark, however, is not so much readable and a definitive attribution, at the moment, it is not possible.

## MAXIMUS<sup>545</sup>

Usurper

Augustus 410 - 411 AD

In 409 AD Gerontius, a general of Constantine III and Constans, who had been left in charge of Spain with part of the Gallic army, rebelled against his imperial masters. He decided to nominate his own candidate for the throne, and his choice fell on a certain Maximus, who may have been a relative. Gerontius ordered Maximus, who seems to have been a nonentity, to remain in Spain while he pursued Constans into Gaul, where he attacked and killed the young emperor at Vienne. Gerontius then besieged Constantine III at Arles but was forced to flee to Spain when his troops abandoned him in favour of Honorius' general Constantius, who had been sent to quell the Gallic uprising. After the death of Gerontius in 411 AD Maximus was deposed by the Gallic troops, and is said to have retired into private life in Spain.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN MAXIM-VS P F AVG (1)**

Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, bearded, draped and cuirassed to r. (B)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### *BARCELONA*

410 – 411

Argenteus<sup>546</sup>

220	1A	<b>VICTOR-A AAVGGG</b> ( <i>sic.</i> ), Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>SMBA</b>	RIC 10 - 1601
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545 For the historical introduction see: ELTON 1999c; KENT 1994, p. 150; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 219.

546 Banduri used to attribute these *argentei* to Petronius Maximus rather than Maximus himself (BANDURI 1718, II, pp. 578-579). Cigoi forgeries are well documented (BRUNETTI 1966, n. 362) and they have been even purchased on sale auctions (i.e. Trau sale cat., lot. 4467). However, they can be easily distinguished by the original pieces thanks to their way too polished style, the beardless bust, the use of the correct obverse legend **VICTORI-A AAVGGG** or the mint-mark **SMB**.

## JOVINUS<sup>547</sup>

Usurper  
Augustus 411 - 413 AD

Jovinus was a native of Gaul and is said to have been of noble birth. He was proclaimed Augustus in 411 AD and received support from Burgundians, Alamans, Franks and Alans. In 412 AD he elevated his brother Sebastian to the rank of co-emperor, but the following year his fortunes took a turn for the worse. He was besieged by Athaulfus, who had previously favoured him but was now in alliance with Honorius, and after Jovinus surrendered he and his brother Sebastian were murdered while being escorted to Honorius.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN IOVIN-VS P F AVG (1)**  
**DN IOVINVS AVG (2)**  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### *TRIER*

411 – August 413

#### Argenteus

221	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>TRMS</b>	RIC 10 - 1710
222	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>TRMS</b>	RIC 10 - 1711
223	1A	<b>VICTO-RIA AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>TRMS</b>	RIC 10 - 1712

#### *LYON*

411 – August 413

#### Argenteus

224	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>SMLG</b> <sup>548</sup>	Lafaurie-Pilet-Lemiere 2003 - 69.123.7.1.
225	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>SMLD</b>	RIC 10 - 1713
226	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>SMLD</b>	RIC 10 - 1714
227	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on curule chair, with	<b>SMLD</b>	RIC 10 - 1715

547 For the historical introduction see: ELTON 1999d; DRINKWATER 1998; KENT 1994, p. 152; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 220.

548 To be confirmed.

		Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.		
228	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure. <sup>549</sup>	<b>SMLDV</b>	RIC 10 – 1717
229	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand <sup>550</sup> .	<b>SMLDV</b>	-
230	2A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on curule chair, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>SMLDV</b>	Lafaurie-Pilet- Lemiere 2003 - 21.106.1.
231	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on curule chair, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>SMLDV</b>	RIC 10 - 1716

### Demi-Argenteus

232	1A	No Legend. Cross flanked by Alpha e Omega	<b>SMLD</b>	RIC 10 - 1722
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### ARLES

411 – August 413

### Argenteus

233	1A	<b>RESTITV-TOR REI P</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>KONT</b>	RIC 10 – 1720
234	1A	<b>RESTITV-TOR REI P</b> , Roma seated to l. on curule chair, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure <sup>551</sup> .	<b>KONT</b>	RIC 10 - 1721

549 To be confirmed.

550 The style of this specimen rises some doubts about its authenticity.

551 Kent reported an *argenteus* weighing 3,01 g. and called it “heavy-*siliqua*” (RIC 10 – 1709) but such a “denomination”, as we have seen, never existed.

## SEBASTIAN<sup>552</sup>

Usurper  
412 - 413 AD

Sebastian was the brother of the usurper Jovinus and was proclaimed co-emperor in 412 AD, despite the opposition of Athaulfus who, up until this time, had been a supporter of Jovinus. Athaulfus, now acting on behalf of Honorius, proceeded to besiege Jovinus and both he and Sebastianus were captured in 413 AD. The deposed usurpers both met violent ends while on their journey to the court of Honorius.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN SEBASTIA-NVS P F AVG** (1)  
**DN SEBASTIA-NVS P F** □ **G** (2)  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### *TRIER*

412 – 413

Argenteus

235	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne visible behind figure. <sup>553</sup>	<b>TRPS</b> ·	Stoll 2000 - 248
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#### *ARLES*

412 – 413

Argenteus

236	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>KONT</b>	RIC 10 – 1718
237	2A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on stylized cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>KONT</b>	RIC 10 - 1719

Argenteus

238	1A	<b>RESTITV-TOR REI P</b> , Roma seated to l. on curule chair, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. Back of throne also visible behind figure.	<b>KONT</b>	-
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<sup>552</sup> For the historical introduction see: ELTON 1999e; DRINKWATER 1998; KENT 1994, p. 152; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 221.

<sup>553</sup> A similar specimen without the dot in the mint-mark has been recorded by Cohen (Coh - 3). It was regarded by Pearce (PEARCE 1933, pp. 221-225) and then by Kent (KENT 1994, p. 154) as a tooled coin of Gratian. The specimen presented in here, however, dismisses such an idea. A sure eighteenth century false is on the other hand the specimen in the Wiczay collection (WICZAY 1814, II, 214/2953) registered by Cohen (Coh - 2), showing a facing Roma, **VIRTVS ROMANORVM** and mint-mark **TRES** (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 221).

## PRISCUS ATTALUS<sup>554</sup>

Titular Augustus Autumn 409-24 Aug. 410 AD  
Again Augustus (in Gaul) Late 414-415 AD

Priscus Attalus, a native of Asia, was sent by Honorius to Rome in 409 AD to fill the office of City Prefect. Late in the same year the Visigothic King Alaric, who was besieging Rome, had him proclaimed emperor, and he acted as a puppet of the barbarians until he was deposed in the summer of 410 AD. Following the capture and sack of Rome (August, 410 AD) the Visigoths made peace with Honorius, but Attalus remained in the Gothic camp. After Alaric's death, Attalus accompanied his successor, Athaulfus, into Gaul and urged him to join forces with usurper Jovinus, but the alliance soon collapsed. In 414 AD Attalus was again proclaimed emperor by the Visigoths, but they abandoned him when they moved into Spain the following year. He later fell into the hands of Honorius who had him mutilated and then exiled him to the Lipari island.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **IMP PRISCVS AT-TALVS P F AVG** (1)  
**PRISCVS ATTA-LVS P F AVG** (2)  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)  
Band-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (B)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### *ROME*

January 410 ?

Argentus

239	1A	<b>VOT/V/MVLT/X</b> within wreath	<b>PST</b>	RIC 10 - 1402
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January-June 410<sup>555</sup>

Multiple of ¼ of the pound

240	2B	<b>INVICTA RO-MA AETERNA</b> , Roma enthroned facing, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and inverted spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1408
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Argentus

241	2A	<b>INVICTA RO-MA AETERNA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>PST</b>	RIC 10 - 1411
242	2A	<b>INVICTA RO-MA AETERNA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand. * in the l. field. <sup>556</sup>	<b>PST</b>	RIC 10 - 1412

June-July 410<sup>557</sup>

554 For the historical introduction see: ELTON 1999f; KENT 1994, p. 138; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 222.

555 For the dating see: LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ 2003.

556 It is not possible to determine when and why was introduced the star on Attalus coinage. Perhaps at the end of the period.

