

THE  
ROMAN IMPERIAL  
COINAGE

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IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

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VOL. IX

VALENTINIAN I—THEODOSIUS I

BY

J. W. E. PEARCE, M.A., F.S.A.

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WITH INTRODUCTIONS TO THE MINTS AND 16 PLATES

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## FOREWORD

THE past year has seen the completion of the first long stage of *Roman Imperial Coinage*, which now extends without interruption from 31 B.C. to A.D. 296. With the present volume a fresh section, of great importance, is begun. The imperial coinage of the fourth century has not indeed lacked previous attention; but hitherto there has not been any very convenient classification, period by period, of the varied issues of the many decentralized mints of the later empire—for it is by mints, rather than by emperors, that the coinage of this period must be primarily arranged.

In Mr. J. W. E. Pearce, the author of the present volume, we had the good fortune to find a scholar uniquely qualified, by deep and long study, to write the history of the coinage from A.D. 364 to 395. His death, at the age of 86, occurred only a few weeks before the publication of his work. The following pages, constituting what is perhaps the finest piece of close numismatic research in his generation, will stand as a monument of his characteristic strength, simplicity, and modesty. His volume is a remarkable personal triumph—the crown of long years of patient observation and very wide travel—and will inevitably become the essential basis of subsequent research into this period. Mr. Pearce's services in condensing so clearly the complex problems of these years of collegiate Empire and multiple coinages will, we are sure, meet with admiration and gratitude.

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## PREFACE

THE coinage with which this volume deals is that of the partitioned empire. At its head was the imperial College, consisting of two, three, or four Augusti, ruling or titular. Each division of the empire had its own mints, which struck, in bronze at least, with strict uniformity of type and legend in obedience to instructions from a central authority. In each issue the striking emperor included obverses of his colleagues by the side of his own.

It is the numismatist's task to fit this coinage into its historical framework. Clearly, individual coins can tell us little or nothing. Grouped, they may tell us much, but only when we can feel assured by wide research in every available quarter that we have the complete evidence before us.

Early numismatists paid little serious attention to this coinage, except in its bearing on metrological problems. The twenties of this century, however, marked a great advance in our knowledge and appreciation of the historical value of this late coinage. In England the excavations at the Roman fort at Richborough had unearthed many thousands of specimens, and F. S. Salisbury, who reported on them, was able to throw much light on a very obscure period of Roman history. My own preoccupation with this coinage began at the same time. Helping with the decipherment of the coins, many of them corroded and only partly legible, I felt that a list of mint-marks taken from clear museum specimens would limit the possibility of error; and I visited many museums at home and abroad. My interest grew to include the whole of the coinage from A.D. 364 to 395 as the result especially of two numismatic works which came to my notice. The first of these was Prof. A. Alföldi's *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien*, a brilliant exposition of method in seeking evidence and of skill in turning it to the service of history. The second was Baron von Koblitz's *In der Münzstätte Treveri geprägte Münzen von Valentinianus senior bis zum Aufhören der Prägung*, the first instalment of the much needed Corpus of the late Roman coinage, and the result of forty years of research. Unhappily, the work was cut short at this stage by the author's sudden death. At the ensuing sale of his numismatic effects I secured the volume of Cohen in which he had entered many marginal notes on the late coinage, and quotations from these will be found in this book.

Meanwhile I had made considerable progress with my own lists, which were published in 1931-3 in Spink's *Numismatic Circular* as *Roman Coinage from A.D. 364 to 423*. Unless stated otherwise, I had personally verified the existence of all the coins and had not felt it necessary for my own purposes to note where each had been seen by me, as Koblitz had done. So the note 'confirmation required' in the reference columns of my

present lists in the following pages is not intended to throw any doubt on the authenticity of a coin but implies simply that I do not now remember where I saw it. The war was responsible for the loss of many of my references, in particular those based on the illustrations from sale catalogues classified in the Coin Room of the British Museum under mints and emperors. As Mr. Mattingly's key to the numbered arrangement, in which he had listed several hundred catalogues, was destroyed in the bombing raid of 1941, my references were rendered useless.

The claims of this long-neglected period of Roman coinage to serious study were now fully established, and valuable work by Sig. Laffranchi, Baron Ulrich-Bansa, and the late Dr. Elmer threw a fresh light on much that had previously been obscure. Elmer, besides his *Eugenius*, which contained much of numismatic interest and value beyond the limits of its title, had prepared for the press a chronological arrangement of the fourth-century coinage based on his theory of a travelling imperial mint for the precious metals, and the correspondence of mint-marks on the coins with the place of issue of rescripts in the Codex Theodosianus. Whether his manuscript is preserved and we shall have an opportunity of judging and profiting by his work, I do not know.

Quite recently, Ulrich-Bansa's monumental work *Moneta Mediolanensis* has appeared. Much attention is devoted to the discussion and elucidation of the coin problems of our period. The author has an intimate knowledge of the coinage, and an independence of judgement which makes him critical of some conclusions hitherto regarded by me as established.

It is safe to say that, of the few but all undoubtedly earnest students of this coinage, no two would be in complete agreement either on its exact arrangement or its historical implications, either because they have different evidence before them or because they interpret the same evidence differently. It is well to remember that our study is comparatively young and that dogmatism is dangerous. While many points of detail await further research, I have myself the firm conviction—whether shared by others, I do not know—that there are two main issues at stake in our period, viz. (1) the struggle of the East against Western pretensions to primacy in the partitioned empire, and (2) when that had been won, Theodosius' rise to supreme power by undermining the sovereign rights of Valentinian I's sole surviving son.

My evidence is based mainly on the three following assumptions with which I have dealt at length in the General Introduction and in my paper 'Aes-coinage of Valentinian I, the Evidence from Hoards' in *Num. Chron.* 1948, pp. 66 ff.

1. *Aes* is the chosen medium for imperial propaganda. My other two assumptions are based on evidence which is self-consistent only on coins of this metal.

2. The *vota* figures which show the status of the emperor in the imperial College could be calculated either on the older decennial or on the later quinquennial reckoning. Theodosius regularly dismisses Valentinian II's senior status by the use of those alternative styles of reckoning.
3. The unbroken style of obverse legend during our period always implied irresponsibility and dependence on a colleague of more mature age.

I have included in my lists some excessively rare issues, purely local and evidently not struck as part of the regular currency which is extant in thousands of specimens. No doubt they, like the 'Isis' coins at Rome, could pass in currency; but I think that they were intended for free distribution among the populace on festive occasions at which we can only guess.

The degrees of rarity which I have attributed to the coins must necessarily be based on general impressions only, which will vary with different numismatists. If I know a coin only as unique I feel it difficult to rank it otherwise than as R<sup>5</sup>. This can hardly be more misleading than Cohen's valuation of some such coins at a few francs.

As regards the very important but very vexed question of metrology, I confine myself to noting the changes as I see them in the currency from time to time and leaving their explanation to economists.

My researches into this coinage have led me far afield and everywhere I have met with ready help. I owe grateful thanks for the facilities for study afforded me by the Directors of the public collections at the British Museum, Oxford, Cambridge, and Glasgow, and abroad at Belgrade University, Berlin, Bonn, Brussels, Budapest, Copenhagen, Dortmund, Gotha, The Hague, Leningrad, Milan, Paris, Rome, Syracuse, Trier, Vienna, and Zagreb.

Private collectors have been no less kind. In particular Baron Ulrich-Bansa has most generously put at my service his intimate knowledge of this late coinage and his splendid collection.

The casts for the illustration of this volume have all, by the kindness of the Keeper, been made in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum. I owe especial thanks to my editors and in particular to Mr. R. A. G. Carson, Assistant Keeper in the Department, who, with great self-sacrifice, has undertaken the whole labour of preparing the plates for the press, and also, with Mr. Harold Mattingly, has relieved me of the greater part of the necessary but irksome task of compiling the indexes which will integrate the coinage as a whole and show up its underlying pattern.

J. W. E. PEARCE

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## ABBREVIATIONS

- A: Gold.  
Æ: Silver.  
Æ 1-4: *Aes* (bronze) in modules of decreasing size.  
B.M.: British Museum.  
C.: Cohen, *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'Empire romain*.  
Gn.: Gneecchi, *I medaglioni Romani*.  
Mitt. d. Num. Ges.: *Mitteilungen der numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien*.  
N.C. (*Num. Chron.*): *Numismatic Chronicle*.  
N.Z.: *Numismatische Zeitschrift* (Vienna).  
Num. Circ.: *Numismatic Circular* (Spink, London).  
Num. Köz.: *Numismatikai Közönlöny* (Budapest).  
Num. Rev.: *Numismatic Revue* (New York).  
R.It.: *Rivista italiana di numismatica*.  
R.N.: *Revue numismatique* (Paris).  
S.: Sabatier, *Description générale des monnaies byzantines frappées sous les empereurs d'Orient*.  
T.: Tolstoi, *Monnaies byzantines*.  
T.I.N.C.: *Transactions of the International Numismatic Congress, London, 1938*.  
Z.f.N.: *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* (Berlin).

## RARITIES

C to C<sup>3</sup>, increasing degrees of commonness; S, scarce; R to R<sup>5</sup>, increasing degrees of rarity.

## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

- p. 64, no. 10 (b). *Add variant reverse*; NOV-I. Ermitage Museum.
- p. 119, after no. 14 (b), *add obv.* 1 (A); *rev.* RESTITVTOR-REIP, Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding Victory on globe and reversed spear; *rarity* R<sup>+</sup>; *mint-mark*  $\frac{1}{R}$ ; *ref.* Not in C. Pl. VIII, 10.
- p. 148, after no. 19 (a), *add obv.* 1 (B); *rev.* VOT | XV | MVLT | XX in laurel wreath, with star in circle at top of wreath; *rarity* R<sup>+</sup>; *mint-mark* •SISCPꞑ; *ref.* Not in C. Baron O. Ulrich-Bansa.
- p. 235, after no. 86 (a), *add obv.* 1 (B); *rev.* VOT | X | MVLT | XX in laurel wreath; *rarity* R<sup>+</sup>; *mint-mark* •CONS•; *ref.* Not in C. Pl. XII, 10.

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## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

### I. THE COINAGE AND HISTORY

ON the documentary value of coins as evidence for the historian let me borrow the words of the distinguished numismatist, Edward Thomas: 'In places where men did not print, these stamped moneys, obtruding into every bazaar, constituted the most effective manifestoes and proclamations human ingenuity could have devised. Readily multiplied, they were individually the easiest and most naturally transported of all official documents.' Thomas's words are as applicable to the Roman as to the Mohammedan coinage of which he was writing.

If the coinage is a ruler's most convenient means of communicating with his subjects, and he wishes to ensure that his message reaches everyone from the highest to the lowest, it is clear that, of the three metals, bronze can best fulfil this condition. It is important to stress this point, as we shall see that in our period (A.D. 364-95) certain significant distinctions are consistently observed on the bronze, which are often, and, towards the end of our period, regularly ignored on the gold and silver, which would have no such universal circulation.

At first sight it might seem that the coinage of our period can offer little help to the historian. It is no longer, as in earlier days, a continuous record of important events at home or in the field, touching every side of Roman life, or of the emperor's manifold activities for the well-being of his subjects. Instead, the traditional glory of Roman arms is recalled on the coinage with monotonous persistence. Yet this very monotony reflects the change that had come over the empire in its passage from 'Principate' to 'Oriental Monarchy'. The common man, crushed under an overwhelming burden of taxation and cramped in every impulse to better his condition by the harsh system of hereditary servitude, had little to live for except the mere preservation of life itself. Ammianus tells us (26.4.5) that when Valentinian came to the throne the empire was threatened on every frontier by inroads of savage enemies. We find the coinage adapted to the times in its almost unvarying message that in the valour of its army the State had a sure defence. The bronze was the chief medium employed for this message.

We may classify the coinage broadly into (1) that struck to supply the necessary currency, and (2) that struck to commemorate a particular occasion. The former, more or less continuous over a long period with little or no change except of mint-mark (and that, as a rule, only on the bronze), is, of course, fairly common; the latter may be extremely rare. As it was the custom for an emperor to emphasize the solidarity of the divided empire by including, in each issue of coins, some bearing the

obverses of those of his colleagues with whom he was, or wished to be considered, on friendly terms, we must clearly satisfy ourselves that we possess the full evidence on which to date the issue or to determine the relations between the colleagues. It is easy to be too readily satisfied and to base wrong conclusions on imperfect evidence. This is, of course, especially possible with the rarer issues. For instance, the *solidus Spes r. p.* of Antioch was known to Cohen only for Valens. He guessed the two seated emperors of the type—naturally enough, but still only a guess—to be Valentinian and Valens, and the small togate figure standing between them to be (by a strange slip) Valentinian II. Some twenty years later Sir Arthur Evans came across the companion coin with Gratian's obverse and corrected Cohen's identification of the seated figures to Valens and Gratian. But in about a further twenty years the coin was noted also for Valentinian I in the British Museum and Trau collections, and, the trio being now complete, the issue can be dated with certainty to the elevation of the boy Gratian in August A.D. 367. Some of the rare multiples and *miliarensia* still await further research, until companion coins are found, and their joint evidence enables us to date their issue with certainty and evaluate their historical importance.

Another service that numismatics can render to history is to determine the extent of an emperor's authority by means of the mint-names with which each coin is marked. The mints have now been identified with certainty, and historians will have no excuse for quoting coins struck by Maximus in his own name at his own mint of Constantina-Arelate as evidence that Theodosius struck in the name of the usurper at Constantinople.

Much useful information can be gained from hoards on trade routes or the movements of troops. Hoards, by the inequalities they show in the representation of emperors sharing a common type at any given mint, may furnish evidence of cross-currents of feeling and divided loyalties. The very fact that they were buried and never recovered suggests a background of danger and insecurity.

Our period is a turning-point in the history of the Roman Empire—*La crisi dell' impero Romano*, as the historian Solari styles it. It opens with Valentinian, ruler of the whole Roman world, hailed as the Restorer of the State in every mint, eastern and western alike. At its end East has won its independence from the West; the House of Valentinian has been swept away; and Theodosius, for a moment undisputed master of both empires, has been able to bequeath the Western Empire to his worthless son, Honorius, and so open the way, through a series of puppet emperors and their ambitious semi-barbarian masters of the soldiery, to its final dissolution in A.D. 476. The struggle of the Eastern Empire for independence and the rise of Theodosius on the ruins of the House of Valentinian, are the focal points of interest in the thirty-one years of our period

The process which led to these momentous issues, political or dynastic, can be traced in the coinage, if we allow ourselves to react to its implications as a Roman must undoubtedly have done. If, for instance, an Antiochene citizen, years after Gratian's elevation, could find in his purse bronze, mostly cut-down, only of Valentinian and Valens, could he help inferring an early stoppage of bronze issues from his mint? If, finding gold or silver there, as he well might, stamped with Gratian's name, could he help inferring that there must be a reason for the stoppage of bronze? Later, when in the last two years of our period he found on his bronze coins Arcadius with broken, Honorius with unbroken legend, could he avoid the inference that the government meant him to recognize a difference in the status of the two—both only titular—Augusti? If he happened to have in his purse a coin of Valentinian II, the Senior Augustus, struck at some eastern mint a few months previously, he would see that he, like Arcadius too at that time, had the unbroken legend only. Could Theodosius have made his meaning much plainer to his eastern subjects, that in relation to himself the two young princes stood on an equal footing of dependence?

*The Relationship between the Eastern and the Western Empire*

There is no doubt whatever that Valentinian I, while sharing his empire with his brother Valens, intended to keep the reins of government in his own hands in any matter demanding a common policy. He was the elder, and the abler, and it was on him alone that the votes of the electoral body had fallen. His own share of the empire comprised two of the three prefectures, and included the whole of Illyricum, the recruiting-ground of soldiers; and, perhaps still more important in a claim for primacy, he possessed Rome, which gave its name to the whole empire. We can agree with the historian Schiller,<sup>1</sup> that Valentinian in his division showed that he intended the subordination of East to West in their partnership to be permanent.

If we look at the coinage of the two empires, we find that, in the year following Gratian's elevation in August A.D. 367, West and East show the closest agreement in their issues. The *solidi Restitutor reipublicae* and *Vota publica* for the seniors, and *Principium iuventutis* for Gratian, as well as the (?) medallion *Æ 2 Gloria Romanorum* 'Camp-gate with S between the turrets', appear virtually identical at both Treveri and Constantinople. To this time of agreement we must probably date also the simultaneous adoption of OB as the State guarantee of purity of metal on the gold. But after this time coinage in the precious metals pursues an independent course in each portion of the empire. Only the *Æ 3 Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae* continue to be struck with identical

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte der römischen Kaiserzeit*, ii, p. 350.

types and legends in every *aes*-striking mint of the two empires. Their model is dictated by a single authority, and that can only be the western Chancellery.

In this summer of 1948 I read in the *Daily Telegraph* that the setting up of an eastern, by the side of the western, currency would have the same separatist effect in Germany as a political boundary-line. Valentinian I in the fourth century realized the importance of a uniform currency to hold together the two halves of the empire, and that he was content that his Chancellery should control only the bronze coinage shows how all-important he recognized its role to be. But although open defiance of Valentinian's authority was out of the question, and the East made no attempt whatever to set up a rival bronze coinage, eastern intolerance of the pretensions of the West found expression in passive resistance. From the time of Gratian's accession in A.D. 367 there was an increasing objection on the part of the East to striking the obnoxious coinage.

The  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Gloria* and *Securitas* types continued in the Western Empire until some little time after the end of Valentinian I's reign in November A.D. 375. But in the East little seems to have been struck after Gratian's succession in A.D. 367. At Antioch, gold and silver were struck in his name, but the contemporary bronze is excessively rare. The most likely explanation of this seems to be the objection of the eastern mints to striking types imposed upon them by an alien authority. The New Rome was in revolt against the claims of the Old Rome. But if the issue of bronze in the East ceased—certainly in some of its mints—shortly after A.D. 367 and no fresh bronze types were struck there until after the accession of Theodosius in A.D. 379, it is clear that there must have been a scarcity of a very much needed denomination, and the large numbers of ill-struck and undersized *Gloria* and especially *Securitas* coins so characteristic of late-century eastern hoards are probably to be explained as the attempt to make up, by illegitimate means, for the failure of the regular mints to supply a continuous need.

The next bronze issue was in A.D. 379, soon after the accession of Theodosius. Gratian in his western mints struck three  $\text{Æ} 3$  types simultaneously, *Virtus Romanorum* for himself, *Victoria Auggg.* for Valentinian II, and *Concordia Auggg.* 'Constantinople seated with hand on knee' for Theodosius. The same differentiation of types between emperors is seen in the eastern mints of Antioch and Nicomedia, but with the very significant change to *Urbs Roma* for *Victoria Auggg.* in Valentinian II's type. This is strong evidence that the West claimed control over the  $\text{Æ}$  issues of the East, and that Gratian intended that the East and its new Augustus should know where the leadership lay.

Gratian's next types, the  $\text{Æ} 2$  *Reparatio reipub.* and the  $\text{Æ} 4$  *vota* coins, appear also at eastern mints. The former seems to be very rare,

except at Antioch, where it is quite common, as is also the *Urbs Roma* mentioned above. It would seem as if Gratian, for the moment master of the Roman world, is making Antioch pay for its previous refusal to strike the  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Gloria* and *Securitas* types in his name.<sup>1</sup> That the East struck also the western  $\text{Æ} 4$  *vota* coin types rests upon very slight but sufficient evidence. But with the next issue, contemporaneous in part with the  $\text{Æ} 2$  and  $\text{Æ} 4$ , we note a change. Hitherto, identical models have been followed in West and East. The new  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Concordia Auggg.*, struck throughout the whole empire, varies in certain points of detail. Each combination of these variations appears at certain mints, which are evidently following a common model. Numismatics can, perhaps, render a little service to history by recording that Rome in her large issue of this type parts company with the other western mints of Gratian and agrees, in her two varieties, in every respect except the mint-name with the otherwise purely eastern varieties.

This *Concordia* issue came to an end in the East just about the time of Arcadius' elevation on the 19 January A.D. 383. With this synchronizes an issue of bronze— $\text{Æ} 2$  and  $\text{Æ} 4$ —struck by Theodosius at all eastern mints and differing in type and in module ( $\text{Æ} 4$ ) from Gratian's western coinage. The East has asserted her independence. Meanwhile, the eastern gold goes on without change except that the inclusion of Arcadius is shown by *Augggg.* instead of *Auggg.* It is the bronze alone which conveys Theodosius' proclamation of eastern independence to the Roman world.

#### *The Rise of the House of Theodosius*

Eunapius records that Valens, left Senior Augustus after the death of Valentinian I, induced the Roman Senate to decree him the title of Maximus Augustus, despite opposition from Gratian. This is commemorated by medallions struck by the Roman mint in honour of Valens. On the death of Valens, Gratian, as we have seen above, was determined to show the East that Rome claimed the leadership by making it strike in her name. This claim of the traditional right of the West to rule, and the attitude taken by the mint of Rome towards its western rulers, must be kept in view as we try to fit the coinage into its historic framework. The House of Valentinian had put to death—we do not know exactly when or on what charge—the elder Theodosius, who had done great service to the empire in Britain and in Africa. There is no evidence that a desire for revenge upon that House embittered Theodosius' relations with Gratian; it is enough to feel sure that Theodosius, a distinguished

<sup>1</sup> The unique *Securitas*  $\frac{\Phi}{\ominus}$  | of Gratian must be dated to this time. It bears eloquent witness to Antioch's enforced recantation of its former attitude. Cf. *N. C.*, 1948, p. 68.



soldier, mature in years and experience, must have felt contempt for the pretensions of his young colleague and Senior Augustus, based on the possession of a City, great only in name. Gratian had all the qualities which would have won him popularity as a private individual, but his subjects, and especially his soldiers, had no confidence in him as ruler. There can be little doubt that Theodosius took full advantage of Gratian's growing unpopularity, and maintained a strong 'Fifth Column' at Rome, whose influence can be traced in the coinage of the reigns of both Gratian and Valentinian II; in the last period of their short joint rule Gratian and Theodosius were, to borrow Seeck's phrase,<sup>1</sup> on terms of 'sheerest opposition'. Nor can it be easily doubted that the elevation of Arcadius and the break with the coinage of the West were equivalent to a 'Declaration of Independence'. Theodosius' gold coinage still proclaimed the 'Harmony of the Augusti'. The emperors, if privately at variance, would still be united in defence against outside enemies. But a strange piece of evidence—of which we can make as much or as little as we please—meets us on this gold coinage. A *solidus* of Gratian struck at Constantinople, with reverse 'The Harmony of the four Augusti', and so dated to the last months of Gratian's reign, shows Gratian's name partially deleted and replaced by that of Theodosius.

In the course of this issue came the revolt of Maximus in which Gratian was deserted by his troops and killed. Maximus may well have believed that his usurpation had the approval of Theodosius, but it seems unlikely that Theodosius would have welcomed the change. In fact his first reaction was, as we learn only from the coins, to occupy Illyricum, clearly with the consent of Valentinian's mother Justina, in order to be closer at hand if the usurper carried his ambition farther.

Valentinian II, the Senior Augustus, was a boy of twelve. For the past eight years his elder half-brother, Gratian, had acted as his guardian and managed the affairs of the central empire. How deeply this was resented by Justina can be inferred from the absurd story, handed down to us in the *Chronicon Paschale*,<sup>2</sup> that she contrived the assassination of Gratian at Constantinople in A.D. 380. Now all that was wanted by her and her son, who seems to have been old for his years, was to be left alone by their powerful neighbours on either side, who each claimed a paternal interest in the boy. The clash of conflicting interests is possibly mirrored in the coinage. Valentinian's own mints give him the divided form of obverse legend proper to a ruling Augustus; Theodosius continues the undivided form which he had employed in Gratian's lifetime, and Valentinian is represented on Theodosius' Æ coinage as standing in the same relation to him as his own son Arcadius. I think that, at first, Valentinian struck little or no coinage in the name of Theodosius and

<sup>1</sup> *Geschichte des Untergangs, &c.*, v, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Corpus Script. Hist. Byz.* Part IX, ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1832, vol. i, pp. 561-2.

none in that of Arcadius. But he soon began to strike in their names. Gratian, it must be emphasized, seems never to have recognized Arcadius in the mints over which he could exercise personal control. Maximus is not recognized by either Valentinian or Theodosius on their coinage. The *solidus* mentioned above as having Gratian's name changed to Theodosius has been found by me with identical obverse but with only three Augusti in the reverse legend. Maximus himself struck at first in the name of Theodosius, but, so far as I know, ignored Valentinian altogether—an implicit claim that he himself, as the true successor to Valentinian I, had succeeded by right to his undivided empire. The 'Auggg' of the *siliqua Concordia Auggg*, which at the beginning of his reign continued Gratian's issue without a change, became 'Augg.' in his later *Æ* issue *Victoria Augg*. This preceded the elevation of Victor, and the two Augusti can be only Maximus himself and Theodosius. Theodosius could not, of course, ignore Valentinian, whose name had appeared before his own in every inscription commemorating the imperial college, but the implication of the undivided legend on his bronze coinage is explicit. Theodosius' eastern bronze, except in one issue (see p. 206) at the very end of Valentinian's life, gives him with Arcadius the undivided obverse legend connoting 'irresponsibility'. Although after the downfall of Maximus he made—in words—a show of restoring to Valentinian, 'as in duty bound', all his father's empire, the 'Protectorate' of which he had so long in vain wished to gain acknowledgement from Justina and her son was achieved, and not allowed to be forgotten by his eastern subjects.

As we have seen, Valentinian's own coinage gave him at first the obverse style of a ruling Augustus. But as the danger from Maximus, which culminated in his invasion of Italy in A.D. 387, became more and more insistent, we can detect in the coinage a growing readiness to accept the protection of Theodosius; though, as our evidence comes chiefly from the *Æ* 4 (eastern module) 'Two Victories' type of Rome and Thessalonica at both of which Theodosius' influence was strong, it is doubtful whether we can read into it an acceptance of this policy by Justina and her son. In fact, the contemporary issue of this coin from Aquileia gives Valentinian always the broken, and Arcadius sometimes the broken, sometimes the unbroken style. But the *A* issue from Mediolanum and Aquileia, struck to commemorate the final year of Arcadius' *quinquennium* at the beginning of A.D. 387, a month or two before the invasion, seems to supply all the evidence we need. It is the eastern *solidus Concordia Auggg.*  $\theta$   $\overline{\text{CONOB}}$  transplanted, with change only of the mint-mark to  $\overline{\text{MDOB}}$ , to a western mint. Even the style of mint-mark is eastern, for in Italian mints it had long been superseded by  $\overline{\text{COM}}$  and  $\frac{\text{M}|\text{D}}{\text{COM}}$ . The issue is symbolic of the reversal which Theodosius

has brought about in the relative position of the two empires. In A.D. 388 his eastern *Æ 4 Salus reipublicae* is struck also in the Italian mints.

The victory over Maximus was Theodosius' alone and whatever Valentinian gained from it was Theodosius' gift. He sent Valentinian to Gaul, where Arbogastes, who had put down any opposition offered by adherents of the fallen usurper, was acting as vicegerent for Theodosius. A clash between the arrogant and overbearing Frankish general, the idol of the soldiery, and the high-spirited and conscientious but powerless young prince, was inevitable, and Valentinian II ended an unhappy life by suicide, 15 May A.D. 392. Meanwhile, his nominal Italian empire had been administered from Milan by Theodosius, who in A.D. 388 had taken his younger son, Honorius, to Rome to appear with himself in his triumph and become known to those whom in Theodosius' plan he was destined to rule. Valentinian's early death removed the only obstacle to this plan, and when, two years later, his successor, the usurper Eugenius, was defeated and slain, Theodosius was for the last few months of his life undisputed master of the whole Roman world.

#### *Theodosius and Maximus*

Much of the coinage which can be adduced to illustrate this heading is discussed in the previous section or in the introductions to various mints. A short summary of the evidence will suffice here.

Gratian's father had been first and foremost a soldier—his one absorbing interest war and the defence of the frontier; Gratian's lay in field-sports and the parade-ground. It was a clever stroke of Maximus, in his first gold issue by which the loyalty of his army was to be purchased, to knit himself directly in type and, at Treveri, by mint-mark also, with Valentinian I, ignoring the changes in type and mint-mark which were associated with the dishonoured reign of Gratian.

Maximus was, according to the historian Schiller,<sup>1</sup> 'an extremely able and far-seeing man . . . superior to Theodosius and his co-regents in the qualities of a ruler'. It is not likely that Theodosius would wish to depose Gratian, whom he had lately successfully defied, in favour of a much more formidable colleague. In fact, his occupation of Illyricum is good evidence to the contrary. But Theodosius' complicity in his usurpation was useful propaganda for Maximus, and recent events gave colour to the allegation.

The restoration to Valentinian II of his Illyrican mints, Siscia and Thessalonica, may be put in the latter part of A.D. 384. Theodosius, fearing further aggression by Maximus, had hurried to north Italy, but was met there by envoys from Maximus and with them came to an agreement on the future relations of the three empires with each other. The next issue of Theodosius' *aes, Virtus exerciti*, from all his eastern

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. ii, p. 405.

mints, but not from Siscia and Thessalonica, recognizes Maximus as a colleague, and for the first and only time—on his bronze—Valentinian II as a ruling Augustus. He is given, at all Theodosius' mints except Alexandria, the broken style of obverse legend distinguishing his status from that of Arcadius, who still has the undivided style of the merely titular Augustus.

The coins of this issue, struck, at Constantinople alone, in the name of Maximus, are excessively rare; I have seen but two specimens. There is a strict differentiation of *officinae* between emperors and the empress Flaccilla. All *officinae* are strongly represented—except  $\Delta$  which was allotted to Maximus. Clearly his coins must soon have been called in. This was the last bronze issue in the East (except, probably,  $\text{Æ} 4$  *vota* coins) before the death of Maximus. An *AV solidus Concordia Augggg. CONOB* with his obverse seems to me highly suspect, but, even if genuine, simply confirms our other evidence.

The reaction of Valentinian and his mother, or, rather, of Valentinian's mints, for they give clear evidence of divided loyalties, to the growing danger from Maximus and the growing need of Theodosius' protection has been shown above (p. xxi). In the spring or summer of A.D. 387 the blow fell, and the Italian mints came into the possession of Maximus. Hoards show that his coins in the name of his young son Victor are more numerous than those bearing his own name, suggesting that he was cherishing an ambition for Victor similar to that which Theodosius had for Honorius.

Maximus, during this last portion of his reign, seems to have adopted a conciliatory attitude towards his co-regents. He ordered the due observance of Valentinian's accession-day, and of Theodosius' *decennalia*. Side by side with Maximus' and Victor's *siliquae Virtus Romanorum MDP̄S*, there are some very rare specimens with the names of Valentinian and Theodosius. The fact that there seem to be none of Arcadius, who would, undoubtedly, at or about this time appear in an issue by the legitimate emperors, makes it possible that Maximus, like Eugenius later, struck a few complimentary coins in their names. The finding of reverse identities would change possibility into probability. Meanwhile, in the East Theodosius, though, as Seeck says,<sup>1</sup> better equipped for war than ever before, made no move, and it was nearly a year before the importunity of Justina, and the attractions of her beautiful daughter, Galla, whom Theodosius sought in marriage, at last persuaded him to take decisive action. The victories of Theodosius' troops at Siscia and Poetovio convinced Maximus that further resistance was hopeless. He surrendered at Aquileia, and was put to death by the soldiers, 28 August A.D. 388.

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. v, p. 210.

*Theodosius and Eugenius*

Valentinian II died on 15 May A.D. 392 and it was not until 22 August that Arbogastes took the extreme step of proclaiming Eugenius emperor. He had sent a mission to Theodosius to disclaim his own responsibility for the young prince's death, but Theodosius was at the moment much under the influence of Ambrosius and in no mood to listen favourably to excuses from a pagan. The fall of the once powerful pagan Prefect Tatian and his son left Arbogastes no hope for himself, also a pagan. But if Zosimus<sup>1</sup> is right in making Eugenius himself privy to the plot which was to set him on the throne, how are we to explain the embassy and the three months' interregnum? Zosimus must be following in this, as in his other statement that Theodosius 'as in duty bound' restored to Valentinian II 'all his father's empire', an official version fostered by the reigning house. What, then, can we suppose to have been happening in Gaul, while Arbogastes still had hopes of a favourable outcome to his mission? Surely he would go on ruling in the name of Theodosius until a successor to Valentinian arrived, and who would occur naturally to everyone's mind but the young prince, Arcadius? In sending him, Theodosius would only be following the precedent of the great Constantine.

Now let us look at the coinage. In *N.C.* 1937, pp. 1 ff., I gave a detailed analysis of the *siliqua* issues from Treveri during the reigns of Valentinian II and Eugenius. One very distinctive issue—by far the most largely represented in my specimens—is thus distributed among the emperors: Valentinian II 0, Theodosius 13, Arcadius 60, Eugenius 42. Eugenius is linked with Theodosius by 3, with Arcadius by 12, reverse identities. One of these shows a much more disintegrated state of the reverse die for Arcadius than for Eugenius, whose coin must be the earlier and who must have struck in Arcadius' name. The absence of Honorius from the issue proves that it was not continued after Eugenius' death. But it is inconceivable that Eugenius should have struck more, not for Theodosius, the Senior Augustus, but for Arcadius than for himself. My suggestion is that he was continuing an issue already started by Arbogastes during the interregnum.

In the spring of A.D. 393 Eugenius invaded Italy and issued his coinage from Mediolanum. In my above-mentioned paper I gave a brief analysis of his *siliquae* from this mint, among which were two linking him by reverse identity with Theodosius. Now my specimens, 36 of Eugenius, 18 of Theodosius, and 7 of Arcadius, show six reverse identities linking Eugenius with Theodosius, two with Arcadius. We note the difference in the representation of the eastern Augusti at Treveri and at Mediolanum. There was a special reason why, at Treveri, the

<sup>1</sup> iv. 54. 2.

stress should be laid on Arcadius as the natural successor to Valentinian II; at Mediolanum he is more in the background. Honorius, as we should expect, is not recognized by Eugenius.

Seeck<sup>1</sup> points out that the usurper's policy in Italy was based upon his hope that an accommodation with Theodosius was still possible. He felt his own position, as heir to Valentinian II, to be secure in his possession of an excellent army led by the foremost general of the age, but he was careful not to encroach on what he recognized as the legitimate prerogatives of the eastern emperor, and he associated Theodosius and Arcadius—but not Honorius—with himself on his coinage.

What I hold to be proof in this coinage of Eugenius' conciliatory attitude has been called in question. Reverse identities, it is argued, are proof not of contemporaneous but of successive issues. Specialization in the various mint-operations was, we are told, carried to such an extreme that each emperor's reverse dies would be the work of a separate group of moneyers and only on his death or disappearance from the coinage could be used as the reverse of another emperor. But our evidence from the sister mints surely does not bear out this assumption. As with one single reverse variety of the Treveran *Urbs Roma* 'Throne' type *siliqua* I find at least thirteen instances of die-identity linking Valens and Gratian during a short and unbroken part of the issue, it is clear that they indicate here contemporaneity and not succession, and I have myself no doubt that this is also true of the issue from Mediolanum. In Theodosius' contemporary issues of the *solidus* with mint-mark

S|M  
COMOB my specimens show (1), with legend VICTOR-IA AVGGG, Theodosius linked by reverse identity with Honorius in *officina* Θ, and (2), with legend VICTORI-A AVGGG, Theodosius linked, by reverse identity, with Arcadius in *officinae* Θ and I, and Arcadius with Honorius in Δ.

#### *The Political Status of Eastern Illyricum*

Various dates within our period have been suggested for the transference of east Illyricum with its mint of Thessalonica from the Western to the Eastern Empire; and it is necessary to touch upon this much-debated question here. Up to the death of Valens in A.D. 376 the dioceses of Dacia and Macedonia belonged to the West. From A.D. 379, at least, Macedonia was controlled by Theodosius who resided in Thessalonica in 379-80. The Bishop of Thessalonica attended a council at Constantinople in May-June A.D. 381, and a council at Rome in the following year.<sup>2</sup> As it was unusual for bishops to attend councils

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit. v, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Socrates, *Hist. Eccles.* 5. 8.

outside the realm of the convening emperor it would appear that Theodosius relinquished eastern Illyricum in late 381. Up to A.D. 387 the  $\text{Æ}$  issues of Thessalonica are shown by its mint-mark TES to be linked with those of Valentinian II's other western mints; this mint-mark in A.D. 387-8 is found with types which appear at no other mint, western or eastern, and so represent Valentinian II's coinage when Thessalonica was his sole remaining mint. The last appearance of TES is with the purely eastern  $\text{Æ}$  4 *Salus reipublicae* type, and as this type is found also from Aquileia and Rome it provides further evidence that, on the defeat of Maximus in A.D. 388, Valentinian II was restored, but in Gaul only, while the whole of Illyricum together with Italy and Africa was controlled by Theodosius under a single prefect. There seems to be no subsequent division of Illyricum until the final division on the death of Theodosius.

## II. THE MONETARY SYSTEM

The monetary system inherited by Valentinian I from his predecessor Jovian comprised a coinage in gold, unchanged since the time of Constantine, in silver, as reformed in A.D. 355 by Constantius II, and in bronze, as reformed in A.D. 361 by Julian. The bronze underwent a further reform in the first year of the new reign.

The regular gold coinage consisted of *solidus* (4.54 gm.), *semis* (2.27 gm.), and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *scripulum* (1.70 gm.). The *solidus* was the most stable element in the coinage, its weight and purity being jealously maintained. No other denomination of this or of any previous period is reported to have so small a 'variation coefficient'.

The smaller *A* denominations are much rarer than the *solidus*, and seem to have been struck only intermittently and in comparatively small numbers. But towards the end of our period, when Theodosius had introduced the *tremis* of 1.51 gm. (the third of the *solidus*) in place of the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *scripulum*, this small coin tends to become increasingly important. That the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *scripulum*, which stood in no convenient relation to the rest of Constantine's gold system, should have survived so long, must be due to the general custom of using scales in money transactions involving gold. The *solidus* of our period is, on the other hand, a common coin, but only with certain types, viz. *Restitutor reipublicae*, *Victoria Augg*, *Concordia Auggg*, and *Victoria Auggg*. There are several other issues of *solidi*, mostly of excessive rarity. When we are told by eminent numismatists that there were no regular issues of gold, but that these grouped themselves round a few special events,<sup>1</sup> or that issues in the precious metals after

<sup>1</sup> Alföldi, *Exkurs* in R. Delbrück, *Spätantike Kaiserporträts*, Berlin, 1933, pp. 6-8.

A.D. 368 occurred only in the immediate neighbourhood of the emperor who was accompanied by a travelling mint,<sup>1</sup> it may be felt that these statements, while containing a good deal of truth, certainly do not contain the whole truth. The long-drawn-out issues mentioned above seem rather to supply the regular currency needed, among other things, for commerce, and the two series of issues, adduced by Elmer in proof of the second statement, suggest by their portraiture that each shows, not the uniformity to be expected from a single group of travelling moneyers, but the individuality of the mint at which the various issues appeared.

But side by side with the regular gold currency of Constantine's system we find (1) multiples of the *solidus*, evidently intended for presentation to important personages or on important occasions which may, or may not, be identifiable,<sup>2</sup> and suggesting by their relation to the *solidus* that they possessed, if the owner wished, a currency value, and (2) a strange reversion to the pre-Constantinian *aureus* of 5.45 gm. This, again, was a presentation piece: Elmer called it a *Fest-aureus*. All these exceptional 'coins' most naturally find their explanation as gifts at the quinquennial celebrations to high-ranking officials or, in the case of the largest multiples, to friendly chieftains across the borders of the empire.

In silver we have *miliarensia* of two kinds, of  $\frac{1}{60}$  and  $\frac{1}{72}$  lb. of silver respectively, and so corresponding in weight to the *aureus* and the *solidus*. The former is much the rarer and is the piece which marked the limit allowed to a senator to expend as a *sportula*. The other was presumably struck for currency as a double *siliqua*. To differentiate them, I have adopted Elmer's terms, 'heavy' and 'light' *miliarensis* respectively. As the *siliqua* is much more variable in weight than the 'light' *miliarensis*, can it be that the latter was the standard coin in a bi-metallic system, and that its comparative rarity is due to the fact that it was more profitable to melt it down than to use it as a coin which would purchase no more than two *siliquae* of c. 1.9 gm.?

In the period with which we are dealing, the 'heavy' *miliarensis* is usually, though not by any means exclusively, found with *vota* inscriptions; the 'light' usually has a reference to the Valour of the Army. But some such legend was a commonplace on the coinage of this time, and other legends, chiefly having reference to the emperors' *vota*, prevent us from seeing in it simply a reward for military prowess, and allow us to regard it as struck for general currency, and so, as the double of the *siliqua*.

The *siliqua*, the only common silver coin, started as the *argenteus* of Diocletian's system. It was nominally struck at the weight of  $\frac{1}{96}$  lb. of

<sup>1</sup> G. Elmer, 'Wanderungen römischer Münzämter im IV. Jahrhundert n. Chr.', *Mitteil. d. num. Ges. in Wien*, xvi, 1930, p. 136.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, ch. iii.



silver, and as twenty-five went to the *aureus* of  $\frac{1}{80}$  lb. of gold, the ratio of gold to silver was 1:15.6.

Constantine instituted the *A solidus* at  $\frac{1}{2}$  lb., which was accompanied by the *R siliqua* of the value of  $\frac{1}{1728}$  of the gold pound. Mickwitz<sup>1</sup> has shown that Constantine's *siliqua* was Diocletian's piece of  $\frac{1}{96}$  lb. of silver unchanged. The ratio of gold to silver was now 1:18. About A.D. 355, coincident, apparently, with the reduction of the current *Æ 2* issue to *Æ 3*, a vast output of silver took place of greatly reduced weight, *c.* 1.9 gm. The new coin was an exact replica (in everything but weight) of Constantius' *argenteus votis XXX multis XXXX* which he had struck at Arelate on recovering that mint from Magnentius in A.D. 353 in the last year of his *tricennium*. After this year his *vota* figures would normally appear as XXXV or, as was more usual with the higher figures, XXXX, and in fact both these figures are found—but not on the *siliqua*. The inference is easy, viz. that the new reduced coin was, as unobtrusively as possible, to take the place of its heavier predecessor. We should thus have an appreciation in the value of silver and the ratio would be *A 1:R 12.1*, an approximation to that of Diocletian's system. Mickwitz's suggestion that the new coin is a half-*siliqua* implies a ratio of *A 1:R 24.2*, which seems less likely. It will be best, for the present, to keep the name *siliqua*, by which the coin is universally known. It remained virtually unchanged at *c.* 1.9 gm. until the end of Theodosius' reign, when a depreciation in the value of gold to the ratio *A 1:R 14.4* brought about a reduction of the *siliqua* in A.D. 397 to *c.* 1.3 gm. (A temporary lowering of its weight at Mediolanum towards the end of Maximus' reign must be noted, but the succeeding coinage again becomes normal, until the definite change mentioned above.)

The 'half-*siliqua*' is so rare that its claim to form part of the regular coinage is doubtful. A unique specimen of Gratian from Treveri, to be dated (?) *c.* A.D. 368, is followed next by a few extremely rare specimens from north Italy, the earliest of these being dated by Elmer to A.D. 379. No doubt they could be used as coins, but they were probably struck as presentation pieces for distribution among a certain class of the population on festive occasions. I have collected all the evidence known to me in *N.C.* 1943, pp. 97-9.

The *argenteus-siliqua* of  $\frac{1}{96}$  lb. of silver, superseded in (?) A.D. 355 by the *siliqua* of  $\frac{1}{144}$  lb., appears again in considerable numbers with early *vota* legends of Valentinian I and Valens at Constantinople and Nicomedia. At the latter mint it appears side by side with similar *siliquae*. It is rarer from western mints, and has been seen by me only in isolated specimens; for Valens from Rome, for Gratian from Aquileia, and (the latest noted by me) for Valentinian II from Lugdunum.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Systeme des römischen Silbergeldes im IV. Jhd. n. Chr.*, Helsingfors and Leipzig, 1933, p. 9.

Quite apart from the State coinage but evidently designed to pass locally as currency were the 'Isis' issues of the Rome mint. These have been the subject of a special study by Prof. Alföldi.<sup>1</sup> That the imperial mint could be used for pagan propaganda shows the influence which the pagan aristocrats of Rome could exercise on its activities, and explains some abnormal features of the regular coinage to which I have drawn attention in the introductory notes to the mint.

The bronze underwent many changes, and its relation to the gold and the silver in any of its transformations is still a matter of conjecture. It is generally accepted that the bronze throughout our period was supposed to contain a slight alloy of silver, which would materially increase its value above that of the normal ratio of unalloyed bronze to gold and silver, viz. *A* 1 : *Æ* 1,800, *Æ* 1 : *Æ* 125.

The *Codex Theodosianus* contains two rescripts which should throw some light on the vexed question of the bronze coinage. They both mention a denomination called the *centenionalis*. The later rescript (ix. 232), dated A.D. 395, demonetized the *maior pecunia* (or *decargyrus*), leaving the *centenionalis* as the only recognized currency: its fractions would, of course, be included. The coinage of this time is well known to us. The *Æ* 2 *Gloria Romanorum* 'Emperor standing with standard and globe' ceases to be struck at eastern mints (Honorius is found only with undivided obverse legend); no *Æ* 2 was being struck in western mints. The *Æ* 3 *Urbs Roma Felix* in the West, and *Virtus exerciti* in the East, are struck with the divided style of obverse legend for Honorius, which appears on his bronze only after his father's death. *Æ* 4 continued to be struck as before, at any rate, in the West.

The other rescript (ix. 23. 1) contains the phrase *maiorinae vel centenionales* as the only recognized bronze currency. Unfortunately there is uncertainty both as to its dating and its precise meaning.

It is dated by the joint consulship of Constantius Aug. and Julian Caes. to the year A.D. 356. It was sent from Constantina (i.e. Arelate) to Rufinus *pf. p. (Galliarum)* and mentions *maiorinae* as the coinage in question. There was no bronze coin struck which could be called *maiorina* in A.D. 356, but the whole complex of place of issue, addressee, and kind of coinage would fit admirably into a slightly earlier date, A.D. 353, when Julian's brother Gallus was Caesar. Gallus' bronze coinage was the *Æ* 2 'spearing fallen horseman' type which alone survived of several *Æ* 2 *Fel. temp. reparatio* types, and the *Æ* 3 of the same type. By A.D. 355, when Julian was created Caesar, only this *Æ* 3 remained in currency, a smaller replica of the *Æ* 2, current at the time of our rescript but demonetized by A.D. 355.

Continental numismatists almost universally understand the *maiorinae vel centenionales communes* of the rescript to denote the *Æ* 2 and *Æ* 3

<sup>1</sup> *A Festival of Isis at Rome*, Budapest, 1937.

respectively, but the more natural meaning of the phrase would be two alternative names (one popular, the other official) of the same class of coins. This would give us a very satisfactory relation between the 'hundred unit' and the 'thousand unit' (*miliarensis*) denominations.

*Maiorina* is a loose term, natural enough as a popular description of the *Æ 2 Fel. temp. reparatio* series, which in A.D. 348 put an end to more than a decade of uninterrupted *Æ 3-4* coinage, but it needs, in an official document, a more precise definition, as we have it here. It seems possible that with the unobtrusive passing of the *argenteus-siliqua* of  $\frac{1}{68}$  lb. of silver into the *siliqua* of  $\frac{1}{144}$  lb. of silver, we have a parallel passing of the *Æ 2* 'Spearing fallen horseman' into its *Æ 3* replica with retention of name *centenionalis*. *Maiorina* would, of course, no longer be appropriate.

While *solidus* and *siliqua* remain unchanged, as the standard gold and silver currency, throughout our period, the bronze currency varies considerably, and its relation to the gold and silver has not yet been conclusively determined. The most we can do at present is to arrange in order and date, as closely as possible, the various changes, as a necessary preliminary to further progress.

This was attempted by Elmer in his *Verzeichnis*.<sup>1</sup> As I do not share his certainty that *maiorina* and *centenionalis* are different denominations, I call the former simply *Æ 2* (Cohen's 'M.B.') and the latter *Æ 3* (Cohen's 'P.B.'). His *Viertel-maiorina* I call *Æ 4* (Cohen's 'P.B.Q.'). Elmer gave weights and modules only, and did not attempt to relate the bronze to the other metals. According to Elmer:<sup>2</sup>

1. After soon abandoning the system of Julian, Valentinian reverted to the Constantian *Æ 3* (2.72 gm.). Procopius in A.D. 365 at first continued this, but then recalled the system of Julian. After his fall in A.D. 366 Valentinian resumed his *Æ 3* as before. This remained unchanged throughout both empires till A.D. 379. The attribution in the *Verzeichnis* of an *Æ 2* to Valentinian I, as a denomination in currency before A.D. 379, seems to have been (quite correctly) given up by Elmer.
2. In c. A.D. 379 to the *Æ 2* and *Æ 3* an *Æ 4* was added. No doubt Elmer in a revised edition of his *Verzeichnis* would have dated both *Æ 2* and *Æ 4* to this period after Valentinian I. His *Æ 2* (5.45 gm.) is the double of his *Æ 3*.
3. But these denominations did not remain unchanged. After A.D. 383 they were seldom all struck together and between A.D. 386 and 392 they were reduced in weight so that henceforth *Æ 2* weighed 4.54 gm., *Æ 3* 2.27 gm., and *Æ 4* 1.13 gm.

<sup>1</sup> *Verzeichnis der römischen Reichsprägungen*, Vienna, 1933.

<sup>2</sup> 'Die Kupfergeldreform unter Julianus philosophus', *N.Z.*, 1937, pp. 25 ff. In this Elmer corrected the account given in his *Verzeichnis*.

My own results differ somewhat from Elmer's. We should, I think, agree that the only regular bronze coinage between A.D. 365 and 379 was the Æ 3 *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae* (except, of course, for the short interlude of Procopius' usurpation). These two types continued in the West, but ended earlier in the East (see p. xxix).

Under Gratian there was a reform of the bronze coinage. To the Æ 3 (struck on Valentinian I's standard) he added Æ 2 and Æ 4. The Æ 4 for some years appeared only in *vota* issues, and was of the larger (c. 14–16 mm.) module. Average weights, as given by Alföldi<sup>1</sup> from the mint of Siscia, are as follows: Æ 2 *Reparatio reipub.*, 4.92 gm.; Æ 3 *Concordia Auggg.*, 2.30 gm.; Æ 4 *Vota* coins, 1.49 gm. It is hard to imagine them as standing in any other relation than as 1,  $\frac{1}{2}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$ . The frequency of halved Æ 3 of Valentinian in late hoards suggests that a smaller denomination was needed. But whereas the Æ 2 is found only with the later mint-marks SMTR and SMTES from Treveri and Thessalonica, while Æ 4 *vota* coins are found with the earlier mint-marks TRP and TES in rare examples, it may be doubted whether the two new denominations came in together.

This reform coinage of Gratian was struck in West and East alike with identical types until Theodosius in A.D. 383, at the accession of Arcadius, initiated his rival coinage.

In the West Gratian's system went on after his death. The Æ 2 *Reparatio reipub.*, apparently soon discontinued in Valentinian II's dominions, as it is not found with Arcadius' obverse, was continued for some time by Maximus and then superseded by his Æ 2 *Victoria Augg.* This came to an end before Victor's accession and no further Æ 2 was struck in the West during our period. Æ 3 was struck by Valentinian II at its previous standard, but was not struck by Maximus. By A.D. 388 the Æ 4 seems to have been lowered throughout to the standard of Theodosius' reform.

After the fall of Maximus, Æ 4 of the reduced standard was struck in vast quantities in the West. In Gaul there was a very small issue of Æ 3 by Valentinian II, a revival of his father's *Gloria Romanorum* and, in Italy, during the last months of Theodosius' life, a large issue of the Æ 3 *Urbs Roma felix*, which was continued by Honorius after his father's death. Laffranchi, in his report on the Porta Collina find (*Riv. It. Num.* 1919), notes that many of this type, though of 'P.B.' weight, are of 'P.B.Q.' module owing to ineffectual striking, which failed to spread the flan.

<sup>1</sup> *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien*, Berlin and Leipzig, 1924, p. 10.

In the East Theodosius' reform included:

Æ 2 *Gloria Romanorum* 'Emperor on ship', &c. Alföldi's average<sup>1</sup> weight for this is 4.78 gm. but about twenty of my own coins from each of the Constantinople, Cyzicus, Antioch, and Alexandria mints average c. 5.3 gm.

Æ 4 *vota* coins, average weight, 1.15 gm.

In (?) c. A.D. 385 appeared the Æ 2 *Virtus exerciti*. My own coins average: Antioch 6.5 gm.; Constantinople and Alexandria 5.5 gm.

The Æ 4 went on as before.

Lastly, after the accession of Honorius, Theodosius struck:

Æ 2 *Gloria Romanorum*, 'Emperor standing holding standard and globe'. The average weight of my own specimens ranges from 5.2 gm. (Heraclea) to 4.4 gm. (Alexandria).

Æ 3 *Gloria Romanorum*, 'Emperor on horseback'. Cohen describes this coin as 'P.B.Q.', but though its module often sinks to 14 mm., it is certainly a higher denomination than the Æ 4 *Salus reipublicae* which also appeared for a short time during this period. In my specimens its weight varies from 2.3 gm. to 1.4 gm.; 1.9 gm. is the most common, and the average is 1.7 gm. The corresponding western denomination, *Urbs Roma felix*, though often of Æ 4 module, averages 2.2 gm.

Æ 4 *Salus reipublicae*, average 1.15 gm. From the rarity of Honorius and of Arcadius with broken *obv.* legend, this must have been soon discontinued.

On the death of Theodosius there seems to have been a reform of *aes* coinage in the East; Æ 2 being discontinued and an Æ 3, improved in module and weight, instituted. This was the *Virtus exerciti* with module c. 17-18 mm. and weight c. 2.5 gm. (Heraclea and Antioch) and c. 2.2 gm. (Constantinople, Cyzicus, Nicomedia, and Alexandria). It offers a marked contrast to the previous Æ 3 issue.

Attempts to explain the many changes in the monetary systems of the fourth century A.D. have been made from every angle suggested by the faint clues to be found in our literary authorities or in the coins themselves. To the long bibliography of such attempts appended to H. Mattingly's paper 'The Monetary Systems of the Roman Empire from Diocletian to Theodosius I' (*N.C.* 1946, pp. 111 ff.) we can now add Le Gentilhomme's 'Le monnayage et la circulation monétaire dans les royaumes barbares en occident (v<sup>e</sup>-viii<sup>e</sup> siècle)', *R. N.* 1945, pp. 13 ff., and Ulrich-Bansa's *Moneta Mediolanensis*. Mattingly points out clearly the difficulties which stand in the way of a definite and authoritative

<sup>1</sup> Op. cit., p. 12.

solution, while making his own tentative contribution to this 'painfully difficult' problem.

### III. ADMINISTRATION AND ORGANIZATION OF THE MINTS

In completing the transformation of the empire from a *principatus* to a *dominatus* Diocletian did not overlook the part to be played by the coinage. Its use as a medium of propaganda made it necessary to bring it under a centralized control, exercised by the Chancellery. How efficiently the system worked can be seen in the rigid uniformity of the coinage throughout the length and breadth of the empire, when it came, as at the end of Constantine's or Julian's reign, again under a single ruler. So, when Valentinian I was elected emperor, his *Restitutor* type appears at every working mint in the East and the West. This was the normal picture of the coinage when there was a single ruler and no possible division of loyalty. But the Roman Empire was vast and its administrative centre, far away to the north-west in Treveri, could exercise little effective control over all its distant mints, and it would be strange if local politics did not sometimes play a part in the coinage. Between A.D. 364 and 383 the Chancellery of the West dictated the course of the bronze coinage throughout the whole empire. I have attempted to show in the introductions to the mints that, under a seemingly uniform surface, cross-currents of passive resistance in the East, pagan aristocratic antipathy to Valentinian at Rome, and nationalist aspirations in Gaul, tend to divert its course in directions not always intended by the Chancellery. But when we find trivial variations, as, for instance, in the obverse legend of Gratian's earliest coinage from the three Gallic mints, all under easy control by the central authority, or in that of Valentinian II in contemporary issues from different mints, we feel that these were left to the discretion of the mint-master. It is more difficult to understand why, later, in Theodosius' strictly controlled coinage, Alexandria differed from all his other mints in refusing the broken form of obverse legend to Valentinian in contrast to Arcadius, or, after Valentinian's death, to Arcadius in contrast to his younger brother, Honorius. The distinction in each case had some point, and as the consensus of the other mints shows, must have been authorized in the directions sent to each mint by the Chancellery. But if the mint-master of Alexandria, being a realist, saw in Theodosius the only 'ruling Augustus', his divergence from orders could be explained and condoned.

It was, however, in Valentinian II's empire during the reign of Maximus in Gaul that we see most clearly the breakdown of the machinery of mint-administration. Valentinian's Chancellery could ensure uniformity of type; but his mint-masters at Rome and Thessalonica could turn the issue into a medium for Theodosian propaganda.

Besides the general *aes* issues, struck at every mint, there are a few, such as the *Æ 3 Felicitas Romanorum* of Aquileia and the *Spes Reipublicae* of Rome, which must have some significance special to their place of issue. These, like the pagan Isis-issues at Rome, seem to show that a mint-master could, on occasion, act independently of the central control, or may these strictly localized and extremely rare issues have been struck for distribution among the populace on the occasion of an imperial visit of which we have no record?

While reverse type and legend were rigidly controlled by the Chancellery, so long as it was able to enforce them, we have seen that small variations in the obverse legends were allowed, if no constitutional point was involved.

The style of obverse portraiture shows almost unbroken uniformity, in point of direction and dress, and evidently is following a prescribed pattern. But the features vary with the mint and with the individual artists in each mint. Valentinian I and Gratian must have been well known by sight to the die-sinkers of Treveri but their portraits do not in the case of either follow the same model (cf. *Num. Review*, 1946, p. 61). Co-regents are represented with the same features, possibly intentionally, as an outward sign of the inward harmony supposed to exist between them. If any portrait can be considered a 'likeness', it will be found on the large and carefully executed multiples or presentation pieces.

In nearly every instance the bust is turned to the right, and represents the emperor as pearl-diademed, draped, and cuirassed. The 'bust l.' is regular only when the emperor is draped in ceremonial dress and holds *mappa* and sceptre. It occurs thus on the *solidus Vota publica* and on the *Æ 3* (but not on the *Æ 4*) *Gloria reipublice* 'Camp-gate', struck at Thessalonica in A.D. 388, the year of Theodosius' consulship and decennial commemoration. Otherwise the 'bust l.' position is rare. It occurs side by side with the normal position 'bust r.' on the *Æ 2 Gloria Romanorum* 'Camp-gate', mint-mark SMTR, and on the *Æ 3 Felicitas Romanorum*, mint-mark SMAQP, of Gratian. I feel sure that both issues fall outside the main stream of currency coinage and must mark some special occasion. So on the *Fest-aureus* of Valentinian I, *Gloria Romanorum*, CONSP.

Other variations from the normal bust are (1) cuirassed (instead of draped and cuirassed), (2) helmeted and cuirassed. This is found on the *AV Victores Augusti* for the senior emperors and *Vota publica* for Gratian (these are obviously complementary: each type has also the normal obverse), and on the *Æ 2 Gloria Romanorum* 'Emperor on ship'. It occurs also on a remarkable ? *Æ* medallion of Rome, *Gloria Romanorum*, the obverse of which represents the young Valentinian II holding a staff with cross-bar above which is a globe inscribed with ✠. The reason for these variations from the normal bust is obscure.

The diadem by far most commonly consists of a double row of pearls, less commonly of large circular jewels separated from each other by two small circular or pear-shaped ones side by side. More rarely the large jewels are square.

There must be a ceremonial distinction between these, but we do not know what this is. Certainly the more elaborate rosette diadem does not betoken an advance in rank. If we find, with identical *Spes. r.p.* reverse, Valentinian I with rosette, Valens with pearl diadem, at Antioch, we also find the exact reverse on their *Restitutor reip. siliqua* at Thessalonica, and the *A* multiple *Gloria Romanorum*  $\frac{\ast}{\text{CONOB}}$  gives Theodosius the pearl, Arcadius the rosette diadem. The solidus *Victoria Augg.* at Treveri changes from pearl to rosette and back again to pearl, each period being of considerable length, so that the change cannot be referable to some special occasion. On the  $\text{Æ} 2$  *Gloria Romanorum* and *Virtus exerciti* the two styles appear side by side.

*Mint Organization.* While the western and eastern chancelleries must have decided what issues were necessary and what propagandist direction they should take, the *comes sacrarum largitionum*, the chief treasury official, was responsible for the provision of the metal needed by each mint. Under him, apparently in the West alone, the provision of gold was the charge of a special officer, the *comes auri*, whose signature COM or COMOB was from Gratian's time onwards the guarantee of the purity of the metal. The form in which the gold reached the mint is shown by the numerous bars of gold, stamped as of standard purity by an official who styles himself *cur(ator) thes(auri) s(acri) in arc(a) aur(i)*. They are shown by Elmer<sup>1</sup> to have been part of the bullion intended to finance the military operations of Theodosius after the battle of Hadrianople, but evidently lost in transit.

Beyond the names of the various classes of workmen who took part in the striking, from the *sculptores*, the artists who cut the dies, to the *suppositores* who held the blank in place to receive the impression, we know little of the mint-procedure that is not derivable from the coins themselves. As the mass-production, by means of machinery, of the vast coinage needed, was not yet understood, the work had all to be done by hand and shared between various *officinae*. Most of the coinage was in bronze, and as this was supposed to contain a small percentage of the more valuable silver, it is clear that there was need of a rigid control by the State to check dishonesty. Nearly all bronze coins were marked with an *officina* number and many also with a series sign which would enable any irregularity to be brought home to the labour-group responsible for

<sup>1</sup> 'Exkurs über die römischen Goldbarren aus Sirmium, &c.', *Numizmalica*, Belgrade, 1935.



it. Gold and silver, on the other hand, vary in this respect; either there must have been stricter supervision at the time of striking or a system of privy marks which has so far eluded our notice. At Antioch there were two long series of the *siliqua* *Vot x mult xx*, one with, the other without, *officina* numbers. Unfortunately, my specimens are too few to help me in a search for privy marks in the latter group.

No general rule can be laid down for the apportionment of work between the various *officinae*, but from time to time we get a glimpse of their working in particular issues. The three *officinae* (C(apitalis), S(ecunda), and T(ertia)) which struck the large issues of the *solidus* *Victoria Augg.* at Treveri had to do the work of the ten *officinae* (A to I) which struck the *solidus* *Concordia Augggg* at Constantinople. The two types of the latter issue, one with, the other without, a *vota* inscription, were each limited to certain definite *officinae*, as was also the succeeding issue, but with a different apportionment of *officinae* to types. It is not clear by which *officinae* the obverse dies were executed; at least three different reverse dies share an identical obverse. There is no differentiation of *officinae* between emperors, each appearing in all the *officinae* which struck the type appropriated to him, viz. with *vota* for the eastern, without *vota* for the western, emperors.

Rarely the *officinae* seem to be differentiated between denominations. In the latest bronze issues of our period Alexandria uses *officinae* A and B for the  $\text{Æ} 2$ ,  $\Gamma$  for the  $\text{Æ} 3$ . But usually there is no such distinction.

We have seen above that in the *N Concordia Augggg* issue from Constantinople ten *officinae* were active and made no differentiation between emperors sharing the same type. But, side by side with the gold, there was an issue of  $\text{Æ} 2$  and  $\text{Æ} 4$  in which Flaccilla appears. In this only five *officinae* (A to E) are found and each *officina* number is appropriated to a single person except that for Theodosius himself, A, B, and E seem to be about equally common. It is clear that in the allocation of *officinae* to emperors there is here no attempt to adjust them in point of priority in number to the order in status of the emperors. If we occasionally find such an adjustment as, for example, in Gratian's differentiated issue at Arelate in A.D. 379 which gives Gratian only *officina* P, Valentinian II S, and Theodosius T, we can hardly assert that the allocation of the first *officina* to Gratian was intended to mark his priority in status, when in the  $\text{Æ} 2$  *Reparatio reipub.* which shortly followed we find P, S, and T striking for him and for Valentinian II in roughly even numbers. The single instance I have seen for Theodosius is from T.

Throughout our period the relative die-positions are  $\uparrow\uparrow$  and  $\uparrow\downarrow$  with no exceptions seen by me on legitimate coins. These two varieties seem to be used indifferently and have been noted by me in several instances of coins which are otherwise identical in every respect. Attempts to confine

either of them as characteristic of a particular mint or issue have proved fruitless.

#### IV. BROKEN AND UNBROKEN OBVERSE LEGEND

No coin of our period shows an emperor of mature years without a break in his obverse legend above the bust even when, as on some of Theodosius' *Æ 4 vota* coins, the bust is no larger than those of his sons whose legends are unbroken. On the earlier coinage the distinction had no meaning; the leaves of the laurel-wreath might or might not interfere with the legend. But shortly before our period we notice that some coins of the Caesar, Gallus, have unbroken legend, while similar coins of his Augustus, Constantius II, have always the broken style. It was by no means necessarily used for Gallus, but when used it connoted inferiority in rank. In our period there were no Caesars but only Augusti, and when used it simply marked the young Augustus as a 'minor' with the connotation that he was not of age to rule. But the distinction was by no means strictly observed. Gratian, the first boy-Augustus of our period, has broken and unbroken legend (in this order) on his *Principium iuventutis solidi*, with mint-marks SMTR and TR·OB, and the two styles of legend are used contemporaneously for him on coins of different denominations. Victor, elevated *intra infantiae annos*, never has the unbroken form.

The distinction becomes important only when, after Gratian's death, Theodosius used the unbroken form for the boy Valentinian II, technically now a ruling Augustus, to give colour to his claim that he, like his own son, Arcadius, was under his guardianship. Later he gave the unbroken style to his younger son, Honorius, simply to present him to his subjects as junior to Arcadius, who now, after Valentinian II's death, was represented with the broken style.

#### V. VOTA COINS

'*Vota*' on the only dated coins of our period signifies prayers for a prosperous reign combined with vows of payment by sacrifice and various public festivities for their happy fulfilment. From the time of Augustus onward the vows were taken at intervals of ten years, and the ecclesiastical historian, Sozomenos,<sup>1</sup> writing in the fifth century, can still say that they were taken *καθ' ἐκάστην δεκάδα τῆς τοῦ κρατοῦντος ἀρχῆς*. Gradually, although not recognized by the State till the fourth century, the custom had grown up of breaking the tedium of the ten years' wait by a payment on account of the promised festivities half-way through the period—a sort of *mi-carême*. The innovation was naturally very popular and *quinquennialia* took the place of *decennialia* in men's minds and on the coinage of every new emperor. But we notice that with the higher numbers the

<sup>1</sup> Sozomenos, *Hist. Eccles.* 1. 25.

coinage tends to revert to the ten years' reckoning and Sozomenos' statement makes it certain that this was officially correct.

We thus have an explanation of the *siliqua* *Vot xx mult xxx*, CONCM, of Valens, though he did not complete his fourteenth year of rule. But the *Æ 4 vota* coinage of Theodosius in A.D. 383 gives us the most interesting instance of the use of the decennial reckoning. On his gold he strikes the *solidus Concordia Augggg* with the customary *vota* V-X (he had not yet completed his fifth year of rule), but on his contemporary *Æ 4* we find that he gives to Gratian his appropriate XX-XXX, to Arcadius his appropriate V, to Valentinian II his appropriate X-XX, and to himself, not the appropriate V-X or V, which he gave to his newly elevated son, Arcadius, but X-XX, using the decennial reckoning and so showing himself, for propaganda purposes, to his subjects, as not inferior in status to his boy-colleague, Valentinian. After Gratian's death the propagandist use, or, rather misuse of the *Æ 4 vota* coinage was carried a stage farther by Theodosius. Large issues from Antioch and Alexandria (see pp. 267 and 297) advertised to the Roman world, not only by the unbroken style of obverse legend, that Valentinian II and Arcadius stood on an equal footing of dependence on Theodosius, but also, by the identity of their *vota* figures X-XX, that there was no distinction of seniority between them. Valentinian's actual status as a ruling Augustus and his actual seniority to Arcadius by more than seven years are purposely obscured.

This *Æ 4 vota* coinage is not found for Honorius, who has, however, the usual *vota siliquae*. It is significant that the *aes* was discontinued when the death of Valentinian ended its propaganda value.

It should not be necessary now to point out that on coins with the double figures, e.g. *vot v mult x*, the first figure does not imply that the *vota* are *soluta*. They are *suscepta*, as the coinages of Jovian, who reigned for only seven months, and of Eugenius, who reigned two years, both of whom use this formula, should have made clear.

#### VI. VALENTINIAN II: OBTVERSE LEGENDS

On the death of Valentinian I, his younger son, Valentinian, a boy of four years of age, was proclaimed Augustus. His elder brother, Gratian, assumed the guardianship of the child, whose dependent position had to be made known to the subjects of the empire by a form of legend on his coins which distinguished him from his father, the late Senior Augustus. The unbroken form of legend or the addition of IVN would make the distinction clear. When the distinction was no longer felt to be necessary, his legend would be the same as his father's.

We find the following variations:

(a) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG (unbr.—).

- (b) DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF AVG (unbr. IVN).  
 (c) DN VALENTINIA-NVS IVN PF AVG (A-N IVN).  
 (d) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG (I-A—).  
 (e) DN VALENTIN-IANVS PF AVG (N-I—).

Of these, (a), (b), and (c) indicate his juniority; (d) is identical with his father's legend, (e) is a rare variant of (d), found only on some of his later coinage from Rome.

His earliest legends are those with the *Æ 3 Gloria* and *Securitas* types in which he immediately follows his father. At Treveri the legend is 'unbr. IVN', at Arelate 'unbr. —', at Rome and Aquileia 'A-N IVN'. Clearly no definite directions have been sent to the mints by the central authority except that the boy must be shown as a minor, and not as a responsible Augustus. In the 'differentiated' issue of A.D. 379 he appears as both 'unbr. IVN' and 'unbr. —' at Rome and Aquileia, whereas in the succeeding *aes* coinage at Rome there is no change, but at Aquileia he passes from 'unbr. IVN' to his father's legend 'I-A—'. In this same final *aes* coinage of Gratian's reign Valentinian II passes from 'unbr. —' to 'I-A—'. Our conclusion must be that while at an individual mint the obverse legend may help to the dating of an issue, no rule can be dogmatically laid down for the mints as a whole.

But it is important to determine whether the style denoting 'juniority' or 'irresponsibility' was allowed by Gratian to be changed in his lifetime to the 'non-committal I-A—' style, which would certainly be more acceptable to the young emperor and his mother, Justina. At his own Gallic mints Gratian did not allow it, but there can be no reasonable doubt that he did allow it in Valentinian II's mints of Aquileia and Thessalonica. At Aquileia in the *A COM* issue, which I date with Elmer to Gratian's reign, in the *siliqua Virtus Romanorum*, in which Valentinian shares die-identity with Gratian, and in the *Æ 2 Reparatio reipub.* and the *Æ 3 Concordia Auggg.* Valentinian has the style 'I-A—'. At Thessalonica he passes from 'unbr. —' to 'I-A—' in the *Reparatio reipub.*, and in the *Concordia Auggg.* he has 'I-A—' only, with both the mint-marks SMTESA and  $\frac{|\Delta}{\text{SMTES}}$  which are found for Gratian. One of these mint-marks surely must have ended before Gratian's death; probably both, as Thessalonica then, or very soon afterwards, passed into the hands of Theodosius.

## VII. TYPES AND LEGENDS

Viewed as a whole these are symptomatic of the change in the empire from *principatus* to *dominatus*; few have any individual interest. Both type and legend are for the most part trite and monotonous, and bear no reference to current events. The emperor is the central figure, not so

much as a person as a symbol of a divine order under which the continued victory of Roman arms, personified in him, guaranteed the permanence of the State. While the portraiture on the obverse varies from mint to mint and at the same mint,<sup>1</sup> and the same features were often attributed by the die-cutter to all the members of the imperial college—a fitting symbol of their ‘harmony’—the adjuncts of royalty, diadem and imperial robes, mark them off from the rest of mankind; sometimes the divine purpose is manifested on the coin by the hand from above conferring the crown. The reverse legends are few, but are often associated with a multiplicity of types. The most common are: ‘The Glory of the State’, exemplified in its type by ‘Two emperors seated in majesty’, ‘Emperor standing holding Victory on globe and standard’, ‘Rome and Constantinople throned side by side’, ‘Victory writing *vota* on shield’, ‘Camp-gate’; ‘The Glory of the Romans’, has all these types, with the addition of ‘Emperor in chariot scattering coins’, ‘Emperor on horseback’, ‘Emperor dragging captive’, ‘Emperor standing on vessel steered by Victory’. ‘The Valour of the Augusti’ or ‘of the army’ and ‘The Victory of the Augusti’ are also common legends and give the die-cutter scope for a variety of treatment in the accompanying type. We note a growing tendency to boastfulness in the legends and to savagery in the brutal treatment of captives in the types as the danger to the frontiers becomes more menacing. Valentinian I by his twin Æ 3 types, *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae*, assured his subjects that the glory of Roman arms removed all cause of fear, but the disaster of Adrianople, the greatest blow to Roman arms since Cannae, was to follow almost immediately. Still, the military ability and diplomacy of Theodosius saved the State for the moment, and ‘The Valour of the Army’ and ‘The Glory of the Romans’ could still appear on the coinage.

A few coins fit more closely into their historical setting. Valentinian, coming after Jovian, could announce himself as the ‘Restorer of the State’, and Gratian’s ‘Recovery of the State’ and ‘Perpetuity’ must refer to the passing of the Gothic danger. Valentinian II’s revival in both stages of his unhappy career, of his father’s typical coinage, the Æ 3 *Gloria Romanorum*, seems to be a nostalgic return to memories of the former greatness of his house. Gratian’s ‘Glory of the New Age’ at Arelate and ‘Hope of the Roman People’ at Antioch are the clearest instances of reference in the coinage to current events. The *solidus Vota publica* no doubt referred to some special great occasion, but what this was is still a matter of dispute.

