



CATALOGUE OF THE COINS

OF THE

VANDALS, OSTROGOTHS AND LOMBARDS

AND OF THE EMPIRES OF

THESSALONICA, NICAEA AND TREBIZOND

IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

BY

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ASSISTANT-KEEPER OF THE COINS AND MEDALS

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND 43 PLATES

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ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

- P. 104, notes, line 6, for Fostulus read Fostlus.
- P. 155 and p. 167, for Beneventine read Beneventan.
- P. 206. The weight of Professor Oman's coin is 34.7 grain.

INTRODUCTION

§ 1. Coinage of the Vandals.

THE first coinages of the Vandals can hardly have originated in the period of their early wanderings in Europe, but at some time in the first half of the fifth century A.D., when their settlement in the territory of the Empire had begun to acquire something of a permanent character.¹

The earliest Vandal coinages.

In the year 406 the Vandals, under their king Gunderic, first entered Gaul: in 409 they passed into Spain, where they settled, but after a lapse of about twenty years, under pressure from their powerful rivals and neighbours the Visigoths, they crossed over to Africa (May, A.D. 429), where, under Gaiseric (who had succeeded his half-brother Gunderic in 428), the Vandal kingdom was established and organized.

It is possible that during their stay in Gaul and their still longer sojourn in Spain they may have minted money imitated from Roman prototypes; but no such coins can be identified with certainty, and the earliest currency that can make anything like a certain claim to be Vandalic is probably not anterior to the migration to Africa in A.D. 429. Nor is it quite certain that coinage began even in 429, because the kingdom was organized only by degrees, and at that time not even the town of Hippo Regius had fallen into Vandal hands, while the great city of Carthage, the usual African mint-centre, did not become Vandal till ten years later.

The difficulty of determining the date of issue of the earliest coins is further increased by the circumstance that of the six kings who occupied the Vandal throne till its overthrow by the Emperor Justinian in A.D. 533, the last four only (Gunthamund, Trasamund, Hilderic, and Gelimer) are known to have put forth money inscribed with their names. Yet it would be strange if the founder Gaiseric during his long reign of nearly fifty years, or his son and successor Huneric, made no attempt to institute a currency; and there is, in fact, a mass of extant coinage which, though

² So L. Schmidt (pp. 36, 37), Gibbon, Clinton, &c.; Mr. Hodgkin (*Italy*, &c., ii, pp. 230, 290 f.) argues in favour of May, 428.

¹ On the history of the Vandals see chiefly Ludwig Schmidt. Geschichte der Wandalen, Leipzig, 1901; T. Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vol. ii, 2nd ed., 1892. On the Vandal coinage, J. Friedlaender, Die Münzen der Vandalen, Leipzig, 1849; C. F. Keary, Coinages of Western Europe, London, 1879, pp. 30-42.

not inscribed with the name of any Vandal king, is clearly, from its style, types, and provenance, of the Vandalic period and, at least in part, of Vandalic origin. It is therefore necessary, at the outset, to examine with some care these Anonymous Coinages, which are as follows:—

1. GOLD.

(Solidus and Tremissis.)

(α) With name of Valentinian III, A.D. 425-455.

(β) With name of Anastasius I, A.D. 491-518.

These are imitative coins—copied from Imperial prototypes—which the late Count de Salis has pronounced to be Vandal on grounds of style

Vandalic coinages not inscribed with the kings' names.

1. In gold.

(and probably of provenance).² Those of Class α (Pl. I. 1, 2) may be conjectured to have provided the gold coinage of Gaiseric (A.D. 428–477); those of Class β (Pl. II. 6-8) the coinage of Trasamund (A.D. 496–523).

There is also, of course, the possibility that these coins may have been in circulation in reigns other than those of Gaiseric and Trasamund; thus, some of the Valentinian coins (α) assigned to Gaiseric may belong to his son Huneric (A.D. 477-484), and the Anastasius coinage (β) may have begun under Trasamund's predecessor Gunthamund (A.D. 484-496).

2. SILVER.

- (α) de Salis has classed as Vandalic some rather rude silver coins with the name of Honorius (A.D. 395-423) and rev. Roma seated (Pl. I. 3-6).
- 2. In silver. (β) Silver with name of Honorius. Rev. Carthage standing, holding ears of corn (Pl. I. 12), dated Anno IIII and Anno V.
- (γ) Silver with name of Justin I (A.D. 518-527). Rev. FELIX CARTA Carthage holding ears of corn (Pl. II. 12, 13).

Classes α and β , being imitations of coins of Honorius, who died A.D. 423, will be most naturally assigned to the earliest Vandal kings. It is possible that both types belong to the first king, Gaiseric, years IIII and V being reckoned from the capture of Carthage in 439 (a date regarded as the Vandal 'Era'3). But as we need a silver coinage for his successor Huneric, α (Roma seated) may be assigned to Gaiseric, and β (Carthage holding ears of corn) to Huneric, Anno IIII and Anno V being regarded as regnal years of Huneric.⁴

² Cp. Keary, Coinages of W. Eur., pp. 19, 20.

3 Schmidt, Gesch. d. Wand., p. 76.

¹ That is, not bearing the names of Vandal rulers, though in some cases the names of emperors are inscribed.

 $^{^{+}}$ Friedlaender (M. d. Vand., p. 21) had already assigned β to Huneric, though on the

Class γ , with the name of the Emperor Justin I (a. d. 518-527), cannot be earlier than the reign of Trasamund (a. d. 496-523), though it may belong to that of his successor, Hilderic (a. d. 523-530). The claim of Hilderic seems preferable because he has the 'Carthage' type on his named silver coins (Pl. II. 14, 15), and we know that he was in friendly relations with Justin and the Byzantine court.

3. LARGE BRONZE COINS.

These are of two types:—

- (α) Obv. KARTHAÇO The Vandal king (?), standing. Rev. Horse's head (Pl. I. 7–11).
- (β) Obv. Carthage holding ears of corn. Rev. Mark of value in wreath (Pl. I. 13-16). (Also a smaller denomination (γ) with rev. \overline{N} IIII (Pl. I. 17, 18).)

Keary (op. cit., p. 40), by making a comparison between the marks of value found on these coins with those found on the silver coins of Vandalic kings,² has shown that it is unlikely that these bronze and silver coins were in circulation concurrently. The bronze coins, then, must be earlier than Gunthamund (the first king who issued named silver money) or later than Gelimer, the last of the Vandal kings. They do not seem to be later than Gelimer, because they bear no trace of the new Imperial sway.³ The alternative remains that they were issued in the period before Gunthamund, a period when it had not yet become customary to inscribe the regal coins with the regal name.

Type α (Pl. I. 7–11), which makes such pointed allusion to Carthage, may well have been issued by Gaiseric immediately after his capture of that important city (October 19, 439).

Type β (Pl. I. 13-16), Carthage holding ears of corn, may have been introduced by his successor Huneric, to whom we have already assigned imitative silver coins with a similar type (Pl. I. 12).

Type γ (Pl. I. 17, 18) is akin to α and β , but it is difficult to decide whether it belongs to Gaiseric or Huneric, and there is even a possibility that it may belong to a later period (see *infra*, p. 7).

mistaken supposition that the obv. inscription was a blundered form of the name 'Huneric'. Cp. Keary, op. cit., pp. 33-5.

¹ See also p. 13, infra.

- ² i.e. those found on silver coins inscribed with the names of the kings and therefore of certain attribution. Cp. Friedlaender, M. d. Vand., p. 12: 'The marks of value on the silver and the bronze coins clearly indicate that these coinages are not based on the same unit of value.'
- ³ The marks of value if impressed by order of Justinian would no doubt, in accordance with the system of the Byzantine Follis, have been XXXX (or M) and XX (or K) and not (as we actually find) XLII and XXI. Cp. B. M. C., Imperial Byzantine Coins, i, p. 64, 'Justinian I, Carthage.'
 - 4 On the horse's head as a symbol of Carthage see infra, p. 3.

This coinage of large bronze coins was perhaps supplemented by the use of Imperial Roman bronze coins with Vandal countermarks. In the

Roman bronze coins, apparently countermarked by the Vandals. Berlin cabinet and other collections there exist coins of this class (usually asses) bearing the countermark XIII, as on the Vandal bronze above described. These coins are of the earlier Empire, from the first century to the third (time of Salonina). There are

also extant some Imperial coins countermarked LXXXIII,¹ the provenance of which is Italian (Padua and Rome), and on this account their Vandalic character is open to some doubt. Even with regard to the coins countermarked XLII there may be some hesitation as to whether the countermarking was done by the Vandals.²

On the assumption that the countermarks on these coins are Vandalic, it may be conjectured that the utilization of Roman coins as Vandal currency took place before the regular issue of the Vandal bronze with mark of value XLII began, i.e. before the capture of Carthage (A. D. 439), after which event the Vandal mints were probably more carefully organized. The possibility is not, however, to be excluded that these countermarked pieces were put in circulation subsequent to the issue of the Vandal bronze with XLII, i.e. (according to our arrangement) after the reign of Huneric, when the large bronze coins with marks of value ceased to be struck. Huneric's successors themselves issued only small bronze pieces of Vandal workmanship, but it may have been found necessary to put into currency larger bronze coins marked as equivalent in value to the XLII coins of Gaiseric and Huneric—hence the issue of the countermarked Roman pieces.

Between these two hypotheses—an issue before 439 and an issue after circ. 484 (death of Huneric)—it is difficult to choose: only the evidence of Finds could probably settle the question.

4. SMALL BRONZE COINS.

Hilderic and Gelimer, the last two Vandal rulers, struck small bronze coins inscribed with their names.³ But this inscribed coinage appears to have been scanty, and the 'small change' of Vandalic times must mainly be sought for among a great mass of little bronze coins (Pl. III, IV) which are found singly or in hoards in northern

¹ This countermark is stated to be certain, and is not LXXXIIII as would naturally have been expected.

² At least I am not aware that these coins are of African provenance. On the whole series see Dressel in *Bullettino dell' Inst. di corr. arch.* (Rome), 1879, pp. 126 f.; Friedlaender in *Zeit. f. Num.*, vi (1879), pp. 21 f.; *Berl. Blätter*, iii, p. 283.

³ The coins supposed to bear the names of Gunthamund and of Trasamund are not of certain attribution.

Africa and Sicily, and which have also been discovered in Italy, mingled with Ostrogothic and Imperial money.¹

Count de Salis brought together about the year 1860 all the coins in the British Museum that seemed to him to belong to this Vandalic class; among them being many specimens, presented by himself, of which he probably knew (though he has rarely recorded) the African provenance, and also a large series acquired by the Museum in 1849 from Mr. J. Doubleday, which there are reasons for thinking was procured in Africa.²

Some other specimens were acquired in 1854 from Mr. Aschkenasi of Tunis, others, in 1865, from Mr. Paul Gadban, a Turkish Consul-General, and others, again, found or procured in Egypt, were presented in 1888 by Mr. Jesse Haworth.

These supposed Vandalic issues (Pl. III, IV) are of small module, rudely struck on inadequate flans, and do not often bear an inscription, or at least an intelligible one. They present a remarkable number of types, and even when a type, such as Victory, or the Cross, is often repeated it will be found that many varieties occur in design and fabric.³ Perhaps the best way to approach the examination of these puzzling but not, intrinsically, very important coins is, in the first place, to separate them into two classes, one of them formed by the coins that bear the names of emperors.

The emperors represented (on the British Museum coins) are:-

Theodosius I A.D.	379-395.
Honorius	395-423.
Theodosius II	408-450.
Valentinian III	425-455.
Marcian	450-457.
Leo I	457-474.
Zeno	474-491.
Anastasius I	491-518.
Justinian I	527-565.

¹ This was the case with the hoard of Monte Roduni unearthed in 1843 and described by Friedlaender in his Münzen der Vandalen, pp. 41 f. From the barbarous character of many of the coins I am disposed to consider them Vandalic or Moorish rather than Ostrogothic, though it may be that some of these small pieces were used by the Ostrogoths for convenience of small change (cp. infru, § 2, p. li). Since the descriptions in our text (pp. 17-42) were in type, P. Orsi has published a welcome account of a hoard partly consisting of small 'Vandalic' bronze coins discovered in the Island of Lipari (Rivista ital. di num., 1910, pp. 353 f.). Orsi has also briefly described (Notizie degli scavi, 1909, p. 61) a similar find made at Syracuse.

² The small bronze coins in this purchase present the appearance of having formed part of a large find, and in connexion with some specimens de Salis has noted that they came 'from Africa'. The same purchase included various Greek coins of Africa and Egypt.

³ A find of 3,418 small bronze coins of Vandalic times was made at Carthage about the year 1887: see a brief note in *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. franç.*, 1902, p. 548, referring to an article by Delattre in *Mém. Soc. arch. de Constantine*, xxxv (1901).

The first six of these emperors died many years before King Gaiseric (died A. D. 477), so that Vandalic imitations of their coins could have been struck by Gaiseric, or, equally, of course, by his successors. The coins with the name of Zeno could have been struck during the reigns of Huneric and Gunthamund; those of Anastasius by Gunthamund and Trasamund. Those bearing the name of Justinian cannot have been issued earlier than the reign of Hilderic whose reign extends from A. D. 523 to 530.

But although the presence of Imperial heads gives in several cases a rough clue to the arrangement of these small bronze coins, there are numerous other specimens, without the names of emperors, which are very difficult to attribute. These latter coins are, usually, exceptionally rude in style and of very small size, and display a variety of types, some of which are imitated from coins of the Constantinopolitan emperors, while others seem to be original or at least not to be derived directly from any single prototype.

For convenience of reference, and because of the present uncertainty of the attributions, it has seemed best to catalogue this whole series of small coins (pp. 17 ff. infra), rather mechanically, under the types of their reverses, placing first, under each type, the coins that bear Imperial heads. Thus, we have, first, a series of 'Victory' types (a favourite subject) with the heads of Honorius and Valentinian III on their obverses, or with a head (king's or emperor's) which cannot be identified. Reverse types relating to the emperor form another series: others, again, are grouped together because they bear an inscription (like VOT XIII) in the centre of the reverse, or because they show a monogram as 'type'. In some instances I have suggested an attribution to a specific Vandal sovereign, but in most cases the coins seem too barbarous and too varied in their types to be assignable exclusively to Vandal rulers. To the Vandal period they may well belong, but their issuers would seem to have been some tribe or people less civilized than the Vandals and who understood less well the art of coining and the regularization of currency. Now, all through the course of Vandal history in Africa we hear, in particular, of the Mauri as a constant source of trouble to the kings; if already subdued, we find them throwing off the yoke; if free, they make temporary inroads and even permanent settlements at the expense of the Vandal monarchy. In the year 508, for instance, we hear of one Masuna who took to himself the full-sounding title of 'Rex Maurorum et Romanorum' and gained possession of territory that had once been Vandalic. Whether or not the few bronze coins that I have ventured to ascribe to him (p. 39, infra) are worthy of such a potentate or were, indeed, struck by him at all, may be open to some doubt, but at any rate the position and pretensions of a chieftain of this kind suggest the conditions under which the issue of these varied series of minute African bronze coins probably took place. Prototypes

were chosen, we may suspect, more or less at hazard, and the inscribing of a few not very intelligible letters on the coin—as apparently in the case of Masuna—was the summit of the engraver's ambition.

1. GOLD.

The Vandals, unlike the Visigoths, Ostrogoths, and Lombards, made little use of gold for purposes of currency. Gold might be collected as bullion and even be coined to satisfy the barbarian greed and love of hoarding, or to pay a great tax or tribute, but, on the whole, silver and bronze were probably an adequate medium of exchange for the not

extensive commerce of the Vandal people, which was, indeed, chiefly concerned with the distribution of the products of their great main industry—agriculture. Gaiseric (if our attribution is correct) introduced imitative solidi and tremisses, weighing about 67 grains (or more) and 23 grains, respectively, and this coinage was probably renewed by Trasamund, the fourth king. The later rulers ceased to issue gold, and in no case was it struck with the king's own portrait. The well-known statement of Procopius that gold coins always bore the Imperial types, and that it was contrary to right and custom for any king, whether of the Persians or the Barbarians, to strike gold money with native types is undoubtedly true of the Vandals; and we shall find it true also of the gold coinage of the Ostrogoths.¹

¹ The passage in Procopius, Bell. Goth., iii. 33, ed. Haury, vol. ii, pp. 442, 443 = ed. Bonn, ii, p. 417, is as follows:—Καὶ κάθηνται μὲν ἐν τŷ ᾿Αρελάτω τὸν ἱππικὸν ἀγῶνα θεώμενοι, νόμισμα δὲ χρυσοῦν ἐκ τῶν ἐν Γάλλοις μετάλλων πεποίηνται, οὐ τοῦ ὙΡωμαίων αὐτοκράτορος, ἦπερ εἴθισται, χαρακτῆρα ἐνθέμενοι τῷ στατῆρι τούτω, ἀλλὰ τὴν σφετέραν αὐτῶν εἰκόνα. Καίτοι νόμισμα μὲν ἀργυροῦν ὁ Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἦ βούλοιτο ποιεῖν εἴωθε, χαρακτῆρα δὲ ἴδιον ἐμβαλέσθαι στατῆρι χρυσῷ οὔτε αὐτὸν θέμις οὔτε δὲ ἄλλον ὁντιναοῦν βασιλέα τῶν πάντων βαρβάρων, καὶ ταῦτα μᾶλλον ὄντα χρυσοῦ κύριον, ἐπεὶ οὐδὲ τοῖς ξυμβάλλουσι προῖεσθαι τὸ νόμισμα τοῦτο οἷοί τὲ εἰσιν, εἰ καὶ βαρβάροις τοὺς ξυμβάλλοντας εἶναι ξυμβαίνει. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν τῆδε Φράγγοις ἐχώρησεν.

 $\dot{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\hat{\eta}$ 'Aρελάτφ, the Franks at Arles. χαρακτῆρα ($\dot{\epsilon}\nu\theta\dot{\epsilon}\mu\epsilon\nu\omega$), the whole design of the solidus or tremissis, including, no doubt, the 'legends' as well as the 'types'. $\dot{\epsilon}i\kappa\dot{\omega}\nu\alpha$ may perhaps be merely a synonym for χαρακτῆρα: Mr. Keary (Coinages of W. Europe, p. 22) translates it 'portrait', and no doubt the portrait-bust of the native ruler would be one of the 'types'. $\nu\dot{\epsilon}\mu\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$ ἀργυροῦν. The silver coins of the Sassanian dynasty bore the king's bust and name on one side and a representation of the Persian fire-altar on the other. $\sigma\ddot{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon$ $\theta\dot{\epsilon}\mu\iota$ s. The expression is probably used very broadly, so as to mean 'contrary to the Imperial privilege and also abhorrent to prevailing custom'. Procopius adds that even if gold coins with native types had been commonly struck, they would not have passed current even among the Barbarians themselves. We may gather then, as Mr. Keary (in Hodgkin's Italy, &c., iv, p. 543) has already well remarked, that custom and commercial convenience, quite as much as, or more than, reverence for the privileges of the emperor, induced the Barbarians to issue as their gold coinages mere imitations of the Imperial money.

2. SILVER.

Gaiseric and Huneric (if our attributions may be regarded as certain) each struck an imitative silver coin, apparently the weight of the siliqua, and probably intended to be of the normal weight of 40 grains troy.\(^1\) The third king Gunthamund retained the silver coin (siliqua) but gave it distinctive types; on the obv., his own name and bust; on the rev., the letters DN and \(_-\), i. e. 100 bronze denarii,\(^2\) placed within a wreath. A mark of value surrounded by a wreath had already formed the reverse type of the bronze coins of Huneric (Pl. I. 13). Gunthamund also struck a half-siliqua (17.3 grains, Brit. Mus., highest) and a quarter-siliqua (7.7 grains, Brit. Mus., highest), inscribed on the reverse, \(\textsup \textsup \t

Trasamund, the fourth king, besides (if our conjecture is correct) renewing the supply of imitative gold coins, continued the issue of the half-siliqua marked \overline{DN} L (16-8 grains, Brit. Mus., highest).

Hilderic issued the half-siliqua (19.8 grains, Brit. Mus., highest) and the quarter-siliqua (9.3 grs., Brit. Mus.). Gelimer, the last king, also issued the half-siliqua, marked $\overline{\sf DN}$ L.

3. BRONZE.

It is probable that Gaiseric issued early in his reign imitative money in bronze, as he seems to have done in the case of his gold and silver currency. Such coins must be looked for among the small bronze pieces described *infra*, pp. 17–42, especially those with 'Victory' types.⁴ But bronze did not become an important constituent of the Vandalic currency till the issue of the large thick coins marked XLII and XXI N(ummi), Pl. I. 7, 9, 13, 15; an issue which we have seen reason (*supra*, p. xvii) to attribute to Gaiseric at a time (A. D. 439) when he had first become master of Carthage.⁵ These coins, by their module and their value-marks, at

² See Babelon, loc. cit., and his *Traité*, i, p. 582; Keary, op. cit., pp. 37 f.; Friedlaender, M. d. Vand., pp. 10 f.

⁴ And see No. 49, p. 23, infra, and No. 52, p. 24, infra.

¹ The heaviest specimens in the British Museum weigh only 28-4 and 21 grains, but they are clipped and worn. On the weight of the later Roman siliquae, see G. F. Hill, 'Roman silver coins from Grovely Wood, Wilts.,' in *Num. Chron.*, 1906, pp. 342 f. These are siliquae of the period from Constantius II to Arcadius. On the siliquae of Anastasius I and Justin I see B. M. C., *Imperial Byz. Coins*, i, p. lxxvi: see also Babelon, 'La Silique romaine,' in *Rev. num.*, 1901, p. 334.

³ He perhaps also continued to issue the siliqua ('100 denarii') and the quarter-siliqua ('25 denarii'): see *infra*, p. 11, note.

⁵ Besides these coinages of XLII and XXI nummi (cp. coins of XII and IIII nummi) there is a coinage which may be assigned to Gaiseric, circ. 439 B.C., inscribed on obr. DOMINO NOSTRO but with the royal name omitted. The coins thus inscribed are of remarkably neat work and in high relief: see infra, 'Small bronze of Vandalic period,' pp. 17 f., Nos. 15, 54, 83, and note to No. 15, p. 19.

once recall the Byzantine bronze *follis*, stamped 40 (M) nummia and its half, stamped 20 (K) nummia.¹ It must be borne in mind, however, that this typical Byzantine coin (with its subdivisions) was not instituted until the year 498, when Anastasius I carried out a great reform of the bronze currency by substituting for the very small, and probably very scarce, bronze coins of earlier reigns, a new and abundant issue of large, substantial-looking coins, each of which conspicuously displayed its value.² But the year 498 is long subsequent to the death of Gaiseric and even of Huneric,³ and the first issue of these XLII and XXI coins—if, as seems probable, rightly attributed to Gaiseric—was a new and original departure in coinage, though it was one, no doubt, suggested to the Vandal ruler by some Roman financier or mint-master at his court.⁴

This issue of XLII and XXI was continued by Gaiseric's successor Huneric, and a bronze piece of XII nummi, first issued by Gaiseric, was also retained. There is, further, a piece of IIII nummi (of Huneric, or Gaiseric?).

The weights of these denominations as indicated by specimens in the British Museum are as follows:—

Weights of the larger bronze coins.

XLII nummi.

Gaiseric. Wt. 175 grs., highest (also 174; two about 154). Huneric. Wt. 2005 grs., highest (others, 182–127 grs.).

XXI

Gaiseric. Wt. 146 grs., highest, a thick piece; others are thinner, and weigh 114.7 and 95.8, but may have lost weight.

Huneric. Wt. 104.8 grs. (worn).

The highest actual weight of XLII is 200-5 grs., but the weights of XXI point to a normal weight of about 230 or even of nearly 300 grs. (114 \times 2 = 228; 146 \times 2 = 292).

XII

Gaiseric. Wt. 86.5 grs., highest (49 grs. lowest). Huneric. Wt. 87.6 grs., highest (also 73, 64.7 grs.).

1111

Huneric (?), 21 grs., highest.

The XII and IIII denominations, as Mommsen has already remarked

¹ 6000 nummia in the Byzantine system went to the solidus or nomisma.

3 It falls within the reign of Trasamund, the fourth king.

² See Wroth, *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, p. xiii, and cp. the interesting interpretation of the passage in Marcellinus (as to the currency reform of Anastasius) given by Prof. Bury in his review in *The English Historical Review* for 1909, p. 117.

⁴ This coinage, for fabric and marks of value, should be compared with the Ostrogothic anonymous bronze chiefly struck at Rome (Pl. XIII. 2, XIV. 2).

(*Hist. monn. rom.*, iii, pp. 166, 167), have no connexion metrologically with the XLII and XXI pieces, though, no doubt, all are contemporary issues.

The issue of the XLII, &c., bronze series is presumed to have ceased with Huneric, but it is possible that their place was taken in the next reign (Gunthamund's) by Roman bronze coins, issued two or three centuries earlier, but made current by the impress of the Vandal countermark.

There is no certain evidence that either Gunthamund or his successor Trasamund issued bronze money inscribed with their names,² and their coinage is difficult to identify, though it may perhaps be found among 'the small bronze coins of the Vandalic Period' (pp. 17 f., infra).

Hilderic and Gelimer, the two last kings, struck small bronze pieces with their names, and their coinage, especially Hilderic's, was probably eked out by some of the uncertain 'Vandalic' pieces. Thus, to Hilderic may belong the small coins which, bearing the name of Justinian I, do not seem to be certainly imperial,³ and some of the coins with the sacred monogram.⁴

Before concluding this section something should be said of the coinage in relation to the civilization of the Vandal people and the story of their

Vandal coinage and Vandal civilization. kings.

The advent of Gaiseric in 429 with the whole host of the Vandals dealt a deadly, if not immediately fatal, blow to Roman civilization in Africa. The

kings carved out for themselves a royal domain of vast extent; the Vandal warriors received their 'lots', while the Roman provincial was thrust out or compelled to live in the least fertile regions. Yet the Vandal was in constant contact with a higher culture than his own and with a language that was not his own.⁵ Roman law and methods of administration still subsisted side by side with what there was of Vandal legal custom and statecraft, and the general character of the coinage suggests that Roman engravers and financial advisers rendered service at the Vandal mints.⁶

The Roman features of the coinage may be discerned in several ways. The mechanical copying of previously existing Roman coins, such as apparently took place in the reign of Gaiseric and under some of his successors is, indeed, not in itself a proof of deep-seated Roman influence,

¹ See further on these coins p. xviii, supra; also on the countermark LXXXIII. The view may also be maintained that these coins were first put into circulation by Gaiseric some time before 439 (?), the date when he probably began to issue his coins with XLII, &c.

² See infra, p. 9, and p. 12, note 2.

³ See pp. 28, 29, infra.

⁴ p. 37, infra. Gelimer may have imitated coins with the monogram of Theodosius II (p. 29, infra).

⁵ Cp. R. W. Church, Beginning of the Middle Ages (1895), chap. iii, pp. 66 f.

⁶ F. Martroye, Genseric, pp. 273, 283.

for such servile borrowing is found on all hands among the various Teutonic invaders of the empire. But the Roman influence is more decisive in such points as details of costume and choice of types. Thus, in Pl. I. 7-11, we have the representation of a warrior who can hardly be any other than a Vandal warrior or a Vandal king, yet he wears not the native, but the Roman costume. And on all the silver coins issued by Gunthamund and his successors, bearing their names and heads, the king has the imperial diadem and the paludamentum and cuirass of a Roman emperor. Latin is adopted for the coin-legends and the king is styled *Dominus noster*, to which is generally added the title rex.

If we omit the borrowed types of Gaiseric and those of the more or less barbarous currency of small bronze, it may be said that the range of types is extremely limited, the most distinctive being the mark of value in a wreath (e. g. N XLII; DN XXV) and the female figure holding ears of corn who personifies Felix Carthago. And with regard to these types it may be observed that this very conscientious and conspicuous attestation of value both on bronze and silver must almost certainly have been due to the suggestion of a Roman financier, and that the personification of Carthage, and even the epithet felix, were derived from Carthaginian coins struck by Diocletian and his successors.1 In addition to this we may note that the monogram which forms the reverse type of the bronze of Gelimer (Pl. II. 20, 21) was obviously suggested by the coins of the Emperor Zeno or of one of his predecessors, and the massive (though not cumbrous) wreath which gives a touch of ornament to the severe DN of the reverses of Gunthamund and others 2 (Pl. II. 3, 11) was, again, clearly derived from one of those wreaths which form such a frequent decoration of Byzantine monuments-such as sarcophagi at Ravenna—of the fifth and sixth centuries.

The circumstance that the Vandals were already Christians (albeit Arians) when their African kingdom was founded, has left little trace upon the coinage: on the imitative coinage (gold and small bronze) the cross and the sacred monogram are often found, but on what may be called the independent Vandal money perhaps the only Christian emblems are the cross as a reverse type of the small bronze of Hilderic and the small cross which appears (above a mark of value) on a silver coin of Gelimer (Pl. II. 17, 19).

Finally, in regard to style and execution the coins are not, on the whole, discreditable to mints of the fifth and early sixth centuries.³ The

¹ See p. 6, infra.

² On Gunthamund's coins with '50'. Those with '100' have a wreath that is not distinctively 'Byzantine'. The wreath was a favourite ornament of the reverses of the Ostrogothic coins.

³ That is, the 'named' silver and bronze: the imitative gold are more or less barbarous and the small bronze of very varying styles of workmanship.

treatment of the king's head, with its angular delineation of nose and eye, is nearly always careless, if not positively barbarous, and the 'portraits' are, throughout, entirely conventional. But in this respect the portraiture of contemporary emperors on the coinage of Byzantium—Anastasius I, Justin I, and (on part of his money) Justinian I—was no whit superior.¹

It is to be regretted that the coinage of Gaiseric is conjectural, because Gaiseric is the one commanding figure among Vandal sovereigns, the great

Coinage of individual Vandal kings. GAISERIC, A.D. 428 (429)-477. founder of the kingdom and framer of its constitution. Taking the coinage as attributed to him, it seems to indicate that the mint, like the kingdom itself, was organized by slow degrees, and that it was not till the year 439,

when the king first gained possession of Carthage, that any attempt at the issue of Vandal money with original types was made. Carthage was the great social, literary, and administrative centre of Africa, and both Gaiseric and Huneric seem to have emphasized its importance on their coins (Pl. I. 7, 13–16).²

From his spoliation of Rome in 455 Gaiseric returned laden, not only with spoils of gold and silver (amongst them the sacred vessels of the Temple of Jerusalem), but with a human freight—the Empress Eudoxia and her daughters, and a band of skilful artificers, armourers, and other craftsmen. But nothing was done to improve the coinage in his reign beyond, apparently, the inauguration of the bronze money with value-marks (Pl. I. 7), and even an independent silver currency was not set on foot.

On his bronze coins Gaiseric placed a horse's head—almost certainly as the emblem of Carthage—and another type (already referred to) of a man in Roman costume, intended for a Vandal soldier, or, perhaps, for the Vandal king himself. The descriptions that we have of Gaiseric make him out as lame and insignificant in stature, yet he was long renowned in Vandal tradition as a brave warrior, and was a man of restless energy in war and of extreme craftiness in statesmanship. His long reign of nearly fifty years was followed by the short seven

HUNERIC,
A. D. 477-484.

years' rule of his son Huneric, who was married to the Roman princess Eudocia, daughter of that Eudoxia (widow of Valentinian III) whom Gaiseric had borne away from Rome to Carthage. During part of his reign he was a persecutor of the Catholics and of the Manicheans: it is also to be noted that some of the Mauretanian tribes who had been kept in subjection by his father now threw off the yoke.

In the coinage he appears to have followed the traditions of Gaiseric, but on the large bronze money he changed the types, introducing the

¹ See Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, p. lxxxviii. Such portraits as are found on Ostrogothic coins are distinctly superior to those on the Vandal money.

² Cp. p. 19, No. 15, infra.

personification of Carthage, displaying ears of corn in her hands (Pl. I. 13). This representation of 'Carthage' was borrowed from Imperial coins, and had had its origin at a time when the province of Africa was the granary of Italy. On Huneric's coins such a type was significant to the Vandals only, for Gaiseric, who had created a fleet which was the terror of the Mediterranean, had long since cut off Italy from its old-established sources of corn-supply.

Huneric was succeeded by his nephew Gunthamund, the events of whose reign are of no great importance. The persecution of the Catholics ceased or was greatly relaxed. The attacks of the Mauretanians continued. But Gunthamund was chiefly concerned with Sicilian affairs. The founder of the Vandal kingdom had won for his successors the islands of Corsica

and Sardinia, and had gained at least a foothold in the fair island of Sicily. Gunthamund now endeavoured to establish his rule in the coveted land; but he failed completely, and was compelled by Theodoric the Ostrogoth (A. D. 491) to renounce his claim to tribute from Sicily.

In the currency he made, as we have seen, an important innovation by introducing the silver coinage marked with its value in bronze denarii—a coinage which served as the model for his successors.

Gunthamund's successor was his brother Trasamund, an attractive figure among Vandal kings—handsome and cultured, virtuous and intelligent. His reign lasted for twenty-seven years, and the leading idea of his policy was an alliance with the brilliant Theodoric, whose sister Amalafrida he married (A. D. 500).

In this reign we hear much of the risings of the Mauri and other tribes who gained territory at the expense of the Vandals, and the chieftain Masuna—'rex Maurorum et Romanorum,'—to whom, as well as to the Moorish tribes generally, we have found reason to attribute small bronze coins of rude workmanship,¹ flourished in the time of Trasamund.

Trasamund's coinage is on the model of his predecessor's, but he seems to have reinforced the currency of gold, apparently first introduced by Gaiseric, by striking solidi and tremisses imitative of the coins of the Emperor Anastasius I, his contemporary.

The throne was next occupied by Hilderic, the son of Huneric the second king. He came late to his inheritance, and was about sixty-six at the time of his accession. Contrary to his promise to Trasamund, Hilderic favoured the Catholics and reversed Trasamund's external policy by breaking with the Ostrogoths and by allying himself with the court of Byzantium. The emperors of the period were, first, Justin I, and then Justinian I;

¹ p. xx, supra.

and Hilderic seems to have placed the head of Justin on some of his silver coins, and possibly that of Justinian on small bronze coins. He, moreover, partly discarded the mark of value which formed the reverse type of his predecessor's coins, and revived the personification of Felix Carthago. He struck small bronze coins with his own name and with a cross on the reverse, one of the very few religious types to be found on the Vandal coinage.

During the last five years of his reign the Mauri appear to have gained control over Mauretania and Southern Numidia, and, at last, a defeat of Hilderic's troops by the Mauri and the general unpopularity of his religious and foreign policy led to his deposition on 19 May, 530,

and the enthronement of Gelimer, the nephew of Gun-

delimer, the tenth of Genner, the nep than und, and a great-grandson of Gaiseric.

Gelimer in his earlier years had a reputation for bravery, but his character was not a strong one, and as a ruler he fell on Justinian had already in view his great scheme for difficult times. regaining the lost provinces of the empire-Africa (with Corsica and Sardinia), Sicily, and, finally, Italy. The dethronement of his ally Hilderic gave him a ready pretext for intervention in Vandal affairs; and by the end of June, 533, the imperial fleet under Belisarius had sailed from Byzantium. Africa was reached in September: on the thirteenth of the month, the battle of Decimum was fought and won by the Imperialists, and on the fifteenth Belisarius entered Carthage. The victory of Tricamarum in December and the flight of Gelimer, brought the Vandal kingdom to an end. It had lasted about a hundred years; but, at last, almost suddenly vanished, leaving behind singularly few traces of its existence. Vandal and Roman civilization had never, in fact, completely coalesced, as might have been the case had Gaiseric been Theodoric; nor, on the other hand, had the Vandals been able to lay the foundations of a kingdom on a Teutonic basis, like the Franks and the Lombards.3

Of Gelimer, the last king, we have only to add that he surrendered in the spring of 534; was led in triumph through Constantinople by Belisarius, and was finally allowed to retire to Galatia. For the currency of his short reign he continued the silver money of his predecessor, but removed from it the 'Carthage' type that Hilderic had reintroduced. He struck a small bronze coin with his name and with a monogram (of his own name) on the reverse. This monogrammatic reverse had been employed by some of the Constantinopolitan emperors (as by Zeno), and became especially characteristic of the coinage of the Ostrogoths.

The coinage of Justinian, the new master of Africa, began (at Carthage) in 534 or, possibly, at the end of 533. Descriptions of it may be found in the British Museum Catalogue of *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, pp. 63–9. Some of his silver coins (Nos. 350–4) recall those of Gelimer and

¹ p. 13, infra. 2 p. xvii, supra. 3 Schmidt, Gesch. d. Wandalen, p. 99.

Gelimer's predecessors, but he entirely reorganized the bronze coinage on the Byzantine system introduced by Anastasius I.

§ 2. Coinage of the Ostrogoths.

The coinage of the Ostrogoths was made the subject of a scholarly monograph, Die Münzen der Ostgothen, published by Julius Friedlaender in 1844, and Mr. Keary has devoted to it a section of his Coinages of Western Europe. Not many coins that are entirely new have come to light since these essays were written, but there is still ample room for further discussion as to date, attribution, and place of issue.