557 For the dating see: LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ 2003.

Multiple of 1/60<sup>th</sup> of the pound

243	2A	<b>VICTORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Victory advancing r., holding trophy over r. shoulder and small shield inscribed ✠.	<b>PST</b>	RIC 10 - 1409
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Miliarensis

244	2A	<b>VICTORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Victory advancing l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm-branch in the l. hand. * in the l. field.	<b>PST</b>	RIC 10 - 1410
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Demi-argenteus

245	2A	<b>VICTORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Victory advancing l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm-branch in the l. hand. * in the l. field.	<b>PST</b>	RIC 10 - 1413
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*NARBONNE ?*

Early 414 ?<sup>558</sup>

Argenteus

246	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>PSRV</b>	RIC 10 - 3701
247	1A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGGG</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>PSRV</b>	RIC 10 - 3702

Late 414 ?<sup>559</sup>

Argenteus

248	1A	<b>RESTITV-TIO REI P</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>[P]SR[V]</b>	RIC 10 - 1417
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558 Grierson and Mays thought that such coins were struck “while Attalus and Alaric were besieging Ravenna during summer 410 AD and in anticipation of its capture, the obverse die having been brought from Rome and the reverse one, much inferior style, having been made in the camp (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 223). The existence of pieces in the same style and mint-mark but in the name of Honorius (RIC 10 - 3703), however, excludes this possibility. Alaric and Attalus wanted to subjugate Honorius therefore why struck coins in his name? Kent was more correct in regarding this *argentei* as a Visigothic emission struck perhaps in Narbonne. A probable occasion for the issuing of these coins could have been the wedding between Athaulf and Honorius’ half-sister Galla Placidia. Athaulf perhaps let struck coins in the names of both Honorius and Attalus in the general attempt of a reconciliation with the Roman Emperor but he replied sending his General Constantius to blockade the Goths and begin a more aggressive military Action.

559 Honorius’ rejection pushed Athaulf to nominate Attalus Emperor for the second time. Perhaps in this occasion Attalus struck such coins claiming to be the Restitutor of the Res Publica in opposition to Honorius.

## CONSTANTIUS III<sup>560</sup>

Titular Augustus 8 Feb. - 2 Sept. 421 AD

Flavius Constantius was an Illyrian, from Naissus, who joined the army under Theodosius I and had a distinguished military career. In 411 AD Honorius appointed him commander in the war to recover Gaul from Constantine III, which he achieved after a brief but successful campaign. He then attacked the Visigoths forcing them to leave Gaul and cross the Pyrenees into Spain. In 415 AD he captured the usurper Priscus Attalus, who had been abandoned by the Goths, and the following year the Visigothic war ended with the accession of a new king and the return of Galla Placidia to her brother Honorius. Constantius married Placidia in 417 AD and they had two children, Justa Grata Honoria and Placidius Valentinianus, later Valentinian III. Constantius III was proclaimed Augustus in the West in 421 AD by Honorius, but was never recognized in the East. He died of natural causes after holding office for only six months, thus averting a possible civil war between East and West.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN CONSTAN-TIVS PF AVG (1)**  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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*NARBONNE ?*

421?

Demi-argenteus<sup>561</sup>

249	1A	<b>VICTORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>SMN</b>	DOCLR 816
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<sup>560</sup> For the historical introduction see: ELTON 1999g; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 225.

<sup>561</sup> Three specimens of such a denomination are known. One is in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, the second one is in the Dumbarton Oaks collection (ex. Foucault collection) and the third one has been offered in a quite recent Numismatic Auction (Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 100 (20.11.2000), lot. 668, 0,94 g.). Kent (KENT 1994, pp. 135-136) ruled out these coins as Cigoi forgeries (BRUNETTI 1966 - 349) inspired by the French prototype which was recorded already by Cohen (Coh 3). Nevertheless, as Grierson and Mays have pointed out (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 225), the specimen in the Cabinet was already listed by Du Cange in 1680 (DU CANGE-DU FRESNE 1680 - 32). The two numismatists, however, dismissed the *demi-argentei* as “very skilful seventeenth century forgeries” since the mint-mark **SMN**, standing according them for *Sacra Moneta Nicomedia*, would have been “impossible as mint-mark for Constantine III” (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 225). Kent himself suggested that “at some stage there must have been a confusion with Constantius II whose silver coins, struck in Nicomedia, bore such a mark” (KENT 1994, p. 135).

It is true that the style of these coins is way too “refined” for the period, however, the possibility that they were struck in Narbonne on the occasion of Constantius III election in 421 AD, cannot be completely ignored. The mint-mark **SMN** would stand for *Sacra Moneta Narbonensis*. The mint was most likely active already under Priscus Attalus (RIC X - 1417) and, after Constantius reorganized the provinces of Gaul, Narbonne became the administrative centre of Southern Gallia.

The *argentei* celebrating **VOT** (or **VOTIS**) **V MVLX** with **LVG** mint-mark and obverse legend (**DN**) **CONSTANTIVS AVG**, are on the contrary Barbaric imitations with blundered legends of Constantius II, Constantine III or Constans.

## JOHANNES<sup>562</sup>

Usurper

20 November 423 – June 425 AD

Little is known of the early life of Johannes, other than that he followed a career in the civil service and rose to become principal secretary to Honorius. After the death of the emperor in 423 AD he seized power in the West. Although he sent an embassy to Constantinople he was not recognized by the Eastern Emperor Theodosius II, who supported the claims of Galla Placidia and the young Placidius Valentinianus against him. Johannes was in a weak position militarily, so when the Eastern army entered northern Italy in 425 AD he was able to offer little resistance, and was soon captured and put to death.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN IOHAN-NES P F AVG** (1)  
Obverse busts: Rosette-diademed, bearded, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### RAVENNA

20 November 423 – June 425

#### Argenteus<sup>563</sup>

250	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 1907
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#### Demi-argenteus

251	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Victory advancing l. with palm-branch in the l. hand and wreath in the r. hand.	<b>RV</b>	RIC 10 - 1908
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<sup>562</sup> For the historical introduction see: ELTON 1999h; KENT 1994, p. 157; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 227.

<sup>563</sup> An *argenteus* **VRBS ROMA** of Trier has been identified as a tooled piece of Gratian (KENT 1994, p. 158; ULRICH-BANSA 1976, p. 287, note 16). Cohen listed also an *argenteus* **VIRTVS ROMANORVM** but it is unlikely (Coh. - 15).

## GALLA PLACIDIA<sup>564</sup>

Augusta 8 Feb. 421-27 Nov. 450 AD

Galla Placidia was born in 388 AD, the daughter of Theodosius I and his wife Galla, and thus the half-sister of Arcadius and Honorius. In 410 AD she was taken prisoner by the Visigoths after their capture of Rome and taken by them to Gaul in 412 AD. In 414 AD she married the Visigothic King Athaulfus and bore him a son who died in infancy. She was restored to the Romans after the murder of Athaulfus by the King Vallia in 416 AD. Her second husband was the “patricius” Flavius Constantius and by him she had two children. Although Placidia and Honorius were very close after her husband’s death, they later quarrelled and she departed with her children to Constantinople. The Eastern Emperor Theodosius II championed the cause of Placidia and her son against Honorius’ successor, the usurper Johannes, and with his defeat and death in 425 AD Placidia assumed the reins of government in the West, where she acted as regent for her six-year-old son Valentinianus III. She lost her political influence in the latter part of her son’s reign and spent her final years erecting holy buildings in Ravenna. She died at Rome in 450 AD.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN GALLA PLA-CIDIA P F AVG** (1)  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed bust with pearl earrings and necklaces to r.; cross on the r. shoulder (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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*RAVENNA*

425-430

Argenteus<sup>565</sup>

252	1A	<b>SALVS REI-PVBLICAE</b> , Victory seated on a cuirass to r. inscribing a Chi-Ro on a shield supported by her l. knee.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2082
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Demi-argenteus<sup>566</sup>

253	1A	† within wreath	<b>RV</b>	RIC 10 - 2090
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425-430s

Demi-argenteus

254	1A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RV</b>	RIC 10 - 2092
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*AQUILEIA*

May-23 Oct. 425

564 For the historical introduction see: LONGO 2009; MATHISEN 1999b; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 229.

565 A similar *argenteus* with the unlikely mint-mark **AQCOM** is an eighteenth century false (WICZAY 1814, II, p. 214, n. 2948).

566 The specimen with the cross in the field has been interpreted by Grierson and Mays as an *argenteus* (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 231), but the particular type of the mint-mark proves it to be a *demi-argenteus*.