A common type, on the *siliqua* and the smallest bronze, is the *Vota* within a wreath. On *miliarensia* they almost always can be dated either to the taking or the payment of the vows, but on the lower denominations

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pearce, ‘A Further Note on Late Treveran Portraiture’, *Num. Review*, 1946, pp. 125 ff.

they often have a less restricted range and mark rather a quinquennial period than a precise date within it. As a colleague's *vota* were regularly combined with the obverse of the striking emperor it may be difficult to feel sure to whom the *vota* refer.

Throughout our period there was a bitter struggle between the Paganism under which Rome had grown great, and Christianity, and a still more embittered feud between the Athanasian and the Arian Christians. The latter has left no recognizable trace on the coinage, unless the omission of the Christogram  $\text{P}$  on some of the eastern  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Salus reipublicae* issues or its replacement by a dot on others can be regarded as a sign of Arian heresy. The official state religion was Christian but, as paganism was still very strong within the empire, the emperors found it politic to adopt types which could give no great offence to its adherents. The *labarum* is the banner under which the Romans went to battle, and this is always represented on the coinage, though sometimes with the substitution of a simple cross  $+$  or  $\times^1$  for the Christogram. But the Christian historian, Socrates, tells us that symbols seen by the soldiers in Egypt were claimed by both Christians and pagans in accordance with their own religious beliefs. The battle was hottest around the altar and statue of Victory in the Senate-house. The figure of Victory, a common type on the coins, could be accepted by both sides, by the pagans as the goddess to whom Rome owed her greatness, by the Christians as an Angel from God, though, to make assurance doubly sure, the die-cutter of a Theodosian *Virtus Romanorum* TRPS in my possession has inserted a cross in the body of the little Victory on globe. The hand from above crowning Arcadius on his earliest eastern *Gloria Romanorum* coins could hardly be a stumbling-block to pagans, but when we find it offering Valentinian I a shield inscribed with a swastika-shaped cross on an early Sirmian *Perpetuitas imperii*<sup>2</sup> we are not surprised that it exists only as a 'pattern-coin'. To the pagans it was not the cross but the Victory of the Senate-house that promised Rome the perpetuity of her empire.

## VIII. CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

A.D.	Imperial Consulates	
364	Jovian	Death of Jovian at Dardastana in Asia Minor on 17 February. Valentinian chosen to succeed him on 26 February. On 28 March, at Constantinople, he co-opts his younger brother, Valens, as his colleague. He himself is to rule the West, including the whole of Illyricum, Valens the East. He reaches Aquileia in September, Mediolanum in October.

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. Eccles.* v. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Illustrated in *N.C.* 1938, pp. 126-8.

A.D.	Imperial Consulates	
365	Valentinian Valens	In the autumn Valentinian leaves Mediolanum for Gaul, to check inroads of the Alamanni. In the East Procopius, aided by the Goths, revolts against Valens with initial success.
366	Gratian N.P. (a <i>nobilissimus</i> <i>puer</i> )	Valentinian's generals secure the Rhine frontier. Procopius is defeated and put to death (27 May).
367		Valentinian invests his young son, Gratian (born 18 April 359), with the purple at Ambiani and in October takes up his residence in Treveri. Valens, on orders from Valentinian, marches northwards to punish the Goths for their part in Procopius' rebellion. Britain is overrun by the Picts and Scots.
368	Valentinian II Valens II	Count Theodosius operates against the Picts and Scots. Valentinian, accompanied by Gratian, invades the Alamanni across the Rhine. Valens again attacks the Goths.
369	Valentinian N.P. (son of Valens)	Valentinian fortifies the Rhine frontier. Theodosius restores peace to Britain. Valens makes peace with the Goths on terms slightly favourable to the Romans. (His young son died while still a boy.)
370	Valentinian III } Valens III	Valentinian continues his policy of defending the Rhine and Danube frontiers by a series of forts. This brought him in 374 into conflict with the Quadi and Sarmatae, whose dangerous invasion of Roman territory was repelled by the younger Theodosius, the future emperor. In 372 Firmus, a Mauretanian chief, is driven to revolt by the rapacity of Roman officials and is put down by the elder Theodosius only after two difficult campaigns. Intrigues centreing round Armenia, rather than actual fighting, keep Valens busy at Antioch for much of this time.
371	Gratian II	
372		
373	Valentinian IIIII } Valens IIIII	
374	Gratian III	
375		An expedition against the Quadi ends with the sudden death of Valentinian on 17 November. Five days later his troops proclaim his young son, Valentinian (born 2 July 371), Augustus.
376	Valens V } Valentinian	Gratian is mostly at Treveri, Valens at Antioch.
377	Gratian IIIII	
378	Valens VI } Valentinian II	
379		On 19 January Gratian co-opts Theodosius as successor to Valens, leaving him to carry on the Gothic war from Thessalonica; he himself returns through N. Italy to Treveri.
380	Gratian V Theodosius	In November Theodosius leaves Thessalonica for Constantinople.
381		Gratian leaves Treveri for Mediolanum. An ever-widening rift develops between him and Theodosius.
382		

A.D.	<i>Imperial Consulates</i>	
383		On 19 January Theodosius proclaims his son, Arcadius (born in 377), Augustus. Maximus leads an army from Britain against Gratian, who, deserted by his own army, is killed at Lugdunum on 25 August. Theodosius temporarily occupies W. and E. Illyricum.
384	Maximus (not recognized by Theodosius)	Alarmed by the threat of an attack by Maximus on Italy, Theodosius in the late summer himself proceeds to N. Italy. He there meets envoys from Maximus and an agreement is reached. Maximus is recognized as co-regent, and Illyricum is restored to Valentinian II. An attempt by the pagan aristocracy of Rome to procure the restoration of the Altar of Victory to the Senate House is successfully resisted by Ambrosius.
385	Arcadius	A Sarmatian inroad is checked by Valentinian's general, Bauto.
386	Honorius N.P.	Religious disputes between the Arian Justina and Valentinian II and Ambrosius end in victory for the latter. In Constantinople Theodosius celebrates a triumph over the Greuthungi, 12 October.
387	Valentinian III	In May Maximus invades Italy and Valentinian II flees to Thessalonica to seek the protection of Theodosius.
388	Maximus (recognized only in W.) Theodosius II	Theodosius marries Galla, sister of Valentinian, and takes the field against Maximus, who surrenders at Aquileia and is executed, 28 August. Valentinian, probably in this year, is sent, under charge of Arbogastes, to rule Gaul, while Theodosius rules the rest of the Roman world from Mediolanum.
389		In June Theodosius, accompanied by Honorius, goes to Rome and celebrates a triumph over Maximus.
390	Valentinian III	
391		Theodosius returns to Constantinople in July.
392	Arcadius II	Valentinian, held in Gaul against his will by Arbogastes, commits suicide, 15 May. After a three-months' interregnum Arbogastes proclaims Eugenius, a court official, Augustus.
393	Eugenius (not recognized by Theodosius) Theodosius III	On (?) 22 January Theodosius proclaims his son, Honorius, Augustus. In the spring Eugenius occupies Italy.
394	Arcadius III Honorius II	Eugenius is defeated at the battle of the Frigidus, and put to death, 6 September.
395		Theodosius dies, 17 January.



## IX. TABULATED LIST OF OBVERSE BUSTS

- A. Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed r.  
 A<sup>1</sup>. As A but with T behind bust (Alexandria only).  
 B. Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed r.  
 C. Pearl-diademed, draped in imperial mantle l., holding *mappa* and short sceptre.  
 C.<sup>2</sup> As C but rosette-diademed.  
 D. Helmeted (with stars on helmet) and cuirassed l., holding spear and shield.  
 E. Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed l.  
 E.<sup>2</sup> As E but rosette-diademed.  
 F. Pearl-diademed and cuirassed r.  
 F.<sup>2</sup> As F but rosette-diademed.  
 G. Pearl-diademed, draped in imperial mantle l., raising r. hand and holding short sceptre in l.  
 H. Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed r., raising r. hand and holding Victory on globe in l.  
 I. Helmeted and cuirassed r., holding sceptre surmounted by ✠ and shield.  
 J. Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed r., holding spear and shield in front.  
 J.<sup>2</sup> As J but with rosette-diadem.  
 K. Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed r., holding spear and shield in front; above, hand holding wreath.  
 K.<sup>2</sup> As K but rosette-diademed.  
 L. Draped, with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle r.  
 M. Helmeted (with pearl-diadem) and cuirassed l., holding spear and shield in front.  
 N. Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed l., raising r. hand and holding globe in l.

## LONDINIUM—AUGUSTA

As Maximus raised his standard in Britain we might expect to find his earliest coinage coming from a British mint. De Salis must, then, I think, certainly be right in attributing the extremely rare gold and silver coins bearing the mint-name AVG to Augusta, the name by which, as Ammianus (28. 3. 1) tells us, Londinium had come to be known in his time.<sup>1</sup> The few extant coins give evidence of two issues, one showing in the exergue simply the shortened form of the mint-name, the other adding to this the state guarantee of purity, OB and PS.

The earlier issue, struck to supply the necessary donatives to the soldiers who were to follow Maximus to Gaul, was distinctly propagandist in purpose. The hardy troops quartered in Britain despised Gratian as weak and pleasure-loving, and Maximus chose as his first gold type the *Restitutor reipublicae* with which the energetic and warlike Valentinian I had inaugurated his reign. Maximus, not Gratian, was marked out by the coinage as Valentinian's true successor. The votive *siliqua* finds its natural place at the beginning of a reign.

Our scanty evidence gives us no clue to the dating of the second issue. In this we find no trace of Maximus' earlier policy of dissociating himself from the coinage of the despised Gratian, whose types and style of mint-mark (with OB and PS) are now carried over by him. Both *solidus* and *siliqua* have the legend *Victoria Augg.*, but whereas *Augg.* on the *solidus* never varies with the number of the Augusti, the change on the *siliqua* from the *Augg.*, so familiar to every Roman with the Victory type, must have been felt to be significant. Type and legend occur again on Maximus' Æ 2 from Lugdunum and Arelate, which succeeded his issue of the Æ 2 *Reparatio reipub.*, and so cannot be placed early in his reign. Who is the second Augustus implied in the legend? It can hardly be Maximus's son, Victor, who, when raised to the purple, shares freely in his father's coinage; for no *Victoria Augg.* has been found in his name. It must, then, be Theodosius; and the 'Senior Augustus', the boy, Valentinian II, is ignored.<sup>2</sup> Is there implicit in this a claim by Maximus to the whole of Valentinian I's inheritance?

<sup>1</sup> Elmer has suggested Augustodunum, and this idea has been developed by Mayreder in *Num. Chron.*, 1947, pp. 122 ff. Their argument is based on the assumptions (1) that coinage in the precious metals always, at this time, implied the presence or immediate neighbourhood of the emperor, and (2) that Maximus never visited Britain after 383. The first assumption contains, perhaps, some, but not the whole, truth; the second lays claim to more knowledge of Maximus's movements than the scantiness of our information warrants.

<sup>2</sup> Inscriptions never fail to place Valentinian II's name first in the list of Augusti after Gratian's death.

## MINT OF LONDINIUM—AUGUSTA

FIFTH PERIOD: SUMMER OF A.D. 383—28 AUG. A.D. 388

Emperors: VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS;  
(usurpers) MAGNUS MAXIMUS, and (from ?387) FLAVIUS VICTOR

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(2) DN MAG MA-XIMVS PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference	
Pl. I, 1	1	2 (B)	RESTITVTOR-REIPVBLI CAE Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe.	R <sup>5</sup>	AVG	Cf. C.4; Copenhagen
Pl. I, 2	2 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Two emperors seated facing on throne, together holding globe; behind, Victory with outspread wings; below, palm-branch.	R <sup>4</sup>	AVGOB	Cf. C.37; B.M. (silver-gilt)
Pl. I, 3	2 (b)	2 (B)	„	„	„	C.9; B.M.

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

Pl. I, 5	3	2 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Vic- tory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>4</sup>	AVGPS	Not in C.; B.M.
Pl. I, 4	4	2 (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in four lines in laurel-wreath.	„	AVG	Not in C.; B.M.

4. The upright lines shown in the *rev.* legend mark the division into lines on the coin here and throughout the lists in the following pages.

## TREVERI

## VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

AFTER the fall of Magnentius in A.D. 353 the mint of Treveri declined in importance, and under Jovian, Valentinian's immediate predecessor, seems to have been entirely inactive. Valentinian revived it to share fairly equally with Lugdunum and Arelate in the earliest gold issue of his reign, the *solidus*, *Restitutor reipublicae*. Its mint-mark is TR with added signs. A single *siliqua* with mint-mark TR is the only evidence seen by me that Treveri also struck in silver. It is a *vota* coin of Valens and its obverse is identical with that of a similar *siliqua* of Lugdunum, which was striking silver freely: apparently the die was loaned to Treveri for a merely 'token' coinage commemorating the emperors' *vota*. On the strength of their mint-mark TR, I have thought it safe to include in my list my nos. 2 and 3, which I cannot verify.

I have no evidence that Treveri shared in Valentinian's earliest *aes* issue with the *Restitutor reip.* type, which was soon superseded, in A.D. 364 or early in A.D. 365, by the typically Valentinian Æ 3 *Gloria Romanorum* 'Emperor dragging captive r.' and its complementary *Securitas reipublicae* 'Victory advancing l.' Treveran bronze is always rare until A.D. 379, but the issue of these types with mint-marks TRP\* and TRS\* is the least rare. The former type is reserved to Valentinian, the latter to Valens, as at Lugdunum. As among thirty-three specimens I find no coin of Gratian, it must fall within this period. Other issues (see pp. 10, 11) are much less well represented and the absence in them of Gratian does not preclude the possibility that his coins may yet be found.

Peculiar to Treveri is the Æ 3 *Gloria Romanorum* variant with *rev.* type 'Victory advancing l.' It is found with the same mint-marks as the two above-mentioned types, but my single specimen, of Valens, with mint-mark TRP\*, shows a different style of portrait and may not be contemporary with them. After the death of Valentinian it alone of the three Æ 3 coins survives.

## VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

In August A.D. 367 Valentinian proclaimed his seven-year old son, Gratian, as Augustus, and two months later Treveri became the imperial residence, with the result that soon all western coinage in the precious metals was concentrated in the Treveran mint. In the paper 'Issues of the *solidi Victoria Augg.* from Treveri', *Num. Chron.*, 1940, pp. 144 ff., I have attempted to trace the course of this coinage by means of the changing mint-marks and portraiture.

The *A* mint-marks are: 1. SMTR, 2. TROB (var.), 3. TROBC (S, T). The *R* mint-marks are: 1. SMTR, 2. TRPS (rarely TRPS). The *Æ* mint-marks are given on pp. 10-12. The mint-mark SMTR can be dated to the period between the elevation of Gratian and the completion of the senior emperor's *quinquennium* in Feb. A.D. 369. Most of the coinage is commemorative of these important events, but the only *vota* figures are V-X, and show that it all falls within the first *quinquennium*. On the other hand the contemporary coinage of the two other Gallic mints, Lugdunum with mint-mark SMLAP and Arelate with mint-mark SMKAP, links the V-X of the first with the X-XV of the second *quinquennium*, showing that the completion of the first was followed immediately by a new *vota* issue for the second. We must look for a parallel coinage from Treveri.

In the period covered by the mint-mark SMTR West and East are striking in close agreement (see p. 201). Constantinople with mint-mark \*CONS  $\mathcal{R}$  matches coin for coin the Treveran *solidi* with mint-mark SMTR. One of the Constantinople *solidi* with this mint-mark is *Gloria reipublicae* 'Rome and Constantinople seated, holding shield inscribed *vot. v mult. x*'. Treveri also has this type, but with the new *vota* X-XV and the new mint-mark TROB, which can thus be dated pretty accurately to the turn of the *quinquennium*.

The silver with mint-mark SMTR consists entirely of heavy and light *vota miliarensia* and the light *miliarensis Virtus exercitus*. The SMTR portraiture is of a very distinctive style. I think that the three Gallic mints of this period are following a common model. The first part of the *A* TROB (var.) issues is clearly distinguished by the retention of the SMTR style of portraiture. As I have not seen this style on any of the commonest Valentinian issue—the *Urbs Roma siliqua*, I find it convenient to use the term '*Urbs Roma* style' as broadly contradistinctive.

A *semis* of Gratian with the *Urbs Roma* style of portrait but with the *vota* figures V-X shows that he had not yet completed his first *quinquennium*. The mint-mark is TROBT. The change from TROB came, then, before Aug. A.D. 372.

For details of the TROB coinage I must refer to my above-mentioned paper. This coinage is partly commemorative, partly struck to supply the needed gold currency.

The only important event calling for special commemoration is Gratian's consulship in A.D. 371 with Probus as his colleague. The coins which seem to commemorate this are very baffling. Gratian has the *solidus Vota publica*, but the two seated emperors of the rev. type both wear imperial robes. The obverse shows the emperor not holding *mappa* and sceptre but with star-spangled helmet and in full armour. There is also a variant with normal obverse bust. Evidently com-

plementary to these coins of Gratian are the *Victores Augusti* of the senior emperors with reverse showing Valentinian and Gratian, and with both the obverse varieties seen on Gratian's coinage.

With mint-mark TROB and with the SMTR style of portraiture begins the long issue of the *solidus Victoria Augg.* which for nearly a quarter of a century was the main gold currency of the western empire. The coin had been struck first at Thessalonica before the elevation of the third Augustus, but the *Augg.* of the legend remained unchanged. We can trace its course during our present period by the slight changes in obverse and reverse: (only the details in which changes occur in this or the following periods are given).

Mint-mark TROB (var.).

1. *Obv.* Pearl-diademed. Valens' name divided N-S. Gratian's legend unbroken. SMTR portraiture.  
*Rev.* Emperors equal; l. leg bare.
2. *Obv.* Rosette-diademed. Division after Valens' name. Gratian's legend unbroken. *Urbs Roma* portraiture.

Mint-mark TROBC (S, T).

*Obv.* and *rev.* unchanged from 2. I place Gratian's coins of this class with *obv.* legend divided A-N after the death of his father.

I have found no silver, except the 'half-*siliqua*' with mint-mark TR, with portraiture corresponding to that of the earlier TROB issues. With the *R* mint-mark TRPS both *miliarensia* and *siliquae* have the later style of portraiture. The *miliarensia*, both heavy and light (as with mint-mark SMTR), have the *vota* figures V-X, which (as we have already had X-XV for the senior emperors) can refer only to Gratian, although I have seen the light *miliarensia* only with Valens' obverse. Valens far outnumbers both Valentinian and Gratian also in the *siliqua Urbs Roma* 'Throne' type with mint-marks TRPS and (very rarely) TRPS. Of this, Valentinian has by far the fewest and seems to have entered upon its issue only late in his reign.

That Gratian should have unbroken obverse legend on his *solidi* but broken on his smaller gold and on his silver shows clearly that no importance can be attached to the distinction when the name is that of an Augustus, known by all to be merely titular. It becomes important only when the unbroken legend is given to a colleague who claims to be by right a ruling Augustus.

#### VALENS, GRATIAN, AND VALENTINIAN II

In August 377 Gratian completed his second *quinquennium*, and the gold multiples and the heavy *vota miliarensia* are probably to be dated,

according to their portraiture, to the beginning or to the end of its final year.

Our constant guide throughout this period is the *siliqua Urbs Roma*, first 'Throne' and then 'Cuirass' type. In my paper 'Issues of the *Urbs Roma siliqua* at Treveri and *vota siliquae* of Gratian struck at Treveri', *Num. Chron.*, 1932, pp. 245 ff., I have attempted to trace the course of these two issues. The 'Throne' type ends with a new portrait of Gratian, found identically on *siliquae* commemorating the completion of his *decennium*. It represents a handsome youth with flowing, curled locks, and Ausonius's epigrams, one praising Gratian's skill with the bow, and another in which Gratian's mother wonders whether she has given birth to a man-child or a god, suggest that the young prince is represented in the guise of *crinitus Apollo*, the Archergod. This 'curls' portrait is carried on in the *Urbs Roma* 'Cuirass' type issue, which immediately succeeded the 'Throne' type. In this Valens' portrait tends to become stereotyped in a form which renders it easily distinguishable from all but some of his latest 'Throne' type portraits. Meanwhile the young Valentinian II has his own special *siliqua* type, the *Victoria Auggg.*, and appears in the *Urbs Roma* 'Cuirass' type issue only in very rare, perhaps hybrid, specimens.

We can now turn to the other coins. The *A Victoria Augg.* for a short time goes on as before, except that Gratian now has divided obverse legend. But no coin of this issue has been noted for Valentinian II. With change of diadem from 'rosette' to 'pearl', with change of Valens' and Gratian's portraiture, as stated above, and with inclusion of Valentinian II we have another issue of *Victoria Augg.*, which probably began shortly before the end of Gratian's *decennium*. It is possible that Valens' isolated *semis*, no. 20 in my list, should come in this period, its *vot. x mult. xx* referring to Gratian. The heavy *miliarense* with *votis x multis xx* has been noted by me in four specimens for Valens, one for Gratian. The absence of Valentinian I is my reason for including it in this period. But as Valens completed his tenth year in 374, the *vota* cannot be his. The portraiture agrees quite well with that seen on the *Urbs Roma siliquae* which were struck after Valentinian I's death, and I tentatively date these *miliarensia* to the beginning of the final year of Gratian's *decennium*, which ended with the adoption of the 'curls' portrait.

For the *aes* of this period see p. 11.

GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. 379),  
AND ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. 383)

Valens was killed in the disastrous battle of Adrianople on 8 Aug. A.D. 378. Baron Ulrich-Bansa in his *Note sulla Zecca de Aquileia Romana* convincingly defends his inclusion in the series of gold multiples

which show an emperor receiving the homage of the state as its 'restorer'. It should probably rank with the *AR* (?) presentation piece *Perpetuetas* and the *Æ 2 Reparatio reipub.* as evidence of Roman refusal to accept defeat as the final verdict on that disaster.

The regular gold of the period is still the *solidus Victoria Augg.* with some changes in details. Gratian and Valentinian II have *rev.* type showing one of the emperors as a boy. Their mint-mark is almost exclusively TROBT; Theodosius's reverse shows the emperors of equal size; his mint-mark is exclusively TROBC. The emperors of the *rev* type have both legs covered by their drapery. Three coins of this issue having Valens' obverse (one identical with that on a coin of the previous issue) must be regarded as hybrids. The *solidus Vota publica* shows Gratian with 'curls' portrait and seated with the boy Valentinian on the reverse. It cannot, therefore, have reference to his consulship with Theodosius in 380, nor to his quinquennial celebrations in 381-2, as he was then away from Treveri. Baron Ulrich-Bansa may be right in suggesting that some other than the usually accepted explanations of this type is necessary to solve the difficulties it often offers. In silver we have heavy *miliarensia* commemorating Gratian's *quindecennium* and the light *miliarensia Virtus exercitus*.

The *siliqua Urbs Roma* soon disappears, but two (identical) specimens of Theodosius show that it just overlapped his accession.

Henceforth, until the end of Gratian's reign, the *siliqua* issues consist of the following three types, strictly differentiated between the three emperors: *Virtus Romanorum* for Gratian, *Victoria Auggg.* for Valentinian II, and *Concordia Auggg.* 'Constantinople seated, holding cornucopiae' for Theodosius. Exceptions are extremely few.

In bronze the same three types, also differentiated, are struck as *Æ 3*, the only change being that on Theodosius's type Constantinople, instead of holding a cornucopiae, rests her l. hand on her knee. The mint-mark of these coins is almost invariably TRP; TRS seems to be very rare. A single *Æ 4 vota* coin of Valentinian II with mint-mark TRP is my only evidence of the early introduction of this new denomination, which for many years was restricted entirely to a reference to *vota*.

The *aes* mint-mark succeeding TRP was SMTR or SMTRP(S). The system of differentiation of types between emperors was now abandoned. We find, appearing side by side, the *Æ 2 Reparatio reipub.*, the *Æ 3 Virtus Romanorum* and *Concordia Auggg.*<sup>1</sup> (*Victoria Auggg.* has not been seen by me with the changed mint-mark), and the *Æ 4 vota* coins, which were now struck in large numbers at many western mints,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There are two varieties of this type, one shared only with Antioch, the other the regular western variety (except at Rome, which followed eastern models).

<sup>2</sup> The many instances of the halving of Valentinian's *Æ 3*, noted in late hoards, witness to the need of this small denomination.



evidently as a useful part of the currency. The isolated example with mint-mark TRP, mentioned above, suggests that their first appearance was as 'distribution' pieces to be scattered among the crowd.

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS;  
(usurpers) MAXIMUS AND VICTOR

Maximus's earliest gold coinage was a revival of Valentinian I's type *Restitutor reipublicae* and his mint-mark SMTR. Its purpose was presumably propagandist: cf. Introduction to Londinium—Augusta. It was followed by a resumption of the normal western *V* type *Victoria Augg.* with mint-mark TROB. Its reverse represents the two emperors as equal in size, while on the *solidus Bono reipublice nati*, struck on Victor's elevation, one of the emperors is a boy. This latter type is found also on the *Victoria Augg.* of Maximus struck in Italy, so that the Treveran issue must be dated to the time of the *entente* between him and Theodosius.

In silver Maximus continued Gratian's *Virtus Romanorum* and *Concordia Augg.* At first he included Theodosius in both issues, but ignored Valentinian II. A detailed account of this coinage is given in 'Siliqua Issues at Treveri from the Death of Valens to the Accession of Magnus Maximus', in *Num. Chron.*, 1935, pp. 137 ff.

In bronze Maximus continued the  $\text{Æ} 2$  *Reparatio reipub.* of Gratian, and also struck  $\text{Æ} 4$  *vota* coins. The latter are so rare as to suggest that this type of coin was intended by Maximus rather for free distribution on special occasions than as regular currency. The  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Spes Romanorum*, struck in Maximus's last year of rule, is my earliest certain evidence of the adoption in the West of Theodosius's lowered standard of this denomination.

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, AND ARCADIUS

The coin evidence for this very obscure period is abundant and definite, however we interpret it. A small issue of the *siliqua Urbs Roma*, least rare for Arcadius and linking him by *rev.* identity with Valentinian, is followed by a large and continuous issue of *Virtus Romanorum* (without change of type). In this, Valentinian is linked throughout with Theodosius in a series of slight but well-marked *rev.* varieties, not one of which seems to be found for Arcadius, whose coins of this type all have *rev.* varieties shared with Eugenius and not noted for Valentinian. A detailed examination of this coinage is given in my paper 'Eugenius and his Eastern Colleagues', *Num. Chron.*, 1937, pp. 1 ff.

The disputed date of Valentinian II's entrance upon his new rule in Gaul, whether immediately after the defeat of Maximus in A.D. 388 or not until the departure of Theodosius from N. Italy in A.D. 391, is, I

think, settled conclusively by the abundant coinage in favour of the earlier date.

In our ignorance of Valentinian's movements in Gaul we can only guess at the precise reference of his coins struck to commemorate some special occasion. The many difficulties we meet with in attempting to give a consistent explanation of the *solidus Vota publica* lead me to welcome Baron Ulrich-Bansa's suggestion that this type may commemorate any event of outstanding importance, such as, in the present instance, Valentinian's entry into Gaul.

In bronze Valentinian continues the type *Victoria Auggg.* with which his name had been connected on the coinage from the first. The excessive rarity of his *Æ 3 Gloria Romanorum*, his father's special type, may be due to Theodosius's disapproval of so vivid a reminder of the great days of the House of Valentinian I.

THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper),  
and later, HONORIUS

After the death of Valentinian in May A.D. 392 there was a three-months' interregnum. In my above-mentioned paper I have attempted to explain the preponderance of Arcadius in *siliqua* varieties which he shares with Eugenius, by suggesting that Arbogastes during this time was striking busily in the name of the young prince, who must have seemed marked out as successor to the dead Valentinian. For a fuller discussion of the evidence, see p. xxv. Eugenius's gold coinage corresponds throughout—from the *A* multiple down to the *tremis*—with that of Valentinian, and, so far, has been found only in the usurper's name. We can, again, only guess at the application of multiple, *aureus*, and the *solidus Vota publica* to particular occasions, but these are probably the same as in the case of Valentinian, whose coinage seems to have been purposely imitated by the usurper.

In bronze Eugenius continued only the *Æ 4 Victoria Auggg.* of Valentinian. It is difficult to distinguish the coins of the two reigns. Elmer's assertion that the division *Victori-a Auggg.* is confined to Valentinian's coinage must be a mistake, as this division, seen only at Treveri, occurs on a coin of Eugenius with illegible mint-mark. The division *Victor-ia Auggg.*, universal at Lugdunum and Arelate, is commoner also at Treveri and the mint-mark is regularly TR. The rare TRP(S) is shown, by its combination with Valentinian's obverse, to be dated to his reign.

Elmer's article 'Eugenius' in *N. Z.*, 1936, pp. 29 ff., contains a full discussion of the usurper's coinage, but his attribution to him of a *siliqua* issue of *Urbs Roma*, mint-mark TRPS, is based upon a coin stated to be in the Dresden Museum, but not to be found there.

MINT-MARKS OF Æ 3 GLORIA RO-MANORUM AND SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE

	I		II		III	
	GLORIA RO-MANORUM (Nos. 5, 30)		GLORIA RO-MANORUM (Nos. 6, 31)		SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE (Nos. 7, 32)	
	Valentinian I	Valens	Valentinian I	Valens	Valentinian I	Valens
i (a)	Obv. 1 <sup>b</sup> (A)					
	*  TRP					
(b)	*  TRS					
ii (a)	Obv. 1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	Obv. 2 (A)	Obv. 1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	Obv. 2 (A)	Obv. 1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	Obv. 2 (A)
	TRP* TRS* TRP~		*  ·TRS· TRP*		*  ·TRP·	
(b)				TRP* TRS*	TRP~ TRS~	TRP* TRS* TRP~ TRS~ D  TRP
iii (a)						
(b)						
iv (a)						
(b)						
(c)						
v (a)	D  TRP	D  TRP			D  TRP	D  TRP

FIRST PERIOD: A.D. ? LATE 364—AUG. A.D. 367

(b)						D   TRS	D   TRS	D   TRS	D   TRS
vi (a)						TRP			
(b)						TRP			

SECOND PERIOD: AUG. A.D. 367-NOV. A.D. 375







	Valentinian I	Valens	Gratian	Valentinian I	Valens	Gratian	Valentinian I	Valens	Gratian
vii (a)	<i>Obv.</i> 1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	<i>Obv.</i> 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	<i>Obv.</i> 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	<i>Obv.</i> 1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	<i>Obv.</i> 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	<i>Obv.</i> 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	<i>Obv.</i> 1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	<i>Obv.</i> 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	<i>Obv.</i> 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)
(b)	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP
viii (a)	TRS			*   TRP	*   TRP	*   TRP	*   TRP	*   TRP	*   TRP
(b)	TRP			*   TRP	*   TRP	*   TRP	*   TRP	*   TRP	*   TRP
ix (a)	TRP			TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP
(b)				TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP
x (a)				TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP	TRP
(b)									

First Period. The mint-marks i, ii, iv, v, vi are very rare and coins of Gratian may yet be found with some, which, owing to his absence, are here placed in this period. Mint-marks I iii and III iii are less rare and Gratian's absence seems certain. Second Period. Gratian's portrait is of the style seen on his early *A*, *Æ*, and *Æ* 2 with mint-mark SMTR. His largest bust is seen with mint-mark ix (b). Two of Valens' coins in II x (a) have *obv.* identity with his earlier *Æ Urbs Roma* ('Throne' type) *siliquae*, and the single specimen of Gratian seen by me would suit the same date, viz. towards the end of Valentinian I's reign.

## MINT-MARKS OF Æ 3 GLORIA RO-MANORUM

## II. GLORIA RO-MANORUM (No. 47)

THIRD PERIOD: NOV. A.D. 375-?EARLY A.D. 376

	Valens	Gratian	Valentinian II
	<i>Obv. 1<sup>a</sup> (A)</i>	<i>Obv. 2 (A)</i>	<i>Obv. 3 (A)</i>
xi			
xii			
xiii			

Third Period. Mint-marks xi and xii: both Valens and Gratian have *obv.* identities with the *Urbs Roma* ('Throne' type) in its later stage. Mint-mark xiii: all three emperors have the style of portrait seen on their *AR Urbs Roma* ('Cuirass' type).

## MINT OF TREVERI

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

*Emperors*: VALENTINIAN I and VALENS

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTIN-IANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	RESTITVTOR-REIPVBL ICA <sup>E</sup> Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe.	R	1 TR, 2 TRS, 3 TR✕, 4 TRΩ, 5 •TR•, 6 •TR•✕, 7 $\frac{\cdot}{ }$ TR•	C.28-9; 1-3 B.M.; 4 Koblitz; 5 The Hague; 6 Dort- mund; 7 note in B.M.
(b)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	„	TR•	Gotha
(c)	2 (A)	„	„	1 TR•, 2 TR✕	C.32; 1 Dort- mund; 2 B.M.
(d)	2 (A)	„ (but . . . Æ ligated).	„	1 TR✕, 2 TR•✕	1 Dortmund 2 Paris <i>Pl. I, 6</i>

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

2	1	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 1.	R <sup>4</sup>	TR	C.18
3	1	VOTIS   V   MVLTI   X in wreath.	„	„	Cf. C.79; <i>N.C.</i> , 1888, p. 45
4	2 (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in wreath.	„	„	Cf. C.91; <i>Pl. II, 1</i> Mayreder

1. On the shaft of the *labarum* there is usually a hook, but this is not constant even with the same mint-mark.

2, 3. *Obv.* presumably 1<sup>a</sup> (A), but details are not given in my authorities. 3 is not in B.M., as stated in *N.C.*, loc. cit. The following two coins seem to be ancient forgeries: 1. DN VALENTI-NIANVS P A, *Rev.* VOT | V | MVLTI | X in wreath, mint-mark TR (Ermitage), 2. DN VA-LENS P A, *Rev.* VOT | V | MVL | X in wreath, mint-mark TR (given by v. Koblitz as at The Hague, but apparently in error).

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference	
Pl. III, 6	5 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., dragging captive with r. hand and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	S	For mint- marks see pp. 10, 11	C.12
	(b)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	"	
	(c)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.11
6 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	"	"	"	C.7
	(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.4
7 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Type as no. 6.	S	"	"	C.37
	(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.47

SECOND PERIOD : 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

Emperors : VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTI-NIANVS AVG  
 (1<sup>c</sup>) DN VALENTIN-IANVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
 (2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENS-PF AVG  
 (2<sup>c</sup>) DN VALE-NS AVG  
 (3<sup>a</sup>) DN GRATIANVS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>b</sup>) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (C) Pearl-diademed, draped in imperial mantle, l., holding *mappa*  
 and short sceptre.  
 (D) Helmeted (with stars on helmet) and cuirassed, l., holding  
 spear in front and shield on which is represented a horse-  
 man charging over prostrate enemy.  
 (E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.  
 (F) Pearl-diademed and cuirassed, r.  
 (G) Pearl-diademed, draped in imperial mantle, l., raising r. hand  
 and holding short sceptre in l.

GOLD  
*Multiple*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
8 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (G)	FELIX ADVEN-TVS AVGGG Emperor, laurel-wreathed and wearing flowing mantle, on horseback, l., raising r. hand.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMTR	C.2; Paris
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (G)	"	"	"	C.2; The Hague
9	1 <sup>a</sup> (B)	GLORIA REIPUBLICAE Victory stg. r., r. foot on globe, writing VOT   V   MVLTV   X on shield held on <i>cippus</i> by nude winged Genius.	"	"	C.3; Paris
10	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA-RO-MANOR VM Roma helmeted and Constantinopolis turreted, seated on throne, Roma, facing, holding Victory on globe and sceptre, Constantinopolis, turned towards Roma, r. foot on prow, holding Victory on globe and cornucopiae.	"	"	C.4; B.M.
11 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (B)	" (but smaller module).	R <sup>3</sup>	1 TR*OB, 2 TROBS	Not in C.; 1 Berlin (cast); 2 Trau Cat., no. 4457
(b)	3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	"	TROBS	C.19; Trau Cat., no. 4557
<i>Solidus</i>					
12 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA REI-PUBLICAE Roma helmeted, facing, and Constantinopolis turreted, turned towards Roma, r. foot on prow, seated on throne, each holding sceptre and together holding shield inscribed VOT   X   MVLTV   XV.	R <sup>2</sup>	TROB	Not in C.; B.M.

8. (a) 6.72 gm.; (b) 6.7 gm. = 1½ *solidus*.9. 13.5 gm. = 3 *solidi*.10. 13.05 gm. = 3 *solidi*.11. (a) Wt. of Trau specimen 8.83 gm.; (b) 8.9 gm. = 2 *solidi*.



No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
12 (b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA REI-PVBLICAE As no. 12 (a).	R <sup>2</sup>	TR•OB	Not in C.; Trau Cat., no. 4521 C.28; B.M.
Pl. I, 10	13 (a)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A) PRINCIPIVM IVVENTV TIS Gratian, nimbate, stg. r., holding transverse spear and globe.	R	SMTR	
	(b)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A) „ (but Gratian not nim- bate).	„	„	Not in C.; Berlin Dortmund
	(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A) „	„	TROB	
14 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 1.	„	SMTR	C.28-9; Dort- mund
	(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A) „	„	„	C.32; Dort- mund
15	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	TRIVMFATOR - GENT BARB Emperor stg. fa- cing, head l., holding <i>laba- rum</i> and globe; on his l., a kneeling captive.	R <sup>3</sup>	TR•OB	C.38; Vienna
16 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTORES - AVGVSTI Valentinian and Gratian seated facing, together hold- ing globe. Victory, flying l., crowns them.	R <sup>2</sup>	TROB	C.40; D'Amé- court Cat., no. 754
	(b)	1 <sup>a</sup> (D) „	R	1 TR•OB, 2 TR•OB•	C.39; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna
Pl. I, 9	(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (D) „	R <sup>2</sup>	TR•OB	C.51; B.M.
	(d)	„ (but with palm-branch between the thrones).	R <sup>3</sup>	„	Paris
17 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Two emperors seated facing, to- gether holding globe. Beh- ind and between them the upper portion of a Victory with outspread wings; be- tween them below, a palm- branch.	S	1 TROB, 2 TR•OB, 3 TROB•, 4 TR•OB•, 5 ✕TROB•, 6 ✕TR•OB	C.43; 1, 2, 6 Vienna; 3, 4 B.M.; 5 Dortmund
	(b)	1 <sup>a</sup> (B) „	„	1 TR•OB•, 2 TR•OBC, 3 TROBC, 4 TROBS, 5 TROBS•, 6 TROBT	1 Munich; 2 Koblitz; 3, 4, 6 B.M.; 5 Luneau Cat. (26.6.22)

12 (b). I think that the Trau illustration shows TR•OB as the mint-mark; but the sign in the middle is seldom a circular dot, and certainly not so here.

13 (a) and 13 (b) have been noted with *obv.* identity.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
17 (c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 17 (a).	S	1 TROB•, 2 TR•OB•	C.53; 1 formerly in Herzfelder Coll.; 2 B.M.
(d)	2 <sup>a</sup> (B)	”	”	1 TROB•, 2 TRO•B•	1 Formerly in Herzfelder Coll.; 2 Vienna
(e)	2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	”	”	1 TR•OB•, 2 TROBC, 3 TROBS, 4 TROBT	1 Bement Cat., no. 1548; 2, 3, 4 B.M.
(f)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	”	1 TROB•, 2 TR•OB•, 3 TR•OB•	C.38; 1 Dortmund; 2 Berlin; 3 B.M. <i>Pl. I, 7</i>
(g)	3 <sup>a</sup> (B)	”	”	1 TROB•, 2 TR•OB•, 3 TROBC, 4 TROBS, 5 TROBT	1 Dortmund; 2-5 B.M.
18 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (C)	VOTA-PV-BLICA Two emperors, nimbate, draped in imperial robes, seated facing on throne, each holding <i>mappa</i> and sceptre. The emperor on l. is raising his <i>mappa</i> .	R <sup>3</sup>	SMTR	Cf. C.67; Dortmund
(b)	1 <sup>c</sup> (C)	”	R <sup>4</sup>	”	Vienna
(c)	2 <sup>c</sup> (C)	”	R <sup>3</sup>	”	C.84; Vienna
(d)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	R <sup>4</sup>	TR•OB	Not in C.; Dortmund
(e)	3 <sup>b</sup> (D)	”	R <sup>2</sup>	”	C.62; Santa-maria Cat., Jan. 1938

*Semis*

19	3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Victory seated r. on cuirass, writing VOT   V   MVL   X on shield held up by Genius.	R <sup>3</sup>	TROBT	Cf. C.50; B.M.
20	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	” (but VOT   X   MVL   XX).	”	”	Not in C.; Rome

17 (g). It is probable, but not certain, that the change to broken *obv.* legend with this type took place at Valentinian's death. Cf. *N. C.*, 1940, p. 153.

18 (a). The broken style of *obv.* legend is necessitated by the crest of the helmet.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  *Scripulum*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
21 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (B)	VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>3</sup>	TR•OB	Not in C.; Trier
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	TROB	C.58; Vienna Vienna
(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	"	"	C.44;
(d)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 TROB, 2 •TROB•	1 Hunterian Museum, Glasgow; 2 Rome B.M.
(e)	3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	"	TROB	B.M.

## SILVER

*Multiple*

22	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	TRIVMFATOR - GENT BARB Emperor stg., &c., as no. 15.	R <sup>4</sup>	TRPS•	C.50; B.M.
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*Miliarensis* (heavy)

23 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (E)	VOTIS   V   MVLTTIS   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMTR	C.77; Gn. i, pl. 34- 16
Pl. II, 4 (b)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	TRPS•	C.78; B.M.
(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.103; Vienna
(d)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	SMTR	Cf. C.80; B.M.
Pl. II, 2 (e)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	TRPS•	B.M.

*Miliarensis* (light)

24 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM Victory stg. r., l. foot on globe, writing VOT   V   MVLTT   X on shield placed on <i>cippus</i> .	R <sup>3</sup>	SMTR	C.51; B.M.
(b)	1 <sup>a</sup> (E)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Not in C.; B.M.
(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	Cf. C.60; B.M.
Pl. II, 3 (d)	2 <sup>a</sup> (F)	"	"	"	C.60; B.M.
(e)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	"	C.46; Berlin

21. (a) 1.57 gm.; (b) 1.64 gm.; (c) 1.64 gm.; (d) 1.6 gm. (•TROB•);  
(e) 1.66 gm.

22. 13.475 gm. = 3 light *miliarensis*.

23. (a) 5.0 gm.; (b) 5.16 gm.; (c) 5.8 gm.; (d) 5.26 gm.; (e) 5.37 gm.

24. (a) 3.96 gm.; (c) 4.45 gm.; (d) 4.25 gm.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
25	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	As 24, but VOT   V   MVL TIS   X in shield.	R	TRPS•	Not in C.; Weber Cat.
26 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding standard in r. hand, and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>3</sup> , R	1 SMTR, 2 TRPS•	C. 58; 1, 2 B.M.
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup> , S, R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMTR, 2 TRPS•, 3 TRPS•	C. 71; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Ber- lin (cast)
	(c) 2 <sup>a</sup> (F)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	SMTR	Not in C.; B.M.
	(d) 3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C. 52; Paris
	(e) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	S	TRPS•	B.M.

*Silique*

27 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VRBS-ROMA Roma seated l. on throne, holding Vic- tory on globe and spear.	S	TRPS•	Cf. C. 81
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Cf. C. 109
	(c) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C. 86
	(d) 1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	" (but no barb to spear, ?sceptre).	S, R	1 TRPS•, 2 TRPS	C. 81; 1, 2 B.M.
	(e) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	C, S	1 TRPS•, 2 TRPS	C. 109; 1, 2 B.M.
	(f) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	C, S	1 TRPS•, 2 TRPS	C. 86; 1, 2 B.M.

*Half-silique*

28	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA AV-GVSTOR VM Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>5</sup>	TR	Not in C.; Fitzwilliam Mus., Cam- bridge
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## BRONZE

*Aes II*

29 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORI-A ROMA-NOR VM Camp-gate with S be- tween its two turrets.	R <sup>2</sup>	SMTR	C. 13; Berlin
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25. 4.47 gm.

26. (a) 4.13 gm., 4.54 gm.; (b) 4.42 gm., 4.22 gm.; (c) 4.31 gm.; (d) 4.4 gm.

26 (e). Gnecci, i, pl. 35. 17, shows mint-mark TRPS• with Gratian's unbroken *obv.* legend, by error. The obverses of his nos. 17 and 19 should be transposed.

27 (e). One specimen has mint-mark TRPS• (Pearce).

28. 0.98 gm. For the denomination cf. *N. C.*, 1943, pp. 97-9.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
Pl. III, 7	29(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A) GLORI-A ROMA-NOR VM As no. 29 (a)	R <sup>2</sup>	SMTR	C.20; Paris
	(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (E)	"	"	C.19; Trier
	(d)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	Cf. C.26; B.M.

*Aes III*

Pl. III, 8	30(a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A) GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 5.	S	For mint- marks, see pp. 10, 11	C.12
	(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	C.11
	(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	C.23
	31(a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A) GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 6.	"	"	C.7
	(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	C.4
	(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	C.16
	32(a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A) SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 7.	"	"	C.37
	(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	C.47
	(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	C.34

THIRD PERIOD: 17 NOV. A.D. 375-9 AUG. A.D. 378

*Emperors: VALENS, GRATIAN, and VALENTINIAN II*

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
 (1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENS-PF AVG  
 (2) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Multiple*

33	(a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A) FELIX ADVEN-TVS AVG N As no. 8.	R <sup>4</sup>	TROBC	Not in C.; Vienna
	(b)	2 (A)	"	"	Not in C; O.U.C.
	(c)	3 (A)	"	TROBT	C.10; Berlin (cast)
34	1 <sup>a</sup> (B)	FELIX ADVEN-TVS AVG N As no. 8.	"	TROBS	Berlin

33 (a). 6.72 gm. = 1½ *solidus*.34. 6.6 gm. = 1½ *solidus*.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
35	2 (A)	GLORIA - RO-MANOR VM As no. 10.	R <sup>4</sup>	TROBS	C.19; Copenhagen (Gn. i, pl. 19. 4)
36 (a)	"	" (but of smaller module).	R <sup>2</sup>	TROBT	Paris (Gn. i, pl. 19. 3)
(b)	3 (A)	"	"	"	Paris (Gn. i, pl. 19. 6)
37	1 <sup>a</sup> (B)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Roma seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and spear.	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Cf. C.5; Rome (Toynbee, pl. 37. 2)
38 (a)	"	" (but of smaller module).	R <sup>2</sup>	TROBS	Monaco (Gn. i, pl. 14. 15)
(b)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Paris (Gn. i, pl. 14. 14)
(c)	2 (B)	"	"	1 TROBC, 2 TROBS	C.17; 1 Berlin (Gn. i, pl. 19. 1); 2 Vienna
(d)	2 (A)	"	"	TROBT	Monaco (Gn. i, pl. 19. 2)

*Solidus*

39 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (B)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 17.	S	1 TROBC, 2 TROBS, 3 TROBT	C.50; 1-3 B.M.
(b)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	"	B.M.
(c)	2 (B)	"	"	"	C.38; B.M.
(d)	2 (A)	"	"	"	B.M.
(e)	3 (A)	"	"	"	C.36; B.M.

Pl. I, 8

 $1\frac{1}{2}$  *Scripulum*

40	3 (A)	VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM As no. 21.	R <sup>2</sup>	TROB	Cf. C.50; Padua
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35. 12.24 gm. = 3 *solidi*.36. (a) 8.9 gm.; (b) 8.89 gm. = 2 *solidi*.37. 20.07 gm.; 41 mm. =  $4\frac{1}{2}$  *solidi*.

38. (a) 19.5 gm.; (b) 20.0 gm.; (c) 19.34 gm., 57.96 gm. with setting; (d) 19.5 gm. Module from 38 to 36 mm.

39 (a) and (c) are tentatively placed here on the score of the change in Gratian's *obv.* legend, but Valentinian II does not appear in this issue. In the issue 39 (b), (d), (e), *officina* C occurs most frequently for Valens, T rarely; C and S are commonest for Valentinian II, T very rare. I have noted rather fewer coins for Gratian than for his colleagues; most are from T. Two of his coins (from C and T), one of which has reverse identity with Valentinian II, has rosette diadem, not noted by me for the other two emperors.

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
41 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOTIS   X   MVLTVS   XX in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 TRPS <sup>•</sup> , 2 TRPS	C.106; 1 Vienna; 2 Gn., 37 (not traced)
(b)	2 (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	1 TRPS <sup>•</sup> , 2 TRPS	C.81; 1 Vienna; 2 Berlin

*Miliarensis* (light)

42 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VIRTVS-EXERCITVS As no. 26.	S	1 TRPS <sup>•</sup> , 2 TRPS	C.71; 1 Vienna; 2 Hess Cat.
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1 TRPS <sup>•</sup> , 2 TRPS	C.52; 1 Glendinning Sale, May 1931; 2 B.M.
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	TRPS	Cf. C.58; B.M.

*Siliqua*

43	3 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	C	TRPS	C40; B.M.
44 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   X   MVLTVS   XV in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup> , R <sup>5</sup>	1 TRPS <sup>•</sup> , 2 TRPS	Not in C.; 1 Berlin; 2 Ulrich-Bansa
(b)	2 (A)	"	R	TRPS	Cf. C. 68; B.M.
45 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VRBS-ROMA As no. 27 (a) (b) (c).	"	TRPS <sup>•</sup>	Cf. C.109; Pearce
(b)	"	" As no. 27 (d) (e) (f).	C, S	1 TRPS <sup>•</sup> , 2 TRPS	C.109; 1, 2 B.M.
(c)	2 (A)	"	C, R	1 TRPS <sup>•</sup> , 2 TRPS	C.86; 1, 2 B.M.

41. (a) 5.8 gm.; (b) 5.17 gm. (TRPS<sup>•</sup>).

43. In the *obv.* legend **NP** and **AV** are often found ligated, singly or together.

44 (b). Cohen gives this (from Welzl) only with mint-mark TR. Welzl's coin must be our 61 (a), imperfectly described by him.

45 (a). This variety in which spear and, generally, the framework of Roma's throne are shown seems to have ended before Valentinian I's death. Its occurrence (with reverse identity) with two portraits of Valens, which seem to be definitely post-Valentinian, suggests that these later coins must be regarded as hybrids.

45 (b) and (c). In the *obv.* legends Valens has very rarely, Gratian more often, **AV** ligated.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
46 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VRBS-ROMA Romaseated l. on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and reversed spear.	C, S	1 TRPS*, 2 TRPS	C.110; 1, 2 B.M. <i>Pl. II, 12</i>
	(b) 2 (A)	"	C, C	1 TRPS*, 2 TRPS	C.87; 1, 2 B.M.
	(c) 3 (A)	"	R	TRPS	C.76; B.M.

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

47 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 6.	R	For mint-marks, see p. 12	C.4
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.16
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	"	Not in C.

FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

*Emperors:* GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

*Obverse legends:* (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG (seen from only one die)  
(3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG

*Obverse busts:* (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(C) Pearl-diademed and draped in imperial mantle, l., holding *mappa* and short sceptre.

## GOLD

*Multiple*

48 (a)	(See note)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE Emperor, stg. facing, with r. hand raising kneeling turreted female, who holds a cornucopiae, and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	R <sup>5</sup>	TROBS	C.42; Berlin (Gn. i, pl. 15. 2)
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46 (a) and (b). Both Valens and Gratian very rarely have *A* of *obv.* legend ligated.

46 (c). One or two of the portraits on these rare coins suggest that they were struck in this period.

48 (a). *Obv.* DN VALEN-S PF AVG, bust, rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r. Cf. Ulrich-Bansa, *Note sulla zecca di Aquileia Romana*, pp. 65 ff., for its inclusion here as posthumous. Wt. with setting 77.23 gm.



No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
48 (b)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 48 (a).	(See note) R <sup>4</sup>	TROBC	Toynbee, pl. 29. 9
	(c) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	1 TROBS, 2 TROBT	C.29; 1 Vienna; 2 Paris

Pl. I, 11

*Solidus*

49 (a)	(See note)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 39, except that (1) the emperor on r. is the smaller, (2) the dress covers both legs.	R <sup>4</sup>	1 TROBS, 2 TROBT	Cf. C.53; 1 B.M.; 2 Milan
(b)	1 (A)	"	S	TROBT	Cf. C.39; B.M.
(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	1 TROBS, 2 TROBT	C.36; 1, 2 B.M.
50	3 (A)	" As no. 49, except that the emperors are represented of equal size.	"	TROBC	C.37; B.M.
51	1 (C)	VOTA - PV-BLICA Gra- tian and Valentinian II, nimbate, in imperial mantle, seated facing, Gratian hold- ing <i>mappa</i> aloft and globe, Valentinian (?) holding <i>mappa</i> against his breast and globe.	R <sup>3</sup>	TROBT	C.43; Paris

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

Pl. II, 8	52	1 (A)	VOTIS   XV   MVLTTIS   XX in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	TRPS	C.83; Vienna
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*Miliarensis* (light)

53 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS-EXERCITVS As no. 26.	R	TRPS	C.52; B.M.
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Cf. C.38; B.M.
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	"	C.58; B.M.

48 (b). Known only from a copy in silver at Paris.

48 (c). Wt. (mint-mark TROBT) 39.8 gm. = 9 *solidi*.49 (a). *Obv.* DN VALENS - PF AVG, bust (A). See Introduction.53. (a) 4.0 gm.; (b) 4.48 gm., 4.3 gm.; (c) 4.29 gm. The hook on the shaft of the *labarum* is regularly on the l. in this and subsequent issues of this type.

? *Argentus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
54	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTORI-A AVGGG Victory advancing r., head l., holding wreath in either hand.	R <sup>4</sup>	TRPS	Cf. C.89; Vienna

*Siliqua*

55 (a)	3 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Constantinopolis, turreted, seated facing, head r., r. foot on prow, holding sceptre and cornucopiae.	C	TRPS	C.4; B.M. <i>Pl. II,</i>
(b)	1 (A)	"	R <sup>5</sup>	"	C.6; O.U.C.
56 (a)	"	PERPETVETAS Phoenix stg. l., on globe.	R <sup>3</sup>	"	C.27; O.U.C.
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.25; Berlin
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	"	C.26; B.M. <i>Pl. II,</i>
57 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 43.	C	"	C.40 <i>Pl. II,</i>
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	C.41; Pearce
58 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO - MANOR VM Roma seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear, of which the barb is seldom visible.	C, R <sup>4</sup>	1 TRPS, 2 SMTR	C.54; 1, 2 Vienna
(b)	3 (A)	"	R, R <sup>4</sup>	1 TRPS, 2 SMTR	C.59; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna
59 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	TRPS	Not in C.; O.U.C.
(b)	3 (A)	"	"	"	C.64; Paris
60	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVL   TIS   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>5</sup>	TR	Not in C.; Pearce <i>Pl. II,</i>

54. This type occurs for Valentinian II in the contemporary coinage of Siscia. The present unique coin (2.52 gm.) is light for an *argenteus* and too heavy for a *siliqua*. It may be one of a small issue struck as 'presentation pieces'. Koblitz doubts its genuineness.

56. This is too heavy for a *half-siliqua*, which Sir Arthur Evans thought it might be. The wts. are: 56 (a) 1.3 gm., (b) 1.6 gm., (c) 1.78 gm. Its average weight is certainly below that of the average *siliqua* of the time, and this with its extreme rarity suggests that it also is a 'presentation piece'.

57 (a). In *obv.* legend NP and AV often found ligated, singly or together. A reverse identity joins 57 (a) and (b).

58. SMTR is the mint-mark of the contemporaneous *aes* issue; the rare *siliquae* with this mint-mark must be struck from *aes* dies.

59 (a). In the single specimen seen, AV in *obv.* legend is ligated.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
61 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLTI   XV in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	TR	Not in C.; Vienna
(b)	3 (A)	"	R <sup>5</sup>	"	Not in C.; B.M.
62	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVLTI   XX in laurel-wreath.	"	"	Not in C.; Vienna
63	"	VOT   XV   MVLTI   XX in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	TRPS	C.72; Vienna
<i>Pl. II, 13</i> 64 (a)	"	VRBS-ROMA As no. 46.	C	"	C.87
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	Not in C.; B.M.
(c)	3 (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	"	C.72; Vienna

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

65 (a)	1 (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB Emperor stg. facing, head l., raising kneeling turreted female with r. hand and holding Victory on globe in l.	R	1 SMTRP, 2 SMTRS	C.30; 1, 2 B.M.
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	S	1 SMTRP, 2 SMTRS	C.26; 1 B.M.; 2 Trier
(c)	3 (A)	"	R	1 SMTRP, 2 SMTRS	C.27; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna

*Aes III*

<i>Pl. III, 13</i> 66	3 (A)	CONCOR-DIAAVGGG As no. 55.	R <sup>4</sup>	TRP	Not in C.; Trier
67	"	" Constantino- polis, tur- reted, seated facing, head r., r. foot on prow, holding sceptre in r. hand and rest- ing l. on knee.	R <sup>2</sup>	"	C.6; Berlin
68 (a)	1 (A)	" Roma helmeted, seated facing, head l., holding globe and reversed spear (wholly visible).	R	SMTR	C.3; Vienna
<i>Pl. III, 12</i> (b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	C.8; Trier
(c)	3 (A)	"	S	"	C.18; Munich

61 (a) and (b). These are linked by *rev.* identity.

64 (a). Notice 'unshaven' portrait in mourning for Valens.

68. This *rev.* variety is confined to western mints. A barbarous *siliqua* of Theodosius has this type with . . . AVGG in the *rev.* legend and mint-mark TRPS (Paris).

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
69 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIAVGGG As no. 68, except that the lower part of the spear is hidden by Roma's dress.	S	SMTR	Cf. C.3; Trier <i>Pl. III, 11</i>
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R <sup>2</sup>	„	Cf. C.8; Pearce
	(c) 3 (A)	„	S	„	Cf. C.18; B.M.
70 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 57.	R <sup>4</sup>	TRP	C.41; Ermitage
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	S, R	1 TRP, 2 TRS	C.47; 1, 2 Munich
71 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTUS RO-MANOR VM Roma seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear.	S, R	1 TRP, 2 SMTR	C.57; 1, 2 Trier
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R <sup>4</sup>	SMTR	Cf. C.62; Copenhagen
	(c) 3 (A)	„	R	„	C.60; Munich

*Aes IV* (larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)

72	3 (A)	CONCOR-DIAVGGG As no. 55.	R <sup>4</sup>	TRP	Not in C.; Ul- <i>Pl. III, 16</i> rich-Bansa
73 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVLT   X in wreath.	R	SMTR	C.67; The Hague
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R <sup>3</sup>	1 TRP, 2 SMTR	Cf. C.68; 1 Trier; <i>Pl. III, 10</i> 2 Vienna
	(c) 3 (A)	„	R	SMTR	C.65; B.M.
74 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVLT   XX in wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	1 SMTR, 2 SMTRP	C.75; 1 Pearce; 2 Paris <i>Pl. III, 9</i>
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R <sup>3</sup>	SMTR	C.74; Koblitz
	(c) 3 (A)	„	R <sup>2</sup>	„	Not in C.; Vienna

69. This *rev.* variety is confined to Treveri and Antioch. 68 and 69 are linked by *obv.* identities. Both sometimes have *AV* of *obv.* legend ligated, and *NP* also occurs in 69 (b). The type with . . . AVGG in the *rev.* legend and mint-mark TRPS is found on a barbarous *siliqua* of Theodosius (O.U.C.).

71 (a) and (c). *AV* of *obv.* legend sometimes ligated. 71 (a) mint-mark is linked by *obv.* identity with *UR* *Urbs Roma* ('Cuirass' type), mint-mark TRPS.

72. This seems to be unique, perhaps a 'distribution' piece.

73 and 74 are linked by *obv.* identity of Theodosius.

FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS;  
(usurpers) MAXIMUS and VICTOR (from late in the period)

(Maximus seems not to have struck in the names of Valentinian II  
and Arcadius)

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN MAG MA-XIMVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN MAG MAX-IMVS PF AVG  
(3) DN FL VIC-TOR PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
<i>Pl. I, 22</i> 75	3 (A)	BONO REIPV-BLICE NATI Type as for <i>Victoria</i> <i>Augg.</i> , no. 49.	R	TROB	C.1; B.M.
76	2 <sup>a</sup> (B)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 1.	R, S	1 SMTR, * 2 SMTR	C.4; 1 Dort- mund; 2 B.M.
77(a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 50.	R <sup>4</sup>	TROB	C.37; Dort- mund
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	R	"	C.9; B.M.

*Semis*

78	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM As no. 19.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMTR	Cf. C.17; Er- mitage
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*Tremis*

79(a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM Type as no. 21.	R	SMTR	C.15; Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	"	"	B.M.
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	TROB	B.M.

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

80	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOTIS   V   MVLTI   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>2</sup>	TRPS	Not in C.; Vierhoff Cat., 5.3.1823, lot 2873
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79. (a) 1.52 gm., 1.58 gm.; (b) 1.46 gm.; (c) 1.53 gm.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
81	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	As 80, but MLTIS for MVL TIS	R <sup>2</sup>	TRPS	C.23; Paris
<i>Miliarensis</i> (light)					
82	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VIRTVS-EXERCITVS As no. 26.	R	TRPS	C.19; B.M. <i>Pl. II, 11</i>
<i>Siliqua</i>					
83 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG As no. 55.	R	TRPS	C.4; B.M.
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.1; B.M.
(c)	"	As no. 83 (a), except that Constantinopolis' head is turned l.	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Pearce <i>Pl. II, 15</i>
84 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO-MANOR VM As no. 71.	R	"	C.59; B.M.
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	C, R <sup>3</sup>	1 TRPS, 2 TPRS	C.30; 1, 2 B.M. <i>Pl. II, 16</i>
(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R	"	B.M.
(d)	3 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	1 TRPS, 2 TPRS	C.5; 1, 2 B.M. <i>Pl. II, 17</i>
BRONZE					
<i>Aes II</i>					
85	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB As no. 65.	S, R	1 SMTRP, 2 SMTRS	C.3; 1, 2 B.M. <i>Pl. III, 15</i>
<i>Aes IV</i> (? larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)					
86	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVLT   X in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMTR	Cf. C.24; <i>Pl. III, 17</i> Shapwick, <i>N.C.</i> , 1930, p. 139

82. Usually there is no hook on shaft of *labarum*.

83 (b) and (c). On four of the five *obv.* dies noted *AV* is ligated. My reasons for including Theodosius in this issue are stated in *N.C.*, 1935, p. 138. In 83 (b) *rev.* division CONCO-R-DIA AVGGG occurs on one coin in the Terling find.

84. For the inclusion of Theodosius, cf. *N.C.*, loc. cit. On his rare coins of this type I have found three *rev.* identities linking him with Maximus.

86. The Shapwick specimen weighed only 1.17 gm. and measured only 14 mm. But on my scanty evidence I dare not dissociate these coins from similar issues from the other Gallic mints, which, so far as I have seen, are all of the larger module.

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
Pl. III, 24 87 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	SPES RO-MANORVM Camp-gate with star between its two turrets.	S	SMTR	C.7; B.M.
	(b) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	"	Richborough
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	"	C.5; B.M.

SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388-15 MAY A.D. 392

Emperors: VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, and ARCADIUS

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (c) Pearl-diademed and draped in imperial mantle, l., holding *mappa* and short sceptre.

## GOLD

*Multiple*

Pl. I, 23 88	1 (A)	FELIX ADVEN-TVS AVG N As no. 8.	R <sup>4</sup>	TR  COM	Cf. C.11; Hunterian Mus., Glasgow
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*Aureus*

89	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor in quadriga facing, head l., scattering coins with r. hand and holding sceptre in l.	R <sup>3</sup>	T R COM	C.16; Trau Cat., no. 4572
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*Solidus*

90 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 50, except that the emperors are nimbate.	R	T R COM	C.37; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	C.44; B.M.
	(c) 3 (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	S.19; Ulrich- Bansa

88. 6.73 gm. = 1½ *solidus*.

89. 5.3 gm.

90. Theodosius is linked with Valentinian by *rev.* identity.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
91	1 (C)	VOTA-PV-BLICA Two emperors of whom the one on the r. is the smaller, nimbate and draped in imperial mantle, seated facing on separate thrones, each holding sceptre and the elder holding <i>mappa</i> in up-raised r. hand.	R <sup>3</sup>	T R COM	Not in C.; Vienna

*Tremis*

92 (a)	2 (A)	VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM As no. 79.	R <sup>4</sup>	T R COM	C.44; B.M.
	(b) 3 (A)	"	"	"	Not in S.; Padua

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (light)

93 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS-EXERCITVS As no. 26.	R	TRPS	C.58; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.55; B.M.

*Siliqua*

94 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO-MANOR VM Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and reversed spear.	C	TRPS	C.61 <i>Pl. III, 2</i>
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	Cf. C.57
95 (a)	1 (A)	VRBS-ROMA As no. 94.	R <sup>2</sup>	"	Not in C.; B.M. <i>Pl. III, 1</i>
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	Cf. C.72; B.M.
	(c) 3 (A)	"	R	"	S.25; B.M.

91. Which two of the three Augusti are represented in this type? It may be that the composition is purely symbolical of the division of the Imperial College into ruling and titular Augusti.

92 (a). 1.52 gm.

93. (a) 4.3 gm.; (b) 3.86 gm. (worn).

94. I have found no evidence that Valentinian struck this type in the name of Arcadius. See *N.C.*, 1937, pp. 15 ff.

95. In this rare issue Valentinian and Arcadius are linked by *rev.* identity.



## BRONZE

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
96(a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 5.	R <sup>5</sup>	TRP	C.23; Vienna
	(b) 2 (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	1 TRP, 2 TRS	C.23; 1 Munich; 2 B.M.
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	TRS	Not in S.; Bonn

Pl. III, 19

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

97(a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	S, R <sup>3</sup>	1 TR, 2 ?TRP	C.46; 1 B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	1 TR, 2 ?TRP	C.41; 1 B.M.
	(c) 3 (A)	"	C, R	1 TR, 2 TRP	Not in S.; 1, 2 B.M.
98(a)	1 (A)	VICTORI-A AVGGG As no. 97.	S	TR	C.46; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.41; B.M.
	(c) 3 (A)	"	C	"	Not in S.; B.M.

## SEVENTH PERIOD: 15 MAY A.D. 392-17 JAN. A.D. 395

Emperors: THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper, from 22 Aug. 392 to 6 Sept. 394), and HONORIUS (from ? 22 Jan. 393)

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAPI-VS PF AVG  
(3) DN EVGENI-VS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(C) Pearl-diademed and draped in imperial mantle, l., holding *mappa* and short sceptre.

97. The mint-mark TRP is extremely rare on these coins. It certainly occurs for Arcadius with the *rev.* division R-1. A few instances of it are given in the *Richborough Reports of the Research Committee of the Soc. of Antiquaries* for both Valentinian II and Theodosius, but without specification of the *rev.* division. On these ill-struck little coins, emperor, reverse division, and mint-mark are scarcely ever all legible together. TRS has also been noted for Theodosius and may be correct, but needs verification. Cohen makes no distinction between 97 and 98.

97 (c). On one coin I have noted the *rev.* division VICTO-R-IA AVGGG and on another AVGG for AVGGG. Cf. note to no. 107.

GOLD  
*Multiple*

No.	Obr.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
99	3 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 10.	R <sup>1</sup>	$\frac{T R}{COM}$	C.1; B.M. <i>Pl. I, 14</i>

*Aureus*

100	3 (C)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 19.	R <sup>1</sup>	$\frac{T R}{COM}$	Not in C.; <i>N. Z., 1936,</i> <i>p. 36</i>
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*Solidus*

101	3 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 90.	R	$\frac{T R}{COM}$	C.6; B.M.
102	3 (C)	VOTA-PV-BLICA As no. 91, except that the Emperors are of equal size.	R <sup>1</sup>	"	C.16; Paris

*Tremis*

103	3 (A)	VICTORIA - AVGVST ORVM As no. 92.	R <sup>1</sup>	$\frac{T R}{COM}$	C.10; Paris
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## SILVER

*Miliarensis (light)*

104	3 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Type as for VIR TVS-EXERCITVS no. 26.	R <sup>1</sup>	TRPS	C.2; Gn. 1, <i>pl. 16, 13</i>
105	"	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS As no. 26.	"	"	C.13; B.M. <i>Pl. III, 5</i>

*Siliqua*

106 (a)	2 (A)	VIRTVS RO-MANOR VM As no. 94.	S	TRPS	C.59
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	C	"	S.35
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	S	"	<i>Pl. III, 3</i>
(d)	3 (A)	"	"	"	Cf. C.14 <i>Pl. III, 4</i>

99. 8.91 gm. = 2 *solidi*.

101. There can be little doubt that Eugenius struck this type also in the name of Theodosius, but I have not yet found *rev.* identity to confirm it.

103. Also struck in *AR* (C. 11), *Trau Cat.*, no. 4625. It is possible that *tremisses* of Theodosius, given under no. 92, were struck by Eugenius.

104. 4.9 gm.

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
107(a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 97.	S	TR	C.41
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	C	"	Not in S.
	(c) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	Pearce
	(d) 3 (A)	"	R	"	C.8
Pl. III, 18 108	"	VICTORI-A AVGGG As no. 97.	R <sup>3</sup>	?TR	Pearce

## Unplaced

## SILVER

109		Obv. Draped, helmeted, bust of Roma I., in circle of pellets. Rev. X in wreath.	R <sup>5</sup>	TR	Not in C.; B.M.
110		Obv. As 109. Rev. XV in wreath.	"	"	"

107. A few coins of Honorius with broken *obv.* division must presumably be dated after his father's death. The only one seen by me at Trier, with the end of the *rev.* legend legible, has . . . AVGG (Pl. III, 20). A coin of Arcadius in the B.M. has a similar legend.

109. 1.08 gm. This and the following 'coin' (? distribution pieces) were described and illustrated by Sir A. Evans in *N. C.*, 1915, pp. 472-3, pl. xx.

110. c. 1 gm.

## LUGDUNUM

### VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

LUGDUNUM did not strike for Jovian, and it was probably the outbreak of hostilities with the Alamanni early in A.D. 365 which caused Valentinian to reopen this mint. We find his *Restitutor* type here in the three metals. The bronze, seen by me only in scarce specimens of its larger and later module, suggests that the reopening took place only shortly before its supersession by the *Gloria* and *Securitas* types in A.D. 365. In gold and silver the *Restitutor* type persisted throughout this period, as at Arelate. But, whereas at Arelate the *Restitutor siliqua* alone appears, at Lugdunum we find also, in excessively rare\* specimens, the *Urbs Roma* and *vota siliqua* types, which were being struck in great numbers at Rome. The *siliqua* mint-mark is regularly PLVG (by far commonest for Valens) and SLVG (by far commonest for Valentinian), but LVG and PLVG are both found with Valens' *Vot. v mult. x siliqua*. LVG is also the only mint-mark of the two heavy and the one light *miliarensia* of this period. The *vota siliqua* with mint-mark LVG suggests an early issue in agreement with Rome and before the reorganization of the mint into two *officinae* and its close association with Arelate. But the *miliarensia* seem to be dated later. The 'Four Standards' type, struck also at Arelate, may commemorate a military success of Jovinus in A.D. 366, and the heavy *vota miliarense*, like that struck later by Eugenius at Mediolanum, may support Elmer's statement ('Eugenius', *N. Z.*, 1936, p. 44) that in the fourth century such coins were issued sometimes on the anniversary of an emperor's accession. It must be dissociated in time from the SMLAP issue of the next period.

The large issue of the Æ 3 *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae* types gives the former to Valentinian from *officina* S, the latter to Valens from *officina* P—a differentiation observed, though a little less strictly, in the *siliqua* issue.

The Julian type, *Victoria dd. nn. Aug.*, which appears in all three metals, must in any case be a hybrid and I can make no attempt to explain the blundered and outmoded style of Valens' obverse legend.

### VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

The coinage commemorating the accession of Gratian and the completion of the senior emperor's *quinquennium* shows a close connexion

\* The East Harptree Hoard, buried c. A.D. 376, gives us an indication of the relative numbers of the Lugdunum *siliquae* in circulation: *Restitutor* 125, *Urbs Roma* 1, *Vota* 0.

between Lugdunum and Arelate. Both strike Gratian's *solidus Gloria novi saeculi*—a type confined to these two mints and suggested, we may well believe, by Ausonius. At other mints Gratian's earliest *solidus* type is linked by mint-mark with the last *Restitutor solidus* issue of his seniors, but at Lugdunum their mint-marks differ, and, except for this issue for Gratian, coinage in gold was by now restricted to Treveri. In *N. C.*, 1924, pp. 69 ff., Alföldi showed convincingly that the very distinctive mint-mark SMLAP was the signature, not of Londinium—Augusta, as Evans thought, but of Lugdunum, and brought Lugdunum and Arelate into intimate connexion in their fine series of *miliarensia*, heavy and light, commemorating the *vota* of the two senior emperors. Evidence, unknown at the time to Alföldi, shows that his '4th issue' from Arelate with its 'decided reduction in size and weight', from which he argued a transference of staff from Lugdunum to Arelate, is, in fact, matched by a similar issue from Lugdunum. We have, I think, convincing proof (1) that heavy and light *miliarensia* are struck together, and (2) that an issue with the new *vota* follows immediately on the completion of the old.

I have placed here the *siliqua* *Vot. x mult. xx*, as the *miliarensia* with the earlier *vota* certainly come into this period. But I believe that the reckoning by tens, though rare with the early figures, was always possible (cf. p. xxxvii), and in the East Harptree hoard there were two of Jovian with *vota x-xx* to five with *vota v-x*. So our *siliqua* should perhaps be dated to the first period.