The coins that hitherto have been most fully studied are those silver and bronze pieces which bear the names or monograms of Ostrogothic rulers; but besides these there is extant a great mass of gold, silver, and bronze money which is of Italian, and probably of Ostrogothic, origin, though inscribed only with the name of a Roman Emperor. The late Count de Salis had separated many specimens of this series from the Byzantine Imperial coins, and classed them (in the British Museum collection) as 'Italian'. In a few cases he appears to have discriminated between an 'early' and a 'late' class, but he has made no precise allocations and has unfortunately left no notes as to the considerations—such as those of provenance—that guided him in his classification. In a separate section on 'the attribution of Italian coins with Imperial names' (infra, p. xlv) I have endeavoured, as far as the evidence allows, to attribute these coins to the various Ostrogothic Kings.

In addition to these imitative Imperial coins, there is a somewhat large class of anonymous bronze pieces of XL nummi and lesser value (Pl. XII–XIV), which have been generally recognized as belonging to the Ostrogoths, though their dates and mint-places have been little discussed. In the text (infra, pp. 98 f.) an attempt has been made to attribute the coins of this class more definitely than heretofore.

Under Odovacar (the leader of the Herulian mercenaries who revolted from the Imperial service) Italy became a Teutonic kingdom—like Spain and Africa ²—and the last Emperor of the West was deposed. Yet there was still a Roman Emperor—the Emperor at Constantinople, 'the greatest and most majestic personage in the world.' His suzerainty was in

¹ For the history of Italy during this period and the following Ostrogothic and Imperial periods see chiefly Hodgkin, *Italy and her Invaders*, vols. ii, iii, and iv, and authorities there; Bury, *Hist. of later Roman Empire*, i; H. Bradley, *The Goths*, London, 1888; L. Schmidt, *Gesch. d. deutschen Stämme*, pt. i, Books 2 and 3; Leuthold, *Untersuchungen*, &c.

² Bury, Hist. of later Rom. Empire, i, p. 278.

³ Church, The Beginning of the Middle Ages, p. 38.

some sort acknowledged even in Italy, and Roman law and Roman methods of administration still held their own, though the invaders seized one-third of the land.

Odovacar, like his predecessors the Emperors of the West, fixed his capital at Ravenna, and it was there that he issued silver and bronze 1 coins with his own name.

The gold coins that he appears to have minted were solidi and tremisses bearing the name and types of the Emperor Zeno, who had, indeed, recognized him as 'Patrician'. And it was in the reign of Odovacar that the city of Rome, which was no doubt left, as was the case under later rulers, in a state of semi-independence, probably issued, through its Senate, large bronze coins bearing the head of Zeno, a figure of Victory, and the legend IMVICTA ROMA.²

The relations of Odovacar and Zeno began to be unfriendly from the year 486,³ and it may have been in this year or a little later that Odovacar first struck the silver and bronze coins with his own name and portrait. Yet, on the other hand, there is a difficulty in supposing that during the ten years that elapsed between his accession and 486 this ruler made no attempt to issue bronze coins and that his silver coinage (if our attribution is correct) was confined to the imitation of Zeno's silver.⁴ Moreover, Odovacar's issue of coins with his own name was not necessarily a sign of revolt, for he does not place his name on the gold coins, which would have offended the Imperial prerogative or the commercial convention of his time, but his portrait appears only on his silver and bronze, and even on these without the title of king,⁵ nor does he wear the regal diadem. Probably he appears as Odovacar the Patrician. These coins, then, may have been issued in the early years of his reign, though not necessarily at the time of his accession.

The head of Odovacar (Pl. V. 7–8) was probably modelled on the head of Zeno (Pl. V. 6 °), yet it has at least the semblance of a portrait: the face is beardless, but the engraver has been careful not to omit Odovacar's thick yellow moustache.⁷

² Pl. XII. 20-3 and pp. 100 f., infra.

⁴ Pl. V. 6; p. 44, infra, No. 8.

⁷ Hodgkin, Italy, &c., ii, p. 515.

¹ See the bronze, p. 45, *infra*. The name of Odoacer has also been read on a rude bronze coin of the 'Vandalic' class, but I share the apparent doubts of P. Orsi (*Rivista ital. di num.*, 1910, p. 356) as to the correctness of this reading.

³ Hodgkin, Italy, &c., iii, p. 149.

⁵ The inscription is simply FL. ODOVAC. On his title of Rex or Rex Gothorum see Hodgkin, *Italy*, &c., ii, p. 529; Friedlaender, *Münzen der Vandalen*, p. 59. Cassiodorus says:—'Nomenque regis Odoacer adsumpsit, cum tamen nec purpura nec regalibus uteretur insignibus.'

⁶ As found on the silver coin probably issued by Odovacar, infra, p. 44, No. 8.

The indication of the king's name by means of a monogram (Pl. V. 7) was no doubt suggested by the bronze coins of Zeno and his predecessors. It became a favourite reverse type of the Ostrogothic coins, and when encircled by a massive wreath has a good decorative effect.

In the coinage of the great Theodoric, who finally overthrew Odovacar in 493 and established the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy, we may trace the influence of that *civilitas* which was the ideal of his

influence of that civilitas which was the ideal of his enlightened rule: regnum nostrum, he somewhat quaintly wrote, through his secretary Cassiodorus, to the Emperor Anastasius, imitatio vestri. At least, it was to be a German kingdom, or one among

THEODORIC, son of Theudemir, March, 493-30 Aug. 526.

a European federation of German kingdoms, absorbing all that was good in the ancient civilization of the Empire.²

The coins of his long reign of thirty-three years (Pl. V. 14-21; VI; VII. 1-15) are singularly neat and even elegant, and he set the fashion for his successors. His gold coinage is, as regards types and inscriptions, a reproduction of the contemporary Imperial money, but the obverses of the tremisses are of quite delicate workmanship. His silver coins (of the Ravenna mint) show a well-modelled bust of the emperor in somewhat high relief, and on the reverse, placed within a wreath, his own monogram (Pl. VII. 6-13), which resembles that still to be seen at Ravenna on the huge capitals of the columns from his Basilica of Hercules.³

Unlike some of his successors, and his predecessor Odovacar, Theodoric issued his silver and bronze coins without any portrait-head of himself. The same is true also of his gold coinage: only on the exceptional triple solidus 4 do we find his head accompanied by the words Rex Theodericus pius princis. This precious relic of Romano-Gothic art, which some ancient possessor has set as a brooch, 5 is known only in a single example, of which Comm. F. Gnecchi, the Italian numismatist, is the fortunate owner. In spite of its rarity it was perhaps intended for currency, for it is equivalent in weight to three solidi, and a bronze weight marked with this denomination and with Theodoric's name is preserved in the British Museum. 6 Probably, however, it was made on some special occasion, to serve as a present or an offering, and issued in small numbers. Theodoric

¹ Quoted by Bury, Hist. later Rom. Emp., i, p. 381.

² Theodoric allied himself by marriage with the Vandals and the Franks. At the same time he was familiar with Roman ideas and manners on account of his education as a youth at the Court of Byzantium.

⁸ Diehl, Ravenne (1903), fig. p. 42, and p. 44. Theodoric's monogram which he placed on his gold coins, to differentiate them from the Imperial gold coins, is of a different form.

⁴ Frontispiece, and p. 54, infra.

⁵ In our photograph the setting still to be seen on the original has been omitted for the sake of effect.

⁶ See Dalton, cited infra, p. 54.

might place his head on a piece of this exceptional character, but commercial convenience and old-established usage (not unmingled with reverence for the Imperial effigy) would have precluded him from placing any head but an emperor's on the solidi and tremisses—the ordinary currency of gold. As it is, the head is (like Odovacar's) without the royal or Imperial diadem, nor is it surmounted by a crown, such as Theodahad and Baduila, his later successors, assumed on their coins. The moustache and the treatment of the hair justify the belief that the bust is a portrait, or at least an attempted portrait, of Theodoric. The type is interesting. moreover, because it is much more than the mere conventional head or bust found on the Imperial coinage: it may almost be described as a halflength figure, for each of the hands is displayed—one raised, as if in the adlocutio, the other holding the globus upon which stands Victory. It may well be surmised that we have here a reproduction of the upper part of an actual statue or mosaic picture of Theodoric, and there is a record of the existence of statues or colossal figures of him at Rome, Ravenna, Ticinum, and all the chief cities of Italy.2

Theodoric's coins were issued at Rome, under at least the nominal authority of the Senate,3 no less than at Ravenna (Milan, for gold, is his only other mint-place 4), and the Roman quasi-autonomous coinage of bronze assigned to his reign (Pl. XIII, XIV) is especially interesting, for it displays a bust of Invicta Roma, the Roman eagle, a fig-tree and two eagles,5 and the wolf suckling Romulus and Remus.6 The occasion of the issue of some at any rate of these coins may be conjectured to have been the visit paid by Theodoric to the Eternal City in A. D. 500, at which time he remained there six months. He was welcomed by the Pope, the Senate, and the people, exhibited the games of the Circus, and furnished ample funds for the annual supply of grain to the populace and for the restoration of the walls.7

¹ See the passage in Procopius commented on supra, § 1, p. xxi.

² Hodgkin, Italy, &c., iii, p. 306; Gregorovius, Rome in the Middle Ages (Eng. trans.), i, p. 337. Among the figures or statues were:—at Naples, a mosaic εἰκών—a full-length figure-Procop., Bell. Goth., i. 24; Hodgkin, Italy, &c., iv. 217; at Ravenna, a colossal figure (apparently mosaic) of Theodoric as an armed horseman (Hodgkin, op. cit., iii, p. 306). This could not-from the position of the hands-be the figure on the triple solidus; at Rome, a gilded statue erected by the Senate. Cp. Stückelberg in Rivista ital. di num., 1898, p. 66.

3 The silver coin, Pl. VII. 5, rev. Victory, is inscribed S C, and S C appears later on

the Roman coins of Athalaric.

⁴ The coins used in Theodoric's dominions in Provence have not, I believe, been identified. If a currency distinct from the Ostrogothic pieces of Italy, they would be solidi and tremisses imitated from the coins of the emperors. All the Ostrogothic possessions in Gaul were surrendered to the Franks by Witigis.

⁵ Infra, p. 103, note 2.

- ⁶ The Lupercalia was still celebrated at Rome in Theodoric's reign: see infra, p. 105 n.
- ⁷ Hodgkin, Italy, &c., iii, pp. 265, 266, quoting the Anonymus Valesii. Theodoric also

Theodoric died in August, 526, after a reign which, in various aspects and on a smaller scale, recalls the rule of some of the best emperors of Rome and the ideals of Charles the Great. But he left no efficient

successor. After his death the government was carried on by his daughter Amalasuntha, as regent for her son Athalaric, then a boy of ten. Amalasuntha had a genuine love of Latin science and literature, and possessed a sympathetic minister in

AMALASUNTHA, regent, 31 Aug. 526-2 Oct. 534; queen, 534-30 Apr. 535.

Cassiodorus. But the Goths complained that she was educating Athalaric effeminately and too much in the Roman manner. He was removed from her care, grew up vicious and idle, and died in the year 534.

All the coins of this period (A. D. 526-534) are struck in the name of Athalaric, but the issues—at least the earlier ones—must have been made under the authority of Amalasuntha. Though the gold coinage is not so well executed as in the reign of Theodoric, the ordinary Ravenna coins show no falling off. The small bronze coins of Rome are of particular elegance, and we may remember that Amalasuntha encouraged professors to settle in Rome and was concerned for the welfare of the citizens. The obverse of these coins (Pl. VIII. 21-5) shows a richly decorated bust of 'Invicta Roma', and the reverse, a new type, namely, a figure of Athalaric represented as an armed warrior with spear and oval shield.

After the death of Athalaric, Amalasuntha continued to rule as queen, but no coins bearing her name are known. Soon, however, she invited Theodahad to share her throne with the 'nominal' title of king. Theodahad was the nephew of Theodoric, a lover of ancient learning and the owner of nearly all the land in Tuscany. But in character he was vacillating, cowardly, and avaricious. The marriage and regal partnership of the pair was solemnly announced to the Emperor (Justinian) and to the Senate of Rome, but Theodahad was determined to be no phantom ruler. In the spring of 535 Amalasuntha was seized by his orders and imprisoned in an island of the Lake of Bolsena, and shortly afterwards put to death.

Theodahad was thus left sole ruler, but he had furnished a pretext to Justinian for invading Italy. Amalasuntha had been the friend and ally of the Emperor, and, with the declared object of avenging her death, the Imperial expedition under Belisarius left Constantinople in the summer of 535. By the end of the year Sicily had submitted to Belisarius: in the

visited Rome in A. D. 519 when Eutharic, who was married to his daughter Amalasuntha, was given the Consulship. On this occasion wild beast shows took place in the amphitheatre.

¹ That is, of course, when they are not anonymous or imitative (like the gold coins) of the Imperial money.

following year (536) he took Naples, and in December was in possession of Rome. A little before this (apparently in November) the Goths had dethroned the worthless Theodahad and installed Witigis, one of his officers, in his place.

Theodahad's Ravenna coins are of the ordinary character, though their obverses (the head of Justinian) show some falling off in care of execution. But at Rome he issues, through the Senate, one of the most interesting and artistic coins in the Ostrogothic series (Pl. IX. 13-18). The Victory on the reverse is imitated from a quasi-autonomous bronze coin of Rome, probably struck by Theodoric. On the obverse is a bust of the king, Dn. Theodahatus rex, with a head neither bare nor bound with a diadem, but wearing a closed crown ornamented with jewels and two stars. His robe is also richly ornamented with jewels and a cross. The hair is cut short; the face beardless, but with a moustache such as has been seen already on the portrait coins of Odovacar and Theodoric. The modelling is good, and there is no reason, considering the general skill brought to bear on the production of this coin, why we should not regard the head as a true portrait, though it may indeed be doubtful whether we can, with a modern writer on the Goths, discern in it the 'mixture of knavery, folly, and cowardice' which partly composed Theodahad's character. It is interesting to have some clue as to the object with which the king's portrait was placed on the coins from the words that Cassiodorus, the state-secretary, puts into the mouth of the Ostrogothic king. It is a duty of the Comes (Sacrarum Largitionum), declares the king, to see that 'our face is imprinted on our coins, a reminder to our subjects of our ceaseless care on their behalf and a memorial of our reign to future ages'.2

The date of this remarkable coin, of which a good many specimens are still extant, is not quite easily determined. The idea that naturally occurs is that it was struck at the time of Theodahad's accession, i. e. about Oct. 534, and the inscription of the reverse, Victoria Principum (not Principis), if it is to be referred, as Mr. Hodgkin has suggested,3 to Theodahad and his queen Amalasuntha, would fix the coin to a date not later than April, 535, when Amalasuntha died. But one may feel some doubt as to whether the meaning of Principum is to be pressed, seeing that we constantly find on the gold coins of this age the legend Victoria Augustorum, even when a sole emperor (as Justinian) occupies the throne. It may be preferable, then, to assign this coin not to the time of Theoda-

¹ H. Bradley, The Goths, p. 220.

² Cassiodorus, *Variae*, vi. 7 (Hodgkin, *Letters of Cassiodorus*). Book vi, in which this passage occurs, stands before the matters relating to Athalaric's reign, and it may be that the formula is to be attributed to Theodoric; but it much better suits Theodahad, because Theodoric did not place his portrait on his ordinary coins but only on the exceptional triple solidus.

³ Italy, &c., iii, p. 651.

had's accession, but to the occasion when he visited Rome in Jan. 536.¹ Had the coin been struck at the time of the king's accession (534), it would almost certainly have borne the head of Justinian, but in 536, when the Ostrogoths are at war with Justinian, the appearance of their own king's portrait-head is not surprising. And it has been remarked ² that during his reign Theodahad had played a double part: on the one hand, entering into treacherous negotiations with Justinian for the surrender of his Italian kingdom; on the other, pretending to act as champion of his Gothic and Roman subjects; and it may be in the latter capacity that his head appears upon these coins.

Witigis, the supplanter of Theodahad, was not connected with the line of the great Theodoric, and it was no doubt to make good this deficiency that early in his reign (Dec.? 536) he forced into a marriage with himself Matasuntha, the young and beautiful daughter of Queen Amalasuntha, and thus the granddaughter of Theodoric and the sister of King March (?) 540.

Athalaric.

Belisarius was now in possession of Rome, and Witigis with 15,000 Goths began in 537 his memorable siege, which he was compelled to abandon (March, 538) after it had lasted for more than a year. The arrival in Italy of an Imperialist army under Narses inflicted a fresh blow on the Ostrogoths, who were badly beaten (A. D. 538) at the battle of Ticinum (Pavia), and were only just able to take refuge in Ticinum, a city which, as their treasury and arsenal, was hardly less important to them than Ravenna.

Finally, in the spring of 540, Ravenna opened its gates to Belisarius, and Witigis and Matasuntha were seized and taken by Belisarius in triumph to Constantinople.

The coinage of Witigis is of the ordinary Ostrogothic type. His only mint is Ravenna, and he did not follow Theodahad's precedent of placing his own head on the coins, the head represented being that of Justinian. The only innovation that he makes, if our attribution is correct,³ is in the series of silver coins, on which the place of his own name or monogram is taken by the monogram of Theodoric.

The gold coinage that may be assigned to his reign is of the usual types, with the name of Justinian. Much of it may have been needed when, at the beginning of his reign, he secured a treaty of peace with the Franks by a large payment of gold, estimated at £80,000, and by the surrender of Provence and Dauphiné, the Ostrogothic possessions in Gaul.

¹ Cp. H.Leuthold, *Untersuchungen zur ostgotischen Geschichte*, Jena, 1908, p. 33: the chronology of Theodahad is discussed in this pamphlet.

² Leuthold, op. cit., p. 42.

³ See infra, p. l.

The existence of coins bearing the name (in monogram) of Mata-

suntha, and issued (as is generally, and most naturally assumed to be the case) during the period 536-540, when she reigned as the queen of Witigis, is somewhat remarkable. At least, it is not usual to find the coins of a king and queen issued separately, and indeed of the earlier Ostrogothic queens we possess no coins at all. Thus Amalasuntha was regent

for her youthful son Athalaric, but the coinage was issued in the son's name, not in the mother's; nor did she strike coins after her son's death, or when she invited Theodahad to share her throne.

It may, however, be said that the great importance attached by Witigis to the legitimization of his claim to the throne by his marriage to Theodoric's granddaughter induced him to put forth coins with her name; and, as her name could not well be united with his on the same coin (the obverse being, by custom, devoted to the head of the emperor), king and queen had each their separate coin-designs. It would have been with the same intention that Witigis issued silver coins bearing the monogram of Theodoric.

No. 1, p. 80, infra (Pl. X. 11), was apparently issued at Ravenna, but Nos. 2-5 (Pl. X. 12-14) cannot, for reasons of style, be attributed to that mint. I have suggested (infra, pp. 80, 81) that Nos. 2-5, together with the bronze coin No. 6 (Pl. X. 15), were minted at Ticinum, either at the time of the marriage of Matasuntha (536) or, perhaps, after the battle of Ticinum in 538.

But there is another possible alternative. Friedlander (Münzen d. Ostgothen, p. 42) has raised the question whether Matasuntha's coins may not have been struck many years after she had ceased to reign in Italy; but he has raised the question only to negative it without discussion. Now, if we examine Nos. 2-5 (Pl. X. 12-14), we must admit there is nothing distinctively Italian about them: so far as style is concerned they might well have been struck at Constantinople. The bronze coin No. 6 (Pl. X. 15), again, though, as regards its reverse, of a more Italian appearance, is yet of a size and denomination not usual in the Ostrogothic coinage of the period of Witigis, and is apparently intended to correspond to the twenty-nummi pieces (marked K) familiar at the Imperial mints.

The only occasion when such coins could have been struck at Constantinople was in the year 550, when Justinian prepared a new expedition for the conquest of Italy, headed by his nephew Germanus, who was to be accompanied by Matasuntha, she (after the death in 542 of Witigis) having become the wife of Germanus. Justinian's idea was to unite (through Matasuntha) the house of Theodoric with his own, and to govern Italy—in a way likely to be acceptable to its mixed population—by a Gotho-Roman line.¹ Great enthusiasm for the expedition prevailed; but

¹ Bury, Hist. of Later Roman Empire, i, p. 411.

it was at first diverted to Thessalonica, and finally rendered abortive by the death of Germanus. This incident in the life of Matasuntha deserves attention, though it would, no doubt, be hazardous (without further evidence) to maintain that the coins under discussion were actually minted at the Byzantine capital in order to support—and at the same time to authenticate—the pretensions of Germanus to become ruler of Italy.

Ildibad, the son of Theudis King of the Visigoths, was chosen king in place of Witigis. He gained a great victory over the Imperialists near Treviso in the autumn (?) of 540, but was assassinated in the spring of the following year.

ILDIBAD, spring (?) 540 -May (?) 541.

Eraric was then set up as king by the Rugians, but was not accepted by all the Ostrogoths. He, too, was assassinated after a few months' reign. Neither Ildibad nor Eraric would appear to have issued coins.

ERARIC, May (?) 541 -Sept. (?) 541.

These ephemeral rulers were succeeded by the nephew of Ildibad, Baduila (otherwise known as Totila 1), the only Ostrogothic king, besides

Theodoric, of remarkable character. Baduila was an able statesman and a chivalrous soldier, and during his eleven years' reign displayed the same ideals of kingship and justice as Theodoric himself.

BADUILA (TOTILA), Sept. (?) 541 -July or Aug. 552.

His victories over the Imperialists at Faenza and Mugello were followed by the submission of Central and Southern Italy and the surrender of Naples (543). In 545 he laid formal siege to Rome, which he entered in December, 546, only, however, to evacuate the deserted city. Rome, reoccupied by Belisarius in 547, was again recovered in 549 by Baduila, who now in part rebuilt it, restoring the banished senators and celebrating the Games. It was probably in this year that those Roman coins of Baduila that are of Roman fabric and style were struck: on the obverse (Pl. XI. 29, 30) he placed his own head, crowned; on the reverse, an armed figure of himself, modelled on the older Roman coins of Athalaric. The legend on these coins, apparently referring to Roma,2 is Floreas semper. The letters S C (Senatus consulto) do not occur on the reverse of this coin, though they had appeared on the coins of Athalaric which served as its model. One can hardly say whether the omission is accidental or intentional; for though the Roman senators had originally been exiled from the city by Baduila, he afterwards showed them favour and brought them back in 549. The Senate, it may be observed, still continued in existence to the end of the fifth century, and indeed made a last appearance in 603 to acclaim the statue of the Emperor Phocas.3

But the arrival of Narses was soon to change the fortunes of the

¹ On his coins he is always Baduila or Baduela.

² Infra, p. 93 n.

³ Diehl, L'Exarchat de Ravenne, p. 125.

Ostrogoths, and in 552 the general inflicted on them a great defeat in the battle of the Apennines, and Baduila was mortally wounded.

During the whole of the reign of Baduila, Ravenna was in the hands of the Imperialists. We may readily assume, therefore, that his chief mint was at Ticinum, and this supposition is confirmed by the appearance of the personification of Felix Ticinus on one of his bronze coins (Pl. XI. 22). Yet it is not improbable that he occasionally set up mints elsewhere as his conquests progressed, as for example at Naples after its surrender in 543. At Rome the only Ostrogothic issue appears, as we have just seen, to have taken place in 549.

Baduila's coins may be divided broadly into three classes: (i) with the head of Justinian I; (ii) with the head of Anastasius I; (iii) with the head of the king himself. Examples of the first class are very rare: probably the head of Justinian was for political reasons soon rejected, and that of Anastasius, the contemporary of Theodoric, substituted. Like Theodahad, Baduila placed his own head upon his coins, and not only on the Roman issue but on the ordinary regal issue of Ticinum. Pl. XI. 13, a diademed head in profile, is, however, a portrait merely in name, so closely is it imitated from the head of Anastasius. The bronze coins (Ticinum and Rome) show the king's bust facing, probably in accordance with a fashion made popular by Justinian's coins since A. D. 538. Like Theodahad, he wears an embroidered robe and a closed crown decorated with panels and sometimes with stars (Pl. XI. 25). The coins are neatly executed, but the attempt at portraiture is evidently less successful than in the case of Theodahad.

The Goths at Ticinum crowned as their king Baduila's general Theia.² We hear that he expended the treasure stored in that city in an attempt

THEIA,
July or Aug.
552-553.

To win over the Franks to the Ostrogothic cause. His coins—all evidently struck at Ticinum—consist apparently only of gold tremisses of rough workmanship, and of silver half siliquae and quarter siliquae, of the usual types, but of very careless, and sometimes of almost barbarous

execution.

Theia perished in 553 in the prolonged battle of Mons Lactarius, in which the Imperialists crushed the Ostrogothic host. All resistance did not cease even then, but soon after the battle the remnant of the great army left Italy for ever, passing over the Alps to be 'swallowed up in we know not what morass of Gepid, of Herulian, of Slavonic barbarism'.

A Roman emperor was once again master of Italy, with Ravenna and

¹ Baduila, unlike Odovacar, Theodoric, and Theodahad, is represented without a moustache.

² As to the form of his name see infra, p. 96, note 4.

³ Hodgkin, Italy, &c., iv, p. 657.

Rome as his mint-places.¹ But after the lapse of only fourteen years, a new phase opens with the invasion of the Lombards (A. D. 568), described in the third section of this Introduction.

DENOMINATIONS AND WEIGHTS.

GOLD.

The solidi and tremisses issued by Odovacar and by the Ostrogothic kings are throughout the whole period of their rule not inferior in weight, nor, apparently, in quality, to the Imperial coins from which they were imitated. The solidus weighs rather more than 68 grains and the tremissis over 22 grains.

A solidus of Theodoric, marked with his monogram, attains 69 grains, and the only solidus of Baduila in the British Museum is of the same weight. The very latest gold coins, namely the tremisses attributed to Theia, weigh 22-7 grains and 23 grains. The triple solidus of Theodoric is probably an exceptional issue (see supra, p. xxxi).

SILVER.

The coins in this metal are half siliquae and quarter siliquae.² chiefly struck at Ravenna. It will be seen from the following list of the highest weights of specimens in the British Museum that the half siliqua weighs over 21 grains and the quarter siliqua more than 10 or 11 grains:—

King	1 SILIQUA	1 SILIQUA
Theodoric (Ravenna)	23.7	11.4
,, (Rome)		13.7
Athalaric (Ravenna)	21.4	11.2
Theodahad (Ravenna)	21.5	11.4
Witigis (Ravenna)	22.6	11.1
Matasuntha (Ravenna)	21.1	
,, (Ticinum)	18.9	
Baduila (Ticinum)	21.7	9.5
Theia (Ticinum)	22.2	9.5 3

¹ For the Imperial coins of Justinian I struck at Ravenna after the Ostrogothic overthrow see Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, i, pp. 70, 71, and *infra*, pp. xlvii, xlviii, 113 f., and for Ravenna coins of his successor Justin II see *infra*, pp. 120 f. As to the Roman mint see this Introduction, *infra*, p. liii.

² On the denominations and weights see Babelon in Revue numismatique, 1901, p. 334, and his Traité, i, p. 582; Mommsen, Hist. mon. rom., iii, p. 165.

The Imperial silver coins struck at Ravenna by Justinian weigh, according to specimens in the British Museum:—CN ('250'), 21 grains; PK ('125'), 11.3 grains; PK ('120'), 10.4 grains, all highest weights. The weights of various other specimens are by Luschin von Ebengreuth in *Der Denar der Lex Salica*, Wien, 1910, pp. 3, 6.

BRONZE.

We may notice first the thick coins struck at Rome of the value of XL and XX nummi (Pl. XII. 20-3; XMI; XIV. 1-7):—

Bronze. ODOVACAR:—XL. Rev. Victory. Size, 1.15. Weights

over 200 grs.: highest, 283.6 and 306.

Heavy coins of XL nummi, &c. Size, 1·1, or a little smaller. Weights, well over 100 grs.; highest, 177·2, 183, 215·8 grs.

XX. Rev. Eagles and tree. Size, ·85. Weights, 115·3, 129, 167·4.

XL. Rev. Wolf and Twins. Size, 1.05. Weight, over 200 grs., usually rather over 230 grs.; highest, 236.6 grs.

XX. Rev. Wolf and Twins. Size, ·8-·95. Weights, under 200 grs.; highest, 126·2 grs.

Theodahad:—[XL.] Obv. Bust of Theodahad (Pl. IX. 13-18). Size, 1.05. Weight, 181.7, highest; well preserved.

MATASUNTHA:—20 nummi (?). Size, ·85. Weight, 87 grs.: see infra, p. 81.1

The 'workaday' currency in bronze probably consisted mainly of small pieces, of which the X nummus piece was the highest denomination.

Size, from .65 to .85. Weight, usually over 60 grs.;

Lighter Coins highest, 69.6 grs.

There was also a V nummus piece, and a smaller coin, size about 4, which at first sight might be taken for the nummus, but which, as it often weighs from 12 to 15 grains, and even reaches 16 grains, must be intended for a higher denomination, probably $2\frac{1}{2}$ nummi. It is not improbable (as suggested infra, pp. li f.) that the coinage was further supplemented in the time of Theodoric, and long after, by the circulation of a number of small pieces with the names of the Emperors Leo I, Zeno, Anastasius I, &c. The actual issuers of these coins, however, were probably the Vandals.

ODOVACAR.

Ravenna. Small bronze. Size, 4. Weights, 14.4 and 21.6 grs.

THEODORIC.

Ravenna. Small Æ. Rev. Star. Size, ·35. Wt., 17·6, highest.

,, € (5 nummi). Size, ·6. Wt., 34·1, highest.

¹ Imperial 40-nummi (M) pieces of Justinian I, struck at Rome:—Sizes, 1.05-1.15. Weight of the well-executed coins of thick fabric, 207.2 to 311.4 grs., highest. The specimens of thinner fabric and inferior workmanship weigh less than 200 grs.; highest, 163.8 grs. The weight of the corresponding 20-nummi pieces is usually over 100 grs.; highest, 134.5 grs.; sizes, .85-.9.

Ravenna. V (5 nummi). Sizes, 45-55. Wt., 32·3, highest.

" [X nummi.] Obv. Felix Ravenna (p. 106, infra, No. 34).

Size, ·7. Wt., 60 grs., highest.

ATHALARIC.

Ravenna. X nummi. Obv. Head of Justinian. Size, .75. Wt., 60.5 grs., highest.

Ravenna. V nummi. Obv. Head of Justinian. Size, 45. Wt., 15.8 (only one specimen in Brit. Mus.).

Ravenna. Small Æ $(2\frac{1}{2} \text{ nummi?})$. Size, ·4. Wt., 12 to 15 grs.; highest, 16·4 grs.

Ravenna. [X nummi.] Obv. Invicta Roma. Size, 75. Wt., 50-5 grs., highest.

Ravenna. V nummi. Obv. Invicta Roma. Size, 5. Wt., 24.7 grs., highest.

Ravenna. [X nummi.] Obv. Felix Ravenna. Size, 65. Wt., 52.2 grs., highest.

Rome. X nummi. Rev. Athalaric, standing. Size, .75. Wt., 50.5 grs., highest.

THEODAHAD.

Ravenna. V nummi, attributed to Theodahad. Obv. Bust of Justinian. Size, .65. Wt., 54.5 grs., highest. The mark of value V appears on the rev., otherwise one would reckon the coin as a piece of X nummi.

Ravenna. Small Æ. Size, $\cdot 35$. Wt., $6 \cdot 3$ grs., worn $(2\frac{1}{2}$ nummi?).

Ravenna. [X nummi.] Obv. Invicta Roma. Size, 85. Wt., 66.7, highest.

WITIGIS.

Ravenna. [X nummi.] Obv. Invicta Roma. Size, 65. Wt., 69.6 grs., highest.

MATASUNTHA.

Ticinum. An exceptional coin, apparently of 20 nummi. Size, ·85. Wt. of British Museum specimen, 87 grs. (p. 81, infra).

BADUILA.

Ticinum. Small Æ, probably $2\frac{1}{2}$ nummi. Rev. Monogram or name of Baduila. Size, 35. Weights, 11·8, 12·3, and 14·6, highest. Cp. also pp. 92 and 94, infra.

Ticinum. [X nummi?] Obv. Felix Ticinus. Size, ·6. Brit. Mus. specimen weighs 46 grs.

Ticinum. [X nummi.] Rev. Name of Baduila.

- (i) Size, ·7. Wt., 114·3 grs.
- (ii) Size, ·65-·7. Wt., 71·6 grs.

As remarked in the text, infra, p. 91, note 3, (i) and (ii) seem at first, judging by their weights, to be two distinct denominations, of which one is the double of the other. The same differences of weight are found on Baduila's Roman coins (see next paragraph), but in that case the heavier and the lighter pieces bear the same mark of value, viz. X, and we can only suppose that the Roman coins and-by analogy-these Ticinum coins, are two separate coinages, heavy and light, of a single denomination which was regarded as the ten-numnus piece.

- Rome. X nummi.
 (i) Sizes, ·8--85. Wt., 121-4, highest.
 - (ii) Sizes, .65-.7. Wt., 69.6, highest.

The heavy and light coinage of the ten-nummus piece: both (i) and (ii) bear the mark of value X.

INSCRIPTIONS AND TYPES.

The inscriptions are simple. The solidi and tremisses have, throughout, the usual reverse legends of Imperial coins (Victoria Inscriptions. Augg. and Victoria Augustorum), though Theodoric in certain instances adds his own monogram, unobtrusively.

The names of the kings as found on the silver and bronze are as follows: - Odovacar appears without any title as FL. ODOVAC. Theodoric identifies his coins by the bare monogram of his name, and only on his triple-solidus 2 does he assume any title: the inscription of the obverse of this piece is Theodericus Pius Princis, and the reverse inscription Theodericus Victor Gentium.

All Theodoric's successors prefix the title DN (Dominus noster) to their names, and add, though not invariably, the title REX, or, as it is often written. RIX:-

DN ATHALARICVS (or ATALARICVS) REX

- " THEODAHATHVS (or THEODAHATVS) REX
- ,. VVITICES (or VVITICIS) REX
- " BADVILA (or BADVELA) REX
- THEIA (or THILA 3) REX DOMNVS THEIA P(ius?) REX

Matasuntha is represented by the monogram of her name, and several kings who write their names in full also use their monogram.

The inscriptions descriptive of types are Invicta Roma: Felix Ravenna; Felix Ticinus. On a coin of Rome attributed to Theodoric (infra, p. 58 n.) we find the letters CM, probably Caput Mundi. The presence of SC

¹ As to its form see supra, p. xxxi, n. 3.

³ See text, infra, p. 96, note 4.

² p. xxxi, supra.

(Senatus consulto) on the Roman coins of Theodoric and Athalaric is interesting 1; so also the inscription Floreas (or Flureas) semper on a Roman coin of Baduila, though it may be doubtful 2 whether this ejaculation applies to Rome or to the Ostrogothic king.

The marks of value X and V (nummi) occasionally occur on the bronze coins; XL on the quasi-autonomous bronze of Rome.

There is little in the lettering that calls for notice. A is frequently written Λ , and L, L. E and I are often interchanged, as RIX and REX; BADVILA and BADVELA. On the quasi-autonomous bronze of Rome, attributed to Theodoric and Athalaric, Imvicta and Invicta (Roma) both occur. On Athalaric's regal coins struck at Rome Invicta appears as Inbicta.

The mint-place is sometimes indicated by the type of the busts of Ravenna and Ticinus, or by that of Roma, though some of the 'Roma' coins were struck at Ravenna. The mint-name is seldom inscribed, but we find RV (Odovacar), RV (Theodoric) for Ravenna; RM for Rome (Theodoric). COMOB and CONOB stand both for Rome and for Ravenna; some of the Imperial gold coins struck by Justinian at Rome are inscribed ROMOB.³

Many details of the types have been discussed in the notes to the text or in connexion with the history of the kings (supra), but a recapitulation may be useful.

Types.

The gold money displays the types usually found on the imitative solidi and tremisses of Italy, i.e. rev. Victory holding a broad cross (Pl. V. 15), and Victory on the globus (Pl. V. 17). Theodoric's triple solidus is in every way exceptional.

The heads found on the coins are more often than not those of emperors, usually the contemporary emperor; but sometimes the head of a deceased emperor is revived, as was Anastasius I by Baduila and by Theia, who were at war with the reigning emperor,

Justinian I. The heads of four kings are represented. First, the head of Odovacar (Pl. V. 7), probably an attempt at portraiture 4; then, the delicately engraved bust of Theodoric (Frontispiece), but this only on the triple solidus, 5 for his ordinary coins do not present his portrait. The bust of Athalaric does not occur, but an armed figure on the bronze coins of Rome (Pl. VIII. 21) represents him, as the inscription indicates. The next king, Theodahad, presents a finely modelled bust of himself, which

⁵ p. xxxi, supra.

may be something of a likeness (Pl. IX. 13-17),6 and for the first time

assumes a crown. There is no portrait of Witigis, and none of the latest

1 Cp. p. xxxii, supra.
2 See p. 93, infra.
3 A bronze coin of Justinian (p. 110, no. 24, infra) is inscribed ROMA (written retrograde and with MA in ligature).

⁴ p. xxx, supra.