Demi-argenteus

255	1A	† within wreath	<b>AQ</b>	RIC 10 - 1811
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*ROMA*

425-430

Argenteus

256	1A	<b>SALVS REI-PUBLICAE</b> , Victory seated on a cuirass to r. inscribing a Chi-Ro on a shield supported by her l. knee.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2083
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## VALENTINIAN III<sup>567</sup>

Caesar 23 October 423 - 23 October 425 AD  
Titular Augustus 23 October 425 – 16 March 455 AD

Placidius Valentinianus was the son of Constantius III and Galla Placidia and the brother of Justa Grata Honoria. After his mother quarrelled with Honorius she took him and his sister with her to Constantinople. Following the death of Honorius in 423 AD, Theodosius II supported his cousin's claim to the throne, and furnished him with an army which overthrew the usurper Johannes and installed Valentinian III on the Western throne, under his mother regency. The new Emperor was betrothed to Theodosius II's daughter Licinia Eudoxia and the marriage took place in 437 AD. After 433 AD the influence of Placidia over Valentinian yielded to Aetius, his commander-in-chief and the most able general which the Empire possessed. During his reign Valentinian was forced to accept the settlement of the Vandals in Africa, and the treachery of his sister Honoria ultimately resulted in the invasion of Italy by the Huns in 452 AD. In the light of these failures Valentinian was persuaded to assassinate Aetius in 454 AD, but was himself murdered the following year by two of Aetius' bodyguards who wished to avenge him.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG (1)**  
**DN PLA VALENTI-NIANVS P F AVG (2)**  
**DN PLA VALENTINIANVS P F AVG (3)**  
**DN VALENTIN-IANVS P F AVG (4)**

Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r.<sup>568</sup> (A)  
Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (B)  
Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r., facing left (C)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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*TRIER*<sup>569</sup>

425-ca. 430

Argenteus

257	1A	VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, Emperor standing to left with labarum in the right hand and christogram <sup>570</sup> on globe in the left hand.	<b>TRPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2095
258	1A	VIRTVS RO-MANORVM, Emperor standing to left with labarum in the right hand and christogram on globe in the left hand.	<b>TRPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2097

<sup>567</sup> For the historical introduction see: MATHISEN 1999C; KENT 1994, pp. 160-161; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 233-234.

<sup>568</sup> In the Trier *argentei* above the head there can be a sign what most likely had to represent a suspended crown/hand of God.

<sup>569</sup> The dating of these issues has stimulated a lively debate in the past. Cahn, for instance, who was the first to bring attention on this unknown series, proposed late 440s as possible date, attributing their emission to Aetius who was fighting for the restoration of the Roman Empire in Gaul (CAHN 1937, p. 430). Kent would assign these issues to an earlier period instead. He proposed as possible occasion for the emission the "favourable response of the city nobles" to the Emperors idea of providing Trier with public games after it was ransacked for the third time by the barbarians around 439 AD (KENT 1994, p. 171). Grierson and Mays put these *argentei* in the category of accession issues being struck under Eastern influence (obverse legend without **PLA**; star in the field). "The brief reopening of the mint of Trier has in fact an obvious analogy with the reopening of that of Aquileia at the time of Valentinian's accession" (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 238-239).

<sup>570</sup> The Christogram can be either oriented towards right or left.

259	1A	<b>VRTVS ROM-ANORVM</b> , Emperor standing to left with labarum in the right hand and christogram on globe in the left hand.	<b>TRPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2098
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Argenteus

260	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to left on curule chair with Victory on globe in the right hand and long cross in the left hand.	*   - // <b>TRPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2100
261	1A	<b>VRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma seated to left on curule chair with Victory on globe in the right hand and inverted spear in the left hand.	*   - // <b>TRPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2102

Argenteus

262	1A	<b>VIRTVS RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma enthroned facing with globe in the right hand and long sceptre in the left hand.	<b>TRPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2103
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*RAVENNA*

425

Argenteus

263	3A	<b>GLORIA RO-MANORVM</b> , soldier with billowing cloak standing to l., holding long cross.	<b>RVPS</b>	DOCLR - 846
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Demi-argenteus

264	3A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>RV</b>	RIC 10 - 2085
265	3B	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>RV</b>	RIC 10 - 2084

425-430

Argenteus

266	3A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and inverted spear in the l. hand.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2078
267	3B	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and inverted spear in the l. hand.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2077

Demi-argenteus

268	3A	† within wreath	<b>RV</b>	RIC 10 - 2089
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425-430s

269	3B	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RV</b>	RIC 10 - 2091
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430-440

Argenteus

270	2B	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and inverted spear in the l. hand.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2076
271	1A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and inverted spear in the l. hand.	<b>RVPS</b>	RSC - 198/46c

ROME

425

Demi-argenteus

272	3A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 2087
273	3B	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 2086
274	3A	<b>VICTORI-A AVGG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with wreath in the r. hand and palm branch in the l. hand.	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 2088

425-430

Argenteus

275	3A	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and inverted spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2080
276	3B	<b>VRBS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and inverted spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2079

440-450<sup>571</sup>

Argenteus

277	3B	<b>VRBIS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and inverted spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2081
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CONSTANTINOPE<sup>572</sup>

420

Argenteus

278	4A	<b>VOT / XX / MVLT XXX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 382
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425 ?

Miliarensis

279	4C	<b>GLORIA ROMANORVM</b> , Emperor nimbate standing, raising the r. hand and with globe in the l. hand.	*   - // <b>CON</b>	RIC 10 - 379
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430

Argenteus

280	4A	<b>VOT / XXX / MVLT XXXX</b> , legend within wreath.	<b>CONS*</b>	RIC 10 - 386
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571 This *argenteus* can be considered the latest western silver production of Valentinian III since it will be continued by the subsequent rulers such as Avitus, Libius Severus and Euphemia.

572 All the Valentinian III's eastern silver coinage was struck in his name by Theodosius II. The Vota coinage has to be referred to Theodosius II's celebrations rather than Valentinian III's ones.

## JUSTA GRATA HONORIA<sup>573</sup>

Augusta 426? - 450? AD

Justa Grata Honoria, born c. 418 AD, was the daughter of Constantius III and Galla Placidia and the sister of Valentinian III. In about 449 AD she was discovered to be involved in a love-affair with the manager of her estates who apparently had aspirations to imperial power. As a result she was expelled from the palace and in addition to being kept under guard she was also betrothed to a trustworthy senator for whom she had no affection. Her reaction was to send a message to Attila, King of the Huns, asking him to avenge her and sending him a ring as evidence of her good faith. Attila chose to interpret the ring as a sign that they were betrothed and sent envoys to Valentinian III demanding Honoria as his bride and half of the Western empire as a dowry. This led to an invasion of Italy by the Huns in 452 AD which caused considerable devastation to a number of the principal cities. Fortunately, Attila died the following year and Honoria herself, soon afterwards, in 454 AD.

### CATALOGUE

No silver coins are currently known in Honoria's name.

However, their appearance would not come as unexpected. For instance a demi-*argenteus* with Chi-Ro struck at Ravenna could be a good candidate since it is already known for Galla Placidia (RIC 10 - 2092) and Licinia Eudoxia (RIC 10 - 2093)<sup>574</sup>.

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573 For the historical introduction see: LONGO 2009; MATHISEN 1996a; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 242.

574 A Cigoï forgery of an *argenteus* with cross within wreath and mint-mark **COMOB** is also known (BRUNETTI 1966 - 388).



## LICINIA EUDOXIA<sup>575</sup>

Augusta 6 Aug. 439-c.a. 490 AD

Licinia Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius II and Eudocia, was born in 422 AD. She was soon betrothed to Valentinian III and they married in 437 AD, two daughters, Eudocia and Placidia, being the result of the union. She was proclaimed Augusta at Ravenna c. 439 AD and seems to have kept the title until her death. After the murder of Valentinian III in 455 AD, his successor, Petronius Maximus, forced the widowed empress to marry him to legitimize his position, but this outrage caused her to appeal to the Vandal king Gaiseric to rescue her and avenge her late husband. Being more than happy to answer such an appeal, Gaiseric sacked Rome in 455 AD and took Eudoxia and her two daughters back to Africa with him. After seven years had elapsed Gaiseric finally agreed to send Eudoxia and Placidia to Constantinople, but only after Eudoxia's other daughter, Eudocia, had consented to marry his son Huneric. Eudoxia spent the remainder of her life in the city of her birth, Constantinople, whilst her daughter Placidia married the future Western Emperor Anicius Olybrius.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN ELIA EVDO-XIA AVG (1)**  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed bust with pearl earrings and necklaces  
to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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*RAVENNA*

439

Demi-argenteus

281	1A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RV</b>	RIC 10 - 2093
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575 For the historical introduction see: LONGO 2009; MATHISEN 1996b; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 244.

## PETRONIUS MAXIMUS<sup>576</sup>

17 Mar. - 31 May 455 AD

Petronius Maximus was deeply implicated in the assassination of Valentinian III, in March 455, and seized the throne on the day following the murder. He had previously had a long and distinguished civil career and had held the posts of City Prefect and Pretorian Prefect. On his accession, he forced Valentinian III's widow, Eudoxia, to marry him in order to strengthen his claim to the throne. She, however, countered by summoning Gaiseric and the Vandals to help her. After a reign of only eleven weeks Maximus was killed in the city streets while attempting to flee from the Vandals as they approached Rome.

### CATALOGUE

No silver coins were apparently struck in Petronius' name.  
Though their existence should not be excluded.

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<sup>576</sup> For the historical introduction see: TRIVERO RIVERA 2011a; MATHISEN 1997a; KENT 1994, p. 176; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 247.