In bronze, Gratian, who, unlike his father, shares both the *Gloria* and *Securitas* types, has a fairly equal representation in numbers with the senior emperors in all issues struck after his accession except those with the 'five-letter' exergue. This issue, then, had probably been in progress for some time when he was called to the throne. *Augg. Aug.*, which ends his obverse legend at Lugdunum and Arelate, probably stands for 'Augustorum Augustus' and has its pictorial counterpart in the type of the *solidus Spes r. p.* at Antioch, where the boy is represented standing between the seated figures of his two seniors.

After Valentinian I's death the bronze continued to be struck for a short time with change of Gratian's *obv.* legend to *Dn. Gratia-nus p. f. Aug.* Coins of Valentinian II would be expected, but have not yet been noted.

GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan.  
A.D. 379), AND ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

The *siliqua Urbs Roma* 'Cuirass' type, seen for Gratian only, is probably contemporaneous with the similar issue at Treveri which was continued for a short while after Valens' death, almost exclusively in

Gratian's name. The elevation of Theodosius was followed by a small issue of *siliquae* with types differentiated between the three Augusti, as at Treveri and other mints of the western and eastern empires. But the differentiated types in bronze are not found from Lugdunum, which also struck comparatively little of the succeeding bronze types in  $\text{Æ} 2$ ,  $\text{Æ} 3$ , and  $\text{Æ} 4$ . The  $\text{Æ} 2$  *Reparatio reipub.* is almost entirely, the  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Vot. xv mult. xx* entirely, so far as I know, confined to Gratian, and the  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Concordia Auggg.* to Valentinian II and Theodosius.

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, AND (usurpers)  
MAXIMUS AND (later) VICTOR

Except for the light *miliarensis Virtus exercitus*, Maximus struck only bronze at Lugdunum, and only in the names of himself and Victor. He struck no  $\text{Æ} 3$ , which had been discontinued in the East, and possibly in the West, early in A.D. 383, but he continued Gratian's  $\text{Æ} 2$  *Reparatio reipub.*, adding C to the P and S seen in the field of Gratian's coins. He struck also extremely rare  $\text{Æ} 4$  *vota* coins of the larger module which had been already reduced in the East by Theodosius. Presently the types of these two denominations were changed. The  $\text{Æ} 2$  'Emperor standing with Victory on globe and *labarum*' and the  $\text{Æ} 4$  'Victory advancing l.', both have the legend *Victoria Augg.* As they are not found for Victor, but only for Maximus himself, we must suppose the second Augustus to be Theodosius, and Valentinian II to be purposely ignored. The later  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Spes Romanorum*, struck just before Maximus invaded Italy, is of the smaller module and includes Victor.

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, AND ARCADIUS

We have no certain knowledge of Valentinian's movements in Gaul during this period, by which to date the gold and silver issues which imply the emperor's presence at Lugdunum. Our main interest in the coinage, however, lies in its evidence on the relations between the ruler of Gaul and his eastern colleagues. In my paper 'Lugdunum *siliqua*-issues of Valentinian II and Eugenius' (*N. C.*, 1944, pp. 45 ff.) I attempted to show that Elmer's attribution of *Urbs Roma siliquae*, struck in the names of Theodosius and Arcadius, to Eugenius' rather than to Valentinian II's reign, was based upon insufficient evidence, and that numerous reverse identities linked them with Valentinian.

THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, (usurper) EUGENIUS (from 22 Aug. A.D. 392), AND HONORIUS (from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Eugenius continued Valentinian II's *siliqua* and Æ 4 coinage. No doubt he struck, as he did later at Mediolanum, also in the name of the eastern emperors, but I have not yet found confirmation of this in reverse die-identities linking them with him at Lugdunum. Elmer considered that Eugenius struck his Æ 4 also in the name of Honorius, until the refusal of Theodosius to recognize the usurper's consulate of A.D. 393 brought about an open breach, and Eugenius henceforth ceased to strike in the name of Theodosius and his sons. But, if this were so, it is hard to explain the numerous reverse identities linking Eugenius with Theodosius and Arcadius in his later coinage at Mediolanum. It appears preferable to date Honorius' few Æ 4 with unbroken obverse legend to the period between the death of Eugenius and that of Theodosius.

MINT-MARKS OF GLORIA RO-MANORUM (Nos. 10, 20, 22) AND SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE (Nos. 12, 21, 23)

	GLORIA RO-MANORUM			SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE	
	Valentinian I	Valens	Gratian	Valens	Gratian
FIRST PERIOD: A.D. ? LATE 364—AUG. A.D. 367					
	No. 10 (a)	No. 10 (b)		No. 12	
i (a)				PLVG	
(b)	SLVG			LVG·P	
ii				OF   I	
iii (a)				LVG	
(b)	O   F II LVG			OF   I	
iv (a)				LVG·P	
(b)	O   F II LVG·S	O   F I LVG·S (sic)			
v (a)				OF   I	
(b)	O   F II LVGV	O   F II LVGV		LVGV	

iv (b). Die-sinkers' errors may account for the discrepancy of *officina* I appearing in the field, while *officina* S (= *secunda*) is shown in the exergue of this and nos. vi (b) and x (b) of Valens' coins.

	GLORIA RO-MANORUM			SECURITAS- REIPUBLICAE	
	Valentinian I	Valens	Gratian	Valens	Gratian
	No. 10 (a)	No. 10 (b)		No. 12	
vi (a)				OF   I LVGVP	
(b)	O   F   II LVGV S	O   F   I (sic) LVGV S			
vii				LVGS* (sic) OF   I	
viii (a)				LVGP*	
(b)	O   F   II LVGS*				
ix	O   F   II LVGS*				
x (a)				OF   I LVGAP	
(b)	O   F   II LVGAS	O   F   I (sic) LVGAS			

SECOND PERIOD: AUG. A.D. 367-NOV. A.D. 375

	No. 20 (a)	No. 20 (b)	No. 20 (c)	No. 21 (a)	No. 21 (b)
xi (a)				OF   I LVGPA	OF   I LVGPA
(b)	O   F   II LVGSA	O   F   II LVGSA	O   F   II LVGSA		
xii				OF   I LVGPB	
xiii				OF   I LVGPC	
xiv (a)				OF   I LVGPD	OF   I LVGPD
(b)	O   F   II LVGSD		O   F   II LVGSD		
xv (a)				OF   I LVGSP	
(b)	O   F   II LVGSP				
xvi (a)				OF   I LVGPR	OF   I LVGPR
(b)	O   F   II LVGSR		O   F   II LVGSR		
xvii (a)					LVGA
(b)	O   F   II LVGA		O   F   II LVGA		



## MINT OF LUGDUNUM

	GLORIA RO-MANORUM			SECURITAS- REIPUBLICAE	
	Valentinian I	Valens	Gratian	Valens	Gratian
	No. 20 (a)	No. 20 (b)	No. 20 (c)	No. 21 (a)	No. 21 (b)
xviii (a)				OF   I LVGP	OF   I LVGP
(b)	O   F II LVGS		O   F II LVGS		
xix (a)				OF   I LVGP.	OF   I LVGP.
(b)	O   F II LVGS.				
xx (a)				S   LVGP	
(b)			S LVGS		
xxi (a)			∪   S LVGS	S   ∪ LVGP	
(b)					
xxii (a)				OF   I LVGP	OF   I LVGP
(b)	O   F II LVGS		O   F II LVGS		
xxiii (a)				OF   I LVGP	OF   I LVGP
(b)	O   F II LVGS		O   F II LVGS		
xxiv				OF   I LVGP	OF   I LVGP
xxv (a)				OF   I LVGP.	OF   I LVGP.
(b)	O   F II LVGS.		O   F II LVGS.		

xxii. Signs in the field are, in the second period, regularly on the r. for the *Gloria*, on the l. for the *Securitas*, type. The deviation from this rule seen in nos. xxii, xxiv, and xxv may perhaps place them in close connexion with the issues of the third period, in which no transposition of r. and l. field takes place.

MINT OF LUGDUNUM

41

	GLORIA RO-MANORUM			SECURITAS- REIPUBLICAE	
	Valentinian I	Valens	Gratian	Valens	Gratian
	No. 20 (a)	No. 20 (b)	No. 20 (c)	No. 21 (a)	No. 21 (b)
xxvi (a)				OF   I S   LVGP	OF   I S   LVGP
(b)	O   F II S   LVGS		O   F II S   LVGS		
xxvii (a)				OF   I S   LVGP.	OF   I S   LVGP.
(b)	O   F II S   LVGS.		O   F II S   LVGS.		
xxviii (a)				OF   I S   R LVGP	OF   I S   R LVGP
(b)	O   F II R S LVGS		O   F II R S LVGS		
xxix (a)				OF   I E   R LVGP	OF   I E   R LVGP
(b)	O   F II R E LVGS		O   F II R E LVGS		
xxx (a)				S   R LVGP	
(b)			R   S LVGS		

THIRD PERIOD: NOV. A.D. 375-?EARLY A.D. 376

xxxi (a)		No. 22 (b)	No. 23 (a)
(b)		R   S LVGS	R   S LVGP
xxxii (a)			C   I LVGP
(b)		C   I LVGS	

xxxii. On some specimens a very narrow Z seems to take the place of I in the field, but I do not feel sure that this is proof of a distinct issue.

## MINT OF LUGDUNUM

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

Emperors: VALENTINIAN I and (from 28 March A.D. 364) VALENS

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS P F AVG  
 (2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALEN-S P F AVG  
 (2<sup>b</sup>) IMP CE VA-LENS P F AVG

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

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVBL ICAE Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> (sometimes with cross above the hook on shaft) and Victory on globe.	R	1 SMLVG, 2 SMLVG*, 3 SMLVG*	C.24-9; 1 B.M.; 2 Dort- mund; 3 The Hague
	(b) 1 (B)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	SMLVG	Récamier Sale, 2.3.1925
	(c) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R	1 SMLVG, 2 SMLVG*, 3 SMLVG*	C.32; 1-3 B.M.
	(d) 2 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	SMLVG	Note in B.M.
	(e) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	As no. 1 (a), but with palm- branch on shaft of <i>labarum</i> .	"	* SMLVG	Dortmund

Pl. IV, 2

*Semis*\*

2	1 (A)	VICTORIA-DDNNAV Victory advancing l., hold- ing wreath and palm.	R <sup>4</sup>	* LVG	C.54; B.M.
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Pl. IV, 6

1 (a). At Dortmund barbarous imitations are found (a) with correct *rev.* legend, mint-mark  $\text{\$LVG}$ ; (b) with *rev.* RESTITVT-OR REIPV, mint-mark LVG. Both have *obv.* (from same die) DN VALENT-INIANSVS AVG, bust helmeted, holding spear and shield, l. This identical obverse is found also with *rev.* GLORIA-REI-PVBLCIAE, Roma and Constantinopolis seated, holding shield inscribed VOT | V | MVLT | X, mint-mark  $\text{\$TES}$ . *Rev.* (b) is found also with blundered name but normal bust for Valens.

2. 2.05 gm. Only AV, not AVG, is found in *obv.* legend.

\* At Lyons is a barbarous *semis* of Valens with *rev.* RESTITO-REIPVBLIC, mint-mark LVG.

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
3 (a)	1 (A)	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Four standards.	R <sup>3</sup>	LVG	C.34; B.M. <i>Pl. IV, 3</i>
	(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	C.44; B.M.
4	1 (B)	VOTIS   V   MVLTI   X in laurel-wreath.	"	"	Cf. C.78; <i>Pl. IV, 1</i> B.M.

*Miliarensis* (light)

5	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVBL ICAE Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe.	R <sup>3</sup>	LVG	Cf. C.22; Vienna
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*Siliqua*

6 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP Em- peror stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> (plain shaft) and Victory on globe.	S	SLVG	C.18-19; B.M.
	(b)	" (but hook on shaft).	"	1 LVG (?), 2 SLVG, 3 PLVG, 4 SLVG.	1 Pearce; 2-3 B.M.; 4 O.U.C.
	(c)	" (but cross on shaft).	"	SLVG.	B.M.
	(d)	" (but hook and cross on shaft).	"	SLVG	Pearce
	(e)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A) As no. 6 (a).	"	1 LVG, 2 PLVG	C.28; 1 Hunterian Museum; 2 B.M.
	(f)	" (but hook on shaft).	"	1 PLVG, 2 SLVG, 3 PLVG, 4 SLVG.	1, 2, 4 Pearce; 3 B.M.
	(g)	" (but cross on shaft).	"	PLVG.	O.U.C.
	(h)	" (but hook and cross on shaft).	"	PLVG	B.M.

3. (a) 5.67 gm.; (b) 5.5 gm.

4. 4.89 gm. (worn specimen).

5. 4.7 gm.

6. (b) The mint-mark LVG is not quite certain, as the coin has been slightly clipped. (e) The Hunterian coin is semi-barbarous with *rev.* REP for REIP.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
7	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA-DDNNAV As no. 2.	R <sup>4</sup>	LVG	Not in C.; Vienna
8	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in laurel-wreath.	„	1 LVG, 2 PLVG	Cf. C.91; 1 O.U.C.; 2 Vienna
9 (a)	1 (A)	VRBS-ROMA Roma seated l. on throne, holding Vic- tory on globe and reversed spear.	R	SLVG	C.81; B.M.
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	„	PLVG	C.109; B.M.

Pl. IV, 7

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

10 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO - MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., dragging captive with r. hand and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	C <sup>3</sup>	For mint- marks, see pp. 38-9	C.12
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R	„	C.11; B.M.
11 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 6 (a).	S	SLVG	C.21; B.M.
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	„	PLVG	C.29; B.M.
12	„	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	C <sup>3</sup>	For mint- marks, see pp. 38-9	C.47
13	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA-DDNNAV As no. 7.	R <sup>4</sup>	LVG	C.68; Vienna
14	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in wreath.	„	„	C.71; B.M.

7. *Rev.* type and mint-mark are common on *siliquae* of Julian. The coin, with the strange *obv.* legend of Valens, can hardly have been intended for currency.

13. This seems to be no. 7 struck in bronze.

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

*Emperors: VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN*

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
 (3<sup>a</sup>) DN GRATIAN-VS AVGG AVG  
 (3<sup>b</sup>) DN GRATIANVS PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
15	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA NO-VI SAE CVLI Young emperor stg. facing, head l., hold- ing Victory on globe and <i>labarum</i> surmounted by Victory. The Victories together hold wreath above his head.	R	LVG	C.112; B.M.

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

16 (a)	1 (A)	VOTIS   V   MVLTVS   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 S·M·L·A·P 2 S·M·L·A·P	C.78; 1 Allotte de la Fuÿe Sale, 5.5.1925; 2 O.U.C.
	(b) 2 (A)	„	„	S·M·L·A·P	C.103; Vienna
	(c) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	„	1 S·M·L·A·P 2 S·M·L·A·P	C.80; 1 Paris; <i>Pl. IV</i> , 4 2 Vienna
17 (a)	1 (A)	VOTIS   X   MVLTVS   XV in laurel-wreath.	„	S·M·L·A·P	C.80; Réca- mier Sale, 2.3.1925, lot 552
	(b) 2 (A)	„	„	„	C.105; Paris

16. (a) 5.45 gm. (2nd mint-mark); (b) 5.45 gm.; (c) 5.15 gm., 4.6 gm.  
 17 (b). 4.66 gm. (holed).

*Miliarensis* (light)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
18 (a)	2 (A)	VICTORIA AVGVST ORVM Victory stg. r., l. foot on globe, writing VOT   V   MVL   X on shield placed on <i>cippus</i> .	R <sup>3</sup>	S·M·L·A·P	Cf. C.60; Hunterian Museum
PL IV, 5	(b) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Cf. C.46; Vienna

*Siliqua*

19	2 (A)	VOT   X   MVL   XX in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 LVG, 2 PLVG	C.96; 1 Paris; 2 O.U.C.
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## BRONZE

*Aes III*

20 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 10.	C <sup>3</sup>	For mint-marks, see pp. 39-41	C.12
(b)	2 (A)	"	R	"	C.11
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	C <sup>2</sup>	"	C.24
21 (a)	2 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVB LICAE As no. 12.	C <sup>3</sup>	"	C.47
(b)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	C <sup>2</sup>	"	C.35

THIRD PERIOD: 17 NOV. A.D. 375-9 AUG. A.D. 378

*Emperors*: VALENS, GRATIAN, and VALENTINIAN IIObverse legends: (1) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
(2) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG(Unlike Treveri and Arelate, Lugdunum seems not to have struck  
in the name of Valentinian II during this period)

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

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

22 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 10.	S	For mint-marks, see p. 41	C.11
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.23
23 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVB LICAE As no. 12.	"	"	C.47
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.34

18 (b). 4.53 gm.

FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

*Emperors*: GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF AVG  
(3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG

(No coins seem to have been struck in the name of Arcadius at Lugdunum during this period)

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

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
24 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Constantino- polis, turreted, seated fac- ing, head r., on throne, holding sceptre and cornu- copiae; her r. foot on prow.	R <sup>2</sup>	LVGPS	C.6; O.U.C.
	(b) 3 (A)	"	R	"	Cf. C.4; <i>Pl. IV</i> , 9 Pearce
25	2 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	"	"	C.40; B.M.
26	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO-MANOR VM Roma, seated fac- ing, head l., on throne, holding globe and scep- tre.	"	"	Cf. C.56; B.M.
27	"	VRBS - ROMA Roma, seated l. on cuirass, hold- ing Victory on globe and reversed spear.	S	"	C.87; B.M. <i>Pl. IV</i> , 8

24 (b). In the Lyons Museum, this type, struck in *aes* and with *aes* mint-mark LVGP, is found for Theodosius.

26. A barbarous Theodosius of this type with mint-mark LVG is in the British Museum. This type with spear for sceptre and legend GLORIA RO-MANORVM is given by Cohen (18) for Gratian with mint-marks LVGPS and SMSPV. The latter coin is at Vienna, but I cannot trace the former.

27. This type, struck in *aes*, occurs as a hybrid with bust and *obv.* legend of Valentinian I (O.U.C.).



## BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
28 (a)	1 (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB Emperor stg. facing, head l., with r. hand raising kneeling turreted woman, and holding Victory on globe in l.	C	1 LVGP, 2 LVGS, 3 $\frac{ S }{ S }$ 4 $\frac{ S }{ S }$	C.30; 1-4 B.M.
			R	$\frac{ P }{ S }$ LVGS	Ermitage
	(b) 2 (A)	"	S	1 LVGP, 2 $\frac{ S }{ S }$ 3 $\frac{ S }{ S }$	C.26; 1 B.M.; 2 Berlin; 3 Pearce
	(c) 3 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	1 LVGP, 2 LVGS	C.27; 1 Ulrich- Bansa; 2 Zagreb

*Pl. IV, 16*

*Aes III*

<i>Pl. IV, 15</i>	29 (a)	2 (A)	CONCOR - DIA AVGGG Roma, hel- meted, seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear (wholly visible).	R <sup>2</sup>	LVGS	C.8; B.M.
	(b)	3 (A)	"	S	LVGP	C.14; B.M.

*Aes IV* (larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)

<i>Pl. IV, 19</i>	30 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVL   XX in laurel-wreath.	C	1 LVGP, 2 LVGS	C.75; 1-2 B.M.
	(b)	"	" As no 30 (a), but with S in circle at head of wreath.	R	LVGS	Pearce

30. This varies much in module and weight. Fourteen well-preserved specimens from the Shapwick III hoard average 1.74 gm.

FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

Emperors: VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS,  
(usurpers) MAGNUS MAXIMUS and (towards  
end of period) VICTOR

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN MAG MAXI-MVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>b</sup>) DN MAG MA-XIMVS PF AVG  
(2) DN FL VIC-TOR PF AVG

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

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (light)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
31	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding <i>labarum</i> in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>3</sup>	LVGS	C.19; Berlin

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

32	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB As no. 28.	S	1 LVGP, 2 LVGS, 3 $\frac{ P}{LVGP}$ , 4 $\frac{ P}{LVGS}$ , 5 $\frac{ S}{LVGS}$ , 6 $\frac{ C}{LVGP}$ , 7 $\frac{ C}{LVGS}$	C.3; 1-4, 6, 7 B.M.; 5 Copen- hagen
33	"	VICTOR-IA AVGG Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding Victory on globe and standard.	"	1 LVGP, 2 LVGS	C.10; 1, 2 B.M. Pl. IV, 14

*Aes IV* (larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)

34	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Victory advancing l., hold- ing wreath and palm.	R	1 LVGP, 2 LVGS	C.11; 1 Pearce; 2 Copen- hagen Pl. IV, 18
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31. 4.5 gm.

32. Found as barbarous overstrike on  $\mathcal{A}$  3 *Securitas reipublicae*; mint-mark LVGP (Pearce).

E

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
35	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVL T   X in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 LVGP, 2 LVGS, 3 LVG	Not in C.; 1 Berlin; 2 B.M.; 3 Pearce

(Smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

36 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	SPES RO - MANORVM Camp-gate with star be- tween its two turrets.	S	1 LVGP, 2 LVGS	C.7; 1 B.M.; 2 Rich- borough
(b)	2 (A)	"	R	LVGP	C.3; B.M.

SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388-15 MAY A.D. 392

*Emperors*: VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, and ARCADIUS

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Multiple*

37	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	FELIX ADVEN-TVS AVGN Emperor on horse- back, r., raising r. hand.	R <sup>5</sup>	$\frac{L D}{COM}$	C.11; former- ly Paris
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*Solidus*

38 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Two emperors, of equal size, nimbate, seated facing on throne; the emperor on r. holding <i>mappa</i> , and the two together holding globe. Be- hind, Victory with out- spread wings; below, palm- branch.	R <sup>3</sup>	$\frac{L D}{COM}$	C.37; B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Cf. C.37; B.M.
(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Cf. S.19; Pon- cet Sale

*Tremis*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
39 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>3</sup>	L   D COM	C.49; Vienna
	(b) 2 (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	C.44; not traced

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (light)

40	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding standard in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>3</sup>	LVGPS	C.18; B.M. <i>Pl. IV, 10</i>
41	"	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS As no. 40.	R	1 LVG, 2 LVG•	C.58; 1 Paris; 2 B.M.

*Argentus*

42	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   XV   MVLT   XX in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	LVG•	Not in C.; O.U.C.
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*Siliqua*

43 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VRBS-ROMA Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding Vic- tory on globe and reversed spear (or, when barb is not shown, ?sceptre).	C, S, S, S	1 LVGPS, 2 LVGP, 3 LVGS, 4 LVG•	C.72; 1-4 B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	S, R, R <sup>2</sup> , R <sup>3</sup>	1 LVGPS, 2 LVGS, 3 LVGN, 4 LVG••	Cf. C.72; 1, 3 B.M.; 2 Paris; 4 Pearce
	(c) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	LVGPS	S.25; B.M. <i>Pl. IV, 13</i>
	(d) 2 (A)	„ (but apparently <i>cippus</i> below Victory on globe).	R <sup>2</sup>	"	Not in C.; Pearce <i>Pl. IV, 11</i>

40. 4.72 gm. The Milan specimen (Gn. i, pl. 34, 5) weighs 3.7 gm. Eugenius has this *rev.* type and legend at Mediolanum and at Treveri on light *miliarensis*.

41. With mint-mark LVG, 3.6 gm.; mint-mark LVG•, 4.41 gm.

42. Wt. of my own specimen, 3.16 gm.

43. The ?sceptre for spear is found only with certain mint-marks. See *N. C.*, 1944, p. 52.

43 (d). This has *obv.* identity with a *siliqua Virtus Romanorum*, mint-mark AQPS. See *N. C.*, 1944, pp. 46-7.

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
44 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R	LVGP	C.36; Weymouth hoard
(b)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	S, R <sup>3</sup>	1 LVGP, 2 LVGS	1 B.M.; 2 Munich
(c)	2 (A)	"	C, R	1 LVGP, 2 LVGS	C.41; 1, 2 B.M.
(d)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	C, R	1 LVGP, 2 LVGS	Not in S.; 1, 2 Richborough
(e)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	S	LVGP	B.M.

SEVENTH PERIOD: 15 MAY A.D. 392-17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors:* THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper, from 23 Aug. A.D. 392 to 6 Sept. A.D. 394), and HONORIUS (from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(2) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(3) DN EVGENI-VS PF AVG  
(4) DN HONORIVS PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Solidus*

45	3 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 38.	R <sup>3</sup>	LID COM	C.6; B.M.
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## SILVER

*Siliqua*

<i>Pl. IV, 12</i> 46	3 (A)	VRBS-ROMA As no. 43, but barb of spear always shown.	R	LVGPS	C.72; B.M.
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44 (e). The blundered name ARCAI-ANVS occurs on the obverse of a coin in the B.M.

46. There can be little doubt that Eugenius, like Valentinian, struck this type for Theodosius and Arcadius, but I have no proof.

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
47 (a)	3 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 44.	R <sup>3</sup>	LVGP	Cf. C.8; B.M.
(b)	4 (A)	„	R <sup>4</sup>	„	Not in C.; B.M.

47. The few coins of Eugenius with complete mint-mark that I have seen all come from *officina* P. This was far commoner than S in the previous period, and may have alone remained in use under Eugenius. There can be little doubt that some of the coins given to Theodosius and Arcadius under nos. 44 (c) and 44 (e) with mint-mark LVGP fall in our present period. Indeed, the issue in their names probably went on after the fall of the usurper, as the rare coins of Honorius with unbroken *obv.* legend must be dated after Eugenius but before the death of Theodosius. That coinage still went on for a time at Lugdunum is proved by the mint-mark  $\frac{VI}{LVGP}$  occurring for Honorius with broken *obv.* legend.

## ARELATE

## VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

ARELATE alone of the Gallic mints had struck for Jovian. It struck Valentinian's *Restitutor* type in all three metals, but the evidence from the bronze noted by me suggests that, like Lugdunum, the mint may not have been used by him before the opening of the Alamannic campaign. The course of the coinage, on the whole, is much the same as at Lugdunum. But the *siliqua* is confined to the *Restitutor* type, and the *Salus reipublicae* 'Four standards' is the only *miliarensis* common to the two mints. The *miliarensia* are not, as at Lugdunum, linked by a common mint-mark, and must be separated in date. On the bronze OF (= *officina*) remains constant in the left field of both the *Gloria* and *Securitas* types, whereas at Lugdunum F is transferred to the right for *Gloria*. The mint-marks vary between CONST and CON in the exergue. As the former carries on Jovian's mint-mark, it is presumably the earlier.

## VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

The close connexion between Arelate and Lugdunum in their fine series of *vota miliarensia* has been noted in the introduction to Lugdunum. I assume that this extended also to the gold coinage of the early part of this period and that, as at Lugdunum, there was no issue of the *Restitutor solidus* to accompany Gratian's *Gloria novi saeculi*. But we are not helped, as we are at Lugdunum, by a difference in the mint-marks of the two types.

Coinage in the precious metals soon became concentrated at Treveri, but at Arelate a prolific bronze coinage followed, of exceptional interest. The  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Gloria* and *Securitas* were continued for the senior Augusti, but a new  $\text{Æ} 3$  type with legend *Gloria novi saeculi* was struck for Gratian, on a larger scale than at any other mint. This presented him to his father's subjects as the boy destined to fulfil the Messianic prophecy of the Sibylline books and to usher in a Golden Age of justice and plenty. His obverse legend ends, as at Lugdunum, with *Augg. Aug.*, a style which seems to authenticate his right to the succession. The contrast between the Gallic and the Italian mints in their recognition of the boy-Augustus is very noticeable and calls for an explanation. Ammianus (xxx, 4) stresses the doubtful loyalty of the Gallic soldiery to the House of Valentinian and in xxvii, 6 he tells us that, when Valentinian lay ill and was not expected to live, they were

plotting the succession of a candidate of their own choosing. It was the knowledge of this that caused Valentinian on his recovery to hasten the elevation of Gratian and so secure his dynasty. The coinage, then, was useful dynastic propaganda.

The mint-marks of the *Gloria* and *Securitas* types of the senior emperors and the *Gloria novi saeculi* of Gratian show that the issues are parallel and complementary. But with the mint-mark P(S,T)CON we note a change in Gratian's obverse legend to *Dn. Gratianus p. f. Aug.* and in the distribution of *officinae*. This suggests two separate issues, one with Gratian's earlier obverse and reverse legends which are found only from *officina* T (PCON and SCON being reserved to the senior emperors), the other making no distinction in either type or style of obverse legend between the three Augusti, whose coins are all found from all three *officinae*. As Valentinian's coins are much fewer than either Valens' or Gratian's, we may suppose that he died in the course of the issue, which was then continued in the names of Valens and Gratian. It is clear that the change in Gratian's obverse legend came either towards the end, or only at the end, of this period. In the following list (pp. 57-60) it is dated after his father's death.

#### VALENS, GRATIAN, AND VALENTINIAN II

The only coinage was a continuation of the Æ 3. At first, as at Lugdunum, Valentinian II is ignored. But he is included—as at Treveri—in a later issue from Arelate. His *obv.* legend is unbroken without IVN, at Treveri it is unbroken with IVN.

#### GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379) AND ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

*Aes* alone was struck during this period and, apparently, only intermittently. The first was the 'differentiated' issue (see p. xxxvi) in which the *officinae* P, S, and T are assigned respectively to Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosius in order of seniority. At Treveri this was followed by other Æ 3 issues which seem to have no counterpart at Arelate, where the next issue was the Æ 2 *Reparatio reipub.* In this there was no differentiation of *officinae* between emperors. Gratian's coins alone are common. I have seen but one specimen of Theodosius. Valentinian II's *obv.* legend now has regularly IVN. The later Æ 3 *Concordia Auggg.*, seen by me in greater or less numbers from every other mint, seems not to occur from Arelate, but there was a large issue of Æ 4 *tot. xv mult. xx*, struck in Gratian's name only.



VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, AND (usurpers)  
MAXIMUS AND (later) VICTOR

Maximus struck no coins at Arelate in the names of the legitimate emperors. But his *solidus Victoria Augg.* shows the emperors equal on its reverse, in contrast to the later Italian issue which includes Victor, and so must be dated before Victor's elevation. The mint-mark KONOB, like AQOB and MDOB on his Italian issues, ignores Gratian's change of the *N* mint-mark to COM. On the  $\text{Æ} 2$  *Victoria Augg.*, cf. Lugdunum, p. 37. The rare  $\text{Æ} 4$  *vota* coins of the larger module, probably struck at the beginning of Maximus' reign, contrast with the  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Spes Romanorum* of Theodosius' smaller module, struck towards its end.

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, AND ARCADIUS

Only the  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Victoria Augg.* was struck at Arelate, in *officina* P for Valentinian, S for Theodosius, and T for Arcadius. Arcadius, who at Treveri has with this type always the broken form of *obv.* legend, and at Lugdunum both unbroken and broken forms, has at Arelate only the unbroken form.

THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper), and, later,  
HONORIUS

Eugenius continued the  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Victoria Augg.* It is not to be doubted that he, like Valentinian, struck in the names of Theodosius and Arcadius, but the issues cannot be distinguished. The rare coins of Honorius with undivided *obv.* legend from all three *officinae* may have been struck between the fall of Eugenius and the death of Theodosius. A single coin of Honorius with legend divided I-V and mint-mark P $\text{||||}$  suggests a rare issue after the death of Theodosius.

MINT-MARKS OF Æ 3 GLORIA ROMANORUM  
(Nos. 7, 16, 18), SECURITAS REIPUBLICAE (Nos. 9,  
17, 19), AND GLORIA NO-VI SAECULI (No. 15)

(The division into periods is based on the assumption (1) that coinage in Gratian's name began at his elevation, and, therefore, that mint-marks not found for him fall in the first period, and (2) that the change from *Dn. Gratianus Augg. Aug.* to *Dn. Gratianus p. f. Aug.* in his obverse style took place only on his father's death, and so marks the division between the second and third periods.)

In the reverse legend *Securitas reipublicae* it is quite common to find the two final letters ligated.

FIRST PERIOD (NOS. 7, 9)

Rev.	VALENTINIAN I		VALENS	
	Obv. 1 <sup>a</sup> (A)		Obv. 2 (A)	
	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>
No.				
i (a)				PCONST
(b)		SCONST		
(c)				TCONST
ii (a)	OF   I CONST	OF   I CONST Also with <i>obv.</i> 1 <sup>c</sup> (A)	OF   I CONST	OF   I CONST
(b)	OF   II CONST	OF   II CONST	OF   II CONST	OF   II CONST
(c)	OF   III CONST	OF   III CONST	OF   III CONST	OF   III CONST
iii (a)				OF   I CONP
(b)	[O]F   I   I   I CONS OF   I	OF   II CONS OF   I		OF   II CONS OF   I
iv (a)	CON	CON OF   II	OF   I CON OF   II	CON OF   II
(b)		CON OF   II	CON OF   II	CON OF   II
(c)	OF   III CON	CON OF   III CON	CON OF   III CON	CON OF   III CON
	Also with <i>obv.</i> 1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	Also with <i>obv.</i> 1 <sup>b</sup> (A)		

## MINT OF ARELATE

Rev.	VALENTINIAN I <i>Obv. 1<sup>a</sup> (A)</i>		VALENS <i>Obv. 2 (A)</i>		GRATIAN <i>Obv. 3<sup>b</sup> (A)</i>
	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria novi saeculi</i>
No.					
v	$\frac{ A}{\text{SCON}}$				
vi (a)			$\frac{ B}{\text{PCON}}$	$\frac{B }{\text{PCON}}$	
(b)		$\frac{B }{\text{SCON}}$	$\frac{ B}{\text{SCON}}$	$\frac{B }{\text{SCON}}$	
(c)	$\frac{ B}{\text{TCON}}$	$\frac{B }{\text{TCON}}$	$\frac{ B}{\text{TCON}}$	$\frac{B }{\text{TCON}}$	
vii (a)	$\frac{\cdot}{(P?)\text{CON}}$				
(b)			$\frac{\cdot}{\text{SCON}}$		
viii				$\frac{\text{OF}  }{\times\text{CON}}$	

## SECOND PERIOD (NOS. 16, 17, 15)

	No. 16 (a)	No. 17 (a)	No. 16 (b)	No. 17 (b)	(No. 15)
ix (a)	$\frac{\cdot}{\text{PCON}}$	$\frac{\cdot}{\text{PCON}}$		$\frac{\cdot}{\text{PCON}}$	
(b)		$\frac{\cdot}{\text{SCON}}$		$\frac{\cdot}{\text{SCON}}$	
(c)				$\frac{\cdot}{\text{TCON}}$	$\frac{\cdot}{\text{TCON}}$
x (a)				$\text{PCON}\cdot$	
(b)					$\text{TCON}\cdot$
xi (a)		$\frac{N }{\text{PCON}}$	$\frac{ N}{\text{PCON}}$	$\frac{N }{\text{PCON}}$	
(b)	$\frac{ N}{\text{SCON}}$	$\frac{N }{\text{SCON}}$ Also with <i>obv.</i> <i>1<sup>b</sup> (A)</i>		$\frac{N }{\text{SCON}}$	
(c)					$\frac{N }{\text{TCON}}$
xii (a)	$\frac{\text{OF}  }{\text{CON}}$	$\frac{\text{OF}  }{\text{CON}}$		$\frac{\text{OF}  }{\text{CON}}$	$\frac{\text{OF}  }{\text{CON}}$
(b)	$\frac{\text{OF}  }{\text{CON}}$	$\frac{\text{OF}  }{\text{CON}}$ Also with <i>obv.</i> <i>1<sup>b</sup> (A)</i>	$\frac{\text{OF}  }{\text{CON}}$	$\frac{\text{OF}  }{\text{CON}}$	$\frac{\text{OF}  }{\text{CON}}$

Rev.	VALENTINIAN		VALENS		GRATIAN
	Obv. 1 <sup>a</sup> (A)		Obv. 2 (A)		Obv. 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)
	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria novi saeculi</i>
No.	No. 17 (a)	No. 18 (a)	No. 17 (b)	No. 18 (b)	(No. 16)
xii (c)	OF   III CON	OF   III CON	OF   III CON	OF   III CON	OF   III CON
xiii (a)	OF   I CON*	OF   I CON*	OF   I CON*	OF   I CON*	OF   I CON*
(b)	OF   II CON*	OF   II CON*	OF   II CON*	OF   II CON*	OF   II CON*
(c)	OF   III CON*	OF   III CON*	OF   III CON*	OF   III CON*	OF   III CON*
	Also with <i>obv.</i> 1 <sup>b</sup> (A)				
xiv (a)	PCON	PCON	PCON	PCON	
(b)	SCON	SCON	SCON	SCON	
(c)			TCON		TCON

## THIRD PERIOD (NOS. 18, 19)

	VALENS		GRATIAN		VALENTINIAN II	
	Obv. 1 (A)		Obv. 2 (A)		Obv. 3 (A)	
	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>
xv (a)	PCON	PCON		PCON		
(b)	SCON	SCON		SCON		
(c)		TCON	TCON	TCON		
xvi (a)	E   C PCON	E   C PCON		E   C PCON		
(b)		E   C SCON	E   C SCON			
(c)	E   C TCON		E   C TCON			

xiv. The captive on the *Gloria Romanorum* reverse is represented as walking.

xv. The captive is kneeling. I have noted this variety also for Valentinian I in single specimens from *officinae* P and T. Either these are hybrid or this variety and the change in Gratian's obverse legend must be dated to the latter part of Valentinian's reign.

xv (a). On one specimen of Gratian's *Securitas* the *obv.* division is N-N for A-N.

xv (c). One specimen of Gratian's *Securitas* has *obv.* bust rosette-diademed—and unusually large. The coin is not barbarous.

## MINT OF ARELATE

No.	VALENS		GRATIAN		VALENTINIAN II	
	Obv. 1 (A)		Obv. 2 (A)		Obv. 3 (A)	
	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>
xvii (a)	$\frac{V A}{PCON}$	$\frac{V A}{PCON}$		$\frac{V A}{PCON}$	$\frac{V A}{PCON}$	$\frac{V A}{PCON}$
(b)		$\frac{V A}{SCON}$	$\frac{V A}{SCON}$	$\frac{V A}{SCON}$		
(c)			$\frac{V A}{TCON}$		$\frac{//////}{TCON}$	

## MINT OF ARELATE

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

Emperors: VALENTINIAN I and VALENS

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (1<sup>c</sup>) DN VALENTIN-IANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	RESTITVTOR-REIPVBLI CAE Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe. Palm- branch on shaft of <i>labarum</i> .	R <sup>2</sup>	1 KONSTN, *   2 KONSTN	C.28; 1 B.M.; 2 Dortmund
(b)	1 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	"	KONSTN	Dortmund <i>Pl. V, 1</i>
(c)	2 (A)	"	"	1 KONSTN, *   2 KONSTN	C.32; 1 B.M.; 2 Dortmund
(d)	2 (B)	"	"	KONSTN	B.M.
(e)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	" (but Æ ligated).	"	"	Dortmund
(f)	1 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	"	"	Dortmund
(g)	2 (A)	"	"	"	Dortmund
(h)	2 (B)	"	"	"	Dortmund
(i)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	" As 1 (a), but hook on shaft.	"	"	C.23; Vienna (struck in Æ)
(j)	2 (B)	"	"	"	The Hague
(k)	"	" As 1 (a), but shaft plain.	"	"	Dortmund

## SILVER

*Multiple*

2	2 (?)	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS Soldier stg., holding spear and shield.	R <sup>3</sup>	PCON	C.73; 'Vente deMontigny'
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2. With this 'money-medallion', which I cannot trace, Cohen gives another with mint-mark TES, 11.5 gm. = 3 light *miliarensia*. Probably, *obv.* and *rev.* type and legend are similar to those on the *miliarensis* no. 5 below.

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
Pl. V, 3	3(a) 1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	SALVS REIPVBLICAE Four standards.	R <sup>3</sup>	TCON*	C.34; Vienna
	(b) 2 (A)	„	R <sup>2</sup>	1 SCON*, 2 TCON*	C.44; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna

*Miliarensis* (light)

Pl. V, 9	4	2 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 1, but with shaft of <i>labarum</i> plain.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 PCONST, 2 TCONST	C.27; 1 B.M.; 2 Paris
Pl. V, 4	5	2 (A)	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding reversed spear in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	„	1 PCON, 2 PCON*	C.71; 1, 2 B.M.

*Siliqua* \*

6(a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 4.	S	1 *   PCONST' *   2 TCONST' OF   I 3 CONST' OF   II 4 CONST' OF   III 5 CONST' OF   * I   CONST' OF   * II   7 CONST'	C.19; 1-7 B.M.
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3. (a) 4.95 gm.; (b) 5.1 gm., 4.95 gm.

4. 4.59 gm., 3.93 gm. The two mint-marks are linked by *obv.* identity.

5. 4.2 gm., 4.0 gm. The variant (spear for *labarum*) from the normal type is found also at Thessalonica.

\* A *siliqua* in the B.M. with *obv.* DN PROCO-PIVS PF AVG and *rev.* VOT | V in wreath imitates in mint-mark PCONST and in the eagle at head of wreath the latest *vota* coinage of Julian at Arelate. The *obv.* and *rev.* legends are as found in the East, where presumably it was struck to suggest that the usurper had western recognition.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
6 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 4.	S	OF   *   III 8 CONST' OF   II   . 9 CON' OF   III   . 10 CON	C.19; 8, 9 B.M.; 10 Vienna
(b)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	OF   III   . CON	Allotte de la Fuyé Sale, lot 555
(c)	1 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	*   1 PCONST' OF   *   II	1 Pearce; <i>Pl. V, 21</i> 2 Chapman
(d)	2 (A)	"	S	2 CONST 1 PCONST, 2 TCONST, *   3 SCONST'   * 4 TCONST' OF   I 5 CONST' OF   II 6 CONST' OF   III 7 CONST' OF   *   I 8 CONST' OF   *   II 9 CONST OF   *   III 10 CONST' OF   II   . 11 CON' 12 PCON, *   II OF 13	C.28; 1, 5, 7- 10 B.M.; 2, 6 The Hague; 3, 4 Vienna; 11-13 Chap- man



## MINT OF ARELATE

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
7 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor with r. hand dragging captive r., and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	C	See pp. 57-8	C.12
	(b) 1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	S	"	
	(c) 1 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	"	
	(d) 2 (A)	"	C	"	C.11
8 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 4.	R	1 PCONST, 2 SCONST, 3 TCONST	C.21; 1-3 Hollschek
	(b) 1 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	PCONST	Vatican
	(c) 2 (A)	"	"	1 PCONST, 2 TCONST, 3 CONST	C.29; 1 Mi- lan; 2 Co- penhagen; 3 Zagreb
9 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	C	See pp. 57-8	C.37
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.47

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

*Emperors: VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN*

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
 (3<sup>a</sup>) DN GRATIANVS AVGG AVG  
 (3<sup>b</sup>) DN GRATIAN-VS AVGG AVG  
 (3<sup>c</sup>) DN GRATIANVS PF AVG

Obverse busts, (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (F<sup>2</sup>) Rosette-diademed and cuirassed, r.

## GOLD

*Solidus*

10 (a)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	GLORIA NO-VI SAE CVLI Gratian stg. facing, head l., holding Victory on globe and <i>labarum</i> sur- mounted by a Victory. To- gether the Victories crown him.	R <sup>2</sup>	KONSTN	C.12; B.M.
<i>Pl. V, 2</i>	(b) 3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	"	Ermitage

8. Found with *obv.* of Jovian, mint-mark PCONST (Ulrich-Bansa)—presumably a hybrid.

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
11 (a)	1 (B)	VOTIS   V   MVLTVS   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMKAP	C.78; Hamburger Cat., 29 May 1929
	(b) 2 (B)	"	"	"	C.103; Milan
	(c) 1 (B)	" As 11 (a) but with dot below V.	"	"	B.M. <i>Pl. V, 5</i>
	(d) 3 <sup>c</sup> (F <sup>2</sup> )	"	"	"	C.80; Vienna
12	1 (F <sup>2</sup> )	VOTIS   X   MVLTVS   XV in laurel-wreath.	"	"	C.80; B.M. <i>Pl. V, 6</i>

*Miliarensis* (light)

13 (a)	1 (A)	VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM Victory stg. r., l. foot on globe, writing VOT   X   MVLTVS   XV on shield placed on <i>cippus</i> .	R <sup>3</sup>	•S•M•K•A•P	C.52; B.M. <i>Pl. V, 8</i>
	(b) 1 (F <sup>2</sup> )	"	"	SMKAP	Not in C.; Trau Cat. 4407
	(c) 2 (A)	"	"	•S•M•K•A•P	Not in C.; O.U.C.
14	3 <sup>c</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVLTVS   X in laurel-wreath.	"	SMKAP	Cf. C.65; B.M. <i>Pl. V, 7</i>

*Siliqua* \*

This denomination seems not to have been struck during this period.

11. (a) 5.1 gm.; (b) 5.05 gm.; (c) 5.68 gm.; (d) 5.3 gm.

12. 5.27 gm.

13. (a) 4.3 gm.; (b) 4.05 gm.; (c) 3.7 gm., 4.23 gm.

14. 4.37 gm.

\* Cohen gives two barbarous *siliquae* of Gratian: C. 14, GLORIA NOVI SAECCLI, mint-mark TCON; *obv.* DN GRATIANVS AVSS AVG; and C. 15, GLORIA NVVI SAECVLI, mint-mark TCON; *obv.* DN GRATIANVS AVGG AVG. They are probably imitations of the *aes* issue struck in silver.

## MINT OF ARELATE

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
<i>Pl. V, 12</i> 15	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA NO-VI SAECV LI Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding <i>labarum</i> in r. hand, and resting l. on shield.	C	See pp. 58-9	C.13
16 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 7.	"	"	C.12
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.11
17 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE (or ... Æ). As no. 9.	"	"	C.37
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.47

THIRD PERIOD: 17 NOV. A.D. 375-9 AUG. A.D. 378

Emperors: VALENS, GRATIAN, and VALENTINIAN II  
(from 22 Nov. A.D. 375)Obverse legends: (1) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
(2) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
(3) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

18 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 16.	S	See pp. 59-60	C.11
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.23
	(c) 3 (A)	"	R	"	C.23
19 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 17.	C	"	C.47
	(b) 2 (A)	"	S	"	C.23
	(c) 3 (A)	"	R	"	Not in C.; Richborough

16, 17. I have placed Gratian's coins with these types in the next period.

FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

*Emperors:* GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF AVG  
 (3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
20 (a)	1 (A)	REPARATIO-REIPVB Emperor stg. facing, head l., with r. hand raising kneeling turreted female, and holding Victory on globe in l.	C	1 PCON, 2 SCON, 3 TCON	C.30; 1-3 B.M.
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	PCON	Not in C.; Ulrich-Bansa
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	C	1 PCON, 2 SCON, 3 TCON	C.26; 1-3 B.M.
(d)	3 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	1 PCON, 2 TCON	Cf. C.27; 1 Ulrich-Bansa; 2 Zagreb

*Aes III*

21	3 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Constantinople turreted, seated facing, head r., r. foot on prow, holding in r. hand reversed spear, and resting l. on knee.	S	TCON	C.6; B.M. <i>Pl. V, 13</i>
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20 (a). Struck in *AR* from *Æ* die, mint-mark PCON, C. 29 (from Banduri).

21. The differentiated series shown on nos. 21, 22, 23 was followed in the mints under Gratian's control, except Rome, by CONCOR-DIA AVGGG, Rome seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear (wholly seen). My early notes include this type, which was not 'differentiated', for Gratian with mint-mark PCON and for Theodosius with mint-mark TCON. But as I cannot now trace these coins and have not seen this type from Arelate since, I do not venture to include them here.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
22	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	S	SCON	C.45; B.M.
23	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO-MANOR VM Rome seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear.	„	PCON	C.57; B.M.

*Aes IV* (larger module)

24	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVL   XX in laurel-wreath.	C	1 PCON, 2 SCON, 3 TCON	C.75; 1-3 B.M.
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## FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

*Emperors*: VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, (usurpers) MAGNUS MAXIMUS, and VICTOR (from ?A.D. 387)

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN MAG MA-XIMVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>b</sup>) DN MAG MAXI-MVS PF AVG  
(2) DN FL VIC-TOR PF AVG

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


## GOLD

*Solidus*

25	1 <sup>a</sup> (B)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Two emperors, seated facing, on throne, together holding globe. Behind, a Victory with outspread wings.	R <sup>4</sup>	KONOB	C.9; B.M.
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## BRONZE

*Aes II*

26 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	REPARATIO-REIPVB As no. 20.	C	1 PCON, 2 SCON, 3 TCON, 4  CON	C.3; 1-3 B.M.; 4 Zagreb
(b)	1 <sup>b</sup> (B)	VICTORI-A AVGG Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding Victory on globe and standard.	S	SCON	Munich
27 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)		R	„	C.10; Hansen

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
27 (b)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORI-A AVGG As no. 27 (a).	R	PCON	Copenhagen <i>Pl. V, 10</i>
(c)	1 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	S	1 PCON, 2 SCON, 3 TCON	1, 2 B.M.; 3 Brussels
<i>Aes IV</i> (larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)					
28	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VO   TIS   V in laurel- wreath.	R	1 PCON, 2 SCON	Cf. C.22; 1 Gotha; 2 Ermitage
<i>Aes IV</i> (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)					
29 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	SPES RO-MA-NORVM Camp-gate with star be- tween its two turrets.	C	1 PCON, 2 SCON, 3 TCON	C.7; 1-3 B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	S	1 PCON, 2 SCON, 3 TCON	C.3; 1-3 B.M. <i>Pl. V, 14</i>

SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388-15 MAY A.D. 392

*Emperors*: VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, and ARCADIUS

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (1<sup>c</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG

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

#### BRONZE

<i>Aes IV</i> (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)					
30 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG Victory advancing l., hold- wreath and palm.	C, R	1 PCON, 2 TCON	C.47; 1 B.M.; 2 Rich- borough
(b)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	PCON	Weymouth Hoard
(c)	1 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	"	Ulrich-Bansa
(d)	2 (A)	"	S, C	1 PCÖN, 2 SCON	C.41; 1, 2 B.M.

29 (b). Also with blundered obverse DN FLIC-TOR PF AVG (Pearce).

30 (c). Only one specimen seen by me. The variation in the *obv.* legend may be due to the die-cutter's miscalculation of the space at his disposal.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
30(e)	3 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 30(a).	S, C	1 PCON, 2 SCON, 3 TCON	Not in S.; 1-3 B.M.

## SEVENTH PERIOD: 15 MAY A.D. 392-17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors*: THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper, from 22 Aug. A.D. 392), and HONORIUS (from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)




Obverse legends: (1)\* DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(2)\* DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3) DN EVGENI-VS PF AVG  
(4)\* DN HONORIVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

30(f)	3 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 30(a).	R	1 PCON, 2 TCON	Not in C.; 1, 2 B.M.
(g)	4 (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup> , R <sup>2</sup>	1 PCON, 2 SCON, 3 TCON	Not in C.; 1, 3 Pearce; 2 Rich- borough

\* There seems little doubt that Eugenius struck in the names of Theodosius and Arcadius, but their coins are indistinguishable from those described in 30(d) and (e) above. The coins of Honorius with unbroken *obv.* legend must be dated before his father's death. As Theodosius and Arcadius, but not Honorius, were included in the later *siliqua* issue of Eugenius from Mediolanum, I prefer to date this Arelate issue for Honorius to the few months between the deaths of the usurper and Theodosius. A coin noted at Richborough with *obv.* RI-VS and *rev.* VICTOR-IA AVGGG, mint-mark P, must signify the change in status and fall outside our period.

## MEDIOLANUM

THE mint of Mediolanum was called into operation only when the presence of the emperor demanded an output in the precious metals to meet expenses of Court and Army. Then moneyers were transferred thither from the other north Italian mint of Aquileia. An identical obverse combined with reverses of the two mints proves their close connexion. At first only gold was struck at Mediolanum, but, as the city presently became a regular imperial residence, it took over also the striking in silver, while Aquileia was mainly concerned with bronze.

The mint-marks MDOB and AQOB which share an identical obverse were followed by the mint-mark COM without any indication of the place of minting beyond what can be inferred from the portraiture. As we have just seen an identical portrait-die in use in the two mints, it is clearly impossible to distinguish between their work with COM; but as the emperor was in almost continuous residence at Mediolanum, I have reserved the COM issues to this mint.

The course taken by the coinage from this mint is by no means clear, and has been the subject of keen controversy among numismatists.\* My own view, followed in this book, is based upon my interpretation of the evidence available to me, and was stated in detail in the paper 'Gold Coinage of the Reign of Theodosius I', *N. C.*, 1938, pp. 205 ff.

### VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

After the partition of the empire at Sirmium, Valentinian chose Mediolanum as his administrative capital and was in residence here from Oct. A.D. 364 to Sept. A.D. 365. The gold multiple commemorating his arrival ends the reverse legend with the letter M, which could readily be accepted as an abbreviation of *Mediolanum*, if it did not also occur identically on the same type with Aquileian mint-mark. But there is no great difficulty in supposing that as Valentinian's goal was Mediolanum, he used the Aquileian mint during his short stay in that city, to strike, in celebration of his arrival at his new capital, the type it was soon to renew in Mediolanum itself. The only other coinage consists of three issues of the *Restitutor solidus*. Their rarity to-day is attributed by Ulrich-Bansa to the rescript ordering payments of gold to the treasury to be made, not in coin, but in the form of ingots.

\* The late Dr. G. Elmer dated all COM coins which have no specification of their mint within Gratian's reign. Sig. Laffranchi and Baron Ulrich-Bansa both regard them as struck after his death. De Salis's view, endorsed by Grueber in *N. C.*, 1913, p. 37 n., that all coins with COM or COMOB only must be assigned to the Roman mint, was first shown to be erroneous by Laffranchi.



## VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

I am led to place the *solidus Vota publica* here by its exact correspondence in the very unusual forms of Valentinian's and Valens' *obv.* legends with the issue from Treveri which is dated with certainty to A.D. 368 (cf. p. 17, no. 18).

GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379),  
AND ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

Gratian visited Mediolanum on his homeward march from the Balkans in A.D. 379, again in A.D. 380, and in the spring of A.D. 381 finally transferred his Court thither from Treveri, bringing Treveran moneyers with him. The only gold issue of this period with the Mediolanum mint-mark shows Treveran portraiture. An obverse die-identity links this issue with Aquileia and I should date these issues, which are the last in this period to show the mint-marks MDOB and AQOB, to A.D. 381. After these two issues, both (especially that from Aquileia) comparatively small, I place the large issue with mint-mark COM, struck with no indication of mint, in north Italy and Thessalonica. The Thessalonican issue is clearly distinguishable by portraiture and by reverse *differentiae*; no such distinction is possible between the north Italian mints and I must accept the conventional attribution of the mint-mark COM to Mediolanum. To the reasons given in my above-mentioned paper for dating this issue, at least for most of its course, to Gratian's reign, I now add that its smallest gold denomination is the  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *scripulum* which, according to Elmer, was supplanted by the more convenient *tremis* at Gratian's death. It is important also to note the total absence of Arcadius: his obverse shown in Laffranchi's *Le Monete Milanesi* is combined, in my collection of casts, with the mint-mark  $\frac{M \cdot | D}{COM}$ , a later issue, and not with  $\frac{|}{COM}$ .

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS;  
(usurpers) MAXIMUS AND VICTOR

My suggested arrangement (*N. C.*, loc. cit.) of the coinage of this period is based mainly on the portraiture. The continuation of the COM issue with little recognition of Theodosius and none of Arcadius, followed by  $\frac{M | D}{COM}$  and  $\frac{A | Q}{COM}$  with inclusion of the eastern Augusti and, finally, as the danger from Maximus increased, the acceptance by Valentinian II of an eastern protectorate typified by the adoption of a Constantinopolitan type with abandonment even of the western

style of mint-signature in favour of that still kept on eastern coinage\*—this seems to me to be the course of the coinage and to fit in with the historical background. The reverse legend throughout is *Concordia Augggθ*. At Constantinople *θ* would simply denote the ninth *officina*, but of course could not have this meaning at Mediolanum. As the western mint seems to have been compelled to adopt an eastern type in its entirety, it had perforce to include *officina* letter and the exergual style with OB which, superseded by COM in the West, persisted in the East. Why *θ* was chosen as the *officina* letter has had no convincing explanation, but as the initial letter of *θάνατος* 'death' is common on Roman gravestones, I think it possible that it is used on the coin to recall the murdered Gratian to men's memories. I place no. 9, *Vota publica*, here because of the unique position of the boy-Augustus on his elder colleague's right. It must have been struck while Valentinian II could venture to assert his rank of Senior Augustus—perhaps in his decennial year A.D. 394–5.

The *Concordia* issue commemorates the *vota* of Arcadius at the beginning of the final year of his first *quinquennium* on 19 Jan. A.D. 387. The companion coins give the *vota* figures of Theodosius X–XV (or XX). These appear also on Valentinian II's coins, whose appropriate *vota* XV–XX are ignored. This is another instance of Theodosius' reluctance (seen notably on his first *Æ* 4 issue from Constantinople) to advertise on the coinage the seniority of the boy-Augustus to himself. A *siliqua* coinage with similar *vota* figures accompanied the gold. Some extremely rare *siliquae* of *Virtus Romanorum* 'Throne' type, noted by me for Valentinian II and Theodosius only, suggest from the absence of Arcadius that, like Eugenius later, Maximus may have included them in his large issue of *siliquae* from Mediolanum. We learn that he ordered the recognition of Valentinian II's accession-day and of Theodosius' *decennalia* in Italy, and we may infer that he still hoped for a peaceable settlement. Besides *siliquae*, Maximus struck gold in all three denominations, though I have seen the *semis* and the *tremis* only in Victor's name. Hoards give him a preponderance over his father in the *siliqua* issue also. Can we see in this an anticipation by Maximus of Theodosius' policy of securing Italy for his son?

\* So, after Theodosius' victory over Maximus, his visit to Rome is marked by a gold issue with eastern type and the mint-mark ROMOB. Constantinople kept its old style of mint-mark CONOB and I think the intrusion of MDOB and ROMOB into the western style with COM in A.D. 387–8 was a tribute to Theodosius' ascendancy.

VALENTINIAN II (till 15 May A.D. 392), THEODOSIUS,  
 ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper, from 22 Aug. A.D. 392),  
 AND HONORIUS (from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

The *solidus Victoria Augg.* with mint-mark  $\frac{M|D}{COM}$  was struck by

Theodosius during his administration of Valentinian II's former empire from 388 to 391. Whether this mint-mark was continued from the pre-Maximus coinage, as I think (cf. *N. C.*, loc. cit., p. 219), or comes first into use after the fall of Maximus, as Laffranchi thinks, must remain an open question until settled by further research. The *Vota publica solidi* with mint-mark  $\frac{M|D}{COM}$ , struck in the names of Valentinian

II and Theodosius, are usually taken to refer to their respective consulates of A.D. 390 and 393. But it may be doubted from the scanty evidence available whether this type can be strictly limited to this or to any one particular occasion, and dogmatic assertion had for the present be better avoided.

I follow Baron Ulrich-Bansa in referring the *miliarense Gloria Romanorum* to the erection of the statue of Theodosius in front of S. Sophia in A.D. 390.

The coinage of the usurper Eugenius shows no new types, but the following points may be noted. In *N* the mint-mark COM is revived by the side of  $\frac{M|D}{COM}$ , in *R* the *miliarense* 'Emperor standing, with

standard and shield' changes its time-honoured legend *Virtus exercitus* for *Gloria Romanorum*, an innovation started by Valentinian II and followed by Eugenius in some of their Gallic coinage; the *miliarense Vot. v mult. x.*, usually commemorating the beginning or end of a quinquennial period, here, Elmer said, marks the anniversary of the emperor's accession day. That may be so, but at Aquileia the similar *miliarense* of Valentinian I shows that this coin may be independent of any of these dates. The *siliqua Virtus Romanorum*, among my 38 specimens of Eugenius, 17 of Theodosius, and 7 of Arcadius, joins by reverse identity 5 of Theodosius and 2 of Arcadius with the usurper. If these were struck immediately before or after the usurper's command of the mint, the issue would include Honorius. We must conclude, therefore, that even after his invasion of Italy had threatened a death-blow to Theodosius' plans for Honorius, Eugenius still did not give up hope of a settlement with him.

After the recovery of the mint by Theodosius in September A.D. 394, his only regular coinage was the *solidus Victoria Auggg.* struck in his own and his two sons' names.

## MINT OF MEDIOLANUM

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN I and VALENS (from 28 March A.D. 364)Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Multiple*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1	1 (A)	FELIX ADV-ENTVS AVGM Emperor on horse- back, l., raising r. hand.	R <sup>5</sup>	MED	C.1; B.M. <i>Pl. V, 15</i>

*Solidus*

2 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE Emperor stg. fac- ing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe.	R <sup>3</sup>	MED	C.28; Dortmund
(b)	2 (A)	„	R <sup>3</sup> , R <sup>5</sup>	1 MED, 2 SMMED	C.32-4; 1, 2 B.M. <i>Pl. V, 16</i>
(c)	1 (A)	As no. 2 (a), but with + on standard.	R <sup>4</sup>	MED	C.26; noted by Koblitz
(d)	„	As no. 2 (a), but with X on standard.	R <sup>5</sup>	MED•	C.24; noted by Koblitz
(e)	2 (A)	„	R <sup>4</sup>	MED	?C.32-4; noted by Koblitz

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIANObverse legends: (1) DN VALENTI-NIANVS AVG  
(2) DN VALE-NS AVGObverse bust: (c) Pearl-diademed, in imperial mantle, l., holding *mappa* and short  
sceptre.1. 6.65 gm. = 1½ *solidus*.

## MINT OF MEDIOLANUM

## GOLD

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
3 (a)	1 (C)	VOTA-PV-BLICA Valentinian and Valens, nimbate, draped in imperial mantle, seated facing on throne, each holding <i>mappa</i> and sceptre. The emperor on l. is raising his <i>mappa</i> .	R <sup>4</sup>	MED	Cf. C.65-8; Dortmund
(b)	2 (C)	"	"	"	C.85; Berlin

FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

Emperors: GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF AVG  
 (2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Multiple*

4	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	GLORIA-RO-MANOR VM Roma and Constantinopolis seated on throne, Roma helmeted, facing, holding Victory on globe and sceptre; Constantinopolis turreted, head l., r. foot on prow, holding Victory on globe and cornucopiae.	R <sup>5</sup>	COM	Cf. C.13; rubbing in Vienna Museum
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*Solidus*

Pl. VI, r 5 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Two emperors, equal, not nimbate, seated, facing on throne, the one on r. holding <i>mappa</i> in l. hand, and the two together holding globe. Behind, a Victory; below, palm-branch. The emperors have both legs draped.	R <sup>2</sup>	MDOB	C.38; B.M.
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4. = 2 *solidi*.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
5 (b)	3 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 5 (a).	R <sup>3</sup>	MDOB	C.37; Vienna
(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„ As 5 (a), but emperor on r. smaller.	R <sup>4</sup>	„	C.36; Vienna
(d)	1 (A)	„ As 5 (a), but emperors nimbate.	S	COM	C.38; B.M. <i>Pl. VI, 2</i>
(e)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	„	„	C.37; B.M. <i>Pl. VI, 3</i>
(f)	3 (A)	„	„	„	C.37; B.M.

 $1\frac{1}{2}$  *Scripulum*

6 (a)	1 (A)	VICTORIA-AVGSTOR VM Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>4</sup>	COM	C.44; Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	„	„	C.49; Popo- vić Coll.
(c)	3 (A)	„	„	„	C.44; B.M.

## FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS,  
(usurpers) MAGNUS MAXIMUS, and VICTOR (from late in the period)

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(4) DN MAG MA-XIMVS PF AVG  
(5) DN FL VIC-TOR PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(c) Pearl-diademed, in imperial mantle, l., holding *mappa* and  
short sceptre.

## I. From 25 Aug. A.D. 383 to summer of A.D. 387

## GOLD

*Solidus*

7 (a)	2 (A)	CONCOR - DIA AVGGGθ Constantinopo- lis seated facing, head r., on throne, holding sceptre and shield inscribed VOT   V   MVL   X, which rests on <i>cippus</i> . Her r. foot on prow.	R <sup>4</sup>	MDOB	Not in C.; Ulrich-Bansa
(b)	3 (A)	„	R	„	S.13; B.M.
(c)	1 (A)	„ (but VOT   X   MVL   XV on shield).	R <sup>2</sup>	„	Cf. C.5; Paris

6. (a) 1.67 gm.; (c) 1.65 gm. No. 6 (b) is given here on the authority of Elmer.

	No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
<i>Pl. VI, 5</i>	7(d)	2 (A)	CONCOR - DIA AVGGGθ As no. 7 (c).	R <sup>3</sup>	MDOB	Not in C.; Ulrich-Bansa
		(e) 1 (A)	„ (but VOT   X   MVLT   XX on shield).	R <sup>4</sup>	„	Cf. C.6; B.M.
		(f) 2 (A)	„	„	„	C.12; B.M.
<i>Pl. VI, 4</i>	8(a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As 5 (d).	R	1 COM, M D 2 COM	C.37; 1, 2 B.M.
		(b) 2 (A)	„	„	1 COM, M D 2 COM	C.37; 1, 2 B.M.
		(c) 3 (A)	„	R <sup>2</sup>	M D COM	S.19; B.M.
<i>Pl. VI, 6</i>	9	1 (C)	VOTA-P-V-BLICA Two emperors, of whom the one on the left is the smaller, nimbate, in imperial robes, seated facing on throne, each holding <i>mappa</i> and sceptre.	R <sup>5</sup>	„	Cf. C.63; Gotha

*Tremis*

10(a)	1 (A)	VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM As no. 6.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 COM, M D 2 COM	Cf. C.48; 1 Laffranchi, <i>Le Monete Milanesi</i> ; 2 Koblitz
	(b) 2 (A)	„	„	1 COM, M D 2 COM	C.44; Laf- franchi, op. cit.; 2 B.M.
11(a)	1 (A)	„ Victory advancing r., holding wreath and cross on globe; globe under her foot.	„	COM	Cf. C.51; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	„	„	„	Cf. C.47; B.M.
	(c) 3 (A)	„	„	„	Cf. S.21; Laffranchi, op. cit.

10. (a) Mint-mark 2, 1.5 gm.; (b) mint-mark 2, 1.33 gm.

11. (a) 1.45 gm.; (b) 1.51 gm.

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
12 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO-MANOR VM Roma seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear.	R <sup>2</sup>	MDPS	C.60; B.M. <i>Pl. VI, 12</i>
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	Cf. C.59; B.M.
13	3 (A)	VOT   V   MVLTV   X in wreath.	S	"	Not in S.; B.M.
14 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLTV   XX in wreath.	"	"	C.71; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.67; B.M.

II. From the summer of A.D. 387 to 28 Aug. A.D. 388

## GOLD

*Solidi*

15	5 (A)	BONO REIPV - BLICE NATI Two emperors, of whom the one on the r. is smaller, nimbate, seated fac- ing on throne; the smaller holding <i>mappa</i> in l. hand, and the two together hold- ing globe. Behind and be- tween them, a Victory with outspread wings; below, palm-branch.	R <sup>3</sup>	MDOB	C.1; B.M. <i>Pl. VI, 7</i>
16	4 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 5, but emperors nim- bate and one smaller.	R <sup>4</sup>	"	C.9; Vienna <i>Pl. VI, 8</i>

*Semis*

17	5 (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Victory seated r. on cuirass, writing VOT   V   MVLTV   X on shield held up by winged Genius.	R <sup>4</sup>	MDOB	C.5; Vienna
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## MINT OF MEDIOLANUM

*Tremis*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
18 (a)	4 (A)	VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>5</sup>	MDOB	C.15; not traced
	(b) 5 (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Not in C.; Vienna

## SILVER

*Siliqua*\*

19 (a)	4 (A)	VIRTUS RO - MANOR VM As no. 12.	S	MDPS	C.20; B.M.
	(b) 5 (A)	"	"	"	C.6; B.M.

SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388-6 SEPT. A.D. 394

Emperors: VALENTINIAN II (till 15 May A.D. 392), THEODOSIUS,  
ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (from 22 Aug. A.D. 392), and HONORIUS  
(from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(4) DN EVGENI-VS PF AVG  
(5) DN HONORI-VS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(C) Pearl-diademed, draped in imperial mantle, l., holding *mappa*  
and short sceptre.  
(E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.

I. From 28 Aug. A.D. 388 to spring of A.D. 393

## GOLD

*Solidus*

20 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 8.	S	<u>M</u> <u>I</u> <u>D</u> <u>COM</u>	C.37; Hansen Coll.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.37; Dort- mund
	(c) 3 (A)	"	R	"	S.19; Vienna

18 (b). 1.52 gm.

\* *Num. Circ.*, July-Aug. 1925, gives a *siliqua*, *obv.* DN FL VIC-TOR F AVG,  
*rev.* VRBS ROMA, 'Cuirass' type, mint-mark MDPS. This seems to be an ancient  
forgery.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
21 (a)	1 (C)	VOTA-PV-BLICA Two emperors, nimbate, in imperial robes, seated facing on throne, each holding <i>mappa</i> and sceptre.	R <sup>4</sup>	M D COM	Cf. C.63; B.M.
	(b) 2 (C)	"	"	"	C.62; Ulrich-Bansa

*Semis*

22	3 (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM As no. 17, but shield inscribed VOT   X   MVLT   XX.	R <sup>4</sup>	M D COM	Cf. S.20; Munich
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*Tremis*

23 (a)	1 (A)	VICTORIA - AVGVSTORVM As no. 11, but without globe under foot.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 COM, M D 2 COM	Cf. C.51; <i>Pl. VI, 18</i> 1 Ulrich-Bansa; 2 Note in B.M. C.45; Vienna
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	M D COM	
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	1 COM, M D 2 COM	S.21; 1 O.U.C.; 2 Hunterian Museum

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

24	3 (A)	VOT   X   MVLT   XX in wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	MDPS	Not in S.; Gnecchi, Arcadius 9
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*Miliarensis* (light)

25 (a)	2 (E)	GLORIA - ROMANORVM Emperor, nimbate, stg. facing, head l., raising r. hand and holding globe in l.	R <sup>4</sup>	MDPS	C.17; Paris
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23. (b) Also semi-barbarous with *rev.* legend ending . . . . . *oru* (Rome).  
(c) Mint-mark 1, 1.45 gm.

24. 5.0 gm. Gnecchi (Arcadius 8) illustrated a similar coin with mint-mark RVPS. Its *vota* numbers cannot, of course, refer to Arcadius, as the mint of Ravenna was not opened till A.D. 402. Our present coin was probably struck in A.D. 392.

25. Baron Ulrich-Bansa connects this coin with the erection of a statue of Theodosius in front of S. Sophia in A.D. 390 (*Chron. Marcellini*).

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
25 (b)	3 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM As no. 25 (a).	R <sup>4</sup>	MDPS	Cf. S.3; Laf- franchi, op. cit.

*Siliqua*

Pl. VI, 15	26	5 (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in wreath.	S	MDPS	C.63; B.M.
	27 (a)	3 (A)	VOT   X   MVL   XV in wreath.	"	"	S.28; B.M.
	(b)	5 (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Not in C.; Vienna

## II. From the spring of A.D. 393 to 6 Sept. A.D. 394

## GOLD

*Solidus*

Pl. VI, 9	28	4 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 8.	R <sup>3</sup>	$\frac{M D}{COM}$	C.6; B.M.
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*Tremis*

Pl. VI, 16 Pl. VI, 17	29	4 (A)	VICTORIA - AVGVST ORVM As no. 10 (a) and (b).	R <sup>3</sup> , R <sup>5</sup>	$\frac{M D}{COM}$ 2 COM	C.10; 1 B.M.; 2 O.U.C.
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## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

30	4 (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	MDPS	C.17; de Quelen Sale, lot 2253
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*Miliarensis* (light)

31 (a)	4 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding standard in r. hand, and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>4</sup>	MDPS	C.2; Paris
(b)	3 (A)	"	"	"	T.53; Ermi- tage

30. 5.35 gm.

31. (a) 3.9 gm. (the weight, as given by Gnechi, is incorrect); (b) 3.9 gm.

*Siliqua*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
32 (a)	2 (A)	VIRTVS RO - MANOR VM Rome seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and reversed spear.	R <sup>2</sup>	MDPS	C.57; B.M.
	(b) 3 (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	"	S.27; Pearce <i>Pl. VI, 13</i>
	(c) 4 (A)	"	R	"	Cf. C.14; <i>Pl. VI, 14</i> B.M.

*Half-siliqua*

33 (a)	2 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 6.	R <sup>4</sup>	MD	Not in C.; B.M.
	(b) 4 (A)	"	"	"	Not in C.; Paris

SEVENTH PERIOD: 6 SEPT. A.D. 394-17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors:* THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, and HONORIUS

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
 (3) DN HONORI-VS PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Multiple\**

34	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR REI-PVB LICAE Emperor, nimbate, stg. facing, with r. hand raising kneeling turreted woman, who holds cornucopiae, and holding <i>labarum</i> with his l.	R <sup>5</sup>	$\frac{M D}{COMOB}$	Cf. C.28; Freer Coll.
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32. For *rev.* identities linking Theodosius and Arcadius with Eugenius, see my paper 'Eugenius and his Eastern Colleagues', *N. C.*, 1937, pp. 25-7. It is, of course, possible, though I have not found similar proof, that Eugenius struck for them in his gold issues also.

\* The *A* multiple of Honorius ADVENTV-S DN AVG (= 1½ *solidus*), put here by Lafranchi, seems from the portrait to be of later date.

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
Pl. VI, 10	35 (a)	1 (A) VICTORI - A AVGGG Emperor stg. r., holding standard and Victory on globe, and trampling on captive.	R <sup>3</sup>	$\frac{M D}{COMOB}$	C.39; B.M.
	(b)	2 (A) "	S	"	S.18; B.M.
	(c)	3 (A) "	"	"	C.44; B.M.

*Semis*

Pl. VI, 11	36	3 (A) VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM	R <sup>3</sup>	$\frac{M D}{COMOB}$	Not in C.; B.M.
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*Tremis*

37	(a)	1 (A) VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM As no. 23.	R <sup>3</sup>	$\frac{M D}{COM}$	C.45; Vienna
	(b)	2 (A) "	R	"	S.21; Hunter- ian Museum
	(c)	3 (A) "	"	"	C.47; Ulrich-Bansa

## SILVER

*Half-siliqua*

38	(a)	1 (A) VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 6.	R <sup>3</sup>	MD	C.40; B.M.
	(b)	3 (A) "	"	"	C.38; Vienna
39	(a)	2 (A) VICTORI-A AVGGG As no. 6.	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Cf. S.26; Ermitage
	(b)	3 (A) "	"	"	C.38; B.M.