⁶ p. xxxiv, supra.

king, Theia. Baduila's head appears, crowned, on some of his bronze coins (Pl. XI), but it is much less characteristic than Theodahad's, and hardly a true portrait. His head on some of the silver money is entirely conventional and modelled on the head of the Emperor Anastasius. Baduila also appears as an armed warrior, reviving the type introduced by Athalaric (Pl. XI. 30).

The Ostrogothic reverse types (especially on the silver), though often effective and elegant as coin designs, do not evince much originality, and

Reverse types. the almost entire absence of religious symbolism is noticeable. The usual reverse type is either the monogram or the name of the king encircled by a massive wreath.

The silver coinage begins to assume an almost stereotyped form under Athalaric and his successor Theodahad. Their half siliquae have rev. Monogram in wreath; their quarter siliquae, rev. Name in wreath.

The half siliqua of Matasuntha has also as rev. Monogram in wreath, but the half siliqua of her husband Witigis has rev. Name in wreath, while his quarter siliqua has the monogram in wreath.

Baduila follows his predecessor Witigis in taking for his half siliqua the 'Name in wreath' type, and for his quarter siliquae the 'Monogram in wreath' type. Theia copies Baduila in this.

The usual reverse type of the bronze coinage, especially the ten-nummi pieces, is likewise the monogram, or the name of the king within a wreath. The obv. of these coins is a bust of *Invicta Roma*. We have also busts of *Felix Ravenna* and *Felix Ticinus*.

The quasi-autonomous bronze struck at Rome under Theodoric and Athalaric supply some interesting types, all apparently connected with the glories of ancient Rome.¹ The *obv*. of these coins is a bust of *Invicta Roma*; the reverses are Victory on a prow; an eagle; two eagles near a tree, which is probably the *ficus ruminalis*; and the familiar group of the Wolf and Twins.

A TABLE OF MINTS is appended:-

	RULER	MINT	MINT	MINT	MINT
Table of Mints.	ODOVACAR THEODORIC ATHALARIC THEODAHAD WITIGIS	Ravenna Ravenna Ravenna Ravenna	Rome Rome Rome	Milan	
	MATASUNTHA BADUILA THEIA	Ravenna	Rome		Ticinum (?) Ticinum (and others?) Ticinum

¹ p. 99, infra.

On the Attribution of Italian Coins with Imperial Names (Period of the Ostrogoths).

It has already been pointed out that over and above the coins which are inscribed with the names or monograms of Ostrogothic kings there is a considerable mass of money in gold, silver, and bronze which, judging from its provenance, types, and style, evidently emanated from Italian mints in the period of the Ostrogoths. These coins bear the name and usually the head of an emperor, and their correct assignment in time and place—hitherto but little discussed—is highly important if we would form a correct idea of the currency of this period.¹

The emperors chiefly represented are Zeno, Anastasius I, 'Justin' (I and II), and Justinian I, their reigns covering the whole Ostrogothic period (including the epoch of Odovacar). It may be convenient to examine the coins with these names under the separate headings of gold, silver, and bronze coinages.

GOLD COINS.

The frequent mention in Ostrogothic history of large payments of pounds of gold would by itself suggest that the Ostrogoths, like other Teutonic peoples, made use of gold money imitated from the coinage of the Empire. The rhetorical formula composed by Cassiodorus for the Ostrogothic Master of the Mint, runs in this manner:—'Let the flame of gold be pale and unmixed, let the colour of silver smile with its gracious whiteness, let the ruddy copper retain its native glow.' And all doubt is dispelled by the existence of gold solidi bearing the head of Anastasius I, but inscribed on their reverse with the monogram of Theodoric and with the mint-names of Ravenna and Rome (pp. 46, 55, infra). Although these are the only gold coins that bear the name or monogram of an Ostrogothic ruler, they furnish us with valuable clues of style and fabric for identifying further imitative gold coins as Ostrogothic currency.³

ZENO, and the usurper BASILISCUS. Both these Eastern emperors were contemporary with Odovacar, and we find Italian coins of the mints of Rome, Ravenna, and Milan bearing their names. The difficulty is to determine which of these coins were struck under Imperial authority, and which were issued by the authority of Odovacar.

- ¹ There are also anonymous (i. e. without name of emperor or king) bronze coins of Italy of the Ostrogothic period. These are discussed in the text, *infra*, p. 98, under 'Quasiautonomous coins of Rome and Ravenna'.
 - ² Var., vii. 32; Hodgkin's Letters of Cassiodorus, p. 338.
- ³ Some attention was devoted to these imitative gold coins by Charles Lenormant and Ch. Robert, but their attempts to identify on them a number of Italian mint-names are hazardous: see B. Biondelli, Sulle monete auree dei Goti in Italia, Milan, 1861; Keary, Coinages of West. Europe, p. 44; cp. Friedlaender, Vandalen, pp. 59 f., and Marchant, Lettres, p. 128 (ed. 1851). The work of de Salis in this field has already been alluded to (p. xxix, supra).

Their periods of rule are as follows:-

Zeno (first reign), 474—Nov. 475. Basiliscus, Nov. 475-July, 477. Odovacar, 23 Aug. 476-493. Zeno (second reign), July, 477-491.

It will thus be seen that any Italian coins issued with Zeno's name during his first reign (474-475) cannot have been struck by Odovacar, whose reign began in 476; nor can the earlier Italian issues of Basiliscus have been struck by Odovacar. Odovocar may well, however, have imitated the later coinages of Basiliscus (end of 476 to July, 477), and subsequently (after July, 477) have struck coins bearing the name of Zeno, then in his second reign. It is thus difficult to discriminate between the coins that may have been struck before Odovacar's accession and those struck after it. In the case of the coins bearing the name of Basiliscus I have left all the specimens among the Imperial series, not venturing to regard any as imitative issues put forth by Odovacar.

In the case of the Italian coins bearing the name of Zeno, it is perhaps

The gold of Zeno's second reign, probably struck by Odovacar.

possible to distinguish between those struck during his first reign—in the ordinary course, as Imperial money—and those struck during his second reign, these last being imitative

coins issued by the authority, or with the allowance, of Odovacar.1

Anastasius I. Gold, with name of Anastasius I,

coined by Theodoric,

There are solidi of Italian style inscribed COMOB (instead of CONOB), which is usually, though not invariably, a sign of Roman or of Italian origin. Some of these have the rough and, so to speak, gritty reverses which are characteristic of many coins of the Ravenna mint: others were probably struck at Rome and Milan, and all were no doubt the coinage of Theodoric. The solidi were supplemented by various series of tre-

misses, apparently, from their style, struck both at Rome and Ravenna.

¹ Zeno's gold coins are as follows:—Ravenna. A solidus with RV of coarse style, resembling the Italian coins of Basiliscus: this probably belongs to Zeno's first reign and is thus Imperial. Solidi with a small narrow head (without RV) and some tremisses of rough style were probably struck by Odovacar during Zeno's second reign.

Rome. Solidi of rough work like those of Basiliscus, and like the Ravenna coin above assigned to Zeno's first reign, and therefore not of Odovacar. Tremisses (rev. Cross in wreath. COMOB). An attribution is perhaps hazardous, but I venture to assign those of fairly neat work (as regards the obverse) to the first reign of Zeno (thus they are Imperial), and those with a ruder obverse head to Odovacar (Pl. V. 3-5).

Mediolanum. Gold and silver. Count de Salis has apparently divided each series into an earlier and a later class. The first of these might be regarded as of Zeno's first reign (Imperial coinage) and the second as imitative issues of Odovacar. But I do not venture to make the distinction, and the two classes may be treated as Imperial issues and not as Odovacar's coinage.

Besides the coins above mentioned there are some solidi and many tremisses which are of ruder style and (as can hardly be doubted) later date. These pieces are certainly later than Theodoric (the contemporary of Anastasius), and may well be assigned to the time of and by Baduila Baduila and of Theia, who (as we know from their and Theia. named regal money) placed the head of the deceased Anastasius upon their coins in lieu of the head of their contemporary Justinian, with whom they were at war.

JUSTIN I. This emperor was the contemporary of Theodoric and, for a short time, of The Ravenna solidi and tremisses that bear his name were therefore probably struck by those kings.

Gold with name of Justin I, struck by Theodoric and Athalaric.

JUSTINIAN I. Solidi and Tremisses. Justinian was the contemporary of Athalaric, Theodahad, Witigis, Baduila, and Gold, with name Theia. The two kings last named are not very likely of Justinian I,

with the name of their enemy Justinian, and the choice of possible issuers

(as we have just seen) to have issued coins is therefore probably to be limited to Athalaric, Theodahad, and Witigis. As these three rulers issued silver coins with the name of Justinian, there is reason to suppose that they would also

coined by Athalaric, Theodahad, and Witigis.

issue gold coins imitated from the same emperor. The Italian gold coins with Justinian's name may therefore be assigned to the period of these three rulers, though it is hardly possible to make an exact assignment to individual kings: certain solidi and tremisses which are of markedly ruder style than others will naturally be attributed to Witigis rather than to Athalaric or Theodahad.

Some still ruder solidi and tremisses with Justinian's name will be found described infra in the Lombardic series.

IMPERIAL ISSUES of Justinian I. In addition to the above, there is a series of solidi and tremisses with the name of Justinian recognizable by its flat, spread fabric (Pl. XVI. 11-16). These coins JUSTINIAN'S were apparently classified by de Salis as Lombardic

or Ostrogothic, and were not included by me in the British Museum Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine

IMPERIAL GOLD COINAGE

Coins. I am now convinced that these coins, though of very bizarre appearance, especially the solidi, are Imperial issues made At Ravenna. at Ravenna.1 They are, in fact, of the same fabric and style as coins already recognized as the Ravenna currency of the Emperor Justin II and his successors.2

A correction is therefore required of the statement in Imp. Byz. Coins, p. ciii n., that gold coins at Ravenna were 'apparently first issued in the reign of Justin II'. ² Imp. Byz. Coins, p. 103.

The earliest date at which these coins of Justinian can have been struck is A. D. 540, when Ravenna passed from the Ostrogoths to Belisarius and his master; but what we know of the Ravenna coinage from other sources renders it likely that these gold coins were not issued till A.D. 555. Now, the bronze coins issued under Justinian's authority in Italy bear as

their earliest date—and they are all dated—year '29'. circ. 555 A.D. i. c. A. D. 555/6.1 The gold coins are probably of the same period, and the likeness between the emperor's head on the solidi and that on the small bronze coins issued at Ravenna, A. D. 555-564, is remarkable.2

The Imperial coinage in Ravenna would thus seem to belong to the period following the complete overthrow of the Ostrogothic kingdom, and nearly to coincide with the rule of Narses in Italy, A. D. 555-567.3

SILVER.

ZENO. The coin described infra, p. 44, No. 8, rev. Eagle (Pl. V. 6), may best be assigned to Odovacar. It seems to be a somewhat rude

Silver. with name of Zeno, probably struck by Odovacar.

copy (not, however, as regards the reverse, an exact imitation) of the silver coins of Zeno (Imperial issues), which were probably struck at Milan. The obverse head is not unlike the silver bearing Odovacar's name (Pl. V.7). The mint was

With the eagle on the reverse compare the eagle on probably Ravenna. the quasi-autonomous bronze of Rome (Pl. XIII).4

The silver coin (Pl. VII. 5) with rev. Victory and SC Anastasius I. was struck at Rome, and no doubt under Theodoric, perhaps at the time of his visit in A. D. 500.

Silver. with name of Anastasius, struck by Theodoric.

The coins with reverse **, p. 49, infra (Pl. VI. 5-7), are thoroughly Ostrogothic in style, and have the appearance of issues of the mint of Ravenna. They resemble, especially in the blurred lettering, certain silver coins of Theodahad and of Witigis, but seem to be earlier than these reigns, and indeed both these kings indicated their own names on their coins. They may, perhaps, be assigned to Theodoric.⁵

¹ See Imp. Byz. Coins, pp. 70, 71.

² Compare, especially, the solidi of Ravenna (Pl. XVI. 11) with the bronze of Ravenna figured in Imp. Byz. Coins, Pl. X. 13, p. 71, No. 408: in each case the curious treatment of the corners of the eyes is remarkable.

³ Some solidi with the name of Justinian are attributed infra, p. 111, to the Imperial mint at Rome, partly on account of their resemblance to the remarkable solidus at Berlin (Pl. XVI. 4; infra, p. 111; Z. f. N., i, p. 303), reading ROMOB. A tremissis inscribed ROMOB no doubt belongs to the same time (p. 111, No. 29, infra).

⁴ Silver coins with vev. Standing figure and RV probably belong to Zeno's first reign and are thus Imperial issues. On silver struck at Mediolanum with Zeno's name see supra, p. xlvi n.

⁵ A coin with rer. **R** is discussed, p. li n., infra, where it is assigned to Baduila.

JUSTINUS. There are silver coins inscribed IVSTINVS bearing the numerals CN, PKE, and varieties of the sacred monogram on their reverses. Coins with similar reverses also bear the name of Justinian.

These IVSTINVS coins have usually been regarded as Imperial issues of Justin I, but in the Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins, p. 21, it was pointed out that they might possibly have been struck after the death of gothic issues of Baduila, who might be supposed to have

Silver, with name of Justinus.

they might possibly have been struck after the death of Justin I as Ostrogothic issues of Baduila, who might be supposed to have revived the head of the deceased Justin I for the same reason—hostility to Justinian—that he had revived the head of Anastasius.¹ I am now more fully convinced than before that these coins are later than the lifetime of Justin I, and I believe, moreover, that it can be shown that they are not Ostrogothic but Imperial issues made by order of Justin II, the successor of Justinian.

On the supposition that the coins bear the name and head of the *first* Justin, they must obviously be Ostrogothic issues, for in the reign of Justin I the Imperial authority had not yet been regained over any of the Italian cities. But if we regard the coins as Ostrogothic and compare them with the *named* silver coins of the Ostrogothic kings, we are struck by the differences between the two series. While the undoubted Ostrogothic coins are comparatively thick and compact, these supposed Ostrogothic coins of Justin 'I' are thin and flat. The Ostrogothic coins, again,

show a well-modelled, rounded bust; in the other series the bust is differently treated, and so also the cuirass and drapery. The 'Justin' coins, then, are probably not Ostrogothic, but in respect of their fabric and the treatment of the bust they bear considerable

Not Ostrogothic, but Imperial issues of Justinus II.

resemblance to the Imperial coins struck at Ravenna by Tiberius II (Imp. Byz. Coins, p. 124, No. 161) and by Maurice Tiberius (ib., p. 156, No. 281).

The coins, then, are not Ostrogothic issues of the period of Justin I but Imperial issues of Justin II, and the view that we may best take of the CN, &c., silver coins may be thus expressed. This coinage was inaugurated by Justinian I ² at Ravenna, at some date after the year 540, when the city passed from Ostrogothic into Imperial hands: probably the date of the coinage was circ. 555–565. This Imperial coinage was continued at Ravenna in the time of Justinian's successor, Justin II, and all the coins inscribed IVSTINVS were issued by him.³ Some silver coins of similar fabric continued to be issued at Ravenna by Justin's successors, Tiberius II and Maurice Tiberius.⁴

JUSTINIAN I. The numerous silver coins with CN, PKE, &c. (Pl. XVII.

¹ Imp. Byz. Coins, pp. 21, 22.

² See next paragraph.

³ But some imitations of these coins are probably Lombardic, and will be found described *infra* in the Lombard Series.

⁴ See infra, p. 122.

1-23), may, as already suggested in the preceding paragraph, be regarded

Imperial Silver coinage of Justinian I at Ravenna.

as the Ravenna coinage of Justinian. The earliest issue of Justinian's gold and bronze coins at Ravenna probably took place circ. A.D. 555, and there is no reason why these silver coins should not be assigned to the period 555-565. They were succeeded by simi-

lar silver coins of Justin II.2

The coins in Pl. X. 4-7 and Pl. XI, 9 are hard to attribute.

bear on the reverse a monogram R which is not identical with that



on any other Ostrogothic coins, but which, as Friedlaender has remarked,3

Silver coins with monogram of Theodoric.

is probably intended for the name of Theodoric (Tedericvs). These coins, however, were undoubtedly not issued by Theodoric himself, for the coins in Pl. X. 4-7 bear the head of Justinian, whose accession took

place after Theodoric's death, and the coin in Pl. XI. 9, though it bears the head of Anastasius I, the contemporary of Theodoric, is clearly, both in style and fabric, of a much later period than that of the first Ostrogothic king.

The coins, then, were not issued by Theodoric, and we have to inquire at what subsequent period in Ostrogothic history money is likely to have been struck with his monogram. Friedlaender suggests that these coins were struck at some crisis such as the interregnum between the fall of Baduila and the election of Theia, or during the not universally recognized rule of Eraric. A rather serious objection to this theory is that the coins (with one exception) have on the obverse the head of Justinian, Now, this emperor's head was, as we know, repudiated by Baduila and Theia.

Neither Friedlaender nor Keary happens to have been aware of the rather remarkable resemblance existing between the head of Justinian on one of these coins (Pl. X. 4) and the head of that emperor on a silver coin (Pl. X. 11) of Matasuntha. This resemblance may fairly furnish a clue to the date of the coins, and it may be suggested that their issue took place somewhere in or about the time of Witigis and Matasuntha. It would be possible to assign them to Ildibad and Eraric 4 (A. D. 540-541), the immediate successors of Witigis; but these ephemeral rulers are not

known to have issued money bearing their own names, Probably struck and on the whole it is perhaps best to attribute the by Witigis. coins to the reign of Witigis.

According to this theory Witigis would have struck at Ravenna

¹ A few of rude style are probably Lombardic. ² See p. xlix, supra.

³ Friedlaender, M. d. Ostgothen, p. 54; Pinder and Friedlaender, Münzen Justinians, pp. 65, 66.

⁴ Eraric entered into negotiations with Justinian.

(i) half siliquae (Pl. X. 1-3) and bronze (Pl. X. 8-10) on exactly the same pattern as his predecessors, though bearing his own name; (ii) quarter siliquae (the coins now under discussion, Pl. X. 4-7) with the monogram of Theodoric on their reverse, this monogram being intended to emphasize the right of Witigis to the Ostrogothic crown, derived from his marriage with Matasuntha, the granddaughter of Theodoric.¹

JUSTIN II. The silver coins (Imperial issues of Ravenna) attributed to this emperor, have been discussed under 'Justinus', p. xlix, supra.

BRONZE.

Numerous small coins, bearing as their reverse types the monograms of Leo I, Zeno, and Anastasius I, have been discovered in Italy²; but they are found also in Africa, and the evidence of provenance thus leaves it undecided whether they are coins of the Ostrogoths or of the Vandals. If of Ostrogothic origin, those with the head of Leo I and Zeno might be assigned to Odovacar; those with the head of Anastasius to Theodoric.

But all the coins in question are so rude, more especially in respect of the obverses, that they can hardly find a place among Ostrogothic issues. They compare badly with the known Ostrogothic money, and present—at least so far as I can detect—no features of style or fabric that characterize the products of Ravenna, Rome, and other Italian mints. They have therefore been here catalogued among the miscellancous coins of the Vandals (Pl. III, IV), to which in style they bear sufficient resemblance. At the same time, it is difficult to exclude the suspicion that a number of these minute coins found their way into Italy and served to eke out the native Ostrogothic issues, more especially in the petty buying and selling of everyday life. From the number of this class that occurred in the Moute Roduni heard.

more especially in the petty buying and selling of everyday life. From the number of coins of this class that occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard, a hoard that must have been buried as late as the time of Baduila (died 552 A.D.), it might be inferred that these little coins did not cease to circulate when Theodoric died, but formed a practical supplement to the coinage for long years after his death.³

¹ The little coin, p. 87, infra, Pl. XI. 9, with rev. monogram of Theodoric, and obverse Head of Anastasius I (of inferior style), may be assigned to the reign of Baduila who, as is known from his named coins, substituted the head of this deceased emperor for that of his hostile contemporary Justinian.

² See Friedlaender's description of the Monte Roduni hoard in his Münzen der Vandalen, pp. 41 f.

³ So in England in the thirteenth century a mass of small foreign coins were imported, and though illegal tender, practically played the part of currency of the realm. The

Anastasius I. Bronze assigned to Theodoric: see text, infra, p. 51.

Justin I. The various coins of Italian origin bearing the name of Justinus (and others bearing the name of Justinianus) have been insufficiently discussed by numismatists, though they present a number of not unimportant problems. Thus we have to determine whether the IVSTINVS of the coins was the first or second emperor of that name; whether the coins are Imperial issues or Ostrogothic, or partly of both classes; at what periods they were issued, and at what mints,

The coins inscribed IVSTINVS are small pieces marked V (Pl. VI. 18–24), and also some marked ε (Pl. VI. 16, 17). It is not easy to decide between the claims of the two Justins to these coins, but I think an attribution to Justin I has most in its favour. The head of the emperor, it must be observed, is represented in profile, and if the coins were issued by Justin II we should expect the head to be shown facing, in accordance with the practice introduced by his predecessor Justinian. And an attribution to Justin I receives further support when we compare the treatment of the head (small and in high relief) with the head of Justinian found on small bronze of Athalaric (cp. Pl. VI. 16–18 with Pl. VIII, 15–18).

On the reasonable assumption, then, that these coins bear the head of Justin I, it follows that they were issues of the Ostrogoths and not of the

Probably early
Ostrogothic, with
name of Justinus I.

emperor who had no foothold in Italy. They may be attributed to Theodoric, though it is possible that some may have been issued by Athalaric, who was, for a short time, the contem-

porary of Justin I. The style of the coins—note the well-modelled bust in prominent relief—suggests that they were struck at the Ravenna mint.

issue of bronze tokens by private traders supplied the dearth of official small change during part of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

¹ Obr. Head of Justin in profile. Rer. € in wreath.—There are bronze coins with a similar rer. but with obr. Head of Justinian I, and rather thicker and larger than the 'Justin' coins. Several specimens are in the British Museum. where I have found them classed with the Italian or Ostrogothic coins. I am not aware that they are known to be of Italian provenance: perhaps the occurrence of the wreath on the rer. may have been supposed by de Salis, or whoever arranged the coins. to be indicative of Ravenna. But the wreath is not much like the wreaths that are found on undoubted coins of that mint, nor do the obverses seem to me to be of Italian style. From the general treatment of the bust (especially of the drapery) I should be disposed to assign them to the mint of Carthage, where, however, we already find € coins marked with the mint-name (CAR).

Besides these, there are in the British Museum bronze coins with a similar rev., $\boldsymbol{\xi}$ in wreath, but with a *full-face* head of Justinian I on the *obr*. These are probably of the same mint (Carthage?) as the $\boldsymbol{\xi}$ coins of Justinian with profile head, just described.

³ Compare also the head of Odovacar on his small bronze, Pl. V. 8, 9.

² Or, as an alternative, we should expect that the *obr*. would have consisted of facing figures of Justin II and Sophia, the usual *obv*. of the Imperial bronze coins of Justin II.

JUSTINIAN I. The coins of the denomination X nummi (Pl. VIII. 11-14) are of the same style as the pieces with the name of Justin I, marked V, which we have just assigned to the Ravenna mint under Theodoric (Pl. VI. 18, &c.). They may therefore be assigned to Athalaric, Theodoric's successor, who was a con-

Bronze. with Justinian's name, struck by Athalaric.

Coins of Rome, chiefly of M and K denominations. In the Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins (pp. xvii, xviii, cii) doubts were expressed as

to whether any Imperial coins of Justinian were struck at Rome until circ. A. D. 552, and the scanty issues of the Roman mint under Justinian's immediate successors seemed to bear out this view. Count de

temporary of Justinian I.1

Imperial bronze coins of Justinian struck at Rome.

Salis appears to have considered that these coins were Ostrogothic and not Imperial. But though this view as to the non-Imperial nature of the coins is not to be hastily dismissed, I am now of opinion that these M and K pieces (and also some others noted below) are best accounted for on the supposition that they are Imperial issues. The insertion of them in the Ostrogothic series proper would rather overload that coinage, especially as we could not place them later than the earlier part of the reign of Theodahad, for the reason that Theodahad at last repudiated the head of Justinian, and his successors, Baduila and Theia, to a great extent did likewise. On the other hand, there is no insuperable difficulty in recognizing in them the Roman coinages of Justinian.

The earliest date at which coins of a true Imperial character can have been issued at Rome is Dec. 536, when Justinian, through his general. Belisarius, first became master of the city. The M coins, of fine style (Pl. XV. 1-4), and the corresponding K coins (Pl. XV. 9-14), may well have been minted at that time, and a comparison of them with the large

¹ The mint-place was no doubt Ravenna: compare the obv. of bronze nummi of Ravenna with rev. monogram of Athalaric (Pl. VIII. 16-18). Besides the X coins with the head of Justinian there are pieces of the V denomination. One of these (Pl. VIII. 15), of small module, resembles the nummi of Athalaric (rev. monogram of Athalaric, Pl. VIII. 16-18), and may be assigned to him. The other coins marked V (Pl. IX. 7-10) are of larger module and display a different treatment of the head of Justinian on the obv. (it is in lower relief and in some cases resembles the head on the earliest Imperial coins of Justinian struck at Rome). Perhaps they may best be assigned to the reign of THEODAHAD (early part). Their style is not distinctively that of Ravenna, but their rev. type, V in wreath, fits in better with the bronze coins of Ravenna than with the coinage of Rome.

On coins of Justinian with E on rev. see supra, p. lii, note 1.

M (40 nummi) bronze of Theodahad (A. D. 534–536), especially in regard circ. 536–538. to the treatment of the head (Pl. IX. 13–18), suggests that the coins belong to about this period, i. e. Dec. 536–circ. 538.

Some of the M coins (Pl. XV. 5-8) form a class by themselves, distinguished by their relatively light weight and their fabric, and by the dry and careless engraving of the head. We could imagine these as spreading over a period of several years, but in view of the fact that we have a new type of M coin—with a facing head—to fit into the Roman system, it may be necessary to make the above-mentioned coins with the profile head cease about A.D. 538. The degeneracy of the M coins with the profile head may, indeed, be accounted for, not unsatisfactorily, by a disorganization of the mint caused by the great siege of Rome under Witigis. This siege began in March, 537, and was only abandoned in March, 538.

circ. 538, full-face types. Soon after the departure of the Goths the M coin, with the full-face head of Justinian (Pl. XVI. 6), may have been minted. It cannot at any rate have been introduced this full-face portrait on the principal coins of the Empire.

The full-face M issue at Rome was no doubt accompanied by full-face I coins (one of which is in fact inscribed ROM) and by minute bronze pieces with reverse, Lion, a type which is found also on the bronze of Baduila, A. D. 541–552. It would probably be during this period, A. D. 538–549, that the gold solidi with the full-face bust of Justinian, and the tremissis with ROMOB were issued by the Imperial authority at Rome (see p. xlviii, supra, note 3).

So far as we know no further Imperial coins were issued at Rome till A. D. 552/3, when a (dated) coin of XX nummi (henceforth the circ. 552. highest denomination in bronze at Rome) was put into circulation (see Imp. Byz. Coins, p. 70, No. 402, Pl. X. 11). A similar piece of XX nummi was afterwards issued at Rome by Justinian's successor, Justin II (ib., p. 102).

There are also small bronze coins with obv. Head and name of Justinian I facing. Rev. ΤΑ within wreath. Specimens occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard (Friedlaender, M. d. Vand., p. 43; Pinder and Friedlaender, Münzen Justinians, p. 54, with Aω), and they may possibly be Italian, i.e. Imperial coins of Justinian, struck (because of the facing head) not earlier than A.D. 538. On the other hand, the rev. type is of the kind found on Imperial coins of Carthage, and a specimen in the British Museum, weight 6 grains, probably comes from an African source (Doubleday purchase, 1849, 7-17-374). The style of this specimen is not distinctly Italian, and on the whole, these coins may perhaps be best regarded as Imperial struck at Carthage, circ. A.D. 539-541. In the British Museum are two small bronze pieces (weight, 7 grains and 7-7 grains) which seem to be rude (African?) imitations of these coins.

I am also inclined to regard as Imperial African (of Justinian I) the following small

§ 3. Coinage of the Lombard Kings.¹

The domination of the Lombardic invaders of Italy was of longer duration than the Ostrogothic, and extended—so far as concerns the Lombard kingdom—over a period of more than two centuries, from Alboin the conqueror and 'Lord of Italy' (A. D. 568-572) to Desiderius, the last king who, in June, 774, became the prisoner of Charlemagne.

The number of coins inscribed with the names of Lombard rulers is not large, but in order to ascertain the total output of their mints it is necessary to take into account a considerable mass of gold and silver money which, though modelled on the Imperial coinages, is evidently not Imperial,

and is of Italian style and provenance.

The practice of inscribing the coins with the king's name did not arise till the Lombard kingdom had been long in existence, and perhaps not till late in the seventh century.² In the time of Cunincpert (A. D. 688-700) the practice first becomes settled, and the Lombard coinage assumes its well-marked characteristics. This coinage of Cunincpert, imitated by his successors, is found to consist almost entirely of gold, the coins being of a single denomination—the tremissis, and, as shown by its flat, bracteate-like fabric, is evidently derived from the Imperial solidi struck at Ravenna.

The main difficulties of attribution arise in the period that extends from Alboin to Cunincpert, or perhaps from Alboin to Rothari, and have hardly

been noted by previous inquirers.³ Though I am aware of the conjectural nature of the following attributions, there may at least be some convenience in attempting them instead of leaving

Attribution of the anonymous coins of the Lombard kings.

the coins to swell the already lengthy list of 'Uncertain' pieces imitated from Imperial issues.

First, then, there are several types of small silver coins (CN, &c., Pl. XVIII. 3-13) bearing the name of Justinian I, but which, from the rudeness of their style, we cannot suppose to be Imperial, or even Ostrogothic money.⁴ If these are Lombardic imitations, as I suggest, they must

coin in the British Museum: obv. Bust facing, draped; on each side, a star: border of dots. Rev. $\sum_{A_1 \omega}^{\mathbf{P}}$: border of dots. E Size 35 inch. Wt. 8 grains (Doubleday purchase, 1849, 7-17-288). Cp. the rev. type on silver Carthage coins of Justinian and of Phocas.

¹ The coinage of the Lombard Duchy of Beneventum is discussed in § 4.

² The coins believed to bear the names of Rothari, of Grimwald and Perctarit (Catalogue, infra), may be, more or less, of doubtful attribution.

³ Count de Salis does not seem to have given any special study to the Lombard series. Mr. Keary's descriptions (*Coinages of W. Europe*, p. 96) begin only with Cunincpert.

4 They might, conceivably, be very careless productions of the Imperial mint of Ravenna, but this seems less likely than the supposition that they are barbarous imita-

have been made as early as the time of Alboin (568–572), for Justinian died in 565, and we have similar (i.e. Lombardie) imitations of the silver coins of his successor Justin II. There are also certain imitative gold tremisses with the name of 'Justin' (II) 1 which, in style, already foreshadow the gold coins of Cunincpert.

To the reigns of Alboin and Cleph and the period of interregnum which followed the reign of Cleph I would, therefore, assign the following coins:—

Coinage of ALBOI CLEPH, and the interregnum, A.D. 568-584.

Gold. Tremisses with name of Justin II.

Silver. (i) With name of Justinian I. (ii)
With name of Justin II. (iii) With types of

Tiberius II.

The second group of imitative coins (tremisses and small silver) bears

Coinage of AUTHARI and AGILULF, A.D. 584-615. the name of Maurice Tiberius, who reigned from 582 to 602, his reign being thus nearly contemporaneous with the rule of Authari (584– 590) and Agilulf (590–615), by whom we may

well suppose these coins to have been minted.

We have next to deal with three groups of coins (mainly tremisses) which bear (i) the name of Heraclius, (ii) the name of Constans II, (iii) the blundered name of an emperor. All these coins are of smaller module than the tremisses with the name of Maurice Tiberius above referred to, and in the case of i. and ii. there are peculiarities about the engraving of the types that differentiate them from the Lombardic imitations of the coins of Maurice Tiberius and from the later Lombard issues of Cunincpert. Yet in one notable point—the raised annular border—they seem to proclaim them-

Coinage of ADALWALD, ARIWALD, and ROTHARI, A.D. 615-652.

Coinage of RODWALD,
ARIPERT I, PERCTARIT
with GODEPERT, and
GRIMWALD,

A.D. 652-circ. 671.

selves coins of Northern (rather than of Southern or Central) Italy, and apparently the conclusion to be drawn is that they are regal issues of the Lombards.² Class i. (with the name of Heraclius) we might assign to Adalwald, Ariwald, and Rothari; class ii. (with the name of Constans II) to Rodwald, Aripert I, Perctarit with Godepert, and Grimwald.³ This would

carry the coinage to about the year 671.

tions. Another possible view, viz. that they are forgeries made in or near Ravenna to compete with the contemporaneous Imperial coins, seems improbable because, though some of the specimens are of rather light weight, the quality of the metal does not appear to be inferior to that of the Imperial coins.

¹ Possibly careless productions of the Imperial mint, but rather I think (Lombardie) imitative coins.

² A less probable view would be that they belong to the Imperial mint of Ravenna.

³ To Grimwald, however, W. Boyne has attributed with fair probability a tremissis of different types, namely, the monogram of the king's name; see *infra*, p. 133.

Class iii (with a blundered name accompanying the obverse head) must probably be placed after the coins with the name of Constans II, though it is uncertain which Emperor's name is intended to be recorded. But that the coins are later than those (class ii) with the name of Constans II is probable for the following reasons:—(i) because the obverse legend has ceased to be intelligible; (ii) the module is smaller and the flan thicker; (iii) the purity of the gold shows signs of deterioration, several specimens being evidently of electrum. It should be added that these tremisses display a peculiarity which characterizes the gold coins of Cunincpert (circ. A. D. 688) and of later Lombard kings, namely, the placing (on the obv.) of a letter (which may or may not indicate the name of the mint) in close

proximity to the head. These coins, I suggest, may belong to Perctarit (second reign, 672-688). These proposed attributions of the imitative Lombard coins, which, it must be repeated, are distinctly

conjectural, bring us down to the reign of Cunincpert (688-700), who seems to have been the first king to institute what may Coinage of PERCTARIT, A.D. 672-688.

Coinage of CUNINCPERT, A.D. 688-700.

be called an original, as opposed to an imitative, Lombard coinage. He places his name on the obverse of the coins, and on the reverse the figure of the archangel Michael (Pl. XX. 1, 2). His coins are thin and spread, and bear a considerable resemblance to the Lombard imitations of the coins of Maurice Tiberius, with reverse, Victory (Pl. XVIII. 22-24), but not, as would have been expected, to the Lombard imitations of the coins of the later Emperors Heraclius and Constans II, which have a cross potent as their reverse.

This circumstance—the apparent derivation of the coins of Cunincpert from the imitative coins bearing the name of Maurice Tiberius-may seem to throw doubt on the correctness of our attribution to Lombard kings of the imitative coins with the names of Heraclius and Constans II; yet it is difficult to see in what other way the long interval between Maurice Tiberius and Cunincpert is to be bridged, unless, indeed, we are to suppose, what does not seem probable, that the Lombard kings from the time of Authari (A. D. 584) till the days of Cunincpert (A. D. 688) issued no gold coinage except such as bore the name and types of Maurice Tiberius.

It has been observed by Gregorovius that the Roman civilization in Italy was protected by the Ostrogoths and destroyed by the Lombards.

The correctness of this observation seems to be borne out at any rate as regards the regal coinage of these peoples. For though the coinage of both is based on Roman models, of

Rude character of the Lombard coinage. Its types.

which in many cases it is merely a slavish reproduction, the money of the Ostrogoths displays, on the whole, not only neatness in execution but a certain elegance in design. The Lombard coinage, on the con-

trary, remains, almost till the fall of the kingdom, both rude in workmanship and poor in conception. The Lombard State in itself was, indeed, not unprogressive, if we may judge by contrasting the Code of Rothari with the laws of Liutprand, and, again, the laws of Liutprand with those of the later kings, Ratchis and Aistulf. Moreover, certain of the Lombard rulers—the Queen Theudelinda and the gentle Perctarit—encouraged the art of the architect and even of the painter by the fine buildings that they caused to be erected and decorated. But their personal tastes never influenced the coinage. From the first king Alboin (568/9) till the time of Grimwald (662), or perhaps even later, the Lombard coinage was a more or less barbarous reproduction of the gold and silver money of the Empire. Grimwald and Perctarit, who (in his second reign) succeeded him, made-if the attributions of numismatists are correct-some attempt at innovation, but it was not till the (sole) reign of Cunincpert (688-700) that the coinage became distinctive. Cunincpert's tremissis is in fabric and style a kind of caricature of the Imperial coins of Ravenna, but, as we have already seen, he inscribed it with his own name and introduced as the reverse-type the winged figure of St. Michael, the patron saint of the Lombards. And in selecting this latter type he was perhaps influenced by a recollection of the figure of Victory which had formerly appeared on the gold coinage of the Lombards in imitation of Roman originals.

The gold coins of Liutprand (712–744), the greatest of the Lombard kings and the ruler who came nearest to consolidating a great Lombard kingdom of Italy, are crude repetitions of the types of Cunincpert.²

Lastly, the gold or electrum tremissis of Aistulf (749–756) (Pl. XX. 9), which was imitated by his successor Desiderius and even by Charlemagne, is, by contrast, neat in fabric and lettering: the conventional cross potent of the Byzantine money is retained for one side of the coin, but on the reverse a not ineffective ornament is introduced which may be described either as a star or, more probably, as the corolla of a flower. The significance of this type has not been discovered, and perhaps it may be said that it is merely decorative.