## AVITUS<sup>577</sup>

9 july 455 – 17 Oct. 456 AD

Avitus was born in Gaul into a senatorial family and studied law as a young man. He paid a visit to the Visigothic court about 425 AD and was thereafter favoured by Theodoric. He pursued a distinguished military career in Gaul, serving under Aetius, and in 439 AD became Praetorian Prefect of his native province. After giving up the prefecture he retired to his country estates until Attila and the Huns invaded Gaul in 451 AD, when he emerged from retirement to urge Theodoric to join with Aetius and the Romans against the common enemy. He was appointed Magister Militum by Petronius Maximus in 455 AD and was sent as an envoy to the Visigoths. After the death of Petronius Maximus, Avitus was persuaded by the Goths and the Gauls to become emperor. However, he was greatly disliked in Rome, and in the following year he was defeated and deposed by the general Ricimer. He was created bishop of Placentia, but died not long afterwards.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN AVIT-VS P F AVG** (1)

Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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*ROME ?*

455-456

Argenteus<sup>578</sup>

282	1A	<b>VRBIS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	?	RIC 10 - 2410
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577 For the historical introduction see: TRIVERO RIVERA 2010a; LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ 2001; MATHISEN 1998a; KENT 1994, p. 180; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 248.

578 This specimen was listed by Cohen (Coh. 9) but its existence has to be confirmed and its location is unknown. Perhaps one is in Aquileia (GORINI 1987, p. 278).

## MAJORIAN<sup>579</sup>

1 April 457 – 2 August 461 AD

Flavius Julius Valerianus Majorianus served in the army under Aetius and saw active service in Gaul c. 447-448 AD. Subsequently he retired from the army but was recalled by Valentinian III to appease Aetius' troops following their general's assassination. Appointed Magister Militum in 457 AD, later the same year he was proclaimed emperor, nearly six months after the downfall of Avitus. He sent a small army against the Alamanni in 457 AD and defeated them. In 460 AD he organized a large force to attack the Vandals in Africa, but by treachery Gaiseric succeeded in destroying most of the Roman fleet before it had even left harbour, and Majorian was forced to abandon the expedition and make peace. As a result of this disaster the emperor's authority was undermined, and he was arrested by the general Ricimer and executed in northern Italy in 461 AD.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN IVL MAIORI-ANVS P F AVG** (1)  
**DN MAIORI-ANE** (or **VS**) **P T** (or **P F**) **AVG** (2)  
**DN IVLIVS MAIORIANVS** (3)  
**DN IVL MAIORIANVS** ☉ (4)  
**DN IVL MAIORIANVS P F** (5)  
**DN MAIORIANVS** (6)  
**DN MAIORIANVS** ☒ (7)

Obverse busts: Helmeted, pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r., with spear and shield (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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### *DOMAIN OF SOISSONS ?*<sup>580</sup>

459-461

#### Demi-argenteus

283	2A	<b>VOTIS MVLTIS</b> , Emperor standing facing in military dress, with spear in the l. hand and shield in the r. hand.	<b>No mark</b>	RIC 10 - 2649
284	3A	<b>VICTO-R-IA AVGG</b> <sup>581</sup> , Victory standing l. with long cross in the l. hand.	<b>**</b>	RIC 10 - 2650
285	1A	<b>VICTO-R-IA AVGG</b> , Victory standing l. with long cross in the l. hand	<b>**</b>	RIC 10 - 2651
286	5A	<b>VICTO-R-IA AVGG</b> , Victory standing l. with long cross in the l. hand	<b>**</b>	RIC 10 - 2652
287	4A	<b>VICTO-R-IA AVGG</b> , Victory standing l. with long cross in the l. hand	<b>**</b>	RIC 10 - 2653
288	7A	<b>VICTO-R-IA AVGG</b> , Victory standing l. with long cross in the l. hand	<b>**</b>	RSC – 201/8c
289	7A	<b>VICTO-R-IA AVGG</b> , Victory standing l. with long cross in the l. hand	<b>**</b>	RSC – 201/8b

#### *ARLES ?*

579 For the historical introduction see: TRIVERO RIVERA 2010b; MATHISEN 1998b; KENT 1994, p. 184; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 250.

580 The production of this series of demi-argentei could be attributed to the *Magister militum per Gallias* and faithful general of Majoran, Aegidius. He ruled the Northern Gaul in the name of the Emperor between 459 and 461 AD and when Majoran was executed and Libius Severus became the new Emperor, Aegidius never recognized him.

581 Such a legend is usually blundered and abridged: **VITO RGG** retrograde; **CC VIT**; **VOT AVCC**. They are however usually paired with fairly good Obverse dies.

End 458-459

Demi-argenteus

290	4?A	[ <b>VICTORIA AVGG</b> ], Victory standing l. with long cross in the l. hand <sup>582</sup>	<b>AxR</b>	TRIVERO RIVERA 2010b
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*RAVENNA ?*

457-458

Demi-argenteus

291	2A	<b>VOTIS MVLTTIS</b> , Emperor standing facing in military dress, with spear in the l. hand and shield in the r. hand <sup>583</sup>	?	RSC – 201/13
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Demi-Argenteus

292	6?A	<b>VICTORIA AVGG</b> , Victory standing l. with long cross in the l. hand	<b>RV</b>	- <sup>584</sup>
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582 The attribution of this coin to the mint of Arles is uncertain. Its crude style would even suggest a barbaric production. However, it cannot be completely ruled out the possibility that it was struck in the Gallic town after the Emperor had freed it from the Visigoths and decided to station there.

583 Such a specimen was recorded by Cathy King who anyway considers it a forgery. Perhaps a Ravenna prototype for the Gallic silver coins, as even Kent suggested (KENT 1994, note 2649), actually existed, but its existence still needs to be proved.

584 The existence of such a coin has been reported by Grierson and Mays (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 252) who have seen it in Berlin. A verification would be necessary.

## LIBIUS SEVERUS<sup>585</sup>

19 November 461 – 14 November 465 AD

Libius Severus, sometimes known as Severus III, was apparently a native of Lucania and was proclaimed emperor by the general Ricimer in 461 AD, about four months after the death of Majorian. He was never recognized by the government of the Eastern Empire, nor did he exercise any real power, since this was firmly in the hands of Ricimer. He died at Rome in November 465 AD, an event scarcely noticed by his contemporaries.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN LIB SEVE-RVS P F AVG** (1)  
**DN LIB SEVERVS P F AVG** (2)  
**DN LIB SEVERVS P F AV** (3)  
**DN LIB SEVERVS P AVG** (4)  
Obverse busts: Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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*ROME*

end 461<sup>586</sup>

Argenteus

293	2A	<b>VRBIS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b> <sup>587</sup>	RIC 10 - 2711
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Demi-argenteus<sup>588</sup>

294	?A	<b>VICTORIA AVG</b> , Victory advancing to l. with palm-brench in the l. hand and wreath in the r. hand.	<b>RM</b>	TANINI 1791 - 371
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beginning of 462<sup>589</sup>

Demi-argenteus

295	1A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 2712
296	2A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 2713
297	4A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RM</b>	RSC – 204/16b
298	3A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RM</b>	RSC – 204/16c

585 For the historical introduction see: MATHISEN 1997b; KENT 1994, p. 189; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 253.

586 Libius Severus was proclaimed emperor at Ravenna by Ricimer on 19 November 461. By the end of the same year him and his court have moved to Rome. The *argenteus* **VRBIS ROMA** and perhaps the *demi-argenteus* **VICTORIA AVG**, were struck on the occasion of his arrival in the former capital of the Western Empire.

587 Grierson and Mays report **SMPS** as mint-mark (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 254).

588 This specimen is unconfirmed.

589 These *demi-argentei* were most likely struck on the occasion of Severus' assumption of the Consulship.

## ANTHEMIUS<sup>590</sup>

12 April 467 – 11 July 472 AD

Anthemius was born in Constantinople and married Aelia Marcia Euphemia, the daughter of the Emperor Marcian, by whom he had one daughter and four sons. He adopted a military career, and was made Magister Militum by his father-in-law. He successfully campaigned against a band of Ostrogoths in Illyricum and later defeated a group of Huns who had seized Serdica. In 467 AD Leo I chose him to fill the vacant Western throne and sent him with an army to Italy where he was proclaimed Augustus. Anthemius gave his daughter Alypia in marriage to the general Ricimer in the hope of conciliating him, but Ricimer had no intention of surrendering his authority in the West. Finally, in 472 AD, Ricimer set up a rival emperor, Olybrius, and in the ensuing conflict Anthemius was slain by Ricimer's nephew, Gundobaudes.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN ANTHEMIVS P F AVG** (1)  
**DN ANTHEMI-VS P F AVG** (2)  
**DN ANTHEMIVS PERPET AVG** (3)  
**DN ANTHE-MIVS P F AVG** (4)

Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)  
Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (B)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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*MILAN* ?<sup>591</sup>

468-472

Demi-argenteus

299	1A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>No mark</b>	RIC 10 - 2904
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*ROME*

468-472

Argenteus<sup>592</sup>

300	??	<b>VRBIS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b>	-
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Demi-argenteus

301	1B	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 2854
302	2A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 2855
303	3A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 2856

590 For the historical introduction see: TRIVERO RIVERA 2011b; KENT 1994, p. 193; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 253.