35, 37. These types were continued for Arcadius and Honorius after their father's death.



## AQUILEIA

## VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

AQUILEIA struck the *Restitutor* type in all three metals, and, unlike the Gallic mints, began its activity before Valentinian's reform of the bronze coinage.  $\text{Æ} 1$  and the small  $\text{Æ} 3$  are found for both emperors. The *siliquae* are rare, both in the *Restitutor* and the *vota V-X* types, and Aquileia was soon restricted to the issue of Valentinian's new *Gloria* and *Securitas*  $\text{Æ} 3$  types which succeeded the *Restitutor*. A *miliarensis*, probably dated to Valentinian's visit to the city in September, A.D. 364, deserves attention. It is of the 'heavy' kind ( $\frac{1}{60}$  lb.), usually commemorating the beginning or end of a *quinquennium*, and suggesting the emperor's presence at the place of issue. Neither date suits here, nor are we helped by Elmer's statement (*N. Z.*, 1936, pp. 43-4, 'Eugenius') that in the fourth century these coins were issued on the anniversary of an emperor's accession. The *vota* legend was in order on the *siliqua* at any time within the uncompleted *quinquennium* (after which it would be changed with higher numbers) and I see no reason why it could not have been so used on the *miliarensis*.

The *N* multiple *Felix adventus Aug. m.* is virtually identical in type, legend, and workmanship with that found from Mediolanum, to which the *m* of the legend is usually taken to refer. That this should be found also on Aquileian coins must be explained by the greater importance of Mediolanum, which was to be the administrative centre of the empire and remained so for nearly a year, until the Alemannic war summoned Valentinian to Gaul.

## VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

A light *miliarensis Virtus exercitus* seems from the style of its mint-mark (SMAQ·P) to belong to this period. Otherwise the only coinage is the continuation of the *Gloria* and *Securitas* bronze issues. In these the Italian offer a great contrast to the Gallic mints in the prominence given to Valens over Valentinian and in their comparative neglect of Gratian, who seems to be ignored on the coinage until almost the end of this period. The respective representation of the three emperors in the four final issues of *Gloria* and *Securitas* is shown in our hoards\* as follows. (The mint-marks of III and IV are of *Gloria* only; the signs in the field would be transposed for *Securitas*. The figures in brackets are of my own coins or casts where evidence from the hoards is lacking.)

\* *N. C.*, 1948, pp. 66 ff.

## MINT OF AQUILEIA

	I	II	III	IV
	SMAQP(S)	•SMAQP(S)	$\frac{ *}{\text{SMAQP(S)}}$	$\frac{• *}{\text{SMAQP(S)}}$
Valentinian I				
<i>Gloria</i>	112	33	18	[1]
<i>Securitas</i>	118	38	29	[2]
Valens				
<i>Gloria</i>	181	27	20	1
<i>Securitas</i>	197	68	27	6
Gratian				
<i>Gloria</i>	4	12	[2]	1
<i>Securitas</i>	9	11	[1]	3
Valentinian II				
<i>Gloria</i>	—	—	[1]	2
<i>Securitas</i>	—	—	—	3

Of my own three specimens of Gratian in I, two give his name as GRATIA-ANVS. On one in II it appears as GRATIANI-ANVS; the portrait is youthful but the die-sinker first engraved the father's name. Evidently Gratian's name was not a familiar one at the mint. In III Valentinian II must be a hybrid; he has not the boyish portrait seen in IV. In IV Valentinian I's rare coins may have been struck before the news of his death reached the mint, or may be hybrids.

## VALENS, GRATIAN, AND VALENTINIAN II

Can we doubt that the rare *Æ 3 Felicitas Romanorum* echoes the '*felicitas publica*' with which Symmachus (*Ep.* 1. 13) tells Ausonius that Gratian's accession to supreme authority on the death of his father was hailed? Until quite recently the coin was known for him alone; its interest centres in Gratian, who has the very unusual distinction of being represented on the obverse with 'bust l.' as well as with the normal 'bust r.' The issue seems certainly to be medallic in purpose and may suggest a visit of Gratian to north Italy to consolidate his position as regent for his young half-brother, Valentinian II. If Valentinian I's unique coin is not merely a hybrid, he is brought in to share in the rejoicing which greeted the fulfilment of his hopes for his son.

The *Æ 3 Gloria* and *Securitas* soon came to an end, but there was a large issue of the *siliqua Urbs Roma* and a small issue of *vota siliquae*. The variations in the obverse style of Valentinian II may give a clue to their dating. On the *Æ 3*—clearly the earliest—he is *Dn. Valentinianus iun. p. f. Aug.* This is found for him also on nearly all of the *Urbs Roma siliquae*, but a small number have this same obverse legend



unbroken, presumably later. This unbroken form is found on his *vota siliquae*, V-X which accompany the X-XX of Valens and Gratian. This *vota* group, then, was not struck at the accession of Valentinian II but commemorates, like the Treveran issue, the approaching *decennalia* of Gratian in August A.D. 377.

GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), AND ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

There is no agreement between numismatists on the dating of much of the coinage of this and the following periods.\* My own view is given in 'The Gold Coinage of the Reign of Theodosius I', *N. C.*, 1938, pp. 205 ff. The Codex Theodosianus shows that Gratian visited Aquileia in A.D. 379, 380, and 381, in the spring of which year he left Treveri for the north of Italy, bringing with him his Treveran mint-personnel. I believe that his gold with mint-mark AQOBF and Aquileian portraiture was struck in A.D. 379, with mint-mark AQOB and Aquileian portraiture in A.D. 380, with AQOB and Treveran portraiture in A.D. 381. This was a small issue and was soon followed by a large issue with mint-mark changed to COM and no indication of the place of minting. There is little doubt that some of this issue was struck in Aquileia, but, as Gratian was known to have been at Mediolanum certainly for most of A.D. 382 and until his death in A.D. 383, I have given this mint-mark to Mediolanum alone of his north Italian mints.

In silver the differentiated *siliqua* types are found with *Victoria Auggg.* and *Concordia Auggg.* duly restricted to Valentinian II and Theodosius respectively, but Gratian's type *Virtus Romanorum* is found for all three emperors and for Arcadius. My specimens number: Gratian (a) with earlier portrait and reverse details 7, (b) with later portrait and reverse details 11; Valentinian II (a) with obverse legend unbroken with IVN. 4, (b) divided I-A without IVN. 17; Theodosius 22; Arcadius 2. Gratian shares reverse identities with Valentinian II (a) and (b) and with Theodosius. The evidence points to a differentiated issue for Gratian alone, followed by an issue continued in the next period and including all the Augusti. The rare issue *Victoria Augg.* is strangely found for all three emperors. It would naturally be dated to the five months preceding the elevation of Theodosius. Perhaps, as in the case of the earliest  $\frac{S|M}{COMOB}$  *solidi* of Honorius, the reverse die was not changed immediately on the addition to the imperial college.

\* See Laffranchi, *Le Monete Milanesi*, 'Milano', August, 1933-xi, and Ulrich-Bansa, *Monete Milanesi del IV e V Secolo*, pp. 87 ff.

In *aes* the differentiation in Gratian's first issue is not strictly observed though each emperor predominates in his appropriate type. After this the *aes* follows its normal course except in the issue of Æ 3 *Concordia Auggg.* which was current in both West and East at the moment of Theodosius' separatist action. In this issue at Aquileia, by the side of its main issue on Gratian's western model, the eastern model was followed by a few coins—not, as at Rome, by all.

At Aquileia especially the variations in Valentinian II's obverse legend are bewildering. In gold he passes from 'unbroken with *iun.*' to the 'non-committal' form (always used by Maximus for his young son Victor) which was that always used by his father. In his *siliqua Urbs Roma* and in Æ 3 *Gloria* and *Securitas* he passes from 'divided A-N with IVN.' to 'unbroken with IVN.' (very rare). In the *siliqua* and the Æ 3 *Victoria Auggg.* he passes from 'unbroken with IVN.' to 'unbroken without IVN.' In his Æ 2 *Reparatio reipub.* he passes through both these stages and then on to his father's style. In his *siliqua Virtus Romanorum* this style follows immediately on 'unbroken with IVN.' It is often taken as indicative of a post-Gratian issue. My own view is expressed in the paper 'The gold coinage of the reign of Theodosius', *N. C.*, 1938, pp. 205 ff. Its acceptance will depend on the view taken of the evidence from the COM coinage at Mediolanum and the Æ 2 *Reparatio reipub.* at Thessalonica.

I have seen no evidence to convince me that Gratian recognized Arcadius at Aquileia, whose rare *Virtus Romanorum siliquae* I have placed in the following period.

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS;  
(usurpers) MAXIMUS and, later, VICTOR

(a) *Before the invasion of Italy by Maximus*

In the coinage of this period we can follow the struggle of Valentinian to preserve his independence and its final failure. The court was for most of the time at Mediolanum, and most of the gold coinage was struck there. I should date the rare *Victoria Augg.* to Valentinian's stay in Aquileia during the latter months of A.D. 385 and the still rarer *Concordia Auggg.* to his fleeting visit towards the end of A.D. 386.

In silver, the predominance of Valentinian and Theodosius, as well as the very rare representation of Arcadius in the *siliqua Virtus Romanorum*, cause me to prolong its issue into this period. Indeed, in my paper 'Lugdunum: *siliqua*-coinage of Valentinian II and Eugenius', *N. C.*, 1944, pp. 46-7, I suggested that the issue lasted, intermittently, throughout the period.

In bronze Theodosius and Maximus were striking an Æ 2, and Valentinian's predominance in the Æ 2 *Reparatio reipub.* and the

*Æ 3 Concordia Auggg.* at Aquileia suggests that both these types may have been continued into this period, though they certainly ended before the *rapprochement* with Theodosius necessitated the inclusion of Arcadius. Towards the end of the period Valentinian revived (as he did later at Treveri) his father's typical *Æ 3 Gloria Romanorum* in which Arcadius has full representation.

The *Æ 4 vota* coins must date before the completion of Valentinian's *decennium* on 22 November A.D. 385. The rarer issues were probably struck for local distribution among the crowd. Of the two *Æ 4 Victoria Auggg.* types the 'Single Victory' type was the earlier. It was struck also at Rome and at Siscia. At Aquileia and Siscia Valentinian has only the broken, Arcadius both the broken and unbroken form of legend; at Rome Valentinian both broken and unbroken, Arcadius only the unbroken form. The fluctuations in the style of the two young emperors' obverse legends are due to the varied outlook of the authorities responsible for the issue on the political relations between Theodosius and his young Senior Augustus. On Theodosius' own bronze both Valentinian and Arcadius are equated as merely titular Augusti by the undivided style of legend for both. At Siscia and at (?) Aquileia Valentinian's mints at first insist upon the difference in status between him and Theodosius' own son, by giving the undivided legend only to Arcadius, but, later in the issue, give Arcadius the 'non-committal' form, which was at least no open challenge to Theodosius' claim to regard the two young Augusti as on an equal footing in regard to himself.

The later *Æ 4* 'Two Victories' type follows at Aquileia (Siscia did not strike it) the same course as the 'Single Victory'.

Towards the end of this period the *solidus Concordia Augggθ*, an eastern type commemorating the *vota* of the eastern Augusti, set the seal on Theodosius' political victory.

(b) *Maximus and Victor in Italy*

The coinage runs parallel to that from Mediolanum, but is rarer, and includes the *siliqua Victoria Augustorum*, which Mediolanum seems not to have struck. All *siliquae* seem to be of reduced weight. Victor's coins are rather less rare than his father's.

FROM THE DEATH OF MAXIMUS TO THE DEATH  
OF THEODOSIUS

After the fall of Maximus, coinage in the precious metals was in the main confined to Mediolanum. The *miliarense Gloria Romanorum*, found for Valentinian II and Arcadius, seems from the portraiture to be late, and perhaps the 'half-siliqua' *Victoria Auggg.*, found for

Theodosius and Arcadius, may be post-Maximus, but further evidence is needed. On the other hand Theodosius, during his occupation of north Italy from A.D. 388 to A.D. 391, struck his eastern Æ 4 type *Salus reipublicae* in large numbers at Aquileia. Probably it was continued up to Eugenius' invasion of Italy in the spring of A.D. 393 and was possibly resumed after his fall; but the small numbers found for Honorius, in contrast to his numbers from Rome, show that the issue must have ended comparatively early.

The usurper Eugenius also confined his issue from Aquileia to his Æ 4 type, *Spes Romanorum*.

MINT-MARKS OF THE *AES III GLORIA RO-MANORUM*  
(Nos. 7, 11, 17) AND *SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE*  
(Nos. 9, 12, 18)

In striking contrast with the Gallic mints, which apparently must have struck these types for Gratian from the moment of his elevation, the Italian mints seem from the records of hoards (see p. 85 note) to have virtually ignored him up to the time of his father's death. The Jabing hoard which probably was deposited (as Dr. Barb, who records it, thinks) in A.D. 374, i.e. seven years after Gratian's elevation, has 189 Aquileian coins of these two types for Valentinian (66) and Valens (123), but not a single Gratian. Other hoards, which cover the whole of Valentinian's reign, give, with mint-marks found also for Gratian, 665 for the senior emperors, 33 for Gratian. It is clearly impossible to list these issues in periods with a dividing line at Gratian's accession. It must be enough to give the mint-marks, as I find them in hoards and in my notes, under the headings which follow.\*

\* Some recorded mint-marks, which I cannot verify, are: *Gloria Valentinian I*

$\frac{\cdot | E}{SMAQ}$  (Arpas); Gratian  $\frac{| E}{SMAQP}$  (Öcsod); *Securitas Gratian*  $\frac{B |}{QS}$  (Lydney),  
 $\frac{R | *}{SMAQ}$ ?, (Öcsod).

FIRST PERIOD (NGS. 7, 9)

VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

No.	VALENTINIAN I		VALENS	
	Obv. 1 (A)		Obv. 2 (A)	
	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>
i (a)	A SMAQP	A SMAQP	A SMAQP	A SMAQP
	A SMAQS	A SMAQS	A SMAQS	A SMAQS
ii (a)	B SMAQP	B SMAQP	B SMAQP	B SMAQP
	B SMAQS	B SMAQS	B SMAQS	B SMAQS
iii (a)	B SMAQP	B SMAQP	B SMAQP	B SMAQP
	B SMAQS	B SMAQS	B SMAQS	B SMAQS
iv			C SMAQS	
		D SMAQP		D SMAQP
v (a)				D SMAQS
				E SMAQP
vi (a)	E SMAQP	E SMAQP	E SMAQP	E SMAQP
	E SMAQS	E SMAQS	E SMAQS	E SMAQS
vii (a)	F SMAQP	F SMAQP	F SMAQP	F SMAQP
	F SMAQS	F SMAQS	F SMAQS	F SMAQS
viii (a)	G SMAQP	G SMAQP	G SMAQP	G SMAQP
	G SMAQS	G SMAQS	G SMAQS	G SMAQS
ix (a)	H SMAQP	H SMAQP	H SMAQP	H SMAQP
	H SMAQS	H SMAQS	H SMAQS	H SMAQS

No.	VALENTINIAN I		VALENS	
	Obv. 1 (A)		Obv. 2 (A)	
	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>
x (a)	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP
(b)	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS
xi (a)			⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQP
(b)			⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQP
xii				⌘ SMAQP
xiii (a)	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP
(b)	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS

## SECOND PERIOD (NCS. 11, 12)

No.	VALENTINIAN I		VALENS		GRATIAN	
	Obv. 1 (A)		Obv. 2 (A)		Obv. 3 (A)	
	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>
xiv (a)	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP		
(b)	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS		⌘ SMAQS
xv (a)	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP
(b)	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS
xvi (a)	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP
(b)	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS
xvii (a)	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP
(b)	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS
xviii (a)	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	⌘ SMAQP	
(b)	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS	⌘ SMAQS

(Valentinian II is found in both *Gloria* (at Vienna) and *Securitas* (O.U.C.) with mint-mark xviii (a). These extremely rare coins must be hybrids.)

xvi (b). Gratian's *obv.* legend blundered—GRATIA-ANVS (*Securitas*); also in xvii (a) (*Gloria*) where the legend shows traces of Valentinian's name beneath.

## THIRD PERIOD (NOS. 17, 18)

No.	VALENS		GRATIAN		VALENTINIAN II	
	<i>Obv. 1 (A)</i>		<i>Obv. 2 (A)</i>		<i>Obv. 3<sup>b</sup> (A)</i>	
	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>	<i>Gloria Romanorum</i>	<i>Securitas reipublicae</i>
xix (a)	$\frac{\cdot   \ast}{\text{SMAQP}}$	$\frac{\ast   \cdot}{\text{SMAQP}}$	$\frac{\cdot   \ast}{\text{SMAQP}}$	$\frac{\ast   \cdot}{\text{SMAQP}}$	$\frac{\cdot   \ast}{\text{SMAQP}}$ (also with <i>obv. 3<sup>a</sup> (A)</i> )	$\frac{\ast   \cdot}{\text{SMAQP}}$
(b)	$\frac{\cdot   \ast}{\text{SMAQS}}$	$\frac{\ast   \cdot}{\text{SMAQS}}$	$\frac{\cdot   \ast}{\text{SMAQS}}$	$\frac{\ast   \cdot}{\text{SMAQS}}$	$\frac{\cdot   \ast}{\text{SMAQS}}$	$\frac{\ast   \cdot}{\text{SMAQS}}$

(Valentinian I is found in *Gloria* xix (b) and *Securitas* xix (a) at Vienna. These must either be hybrids or have been struck at the beginning of a new issue which was continued without change of mint-mark for Valentinian II. Ulrich-Bansa regards them as a posthumous honour paid to the dead emperor.)

xix (a). Valentinian II's unbroken *obv.* legend on no. 17 (c) is probably due to a miscalculation of space on the part of the die-cutter.

## MINT OF AQUILEIA

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

*Emperors*: VALENTINIAN I and VALENS (from 28 March A.D. 364)Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALEN-S PF AVGObverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.

## GOLD

*Multiple*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1	1 (A)	FELIXADV-ENTVSAVG M Emperor on horse-back l., raising r. hand.	R <sup>5</sup>	SMAQ	C.1; Vienna

*Solidus*

<i>Pl. VI, 19</i>	2 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE Emperor stg. fac- ing, head r., holding <i>laba- rum</i> and Victory on globe.	R, R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMAQ, 2 SMAQP	C.28; 1 B.M.; 2 The Hague
	(b)	1 (B)	”	R	SMAQ	Berlin
	(c)	2 (A)	”	R, R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMAQ, 2 SMAQP	C.32; 1 B.M.; 2 confirma- tion required

## SILVER

*Miliarensis (heavy)*

<i>Pl. VII, 17</i>	3 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVLTV   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMAQ	Not in C.; Berlin
	(b)	2 (A)	”	”	”	C.90; B.M.

*Siliqua*

4 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 2.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMAQ	C.18; B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	”	”	”	C.28; B.M.

1. 6.77 gm. =  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *solidus*. The unusual M for N in the *rev.* legend is seen also in the parallel gold multiple from Mediolanum and is explained as being the initial letter of that city. The break in the *rev.* legend is very slight and is perhaps unintentional.

3 (b). 5.38 gm.



No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
5	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVLTV   X As no. 3.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMAQ	C.70; B.M.

## BRONZE

*Aes I*

6 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2, but with standard for <i>labarum</i> .	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.30; 1 Vienna; 2 B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.28; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna

*Aes III*

7 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., dragging captive with r. hand and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	C	See pp. 91-2	C.12
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.11
8 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 6.	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.21; 1, 2 Vienna
(b)	2 (A)	"	R	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.47; 1, 2 Vienna
9 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS REIPVBLIC AE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	C	See pp. 91-2	C.37
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.47

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

*Emperors*: VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
 (3) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG

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

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (light)

10	3 (A)	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding in r. hand <i>labarum</i> and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMAQ·P	C.52; Vienna
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6 (a). Wts. of Berlin specimens: *officina* P, 8.49 gm., 7.97 gm.; *officina* S, 8.45 gm.  
7.22 gm.

10. 4.22 gm.

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
11 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 7.	C	See p. 92	C.12
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.11
	(c) 3 (A)	"	S	"	C.23
12 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS-REIPVBLIC AE As no. 9.	C	"	C.37
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.47
	(c) 3 (A)	"	S	"	C.34

THIRD PERIOD: 17 NOV. A.D. 375-9 AUG. A.D. 378

*Emperors*: VALENS, GRATIAN, and VALENTINIAN II

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
 (2<sup>a</sup>) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>b</sup>) DN GRATIAN-VS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF AVG  
 (3<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIA-NVS IVN PF AVG

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

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

<i>Pl. VII, 6</i>	13	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOTIS   V   MVLTTIS   X in laurel-wreath.	R	AQPS•	Not in C.; B.M.
	14 (a)	1 (A)	VOTIS   X   MVLTTIS   XX in laurel-wreath.	"	"	C.107; B.M.
		(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.82; Vienna
	15 (a)	1 (A)	VRBS-ROMA Rome seated l. on cuirass, holding Vic- tory on globe and reversed spear.	R, S, C	1 AQPS, 2 AQPS•, 3 $\frac{ X }{AQPS•}$	C.110; 1 Milan; 2, 3 B.M.
<i>Pl. VII, 7</i>		(b) 2 (A)	"	R, S, C	1 AQPS, 2 AQPS•, 3 $\frac{ X }{AQPS•}$	C.87; 1 Budapest; 2, 3 B.M.
		(c) 3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R	AQPS	Cf. C.76; Ulrich-Bansa

14. (a) and (b) are linked by *rev.* identity.15. (a) and (b) both link AQPS• and  $\frac{|X|}{AQPS•}$  by *obv.* identities.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
15 (d)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VRBS-ROMA As no. 15.	S, C, R	1 AQPS*  * 2 AQPS*  * 3 AQPS*	1, 2 B.M.; 3 Paris

## BRONZE

*As III*

16 (a)	DN VALEN TINI- ANVS PFAVG (A)	FELICITAS - ROMAN ORVM Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>5</sup>	SMAQP	Not in C.; B.M.
(b)	1 (A)	”	”	”	Not in C.; Budapest
(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.11; 1 B.M.; <i>Pl. VII, 11</i> 2 Vienna
(d)	2 <sup>b</sup> (E)	”	R <sup>4</sup>	SMAQS	Not in C.; <i>Pl. VII, 10</i> Vienna
17 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 7.	S	See p. 93	C.11
(b)	2 (A)	”	”	”	C.23
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	R	See p. 93, and note on xix	C.24; Pearce
(d)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	C	See p. 93	
18 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS-REIPVBLIC AE As no. 9.	S	”	C.47
(b)	2 (A)	”	”	”	C.34
(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	C	”	C.32

H

## FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

Emperors: GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF AVG  
 (2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>c</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.

## GOLD

*Multiple*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
19	1 (A)	GLORIA-RO-MANOR VM Roma and Constantinopolis seated, Roma helmeted, facing, holding Victory on globe and sceptre; Constantinopolis, turreted, head l., r. foot on prow, holding Victory on globe and cornucopiae.	R <sup>5</sup>	AQOB	C.19; Vienna
20 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	RESTITVTOR REI-PVB LICAE Emperor, nimbate, stg. facing, head l., with r. hand raising kneeling turreted woman, who holds cornucopiae in l. hand, and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	"	"	C.29; Paris
	(b) 3 (A)	"	"	"	C.28; Berlin

*Solidus*

Pl. VI, 20	21 (a)	1 (B)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Two emperors, nimbate, seated facing on throne, the one on r. holding <i>mappa</i> in l. hand and together holding globe. Between and behind, a Victory with outspread wings; below, a palm-branch. Emperors have l. leg bare.	S, R	1 AQOBF, 2 AQOB	C.38; 1 Vienna; 2 Bourgey Cat., Dec. 1913, lot 72
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19. 8.94 gm. = 2 *solidi*.

20. (a) 39.67 gm. = 10 *solidi*; (b) 47.96 gm. with ring = 10 *solidi*.

21. A coins with mint-mark COM are given under 'Mediolanum'.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
21 (b)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 21 (a).	R <sup>+</sup>	AQOBF	Paris
(c)	3 (B)	"	S	"	C.37; Vienna
(d)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	As 21 (a), but emperor on r. smaller.	"	"	C.36; B.M. <i>Pl. VII, 2</i>
(e)	1 (B)	As 21 (a), but emperors have both legs draped.	R <sup>3</sup>	AQOB	Vienna <i>Pl. VII, 1</i>
(f)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Paris
(g)	3 (A)	As 21 (e), but emperor on r. smaller.	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Ulrich-Bansa
(h)	1 (A)	As 21 (e), but emperors are not nimbate.	"	"	Vienna
(i)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	As 21 (g), but emperor on r. smaller.	"	"	C.36; <i>N.C.</i> , 1938, <i>Pl. X, 12</i>

*1½ Scripulum*

22 (a)	1 (A)	VICTORIA - AVGVST ORVM Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R	AQOB	C.44; Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.50 ('Schel- lersheim')

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (light)

23 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding in r. hand stand- ard and resting l. on shield.	R	AQPS	C.52; B.M.
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.58; B.M.

*Argenteus*

24	1 (A)	VICTORIA - AVGVST ORVM As no. 21.	R <sup>+</sup>	AQPS	C.45; B.M.
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*Siliqua*

25	3 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Constantinopolis, turreted, seated facing, head r., on throne, holding sceptre and cornucopiac, r. foot on prow.	S	AQPS	C.4; Vienna
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22 (a). 1.64 gm.

23. (a) 4.0 gm.; (b) 3.5 gm. (broken).

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
26 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>3</sup>	AQPS	C.36; Vienna
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Not in C.; Pearce
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	"	C.35; Vienna
27 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 26.	S	"	C.40; B.M.
	(b) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	"	C.41; B.M.
28 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO-MANOR VM Roma seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear.	C	"	C.56; B.M.
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	S	"	Not in C.; B.M.
28 (a)	(c) 2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	C	"	C.60; B.M.
	(d) 3 (A)	"	"	"	C.59; B.M.

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

Pl. VII, 18 29	1 (A)	FELICITAS - REIPUBLICAE Emperor stg. l. on ship, holding globe and spear; at the prow, Victory holding wreath; at the helm, a seated figure.	R <sup>5</sup>	SMAQ	C.10; Milan
	30 (a) 1 (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB Emperor stg. facing, head l., with r. hand raising kneeling turreted woman and holding Victory on globe in l.	R, C, R, R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMAQ, 2 SMAQP, 3 SMAQS,   4 SMAQ	C.29; 1-3 B.M.; 4 Zagreb
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R, C, C	1 SMAQ, 2 SMAQP, 3 SMAQS	C.26; 1 Koblitz; 2, 3 B.M.
	(c) 2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	S, S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.28; 1, 2 B.M.
	(d) 3 (A)	"	R, C, C	1 SMAQ, 2 SMAQP, 3 SMAQS	C.27; 1 Ermitage; 2, 3 B.M.

28 (b) and (c) share *rev.* identity with Gratian. See note on 30 (c).

29. This must be medallic in purpose.

30 (b). SMAQ and SMAQS are found linked by *obv.* identity.

30 (c), 32 (c). I am assuming (see Introduction) that the change to the broken style of Valentinian II's *obv.* legend took place during Gratian's lifetime.

30 (d). Blundered, with REPARATO and mint-mark SMAQS, has been noted.

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
31	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGG Roma, seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMAQS	C.2; seen by Koblitz
32 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG As no. 31; Roma's l. leg bare.	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.3; 1, 2 Ul- rich-Bansa
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.8; 1, 2 Vienna
	(c) 2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.9; 1, 2 Vienna
	(d) 3 (A)	"	"	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.14; 1, 2 Pearce
	(e) 1 (A)	" (but Roma's r. leg bare.)	R <sup>3</sup>	SMAQP	C.3; Ulrich- Bansa
33 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Constantinopolis, turreted, seated facing, head r., on throne, holding reversed spear in r. hand and resting l. on knee.	R	"	Not in C.; Vienna
	(b) 3 (A)	"	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.6; 1, 2 Pearce
34 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 26.	R <sup>2</sup>	SMAQP	C.41; Zagreb
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.47; 1, 2 Ul- rich-Bansa
	(c) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.45; 1 Vienna; 2 Copenhagen
	(d) 3 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	SMAQP	Not in C.; Ulrich-Bansa
35 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO-MANOR VM As no. 28.	R	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.57; 1 Vienna; 2 B.M.
	(b) 3 (A)	"	"	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.60; 1 Ber- lin; 2 Pearce

*Aes IV* (larger module, 14-16 mm.)

36 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVLT   X in wreath.	R	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.67; 1 Vienna; 2 Ulrich-Bansa
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	Not in C.; 1 Berlin; 2 Syracuse

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
36 (c)	2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVLТ   X in wreath.	R <sup>2</sup>	SMAQS	C.68; Ulrich-Bansa
(d)	3 (A)	"	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.65; 1 Vienna; 2 B.M.
37 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   X   MVLТ   XX in wreath.	R <sup>2</sup>	SMAQP	Not in C.; Vatican
(b)	3 (A)	"	"	1 SMAQP, 2 [SM]AQS	C.70; 1 B.M.; 2 Weymouth hoard
38 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVLТ   XX in wreath.	R <sup>4</sup> , S, R	1 SMAQ, 2 SMAQP, 3 SMAQS	C.75; 1 Hunterian; 2 Pearce; 3 Ulrich-Bansa
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R	SMAQP	C.74; Zagreb
(c)	3 (A)	"	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	Not in C.; 1, 2 Vienna

## FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

Emperors: VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, MAGNUS MAXIMUS, and (from late in the period) VICTOR

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(4) DN MAG MA-XIMVS PF AVG  
(5) DN FL VIC-TOR PF AVG

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

## I. From 25 Aug. A.D. 383 to summer of A.D. 387

## GOLD

*Solidus*

<i>Pl. VII, 5</i>	39 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGG Gθ Constantinopolis, helmeted, seated facing, head r., on throne, holding sceptre and shield inscribed VOT   X   MVLТ   XV, which rests on <i>cippus</i> ; r. foot on prow.	R <sup>4</sup>	AQOB	Cf. C.5; B.M.
	(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	Not in C.; Vienna



## MINT OF AQUILEIA

103

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
40 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 21 (c).	R <sup>3</sup>	A Q COM	C.36; B.M. <i>Pl. VII, 3</i>
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.37; O.U.C.
	(c) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	"	S.19; B.M.

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

41 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO-MANOR VM As no. 28.	C	AQPS	C.60; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	,	"	C.59; B.M.
	(c) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	<i>Pl. VII, 12</i>

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

42 (a)	1 (A)	REPARATIO-REIPVB As no. 30. (If continued after Gratian's death.)	C	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.28
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.27
43	1 (A)	VIRTVS-EXERCITVS Soldier, on horseback r., spearing kneeling suppliant barbarian, whose shield and ? broken spear are beneath the horse.	R <sup>5</sup>	SMAQ	Not in C.; Milan <i>Pl. VII, 13</i>

*Aes III*

44 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIAVGGG As no. 32. (If continued after Gratian's death.)	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.9
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.14

41. For the division of this type between this and the last period, see Introduction, p. 88.

42. As Theodosius and Maximus both struck Æ 2 during this period, I have assumed that Valentinian II did so too. Koblitz gives this type for Maximus; not seen by me.

43. This unique coin must be medallic in purpose.

44. As this type is less scarce for Valentinian than for Gratian, I have continued it into this period.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
45 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 11.	C	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.23; 1, 2 B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.14; 1, 2 B.M.
	(c) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	S.36; 1, 2 B.M.
<i>Aes IV</i> (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)					
46 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG Victory advancing l., hold- ing wreath and palm.	R	1 AQ, 2 AQP, 3 AQS	C.46; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna; 3 Rich- borough
	(b) 2 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	1 AQP, 2 AQS	C.41; 1 T. W. Armitage; 2 Zagreb
	(c) 3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	A[?]	Not in S.; Goodacre
	(d) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	1 AQP, 2 AQS	1 Ulrich- Bansa; 2 Zagreb
47 (a)	1 (A)	VICTORIA AVGGG Two Victories stg. facing each other, each holding wreath and palm.	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	Not in C.; 1, 2 B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	Not in C.; 1, 2 B.M.
<i>Pl. VII, 15</i>	(c) 3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R	SMAQS	Not in S.; E.M.
<i>Pl. VII, 14</i>	(d) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	Vienna
48	2 (A)	VOT   V in wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMAQ	C.63; Ulrich- Bansa
49 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVL T   X in wreath.	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.68; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna
<i>Pl. VII, 16</i>	(b) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	SMAQ	Not in S.; Richborough
50	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVL T   XV in wreath.	"	SMAQ	C.70; Copen- hagen
51 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVL T   XX in wreath.	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.73; 1 Vienna; 2 Ulrich- Bansa
	(b) 2 (A)	"	R	SMAQP	C.70; Rich- borough

49 (a) is linked by *obv.* identity with 51 (a).

## II. From the summer of A.D. 387-28 Aug. A.D. 388

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
52	5 (A)	BONO REIPV - BLICE NATI Two emperors, of whom the one on the r. is smaller, nimbate, seated fac- ing on throne, the smaller holding <i>mappa</i> in l. hand and together holding globe. Behind and between them, a Victory with outspread wings; below, palm-branch.	R <sup>2</sup>	AQOB	C.1; Vienna <i>Pl. VII, 4</i>

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

53 (a)	4 (A)	VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM As no. 22.	R <sup>2</sup>	AQPS	C.16; B.M.
(b)	5 (A)	„	R	„	C.4; B.M.
54 (a)	4 (A)	VIRTVS RO-MANOR VM As no. 28.	R <sup>2</sup>	„	C.20; B.M.
(b)	5 (A)	„	R <sup>2</sup>	„	C.6; B.M.

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

55 (a)	4 (A)	SPES RO-MA-NORVM Camp-gate with star be- tween its two turrets.	S	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS	C.7; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna
(b)	5 (A)	„	S, S, R <sup>2</sup>	1 SMAQP, 2 SMAQS, 3 SMAQ	C.3; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna; 3 Ulrich-Bansa

53, 54. The four B.M. specimens average 1.55 gm.

## SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388—SPRING OF A.D. 393

*Emperors*: VALENTINIAN II (until 15 May A.D. 392), THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (from 22 Aug. A.D. 392), and HONORIUS (from 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(4) DN HONORI-VS PF AVG

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

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (light)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
56 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor, nimbate, stg. facing, head l., raising r. hand and holding globe in l.	R <sup>3</sup>	AQPS	C.19; Vienna
(b)	3 (A)	"	"	AQP[ ]	S.3; Paris

*Half-siliqua*

57 (a)	2 (A)	VICTORI-A AVGGG Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>3</sup>	AQPS	C.40; Budapest
(b)	3 (A)	"	"	"	Not in S.; Vienna

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

58 (a)	1 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory advancing l., holding trophy on shoulder with r. hand, and dragging captive with l. In field l., ♀.	C	1 AQP, 2 AQS	C.30; 1, 2 B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	C, C, R	1 AQP, 2 AQS, 3 AQB	C.30; 1-3 B.M.
(c)	3 (A)	"	C	1 AQP, 2 AQS	S.41; 1, 2 B.M.

56. (a) 4.6 gm.; (b) 4.5 gm.

57. The great rarity of this denomination suggests that it was not struck for currency but for distribution to a section of the population as a *sportula*.

58 (c). One example noted at Richborough has  $\frac{+}{AQ}$ .

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
58(d)	4 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 58 (2).	S	1 AQP, 2 AQS	C.32; 1, 2 B.M.

SEVENTH PERIOD: FROM SPRING OF A.D. 393 TO 17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors*: THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (till 6 Sept. A.D. 394), and HONORIUS

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(2) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(3) DN EVGENI-VS PF AVG  
(4) DN HONORI-VS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

59	3 (A)	SPES RO-MANORVM Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R	1 AQP, 2 AQS	C.5; 1, 2 B.M.
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58. After the death of Eugenius in September A.D. 394 this issue was possibly resumed for Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius.

## ROMA

ROME was the capital of the western empire in name only. The seat of government was now Treveri or Mediolanum, nearer the frontiers whose defence continually demanded the emperor's presence. The new emperor Valentinian, of barbarian stock and a man of action, despised the degenerate Roman aristocracy who could pride themselves only on memories of the part once played by Rome and the Roman Senate, and he knew that they despised him in their turn. They were embittered, too, by the knowledge that their religion, under which Rome had grown great, was fighting a losing battle and that Rome was its last stronghold. It is no wonder, then, that the pagan aristocracy of Rome, if they possessed any influence over its mint, exercised it in a way which gave expression, so far as was possible under the centralized system of mint-control, to their discontent. That they possessed this influence is clearly shown by the use of the regular mint obverse dies in combination with the purely pagan reverses of the local issues for presentation to the devotees of the old religion at the festival of Isis. It is hard to explain the overwhelming preponderance of coins struck in the name of Valens in the earlier portion of our period except as the result of the unpopularity with the Romans of the city of their own emperor. Later, on Valentinian I's death, the Roman Senate conferred the title of Maximus Augustus on Valens, despite the opposition of their own emperor, Gratian.\*

In the latter portion of our period we find, under an outward show of 'Harmony', a dynastic struggle going on, in which Justina is striving to uphold the House of Valentinian in face of the growing ambition of the 'House of Theodosius'. During its most crucial moment we find Symmachus, City-prefect of Rome, writing to the eastern emperors:† *At vero populus imperialis munificentiae muneribus expletus in amorem vestrum prompta inclinatione concessit and merito vos senatus ac populus ore celebrat, devotione veneratur, amore complectitur.* Justina did not welcome the *paternus affectus* with which Theodosius proposed to regard her son. Can we doubt that she would not have approved of Symmachus' effusive protestations of love and gratitude towards Theodosius? There are many indications in the coinage of Rome that the mint was working in the interests, not of its own emperor, but of Theodosius.

The large Æ medallions, found only from Rome, are of very varying weight, and do not seem, like the *A'* and *Æ* multiples, to fit into

\* Eunapius exc. legat. p. 13 ed. Venet., T. I., *Script. rer. Byzant.*

† Symmachus, *Epist.* x. 9.

the currency system. Perhaps they are presentation pieces in connexion with some recurring ritual peculiar to the Capital. Dr. Toynebee suggests that they may have been presented as mementoes to any persons visiting the mint.

#### VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

The mint was very busy during the first part of the reign, and struck Valentinian's *Restitutor* type in all three metals. However, the *siliqua* with this type is rare, and I have not yet seen it for Valens. Its place was taken by a very large *siliqua* issue of *Urbs Roma* and *vota coins*, with a fairly strict differentiation of *officinae* between them and between the emperors. Evans's attribution of *Urbs Roma* of this issue to Gratian must be an error.\* The large *siliqua* issues of the early reign at Lugdunum, Arelate, and Rome seem to have all ended before Gratian's accession. But Gratian's absence from the issue of the *miliarensis Victoria Augustorum* with *vot. v mult. x* inscribed on shield is noteworthy. He appears in the similar issues from Treveri and Lugdunum, which seem clearly to be dated to the final year of the senior emperor's *quinquennium*. In the Weifert collection at Belgrade is an (?) *argenteus* of Valens *Vict. d. d. n. n. Augg.* with two Victories holding wreath inscribed *vot. v*, with mint-mark RQ. If this can be taken as part of the widespread quinquennial commemoration of A.D. 368 we must infer that the boy-Augustus is ignored.

In Æ 3 there is a very large issue of *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae*. The mint-marks are few. RP (to Q) and SMRP (to Q) seem certainly to be pre-Gratian.† With the former mint-mark hoards show a fairly equal representation between the two emperors; with the latter (very rare) mint-mark they show six *Securitas* only, for Valens.

At about the time of Gratian's accession coinage in the precious metals is discontinued at Rome, as at the other mints of the western empire.

#### VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

There are only two issues of Æ 3 *Gloria* and *Securitas* during this period, R-PRIMA (to QVARTA) and SM<sup>Q</sup>RP (to Q). The latter is the later as it includes Valentinian II.

Much of the earlier issue must have appeared in the previous period, but Gratian is poorly represented in the later also. The most striking contrast is that between the numbers for Valentinian I and Valens, to

\* *N. C.*, 1915, p. 448. One of the mint-marks given for Gratian is R $\epsilon$ ; but the mint was working at this time in four *officinae*.

† In *Num. Circ.*, 1927, SMRB is given for Gratian—but in error for  $\frac{x}{SMRB}$ ?

whom the *Securitas* type is, as at most other (especially western) mints peculiarly appropriated.\* The British-found hoards do not show quite so great a disparity in numbers, but they nevertheless tend to confirm it.

#### VALENS, GRATIAN, AND VALENTINIAN II

The regular coinage is still restricted to the same two Æ 3 types, which end with the mint-marks  $\frac{|*}{SMRP}$  and  $\frac{*|}{SMRP}$ . Valens and the *Securitas* type still predominate. Coinage in the precious metals is now confined to Treveri. It is, therefore, all the more surprising to find three gold multiples of Valens struck at Rome, which, as they have not been seen for Valentinian I, seem certainly to date from this period. On one of these he is styled *Max. Augustus*. This forms an excellent commentary on the statement of Eunapius, quoted by H. Schiller, 'dass Valens sich im Senat, trotz Gratians Widerspruch, die erste Stelle habe decretieren lassen'.

Gratian apparently visited Rome in A.D. 376. Possibly his (?) *solidus* (cast in B.M.) with reverse *Restitutor reipublicae* and mint-mark SMRB, known only for Gratian, dates from this visit. An eagle on the right of the reverse type may be a reference to the deification of his dead father.

#### GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), AND ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

Apart from some presentation pieces, among which I am inclined to include the excessively rare 'half-*siliqua*', the only issue in a precious metal is the *siliqua Urbs Roma* with mint-mark RXP (to €), which from its being struck in five *officinae* cannot be placed at the beginning of this period, and which from its very close resemblance to the *siliqua* issue of the next period seems to be rightly placed towards the end.

But there was a continuous output of *aes*, starting, as in other mints, both western and eastern, with types differentiated between the three emperors; less strictly, however, than in the mints outside Italy. They were struck in four *officinae*. The other bronze of this period was

\* Their representation in hoards is:

	R•PRIMA, &c.	SMϕRP, &c.
Valentinian I: <i>Glor.</i>	40	1
<i>Sec.</i>	325	27
Valens: <i>Glor.</i>	92	9
<i>Sec.</i>	891	103
Gratian: <i>Glor.</i>	1	2
<i>Sec.</i>	42	14
Valentinian II: <i>Glor.</i>	—	0
<i>Sec.</i>	—	2



struck in five: (1) the *Æ 2 Reparatio reipub.*, (2) *vot. xv mult. xx*, Gratian's *vota*, but struck also in the names of Valentinian II and Theodosius, (3) *Concordia Auggg.* As in (1) and (2) Valentinian appears with obverse legends (a) 'unbroken IVN' and (b) 'unbroken —', but in (3) with 'unbroken —' only, and as (3) is shown by the very rare specimens of Arcadius to have lasted till A.D. 383 in the East, we may infer that at Rome 'unbroken —' is the later style. It is the style also seen on his *siliqua Urbs Roma*.

With the *Concordia Auggg.* issue we find for the first time a departure from the convention by which West and East were united by a common bronze coinage—a convention initiated by Valentinian I at the division of the empire and intended by him as an assertion of the primacy of the West, which could impose its own bronze types on the mints of his brother. But times had changed with the emperors, and Theodosius, while striking his *Concordia Auggg.*, followed in all his eastern mints models other than those emanating from Gratian's Chancellory. When we find Rome following, not the unvarying western, but two of Theodosius' eastern models in every detail even to the signs in the field, her coins surely provide an illuminating commentary on the passages quoted above from Symmachus' letters.

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS;  
(usurpers) MAXIMUS, AND (later) VICTOR

A. *Before the invasion of Italy by Maximus*

At the very end of his life in A.D. 392 Valentinian II's obverse legend on Theodosius' bronze coinage was still the 'unbroken' style which he shared with Arcadius. On Valentinian's death, Arcadius received the 'broken' style, the 'unbroken' being now reserved to his younger brother. We shall not be surprised to find evidence in the Roman coinage that, as the danger from Maximus grew, the mint supported Theodosius' claim to a protectorate, in which in the end Valentinian himself is shown by his Aquileian coinage to have acquiesced.

It is not easy to mark the boundary line between the coinage of this period and that of the last. The *siliqua Urbs Roma* with mint-mark RP (to €), which by both obverse and reverse connects closely with the RXP issue, probably comes here. Arcadius is now included, and both the young Augusti have broken obverse legend. I have noted six specimens of Theodosius, one of Valentinian, and two of Arcadius. If Valentinian II continued, like Maximus, the *Æ 2 Reparatio reipub.*, he was still represented with unbroken legend. Later in this period, Valentinian recalls the *Æ 3 Gloria Romanorum* type of his father at all his four mints. There is no distinction in the obverse legends of the three

Augusti. Our most important evidence comes from the *Æ 4 Victoria Auggg.* In the 'Single Victory' type both young Augusti have regularly the undivided form; in the 'Two Victories' type, Valentinian has regularly the undivided, Arcadius regularly the divided form. Possibly the *Æ* multiple *Triumfator gent. barb.* (see nos. 32 and 52) may be contemporaneous with it. An extremely rare *Æ 3 Spes reipublicae* 'Emperor trampling on captive' has obverse, bust cuirassed, and gives unbroken legend to Valentinian II and Arcadius. The reverse legend and the cuirassed bust must have a special reference, but it seems impossible to determine what that is. This coin has been placed in the following period.

#### B. Coinage of Maximus and Victor

This is confined to an issue of the *Æ 4 Spes Romanorum* 'Campgate'. Victor is far less well represented in this at Rome than at Aquileia.

#### VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, AND ARCADIUS

It seems certain that Theodosius' plans for the future were that Honorius should have Valentinian II's central empire, so that his frontiers should be conterminous with those of his brother Arcadius in the East. But it seems equally certain that the realization of these plans was to be accomplished only by a gradual transference of loyalty from the one to the other; from the young prince, exiled to Gaul and cut off from all contact with his former subjects, to the boy who was taken by Theodosius to Rome and paraded in his triumphal processions for the victory over Maximus. Theoretically, Valentinian was restored to all his father's empire, and his suicide in A.D. 392 allowed the fiction to stand. There is no further need to stress on the western coinage Theodosius' claim to a protectorate which was now a reality admitted by all. It would be more politic to pretend that Theodosius had restored Valentinian II to independence. The new *Æ 4 Salus reipublicae* struck in all his own and Valentinian II's former mints shows clearly the limits within which Theodosius claimed to exercise authority, but it is noticeable that in the Italian mints, and in these alone, the two young Augusti are allowed the broken style of obverse legend.

Apart from this *Æ 4*, the coinage of this period at Rome must be only conjectural. There is an extremely rare *solidus Gloria Romanorum*, Rome and Constantinople seated, holding shield inscribed with *vota* numbers, mint-mark  $\frac{*}{\text{ROMOB}}$ . It is an imitation of an Antioch type struck for Valentinian I and Valens. Unique specimens are known for Valentinian II and Arcadius, and their respective *vota* figures would

be correct, if the coins were struck, as I think they were, in connexion with Theodosius' visit to Rome in A.D. 389. The portraiture of Arcadius is of the uncouth style peculiar to Rome at this time, that of Valentinian quite different, suggesting Constantinopolitan workmanship. The unique ROMOB of the mint-mark is a reversion to a style which at this time was still in use only in Constantinople. The very eccentricities of the coins are probably a proof of their genuineness. To this time also I am inclined to date the rare issue of *vota siliquae* with mint-mark RP (to Q). The figures X-XX given to all three emperors would then suit Arcadius alone whose first *quinquennium* had ended in January A.D. 388. Valentinian II and Theodosius had each already completed his *decennium* in November A.D. 385 and January A.D. 389 respectively. Theodosius' dynastic ambitions are clearly seen in much of his coinage and perhaps the extremely rare Æ 3 *Spes reipublicae*—a legend which recalls the traditional welcome to an heir of the imperial House—may refer to the hopes which, now that Maximus and Victor were removed, centred in his own sons. The martial character of the 'cuirassed' obverse and of the reverse type may typify the fighting of which the new hope is the result. The unbroken obverse legend of the two young Augusti shows them as in an equal relation of dependence on Theodosius; the limitation of the issue to Rome and its extreme scarcity suggest that it was struck for a special occasion, and the most likely occasion would be Theodosius' visit with his son Honorius to Rome in A.D. 389.

#### THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper), AND HONORIUS

Valentinian II died on 15 May A.D. 392 and on 22 August was succeeded by the usurper Eugenius. On 22 January A.D. 393 Honorius was elevated by his father to the rank of Augustus. In the spring of this year Eugenius occupied Italy and from then to the end of his reign on 6 September A.D. 394 the only type struck at Rome was his rare Æ 4 *Spes Romanorum*. The imitation of this in silver found only in the name of Theodosius is very suspect. Ulrich-Bansa thinks it is a Cigoi forgery.

Before the mint came into the possession of Eugenius it no doubt continued to strike the Æ 4 *Salus reipublicae* and included Honorius after his elevation. At Rome alone it persisted for some time after Theodosius' death. In its course Honorius' obverse legend varies between the extremely common *D.n. Onori-us p. f. Aug.* and the extremely rare *D.n. Honor-ius p. f. Aug.* and *D.n. Hono-ri Aug.* (paralleled only by *D.n. Arca-di Aug.* and so presumably post-Theodosian). The division *Honor-ius* is found with the Æ 3 *Urbs Roma felix* struck after

the defeat of Eugenius and continued for a time after the death of Theodosius, but the half-dozen specimens with this division (not one with legends and mint-mark complete) which I have seen at Richborough among the many hundreds of Honorius' *Salus reipublicae* type are too few to be regarded as distinctive of any of the periods into which I have divided my lists. Perhaps they are best placed in the two or three months which preceded Eugenius' invasion of Italy, but I feel sure that they do not fairly represent the total coinage then struck at Rome in honour of the new Augustus. I have, therefore, placed the two obverse varieties together, whenever the type occurs for Honorius during his father's lifetime, as I have no means of deciding the proper place of the hitherto unrecorded division *Honor-ius* with the 'Salus' type.

MINT-MARKS OF GLORIA RO-MANORUM (Nos. 15, 23, 27) AND SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE (Nos. 17, 24, 28)

FIRST PERIOD

No.	GLORIA RO-MANORUM		SECURITAS-REPUBLICAE	
	Valentinian I	Valens	Valentinian I	Valens
	No. 15 (a)	No. 15 (b)	No. 17 (a)	No. 17 (b)
i	SMRP	SMRP	SMRT	SMRP
ii		SMRB		SMRB
iii	SMRT	SMRT		SMRT
iv	SMRQ	SMRQ		SMRT
v	RP	RP	RP	RP
vi	RB	RB	RB	RB
vii	RT	RT	RT	RT
viii	RQ	RQ	RQ	RQ

v-viii. In the report on the Veszprém hoard Voetter gave Valentinian I (no. 15 (a)) all four mint-marks and also RE and RS, but I think these must be based on an indistinct RQ and RB.

? Begun in first and continued in second period

No.	GLORIA RO-MANORUM			SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE		
	Valentinian I Nos. 15 (a) and 23 (a)	Valens Nos. 15 (b) and 23 (b)	Gratian No. 23 (c)	Valentinian I Nos. 17 (a) and 24 (a)	Valens Nos. 17 (b) and 24 (b)	Gratian No. 24 (c)
ix (a)	R·PRIMA	R·PRIMA	RPRIMA	RPRIMA	RPRIMA	RPRIMA
ix (b)		R·PRIMA		R·PRIMA	R·PRIMA	R·PRIMA
x (a)		R·PRIMA R·SECVN DA	R·SECVN DA			R·SECVN DA
x (b)	R·SECVN DA	R·SECVN DA		R·SECVN DA	R·SECVN DA	R·SECVN DA
xi (a)		R·TERTIA	RTERTIA	RTERTIA		RTERTIA
xi (b)	R·TERTIA	R·TERTIA			R·TERTIA	R·TERTIA
xii (a)						R·QVARTA
xii (b)	R·QVARTA	R·QVARTA	R·QVARTA	R·QVARTA	R·QVARTA	R·QVARTA

Begun in second and continued in third period

No.	Valen- tinian I No. 23 (a)	Valens Nos. 23 (b) and 27 (a)	Gratian Nos. 23 (c) and 27 (b)	Valen- tinian II No. 27 (c)	Valen- tinian I No. 24 (a)	Valens Nos. 24 (b) and 28 (a)	Gratian Nos. 24 (c) and 28 (b)	Valen- tinian II No. 28 (c)
xiii	SMϕRP	SMϕRP	SMϕRP	SMϕRP	SMϕRP	SMϕRP		SMϕRP
xiv	SMϕRB	SMϕRB	SMϕRB	SMϕRB	SMϕRB	SMϕRB	SMϕRB	SMϕRB
xv		SMϕRT	SMϕRT	SMϕRT	SMϕRT	SMϕRT	SMϕRT	SMϕRT
xvi	SMϕRQ	SMϕRQ	SMϕRQ	SMϕRQ	SMϕRQ	SMϕRQ	SMϕRQ	SMϕRQ

THIRD PERIOD

No.	Valens No. 27 (a)	Gratian No. 27 (b)	Valentinian II No. 27 (c)	Valens No. 28 (a)	Gratian No. 28 (b)	Valentinian II No. 28 (c)
xvii	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRP}}$		$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRP}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRP}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRP}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRP}}$
xviii	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRB}}$		$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRB}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRB}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRB}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRB}}$
xix	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRT}}$		$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRT}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRT}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRT}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRT}}$
xx	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRQ}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRQ}}$		$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRQ}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRQ}}$	$\frac{\times}{\text{SMRQ}}$

ix (a)-xii (b). This issue is most common for Valens, especially in the *Securitas* type, and least common for Gratian. See p. 110.

xviii. 28 (b) has a variant  $\frac{\times}{\text{SMRS}}$  (B.M.).

xix. 28 (c) blundered *Securitas* (Ulrich-Bansa).

## MINT OF ROMA

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

*Emperors*: VALENTINIAN I and VALENS (from 28 March A.D. 364)Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALEN-S PF AVGObverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(F) Pearl-diademed and cuirassed, r.

## GOLD

*Multiple*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1	2 (A)	GLORI-A ROMA-NOR VM Two emperors, nim- bate, in ceremonial dress, seated facing on throne, their feet on footstools, each raising r. hand in bene- diction and holding globe in l.	R <sup>s</sup>	R N (?M)	C.17; Vienna

*Solidus*

2 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE Emperor stg. fac- ing, head r., holding <i>laba- rum</i> and Victory on globe.	R	<table style="border-collapse: collapse; margin-left: 20px;"> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">1</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">  ✱</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">SMRP'</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">2</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">  ✱</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">SMRT'</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">S</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">3</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">SMRP'</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">4</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">RP, 5 RT,</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">6</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">RQ,</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">7</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">RPR,</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">8</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">RTQ,</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">9</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">•RP ✱,</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">10</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">•RB ✱,</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">11</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">•RT ✱,</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">12</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">RP ✱,</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">13</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">RT ✱,</td></tr> <tr><td style="padding-right: 5px;">14</td><td style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">RQ ✱</td></tr> </table>	1	✱		SMRP'	2	✱		SMRT'		S	3	SMRP'	4	RP, 5 RT,	6	RQ,	7	RPR,	8	RTQ,	9	•RP ✱,	10	•RB ✱,	11	•RT ✱,	12	RP ✱,	13	RT ✱,	14	RQ ✱	C.28-9; 1, 2 Paris; 3, 9, 11, 13 B.M.; 4, 5 Milan; 6 Berlin; 7, 8, 12 Dort- mund; 10 Bement Cat., 25.6.1925, lot 423; 14 confirmation wanted
1	✱																																				
	SMRP'																																				
2	✱																																				
	SMRT'																																				
	S																																				
3	SMRP'																																				
4	RP, 5 RT,																																				
6	RQ,																																				
7	RPR,																																				
8	RTQ,																																				
9	•RP ✱,																																				
10	•RB ✱,																																				
11	•RT ✱,																																				
12	RP ✱,																																				
13	RT ✱,																																				
14	RQ ✱																																				

1. Cf. J. M. C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions*, p. 199. The N of the mint-mark (so read by Gnechci) is probably a badly formed M.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
2 (b)	1 (B)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2 (a).	R <sup>3</sup>	RP	Vienna
(c)	2 (A)	"	R	1 SMRQ, 2 $\frac{ }{\times}$ SMRB, 3 $\frac{ }{\times}$ SMRQ, 4 $\frac{ }{S}$ SMRT, 5 RP, 6 RBR, 7 RQR, 8 •RB*, 9 •RT*, 10 •RQ*, 11 RB*, 12 RQ*	C.32-3; 1 Munich; 2, 3 Copenhagen; 4, 8, 10, 11, 12 B.M.; 5 Ermitage, 6 Zagreb; 7 Vienna; 9 Berlin

Pl. VIII, 1

 $1\frac{1}{2}$  *Scripulum*

3	2 (A)	VICTORIA-AGVSTI ( <i>sic</i> ) Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>3</sup>	R	Not in C.; Vienna
4 (a)	1 (A)	VICTORIA-AVGSTI N As no. 3.	"	"	Not in C.; Bourgey Cat., 16.12.1913
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1 R, 2 $\frac{ }{\times}$ R•	Cf. C.57; 1 Vienna; 2 B.M.
5	1 (A)	VICTORIA - AVGVSTO RVM As no. 3.	"	•RQ	Not in C.; The Hague

Pl. VIII, 3

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

6 (a)	1 (F)	VICTORIA - AVGVST ORVM Victory advancing r., head l., dragging captive with r. hand and holding trophy in l.	R <sup>5</sup>	ROMA	C.50; Paris
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2 (a). Mint-marks SMRP, SMRT also seen by Cohen. With mint-mark 14, reverse blundered *reipublacre*, Glendining Sale, May 1941, lot 640.

2 (c). Mint-marks SMRB,  $\frac{|}{\times}$  SMRP also seen by Cohen.

4 (b). 1, 1.65 gm.; 2, 1.62 gm.

6 (a). 4.95 gm. The B.M. has a copy in *aes*.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
6 (b)	2 (F)	VICTORIA - AVGVST ORVM As no. 6 (a).	R <sup>s</sup>	RP	C.54 (from d'Ennery)
<i>Miliarensis</i> (light)					
Pl. VIII, 5	7 (a)	1 (F) RESTITV-TOR REIP Em- peror standing facing, head r., holding Victory on globe and <i>labarum</i> .	R <sup>4</sup>	RP	C.17; B.M.
	(b)	2 (F) " "	"	RQ	Cf. C.27; Ul- rich-Bansa (photo.)
Pl. VIII, 4	8 (a)	1 (A) VICTORIA - AVGVST ORVM Victory stg. r., l. foot on globe, writing VOT   V   MVLTV   X on shield.	R	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 RQ	C.51; 1-3 B.M.; 4 Oman Coll.
	(b)	2 (A) " "	"	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 RQ	C.60; 1 Berlin; 2-4 B.M.
<i>Argentus</i> (?)					
Pl. VIII, 16	9	2 (A) VICT DD NN AVGG Two Victories, holding up shield inscribed VOT   V.	R <sup>s</sup>	RQ	Not in C.; Weifert Coll.
<i>Siliqua</i>					
10 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V   MV•LT   X in wreath. (Rarely MVLTV.)	S, C	1 RB, 2 RT	C.70; 1, 2 B.M.
	(b)	" As 10 (a), but no dot in MVLTV.	S	RT	Pearce
	(c)	2 (A) As 10 (a).	S, C, S, S	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 RQ	C.91; 1-4 B.M.
	(d)	" As 10 (b).	S	1 RP, 2 RQ	1, 2 B.M.

7 (a). 4.5 gm. The Vatican has a copy in *aes*.

8 (a). Respective weights of 1, 2, 3; 4.58 gm., 4.0 gm., 4.4 gm.

8 (b). Respective weights of 1, 2, 3, 4; 4.33 gm., 4.32 gm., 4.17 gm., 4.57 gm.

9. From a cast which I took in Belgrade the coin seems to measure 19 mm.

10 (a) and (b). A manuscript note by Koblitz to Cohen, Valentinian I, 72 (VOT V MVLTVIS X) adds RT (Bachofen).

10 (c). Barbarous, *rev.* VOT | V | MVTV | X, mint-mark RXT. One specimen noted with MV•LT.



10 (d). Barbarous *obv.* DN VALE-NS PF AG occurs identically with reverses 10 (d), mint-mark RP, and 11 (b), mint-mark RQ.



No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
11 (a)	1 (A)	VRBS-ROMA Roma seated l. on throne, holding Victory on globe and reversed spear.	C, S, S	1 RP, 2 RT, 3 RQ	C.81; 1-3 B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	S, C	1 RP, 2 RQ	C.109; 1, 2 B.M.

## BRONZE

*Medallic Coins and Æ 1*

12 (a)	1 (A)	MONETA AVGG The three Monetae stg. facing, head l., each holding balance and cornucopiae.	R <sup>2</sup>	1  , 2 R	Not in C.; 1 Gneecchi; 2 Milan
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1  , 2 R, 3 RT, 4 RQ	C.21; 1, 2 Berlin; 3, 4 Paris
13	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVBLICAE Emperor, nimbate, stg. facing, head r., holding standard and Victory on globe.	R <sup>4</sup>	RP	C.30; Vatican
14 (a)	"	" As no. 13, but emperor not nimbate.	R	1 RP, 2 RT, 3 RQ	C.30; 1-3 Ulrich-Bansa
(b)	2 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	1 RP, 2 RT	C.39; 1 Ulrich-Bansa; 2 Pearce

*Aes III*

15 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., with r. hand dragging captive and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	R	See p. 114	C.12
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.11

11 (b). Semi-barbarous DN VALEN-S PER AVG, mint-mark RO (Pearce).

12. (a) The weights in Gneecchi range from 9.55 gm. to 15.7 gm.; (b) with mint-marks 1, 2, 4 the weights are respectively 7.68 gm., 8.5 gm., and 10 gm. In 12 (a) with mint-mark 2, one specimen noted with *rev.* legend MONETA A-VGG (Berlin).

13. A Paris specimen weighs 11.28 gm. Apparently only the 'medallic coins' show the emperor nimbate. I have not seen this variety for Valens.

14. (a) 1, 8.96 gm., 2 (holed), 7.97 gm., 3 (holed), 7.47 gm.; (b) 1, 9.08 gm., 2, 11.71 gm.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
16 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 13.	R	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 RQ	C.21; 1, 3 B.M.; 2 Co- penhagen; 4 Vienna
	(b) 2 (A)	„	R <sup>3</sup>	RQ	C.29; Copen- hagen
17 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS-REIPVBLIC AE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R	See p. 114	C.37
	(b) 2 (A)	„	S	„	C.47

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

Emperors: VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
(3) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG

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

### GOLD

#### *Solidus*

Pl. VIII, 2 18	3 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2, but with eagle at foot r., holding wreath in beak.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMRB	C.33; cast in B.M.
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### BRONZE

#### *Medallic Coins and Æ I*

19 (a)	1 (A)	MONETA AVGGG As no. 12.	R	1 R, 2 $\perp$	Cf. C.14; 1 Vienna; 2 Ulrich- Bansa
	(b) 2 (A)	„	„	1 RT, 2 RQ	C.22; 1 Turin; 2 Gotha
20 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2.	„	1 RP, 2 RT, 3 RQ	C.30; 1-3 B.M.

16 (a). There are two modules. My own specimens show (a) 19 mm., 2.8 gm.; (b) 16 mm., 2.6 gm.

19. (a) 1, 11.25 gm., 2, 8.65 gm.; (b) 1, 9.6 gm. 19 (a) 2 has *obv.* identity with Gnecci, ii, pl. 140, 2, 3 (*Moneta Augg.*).

20 (a). 1, 7.8 gm., 2, 8.4 gm., 3, 6.96 gm.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
20(b)	2 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 RP, 2 RB	C.39; 1 Vienna; 2 Hirsch Cat., 9.11.1910, lot 1509
(c)	3 (A)	„	R <sup>4</sup>	RP	Not in C.; Vatican <i>Pl. VIII, 8</i>
21	2 (A)	VICTORIA-AVGGG As no. 3.	R	„	C.55; Ulrich- Bansa
22(a)	1 (A)	VRBS-ROMA Roma seated l. on throne, holding Vic- tory on globe and reversed spear.	„	└	C.83; Pearce
(b)	2 (A)	„	„	„	Not in C.; Paris
(c)	3 (A)	„	„	1 └, 2 RQ	Not in C.; 1 Vierordt Coll.; 2 Dresden

*Aes III*

23(a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 15.	C	See p. 115	C.12
(b)	2 (A)	„	C <sup>2</sup>	„	C.11
(c)	3 (A)	„	R	„	C.23
24(a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS-REIPVBLIC AE As no. 17.	C	„	C.37
(b)	2 (A)	„	C <sup>2</sup>	„	C.47
(c)	3 (A)	„	S	„	C.34

- 20 (c). 11.0 gm.; this has *rev.* identity with 20 (b).  
 21. This has *obv.* identity with 20 (b), mint-mark RP.  
 22 (a). 14.2 gm.

THIRD PERIOD: 17 NOV. A.D. 375-9 AUG. A.D. 378

*Emperors: VALENS, GRATIAN, and VALENTINIAN II*

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
 (1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENS-MAX AVGVSTVS  
 (2) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN VALENTINIA-NVS IVN PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.  
 (H) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., raising r. hand and holding Victory on globe in l.

## GOLD

*Multiple*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
25	1 <sup>b</sup> (H)	DN VALENS VICTOR SEMPER AVG Emperor, nimbate, stg. facing in six- horsed chariot, raising r. hand and holding globe in l., Victories r. and l. offer him wreaths.	R <sup>5</sup>	R—M	C.1; Vienna
26	1 <sup>b</sup> (E)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Roma seated l., hold- ing Victory on globe and sceptre; her l. foot on prow.	R <sup>4</sup>	ROMA	C.6; Vienna

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

27 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 23.	C	See p. 115	C.11
(b)	2 (A)	”	S	”	C.23
(c)	3 (A)	”	R	”	C.24
28 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 24.	C <sup>2</sup>	”	C.47
(b)	2 (A)	”	C	”	C.34
(c)	3 (A)	”	S	”	Cf. C.32

25. Between the two letters in the exergue are five objects—'indeterminate', Cohen says. Perhaps they are laurel leaves and wreaths flanking a money-chest. The type is imitated from a medallion of Constantius II (Gnechi, i, pls. 10, 8; 11, 1). Wt. (including setting) 215.47 gm.

*Aes IV* (c. 13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
29	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTORIA-AVGGG As no. 3.	R <sup>4</sup>	—	C.56
30	2 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 3.	”	”	Not in C.; Pearce
31 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTORIA - AVGVST ORVM As no. 3.	”	”	Not in C.; Copenhagen
(b)	2 (A)	”	”	”	Not in C.; Vienna

Pl. VIII, 15

## FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

Emperors: GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>c</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG

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

(1) Helmeted and cuirassed, r., holding sceptre surmounted by ✠ and shield.

## SILVER

*Multiple*

32	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	TRIVMFATOR - GENT BARB Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding <i>labarum</i> and globe; at foot, l., a crouching captive.	R <sup>5</sup>	RP	C.35; Milan
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*Miliarensis* (heavy)

33 (a)	1 (A)	VICTORIA - AVGVST ORVM As no. 6.	R <sup>4</sup>	RT	Not in C. Berlin
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29, 30, 31. These well-struck little pieces do not seem to have been primarily intended for currency, although the frequent halving of the *aes* 3 of this time suggests that a need for an *aes* 4 was felt. It is probable that they and the equally rare 'half-siliqua' were struck for distribution as *sportulae* to various sections of the population. My only reason for placing them here is that I have seen no companion piece for Valentinian I.

32. 12.0 gm. = 3 light *miliarensia*. I have ventured to separate this from a similar issue (nos. 52 (a) and (b)) in the names of Theodosius and Arcadius on account of the undivided form of Valentinian's name.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
33(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA - AVGVST ORVM As no. 6.	R <sup>4</sup>	RE	Not in C.; Milan
<i>Pl. VIII, 6</i>	(c) 2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	RP	B.M.
<i>Pl. VIII, 7</i>	(d) 3 (A)	"	"	RE	Not in C.; Hirsch Cat., 3.10.1934, lot 1980

*Miliarensis* (light)

34(a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding standard in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 RP, 2 RQ, 3 RE	C.52; 1 Glen- dining Sale, 6.3.1943; 2 Hunterian; 3 Gneecchi
<i>Pl. VIII, 19</i>	(b) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 RB, 2 RQ, 3 RE	C.58; 1 Chapman; 2 Hunterian; 3 Berlin
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	1 RT, 2 RE	C.55; 1 Berlin; 2 Copenhagen

*Siliqua*

35(a)	1 (A)	VRBS-ROMA As no. 11.	C	1 R*P, 2 R*B, 3 R*T, 4 R*Q, 5 R*E	C.85; 1-5 B.M.
	(b) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	S	1 R*P, 2 R*B, 3 R*Q, 4 R*E	Not in C.; 1, 2, 4 B.M.; 3 Vienna
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	1 R*P, 2 R*B, 3 R*T, 4 R*Q, 5 R*E	C.71; 1-5 Vienna

*Half-siliqua*

36(a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 3.	R <sup>4</sup>	RB	Not in C.; O.U.C.
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33. (b) 5.0 gm.; (c) 5.15 gm.; (d) 5.18 gm.

34. (a) mint-mark 2, 4.0 gm.; (b) mint-mark 3, 4.25 gm.

36 (a). 1.14 gm.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
36(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 3.	R <sup>4</sup>	RP	C.42; O.U.C.
(c)	3 (A)	„	R <sup>5</sup>	?RP	Not in C.; Vienna

## BRONZE

*Medallic Coins and Æ I*

37	2 <sup>b</sup> (I)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Rome seated l. on oval shield, holding Victory on globe and ?spear; shield at side of throne.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMRQ	Cf. C.75; B.M. <i>Pl. VII, 20</i>
38(a)	1 (A)	MONETA AVGG As no. 12.	„	┌	Not in C.; The Hague
	(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	„	Not in C.; The Hague
39	„	VICTORIA AVGGG As no. 21.	„	„	C.43; Paris <i>Pl. VII, 19</i>
40	1 (A)	VICTORIA - AVGVST ORVM As no. 21.	„	RT	Not in C.; Gnecchi ii, pl. 140, 9
41	3 (A)	VIRTVS-AVGSTORVM As no. 34.	„	┌	C.52; Vatican
42(a)	1 (A)	VRBS-ROMA As no. 35, but with shield by the side of the throne.	„	1 RP, 2 RT, 3 RQ, 4 ┌	C.88; 1 B.M.; <i>Pl. VIII, 9</i> 2 Vienna; 3 The Hague; 4 Ulrich-Bansa
	(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	┌	C.79; Weber Cat., 1909, no. 2769

*Aes II*

43(a)	1 (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB Emperor stg. facing, head l., with r. hand raising kneeling turreted woman and holding Victory on globe in l.	C	1 SMRP, 2 SMRB, 3 SMRT, 4 SMRQ, 5 SMRE	C.30; 1-5 B.M.
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36 (b). 0.875 gm.

37. The Hague specimen weighs 4.7 gm.

38. (a) 10.3 gm.; (b) 8.4 gm.

42. (a) 1, 11.04 gm.; 2, 12.7 gm., 8.5 gm.; 3, 10.6 gm. *Obv.* identity noted with mint-marks RT and ┌.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
43(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB As no. 43 (a).	C	1 SMRP, 2 SMRB, 3 SMRT, 4 SMRQ, 5 SMRE	C.26; 1, 3 B.M.; 2 Munich; 4 Budapest; 5 confirmation wanted
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 SMRP, 2 SMRB, 3 SMRT, 4 SMRQ, 5 SMRE	C.28; 1, 3, 4, 5 Zagreb; 2 B.M.
(d)	3 (A)	"	"	1 SMRP, 2 SMRB, 3 SMRT, 4 SMRQ, 5 SMRE	C.27; 1-4 B.M.; 5 Budapest
44	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Vic- tory stg. r., l. foot on globe, writing VOT   X   MVLT   XX on shield.	R <sup>5</sup>	RP	C.38; O.U.C.

*Aes III*

45(a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Constantinopolis turreted, seated facing, head r., on throne, r. foot on prow, holding in r. hand reversed spear and resting l. on knee.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMRP	Cf. C.4; Vienna
(b)	3 (A)	"	R	1 SMRB, 2 SMRT, 3 SMRQ	C.6; 1 Pearce; 2 Vienna; 3 Paris
46(a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Roma seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and partly seen spear; r. leg bare.	S	1 SMRB, 2 SMRT, 3 SMRQ, 4 $\frac{ }{ }{\text{O}}$ SMRP, 5 $\frac{ }{ }{\text{O}}$ SMRB, 6 $\frac{ }{ }{\text{O}}$ SMRQ, 7 $\frac{ }{ }{\text{O}}$ SMRE	C.3; 1, 7 B.M.; 3 Zagreb; 4 The Hague; 5 Rome; 6 Copenhagen; 2 confirma- tion wanted

44. This is a *miliarensis* type struck in Æ: cf. no. 8.



No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
46 (b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG As no. 46 (a).	S	1 SMRT, 2 $\frac{O}{SMRP}$ , 3 $\frac{O}{SMRB}$ , 4 $\frac{O}{SMRT}$ , 5 $\frac{O}{SMRQ}$ , 6 $\frac{O}{SMRE}$	C.9; 1 Pearce; 2 Budapest; 3, 6 Vienna; 4, 5 B.M.
(c)	3 (A)	”	”	1 $\frac{O}{SMRP}$ , 2 $\frac{O}{SMRB}$ , 3 $\frac{O}{SMRT}$ , 4 $\frac{O}{SMRQ}$ , 5 $\frac{O}{SMRE}$	C.14; 1 Co- penhagen; 2, 3, 5 Vienna; 4 B.M.
47 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Constantinopolis seated fac- ing, head r., on throne, r. foot on prow; holding part- ly seen spear and globe; r. leg bare.	R	$\frac{O}{SMRE}$	Cf. C.4; Pearce
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	R <sup>2</sup>	1 $\frac{O}{SMRP}$ , 2 $\frac{O}{SMRT}$	Not in C.; 1, 2 Vienna
(c)	3 (A)	”	S	1 $\frac{O}{SMRB}$ , 2 $\frac{O}{SMRE}$	C.5; 1 B.M.; 2 Pearce
48 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 3.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 SMRB, 2 SMRT, 3 SMRQ	C.41; 1 Munich; 2 Rome; 3 Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	S	1 SMRB, 2 SMRQ	C.45; 1, 2 Pearce
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	”	1 SMRB, 2 SMRT, 3 SMRQ	Not in C.; 1 Vienna; 2 Vatican; 3 Pearce

46 (c). In one specimen, noted with mint-mark 1, the spear is wholly shown.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
48(d)	3 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 3.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMRP, 2 SMRT	Not in C.; 1 Vienna; 2 Copenhagen
49	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO - MANOR VM Rome seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear.	R	1 SMRP, 2 SMRB, 3 SMRT, 4 SMRQ	C.57; 1 Vienna; 2 Pearce; 3 Ulrich- Bansa; 4 Copenhagen

*Aes IV* (larger module, 14-16 mm.)