The legends present few features of interest. For a long series of years they are merely reproductions—and often very illiterate and meaningless re-

Legends. productions—of those of the Imperial coins, that is, they record the Emperor's name and the familiar VICTORIA AVCVSTO-RVM. The king's style—from the time of Cunincpert—is D[ominus] N[oster] ...REX. In one case, possibly Christianus Rex (CRX, p. 147, infra).

Little use is made of monogrammatic types such as were favoured by the Ostrogoths. If we except the coinages attributed to Grimwald (gold, with monogram) and Perctarit (silver), the only instances are the monogram on the silver of Liutprand and that on the quasi-autonomous coins of Lucca.

¹ Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vi. 317.

^{80° 2} See Pl. XX. 1-2; 4-6. On his silver coins Liutprand places his monogram as a reverse type.

The figure of St. Michael is identified by SCS MIHAHIL, and an inscription of some importance is the word FLAVIA found on the tremisses of Aistulf and Desiderius in Flavia Luca, Flavia Ticino, Flavia Sibrio, Flavia Placentia Aug[usta], &c.

The application of an epithet to a city may possibly have been suggested by earlier coin-legends (chiefly Ostrogothic) such as 'Felix Carthago,' 'Felix Ravenna,' 'Felix Ticinus,' 'Invicta Roma,' but, of course, the word flavius had been in use elsewhere and long before the Lombard period—as Flavia Vindobona, Flavius Constantinus, Flavius Iustinianus. Originally importing connexion with the gens Flavia, the name was revived by the Constantine family, was employed by Byzantine Emperors (Anastasius I, &c.), and was adopted by the Lombard kings from the time of Authari onwards, though no Lombard ruler inscribed it upon his confessedly regal coins. Paulus (H. L., iii. 16) declares that Authari received the title on account of his position of dignity—quem etiam ob dignitatem¹ Flavium appellarunt—and, as Mr. Hodgkin has remarked,² it may have been regarded as to some extent 'putting the seal of Roman legitimacy upon barbaric conquest'. So, Odovacar and Recared the Visigoth had called themselves 'Flavius'.

As applied to a city, the epithet 'Flavia' (as in 'Flavia Luca') may be something more than an ornamental one and may, as Hartmann³ has suggested, have a technical meaning, implying that the city was a 'royal burgh' under the jurisdiction of the king or his representative, and not under the control of one of the more or less independent Lombard Dukes.

Gold. The only denomination is the tremissis, weighing,[‡] in the case of the imitative coins bearing the names of the Emperors (Justin II to Constans II), from 22 grains to a little more than 23 grains. The small thick tremisses that we have attributed to Perctarit (Pl. XIX. 14–25) weigh 23 grains (highest), but among these are some specimens in electrum which weigh less than 20 grains.

From the time of Cunincpert the tremissis (at least so far as specimens in the present catalogue suggest) shows a tendency to decline in weight, and under Aistulf and Desiderius the coin is of pale gold or electrum.

Cunincpert, 21·7 grains (highest).

Aripert II, 20·4 , , , , (with large spread flans).

¹ Cp. 'suscepit Agilulf . . . regiam dignitatem' (the office of king), H. L., iii. 35.

² Italy, &c., v. p. 234. So also J. Weise, Italien und die Langobardenherrscher, 1887, p. 73.

³ Quoted by Kubitschek in *Numismatische Zeitschrift* (Wien), 1909, p. 46. See also as to 'Flavia', P. Bordeaux in *Rivista ital. di num.*, 1908, p. 107.

⁴ The weights cited are chiefly those of specimens in the British Museum.

Ratchis, about 20 grains (Coll. of H.M. the King of Italy). Aistulf, 17.4 grains (pale gold).

Desiderius, 17.2; 16.6; 10.6 (electrum).

Quasi-autonomous of Lucca, 21 (highest) (electrum).

Silver. The silver coinage—if our attributions are well founded—must have been of some importance in the earlier period of the Lombard kingdom, from Alboin to Agilulf, but, later, was not minted on a large scale.

In the latter half of the seventh century King Perctarit (672–688)—if the coins in question are correctly assigned—introduced a bractcate-like coinage of low weight (3.4 grains, highest in Brit. Mus.), but his example was not imitated. The silver coins struck by Liutprand are of the ordinary fabric and weigh 8.4 grains (highest).

The weights of coins in the British Museum are as follows:-

'Justinian I'	CN	_15∙S g	grains	
,, ,, .	P P	11.	,,	(highest).
,, ,, .	P and T	5.8	29	,,
'Justin II'	7	11.7	,,	77
'Tiberius II'	small A	6.1	;;	;;
'Maurice Tiberius'	CN	16.	,,	,,
,,	,,	4.5	,,	(small module).1
'Heraclius'	small Æ	4.	13	(highest).
'Perctarit'	bracteates	3.4	,,	,,
'Liutprand'		8.4	:,	>>

Bronze. It is curious that there are no coins in bronze identifiable as Lombardic. It may be that some of the small bronze pieces that we have referred to in connexion with the Vandals and the Ostrogoths had a circulation in the Lombard dominions. But the conjecture could only perhaps be accepted if we obtained evidence of the occurrence of such coins in hoards of gold and silver money of undoubted Lombard origin.

The whole series of imitative coins (except the small tremisses ascribed to Perctarit) is devoid of mint-marks or bears only the mechanically repeated CONOB of the Imperial coins. It is natural to suppose that these coins were struck at Pavia (Ticinum), which from the reign of Alboin onwards was the capital of the Lombard kings.²

On the gold coins assigned to Perctarit, Cunincpert, Aripert II, and Liutprand, a number of letters occur which might *prima fucie* be regarded as indicating the place of issue, but it is not till the reign of Aistulf (A. D. 749) that the coins are inscribed in full with a mint-name. One type

¹ There is also a coin marked PKE, Hirsch, Catal., cited infra, p. 129.

² Pavia was not captured till 572; any coins issued by Alboin before that date were probably struck at his capital, Verona. Cp. L. Schmidt, Gesch. der deutschen Stämme, Berlin, 1910, p. 453.

of this king's tremisses bears the inscription Flavia Luca, and the tremisses of Desiderius not only bear the name of Lucca and of Pavia but of five other mints:—Milan, Castel Seprio ('Sebrio'), Treviso, Vicenza, and Vercelli. Whether these coins which show such a remarkable resemblance to one another in style and design were struck at the different cities whose names they record, or whether they really emanated from one central mint (Pavia or Lucca), is a difficult point, which can hardly be settled without the minute examination of a large number of specimens. The mention of Lucca on the coins of Aistulf suggests that it had risen to a position of especial importance, and, later, we find it issuing coins of a quasi-autonomous character (p. 150, infra).

The occurrence of these numerous mint-names on the coins of Desiderius renders it at least arguable that the letters (already referred to) on the coins of Perctarit, Cunincpert, Aripert II, and Liutprand may likewise indicate the names of mints. These letters are usually placed in close proximity to the head of the obverse, and are mainly as follows:—

Perctarit (small tremisses), B, 2, <; star.

Cunincpert, B, D, M, V; hand.

Aripert II, C, M, S.

Liutprand, (H or M?), L, M, N, S, S, T, V; hand. ϵ

Some of these letters might readily be identified with mints; thus, M, Milan, L, Lucca, S and S, Seprio, T, Ticinum or Treviso, V, Vicenza. \in

But, on the other hand, there are others which cannot be so easily determined; such are B, D, N, and the symbols star and hand. Moreover, the infrequent occurrence of T—supposing it to mean Ticinum (Pavia)—is remarkable. It may also be pointed out that these letters do not stand alone, but are sometimes accompanied by other letters which are engraved on the bust of the obverse. Thus, in the coinage of Liutprand, 5 before the

head is accompanied by Λ (= A?) on the bust, T before the head has the same Λ on the bust, V before the head has L on the bust, the 'hand' before the head has C on the bust.

It may be prudent, therefore, at least on the present evidence, to refrain from identifying any of these letters as the initials of mint-places.

§ 4. Coinage of the Duchy and Principality of Beneventum.

Of the four great Lombard duchies (sixth to eighth century A.D.), Beneventum, Spoletium, Tridentum (Trent), and Forum Julii (Friuli), the first only is known to have possessed a coinage of its own. The position of practical independence, in relation to the Lombard kingdom, which was

won by the Dukes of Beneventum was, indeed, attained also by Spoletium, and the apparent absence of coins in the latter case is somewhat remarkable. If the Dukes of Spoletium ever issued money it was probably imitative of the Imperial coinage and devoid of distinctive letters or symbols such as those which enable us to classify the coins of Beneventum; and its identification, if practicable, must be left to Italian antiquaries who are in a position to note what coins are found at Spoleto and in its neighbourhood. The duchies of Tridentum 2 and Forum Julii, 3 partly owing to their northerly position, fell more readily under the regal jurisdiction than did Spoletium and Beneventum, the duchies of central and southern Italy, and the complete absence of coinage in their case is therefore less surprising.

In this volume, then, we have only to deal with the coinage of the single duchy of Beneventum, and the present introductory section may be comparatively brief, seeing that numismatists already possess in M. Arthur Sambon's monograph 4 a sufficient, if not completely exhaustive, survey and description of the Beneventum coinage, arranged in a very well-considered sequence.

The earliest coins that can be identified with certainty as Beneventan are gold solidi and tremisses marked with the letter R, Duchy of which is evidently-judging by the analogy of later Beneventum. coins—the initial of their issuer, Duke Romoald II, who Its earliest ruled from A.D. 706 to 731. These coins (Pl. XXI. 5-15) coinages. are closely modelled on the money of the Emperor Justinian II struck during his first reign, A.D. 685-695.5

In the long period that elapsed between the founding of the Beneventan duchy (circ. A.D. 571) and the accession of Romoald II (A.D. 706), we may suppose that the currency of the dukes consisted of Imperial coins of the Constantinople, Ravenna, and Roman mints, or of imitations of those coins. There are some grounds for believing 6 that at least as early as the

time of Romoald II the Imperial solidi had ceased to have any considerable circulation in the duchy, but it may fairly be asked whether it is possible

¹ See F. and E. Gnecchi, Sagg. di bibliografia num., p. 368; C. Kunz in Periodico di num. e sfrug., Florence, 1871, pp. 153 f.; Bull. di num. e sfrag., Camerino, 1884, vol. ii,

² F. and E. Gnecchi, op. cit., p. 386. During the Frankish invasion, according to Paulus Diaconus, ransom was paid on the Tridentine side at the rate of a solidus per head, the amount in this particular case being 600 solidi (Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vi. 32). But there is nothing to show that this was paid in a native ducal coinage.

³ Cp. F. and E. Gnecchi, op. cit., p. 393.

⁴ Recueil des monnaies de l'Italie méridionale. Bénévent. Published in Le Musée for June, 1908, and following parts.

⁵ See B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, Pl. 38. Nos. 13, 14, Constantinople mint, and Pl. 39, Nos. 16, 17, Roman mint.

⁶ Sambon, s.v. Romoald II.

to identify any of the imitative solidi and tremisses which we may well suppose that the Dukes of Beneventum-like the Lombard kings and so many of the German invaders of the Empire—continued to issue until such time as native currencies developed themselves. Sambon has not attempted to identify any such imitative pieces, though an identification could probably best be made by an Italian numismatist well acquainted with the usual provenance of coins. There are, however, a few specimens in the British Museum which seem to me to have some claim to be considered Beneventan, and these are accordingly described, infra, pp. 189-92, under the heading of 'Uncertain Beneventan Coinages'. They bear the names of Constans II and Constantine IV, and may be regarded as the imitative coinage 1 of Grimoald I, Romoald I, Grimoald II, and Gisulf I, i.e. the coinage of the period circ, A.D. 660-706. Besides these there is another series which closely resembles the Beneventan Coins of Romoald II, namely, the solidi and tremisses, which, in the British Museum Catalogue of Imperial Byzantine Coins (II, pp. 342-5; cp. I, p. xxxii), are grouped together as the 'Central and South Italian' coins of Justinian II, first reign, A.D. 685-695. Taken by themselves, these pieces might well be regarded as Beneventan, and as constituting the currency of Grimoald II and Gisulf I, the dukes who immediately preceded Romoald II, the first ruler (as we have seen) to stamp his money with the initial of his name. On the other hand, it must be borne in mind that these Central and South Italian coins were issued not only with the name of Justinian II, but also with the names of many succeeding Emperors, and that they continued to be minted long after the Beneventan rulers (beginning with Romoald II) had adopted the practice of stamping their coins with an indication of the ducal name. The later coins of the Central and South Italian class it is almost impossible to attribute to Beneventum (for this attribution would involve the highly improbable existence of two concurrent coinages, one quasi-Imperial, the other marked as ducal), and it would probably also be hazardous to assign the earlier pieces of the same class to the mints of the duchy.

We may say, then, on the present evidence, that a strictly Beneventan coinage first arose under Romoald II (A.D. 706), but that there is some reason to think that his predecessors, from at least about A.D. 660, issued gold money that was imitative of that of Constans II and Constantine IV.

The usual denominations are the solidus and tremissis, of gold, or purporting to be of gold. No regular silver coinage appears till the reign of Grimoald III, when the denarius is introduced (A. D. 788-792) under the influence of Charlemagne.²

Denominations and weights.

From Romoald II to Grimoald III (circ. 706-806) well-preserved specimens of the solidus usually weigh rather more than

1 Or, rather, probably only a portion of such coinage.

² Small silver coins (weights, 4.8 and 3.7 grains, Brit. Mus. specimens) are somewhat doubtfully attributed (p. 159, infra) to Duke Gregory, A.D. 732-739. With regard to the

60 grains (60 to 62 or 64 grains). The tremissis during the same period weighs from 19 to 21 grains.

In the later reigns (Sico, Sicardus, and Radelchis I, eirc. A. D. 817–851) the weight of the solidus falls off, and is commonly less than 60 grains.

The weights of the heaviest specimens of the denarius in the British Museum are as follows:—

Grimoald III. 22·1 grs. (chipped); also about 24 and 21 grs. (Sambon).

Grimoald IV. 22·1 grs.

Sico. 19.9 grs.; about 21 grs. (Sambon).

Sicardus. 19.2 grs. Radelchis I. 18.8 grs.

Adelchis. 16.6; 18.3. grs.

In respect of fineness the denarius is of good alloy, but the quality of the solidus and tremissis varies much. According to the analyses cited by M. Sambon, the differences of the gold coins are as follows. The coins of Romoald II are 20 carats fine, and those of Gregory from 20 to 18 carats. The gold of the three succeeding dukes—Gottschalk, Gisulf II, and Liutprand—is of 18 carats. The coins of Arichis II (A. D. 758–787) are also, at first, of 18 carats, but later in his reign only of $13\frac{1}{3}$ carats, The coins of his successor Grimoald III are of 12 carats. Those of Sico, though in a few cases apparently of fairly good gold, are on the whole much alloyed either with silver or copper.\frac{1}{2} Finally, under Sico's immediate successors, Sicardus and Radelchis I, the coins fall to 10 carats fine; and in the reign of Adelchis the gold coinage disappears and the currency consists solely of denarii. A similar tendency to lower the fineness of the gold may be observed in the latest coinages of the Lombard kings.

Compared with the Byzantine solidus (at least with the specimens of it that were struck at Constantinople) the Beneventan solidus was greatly inferior not only in fineness but also in weight, and was, apparently, less than half the value of the Imperial coin.² The weight of the Byzantine solidus was always (at Constantinople) more than 60 grains, and the heaviest extant specimens usually weigh 68–70 grains.³

The duchy (afterwards, from 774, the principality) of Beneventum, founded about 571 by Duke Zotto, soon acquired the geographical extent that it maintained for several centuries, and may be described, approximately, as including the old provinces of Samnium,

exchange value of the denarius, there is evidence in the time of Grimoald IV, A.D. 816, that 18 denarii went to the solidus (Sambon, p. 16). About the end of this (ninth) century, 48 denarii were reckoned as equivalent to the solidus.

¹ We have already noted that from Sico's reign onwards the weight of the solidus is somewhat lower than in the earlier period.

² See Sambon, p. 10 and p. 16.

³ Brit. Mus. Cat. Imp. Byz. Coins, p. lxxiv.

Apulia, Campania, Lucania, and Bruttii.¹ It was at all times bound only by a slender tie to the Lombard and the Frankish kings, and its rulers made war or peace with Pope and eastern emperor on their own initiative. More especially were they in touch with Byzantium; and the Lombards of Beneventum may be said to have served as intermediaries between the Carolingian and Byzantine civilizations.²

We have already seen that the initiation of a distinctive Beneventan coinage did not take place till the time of Romoald II (706-731), and even his solidus is a close imitation of the solidus of the Emperor Justinian II, displaying on the obv. both the bust and name of this emperor, and on the rev. a cross potent on steps and the legend Victoria Aug. The tremissis is very similar. In this reign (as in later reigns) the name of the Beneventan issuer is indicated only by its initial letter. These are neatly executed coins (Pl. XXI. 5-15), but they already display the peculiar style that is characteristic of the Beneventan money—rough, high relief, and an arid and angular delineation of the bust.

Under Audelais, Gregorius, and Gottschalk the Successors of types of these gold coins remain unchanged.

Romoald II.

The types of Gisulf II (A.D. 742-751) are also similar, but in his second coinage the Imperial bust holds the mappa in addition to the globus cruciger. The money of Liutprand (751-758) is like Gisulf's. In the early part of his reign his mother Scauniperga was regent, and the coins of that period are marked with the letters S and L.

The reign of Arichis II (A. D. 758-787), who became duke in 758, and who in 774 assumed the title of prince, is in several ways important. He was a brave and capable man, of considerable literary culture,³ and he embellished the city of Beneventum and built there the church of St. Sophia and the monastery. He forced Naples to pay tribute, fortified Salerno, and made it his second capital. When the Lombard kingdom fell in 774 at the hands of Charlemagne, he had the courage to hold his own, nor was the Beneventan duchy ever actually incorporated with the dominions of the Carlings.⁴

His coinage is abundant and, though in the course of his reign it fell in respect of fineness from 18 to 13½ carats, was in request long after his death; e.g. the later contracts specify payments in *trimissi ex monetis domni*. Arechis.⁵

¹ Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, vi, p. 75.

² Gay, L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin, p. 47.

³ Hodgkin, Italy, &c., viii, p. 60.

⁴ Bury, Hist. of later Roman Empire, ii, p. 514. Charlemagne, however, in 787 prepared to invade Beneventan territory and Arichis promised submission.

⁵ Sambon, op. cit., p. 11.

M. Sambon discerns in the style of his coins 'une facile élégance'. Elegance must here, indeed, be regarded as a somewhat relative term, though no doubt the coins are carefully executed and their prominent relief is not ineffective. No. 4 in our Catalogue (second coinage; Pl. XXII. 10) is a favourable specimen. His earliest pieces are similar to those of Gisulf II, but in his second period he removes from them the name of Justinian II which had continued to form the obverse legend of the Beneventan coins ever since the time of Romoald II, and which had dwindled down to the almost unintelligible DNIVNPP or DN-VNPP. This he replaced by the inscription DNS VICTORIA (Dominus victorium dat?), a pious but neutral selection, as if he were unwilling to place on his coins either the name of an emperor or his own. Meanwhile, the conventional Victoria August. continued to constitute the reverse legend till the year (774) in which Arichis assumed the title of Princeps, when Victoria Prinpi was substituted.

In the matter of portraiture the coins of Arichis and also those of his successors are entirely disappointing. In fact, a single head of a rather ruffianly appearance does duty for each successive Portraiture on prince. This head, as it first appears under Beneventan coins. Arichis II, is to some extent distinguishable from that on the coins of his predecessor Liutprand, but the difference is not sufficient to authorize the belief that the Arichis head has any claim to be a true portrait of the issuer; and with regard to the head on Liutprand's coins it is clearly developed from the head on the coins of Romoald II, which (as the inscription testifies) was a representation of Strictly, then, the only portrait found throughout the Justinian II. whole Beneventan coinage is that of a single Byzantine emperor, slightly varied during a long course of years.

Grimoald III (788-806), the next prince, was, like his father Arichis II, brought into close connexion with Charlemagne. Grimoald was recognized by the Frankish king as the legitimate successor of Arichis on the conditions that he inscribed Charlemagne's name on the Beneventan coinage 1 and paid an annual tribute of 7,000 solidi. The gold coins of Grimoald—at least in the first period of coinage (788-792)—accordingly bear the name of Dominus Carolus rex on their reverse, while on the obverse is the name Grimvald,2 with the title of dux (Pl. XXIII. 1). Even this title is sometimes omitted, and we may gather that Grimoald was not permitted by his arrangement with Charlemagne to take the title of princeps.

¹ Erchempert, 5, quoted by Sambon, p. 14; cp. the passage in Erchempert, 4; p. 236, in Mon. Germ. script. rerum Langebard., quoted by Prou, Monn. Carl., p. lxxviii.

² Previous to this reign the name of the Beneventan ruler had been indicated by an initial only.

Grimoald also introduced a silver coinage, which naturally took the form of a Carolingian denarius, with his own name on one side and that of Charlemagne on the other, both in monogram (Pl. XXIII. 6).

Later in his reign, however (792-806), Grimoald discovers some of the independent spirit of his father Arichis by repudiating the Frankish suzerainty and marrying a niece of the Emperor Constantine VI. And the coins of this period display his sole name accompanied by the title of princeps. His denarius has his name in monogram on the obv., and on the rev. a cross between A and W and the word BENEBENTV which had not till now appeared on the coins.²

Grimoald IV (806-817) is not known to have issued gold coins. His denarius has a new type, apparently a stylized representation of an ear of corn and ivy-leaves; on the reverse, a star and the words Archangelus Michael. He calls himself on the Grimoald IV. coins Grimoald Filius Ermenrih, without any title.

Sico (817–832) styles himself on his coins Sico princeps. On his solidus he places a full-length figure of St. Michael, perhaps suggested by the Archangelus Michael inscription on the denarius of his predecessor. A figure of St. Michael had long before formed the distinctive type of the coinage of the Lombard kings, for the warrior archangel was believed to have led the Lombard arms to victory when Italy was invaded, and the grotto of Mount Garganus, where the Saint had manifested himself, was a Lombard sanctuary.³

The money of Sicardus (832–839) is substantially like that of his father Sico, but on the reverse of the solidus he substitutes for the figure of the archangel a cross potent on steps, a change perhaps due to commercial considerations, the cross being a much older and more familiar Beneventan coin-type. Sicardus made efforts to extend the commerce of the principality, and his coinage is abundant; but ever since the death of Arichis II the gastaldi, with their strong castles and armed adherents, had been growing more powerful; the state lacked cohesion, and after the death of Sicardus its disintegration begins.

The solidus of the next prince, Radelchis I (839-851), is of the same

was prominent and separated from the rest of the word; thus, C_{ONO}B, and it is not unlikely that the B was intended to signify Beneventum.

¹ The only previous silver coins were the small pieces rather doubtfully attributed to Duke Gregory, p. 159, *infra*.

² But on the gold coins CONOB had been engraved in such a way that the letter B
PRINCIP

³ Cp. Gay, L'Italie mérid., p. 147, who quotes from the beginning of the Chron. S. Bened. (Script. R. L., p. 467): 'Horum princeps militie celestis exercitus Michahel extitit archangelus . . . Graecorum Romanorumque Langobardi gentes superantes, totam simul Beneventi possiderunt patriam.'

Radelchis I, and Siconolf.

Radelchis I, of corn; rev. cross radiate). Under Radelchis, the gold coinage—by courtesy so called, for it was now only 10 carats fine—comes to an end.

Nearly the whole of his reign was occupied by a contest with Siconolf, the brother of Sicardus—Radelchis employing the services of a band of Saracens, and his rival a band of Moors. Finally, Siconolf renounced the title of 'Prince of Beneventum', and contented himself with that of Prince of Salerno. It may be noted that the denarii struck by Siconolf at Salerno all bear the title of Prince of Beneventum, and are closely modelled (as is also his solidus) upon the Beneventan coins, especially those of his brother Sicardus.²

Salerno had been occupied by the rulers of Beneventum in the first half of the eighth century, but since the year 839, when Siconolf was proclaimed its prince, it was lost to the Beneventan state, and we now find the Princes of Salerno and the Counts of Capua beginning to take the leading part among the Lombards of South Italy.³

The coins of Adelchis (853-878) and those of his successors are of silver only (denarii), yet evidently the gold coins of earlier princes con-

Adelchis, and successors. tinued in circulation, for in the reign of Adelchis, or a little earlier, the Salerno contracts mention the 'old' solidi of Sicardus and even the 'good' tremisses of Arichis II.

On the denarii of Adelchis the cross is the chief device, and in some instances the words Sancta Maria and Arhangelu' Mih. are inscribed. In the period between 866 and 871 the name of Adelchis appears on the coins in conjunction with that of the Emperor Louis II, who had obtained at Beneventum the submission of Adelchis, and the coinage, to this extent, recalls the days of Grimoald III and Charlemagne.⁴

The denarii of Gaideris, Radelchis II (first reign), and Aio (i. e. from A. D. 878 to 890) bear monogrammatic devices.

In 891 Beneventum was captured by the Greeks. It then fell into the hands of Guy of Spoleto and of Prince Guaimar of Salerno. In 897 Radelchis II was restored, but was expelled in 899, and the Beneventans acknowledged Atenolf, Lord of Capua, as their prince (A. D. 900-910).

¹ The legend of the rev. is, however, changed by Radelchis from the Victor. Princi of Sicardus to Archange. Michael, which may have been suggested by the legend on the denarius of Sicardus.

² For a description of the coins of Salerno see Sambon, op. cit., pp. 33 f.

³ Gay, L'Italie mérid., p. 62.

⁴ For a coin which appears to bear the name of Pope John VIII in conjunction with that of Adelchis see Sambon, No. 88, and cp. p. 186, infra.

Coinage of the Empire of Thessalonica.

а. р. 1222-1243 (1246).

The Frankish kingdom of Salonika, which had been founded by Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, after the fall of Constantinople in 1204, was conquered from his successor Demetrius (1207-1222) by Theodore Angelus Comnenus Ducas, the despot of Epirus.

Theodore, in 1222,1 caused himself to be crowned 'Emperor', assumed the gorgeous Imperial dress and held his Imperial court at his capital

Thessalonica. But this western 'Empire' did not stand alone, for there had already existed in Asia Minor, since the catastrophe

THEODORE ANGELUS, 1222-1230.

of 1204, an Empire of Nicaea and an Empire of Trebizond. Thus, in the year 1222 there were three rulers, each claiming to be the lawful 'Emperor of the Romans'. Of these, the Nicaean Emperor, the able and ambitious John I ('III') Vatatzes, who was bent on restoring the unity of the Greeks under his sceptre,2 soon came into conflict with Theodore Angelus, whose Empire of Thessalonica extended from the shores of the Adriatic to the Black Sea. Theodore might have held his own had he not become involved in war with the powerful Tsar of Bulgaria, John Asan, by whom, in 1230, he was defeated and made prisoner.

Theodore's title of emperor was taken by his brother Manuel Angelus, who ruled over the remnant of the Empire that the Bulgarians had not

appropriated. But after a short reign Manuel was ousted (1232) by Theodorc, who had now

been released from captivity.

MANUEL ANGELUS, 1230-1232.

Theodore, who had been blinded by the Tsar, set up as emperor his son John Angelus, who ruled till 1243, when he was compelled by the Nicaean Emperor, John I ('III') Vatatzes, to relinquish the

Imperial title, though he retained till his death in 1244 the position of ruler of the

city of Thessalonica.

JOHN ANGELUS, Emperor, 1232-1243. Despot of Thessalonica, 1244.

Demetrius, brother of John Angelus, likewise ruled the city for a short period, but in 1246 he was removed by John I Vatatzes, who then incorporated all that remained of the Empire of Thessalonica with his own Empire of Nicaea.

DEMETRIUS, Despot of Thessalonica, 1244-1246.

The numismatic study of the Empires of Thessalonica and Nicaea,

¹ Or in the summer or autumn of A.D. 1223?: see B. Z., v, p. 212.

² W. Miller, The Latins in the Levant, p. 95.

Metals and types.

Metals and types the coins, which, being poorly struck and badly preserved, have been neglected by collectors and coin-dealers; owing, also, to the illegibility of many of the legends (due sometimes, as may be suspected, to deliberate erasures in antiquity); to the conventionality of the types (which, however, at the same time present numerous varieties and combinations), finally to the difficulty of separating the coins from the Imperial issues of Byzantium, and of discriminating the money of different rulers who bore such common names as Theodore and John. Sabatier, in his Monnaies byzantines, made a courageous attempt to describe these coinages, but his descriptions and attributions undoubtedly demand a searching scrutiny.

Although nomismata in gold have by some numismatists been attributed to the Emperors of Thessalonica, and though it appears a priori probable that at least such an aspiring ruler as Theodore would issue coins in the precious metals, it yet seems to be the fact that the only nomismata issued were in silver and bronze.

Theodore (though not invariably), Manuel, and apparently John, engrave on their coins the title $\delta\epsilon\sigma\pi\delta\tau\eta s$, at that period equivalent to 'Emperor', and wear the Imperial dress. Their coins, in fact, are hardly to be distinguished, except to some extent in fabric and style, from the issues of Byzantine Emperors. The types are of the usual Byzantine character—representations of the Saviour and the Virgin and of the Archangel Michael. One saint, Demetrius, the martyr of Thessalonica, is given special prominence on the coins of the $\PiO\Lambda IC\ \ThetaECCA\Lambda ONIKI,^2$ yet he also is found on the coins of the Byzantines, Alexius III, Manuel I, and Andronicus III.³

· § 6. Coinage of the Empire of Nicaea.

Of the three Greek 'Empires' which came into existence after the Frankish conquest of Constantinople in 1204, the Nicaean was—at least during the brief period of its existence—the most important. Not only did the city of Nicaea become the refuge of the aristocracy and the higher ecclesiastics, but the state was governed by a succession of

¹ There seem to be no coins bearing the name of John and his successor Demetrius as rulers of the city Thessalonica (i.e. after the title of *Emperor* of Thessalonica had been relinquished in 1243). But the anonymous pieces with sacred types, described p. 202, *infra*, 'Coinage of Thessalonica?' may possibly supply the gap in the coinage.

² This inser. occurs on No. 2 of Manuel, infra, p. 198.

³ See B. M. C. Imp. Byz. Coins, Index III, under 'St. Demetrius', and the note, p. 573.

singularly able and upright rulers, who kept in view as a grand and definite object the recovery of the lost Empire.

The first of these rulers, Theodore I Lascaris, was successful in his encounters with the Latins and the Seljuks, and practically united the

whole of western Asia Minor under his sceptre. He doubtless inaugurated the Nicaean gold coinage, which was continued under his successors. In design and style this coinage is

THEODORE I Lascaris, 1204, (crowned 1206)-1222.

conventional and dry, and better examples of Nicaean coin-engraving are to be found on the silver and bronze nomismata. But the existence of a coinage in gold points to the commercial importance Nicaean of Nicaea as compared (at that period) with Trebizond gold coinage. and Thessalonica. The gold nomisma of Theodore I happens to be very rare, and is not represented in the British Museum. The gold nomismata of John I weigh from 69 to 73.3 grains (Brit. Mus.), and two nomismata of Theodore II (Brit. Mus.) weigh 65.8 and 66.3 grains. The extant gold coins of Theodore II and many of those of John I are considerably alloyed, and we know from Pachymeres that John I issued

coin of which only two parts were of pure gold and the remaining third alloy.1 On his gold coins, Theodore I—if the attribution is correct—takes the title of Porphyrogenitus, though his only connexion with the Imperial house was through his marriage with a daughter of Titles, &c., of Alexius III. On his other coins he usually inscribes

Theodore I.

the title despotes. On his silver and bronze coins he places himself under the protection of his namesake St. Theodore, a saint found also on a scal that is probably his.2 His coins are of careless execution, with the exception of the silver nomisma, Pl. XXVIII. 1-3.3

John I Ducas Vatatzes, the second Emperor of Nicaea, had high qualities both as statesman and general.4 He was strict in the administration of justice, a financial reformer, and a pro-JOHN I ('III') moter of agriculture and commerce. His long Ducas Vatatzes, reign witnessed the further weakening of the 1222-30 Oct. 1254. Latin power and the incorporation (in 1246) of the rival Empire of Thessalonica with his own, and the submission (in

1254) of Michael of Epirus, the last independent despot of the Greeks. On his gold coinage, which is particularly abundant, John I takes the title Porphyrogenitus, though he was not even the son, but only the son-

in-law, of his predecessor Theodore I. That he put forward pretensions

¹ Cp. Finlay, Hist. Greece. iii. 320.

² See note, p. 207, infra.

³ Weight of silver nomisma. Theodore I, 68 grains (Paris); John I, 50.7 grains (highest, Brit. Mus.); Theodore II, 49.2 grains (highest, Brit. Mus.).

⁴ Cp. Heisenberg in B. Z., xiv, 1905, pp. 160 f.

to royal descent may be judged from the inscription on a seal which is with probability attributed to him 1 :—COPACIC CEBACTOV IWANNOTO ΔB DIZAN FENOVC EXONTOC EK BACINEWN.

The silver nomismata of John I (Pl. XXX. 1-4) are of a curious bracteate-like fabric, and the designs are of good work for the period and rich in appearance. St. Demetrius and St. George and a Seraph (head) are represented on his coins,2 and on the silver he is crowned either by the Christ of Chalce (Pl. XXX. 2-5) or by St. Constantine (Pl. XXX. 1). This last-named saint is not elsewhere commemorated on the Nicaean coins, and on the Imperial Byzantine coinage perhaps only occurs under Alexius III. It may be legitimate, therefore, to find some special significance in John's selection of this type. Now, John I (as has been mentioned) was not the son, but the son-in-law of his predecessor, and Theodore I had left behind a young son named Constantine.3 Nothing is known of the fate of this boy or in what way he was set aside by John. Possibly for a time John affected to rule as regent, and the type of the Emperor John crowned by St. Constantine may have been intended to suggest that John ruled with the benediction and approval of the patron saint of the young Constantine.

It may be noted that John I established the royal residence at Nymphaion, a town between Smyrna and Sardis at the foot of Mount Sipylos, and had his royal treasury—which he kept well filled—at Magnesia.⁴ But as the city of Nicaea continued to be the seat of the government and of the Patriarch, we may assume that it was there that the coins of the Nicaean Emperors were minted.

Theodore II, a brave and able man, interested both as author and patron in literature and philosophy, laboured during his short reign for

THEODORE II Ducas Lascaris, 1254-Aug. 1258. the happiness of his people, and was a true 'roi philosophe'.5

On his coins he calls himself Theodore Lascaris, Theodore Ducas, and Theodore Ducas Lascaris. He

takes the title despotes, but discontinues the Porphyrogenitus epithet employed by his father, John I.

His most distinctive coin-type is a figure of Tryphon, the patron saint of Nicaea, and one to whom he had especially displayed his devotion.

John II Lascaris, the young son of Theodore II, was soon ousted by

- ¹ Schlumberger, Sigillogr., pp. 428, 429.
- ² He strikes small bronze coins in addition to the scyphate bronze nomismata.
- 3 Meliaraki, Ίστ. τοῦ βασ. τῆς Νικαίας, p. 132.
- ⁴ His successor, Theodore II, amassed a treasure at the fortress of Astytzion. J. B. Pappadopoulos, *Théodore II Lascaris*. Paris, 1908, p. 83.
 - ⁵ J. B. Pappadopoulos, op. cit., p. 138.
- 6 His funeral oration on Frederick II is headed: Θεοδώρου Δούκα τοῦ Λάσκαρι, τοῦ νίοῦ τοῦ ὑψηλοτάτου βασιλέως κυροῦ Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δούκα. (Pappadopoulos, op. cit., p. 183.)

the ambitious Michael (VIII) Palaeologus. Michael was proclaimed joint-Emperor in Jan. 1260, and from thenceforth was practically sole ruler; nor does John appear to have issued coins.

JOHN II ('IV') Lascaris, 1258–1259.

The large sums disbursed by Michael in the way of donations, bribes, and rewards render it likely that he issued gold nomismata at Nicaea,

JOHN II ('IV')
Lascaris, 1258-1259.
MICHAEL VIII
Palaeologus,
Jan. 1260-Aug. 1261.

and, if so, they are probably to be found in the coins with rev. Virgin enthroned, which are usually regarded by numismatists as forming part of the coinage that he issued at Constantinople subsequent to his recovery of the capital. Yet he may have dispensed with the issue of gold coins bearing his own name and have utilized the older nomismata which he found among the treasures amassed by John I and Theodore II. One less important denomination—the bronze nomisma—was certainly issued by Michael as Nicaean Emperor, the type being St. Tryphon, as on coins of the preceding emperor.

On 15 Aug. 1261 Michael was crowned in Constantinople, and the brief, but not ignoble or valueless, existence of the Nicaean 'Empire' was merged in the larger life of the restored Empire of Byzantium.

§ 7. Coinage of the Despots of Epirus.

There are no coins of these rulers in the British Museum, and specimens seem to be very rare and of more or less doubtful attribution.