591 Grierson and Mays would rather assign this coin to Rome (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 258).

592 This coin is not recorded so far however, since specimens in the name of Avitus, Libius Severus and especially Euphemia are do registered, its existence is not unexpected.

*UNCERTAIN GALLIC MINT ?*

468-472

Argenteus<sup>593</sup>

304	4A	<b>SALVS REI-PUBLICAE</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>CONOB</b>	RIC 10 - 2905
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593 Some specimens have blundered reverse legend (**SLVS REIPUBLICAE**). Perhaps not an official emission.

EUPHEMIA<sup>594</sup>

467 – 472 ? AD

Aelia Marcia Euphemia, the only daughter of Marcian, was married to Anthemius in 453 AD. She bore him four sons and one daughter and was probably made Augusta on her husband's accession to the Western throne in 467 AD. Her fate, following Anthemius' downfall in 472 AD, is unknown.

CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN AELIAE MARCIAE EVFIMI AG (1)**  
**DN AELIAE MARCIAE EVFIMI AVG (2)**  
**DN AELIAE MARCIAE PP EVFIMI IC (3)**  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed bust with pearl earrings and necklaces to r.  
(A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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*ROME*

468-472

Argenteus<sup>595</sup>

305	1A	<b>VRBIS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b>	RIC 10 - 2853
306	2A	<b>VRBIS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b>	RSC – 205/3
307	3A	<b>VRBIS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RMPS</b>	_ <sup>596</sup>

594 For the historical introduction see: LONGO 2009; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 260.

595 A specimen in bronze has been recorded by Caballero in 1965 (CABALLERO ALCAZAR 1965). Kent interpreted it as “the core of a plated silver forgery” (KENT 1994, note. 2853).

596 Grierson and Mays, on Cohen account, listed this obverse legend (GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 260).

## OLYBRIUS<sup>597</sup>

April – 2 November 472 AD

Anicius Olybrius was an aristocrat and one of the leading members of the Roman senate. In 455 AD he escaped to Constantinople when the Vandals attacked Rome, and seven years later he married Placidia, the younger daughter of Valentinian III, who had just been released from captivity in Carthage. In consequence of his marriage to Placidia, and that of Huneric to Eudocia (her sister), Olybrius was related to the Vandal king Gaiseric. After the death of Majorian in 461 AD Gaiseric supported Olybrius' claim to the Western throne, but Ricimer preferred the weak-willed Libius Severus. In 472 AD Leo I sent him to Italy to mediate between Ricimer and Anthemius, but instead he was proclaimed emperor by the general and succeeded the murdered Anthemius. However, he died of dropsy after ruling little more than six months.

### CATALOGUE

No silver coins were apparently struck in Olybrius' name<sup>598</sup>.  
Though their existence should not be excluded.

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597 For the historical introduction see: LÓPEZ SÁNCHEZ 2002; KENT 1994, pp. 197-198; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 262.

598 For a false *argenteus* in Olybrius name see KENT 1997, p. 40.

## GLYCERIUS<sup>599</sup>

5 March 473 – 24 June 474 AD

Glycerius became *Comes Domesticorum* in the West in 472 AD, under the Emperor Olybrius. The following year he was proclaimed Augustus at Ravenna, at the instigation of Gundobaudes, the nephew and successor of Ricimer, but Glycerius never received recognition from the East. Instead, the government of Constantinople ordered Julius Nepos, the military governor of Dalmatia, to invade Italy and overthrow the usurper. Deserted by his patron Gundobaudes, Glycerius gave up without a struggle and was dethroned at Portus, near the mouth of the Tiber.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN GLYCER-IVS P F AVG (1)**

Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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*ROME*

473-474

Demi-argenteus

308	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AVGGG</b> , Victory advancing l. with wreath in the right hand and palm-branch in the left hand <sup>600</sup> .	<b>RM</b>	RIC 10 - 3111
309	1A	<b>VICTOR-IA AAVGGG</b> , Victory advancing l. with wreath in the right hand and palm-branch in the left hand.	<b>RM</b>	GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 264
310	1A	<b>Chi-Ro</b> within wreath <sup>601</sup>	<b>COMOB</b>	GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 264

599 For the historical introduction see: MATHISEN 1998c; KENT 1994, p. 201; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 263-264.

600 The other two Augusti perhaps Leo II and Zeno.

601 The authenticity of this specimen is doubtful.

## JULIUS NEPOS<sup>602</sup>

24 June 474 – 28 August 475 AD  
and  
477 – 9 May 480 AD

Julius Nepos, son of Nepotianus, was the nephew of Marcellinus who, as *Magister Militum* in Dalmatia, had personal control of the area from 454 to 468 AD. On the death of Marcellinus the administration of Dalmatia passed into the hands of Nepos. In 474 AD he was put in command of an army by Leo I, with orders to attack Italy and depose the usurper Glycerius, a task which he successfully accomplished. He was then proclaimed emperor at Rome, in June 474 AD, and for the last time in Roman history Eastern and Western Augusti reigned in unison. His failure to win the support of the Western troops, largely barbarian, was to prove his downfall, since he had to promote a Western general as commander. In 475 AD Orestes was appointed *Magister Militum* by Nepos and within a few months had raised the standard of revolt and had elevated to imperial rank his own young son Romulus. Nepos, realizing the hopelessness of his position, fled back to Dalmatia in August 475 AD and remained there as an emperor in exile until his assassination five years later.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN IVL NE-POS P F AVG** (1)  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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#### *UNCERTAIN GALLIC MINT (LYON ?)*

474-475

Demi-argenteus<sup>603</sup>

311	1A	† within wreath	Pseudo mark	BOURGEOIS 1998
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#### *RAVENNA*

474-475

Argenteus

312	1A	<b>VRBIS ROMA</b> , Roma seated to l. on cuirass, with Victory on globe in the r. hand and reversed spear in the l. hand.	<b>RVPS</b>	RIC 10 - 3215
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Demi-argenteus

602 For the historical introduction see: MATHISEN 1998d; KENT 1994, p. 204; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, pp. 266-267.

603 Only two demi-*argentei* of this type are known. They were found during the archaeological excavation of the Ortiguet cave in the Sainte-Eulalie-de-Cernon region, France. They were most likely struck by Ecdicius, son of the Emperor Avitus, on the occasion of his appointment to *Magister Militum Presentalis* in 474 AD by Iulius Nepos. Ecdicius was since 471 AD in charge of the defence of the Auvergne against the Visigoth; perhaps the demi-*argentei* were struck in the near mint of Lyon and distributed to people during the celebrations for Ecdicius elevation. When Iulius Nepos finally exchanged with the Visigoths the Auvergne for Provence, people from that region probably decided to abandon it bringing with them also the silver coins found in the cave. (BOURGEOIS 1998, pp. 17-20).

313	1A	No legend. Turreted figure of Ravenna standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	<b>R   V / -</b>	RIC 10 - 3216
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*ROME*

474-475

Demi-argenteus<sup>604</sup>

314	1A	No legend. Turreted figure of Ravenna standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	<b>R   M / -</b>	RSC – 207/15b.
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*Uncertain Mint*

474-475 ?

Demi-argenteus<sup>605</sup>

315	1A <sup>606</sup>	<b>GLORIA RO-MANORVM</b> , Roma enthroned facing, head to right, with inverted spear and globe.	<b>COMOB</b>	RIC 10 - 3254
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604 A false from Cigoï is recorded (BRUNETTI 1966 - 416), but it cannot be ruled out that an original prototype existed.

605 Perhaps a Visigothic production.

606 A cross above the head.

## ROMULUS AUGUSTUS<sup>607</sup>

31 October 475 – 4 September 476 AD

Romulus Augustus, nicknamed Augustulus, the last Roman emperor in the West, was set up as a puppet ruler by his father Orestes, the Master of Soldiers, who had driven out the legitimate Emperor Julius Nepos. A few months later Odoacer, leader of the German mercenaries, rebelled against Orestes and established the first barbarian kingdom in Italy. Romulus was deposed but allowed to live because of his extreme youth and beauty. He retired to a relative's estate in Campania where he spent the remainder of his days as a private citizen.