50	3 (A)	VOT   X   MVL   XX in wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMRP	C. 68; Rich- borough
51(a)	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVL (or MV•LT) XX in wreath.	S	1 SMRP, 2 SMRB, 3 SMRT, 4 SMRQ	C.57; 1 Pearce; 2 B.M.; 3, 4 Berlin
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	”	1 SMRP, 2 SMRB, 3 SMRT, 4 SMRE	C.74; 1 B.M.; 2 Pearce; 3 Vatican; 4 Richborough
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	”	1 SMRB, 2 SMRT, 3 SMRQ, 4 SMRE	Not in C.; 1 Zagreb; 2, 3 B.M.; 4 Pearce
(d)	3 (A)	”	”	1 SMRP, 2 SMRB, 3 SMRT, 4 SMRQ	Not in C.; 1, 4 Pearce; 2 B.M.; 3 Vienna

51. (a) MV•LT noted with mint-marks 2, 4; (b) with mint-mark 1; (d) with mint-marks 2, 3, 4; one of these (? 4) has also •XX•.

## FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

*Emperors*: VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS;  
(usurpers) MAXIMUS and VICTOR (from late in the period)

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>c</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(4) DN MAG MA-XIMVS PF AVG  
(5) DN FL VIC-TOR PF AVG

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

## I. 25 Aug. A.D. 383-summer of A.D. 387

## SILVER

*Multiple*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
52 (a)	2 (A)	TRIVMFATOR - GENT BARB As no. 32.	R <sup>+</sup>	RT	C.34; Vienna
	(b) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	RE	S.4; Vienna

*Siliqua*

53 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VRBS-ROMA As no. 11.	R <sup>3</sup>	RT	Not in C.; Vienna
	(b) 2 (A)	"	R	1 RP, 2 RT, 3 RQ, 4 RE	C.71; 1-4 Vienna
53 (c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	RE	Cf. S.26; Vienna

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## BRONZE

*Aes II*

54	4 (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB As no. 43.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMR	C.3; see note below
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52 (a). See no. 32 n. and Introduction, p. 112. (b) Tolstoi, no. 50, apparently attributes this to Ravenna. He gives this type with Arcadius rosette-diademed as also struck in Æ (Tolstoi, no. 72).

54. My reference is Alföldi, *Der Untergang*, &c., p. 56. Koblitz also gives the type to Maximus from Rome. When Maximus himself held the Rome mint, he had already ceased to strike this type. The coin, then, must have been struck while the mint still belonged to Valentinian II, but as he appears only with the unbroken form of obverse legend on this type, I hesitate to include him here. However, Rome had no love for the House of Valentinian I, and had no great regard for the orders of its Chancellery. It may well have struck on its own initiative for the supplanter of the unpopular Gratian, and, if striking for Valentinian on orders from the

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
55 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 15.	R	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RQ, 4 RE	C.23; 1-4 Zagreb
	(b) 2 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 R∅P, 5 R∅Q	C.23; 1 Hollschek; 2 Ermitage; 3 B.M.; 4 Zagreb; 5 Munich
	(c) 3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 R∅P, 5 R∅Q, 6 R∅E	S.36; 1, 2, 4 Vienna; 3 B.M.; 5 Ulrich- Bansa; 6 Bonn
PL.VIII,17	(d) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	1 RP, 2 R∅Q	1 Vienna; 2 Ulrich- Bansa

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

56 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTOR - IA AVGGG Victory advancing l., hold- ing wreath and palm.	R <sup>3</sup>	RT	C.46; B.M.
	(b) 1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	1 RB, 2 RQ	1 Ulrich- Bansa; 2 Capitoline Museum
	(c) 2 (A)	"	R	1 RP, 2 RT, 3 RQ	C.41; 1 Vienna; 2, 3 B.M.
	(d) 3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	1 RP, 2 RT, 3 RE	Not in S.; 1 Vienna; 2 Pearce; 3 Richborough
57 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTORIA AVGGG Two Victories, facing each other, each holding wreath and palm.	S	1 RB, 2 RT, 3 $\frac{\cdot}{RB}$ , 4 $\frac{\cdot}{RB}$ , 5 $\frac{\cdot}{RQ}$ , 6 $\frac{\cdot}{R\emptyset P}$	Not in C.; 1, 3 Rich- borough; 2, 4, 6 B.M.; 5 Milan
	(b) 1 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	1 $\frac{\cdot}{RB}$ , 2 $\frac{\cdot}{RT}$ , 3 $\frac{\cdot}{RE}$	1 B.M.; 2 Vienna; 3 Vatican

Chancellery, may have chosen, in the interest of Theodosius, to emphasize his 'juniority'.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
57 (c)	2 (A)	VICTORIA AVGGG As no. 57 (a).	S	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RP'} \end{array}$ 2 $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RB'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RT'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RQ'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RE'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RP'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RB'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RT'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RQ'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RE'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{R\phi B} \end{array}$	C.43; 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 9, 11 B.M.; 4 Vatican; 7 Copenhagen; 8, 10 Pearce
(d)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R <sup>3</sup>	1 RT, 2 RQ	Not in S.; 1 Rich- borough; 2 Ulrich-Bansa
(e)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	S	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RT} \end{array}$ , 2 $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RP'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RT'} \end{array}$ , 4 $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RE'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{R\phi P'} \end{array}$ $\cdot$ $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{R\phi B} \end{array}$	1, 6 Pearce; 2, 4 Zagreb; 3, 5 B.M.
58	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	RP	Not in S.; Richborough

II. Summer of A.D. 387-28 Aug. A.D. 388

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

59	4 (A)	SPES RO-MA-NORVM Camp-gate with star be- tween its two turrets.	R	$\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RP} \end{array}$ , 2 $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RB} \end{array}$ , $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RT} \end{array}$ , 4 $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RQ} \end{array}$ , $\begin{array}{c} \cdot \\ \overline{RE} \end{array}$	C.7; 1-5 Ul- rich-Bansa
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SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388-6 SEPT. A.D. 394

Emperors: VALENTINIAN II (till 15 May 392), THEODOSIUS,  
ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper, from 22 Aug. A.D. 392),  
and HONORIUS (from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTIN-IANVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>c</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(4) DN EVGENI-VS PF AVG  
(5<sup>a</sup>) DN HONOR-IVS PF AVG  
(5<sup>b</sup>) DN ONORI-VS PF AVG

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

I. 28 Aug. A.D. 388-spring of A.D. 393

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
PL.VIII,11 60	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	GLORIA-R <del>X</del> O-MANO RVM Roma and Constanti- nopolis, both helmeted, seated facing, Constanti- nopolis' head l., holding up shield inscribed VOT   X   MVL   XX; both hold- ing sceptre in l. hand; Constantinopolis' l. foot on prow.	R <sup>5</sup>	ROMOB	Not in S.; Budapest
61	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	As no. 60, but shield in- scribed VOT   XV   MVL   XX.	"	"	Not in C.; Parma

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

PL.VIII,13 62 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   X   MV•LT   XX in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	RB	Cf. C 71; B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	R	1 RB, 2 RT, 3 RQ	C.67; 1, 3 Pearce; 2 B.M.
(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	RT	Not in S.; Budapest

60, 61. On the eastern affinities of this issue see Introduction, p. 112.

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
63(a)	1 <sup>c</sup> (F)	SPES REI - PVBLICAE Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and globe; r. foot on captive.	R <sup>4</sup>	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 RQ, 5 RE	Not in C.; 1-5 Belgrade
	(b) 2 (F)	"	"	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 RQ, 5 RE	Not in C.; <i>Pl. VIII, 12</i> 1-5 Belgrade
	(c) 3 <sup>a</sup> (F)	"	"	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 RQ 5 RE	Not in S.; 1-5 Belgrade

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

64(a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	SALVS REI - PVBLICAE Victory advancing l., with r. hand carrying trophy on shoulder, with l. dragging captive. In l. field, ♀.	C	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 R·P, 5 R·B	Cf. C.30; 1, 4, 5 B.M.; 2 Pearce; 3 Weymouth hoard
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 RQ, 5 RE, 6 R·P, 7 R·T, 8 R·Q	C.30; 1, 8 B.M.; 2-4 Richborough; 5-7 Pearce
	(c) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 RQ, 2 RE, 3 R·P, 4 R·E	S.41; 1, 2 Weymouth hoard; 3 B.M.; 4 Richborough
	(d) 5 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	1 RB(?), 2 RE(?), 3 R	C.32; 1-3 Richborough

63. I owe most of these mint-marks—all those of Arcadius—to the late Dr. G. Elmer who noted them in the Viminacium hoard at Belgrade: 'Im Fund von Viminacium sind von Valentinianus II, Theodosius und Arcadius sämtliche Offizinen vertreten. Vs. immer Panzer. Valentinianus und Arcadius ungebrochene Legende.'

64. The mint-marks given here must be taken as applying to all the periods during which this type was struck at Rome. See Introduction, *ad fin.* I have no doubt that the vast majority of 'illegible' Æ 4 recorded in hoards are of this type and of Honorius.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
64 (e)	5 <sup>b</sup> (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 64 (a).	C <sup>3</sup>	1 RP, 2 RB, 3 RT, 4 RQ, 5 RE, 6 R·P, 7 R·T	1-5 B.M.; 6 Vienna; 7 Weymouth hoard

II. Spring of A.D. 393-6 Sept. A.D. 394

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

65 (a)	2 (A)	SPES RO-MANORVM Victory advancing l., hold- ing wreath and palm.	R <sup>5</sup>	RB	Not in C.; Vienna
(b)	4 (A)	„	R <sup>4</sup>	1 RP, 2 [R]Q, 3 [R]E	C.5; 1, 2 Rich- borough; 3 <i>N. C.</i> , 1930, p. 280

SEVENTH PERIOD: 6 SEPT. A.D. 394-17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors*: THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, and HONORIUS

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN HONORI-VS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN HONOR-IVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>c</sup>) DN ONORI-VS PF AVG

(The three varieties of Honorius' obverse legend all occur in one or other of his types, nos. 67-9, which were continued after his father's death. They cannot all necessarily be dated to our present period.)

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

## SILVER

*Half-siliqua*

66	1 (A)	SPES RO-MANORVM As no. 65.	R <sup>4</sup>	1 RP, 2 RE	C.32; 1, 2 Berlin
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65 (a). Ulrich-Bansa thinks this to be a copy in *aes* of no. 66, which he suspects of being a forgery by Cigoi.



## BRONZE

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
67 (a)	1 (A)	VRBS RO - MA FELIX Roma stg. facing, head r., holding spear with trophy attached and Victory on globe. Shield at foot.	R	$\frac{\text{OF   P}}{\text{SMROM'}}$ $\frac{\text{OF   T}}{\text{SMROM'}}$ $\frac{\text{OF   Q}}{\text{SMROM'}}$ $\frac{\text{OF   E}}{\text{SMROM'}}$	Cf. C.73; 1-4 Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	R <sup>2</sup>	$\frac{\text{OF   E}}{\text{SMROM}}$	S.42; Pearce
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	S	$\frac{\text{OF   P}}{\text{SMROM'}}$ $\frac{\text{OF   B}}{\text{SMROM'}}$ $\frac{\text{OF   T}}{\text{SMROM'}}$ $\frac{\text{OF   Q}}{\text{SMROM'}}$ $\frac{\text{OF   E}}{\text{SMROM'}}$	1-5 Ulrich- Bansa
(d)	2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	”	R	$\frac{\text{OF   S}}{\text{SMROM}}$	Pearce
(e)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	”	$\frac{\text{[O]   T}}{\text{SMROM}}$	C.72; Berlin
(f)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	S	$\frac{\text{OF   P}}{\text{SMROM'}}$ $\frac{\text{OF   B}}{\text{SMROM'}}$ $\frac{\text{OF   T}}{\text{SMROM'}}$ $\frac{\text{OF   Q}}{\text{SMROM'}}$ $\frac{\text{OF   E}}{\text{SMROM'}}$	1-5 Ulrich- Bansa

67. The Roma nicephorus of this coin has a direct reference to the victory over Eugenius (Laffranchi).

67 (d) and 68 (d) and (f). 'Rosette-diadem' here includes square stones, round stones set in squares, and round stones set (apparently) in the ordinary pearl-diadem.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
68 (a)	1 (A)	VRBS RO-MA FELIX As no. 67, but Roma's head turned to the front.	R	OF   Q SMROM	Cf. C.74; Pearce
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R <sup>2</sup>	OF   E SMROM	Cf. S.42; Ulrich-Bansa
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	R	OF   P <sup>1</sup> SMROM' OF   S <sup>2</sup> SMROM' OF   E <sup>3</sup> SMROM	1-3 Ulrich-Bansa
(d)	2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	„	R <sup>2</sup>	OF   S SMROM	Pearce
(e)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	R	OF   P <sup>1</sup> SMROM' OF   S <sup>2</sup> SMROM OF   T <sup>3</sup> SMROM' OF   Q <sup>4</sup> SMROM	C.72; 1-4 Ulrich-Bansa
<i>Pl.VIII,18</i>	(f)	3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	R <sup>2</sup>	OF   P <sup>1</sup> SMROM' OF   S <sup>2</sup> SMROM	1, 2 Ulrich-Bansa

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

69	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 64.	C	(See note on no. 64.)
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68 (d) and (f). See note on 67 (d).

## SISCIA

## VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

A SEMI-BARBAROUS *Restitutor siliqua* and rare Æ 3 with the *Restitutor* type of the module which immediately preceded the vast issue of the Æ 3 *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae* are the earliest coins struck in Valentinian's or Valens' name at Siscia. Apparently the mint was re-opened only just before that of Sirmium was closed, but I can find no evidence in the portraiture of a transference of moneys from the latter to the former mint. The absence of companion coins of Gratian leads me to place the *N* and *R*, nos. 1, 2, and 3 here. The *solidus Salus reip.* was struck also at Thessalonica where it is accompanied by a '*Fest-aureus*'. Perhaps these issues are connected with imperial visits, of which we have no record, during Valentinian's progress westward.

About three-eighths of the Æ 3 *Gloria* and *Securitas* types, which were struck continuously here from A.D. 365 to A.D. 376, fall within *this period*.

## VALENTINIAN, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

In A.D. 368, the year following Gratian's accession, fell the celebration of the senior emperors' *quinquennium*. This seems to be unnoticed on the Siscian, as on the Thessalonican coinage. But vows for the second *quinquennium* appear on rare *siliquae* of the senior emperors, and as they are accompanied by the *siliqua* *Vot. v mult. x* of Gratian, this issue must be dated to the taking of the new vows by Valentinian at the beginning of the second *quinquennium* in February A.D. 369. There is no further issue in the precious metals until after the completion of the second *quinquennium* in A.D. 374, when *miliarensia* *Votis xv multis xx* were struck for Valentinian and Valens, and *siliquae* with the same legend for all three emperors. Valentinian's coin, however, still remains to be found; Gratian's, in accordance with the common usage of this time, 'borrows' his elder colleagues' reverse. Gratian's unbroken obverse legend shows that his father was still living. The light *miliarensis* *Virtus exercitus* with mint-mark ·SISCP was also struck now, for all three emperors, Gratian still having unbroken obverse legend. (Gnecchi's illustration, Pl. 35, 17, which shows him with broken legend, has exchanged obverses with his Pl. 35, 19.)

Meanwhile there has been no interruption to the Æ 3 issue throughout this period. Its stages can be seen in the table, pp. 140-4. The letters and signs in the field have not yet been explained; they are very complicated, and an added complication is the extra letter at

the end of the mint-mark in the later portion of the issue. S and (much less common) K seem to be confined to Valentinian I; E and A to Valens and Gratian; V, P, and R are found for all emperors. In the later portion of the issue there is also a very strict differentiation of *officina* letters between emperors. Valentinian has B for *Gloria*, Γ for *Securitas*; Valens A for *Securitas*, Gratian Δ for *Gloria*. Gratian's *obv.* legend appears to be unbroken until just before the end of his father's reign.

#### VALENS, GRATIAN, AND VALENTINIAN II

After one more issue, in which the letter C is added to the exergual mint-name, the *Gloria* and *Securitas* Æ 3 types come to an end.

The earliest silver of this period continues the mint-mark  $\frac{*}{\text{SISCP}}$ .

It is the *vota siliqua* of Gratian with the figures X-XX, struck probably just before the completion of his *decennium* in August A.D. 377. The rare *siliqua Victoria Auggg.* of Valentinian II with mint-mark SISCP must be earlier than the rest of the silver of this period which has mint-mark SISCPS (or S). With this we find heavy *miliarensia* of Valens and Gratian, and *siliquae* of all three emperors,\* with the *vota* figures XV-XX. They were probably struck at the taking of new *vota* by Gratian after the completion of his *decennium*. Connected by mint-mark is the very rare *siliqua Urbs Roma*, on which Rome is seated on a chair of unusual form; that on one of my specimens (casts) might be mistaken for a cuirass. This is found for all three emperors.

#### GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), AND ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

Throughout the last period Valentinian II's obverse legend has been 'unbroken without IVN'. The change to 'unbroken IVN' during this period gives useful help in settling the order of issues. The mint shows little activity for some months after Valens' death. The differentiated types struck by Gratian after Theodosius' co-optation seems to be represented from Siscia only by Gratian's own *Virtus Romanorum* type, seen in a single specimen, with mint-mark SISC. Probably the confusion caused by the Gothic inroad is an adequate explanation, and the Siscian mint was depleted for a time by the withdrawal of much of its *personnel* to Sirmium, a more convenient centre for the campaign which Theodosius was to undertake.

Later in this period Siscia is very active. It strikes *miliarensia*, *siliquae*, and bronze in all three denominations. The silver is dated by

\* A specimen at Vienna has the *obv.* portrait of Valentinian I and must obviously be a hybrid.

the *vota* figures XV–XX for Gratian, V–X for both Valentinian II and Theodosius. As we find on the Æ 4 *vota* coins not only these figures but X–XX as well, we may assume that the silver issue is to be dated before, the bronze issue after, the completion of Valentinian II's *quinquennium* in Nov. A.D. 380. The bronze issues are clearly distinguished by the progressive system of mint-marks; e.g. for *officina* A; (1) ASISC, (2) ASISC, (3) ✕ASISC, (4) ✕ASISC.

On the silver, Valentinian II's obverse legend is the earlier 'unbroken —'. On his Æ 2 *Reparatio reipub.* it is, throughout, the later 'unbroken IVN'. On his Æ 3 *Concordia Auggg.* and his Æ 4 *vota* coins it is both 'unbroken —' and 'unbroken IVN' with mint-mark (1) (by far the most common), but only 'unbroken IVN' with mint-marks (2), (3), and (4). Apparently, then, the Æ 2 began to be struck only when mint-mark (1) had already been for some time in use on the Æ 3 and Æ 4. But the Æ 4 includes three sets of *vota* figures respectively appropriate to the three Augusti and X–XX is appropriate to Valentinian II alone, and only after the completion of his *quinquennium* in Nov. A.D. 380. This gives us a *terminus post quem* for the renewed activity, on a large scale, of the Siscian mint. Each emperor's obverse occurs with each of his colleagues' *vota* figures, except that I have not yet found Gratian with *vota* X–XX; nor Valentinian with XV–XX. Gratian is common with XV–XX and Theodosius with V–X; X–XX seems to be shared fairly equally by Valentinian and Theodosius.

#### VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, AND (usurpers) MAXIMUS AND VICTOR

##### A. *Temporary occupation of the mint by Theodosius*

Early in A.D. 383 Theodosius struck at all his mints new Æ 2 and Æ 4 types in the names of Gratian, Valentinian II, himself and his wife Flaccilla, and Arcadius. These now appear in rare specimens from Siscia, in abundance from Thessalonica, except that Gratian's name and *vota* figures are absent. There is one point of difference in this post-Gratian issue from Theodosius' own and from Valentinian's mints, viz. that in the former the letter T or T appears in the field of the Æ 2, but not in the latter.

##### B. *After the restoration of the mint to Valentinian II*

The occupation by Theodosius was ended after the *entente* reached by him with Maximus in the autumn of A.D. 384. His next bronze issue was confined to his own eastern mints; in it he includes Maximus, and, for the first and only time, gives Valentinian II the broken form of obverse legend universal at the latter part of the fourth century for an independent sovereign.

Valentinian strikes two types at Siscia after the restoration to him of his Illyrican mints, the  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Victoria Auggg.* 'Single Victory' and the  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Gloria Romanorum*. In the former he himself has always the broken form of obverse legend, while Arcadius has usually the unbroken, and only towards the end of the issue, the broken, form. This change may have been due to pressure from Theodosius. The  $\text{Æ} 4$  is of the reduced module introduced by Theodosius. The  $\text{Æ} 3$  gives both young Augusti the divided form of obverse legend, and must be the later issue; Siscia does not share in the  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Victoria Auggg.* 'Two Victories', which was probably in progress at the time of Maximus' invasion of Italy. We can only guess at the sudden closing of the mint. It may well be due to movements of barbarians, of which we have no record.

MINT-MARKS OF GLORIA RO-MANORUM (Nos. 5, 14, 21) AND SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE (Nos. 7, 15, 22)

FIRST PERIOD

	GLORIA RO-MANORUM		SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE	
	Valentinian I No. 5 (a)	Valens No. 5 (b)	Valentinian I No. 7 (a)	Valens No. 7 (b)
i	ASISC (B)	BSISC (A)	ASISC (B)	BSISC (A)
ii	·ΓSISC (A, B)	·BSISC (A, Γ)	·ΔSISC (A, Γ)	·ASISC (Γ, Δ)
iii	⌘ΓSISC (Δ)	⌘BSISC	⌘ΔSISC (A)	⌘ASISC
iv	DΓSISC * A	DBSISC (A) * A	DΔSISC * A	DASISC * A
v	·ΓSISC * A	·BSISC	·ΔSISC (A)	·ASISC * A
vi	ΓSISC * A	* A	* A	ASISC * A
vii	DΓSISC * A	DBSISC (Γ) * A	DΔSISC (A)	DASISC
viii	DΓSISC * ·			
ix	·ΓSISC *			

i-x. Letters in brackets denote *officinae* less frequently found.

SECOND PERIOD  
GLORIA RO-MANORUM  
SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE

	Valentinian I No. 14 (a)	Valens No. 14 (b)	Gratian No. 14 (c)	Valentinian I No. 15 (a)	Valens No. 15 (b)	Gratian No. 15 (c)
x	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC
xi	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC
xii	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC
xiii	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC
xiv	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC
xv	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC
xvi	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC
xvii	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC
xviii	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC	R   R BSISC   FSISC

xviii. *Securitas reipublicae* noted by me with  $\frac{*M}{P}$  for Valentinian I (A. Müller coll.).

## SECOND PERIOD (continued)

	GLORIA RO-MANORUM		SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE	
	Valentinian I No. 14 (a)	Gratian No. 14 (c)	Valentinian I No. 15 (a)	Valens No. 15 (b)
xix	$\frac{M   *}{P   \cdot}$ BSISC			$\frac{*   *}{P   M} \quad \frac{*   *}{P   M}$ ASISC ΔSISC
xx	$\frac{\cdot   *}{M   R}$ BSISC	$\frac{\cdot   *}{M   R}$ ΔSISC	$\frac{*   \cdot}{R   M}$ ΓSISC	$\frac{*   \cdot}{R   M}$ ASISC
xxi	$\frac{M   *}{\cdot   R}$ BSISC		$\frac{*   M}{R   \cdot}$ ΓSISC	
xxii	$\frac{M   *}{R   O}$ BSISC		$\frac{*   M}{R   O}$ ΓSISC	
xxiii	$\frac{M   *}{R   O}$ BSISC	$\frac{M   *}{R   O}$ ΔSISC	$\frac{*   M}{R   O}$ ΓSISC	$\frac{*   M}{R   O}$ ASISC
xxiv	$\frac{\check{R}   *}{R   O}$ BSISC	$\frac{\check{R}   *}{R   O}$ ΔSISC	$\frac{*   \check{R}}{R   O}$ ΓSISC	
xxv	$\frac{Q   *}{R   O}$ BSISC (V)	$\frac{Q   *}{R   O}$ ΔSISC	$\frac{*   Q}{R   O}$ ΓSISC (V)	$\frac{*   Q}{R   O}$ ASISC
xxvi	$\frac{P   *}{K}$ BSISCV			
xxvii	$\frac{Q   *}{K}$ BSISCV (V, Z)	$\frac{Q   *}{K}$ ΔSISC (E)	$\frac{*   Q}{K}$ ΓSISCV (E, R)	$\frac{*   Q}{K}$ ASISC (E)
xxviii				$\frac{*   Q}{K   \cdot}$ ASISC

xix. Dr. Barb notes *Gloria Romanorum* with  $\frac{M | P}{BSISC}$  for Valentinian I (Jabing hoard).

xxv-xliv. Letters in brackets are alternatives to the last letter of the mint-mark.



	GLORIA RO-MANORUM		SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE	
	Valentinian I No. 14 (a)	Gratian No. 14 (c)	Valentinian I No. 15 (a)	Valens No. 15 (b)
xxix	$\frac{Q K}{P}$ BSISCV	$\frac{Q K}{P}$ ΔSISCR	$\frac{K Q}{P}$ ΓSISCV	$\frac{K Q}{P}$ ASISCR
xxx	$\frac{Q A}{R}$ BSISCV	$\frac{Q A}{R}$ ΔSISCE	$\frac{A Q}{R}$ ΓSISCV	$\frac{A Q}{R}$ ASISCE
xxxi	$\frac{Q R}{A}$ BSISCV	$\frac{Q R}{A}$ ΔSISCE		
xxxii	$\frac{Q K}{R}$ BSISCV	$\frac{Q K}{R}$ ΔSISCE (V)	$\frac{R Q}{K}$ ΓSISCV	$\frac{R Q}{K}$ ASISCE
xxxiii	$\frac{F A}{R}$ BSISCV (V)	$\frac{F A}{R}$ ΔSISCE	$\frac{A F}{R}$ ΓSISCV (S)	$\frac{A F}{R}$ ASISCE
xxxiv	$\frac{F R}{A}$ BSISCV (S, S, P)	$\frac{F R}{A}$ ΔSISCE (VE, P)	$\frac{R F}{A}$ ΓSISCV (S, S)	$\frac{R F}{A}$ ASISCP (VE)
xxxv	$\frac{S R}{R}$ BSISCV (S, S, S)	$\frac{S R}{R}$ ΔSISCE (VE)	$\frac{R S}{R}$ ΓSISCV (S, S)	$\frac{R S}{R}$ ASISCP (VE)
xxxvi	$\frac{S R}{A}$ BSISCK	$\frac{S R}{A}$ ΔSISCE	$\frac{R S}{A}$ ΓSISCK	$\frac{R S}{A}$ ASISCE (V)
xxxvii	$\frac{S C}{A}$ BSISCV (S, P, K)	$\frac{S C}{A}$ ΔSISCE (V, VE, A)	$\frac{C S}{A}$ ΓSISCV (S, P, K)	$\frac{C S}{A}$ ASISCE (VE, S)
xxxviii	$\frac{S C}{A}$ BSISCV (V, R)	$\frac{S C}{R}$ ΔSISCA	$\frac{C S}{A}$ ΓSISCV	$\frac{C S}{R}$ ASISCA (R)
xxxix		$\frac{S C}{P}$ ΔSISCA		$\frac{C S}{P}$ ASISCA
xl	$\frac{S C}{P}$ BSISCV	$\frac{S C}{P}$ ΔSISCA (E, R)	$\frac{C S}{P}$ ΓSISCV	$\frac{C S}{P}$ ASISCA (P)

xxxviii.  $\frac{S|C}{A}$  noted by me for Valentinian I with *Gloria* type and  $\frac{C|S}{A}$  for Valens with *Securitas*, both in single specimens.

SECOND PERIOD (continued)

	GLORIA RO-MANORUM		SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE	
	Valentinian I No. 14 (a)	Gratian No. 14 (c)	Valentinian I No. 15 (a)	Valens No. 15 (b)
xli	$\frac{G C}{P}$ BSISC $\zeta$ (-)	$\frac{G C}{P}$ $\Delta$ SISCA (E)	$\frac{C G}{P}$ $\Gamma$ SISC $\zeta$ (S, -)	$\frac{C G}{P}$ ASISCA (E)
xlii		$\frac{G C}{A}$ $\Delta$ SISCA  Gratian No. 14 (d)	$\frac{C G}{A}$ $\Gamma$ SISCP	$\frac{C G}{A}$ ASISCA
xliii	$\frac{F D}{R}$ BSISC $\zeta$	$\frac{F D}{R}$ $\Delta$ SISCE (V)	$\frac{D R}{F}$ $\Gamma$ SISC $\zeta$ (S)	$\frac{D R}{F}$ ASISCE (V)
xliv (a)	$\frac{F D}{P}$ BSISC $\zeta$ (S)	$\frac{F D}{P}$ $\Delta$ SISCE (V)	$\frac{D F}{P}$ $\Gamma$ SISC $\zeta$ (S)	$\frac{D F}{P}$ ASISCE (V, P)

THIRD PERIOD

	Valenti- nian II No. 21 (c)	Gratian No. 21 (b)	Valenti- nian II No. 22 (c)	Valens No. 22 (a)	Gratian No. 22 (b)
xliv (b)	$\frac{F D}{P}$ BSISC $\zeta$	As in No. xliv (a)		As in no. xliv (a)	
xlv	$\frac{P S}{P}$ BSISCC	$\frac{P S}{P}$ $\frac{P S}{P}$ BSISCC (E) $\Delta$ SISCA	$\frac{S P}{P}$ $\Gamma$ SISCC	$\frac{S P}{P}$ ASISCA	$\frac{S P}{P}$ $\frac{S P}{P}$ $\Gamma$ SISCC (V)   ASISCA

## MINT OF SISCIA

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

Emperors: VALENTINIAN I and VALENS (from 28 March A.D. 364)

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALEN-S PF AVGObverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(C) Pearl-diademed and draped in imperial mantle, l., holding *mappa* and sceptre.

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1 (a)	1 (C)	SALVS-REIP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe, and spurning with r. foot a kneeling captive.	R <sup>3</sup>	✱ SMSISC✱	C.32; B.M.
(b)	2 (C)	"	"	"	C.43; B.M. Pl. IX, 1
2 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Two emperors seated, facing, on throne, the one on r. holding <i>mappa</i> and the two together holding globe. Behind and between them a Victory with outspread wings.	"	✱ ✱ 1 ASISC' 2 QSISC•	Cf. C.43-4; 1 B.M.; 2 Berlin
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	✱ ✱ 1 ASISC' 2 QSISC•, 3 •QSISC•	Cf. C.53-4; Pl. IX, 2 1, 3 B.M.; 2 Vienna

## SILVER \*

*Miliarensis* (light)

3 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Two emperors, laureate, stg. facing, heads turned towards each other, holding <i>labarum</i> and globe.	R <sup>3</sup>	•SIS✱	Cf. C.10; Hunterian Museum Pl. IX, 3
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\* I have seen no legitimate *siliqua* of this period, but in the B.M. is a contemporary forgery: *obv.* N VALENTIN-IANVS P AVG (bust A), *rev.* RESTI TVT-REIPVBLICAE, mint-mark SIS, with type of no. 6. Wt. 2.22 gm.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
3(b)	2 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM As no. 3 (a).	R	•SIS✕	C.18; B.M.
4	1 (A)	As no. 3, but emperors holding globe and <i>labarum</i> .	R <sup>3</sup>	„	C.10; Belfort Cat., no. 1954

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

5(a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., with r. hand dragging captive and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	C	See p. 140	C.12
(b)	2 (A)	„	„	„	C.11
6(a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding standard and Victory on globe.	R	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC	C.21; 1 Vienna; 2 Berlin
(b)	2 (A)	„	„	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC	C.29; 1, 2 Vienna
Pl. IX, 7	7(a)	1 (A) SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	C	See p. 140	C.37
(b)	2 (A)	„	„	„	C.47

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

*Emperors: VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN*

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
 (3<sup>a</sup>) DN GRATIANVS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>b</sup>) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG

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

## SILVER

*Multiple*

8	1 (A)	TRIVMFATOR - GENT BARB Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding <i>labarum</i> and globe; on l., kneeling captive.	R <sup>4</sup>	1 •SISCP, 2 SISCP	Not in C.; 1 N. Z., 1895, p. 107; 2 Weifert Coll.
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*Miliarensis* (heavy)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
9 (a)	1 (A)	VOTIS   XV   MVLTVS   XX in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>2</sup>	•SISCP	Cf. C.76; <i>Pl. IX, 4</i> B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	Cf. C.108; Weber Coll.

*Miliarensis* (light)

10 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding <i>labarum</i> in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R	•SISCP	C.58; B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.71; B.M.
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.52; B.M. <i>Pl. IX, 5</i>

*Siliqua*

11	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVLTV   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>2</sup>	$\frac{\ast}{\text{SISCP}}$	C.69; Vienna
12 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLTV   XX in laurel-wreath.	R	"	C.73; Vienna
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.96; B.M.
(c)	2 (B)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	B.M.
13 (a)	2 (A)	VOT   XV   MVLTV   XX in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	"	C.98; Vienna
(b)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.72; Hunterian

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

14 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 5.	C <sup>2</sup>	See pp. 141-4	C.12
(b)	2 (A)	"	C	"	C.11
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.23
(d)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	"	
15 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 7.	C	"	C.37
(b)	2 (A)	"	C <sup>3</sup>	"	C.47
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R	"	C.34

9. (a) 5.37 gm.; (b) 4.92 gm.

10. (a) 4.34 gm.; (b) 4.4 gm.; (c) 4.37 gm.

THIRD PERIOD: 17 NOV. A.D. 375-9 AUG. A.D. 378

Emperors: VALENS, GRATIAN, and VALENTINIAN II  
(from 22 Nov. A.D. 375)Obverse legends: (1) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
(2) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
(3) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG










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

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
16 (a)	1 (A)	VOTIS   XV   MVLTTIS   XX in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	SISCPS	C.108; Paris
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.83; Paris

*Siliqua*

<i>Pl. LX, II</i>	17	3 (A)	VICTORIA-AVGGG Victory advancing r., holding wreath in either hand.	R <sup>3</sup>	SISCPS	C.39; Vienna
	18	2 (A)	VOT   X   MVLTT   XX in laurel-wreath.	R	 SISCPS	C.69; Vienna
	19 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVLTT   XX in laurel-wreath.	"	 1 SISCPS'	C.98; 1, 3 B.M.; 2 Vienna
					 2 SISCPS'	
					 3 SISCPS'	
	(b)	2 (A)	"	S	 1 SISCPS'	C.72; 1, 2 B.M.; 3-5 Pearce
					 2 SISCPS'	
					 3 SISCPS'	
					 4 SISCPS'	
					 5 SISCPS'	

19. The 6-rayed star is by far the most common, and obverse identities linking this with the other varieties suggest that the latter are accidental and do not mark stages in the issue. At Vienna is a hybrid with legend and bust of Valentinian I, mint-mark

  
SISCPS'

19 (a). *N. C.*, 1915, p. 445, gives a variant VOTIS for VOT—in error?

## MINT OF SISICIA

149

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
19 (c)	3 (A)	VOT   XV   MVLT   XX in laurel-wreath.	R	✱ 1 SISCPS' ✱ 2 SISCPS' SISCP\$	Not in C.; 1 Vienna; 2 B.M.
20 (a)	1 (A)	VRBS - ROMA Rome seated l. on throne, holding Victory on globe and re- versed spear.	R <sup>2</sup>	SISCP\$	C.109; Vienna
	(b) 2 (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Cf. C.87; <i>Pl. IX, 8</i> Vienna
	(c) 3 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	1 SISCPS, 2 SISCPS\$	Not in C.; 1 Munich; 2 B.M. <i>Pl. IX, 10</i>

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

21 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 5.	R	See p. 144	C.11
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.23
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	"	C.23
22 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 7.	"	"	C.47
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.34
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	"	Cf. C.33

FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

*Emperors:* GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF AVG  
 (3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG

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

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (light)

23 (a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS-EXERCITVS As no. 10.	R <sup>4</sup>	SISCPS	C.52; <i>N. C.</i> , 1915, p. 446
	(b) 3 (A)	"	"	SISCP\$	C.55; B.M. <i>Pl. IX, 6</i>

23. (a) 4.34 gm.; (b) 4.4 gm.

*Siliqua*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
24 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in laurel-wreath.	C	• SISCP	Cf. C.66; B.M.
<i>Pl. LX, 13</i>	(b)	3 (A)	”	”	C.64; B.M.
<i>Pl. LX, 12</i>	25	1 (A)	S	”	C.72; B.M.

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

26 (a)	1 (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB Emperor stg. facing, head l., with r. hand raising kneeling turreted woman, and holding Victory on globe in l.	C	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ASISC•, 4 BSISC•, 5 ✕ASISC, 6 ✕BSISC, 7 ✕ASISC•, 8 ✕BSISC•	C.30; 1-8 Pearce
	(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ASISC•, 4 BSISC•, 5 ✕ASISC, 6 ✕BSISC, 7 ✕ASISC•, 8 ✕BSISC•	C.22; 1-7 Pearce; 8 Zagreb
	(c)	3 (A)	”	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ASISC•, 4 BSISC•, 5 ✕ASISC, 6 ✕BSISC, 7 ✕ASISC•, 8 ✕BSISC•	C.27; 1, 2, 5-8 Zagreb; 3, 4 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 65

26. Cohen, *Gratian 9*, gives (from Banduri) this type with *rev. Fel. temp. reparatio*.  
Koblitz in his copy of Cohen added  $\frac{|}{ASISC}$ . I know nothing of this coin.



*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
27 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Roma seated facing, head l., holding globe and reversed spear; her l. leg bare.	S	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ASISC•, 4 BSISC•, 5 ✕ASISC, 6 ✕BSISC, 7 ✕ASISC•, 8 ✕BSISC•	C.3; 1, 6, 7 Ulrich- Bansa; 5 Pearce; 2-4, 8 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 65
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	”	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC	C.9; 1, 2 Pearce
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	R	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ASISC•, 4 BSISC•, 5 ✕ASISC, 6 ✕BSISC, 7 ✕ASISC•, 8 ✕BSISC•	C.8; 1, 2 Ulrich- Bansa; 3-8 Zagreb
(d)	3 (A)	”	S	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ✕ASISC, 4 ✕BSISC, 5 ✕ASISC•, 6 ✕BSISC•	C.14; 1 Ulrich- Bansa; 2-6 Zagreb
28	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO-MANOR VM As no. 27.	R <sup>4</sup>	SISC•	C.56; Zagreb

*Aes IV* (larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)

29 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVLT   X in wreath.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 BSISC, 2 ASISC•, 3 ✕ASISC	C.67; 1 Wei- fert; 2, 3 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 65
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	R	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC	C.68; 1 Pearce; 2 Zagreb

27. By far the greater number for all emperors are found with mint-marks 1 and, especially, 2.

29, 30, 31. The mint-marks without added sign are by far the most common. Many of the others have not been seen by me but are given on the authority of Prof. Alföldi who has made exhaustive researches in the Balkan museums, where Siscian coins are most likely to be found.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
29 (c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVLТ   X in wreath.	S	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ASISC•, 4 BSISC•, 5 ✕BSISC, 6 ✕ASISC•, 7 ✕BSISC•, 8 SISC	Not in C.; 1-8 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 65
<i>Pl. IX, 14</i>	(d) 3 (A)	„	C	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ASISC•, 4 BSISC•, 5 ✕ASISC•	C.65; 1-5 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 65
30 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   X   MVLТ   XX in wreath.	S	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 BSISC•	C.73; 1-3 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 65
	(b) 3 (A)	„	„	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC	C.70
31 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVLТ   XX in wreath.	„	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ASISC•, 4 BSISC•, 5 ✕ASISC•, 6 ✕BSISC•, 7 SISC	C.75; 1-6 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 65; 7 Ermitage
	(b) 3 (A)	„	R <sup>5</sup>	BSISC	Not in C.; Vienna.

30, 31. See note (29-31) on p. 151.

30 (a). Mint-mark 3, quoted by Alföldi from Voetter, is the only instance of any mint-mark other than 1 and 2 being found with Valentinian II's earlier obverse legend (2<sup>a</sup>), and needs to be verified.

31 (b). The single specimen of this coin seen by me was among a few halved coins from the Viminacium hoard shown to me by Dr. Elmer at Vienna to illustrate this method of providing the needed 'small change'.

FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383—CLOSE OF MINT; ?SUMMER  
OF A.D. 387

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS,  
(usurpers) MAGNUS MAXIMUS, and VICTOR (from late in  
the period). (In the East, Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius, had received  
the title of Augusta at the elevation of their son, Arcadius.)

I. Temporary occupation of the mint by Theodosius:

c. 25 Aug. A.D. 383—?c. autumn of A.D. 384

Obverse legends. (1) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
(4) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., hold-  
ing spear and shield in front.  
(K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and  
shield in front. Above, hand holding wreath.  
(L) Draped, with elaborate headdress, necklace, and mantle, r.

BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
32 (a)	1 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor stg. l., head r., on ship, raising r. hand; Victory seated at helm.	R <sup>2</sup>	R   ASISC•	C.22; Zagreb
	(b) 2 (J)	"	R	"	C.19; Alföldi, op. cit., p. 66
33	3 <sup>b</sup> (K)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding standard in r. hand and resting l. on shield; to l., captive seated l., head r.	"	1 ASISC, 2 ASISC•	S.29; 1 Ratto Cat.; 2 B.M.
34	4 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory seated r., writing ✱ on shield resting on small column.	"	1 ASISC•, 2 BSISC•	C.4; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna

*Aes IV* (smaller module)

35	4 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 34.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 ASIS•, 2 BSIS•, 3 SISC•	C.5; 1 Munich; 2 B.M.; 3 Koblitz
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No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
<i>Pl. IX, 17</i> 36	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V in wreath.	R	1 ASIS•, 2 BSIS•	S.47; 1 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 66; 2 Pearce
<i>Pl. IX, 15</i> 37 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVL   XX in wreath.	„	1 ASIS•, 2 BSIS•, 3 •ASIS•, 4 SISC•	C.73; 1 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 66; 2 Pearce; 3 Vienna; 4 Koblitz
(b)	2 (A)	„	„	1 ASIS•, 2 BSIS•, 3 •ASIS•	C.70; 1 Zagreb; 2 Pearce; 3 Vienna

II. After the restoration of the mint to Valentinian II: ?c. autumn  
of A.D. 384—?summer of A.D. 387

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

38 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 5.	C	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ASISC•, 4 BSISC•	C.23; 1-4 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 66
(b)	2 (A)	„	„	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ASISC•, 4 BSISC•	C.23; 1-4 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 66
(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	„	1 ASISC, 2 BSISC, 3 ASISC•, 4 BSISC•	S.36; 1-4 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 66

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
39 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 7.	C	1 ASIS, 2 BSIS, 3 ASIS*, 4 BSIS•	C.46; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 66; 4 Vienna
(b)	2 (A)	”	S	1 ASIS, 2 BSIS, 3 ASIS*, 4 BSIS•	C.41; 1, 2 B.M.; 3, 4 Zagreb
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	R	1 ASIS, 2 BSIS	Not in S.; <i>Pl. IX, 16</i> 1 Munich; 2 B.M.
(d)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	R <sup>2</sup>	1 ASIS, 2 BSIS, 3 ASIS*, 4 BSIS•	1 B.M.; 2-4 Alföldi, op. cit., p. 66

## SIRMIUM

## VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

SIRMIUM is the only mint at which Valentinian struck the large Æ 3 of Julian's standard, with *rev. Vot. v mult. x*. Like the accompanying *siliqua Votis v multis x* it has been found with obverse of Valentinian only, and these coins must be dated to a time when news of Valens' elevation had not yet reached the mint. The *Restitutor* type was struck for both emperors in all three denominations. In bronze it appeared first in the smaller module which Elmer conjectured was the half of the Julian Æ 3 and then passed into the slightly larger module with which we are familiar from the succeeding *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae* types. As these two types also are found from Sirmium the mint must have been in commission till at least the end of A.D. 364. The unique Æ 3 *Perpetuitas imperii* with its definitely Christian symbolism may be, as Dr. Jonas suggested, a trial piece, suppressed at this stage by the danger of antagonizing pagan sentiment at the outset of the new reign.

## GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, AND THEODOSIUS

It was at Sirmium that Gratian on 19 January A.D. 379 proclaimed Theodosius emperor of the East in succession to Valens, and arranged with him for the defence of the Balkans against the invading Goths. To finance his campaign the mint of Sirmium was again called into operation by means of moneyers sent from the neighbouring mint of Siscia. Gratian's portrait representing him as unshaven, in mourning for his dead uncle, suits an early date in A.D. 379 for the issue, before Theodosius established himself in permanent quarters in Thessalonica. A find of fifteen gold bars at Siebenbürgen in 1887, followed shortly afterwards by a further three, stamped with the portraits of three emperors and with the abbreviated names of Sirmium, Naissus, and Thessalonica has been conclusively explained by Elmer as part of the treasure accumulated by Gratian in the Balkans for the purpose of the Gothic campaign (*Numizmatikar*, pp. 17 ff., Belgrade, 1935).

The issue of the *Victoria Augg. solidus* with mint-mark SIROB was followed by a series of similar issues with mint-marks TESOB, THCOB, AQOBF, and TROBC (S, T) following the movements of the emperors in the year A.D. 379. I cannot, however, agree with Elmer in seeing proof of a travelling mint accompanying the emperor in the similarity of workmanship which he notes. I see rather typical 'Thessalonican', 'Aquileian', and 'Treveran' portraiture respectively in these issues.

I have placed here, very doubtfully, the *siliqua Gloria Romanorum* of Gratian with mint-mark SMSPV. The type is that of the *Virtus Romanorum* which was soon to be struck, peculiarly in Gratian's name, at all his mints. The portraiture is certainly Siscian, but the regularity of the Siscian R mint-mark makes one doubt whether this exception can be the product of Siscia itself. Cohen (after Rollin) gives a parallel issue with mint-mark LVGPS, of which I have found no specimen.

THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper),  
AND HONORIUS

A new *N* type, *Victoria Auggg.*, soon to be for many years universal on western *solidi*, makes its first appearance at Sirmium. The mint-mark is  $\frac{S|M}{COMOB}$ . It starts with *rev.* legend *Victor-ia Augg.*, but includes Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius (blundered Honori-ius). The workmanship is mainly Thessalonican and both Theodosius and Honorius share obverse identities with the Thessalonican issue of *Concordia Auggg.*, mint-mark COMOB. But *Victor-ia Augg.* with mint-marks (1)  $\frac{S|M}{COMOB}$  and (2)  $\frac{S|M}{COMOB}$  passes into *Victor-ia*

*Augg.* with *officina* letter, mint-mark  $\frac{S|M}{COMOB}$ . This issue shows exclusively Constantinopolitan portraiture for all three emperors. And so the portraiture remains till the end of this long series of issues, as evidence of a transference of the mint-*personnel* of Constantinople, in all their ten *officinae*, to Sirmium. Chosen by Theodosius as a convenient base for his campaign against Eugenius, Sirmium's central position offered advantages to him, now sole ruler of the Roman world, which induced him after his victory to retain his moneyers there for the short remainder of his reign, and after his death it is from Sirmium that the mint of Constantinople first strikes for his two sons.

The mass of this issue comes after the change in the legend from two to three Augusti. We have then (1) *Victor-ia Auggg.* with *officina* letter, (2) *Victori-a Auggg.* with *officina* letter, and finally, after the death of Theodosius, (3) *Victori-a Augg.* with *officina* letter. That the issue, despite its Constantinopolitan character, does not come from Constantinople itself is shown decisively by the Thessalonican workmanship at the start, and in a later, otherwise purely Constantinopolitan phase, by the intrusion of a single portrait of, I feel sure, North Italian style. Among some two hundred coins of Theodosius' issues with mint-mark CONOB I have not seen one of alien workmanship.

## MINT OF SIRMIIUM

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364—CLOSE OF MINT (END A.D. 364)

*Emperors: VALENTINIAN I and VALENS*Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
Pl. IX, 18	1 (a)	1 (A) RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe.	R <sup>3</sup>	✕SIRM	C.24; B.M.
	(b)	2 (A) ”	”	”	C.32-3; Vienna

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

2	1 (A)	VOTIS   V   MVLTTIS   X   in laurel-wreath.	R	SIRM	C.19; B.M.
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## BRONZE

*Aes I*

3	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 1, but standard instead of <i>labarum</i> .	R <sup>3</sup>	1 ASIRM, 2 BSIRM	C.30; 1 B.M.; 2 The Hague
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*Aes III*

4 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., with r. hand dragging captive and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	R	1 ASIRM, 2 BSIRM	C.12; 1 Confirmation wanted; 2 Pearce
	(b)	2 (A) ”	R <sup>2</sup>	1 ASIRM, 2 BSIRM	C.11; 1 Vienna; 2 Paris



No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
5	1 (A)	PERPETVIT-AS IMPERII Emperor stg. r., receiving shield inscribed with swasti- ka from hand above.	R <sup>3</sup>	SIRM	Not in C.; <i>Pl. IX, 19</i> Budapest
6 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 1.	S	1 ASIRM, 2 BSIRM	C.21; 1 B.M.; 2 Copen- hagen
	(b) 2 (A)	"	R	1 ASIRM, 2 BSIRM	C.29; 1, 2 Vienna
7 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	"	BSIRM	C.37; Munich
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	1 ASIRM, 2 BSIRM, 3 SIRM	C.47; 1-3 Vienna
8	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVLT   X in wreath.	S	1 ASIRM, 2 BSIRM	C.71; <i>Pl. IX, 20</i> 1, 2 Vienna

## FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

*Emperors:* GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I  
(from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Solidus*

9 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Two emperors, of whom the one on the r. is the smaller, seated facing on throne; together holding a globe. Behind and between them a Victory with outspread wings; below, a palm- branch. The emperors have both legs draped.	R <sup>2</sup>	SIROB	C.38; Vienna <i>Pl. IX, 21</i>
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5. Regarded by Dr. Élemer Jonas as a trial piece. See *N. C.*, 1938, pp. 126 ff.

6. Both modules (c. 16-17 mm. and 18-19 mm.) occur for Valentinian; the smaller is much the rarer. I have seen only the larger for Valens. See Introduction, p. 156.

9 (a) and 9 (d). The *obv.* bust is slightly bearded—a conventional sign of mourning.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
9(b)	2 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 9 (a).	R <sup>3</sup>	SIROB	C.36; Vienna
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	"	C.37; Vienna
(d)	1 (A)	As 9 (a) (but <i>rev.</i> legend ending . . . AVGG*).	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Spink
(e)	2 (A)	"	"	"	Hess Cat., 1922, pl. 1. 4
10(a)	3 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 9 (but the emperors are of equal size).	"	"	Allotte de la Fuÿe Cat., 5.5.1925, lot 567.
(b)	3 (A)	As no. 10(a) (but <i>rev.</i> legend ending . . . AVGG*).	"	"	Vienna

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

<i>Pl. IX, 9</i>	11	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Rome seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear.	R <sup>5</sup>	SMSPV	C.18; Vienna
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SEVENTH PERIOD: SPRING OF A.D. 393-17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors:* THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper)  
(till 6 Sept. A.D. 394), and HONORIUS (from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCADI-IVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN HONORI-VS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN HONORI-IVS PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Solidus*

12 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Em- peror stg. r., holding stand- ard and Victory on globe; his foot on captive.	R <sup>3</sup>	$\frac{SIM}{COMOB}$	Not in C.; Dortmund
(b)	1 (B)	"	"	$\frac{SIM}{COMOB}$ $\frac{SIM}{COMOB}$	1 Vienna; 2 The Hague

11. See Introduction, p. 157.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
12 (c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG As no. 12 (a).	R <sup>3</sup>	1 $\frac{S M}{COMOB}$ 2 $\frac{S M}{COMOB}$	S.18; 1 (cast); 2 Dortmund
(d)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 $\frac{S M}{COMOB}$ 2 $\frac{S M}{COMOB}$	Not in C.; 1 Vienna; <i>Pl. IX, 22</i> 2 B.M.
13 (a)	1 (A)	" As no. 12 (but with addition of <i>officina</i> letter at end of legend). 1 B, 2 Δ, 3 E.	"	$\frac{S M}{COMOB}$	C.38; 1 Hunterian; 2 Milan; 3 Paris
(b)	1 (B)	" E.	"	"	Vienna
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	" H.	"	"	Cf. S.18; Ratto Cat., 9.12.1930, no. 37
14 (a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 12, but with addition of <i>officina</i> letter at end of legend. 1 A, 2 B, 3 H, 4 Θ, 5 I.	R	"	C.39; 1, 4 Dortmund; 2 Newell; 3 Koblitz; 5 Gotha
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	" 1 Γ, 2 Δ, 3 E, 4 H, 5 Θ, 6 I.	S	"	Cf. S.18; 1 Budapest; 2 Gotha; 3, 5 The Hague; 4 Vienna; 6 B.M.
(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (B)	" S.	R <sup>3</sup>	"	Vienna
(d)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	" 1 A, 2 B, 3 Γ, 4 S, 5 Z, 6 Θ, 7 I.	S	"	C.44; 1, 2 Vienna; 3 Munich; 4 B.M.; 5 Zagreb; 6 Hunterian; 7 Ham- burger Cat., 29.5.1929, lot 757
(e)	3 <sup>a</sup> (B)	" 1 B, 2 Γ, 3 Δ, 4 I.	R	"	1 Berlin; 2, 4 The Hague; 3 Munich

13 (a). Mint-marks 1 and 2 have identical obverse.

M

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
15 (a)	1 (A)	VICTORI - A AVGGG As no. 12, but with <i>officina</i> letter at end of legend. 1 A, 2 B, 3 Γ, 4 Δ, 5 Ε, 6 S, 7 Z, 8 H, 9 Θ, 10 I.	S	<u>SIM</u> COMOB	1 Budapest; 2, 3, 6, 7 B.M.; 4, 10 Vienna; 5 Bourgey Cat.; 8, 9 Berlin
	(b) 2 (A)	„ 1 A, 2 Γ, 3 Δ, 4 Ε, 5 S, 6 Z, 7 H, 8 Θ, 9 I.	„	„	1 Berlin; 2, 8, 9 Vienna; 3, 6 Ermitage; 4 Dort- mund; 5 Hess Cat., 16.12.1933, lot 1105; 7 Hunterian B.M.
	(c) 2 (B)	„ Γ.	R <sup>3</sup>	„	
	(d) 3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„ 1 A, 2 B, 3 Δ, 4 Ε, 5 S, 6 Z, 7 H, 8 Θ, 9 I.	S	„	1 The Hague; 2 Zagreb; 3, 5, 8, 9 Vienna; 4 Glendining Cat., 18.12.1936; 6 B.M.; 7 Dortmund Vautier Cat., 1922, no. 1840
	(e) 3 <sup>a</sup> (B)	„ Γ.	R <sup>3</sup>	„	

## THESSALONICA

## VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

UNLIKE Siscia, Thessalonica was called upon to strike the *Restitutor* type from its first inception on Julian's *aes* standard and in all three metals. In *aes* it was followed by the *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae* types with mint-mark TESA (to Δ). As this was a large issue and Gratian seems not to have been included in it, it must be placed in this period. But there are a number of rare coins, gold and silver, found in the names of Valentinian I or of Valens, or of both, and it is to be doubted whether the absence of Gratian's name justifies us in dating all these to this period. They seem better to suit the time of the widespread quinquennial celebrations of A.D. 368. It need not surprise us if the elevation of Gratian received more notice in the Gallic mints than in Thessalonica.

I have thought it right, however, to leave under the above heading coins known to me in the names of Valentinian I or Valens only, unless they can be proved by other evidence to belong elsewhere.

Thessalonica occupied a peculiar position. It belonged to the western empire, but all its contacts were with the East, and it would be strange if evidence of eastern influence was not from time to time apparent in the working of the mint.

## VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

During the eight years covered by this heading, no gold or silver type with the joint names of the three Augusti seems to have been struck at Thessalonica. Most of the coinage of the western empire in the precious metals had been early concentrated at Treveri. A *solidus*, *Restitutor reipublicae* with mint-mark TES, was struck for Gratian, but apparently for him alone, as only the mint-mark SMTES has been found with this type for the senior emperors. His obverse legend is of the unbroken style. The addition of —OB to the exergual mint-name was first adopted soon after the elevation of Gratian, and the *A* multiples *Victoria d. n. Augusti*, found with different types for Valentinian and Valens, must be placed here. The 'fest-aureus' and *solidus Salus reip.* and the *solidus Victoria Augg.* probably come into this period and were struck in the earlier part of the final quinquennial year of the senior Augusti, before the change to TESOB in the later part. The smaller *A* denominations, *semis* and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *scripulum* which have as mint-mark either TES or TESOB, were probably struck at the same time as the larger gold pieces in A.D. 368. The heavy *miliarense* of Valentinian I with *Vot. v mul. x* was certainly struck then,

and probably the other  $\mathcal{R}$  multiples and *miliarensia* with the names of Valentinian or Valens.

Meanwhile, and throughout the rest of this period, there was a continual issue of the  $\mathcal{A}E$  3 *Gloria* and *Securitas* types. In their first stage, mentioned above, Gratian seems not to appear. As at Siscia, this was followed by a long and rapidly changing series of mint-marks of increasing perplexity. Two main stages may be noted. In (1) the *officina* letter (with or without sign or signs) appears in the field, and the whole field r. and l. of the one type is transposed l. and r. of the other.

One group, which seems complete, viz.  $\frac{\mathcal{R}|A}{TES}$ ,  $\frac{\mathcal{R}|A}{TES}$ ,  $\frac{\mathcal{R}|A^*}{TES}$ ,  $\frac{\mathcal{R}|A}{TES^*}$  reminds us of the succession of mint-marks seen on the Siscian *aes* of the next period. In this phase of the coinage Gratian always has the unbroken style of obverse legend. In (2) there are two letters in the field, the *officina* letter always r., the series letter always l., but a sign in the r. field of *Gloria* is transposed to the l. for *Securitas*. The series letters I have noted are: A, D, I, M, ?N, O, P, ?R, S, V, Z. With M, V,

and Z I have noted the groups  $\frac{M|A}{TES}$ ,  $\frac{M|A}{TES}$ ,  $\frac{M|A^*}{TES}$ , &c., but only part of similar groups with the other letters. A strict alphabetical order does not seem to have been followed. With Z I have noted Gratian only with unbroken legend, while in the V group he has both unbroken and broken forms. With S I have seen only the broken, but the evidence is very scanty and there is room for further research.

#### VALENS, GRATIAN, AND VALENTINIAN II

The coinage of this period is of exceptional interest. The  $\mathcal{A}$  multiple *Pietas ddd. nnn. Augustorum* shows Valens, nimbate, standing between his two young nephews who look towards him. As at Rome (see p. 110) he is recognized as *Maximus Augustus*. The *siliqua* *Vot. vx mult. xx* with its mint-mark T\*E is clearly copied from a similar issue for Valentinian I and Valens with mint-mark C\*S. The influence of Constantinople is strong at Thessalonica. Whether the *siliqua* *Vot. xv mult. xxx* with mint-mark T\*E dates from this period is doubtful, as it has not been found for Valens.

#### GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, AND (later) ARCADIUS

In my paper, 'The Gold Coinage of the reign of Theodosius' (*N. C.*, 1938, pp. 229 ff.), I attempted to place in order and to elucidate the gold issues of Thessalonica from A.D. 379 to the death of

Theodosius in A.D. 395. The first issues were struck by Theodosius with mint-marks TESOB and THCOB in continuation of Gratian's issue from Sirmium to meet the needs of the campaign against the Gothic invaders. The *A* type is the western *Victoria Augg.*, and side by side with this we find from Thessalonica the western types in the 'differentiated' issue of Æ 3. Valentinian II has the *Victoria Auggg.* and not the *Urbs Roma* type which took its place in Theodosius' eastern mints of Nicomedia and Antioch. If eastern Illyricum had, as it has been asserted, passed to Theodosius at the outset of his reign, Gratian would surely have stressed at Thessalonica also the hegemony of the western empire in the partnership. The Æ 3 mint-mark is TES.

With change of mint-mark to SMTES we have the Æ 2 *Reparatio reipub.*; Valentinian II's legend is still 'unbroken without IVN'. With the Æ 2 we usually find the Æ 4 *vota* coins connected by similarity of mint-mark, but at Treveri the mint-mark TRP and now at Thessalonica the mint-mark TES suggest that the Æ 4 may precede the Æ 2.

A later group of *solidi* is *Victoria Augg.* with mint-mark COM, as in the North Italian mints. Valentinian II's obverse legend is 'broken I-A—'. It is the only issue, struck in Gratian's mints, which recognizes Arcadius, and is found only at Thessalonica. I find no difficulty in this, as Theodosius could influence the mint at his will. With the latter part of Gratian's reign we must also connect the Æ 2 *Reparatio reipub.* giving Valentinian II the broken form of obverse legend, and the Æ 3 *Concordia Auggg.* which in both its styles of reverse legend SMTESA and  $\frac{|A}{SMTES}$  gives him the broken style only. Neither of these *aes* issues includes Arcadius. It seems impossible to suppose that all the *aes* showing Valentinian II with broken obverse legend could be crowded into the space between the death of Gratian and the occupation of Illyricum by Theodosius, and we must accept the fact that Valentinian II appears with broken obverse legend during the latter part of Gratian's life-time.

#### VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, AND (usurpers) MAXIMUS AND VICTOR

##### A. During the occupation of Illyricum by Theodosius

The *aes* coinage in progress in Theodosius' eastern mints at the time of Gratian's death is continued, with the omission of coins commemorating Gratian and his *vota* figures, at Thessalonica. That he should continue, side by side with this, Gratian's *A Victoria Augg.* western type seems very unlikely.

B. *After the restoration of the mint to Valentinian II*

The issue of the *solidus Victoria Augg.* is resumed; the mint-mark is still COM. One emperor is represented as smaller. In this issue, or, more correctly, these issues, there is none of Gratian, and Arcadius is predominant. Constantinopolitan portraiture appears by the side of Thessalonican. Presently, as in North Italy, Theodosius' eastern type *Concordia Auggg.* with mint-mark COMOB takes the place of *Victoria Augg.*, carrying on its double style of portraiture. A coin of Arcadius, illustrated in *N. C.*, 1939, p. 168, with his *vota* figures V-X, shows that this issue synchronizes with the North Italian issue, which dates just before Maximus' invasion (cf. p. 73). The influence of Theodosius is seen throughout this coinage, although the *de iure* claims of the West to the possession of the mint are recognized in the mint-mark COMOB.

The invasion of Maximus caused, of course, no stoppage of the mint of Thessalonica and, if the *vota* figures X-XV (XX) of the *Concordia Augggθ solidi* of the North Italian mints differ from the XV-XX of the Thessalonican, the apparent discrepancy is easily explained; the Thessalonican coins were struck on the completion of Theodosius' *decennium* in January A.D. 389. The *siliqua* *Vot. x mult. xx*, found for all three emperors, but least rarely for Theodosius, and combining the double style of portraiture mentioned above, suits either the first part of Arcadius', or the final part of Theodosius', second *quinquennium*. I think the latter dating is the more likely. The  $\mathcal{R}$  multiple *Gloria reipublicae* and the *miliarense Victoria Augustorum* are probably connected with Theodosius' decennial celebrations in January A.D. 389.

The bronze coinage of this period consists of pieces (a) struck throughout Valentinian II's empire and (b) struck only at Thessalonica, so, presumably, during his flight thither from Maximus.

(a) The  $\mathcal{A}$  3 *Gloria Romanorum* gives both young Augusti the broken legend and the same differentiation of *officinae* as the *Virtus Auggg.* in (b). The  $\mathcal{A}$  4 *Victoria Aug.* 'Two Victories' gives both the unbroken legend and, very significantly, substitutes one Augustus for the 'three Augusti' of the other mints. Why the  $\mathcal{A}$  4 *Victoria Auggg.* 'Single Victory', struck at Aquileia, Rome, and Siscia, was not struck also at Thessalonica, it is hard to say. This type had accompanied Valentinian II from the first, and was to accompany him in Gaul to the end.

(b) The  $\mathcal{A}$  3 *Virtus Auggg.* seems, from its exact correspondence in every way with *Gloria Romanorum*—except, of course, in reverse type, to have been Valentinian's earliest issue after his flight from Italy. The next issue was *Gloria reipublice* struck as  $\mathcal{A}$  3 with obverse portrait representing the emperors clad in imperial mantle, l., and holding



*mappa* and sceptre, i.e. precisely as on their *Vota publica solidi*. The reference is probably to Theodosius' consulship of A.D. 388. The Æ 4 has the normal portrait. Both young Augusti have the undivided form of obverse legend. It is clear that after Valentinian had at last definitely thrown himself on Theodosius' protection, the form of obverse legend could matter little.

After the defeat of Maximus, Theodosius remained in Mediolanum until A.D. 391, while Valentinian was in Gaul. Mediolanum continued with mint-mark  $\frac{M|D}{COM}$  the typical western *solidus Victoria Augg.*, and

Thessalonica the typical eastern *solidus Concordia Auggg.* On the death of Valentinian in A.D. 392, the three Augusti of the reverse legend are reduced to two in *Concoria Augg. (sic)*, which, strangely enough, in the two examples known to me has the obverse of Honorius, who is ignored in the reverse legend. This obverse occurs identically, with its blundered *Honori-ius*, on the new type *Victoria Augg.* 'Emperor trampling on enemy', with mint-mark  $\frac{S|M}{COMOB}$ , which has obverses

of the three Augusti. Both at Thessalonica and at Sirmium the number of Augusti soon again becomes three, but while at Thessalonica the portraiture seems to be purely Thessalonican, at Sirmium it has become purely Constantinopolitan. Evidently the Thessalonican moneyers have returned to their own mint. They still strike the same type *Concordia Auggg.* My three specimens of Honorius give evidence of at least two issues, one showing his boyish portrait with name still blundered as above, the other two the portrait of a young man with name correctly spelt.

On the death of Maximus, Theodosius strikes the Æ 4 *Salus rei-publicae* in all his own eastern mints and in Valentinian II's former mints of Rome, Aquileia, and Thessalonica. In Rome and Aquileia the two young Augusti have broken, in the eastern mints and Thessalonica, unbroken obverse legend. At Thessalonica the issue came to an end before the elevation of Honorius.

MINT-MARKS OF Æ 3 GLORIA RO-MANORUM AND SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE

My evidence for many of these mint-marks is very scanty and as I feel no certainty at what point Gratian's name appeared on this coinage, I attempt no division into periods. Presumably all mint-marks are found from four *officinae* A, B, Γ, Δ. While I give the full mint-mark with A only, under each emperor's name will be found the *officinae* letters actually noted for him by me.

GLORIA RO-MANORUM Nos. 16, 26, 31		SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE Nos. 18, 27, 32					
Mint-mark	Valentinian	Valens	Gratian. Obv. legend undivided	Mint-mark	Valentinian	Valens	Gratian. Obv. legend undivided
i	TESA	A B Γ Δ			A	Δ	
ii	.TESA	B Γ Δ			A	A B Γ Δ	
iii	TESA	B Γ			A	A B Γ Δ	
iv	.TESA	B Δ					
v	.TESA.	A					
vi	TESA	A B			A	A	Γ
vii	TESA	B			A		Γ

*Officina letter in the exergue*

TESA	B Γ Δ
.TESA	B Γ
TESA	B Γ Δ
.TESA	B Δ
.TESA.	A
TESA	A B
TESA	A

Officina letter in field. In all cases r. and l. field transposed for Securitas

viii	$\frac{A}{TES}$	A B $\Gamma$	B $\Gamma$	$\Gamma$	$\frac{A}{TES}$	A	A $\Gamma$ $\Delta$	A B
ix	$\frac{A}{TES}$	B $\Gamma$ $\Delta$	B $\Gamma$ $\Delta$		$\frac{A}{TES}$		A	
x	$\frac{A}{TES}$		$\Delta$		$\frac{A}{TES}$			
xi	$\frac{A}{TES}$			B	$\frac{A}{TES}$			
xii	$\frac{A}{TES}$	A			$\frac{A}{TES}$		A $\Gamma$	
xiii	$\frac{A}{TES}$	A B $\Delta$	A B $\Delta$		$\frac{A}{TES}$			
xiv	$\frac{A}{TES}$	B	A		$\frac{A}{TES}$		A	
xv	$\frac{A}{TES}$	B	B $\Gamma$ $\Delta$	B	$\frac{A}{TES}$			
xvi	$\frac{A}{TES}$				$\frac{A}{TES}$	A B		
xvii	$\frac{A}{TES}$	A B $\Gamma$ $\Delta$	A B $\Gamma$ $\Delta$	A B $\Gamma$ $\Delta$	$\frac{A}{TES}$	A B $\Gamma$ $\Delta$	A B $\Gamma$ $\Delta$	A B $\Gamma$

vii. I have a clear rubbing of a Valens Gloria from The Hague which gives N for M and is possibly evidence of another issue; officina letter A.

Officina letter in field. In all cases r. and l. field transposed for Securitas (continued)

GLORIA RO-MANORUM Nos. 16, 26, 31				SECURITAS-REIPUBLICAE Nos. 18, 27, 32			
Mint-mark	Valentinian	Valens	Gratian. Obv. legend undivided	Mint-mark	Valentinian	Valens	Gratian. Obv. legend undivided
xviii			Γ	· M TES			
xix			Γ	A P TES		Δ	
xx	A B	B Γ Δ	B	R A TES	A B		B Γ
xxi	A B	A B Γ Δ	A Γ	· R TES	A	A B Γ	
xxii		B		* R TES			
xxiii				· R TES*			A
xxiv	A A TES			A A TES			Γ

Series letter always l., officina letter always r. Sign alone transposed

xxv	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$	A	A	AB	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$	A	A	A	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$
xxvi	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$	A	A		$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$	A			$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$
xxvii	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$
xxviii	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$
xxix	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$
xxx	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$
xxxi	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$
xxxii	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$
xxxiii	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$
xxxiv	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$
xxxv	$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$				$\frac{A}{TES} \frac{A}{DIA}$

Series letter always l, officina letter always r. Sign alone transposed (continued)

GLORIA RO-MANORUM Nos. 16, 26, 31				SECURITAS-REPUBLICAE Nos. 18, 27, 32			
Mint-mark	Valentinian	Valens	Gratian. Obv. legend undivided	Mint-mark	Valentinian	Valens	Gratian. Obv. legend undivided
xxxvi		B Δ	A B	$\frac{V A}{TES}$	Γ		
xxxvii	A	A Δ	B	$\frac{V A}{TES}$	Γ		B Γ
xxxviii	A B Γ Δ	A B Γ Δ	A B Γ Δ	$\frac{V A}{TES}$	A B Γ	A B Γ Δ	A B Γ
xxxix			Obv. legend divided A-N	$\frac{S A}{TES}$			Obv. legend divided A-N
			A Γ Δ				A B Γ
			A Γ				A

A single, almost illegible, *Securitas* of Valentinian II (obv. unbroken with IVN and rev. almost certainly xxxix with officina letter B) is my only sure warrant for bringing over this issue into my third period. The division in Gratian's obv. legend seen in the course of mint-mark xxxviii probably dates from his father's death.

## MINT OF THESSALONICA


FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

Emperors: VALENTINIAN I and VALENS

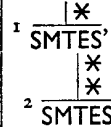
Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALEN-S PF AVGObverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(C) Pearl-diademed, draped in imperial mantle, l., holding *mappa*  
and short sceptre.  
(E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.

## GOLD


*Aureus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1	2 (C)	SALVS-REIP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe, and spurning captive kneeling l., head r.	R <sup>4</sup>		Cf. C.43; Gotha

*Solidus*\*

2 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVBLICAE Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe.	R <sup>2</sup>	SMTES	C.28; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	„	„	„	C.32; Paris
3 (a)	1 (C)	SALVS-REIP As no. 1.	„		C.32; 1, 2 B.M.

1. 5.52 gm.