The founder of the despotat was Michael I Angelus Comnenus Ducas, a prince of the Imperial family, who established himself, soon after the great upheaval of the Empire in 1204, in territory that had not been appropriated by the Latins. Two bronze nomismata (infra, p. 226) have been attributed to him, but of his brother and successor, Theodore Angelus Comnenus, no coins are known, at any rate in his capacity of despot, for he struck money on becoming Emperor of Thessalonica (1222–1230).²

THEODORE ANGELUS, 1214–1230.

Coins are equally wanting, or rather, perhaps, have not been recognized by numismatists, for the reigns of Manuel, Michael II, Nicephorus I, and Thomas Angelus (i. e. the period from 1230 to 1310).

Under the succeeding rulers of the house of Orsini deniers tournois were struck at Arta; and descriptions of these are given in Schlumberger's Num. de l'Orient lat., pp. 374 f.

Some seals of the earlier despots of Epirus are described in Schlumberger's Sigillographie, pp. 426 f.

¹ See infra, p. 224.

§ 8. Coinage of the Duchy of Neopatras (Great Vlakia).

On the death of Michael II, despot of Epirus, his bastard son, John I Angelus, established himself at Neopatras (La Patre) and ruled over

JOHN I
Angelus Comnenus,
1271-1296.

Great Vlakia, with Olympus as his northern and Parnassus as his southern boundary; his territory including Thessaly and much of the old Lokris Ozolis, running down on the east of Parnassus

to the Corinthian Gulf.1

The title of Sebastocrator was conferred on John I, and he appears to have been the issuer of bronze nomismata (described *infra*, pp. 227, 228).

CONSTANTINE ANGELUS, 1296-1303.

JOHN II ANGELUS COMNENUS, 1303-1318.

Of his successor Constantine Angelus no coins are known. The third duke, John II Angelus Comnenus, struck deniers tournois of the French type inscribed Neopatrie or De la Patria.

§ 9. Coinage of the Empire of Trebizond.

1. The Coinage and its Arrangement.2

Writers on the coinage.

Writers on the coinage.

Marchant rightly assigned them to the Emperors of Trebizond, another excellent numismatist, de Saulcy, maintained, not very rare in numismatist was not until the year abundance remaining unknown, to collectors for several centuries. It was not until the year 1827 that the attention of numismatists was seriously called to these coins, through the modest publication by the Baron de Marchant of a few specimens of the asper. Though Marchant rightly assigned them to the Emperors of Trebizond, another excellent numismatist, de Saulcy, maintained, because the surname 'Commenus'

¹ W. Miller, Latins in the Levant, pp. 132 f.

² The numismatic literature is chiefly as follows:—

MARCHANT, Lettres du Baron Marchant, ed. Langlois, 1851, pp. 320 f.

Pfaffenhoffen, Essai sur les aspres Comnénats . . . de Trébisonde. Paris, 1847.

Koehne, 'Die Komnenischen Silbermünzen,' in the Mémoires de la Société d'archéologie et de numismatique de St. Pétersboury, vol. iii, 1849, pp. 103 f.

Sabatier, Description gén. . . . des monn. byz., 1862, ii, pp. 306 f.

Blau, G., 'Trapezunter Komnenaten,' in Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde. Berlin, vol. iv, 1868.

O. Retowski, Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt. Moscow, 1910 (see infra, p. lxxv).

³ Essai de classification des . . . mon. byz., 1836, p. 423.

was inscribed upon them, that the real issuers were the Comnenian Emperors of Byzantium, and that their mint-place was Cherson. Writing in 1849, Koehne still hesitated between the Comneni of Constantinople and their namesakes of Trebizond, and setting forth the two attributions side by side and reign by reign he left the choice between them to his readers. But Koehne, however inconclusive, was able to publish many new varieties of the asper, and he also attempted a graphical reproduction of the legends and symbols—a useful plan which has been adopted in the present Catalogue and without which it would be almost impossible to study the minutiae of the coinage.

In 1847, that is, about two years before Koehne wrote, there had appeared the Essai sur les aspres Comnénats of Baron F. de Pfaffenhoffen, in which considerable numbers of these coins were brought together and illustrated. Many specimens have come to light since Pfaffenhoffen wrote, but his book was a very serviceable one; it suggested some probable attributions and had the advantage of being based on the historical researches of Fallmerayer, among which the most important was the discovery of the Trebizond chronicle of Michael Panaretos, which, if in many respects arid and incomplete, yet furnished historians and numismatists with a solid framework of names and dates.

An account of the Trebizond coinage found a place in the second volume of Sabatier's Description (1862), but only typical specimens were described, without any attempt at the enumeration of varieties. Sabatier was the first writer to publish many examples of the bronze coinage, though his attributions of these are often open to question. To these publications may be added an article by G. Blau (1868) containing descriptions of the aspers obtained by him during several years' residence in Trebizond.

The latest and best work is that of O. Retowski, which is based on an examination of a very large number of coins (especially in the Russian collections) and fully illustrated by photographs.¹

The attribution of the coins to different rulers is rendered difficult by the paucity of distinctive types and the absence of distinguishing titles for the

Attribution of the Silver Coins.

various Emperors. Thus, coins inscribed 'Alexius' may be claimed by the four Emperors who bore this name, and those inscribed 'Manuel' and 'John' may belong to three Manuels and four Johns.

The silver coinage—the bronze will be briefly noticed later on—may almost be said to consist of a single type, the Emperor on the obverse,

¹ Retowski, Die Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt. Moscow, 1910. I regret that this monograph did not appear till the Trebizond section of the present Catalogue was finished, the plates having been printed off and the text placed in the printer's hands. I have, however, inserted in my text references wherever practicable and I have been glad in this Introduction—though it had been previously written independently—to avail myself of the valuable numismatic material collected by M. Retowski.

St. Eugenius on the reverse. On the great mass of the coins these figures are represented as standing, facing the spectator, but on a smaller, though not inconsiderable number, the same figures appear seated on horseback.

There has been general agreement among numismatists that the standing-figure type was the first to be introduced and that it was then superseded by the equestrian type. But Pfaffenhoffen, Sabatier, Blau, and others (though not M. Retowski) who are of this opinion seem to maintain a highly improbable view when they assign to the latest Emperors of Trebizond coins not of the equestrian but of the standing type. Having regard to the type alone—and apart from considerations of weight and fabric—it is extremely unlikely that when the equestrian type had become familiar and almost stereotyped there would have been a reversion to the long-abandoned standingtype. Those coins with standing figures which have been supposed, chiefly on account of the rudeness of their style, to be the latest issues of the Empire can equally well, or better, be regarded as foreign issues imitative of the coins of the earlier Emperors, which coins they, in fact, in essential points resemble. Thus, an asper inscribed IW (John) is not to be assigned to the middle of the fifteenth century and the reign of John IV, but to the latter part of the thirteenth century and the period-or thereabouts-of the reign of John II, when standing figures, not yet ousted by equestrian ones. were the customary coin-types.

From this broad division between standing and equestrian types several attributions seem inevitably to result. Thus, the coins which bear the name 'Alexius' can none of them be of Alexius I, because in his time, or at any rate in that of his immediate successors, the standing figure was in vogue, and these 'Alexius' coins are all of the equestrian type. The coins, then, belong, at the earliest, to Alexius II, though some may be assigned to Alexius III and Alexius IV. Similarly, in the case of coins inscribed with the name 'John', we are obliged (having fixed the introduction of the equestrian type to the reign of Alexius II) to assign such specimens as present standing figures to a period before Alexius II, i. e. to John I and John II, and attribute those which show equestrian types to the period after Alexius II, i. e. to John III and (as Retowski has shown) to John IV.

The main outlines of attribution being fixed, it is desirable to group the coins of the different reigns with some regard to the numerous symbols (star, pellet, lis, &c.) and letters which appear in the field. An attempt has been made in this Catalogue to describe these groups with minuteness, but their sequence and the significance of symbol and letter still present various points of difficulty. Something further will be said on this head in section 5 infra.

The bronze coinage has received comparatively little notice from writers

¹ The recent work of Retowski sets forth all the minutiae with great fullness.

on Trebizond.¹ It was once, probably, sufficiently abundant, and should the attention of coin-collectors be turned more than hitherto in the direction of the subsidiary Byzantine series it is likely that not a few specimens will be identified and described. The attribution of some classes of these coins will be found discussed in the text under 'Alexius III', p. 297, infra, and it may be enough to say that the earliest pieces seem to be those of the largest module, and that, while on the earlier coins only figure-subjects occur—chiefly the Emperor and St. Eugenius—on the latest coins new devices, such as varied forms of the Cross, are employed as reverse-types.

2. The Emperors and their Coinage.2

The founder (in the year A.D. 1204) of the Empire of Trebizond, which was soon to become famous for the luxury of its court, the beauty of its princesses, and the wealth derived from its unique commercial situation, was Alexius I Comnenus, who assumed and handed on to his successors the title of $M \epsilon \gamma \alpha s$ $Ko\mu\nu\eta\nu\delta s$. The surname Comnenus belonged

to him as a grandson of Andronicus I Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor, and 'Great' was a favourite epithet of many princes of that age.³

Alexius paid tribute to the Scljūk sultan of Rūm (Iconium), but his long reign was prosperous commercially. His currency is a mystery. It would naturally be supposed that it was of a Byzantine character, consisting mainly of scyphate nomismata of gold and silver, like the currency of the Nicaean Emperors. But of the existence of such pieces there is no trace, though the coinage of silver nomismata (circ. 1238) by one of his successors (Manuel I) may possibly suggest that it was imitated from a model supplied

FALLMERAYER, Original-Fragmente in Abhandlungen der Königl.-Bayerischen Akademie, Hist. Class., vol. iii (1843), pt. 3; also in vol. iv (1844), pt. 2, where the text of the Trebizond Chronicle of Michael Panaretos is printed (cp. Krumbacher, Gesch. byz. Lit., pp. 393 f.).

FINLAY, History of Greece: an interesting account of the Empire in vol. iv, pp. 307-427.

Τ. Ε. EVANGELIDES, Ίστορία . . . Τραπεζοῦντος. Odessa, 1898.

Reference may also be made to Papadopulos-Kerameus, Fontes historiae Imperii Trapezuntii, i, St. Petersburg, 1897 (cp. Byz. Zeitschrift, vi. 630); Millet in Bull. corr. hcll., xix, 1895, pp. 419 f. (Churches, &c., of Trebizond); Bury's ed. of Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vi. 420, 421; W. Fischer, 'Trapezunt und seine Bedeutung in der Geschichte,' in Zeitschrift für allgemeine Geschichte, Stuttgart, vol. iii (1886), pp. 13-39; Heyd, Histoire du Commerce du Levant.

³ As to the title of the Trebizond Emperors on the coins see *infra*, section 4, 'Inscriptions.'

¹ See, however, the descriptions in Retowski's work and his Pl. XV.

² The chief authorities for the history are:-

FALLMERAYER, Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt. Munich, 1827.

by Alexius. The institution of the silver asper—the typical currency of Trebizond—is due, so far as we know, to one of the successors of Alexius.1

During the reign of Andronicus I, Alexius's son-in-law, the little Empire

on the Black Sea had to submit to the revolt and ANDRONICUS I loss of Iberia; but Cherson and its other possessions Gidos, 1222-1235. in the Crimea continued to be held, and a not unfavourable treaty was concluded with the Seljūk sultan. There is still no

trace of the issue of a coinage.

Of the three years' reign 2 of John I Axuchos, brother-in-law of Andronicus I and eldest son of Alexius I, hardly anything JOHN I. is known, yet Pfaffenhoffen seems right in attributing to 1235-1238. him some of the many silver pieces that bear the name 'John'. He is thus, apparently, the originator of the famous 'Comnenian Aspers' of whose types and value some account will be given in sections 3 and 4.

A great and varied mass of aspers (with the standing-figure types) bears the name of 'Manuel', who, as cannot be doubted, was Manuel I, a son, like John I, of the first Emperor Alexius I.

MANUEL I. He continued to satisfy the claims of the Seljūks and 1238-1263. the Mongols, and his long reign of twenty-five years was prosperous. From the fact that Kirmaneoul (i.e. 'Kuros' or 'Kurios' Manuel) became the generic name for money in Georgia,3 it has been reasonably inferred that it was in the reign of Manuel that the silver coins of Trebizond became for the first time well known and popular in commerce, and that the imitations of this coinage probably circulated in Iberia or other countries beyond the limits of the Empire.4

- ¹ The bronze nomisma referred to on p. 230, infra, as being attributed by Sabatier (Pl. 67, 4) to Alexius I is of uncertain attribution, though doubtless of a Trebizond Emperor (Retowski, Komn., p. 186, repeats Sabatier's description but places it under 'Uncertain' of Trebizond). On p. 230 I have remarked that the repetition of the name of 'Eugenius' on each side of this coin gives cause to suspect the correctness of Sabatier's reading. Since then I have discovered among some 'uncertain' coins in the British Museum the actual specimen described and figured by Sabatier. It was acquired by the British Museum of H. Hoffmann of Paris in 1864, 4-8-22 (Retowski's statement, p. 186, that the coin described by Sabatier is now in the Stroganow collection is therefore incorrect); it is in very poor condition and the legends are almost entirely illegible:-Obr. An emperor and the Saviour (?) holding patriarchal cross between them; rev. St. Eugenius (?) standing.
- ² As to the duration of the reign see Fallmerayer, Orig. Frag., Part II, p. 12, note 2, and p. 42, note 3: 'Six years' in the MS. of the Chronicle of Panaretos is evidently an error for 'three years'. Evangelides, op. cit., p. 71, states that John reigned six years, and places the death of John and the accession of Manuel I in A. D. 1241.
 - ³ See text, infra, p. 256.

⁴ The exceptional output of the coinage may perhaps be partly accounted for by the great increase in the transit-trade of Trebizond, which probably began to take place (after A. D. 1258) in the last years of Manuel I: see infra, p. lxxx.

Yet, though the asper-coinage seems to be specially identified with the reign of Manuel, it is curious to find that he also issued a silver currency of scyphate nomismata, entirely of the conventional Byzantine character (Pl. XXXII. 6-10). The attribution of these coins (proposed by Sabatier) can hardly be disputed, and we can only conjecture either that the Emperor was imitating similar nomismata of the founder Alexius I, or that the coinage (in imitation of the nomismata of the Nicaean Empire) was introduced in an experimental way at the beginning of his reign and then abandoned in favour of the aspers, which thenceforward were never superseded.

In this reign we note the first appearance—or the first certain appearance—of a currency in bronze.

Manuel I left three sons who became successively Emperors of Trebizond—Andronicus II, George, and John II.

Of the three-years' reign of Andronicus II no coins exist, and perhaps the enormous currency of Manuel I rendered a new coinage—at any rate in silver—unnecessary.

ANDRONICUS II, 1263-1266.

But it is much more difficult to account for the entire absence of silver issues during his successor's reign of fourteen years, for the reign of George, though troubled by the aspiring and rebellious attitude of the great feudal lords, was a period of national independence: the power of the Seljūks and Mongols was waning, and it was possible to concentrate upon the Turkomans when they attacked the frontiers.

In the reign of John II, the third son of Manuel I, the Empire was no longer in vassalage to the Mongols. The abundance of John's aspercoinage, which is nearly comparable in bulk and variety to his father's, furnishes evidence, even when we remember JOHN II, that John's reign was a long one, of the great commercial 1280-1297. activity of which Trebizond was the centre.²

Trebizond had for centuries been famed as a great entrepôt to which the Greek and Mussulman merchants resorted, to carry from thence, eastward and westward, the products of the world.³ Under the rule of their of Trebizond.

¹ A scarce bronze coinage is known: see p. 258 infra.

² Many coins, however, that bear the name of John II are more or less barbarous and are no doubt to be regarded not as money of Trebizond itself, but as foreign imitations, struck, probably, in Georgia. Such coins, there is reason to think, were minted—or at least remained in circulation—long subsequent to the thirteenth century: see, especially on these coins, Retowski, *Komn.*, pp. 108-29; cp. our text, *infra*, p. 272.

³ In early Abbasid times (latter half of the eighth century, &c.) goods were brought from Constantinople for sale at Trebizond to Moslem merchants, many of whom permanently resided in the city. Thence, by the hands of Arabs or Armenians the merchandise was carried across the mountains to Malatiyah and other towns on the Euphrates. See G. Le Strange, Lands of the Eastern Caliphate, 1905, p. 136.

Emperors the people of Trebizond were not themselves very actively engaged in trade, though they had some products of their own to offer, and silver was obtained from mines in their mountains. But the foreign merchant was always welcome, and the State derived great revenue from the duties that it was able to impose on every kind of commercial transaction in which the alien trader was permitted to engage.¹

In the latter half of the thirteenth century a great expansion took place in the transit-trade of the Empire, due, in the first instance, to Hūlāgū's destruction of Bagdad in A. D. 1258. Products of the East which hitherto had been carried westward by the Mediterranean were now taken north to the Black Sea ² and to Trebizond, which thus obtained new opportunities of exacting dues and fresh openings for its own productions. Traders from the West were also attracted to Trebizond, and already in 1266-7 we hear of merchants arriving from Marseilles. But the leading merchants and carriers were Italians. During the reign of John II, and at least as early as circ. A. D. 1290, the Genoese appeared upon the scene, and in a few years' time (at the beginning of the fourteenth century) they are found in possession of a quarter of their own and their own tribunal. They were followed by their rivals the Venetians, who about the year 1319 obtained a similar footing in the eapital.³

In the year 1285 John's sister Theodora, the daughter of Manuel I by Roussadan, an Iberian princess, making common cause with some of the

THEODORA, circ. A.D. 1285.

ambitious nobles, was enabled to depose her brother and to mount the throne. Probably this usurpation did not last long (and John certainly regained his crown), but we have a witness to it in the issue of an asper of the ordinary character (also a bronze nomisma) bearing the name and figure of Theodora (Pl. XXXVIII. 1). This is the only instance of the issue of coin by a Trebizond Empress, though in the frescoes of the churches it was usual for the Empress to appear beside the Emperor, as, for example, in the Trebizond church of St. Gregory of Nyssa, where the figure of John II was accompanied by that of his wife Eudocia, daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII.

Alexius II, the eldest son of John II, proved a firm administrator. He defeated a Turkoman force near Kerasunt and resisted the pretensions of

the Genoese merchants to escape from toll. In this reign, as we have already noticed, a Venetian merchant-colony was established at Trebizond (circ. A. D. 1319).

Alexius constructed a new wall for the city and repaired the ruins of Leontokastron, the fortress contiguous to the land granted to the Genoese.

A not inconsiderable coinage of aspers may be attributed to this reign,

¹ See further p. lxxxv, infra.

² Heyd, Hist. du commerce, ii. 93; cp. p. 68.

³ On the Genoese and Venetians at Trebizond see Heyd, *Hist. du commerce du Levant*, vol. ii, pp. 92-107, 360-5.

and a new denomination, the half-asper, makes its appearance. It is on these aspers and half-aspers that equestrian figures first take the place of the standing figures (Pl. XXXVIII.2). It is not easy to conjecture why a change was made in such a popular and stereotyped coinage. At the time of his accession Alexius II was only fifteen and was under the guardianship of Andronicus II, the Byzantine Emperor, who interfered in his most trifling actions and who may perhaps have been responsible for the alteration in the coinage, if the coinage was issued on the accession of Alexius and before the young emperor became independent of Andronicus. Yet the equestrian type of St. Eugenius, though new on coins, was probably not unfamiliar to the people of Trebizond, for we know that it existed in art at least as early as the time of Manuel I, who was represented in a fresco of the monastic church of St. Sophia as a standing figure wearing on his breast a medallion in which was a figure of St. Eugenius seated on horseback.¹

To the short reign of Andronicus III a few aspers have been attributed

(see p. 284, infra); of the still shorter reign of Manuel II no coins are known. But with the accession of Basil, the son of Alexius II and brother of Andronicus III, the asper-coinage is renewed, though not in any marked abundance or variety. The Empire was, in fact, once more disturbed by the struggles of the provincial nobles for independence, and, not long after Basil's death,

ANDRONICUS III, 1330-Jan. 1332.

MANUEL II, Jan.-Sept. 1332.

BASIL, Sept. 1332-Apr. 1340.

by the attacks of the Turkomans, who caused a great conflagration in the capital, one incident of which was the total destruction of the Venetian quarter (1341).²

During the reigns of Irene and of Anna, which IRENE. ANNA. occupy the period between April 1340 and Sept.

1342, no new coins would appear to have been issued, and John III, the idle and luxurious Emperor who followed, minted, so far as can be made out, only money in bronze.

JOHN III, 4 Sept. 1342-3 May 1344.

Michael, father of John III and son of John II, renewed the aspercoinage, but from about this period the importance of the Empire began to decline. The intrigues of the nobles still continued, and in a war with the Genoese the Emperor was worsted and the fortress of

MICHAEL,

May 1344-13 Dec. 1349.

¹ Finlay, *Hist. of Greece*, iv, p. 340 n.; p. 434 n. Evangelides, pp. 72, 73. The representation of a horseman, though not found on Imperial Byzantine coins till the very latest period, had been seen on the coins of the Seljūks as early as the twelfth century. A Georgian silver coin (British Museum) of the thirteenth century (1253–1269) also shows a horseman as a type. In the Armenian series a horseman is seen on coins of Hethum and Kay-Ķubād I, A.D. 1226–1236: Langlois, *Num. de l'Arménie*, p. 55, Pl. IV. 4.

² Heyd, Hist. du commerce, ii, p. 103.

Leontokastron was surrendered to them. Finlay has remarked that the Imperial authority in the later days of Trebizond wears rather the aspect of feudal suzerainty, blended with Oriental despotism, than that of the old Byzantine ascendancy of supreme legislator and judge.

The position did not alter during the early years of Alexius III (son of the former Emperor Basil), who, when only twelve years old, was seated on the throne by the faction then dominant.

ALEXIUS III,
13 Dec. 1349-20 Mar. 1390.

Yet, as the Emperor grew up, he was able, at least in part, to restore the predominance of the crown. His long reign of about forty years was, indeed, a kind of renaissance. The Genoese merchants at Trebizond were in possession of their old privileges and of some new ones, and the transit-trade was a source of large revenue to the exchequer. The asper-coinage, though it had now fallen in weight and hardly contained 40 grains, as compared with the 45 grains of earlier days, is at least fairly abundant and well struck and displays a number of symbols.¹ Its divisions, the half- and quarter-asper, were also coined, and the bronze coinage, though of small module, is

There was also, at least in externals, a revival in religion, and Alexius was magnificent in his ecclesiastical donations. In honour of the birthday of St. Eugenius, long the patron of the State, and now specially invoked as the patron of Alexius and his house, he re-established a splendid festival—a $\pi \acute{a}\nu\nu\nu\chi$ os $\sigma\tau \acute{a}\sigma$ is 2—in which banquets, revelry, and sacred rites were strangely blended.

But, from without, great dangers were now beginning to threaten the Empire. First, in the reign of Manuel III (son of Alexius III), the great

MANUEL III, invasion of Asia Minor by the Mongols; under Alexius IV (son of Manuel III), the onslaught of the Turkoman hordes of the Kuyunlī (the Black and White Sheep), and, finally, under Alexius IV and his two successors, John IV and David, those attacks of the

Othmanli Turks which culminated in the overthrow of the Empire.

For a time the Emperors fairly held their own. Manuel III, by tendering tribute and vassalage, succeeded in diverting the ravages of Tīmūr. Alexius IV, by the payment of tribute to Yūsuf and by the marriage of his daughter to Yūsuf's son, procured temporary relief, till finally, after Yūsuf's death, the Turkoman army dispersed.

abundant and varied in its types.

¹ It ought to be said, however, that some of the aspers of larger module attributed in this Catalogue to Alexius III are assigned, on very reasonable grounds, by Retowski to Alexius II (cp. p. 279, infra). If his view is correct, the asper-coinage of Alexius III will scarcely deserve the credit of being well struck.

² Fallmerayer, Original-Fragm., Part I, p. 39.

³ On the date of Manuel's death see Fallmerayer, op. cit., Part II, p. 106. On the date of the death of Alexius IV see Retowski, Komn., p. 179; cp. p. 7.

Nor was the prosperity of Trebizond entirely at an end, though, if we may judge from the coinage, it was already declining. Under both Manuel III and Alexius IV there is no deficiency of silver currency, but considering the length of their respective reigns the coinage is by no means superabundant. Though struck with the old types and with some variety of symbols, it had fallen still lower in weight. The silver coins of these two reigns weigh, in fact, at the highest, only from 20 to 30 grains, and it is doubtful whether they are to be regarded as degenerate aspers, or-the asper being no longer coined—as half-aspers. The frequent hostilities during this reign between the Genoese and the people of Trebizond, and their prevalence in various parts of the Empire during the succeeding reign (John IV), cannot have been propitious to the Imperial revenue.

Under John IV the coinage is confined to an apparently scanty issue of aspers or half-aspers, and David, the last Emperor, is not known to have issued money. In the reign of John, the general of Mohammad II (the conqueror of Constantinople) attacked Trebizond, and John was compelled to pay a yearly tribute of 3,000 gold pieces. Under David, in the year 1461, Trebizond was finally handed over to Mohammad. The nobles and rich landowners

JOHN IV. 1446-1458. DAVID, 1458-1461.

were compelled to remove to Constantinople, and their estates were confiscated. The magnificent palace of the Emperors was occupied by a pacha and the mass of the population enslaved.1

3. METALS AND WEIGHT.

There is no trace of a coinage in gold, though such existed in the Empire of Nicaea. The chief denomination is the silver ἄσπρον, which, so far as our evidence indicates, was first struck Silver coinage. circa A.D. 1235 (by John I), and thus not until about thirty years after the foundation of the Empire.

During the thirteenth century, i.e. from John I to the death of John II in 1297, specimens of the asper will be found to weigh well over 40 grains, and, as will be seen from the weights of coins (in the British Museum²) recorded below, the highest weights attained are from 45 to nearly 46 grains:-

John I (1235-1238). 44.6, 44.9 grains. MANUEL I (1238-1263). 44.7, 45.6, 45.8. John II (1280-1297). 44.9, 45.6. THEODORA (1285). 44.5.

¹ It is worth noting that so late as the year 1460 a new band of Italian traders, the Florentines, had acquired commercial rights in Trebizond, their import dues being fixed at 2 per cent., while they were exempted from dues on export. Heyd, Hist. du commerce,

² The weights of many other specimens are mentioned in Retowski's Münzen d. Komn.

In the series of rude or blundered coins which bear the names of Manuel I and John II, and which were probably not issued within the borders of the Empire, specimens rarely attain the weight of 40 grains, but usually weigh from 30 to about 38 grains. The curious aspers described on pp. 254 f. infra ('Manuel I'), and apparently struck after the death of Manuel I and not within the Empire, all weigh, however, above 40 grains (44-3, 46-5, &c.).

The weights of the later coinage of Trebizond may be tabulated from

specimens in the British Museum as follows:-

ALEXIUS II (1297–1330). Asper. 32-8, 35-5, 36-2, 36-8, 40-5, 41-7, 42-8.

Half-asper. 18.7, 19.6, 22.7, 27.5.

Basil (1332–1340). Asper. 30·3, and 18· and 21· (asper or half-aspers?).

John III (1342-1344). No silver coinage.

MICHAEL (1344-1349). Asper. 25.8, 26. (pierced).

ALEXIUS III (1349-1390). Asper. 31-33 grs., 38.2 highest.

Half-asper. 17.4, 24. (pierced).

Quarter-asper. 13.2.

Manuel III (1390–1417). *Half-asper* (or *asper*?). 14.6, 16.9, 17.5, 20.5.

ALEXIUS IV (1417-1446). Half-asper (or asper?). 21., 27.5.

From this table it will be seen that with the opening of the fourteenth century (reign of Alexius II) the asper begins to lose weight. The average weights are lower than in the previous century, and the highest weight attained (42.8 grains) has to compare with the 45-46 grains of earlier reigns.

Under Alexius II the half-asper (highest weight, 27.5) was introduced.¹ The scanty coinages of Basil and Michael yield an asper of hardly more than 30 grains; but in the reign of Alexius III, which nearly covers the latter half of the fourteenth century, there is an apparent revival in the coinage. Even thus the asper does not reach the old level of at least

¹ M. Retowski has no special dissertation in his Münzen der Komnenen on metrology, but I gather from his work (see especially pp. 150, 162) that he recognizes only one denomination in the silver coinage of Trebizond, namely, the asper; his view being that those coins which are of unusually low weight are not half-aspers but simply aspers struck on a reduced standard, or even perhaps fraudulent imitations of the period. In determining the question a good deal will depend upon the attribution of the coins. Thus, in the case of the coins of Alexius II (infra, pp. 280-3), we have to deal (if our attribution to Alexius II is correct) with both heavy and light specimens which may fairly well be respectively called aspers and half-aspers. But if our attribution of these coins be not admitted, and (on the lines of Retowski's arrangement) we transfer the lighter specimens to a later reign (Alexius III), then the sole denomination of Alexius II will be the asper, and the light coins transferred to Alexius III may perhaps be called aspers of reduced weight rather than half-aspers.

40 grains, for the usual weight of this denomination under Alexius III may be stated as from 31 to 33 grains, while the highest weight attained is 38.2 grains. In this reign we have the half- and the quarter-asper.

In the reigns of Manuel III and Alexius IV, which carry us forward into the fifteenth century, the silver coinage is of smaller module than hitherto, and it is somewhat doubtful whether these—the last silver—issues of Trebizond are to be regarded as half-aspers, or as the old asper reduced in weight to about 28 grains (highest).

The name 'asper' ($\alpha\sigma\pi\rho\sigma\nu$) was employed in the Levant and the East as the designation of various European and Oriental 1 coins struck in silver.2 Those issued at Trebizond appear to have Origin of the received for distinctiveness (at any rate in the four-Asper. teenth century) the name of 'Comnenians', as appears from a passage in a charter of Alexius III 3:—Προστάσσει . . . ή βασιλεία μου . . . διδόναι έν αὐτη έτησίως ἄσπρα θεοσυντηρήτου χαραγής αὐτης τὰ δὴ λεγόμενα Κομνήνατα χίλια. The genesis (circa 1235 A.D.) of the Trebizond asper is somewhat obscure. As regards fabric and weight this coin is not modelled on the Imperial Byzantine money, and even its types may be pronounced original. For the module and flat fabric it might seem likely that the Venetian silver grosso,4 which must have become well known in the Eastern Empire after the Latin conquest of 1204, would furnish a pattern. But it is noticeable that the grosso (circ. 1235) weighs only about 35 grains, while the earliest aspers weigh from 40 to nearly 46 grains. It seems more likely that the weight of the new asper was suggested, not by the Venetian currency, but by the principal silver coin (dirhem) which was issued by the Turks and other Oriental peoples, and which, long before and after this date, maintained a weight of about 43 grains.6

¹ See e. g. Sauvaire, Matériaux . . . de la numismatique et de la métrologie musulmanes (1882), p. 365.

² "Aσπροs in Byzantine and modern Greek means white. Svoronos (Journ. internat. d'arch. num., II, pp. 352 f.) has an ingenious argument in which he contends that ἄσπρον (as applied e.g. to Imperial Byzantine coins of the eleventh and twelfth centuries) was originally a mere transference into Greek of the Latin word asper, meaning a coin rough to the touch and so unworn and fresh from the mint. Cp. Du Cange, Dissert. de inf. aeri numismatibus, § cvi (xcvi), 'aspri.' See also P. Lambros, Monete inedite dei Gran Maestri . . . in Rodi, Venice, 1865, pp. 22 f.

³ Fallmerayer, Original-Fragm., Part I, p. 90; Pfaffenhoffen, p. 72.

⁴ Called also matapan and silver ducato: B. M. Cat. Imp. Byz. Coins, p. lxviii.

⁵ On the Imperial Byzantine coinage the influence of the Venetian grosso is first traceable under Michael IX and Andronicus II, A.D. 1295-1320: B. M. Cat. *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. lxx.

⁶ As to the dues paid to the State of Trebizond in the fourteenth century by Italian and other merchants see Fallmerayer, Geschichte, &c., pp. 319, 320, and Heyd, Hist. du commerce, ii, pp. 102 f. The Venetians on re-exporting merchandise by caravan to the interior of Asia had to pay a tax of 20 aspers for each animal's load. In the case of a sale in Trebizond to purchasers who were not Venetians the vendor had to pay to the

In addition to the asper a scyphate coin, the silver nomisma, was struck, perhaps only experimentally, in the reign of Manuel I. A specimen in the British Museum weighs 45.7 grains; another attains 47.8 grains.

It may be conjectured that the bronze coinage was more abundant than would appear from the comparatively few specimens that have been published. The following table is mainly based on specimens described in the present Catalogue:—

JOHN I. No coins identified with certainty.

Manuel I. Large flan. Size 1.05 inch. Perhaps the bronze nomisma. Brit. Mus. specimen weighs 48.7 grains.

George. Size about 1 inch. Bronze nomismata.

JOHN II. Scyphate (nomisma). Size 1 inch. Wt. 35 grains (rev. Bust of St. John).

THEODORA. Size about ·8 inch (23 millimetres: Retowski, p. 133).

ALEXIUS II. Apparently no coins known.

Basil. Scyphate. Size · 7 inch (Sabatier).

JOHN III. (i) Scyphate. Sizes ·8-·85 inch. Wt. 41·2 grains.

(ii) Scyphate. Size ·6 inch. Wt. 21·1 grains, &c.

MICHAEL. Sizes .75-.55 inch. Usually .75 inch.

ALEXIUS III. Sizes ·8-·55 inch. Usually ·55 or ·6 inch.

MANUEL III. Sizes ·6, ·55 inch.

4. Types and Inscriptions.

The obverse type is always a figure of the reigning emperor.¹ The reverse type, invariably on the aspers and its divisions, and often on the St. Eugenius.

bronze, relates to St. Eugenius, who was a native of Trebizond martyred under Diocletian, and who had long been venerated as the patron-saint of the city. In the early days of the Empire, when under Andronicus I, Trebizond was beset by the Seljūk sultan, the city had been saved by the intervention of the saint, whose head was carried by the hegoumenos of his convent in solemn procession round the walls. At a later period the festival of St. Eugenius and the buildings dedicated to him gained fresh éclat through the munificence of Alexius III.

government 3 per cent. or sometimes more. If the buyer and seller were both Venetians each had to pay $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., or 2 per cent. if the article disposed of was sold by weight. Some articles were allowed to be imported by the Venetians duty-free, but if re-exported they had, as we have seen, to pay a duty of 20 aspers. Merchandise brought in by the Venetians from the interior of Asia had to pay 12 aspers an animal's load, and when sold within the Empire itself had to pay 1 per cent. excise duty. In 1314, 15 aspers of Trebizond appear to have been equivalent to 1 hyperpre, i. e. the Byzantine gold nomisma ('bezant'). Heyd, op. cit., ii, p. 103.

¹ Except on the 'Uncertain Bronze' described infra, pp. 309 f.

'Eugenius' was one of the commonest personal names in the city; and a constant theme of the literature of Trebizond is the praise of $\tau o \hat{v}$ ἐν θαύμασι περιβοήτου καὶ μεγάλου Εὐγενίου.

On the coins St. Eugenius is represented as a bearded and nimbate figure, clothed in an ample mantle, fastened by a brooch. In his right hand he holds the cross (e. g. Pl. XXXIII. 9). He is usually standing facing the spectator, but from about 1297 onwards he appears (at least on the silver money) on horseback. This equestrian figure of the saint, though then an innovation so far as the coinage was concerned, had been known to Trebizond at least as early as the time of Manuel I.

The reverse types that do not bear any relation to St. Eugenius are not numerous. On the silver nomismata issued during part of the reign of Manuel I a figure of the Virgin is seen enthroned in the manner usual on Byzantine coins (Pl. XXXII.
6-10). This figure, though without distinctive attributes would pushelly represent to the records of Trebigoid their Virgin

butes, would probably represent to the people of Trebizond their Virgin 'of the golden head'—the Panagia Chrysokephalos, whose church was one of the most revered in the empire, and the burial-place of several of its later emperors.²

A bronze coin of John II shows an interesting bust of the Baptistό πρόδρομος (Pl. XXXVII. 17), but the apparent absence of any representation of the Saviour and of the Virgin (except on the short-lived nomismata just described) is somewhat remarkable. The Emperor George chooses, in addition to St. Eugenius, his namesake St. George for the reverse of his bronze coinage; but the type usually found on the latest bronze of Trebizond is some variety of the cross: even thus St. Eugenius is not forgotten, for his name is often written in the angles of the cross. One variety, on small bronze coins inscribed with the name 'Alexius', is noteworthy, as showing the cross planted upon what are evidently the walls of Trebizond, for a gateway and battlements are represented (Pl. XL. 15). Interest would be added to this type if we could assign it to Alexius II, who is known to have constructed a new wall for the city; but on numismatic grounds 3 it is almost certain that the coins on which this type appears were issued by Alexius III, whose successor, Manuel III, repeated it. Alexius III himself may well have repaired or rebuilt the city wall, for he has a name in the history of Trebizond as a great builder and restorer of churches and convents. The cross—intended, possibly, for the cross always held by Eugenius—is probably fixed upon the wall in the pious spirit of Nisi Dominus custodierit civitatem.4

A double-headed eagle, displayed, on the coins of Alexius III (Pl. XLI. 3),

¹ See supra, p. lxxxi.