### CATALOGUE

Obverse legends: **DN ROMVL AV-GVSTVS P F AVG** (1)  
Obverse busts: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed to r. (A)

N°	Obv.	Reverse	Mint-mark	Reference
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*RAVENNA*

475-476

Demi-argenteus

316	1 <sup>608</sup> A	No legend. Turreted figure of Ravenna standing to l. with long sceptre in the right hand and cornucopiae in the left hand; right foot on prow.	<b>R   V / -</b>	RIC 10 - 3413
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607 For the historical introduction see: MATHISEN 1997c; KENT 1994, p. 210; GRIERSON-MAYS 1992, p. 269.  
608 Cohen recorded the form **ROM AVGVSTVS** (Coh. 7).

## CONCLUSIONS

As it has been discussed and demonstrated, in half of the fourth century AD and for the whole fifth century AD, silver was abundant. The white metal did circulate and was used a lot for different kinds of payments as well as to manufacture astonishing silverware. Moreover, until the beginning of the fifth century AD plenty of silver coins were struck, mainly for payments to armies and, perhaps, also as everyday value (*argentei*). Nevertheless, in the course of the fifth century AD silver denominations virtually disappeared. This phenomenon was most likely due to economic reasons which led to a fundamental change in the circulation of such denominations (mainly *argentei*): from a face value they started to be exchanged by their intrinsic value/weight.

On the market a pound of refined silver (the one used for coining), at the beginning of the fifth century AD, was worth almost the same as a pound of raw metal. At these rates and with gold denominations dominating the markets it became meaningless for the Imperial Authority to mint silver coins as circulation value and the owners of white metal preferred to keep it and use it to show their own status. In this period, indeed many fine silver objects were manufactured.

As to this idea of silver as a sort of prestigious metal, it might be thought that silver coins were struck only for celebratory occasions both to show the munificence of the celebrant, who scattered and handed out largesse, and to represent a kind of “tokens of memory”.

In this context it is not hard to believe that once collected, silver denominations might have been even melted down to create ingots or silverware.

Plenty of hoards and treasures containing silverware, silver coins and even scrap silver metal, from the second half of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth centuries AD, have also been discovered. The typical Late Roman phenomenon of hoarding, though, cannot be connected exclusively to the idea of collecting to display one’s own status or saving for “rainy days”, other factors could have played a fundamental role in such a process. Cultural traditions, gift-exchange transactions, funeral and religious rituals or even ideology have to be considered as factors triggering the process of hoarding. Hobbs’ words explain that very clearly: “it does not exist a ‘unified theory of hoarding’: no single explanation is ever likely to suffice for either individual acts of burial or sets of hoards. Context is of overriding importance to understand both individual finds and whole sets of deposits, be it the archaeological context on an individual discovery, or the spatial and chronological context of whole groups”<sup>609</sup>.

The same principle must be applied to another widespread practice in the course of the Late Roman Empire and that affected especially silver coins: clipping.

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609 HOBBS 2006, p. 134.

In almost every hoard containing second half of fourth century *argentei*, there were cut edges to different degrees. Perhaps till the very beginning of the fifth century AD, when there was still an abundant production of *argentei* both as an everyday value and for the *stipendia* of the soldiers, the clipping, directed most likely to the illicit recovery of the white metal, had to be light not to invalidate their value but, since the Authority did not intervene to regulate the phenomenon on these specific denominations, it had to become rapidly an epidemic destroying the silver coin circulation. This could be either one of the causes or a consequence of the change in the use of such a denomination from a face value to an intrinsic value/weight. What seems to be reasonable is that as soon as on the market refined silver started to be almost equal to raw white metal<sup>610</sup>, the clipping had to become meaningless: *argentei*, especially the clipped ones, became possibly a sort of scrap metal comparable with *hacksilber*, to be exchanged by weight if not melted down into ingots or fine silverware. This could even explain why within the territories of the Roman Empire there are nearly no hoards of clipped *argentei*: they were melted down!

The rare silver coinage of the fifth century AD is apparently not affected by the clipping activity. The new status of “celebratory value” of the silver denominations in the fifth century AD had apparently to save them from that malpractice: representing a sort of “coins of memory” they were out of circulation; at most, once collected, they might have been melted down to create ingots or silverware.

An element that definitely drove such a practice was the surprisingly extreme purity of the silver coinage introduced with the Valentinian I and Valens monetary reform in 366/367 AD. From that moment till the end of the Ostrogothic Kingdom the content of fineness of silver coins (mostly *argentei*) was never below 95%, something that could have raised the yearning of many people.

Another striking element of the Late Roman silver coinage is its relationship with the gold coinage. Despite the different gold:silver ratios registered, or simply hinted, by the ancient sources, in fact, (1:12, 1:14,4, 1:15, 1:18), between the second half of the fourth century AD and, at least, till the end of the sixth century AD, the actual gold:silver ratio was steady at 1:14,4. The relative value of the two metals did not “vary from time to time, place to place or according to shifts of government policy”<sup>611</sup> but it was fixed during the whole Late Antiquity. This “stability” determined also the defined weights of the silver coins during the whole period in question.

Even the smaller denominations like the so called “*siliquae*” and “half-*siliquae*” were most likely produced *al marco*: “so many pieces struck to the Roman pound without any attempt at control of the weights of individual coins”; the other ones, namely the *miliarenses* and the multiples, were

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610 See Chapter 1.

611 KENT 1994, p. 13. Of the same idea was Hendy: HENDY 1985, p. 480.

struck *al pezzo*: “so many pieces to the pound but within quite narrow margins of accuracy and with the weight of each coin being checked before it left the mint”. On the assumption of *libra* weighing 326 g., today seven different Late Roman silver denominations can be listed: multiples of  $1/3^{\text{rd}}$ ,  $1/4^{\text{th}}$ ,  $1/24^{\text{th}}$  and  $1/60^{\text{th}}$  of the pound; *Miliarenses* ( $1/72^{\text{nd}}$  of the pound); *argentei* and *demi-argentei*. Not all of them were continuously struck during the whole period: some denominations are actually known only for a single authority.

The main goal of this critical analysis of the Late Roman silver coinage is not only to give an overview of the topic focusing on some particular and interesting aspects, but also to bring light and attention on a numismatic topic often neglected because of the lack of interest and information. In the light of some fundamental studies and publications carried out in the course of 1980s and 90s, some new ideas and theories have been developed together with an important update of all the Late Roman silver coins known so far.

All this was possible not only thanks to the support of GAUK but also thanks to stimulating and helpful discussions with friends and colleagues. No less fundamentally important has been the guidance of the faculty members of the Institute of Classical Archaeology and last but not least, the supervision of Doc. Vaclav Marek.

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231. FORVM ANCIENT COINS, lot. 8479.
232. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH and Co. KG, Auction 124 (16 March 2007), lot. 9455.
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238. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 62 (06. 10. 2011), lot. 2100.
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242. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 29 (11. 05. 2005), lot. 647.
243. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 100 (20. 11. 2000), lot. 668
244. Trau sale catalogue, lot. 4467.

## PLATES

ARCADIUS

Plate I



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20 (Eugenius)



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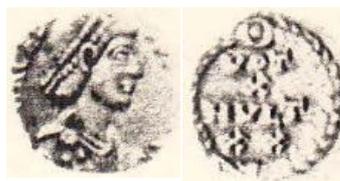
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EUDOXIA



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THEODOSIUS II



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PULCHERIA

Plate VII



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EUDOCIA



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MARCIAN



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LEO I



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Plate IX



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BASILISCUS



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ZENO

Plate X



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HONORIUS

Plate XI



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Plate XII



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Plate XIII



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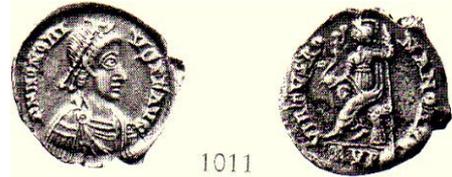
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Plate XIV



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CONSTANTINE III



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Plate XV



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CONSTANS II



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MAXIMUS



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JOVINUS



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Plate XVI



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SEBASTIAN



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PRISCUS ATTALUS



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Plate XVII



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CONSTANTIUS III



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JOHANNES



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GALLA PLACIDIA



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VALENTINIAN III



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Plate XVIII



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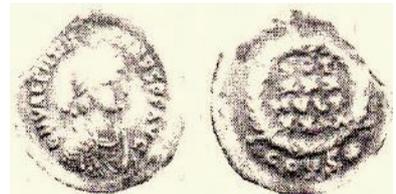
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LICINIA EUDOXIA