\* At Dortmund is a barbarous *solidus*: *obv.* DN VALENT-INIANSVS AVG, bust helmeted (stars on helmet) and cuirassed, l., holding spear and shield in front; *rev.* GLORIA REIPVBLICAE as Treveri no. 12, but with VOT V MVLT X, mint-mark . The identical *obv.* is found also with *Restitutor rev.* type and Lugdunum mint-mark.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
3(b)	2 (C)	SALVS-REIP As no. 1.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 $\frac{  \times}{\text{SMTES}}$ 2 $\frac{\times}{\text{SMTES}}$ 3 $\frac{\times}{\text{SMTES}}$	C.43; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Gotha
4(a)	1 (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGG Two emperors seated facing, the one on r. holding <i>mappa</i> in l. hand; the two together holding globe. Behind and between them, a Victory with outspread wings.	„	1 SMTES, 2 $\frac{\times}{\text{SMTES}}$ 3 $\frac{\times}{\text{SMTES}}$	C.43; 1 Rome; 2 B.M.; 3 (copy in $\mathcal{A}$ ) Shortt Coll.
Pl. X, 2	(b) 2 (A)	„	„	1 SMTES, 2 SMTS, 3 $\frac{\times}{\text{SMTES}}$ 4 $\frac{\times}{\text{TES}}$ 5 $\frac{\times}{\text{TES}}$	C.53; 1, 4 B.M.; 2 Vienna; 3 Paris; 5 Confirmation required

 $1\frac{1}{2}$  *Scripulum*

5	1 (A)	PAX PER-PETVA Victory seated r. on cuirass, writing VOT   V   MVL   X on shield held up by winged Genius.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 TES, 2 TES•	C.15; 1, 2 Vienna
Pl. X, 4	6	2 (A) VICTORIA-DD NN AVGG Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>4</sup>	TES	Not in C.; Capitoline Museum

## SILVER

*Multiple*

7	1 (B)	VIRTVS RO-MANI EXERCITVS Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding in r. hand standard surmounted by $\times$ in wreath and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>5</sup>	SMTES	C.59; Paris
8	2 (A)	VIRTVS-EXERCITVS Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding in r. hand spear and resting l. on shield.	„	TES	C.73; Horsky Cat., 22.7.1917, no. 4555

5. 1, 1.65 gm.; 2, 1.61 gm.

7. 12.7 gm. = 3 light *miliarensia*.8. 11.5 gm. ? = 3 light *miliarensia*.



*Miliarensis* (heavy)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
9	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>5</sup>	TES	Not in C.; Fitzwilliam Museum <i>Pl. X, 1</i>

*Miliarensis* (light)

10(a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS Emperor, helmeted, stg. facing, head r., holding in r. hand reversed spear and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>2</sup>	TES	Not in C.; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.71; B.M.
11(a)	1 (E)	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding in r. hand <i>labarum</i> and resting l. on shield.	R	"	Not in C.; The Hague
	(b) 2 (E)	"	"	"	C.72; Trau Cat., no. 4515

*Siliqua*

12(a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe.	R	1 TES, 2 TES	C.19; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna
	(b) 2 (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	TESB	C.28; Copen- hagen
	(c) 2 (B)	As no. 12 (a), but emperor holding Victory on globe and <i>labarum</i> .	R <sup>4</sup>	TES	Not in C.; B.M.
13	1 (A)	VIRTVS - EXERCITVS Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding globe and spear.	"	"	Not in C.; Vienna
14	2 (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	"	C.91; O.U.C.

9. 5.39 gm.

10. (a) 4.048 gm.; (b) 4.4 gm.

11 (b). 3.69 gm.

12. A semi-barbarous variant of this type with 'head l.' and *rev.* RESTITOR ROMANI P; *obv.* DN VALE-NS PF AVG, mint-mark \*TES, is in the Hirsch Catalogue, 10.5.1909, no. 2735.

## BRONZE

*Aes I*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
15	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR – REIPVB LICAE <i>As no. 2.</i>	R <sup>4</sup>	TESA	C.30; noted by Koblitz

*Aes III*

16 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO – MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., with r. hand dragging captive and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	C	See p. 168	C.12
(b)	2 (A)	”	”	”	C.11
17 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV – TOR REIP <i>As</i> no. 2.	S	1 TESA, 2 TESB, 3 TESΓ, 4 TESΔ	C.21; 1, 3 B.M.; 2 Budapest; 4 Gotha
(b)	2 (A)	”	R	1 TESB, 2 TESΓ, 3 TESΔ	C.29; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 The Hague
18 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS – REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	C	See p. 168	C.37
(b)	2 (A)	”	”	”	C.47

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367–17 NOV. A.D. 375

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI – ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALEN – S PF AVG  
(3) DN GRATIANVS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.  
(M) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem) and cuirassed, l., holding spear  
and shield in front.

17 (a). Besides the normal module of c. 18 mm., the earlier of c. 15 or 16 mm. has  
also been noted by me for Valentinian I.

## GOLD

*Multiple*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
19	1 (E)	VICTORIA - D N AVG VSTI Emperor in military dress stg. facing, head l., holding <i>labarum</i> and globe. Behind, Victory holding wreath and palm, crowning him; before him, seated captive.	R <sup>5</sup>	TESOB	Not in C.; Newell Coll. (Amer. Num. Soc., N.Y.)
20	1 (M)	VICTORIA D N AVG VSTI Victory seated l. on throne, writing VOT   V   MVLT   X on shield held up by winged Genius.	R <sup>4</sup>	„	C.53; Paris
21	2 (M)	VICTORIA D N AVG VSTI Victory stg. r., l. foot on globe, holding with winged Genius a shield inscribed VOT   V   MVLT   X.	R <sup>5</sup>	„	C.69; Vienna

*Solidus*

22	3 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2, but at foot, an eagle holding up wreath in beak.	R <sup>3</sup>	TES	C.33; B.M.
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*Semis*

23	1 (A)	VICTORIAE D N AVG Victory seated r. on cuirass, writing VOT   V   MVLT   X on shield held up by Genius	R <sup>2</sup>	TESOB	Not in C.; Vienna
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 $1\frac{1}{2}$  *Scripulum*

24 (a)	1 (A)	PAX PER - PETVA Vic- tory stg. facing, holding wreath in either hand.	R <sup>2</sup>	TESOB	Cf. C.16; Vienna
(b)	2 (A)	„	„	„	C.23; Berlin

19. 28.8 gm. (with ring).

20. 6.72 gm. (with setting) =  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *solidus*.21. 8.97 gm. = 2 *solidi*.

23. 2.15 gm.

24 (a). 1.63 gm.

N

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
25	2 (A)	VOT   X   MV·LT   XX in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	TES	C.96; Vienna

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

26 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 16.	S	See pp. 169- 72	C.12
	(b) 2 (A)	”	C	”	C.11
	(c) 3 (A)	”	S	”	C.22
27 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 18.	”	”	C.37
	(b) 2 (A)	”	C	”	C.47
	(c) 3 (A)	”	S	”	C.34

THIRD PERIOD: 17 NOV. A.D. 375-9 AUG. A.D. 378

*Emperors:* VALENS, GRATIAN, and VALENTINIAN II

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
 (2) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTIANVS IVN PF AVG  
 (3<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (N) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l., raising r. hand and holding globe in l.

## GOLD

*Multiple*

28	1 (N)	PIETAS-DDDNNNAVG VSTORVM Emperor, nimbate, stg. facing between his two colleagues who look towards him. The emperor on l. is smaller. All hold sceptre in r. hand and rest l. on shield.	R <sup>5</sup>	TESOB	C.24; Vienna
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28. 51.78 gm. (with setting).

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
29	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVLТ   X in laurel-wreath.	R	Т⌘E	C.67; Vienna Pl. X, 15
30(a)	1 (A)	VOT   VX   MVLТ   XX (or MV•LT) in laurel-wreath.	„	„	C.100; B.M. Pl. X, 12
(b)	2 (A)	„	S	„	C.73; Paris Pl. X, 11

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

31	}	GLORIA RO-MANOR	} See note following mint-mark xxxix on p. 172.
		VM As no. 26.	
32		SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI	
		CAE As no. 27.	

FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

*Emperors:* GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS  
(from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS IVN PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>c</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(4) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG

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

## GOLD

*Solidus*

33(a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - REIPVB Two emperors seated facing, the one on r. holding <i>mappa</i> in l. hand, the two together holding globe. Behind, a Victory holding wreath in either hand, crowning both emperors. They have l. leg bare.	R <sup>+</sup>	TESOB	Not in C.; Vierordt Cat., 5.3.1923, no. 2846
(b)	3 (A)	„	„	„	Not in C.; Pl. X, 3 Gotha

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
Pl. X, 5	34 (a)	1 (A) VICTOR-IA AVGG Two emperors seated facing, the one on r. holding <i>mappa</i> in l. hand, the two together holding globe. Behind, a Victory with outspread wings; below, palm. The emperors have l. leg bare.	R	TESOB	C.38; B.M.
	(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A) "	R <sup>3</sup>	1 TESOB, 2 TESOB•	C.36; 1 Goodacre; 2 note in B.M.
	(c)	3 (A) "	R <sup>2</sup>	TESOB	C.37; B.M.
	(d)	1 (A) As no. 34 (a), but emperor on r. smaller.	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Cf. C.39; Vienna
	(e)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A) "	R	"	C.36; Vienna
Pl. X, 6	(f)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A) As no. 34 (a), but emperor on l. has r. leg bare.	R <sup>4</sup>	THCOB	Cf. C.37; B.M.
	(g)	3 (A) As no. 34 (f), but <i>rev.</i> legend ends AVGG•.	R <sup>5</sup>	"	Cf. C.37; Hunterian
	(h)	1 (A) As no. 34 (a), but emperors are nimbate.	R <sup>3</sup>	• COM	C.38; B.M.
	(i)	2 <sup>c</sup> (A) "	R	1 COM, • 2 COM	C.37; 1 Oman Coll.; 2 B.M.
	(j)	3 (A) "	R <sup>2</sup>	1 COM, • 2 COM	C.37; 1 Vienna; 2 Hall Coll.
	(k)	4 (A) "	R <sup>4</sup>	• COM	S.19; Dort- mund

1½ *Scripulum*

35	1 (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>3</sup>	COM	C.44; Trau Cat., no. 4550
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## SILVER

*Siliqua*

Pl. X, 16	36	1 (A) VOT   XV   MVL   XXX   in laurel-wreath.	S	T*E	C.76; Copen- hagen
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BRONZE  
*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
37 (a)	1 (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB Emperor stg. facing, head l., with r. hand raising kneeling turreted woman and holding Victory on globe in l.	C	$\begin{array}{c}  A \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\  B \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$	C.30; 1 B.M.; 2, 3 Zagreb; 4 Budapest; 5 Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	$\begin{array}{c}  A \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\  B \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$	C.28; 1, 4 B.M.; 2 Zagreb; 3 Gotha; 5 Vienna; 6 Berlin
(c)	2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	$\begin{array}{c}  A \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\  B \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$	C.28; 1 Pearce; 2 Vienna
(d)	3 (A)	"	"	$\begin{array}{c}  A \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\  B \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{SMTES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{TES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$ $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \hline \text{TES}' \\   \\ \hline \end{array}$	C.27; 1-4 Pearce; 5, 6 Zagreb

*Aes III\**

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
38	3 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Constantinopolis, turreted, seated facing, head r., hold- ing spear in r. hand and resting l. on knee.	R <sup>2</sup>	TES	C.6; Budapest
39 (a)	1 (A)	„ Roma seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear. Her l. leg bare.	S	$\begin{array}{c}  B \\ \hline 1 \text{ SMTES}' \\   \Gamma \\ \hline 2 \text{ SMTES}' \\   \Delta \\ \hline 3 \text{ SMTES}' \\ 4 \text{ SMTESA,} \\ 5 \text{ SMTESB,} \\ 6 \text{ SMTES}\Delta \end{array}$	C.21; 1-6 Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	„	R <sup>3</sup>	$\begin{array}{c}   \Delta \\ \hline 1 \text{ SMTES}' \\ 2 \text{ SMTES}\Delta \end{array}$	C.9; 1, 2 Vienna
(c)	3 (A)	„	R <sup>4</sup>	SMTESΔ	C.14; Zagreb
40	1 (A)	„ Constantinopolis, hel- meted, seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear; foot on prow. Her r. leg bare.	„	SMTESΓ	Not in C.; Ulrich-Bansa
41	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTOR-IA AVGGG As no. 33.	R	TES	C.45; B.M.
42	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO - MANOR VM Roma seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear.	S	„	C.57; B.M.

*Aes IV* (larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)

43	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVL   XX in wreath.	R	TES	C.75; Copen- hagen
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43. 1.4 gm., 15 mm.

\* A single specimen of SECVRITAS-REIPVBLICAE with *obv.* of Theodosius, mint-mark TESΓ, seen by me in Vienna, must be a hybrid.



## FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, (usurpers) MAGNUS MAXIMUS and VICTOR (from late in the period). In the East, Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius, had received the title of Augusta at the elevation of their son, Arcadius

## I. Temporary occupation of the mint by Theodosius: ?c. 25 Aug. A.D. 383-?c. autumn of A.D. 384

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
(4) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front.  
(K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front. Above, hand holding wreath.  
(L) Draped with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
44 (a)	1 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor, stg. l., head r., on ship, raising r. hand. Victory seated at helm.	C	1 TESA,   R 2 TESA'   R 3 TESA	C.22; <i>Pl. X, 7</i> 1 Hollschek; 2, 3 B.M.
(b)	2 (J)	"	"	1   TESB'   R 2 TESA'   R 3 TESA	C.19; 1-3 B.M.
45 (a)	3 <sup>b</sup> (K)	" Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding standard in r. hand and resting l. on shield. To l., captive seated l., head turned r.	"	TESΓ•	S.29; B.M.
(b)	"	" As no. 45 (a), but captive on l., kneeling r.	S	"	Pearce

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
46	4 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory seated r., writing $\Sigma$ on shield resting on small column.	S	1 TESA, 2 TESΔ, 3 •TESΔ	C.4; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Pearce

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

47	4 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 46.	S	TESΔ	C.5; Hollschek
48 (a)	2 (A)	VOT   V in wreath.	„	TES	C.63; Vienna
(b)	3 (A)	„	„	1 TES, 2 TESΓ	S.47; 1 B.M.; 2 Pearce
Pl. X, 22 49 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLΤ   XX in wreath.	„	TES	C.73; B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	„	„	1 TES, 2 TESB	C.68; 1 B.M.; 2 Pearce

## II. After the restoration of the mint to Valentinian II

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>c</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(C) Pearl-diademed and draped in imperial mantle, l., holding  
*mappa* and sceptre.

## GOLD

*Solidus*

50 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (B)	CONCORDI-A AVGGG Constantinopolis, helmeted, seated facing, head r., on throne adorned with lions' heads, holding sceptre and globe. Her r. foot on prow.	R <sup>2</sup>	COMOB	Cf. C.2; B.M.
(b)	3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	„	R <sup>4</sup>	„	Cf. S.16; The Hague
(c)	3 <sup>c</sup> (B)	„	R <sup>3</sup>	„	B.M.
(d)	3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	As no. 50 (a), but <i>rev.</i> legend ends AVGGGS.	R <sup>4</sup>	„	Not in S.; Vienna
51	„	As no. 50 (a), but no lions' heads and Constantinopolis hold shield inscribed VOT   V   MVLΤ   X.	R <sup>5</sup>	„	Not in S.; Pearce (copy in $\mathcal{A}$ )

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
52	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	As no. 51, but VOT   X   MVL T   XV on shield.	R <sup>5</sup>	COMO ( <i>sic</i> )	Not in S.; Gotha
53	2 (A)	As no. 51, but reverse legend ends AVGGG B and shield is inscribed VOT   X   MVL T   XX.	"	CONOB	See note below and <i>N. C.</i> , 1938, p. 239
54	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	As no. 51, but VOT   XV   MVL T   XX on shield.	R <sup>3</sup>	COMOB	Not in C.; Vienna
55 (a)	"	VICTOR-IA AVGG As do. 34 (h).	R <sup>2</sup>	COM	C.37; O.U.C.
(b)	1 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	"	"	B.M.
(c)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.37; B.M.
(d)	2 (B)	"	"	"	Berlin
(e)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Cf. S.19; <i>Pl. X, 8</i>
(f)	3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	"	"	B.M. Vienna

## SILVER

*Multiple*

56	2 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICE Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding <i>labarum</i> in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>5</sup>	TES	C.29; Paris
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*Miliarensis* (light)

57 (a)	1 (?)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Emperor carrying tro- phy on shoulder, dragging captive r.	R <sup>4</sup>	TES	Not in C.; Zegga
(b)	2 (?)	"	"	"	Not in C.; Petrović

*Siliqua*

58 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   X   MVL T   XX in wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	TES	C.71; B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	C.67; B.M.
(c)	2 (B)	"	"	"	Ermitage
(d)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Not in S.; <i>Pl. X, 17</i> Ermitage

53. The lettering is distinctly Thessalonican and the portraiture not Constantinopolitan.

57 (a) and (b). I know of these coins only through the kindness of Dr. G. Elmer.

58 (a) and (d) have *rev.* identity. 58 (b) and (c) have *rev.* identity, linking Thessalonican and Constantinopolitan portraits.

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
<i>Pl. X, 13</i>	59 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (C) GLORIA REI-PVBLICE Gate of camp; above, $\text{P}$ .	S	1 TES, 2 $\frac{\text{A}}{\text{TES}}$	Not in C.; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna
	(b)	2 (C) "	"	1 $\frac{\text{B}}{\text{TES}}$ , 2 $\frac{\Delta}{\text{TES}}$	Cf. C. 15; 1 Vienna; 2 B.M.
	(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (C) "	"	1 TES, 2 $\frac{\Gamma}{\text{TES}}$	S.34; 1 Vienna; 2 Pearce
60 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 16.	R <sup>2</sup>	$\frac{\text{A}}{\text{TES}}$	C.23; Budapest
	(b)	2 (A) "	S, R	1 $\frac{\text{B}}{\text{TES}}$ , 2 $\frac{\Delta}{\text{TES}}$	C.23; 1 Pearce; 2 Vatican
	(c)	3 <sup>c</sup> (A) "	S	1 $\frac{\Gamma}{\text{TES}}$ , 2 TES	S.36; 1 Pearce; 2 Ulrich-Bansa
<i>Pl. X, 14</i>	61 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A) VIRTVS - AVGGG Em- peror stg. l., head r., on ship, holding phoenix on globe and standard. His r. foot on captive; Victory on helm.	"	1 TES, 2 $\frac{\text{A}}{\text{TES}}$ , 3 $\frac{\text{B}}{\text{TES}}$	C.55; 1 Paris; 2, 3 Pearce
	(b)	2 (A) "	"	1 $\frac{\text{A}}{\text{TES}}$ , 2 $\frac{\text{B}}{\text{TES}}$	C.51; 1 Vienna; 2 Pearce
	(c)	3 <sup>c</sup> (A) "	"	$\frac{\Gamma}{\text{TES}}$	S.36; Pearce

*Aes IV*

62 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA REI-PVBLICE As no. 59, but without $\text{P}$ .	S	1 TES, 2 $\frac{\text{A}}{\text{TES}}$ , 3 $\frac{\Delta}{\text{TES}}$	C.12; 1-3 B.M.
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59-63. The regular *offinae* are: for Valentinian II A, for Theodosius B and  $\Delta$ , for Arcadius  $\Gamma$ . Exceptions are rare.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
62(b)	2 (A)	GLORIA REI-PVBLICE As no. 59, but without P.	S	1 TES, 2 $\frac{B }{TES}$ , 3 $\frac{\Gamma }{TES}$ , 4 $\frac{\Delta }{TES}$	C.16; 1 Vienna; 2, 4 Pearce; 3 B.M.
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	1 TES, 2 $\frac{B }{TES}$ , 3 $\frac{\Gamma }{TES}$ , 4 $\frac{\Delta }{TES}$	S.34; 1-4 Vienna  Pl. X, 18
63(a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTORIA AVG Two Victories facing each other, each holding wreath.	"	1 TESA, 2 $\frac{\cdot}{TESA}$	Not in C.; 1 B.M.; 2 Budapest
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1 TESB, 2 $\frac{\cdot}{TES\Delta}$ , 3 $\frac{\cdot}{TESB}$ , 4 $\frac{\cdot}{TES\Delta}$	Not in C.; 1, 3 Vienna; 2 The Hague; 4 B.M.  Pl. X, 19
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	$\frac{\cdot}{TES\Gamma}$	Not in S.; B.M.

SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388—SPRING OF A.D. 393

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, and ARCADIUS

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
 (4<sup>a</sup>) DN HONORI-IVS PF AVG  
 (4<sup>b</sup>) DN HONORI-VS PF AVG

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

GOLD  
*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
64 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	CONCORDI-A AVGGG As no. 50 (a).	R <sup>4</sup>	COMOB	Cf. C.2; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	C.8; Rome
	(c) 2 (B)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	Berlin
	(d) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	Cf. S.16; The Hague
Pl. X, 10	(e) 4 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Not in C.; B.M.
Pl. X, 9	(f) "	" (but blundered CON COR-IA and AVGG).	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Not in C.; B.M.
	(g) 4 <sup>b</sup> (A)	As no. 64 (a).	"	"	C.7; Paris

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

Pl. X, 20	65 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory advancing l., head r., carrying trophy on shoulder and dragging captive. In field l., †.	S	1 TESA, 2 TESB, 3 TESΔ	C.30; 1, 3 Vienna; 2 Pearce
	(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1 TESA, 2 TESB, 3 TESΔ	C.30; 1-3 B.M.
	(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	TESΓ	B.M.

64 (a). Theodosius has *obv.* identity with the *solidus* VICTOR-IA AVGG,  
mint-mark  $\frac{S|M}{COMOB}$ .

64 (f). Honorius has *obv.* identity with the *solidus* VICTOR-IA AVGG,  
mint-mark  $\frac{S|M}{COMOB}$ .

64 (g). The *obv.* bust is distinctly larger in the two specimens I have seen and they may fall outside this period.

65 (a). Also with † in l. field, mint-mark TESA (B.M.).



## HERACLEA

## VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

VALENTINIAN'S 'Restitutor' coinage is represented by rare specimens of the *solidus*, by Æ 1 and Æ 3. Valens' name on the *solidus* is divided *Valen-s*, on the Æ 3 *Valen-s* and *Vale-ns*. I have not seen an Æ 1 with his name. After this issue striking in gold seems to have ceased altogether. A *siliqua* of Procopius, given by Cohen (no. 14) with mint-mark HΓ, but not seen by me, may be evidence of a small silver issue. But henceforth Heraclea seems to have been restricted to striking in bronze.

When the Æ 3 *Restitutor reip.* was followed by the new Æ 3 types, *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae*, *officinae* Γ and Δ were added to the A and B which alone have been seen by me for the 'Restitutor' type. Three *officinae* are seen on the rare coins of Procopius, which include both his earlier issue on Valentinian's current Æ 3 standard and his later in which he reverted to Julian's. This later issue which at Procopius' other mints showed 'a small indeterminate object' at foot to the left of the standing figure of the reverse, omits this, as, in the time of Theodosius, Heraclea also omitted the Chi-Rho in the l. field of the Æ 4 *Salus reipublicae*.

## VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

The only coinage is the continuation of the *Gloria* and *Securitas* types. My evidence is scanty, and often ambiguous owing to the difficulty of distinguishing between H and N (Nicomedia) of the mint-mark. Gratian's name is unbroken, as on some but not all of his Constantinople coins with the same types and similar signs Χ|Ω. This suggests that the issue from Heraclea did not last long. Indeed, other issues from Constantinople are not matched by corresponding Heracleian mint-marks, so presumably the mint was closed, and remained closed for many years.

GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379),  
AND ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

We meet with no more coinage from Heraclea on the western model. Gratian's 'differentiated' issue and the following Æ 2 *Reparatio reipub.* and Æ 4 *vota* coins are not represented there and coinage is resumed only with the Æ 3 *Concordia Auggg.*, which, though struck throughout both empires with common legend and general uniformity of type, yet follows readily distinguishable models in West and East,



with Rome striking with the East. Heraclea, more than any other eastern mint, is linked closely with Constantinople by its mint-marks.

On 19 January A.D. 383 Theodosius proclaimed his son, Arcadius, emperor, and at or about the same time inaugurated his new and exclusively eastern bronze coinage. Unlike Constantinople, which struck for the four Augusti and the Augusta, Flaccilla, in five strictly differentiated *officinae*, Heraclea seems to strike without any differentiation in two *officinae* only. It seems probable that where  $\Gamma$  or  $\Delta$  has been recorded the N of the mint-mark has been misread as H.

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS;  
(usurpers) MAXIMUS AND VICTOR

The bronze coinage follows exactly the same course as at Constantinople, except that there are no coins found for Maximus. Two *officinae* only seem to have been in use. After Maximus' death the  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Salus reipublicae*, struck by Theodosius in all his eastern, and in Valentinian II's former western mints, comes from four *officinae*. The Chi-Rho, so typical of the coin as it appears at other mints, is missing at Heraclea. As at all eastern mints the two young Augusti have unbroken obverse legend.

THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, AND HONORIUS

The only coinage I have seen from Heraclea for the last two years of Theodosius' life is the  $\text{Æ} 2$  *Gloria Romanorum* 'Emperor standing, holding standard and globe', struck in two\* *officinae* A and B. Arcadius has the broken, Honorius the unbroken obverse legend. The  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Gloria Romanorum* 'Emperor on horseback' and the  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Salus reipublicae*, both of which were struck at other eastern mints during this period, are missing here, but may yet be found by further research into this hitherto badly neglected portion of the coinage.

\* I believe that instances of this issue quoted with  $\Gamma$  are due to a misreading of N (Nicomedia) as H, and that  $\Delta$  quoted from either mint must be a misreading of A.

## MINT OF HERACLEA

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

Emperors: VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and PROCOPIUS  
(from 28 Sept. A.D. 365 to 27 May A.D. 366)Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENS-PF AVG  
(2<sup>c</sup>) DN VALE-NS PF AVG  
(3) DN PROCO-PIVS PF AVGObverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMHA	C.28; B.M.
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	„	„	C.32; B.M. <i>Pl. XV, 1</i>

## BRONZE

*Aes I*

2	1 (A)	As no. 1, but standard for <i>labarum</i> .	R <sup>4</sup>	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB	C.30; 1 Pearce; 2 noted by Koblitz	<i>Pl. XV, 7</i>
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*Aes III*

3 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., dragging captive with r. hand and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	R	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 SMHF	C.12; 1 Vienna; 2 Arpas hoard; 3 Budapest
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	S	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 SMHF, 4 SMHΔ, 5 SMHA	C.11; 1 Vienna; 2, 3 Pearce; 4, 5 Öcsöd hoard

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
3 (c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 3 (a).	S	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 SMHΓ	1, 3 Arpas hoard; 2 Zagreb
4 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 2.	R <sup>2</sup>	SMHA	C.21; The Hague
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	„	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB	C.29; 1 Rich- borough; 2 Vienna
	(c) 2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	„	„	SMHB	Hansen
5 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB	C.37; 1, 2 Arpas hoard
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	S	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 SMHΓ, 4 SMHΔ, 5 $\frac{\cdot}{\text{SMHA}}$ , 6 $\frac{\cdot}{\text{SMHB}}$ , 7 $\frac{\cdot}{\text{SMH}\Delta}$ , 8 $\frac{\Gamma}{\text{SMHA}}$	C.47; 1-3, 6 Vienna; 4, 5, 7 Buda- pest; 8 Fitz- william Museum
	(c) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	„	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 SMHΓ	1-3 Arpas hoard

Pl. XV, 15

## COINAGE OF PROCOPIUS

## BRONZE

*Double maiorina*\*

Pl. XV, 8	6	3 (A)	REPARATI-OFELTEMP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding spear in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMHΓ	C.6; Paris
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6. 10.0 gm.; another at Vienna 11.5 gm.

\* Cf. Elmer, *Verzeichnis d. röm. Reichsprägungen*, p. 27, and *N. Z.*, 1937, p. 42.

*Aes III* (Julian's module)\*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
7	3 (E)	REPARATI-O FEL TEMP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> in r. hand and resting l. on shield. Above, in field, r., ✱.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 SMHB, 2 SMHΓ, 3 $\frac{\cdot}{\text{SMHA}}$ , 4 SMHB', 5 $\frac{\cdot}{\text{SMHA}}$ , 6 SMHB', 7 SMHΓ', 8 ✱SMHB	C.8; 1 confirmation required; 2 (cast) Pearce; 3 B.M.; 4, 7 Lawrence; 5, 6 Ulrich-Bansa; 8 Sotheby Cat., 13.6.1906, lot 691 <i>Pl. XV, 17</i>

*Aes III* (Valentinian's module)

8	3 (E)	As no. 7, but without ✱.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB	C.10; 1 confirmation required; 2 Gotha
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SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

*Emperors*: VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN VALENS-PF AVG  
 (3) DN GRATIANVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

9 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 3.	R	$\frac{\cdot}{\text{SMHB}}$	C.12; Arpas hoard
(b)	2 (A)	"	S	1 $\frac{\cdot}{\text{SMHA}}$ , 2 $\frac{\cdot}{\text{SMHB}}$	C.11; 1 Vienna; 2 Arpas hoard

7. The 'indeterminate object' seen at the emperor's feet in the l. field on coins of this denomination from other mints is absent at Heraclea. A manuscript note by

Koblitz quotes also  $\frac{\cdot}{\text{SMN}\Gamma}$  and  $\frac{\cdot}{\text{✱SMNA}}$  from Voetter.

\* See p. 192, n. \*.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
9 (c)	3 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 3.	R	1 $\frac{\times   R}{SMHA'}$ 2 $\frac{\times   R}{CMHA}$	C.23; 1, 2 Vienna
10 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 5.	"	1 $\frac{\times   R}{SMHA'}$ 2 $\frac{\times   R}{SMHB}$	C.37; 1 The Hague; 2 Ulrich- Bansa
	(b) 2 (A)	"	S	1 $\frac{\times   R}{SMHA'}$ 2 $\frac{\times   R}{SMHB}$	C.47; 1, 2 Pearce

No coins seem to have been struck during the third period.

FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

*Emperors:* GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383).

Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius, received the title of Augusta at the elevation of their son, Arcadius

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(4<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(4<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
(5) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front.  
(K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front. Above, hand holding wreath.  
(L) Draped with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.


















BRONZE

*Aes II*

11 (a)	1 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor stg. l., head r., on ship, raising r. hand. Victory seated at helm.	S	SMHB	C.25; Pearce
	(b) 2 (J)	"	"	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB	C.22; 1 Pearce; 2 The Hague
	(c) 3 (J)	"	C	SMHA	C.19; B.M.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
12	4 <sup>b</sup> (K)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding <i>labarum</i> in r. hand, and resting l. on shield. To l., captive seated l., head r.	C	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB	S.29; 1 Ermi- tage; 2 B.M.
13	5 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory seated r., writing ✕ on shield resting on small column.	S	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB	C.4; 1, 2 B.M.

*Aes III*

14(a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Roma, helmeted, seated fac- ing on throne, head l., holding globe and partly seen spear; her r. leg bare.	S	1  SMHA' 2  SMHB' 3  SMHA	Cf. C.3; 1, 3 Zagreb; 2 Pearce
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1  SMHA' 2  SMHB	C.2; 1 Hollschek; 2 Ulrich- Bansa
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	 SMHA	C.14; Pearce
15(a)	1 (A)	As no. 14, but (1) head r., (2) holding partly seen spear and globe.	R	 SMHA  SMHA	B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	 SMHA	Berlin
(c)	3 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	 SMHA	Hollschek
16(a)	1 (A)	As no. 15, but Roma's r. foot on prow.	S	1  SMHA' 2  SMHB' 3  SMHB' 4 SMHA	Cf. C.4; 1 Hollschek; 2 O.U.C.; 3, 4 B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1  SMHA' 2  SMHB	Not in C.; 1 Hollschek; 2 The Hague
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	1  SMHA' 2  SMHB	C.5; 1 B.M.; 2 Pearce

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
17	5 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 13.	R	1 SMHA, 2 •SMHA	C.5; 1 Zagreb; 2 B.M.
18 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V in wreath.	R <sup>2</sup>	SMHA	C.64; Pearce
(b)	4 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	C	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 SMHΔ, 4 •SMHB	S.47; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 The Hague; 4 Zagreb
19 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLT   XX in wreath.	R	SMHB	C.71; Ermitage
(b)	2 (A)	„	C	„	C.70; B.M.
(c)	3 (A)	„	„	1 SMHA, 2 •SMHΔ	C.68; 1, 2 B.M.
20 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   XX   MVLT   XXX in wreath.	S	1 SMHB, 2 SMHΔ	C.77; 1 B.M.; 2 Zagreb
(b)	2 (A)	„	R	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 •SMHA	C.73; 1 Pearce; 2 B.M.; 3 Berlin
(c)	3 (A)	„	„	1 SMHA, 2 SMHΓ, 3 SMHΔ, 4 •SMHΔ	C.68; 1 B.M.; 2, 4 Zagreb; 3 Alföldi (op. cit., p. 44)

Pl. XVI,  
16

## FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

Emperors: VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, and (usurpers) MAGNUS MAXIMUS and VICTOR (from late in the period). Coins were struck also in the name of Flaccilla

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
(4) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front.  
(K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front. Above, hand holding wreath.  
(L) Draped with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.

19 (c). Rev. V X T | MVLT | + +, mint-mark SMHA (Pearce); otherwise not at all barbarous (Pl. XVI, 16).

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
21 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 11.	R	$\frac{\tau}{\text{SMHA}}$	C.22; B.M.
	(b) 2 (J)	„	C	$\frac{\tau}{\text{SMHA}}$	C.19; B.M.
22	3 <sup>b</sup> (K)	„ As no. 12.	„	$\frac{\tau}{\text{SMHB}}$ $\frac{\tau}{\text{SMHB}\times}$	S.29; 1 Paris; 2 B.M.
23	4 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 13.	R	$\frac{\tau}{\text{SMHA}\times}$	C.4; B.M.
24 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VIRTVS E-XERCITI Em- peror stg. r., holding <i>labarum</i> and globe; l. foot on captive.	S	1 •SMHB, $\frac{\times}{\text{SMHB}}$ 2 •SMHB	C.57; 1, 2 Pearce
	(b) 2 (A)	„	C	1 •SMHA, $\frac{\times}{\text{SMHA}}$ 2 •SMHA	C.54; 1 O.U.C.; 2 B.M.
	(c) 3 <sup>a</sup>	„	„	1 SMHB. 2 •SMHB, $\frac{\times}{\text{SMHB}}$ 3 •SMHB	S.45; 1-3 B.M.
25	4 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Empress stg. facing, head r., with arms crossed on breast.	S	$\frac{\times   +}{\text{SMHA}}$ $\frac{\times   +}{\text{SMHA}}$	C.6; 1 Gotha; 2 B.M.

*Aes IV*

As the evidence from Siscia and Thessalonica shows, nos. 17, 18, 19 were continued for a while after Gratian's death, but there is nothing by which we can distinguish between an earlier and a later part of the issue, and the mint-marks given under these numbers must be taken to apply to the whole issue. I have so far found no coin of Gratian with mint-mark •SMHA, but as it occurs for Theodosius and Arcadius with Gratian's *vota* figures XX-XXX (which do not occur at Siscia and Thessalonica in their post-Gratian issue of eastern types), it will, I feel no doubt, be found for Gratian also.



SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388-15 MAY A.D. 392

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, and ARCADIUS

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
26 (a)	1 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory advancing l., head r., carrying trophy on shoulder and dragging captive.	R	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 SMHΔ	C.30; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Zagreb
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB	C.30; 1, 2 B.M.
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 SMHΓ, 4 SMHΔ	S.41; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Lawrence; 4 Zagreb

SEVENTH PERIOD: 15 MAY A.D. 392-17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors:* THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper, from 22 Aug. A.D. 392), and HONORIUS (from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
 (3) DN HONORIVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

27 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding standard and globe.	C	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 SMHA, 4 SMHB	C.18; 1-4 Pearce
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26. Notice the absence of sign in the l. field. The letters of the exergue are mostly very ill-formed and difficult to decipher with certainty. I think that Γ and Δ must represent a die-cutter's careless attempt at A.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
27(b)	2 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM As no. 27 (a).	C	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \times \end{array}$ , 4 $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \times \end{array}$	S.35; 1-4 Pearce
(c)	3 (A)	„	„	1 SMHA, 2 SMHB, 3 $\begin{array}{c}   \\ \times \end{array}$ SMHB	C.20; 1 Budapest; 2, 3 Pearce



## CONSTANTINOPOLIS

VALENTINIAN AND VALENS: PROCOPIUS (usurper)  
(from 28 Sept. A.D. 365 to 27 May A.D. 366)

THE mint-marks in use at the time of Jovian's death were continued on the earliest coinage of Valentinian. They are: *N*, CONSP; *R*, CP·A (A here = any *officina* letter); *Æ*, CONSPA. During the use of these mint-marks Valens' obverse legend which begins as *D. n. Valens-p. f. Aug.* is changed to *D. n. Valens-p. f. Aug.*

Valentinian's *Restitutor* type was struck at Constantinople in all three metals. The *solidus* is rare, only four being found in the Dortmund hoard as against fifty-one from Antioch. It seems to have been struck only in two small issues, the first, before the change in Valens' obverse legend, the second, during the final year of the senior emperors' *quinquennium*. The *siliqua* is still more rare; I have seen only two specimens, both of Valentinian. The *Æ* 1 has not been seen by me for Valens; the *Æ* 3 seems to be no rarer than from other mints, but Valens has only his earlier style of obverse legend.

While Antioch kept up a continuous issue of the *Restitutor* gold type, the silver of this period was mainly supplied from Constantinople by a long issue of *vota siliquae*. They start—like the *Restitutor siliqua*—with the mint-mark CP·A, and it was in this part of their issue that the change in Valens' obverse style took place.

Besides the *vota siliquae* a large issue of *argentei* with the same *vota* figure *V* was struck, with mint-marks CONSPA and CONSA. These mint-marks are found also on some extremely rare *miliarensia*, and it seems likely that both these exceptional denominations were intended as presentation pieces to commemorate some important event. Their mint-marks coincide with those of the *vota siliquae* in their latest stage after the fall of Procopius, and, I think, the *miliarensia* and *argentei* were struck in honour of the victory. This dating depends on the correctness of my assumption that the sequence of mint-marks on the *vota siliquae* is: CP·A, CPA, C·PA, C·A, ·C·A (the last two are shared by Procopius), ✕C·A, CONSA, ·CONSA·.

In *aes* the *Æ* 3 *Gloria* and *Securitas* types begin while Valens still has his earlier style of obverse legend, and while the *aes* mint-mark carried on from Jovian is still in use. Of 125 coins of these types in the Danubian hoards from Constantinople 52 seem to belong to this period, while 73 have mint-marks shared by Gratian. As the mint was in the hands of Procopius from September A.D. 365 to May A.D. 366, when the issue of these types was suspended, it is clear that the rest of this period is represented by a disproportionately large

number of coins, compared with the eight years of the following period during the whole of which these types were being struck in the western empire. This points to an early suspension of these types in the East.

#### COINAGE OF PROCOPIUS

At first Procopius struck his *solidi*, *siliquae*, and  $\text{Æ} 3$  on the standards in use at the time of his seizure of the mint. Afterwards, according to Elmer ('Die Kupfergeldreform unter Julianus Philosophus', *N. Z.*, 1937, p. 42), he reverted to Julian's *aes* system, striking  $\text{Æ} 3$  at  $\frac{1}{108}$  lb. instead of the previous  $\frac{1}{120}$ , and multiples of this at  $\frac{1}{54}$  and  $\frac{1}{27}$  lb. I have seen no specimen of the  $\frac{1}{54}$  coin. His *siliqua* mint-marks are C·A and ·C·A. The former is found for Valentinian and, more frequently, for Valens; the latter has not yet been found by me for Valentinian and is rare for Valens. Apparently Procopius secured the mint while the former was in progress, then proceeded to the mint-mark ·C·A which was still in use at the time of his death and was very soon abandoned by the legitimate emperors.

#### VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

The empire, though partitioned, was a unity in face of the outside world, and this unity was brought home to every individual Roman by the possession of a common coinage. Valentinian, in every way and by every right the leading spirit in the partnership of empire, was determined that the direction in any matter demanding a common policy should rest with himself, the emperor of the West, and he kept in his own hands the right of enforcing upon every mint of either empire a uniform coinage which would be at the same time an assurance of unity and a symbol of western leadership. It is clear that the bronze coinage, of universal circulation, would be the chosen medium for this message, and for some nineteen years the East struck none but western *aes* types. There is, however, no such uniformity in issues in other metals. But in the time between Gratian's elevation in August A.D. 367 and the completion of the senior emperors' *quinquennium* in February A.D. 369 there is an interesting coinage at both Treveri and Constantinople which shows close co-ordination of West and East. The *solidi Principium iuventutis* of Gratian, and *Restitutor reipublicae* and *Vota publica* of the senior emperors, are linked at Treveri by the short-lived *A* mint-mark SMTR, and at Constantinople by the short-lived mint-mark \*CONSR. With the same mint-mark Constantinople strikes the *solidus Gloria reipublicae* with *vota* figures V-X and Treveri strikes it with *vota* figures X-XV and mint-mark TROB which succeeded SMTR on the gold. And the (?medallic)  $\text{Æ} 2$  *Gloria Romanorum* 'Camp-gate with S between the

turrets', extremely rare from Treveri, appears also, in a ?unique specimen, from Constantinople. This group may be dated to A.D. 368.

The next group of *solidi* commemorates the taking of vows for the second *quinquennium* of the senior emperors. They were probably struck on the completion of the first *quinquennium* early in A.D. 369. We have the *solidi Victoria Augustorum* with *vota* figures X-XX for the seniors and V-X for Gratian, and an *aureus Victoria d. n. Aug.* of Gratian with his *vota* numbers V-X. These are connected by the

mint-mark  $\frac{\ast}{\text{CONOB}}$ . The Victory must be that claimed by Valens

over the Goths (cf. '*Gothicus maximus*', '*victis superatisque Gothis*' in inscriptions of this time). This coinage has no similarity to the western except in the guarantee of purity of metal given by -OB.

No help in dating is got from the mint-marks of the rare *A semisses* and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *scripulum* issues.

For the next ten years the gold coinage of the East seems to be concentrated at Antioch.

In silver we have heavy and light *miliarensia*, apparently from their

mint-marks  $\frac{\ast|\ast}{\ast\text{CONSA}\ast}$  and  $\frac{|\ast}{\ast\text{CONSA}\ast}$  struck together; they refer

most likely to Valens' Gothic 'victory'. That they are found in ?unique examples for Valentinian only has little or no force as an argument in the case of such rare coins. Another *miliarensis Victoria d. n. Aug.*, mint-mark  $\ast\text{CONSR}$ , must accompany our first *A* group of this period with the same mint-mark, and no doubt the *siliquae Vot. v mult. x* for the senior emperors and *Votis v* for Gratian with mint-mark  $\ast\text{C}\cdot\text{AR}$  are part of the A.D. 368 quinquennial issue.

A second group of *siliquae* with mint-mark  $\ast\text{C}\ast\text{SR}$  and *vota* X-XX for the senior emperors and V-X for Gratian helps to date the first-mentioned *miliarensia* to the year A.D. 369. If they had been struck towards the end of the second *quinquennium*, Gratian's *vota* would be out of order.

Lastly we have a group of *siliquae* and *argentei* commemorating the end of the second and the beginning of the third *quinquennium* of Valentinian and Valens. The mint-marks CONS· of the *argentei* with *vota* X-XX and ·CONS of the *siliquae* with *vota* VX-XX link the two issues and are useful evidence of the common custom of striking the higher, in immediate succession to the lower, figures at the turn of a quinquennial period. The *siliqua* issue is very rare, and was soon superseded by one with similar figures but with mint-mark C $\ast$ S, which is far more common.

The bronze issue of *Gloria* and *Securitas* types is of special interest. The eight years of this period are represented by 73 examples in our

Danubian hoards. Valentinian has *Glor.* 10, *Sec.* 23; Valens *Glor.* 44, *Sec.* 42; Gratian *Glor.* 6. Gratian appears both with unbroken, and then with broken, obverse legend in what, from its mint-mark  $\frac{*|R}{\text{CONSA}}$  must be an issue accompanying his earliest gold and silver coinage at Constantinople. Henceforth his few coins have broken legends. Scanty as the representation of Gratian in these bronze issues is at Constantinople, it is scantier at the other eastern mints. It seems clear that soon after his elevation the issue of bronze ceased in the East until he became senior Augustus on the death of Valens.

#### VALENS, GRATIAN, AND VALENTINIAN II

I cannot refer any coinage to this period with certainty, but I have placed here the *siliqua* of Valens with the strange mint-mark CONCM or, more rarely, CNCM. The final letters recall the mint-mark *comit m* on an earlier *solidus* of A.D. 368, when the employment of the field-army in the Gothic campaign might give some colour to the suggestion that *comit(atensis) m(ilitia)* or *m(oneta)* marked the coinage destined for its pay. The *vota* figures XX-XXX are also unusual, for on the common quinquennial reckoning XX would not be in order until the *quindecennium* had been completed, and Valens did not live to complete it. But the ecclesiastical historian, Sozomenos, writing in the early fifth century, speaks of the *vota* as taking place καθ' ἐκάστην δεκάδα, and I have myself no doubt that this, the earlier and for long the only, reckoning, could still be used by the side of the quinquennial, and was, in fact, so used by Theodosius, as we shall see in the following period. The fact that the coin seems not to be found for Gratian, and that the portraiture seems to be late, induces me to guess that it was struck in connexion with Valens' last campaign against the Goths, which ended at Hadrianople.

#### GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), AND ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

For nearly two years Theodosius had his headquarters at Thessalonica, where he struck Gratian's types, and it was not until November A.D. 380 that he came to Constantinople. I think that the long series of *Concordia solidi* began before Theodosius' arrival, and I have given my reasons for this in a paper published in *N. C.*, 1939, pp. 199-215. The first issue of the series ignores Valentinian II; the portraiture marks it as quite early. The second gives him the western addition of IVN. This is very rare on eastern coins. It occurs on a *solidus* of Antioch dated by *vot. v* as not later than November A.D. 280 and the two *solidi* must be closely contemporary. Then follows a large issue

'The Harmony of the three Augusti' but actually including—at the end—Arcadius as a fourth. This is followed by 'The Harmony of the four Augusti' with a rather strict differentiation of mints between the eastern emperors with *vota* coins V–X and the western emperors, whose reverses, without *vota* figures, are shared also by their eastern colleagues. A coin of Gratian of this issue has had his name deleted and that of Theodosius substituted, though the reverse still proclaims the harmony of four Augusti. The identical obverse occurs on a later coin which shows that the Augusti are reduced in number to three, and, therefore, that Maximus is not recognized as a colleague.

The smaller *A* denominations, *semis* and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *scripulum*, are struck side by side with the *solidi*.

Silver of this period is very scarce, and seems to be confined to a small issue of *siliquae* with Theodosius' *vota* V–X. I have seen two specimens for him, and one for Valentinian II with obverse legend divided A–N with IVN, and so presumably contemporary with the second of our *solidus* issues.

We are not surprised to find that the western bronze types of the early part of this period are very rare from Constantinople. Gratian's first—the 'differentiated'—issue is not represented, to my knowledge, by a single coin; the succeeding *Æ 2 Reparatio reipub.* and the *Æ 4 vota* coins (larger module, *c.* 1.49 gm.) by extremely few. Only when we come to the *Æ 3 Concordia Auggg.* do we find the bronze plentiful, and then, apparently, only because it follows a model differing from that which was supplied to the western mints.

On 19 January A.D. 383 Theodosius proclaimed his son, Arcadius, emperor. Some excessively rare *Æ 3 Concordia Auggg.* of Arcadius suggest that its issue ended about the time of his elevation. I can find no evidence in the coinage that Gratian recognized Arcadius and I believe that in the elevation of Arcadius and the inauguration of a new and exclusively eastern *aes* coinage at the same time we must see a Declaration of Independence on the part of Theodosius against the pretensions of the West.

Theodosius' new coinage consisted of *Æ 2* and a reduced *Æ 4* (of *c.* 1.15 gm.). I find no evidence of reduction in the *Æ 2*.

#### VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, AND (usurpers) MAXIMUS AND VICTOR

The *Concordia solidus* is continued after Gratian's death without any break or change except in the reduction in the number of the Augusti to three. An obverse identity links this with the 'four Augusti' issue. We see clearly (1) that Maximus is not recognized as a colleague and (2) that the *Vot. v. mul. x* inscription continues to the end of the fifth



year of a *quinquennium*, as indeed we should expect. The lower *A* denominations of the earlier and the later part of this continuous issue are, of course, indistinguishable, as they do not give the number of the Augusti. Elmer has pointed out in *Mitteil. d. Num. Ges. Wien.*, Bd. xvi, 1933, Nr. 73-5) that the lowest *A* denomination, referable to this last year of Theodosius' *quinquennium* by the inscription *Vot. v mul. x*, includes coins of Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius of both *c.* 1.65 gm. and *c.* 1.45 gm. weight. The change, then, from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *scripulum* to *tremis* must have taken place in that year, and, from the absence of Gratian's name, after his death.

But there is a second large issue of *solidi* later in this period, clearly marked off from the preceding by the absence of lions' heads ornamenting the throne. It includes *vota* V-X coins of Arcadius (with a few of Theodosius) and *vota* X-XV of Theodosius (with a few of Arcadius): cf. *N. C.*, 1939, pp. 207 ff. The corresponding lowest *A* denomination with *vota* V-X would be indistinguishable from those of the earlier issue and we must rely for our evidence on those with *vota* X-XV. One of these in the British Museum weighs 1.65 gm. and shows that Elmer seems to have antedated the introduction of the *tremis*. The useful line of inquiry started by him needs to be followed further.

Of silver issues, the *siliqua* *Vot. x mult. xx* mint-mark CONS· found for Valentinian II, Theodosius, and Arcadius must be placed in this period, and seems by its portraiture to accompany the later *solidi*. Probably the rare *miliarensia Gloria Romanorum* (two types) should be dated with this *vota* coinage of Theodosius and Arcadius.

In *aes* the  $\text{Æ} 2$  types in progress at Gratian's death were continued with the addition of T or T in the field. (That this is not found on the continuation of these types in Valentinian's mints of Siscia and Thessalonica may have some significance.) The distribution of *officinae* remains unchanged, *officina* B, previously shared with Gratian, being reserved to Theodosius. No doubt the  $\text{Æ} 4$  was continued with the necessary omission of Gratian's name and *vota* figures.

The restoration of Siscia and Thessalonica to Valentinian was followed in all the eastern mints by the  $\text{Æ} 2$  *Virtus exerciti* issue, giving Valentinian (except at Alexandria) the broken style of obverse legend and including coins of Maximus. Flaccilla's reverse legend *Salus reipublicae* remains unchanged, but the type represents her as standing with arms folded across her breast, explained as an attitude of prayer. The regular distribution of *officinae* is: Theodosius A, Valentinian II B, Arcadius Γ, Flaccilla Ε. The missing letter Δ was, presumably, reserved for Maximus, whose coins, from their excessive rarity, must soon have been called in.

After the defeat of Maximus, the  $\text{Æ} 4$  issue of *Salus reipublicae* was

struck in four *officinae*, € being out of use since Flaccilla's death. Both young Augusti have unbroken obverse legend, but on the death of Valentinian II in May A.D. 392 Arcadius has the broken, while Honorius on his elevation in Jan. A.D. 393 has the unbroken, form.

THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, (usurper) EUGENIUS (from 22 Aug. A.D. 392), AND HONORIUS (from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Theodosius' coinage takes no notice of the usurper. No gold\* and little silver was struck during this period at Constantinople, but Constantinopolitan workmanship at Thessalonica and Sirmium shows that its mint had been temporarily moved to the West.

The *siliqua* *Vot. x mult. xx* must, from the inclusion of Theodosius and Honorius be placed in this period. Arcadius' coins are the least scarce, and the issue seems to have been struck to commemorate the approaching completion of his *decennium* on 19 Jan. A.D. 393. As Valentinian II died seven months before the elevation of Honorius, it is difficult to explain (except as hybrids) the two specimens of this issue struck in his name, which are in the possession of Baron Ulrich-Bansa.

In bronze the *Æ 4 Salus reipublicae* just overlapped Honorius' accession. His coins, found only with unbroken obverse legend, and those of Arcadius with broken obverse legend are both extremely rare from eastern mints, and this type was henceforth confined to the Italian mints. On the other hand there was a revival of *Æ 2* and *Æ 3* both with reverse legend *Gloria Romanorum*. Arcadius has broken, Honorius unbroken, obverse legend. Among the many coins of his *Æ 2* listed by Regling from Priene,† there is, however, one with broken obverse legend which suggests a continuation of the issue—but it must have been very brief—after his father's death.

We note (1) that it is the bronze alone which marks the difference in status between the two younger Augusti, and (2) that the equation in all respects of Honorius' *vota* coins with those of his senior colleagues is designed to give an impression of the solidarity of the Theodosian dynasty and to wipe out memories of the House of Valentinian.

\* Elmer ('Eugenius', *N. Z.*, 1936, p. 47, n. 65) places here the issue of the *solidus* **CONCORDIA AVGGG** with helmeted obverse, in the names of Theodosius and his two sons. But while this coin is common for Theodosius and Honorius, I have seen none of Arcadius. I have no doubt that the issue was struck, after the elevation of Pulcheria in A.D. 414, by Theodosius II. See *N. C.*, 1938, pp. 242-3.

† *Die Münzen von Priene*, Berlin, 1927.

CONSPECTUS OF THE *CONCORDIA SOLIDUS* ISSUES  
FROM CONSTANTINOPLE SHOWING THE  
DISTRIBUTION OF *OFFICINAE*

The numbers given below the *officina* letters are of specimens noted by me  
(A = Pearl-diadem; B = Rosette-diadem)

I. Turreted reverse variety

CONCOR-DIA AVGGG  
No. 43

Grat.	A	} (No <i>officina</i> letter)
Theod.	A	

II. Helmeted reverse variety

(a) Lions' heads on throne

CONCOR-DIA AVGGG  
No. 44

Grat.	A	} (No <i>officina</i> letter)
Val. II	B	
IVN	B	
Theod.	B	

		A	B	Γ	Δ	Ε	Σ	Z	Σ	H	Θ	I	
CONCOR-DIA AVGGG+ No. 45 (+ denotes addition of <i>officina</i> letter)	Grat.	B	..	..	2	2	I	I	..	I	I	..	I
	Val. II	B	..	I	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..
	Theod.	A	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	5	2	..	I	3	I	I	..	I	3	2
	Arc.	A	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I
CONCORDI-AVGGGG+ No. 46	Grat.	A	..	..	..	..	I	I	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	..	..	..	2	I	..	2	..	..	..
	Val. II	A	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	I	..	I	..
		B	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	2	I	I	..
	Theod.	B	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	..	..	..	..
	Arc.	A	..	..	..	..	2	I	..	I	I	..	..
	B	..	..	..	..	..	I	I	2	..	3	2	
CONCORDI-A AVGGGG+ <i>Vota V-X</i> No. 47	Theod.	A	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	I	2	I	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
	Arc.	A	I	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	2	..	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
CONCORDI-A AVGGG+ No. 67	Val. II	A	..	..	..	..	..	I	..	2	I	..	I
		B	..	..	..	..	I	2	..	I	..	I	I
	Arc.	A	..	..	..	..	2	2	..	..	I	I	I
		B	..	..	..	..	I	2	..	I	2	I	4
CONCORDI-A AVGGG+ <i>Vota V-X</i> No. 68	Theod.	A	..	I	I	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
		B	..	3	6	6	..	..	..	..	..	..	..

(b) Throne plain

		A	B	Γ	Δ	Ε	Σ	Z	Σ	H	Θ	I
CONCORDI-AVGGG+ No. 69	Val. II	A	...	...	...	2						
		B	...	...	...	3	4					
CONCORDI-A AVGGG+ <i>Vota V-X</i> No. 70	Theod.	A	...	...	1	1	...	...	...	1		
		B	1	1	...	1	...	...	...			
	Arc.	B	4	...	...	3	...	...	7	4	3	1
CONCORDI-A AVGGG+ <i>Vota X-XV</i> No. 71	Theod.	A	2	2	4	...	...	...	...	...	5	2
		B	4	1	4	...	...	...	...	...	3	1
	Arc.	A	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	
		B	1	...	...	1	...	1	...	1	3	

## MINT OF CONSTANTINOPOLIS

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and (usurper) PROCOPIUS  
(from 28 Sept. A.D. 365 to 27 May A.D. 366)

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENS-PF AVG  
(3) DN PROCO-PIVS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.  
(F) Pearl-diademed and cuirassed, r.

## GOLD

*Aureus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1	1 (E)	GLORIA R-OMANOR VM Emperor, nimbate, in four-horse chariot, with r. hand scattering money, and in l. holding on globe Victory, who crowns him.	R <sup>5</sup>	CONSP	Not in C.; B.M. <i>Pl. XI, 1</i>

*Solidus*

2 (a)	3 (A)	REPARATI-O FEL TEMP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding spear in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>4</sup>	1 CONS, 2 CONS*	C.5; 1 Na- ville Cat., 16.6.1922, lot 223; 2 Vienna
(b)	„	As no. 2 (a), but standard for spear.	„	CONS	Not in C.; Schulmann Cat., 5.3.1923, lot 2842
3 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE Emperor stg. fac- ing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> or standard and Victory on globe.	R	1 CONSP*, 2 CONSP*, 3 CONSP*	C.28; 1, 3 Dortmund; 2 B.M.

1. 5.32 gm.

P

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference	
	3(b)	1 (B)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 3 (a).	R <sup>2</sup>	CONSP✕	B.M.
<i>Pl. XI, 2</i>	(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	”	”	”	C.32; B.M.
	(d)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	”	1 •CONSP✕, 2 CONSR	1 Caruso Cat., 28.6.1923; 2 Paris
<i>Pl. XI, 6</i>	4	3 (A)	SECVRITAS-REIPVB Emperor stg. l., head r., holding spear in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>4</sup>	CONS	C.12; B.M.
	5(a)	1 (A)	VIRTVS RO - MANOR VM Two emperors stg. facing, heads turned to- wards each other, each hold- ing spear and together holding on globe Victory, who crowns them.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 CONSP, 2 ✕CONSP✕	C.60; 1 Vienna; 2 Paris
<i>Pl. XI, 3</i>	(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	”	1 CONSP, 2 ✕CONSP✕	C.75; 1, 2 B.M.

*Semis*

6	1 (A)	VICTORI-A AVGVSTE (sic). Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>3</sup>	CON	Not in C.; Rome
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*1½ Scripulum*

7	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA-DN AVG As no. 6.	R <sup>3</sup>	CONS	C.67; B.M.
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## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

8	1 (A)	SECVRI-TAS REIP Two emperors stg., each holding <i>labarum</i> and on globe Vic- tory, who crowns them.	R <sup>4</sup>	CONSPB	C.85; B.M.
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6. 2.2 gm.

7. 1.39 gm.

8. 5.11 gm.

*Miliarensis* (light)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
9	1 (A)	GLORIA ROMANOR VM Two emperors stg. facing, heads turned to- wards each other, under two-columned arch, the one on r. holding globe and sceptre, the one on l. sceptre and globe.	R <sup>+</sup>	CONSA	Not in C.; Trau Cat., lot 4433
10	1 (F)	VICTORI-AS AVG-VST ORVM Two Victories holding shield inscribed VOT   V.	”	CONSPΔ	Not in C.; Hunterian

*Argentus*

11 (a)	1 (B)	VOT   V in laurel-wreath.	S	1 CONSPA, 2 CONSB, 3 CONSD CONSA	C.69; 1 Rome; 2, 3 Vienna
(b)	1 (E)	”	”	CONSA	Not in C.; B.M.
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	”	CONSPΔ	Not in C.; Vienna
(d)	2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	”	”	1 CONSA, 2 CONSB, 3 CONSF, 4 CONSD, 5 CONSS	1 B.M.; <i>Pl. XII, 4</i> 2 Spink; 3-5 Vienna
(e)	2 <sup>b</sup> (E)	”	”	1 CONSA, 2 CONSF, 3 CONSZ	1 B.M.; 2 Vienna; 3 Gotha
(f)	1 (A)	As no. 11 (a), but VOT   •   V in wreath.	”	CONSPA	Vienna
(g)	1 (B)	”	”	1 •CONSPA, 2 CONSA CONSB	1 B.M.; <i>Pl. XII, 3</i> 2 Berlin Vienna
(h)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	”	”	1 CONSF, 2 CONSE	1, 2 Vienna
(i)	2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	”	”	1 CONSB, 2 CONSF, 3 CONSZ	1, 2 Vienna; 3 Gotha
(j)	2 <sup>b</sup> (E)	”	”	1 CONSB, 2 CONSF, 3 CONSZ	1, 2 Vienna; 3 Gotha

9. 3.6 gm.

10. 4.2 gm.

11. (a) Mint-mark 2, 3.22 gm.; 3, 3.7 gm.; (b) 3.38 gm.; (c) 3.12 gm.;  
(d) 2.8, 3.55, 2.95, 2.7, 3.7 gm.; (e) 2.62, 3.37, 3.52 gm.; (f) 3.38 gm.; (g) 3.1,  
2.8 gm.; (h) 2.89 gm.; (i) 2.83, 3.5 gm.; (j) 2.62, 3.37, 3.52 gm. respectively.

*Siliqua*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
12	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP <sup>As</sup> no. 2, but + in standard.	R <sup>+</sup>	1 CP•A, 2 CP•B	C.18; 1 Hollschek; 2 Evans
13 (a)	"	VOT   V in laurel-wreath.	C	1 CP•A, 2 CP•B, 3 CP•Γ, 4 CP•Δ, 5 CPΔ, 6 C•A, 7 C•Δ, 8 CONSA, 9 •CONSA•	C.69; 1 B.M.; 2-9 Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	S	1 CP•A, 2 CP•Γ, 3 CP•Δ, 4 CP•Z	C.88; 1-4 Vienna
(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	R	CP•Δ	B.M.
(d)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	C	1 CP•B, 2 CP•Γ, 3 CP•S, 4 CP•Z, 5 CP•H, 6 C•PΓ, 7 C•A, 8 C•B, 9 C•Γ, 10 C•Δ, 11 C•E, 12 C•S, 13 C•Z, 14 •C•Δ, 15 •C•S, 16 CONSZ, 17 •CONSB•	1, 3-6, 8, 10, 12, 14-17 Vienna; 2 Rome; 7 Ball Cat., 2.2.1922; 9, 11, 13 B.M.



No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
13 (e)	3 (A)	VOT   V in laurel-wreath.	R	1 C•A, 2 C•B, 3 C•Γ, 4 C•Δ, 5 C•Ε, 6 C•S, 7 C•ζ, 8 C•H, 9 •C•A, 10 •C•B, 11 •C•Γ, 12 •C•Δ, 13 •C•S, 14 •C•Z, 15 CΔ	C.14; 1-3, 5, <i>Pl. XII, 6</i> 7, 9, 11-13 Vienna; 4, 6 B.M.; 14 Gotha; 15 Gantz
(f)	3 (E)	„	R <sup>3</sup>	C•B	Not in C.; Vienna
(g)	1 (B)	As 13 (a), but VOT   •   V in wreath.	R	CP•A	Vienna
(h)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	„	CP•Γ	O.U.C.
(i)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	S	1 CP•Ε, 2 C•B, 3 C•Γ, 4 C•Δ, 5 C•Z, 6 ✕C•Γ	1-3 Vienna; 4 Rome; 5 Pearce; 6 B.M.
(j)	2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	„	R	✕C•B	Vienna
(k)	3 (A)	„	R <sup>3</sup>	1 C•A, 2 C•Γ, 3 C•S, 4 •C•A, 5 •C•B, 6 •C•Γ	1 Hunterian; 2 Paris; 3 Trau Cat., lot 4534; 4 Ball Cat., 2.2.1922; 5 confirma- tion required; 6 Copen- hagen
(l)	3 (F)	„	R <sup>4</sup>	1 C•Γ, 2 C•S	1 Ratto Cat., 8.2.1928; 2 Hess Cat., 9.5.1932

## BRONZE

*Medallion*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
14	3 (A)	REPARATI-O FEL TEMP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding sceptre in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>4</sup>	1 CONSA, 2 CONSΔ	C.6; 1, 2 Gnechchi




*Aes I*

15	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 12.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 CONSPA, 2 CONSPB, 3 CONSPΓ, 4 CONSPΔ	C.30; 1 Vienna; 2 The Hague; 3 Hollschek; 4 Pearce
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*Aes III*

16(a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., with r. hand dragging captive and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	S	1 CONSPA, 2 CONSPB, 3 CONSPΓ, 4 CONSPΔ, 5 CONSF, 6 CONSΔ, 7 CONSZ, 8 $\frac{\quad}{\quad} \times$ CONSA	C.12; 1 The Hague; 2, 3 Zagreb; 4 A. Müller; 5, 7 Vienna; 6 Arpas Hoard; 8 El Kab Hoard
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	1 CONSPA, 2 CONSPΔ, 3 CONSPΕ	C.11; 1 Vienna; 2 Pearce; 3 Zagreb
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 CONSPΔ, 2 CONSPΕ, 3 CONSA, 4 CONSF, 5 CONSΔ, 6 $\frac{\quad}{\quad} \times$ CONSA' 7 $\frac{\quad}{\quad} \times$ CONSA' 8 $\frac{\quad}{\quad} \times$ CODSZ	1 Zagreb; 2 B.M.; 3 O.U.C.; 4, 5 Vienna; 6 El Kab Hoard; 7 Öcsod Hoard; 8 Pearce

14. Mint-mark 1, 11.47 gm.; 2, 12.8 gm. According to Elmer this denomination was struck as the quadruple of the Æ 3 of Julian's standard, to which Procopius reverted in his later coinage.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
17 (a)	3 (E)	REPARATI-O FEL TEMP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> in r. hand and resting l. on shield. At foot, l., a small indeterminate object. Above, in field r., ✕.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 CONSB, 2 CONSG, 3 CONSA <sup>o</sup> , 4 CONSB <sup>o</sup> , 5 CONSG <sup>o</sup> , 6 CONSD <sup>o</sup> , 7 CONSE <sup>o</sup> , 8 CONS <sup>o</sup> .	C.8; 1, 7 B.M.; 2, 4-6 Vienna; 3, 8 O.U.C.
(b)	„	As 18 (a), but without 'indeterminate object'.	R <sup>3</sup>	1  CONSG <sup>o</sup> 2  CONSE <sup>o</sup>	1, 2 Vienna
18	3 (A)	As no. 17, but without 'indeterminate object' and ✕.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 CONSB, 2 CONSD	C.10; 1 Pearce; 2 Vienna
19	„	„ Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding spear in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	„	1 CONSA, 2 CONSB, 3 CONSD, 4 CONSZ	Not in C.; 1 N. C., 1945, p. 162; 2 Stebbing; 3 Vienna; 4 Zagreb
20 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 2.	R	1 CONSPA, 2 CONSPB, 3 CONSPG, 4 CONSPΔ	C.21; 1-4 Vienna
(b)	2 (A)	„	„	1 CONSPA, 2 CONSPB, 3 CONSPG, 4 CONSPΔ	C.29; 1, 2, 4 Hollschek; 3 Copenhagen
21 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	S	1 CONSPA, 2 CONSPΔ, 3 CONSA, 4  CONSA	C.37; 1, 3 Pearce; 2 Arpas Hoard; 4 Budapest

17. Struck on Julian's standard; theoretical weight 3.03 gm. (Elmer). The small indeterminate object is given by Cohen as 'seated captive'. Koblitz suggests a helmet. I have noted it as resembling the letter T, a mushroom, two small circles standing one above the other, a small circle standing on a pyramidal object, &c., but never 'seated captive' or 'helmet'.

18. Procopius' earlier coinage on the standard of Valentinian according to Elmer's plausible suggestion. This type is given by Cohen (Procopius 1) with legend *Fel. temp. reparatio* and Cyzican mint-mark. Baron Ulrich-Bansa has kindly sent me the cast of a similar coin with mint-mark CONST—a mint-mark of Arelate. The *Pl. XV*, 18 B.M. possesses a *siliqua* of Procopius, *vot. v* in wreath with eagle at top and mint-mark SCONST, a clear imitation of Julian's coinage from Arelate. Both appear to *Pl. XII*, 5 be propaganda coins suggesting that Procopius had western support.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
21 (b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 21 (a).	S	1 CONSPB. 2 CONSPĒ, 3 CONSPS	C.47; 1, 3 Vienna; 2 Budapest
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	C	1 CONSPA, 2 CONSPB, 3 CONSPĒ, 4 CONSPĒ, 5 CONSB, 6 CONSD, 7 CONSE, 8 CONSZ, *   9 CONSB' *   10 CONSP' *   11 CONSS	1, 3, 4, 7, 8 Arpas Hoard; 2, 5, 6, 9-11 Zagreb

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

Emperors: VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALENS-PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN GRATIANVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(c) Pearl-diademed, draped in imperial mantle, l., holding *mappa*  
and sceptre.  
(F) Pearl-diademed and cuirassed, r.

### GOLD

#### *Aureus*

22	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA-DN AVG As no. 21.	R <sup>5</sup>	*   CON OB	Not in C.; Vienna
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#### *Solidus*

23	2 (B)	GLORIA - REI - PVBLI CAE Roma helmeted, and Constantinopolis turreted, seated facing on throne, Constantinopolis' head turned l. towards Roma, holding between them shield inscribed VOT   V   MVLT   X.	R <sup>3</sup>	* CONSR	Not in C.; Trau Cat., no. 4493
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No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
24	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	PRINCIPIVM IVVENTV TIS Emperor, nimbate, stg. facing, holding transverse spear and globe.	R <sup>2</sup>	*CONSR	C.35; Dortmund
25 (a)	1 (B)	RESTITVTOR-REIPVBLI CAE As no. 3.	"	"	C.25; B.M.
	(b) 2 (B)	"	"	"	C.34; B.M.
26 (a)	1 (B)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Victory seated r. on cuirass, shield behind, writ- ing VOT   V   MVL   X on shield placed on small column.	R <sup>3</sup>	$\frac{O B}{CONSR}$	C.48; B.M. Pl. XI, 5
	(b) 2 (B)	"	"	$\frac{O B}{CONSR}$ $\frac{O B}{COMTM}$	C.61; 1 B.M.; 2 Berlin
27	3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	" Victory seated r. on cuirass, shield behind, writ- ing VOT   V   MVL   X on shield held on knee.	"	$\frac{ *}{CON OB}$	Cf. C.48; B.M.
28 (a)	2 (B)	As no. 27, but VOT   X   MVL   XX on shield.	"	$\frac{ *}{CON OB}$	C.62; Ermitage
	(b) 3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	"	"	Not in C.; Vienna
29 (a)	1 (C)	VOTA-PV-BLICA Two emperors, nimbate, in im- perial robes, seated facing on throne, each holding <i>mappa</i> and sceptre. Captives to r. and l.	"	*CONSR	C.67-8; B.M. Pl. XI, 4
	(b) 2 (C)	"	"	"	C.82; B.M.
$1\frac{1}{2}$ <i>Scripulum</i>					
30 (a)	1 (A)	VICTORIA AVG Victory seated r. on cuirass, shield behind, holding up with winged Genius, shield in- scribed VOT   V   MVL   X.	R <sup>3</sup>	$\frac{1}{2} *CONSR,$ $\frac{2}{2} *CONSF$	C.41; 1 Vienna; 2 Paris
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	*CONSR	Not in C.; Trau Cat., lot 4499

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference	
Pl. XII, 1	31	1 (A)	VICTORIA - DN AVG Victory stg. facing, head l., holding wreath and staff surmounted by shield inscribed VOT   X   MVLT   XX. To r. and l. crouching captives.	R <sup>4</sup>	✱   ✱ ✱ CONSAR	Not in C.; Vienna

*Miliarensis* (light)

Pl. XII, 2	32	1 (F)	VICTORIA - DN AVG Emperor standing l., holding Victory on globe and standard, r. foot on crouching captive. Behind, seated captive.	R <sup>4</sup>	✱ CONSAR	Not in C Mazzini Coll.
	33	1 (A)	VIRTVS EX - SERCITI Emperor stg. r., holding spear and globe; foot on captive.	R <sup>3</sup>	✱ ✱ CONSAR	Not in C.; Vienna

*Argentus*

	34 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLT   XX in laurel-wreath.	R	CONS•	C.73; Pearce
Pl. XII, 10	(b)	2 (A)	„	„	„	Cf. C.96; Vienna
	35	1 (A)	VOT   VX   MVLT   XX in laurel-wreath.	„	•CONS	C.75; Vienna

*Siliqua*

Pl. XII, 7	36 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVLT   X in laurel-wreath.	R	✱C•AR	C.70; Rome
	(b)	1 (B)	„	S	1 ✱C•AR, 2 ✱C•BR, 3 ✱C•FR	1, 2 Pearce; 3 B.M.

31. 5.05 gm.

32. 4.42 gm.

33. 4.07 gm.

34. (a) 2.6 gm. (holed); (b) 3.15 gm.

35. 3.05 gm. (holed).