² Millet, Bull. corr. hell., xix, pp. 420 f.

³ See infra, p. 297.

⁴ As to the B and BB found as types on some 'Uncertain Bronze' see infra, p. 310.

and an eagle, sometimes with a cross on its head (Pl. XLII. 5), on the late 'Uncertain Bronze', are the only remaining reverse types that call for notice. These types, unless possibly they have, like the other reverse types, a religious meaning, may perhaps be explained as the badge or arms of the emperor. We know from contemporary paintings that Imperial personages at Trebizond were sometimes represented in robes ornamented with eagles. Thus, the robe of Manuel I displayed two rows of eagles on circular medallions. The robes of John II were likewise adorned with single-headed eagles, while those of his wife Eudocia, the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Michael VIII, were distinguished by double-headed eagles. The church of the monastery of St. Sophia is ornamented on the façade of the western portico and at the extremity of the great apse by a single-headed eagle, which is interpreted by Millet as 'the special emblem of the Comneni of Trebizond'.

The emperor on the obverse of the silver coins is represented standing, crowned (as had long been usual on the Imperial Byzantine money) by

Representations of the emperor. the manus Dei. From the time of Alexius II onwards, the emperor (on the silver coins) is on horseback and the manus is omitted. The portraiture

of the most conventional kind—a bearded head which essentially never changes. It is useless, therefore, to confront the coins with the information that we derive from other sources as to the personal appearance of the different emperors.⁴

The variations in the Imperial costume may be worth attention, but probably not much importance is to be attached to the changes in the objects held by the emperor, except in so far as they enable the numismatist to differentiate the coins. On the aspers John I appears holding the cross and roll. Manuel I holds the labarum and roll. John II retains the labarum, but holds instead of the roll the globus cruciger. Theodora also holds the globus. Alexius II and the later emperors, who are shown on horseback, hold a sceptre with a head of varying forms which furnishes a useful clue to the arrangement of the coins,⁵ even if it does not reproduce the form of sceptre in actual use by the different emperors.

¹ Finlay, iv, p. 340.

³ Bull. corr. hell., xix (1895), p. 428.

⁵ See pp. 278 f., infra. Manuel III is the first emperor to use (on the coins) a sceptre with a three-barred cross, ‡. There is perhaps no special significance in this, but it

² According to Finlay (iv, p. 348) 'to mark her rank as an imperial princess of the East and the West' (cp. Koehne, 'Vom Doppeladler' in *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel-u. Wappenkunde*, vi. p. 5). On these figures see Finlay, iv, pp. 347, 348; cp. iv. 373 n.; 383 n.

⁴ The appearance of Alexius III is known to us from a description (see Fallmerayer, Orig. Frag., Part I, pp. 35 f.), from the illuminated charter of the St. Dionysius Convent, and from the seal thereto attached (Finlay, iv. 383-5; Evangelides, p. 117 n.). For paintings of Manuel I and John II see Finlay, iv. 340 n. and 348 n.

The inscriptions are very simple, being nothing more than identifications of the types. St. Eugenius is always accompanied by his name:—
O AFIOC EVFENIOC; on later coins, usually A EVFEN
(or abbreviated). The Baptist's title is given in Inscriptions.
monogram.¹

The Emperor's name is generally given in an abbreviated form, as $\overline{IU} = \text{John II}$, and III; $MVH\Lambda = \text{Manuel I}$. It is always followed by the surname 'Comnenus', thus, IWO KOHNHNOC (John II), H KOHNHN. after the name of Theodora. But this surname is not often written in full. From the lapidary inscriptions, the Chronicle of Panaretos, &c., it is quite certain that the official title of Alexius I and his successors was the 'Great-Comnenus', δ μέγας Κομνηνός. Joinville refers to Manuel I, his contemporary, as lequel se faisoit appeller le Grant-Comnène et Sire de Traffesontes. But on the coins $\mu \epsilon \gamma \alpha s$ is never found except on some rare aspers attributed by Retowski (p. 162) to Alexius III. Some numismatists have, indeed, explained a solitary H which occasionally follows the name of the emperor as the initial letter of $\mu \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \alpha s$, but a comparison of a large number of coins makes it practically certain that this letter is merely the broken-down representative of KOMNHNOC, a word which we find abridged as KMN, and even as MN. It may be further noted that there is no trace on the coins of any such style as αὐτοκράτωρ or βασιλεύς, which are known from other sources to have been employed by the emperors.

The ornamental, if somewhat stiff and square, writing with its numerous ligatures—somewhat resembling the Georgian and Armenian coin-script—which is characteristic of the inscriptions and manuscripts of Trebizond,³ is hardly seen upon the coins. Such ligatures as occur are of an ordinary kind, as MN = MN,

may be worth noting that this emperor was at the beginning of his reign in possession of a fragment of the Cross of Christ which he presented to the monastery of Sumelas, as appears from the inscription on the silver shrine that holds it:—

'Ενθάδε κείται τὸ τρισόλβιον ξύλον,
'Εν ὧ ὁ Χριστὸς ἡγίασε τὴν κτίσιν.
'Ο 'Εμμανουὴλ τοῦ 'Αλεξίου γόνος,
Κομνηνός, ἄναξ, εὐσεβής, αὐτοκράτωρ,
'Ως δῶρον ἀγνὸν τῆ Πανάγνω προσφέρει.

(Quoted, Fallmerayer, Orig. Frag., Part I, p. 57: the date of the dedication is A.D. 1390.)

1 p. 276, infra. On the inscr. ὁ Τραπεζούντιος, identifying St. Eugenius on coins that were probably issued beyond the limits of Trebizond, see pp. 254-6. The epithet is also found, though rarely, even on coins of Trebizond itself (John II: see Retowski,

Komn., pp. 79, 80).

² See e. g. the titles of Alexius III in Evangelides, 'Ιστ. Τραπ.. pp. 113, 125. Panaretos heads his Chronicle:—Περὶ τῶν τῆς Τραπεζοῦντος βασιλέων τῶν Μεγάλων Κομνηνῶν.

⁵ For examples see Fallmerayer, Orig. Frag., pp. 101 f.; Pfaffenhoffen, Pl. XIV-XVII; Bull. corr. hell., xix (1895), p. 424.

5. Symbols and Letters.

The silver money (not, however, the bronze) is throughout the whole period of coinage marked by a number of letters and symbols. These signs have been little studied by numismatists, though Pfaffenhoffen (p. 79) has suggested that the letters served to indicate mints. Thus, **B** was $\beta\alpha\sigmai\lambda\epsilon\iota o\nu$, the palace-mint; K, Kerasunt; Λ , Limnia, a strong fortress where the emperors occasionally resided; Λ , Λ and K, the fortress Leontokastron.

For many reasons I believe this view to be untenable. regards B, which is found both on obverse and reverse on the coins of many reigns, it is at least as likely (as suggested infra, p. 310) that it has a religious significance, BOHOEI, as that it is to be interpreted $\beta\alpha\sigma i\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\nu$. K, on the coins of Manuel I, might, if it stood alone, be indicative of Kerasunt, the second city of the Empire; but doubts are raised when we find on the coins of the same Emperor Manuel that K is combined with A as KA, a combination which, according to Pfaffenhoffen, should mean 'Leontokastron', and further, that one of the coins that has K on its obverse bears \wedge on its reverse, and \wedge , in Pfaffenhoffen's view, should mean 'Limnia'. Moreover, this K, which first occurs under Manuel I, does not, apparently, reappear till the time of Alexius IV, one of the latest of the emperors. Nor does Pfaffenhoffen's list exhaust the series of letters, for an explanation is still required of the N which appears on the earliest coins (those of John I); the $\mathcal{T} = \Xi$ found on coins of Manuel I: the A found on coins of John II.3

¹ Also $\mathbf{\bar{p}} = \mathrm{T}\rho$, infra, p. 255, and Retowski, Komn., p. 22 : cp. $\mathbf{\bar{5}}$ and $\mathbf{\bar{a}}$, p. 254, infra, note.

² This objection to Pfaffenhoffen's view had suggested itself, independently, to M. Retowski, Komn., p. 19.

³ Nos. 22-8. On one specimen, no. 22, we find $^{A}_{\Gamma}$, which may possibly stand for $\tilde{a}y$ and be a religious ejaculation, as B on various Trebizond coins is conjectured (p. 310) to be.

Moreover, if all these letters indicate, as Pfaffenhoffen suggests, the names of mints, we should expect them to correspond to differences of style and fabric; but though it is easy to separate from the great bulk of the coinage certain series of careless or barbarous workmanship, which are perhaps merely foreign imitations, it is by no means equally easy to detect such differences in style and fabric between, e.g. the K, B, and N series of coins, as would necessarily compel us to assign them to different mints. On the whole, the style and fabric of the coinage of this Empire is remarkably uniform: there may be changes from reign to reign, but at any given time and within the limits of any one reign it is hard, if not impossible, to discover such differences as might seem to arise from the minting of the coins at various centres. The safest hypothesis, then, is that all the coins—at any rate those of silver—were struck in the capital of the Empire. These letters and symbols probably, for the most part, belong to the category of secret marks, from which the mint-master could ascertain at what date, under what circumstances, and, perhaps, at what officina the coins were issued.

Some analysis of these signs may here be attempted, even if it is impossible to explain their individual significance. First, as to the letters. These are, apparently, to be found chiefly, if not exclusively, in the earliest reigns. Thus, John I has N. Manuel I:—B on obv. and rev.; K on obv.; K both on obv. and rev.; K on obv.; K on obv. and \land on rev.; \gt on obv.; \gt on obv.; X (if a letter?) on obv. In the next reign (John II) only A (and $\overset{\land}{\Gamma}$) occurs=AFIOC? (p. xc n., supra), but after this, letters—except only B on obv. and rev.—are absent from the coinage. The use of letters, then (excepting B, which is found in nearly every reign), would seem to have been only temporarily in vogue, chiefly during the reign of Manuel I (A.D. 1238–1263).

In addition to the letters, John I and Manuel I made a considerable use of the star and the pellet, so often found in later reigns. Although in some cases the *pellets* seen in the field of the Trebizond coins may be purely decorative, it can hardly be doubted that as a rule they are of the nature of secret or differentiating marks which a numismatist ought not to ignore. On the obverses of Manuel I we find the pellets varying in number from 1 to 9: on the reverses the number of pellets varies, sometimes, though by no means always, repeating the exact number of the

¹ Cherson, the Crimean possession of Trebizond, may be borne in mind as a possible mint, whether for the silver or the bronze. Specimens of the asper have often come from the Crimea, though this does not prove that they were struck there: see de Saulcy, Essai de class. . . . mon. byz., p. 421; Blau, op. cit., p. 155, says that the aspers of Manuel I usually come from the Crimea and Georgia. Retowski procured specimens during his residence in the Crimea (Komn., p. 4).

² K, however, appears under Alexius IV.

pellets found on the obv. The stars on the obverses of Manuel I are from 1 to 4 in number:—

- 4 stars on obv. and 3 on rev.
- 3 stars on obv. and 3 on rev.
- 2 stars on obv. and 2 on rev.
- 1 star on obv. (usually).

The pellet also plays its part in these star-series, as it does in other series in later reigns.

In the following reign (John II) we find \bigstar (on reverses), and \bigstar (on obverses). The cross occurs: this was found already in the reign of Manuel I, and is found under Alexius II. A curious symbol β (or ? monogram of which B is a part) is seen in this reign (p. 264). The lis (p. 263) is a new symbol.

Alexius II, under whom the equestrian types first appear, has the \mathbf{X} on obv. and rev.; also a quatrefoil ornament \mathbf{O} on obv. and rev. (p. 280). The coins offer a new symbol, a plant or flower \mathbf{V} which, on the aspers, is thrice repeated on the obv. and thrice on the rev. On the half-aspers \mathbf{V} occurs on obv. and \mathbf{V} on rev.

The coinage of Basil is perhaps only marked by pellets. Michael has \mathbf{x} , also $\mathbf{\cdot}$. On the more abundant issues of Alexius III we note first the reappearance of the lis (on *obv*. and *rev*.), seen previously on coins of John II. A new symbol appears, a bird's head (on *obv*. and *rev*.), which may be the head of an eagle, and so have perhaps an Imperial significance. The half-asper and quarter-asper are marked by \mathbf{B} on *obv*. and *rev*.

Alexius III also uses the plant or flower of Alexius II in the form Ψ (on obv. and rev.). These 'plant' coins have also an additional symbol on their obverses, either a cross or a sun.³ The latter device deserves attention. In one case (Pl. XL. 1) it may be described as a globular mass, radiate; in another, as the rayed disk of the sun represented with human features (Pl. XL. 2). These representations are so distinct from the conventional star-symbol, that it seems legitimate to find in them some special significance. Now, in the reign of Alexius III, on the 5th May, 1361 A. D., there took place a remarkable eclipse of the sun, described by the chronicler Panaretos 4 as oĩa oùk ἐγένετο ἐν τῆ καθ' ἡμᾶς γενεᾶ ιστε ἐφάνησαν καὶ ἀστέρες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. At the time of the eclipse, which was of more than

¹ In many cases (as under Manuel I, pp. 243 f., *infra*, I have grouped the varieties according to the *number* of pellets present. M. Retowski (*op. cit.*) has also thought it worth while to enumerate the pellets, and he has combined with this enumeration an instructive arrangement suggested by the *position* of the pellets.

² As to the eagle on the bronze coins see p. lxxxviii, supra.

³ In M. Retowski's scheme of arrangement (Komn., p. 136, the coins with the sun are regarded as issues of Alexius II.

^{4 § 29} in Fallmerayer, Orig. Frag., Part 2; Evangelides, op. cit., p. 107 n.

an hour's duration, Panaretos happened to be in the company of Alexius and the emperor's mother, at the monastery of Sumelas, about thirty miles from the capital, and he tells how they uttered many prayers and supplications. The use of the sun as a symbol would certainly serve admirably to mark the date of issue of such aspers of Alexius III as were minted about this period, and it may even be suspected that it was intended to have a prophylactic influence. And doubtless the former great eclipse of the reign of Basil, when the people in terror rose up and stoned the emperor, was still remembered.

The symbols of Manuel III link themselves to those of Alexius II and Alexius III, and are as follows:—

* on obv. and rev. (also with B on obv. and rev.).

Y on obv. and rev. (also with B on obv. and rev.).

* on obv. and * on rev.

Bird's head on obv. and Ψ on rev.

Alexius IV has \mathbf{X} on obv, and \mathbf{Y} on rev, and in this reign we find the letter \mathbf{K} (besides \mathbf{B} and \mathbf{B}) accompanying the \mathbf{X} of the obverse, and also joined to the \mathbf{Y} of the reverse.

In the notes to this volume references will be found throughout to the various articles and monographs that have been used in preparing the Introduction and the descriptive Catalogue. On the historical side, these references relate more particularly to the valuable works of Bury, Finlay, and Hodgkin, and to those of Diehl, Fallmerayer, Jules Gay, Schlumberger, and Ludwig Schmidt. Among the numismatic monographs to which frequent reference is made are the essays of J. Friedlaender on the coins of the Vandals and the Ostrogoths, and Mr. C. F. Keary's Coinages of Western Europe, which is especially interesting and suggestive on the economic side. For the coins of the Duchy of Beneventum, M. Arthur Sambon's papers in Le Musée (1908) have been very serviceable: but for the coinage of the Lombard kings there is practically no guide beyond a brief section in Mr. Keary's work. The coinages of the empires of Thessalonica and Nicaea have never been thoroughly investigated, and there is much to be corrected in Sabatier's account of them in his Monnaies byzantines. To the recent monograph of O. Retowski on the coinage of Trebizond I have already referred on p. lxxv.

As in my previous volumes on the *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, I have pleasure in calling attention to the debt our national collection owes to its generous benefactor, the late Count J. F. W. de Salis. A great number of coins described in this volume are presentations from him to the

¹ On some aspers of this series, p. 294, Nos. 4 and 5, the place of the sun is taken by the cross.

² Panaretos, Chron., § 9.

Trustees of the British Museum, and the original arrangement and attribution of the specimens in the Museum cabinets were no doubt largely due to his rare numismatic acumen, and it is the more regrettable that he has left behind no notes to explain or justify his views.

I have heartily to thank Mr. Grueber, the Keeper of Coins, and Mr. G. F. Hill for their care in collating the descriptions with the coins and for valuable suggestions made to me in the course of reading the proof-sheets.

WARWICK WROTH.

CATALOGUE OF COINS

OF THE

VANDALS, OSTROGOTHS, LOMBARDS, ETC.



I.

COINS OF THE VANDALS

GAISERIC 1

A. D. 428-25 JAN. 477

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
	Solidus			dus	
		(Imitated from Solidus of Valentinian III, A. D. 425—455)			
			DNPLAVALENTI N IANVSPFAVG Bust of Valentinian III, r., beardless, wear- ing jewelled diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.		
1	67.	N .8	(2 for S)	[de Salis gift]	i. 1
2	66.6	A .8	(∧ for A)	(A for A) (S for Z) [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-7]	
3	66.4	A .8	(PLA)	(\(\Lambda\) for \(\mathbf{A}\))	

¹ The attribution of the following coins to Gaiseric is conjectural (see Introd. § 1): no coins are known to be inscribed with his name (cp. Friedlaender, Münzen der Vandalen, pp. 14-18).

Linux. W

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			(Imitated from Tremis	missis ssis of Valentinian III) Within wreath, small cross pattée; in ex., COMOB	
Ą	21.8	N .55	DNPLAVAL[E?]NTI		i. 2
5	21.8	<i>A</i> ⋅5	DNPLAVALENTINI ANVSPF	[de Salis gift]	
			Silver (Imitated from Silver Coins of the Ravenna mint of Honorius, A. D. 395—423)		
,		•		VRBS ROMA Roma, wearing long robes and helmet, seated l. on cuirass; in r., Victory holding wreath; in l., sceptre; in ex., RVPS (part of inscr. and type off flan).	
6	28.4	AR -6		[de Salis gift]	i. 3
7	19.	Æ -5		[de Salis gift]	i. 4
8	25.	Æ .6		[de Salis gift]	i. 5
9	23.6	Æ .6		[de Salis gift]	i. 6

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate	
			Bronze			
				t to the capture of D. 19 Oct. 439)		
			XLII (42	? nummi)		
			KART HAÇO Male figure (the Vandal king?) standing facing, wearing cuirass and paludamentum; head bare; l. resting on spear; r. arm lowered; exergue plain. Border of dots.	Horse's head l., bridled; in the exergue (which occupies nearly half the coin), XIII. Border of dots.		
10	175.	Æ 1.		[Presented by Mr. C. H. Read, P.S.A., 1905]	i. 7	
11	174.	Æ 1·	(Described, T. Combe, Vet. Pop. et Reg. Num., 1814, p. 241, No. 2)	[Cracherode bequest, 1799]		
12	154.1	Æ 1.				
13	154.8	Æ 1.	(Type smaller than on Nos. 10–12)	[Purchased, 1847, 6-19-72]	i. 8	
				n bronze coins counter- XXXIII see Introduc-		

¹ Types. Obv. The figure probably represents, as Friedlaender has suggested (M. d. Vand., p. 36), the Vandal king, though he wears the Roman and not the Vandal dress. The coins of Gunthamund and other Vandal kings show the king in Roman costume. Rev. The horse's head, taken in conjunction with the legend KARTHAGO, must be regarded as appearing here as the emblem or town-arms of Carthage. A horse's head had appeared on silver coins of the city in the fourth century B.C. (see B. V. Head, Guide to the Coins of the Ancients, Pl. 26, No. 40), and the Vandal type may have been suggested, though not of course necessarily, by one such coin. The horse figures in the foundation-legends of ancient Carthage: cp. Justin, xviii. 5 'ibique [i.e. on the spot where Carthage was subsequently founded] equi caput repertum, bellicosum potentemque populum futurum significans'.

No.	Weight		l and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				XXI (21	nummi)	
				KART HAÇO Type as Nos. 10-12; exergue plain. Border of dots.	Horse's head as Nos. 10-12; in ex., XXI. Border of dots.	
14	114.7	Æ	-8		[Parkes Weber gift, 1906]	i. 9
15	146.	Æ	-85		[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-459]	
16	111.7	Æ	·85		[R. Payne Knight bequest, $1824 = Num$ mi veteres, p. 217, No. 31]	
17	95.8	Æ	.75	(Type smaller than on Nos. 14-16)	,	i. 10
				XII (12	nummi)	
				KART HAÇO Type as Nos. 10-12; exergue plain. Borderof dots.		
18	86.5	Æ	.75			i. 11
19	75.2	Æ	.75		[de Salis gift]	
20	67.2	Æ	.75		[Presented by Mr. C. H. Read, P.S.A., 1905]	
21	56.3	Æ	-8			
22	49.	Æ	.7	ļ	[Purchased, 1908, 5-6-13]	

HUNERIC'

A. D. 26 Jan. 477 — 23 Dec. 484

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			(With name of the	lver Emperor Honorius, 95–423)	
				Inser. Female figure (Carthage) wearing robe and mantle, standing facing, each	
1	21.	Æ .55	HONORIVS PV•AÇT	ANN O K ³ [Bought of Mr. Eastwood in 1865; from the Charlemont sale]	i. 12
2	14.2 (worn)	Æ ·5	HONORIVS PVSAÇT	ANN O IIII K [Bought of E. Asch- kenasi of Tunis, 1854]	

Huneric, like his father Gaiseric, does not appear to have struck coins bearing his own name (cp. Keary, Coinages of W. Eur., p. 34, as to a coin with the supposed name of Huneric): as to the attribution to him of the following coins, see Introd. § 1.
 Compare a similar figure accompanied by the inscription FELIX KARTς on silver coins of Hilderic described infra.
 The date, following Anno, is off the flan. K = Karthago. A specimen in the Berlin Museum (procured in Rome) is dated ANNO V (see Friedl., M. d. Vand., p. 19; Keary, op. cit., pp. 33 f.). The dates are presumably regnal years of Huneric.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				onze 2 nummi)	
			`	NX·III within laurel wreath with circular ornament.	
3	200.5	Æ 1.1		[Purchased, 1847, 6-19-71]	i. 13
4	179.	Æ 1.05			
5	182-1	Æ 1·1			
6	159.	Æ 1.05		[Louis Fraser, 1847 ²]	
7	126.9	Æ 1.	[Purchased, 1904, 6-4-601]	(A cross instead of a pellet in the centre of the circular ornament)	i. 14
			XXI (21 nummi)		
			Type (Carthage standing) as Nos. 3-6.	NXXI within laurel wreath with circular ornament.	
8	104.8	Æ .9		[Purchased, 1847, 6-25-18 ³]	i. 15

¹ The figure on the obv. was no doubt derived from the similar figure that had appeared on the coins struck at Carthage by Diocletian and his successors (see, e.g. Cohen, Méd. imp., vi, p. 464, No. 437). The legends on Diocletian's coins of this type are:—Salvis Argg. et Caess. arcta Kart., and Salvis Argg. et Caess. fel. Kart. The female personification of Carthage is represented on mosaics and other monuments of the fourth and fifth centuries (see J. Maurice, Numismatique Constantinienne (1908), i, p. 344 n.).

² Coins of Byzantine emperors of the Carthage mint were included in the same

purchase.

³ Another example described, Friedl., M. d. Vand., p. 38, No. 5. Specimens of the coin are rare.

No.	Weight		l and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				XII (12	nummi)	
				Type (Carthage standing) as Nos. 3-6.	NXII within laurel wreath with circular ornament.	
9	73.	Æ	-8		[E. Aschkenasi, of Tunis, 1854]	i. 16
10	64.7	Æ	.7		[Purchased, 1908, 5-6-14]	
11	87.6	Æ	.75		[Parkes Weber gift, 1906: purchased of Sambon]	
				П	II	
				Bust l. (the king), beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass; in front, palm-branch. Border of dots.	N Border of dots.	
12	21.	Æ	-55		[Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846]	i. 17
13	17.8	Æ	.45		[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
14	17.2	Æ	.4		[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	i. 18

Of the specimens referred to by Friedlaender (M. d. Vand., p. 39; p. 45), one was found at Carthage, two others in Italy, in the Monte Roduni hoard. Specimens have also been found in Algeria mixed with small bronze coins of King Hilderic (see Lettres de Baron Marchant, ed. 1851, p. 196; cp. p. 201), and this fact suggests the possibility of the coins belonging to Hilderic himself or one of his immediate predecessors. But as the coins are in respect of their mark of value akin to those assigned to Gaiseric (p. 4) and Huneric (p. 7) I assign them to this period, pointing out, however, the uncertainty of the attribution and the possibility of their having been issued in a later reign than Huneric's.

GUNTHAMUND

A.D. 24 DEC. 484—3 SEPT 496

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate	
				Silver 100		
			Inser. Bust of Gunthamund r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem (with crescent and pellet), paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots.	within laurel wreath with circular ornament. Border of dots.		
1	29.4	AR -65	DNREXÇV[N] THA	Blacas coll., pur- chased, 1867]	ii. 1	
2	32.8	Æ .6	DNREXÇVN THAM	[E. Aschkenasi, of Tunis, 1854]	ii. 2	
			5	50		
			DNRXÇ VNTHA Bust of Gunthamund r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem (with crescent and pellet), paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots.	ment.		
3	17.3	Æ .5		[J. G. Pfister, 1855 ⁸]	ii. 3	
4	15.6	AR .6		[Bank of England gift, 1877]		

¹ DN almost certainly = denarii (as Babelon, Traité, i, pt. 1, p. 582). The only difficulty is the coin No. 3, where DN appears without any accompanying numeral. Friedlaender (M. d. Vand., p. 9) suggested that DN = Dominus noster. Marchant's interpretation Denarius novus has found no acceptance.

² Presumably a laurel wreath, as on Nos. 1 and 2, but the leaves are very thin and wiry.

³ The other coins in this purchase were chiefly Italian.

		Metal and			
No.	Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
5	15.3	Æ •5		[Campanasale, London, 1846, lot 1187]	
6	14.8	Æ .55		[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; from the George Sim sale, 1890, lot 694]	
7	15.5	Æ •55¹			ii. 4
8	7.7	-R -4	DN[RXÇ] [V]NTHA Bust of Gunthamund r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem (with crescent and pellet), paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots.	XXV within wreath.	.: g
o		A 4	For bronze coins that to Gunthamund (Kear	onze at have been attributed y, Coinages of W. Eur., all bronze of Vandalic p. 21.	ii. 5

¹ Marchant (cp. Friedlaender, op. cit., p. 25) published from the Dupoujet collection a coin reading DN L on the rev. This coin is not represented in the British Museum, and no original was known either to Friedlaender or to Keary. Its existence seems open to doubt: possibly it is really a mis-read coin of Trasamund (see infra), who issued two varieties of the '50' denarii piece, namely (i) with DN only, (ii) with DN L. We may perhaps conjecture that Gunthamund issued only No. (i), and that this type was reproduced by his successor Trasamund at the beginning of his reign; afterwards, in order, perhaps, to avoid confusion with the pieces of DN XXV, Trasamund modified the type by the addition of the distinctive numeral L.

TRASAMUND'

A. D. 3 Sept. 496—6 May 523

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse .	Plate
			(with head of Anasta DNANASTA SIVSPP AVG Bust of Anasta- sius I, beardless, with head three-quarters r.; wearshelmet(with plume and cross), diadem, and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand holds shield de- corated with group of horseman attack- ing prostrate enemy.		
1	67.1	AJ .8	[de Salis gift]	At end of inser., H; in field r., star.	ii. 6
			Tren	nissis	
			(with head of	Anastasius I)	
			DNANASTASIVSPPF AV Bust of Anastasius I r., wearing jewelled diadem, paludamen- tum and cuirass.	girdled chiton ad-	
2	22.2	<i>N</i> ⋅55	PR for PP) [Purchased in 1850, 4-9-5]		ii. 7

¹ On the spelling of the name see Friedlaender, M. d. Vand., p. 7: cp. Rev. arch., 1900, July-Dec., p. 513, No. 205, inscr. with TRASAMVNDI. For the name on the coins see Nos. 10-14, infra.

² The Vandalic origin of this solidus and of the following tremisses was suggested by de Salis. The coinage of these may, possibly, have begun during the last few years of Trasamund's predecessor, Gunthamund.

	1				
No.	Weight	Metal ar Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
3	22.3	A .55	(PR for PP) [de Salis gift]		
4	22.	A⁄ .5	(Ends PRFAVP) [de Salis gift]	(VICTORIAAVGGTO RVMA) (COMOB)	
5	22.1	A⁄ .55	(Ends PRFAVIG) [de Salis gift]	(VICTORIAAVGGTO RVM) (COMOB)	
6	23.3	A .5	(DNANASTA SIVSP PAVG)	(Inscr. partly obscure) (CONOB) in field 1., S [de Salis gift]	
7	22.	A .5	(DNANASTASIV2P RFAI*•*) [de Salis gift]	(VICTORIAAVGGTO RVMI) (style less stiff than on Nos. 2-6)	ii. 8
. 8	22.5	A⁄ .55	(DNANASTASIVSII AF) [de Salis gift]	(VICTORIAAVGZTO RVM (ONOB) (style as No. 7)	
9	22.4	A .5	(DNANASTASIVSP (DNA Gle Salis gift]	(VICTORIAAVGSTO RVM) (CONOB) (style as No. 7)	
			Sil	ver	
			50	O 1	
			Inser. Bust of Trasamund r., beardless, wearing jewelled diadem (with crescent and pellet), paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots.	D•N within wreath with circular ornament. Border of dots.	
10	16.7	Æ ·55	DNRÇTHR ASAMV	[Purchased, 1862, 4-17-43]	ii. 9

 $^{^1}$ Sabatier, i, p. 217, No. 1, describes and figures as being in the British Museum a silver coin with DNC— (=100 denarii). But this coin is certainly not in the collection.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
11	15.7	Æ ·55	DNRÇTH. (rest off flan) [de Salis gift]	(Cross in circular ornament)	ii. 10
12	16.8	Æ -55	DNRCITH SAMVNDS [E. Aschkenasi, of Tunis, 1854]	(<u>D•N</u>)	ii. 11
13	14.6	Æ .55	DNRÇTH[R SA]MVN DS [Blacas coll., 1867]	(D•N)	
14	15-	R .55	DNRÇTH SAMVUS	(DN) [The Earl of Enniskillen, 1856 ²]	

¹ R ζ = regis. Friedlaender (M. d. Vand., p. 8) remarks that the following word is in the nominative. But the S at the end of THSAMVNDS may perhaps be a mark of abbreviation. The ground \dot{J} = The ground \dot{J}

of abbreviation, Thsamund' = Thrasamundi.

² Friedlaender (M. d. Vand., p. 28) describes (after Falbe, Recherches, Pl. VI, No. 25) a silver coin with \$\overline{D}\$ N XXV on the rev. The obv. legend is incomplete, but would seem to be the name of Trasamund. The bronze coin in Sabat., i, p. 218, No. 6, is not of certain attribution: it is here described, infra, among the small bronze of the Vandali period. Seal of Trasamund. Schlumberger (Revue num., 1883, pp. 457, 458, Pl. X. 5) publishes the following seal in his own collection as the seal of the Vandal king:—Obv. Bust of Trasamund facing between two crosses. Rev. TRASEMVND Cross potent on steps. A word or two must be said as to this description. (i) The obv. bust appears to me to be intended for the Saviour and not for a Vandal king. (ii) The rev. type perhaps suggests a later period than the reign of Trasamund (the cross potent first appears on Byzantine coins in the reign of Tiberius II Constantine, A.D. 578-582). Is the inscription on the rev. clearly TRASEMVND and not—as Sabatier originally read it—SALVS MVNDI? I note that Schlumberger's text gives TPASEMVND and his engraving TRASEMVND.

HILDERIC

A.D. 6 MAY 523-19 MAY 530 (d. 533)

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			[5	ver O] tin I, A.D. 518-527) FELIX CARTA Female figure (Carthage) standing facing wearing robe, mantle, and wreath in each band even of	
1	15.6	Æ .55	Ends INVSPPA	in each hand, ears of corn. Border of dots. [de Salis gift]	ii. 12
2	14.2	Æ .55	DNIVSTI NVSPPA	[Purchased, 1868, 5-9-5]	ii. 13
			(with name	of Hilderic)	
			Inser. Bust of Hilderic r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamen- tum, and cuirass. Border of dots.	FELIX KARTÇ Type (Carthage standing) as on No. 1. Border of dots.	
3	19.3	Æ ·55	DNHILDI RIXREX ²	[de Salis gift]	ii. 14
4	17.2	Æ .6	DNHILD. RIXREX	[Blacas coll., 1867]	ii. 15
5	18.2	Æ ·6	DNHILD. RIXREX	[Campana sale, 1846, lot 1187]	

¹ In the Brit. Mus. Cat., Imperial Byz. Coins, i, p. 21, I have given reasons for supposing that the coin bears the head of Justin I and not that of Justin II, and, further, for regarding it not as an Imperial issue, but probably Vandalic. A similar view had already been taken by Friedlaender (M. d. Vand., p. 32). Justin I was contemporary partly with Trasamund, partly with his successor Hilderic. The present coin should, no doubt, be regarded as issued at the instance or with the approval of Hilderic, who was on terms of friendship with the Byzantine court and made an alliance with Justinian. Hilderic himself uses the reverse type on Nos. 3-7. It may be remarked that the coins with the head of Justin are of better style (at least on the obv.) than those with the head of Hilderic (cp. Pl. II. 12, 13 with 14-16).
² In an African inser. (C. I. L., No. 10,516) we find regis Ildirix.

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
6	18.5	Æ	-65	DNHIL. RIXREX	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
7	19.8 (pierced)	Æ	.65	DNHILDI	[Purchased, 1849, 6-28-3]	
				2	25	
				DNHIL (rest obscure). Bust of Hilderic r., beardless, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots. ¹	XXV within wreath.	
8	9.3	Æ	.45		[Purchased,1868,5-9-6]	ii. 16
				Bro	onze	
				Inser. Bust of Hilderic r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamen- tum, and cuirass. Border of dots.	Cross potent within wreath, with circu- lar ornament. Bor- der of dots. ²	
9	6.8	Æ	-35	HIL (rest off flan)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	ii. 17
10	8.4	Æ	.35	(Ends . REX; beginning of inscr. off flan)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	ii. 18

¹ Other specimens, Friedlaender, M. d. Vand., p. 31. Friedlaender (op. cit., p. 33) also describes a silver coin with similar rev. which probably has on obv. the name and bust of Justin I: cp. Nos. 1, 2, supra.

2 For other specimens see Friedlaender, op. cit., p. 31; Thomsen, Cat., Nos. 1075, 1076. Specimens occurred in a hoard found at Guelma in Algeria in 1843: Num. Chron., xvii (1855), p. 5 and p. 11. See also Lettres de Baron Marchant, ed. 1851, p. 201; cp. p. 196. The rev. type may perhaps have been suggested by the gold tremissis attributed (supra, p. 2, No. 4) to Gaiseric.

GELIMER

A.D. 19 MAY 530-Dec. 533

No.	Weight	Meta Si	l and ze	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
					ver 0 D•N; above, small eross; all within wreath, with circular ornament; whole in border of dots.	
1	19.1	Æ	·65	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-57]	(Two pellets between letters)	ii. 19
2	19.5	AR	·65	(First half of inser. off flan)	[Blacas coll., 1867]	
3	18.5	AR AR	·6		[de Salis gift ²]	

¹ In an inser., C. I. L., No. 10,862, ΔΟΜΝ GEILIMER. On the silver dish found in Italy bearing the king's name the inser. is Geilamir rex Vandalorum et Alanorum: the name is therefore spelt as on the coins (C. I. L., viii, suppl. 1, No. 17,412, p. 1651; Baron J. Pichon's sale Catal. (Paris, 1897), p. 34, No. 205², Pl. V). C. I. L.. No. 17,412, also has Geilamir. For other spellings, L. Schmidt, Gesch. d. Vand., p. 124 n. In Procopius, Γελίμες.

Γελίμερ.

² The following silver coins have also been attributed (correctly?) to Gelimer:—
Sambon, Sale Cat., Sotheby's, June, 1872, lot 670, 'Monogram, rev. Cross in wreath';
Caucich's Bullettino di numismatica italiana (Florence), An. iv, 1870, p. 31, Pl. II. 2-4.
Similar types.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Bro	nze	
			Inser. Head of Gelimer r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamen- tum, and cuirass. Border of dots.		
4	13.6	Æ ·35	ÇEIL	[de Salis gift]	ii. 20
5	7.2	Æ ·35	(Inser. and type obscure)	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-458]	ii. 21
6	11.4	Æ: 35	ÇEIL	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	

¹ Specimens occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard: Friedl., M. d. Vand., p. 45. A variety of the monogram is described, Thomsen, Cat., No. 1079.

SMALL BRONZE COINS OF THE VANDALIC PERIOD

The types, attribution, provenance, &c., of these coins will be found discussed in the 'Introduction', supra, § 1. The specimens are here, for convenience, classed according to their reverse types, but in some cases an attribution is suggested. It is by no means certain that all the coins here described were minted by Vandal kings, though they seem to be mostly of African origin and of the Vandal period. Some may have been issued by tribes like the Mauri (cp. Nos. 179-181 infra).