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AVITUS



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Plate XIX



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MAJORIAN



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LIBIUS SEVERUS



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ANTHEMIUS



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304

EUEMIA

Plate XX



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GLYCERIUS



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JULIUS NEPOS



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ROMULUS AUGUSTUS



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## COINS IN THE CATALOGUE

1. DOCLR - 73 (1,98 g., 17 mm., 0°).
2. RIC 9 – pl. 12, n. 15.
3. National Museum of Copenhagen, inv: KP 1054 (1,76 g., 17,36 mm., 0°).
4. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 112 (25.11.2002), lot. 918 (2,07 g., 18 mm.).
5. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 138 (26.11.2007), lot 927 (4,32 g.).
6. Gorny & Mosch Giessener Münzhandlung, Auction 118 (15.10.2002), lot. 2446 (2,06 g.).
7. KENT 1996 (4,20 g.).
8. RIC 10 – 51
9. iNumis, Public Auction December 2010 (14.12.2010), lot. 68 (1,44 g.).
10. Portable Antiquities Scheme, ID WAW-36AFD7 (1,3 g., 13,99 mm.)
11. DOCLR - 206 (1,17 g., 14 mm., 180°).
12. National Museum of Copenhagen, inv: Th 2 (1,86 g., 17,65 mm., 0°).
13. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 174 (27.09.2010), lot. 1069 (1,64 g.).
14. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 158 (28.09.2009), lot. 857 (1,34 g.).
15. CGB.fr, MONNAIES 27 (19.10.2006), lot. 501 (1,94 g., 19 mm.).
16. Jean Elsen & ses Fils S.A., Auction 103 (12.12.2009), lot. 340 (0,94 g.).
17. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 10 (9-10.04.1997), lot. 1925 (3,63 g.).
18. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 7 (1.03.1994), lot. 854 (4,52 g.).
19. RIC 10 – 1229
20. [http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/RIC9/RIC9\\_Mediolanum.htm](http://www.ancientcoins.ca/RIC/RIC9/RIC9_Mediolanum.htm) (Eugenius – 4,06 g.)
21. CGB.fr. (1,39 g., 16 mm., 180°)
22. RIC 10 – 1230
23. RIC 10 – 1222
24. RIC 10 – 1220
25. Jean Elsen & ses Fils S.A., Auction 97 (13.09.2008), lot. 309 (1,00 g.)
26. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 7 (1.03.1994), lot. 861 (5,13 g.).
27. <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/t.html> (1.05 grams; 14.71 mm.).
28. RIC 10 – 1233
29. -
30. <http://www.ukdfd.co.uk/ukdfddata/showrecords.php?product=23420> (0,8 grams; 15,25 mm.).
31. Paolucci-Zub 2000 – 808 (1,41 g.)
32. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 62 (06.10.2011), lot. 2117 (13.49 g.).
33. Hx 564.

34. Paolucci-Zub 2000 – 809 (4,51 g.).
35. Paolucci-Zub 2000 – 810 (0,99 g.).
36. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auction 398 (28.04.2009), lot. 582 (1,48 g.).
37. Kubitschek 377.
38. <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/arcadius/t.html>
39. RIC 9 – pl. 8, n. 14.
40. -
41. Hx 690.
42. RIC 10 – 1264.
43. Gerhard Hirsch Nachfolger, Auction 279 (08.02.2012), lot. 2871 (1,37 g.).
44. RIC 10 – 1266.
45. -
46. RIC 10 – 1260.
47. RIC 10 – 1293.
48. RIC 10 – 1295.
49. RIC 10 – 1296.
50. Numismatica Ars Classica 33 (6 April 2006), 617 (4,46g, 25mm.).
51. RIC 10 - 50
52. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 100 (20.11.2000), lot. 651 (5,10 g., 24 mm)
53. -
54. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 123 (30.05.2005), lot 960 (4,22 g., 23 mm)
55. Web - 1,88 g, 18mm, 6h
56. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Auction 87 (08.12.2010), lot. 904 (5,06g)
57. Hess-Divo AG, Auction 314 (04.05.2009), lot 1667 (4,30 g.)
58. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 156 (17.01.2007), lot 404 (2 g., 19 mm)
59. Stack's, The Golden Horn Collection (12.01.2009), lot. 3024 (2,18 g., 6 h)
60. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 29 (11.05.2005), lot. 659 (1.88 g., 18 mm)
61. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 104 (27.09.2005), lot. 646
62. RIC 10 – 378
63. Web – 1,30 g., 16 mm., 7 h
64. -
65. FORVM ANCIENT COINS , lot. 8479 (4,11 g., 22,6 mm., 180°)
66. Hess-Divo AG, Auction 298 (22.10.2003), lot. 1134 (1,38 g.)
67. Freeman & Sear, Mail Bid Sale 14 (21.06.2007), lot. 527 (4,31 g.)

68. Baldwin's Auctions Ltd, Auctions 62-63 (29.09.2009), lot. 130 (4,11 g.)
69. Hahn 1989 – 59.3
70. RIC 10 - 2094
71. Web
72. RIC 10 - 2099
73. Web – 0,61 g.
74. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 10 (9-10.04.1997), lot. 728 (2,12 g.).
75. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 10 (9-10.04.1997), lot. 729 (1,16 g.).
76. Gemini, LLC, Auction VI (10.01.2010), lot. 586 (0,95 g.)
77. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Mail Bid Sale 61 (25.09.2002), lot. 2149 (3,72 g.)
78. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 25 (25.06.2003), lot. 625 (1,85 g., 19 mm.)
79. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 100 (20.11.2000), lot. 661 (1,94 g., 18 mm.)
80. RIC 10 – 387
81. Web
82. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 64 (17.05.2012), lot. 1351 (1,44 g.)
83. Web – 2,19 g., 16 mm.
84. Naville Numismatics Ltd, Live Auction 1 (15.06.2013), lot. 208 (1,45 g., 16 mm)
85. -
86. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 27 (12.05.2004), lot. 539 (6,07 g., 24 mm.)
87. Auktionshaus H. D. Rauch GmbH, Mail Bid Sale 10 (02.03.2006), lot. 872 (5,03 g.)
88. RIC 10 – 527
89. Web – 1,35 g., 19 mm.
90. RIC 10 – 529
91. RIC 10 – 530
92. RIC 10 – 532
93. Hahn 1989 – 20
94. Hahn 1989 – 28
95. Hahn 1989 – 17
96. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 135 (21.05.2007), lot. 969 (5,32 g., 24 mm.)
97. Hahn 1989 – 18c
98. Hahn 1989 – 18a
99. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 109 (27.05.2002), lot. 907 (4,31 g.)
100. Hahn 1989 – 19a
101. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 281 (20.06.2012), lot 466 (1,52 g., 15

- mm., 6h)
102. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 167 (27.06.2007), lot 466 (0,60 g., 14 mm.)
  103. RIC 10 - 647
  104. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 62 (13.03.2001), lot. 895 (1,15 g.)
  105. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 100 (20.11.2000), lot. 678 (1,25 g., 17 mm.)
  106. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 125 (28.11.2005), lot. 1192 (2,09 g., 18 mm.)
  107. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 97 (07.03.2005), lot. 1982 (1,30 g.)
  108. Hahn 1989 – 22
  109. -
  110. National Museum of Copenhagen, inv: Th 50 (1,08 g., 13,09 mm., 180°)
  111. RIC 10 – 2527
  112. -
  113. Hahn 1989 – 12
  114. RIC 10 – 3306
  115. National Museum of Copenhagen, inv: KP 162 (0,70 g, 11,36 mm, 160°)
  116. Leu Numismatik, Auktion 65 (Zurich 1996), lot. 538 (0,97 g.)
  117. Hahn 1989 – 20
  118. -
  119. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Mail Bid Sale 61 (25.09.2002) lot. 2166 (2,04 g.)
  120. Hahn 1989 – 21a
  121. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 102 (28.05.2001), lot. 1075 (2,13 g.)
  122. Hahn 1989 – 22.1
  123. Web
  124. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Electronic Auction 40 (22.10.2001), lot. 64662 (0,91 g.)
  125. Web - Ancient Numismatic Coins, June 2012 (0,87 g., 14 mm.)
  126. RIC 10 - 3617
  127. Web
  128. RIC 10 - 3620
  129. -
  130. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 174 (27.09.2010), lot. 1113 (0,87 g.)
  131. -
  132. RIC 10 - 3624
  133. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Sale: Triton XV (2 January 2012), lot. 1571 (0,84 g, 15

mm., 12 h)