36 (a). Also noted VOT | V | • | MVLT | X, mint-mark ✱C•FR.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
36(c)	2 (A)	VOT   V   MVLΤ   X in laurel-wreath.	S	1 *C•AϞ, 2 *C•BϞ, 3 *C•ΓϞ, 4 *C•ΔϞ	C.91; 1 Pearce; 2 Ball Cat.; 3 Rome; 4 Berlin
(d)	2 (B)	"	"	1 *C•AϞ, 2 *C•ΓϞ, 3 *C•ΔϞ	1 Copen- hagen; 2 Vienna; 3 Rome
(e)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	ϞC*ϞS	C.66; Vienna Pl. XII, 9
37(a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLΤ   XX in laurel-wreath.	"	"	C.73; Vienna
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	"	C.96; B.M.
38(a)	1 (A)	VOT   VX   MVLΤ   XX in laurel-wreath.	R	C*ϞS	C.75; Vienna Pl. XII, 11
(b)	2 (A)	"	S	"	C.100; B.M.
39(a)	"	VOTIS   V in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	*C•BϞ	Not in C.; Gotha
(b)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	*C•ΓϞ	C.79; Vienna
(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	"	*C•BϞ	B.M. Pl. XII, 8

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

40	2 (A)	GLORI-A RO-MANOR VM Camp-gate. Above, S.	R <sup>5</sup>	CONSA	C.19; Glen- dining Sale, 17.7.1929, lot 1023
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*Aes III*

41(a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 16.	R	1 *   Ϟ CONSA' Ϟ   Ϟ 2 CONSF	C.12; 1 Vienna; 2 Bromwich
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40. This (?) unique coin is otherwise found only in a very rare issue from Treveri. It must be medallic in character.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
41(b)	2 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 16.	S	<sup>1</sup> ✕   ρ CONSA' <sup>2</sup> ✕   ρ CONSB' <sup>3</sup> ✕   ρ CONST' <sup>4</sup> ✕   ρ CONSΔ' <sup>5</sup> ρ   ✕ CONSA' <sup>6</sup> ρ   ✕ CONSB' <sup>7</sup> +   + CONSΔ' <sup>8</sup> . CONST' <sup>9</sup> . CONSζ' <sup>10</sup> C CONSA	C.11; 1, 5, 6, 11 Ulrich- Bansa; 2, 8- 10 Budapest; 3, 4 Vienna; 6 Jabing Hoard
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R <sup>2</sup>	<sup>1</sup> ✕   ρ CONSA' <sup>2</sup> ✕   ρ CONST'	C.23; 1 Zagreb; 2 Vienna
(d)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	R	<sup>1</sup> ✕   ρ CONSB' <sup>2</sup> ✕   ρ CONST' <sup>3</sup> ρ   ✕ CONSB' <sup>4</sup> ✕   ✕ CONST' <sup>5</sup> +   + CONSζ' <sup>6</sup> . CONST' <sup>7</sup> B CONST' <sup>8</sup> C CONST'	1, 2 Vienna; 3, 4 B.M.; 5, 8 Buda- pest; 6 Pearce; 7 Zagreb



MINT OF CONSTANTINOPOLIS

221

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
42 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 21.	S	$\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONSA}'}$ $\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONSB}'}$ $\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONST}'}$ $\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONSA}\Delta'}$ $\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONSZ}'}$ $\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONSA}'}$ $\frac{\text{+} \text{+}}{\text{CONSA}'}$ $\frac{\cdot}{\text{CONSA}}$	C.37; 1, 5 Vienna; 2-4, 6 Arpas Hoard; 7 Pearce; 8 Zagreb
(b)	2 (A)	„	C	$\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONSA}'}$ $\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONSB}'}$ $\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONST}'}$ $\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONSA}\Delta'}$ $\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONSB}'}$ $\frac{\text{+} \text{+}}{\text{CONSB}'}$ $\frac{\cdot}{\text{CONSA}'}$ $\frac{\cdot}{\text{CONSB}'}$ $\frac{\cdot}{\text{CONST}'}$ $\frac{\cdot}{\text{CONSA}\Delta'}$ $\frac{\cdot}{\text{CONSE}'}$ $\frac{\cdot}{\text{CONSS}'}$ $\frac{\text{B}}{\text{CONSB}}$	C.47; 1-4, 11 Vienna; 5-7, 13 Pearce; 8 O.U.C.; 9, 10 Peckitt Sale, 27.11.1928; 12 Zagreb
(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	R <sup>2</sup>	$\frac{\text{R} \ast}{\text{CONST}'}$	Pl. XV, 13 C.34; Vienna

## THIRD PERIOD: 17 NOV. A.D. 375-9 AUG. A.D. 378

Emperors: VALENS, GRATIAN, and VALENTINIAN II

(No coins of Gratian or Valentinian II seem to be attributable to this period)

Obverse legend: (1) DN VALENS-PF AVG

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

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
Pl. XII, 12 42 (bis)	1 (A)	VOT   XX   MVLT   XXX in laurel-wreath.	S, R	1 CONCM, 2 CNCM	Cf. C. 101; 1 Vienna; 2 Pearce

## FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

Emperors: GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383). In the East, coins were struck for Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius, as Augusta, from the elevation of their son, Arcadius

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIA-NVS IVN PF AVG  
 (2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>c</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (4<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
 (4<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
 (4<sup>c</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
 (5) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front.  
 (K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front. Above, hand holding wreath.  
 (L) Draped with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.

42 (bis). My only reason for attributing this coin to this period is the absence of Valentinian I's name from the issue. He has shared in all Valens' other *vota siliquae*. On the decennial, instead of the quinquennial reckoning, see the general introduction.

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
43 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Constantinopolis, turreted, seated facing, head r., on high-backed throne, hold- ing sceptre and globe; r. foot on prow.	R <sup>2</sup>	CONOB	Not in C.; Budapest
	(b) 3 (A)	"	"	"	Not in C.; <i>Pl. XI, 7</i> B.M.
44 (a)	1 (B)	" Constantinopolis, hel- meted, seated facing, head r., on throne ornamented with lions' heads, holding sceptre and globe; r. foot on prow.	R	"	C.5; Paris
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	"	"	C.1; B.M.
	(c) 3 (B)	"	"	"	C.8; B.M. <i>Pl. XI, 8</i>
45 (a)	1 (B)	As no. 44, but with <i>officina</i> letter added after AVGGG. 1 Γ, 2 Δ, 3 Ε, 4 Σ, 5 Σ, 6 Η, 7 Ι.	"	"	C.5; 1 Berlin; 2 Ball Cat., 233, no. 1312; 3, 5 Paris; 4 Munich; 6 B.M.; 7 Nordheim Cat., 3.12.1929, lot 602
	(b) 2 <sup>c</sup> (B)	1 B, 2 S. "	R <sup>3</sup>	"	C.1; 1 Newell Coll.; 2 Cahn Cat., 80, no. 970
	(c) 3 (A)	Ε. "	R	"	C.8; Vatican
	(d) 3 (B)	1 A, 2 B, 3 Δ, 4 Ε, 5 Σ, 6 Ζ, 7 Η, 8 Θ, 9 Ι.	S	"	1 B.M.; 2, 3 Ermitage; 4 Vienna; <i>Pl. XI, 9</i> 5, 6, 8, 9 Dortmund; 7 Paris
	(e) 4 <sup>c</sup> (A)	1 B, 2 Θ. "	R <sup>3</sup>	"	Not in S.; 1 B.M.; 2 Ermitage

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
46 (a)	1 (A)	CONCORDI-A AVGG GG with <i>officina</i> letter added. As no. 44. 1 € , 2 S.	R <sup>2</sup>	CONOB	C.8; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna
	(b) 1 (B)	1 € , 2 S, 3 Σ."	"	"	1 B.M.; 2 Munich; 3 Paris
	(c) 2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	1 S, 2 H, 3 l."	"	"	Not in C.; 1 Vatican; 2, 3 B.M.
	(d) 2 <sup>c</sup> (B)	1 S, 2 H, 3 H <sup>o</sup> , 4 Θ, 5 l."	R	"	1 Vatican; 2 B.M.; 3 Rome; 4 Naville Cat., 16.6.1922, no. 231; 5 Ermitage C.13; B.M.
	(e) 3 (B)	Z "	R <sup>4</sup>	"	S.15; 1 Paris; 2 Milan; 3 Fitzwilliam; 4 Vatican
	(f) 4 <sup>c</sup> (A)	1 € , 2 S, 3 Σ, 4 H."	R	"	1 B.M.; 2 Paris; 3 Vatican; 4 Ermitage; 5 Tolstoi; 6 Paris
	(g) 4 <sup>c</sup> (B)	1 S, 2 Z, 3 Σ, 4 Θ, 5 H, 6 l."	S	"	C.10; 1 The Hague; 2 Dortmund
Pl. XI, ro 47 (a)	3 (A)	As no. 46, but instead of globe Constantinopolis is holding shield inscribed VOT   V   MVL   X. 1 A, 2 Γ.	R <sup>3</sup>	"	1 Ermitage; 2 B.M.; 3 Walla; 4 Paris
	(b) 3 (B)	1 A, 2 B, 3 Γ, 4 Δ."	R	"	

46. Cohen gives this coin also to Maximus (C. 2), but misquotes the *rev.* ending . . . *Augggi* of the Copenhagen specimen as . . . *Augggi*. The *obv.* legend is blundered . . . *Aus.* for *Aug.* and I feel sure that the coin has been unskilfully altered from a genuine coin—probably of Valentinian II. Gratian's death was followed immediately by the alteration of four to three in the number of the Augusti, showing that there was no recognition of Maximus at this time.

46 (a). There is obverse identity with € and S. The same obverse die, with change of name, occurs identically for Theodosius in both no. 47 (a) and no. 67.

46 (f). Mint-mark 3. The coin of Arcadius illustrated by Tolstoi (19) is certainly not of Constantinopolitan workmanship; perhaps an ancient forgery.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
47 (c)	4 <sup>c</sup> (A)	CONCORDI-A AVGG GG As no. 47 (a). 1 A 2 Γ.	R <sup>3</sup>	CONOB	Not in S.; 1 Ermitage; 2 Ratto Cat.
(d)	4 <sup>c</sup> (B)	1 A, 2 Γ. "	"	"	1 Ermitage; 2 Vienna
48	5 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory seated r. on throne, writing ✕ on shield held on small column.	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Not in C.; Dortmund
49	"	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 48, except that shield is held on knee.	"	"	C.1; Paris

1½ *Scripulum*

50 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Victory seated r. on cuirass writing VOT   V   MVL   X on shield held on knee.	R <sup>2</sup>	+	Not in C.; Walla
(b)	3 (A)	"	"	"	C.50; B.M.
(c)	4 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Not in S.; Tolstoi 41

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

51 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	CONS.	Cf. C.66; Ulrich-Bansa
(b)	3 (A)	"	"	"	C.64; B.M. <i>Pl. XII, 13</i>

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

52 (a)	1 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., on ship, raising r. hand. Victory seated r. at helm.	C	1 CONB, R   2 CONA, R   3 CONB, R	C.25; 1 B.M.; 2 Berlin; 3 Copen- hagen
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (J)	"	"	1 CONΔ, R   2 CONΔ, R   3 CONE	C.22; 1 Vienna; 2 B.M.; 3 T. W. Ar- mitage Coll.

49. Koblitz adds to Cohen a specimen in Berlin from *officina* B; not seen by me.  
50. (a) 1.71 gm.; (b) 1.65 gm.; (c) 1.7 gm.

Q

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
52 (c)	3 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 52 (a).	C	1 CONA, 2 CONB, 3 $\frac{R}{ }$ CONA, 4 $\frac{R}{ }$ CONB, 5 $\frac{R}{ }$ CONΔ, 6 $\frac{R}{ }$ CONE	C.19; 1, 5 confirmation required; 2, 3, 4, 6 Pearce
53 (a)	4 <sup>b</sup> (K)	„ Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding standard in r. hand and resting l. on shield. To l., kneeling cap- tive, head r.	„	1 CONΓ, 2 CONΓ✕, 3 CONΓ‡	S.29; 1, 2 Vienna; 3 Pearce
	(b)	„ As no. 53 (a), but captive seated facing, head r.	S	CONΓ✕	Pearce
54 (a)	1 (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB Emperor stg. facing, head l., with r. hand raising kneeling turreted woman and holding Victory on globe in l.	R <sup>4</sup>	CONCΓ	C.30; Gotha
<i>Pl. XVI, 1</i>	(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	1 CONCΓ, 2 CONSΔ	C.28; 1 Berlin; 2 Gotha
	(c)	3 (A)	„	Mint-mark not stated	C.27; noted by Koblitz
55	5 (L)	SALVS REI-PUBLICAE As no. 48.	S	1 CONA, 2 CONB, 3 CONΓ, 4 CONΔ, 5 CONE	C.4; 1, 2 5 B.M.; 3, 4 Ermitage

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
56 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG ?Constantinopolis, helmeted, seated facing, head l., holding globe and partly seen spear; r. leg bare.	C	1 CONSA,   O	C.3; 1, 5 B.M.; 2, 3, 4 Pearce; 6 Vienna
				2 CONSB,   O	
				3 CONSF,   O	
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	S	4 CONSA,   I   ¶	C.9; 1, 2 Ulrich- Bansa; 3, 4 Vienna
				5 CONSS,   HN   ¶	
				6 CONSF	
				1 CONSF,   O	
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	"	2 CONSA,   O	1 Pearce; 2 Gotha; 3 Hollschek
				3 CONSF,   O	
				4 CONSA	
				1   I   ¶ CONSA,   I   K	
57 (a)	1 (A)	As no. 56, but head r., holding partly seen spear and globe; r. foot on prow.	R	2 CONSA,   ¶   HN	Cf. C.4; 1, 3 Pearce; 2 Ulrich- Bansa
				3 CONSB,   ¶   HN	
				CONSS	
(b)	1 (B)	"	"	¶   HN CONSS	Pearce
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 O   CONSA,   ¶   HN	Not in C.; 1 Rome; 2 Zagreb
				2 CONSA	

56 and 57. These eastern varieties are struck also by Rome.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
57(d)	3 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG As no. 56.	C	1 CONSB, O   2 CONSA' O   3 CONSB' O   4 CONSA' O   + 5 CONSB' O   + 6 CONSA' ‡     7 CONSS' K     8 CONSA' ‡   HN 9 CONSB' ‡   HN 10 CONSE' ‡   HN 11 CONSS	C.5; 1, 4 B.M.; 2, 3 Ermitage; 5, 6 O.U.C.; 7, 9, 10 Ul- rich-Bansa; 8 Vienna; 11 Glen- dining Sale, 28.6.1938, lot 228.
(e)	3 (B)	"	S	1 +     CONSA' ‡     2 CONSB' ‡     3 CONSE' ‡     4 CONSS' K     5 CONSA	1 Ermitage; 2, 4 Pearce; 3 Berlin; 5 Vienna
(f)	4 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	‡   HN CONSE'	Not in S.; Vienna
58	3 (B)	As no. 57, but without prow.	"	‡     CONSA	C.14; Pearce

*Aes IV* (larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)

59(a)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVLТ   X in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	CONB	C.68; Berlin
(b)	3 (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	"	C.65; Syra- cuse
60	"	VOT   XV   MVLТ   XX in wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	ONΓ	Not in C.; Copenhagen



*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
61.	5 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 55.	S, C	1 CONA, 2 CONΓ, 3 CONE	C.5; 1 Ulrich-Bansa; 2, 3 Pearce
62 (a)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   V in wreath.	R	CONΓ	Not in C.; Pearce
	(b) 4 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	C	1 CONΓ, 2 CONΓ✕	S.47; 1, 2 Pearce
63 (a)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   X   MVLТ   XX in wreath.	"	CONΔ	C.73; Pearce
	(b) 3 (A)	"	"	CONA	C.70; Pearce
64 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   XX   MVLТ   XXX in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	CON	C.77; Vienna
	(b) 3 (A)	"	"	CONB	Not in C.; Pearce

## FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, and usurpers MAGNUS MAXIMUS and (from late in the period) VICTOR. Coins were also struck in the name of Flaccilla.

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVGVSTVS  
(3<sup>c</sup>) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(3<sup>d</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
(4) DN MAXIMVS-PF AVG  
(5) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front.  
(K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front.  
(L) Draped, with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.

GOLD  
*Multiple*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
65(a)	2 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Constantinopolis seated l. on throne, holding Victory on globe and reversed spear; r. foot on prow.	R <sup>2</sup>	*  CONOB	Not in C.; Mazzini Coll.
66	(b) 3 <sup>c</sup> (B) 3 <sup>c</sup> (B)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Emperor, nimbate, stg. facing, head l., holding Victory on globe and <i>labarum</i> .	" "	" CONOB	S.2; Paris Not in S.; Berlin


*Solidus*

67(a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	CONCORDI-A AVGGG with <i>officina</i> letter added after AVGGG. As no. 45. 1 S, 2 S, 3 H, 4 l.	R <sup>2</sup>	CONOB	Cf. C.2; 1 Hunterian; 2 Paris; 3 Vienna; 4 The Hague
(b)	1 <sup>b</sup> (B)	1 E, 2 S, 3 Z, 4 Θ, 5 l.	R	"	1 Munich; 2 Berlin; 3 Rome; 4 Copenhagen; 5 B.M.
(c)	3 <sup>c</sup> (A)	1 E, 2 S, 3 H, 4 Θ, 5 l	"	"	S.16; 1 Ermitage; 2 Vienna; 3, 5 B.M.; 4 Munich
(d)	3 <sup>c</sup> (B)	1 E, 2 S, 3 Z, 4 H, 5 Θ, 6 l.	"	"	1, 6 B.M.; 2, 4 Ermitage; 3 Berlin; 5 confirmation required
Pl. XI, XX	68(a)	2 (A) As no. 47. 1 B, 2 Γ.	R <sup>2</sup>	"	C.10; 1 Vienna; 2 Dortmund
	(b)	2 (B) 1 B, 2 Γ, 3 Δ, 4 no letter.	S	"	1-4 Vienna

65. (a) 20 gm.; (b) 20.11 gm. = 4½ *solidi*.

66. 13.32 gm. = 3 *solidi*.

67 (c). *Officina* letters E, S, I noted with identical *obv.*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
69 (a)	1 (A)	CONCORDI-A AVGGG As no. 67, but without lions' heads on throne. 1 E.	R <sup>3</sup>	CONOB	C.4; B.M.
(b)	1 (B)	1 E, 2 S.	R	"	1 Vienna; 2 B.M.
70 (a)	2 (A)	As no. 70 (a), but with shield inscribed VOT   V   MVL   X instead of globe. 1 Γ, 2 Δ, 3 H.	"	"	C.10; 1 B.M.; 2 Hunterian; 3 Munich
(b)	2 (B)	1 A, 2 B, 3 Δ.	"	"	1 Vienna; 2 B.M.; 3 Munich
(c)	3 <sup>c</sup> (B)	1 A, 2 Δ, 3 Σ, 4 H, 5 Θ, 6 I.	S	"	S.12; 1, 2 Ermitage; 3 Paris; 4, 5 The Hague; 6 Vienna
71 (a)	2 (A)	As no. 70, but shield inscribed VOT   X   MVL   XV. 1 A, 2 B, 3 Γ, 4 Θ, 5 I.	"	"	C.11; 1 Ermitage; <i>Pl. XI, 12</i> 2, 3 Paris; 4 B.M.; 5 Berlin
(b)	2 (B)	1 A, 2 B, 3 Γ, 4 Θ, 5 I.	"	"	1, 3 B.M.; 2 Vatican; 4 Paris; 5 Copenhagen
(c)	3 <sup>c</sup> (A)	Θ.	R	"	S.14; Copenhagen
(d)	3 <sup>c</sup> (B)	1 A, 2 Δ, 3 Σ, 4 Σ, 5 H.	S	"	1 Baldwin; 2 B.M.; 3 Paris; 4 Sotheby Sale, 22.4.1940, lot 113; 5 Hunterian
72	5 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 48. <i>Officina</i> letter at end 1 B, 2 S.	R <sup>4</sup>	"	C.1; 1 Berlin; 2 Paris
<i>Semis</i>					
73 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (B)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Victory seated r. on cuirass writing VOT   V   MVL   X.	R <sup>3</sup>	 CONOB	C.53; Vienna

70 (c). Dortmund specimen (*rev.* letter Σ) with blundered OVT for VOT.

71 (b). At Paris *rev.* legend blundered AVGG H. (d) At Berlin, from *officina* H, VOT V blundered for VOT X.

1½ *Scripulum*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
73(b)	2 (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM As no. 73 (a).	R <sup>3</sup>	$\frac{ P }{\text{CONOB}}$	Cf. C.50; Vienna
Pl. XI, 13 74	(c) 2 (B)	VICTORIA "AVGVSTOR VM Victory seated r. on cuirass, writing VOT   X   MVL T   XV on shield held on knee.	"	$\frac{ + }{\text{CONOB}}$	Vienna
	2 (A)		"		C.49; B.M.

*Tremis*

Pl. XI, 15 75(a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA-AVGVSTOR VM Victory advancing r., holding wreath and cross on globe.	R <sup>3</sup>	CONOB	Cf. C.51; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.46; Hunterian
	(c) 3 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Cf. S.21; Vienna
76	5 (L)	* in wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	$\frac{ }{\text{CONOB}}$	C.7; Vienna

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

77(a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   X   MVL T   XX in laurel-wreath.	R	CONS•	C.72; Pearce
Pl. XII, 15	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	C.67; B.M.
	(c) 2 (B)	"	"	"	Rome
	(d) 3 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Not in S.;
	(e) 3 <sup>c</sup> (B)	"	"	"	Berlin
	(f) 1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	As 77 (a), but MV•LT.	"	"	B.M.
Pl. XII, 14 78	(g) 1 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	"	"	Pearce
	(h) 2 (A)	"	"	"	B.M.
	(i) 2 (B)	"	"	"	Paris
	5 (L)	* in wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Cf. C.8; B.M.

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

79(a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 52 (a).	S	$\frac{ T }{\text{CON}\Delta}$ $\frac{ T }{\text{CON}\Delta}$	C.22; 1, 2 B.M.
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74. 1.65 gm. Reduced to *tremis* (1.45 gm.), Pl. XI, 14.

75 (a). 1.5 gm.

77. Valentinian II and Arcadius are linked by *rev.* identity; 77 (b) and (h) by *obv.* identity.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
79(b)	2 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 52.	C	$\begin{array}{c} \text{T}   \\ \hline \text{CONA}' \\ \text{T}   \\ \hline \text{CONB}' \\ \text{T}   \\ \hline \text{CONA}' \\ \text{T}   \\ \hline \text{CONB} \end{array}$	C.19; 1, 2, 3 Pearce; 4 B.M.
80	3 <sup>d</sup> (K)	As no. 53 (a).	"	$\begin{array}{c} \text{T}   \\ \hline \text{CONF} \end{array}$	S.29; B.M.
81	5 (L)	SALVS REI - PVBLICAE As no. 55.	S	$\begin{array}{c} \text{T}   \\ \hline \text{CONE} \end{array}$	C.4; Pearce
82	"	" Emperor stg. facing, head r., arms folded on breast.	"	$\begin{array}{c} \text{1} \text{ CONSE} \\ \text{2} \begin{array}{c}   + \\ \hline \text{CONSE}' \\ \text{P}   \end{array} \\ \text{3} \begin{array}{c} \text{CONSE}' \\ \text{P}   \end{array} \end{array}$	C.6; 1, 2 Pearce; 3 B.M.
83 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VIRTVS E-XERCITI Em- peror stg. r., holding stand- ard and globe, l. foot on captive.	"	$\begin{array}{c} \text{1} \begin{array}{c} +   \\ \hline \text{CONSB}' \\ \text{P}   \end{array} \\ \text{2} \begin{array}{c} \text{CONSB}' \\ +   + \\ \hline \text{P}   + \end{array} \\ \text{3} \begin{array}{c} \text{CONSB}' \\ +   + \\ \hline \text{P}   + \end{array} \\ \text{4} \begin{array}{c} \text{CONSB}' \\ +   \\ \hline \text{P}   \end{array} \\ \text{5} \begin{array}{c} \text{CONSA} \end{array} \end{array}$	C.57; 1, 2 Pearce; 3 Vienna; 4 Gotha; 5 O.U.C.
(b)	2 (A)	"	C	$\begin{array}{c} \text{1} \begin{array}{c} +   \\ \hline \text{CONSA}' \\ \text{P}   \end{array} \\ \text{2} \begin{array}{c} \text{CONSA} \end{array} \end{array}$	C.54; 1 Pearce; 2 B.M.
(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	$\begin{array}{c} \text{1} \begin{array}{c} +   \\ \hline \text{CONST}' \\ \text{P}   \end{array} \\ \text{2} \begin{array}{c} \text{CONST} \end{array} \end{array}$	S.45; 1, 2 Pearce <i>Pl. XVI,</i> <i>12</i>
(d)	4 (A)	"	R*	$\begin{array}{c} \text{P}   \\ \hline \text{CONS} \end{array} \text{(?}\Delta\text{)}$	C.18; The Hague

*Aes IV*

Presumably nos. 61, 62, and 63 were continued in this period.

SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388-15 MAY A.D. 392

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, and ARCADIUS

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
Pl. XII, 18 84	1 <sup>b</sup> (B)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor, nimbate, stg. facing, head l., holding sceptre in r. hand and rest- ing l. on shield.	R <sup>3</sup>	CON	C.17; Paris

*Miliarensis* (light)

Pl. XII, 19 85 (a)	2 (E)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor, nimbate, stg. facing, head l., raising r. hand and holding globe in l.	R <sup>4</sup>	CON	Cf. C.17; Weifert Coll.
(b)	3 <sup>b</sup> (E)	„	„	„	Tolstoi 47

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

86 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	SALVS REI - PVBLICAE Victory advancing l., with r. hand carrying trophy over shoulder and dragging captive with l. In l. field, ♀.	S	1 CONSB, 2 CONST	C.30; 1 B.M.; 2 Pearce
Pl. XVI, 17 (b)	2 (A)	„	C <sup>2</sup> , S	1 CONSA, 2 CONSB	C.30; 1, 2 Pearce
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	C, R, C <sup>2</sup> , S	1 CONSA, 2 CONSB, 3 CONST, 4 CONSA	S.41; 1-4 Pearce

84. 4.97 gm.

85 (b). 4.1 gm. Cf. note on Mint of Mediolanum, p. 81, no. 25.

86 (c). CONSP (for B) in the Icklingham II hoard.

SEVENTH PERIOD: 15 MAY A.D. 392-17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors:* THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (from 22 Aug. A.D. 392 to 6 Sept. A.D. 394), and HONORIUS (from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>a</sup>) DN HONORIVS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>b</sup>) DN HONORI-VS PF AVG

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

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
87 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLT   XX in laurel-wreath.	S	CONS	C.67; Vienna <i>Pl. XII, 16</i>
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	"	Not in S.; Vienna
	(c) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.65; Vienna

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

88 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor, stg. facing, head r., holding standard and globe.	C	1 CONSA, 2 CONSB, 3 CONSF, 4 CONSA, 5 CONSA*, 6 CONSB*, +   + 7 CONSA, +   + 8 CONSB	C.18; 1, 2, 3, 7, 8 B.M.; 4 Hollschek; 5 Berlin; 6 Pearce
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	1 CONSB, 2 CONSF, 3 CONSA, 4 CONSF*, +   + 5 CONSF, +   + 6 CONSA, ‡   7 CONSF	Not in S.; 1, 4 Zagreb; 2 B.M.; 3 Budapest; 5, 6, 7 Vienna

87. See Introduction to this mint, p. 206, for the inclusion in this issue of coins of Valentinian II.

88 (a). Mint-mark 7, also with *rev.* legend blundered GLOIRA; (d) must be dated after the death of Theodosius.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
88 (c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM As no. 88 (a).	C	1 CONSA, 2 CONSB, 3 CONSA, 4 CONSA•, +   + 5 CONSA', 6 CONΓ	C.20; 1 Budapest; 2 The Hague; 3, 4, 6 B.M.; 5 Pearce
(d)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>5</sup>	CONSA	Berlin

*Aes III*

89 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor on horse- back r., raising r. hand.	R	1 CONSA, 2 CONSB, 3 CONSA•	C.21; 1, 3 Berlin; 2 Ulrich- Bansa
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	CONS	S.41; Ulrich- Bansa
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	CONSA	Cf. C.23; Berlin

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

90 (a)	1 (A)	SALVS REI - PVBLICAE As no. 86.	C	See no. 86 (b).	
(b)	2 (A)	"	R	CONSB	S.41; Pearce
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	1 CONSA, 2 CONSA	C.32; 1 B.M.; 2 Copen- hagen



## CYZICUS

## VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS: PROCOPIUS (usurper)

LIKE Heraclea, Cyzicus struck gold and silver in this first period only. The *Restitutor* type appears in the *solidus* for both emperors with both pearl- and rosette-diadem, in  $\text{Æ} 1$ , and in the smaller and earlier module of  $\text{Æ} 3$ , both seen by me for Valentinian I only, and in the larger module for both emperors. I have seen no *siliqua* of this type. Valens' *obv.* division is N-S. Three *officinae* were in operation, increased to four when the larger module  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Restitutor reip.* was superseded by the *Gloria* and *Securitas* types of the same module.

Procopius struck *solidi*, *siliquae*, and *aes*. His *siliqua* mint-marks KVA, KVB, and SMK $\Gamma$  point to two distinct issues. His bronze includes both the earlier issue of  $\text{Æ} 3$  on the standard of Valentinian, and the later on that of Julian, the latter being by far the less rare.

## VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

The only coinage of this period is the continuation of the  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Gloria* and *Securitas* types. As the mint-mark throughout is SMKA (to  $\Delta$ ) it is impossible to distinguish between the issues of the preceding, and of this, period in the case of the senior emperors. The numbers recorded in the Danubian hoards (Valentinian I 20, Valens 66, Gratian 4), suggest that the issue stopped soon after Gratian's accession. In contrast to Heraclea and Constantinople Valens' name has always the division N-S and Gratian's A-N. But my evidence is very scanty.

## GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379) AND ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

My only evidence for the striking of Gratian's western types during the first part of this period is the statement of Koblitz that Theodosius'  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Concordia Auggg* of the 'differentiated' issue is known to him from Cyzicus together with an  $\text{Æ} 4$  (larger module) of Theodosius with Gratian's *vota* figures XV-XX. The coinage of the 'transition' period, when the  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Concordia Auggg* was struck throughout West and East with distinctive western and eastern varieties of the common type, is well represented in two of its three eastern varieties. The fact that one of these showing Roma with head turned l. and mint-mark  $\_|\pm$  occurs in my own specimens only from *officinae* A and B, and that the other with Roma's head turned r. and mint-mark  $\pm|\_$  occurs only from *officina*  $\Gamma$  suggests that the two varieties are parts of a single issue.

From the purely eastern bronze issue of  $\text{Æ} 2$  and  $\text{Æ} 4$ , which accompanied Arcadius' elevation, Flaccilla seems to be missing at Cyzicus and Alexandria in both denominations. Possibly her coins may yet be found. Valentinian II seems to be very scarce, and I have noted only the *officina*  $\Delta$  for him and Arcadius in their  $\text{Æ} 2$ . My own specimens of this first portion of the issue number: Gratian A 1, B 2,  $\Gamma$  1; no Valentinian II; Theodosius A 2, B 3,  $\Gamma$  6; Arcadius  $\Delta$  2; no Flaccilla.

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, AND  
(usurpers) MAXIMUS AND VICTOR

This period opens with a continuation of the  $\text{Æ} 2$  (and ? $\text{Æ} 4$ ) of the preceding period, but with T added in the field. I have, however, noted this only on coins of Theodosius. My own specimens give him: A 4, B 2,  $\Gamma$  2,  $\Delta$  1. I have not noted this discrepancy in the representation of emperors from any other eastern mint.

The next issue, the  $\text{Æ} 2$  *Virtus exerciti*, struck about two years later after the *entente* with Maximus, includes Flaccilla. It also gives Valentinian II, for the first and only time on his eastern bronze, the broken form of obverse legend.

On the defeat of Maximus the  $\text{Æ} 4$  *Salus reipublicae* was struck in all four *officinae* for Valentinian II and Theodosius.  $\Gamma$  is most common for Arcadius. For Honorius, who just comes into the issue, the only *officina* I have noted is A.

THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, AND HONORIUS

During the last two years of his life Theodosius continued his issue of  $\text{Æ} 2$  with the new type *Gloria Romanorum* 'Emperor standing, holding standard and globe' and for the first time since his break with the western coinage struck an  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Gloria Romanorum* 'Emperor on horseback, r.'. In both Arcadius has the broken, Honorius the unbroken, form of obverse legend. The  $\text{Æ} 2$  seems to be especially common from Cyzicus for all three emperors and in all three *officinae* A, B,  $\Gamma$ . The  $\text{Æ} 3$  is less common but seems to be commoner from Cyzicus than from the other eastern mints. I have no doubt that the distribution of emperors among *officinae* is the same as in the  $\text{Æ} 2$ .

## MINT OF CYZICUS

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and PROCOPIUS  
(usurper, from 28 Sept. A.D. 365 to 27 May A.D. 366)Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
(3) DN PROCO-PIVS PF AVGObverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1	3 (B)	REPARATI-O FELTEMP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding spear in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>4</sup>	1 SMKA 2 SMKΔ	C.5; 1 Hirsch Cat., 23.5.1910, lot 847; 2 Caruso Coll., 28.6.1923, no. 604
2 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> and Victory on globe.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB	C.28; 1 Vienna; 2 O.U.C.
	(b) 1 (B)	"	"	1 SMKΓ, 2 ✕SMKΓ	1 Vienna; 2 Brussels
	(c) 2 (A)	"	"	1 SMKA, 2 SMKΓ	C.32; 1 Rome; <i>Pl. XV</i> , 2 2 B.M.
	(d) 2 (B)	"	"	1 SMKA, 2 SMKΓ	1 Rome; 2 Vienna

## SILVER

*Siliqua*

3 (a)	3 (A)	VOT   V in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 KVB, 2 SMKΓ	C.14; <i>Pl. XV</i> , 3 1 Vienna; 2 Pearce
	(b) 3 (B)	"	"	1 KVA, 2 KVB	1, 2 Vienna

2 (b) and (d). The diadem seems to have squared stones rather than the round stones usual in the 'rosette' pattern.

## BRONZE

*Medallion?*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
4	3 (A)	REPARATI-O FEL TEMP As no. 1, but with sceptre for spear.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMKA	C.6; Milan
<i>Æ 1</i>					
5	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMKΓ	C.30; Ulrich-Bansa
<i>Æ 2</i>					
6	3 (A)	REPARATI-O FEL TEMP Emperor stg. l., foot on prow, holding <i>labarum</i> in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMKA	Cf. C.7; Vienna
<i>Aes III (larger module)</i>					
7	3 (E)	REPARATI-O FEL TEMP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> in r. hand and resting l. on shield. On ground l. a small indeterminate object; above in field r., ✱.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMKB, 2 SMKΓ, 3 ✱SMKB, 4 ✱SMKΔ	C.8; 1, 3 B.M.; 2 Vienna; 4 Stebbing
<i>Aes III (smaller module)</i>					
8 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., dragging captive with r. hand and holding standard (sometimes <i>labarum</i> ) in l.	S	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ, 4 SMKΔ	C.12; 1, 2 Vienna; 3 Copenhagen; 4 Pearce
	(b) 2 (A)	”	C	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ, 4 SMKΔ	C.11; 1, 2, 3 Vienna; 4 Pearce
9	3 (A)	REPARATI-O FEL TEMP As no. 7, but without 'indeterminate object' and ✱.	R <sup>2</sup>	SMK//	C.10; Vienna
10 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 2, but with a standard for <i>labarum</i> .	R	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ	C.21; 1, 2, 3 Vienna

4. 11.45 gm.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
10(b)	2 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 2, but with standard for <i>labarum</i> .	R <sup>2</sup>	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB	C.29; 1 Milan; 2 Zagreb
11(a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	S	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ, 4 SMKΔ	C.37; 1, 2, 4 Vienna; 3 Copen- hagen
	(b) 2 (A)	„	C	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ, 4 SMKΔ	C.47; 1, 2, 3 Vienna; 4 Zagreb

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
(3) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG

Obverse bust: Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

12(a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 8.	}	R	SMKΔ	C.23; Arpas hoard
	(b) 2 (A)	„				
	(c) 3 (A)	„				
13(a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 11.	}	R	SMKA	C.34; Pearce
	(b) 2 (A)	„				
	(c) 3 (A)	„				

THIRD PERIOD: 17 NOV. A.D. 375-9 AUG. A.D. 378

*Emperors:* VALENS, GRATIAN, and VALENTINIAN II

(No coins seem to have been struck at Cyzicus during this period)

R

FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

*Emperors:* GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383). In the East coins were struck for Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius, as Augusta from the elevation of their son, Arcadius

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (4<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
 (4<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG

(I have seen no coins of Flaccilla for this period)

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front.  
 (K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front. Above, hand holding wreath.

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
14 (a)	1 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., on ship, raising r. hand. Victory at helm.	S	$\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMKA}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMKB}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMK}\Gamma}$	C.25; 1-3 Pearce
(b)	2 (J)	„	R <sup>2</sup>	$\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMK}\Delta}$	C.22; B.M.
(c)	3 (J)	„	C	$\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMKA}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMKB}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMK}\Gamma}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMK}\Delta}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMKA}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMKB}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMKA}}$	C.19; 1-4, 6 B.M.; 5 Copen- hagen; 7 O.U.C.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
15	4 <sup>b</sup> (K)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding standard in r. hand and resting l. on shield. To l., kneeling cap- tive, head r.	S	SMKA	S.29; Pearce

*Aes III*

16	3 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Constantinopolis, turreted, seated facing, head r., hold- ing sceptre in r. hand and resting l. on knee; r. foot on prow.	R <sup>+</sup>	Not stated	C.6; Koblitz, op. cit., p. 51; not seen by me
17 (a)	1 (A)	„ Roma, helmeted, seat- ed facing, head l., holding globe and partly seen spear; r. leg bare.	S	<sup>1</sup> $\frac{+}{SMKA'}$ <sup>2</sup> $\frac{+}{SMKB}$	Cf. C.3; 1 Copenhagen; 2 Pearce
(b)	2 (A)	„	„	<sup>1</sup> $\frac{+}{SMKA'}$ <sup>2</sup> $\frac{+}{SMKB}$ <sup>3</sup> $\frac{+}{SMKB}$	C.2; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Co- penhagen
(c)	3 (A)	„	R	<sup>1</sup> $\frac{+}{SMKB}$ <sup>2</sup> $\frac{+}{SMKA}$ <sup>3</sup> SMKB	C.14; 1 Pearce; 2 Munich; 3 Hollschek
18 (a)	1 (A)	„ As no. 17, but head r., holding partly seen spear and globe.	S	<sup>1</sup> $\frac{+}{SMK\Gamma}$ <sup>2</sup> $\frac{+}{SMKA}$ <sup>3</sup> SMKA	Not in C.; 1 B.M.; 2 Budapest; 3 Ulrich- Bansa
(b)	2 (A)	„	R	<sup>1</sup> $\frac{+}{SMKA}$ <sup>2</sup> $\frac{+}{SMKB}$ <sup>3</sup> $\frac{+}{SMK\Gamma}$	Not in C.; 1 Ulrich- Bansa; 2 Vienna; 3 Berlin
(c)	3 (A)	„	„	<sup>1</sup> $\frac{+}{SMK\Gamma}$	C.14; Ulrich- Bansa

*Aes IV* (larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
<i>Pl. XVI, 3</i> 19	3 (A)	VOT   XV   MVLΤ   XX in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMKΓ	Not in C.; Pearce

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

20 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMKA	C.64; B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	SMK///	Not in C.; Ulrich-Bansa
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	SMKΔ	C.63; B.M.
(d)	4 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	C	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ, 4 SMKΔ	S.47; 1 Zagreb; 2, 3 Pearce; 4 Berlin
21 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLΤ   XX in wreath.	S	1 SMKB, 2 SMKΓ	C.71; 1 Pearce; 2 B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	C	1 SMKB, 2 SMKΓ	C.73; 1, 2 B.M.
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ, 4 SMKΔ	C.68; 1, 2, 3 Vienna; 4 Copenhagen
(d)	4 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R	SMK///	S.48; Pearce
22 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   XX   MVLΤ   XXX in wreath.	S	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB	C.77; 1 Pearce; 2 Ulrich-Bansa
(b)	2 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	SMKΔ	C.75; Berlin
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	SMKB	Not in C.; Pearce

19. 1.37 gm.; 15 mm. A mould for imitations of this coin (with mint-mark SMKA) is illustrated in *R. It.*, 1913, p. 494.



FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, and (usurpers) MAGNUS MAXIMUS and VICTOR (from late in the period). Coins were also struck in the name of Flaccilla

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
 (4) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front.  
 (L) Draped with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
23	2 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 14.	C	$\begin{array}{c} \text{T}   \\ \hline \text{SMKA}' \\ \text{T}   \\ \hline \text{SMKB}' \\ \text{T}   \\ \hline \text{SMK}\Gamma' \\ \text{T}   \\ \hline \text{SMK}\Delta \end{array}$	C.19; Pl. XVI, 7 1-4 Pearce
24	4 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Empress stg. facing, head r., arms folded on breast.	R	SMK $\Gamma$	C.6; Copenhagen
25 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VIRTVS E-XERCITI Em- peror stg. r., holding stand- ard and globe; l. foot on captive.	S	SMKB	C.57; Pearce
(b)	2 (A)	„	C	$\begin{array}{c} \text{1 SMKA,} \\ \text{2 SMKB,} \\ \text{3 SMK}\Gamma, \\ \text{4 SMK}\Delta \end{array}$	C.54; 1-4 Pearce
(c)	3 (A)	„	„	$\begin{array}{c} \text{1 SMKB,} \\ \text{2 SMK}\Gamma, \\ \text{3 SMK}\Delta \end{array}$	S.46; 1, 2 O.U.C.; 3 Pearce

*Aes IV*

Presumably nos. 20 and 21 cover also the earlier part of this period.

SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388-15 MAY A.D. 392

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, and ARCADIUS

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
26 (a)	1 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory advancing l., with r. hand carrying trophy over shoulder and dragging captive with l. In l. field, P.	C	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ, 4 SMKΔ	C.30; 1-4 B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ, 4 SMKΔ	C.30; 1-4 B.M.
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ	S.41; 1-3 Pearce

SEVENTH PERIOD: 15 MAY A.D. 392-17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors:* THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper, from  
 22 Aug. A.D. 392 to 6 Sept. A.D. 394), and HONORIUS  
 (from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
 (3) DN HONORIVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

27 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding standard and globe.	C	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ	C.18; 1-3 Pearce
PLXVI,19	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ, 4 SMKΔ	S.35; 1, 3 B.M.; 2, 4 O.U.C.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
28 (c)	3 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM As no. 27 (a).	C	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ	C.20; 1-3 B.M.

*Aes III*

29 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor on horse- back r., raising r. hand.	C	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ	C.21; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Pearce	<i>Pl. XVI, 23</i>
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ, 4 SMKΔ	S.39; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Pearce; 4 Hague	
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	1 SMKA, 2 SMKB, 3 SMKΓ	Cf. C.23; 1-3 B.M.	

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

30 (a)	1 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 26.	C	(Indistinguishable from the issue of the sixth period)	
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	(I have seen no coins of Arca- dius with divided obverse legend, which the analogy of Constantinople leads us to expect)	
(c)	3 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	SMKA	C.32; B.M.



## NICOMEDIA

## VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS: PROCOPIUS (usurper)

THE 'Restitutor' type appears in all three metals. Some guidance to the course it took at Nicomedia is given by the change in Valens' obverse legend from Valen-s to Valens-. The *solidus* is represented in the Dortmund hoard by eleven for Valentinian, one for Valens (with this later form of obverse legend). Probably the issue began when Valentinian passed through the city a fortnight before his brother's elevation and was soon intermitted for a time. The division Valen-s is very rare. The mint worked in ten *officinae* A to I; M also occurs. M and I on the *solidi* have been noted with identical obverse. It would seem that the *officinae* A to Δ were almost entirely restricted to striking bronze. The regular *siliqua Restitutor reip.* has been seen by me in one specimen only, for Valens with obverse division N-S; but one with the unusual uncontracted legend *Restitutor-reipublicae* and mint-mark NIKE is found for Valentinian and may represent a small, very early, issue. The Æ 1 and Æ 3, as we should expect, have only the earlier form of obverse legend for Valens. In the following Æ 3 *Gloria* and *Securitas* types both forms occur in fairly equal numbers.

The *miliarense Securitas reipublicae* 'Emperor spurning fallen enemy', if rightly placed in this period, may be connected with the fall of Procopius.

The coinage of this usurper, struck in all three metals—but the bronze only, so far as I have noted, on the standard of Julian—suggests that Nicomedia came into his hands later than Cyzicus, which struck his earlier bronze also.

## VALENTINIAN, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

The *solidi* commemorating Gratian's elevation and the final year of the senior emperors' *quinquennium*, linked by the distinctive mint-marks SMTR at Treveri and ✱CONSΡ at Constantinople, are found also from Nicomedia, and though not grouped under a distinctive mint-mark, are clearly contemporary with those from the other two mints. As at Constantinople *argentei* and *siliquae* were struck with *vota* V-X. *Siliquae* with the new *vota* X-XX seem to have followed immediately on the completion of the old. There was no further striking in the precious metals at Nicomedia.

For evidence on the bronze coinage we must look at the Danubian hoards. The only mint-mark they give is SMNA (-Δ). The numbers are: Valentinian 5, Valens 8. There are none of Gratian. His extremely rare specimens known to me seem to give him only the broken obverse legend. I think that evidence to the contrary is due to

a misreading of a Heracleian mint-mark. Clearly, there was an early stoppage of *aes* issues at Nicomedia.

GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

After an interval of—I believe—some eleven years, *aes* reappears at Nicomedia in the earliest bronze issue struck by Gratian after his co-option of Theodosius as eastern emperor. It is very significant that the one change in the types as they are found from Gratian's western mints was from *Victoria Augg* to *Urbs Roma* for Valentinian II. The extant specimens of this issue from Nicomedia are few, but they suggest that *officina* A was used for Gratian, B for Valentinian II, and Γ for Theodosius.

The western types which followed, viz. *Æ 2 Reparatio reipub.* and *Æ 4* (larger module) with *vota* figures, have been seen by me from Nicomedia in extremely few specimens. These in turn were followed by the *Æ 3 Concordia Augg* which, with common legend and general similarity of type in both empires, yet show differences in detail which prove that the West *minus* Rome and the East *plus* Rome are striking to a certain extent independently. Nicomedia has three varieties of this type, one mainly reserved to the western emperors, the other two to Theodosius. Presumably, the issue ended with the accession of Arcadius and the inauguration of a purely eastern coinage. Extremely rare specimens have been noted for Arcadius from Constantinople and Nicomedia, both showing the signs  $\S|HN$  in the field.

In Theodosius' new coinage Gratian seems to be well represented only with mint-mark  $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMNA}}$  in which he has regularly *officina* A, Valentinian II B, and Theodosius Γ, although there are some exceptions. Δ has been noted chiefly for Arcadius and Γ occurs for Flaccilla. But there is certainly no strict differentiation of *officinae* between emperors. The continuation of the coinage after the death of Gratian is marked by the addition of T in the field of the three *Æ 2* types. Except that I have noted only Γ for Flaccilla there seems to be no differentiation of *officinae* between emperors.

The following *Æ 2 Virtus exerciti* offers no points of interest beyond what have already been discussed in the introduction to Theodosius' other mints, but the *Æ 4 Salus reipublicae*, struck at Nicomedia after the defeat of Maximus, offers a greater variety of the sign in the field (usually  $\text{P}$ ) than any other mint. Of the *Æ 2* and *Æ 3* struck after the accession of Honorius, the former is common, the latter extremely rare. Their evidence at Nicomedia falls in with that from Theodosius' other eastern mints.

## MINT OF NICOMEDIA

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

Emperors: VALENTINIAN I, VALENS (from 28 March A.D. 364),  
and PROCOPIUS (from 28 Sept. A.D. 365 to 27 May A.D. 366)Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENS- PF AVG  
(3) DN PROCO-PIVS PF AVGObverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1	3 (A)	REPARATI-O FEL TEMP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding spear in r. hand and resting l. on shield.	R <sup>+</sup>	1 SMNE, 2 SMNI, 3 SMNE, 4 SMNI	C.5; 1, 3 Vienna; 2 Paris; 4 B.M.
2 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE Emperor stg. fac- ing, head r., holding <i>laba- rum</i> and Victory on globe.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 SMNB, 2 SMNE, 3 SMNS, 4 SMNH, 5 SMNØ, 6 SMNI, 7 SMNM	C.28; 1, 7 B.M.; 2 note in B.M.; 3 Syracuse; 4 Berlin; 5 Ermitage; 6 Strozzi Cat., 15.4.1937
<i>Pl. XV, 4</i>	(b) 1 (B)	"	R	1 SMNE, 2 SMNS, 3 SMNI, 4 SMNI	1, 3 Vienna; 2, 4 B.M.
(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	SMNS	C.32; O.U.C.
(d)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	1 SMNE, 2 SMNS, 3 SMNH, 4 SMNØ, 5 SMNI, 6 SMNM	1, 5, 6 B.M.; 2, 4 Vienna; 3 Gotha

## MINT OF NICOMEDIA

251

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
2 (e)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2 (a), but + in standard.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMNB, 2 SMNΓ, 3 SMNE, 4 SMNΘ	C.25; 1, 3, 4 confirmation required; 2 note in B.M.
(f)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 SMNE, 2 SMNΘ, 3 SMNI	C.34; 1, 3 Rome; 2 B.M.

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (light)

3 (a)	1 (E)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory stg. 1., hold- ing wreath and trophy and spurning fallen enemy.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMN	Not in C.; Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (E)	"	"	"	Not in C.; Berlin

*Siliqua*

4 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 2.	R	SMN	C.18; Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	"	C.28; Vienna
5	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2.	R <sup>4</sup>	NIKE	Cf. C.23; Vienna
6	3 (A)	VOT   V in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMN	C.14; Vienna

*Aes I*

7 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 SMNA, 2 SMNB, 3 SMNΓ	C.30; <i>Pl. XV, 6</i> 1 Berlin; 2, 3 Pearce
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMNΓ, 2 SMNΔ	Cf. C.39; 1 Ulrich- Bansa; 2 Pearce

*Aes II*


8	3 (A)	REPARATI-O FEL TEMP As no. 1.	R <sup>4</sup>	•SMNΓ	Cf. C.7; Vienna (cast)
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3. (a) 4.35 gm.; (b) 4.31 gm.

8. According to Elmer, this is the double of the Æ 3 of Julian's module.



*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
9 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., with r. hand dragging cap- tive and holding standard in l.	R	1 SMNA, 2 SMNB, 3 SMNΓ, 4 SMNΔ	C.12; 1 B.M.; 2 Öcsod hoard; 3 Zagreb; 4 Arpas hoard
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	S	1 SMNA, 2 SMNB, 3 SMNΓ	C.11; 1, 2 Budapest; 3 B.M.
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 SMNA, 2 SMNB, 3 SMNΓ, 4 SMNΔ	1, 3 Pearce; 2, 4 Zagreb
10	3 (E)	REPARATI-O FEL TEMP Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> in r. hand and resting l. on shield. At foot l., a small indeterminate object; above, in field r., ✱.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 SMNB, 2 SMNΓ, 3  4 •SMNA	C.8; 1 B.M.; 2 Munich; 3, 4 Ulrich- Bansa
11 (a)	1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 2 (c).	R	SMNΓ	C.21; Pearce
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	1 SMNB, 2 SMNΓ	C.29; 1 Pearce; 2 Ermitage
12 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	"	1 SMNA, 2 SMNB, 3 SMNΓ	C.37; 1 Ulrich- Bansa; 2 Zagreb; 3 Peckitt hoard
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	S	SMNB	C.47; Pearce
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 SMNA, 2 SMNB, 3 SMNΓ	1 Zagreb; 2 O.U.C.; 3 Vienna

10. This is Procopius' later issue, reverting to the standard of Julian. I have found no specimens of his earlier standard (that of Valentinian) from this mint.

11. (a) 1.8 gm., 14 mm.; (b) mint-mark 1, 1.9 gm., 18 mm.

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENS- PF AVG  
 (2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALE-NS AVG  
 (3) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (C) Pearl-diademed, draped in imperial mantle, l., holding *mapa*  
 and sceptre.

## GOLD

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
13 (a)	1 (B)	GLORIA - REI - PVBLI CAE Roma, helmeted, and Constantinopolis turreted, seated; Roma facing, holding sceptre, Constantinopolis, head l., holding sceptre and resting foot on prow; together they hold shield inscribed VOT   V   MVLT   X.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 <del>SMNB</del> , 2 <del>SMNΘ</del>	Not in C.; 1 Trau; 2 Vienna
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1 SMNM, 2 SMNΘ	Not in C.; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna
(c)	2 (?)	As no. 13 (a), but shield inscribed ✱.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMNI	C.3; 'Rollin'
14	3 (A)	PRINCIPIVM IVENTV TIS Gratian, nimbate, stg. r., holding transverse spear and globe.	R <sup>2</sup>	1 SMNE, 2 SMNΘ, 3 SMNM	C.28; 1 O.U.C.; 2 Dupriez Cat., 7.4.1913; 3 Ratto Cat., 8.2.1928
15	1 (A)	RESTITVTOR-REIPVBLI CAE As no. 2. See note below.	Indistinguishable from no. 2.		

15. There is close agreement between Treveri, Constantinople, and Nicomedia in their gold coinage of c. A.D. 368. The two former mints show by distinctive mint-marks that the *Restitutor solidus* was continued into this period. Despite the unchanging mint-mark of Nicomedia, we may feel certain that this was the case there also.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
<i>Pl. XV, 5</i> 16 (a)	1 (C)	VOTA PV-BLICA Two emperors, nimbate, seated facing, each holding <i>mappa</i> and short sceptre; the emperor on l. raising his <i>mappa</i> . Between letters in exergue are captives.	R <sup>4</sup>	S-N-I	C.66; B.M.
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (C)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	1 S-N-ε, 2 S-N-I, 3 S-MN-ε, 4 S-MN-θ, 5 S-MN-I, 6 S-MN-M, 7 N-N-N, 8 N-N-M, 9 -N-θ, 10 -MN-	C.86; 1, 2, 5, 9 Vienna; 3 Rome; 4 confirmation required; 6 Hall; 7 Berlin; 8 Hirsch Cat., 4.5.1904; no. 1139; 10 Wertheimer Cat., 24.1.45
	(c) 2 <sup>b</sup> (C)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	S-N-θ	Trau Cat., no. 4508
17	2 <sup>a</sup> (C)	As no. 16, but both emperors raising <i>mappa</i> and holding long sceptre.	"	S-MN-θ	Ratto Cat., 9.10.1934, no. 1231

## SILVER

*Argenteus*

18	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VIRTVS EXERCITVS Three standards.	R <sup>4</sup>	SMN	C.74; Vienna
<i>Pl. XV, 9</i> 19 (a)	1 (B)	VOT   V   MVLTVS   X in laurel-wreath.	R	"	C.72; Vienna
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.93; Ulrich-Bansa
	(c) 2 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	"	Vienna

*Siliqua*

20 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVLTVS   X in laurel-wreath.	S	SMN	C.70; Rome
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.91; B.M.
<i>Pl. XV, 11</i> (c)	3 (A)	"	R	"	C.66; Vienna

18. 2.85 gm.

19. (a) 2.68 gm.; (b) 2.78 gm.; (c) 3.03 gm.

## MINT OF NICOMEDIA

255

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
21 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVLTI   X in laurel-wreath.	R	SMN	C.72; Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	„	„	C.93; Ulrich-Bansa
22 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLTI   XX in laurel-wreath.	„	„	C.73; Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	S	„	C.96; Vienna <i>Pl. XV, 10</i>

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

23 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM <i>As no. 8.</i>	S	1 $\frac{R P}{SMNB}$ 2 $\frac{R P}{SMNF}$ 3 $\frac{ P}{SMNF}$	C.11; 1 Syracuse; 2 B.M.; 3 Pearce
(b)	3 (A)	„	R	$\frac{R P}{SMNF}$	C.23; B.M.
24 (a)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE <i>As no. 11.</i>	R <sup>3</sup>	$\frac{P }{SNMB}$ ( <i>sic</i> )	C.47; Pearce
(b)	3 (A)	„	„	SMNA	C.34; Zagreb

THIRD PERIOD: 17 NOV. A.D. 375-9 AUG. A.D. 378

*Emperors:* VALENS, GRATIAN, and VALENTINIAN II

No coins seem to have been struck at Nicomedia during this period.

21. (a) 2.02 gm.; (b) 2.07 gm.

FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

*Emperors:* GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383). In the East, coins were struck for Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius, as Augusta from the elevation of their son, Arcadius

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIA-NVS IVN PF AVG  
 (2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (4<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
 (4<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
 (5) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front.  
 (K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front. Above, hand holding wreath.  
 (L) Draped with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

















No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
25 (a)	1 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., on ship, raising r. hand. Victory seated at helm.	C	$\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMNA}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMNA}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMNB}}$	C.25; 1 Ulrich-Bansa; 2 Pearce; 3 B.M.
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (J)	"	"	$\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMNB}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMNA}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMNB}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMNB}}$ $\frac{\text{R}}{\text{SMNB}}$	C.22; 1-4 Pearce; 5 Fitzwilliam

25 (b). Also with blundered *obv.* . . VALENTINIANS, mint-mark 2 (Hollschek).

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
25 (c)	3 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 25 (a).	C	1 SMNA, R  2 SMNA, R  3 SMNB, R  4 SMNΓ, R  5 SMNΔ, R  6 SMNΓ, ·  7 SMNB	C.19; 1, 3, 6, 7 Pearce; 2 The Hague; 4 O.U.C.; 5 Ulrich- Bansa
26	4 <sup>b</sup> (K)	„ Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding standard in r. hand and resting l. on shield. To l. kneeling captive.	„	1 SMNA, 2 SMNΓ, 3 SMNΔ, 4 *SMNA, 5 *SMNB, 6 *SMNΓ, 7 *SMNΔ	S.29-30; 1 Ulrich- Bansa; 2, 5, 7 Pearce; 3 Munich; 4 Zagreb; 6 O.U.C.
27 (a)	1 (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB Emperor stg. facing, head l., with r. hand raising kneeling turreted woman and holding Victory on globe in l.	R	1 SMNA, 2 SMNB	C.30; 1 Pearce; 2 Munich
	(b) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	„	SMNB	C.28; Vienna
28	5 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory seated r. on cuirass, writing * on shield held on small column.	„	+  SMNΓ	C.4; Lincoln

*Aes III*

29	3 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Constantinopolis, turreted, seated facing, head r., on throne, holding spear in r. hand and resting l. on knee; r. foot on prow.	S	1 SMNΓ, 2 *SMNΓ	C.6; 1, 2 Pearce	<i>Pl. XVI, 2</i>
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No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
30 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Roma, helmeted, seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and partly seen spear; r. leg bare.	C	1 SMNA, 2 SMNB, 3  , 4  , 5  , 6 	C.3; 1, 4, 5 Pearce; 2 Glendinning Sale; 3 B.M.; 6 Zagreb
	(b) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	„	1 SMNB, 2  , 3  , 4 	C.9; 1, 2 Vienna; 3 Pearce; 4 Zagreb
	(c) 3 (A)	„	R	 SMNA	C.14; Pearce
31 (a)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„ Constantinopolis, helmeted, seated facing, head r., on throne, holding partly seen spear and globe; r. leg bare; r. foot on prow.	„	 SMNB	Not in C.; Hollschek
	(b) 3 (A)	„	S	1 SMNΓ, 2  , 3  , 4  , 5 SMNΓ	C.5; 1, 5 Ulrich-Bansa; 2, 4 Hollschek; 3 Pearce
<i>Pl. XVI, 6</i>	(c) 4 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R <sup>4</sup>	 SMNA	S.32; Vienna
32 (a)	1 (A)	As no. 31, but without prow.	R <sup>2</sup>	 SMNB	C.4; Pearce
	(b) 3 (A)	„	S	1  , 2 	C.14; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna
<i>Pl. XVI, 5</i>	33 1 (A)	VIRTVS RO - MANOR VM Roma seated facing on throne, head l., holding globe and reversed spear.	R	SMNA	C.57; Paris

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
34	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VRBS-ROMA Romaseated l. on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and reversed spear.	R	$\begin{array}{c}   * \\ \text{SMNB}' \\ *   * \\ \text{SMNB} \end{array}$	C.80; 1 B.M.; <i>Pl. XVI, 4</i> 2 Pearce
<i>Aes IV</i> (larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)					
35	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVLТ   XX in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	SMNB	C.75; Viminacium hoard. Cf. <i>N. C.</i> , 1926, p. 76
(Smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)					
36	5 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 28.	R	SMNE	C.5; B.M.
37 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   V in wreath.	„	Mint-mark not stated	C.64; <i>N. C.</i> , 1926, p. 75
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	„	SMNГ	Not in C.; B.M.
(c)	4 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	S	$\begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ SMNA,} \\ 2 \text{ SMNB,} \\ 3 \text{ SMNГ,} \\ 4 \text{ SMN}\Delta \end{array}$	S.47; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Budapest; 4 Paris
38 (a)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   X   MVLТ   XX in wreath.	R	$\begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ SMNA,} \\ 2 \text{ SMNB} \end{array}$	C.73; 1, 2 B.M.
(b)	3 (A)	„	S	$\begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ SMNA,} \\ 2 \text{ SMNB} \end{array}$	C.70; 1 Paris; 2 B.M.
39 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   XX   MVLТ   XXX in wreath.	„	$\begin{array}{l} 1 \text{ SMNA,} \\ 2 \text{ SMNB} \end{array}$	C.77; 1 Ulrich-Bansa; 2 B.M.
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	R	SMNB	C.75; Pearce
(c)	3 (A)	„	„	SMNA	Not in C.; Baldwin



FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS;  
(usurpers) MAGNUS MAXIMUS and VICTOR (from late  
in the period). Coins were also struck in the name of  
Flaccilla as Augusta

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DA ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
(4) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., hold-  
ing spear and shield in front.  
(K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed r., holding spear and  
shield in front.  
(L) Draped, with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
40 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 25.	S	1 $\frac{T }{SMNA'}$ 2 $\frac{T }{SMNB'}$ 3 $\frac{T }{SMN\Delta}$	C.22; 1-3 B.M.
	(b) 2 (J)	"	"	1 $\frac{T }{SMNB'}$ 2 $\frac{T }{SMN\Gamma'}$ 3 $\frac{T }{SMN\Delta}$	C.19; 1 Vienna; 2 The Hague; 3 Pearce
41	3 <sup>b</sup> (K)	As no. 26.	"	1 $\frac{T }{SMN\Gamma'}$ 2 $\frac{T }{SMN\Delta}$ 3 $\frac{T }{\ast SMNB'}$ 4 $\frac{T }{\ast SMN\Gamma'}$ 5 $\frac{T }{+SMN\Gamma}$	S.29, 30; 1, 2 Vienna; 3 Paris; 4 Pearce; 5 Lawrence

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
42	4 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 28.	R	T  SMNΓ	C.4; B.M. <i>Pl. XVI, 8</i>
43	4 (L)	„ Empress stg. facing, head r., arms folded on breast.	„	1 SMNΓ, 2 SMNΔ	C.6; 1 Hansen; 2 B.M.
44 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VIRTVS E-XERCITI Em- peror stg. r., holding stand- ard and globe; l. foot on captive.	S	1 SMNB, • 2 SMNB', 3 SMNA', 4 SMNB	C.57; 1, 3 Budapest; 2, 4 B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	„	„	1 SMNA, 2 SMNΔ, • 3 SMN  4 SMNA', 5 SMNΔ	C.54; 1, 4, 5 Vienna; 2 Copenhagen; 3 Berlin
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	„	1 SMNA, 2 SMNΓ, • 3 SMNA', 4 SMNΓ	S.46; 1 Ul- rich-Bansa; 2 Pearce; 3 Zagreb; 4 Vienna

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

Presumably nos. 37 and 38 cover also the earlier portion of this period.

SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388-15 MAY A.D. 392

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, and ARCADIUS

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG

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

44 (a). Also with blundered *obv.* legend . . VALENTINI-NVS . . (Pearce).

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
45(a)	1 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory advancing l., with r. hand carrying trophy over shoulder, and dragging captive with l.	S	1 SMNA, P  2 SMNB, +  3 SMNB, +  4 SMNB, ⊕  5 SMN	C.30; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Berlin; 4 Zagreb; 5 Rome
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	1 SMNA, P  2 SMNA, P  3 SMNA, +  4 SMNA, +  5 SMNA, +  6 SMNA, ⊕  7 SMNA	C.30; 1, 3, 5, 7 B.M.; 2, 4, 6 Pearce
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	1 SMNA, P  2 SMNB, P  3 SMNΓ, P  4 SMNΓ, +  5 SMNΓ, +  6 SMNΓ, ⊕  7 SMNΓ, +  8 SMNA	S.41; 1, 3, 6, 7 B.M.; 2 Vienna; 4, 5, 8 Pearce

## SEVENTH PERIOD: 15 MAY A.D. 392-17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors:* THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper;  
from 22 Aug. A.D. 392 to 6 Sept. A.D. 394), and HONORIUS  
(from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(2) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(3) DN HONORIVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
46 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding standard and globe.	C	1 SMNA,  * 2 SMNA	C.18; 1, 2 Pearce
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1 SMNA, 2 SMNB,  * 3 SMNA	S.35; 1 O.U.C.; 2, 3 Pearce
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	1 SMNΓ,  * 2 SMNB	C.20; 1, 2 Pearce

*Aes III*

47 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor on horse- back r., raising r. hand.	R <sup>3</sup>	[SM]NA	C.21; Pearce
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	1 SMNA, 2 SMNB	S.39; 1, 2 Vienna
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	SMNB	C.22, 23; O.U.C.

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

48 (a)	1 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 45.		Indistinguishable from the issue of the sixth period, no. 45 (a).	
(b)	2 (A)	"		No coins of Arcadius with divided obverse legend have been seen by me but must be presumed.	
(c)	3 (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	1 SMNA, 2 SMNΓ, •  3 SMN	C.32; 1, 2 B.M.; 3 Zagreb



## ANTIOCHIA

## VALENTINIAN I AND VALENS

VALENTINIAN's earliest coinage *Restitutor reip(ublicae)* was struck at Antioch in all metals, but apparently only the *solidus* in large quantities. Of the 430 *solidi* unearthed at Dortmund, 131 are of the *Restitutor* type and of these 51 are from Antioch, 39 of Valentinian, 11 of Valens. Their issue began before the elevation of Valens, and when he came into it, it was with the division *Valen-s* in his obverse legend. Soon, however, this was changed to *Dn. Valens-per. f. Aug.*, as we find it in the next and all the succeeding issues. In  $\mathcal{R}$  and  $\mathcal{A}$  the *Restitutor* type is rare for Valens. In both his obverse division is *Valen-s*.

I cannot assign with certainty any other gold or silver to this period. In bronze the  $\mathcal{A}$  3 *Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae* types succeeded the *Restitutor reip.*, no doubt, as at other mints during this period, but they do not occur here with the earlier form of Valens' obverse legend and cannot be distinguished from the issues of the following period.

On the whole, coins of Valentinian are much more numerous than those of Valens which can be dated to the early part of their reign.

## VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, AND GRATIAN

In this period the coins of Valens far outnumber those struck in the names of Valentinian and Gratian. The most interesting evidence comes from the bronze. In gold and silver the two western emperors both have at least a fair representation, but in the two bronze types, the only coinage in that metal for the twelve years after Gratian's accession, his coins from Antioch are of excessive rarity and its bronze issue must have stopped almost immediately. The undersized and ill-struck copies found in large numbers from late fourth-century eastern hoards must represent an attempt outside the regular mint to supply so indispensable a denomination. We see more clearly at Antioch than at any other eastern mint the revolt against the claim of the West to impose a uniform bronze coinage upon the whole empire as a symbol of its essential unity and of western predominance in the partnership. Gratian's answer, on Senior Augustus, to this revolt is seen in the Antiochene coinage of A.D. 379.

The gold coinage falls into two groups marked by the absence or the presence of -OB in the mint-mark. Possibly the large issue of the *Restitutor* type has ended; it does not include Gratian; at any rate it

ended soon. The first group centres, as at Treveri, Constantinople, and Nicomedia, in the year A.D. 368 and commemorates the *quinquennialia* of the elder emperor and the accession of Gratian; the former by *Vota publica*, and the latter by *Spes r. p.* and also, according to Koblitz, by *Principium iuventutis*. The mint-marks of the coins seen by me (and, I presume, of all these) is ANTA+ (to I). There is a fair measure of agreement—for the last time—in the gold issues of West and East and it can hardly be doubted that the welcome given to Gratian in *Spes r. p.* is due to western influence. He is represented as a boy standing between the seated figures of Valentinian and Valens—a pictorial version of the *Aug. Augg.* (*Augustus Augustorum*) of his Gallic coinage. This agreement between West and East is marked by their simultaneous addition of OB to the mint-mark as a guarantee of purity of metal.

With mint-mark increased by OB we seem to have two groups of *solidi*. In close agreement with Constantinople we have the *solidus Victoria Augustorum* with *vota X-XX* for the senior Augusti and V-X for Gratian. The *vota* of Gratian show that the date cannot be the final year of Valentinian's and Valens' second *quinquennium*: it must be A.D. 369, immediately after the completion of the first. The second group, *Gloria Romanorum* with the gold multiples seem to be dated to the final year of the second *quinquennium*. The *solidus* is much commoner for Valens than for Valentinian, and Gratian is ignored. If we are satisfied that we have the full evidence we must feel conscious of a coolness in the relations of East to West. No further gold seems to have been struck during this period. The smaller gold denominations seem datable, like the *solidi*, by the absence or presence of OB and probably accompany one or other of the two groups of *vota* coins.

In silver the *siliquae* present us with a difficulty. They are all *vota* coins and all show only the *vota X-XX* for the senior emperors. Although the issues are so numerous as to suggest that they were struck to supply the currency, yet there can be little doubt that they originated as commemorative of the taking or of the fulfilment of the quinquennial vows, i.e. c. Feb. A.D. 369 and c. Feb. A.D. 374. There are two distinct groups with legends (a) *vot. x mult. xx* and (b) *vot. x mul. xx*. The group (a) is accompanied by a *vot. v mult. x* of Gratian, which must be dated—and with it the whole group—before Aug. A.D. 372. Gratian also, in accordance with the normal custom of the time, appears fairly freely with his elder colleagues' reverse and with both styles of his obverse legend (i.e. divided A-N and I-A).\* Group (b) contains no coin of Gratian. Unless it is contemporary with group (a), which seems unlikely, we must date it to A.D. 373-4 and it will

\* This double form of obverse legend is seen on Gratian's excessively rare  $\mathcal{A}3$  *Gloria* and *Securitas* types which must be dated very early in his reign.

reinforce the conclusion, reached above, of strained relations between the two halves of the empire.

The *miliarensia* are probably to be dated to one or other of the two quinquennial celebrations as presentation pieces.

#### VALENS, GRATIAN, AND VALENTINIAN II

There are no coins which I can assign with confidence to this period, but I place here the *A* multiple (of which no. 37 is a barbarous imitation) from the similarity of its obverse to that of the Thessalonican *Pietas ddd. mnn. Augustorum* which I believe dates from this period.

#### GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), AND ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

The *solidus* with Valentinian II's *vota* V was probably struck after 22 Nov. A.D. 379 when the final year of his *quinquennium* began. It shows western control and reinforces the propagandist purpose of the *Æ 3 Urbs Roma* in emphasizing western claims.

For the moment, after the death of Valens, Gratian could enforce his will on West and East alike, and this would be true for some time after his co-optation of Theodosius. He had good reason to be displeased with Antioch and it was now to feel his displeasure. It was called upon, more than any other eastern mint, to strike his western bronze coin-types. The *Æ 3 Urbs Roma* of his 'differentiated' issue, rare at Nicomedia, is common from Antioch and the *Æ 2 Reparatio reipub.* which followed is equally common from Antioch alone of eastern mints. The *Æ 4* (larger module) *vota* coins, rare at all eastern mints, are represented at Antioch by *vota* V-X and XV-XX both in Gratian's name. Up to this point the East has struck in absolute conformity (except, of course, for the substitution of *Urbs Roma* for *Victoria Auggg.*) with western models. The *Æ 3 Concordia Auggg.*, which with common legend shows distinct western and eastern slight divergencies in type, at Antioch appears in all three eastern varieties; but also in another seen elsewhere only at Treveri where it probably precedes, but is linked by obverse identities with, the normal western variety.

As at Constantinople and Nicomedia the variety with 'head turned l. and no prow at foot' is mainly found for Gratian and Valentinian II, the varieties with 'head turned r., with or without prow at foot', for Theodosius. At Antioch the Greek letters Φ, Θ, Κ seen in the field of the *Æ 3* of this period have not to my knowledge been explained. They occur also on an *Æ 3* of Gratian with *rev.* type *Securitas reipublicae*, seen by me in a single example. It is a surprising coin of this



period, and the only explanation which I can suggest is that it is a relic of a small 'token' issue of a type which the Antiochene mint had refused to strike in the previous period but which the young Senior Augustus now uses his new-found authority to enforce upon it.

Like the *Æ 3 Concordia Auggg.*, Theodosius' new purely eastern issue of *Æ 2* and *Æ 4* was struck in six *officinae*. In the contemporary issue of these from Constantinople each ruler has the same *officina* letter on his or her coins of both the denominations, but at Antioch *officinae* A and Δ are reserved for the *Æ 4* of the five rulers, B, Γ, Ε, and S for their *Æ 2*. There seem to be four issues of the *Æ 2 Gloria Romanorum* 'Emperor on ship', distinguished by variations in the mint-marks. My evidence is not complete, but Gratian's *officina* seems to be regularly B, Valentinian II's Ε, and Theodosius' Γ with pearl- and B with rosette-diaDEM. Arcadius with similar legend but different type has regularly S. I have seen Flaccilla's *Salus reipublicae* only from B.

The *Æ 4 vota* coins of the Augusti are accompanied by the *Æ 4 Salus reipublicae* of the Augusta Flaccilla, with type 'Victory seated writing ✱ on shield'. In contrast to most other eastern mints, Arcadius' reverse *vot. V* seems to be very rare at Antioch, and he has mostly the X-XX of Valentinian II and Theodosius. There is another *Æ 4 vota* issue with mint-mark ANA (to S). This should be post-Gratian, as I have not met with his coin, but I have a Theodosius with *vota XX-XXX* which can apply to Gratian only; probably we must regard it as a hybrid. But this issue also includes Flaccilla with the same type 'Victory seated'. Flaccilla died before the completion of Arcadius' first *quinquennium* in January A.D. 388, so this issue must be earlier than that date. Yet, although Arcadius has not completed his first *quinquennium*, we find that in this issue his *vota* are invariably given as X-XX, indistinguishable from those of Valentinian II, whom it was Theodosius' policy to present to the Roman world as standing in the same relation to himself as his own son, Arcadius. Of course, this policy would take shape in Theodosius' mind only after the removal of Valentinian's natural guardian, his elder brother, and the change in Arcadius' *vota*-legend is in itself an argument for dating this issue as falling after Gratian.

VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS;  
(usurpers) MAXIMUS AND VICTOR

As at other eastern mints, T now appears in the field of the current *Æ 2* types of Valentinian, Theodosius, Arcadius, and Flaccilla. The *Æ 2* types (*Virtus exerciti* for the three Augusti, and *Salus reipublicae*, 'Empress standing with arms crossed on breast', for Flaccilla) which followed, I think, on the *entente* reached in the autumn of A.D. 384,

were struck in six *officinae*. Arcadius appears only in *officina* S, Flaccilla in E; otherwise there seems to be no differentiation. The Æ 4 *Salus reipublicae*, struck in four *officinae* after the defeat of Maximus, repeats at Antioch the evidence given by Theodosius' other eastern mints. There is no strict differentiation of *officinae*, though A is commonest for Valentinian, B and Δ for Theodosius, and Γ for Arcadius. After the death of Valentinian II Arcadius has broken obverse legend; Honorius unbroken, but both are very rare.

For the inclusion of the Æ 4 *vota* coins with mint-mark ANA (to S) in this period, despite the occurrence of Gratian's XX-XXX on a coin of Theodosius, see the last paragraph of the preceding section.

#### THEODOSIUS, ARCADIUS, AND HONORIUS

The two denominations Æ 2 and Æ 3 of this period were struck in four *officinae*, without any strict differentiation of them between emperors. In the Æ 2 A seems to be reserved to Theodosius, B to Arcadius, and Γ to Honorius, but Δ seems to be fairly common for both Theodosius and Honorius. But in the Æ 3 this partial differentiation does not hold good.

MINT-MARKS OF THE SOLIDUS RESTITUTOR-REIPUBLICAE

(Presumably all struck in 10 officinae, A to I. I give those noted by me for each emperor)

Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG

	Mint-mark	Sign in standard	Bust	Officina letter	Reference	Officina letter	Reference
i		+	(A)	1 A, 2 B, 3 Δ, 4 € , 5 S, 6 Z, 7 H, 8 Θ, 9 I	1 Glendining Sale, 2, 3, 1932; 2, 5, 6, 8 Dortmund; 3 The Hague; 4 Vienna; 7 Gotha; 9 Note in B.M.	1 B, 2 € , 3 S, 4 Θ, 5 I	1 Paris; 2-5 B.M.
ii		✱	"	1 Γ, 2 S, 3 Z, 4 H, 5 I	1, 4 B.M.; 2 Fitzwilliam; 3 Dortmund; 5 Hunterian	1 Γ, 2 Z	1 B.M.; 2 Hunterian
iii		✱	"	I	Lincoln	Γ	B.M.
iv		Ɔ	"	H	Lincoln		
v		⚡	"	Σ	Hunterian		
vi		✱	"	Γ	Vatican		
vii		Χ	"	1 A, 2 Δ	1 Note in B.M.; 2 O.U.C.		
viii		+	(A)				
ix		Ɔ	(B)	1 Γ, 2 Δ, 3 I	1 Vienna; 2, 3 B.M.	1 B, 2 €	1 Lawrence; 2 Vatican
x		T	(A)			S	Baldwin
xi			(B)	A		€	Glendining Sale, Nov. 1934, lot 97
xii		+	(A)		Dortmund	I	Glendining Sale, 2.6.1937

Obv. DN VALENS-PER F AVG

Obv. DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG

Obv. DN VALENS-PERF AVG

	Mint-mark	Sign in standard	Bust	Officina letter	Reference	Officina letter	Reference
xiii	— ANTA•	✱	(A)	1 A, 2 B, 3 Γ, 4 Δ, 5 S, 6 Z, 7 I	1 Hunterian; 2, 3 Copen- hagen; 4, 5 B.M.; 6 Dort- mund; 7 Note in B.M.	1 A, 2 B, 3 Δ, 4 Ε, 5 S, 6 H, 7 Θ, 8 I	1 Cahn Cat., 80, no. 913; 2, 3 Rome; 4 Walla; 5 Hunterian; 6, 7, 8 B.M.
xiv		*	(B)	S	Rome	1 B, 2 Γ, 3 I	1 Baldwin; 2 Glendining Sale, 17.6.1936, lot 28; 3 Glendining Sale, May 1941, lot 644.
xv		*	(A)	Z	Ermitage		Lincoln
xvi		Ɔ	"	H	Note in B.M.	Γ	
xvii		"	(B)	Θ	Ermitage		
xviii		+	(A)	1 A, 2 S	1 Copenhagen; 2 Ermitage	1 Γ, 2 S, 3 Z	1 B.M.; 2 Hunterian; 3 Ber- lin
xix		"	(B)	Γ	B.M.		Note in B.M.
xx	— ANTA•	✱	(A)	H	Lincoln		
xxi		"	(B)	H	Copenhagen		Santamaria Cat., 24.1.1938, no. 995
xxii		Ɔ	(A)	H	Vienna		Walla
xxiii		*	"	Θ	Paris	S	1, 4 The Hague; 2 Spink; 3 Note in B.M.; 5 B.M.
xxiv		*	"	H		1 B, 2 S, 3 H, 4 Θ, 5 I	
xxv		+	"	H			

xxvi						1 A, 2 Γ, 3 Δ, 4 € 5 S, 6 H, 7 I	1, 3, 4 Paris; 2 B.M.; 5 San- tarnaria Cat., 28.11.1938, no. 986; 6 Baldwin; 7 Vienna		
xxvii	*	ANTAX	Γ				The Hague		
xxviii	♀		H				B.M.		
xxix	+		(A)					1 Γ, 2 € 3 H	1 Glendining Sale, 28.3.1938, lot 135; 2 Berlin; 3 Glen- dining Sale, May 1941, lot 643
xxx									
xxxi		+ ANTAX	(B)			1 A, 2 Γ, 3 €, 4 H, 5 Θ, 6 I	1 Hunterian; 2, 4 Ermitage; 3 Berlin; 5 The Hague; 6 B.M.		
xxxii		*ANTAX	"				Glendining Sale, May 1941, lot 634		Vienna
xxxiii	+	+ ANTAX	"						
xxxiv	*	*ANTAX	"				Rome		
xxxv	+		(A)				Lawrence		
xxxvi	*		"				Copenhagen		
xxxvii	+		"						
xxxviii	"		(B)			1 A, 2 B, 3 Γ, 4 Δ, 5 € 6 S, 7 Z, 8 H, 9 Θ, 10 I	1, 4, 9 B.M.; 2, 7 Vienna; 5 Ermitage; 3, 6 Paris; 8, 10 Berlin	1 A, 2 B, 3 Γ, 4 Δ, 5 € 6 I	B.M. 1 Rome; 2, 4 The Hague; 3 B.M.; 5 Ermitage; 6 Berlin

## MINT OF ANTIOCHIA

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN I, VALENS (from 28 March A.D. 364), and  
(usurper) PROCOPIUS (from 28 Sept. A.D. 565 to 27 May A.D. 366)

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>b</sup>) VALENTINI-ANVS AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENS-PF AVG  
(2<sup>c</sup>) DN VALENS-PER F AVG  
(2<sup>d</sup>) DN VALENS-PER AVG  
(2<sup>e</sup>) VALENS-AVGVS

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.  
(F) Pearl-diademed and cuirassed, r.

## GOLD

*Multiple*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA RE-IPVBLICAE Emperor, facing, head l., holding Victory on globe and standard.	R <sup>+</sup>	ANT	Not in C.; Brussels

*Solidus*

Pl. XIII, 1	2 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVBLICAE Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding <i>labarum</i> (or standard with cross) and Victory on globe.	C	For mint-marks and other details, see pp. 269-71	C.28
	(b)	1 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	"	"	
	(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.32
	(d)	2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	"	
	(e)	2 <sup>c</sup> (B)	"	"	"	

1 13.37 gm. = 3 *solidi*.

$1\frac{1}{2}$  *Scripulum*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
3 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Victory seated r. on cuirass. writing VOT   V on shield held up by winged Genius.	R <sup>3</sup>	ANT	C.47; Berlin
	(b) 2 <sup>e</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Not in C.; <i>Pl. XIII, 9</i> O.U.C.
	(c) 2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	"	C.64; Trau Cat., 4486

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (light)

4 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA ROMANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., under arch, holding transverse spear and globe.	R <sup>3</sup>	ANT	C.9; Paris
	(b) 2 <sup>c</sup> (B)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	1 ANT, 2 •ANTΓ, 3 •ANTE	Not in C.; 1, 3 Gneccchi, 1, 2, 3; 2 Vienna
	(c) 2 <sup>d</sup> (B)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	ANΓ	Vienna
5	1 <sup>a</sup> (B)	" Two emperors stg. fac- ing, heads turned towards each other, under arch; the emperor on r. holding verti- cal sceptre and globe, the emperor on l. globe and vertical sceptre.	"	ANT	Not in C.; B.M.
6	1 <sup>a</sup> (F)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2.	"	1 ANTS, +   2 ANTA	C.22; 1 d'Ennery; 2 Egger (noted by Koblitz)

*Siliqua*

7 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 2.	S	ANT	* C.18; B.M.
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R	ANT	C.28; B.M.
	(c) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>2</sup>	ANT•	Chapman
8	"	VOT   V in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>4</sup>	ANT••	Cf. C.88; con- firmation required

3. (a) 1.7 gm.; (b) 1.64 gm. (holed).

4. (a) 4.15 gm.; (b) 1, 4.0 gm.; 2, 3.96 gm.; 3, 3.95.

5. 4.64 gm.

T

## BRONZE

*Aes I*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
9 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	RESTITVTOR - REIPVB LICAE As no. 2, but standard for <i>labarum</i> .	R <sup>3</sup>	ANTΔ	C.30; B.M.
<i>Pl. XIV, 1</i>	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R <sup>4</sup>	ANTI	C.39; Glen- dining Cat., 7.7.1939, no. 156

*Aes III*

10 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., with r. hand dragging captive and holding stand- ard in l.	S	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB, 3 ANTΓ, 4 ANTΔ, 5 ANTS	C.12; 1 Pearce; 2 B.M., 3, 4 Peckitt hoard; 5 Vienna
	(b) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	C <sup>3</sup>	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB, 3 ANTΓ, 4 ANTΔ, 5 ANTE, 6 ANTS, 7 ANTZ, 8 ANTΣ, 9 ANTH, 10 ANTΘ, 11 ANTI	C.11; 1, 11 Budapest; 2, 3, 4 B.M.; 5, 7, 8, 9, 10 Pearce; 6 Ermitage
	(c) 2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	„	R <sup>3</sup>	ANTΓ	B.M.
<i>Pl. XIV, 2, 3</i>	11 (a) 1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP As no. 9.	S	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB, 3 ANTΔ	C.21; 1 B.M.; 2, 3 Pearce
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R	ANTΓ	C.29; Peckitt hoard

9 (a). 8.76 gm.

10 (a). The captive is regularly represented as walking, but on a coin with mint-mark 1 he is kneeling.

11 (a). There are two modules of c. 19 and c. 17 mm. I have not seen the latter for Valens.



No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
12 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	S	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB, 3 ANTF, 4 ANTE, 5 ANTH	C.37; 1 B.M.; 2, 3, 4, 5 Peckitt hoard
	(b) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	C <sup>3</sup>	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB, 3 ANTF, 4 ANTA, 5 ANTE, 6 ANTS, 7 ANTZ, 8 ANTH, 9 ANTΘ	C.47; 1, 5 B.M.; 2, 9 Arpas hoard; 3, 7 Pearce; 4 Ermitage; 6, 8 Ulrich- Bansa

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375



*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENS-PF AVG  
 (2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENS-PER F AVG  
 (3<sup>a</sup>) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (3<sup>b</sup>) DN GRATI-ANVS AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (C) Pearl-diademed, draped in imperial mantle, l., holding *mappa*  
 and sceptre.  
 (C<sup>2</sup>) As C, but rosette-diademed.  
 (E) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l.  
 (E<sup>2</sup>) As E, but rosette-diademed.

## GOLD

*Multiple*

13	1 (B)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Constantinopolis, hel- meted, seated l. on throne, holding Victory on globe and sceptre; l. foot on prow.	R <sup>4</sup>	 ANTOB	C.6; Berlin
14	2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	GLORIA ROMANOR VM Emperor on horse- back, l., raising r. hand.	„	 ANOBS	C.13; B.M. <i>Pl. XIII, 2</i>

13. 19.25 gm. = 4½ *solidi*.14. 6.71 gm. = 1½ *solidus*.

*Solidus*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
15 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - R <del>Ξ</del> O - MAN ORVM Roma, helmeted, and Constantinopolis, tur- reted, seated on throne, Roma facing, Constantino- polis turning head towards Roma, each holding sceptre and both together shield in- scribed VOT   X   MVL   XX; Constantinopolis rest- ing r. foot on prow.	R <sup>3</sup>	ANOBΓ	Cf. C. 5; B.M.
(b)	1 (B)	"	"	ANOBΘ	Berlin
Pl. XIII, 3 16 (a)	1 (A)	As no. 15, but both Roma and Constantinopolis hel- meted.	"	ANOBΓ	Not in C.; B.M.
(b)	1 (B)	"	"	PANOBE	Trau Cat., no. 4417
(c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R	1 ANOBA, 2 ANOBΘ, 3 KANOBS, 4 PANOBB, 5 PANOBS	C. 7; 1 Budapest; 2, 5 B.M.; 3 Ermitage; 4 O.U.C.
(d)	2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	"	1 ANOBA, 2 ANOBB, 3 ANOBA, 4 ANOBZ, 5 ANOBH, 6 ANOBΘ, 7 KANOBI, 8 PANOBS, 9 PANOBBH	1 Cahn Cat., 80, no. 908; 2 Ermitage; 3, 7 con- firmation required; 4 Vienna; 5 Zagreb; 6 The Hague; 8 B.M.; 9 Berlin
17	2 <sup>b</sup> (C <sup>2</sup> )	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor draped in imperial mantle stg. facing, holding <i>mappa</i> and sceptre.	R <sup>4</sup>	$\frac{\text{P}}{\text{P}}$ PANOBE	Cf. C. 8; Berlin (cast)
18	2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	GLORIA ROMANOR VM Emperor on horse- back, l., raising r. hand.	R <sup>3</sup>	$\frac{\text{P}}{\text{P}}$ ANOBS	C. 14; B.M.

17. Cohen gives R for P in the mint-mark.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
19	3 <sup>a</sup> (?)	PRINCIPIVM IVVENTV TIS Gratian stg. facing, head r., holding transverse spear and globe.	R <sup>5</sup>	ANT?	Cf. C.28; Koblitz (op. cit., p. 28 and manu- script note ANT in Cohen
20 (a)	1 (B)	SPE-SRP Two emperors, nimbate, in military dress, seated facing on throne, the one on r. holding sceptre and globe, the one on l. globe and sceptre. Between them a small togate figure stg., above whose head is a shield inscribed VOT   V   MVL   X.	R <sup>4</sup>	ANTA+	Not in C.; <i>Pl. XIII, 5</i> B.M.
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	ANTF+	C.48; Paris
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	"	Not in C.; O.U.C.
(d)	1 (B)	As no. 20 (a), except that the emperors are not nim- bate.	"	ANTI+	Not in C.; Trau Cat., no. 4424
(e)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>3</sup>	"	Not in C.; Trau Cat., no. 4484
(f)	"	As no. 20 (d), but divided S-PE-SR-P.	R <sup>4</sup>	ANTE+	Hirsch Cat., Oct. 1934, no. 1965
(g)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	ANTI+	Copenhagen
21 (a)	"	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Victory seated r. on cuirass, shield behind, writ- ing VOT   V   MVL   X on shield held on knee. In field r., ✠.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 ANOBB, 2 KANOBE	C.48; 1 note in B.M.; 2 Paris
(b)	3 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	"	ANOBE	Munich
(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	"	ANOBB	C.47; Paris
22 (a)	1 (A)	As no. 21, but VOT   X   MVL   XX on shield.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 PANOBΓ, 2 PANOBAΔ, 3 PANOBS, 4 PANOBE	C.49; 1 Paris; 2 Copen- hagen; 3 Vienna; 4 Capitoline Museum
(b)	1 (B)	"	"	1 ANOBB, 2 ANOBE	1 Dortmund; 2 Ermitage

19. I doubt whether the 'ANT' pencilled in Koblitz' copy of Cohen is intended as the mint-mark, which I should expect to be like one of those given under my no. 20.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
22 (c)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM As no. 21 (a).	R <sup>2</sup>	1 ANOBB, 2 ANOBA, 3 ANOBS, 4 ANOBZ, 5 KANOBE, 6 KANOBI, 7 PANOBB, 8 PANOVBZ	C.62; 1, 7 Vienna; 2 B.M.; 3 Cahn Cat., 80, no. 924; 4 Glendining Cat., 3.6.1937, no. 314; 5 O.U.C.; 6 Proch- owski Coll.; 8 Rome
<i>Pl. XIII, 7</i>	(d) 2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	"	"	1 PANOBE, 2 PANOBS, 3 PANOVBZ, 4 PANOBB	1 Paris; 2 B.M.; 3 Helbing Cat., June 1929, lot 3938; 4 Berlin C.68; Hirsch Cat., 9.11.1910
23 (a)	1 (C <sup>2</sup> )	VOTA PV-BLICA Two emperors, nimbate, seated on throne with foot-stools; each holding <i>mappa</i> (raised) and sceptre. At foot r. and l., captives.	R <sup>4</sup>	ANTΓ+	C.68; Hirsch Cat., 9.11.1910
<i>Pl. XIII, 4</i>	(b) 2 <sup>b</sup> (C)	"	"	"	C.82; Sotheby Sale, 20.2.1939, lot 100

*Semis*

24 (a)	1 (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Victory seated r. on cuirass, shield behind, writ- ing VOT   X   MVL   XX on shield held up by winged Genius.	R <sup>3</sup>	ANT	Not in C.; Trau Cat., no. 4425
<i>Pl. XIII, 6</i>	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	"	Not in C.; B.M.

*1 1/2 Scripulum*

25	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Victory seated r. on arms writing VOT   X on shield held up by winged Genius.	R <sup>3</sup>	ANT•	Not in C.; Vienna
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24 (b). 2.2 gm.

## MINT OF ANTIOCHIA

279

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
26	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM As no. 25, but VOT   X   MVL   XX on shield.	R <sup>3</sup>	1 AN, +   2 ANOBH	Not in C.; 1, 2 Munich

## SILVER

*Miliarensis* (heavy)

27	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in laurel-wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	ANT•	C.90; Vienna <i>Pl. XIII</i> , 11
28	2 <sup>b</sup> (B)	VOT   X   MVL   XX in laurel-wreath.	„	ANT✕	Not in C.; <i>Pl. XIII</i> , Budapest 13

*Miliarensis* (light)

29 (a)	2 <sup>b</sup> (E)	GLORIA ROMANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., under arch, hold- ing transverse spear and globe.	R <sup>2</sup>	ANT✕	C.9; Ulrich- <i>Pl. XIII</i> , Bansa 14
(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (E <sup>2</sup> )	„	„	„	Gnecchi i, pl. 35, 1
(c)	3 <sup>a</sup> (E <sup>2</sup> )	„	„	„	Cf. C.20; Vienna
30	1 (B)	„ Two emperors stg. fac- ing, heads turned towards each other, under arch, the one on r. holding vertical sceptre and globe, the one on l. globe and vertical sceptre.	„	1 ANT✕, 2 ANT	Not in C.; <i>Pl. XIII</i> , 1 Vienna; 2 B.M. 12
31	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	As no. 30, but both emperors holding vertical sceptre and globe.	R <sup>3</sup>	ANT✕	C.10; Gnecchi i, pl. 35, 3

*Siliqua*

32	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in laurel-wreath.	R	ANT✕	C.66; Vienna
33 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVL   XX in laurel-wreath.	S	1 ANT, 2 ANT✕, 3 ANT∪, 4 AN∪	Not in C.; 1 Budapest; 2, 4 B.M.; 3 Lincoln

28. 5.09 gm.

29 (a). 4.17 gm.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
33(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   X   MVL   XX in laurel-wreath.	S	1 ANT, 2 ANT∩, 3 ANT••, 4 AN∩	Not in C.; 1-4 Vienna
	(c) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	ANT	B.M.
	(d) 2 <sup>a</sup> (B)	"	R	ANT	Vienna
34(a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVL   XX in laurel-wreath.	S	1 ANT, 2 •ANT✕, 3 •ANTΓ, 4 •ANTΔ, 5 •ANTZ, 6 •ANTH, 7 ••ANTH, 8 •ANH	C.73; 1 O.U.C.; 2 Berlin; 3, 4, 7 Vienna; 5 Paris; 6 Hamburger Cat.; 8 note in B.M.
Pl. XIII, 10	(b)	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	C	1 ANT,	C.96;
			S	2 •ANT,	1 Gotha;
			"	3 ANT••,	2-5, 8, 10
			C	4 •ANT✕,	B.M.; 6, 11,
			"	5 •ANTA,	12 Vienna;
			"	6 •ANTΓ,	7 Budapest;
			"	7 •ANTΔ,	9 Rome
			"	8 •ANTI,	
			R	9 •ANTI•,	
			"	10 AN✕,	
			"	11 •ANA•,	
			Pl. XIII, 15 Pl. XIII, 16	(c)	2 <sup>a</sup> (B)
(d)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"			
(e)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R	1 ANT••,	C.97;
			"	2 ANT✕,	1 Rome;
			S	3 •ANT✕,	2 Vienna;
			"	4 •ANTA,	3 Ermitage;
			"	5 •ANTB,	4-9 Vienna;
			"	6 •ANTΓ,	10 Zagreb;
			"	7 •ANTΔ,	11 Lincoln
			"	8 •ANTE,	
			"	9 •ANTH,	
			"	10 •ANTΘ,	
			R	11 •ANA	
"	ANT	Cf. C.69; Vienna			

33 (b). 1 is by far the commonest mint-mark. It is found (1) with dot, (2) with cross in the circle at head of the wreath.

33 (d). For coins of Gratian, see Addenda.

34. •ANTA (to l) is by far the commonest mint-mark. Valentinian and Valens noted with *rev.* identity.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
34 (f)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VOT   X   MVLT   XX in laurel-wreath.	R " " " S " " " " R "	1 ANT, 2 •ANT, 3 ANT•, 4 ANT✕, 5 •ANTA, 6 •ANTB, 7 •ANTS, 8 •ANTH, 9 •ANTI, 10 ANΓ, 11 •ANB	1, 3-7, 9-11 <i>Pl. XIII</i> , Vienna; <sup>19</sup> 2 Budapest; 8 B.M.

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

35 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 10.		See note	C.12
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"		"	C.11
	(c) 3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	ANTΓ	C.23; El Kab <i>Pl. XIV</i> , 5 hoard
36 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 12.		See note	C.37
	(b) 2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	R <sup>4</sup>	✕  ANTΓ	C.47; <i>Pl. XIV</i> , 4 Fitzwilliam
	(c) 3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	"	1 ANT// 2 ✕  ANT//	C.34; 1 El Kab hoard; 2 Lawrence

THIRD PERIOD: 17 NOV. A.D. 375-9 AUG. A.D. 378

*Emperors: VALENS, GRATIAN, and VALENTINIAN II*

Obverse legend: (1) DN VALEN-S PF AVG

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

(N) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, l., raising r. hand and holding globe in l.

35, 36. The extreme rarity of Gratian's *aes* shows that the issue of these two types must have ended at Antioch soon after his accession. A few of the coins of Valentinian and Valens given under nos. 10 and 12 must have been struck in this period, but it is impossible for me to distinguish them.

## MINT OF ANTIOCHIA

## GOLD

*Multiple* (barbarous imitation)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
37	1 (N)	GLORIAROMANORVM Emperor, nimbate, on horse- back r., before him a tur- reted woman carrying torch in l. hand and doing obeis- ance.	R <sup>5</sup>	A-N with re- cumbent wo- man between these letters, holding fruit in fold of dress	C.15; Vienna
38	1 (A)	„	„	As no. 2	C.16; Vienna

FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383



*Emperors:* GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383). Coins were also struck in the East for Flaccilla, wife of Theodosius, after the elevation of their son Arcadius

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
(2<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIA-NVS IVN PF AVG  
(2<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS IVN PF AVG  
(2<sup>c</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(4<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(4<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
(5) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., hold-  
ing spear and shield in front.  
(J<sup>2</sup>) As J, but rosette-diademed.  
(K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and  
shield in front. Above, hand holding wreath.  
(K<sup>2</sup>) As K, but rosette-diademed.  
(L) Draped, with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.

## GOLD

*Solidus*


Pl. XIII, 8	39 (a)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA AVGVSTOR VM Victory seated r. on cuirass, writing VOT   V on shield held on knee.	R <sup>2</sup>	1  ANOBS'	C.52; 1 Vienna; 2 B.M.
					2  ANOBI	

37. 219.49 gm. with setting. On this and no. 37 see Alföldi in *Num. Közl.* xxvii-xxix, pp. 10 ff.

38. 412.72 gm. with setting.


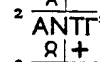

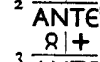


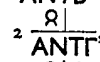
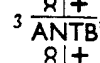
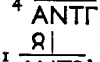
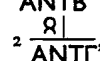
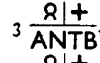
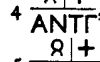
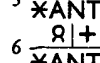
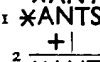
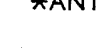





39 (a). Mint-marks 1 and 2 noted with *obv.* identity.



No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
39(b)	2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VICTORIA·AVGVSTOR VM As no. 39 (a).	R*		Dortmund

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

40(a)	1 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., on ship, raising r. hand. Victory seated at helm.	S	  	C.25; <i>Pl. XIV</i> , 1, 3 Vienna; 14 2 Berlin
(b)	2 <sup>c</sup> (J)	"	C	  	C.22; 1-3 Vienna
(c)	2 <sup>c</sup> (J <sup>2</sup> )	"	S	 	1 Vienna; 2 Munich
(d)	3 (J)	"	C	   	C.19; 1, 4 B.M.; 2, 3 Vienna
(e)	3 (J <sup>2</sup> )	"	"	     	1, 3 B.M.; 2 4, 5 con- firmation required; 6 Gotha
41(a)	4 <sup>b</sup> (K)	" Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding standard in r. hand and resting l. on shield. To l., kneeling or seated captive.	"	 	S.30; 1 Pearce; 2 B.M.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
41(b)	4 <sup>b</sup> (K <sup>2</sup> )	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 41 (a).	C	1 ANTB, 2 ANTE, 3 ANTS, 4 *ANTS, 5 $\frac{+ }{\text{ANTS}}$ , 6 $\frac{+ }{*\text{ANTS}}$	1 Paris; 2 O.U.C.; 3, 5 Berlin; 4, 6 Pearce
42(a)	1 (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB Emperor stg. facing, head l., with r. hand raising kneeling turreted woman and holding Victory on globe in l.	"	1 ANTA, 2 ANTA	C.29; 1, 2 B.M.
	(b) 1 (B)	"	"	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΓ, 3 ANTA	1 Budapest; 2 Vienna; 3 B.M.
Pl. XIV, 13	(c) 2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	"	"	ANTB	C.28; B.M.
	(d) 3 (A)	"	S	1 ANTΓ, 2 ANTA	C.27; 1, 2 Copenhagen
	(e) 3 (B)	"	C	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΓ, 3 ANTA	1 Vienna; 2, 3 B.M.
43	5 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory seated r. on cuirass, writing ✠ on shield held on small column.	R	ANTB	C.4; Pearce
<i>Aes III</i>					
Pl. XIV, 9	44(a)	3 (A)	C	1 ANTΓ, 2 ANTA, 3 $\frac{\Theta \Phi}{\text{ANTA}}$ , 4 $\frac{\Theta \Phi}{\text{ANTΓ}}$	C.6; 1, 2, 3 Ulrich- Bansa; 4 Pearce
	(b)	3 (B)	S	1 ANTA, 2 $\frac{\Theta \Phi}{\text{ANTΓ}}$	1, 2 Ulrich- Bansa

42, 44, are the earlier issues of this period and were struck in four *officinae* only. Later six *officinae* were in operation.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
45 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Roma, helmeted, seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and partly seen spear; l. leg bare.	S	$\begin{array}{c} \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTB}' \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANT}\Delta' \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTE}' \end{array}$	C.3; 1, 3 <i>Pl. XIV</i> , Copenhagen; 12 2 Vienna
(b)	2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	”	C	$\begin{array}{c} \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTA}' \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTB}' \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTI}' \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTS} \end{array}$	Cf. C.8; 1 Ulrich-Bansa; 4 Copenhagen; 2, 3 confirmation required
(c)	2 <sup>c</sup> (B)	”	”	$\begin{array}{c} \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTB}' \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTI}' \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTE}' \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTS} \end{array}$	1, 2 Ulrich-Bansa; 3 Ermitage; 4 B.M.
(d)	3 (B)	”	R	$\begin{array}{c} \ominus   \Phi \\ \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTS} \end{array}$	Cf. C.14; Pearce

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
46 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG As no. 45, but r. leg bare.	C	$\begin{array}{c} \ominus   \\ \hline 1 \text{ ANTA}' \\ \hline \ominus   \Phi   \\ \hline 2 \text{ ANTA}' \\ \hline \ominus   \Phi   \\ \hline 3 \text{ ANTA}' \\ \hline \ominus   \Phi   \\ \hline 4 \text{ ANTE} \end{array}$	C.3; 1 Copenhagen; 2, 3 B.M.; 4 Vienna
(b)	1 (B)	„	S	$\begin{array}{c} \ominus   \\ \hline 1 \text{ ANTA}' \\ \hline \ominus   \Phi   \\ \hline 2 \text{ ANTA} \end{array}$	1 B.M.; 2 Pearce
(c)	2 <sup>c</sup> (A)	„	C	$\begin{array}{c} \ominus   \\ \hline 1 \text{ ANTA}' \\ \hline \ominus   \\ \hline 2 \text{ ANTA}' \\ \hline \ominus   \Phi   \\ \hline 3 \text{ ANTA}' \\ \hline \ominus   \Phi   \\ \hline 4 \text{ ANTI} \end{array}$	Cf. C.8; 1 Munich; 2 St. Albans find; 3 con- firmation required; 4 B.M.
(d)	2 <sup>c</sup> (B)	„	„	$\begin{array}{c} \ominus   \\ \hline 1 \text{ ANTA}' \\ \hline \ominus   \\ \hline 2 \text{ ANTB}' \\ \hline \ominus   \\ \hline 3 \text{ ANTI}' \\ \hline \ominus   \\ \hline 4 \text{ ANTS}' \\ \hline \ominus   \Phi   \\ \hline 5 \text{ ANTI}' \\ \hline \ominus   \Phi   \\ \hline 6 \text{ ANTA}' \\ \hline \ominus   \Phi   \\ \hline 7 \text{ ANTS} \end{array}$	1, 2 B.M.; 3 Copenhagen; 4 Berlin; 5, 6, 7 Ermi- tage

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
46 (e)	3 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG As no. 46 (a).	R	$\begin{array}{c} \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTA} \end{array}$	C.14; Pearce <i>Pl. XIV</i> , 11
47 (a)	1 (A)	„ Constantinopolis, hel- meted, seated facing, head r., on throne, holding partly seen spear and globe; r. leg bare; r. foot on prow.	„	$\begin{array}{c} 1 \text{ ANTA}, \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline 2 \text{ ANTA} \end{array}$	Cf. C.4; 1 Paris; 2 Pearce
	(b)	2 <sup>c</sup> (B)	„	$\begin{array}{c} \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTA} \end{array}$	Not in C.; B.M.
	(c)	3 (A)	C	$\begin{array}{c} 1 \frac{\ominus  }{\text{ANTA}}, \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline 2 \text{ ANTA}, \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline 3 \text{ ANTA}, \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline 4 \text{ ANTI}, \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline 5 \text{ ANTA}, \\ \Phi   \text{K} \\ \hline 6 \text{ ANTB} \end{array}$	C.5; 1, 5, 6 Pearce; 2 Ermitage; 3, 4 Ulrich- Bansa
	(d)	3 (B)	„	$\begin{array}{c} 1 \frac{\ominus  }{\text{ANTB}}, \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline 2 \text{ ANTI}, \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline 3 \text{ ANTB}, \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline 4 \text{ ANTI}, \\ \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline 5 \text{ ANTA} \end{array}$	1 Ulrich- Bansa; <i>Pl. XIV</i> , 10 2 Vienna; 3 Webb; 4 B.M.; 5 Pearce
48	3 (?)	As no. 47, but no prow.	R	$\begin{array}{c} \ominus   \Phi \\ \hline \text{K} \\ \hline \text{ANTB} \end{array}$	Ulrich-Bansa

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
<i>Pl. XIV, 6</i> 49	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	R <sup>5</sup>	⊕   K ⊕   ANTB (K is very faint)	C.34; Ulrich-Bansa
<i>Pl. XIV, 7</i> 50(a)	"	VIRTVS RO - MANOR VM Roma seated facing, head l., on throne, holding globe and reversed spear.	C	1 ANTA, ⊕   ⊕ 2 ANTA', ⊕   ⊕ 3 ANTA	C.57; 1, 2 Pearce; 3 Vienna
	(b) 1 (B)	"	"	1 ANTA, ⊕   ⊕ 2 ANTA', ⊕   ⊕ 3 ANTA	1, 2 Vienna; 3 Copen- hagen
<i>Pl. XIV, 8</i> 51	2 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VRBS - ROMA Roma seated l. on cuirass, holding Victory on globe and re- versed spear.	"	1   * ANTB', ⊕   Δ 2 ANTA', ⊕   ⊕ 3 ANTB', ⊕   * ⊕   ⊕ 4 ANTA', ⊕   * ⊕   ⊕ 5 ANTB', ⊕   * ⊕   ⊕ 6 ANTT', ⊕   * ⊕   ⊕ 7 ANTA	C.80; 1, 5 B.M.; 2, 7 Vienna; 3 Pearce; 4 Ermitage; 6 The Hague

*Aes IV* (larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)

52	1 (A)	VOT   V   MVL   X in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	Not stated	C.67; Koblitz, (op. cit., p. 52)
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49. On the sudden reappearance of this type, discontinued in the West in A.D. 376 and in the East (at the legitimate mints) soon after Gratian's accession in A.D. 367, see Introduction.

50, 51, and 52 are the earlier issues of this period and were struck in four *officinae* only. Later six *officinae* were in operation.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
53	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVLΤ   XX in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	Not stated	C.75; <i>N. C.</i> , 1926, p. 76
<i>Aes IV</i> (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)					
54	5 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 42.	R	ANTE	C.5; Zagreb
55	4 <sup>a</sup> (A)	VOT   V in wreath.	„	ANTΔ	S.47; Berlin
56 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLΤ   XX in wreath.	S	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΔ	C.71; 1 B.M.; 2 Berlin
	(b) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	C	1 ANTB, 2 ANTT, 3 ANTΔ	C.73; 1, 2 Pearce; 3 B.M.
	(c) 3 (A)	„	„	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΔ	C.68; 1 B.M.; 2 Dalmatian hoard
	(d) 4 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	S	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΔ	S.48; <i>Pl. XIV</i> , 1, 2 Pearce 19
57	3 (A)	VOT   X   MVLΤ   XXX in wreath.	R <sup>5</sup>	ANTΔ	Not in C.; B.M.
58 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   XX   MVLΤ   XXX in wreath.	S	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΔ	C.77; 1 B.M.; 2 Vienna
	(b) 2 <sup>b</sup> (A)	„	„	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΔ	C.75; 1 B.M.; 2 Pearce
	(c) 4 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	R	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΔ	Not in S.; 1 Pearce; 2 Zagreb

53 is an earlier issue of this period and was struck in four *officinae* only. Later six *officinae* were in operation.

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FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS,  
(usurpers) MAGNUS MAXIMUS and VICTOR (from late  
in the period). Coins were also struck in the name  
of Flaccilla, as Augusta

Obverse legends: (1<sup>a</sup>) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(1<sup>b</sup>) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
(4) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., hold-  
ing spear and shield in front.  
(J<sup>2</sup>) As J, but rosette-diademed.  
(K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and  
shield in front. Above, hand holding wreath.  
(K<sup>2</sup>) As K, but rosette-diademed.  
(L) Draped, with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
59 (a)	1 <sup>a</sup> (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 40.	C	1 $\frac{T +}{\text{ANTA}}$ 2 $\frac{T +}{\text{ANTB}}$ 3 $\frac{T +}{\text{ANTT}}$ 4 $\frac{T +}{\text{ANTE}}$	C.22; 1, 2 Vienna; 3 Confirmation required; 4 B.M.
(b)	1 <sup>a</sup> (J <sup>2</sup> )	„	C, S, S	1 $\frac{T +}{\text{ANTA}}$ 2 $\frac{T +}{\text{ANTT}}$ 3 $\frac{T }{\text{ANTB}}$	C.21; 1 Pearce; 2 Gotha; 3 Hollschek
(c)	2 (J)	„	C	1 $\frac{T +}{\text{ANTT}}$ 2 $\frac{T +}{\text{ANTA}}$	C.19; 1 Vienna; 2 B.M.



No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
59(d)	2 (J <sup>2</sup> )	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM. As no. 40.	C, S, S	1 $\frac{T +}{ANT\Gamma}$ 2 $\frac{T +}{ANT\Delta}$ 3 $\frac{T }{ANT\Delta}$	Not in C.
60	3 <sup>b</sup> (K <sup>2</sup> )	As no. 41.	C	1 $\frac{T +}{\times ANTE}$ 2 $\frac{+ T}{\times ANTS}$	S.30; 1, 2 Pearce <i>Pl. XIV,</i> 15
61	4 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 43.	R	1 $\frac{ T}{ANTB}$ 2 $\frac{ T}{ANT\Gamma}$ 3 $\frac{ T}{ANTE}$ 4 $\frac{ T}{ANTS}$	C.4; 1 Copen- hagen; 2, 3 B.M.; 4 Hunterian
62	4 (L)	„ Empress stg. facing, head r., arms folded on breast.	S	ANTE	C.6; Pearce <i>Pl. XIV,</i> 17
63 (a)	1 <sup>b</sup> (A)	VIRTVS E-XERCITI Em- peror stg. r., holding stand- ard and globe, l. foot on captive.	R	ANT\Gamma	C.57; O.U.C.
	(b) 1 <sup>b</sup> (B)	„	S	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB, 3 ANT\Gamma, 4 ANT\Delta, 5 ANTS	Not in C.; 1 Gotha; 2 Pearce; 3 Copen- hagen; 4, 5 Vienna <i>Pl. XIV,</i> 16
	(c) 2 (A)	„	C	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB, 3 ANT\Delta	C.54; 1 B.M.; 2 Munich; 3 Vienna
	(d) 2 (B)	„	„	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB, 3 ANT\Gamma	Not in C.; 1, 2 Pearce; 3 Vienna
	(e) 3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	„	„	ANTS	S.46; B.M.
	(f) 3 <sup>a</sup> (B)	„	S	„	B.M.
<i>Aes IV</i> (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)					
64	4 (L)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no 54.	R	ANE	C.5; Pearce

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
65(a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLΤ   XX in wreath.	C	1 ANA, 2 ANB, 3 ANΓ, 4 ANS	C.73; 1, 2, 3 B.M.; 4 Vienna
	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	1 ANB, 2 ANΓ, 3 ANΔ, 4 ANS	C.70; 1-4 B.M.
	(c) 3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	"	1 ANB, 2 ANΓ, 3 ANΔ, 4 ANS, 5 ANT•	S.48; 1-5 B.M.
66	2 (A)	VOT   XX   MVLΤ   XXX in wreath.	R	ANA	Not in C.; Pearce

Pl. XIV,  
18

SIXTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-15 MAY A.D. 392

Emperors: VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, and ARCADIUS

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG

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

#### BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

67(a)	1 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory advancing l., holding trophy on shoulder with r. hand and dragging captive with l.	S	1 $\frac{P}{\text{ANTA}}$ 2 $\frac{P}{\text{ANT}\Delta}$ 3 $\frac{+}{\text{ANTA}}$	C.30; 1-3 Pearce
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67. The evidence for an ANA issue is very slight. Perhaps it may be due, as I have suggested below on 68 (e), to a die-cutter's carelessness.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
67(b)	2 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 61.	C	$\begin{array}{c} \text{P}   \\ \hline \text{ANTB}' \\ \text{P}   \\ \hline \text{ANT}\Delta' \\ +   \\ \hline \text{ANTB}' \\ +   \\ \hline \text{ANT}\Gamma' \\ +   \\ \hline \text{ANT}\Delta' \\ +   \\ \hline \text{ANTA}' \\ +   \\ \hline \text{ANB} \end{array}$	C.30; 1-5 B.M.; 6 T. W. Armitage Coll.; 7 Pearce
(c)	2 (B)	”	R	$\begin{array}{c} +   \\ \hline \text{ANT}\Delta \end{array}$	Not in C.; Pearce
(d)	3 (A)	”	C	$\begin{array}{c} \text{P}   \\ \hline \text{ANTA}' \\ \text{P}   \\ \hline \text{ANT}\Gamma' \\ +   \\ \hline \text{ANTA}' \\ +   \\ \hline \text{ANT}\Gamma' \\ +   \\ \hline \text{ANT}\Delta' \\ +   \\ \hline \text{AN}\Gamma \end{array}$	S.41; 1-4 Pearce; 5 B.M.; 6 The Hague

SEVENTH PERIOD: 15 MAY A.D. 392-17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors:* THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (usurper, from  
22 Aug. A.D. 392 to 6 Sept. A.D. 394), and HONORIUS  
(from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(2) DN ARCADI-VS PF AVG  
(3) DN HONORIVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
68 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding standard and globe.	C	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB, 3 ANTΓ, 4 ANTΔ	C.18; 1, 4 Pearce; 2 Vienna; 3 Copen- hagen
	(b) 1 (B)	"	"	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΓ, 3 ANTΔ	Not in C.; 1-3 B.M.
	(c) 2 (A)	"	"	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB, 3 ANTΔ	S.35; 1, 2 Paris; 3 B.M.
<i>Pl. XIV,</i> <i>21</i>	(d) 2 (B)	"	"	1 ANTB, 2 ANTΓ	Not in S.; 1 B.M.; 2 Glendin- ing's Sale, 6.1936, lot 214
	(e) 3 (A)	"	"	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΓ, 3 ANTΔ, 4 ANA	C.30; 1 Vienna; 2 B.M.; 3 O.U.C.; 4 Glendin- ing's Sale, 6.1935, lot 239
<i>Pl. XIV,</i> <i>22</i>	(f) 3 (B)	"	"	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΓ, 3 ANTΔ	Not in C.; 1 B.M.; 2, 3 Pearce

*Aes III*

69 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor on horseback r., raising r. hand.	S	1 ANTA, 2 ANTΓ, 3 ANTΔ	C.21; 1 Co- penhagen; 2 Vienna; 3 B.M.
	(b) 1 (B)	"	"	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB	Not in C.; 1, 2 Vienna
	(c) 2 (A)	"	"	1 ANTB, 2 ANTΔ	S.39; 1 Pearce; 2 Munich

68. Commonest by far are **A** for Theodosius, **B** for Arcadius, **Γ** for Honorius.  
 (b) Mint-mark 4 blundered ANTΔ (Copenhagen).  
 68 (e). Mint-mark 4 must be blundered for ANTA.

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
69(d)	2 (B)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM As no. 69 (a).	S	1 ANTB, 2 ANTΔ	Not in S.; 1 Paris; 2 Pearce
	(e) 3 (A)	"	"	1 ANTA, 2 ANTB, 3 ANTT	C.22; 1-3 Pearce <i>Pl. XIV,</i> 20

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

70(a)	1 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 67.	} Indistinguishable from no. 67 (b).			
(b)	2 (A)	"		R <sup>2</sup>	+  ANTT	S.41; Pearce
(c)	3 (A)	"		"	1 - +  ANTΔ, 2 +  ANTT	C.32; 1 B.M.; 2 Rich- borough



## ALEXANDRIA

FOR a long time before the beginning of our period the mint of Alexandria, the busiest commercial centre in the Mediterranean, had ceased to strike in the precious metals and issued only bronze. Although as a result of this\* the inflationary tendency, seen everywhere throughout the fourth century, rose in Egypt until at the end of the century 2,020 myriads of denarii went to the *solidus*, yet we see no falling-off either in workmanship or module in the coinage of Alexandria. It is true that soon after the elevation of Gratian in A.D. 367 we note a marked reluctance of the eastern mints to continue the western-imposed *Æ 3 Gloria Romanorum* and *Securitas reipublicae* types, by which Valentinian I emphasized the unity of the empire under western primacy, and, in consequence, an illegitimate attempt to supply the deficiency of a much-needed *aes* currency by cutting down existing coins and using the metal thus gained for imitations on *Æ 4* flans. The mint-mark where visible is usually of Antioch or Alexandria; the obverses are—so far as I have seen—always of Valentinian or, much more commonly, Valens, and the dies in most cases seem to be those previously used for legitimate issues at the mint. But when in A.D. 378 Gratian became Senior Augustus the coinage of Alexandria resumed its normal course, and kept it to the end of our period.

I need only touch briefly upon the few points in which my rather scanty evidence shows a contrast between Alexandria and the other eastern mints.

Valentinian I's earliest coinage includes both the smaller and the larger *Æ 3 Restitutor reip.* This is extremely rare for Valens, whose single coin I have seen in the larger (?later) form only. I have not seen the *Æ 1* of this type.

In the succeeding *Æ 3 Gloria* and *Securitas* types Valens has always the *obv.* division N-S which at most other mints was soon changed to NS-. The El Kab hoard (see *N. C.*, 1948, p. 77) shows that the *Securitas* type alone survived till Gratian's accession and was continued thereafter for a rather longer time than at other eastern mints. But there was a long gap, marked by the *Æ 4* imitations mentioned above, before the legitimate coinage was resumed when Gratian became the Senior Augustus.

I have seen no evidence that Gratian's earliest—the *Æ 3* 'differentiated' issue—was struck at Alexandria, but rare specimens of his *Æ 2 Reparatio reipub.* and *Æ 4 vota* coins testify to a reluctant obedience to western orders, as we see in most of the eastern mints.

\* See Mattingly, *Roman Coins*, pp. 232-3.

These are followed by the *Æ 3 Concordia Auggg.*, the first *aes* issue since the accession of Valentinian I in which the uniformity of legend in West and East is not accompanied by strict uniformity of type. Alexandria strikes the three eastern varieties; my evidence is slight but one seems to be confined to Gratian and Valentinian II from *officinae* A and B, the other two to Theodosius from  $\Gamma$ . Strangely, Rome in this issue follows eastern models and shares with Constantinople and Alexandria the enigmatic sign or letter O in the field.

In Theodosius' issue of *Æ 2 Gloria Romanorum* and *Æ 4 vota* coins in early A.D. 383, which accompanied his elevation of Arcadius and asserted the claim of the East to its own independent coinage, I have so far found no *Æ 2* or *Æ 4* with Flaccilla's *Salus reipublicae* type and no *Æ 4* with Arcadius' *vot. v.* It seems impossible to explain their omission, and further research may reveal them. However, they are missing also in the continuation of the issue after Gratian's death. This is marked by T in the field and was struck in larger numbers.

Theodosius' second issue was the *Æ 2 Virtus exerciti* for the three Augusti and *Salus reipublicae* 'Empress standing facing' for Flaccilla. There is no gap in this issue at Alexandria, but a very noticeable deviation from all the other eastern mints in giving Valentinian II the unbroken *obv.* legend, which elsewhere for the first and only time on Theodosius' bronze coinage was replaced by the broken form.

It is difficult to place the remarkable *Æ 4 vota* issue with T behind the *obv.* bust. All three emperors have the *vota* figures X-XX; Valentinian alone has unbroken obverse legend; Arcadius' is divided D-I. We are reminded of the T in the field of the post-Gratian continuation of the *Æ 2 Gloria Romanorum*, and the division D-I of Arcadius' name reminds us of the same break (necessitated by the intervention of the hand from above holding wreath) which occurs on his special type in that issue. We have noted the absence of Arcadius' *Æ 4 vot. v.*; is it possible that Alexandria is using for him also the decennial reckoning by which Theodosius on his *aes* disguised the seniority of the young Valentinian?

On the *Æ 4 Salus reipublicae* which followed the defeat of Maximus both young Augusti have the unbroken *obv.* legend. This issue just overlapped the accession of Honorius, when at other eastern mints Arcadius was distinguished from him by the broken form of *obv.* legend. But as the next and last *aes* issue of Theodosius (the *Æ 2 Gloria Romanorum* 'Emperor standing with standard and globe' and *Æ 3 Gloria Romanorum* 'Emperor on horseback') both show, Alexandria alone refused to mark any distinction of status between the two merely titular young Augusti.



## MINT OF ALEXANDRIA

FIRST PERIOD: 25 FEB. A.D. 364-24 AUG. A.D. 367

Emperors: VALENTINIAN I and VALENS (from 28 March A.D. 364)

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG

(2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
1 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor advancing r., with r. hand dragging cap- tive and holding <i>labarum</i> in l.	S	1 ALEA, 2 ALEB, 3 ALEΓ, 4 ALEΔ	C.12; 1-4 Pearce
	(b) 2 (A)	„	„	1 ALEA, 2 ALEB, 3 ALEΓ, 4 ALEΔ	C.11; 1 Budapest; 2-4 O.U.C.
Pl. XV, 14, 16	2 (a) 1 (A)	RESTITV-TOR REIP Em- peror stg. facing, head r., holding standard and Vic- tory on globe.	„	1 ALEA, 2 ALEB, 3 ALEΓ	C.21; 1-3 Pearce
	(b) 2 (A)	„	R	ALE///	C.29; Zagreb
	3 (a) 1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE Victory advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	C	1 ALEA, 2 ALEB, 3 ALEΓ, 4 ALEΔ	C.37; 1-4 O.U.C.
	(b) 2 (A)	„	C <sup>3</sup>	1 ALEA, 2 ALEB, 3 ALEΓ, 4 ALEΔ	C.47; 1-4 Pearce

2 (a). Module with mint-mark 1, 19 mm. and 3, 16 mm.

3 (b). Mint-mark 2, also ALBE; and with mint-mark 3 AVLEN-S for VALEN-S in *obv.* legend.

SECOND PERIOD: 24 AUG. A.D. 367-17 NOV. A.D. 375

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN I, VALENS, and GRATIAN

Obverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINI-ANVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN VALEN-S PF AVG  
 (3) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes III*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
4 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 1.	}		If continued, as at other mints, into this period, the coins are indistinguishable from those given under nos. 1 (a) and (b).
(b)	2 (A)	"			
5 (a)	1 (A)	SECVRITAS - REIPVBLI CAE As no. 3.	}	S	C.34; 1-4 Pearce
(b)	2 (A)	"			
(c)	3 (A)	"			

FOURTH PERIOD: 9 AUG. A.D. 378-25 AUG. A.D. 383

*Emperors:* GRATIAN, VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 379), and ARCADIUS (from 19 Jan. A.D. 383)

Obverse legends: (1) DN GRATIA-NVS PF AVG  
 (2) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
 (3) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
 (4) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG

Obverse busts: (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
 (J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front.  
 (K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and shield in front; above, hand holding wreath.

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

6 (a)	1 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., on ship, raising r. hand. Victory seated at helm.	C	Ⲡ ALEA	C.25; B.M.
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No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
6(b)	2 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 6 (a).	R	$\frac{\text{R}}{\text{ALEB}}$	C.22; Vatican
	(c) 3 (J)	„	C	$\frac{\text{R}}{\text{ALEA}}$	C.19; B.M.
7	4 (K)	„ Emperor stg. facing, head l., holding standard in r. hand and resting l. on shield. To l., captive.	„	ALEA	S.29; B.M.
8 (a)	1 (A)	REPARATIO - REIPVB Emperor stg. facing, head l., with r. hand raising kneeling turreted woman and holding Victory on globe in l.	R	ALEA	C.30; Pearce
	(b) 2 (A)	„	„	ALEB	C.26; The Hague
	(c) 3 (A)	„	„	„	C.27; Pearce

*Aes III*

9 (a)	1 (A)	CONCOR-DIA AVGGG Roma, helmeted, seated fac- ing, head l., holding globe and partly seen spear; r. leg bare.	S	1 ALEA, 2 ALEB	C.2; 1, 2 O.U.C.
	(b) 2 (A)	„	„	1 ALEA, 2 ALEB	Cf. C.8; 1, 2 Pearce
10	3 (A)	As no. 9, but Roma's head turned r. and she is holding partly seen spear and globe; r. leg bare.	R	ALEΓ	Cf. C.14; Pearce
11	3 (A)	„ Constantinopolis hel- meted, seated facing, head r., on throne, holding partly seen spear and globe; r. leg bare; r. foot on prow.	S	1 ALEΓ, $\frac{\text{O}}{\text{ALEΓ}}$	C.6; 1, 2 Pearce

*Aes IV* (larger module, c. 14-16 mm.)

12 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   XV   MVL   XX in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	ALEA	C.75; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	„	„	ALEB	Cf. C.74; B.M.

7. Also reverse legend blundered GLORAI (Pearce).

12 (a). 1.4 gm.

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
13 (a)	1 (A)	VOT   X   MVLΤ   XX in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	ALEA	C.71; Zagreb
	(b) 2 (A)	"	S	ALEB	C.73; B.M.
	(c) 3 (A)	"	R, C, S, S	1 ALEA, 2 ALEB, 3 ALEΓ, 4 ALEΔ	C.70; 1-4 B.M.
	(d) 4 (A)	"	R	1 ALEΔ, 2 ALEB	S.41; 1 Pearce; 2 B.M.
14	2 (A)	VOT   XX   MVLΤ   XXX in wreath.	R <sup>3</sup>	ALEB	C.75; con- firmation required

FIFTH PERIOD: 25 AUG. A.D. 383-28 AUG. A.D. 388

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS,  
(usurpers) MAGNUS MAXIMUS and VICTOR (from late in  
the period). Coins were also struck for Flaccilla, as Augusta

*Obverse legends:* (1) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>a</sup>) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3<sup>b</sup>) DN ARCAD-IVS PF AVG  
(4) AEL FLAC-CILLA AVG

*Obverse busts:* (A) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(A<sup>T</sup>) As A, but with T behind bust.  
(B) Rosette-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r.  
(J) Helmeted (with pearl-diadem), draped and cuirassed, r., hold-  
ing spear and shield in front.  
(K) Pearl-diademed, draped and cuirassed, r., holding spear and  
shield in front.  
(L) Draped, with elaborate head-dress, necklace, and mantle.

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

15 (a)	1 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 4.	C	1 R   T ALEA R   T 2 ALEΔ R   T 3 ALEB	C.22; 1-3 Pearce
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13 (c). Blundered MVJT with mint-mark 3 (Pearce).

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference	
15(b)	2 (J)	GLORIA RO-MANOR VM As no. 5 (a).	C	$\begin{array}{c} \text{R T} \\ \hline \text{ALEA} \\ \text{R T} \\ \hline \text{ALE}\Gamma \\ \text{R T} \\ \hline \text{ALE}\Delta \end{array}$	C.19; 1-3 Pearce	
16	3 <sup>a</sup> (K)	As no. 5.	"	$\begin{array}{c} \text{T } \\ \hline \text{ALEA} \\ \text{T } \\ \hline \text{ALE}\Delta \\ \text{T +} \\ \hline \text{ALE}\Delta \end{array}$	S.29; 1-3 Pearce	
Pl. XVI, 9	17	4 (L) SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Empress stg. facing, head r., arms folded on breast.	S	ALEB	C.6; Pearce	
Pl. XVI, 10	18 (a)	1 (A) VIRTVS E-XERCITI Em- peror stg. r., holding stand- ard and globe; l. foot on captive.	"	ALEΔ	C.57; Pearce	
	(b)	2 (A)	"	C	ALEA	C.57; Pearce
	(c)	2 (B)	"	S	ALEA	Not in C.; Pearce
Pl. XVI, 11	(d)	3 <sup>a</sup> (A)	"	C	ALEΓ	S.46; Pearce
<i>Aes IV</i> (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)						
Pl. XVI, 13	19 (a)	1 (A <sup>T</sup> ) VOT   X   MVLΤ   XX in wreath.	S	ALEB	C.73; Pearce	
Pl. XVI, 15	(b)	2 (A <sup>T</sup> )	"	$\begin{array}{c} \text{ALEA} \\ \text{ALE}\Gamma \\ \text{ALE}\Delta \end{array}$	C.70; 1-3 B.M.	
	(c)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A <sup>T</sup> )	"	R	ALEΔ	S.48; Pearce
Pl. XVI, 14	(d)	3 <sup>b</sup> (A)	"	S	$\begin{array}{c} \text{ALEA} \\ \text{ALE}\Delta \end{array}$	Not in S.; 1, 2 Pearce

SIXTH PERIOD: 28 AUG. A.D. 388-15 MAY A.D. 392

*Emperors:* VALENTINIAN II, THEODOSIUS I, and ARCADIUSObverse legends: (1) DN VALENTINIANVS PF AVG  
(2) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(3) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes IV* (smaller module, c. 12-13 mm.)

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
20(a)	1 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE Victory advancing l., with r. hand carrying trophy on shoulder and dragging cap- tive with l.	C	$\frac{P}{ }$ <sup>1</sup> ALEB' $\frac{P}{ }$ <sup>2</sup> ALEΔ' $\frac{P}{ }$ <sup>3</sup> ALEA' $\frac{+}{ }$ <sup>4</sup> ALEΔ' $\frac{\cdot}{ }$ <sup>5</sup> ALEA	C.30; 1-5 B.M.
(b)	2 (A)	"	"	$\frac{P}{ }$ <sup>1</sup> ALEA' $\frac{P}{ }$ <sup>2</sup> ALEB' $\frac{P}{ }$ <sup>3</sup> ALEΓ' $\frac{P}{ }$ <sup>4</sup> ALEΔ' $\frac{+}{ }$ <sup>5</sup> ALEA' $\frac{\cdot}{ }$ <sup>6</sup> ALEA' $\frac{\cdot}{ }$ <sup>7</sup> ALEΔ	C.30; 1-4, 6, 7 B.M.; 5 Berlin
(c)	3 (A)	"	"	$\frac{P}{ }$ <sup>1</sup> ALEΓ' $\frac{+}{ }$ <sup>2</sup> ALEΓ' $\frac{\cdot}{ }$ <sup>3</sup> ALEA' $\frac{\cdot}{ }$ <sup>4</sup> ALEB	S.41; 1 con- firmation required; 2, 3 Pearce; 4 B.M.

## SEVENTH PERIOD: 15 MAY A.D. 392-17 JAN. A.D. 395

*Emperors:* THEODOSIUS I, ARCADIUS, EUGENIUS (from 22 Aug. A.D. 392 to 6 Sept. A.D. 394), and HONORIUS (from ? 22 Jan. A.D. 393)

Obverse legends: (1) DN THEODO-SIVS PF AVG  
(2) DN ARCADIVS PF AVG  
(3) DN HONORIVS PF AVG

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

## BRONZE

*Aes II*

No.	Obv.	Reverse	Rarity	Mint-mark	Reference
21 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor stg. facing, head r., holding standard and globe.	S	1 ALEA, 2 ALEB	C.18; 1, 2 Pearce
<i>Pl. XVI, 20</i>	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	1 ALEA, 2 ALEB	S.35; 1 Pearce; 2 Paris
	(c) 2 (B)	"	R	ALEB	Not in C.; Vienna
<i>Pl. XVI, 21</i>	(d) 3 (A)	"	S	1 ALEA, 2 ALEB	C.20; 1, 2 B.M.

*Aes III*

22 (a)	1 (A)	GLORIA - ROMANOR VM Emperor on horse- back r., raising r. hand.	R	ALEΓ	C.21; B.M.
<i>Pl. XVI, 22</i>	(b) 2 (A)	"	"	ALEB	S.39; B.M.
	(c) 3 (A)	"	"	?	Cf. C.23; not seen by me

*Aes IV*

23 (a)	1 (A)	SALVS REI-PVBLICAE As no. 20.	} Mint-marks indistinguishable from those given under sixth period.	ALEA	C.32; B.M.
	(b) 2 (A)	"			
	(c) 3 (A)	"			

22 (c). Coins of Honorius would be expected, as from other eastern mints, and there can be little doubt that Cohen's no. 23, given by him as P.B.Q., is the coin needed here. It must be very rare, as I have never seen a specimen. The smallness of many of the contemporary western  $\text{Æ} 3$  *Urbs Roma Felix* has been commented on by Laffranchi and explained by him as due to insufficient force being exerted to spread the flan.





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### MINT-MARKS\*

#### ALEXANDRIA

Mint-mark: **ALE**.

Officinae: **A, B, Γ, Δ**.

Variants: in field, T|, T|+, Α|T, Ω|T, Ο|, •|, Ρ|, +|.

#### ANTIOCH

Mint-marks: **ANT, ANTOB, ANTOBS, KANOB, PANOB**.

Officinae: **A, B, Γ, Δ, E, S, Z, H, Θ, I**.

Variants: (1) in exergue, •, +, ✖, ∪.

(2) in field +|, +|T, T|+, |T, Α|+, Α|, ✖|, |✖, ✖|,

|✖, Ρ|, Θ|, ΘΦ, ΘΦ, Φ, Φ, Φ, Φ, Κ, Θ, Κ.

For special marks on bronze *see* pp. 269-71.

#### AQUILEIA

Mint-marks: **AQ, AQOB, AQPS,  $\frac{A|Q}{COM}$ , S•M•A•Q•**.

Officinae: **P, S**.

Variants: (1) as addition to mint-mark •.

(2) in field |✖.

For special marks on bronze *see* pp. 91-3.

#### ARELATE

Mint-marks: **CON, CONST, KON, KONSTAN, S•M•K•A•P•**.

Officinae: **P, S, T•, OF I, II, III**.

Variants: (1) in exergue •, ✖.

(2) in field ✖|, |✖.

For special marks on bronze *see* pp. 57-60.

#### CONSTANTINOPLE

Mint-marks: **C, CP, CON, CNCM, CONS, CONCM, CONOB, CONSP,**

**$\frac{OB}{CONS}$** .

Officinae: **A, B, Γ, Δ, E, S, Z**.

Variants: (1) in exergue •, ✖, ✖•.

(2) in field •|, |•, ✖|, |✖, +|, |+, ++, ‡|,  
✖|, |✖, Ρ|, |Ρ, Α|, Ο|, Τ|, Τ|,  
✖|, ‡|, ‡|H, ‡|, Α|‡, ✖|, ‡|✖, Ο|+,  
Κ|.

For special marks on bronze *see* pp. 207-8.

\* A simple summary of the major variations only is given here. For the more detailed variations, reference should be made to the detailed lists under each mint.

## CYZICUS

Mint-marks: SMK, KV.

Officinae: A, B, Γ, Δ.

Variants: (1) in exergue •, ✱.

(2) in field +, |+, ⊗, |.

## HERACLEA

Mint-mark: SMH.

Officinae: A, B, Γ, Δ.

Variants: (1) in exergue •, ✱, ✱|⊗.

(2) in field ✱|, |✱, ✱|+, ⊗|, ||⊗, |.

## LONDINIUM

Mint-marks: AVG, AVGOB, AVGPS.

## LUGDUNUM

Mint-marks: LVG, LVGPS, S·M·L·A·P·,  $\frac{L|P}{COM}$ .

Officinae: P, S.

Variants: (1) in exergue •, ✱, ⚡.

(2) in field ✱|, |C, |P, |S.

For special marks on bronze see pp. 38-41.

## MEDIOLANUM

Mint-marks: MD, MED, MDOB, MDPS, SMMED,  $\frac{M|D}{COM}$ ,  $\frac{M|D}{COMOB}$ ,  
COM.

## NICOMEDIA

Mint-marks: SMN, NIK.

Officinae: A, B, Γ, D, E, S, H, Θ, I.

Variants: (1) in exergue •, ✱, ⚡, +.

(2) in field •, ✱, |✱, ⚡, ⚡|N, ⚡|✱, ⚡|⚡, +,  
|+, ⊗, ⊗|, ⊗|P, ⊗|, ⊗, A, T, |T.

## ROME

Mint-marks: R, R-M, SMR, ROMA, SMROM, ROMOB.

Officinae: B, E, P, S, T, Q.

Variants: (1) in exergue •, ✱, ⚡, ⊗, ♡.

(2) in field •, :, |✱, OF|B, OF|E, OF|P, OF|S,  
OF|T, OF|Q, O|, |O.

For special marks on bronze see pp. 114-15.

## SIRMIUM

Mint-marks: SIRM, SIROB, SMSPV,  $\frac{S|M}{COMOB}$ .

Officinae: A, B.

Variants: in exergue ✱.

## SISCIA

Mint-marks: SIS, SISC, SISCP, SISCPS, SMSISC.

Officinae: A, B, P.

Variants: (1) in exergue •, ✕, ✕, R.

(2) in field •, ✕, ✕, ✕|✕, R|, +, ✕, ✕.

For special marks on bronze *see* pp. 140-4.

## THESSALONICA

Mint-marks: COM, COMOB, SMTS, TES, TESOB, THSOB.

Officinae: A, B, Γ, Δ.

Variants: (1) in exergue •, ✕, ✕.

(2) in field |✕, |✕, R|, A|, |A, B|, |B, Γ|,  
|Γ, Δ|, |ΔFor special marks on bronze *see* pp. 168-72.

## TREVERI

Mint-marks: SMTR, TR, TROB, TRPS,  $\frac{T|R}{COM}$ ,  $\frac{TR}{COM}$ .

Officinae: C, P, S, T.

Variants: (1) in exergue •, ✕, ✕, R.

(2) in field •|, ✕|.

For special marks on bronze *see* pp. 10-12.

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19	Theodosius	63 (b)	187	11	"	27	279
20	Valentinian II	65 (a)	188	12	Valentinian I	30	279
21	"	49 (a)	184	13	Valens	28	279

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7	Theodosius	43 (b)	223
8	"	44 (c)	223
9	"	45 (d)	223
10	"	47 (a)	224
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13	Theodosius	51 (b)	225
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10	"	34 (b)	280
11	"	27	279
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13	Valens	28	279
14	"	29 (a)	279
15	"	34 (c)	280
16	"	34 (d)	280
17	"	33 (c)	280
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7	"	50 (a)	288
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9	Theodosius	44 (a)	284
10	"	47 (d)	287
11	"	46 (e)	287
12	Gratian	45 (a)	285
13	Valentinian II	42 (c)	284
14	Gratian	40 (a)	283
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PLATE I



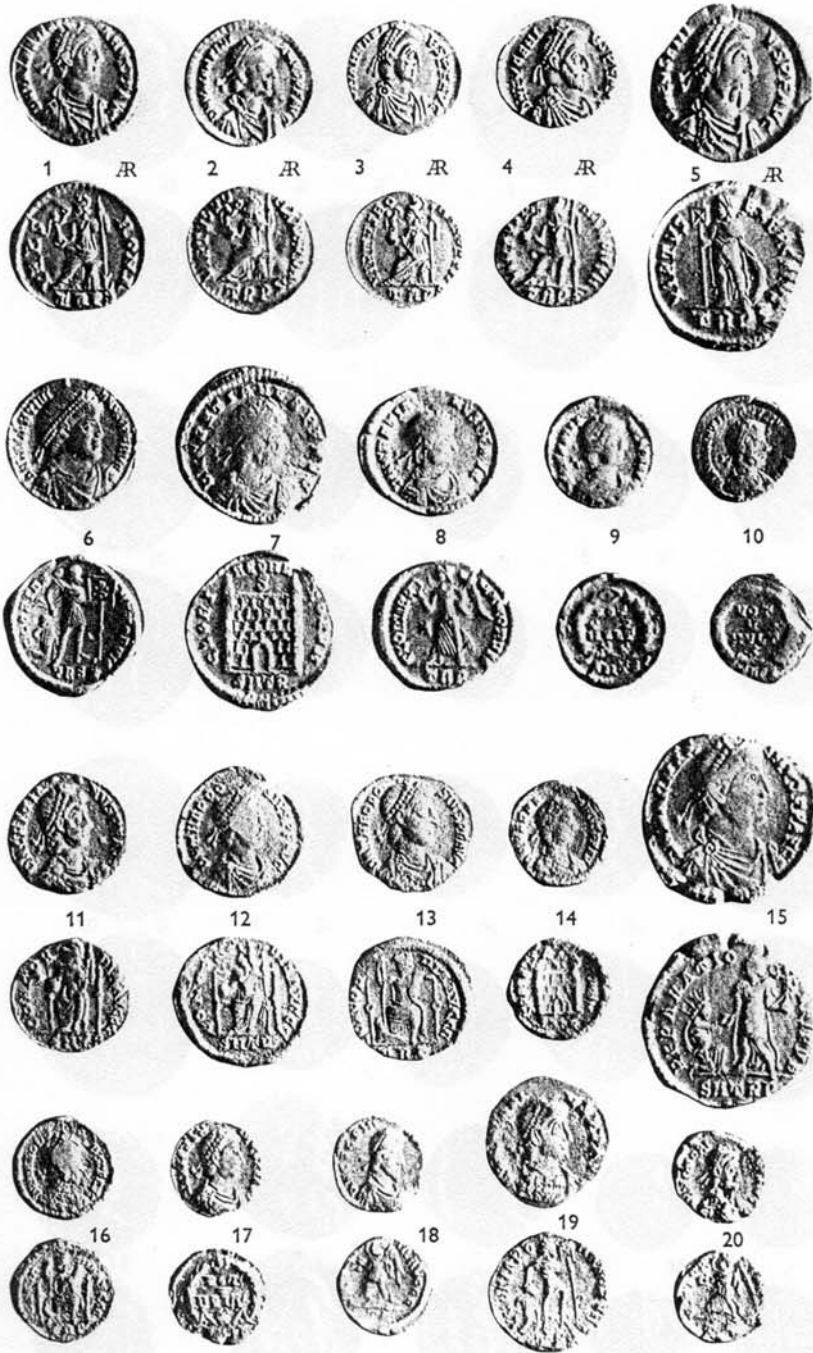
1-5 LONDINIVM (A, A)  
6-14 TREVERI (A)





TREVERI (Æ)

PLATE III



TREVERI (R, Æ)

PLATE IV



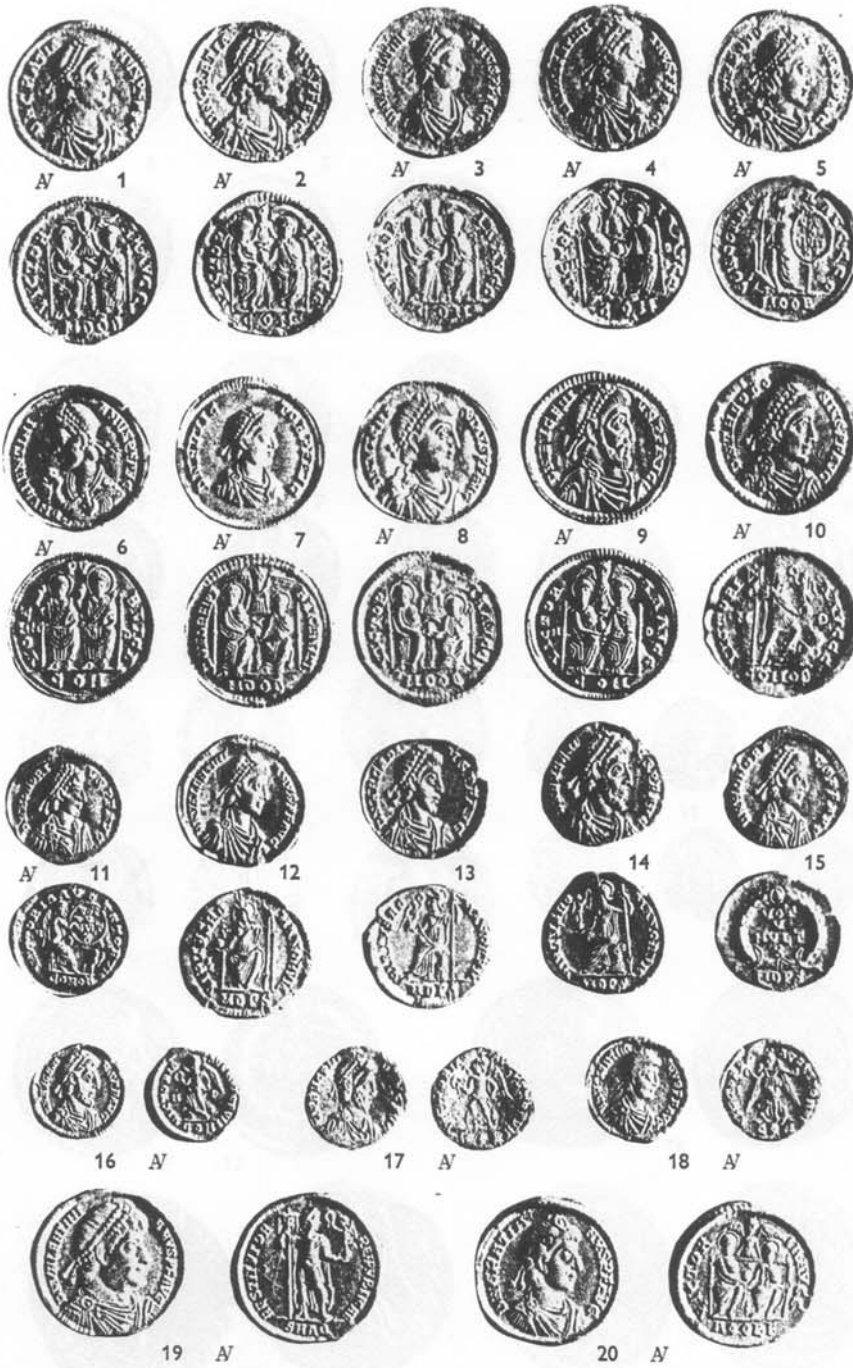
LVGDVNM ( $\mathcal{A}$ ,  $\mathcal{R}$ ,  $\mathcal{A}$ )

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PLATE VI



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PLATE VII



1-18 AQVILEIA (A, R, Æ)  
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ROME (A, R, E)



1-17 SISCIA (A, R, Æ)  
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PLATE X



THESSALONICA (A, R, AE)



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PLATE XIII



ANTIOCH (A, R)



ANTIOCH (Æ)



1-5, 9-11 EASTERN MINTS EXCEPT CONSTANTINOPLE  
AND ANTIOCH (A, R)  
6-8, 12-18 EASTERN MINTS EXCEPT ANTIOCH (Æ)





EASTERN MINTS EXCEPT ANTIOCH (Æ)