VICTORY TYPES

Victory is one of the commonest types. The usual representation is a figure of the goddess turned to the left, holding wreath and palm, but there are several variations. The coins with the heads of Honorius (Nos. 1-11), Theodosius II (Victory facing, No. 42), and Valentinian III (Nos. 12-14)—Emperors who reigned A. D. 395-455—may be of the reign of Gaiseric, though, of course, possibly later. As to coins with DOMINO NOSTRO (without name of ruler), see *infra*, No. 15.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Victory	to left	
			(with head of Hono	orius, a. d. 395-423)	
			Inser. Head of Honorius r., wearing diadem and drapery.	Inser. Victory standing or advancing l., holding wreath and palm.	
1	25.7	Æ ·5	DNHONORI &c. [Gadban, 1865]	VICTO &c. in field l., P; in ex., RM	
2	26.2	Æ ·4	SPFAVG [Gadban, 1865]	VICTOR &c. in field l., P; in ex., RM?	
3	18.6	Æ ·4	HONORI &c. [de Salis gift]	VI &c. in field l., P; in ex., RM	

No.	Weight		ıl and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
4	18.6	Æ	.4	DNHONORI &c. [de Salis gift]	VICTO &c. (type rude); in field l., P; in ex., R	
5	16.	Æ	•4	(Inser. obscure) [Gadban, 1865]	VICTOR &c. in field l., P	
6	16.4	Æ	.45	VSPFA [Gadban, 1865]	$I \land \land \lor GG ; in$ field $l., S$	
7	17.2	Æ	.45	NORI &c. [Gadban, 1865]	VICTO[R] IAAVG;	-
8	18.3	Æ	.5	VSPFAVG [Gadban, 1865]	IAAVGG; in field l., T; in ex., RM?	iii. 1
9	18.6	Æ	.45	ONORI [de Salis gift]	AAVGG	iii. 2
10	16.3	Æ	.4	(Inser. obscure) [Gadban, 1865]	VICTOR	
11	18-2	Æ	.4	AVG [Gadban, 1865]	۱۸۸	
				Viatowy to loft (Salus Reipublicae)	
					nian III, A.D. 425-455)	
					Inser. Victory advanc- ingl., holding wreath	
12	17.7	Æ	· 4 5	INIANVS [de Salis gift]	SALVS VBLICE; in field l., E; in ex., R	iii. 3
13	14.8	Æ	.45	[D]NVALENTNV SPFAV [Gadban, 1865]	SALVSBLICE; in field l., T; in ex., RM	
14	25.1	Æ	.45	DUVALENTINI [Gadban, 1865]	SPVBLIC.	

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Victory to left (ob	v. Domino nostro)	
				DOMINO NOSTRO Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery.		
15	18.6	Æ	.45	(No drapery) [H. P. Borrell sale, July 1852, lot 846]	(Dress long)	iii. 4
16	16.	Æ	•4 =	[de Salis gift]	(Dress short)	i ii. 5
				Victory	v to left	
				(with blund	ered legends)	
				Inser. Head r., wearing diadem and drapery.	Inser. Victory advanc- ing l., holding in r., wreath, in l., palm- branch.	
17	18-2	Æ	.45	^ CMIA.? [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	\\CVS; in field l., cross; in ex., .O\	iii. 6
18	13.2	Æ	.4	CNIN. [de Salis gift]	$\dots \wedge V \zeta V$; in field l., cross; in ex., $\dots \wedge$	
19	11.5	Æ	.4	(Inser. off flan) [de Salis gift]	VICTOR &c. in field $1., \in {}^2$	
20	11.	Æ	.4	DM &c. [de Salis gift]	In field l., cross. ³	iii. 7

¹ Cp. Sabat., i, p. 221, No. 9. DOMINO NOSTRO. Coins with similar obr. occur infra, No. 54 (rev. Emperor standing) and No. 83 (rev. Gate). All are of neat. almost delicate, workmanship and in unusually high relief (in general style they rather resemble No. 42, infra, with head of Theodosius II, A.D. 408-450). I am inclined to ascribe them to Gaiseric or to his successor Huneric. The rev. of Nos. 15, 16 apparently emphasizes the fact that the coin was struck at Carthage, as do the thick bronze coins already attributed to Gaiseric (p. 3, No. 10, supra). Domino nostro, without the addition of the king's name, would, moreover, be suitable to Gaiseric or Huneric, because their personal names were not, so far as we know, placed upon their coins, nor were such names inscribed till the reign of Gunthamund, the third king. Gaiseric and Huneric may simply have styled themselves on their bronze coins Dominus Noster: later on, under Gunthamund, the Dominus noster (abbreviated DN) is supplemented by rex and the king's name. (DN is familiar on Roman coins from the time of Constantine the Great, but written at full length as Dominorum nostrorum or Domini N. it is rare.)

2 Cp. No. 12, supra.

3 In style not unlike the coins attributed to Masuna, infra, p. 39.

No.	Weight		ıl and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				(Inser. usually represe bably barbarous imita	Inser. mainly represented by strokes: protions—by the Mauri?) Inser. mainly represented by strokes or lozenges. Victory advancing 1., holding in r. wreath, in 1. palm-branch.	
21	7.	Æ	-35	[de Salis gift]	Above, l., cross.	iii. 8
22	13.2	Æ	.45	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	(No inser.)	
				3	tly off flan)	
23	10.8	Æ	.45	(Inscr., IИИИ) [de Salis gift]		iii. 9
24	13.6	Æ	.4	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]		
25	18.	Æ	.4	[de Salis gift]		iii. 10
26	15.	Æ	.4	[de Salis gift]	(Inser. not indicated)	
27	10.8	Æ	-35	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	(Type partly off flan)	
28	17.8	Æ	.4	[de Salis gift]	(AVIIII)	
29	13.8	Æ	.45	[de Salis gift]		
30	8.8	Æ	.45	[de Salis gift]		
31	17.6	E	.4	[de Salis gift]		

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse .	Reverse	Plate
			1	v to left	
			(obv. inscr. Inscr. Bust r., wearing diadem and drapery. Border of dots.	Victory standing l.,	
32	9.5	Æ .4	[MX\?]IA¹ [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	Pellets representing inscr.; in field r., cross; in front,?	iii. 11
33	9.	Æ ·35	DNRC . AU [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	Type barbarous, partly off flan.	iii. 12
34	12.4	Æ 4	DNRC [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	Type rude.	
35	7.4	Æ ·35	DNC [Doubleday purchase, 1849]		
36	9.1	Æ ·4	DNI [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	Type barbarous, partly off flan.	iii. 13
			Victory	y to left	
			(obv. inscr	. doubtful)	
			Inser. Bust r., wearing diadem and drapery. Border of dots.	Victory standing l., holding in r. wreath. (Type rude.)	
37	6.6	E ·4	Ends ASI ²	[de Salis gift]	iii. 14

¹ Mr. Keary (Coinages of W. Eur., p. 31, No. 4) has read this specimen as 'DNG... THA (obscure)' and attributed it doubtfully to Gunthamund. The attribution is far from improbable, and the form of the legend on Nos. 33, 34 suggests that it is either the coin of a Vandal king, or a copy of some such coin. No. 32 is of comparatively careful work on the rev., though the legend is very doubtful: Nos. 33-6 are more or less barbarous. I therefore hesitate definitely to assign these coins to Gunthamund, though it is not impossible that they reproduce some bronze coins of his that are no longer extant, or that they are copies (as regards the obv.) of his silver coins. Compare Nos 37-41 intra Nos. 37-41, infra.

² The beginning of the inscr. (if any) is off the flan, or broken away. Sabatier (i, p. 218, No. 6) read this identical specimen A5-P and assigned it to King Trasamund. Here, again, as in the case of Nos. 32-6, the obscurity of the legend and the rudeness of the rev. types will prevent us from definitely adopting the attribution to Trasamund or another Vandal king. The coins are related to Nos. 32-6, of which they appear to be copies, further degraded.

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
38	9.7	Æ	.4	(letters obscure)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
39	6.2	Æ	.35	DN	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iii. 15
40	5.4	Æ	-35	(No inscr.)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iii. 16
41	2.1	Æ	-3	(No inscr.)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
		/		Victory	facing	
				(with head of Theodo	osius II, a.d. 408-450)	
				Inser. Head of Theo- dosius II r., wearing diadem and drapery.	Inser. Victory advancing to front, holding wreath in each hand.	
42	13.8	Æ	.4	DNTHEO &c. [de Salis gift]	[C]ONCO &c.	iii. 17
				(with unce	ertain head)	
				Head r., beardless (wearingdiadem and drapery?).	Victory standing facing, within wreath.	iii. 18
4 3	6.2	Æ	.4	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]		
					nd Captive	
				(with head of Valenti	nian III, A.D. 425–455)	
				Inscr. Head of Valentinian III r., wearing diadem and drapery.	Inser. Victory l., dragging captive.	
44	18.2	Æ	.45	DNVALE? &c. [Gadban, 1865]	SALVS?; in ex.,?	
45	16.6	Æ	.4	TIMIAMVSPFA (no drapery?)	I AAVG [de Salis gift]	iii. 19

No.	Weight		l and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
46	15.5	Æ	.45	TINIAN &c.	(Traces of inscr.) [Gadban, 1865]	
47	17.4	Æ	.45		VICT AAGG [Gadban, 1865]	
48	22.6	Æ	-4	(Valentinian? inscr. IPFIV.?) [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	PVBLIC€	
				Roma	seated	
				(with unce	ertain head)	
				Head r., beardless, wearing diadem (and drapery?).	Tracesofinser. Female figure (Roma?) seated facing, holding in r. globus surmounted by Victory; in l., sceptre.	
49	8.	Æ	-5	[de Salis gift]		iii. 20
				AIDIP? Headr., bearded (wearing diadem and drapery?).	Traces of inser. Roma? seated, as No. 49. (Rude.)	
50	9.4	Æ	.55	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]		iii. 21
				Pa	ax	
				(with uncertain head)		
				T Head r., bearded?	PAX AVG Pax standing l.; in l., cornucopiae; in r., sceptre?; in front, globe?	
51	10.2	Æ	.4	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]		iii. 22

 $^{^{1}}$ Not unlike the imitations of silver coins of Honorius attributed, supra, p. 2, to Gaiseric.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				anding to r. osius I, a. d. 379–395)	
			DNTHEODO SIVSP FAG Head of Theodosius I r., wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.	. VSR MANOR The Emperor in military dress standing to front, looking r.; in r., labarum; l. hand rests on shield.1	
52	21.	Æ ·45	[de Salis gift]		iii. 2 3
			,	Inscr. (obscure). Emperor standing I.; in I., spear; in r., [globe?]	
53	20.5	Æ ·5	[de Salis gift]		iii. 24
				nino nostro) Inscr. Emperor in military dress standing	
			paludamentum, and cuirass.		
54	17.7	Æ ·4	DOMINO NOS [de Salis gift]	VICTORI .A	iii. 25
			(Obv. Unce	ertain head)	
			Head r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.	Emperor (?) standing, with arms out- stretched. (Rude figure.)	
55	8.	Æ ·4	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]		iii. 2 6

Reign of Gaiseric (?).
 Cp. Nos. 15, 16, supra (p. 19), and Sabat., i, p. 222, No. 10.

No.	Weight		l and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				(with head of Valenti	anding to l. nian III, A. d. 425–455) Inser. Emperor in military dress standing l.; in l., spear; in r., globus?	
56	24.3	Æ	.45	DNVAINIA	ICI ? [de Salis gift]	iii. 27
				[Barbarous i	ertain head) imitations?] Inscr. Emperor in military dress standing l.; in l., spear; in r., globus?	
57	24.	Æ	· 4 5	ANIA &c. ? [Gadban, 1865]	(Inscr. obscure; globus obscure)	
58	18-6	Æ	.5	(Inscr. obscure) [Gadban, 1865]	(Without inscr.)	iii. 28
59	11.5	Æ	.45	N &c. [Gadban, 1865]	M	ii i. 2 9
60	8.	Æ	.1	(IIIII for inser.) [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	(No inser.; type partly off flan)	
				Two Empero	ors standing	
				Inser. Head r., beard- less, wearing diadem.	Inser. Two Emperors standing to front, each holding spear and supporting glo- bus between them.	
61	21.3	Æ	•5	VSPFA [de Salis gift]	GLO &c.	iii. 30
62	19.3	Æ	.4	. VS[P?] [de Salis gift]	(Inser. obscure; type partly off flan)	

No.	Weight		al and lize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Emperor ar	nd captive 1	
				Inscr. Head r., beard- less, wearing diadem.	Inser. Emperor r., dragging captive:	
63	12.8	Æ	-35	(Inscr. obscure; type rude) [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	V Captive held by Emperor's r. hand.	iii. 31
64	14.2	Æ	-35	NIA? [Purchased, 1878, 11-3-6]	(No inscr.) Captive held by Emperor's 1. hand.	iii. 32
				Lion, lool	king back	
				Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery.	Lion standing l., looking back. ²	
65	11.3	Æ	.4	[de Salis gift]	(Type partly off flan)	
66	5.8	Æ	-3	[de Salis gift]		iii. 33
				Lion sta	nding r.	
				Inscr. Head r.	Lion standing r.	
67	9.3	Æ	.4	(Inscr. obscure : represented by strokes?)	[Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	iii. 34 rev.
				Palm	-tree ³	
				Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.	Palm-tree with fruit.	
68	11.3	Æ	.35	(Dots for inser.)	[Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846]	iii. 35
69	7.4	Æ	.45	(Dots for inser.)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	

¹ Cp. this type on coins of Leo I, A.D. 457-474.
² Imitated from the Constantinopolitan bronze coins of Leo I, A.D. 457-474: cp. Friedlaender, M. d. Vandalen, p. 50; Pl. II, 3.
³ Cp. Friedlaender, M. d. Vandalen, p. 40.

No.	Weight		al and lize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
70	11.2	Æ	.45	(Traces of inscr.)	[Townley coll.]	iii. 36
71	7.6	Æ	.25	(Traces of inscr.)	[Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846]	
72	6.4	Æ	. 45	(Dots for inser.)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
				G	ı t e	
					nian III, a. d. 425-455)	
				`	Gate with opening in centre; above, star.	-
73	18.6	Æ	.5	DNVALINIA &c.	ΛΟ . [de Salis gift]	iii. 37
74	15.8	Æ	.45	DNVAL &c.	(Traces of inscr.) [Gadban, 1865]	
75	14.	Æ	.5	TINIA &c.	[Purchased, 1878, 11-3-5]	
76	17.	Æ	.55	V? AVG	[de Salis gift]	
77	24.	Æ	$\cdot 5$	DNV	[de Salis gift]	
78	19.	Æ	.45	VA	(Traces of inscr.) [Gadban, 1865]	
7 9	12.5	Æ	.4	Ends NA	[Gadban, 186 5]	
80	21.7	Æ	.45	(Traces of inscr.)	On l., CIS [de Salis gift]	iii. 38
				(Obv. Unce	rtain head)	
				Inscr. Head r., beard- less, wearing diadem and drapery.	Gate with opening in centre; above, star.	
81	6.	Æ	.35	. VI &c.	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iii. 39
82	4.8	Æ	.35	(Inscr.?)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	

No.	Weight		ıl and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate	
				(Obv. Dom [D]OMINO NOSTRO Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.1	, and the second second		
83	18.5	Æ	.45		[Presented by Sir J. Anderson, 1875]	iii. 40	
				Ten	nple		
				Head r., with diadem.	Temple.		
84	5.2	Æ	·35	(Barbarous)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iii. 4 1	
				Probably n	on-Vandalic.		
				Inscription			
				Inser. Bustr., wearing diadem and drapery.	TOV within wreath.		
85	19.8	Æ	.45	TINIAN?	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iii. 42	
				(With head of Justin	nian I, A. p. 527-565)		
				Inser. Bust of Justinian Ir., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.	Inscr. in wreath. ²		
86	14.5	Æ	.35	IVST &c.	VOT XIII [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iii. 43	

¹ Cp. Nos. 15, 16, supra, p. 19.
² On these small pieces with Justinian's name see Friedlaender, M. d. Vandalen, p. 43 and p. 51. The reverses are neatly executed, but not so the obverses. It may be that these are really Imperial issues (A. D. 533 or 534) struck after the capture of Carthage by Belisarius (cp. Brit. Mus. Cat., Imp. Byz. Coins, pp. 63-9; Pl. IX. 11-17; Pl. X. 5-8). But if not Imperial, they must have been struck by some Vandal ruler who reigned contemporaneously with Justinian (whose reign was A.D. 527-565), thus, either Hilderic or Gelimer. Of these two Hilderic is the more probable issuer on account of his friendly relations with the Ryzantine court relations with the Byzantine court.

No.	Weight		al and lize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
87	9.5	Æ	-35	IVSTI	VOT XIII [de Salis gift]	
88	10.3	Æ	.4	IVST	VOT XIII [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
89	10.8	Æ	.35	NAN 1?	VOT XIII	
90	11.3	Æ	•4	IVS NIĀN	[V]OT [X]III [Procured at Carthage and presented by the Rev. Arthur Dixon, 1906]	
91	11.8	Æ	·35	IVSTANVS	VOT XIIII	iii. 44
92	12.4	Æ	.35	(Traces of inscr.)	VOT XIIII [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
93	12.8	Æ	.4	.VST NIAN?	VOT XIIII [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
				Monog	grams	
					osius II, a. d. 408–450)	
				Inser. Head of Theodosius II r., wearing diadem and drapery.	(Monogram of Theodosius II) within wreath.	
94	5.8	Æ	.35	(No inser. visible)	Above, branch. [Doubleday purchase, 1849 ²]	iv. 1

¹ This imitation of the coins of Theodosius II may possibly have been produced as early as the reign of Gaiseric, but as the obr. heads are more or less rude and the coins of small size, I would rather assign them to one of the later Vandal rulers nearer to the time of Gelimer, who adopts a monogram as the rev. type of his bronze coins (p. 16, No. 4, supra). It may be noticed, also, that No. 96 shows the obv. head enclosed in a wreath, like the silver coins of Gelimer.

² Procured from Africa, according to a note made by de Salis. On the monogram see Friedlaender, M. d. Vandalen, p. 48.

No.	Weight		al and lize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
95	7.6	Æ	.3	∧c	[de Salis gift]	
96	4.6	Æ	.3	(No inscr.; head in wreath)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iv. 2
97	10.4	Æ	.35	(Traces of inscr.)	(Doubleday purchase, 1849)	iv. 3
				(Monogram of Mar	cian,2 A.D. 450-457)	
				Inscr. Head of Mar- cian r., wearing dia- dem and drapery.	(Monogram of Marcian) within wreath.	1
98	22.8	Æ	.45	NOPFW (the beginning of inscr. is off the flan)	Above mon., star. [de Salis gift]	iv. 4
99	23.2	Æ	.4	. NM? (rest off flan)	Above mon., star.	
100	6.6 (flan injured)	Æ	.35	DNMARCIANVS	Above mon., cross. [Purchased, 1878, 11-3-1]	iv. 5
101	11.5	Æ	-4	[de Salis gift]	Above mon., cross (S blundered)	
102	18.5	Æ	.4	Traces of inscr. [de Salis gift]	(Monogram varied)	iv. 6
103	14.6	Æ	.45	Traces of inscr., AN? &c.	(Mon. as No. 102) [de Salis gift]	
104	10.6	Æ	.45	RCIS	(Mon. as No. 102) [de Salis gift]	
105	20.2	Æ	.4	Inscr. ends AVC	Above mon., star? [Purchased, 1878, 11-3-3]	
				Inser. Head of Marcian r., wearing diadem and drapery.	(Mon. of Marcian) within border.	
106	8.5	Æ	.35	Inscr. ends NVSI (type l.)	Above mon., cross. [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	iv. 7

¹ 'From Africa' (de Salis's note). ² Issued in the period of Gaiseric, or later (?).

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
107	9.5	Æ	.35	Inser. obscure.	Above mon., cross. [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	
108	10.	Æ	.4	Inscr. obscure.	Above mon., cross? [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	
				Inser. Head of Marcian r., wearing diadem and drapery.	(Monogram of Marcian) within wreath.	
109	12.8	Æ	•4	Inscr. ends IANVS?	[Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	iv. 8
				Monogram of Leo	I (A. D. 457–474)	
		90		Head r., wearing diadem and drapery.	(Monogram of Leo I) within wreath.	
110	16-1	Æ	-35	NNA.?	(Border of dots instead of wreath) [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	iv. 9
111	16.6	Æ	.35		[de Salis gift]	
112	13.3	Æ	-35			
113	10.	Æ	-35	Traces of inscr.	[de Salis gift]	i v. 1 0
114	10.7	Æ	.35	[de Salis gift]	(Mon. partly off flan)	
115	10.4	Æ	.4	Traces of inser.	[Purchased, 1878, 11-3-2]	
116	10.3	Æ	-3		[de Salis gift ¹]	
117	10.6	Æ	•3	(Type obscure)	(Type partly off flan) [de Salis gift]	
118	19.7	Æ	.45	$PFR\Lambda \cdot (= PERA?)$	(Parkes Weber gift, 1906 ²)	iv. 11

¹ A specimen occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard, Friedlaender, M. d. Vand., p. 46. ² The coin was originally purchased from an Italian coin-dealer.

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Monogram of Zer Head r., wearing dia- dem and drapery.	no (A. D. 474-491) (Monogram of Zeno) within	
119	10.9	Æ	.35	Traces of inscr.	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iv. 12
120	12.5	Æ	-35		[de Salis gift]	
121	11.4	Æ	.3		[de Salis gift]	
122	7.8	Æ	.3	.NV.	[Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	
123	13.2	Æ	.4	.EN. [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-11]	(% ()	iv. 13
124	14.7	Æ	.35		(Mon. as No. 123) [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
125	16.	Æ	.35	Traces of inscr.	(Mon. as No. 123) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-18]	
126	12.2	Æ	.35	DN	(Mon. as No. 123) [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	
127	14.5	Æ	.35		(Doubleday purchase, 1849 ²]	
				Monogram of Anasta	sius I (A.D. 491-518)	
					(Monogram of Anastasius) within border of dots.	
128	11.6	Æ	.4		[de Salis gift]	iv. 14
129	13.	Æ	.4	Border of dots.	[de Salis gift]	

¹ This specimen came 'from Africa' according to de Salis's note.
² 'From Africa' (de Salis's note).

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
130	9.	Æ	.35	Traces of inscr.	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
131	8.2	Æ	.35	Traces of inscr. (—V). Border of dots.	[Purchased, 1904, 6-4-309]	iv. 15
132	7.4	Æ	.35	(Type obscure)	[de Salis gift]	
133	7.	Æ	.3	(IN . &c.)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
134	7.1	Æ	.3		[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
135	11.2	Æ	•4	Border of dots.	(NT) [de Salis gift]	
136	7.7	Æ	-35		" [de Salis gift]	iv. 16
137	8.2	Æ	.3		,, [Doubleday pur- chase,1849]	
138	7.	Æ	-35	Border of dots.	,, [de Salis gift]	iv. 17
				Monogram of Justin	ian I (A.D. 527-565)	
				Head of Justinian I r., wearing diadem and drapery.	(Monogram of Justinian) within wreath.	
139	18.	Æ	-35	Ends . IVSTI?	[de Salis gift]	iv. 18
140	10.5	Æ	-35	Ends IANV.		iv. 19

¹ Specimens of Nos. 139 and 140 occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard (see Friedl., *M. d. Vand.*, pp. 42, 43, 52). If these coins are of African, and not (as is conceivable) of Italian origin, they were probably issued during the reign of Hilderic, which ended in May, 530.

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				J.	Y	
				(with head of	f Justinian I)	
				Inser. Bust of Justinian I r., wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.	within border of dots.	
141	7.5	Æ	.4	SISAIND	[de Salis gift]	iv. 20
142	14.4	Æ	.4	IVSTI NV	[de Salis gift]	
143	21.8	Æ	.4	N? ^V	[de Salis gift]	
144	10.3	Æ	-35		[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	i v . 21
145	11.2	Æ	.35		[Procured at Carthage, and presented by the Rev. Arthur Dixon, 1906]	
146	6.8	Æ	.35	(Without inser.)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
147	8.4	Æ	.35		[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
148	7.	Æ	.3	(Inscr. obscure)	[Presented by Mr. GeorgeFinlay,18542]	

¹ Cp. Friedlaender, M. d. Vandalen, p. 43 and p. 52 (specimens in the Monte Roduni

Found at Athens (see Finlay's Hist. of Greece, i, p. 446 n.; cp. Brit. Mus. Cat., Imperial Byzantine Coins, i, p. 43 n.). These small coins (Nos. 141-8) are in much the same case as those with the head of Justinian I described supra, p. 28, No. 86 sq. (rev. VOT XIII &c.). It is possible that they are Imperial issues, struck, A.D. 533 or 534, after the capture of Carthage by Belisarius, but as their obverses (head and inscription) are somewhat rude it is more likely that they are coins of Hilderic (cp. p. 14, supra). A probably = 1 νουμμίον; cp. Justinian's coins struck at Thessalonica (B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, p. 43).

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
					Š	
				(with head of	·	
				Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem [and drapery].	Inscr.	
149	12.6	Æ	·35	[Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	(Inser. obscure, DNIV STIN?)	i⊽. 22
				Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery.	within wreath.	
150	8.4	Æ	.35		[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iv. 23
151	8.4	Æ	-35		[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
				ŀ	<	
				Inser. Head r., wear- ing diadem and dra- pery.	K†	
152	15.	Æ	·35	?	[Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	
				^	1	
				Head r., wearing diadem and drapery.	within border of dots.	
153	5.2	Æ	.3	(Rude style)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849 2]	iv. 24

¹ Cp. the coins with A, Nos. 141-8, supra.

² 'From Africa' (de Salis's note).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Inscr. represented by dots. Headr., wearing diadem and drapery.	within border of dots.	
154	12.4	Æ ·35	(Head partly off flan)	[de Salis gift]	iv. 25
155	11.8	Æ ·35		[Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	,
			Inser. Bust r., wearing diadem and drapery.	(?) (?) within border of dots.	
156	12.3	Æ ·4	Ends AVC	[de Salis gift]	iv. 26
157	16-6	Æ ·4	Head r. [wearing diadem and drapery].	within wreath. [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	
				4	5
			Inser. Head r., wearing diadem and drapery.	. 무	
158	11.	Æ ·3	Ends \wedge > 1 [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	Letters in angles (?).	iv.27

No.	Weight		ıl and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				k		
				(with head of	f Justinian I)	
				Inscr. Head of Justinian I r., wearing diadem and drapery.	within two borders of dots.	
159	11.1	Æ	-35	DNIVTI (sic) NIA		iv. 28
160	9.2	Æ	.35	Blundered inscr., VW /I/II ?	[Doubleday purchase, 1849 ²]	
				≱ in	wreath	
				Inser. Head r., wearing diadem and drapery.	with pellets in the angles; whole in wreath.	
161	7.6	Æ	.35	Ends VIU	[Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846]	iv. 29
162	6.4	Æ	.35	(No inser. on flan)	[Doubleday purchase, 18492]	
163	6.7	Æ	.35	(No inser. on flan)	(Without pellets) [Doubleday purchase, 1849 ²]	
					A.L.	
				Obv. A.	Rev. ⊁	
				A within border of dots.4	within border of dots.	
164	23.6	Æ	-4		[de Salis gift]	iv. 30

¹ Hardly Imperial, but more probably of the time of Hilderic: cp. note 2, p. 34, supra. A specimen occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard (Friedlaender., M. d. Vand., p. 43 and p. 52).

² 'From Africa' (de Salis's note).

³ Later Vandal; Hilderic or Gelimer (?).

⁴ Cp. the coins with rev. Å described supra, p. 34. This coin, however, is of thicker febries.

fabric.

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				<i>Obv</i> . Head.	Rev. 💥	
				Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery.	* within wreath.	
165	9.8	Æ	.35	Behind, ••••(=inscr.)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	i⊽. 3 1
166	11.7	Æ	.3	Behind, ••••(=inscr.)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
167	11.1	Æ	.4	In front, ••••(=inscr.)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
168	5.4 (thin)	Æ	•4		[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
169	11.	Æ	.35		[de Salis gift]	
170	13.7	Æ	·35	(Dots for inser.?)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
171	6.4	Æ	-35		[de Salis gift]	
172	5.2	∠E	.3		[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
				Cr	oss	
				Cross poten	t in wreath	
				(with head of Theodo	osius II, a.d. 408-450)	1
				Inscr. Head of Theo- dosius II r., wearing diadem and drapery.	Cross potent in wreath. Border of dots.	
173	14.	Æ	.45	SIVSPFA	[Purchased in 1878, 11-3-7]	
174	9.6	Æ	.45	[T]HEODSIVSPF	[Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	iv. 32

¹ For the style, &c., compare Nos. 161-3. They appear to be coins of the late Vandal period, but the substitution of dots for the letters of the inscription and the rudeness of the *obr*, heads suggest that the coins are not the issues of Vandal kings, but of some barbarous tribes (the Mauri?).

No.	Weight		al and lize	Obv e rse	Reverse	Plate
175	9.2	Æ	-35	(Traces of inscr., blundered	[de Salis gift]	iv. 33
176	19.4	Æ	.4	SIVSPFA	[de Salis gift 1]	
177	17.	Æ	.4	VSPFA	[de Salis gift]	
178	13.5	Æ	•4	DNTH. (the rest off flan)	[de Salis gift]	
				circ. A. D. 50	Cross potent in wreath	
179	11.2	Æ	.45	mnasma (border of dots.	(Type defaced) [Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888 ²]	iv. 34
180	10.3	Æ	.35	.ПЅАИП.	[Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	iv. 35
181	11.1	Æ	.35	AZNA (rest of inscr. off flan).	[Presented by Mr. Jesse Haworth, 1888]	

¹ Nos. 176-8 are of thicker fabric than Nos. 173-5.

² The obv. inscription of Nos. 179-81 does not appear to adumbrate the name of any The obs. Inscription of Nos. 179-81 does not appear to adumbrate the name of any Roman emperor or Vandal king. I suggest that it is intended for the name of Masuna, an important chieftain of the Mauri who gained territory at the expense of Trasamund and the Vandals. According to an inscription in C. I. L., viii, No. 9835, Masuna was in A. D. 508 ruler of Safar, Altava, and Castra Severiana in the west of Mauretania Caesariensis, and styled himself 'Rex Maurorum et Romanorum'. (Pro sal. et incol. reg. Masunae [first two letters in ligature] gent. Maur. et Romanor., &c.)

He is probably identical with the Maσσωνâs of Procopius. 'Masuna rex anno 508 fortasse set inco illa Massana rex qui a 534 una cum Ortaia Byzantiorum ducem

He is probably identical with the Maroavas of Procopius. Masuna rex anno soc fortasse est ipse ille Massona rex qui a. 534 una cum Ortaia Byzantiorum ducem Solomonem incitabat ad bellum inferendum regi Maurorum ad montem Aurasium Iabdae (Procop., Bell. Vand., ii. 13),' Commentary on C. I. L., No. 9835; cp. Schmidt's Gesch. d. Vandalen, p. 120; Diehl, L'Afr. byz., p. 43 and p. 264. If the attribution of these coins happens to receive further confirmation it will be of some importance in connexion with the whole series of small bronze coins of the Vandalic period (here described, pp. 17 ff.). For it would become evident that the Mauri (and perhaps other barbarous peoples) employed during the later Vandal period, and perhaps even after the conquest of Africa by Justinian, a currency of small bronze which they modelled more or less rudely on Roman or Vandal prototypes. The existence of the very numerous types and varieties of small bronze coins which seem to furnish a superabundant coinage for the Vandal kings will excite less astonishment if we consider that they were in part the currency of the Mauri.

No. 20, p. 19; No. 110, p. 31; No. 188, p. 40, bear a certain resemblance to Nos. 179-81

just described.

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				(Obv. uncer	tain head')	
				Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery.	Cross potent in wreath.	
182	27.	Æ	.45	DNVI (Valentinian III ?)	Border of dots. [de Salis gift]	iv. 36
183	16.	Æ	.45	Inscr. ends N∧.	[P. Gadban, 1865]	iv. 37
184	21.2	Æ	.45	(Type blurred through double-striking)	Border of dots. [P. Gadban, 1865]	
185	14.4	Æ	.45	Inscr. ends ∧? VG	Border of dots. [de Salis gift]	
						
186	33.4	Æ	.55	(Bust broad, rudely executed)	[E. Aschkenasi, of Tunis, 1854]	iv. 38
187	18.1	Æ	.4	(Similar to No. 186)	[Townley coll.]	
188	11.	Æ	.35	[.OCANVI.?] (head small)	[de Salis gift ²]	iv. 39
189	10.5	Æ	.45	Traces of rude inscr.	(Double-struck) [de Salis gift]	
190	8.5	Æ	.35	Inscr. (IV? &c.)	[de Salis gift]	
191	8.7	Æ	·45	Dots for inscr.; type rude.	[de Salis gift]	iv. 40

 $^{^1\,}$ Nos. 182-94 may be coins of the Mauri or, at any rate, non-Vandalic. $^2\,$ This somewhat resembles the coins assigned, supra, p. 39, to Masuna.

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
192	11.6	Æ	.35		Border of dots. [de Salis gift]	
193	4.	Æ	.35		Border of dots. [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
194	4.3	Æ	•3		[de Salis gift]	iv. 41
				Plain cross	in wreath	
				Head r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery.	Plain cross in wreath.	
195	12.	Æ	.4	In front, palm-branch or part of wreath?		iv. 42
196	13.	Æ	·35	In front, part of wreath.	[de Salis gift]	
197	7.	Æ	.4		[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iv. 43
198	8.2	Æ	.35		[Parkes Weber gift, 1906]	
199	12.1	Æ	-35		Border of dots. [Parkes Weber gift, 1906]	
200	7.6	Æ	•3	DN	[de Salis gift]	
				Cross pattée in	border of dots	
		-		Head r., beardless, wearing [diadem and] drapery.	Cross pattée and two pellets. Border of dots. ¹	
201	12.8	Æ	.35			i v. 44

¹ Period of the later Vandal kings.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
. ———			Two (or three?) rows of CCCC (imitating	ngram Pentagram.	
202	4.	Æ ·35	inscriptions?).	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iv. 45
			Plain (or with a type that has been ob-	Pentagram.	1
2 03	7.3	Æ ·4	literated).	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	iv. 46
204	6.6	Æ ·3		[de Salis gift]	

II.

COINS OF THE OSTROGOTHS

ODOVACAR1

A.D. 23 Aug. 476-15 March 493

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			RAVI DNZENO PERPFAVC Bust of Zeno,² beard- less, with head three- quarters r.; wears helmet with plume and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield deco- rated with the group of a horseman r., at- tacking with spear a prostrate enemy.	dus	
- 1	68.2	A .8	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-2]	(VICTOR I) (A for A) after inscr., Δ	v.1
2	68.5	<i>A</i>	[Purchased, 1874, 7-15-144*]	After CONOB, RV (Ravenna)	▼. 2

¹ As to Odovacar, who is here, for convenience, included among the Ostrogoths, see 'Introduction', supra, § 2.

² The Emperor Zeno, A.D. 474-491. On the attribution to Odovacar of coins with Zeno's name see 'Introduction', § 2, on coins with Imperial names.

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
3	66.9	A	.75	(Ends AYC)	(AAYCCC) after CO NOB, RV	
4	68.3	A	-8	(Ends AYC) [de Salis gift]	(VICTOR I) after inser., Z	
				Tren	nissis	
				DNZENO PERPFAV Bust of Zeno r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery.	Cross within wreath; beneath, CONOB	
5	22.2	N	.55		(N for N?) [de Salis gift]	v. 3
6	21.7	N	.5	(PERP)	[de Salis gift]	₹. 4
7	22.4	N	.5	(Ends PERPFAVC)	(COII)	⊽. 5
				Silv	ver	
				DNSENO PERPFAV Bust of Zeno r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery.	Eagle, with wings spread, standing l., looking back; above head, cross.	
8	14.5 (pierced)	Æ	.55		[de Salis gift]	⊽. 6
				FLOD[OV]AC Bust of Odovacar r., beardless, but with moustache; head bare; wears paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.	(monogram of Odovacar) within wreath, with circular ornament; beneath, RV. Border of dots.	
9	12.7	Æ	.5	[Purchased, 1882, 4-5-1 ²]		v. 7

¹ The types were probably suggested by the Imperial silver coins already struck in Italy—probably at Milan—in the name of Zeno.
² This rare coin was sold to the British Museum by Miss A. Lucas, an English lady resident in Rome, where, I believe, it was obtained. Cp. Keary, Coinages of Western Europe, p. vii (corrigenda), referring to the specimen engraved on the title-page of Pallmann's Gesch. der Völkerwanderungen. For other specimens see Friedlaender, M. d. Vandalen, pp. 58, 59, Pl. II. 1, 2; cp. M. d. Ostgothen, p. 8. The silver coin (with head of Anastasius) assigned to Odovacar in Sabat., i, p. 195, Pl. XVIII. 1, is of doubtful description; see Friedlaender, M. d. Ostgothen, p. 8; cp. Engel and Serrure (Traité de Num., i. 23). As to the date, &c., of our No. 9, see 'Introduction', supra, § 2, 'Odovacar.' The A in the monogram is carelessly formed, perhaps A. The A in the monogram is carelessly formed, perhaps A.