134. Web - Ancient Numismatic Coins, June 2012 (0,85 g., 15,40 mm.)
135. -
136. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Sale: Triton XII (5 January 2009), lot. 797 (0,77 g., 6h)
137. -
138. -
139. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 141 (26.05.2008), lot. 864 (0,80 g.)
140. Web - Ancient Numismatic Coins, June 2012
141. Web.
142. RIC 10 - 3648
143. Web.
144. Web.
145. Stoll 2000 – 243
146. PCR 3 – 1495 (1 g.)
147. RIC 10 – 1360
148. Ferrando 1997 – 1542
149. CGB.fr, MONNAIES 13 (30.07.2001), lot. 1399 (1,56 g., 18 mm., 12 h.)
150. -
151. -
152. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 7 (1994), lot. 876 (3,8 g.)
153. -
154. Pegasi Numismatics, Auction XXVIII (29.05.2013), lot. 663 (1,23 g.)
155. RIC 10 - 1217
156. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc. Electronic Auction (11.08.2010), lot. 632 (1,54 g., 16 mm., 12 h)
157. RIC 10 - 1219
158. Leu Numismatik, Auktion 65 (Zurich 1996), lot. 514 (1,27 g.)
159. Web (1,33 g., 14 mm.)
160. RIC 10 – 1236
161. -
162. -
163. Dr. Busso Peus Nachfolger, Auction 386 (26.04.2006), lot. 875 (1, 59 g.)
164. Numismatik Lanz München, Auktion 36 (1986), lot. 906 (4,20 g.)
165. ArtCoins Roma s.r.l., Auction 5 (14.05.2012), lot. 767 (1,76 g., 18 mm., 11 h)

166. RIC 10 - 1244
167. -
168. Hess-Divo AG, Auction 41 (1969), lot. 710 (0,92 g.)
169. RIC 10 - 1270
170. Leu Numismatik AG, Auction 86 (05.05.2003), lot. 1047 (13,44 g.)
171. -
172. -
173. -
174. Gemini, LLC, Auction IV, (08.01.2008), lot. 523 (0,67 g.)
175. RIC 10 - 1315
176. Web
177. RIC 10 - 1298
178. RIC 10 - 1294
179. Web
180. RIC 10 - 1314
181. Web (1,81 g.)
182. RIC 10 -1317
183. -
184. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Sale: Triton XIII (4 January 2010), lot. 413 (1,02 g., 12h)
185. RIC 10 - 1344
186. Web (1,64 g.)
187. Web (5,18 g., 24 mm.)
188. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 138 (26.11.2007), lot. 937 (4,60 g., 24 mm.)
189. Web
190. Ira & Larry Goldberg Coins & Collectibles, Inc., Auction 72 (03.02.2013), lot. 4632 (2,1 g.)
191. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 33 (06.04.2006), lot. 619 (4,28 g., 23 mm)
192. Web
193. Web (1,95 g.)
194. RIC 10 - 380
195. Web (4,5 g.)
196. RIC 10 - 1525
197. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 64 (17.05.2012), lot. 1341 (2,07 g.)
198. -
199. Web (1,3 g.)

200. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 204 (11.02.2009), lot. 119 (1,47 g., 16 mm., 7h)
201. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Coin Shop, inv. 182491 (1,34 g.)
202. -
203. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Coin Shop, inv. 859939 (1,18 g., 17 mm., 12h)
204. RIC 10 - 1545
205. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 135 (15.03.2006), lot. 248 (1,67 g., 14 mm.)
206. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 278 (25.04.2012), lot. 412 (1,05 g., 12 mm., 5h)
207. Web (1,55 g., 17 mm.)
208. RIC 10 - 1535
209. -
210. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Coin Shop, inv. 802959 (1,76 g., 16 mm., 6h)
211. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Coin Shop, inv. 824388 (1,51 g., 16 mm., 6h)
212. Aufhauser 14 (06.10.1998), lot. 541 (1,68 g.)
213. Aufhauser 14 (06.10.1998), lot. 542 (1,36 g.)
214. Numismatica Ars Classica, Auction 42 (20.11.2007), lot. 237 (1,58 g., 17 mm.)
215. RIC 10 - 1537
216. Kunker Auction 193, MÜNZEN AUS DER WELT DER ANTIKE, lot. 1041 (1,35 g.)
217. Lafaurie 1953
218. Tkalec (26.03.1991), lot. 520 (1,56 g.)
219. Maison Palombo, Auction 9 (26.06.2010), lot. 60 (1,43 g.)
220. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 72 (16.05.2013), lot. 794 (1,34 g.)
221. Web
222. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Auction 64 (24.09.2003), lot. 1226 (0,93 g.)
223. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Coin Shop, inv. 734320 (1,30 g.)
224. -
225. RIC 10 - 1713
226. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Auction 84 (05.05.2010), lot. 1578 (1,51 g., 15 mm., 1h)
227. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Auction 69 (08.06.2005), lot. 1578 (1,40 g., 1h)
228. -
229. Web (1,7 g., 14 mm.)
230. -

231. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Coin Shop, inv. 831200 (1,80 g., 15 mm., 1h)
232. RIC 10 - 1722
233. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 258 (22.06.2011), lot. 488 (1,29 g., 15 mm., 5h)
234. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 82 (04.02.2004), lot. 226 (1,90 g., 15 mm.)
235. Stoll 2000 - 248
236. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 54 (24.03.2010), lot. 655 (1,32 g.)
237. -
238. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Sale: Triton X (09.01.2007), lot. 814 (1,37 g., 12h)
239. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 75 (18.11.2013), lot. 373 (1,89 g.)
240. Staatliche Museen zu Berlin – Münzkabinett, inv. 18200872 (75,12 g., 50 mm., 11 h)
241. UBS Gold & Numismatics, Auction 78 (09.09.2008), lot. 2020 (2 g.)
242. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 40 (16.05.2007), lot. 899 (1,77 g., 17 mm.)
243. RIC 10 - 1409
244. Web
245. RIC 10 – 1413
246. RIC 10 – 3701
247. RIC 10 – 3702
248. RIC 10 – 1417
249. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 100 (20.11.2000), lot. 668 (0,94 g., 14 mm.)
250. RIC 10 - 1907
251. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 40 (16.05.2007), lot. 903 (0,90 g., 13 mm.)
252. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 64 (17.05.2012), lot. 1359 (2,21 g.)
253. -
254. Web
255. Numismatica Ars Classica NAC AG, Auction 40 (16.05.2007), lot. 889 (1,20 g., 13 mm.)
256. RIC 10 – 2083
257. -
258. -
259. -
260. -
261. The New York Sale, Auction XXIII (06.01.2010), lot. 279 (0,91 g.)
262. -

263. Grierson 1983.
264. Web
265. Ira and Larry Goldberg Auctioneers, Sale 11, lot. 1534
266. -
267. Web (2,13 g., 16 mm., 12h)
268. Hess-Divo AG, Auction 311 (22.10.2008), lot. 622 (1,06 g.)
269. PCR 3 – 1539 (0,85 g., 6h)
270. PCR 3 – 1541 (2 g., 12h)
271. -
272. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Electronic Auction 276 (21.03.2012), lot. 480 (0,97 g., 14 mm., 12 h)
273. Roma Numismatics Limited, Auction 5 (23.03.2013), lot. 924 (0,72g., 12 mm., 1 h)
274. -
275. RIC 10 - 2080
276. Roma Numismatics Limited, Auction 3 (31.03.2012), lot.559 (2,09 g., 18 mm., 6 h)
277. RIC 10 - 2081
278. PCR 3 – 1545 (2,06 g., 6h)
279. Michaels-Sear 1992.
280. Michaels-Sear 1992.
281. National Museum of Copenhagen, inv: Ramus 2 (0,73 g., 13,22 mm., 0°).
282. RIC 10 – 2410
283. RIC 10 – 2649
284. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 100 (20.11.2000), lot. 676 (0,6 g., 11 mm.)
285. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Sale 87 (18.05.2011), lot. 1183 (0,72 g., 12 mm., 6h)
286. CGB.fr, MONNAIES 49 (30.06.2011), lot. 961 (0,65 g., 11 mm., 5h)
287. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Sale 72 (14.06.2006), lot. 1942 (0,72 g., 6h)
288. -
289. -
290. Paul-Francis Jacquier, Auction 37 (07.09.2012), lot. 677 (0,60 g.)
291. -
292. -
293. RIC 10 - 2711
294. -
295. Classical Numismatic Group, Inc., Sale: Triton XI (07.01.2008), lot. 1048 (0,96 g., 6h)

296. Fritz Rudolf Künker GmbH & Co. KG, Auction 174 (27.09.2010), lot. 1106 (0,81 g.)
297. -
298. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 100 (20.11.2000), lot. 681 (0,77 g., 13 mm.)
299. Sammlung Franz Trau, Münzen der Römischen kaiser, Wien 1935, lot. 4704
300. -
301. Web
302. -
303. RIC 10 – 2856
304. RIC 10 – 2905
305. Web
306. -
307. -
308. RIC 10 – 3111
309. -
310. -
311. Bourgeois 1998
312. RIC 10 - 3215
313. Numismatik Lanz München, Auction 100 (20.11.2000), lot. 682 (1,09 g., 12 mm.)
314. -
315. -
316. UBS Gold & Numismatics, Auction 78 (09.09.2008), lot. 2047 (0,81 g.)