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				ODO VAC Bust of Odovacar r., beardless, [but with moustache?]; head bare; wears paludamentum and cuirass.	onze Note within wreath.	
10	21.6	Æ	•4		[de Salis gift]	v. 8
11	14.4	Æ	•4			v. 9
				RO	ME	
				Tren	nissis	
				DNZENOP ERPFAVC Bust of Zeno r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamen- tum, and cuirass.	Cross within wreath; beneath, COMOB	
12	22.4	A.	.5	[de Salis gift]		v. 10
13	22.2	A	.55	(DNZENO PERPFA VC)	[Blacas coll., 1867]	v. 11
14	22.3	A	•55	(DNSENO PERPFA VC)	[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-14]	v. 12
15	22.	A	.5	(DNZENO PERPFA VC)	[Purchased of an Italian dealer, 1869, 7-9-61]	v. 13
				See <i>infra</i> , 'Quasi-auto	nonze nomous of Rome,' time ovacar.	

THEODORIC

son of Theudemir

A.D. MARCH 493-30 Aug. 526

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			RAVI		
			(i) with head of Ana Theodoric, circ	stasius I, Struck by A.D. 493–518	
			Soli	dus	
			A.D. 49	93-518	
			DNANASTA SIVSPF AVC Bust of Anasta- sius, beardless, three- quarters r., wears helmet with plume and ornament, and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield with horseman device.	VICTOR I AAVCCC Victory draped standing L, holding in r. broad cross; in ex., COMOB; in field r., star.	
1	68.7	A ⋅8	[Presented by Mr. Edward Wigan, 1864]	At end of inscr., A	₹. 14
2	68.8	A ⋅8	[Blacas coll., 1867]	At end of inscr., A	
3	68.5	A .8	(A for A) [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-17]	(VICTORI AAVCCC) (CONOB); in field l., R/(Ravenna); at end of inscr., (monogram of Theodoric).	
4	69.	A .75	(A for A) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-1]	(Inser. as on No. 3); in field, l., traces of RV? which has been apparently oblite- rated; at end of inser., monogram of Theodoricason No. 3.	

No.	Weight		ıl and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Trem DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC Bust of Anastasius, beardless, r., wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.		1
5	22.4	A	.55	(\Lambda for A) above head, cross. [de Salis gift]	(ÇOS for ÇVS) (star in field r., instead of l.)	v. 17
6	22.	A	.5	(TA) (AVC) above head, star. [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-73]	IVCTORIAAVÇVSTO RON	v. 18
7	22.2	A	•5	(A, A, A, A in inser.) above head, star. [de Salis gift]	(VICTORIAAVCVSO RON)	
8	22.	A	.55	(A, A, A, A in inscr.) above head, star. [de Salis gift]	(VICTORIAAVCVSO ROM) (СОИОВ)	v. 19
9	22.2	A	.5	(\(\Lambda\) for \(\mathbf{A}\) in inser.) above head, star. [de Salis gift]	(VICTORIAA VIVST OROM)	
10	22.4	A	·55	(O for D) (SIVE) [de Salis gift]	(VICTORIAA VCVST ORN) (star in field r., instead of l.).	v. 20
11	22.2	A	.55	(\(\Lambda\) for \(\mathbf{A}\), except second \((\Lambda\))	(c for c) (COMOB) (star in field r., instead of l.).	v. 21

¹ The globus is often very slightly indicated, and is sometimes not to be distinguished from the left foot of the goddess. It is more distinct on the tremisses struck at Rome under Theodoric. The type can be traced back on Roman coins to the aurei of Augustus (e.g. Coli. de H. Montagu, Monn. d'or, Pl. III. 77).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Gold (ii) with head of Justin I. Struck by Theodoric, circ. A. D. 518-526, and by Athalaric?, end of 526 and beginning of 527.		
				VICTOR I AAVCCCA Victory draped standing l., holding in r. broad cross; in field l., star; in ex., COMOB	
12	68.2	A⁄ .8	[Purchased, 1870, 2-1-2]	(∧ for A)	vi. 1
13	68.7	AJ .8			
14	68.6	A .8	(Ends C) [Bank of England gift, 1877]	(∧ for A)	
			Trem	nissis	
			DNIVSTI NVSPFMC Bust of Justin I, beardless, r., wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.	VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM Victory stand- ing on globus to front, looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., glo- bus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., COMOB	
15	22.6	A⁄ .6	[de Salis gift]	(Space before CVS) (N for M) (cross separated from globus).	vi. 2
16	22.6	A .6		(Ends ORII)	

¹ On the type see note 1, p. 47, supra.

	737-:-1-4	Met	al and	01		
No.	Weight		Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
17	21.7	A	.55	[de Salis gift]	(Ends W)	
18	22.5	A	•6	(Ends AVC) [de Salis gift]	(VICTORIAACVSTO RVM) (star l. instead of r.). 1	vi. 3
					ver	
				Theodoric, cir	stasius I. Struck by c. A.D. 493–518	
				Half S	Siliqua	
				DNANASTA SIVSPF AVC Bust of Anasta- sius r., beardless, wearing paludamen- tum and cuirass.	within wreath; beneath, CONS Border of dots.	
19	18.6	Æ	.5		[Cracherode bequest, 1799 ²]	vi. 4
				DNANAST ASIVSA VC Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing paludamentum and cuirass; beneath bust, two pellets. Border of dots.	* within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament.	
20	22.	Æ	.5	[Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867]	,	vi. 5
21	22.6	Æ	.55			vi. 6
22	23.7	Æ	.5	(Pellets off flan) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; procured in Rome]	(Without ornament?)	vi. 7

¹ Head on obv. smaller than on Nos. 15-17, and more like that on the tremisses assigned (infra) to Rome in the time of Theodoric.

² In spite of CONS this coin does not belong to Constantinople either by type or style. A wreath similar to that on the rev. (but encircling a cross) is found on the gold tremisses struck in Italy by the latest Emperors of the West. The exact rev. type occurs on silver coins of Rome, of Libius Severus, and of Anthemius, and on silver of Anthemius assigned to Milan. This coin might possibly be of Milan, but hardly of Rome, for the letters SC are not present. On the whole, Ravenna seems the most likely place of issue, the head, and the wreath on rev. having affinities with Nos. 23-6, infra.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Quarter DNANAST ASIVSAV Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. 1 Border of dots.	Siliqua R5 (monogram of Theodoric); above, cross. Whole in wreath.	
23	10.5	A .45	Beneath, two pellets.		vi. 8
24	10.6	Æ .4	(DNANASTA [SI]VS AVC)	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; purchased of an Italian coin-dealer]	
25	10.	Æ ·4	(DNANASTA SIVSA VC; beginning of inser. obscure)		
26	11.4	Æ .45	(DNANA STASIVS [A]) (obv. worn) [Baron Kolb coll., 1847]	(RSD) beneath mon.,star.	vi. 9
			(ii) with head of Theodoric,	Justin I. Struck by A.D. 518-526	
			Quarter	Siliqua	
			DNIVSTI NVSAVC Bust of Justin I r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. Border of dots.	RSD (monogram of Theodoric); above, cross. Whole in wreath.	
27	10.2	Æ ·45	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer]		vi. 10

No doubt here, and in later reigns, the bust is intended to wear a paludamentum and cuirass, but they are often so carelessly rendered that the details are not distinct.
 Nos. 27, 28, 29 are probably earlier than Nos. 30-4 because the monogram on them appears to have been suggested by the monogram on No. 26, supra.

	ī	1		1	1	
No.	Weight	Met	al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
28	10.8	Æ	•4	(Ends NVSPAVC)	[de Salis gift]	vi. 11
29	10.7	Æ	.45	(End of inser. obscure)	[de Salis gift]	
30	10.4	Æ	•4	In front, countermark,?crescent.	(RD)	
					`[Purchased, 1908, 5-6-4]	vi. 12
31	11.1	Æ	•45	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-55]	(,,)	vi. 13
32	11.	Æ	· 4 5		(,,)	
33	10.8	Æ	.45	(Ends NVSPAVC)	(,,) [de Salis gift]	
34	10.	Æ	.45	(Ends NVS[P?]AVC)	(") [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought in Rome]	
				Bro	nze	
				(i) with head of Ana Theodoric, circ	stasius I. Struck by c. a.d. 493–518	
				Inser. Head of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. Border of dots.	Star within wreath. ¹	
35	10.1	Æ	.35	DNA (AVC?)	[Purchased, 1864, 7-19-27]	v i. 14
36	17.6	Æ	-35	DNA VC	[Purchased, 1864, 7-19-26]	vi. 15

¹ These coins are quite of Italian style. They recall, by their reverse type, the silver coins with the head of Anastasius I described *supra*, p. 49, No. 20, &c., and assigned to Theodoric, Ravenna.

No.	Weight	Metal Size		Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				(ii) with head of J Theodoric, circ	с. а. д. 518–526	
				DNIVSTI NVSPPA VC Bust of Justin I r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. Border.	e and cross; all within wreath.	
37	34.1	Æ	.6		[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-72]	vi. 16
38	30.1	Æ	•55			vi. 17
39	25.3	Æ	.5			
40	30.3	Æ	.55			
				V	(5 nummi)	
				(Some of these may, po in the early part of t	ssibly, have been issued he reign of Athalaric)	
				Inscr. Bust of Justin I r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. Border.	within wreath.	
41	25.7	Æ	.5	DNIVSTI NVSPPA	[de Salis gift]	
42	30.2	Æ	.55	[Off flan] NVSPPAVC		vi. 18
43	23.9	Æ	.55	DNIVSIII IPPAVC	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-70]	vi. 19
44	32.3	Æ	.55	DNIVSTINI (sic) NV	[de Salis gift]	vi. 20
45	28.4	Æ	.5	DNIVSTIII NVSPP	[Purchased, 1904, 6-4-109]	

¹ On nearly all these specimens the head is in the high relief characteristic of the Ravenna mint.

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
46	24.	Æ	.45	DNIVSTI (double-struck) NVSPPAVC	[Blacas coll., 1867]	
47	27.8	Æ	•55	DNIVSTIII •NVSPP		
48	29.7	Æ	•5	DUIVSTIN NVSPA	[Purchased, 1904, 6-4-298]	
4 9	26.5	Æ	•5	[D]NIVSTII (NVSPP		vi. 21
50	22.5	Æ	.5	V\$PPAVC	[Purchased, 1904, 6-4-91]	
51	13.	Æ	.35	. NIV (head of somewhat rude style)	[Northwick sale, 1860]	vi. 22
52	21.1	Æ	.45	TINIPI	Above, star.	vi. 23
53	23.5	Æ	.45	DUIV STINIP	Above, star.	vi. 24
54	19.7	Æ	.45	DNIVS TINIPI	Above, star.	
55	18.2	Æ	-45	IV TINII	Above, star. [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-151]	
56	22.6	Æ	.45	DNIV NIP	Above, star.	
57	21.8	Æ	.45	DNIV TINIP	Above, star. [Rev. Greville J. Chester, 1877]	
58	21.5	Æ	.45	DNIVS TI[NIP?]	Above, star. [Rev. Greville J. Chester, 1877]	
59	27.5	Æ	.45	IVSTI NVS	Above, star.	
60	21.6	Æ	.45	DN[IVS] TINIPAV	Above, star. [Parkes Weber gift, 1906]	
				See also 'quasi-auto infra, for bronze coins of Theodoric.	onomous of Ravenna', attributed to the period	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Gold. Trip REXTHEODERICV SP IVSPRINCIS Bust of Theodoric facing; head bare; hair curled; wears paludamentum and cuirass; r. hand raised; l. holds globus, on which stands Victory l., hold- ing wreath and palm; at end of inser., small palm-branch.	ole Solidus	
	236. (with setting)	A' 1.4	near Sinigallia in Ital specimen is here reproscale from a cast of the specimen is here reproscale from a cast of the vits owner. See Gne Num., 1895, p. 149, I Münzen und Medail Königl. Museen zu p. 101; ed. Regling, 19. This coin or medallic as a brooch, and the comitted in our frontis rev. of the original. Its brooch-setting) is 15,32 more than 236 English estimate) we deduct 26 of the setting, the weig 210 grains, i.e. it is (a already pointed out) a based on a solidus of 70 extant solidi (in Brit. M. It may be noted, howeved in the Brit. Mus.) of The weighs only 184 grain Christian Antiq., No. 4. The place of mint COMOB, was an Italieither Rome or Ravenna in the piece specially chit may be assigned to B. Victory on the reverse is by comparison with the (No. 73, infra; Pl. VI (quasi-autonomous of Reduring the reign of The	duced on an enlarged he original kindly sent be chi in Rivista ital. di Pl. III; A. von Sallet, len (Handbücher der Berlin), Berlin, 1898, 09, p. 125. In was set in antiquity remains of the setting spiece) are seen on the sweight (including the 10 grammes, or a little grains. If (on a rough grains for the weight ght of the coin will be some of three solidi, or grains. The heaviest as.) weigh 68–69 grains. For that a bronze weight endoric, marked 3 solidi, so (Dalton, Cat. Early 44; cp. Nos. 445, 446). The age, as suggested by an city; presumably, as. As there is nothing aracteristic of Ravenna, come, for which city the suitable, as may be seen be Victory on the silver I. 5) and bronze coins of the suitable, as may be seen by the suitable, as may be seen b	Frontis- piece

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			With head of Anastasiu of Theodoric, circ. A.	s; Tremissis) s I. Struck in the time D. 493-518 (or 526?)	
			DNANASTA SIVSPF AVC Bust of Anastasius, beardless, three- quarters r.; wears helmet with plume and ornament, and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield with horseman device.	VICTOR I AAVCCC Victory, wearing drapery, standing 1., holding in r. broad cross; in field r., star; in ex., COMOB	
61	68.7	A .8	[Cracherode bequest, 1799]	At end of inscr., A	vi. 25
62	68.5	A .85	[J. E. Sinyanki, 1852]	(∧ for A) At end of inser., ⊀	vi. 26
63	65.3	A .75	[Edward Solly, 1846]	At end of inscr., Θ ; in field 1., \mathbb{R} /l (monogram of Rome).	vi. 27
64	67.	N .75	[Blacas coll., 1867]	(A for A) At end of inscr., JR (monogram of Theodoric); in field l., R/I (monogram of Rome).	vi. 28
65	68.9	A .75	[de Salis gift]	At end of inscr., monogram of Theodoric, as on No. 64; in field 1.,	vi. 29
66	68-3	A .75	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-10]	At end of inser., monogram of Theodoric, as on No. 64; in field l.,	

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
					nissis to front)	
				` `	VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM Victory stand- ing on globus to front, looking 1.; in r., wreath; in 1., globus cruciger; in field, r. and 1., star; in ex., COMOB	
67	22.4	A	.55	[Blacas coll., 1867]	(AV for Λ V)	vii. 1
68	22•	A	.5	[Mrs. Farren, 1845]	(Globus cruciger de- tached from hand)	vii. 2
69	22.4	A	.55	(Λ for Λ) [de Salis gift]	(ACVSTORVM) (CO ИОВ)	
70	23.	N	.55	(\(\Lambda\) for \(\mathbf{A}\) [de Salis gift]	(ACVSTORVИ) Cross separated from glo- bus.	
				(Victory	in profile)	
				DNANASTA SIVSP FAVC Bust of Anastasius r., as No. 67.	VICTORIANVCVST ORVM Victory advancing r., holding in r. wreath; in l., palm-branch; in ex., COMOB ¹	
71	22.8	A	.5	[Blacas coll., 1867]		vii. 3
72	21.6	A	.55	(Surface rough) [de Salis gift]	(VM in ligature) (type to l.) (CONOB?)	vii. 4

¹ The profile Victory is usually found on the Frankish and Visigothic imitations of the Imperial tremisses, and the fronting Victory on Italian imitations. The inser. COMOB and the style of the head (cp. No. 71 with Nos. 67-70) seem, however, in this case to point to Rome.

² This coin reads CONOB, but from the style of obv. and rev. may be judged to belong to the same mint as No. 71.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
73	15· (broken)	A .6	with head of Anastasius of Theodoric, circ. A.	s.I. Struck in the time b. 493-518 (or 526?) Siliqua INVIC[TA] ROMA¹ Victory, in chiton and peplos, advancing r.; in r., wreath; in l., trophy resting on her shoulder; in field, S. C. Border of dots.²	
			Quarter Inser. Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	Siliqua INVIC TAROMA (monogram of Theodoric); above, cross; beneath, star. Border of dots.4	
74	13.7	Æ .45	ONANASTASIVS (inscr. begins in front of bust, reading outwards)	(Monogram varied) [Loscombe sale, 1855]	vii. 6

¹ The legend Invicta Roma occurs also on the 'Quasi-autonomous bronze coins of Rome', described infra, of the time of Odovacar, Theodoric, and Athalaric. It is found, carlier, on the coins of L. Domitius Alexander struck at Carthage, A. D. 308-311: Invicta Roma Felix Karthago (Maurice, Num. constantinienne, i, pp. 360 f.). On the coins and medallions of Priscus Attalus, A.D. 409-416, the legend Invicta Roma aeterna occurs (Cohen, Méd. imp., viii, pp. 204 f.). A contorniate in the E. F. Weber collection (Hirsch, Sale Catalogue, 1909, No. xxiv, p. 207, lot 2911, Pl. 54) is inscribed Invicta Roma Felix Senatus (Head of Roma).

2 Cp. Friedlaender, M. d. Ostgothen, p. 55, No. 2, and p. 56, No. 3.

3 If the descriptions referred to by Friedlaender, M. d. Ostgothen, p. 28, are correct, there are also coins of this type with the head of Justin I.

there are also coins of this type with the head of Justin I.

⁴ These coins may be assigned to Rome (i) on account of the rev. inscr. (though this does not invariably indicate the Roman mint), (ii) because the obv. head (except perhaps on Nos. 74, 75) is in lower relief and less carefully modelled than on Ravenna coins, (iii) because the rev. is not ornamented with the heavy wreath characteristic of the Rayenna mint.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
75	10.8	A .45	DNANSIVSPAVG (inser. begins in front of bust, read- ing outwards)	(INVICT AROM[A]) (star partly off flan) [Baron Kolb, 1847]	vii. 7
76	11.4	AR .45	DNANASSPP (inscr. begins in front of bust, reading outwards)	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906]	
77	13.7	AR -45	DNANASTASI (inscr. retrograde, beginning behind bust)	(M) (M∧ in ligature) [Earl of Enniskillen, 1856]	vii. 8
78	10.8	R .45	DAMAS TA (inscr. begins behind bust) (style rude)	(S for Z in mon.) [Baron Kolb, 1847]	vii. 9
79	12.2	A: .5	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC (inscr. retro- grade, beginning be- hind bust); beneath bust, OIIO ¹	(IMVIC &c.) (base of monogram varied) [Cracherode bequest, 1799]	vii. 10
80	13.2	Æ ·45	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC (inscr. retrograde, beginning behind bust; beneath bust, • N • 2	(INVIT AROMAC M ³) (monogram as on No. 79).	vii. 11
81	13-3	AR ·5	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC (inscr. retro- grade, beginning be- hind bust); beneath bust,?.	(INVIT AROMAC M) (monogram as on No. 79).	vii. 12

¹ Probably for CONO[B]; cp. No. 82.

² Cp. Berliner Blätter für Münz-Kunde, i (1863), p. 152. ³ The letters CM should apparently be read in connexion with the rest of the legend. Mr. G. F. Hill well suggests that they mean Caput Mundi, though it must be said that the familiar 'Roma caput mundi' inscription is not found on coins till a considerably later date (it occurs on coins of Aix-la-Chapelle, of Frederick Barbarossa, 12th cent.; on coins of the Roman Senate, 13th cent.; on the Papal coinage, Eugenius IV, 15th cent.: see Gregorovius, Rome in the Middle Ages, vol. i, p. 7, and vol. iii, p. 471 (Eng. trans.); Engel and Serrure, Traité de Num., ii, pp. 595, 596, 794; iii, pp. 1373, 1374).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
82	9.5		NNVI V2VVC(inser. begins behind bust); beneath bust, CONO	(Inscr. blundered, V	vii. 13
			(Contemporary for imitat		
			Bro	nze	*
			(See ' Quasi-auton	omous of Rome')	
			MII	AN	
			Soli	Solidus	
			with head of Anastasi by Theodoric,	with head of Anastasius I. Probably struck by Theodoric, A.D. 493-518	
			Inscr. Bust of Anastasius, beardless; three-quarters r.; wears helmet with plume and ornament, and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield with horseman device.	Inser. Victory, in chiton and peplos, standing l., holding in r. broad cross; in field r., star.	
83	68-2	A⁄ .75	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC [de Salis gift]	VICTORI AAVCCC; beneath, CONOB IMD (monogram of Mediolanum).	vii. 14
84	68-	A/ ·8	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-3]	VICTORI AAVCCC; beneath, CONOB IMD	vii. 15

ATHALARIC

son of Amalasuntha

31 Аид. 526—2 Ост. 534

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Solidus and	ENNA d Tremissis I. Struck by Athalaric, beginning of 527	
			(See under Theodoric p. 48,		
			(ii) with head of Justinian I. Struck by Athalaric after Aug. 527—2 Oct. 534, and by his successors, Theodahad and Witigis, A.D. 534-540		
			Solid	dus	
			DNIVSTINI ANVSPF A/C Bust of Justinian I, beardless, with head three-quarters r.; wears helmet with plume and armour; r. hand holds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield decorated with horseman device.	and peplos, standing	
1	68-1	A .9	(A; NC) [Bank of England gift, 1877]	(A for A) at end of inscr., A	vii. 16
2	68.4	A .85	(\lambda; NC) (plume and circular ornament on helmet)	(CC•C) at end of inscr., A [Townshend coll.]	

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
3	68.5	A	-8	(\Lambda; \Lambda VC) [Royal coll.]	(\Lambda for A) at end of inser., \(\cdot\Lambda\)	
4	68.8	A	·85	[Purchased, 1873, 12-1-2]	(\Lambda for A) at end of inscr., \(\cdot\Lambda\)	vii. 17
5	67.8	AJ	·8	(F [*] ; [*] C) [de Salis gift]	At end of inscr., •A	
6	68.5	N	.85	(\Lambda; NC) (plume and circular ornament on helmet)	(A for A) at end of inscr., A [Royal coll.]	
				(Rudei	style)	
7	68.4	A	-8	(A; ends \wedge V) [de Salis gift]	(VICTORI AAVCCC) at end of inscr., A	vii. 18
8	68.2	A	-85	(\Lambda; ends NC) [de Salis gift]	At end of inscr., Λ (COMO3)	vii. 19
9	65.4	A	.8	(\Lambda; \mathcal{K}; \mathcal{K}; \mathcal{C} blundered) (style barbarous)	(Ends AAVCCCAV) (CONICI for CO MOB) (type bar- barous)	vii. 20 rev.
				Tren	nissis	
				(with Co	OMOB)¹	
				DNIVSTINI ANVSP FAC Bust of Justin- ian I r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.	VICTORIANVCVST ORVM Victory on globus to front or right, looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., COMOB	
10	22.6	A	.6	[Royal coll.]		vii. 21

¹ It is possible that the exergual inscriptions COMOB and CONOB (see p. 62) may indicate two distinct mints—Rome and Ravenna, but I have not ventured to make this separation. All the coins have the rough, gritty reverses which are apparently characteristic of the tremisses of Ravenna. As the capital of the Ostrogothic kings, Ravenna is a more likely mint than Rome.

No.	Weight	Metal a	od Obverse	Reverse	Plate
11	22.7	$A \cdot 6$	[de Salis gift]		
12	22.5	<i>N</i> ⋅6	[Royal coll.]	(СОИОВ)	
13	22.2	A .6	(AC) [Royal coll.]		vii. 22
14	22.4	A ·6	(Inscr. continuous; AVC) [de Salis gift]	(Star l. instead of r.)	
			(with C	CONOB)	
15	22.4	A ·5	(DNIVSTI NIANVSP	(CONOB) (star l. instead of r.) [de Salis gift]	vii. 23
16	21.8	A .6	(PP for PF) [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-28]	(CONOB) (star l. instead of r.)	viii. 1
17	22.2	A .6	(PP for PF) [de Salis gift]	(A for Λ) (CONOB) (star omitted)	
18	22.3	A .6	(Ends P(P?)\chick) [de Salis gift]	(AVSTORVM) (CON OB)	viii. 2
19	22.2	A -0	(PP for PF) above head, ** in graffito.	(A for Λ) (CONOB) [Blacas coll., 1867]	
20	22.5	A .6	(Ends ANVSPPAVC)	(CONOB) [de Salis gift]	
21	22.5	A →5	(Ends ANVSPPAIC) [de Salis gift]	(A for Λ) (CONOB)	

¹ The tremissis of Justinian, set in a third-century ring, described in Marshall, Catal. of Finger Rings in the British Museum, No. 262, belongs to the same class as our Nos. 10-14 (on rev. COMOB and Victory).

No.	Weight		l and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
22	22.	A	.55	(DMIVSTINI ANVSP PAO) [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-29]	(II for M) (CONO (R?))	
23	22.2	A	.6	(PI instead of PF)	(CONO\) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-6]	
24	22.7	A	.6	(PI instead of PF)	(CONO\) [de Salis gift]	viii. 3
25	22.2	AV .	.55	(Ends PFICI) [Royal coll.]	(II for M) (COHOT)	
26	21.	A	.6	(Ends PPACA) (end of diadem detached from head)	(VICTORIANACVS TORVAV) (CONOI) [de Salis gift]	viii. 4
				Sil	ver	
				(i) with head of Justin end of 526 or b	I. Struck by Athalaric, beginning of 527	
				Half :	Siliqua	
				DNIVSTI NVSPAVC Bust of Justin I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	of Athalaric);	
27	21.4	R	.55	[de Salis gift]		viii. 5
				Quarter	r Siliqua	
				DNIVSTI NVSPAVC Bust of Justin I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	LARI within wreath.	
28	10.6	Æ	.5	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]		viii. 6
29	10.8	AR	.4 5	[de Salis gift]		1

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				laric after Aug.	nian I. Struck by Atha- 527—2 Oct. 534 Siliqua	
				DNIVSTINI ANVSP AVC Bust of Justin- ian I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	above, cross; beneath, star; whole in wreath.	
30	20.8	æ	.5			viii. 7
31	18.8	Æ	.5	(Pomitted; ends NC)	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer]	
32	20.6	Æ	.55	(DNIVSTI NIANAV C)	(Cross-bar of mon. placed higher) [Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 587]	
33	21.8	A	.5	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-56]	(DRSTN) (star omitted)	viii. 8
34	16.5 (cor- roded)	Æ	.55	(End of inser. obscure) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-15]	(Monogram as on No. 33) (star omitted)	
6				Quarter	Siliqua	
				DNIVSTI NIANAVC Bust of Justinian I r., beardless, weairng diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	DN ATHAL within ARICVS wreath. RIX	
35	10.8	Æ	.45	[Baron Kolb, 1847]		viii. 9
36	11.1	A	.4	(DNIVSTIN; rest obscure, ends AVC)	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer]	viii.10

No.	Weight		al and lize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate	
37	10.2	Æ	•45	[DNIVSTIN] IANA			
38	10.7	Æ	•4	[Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 587]			
3 9	11.2	Æ	.4				
40	10.6	A	.4	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer]	(REX)		
				Bro	onze		
				(i) with hea	d of Justin I		
				V (5	V (5 nummi)		
				described supra under have been issued by a beginning of 527. On 993 (rev. monog the obv. described by for Justin I may be tinian I. Cp. also For gothen, p. 32, and Sa	ns of this denomination or Theodoric, p. 52, may Athalaric, end of 526 or Ep. Thomsen, Cat., p. 82, ram of Athalaric), but y Thomsen as intended conceivably be of Justriedlaender, M. d. Ostabatier, i, p. 200, No. 9, and of Justin, rev. Mono-		
				(ii) with head of Ju Athalaric after Au	stinian I. Struck by ag. 527—2 Oct. 534		
				,	nummi)		
				Inser. Bust of Justinian Ir., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.	X within wreath.		
41	54.	Æ	.75	DNIVSTII [A]NVSPP	ĸ	viii. 11	

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
42	60.5	Æ	•6	DNIVSTINI . NVSP	[de Salis gift]	viii. 12
43	37.	Æ	.55	DNIVSTIII NVSPP AVC	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-149]	viii.13
44	33.2	Æ	.55	DNIVSNI VSPPAVC	[Purchased, 1904, 6-4-296]	
45	32.7	Æ	.55	DNIVSII VSPPAVC	[de Salis gift]	viii.14
				V (5 1	nummi)	
				[DNIV]STINI ANVS PP Bust of Justinian I l., beardless, wear- ing diadem and cui- rass.	V within wreath.	
4 6	15.8	Æ	.45	[de Salis gift]		viii.15
				(iii) with head of Just of Ath	tinian I and monogram alaric	
			:	Small	Bronze	
				Inser. Bust of Justinian Ir., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	RST within wreath.	
47	16.4	Æ	.4	ivst inianii	[Purchased, 1864, 7-19-31]	viii.16
48	15.	Æ	·35	VSTI		viii.17
49	12.5	Æ	.4	Ends NIANI	[Purchased, 1908, 5-6-6]	
50	13.4	Æ	.4	NIЛИ	[Baron Kolb, 1847]	

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
51	12.2	Æ	•35	IVST NI	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-461]	
52	12.7	Æ	.45	.VSTI N	[de Salis gift]	viii.18
53	13.8	Æ	•4	IVSTI	[de Salis gift]	
54	15.1	Æ	.4	IVSTI NIAN	[de Salis gift]	
55	14.7	Æ	.4	IVSTI И		
56	12.5	Æ	.4	.VST INI.	[Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846]	
					f Athalaric (only)	
				INVICT AROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing helmet with plume, earring, neck- lace, and drapery; hair long.	ATHAL	
57	77.4	Æ	.7	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer]		

¹ If the descriptions in Friedlaender, M. d. Ostgothen, p. 33, No. 6, and Sabatier, i. p. 201, No. 14, Pl. 18, 23, may be relied on there are also X nummi pieces with obv. Head of Justinian, rev. Monogram of Athalaric.

² The X, found also on silver coins, is strictly only the tie of the wreath (cp. the M (40 nummia) coins of Justinian I at Rome, Pl. XV. 2, where the X is very prominent), but may possibly have been here regarded as also indicating the denomination (10 nummi) of the coin.

No.	Weight		al and lize	Obverse .	Reverse	Plate
58	60.4	Æ	.65	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	(\(\Lambda\) for \(\mathbf{A}\))	
59	52.	Æ	.7	[Northwick sale, 1860]		viii. 19
				Friedlaender (M. d. (Pl. I. 11) describes an De nummis Ravennatib	Ostgothen, p. 35, No. 11, and figures after Pinci, ous, the following: obv. ust of Ravenna r., with ogram of Athalaric.	
				V (5:	nummi)	
				Bust of Roma r., wearing helmet with plume, earring, necklace, and drapery; hair long.	† DNATHALARICV SRIX V with pellet in centre.	
60	24.7	Æ	.5	[de Salis gift]		viii.20
61	14.5 (worn)	Æ	·45	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-460]	(\(\Lambda\) for \(\Lambda\)?)	
				See also 'Quasi-auton	omous of Ravenna'.	

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Bro	ME nze ummi	
				INVICT AROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing helmet with plume, circular ear- ring with pendant, necklace of two rows, and drapery; long hair. Border of dots.	Athalaric standing r., holding inr. spear, in l. oval shield with pellet in centre; wears helmet, cuirass, and paludamentum; in field, X (i. e. Senatus consulto; 10 nummi). Border of dots.	
62	44.2	Æ	.75	(INBICT)	(ON)	viii. 21
63	50.5	Æ	.75	(INBICT)	(a)	
64	40.3	Æ	.7	(INBICT)	[Purchased, 1908, 5-6-5]	
65	41.4	Æ	.7		(\Lambda for A)	viii.22
66	45.1	Æ	.7	[Bank of England gift, 1877]	(Λ; A; Λ)	
67	44.7	Æ	.7	(A for A) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer]	(\Lambda; A; \Lambda?) (on shield, pellet in circle?)	

¹ Nos. 62-4 (with INBICTA) are probably the earliest coins of this series, for they give the details with great fidelity: on the succeeding coins the details (especially the treatment of the long hair) are less carefully executed.

No.	Weight		l and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
68	46.1	Æ	.7	[Baron Kolb, 1847]	(DNATHAL ARIC VS) (on shield, pellet in circle)	viii.23
69	37.6	Æ	.65	(INVIC TAROMA)	(DNATHA[L] ARIC VS) (on shield, pellet in circle)	viii.24
70	39.6	Æ	.7	(INVIC TAROMA) [Baron Kolb, 1847]	(DNATHA[L] [A]RI CVS) (shield - orna- ment as on No. 69?)	viii.25
71	41.5	Æ	-65	(INVIC TAROMA) [de Salis gift]	(DNATHAL ARIC VS) (shield-ornament obscure)	
				See also 'Quasi-au	tonomous of Rome'.	

AMALASUNTHA

daughter of Theodoric;

regent for her son Athalaric, 31 Aug. 526—2 Ост. 534; wife of Theodahad from 534 till her death, 30 April, 535

No coins appear to have been issued in her name.

THEODAHAD

son of Amalafrida, the sister of Theodoric 3 Oct. 534—(Nov.?) 536

No.	Weight	Metal : Size		Obverse	Reverse	Plate
					ENNA	
				G	old	
				For gold coins with probably struck by 'Athalaric', supra, p.	the name of Justinian I Theodahad see under 60 (ii)	
				Sil	ver	
				(with head o	of Justinian I)	
				Half	Siliqua	
				DNIVSTI NIANAVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	of Theoda-had) within	
1	19.3	Æ .5	Ď	(NC)	[Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 588]	ix. 1
2	21.5	- AR → 5	55		[de Salis gift]	i x. 2
3	21.1	Æ d	3)	(AVC obscure)	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	ix. 3

No.	Weight	Metal and Size		Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Quarter DNIVSTI NIANAVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	·	
4	11.3	Æ	.45	[Blacas coll., 1867]	(Without X?)	
5	11.	Æ	.45	[Baron Kolb, 1847]	(A for ∧)	ix. 4
6	11.4	Æ	•45	(/\C)	[Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 588]	ix. 5
7	11.4	Æ	.45	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought at Sotheby's, 1 July, 1890, lot 197]	(RIX)	
8	11.2	Æ	.4	[Loscombe sale, 1855]	(RIX 1)	ix. 6
					nze of Justinian I	
				V ni	ummi	
				DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing paludamentum and cuirass. Border of dots.	V within wreath.	
9	45.8	Æ	.65	(DNIVSTNII NVS		ix. 7

¹ The silver coin with rev. AMENITAS DEI, which has been sometimes assigned to Theodebert I the Merovingian, and which Keary (Coinages of Western Europe, pp. 79 f.) proposed to attribute to Theodahad, is Imperial Byzantine of Theodosius, the son of Maurice Tiberius (Wroth, Imp. Byz. Coins, i, p. 160, No. 293).

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
10	54.5	Æ	.65	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-150]		ix. 8
11	53.2	Æ	•65	(A for ∧)	[Purchased, 1904, 6-4-133]	ix. 9
12	53.3	Æ	•6			
13	48.2	Æ	•6	(inser. continuous)		
14	51.3	Æ	•6	(DNIV2T; rest partly obscure) (style ruder than on Nos. 9-13)	(Style ruder than on Nos. 9–13) [de Salis gift]	ix. 10
				Small	Bronze	
				Inser. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass.	(monogram of Theodahad) within wreath.	
15	6.3 (worn)	Æ	.35	(Inser. obscure; ends NI?)		ix. 11
				(ii) with name	of Theodahad	
				[*	()	
				Bust of Roma r., wearing crested helmet, earring, necklace, and drapery; hair long.	DN THEODA HATHVS REX within wreath, in lower part of which, X	
16	60.4	Æ	.7			ix. 12

¹ For similar specimens and varieties see Friedlaender, M. d. Vandalen, p. 44 and p. 67; M. d. Ostgothen, p. 38; Thomsen, Cat., p. 83, No. 1005; Sabatier, i, Pl. XVIII. 30, 31, and 32.

No.	Weight	Metal and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
		Size			
17	66.7	Æ ·85	[Baron Kolb, 1847]		
18	53·2 (worn)	Æ ·7	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; purchased of an Italian coin- dealer]		
			RO	ME	
			Bro	nze	
			XL n	ummi	
			Struck Ja	an. 536? ¹	
			DNTHEODA HATVS REX Bust of Theodahad r., beardless, but with moustache; hair short; wears closed crown ornamented with jewels and two stars, and with pellet within crescent at its apex; also robe ornamented with jewels and a cross. Border of dots.	VICTORIA PRINCI PVM Victory in gir- dled chiton stand- ing r., on prow; in r., wreath; in l., palm- branch; in field, S C. Border of dots.	
19	181.7	Æ 1.05		(N) [Baron Kolb, 1847]	i x. 13
20	163.2	Æ 1.05		(P for M) [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-7]	i x. 14
21	154.8	Æ 1.05	(Cross smaller than on Nos. 19, 20)	[Townley coll.]	ix. 15

¹ On the date see 'Introd.', supra, § 2, under 'Theodahad'. Mr. Hodgkin (Italy and her Invaders, iii, p. 651) suggests that the legend Principum of the rev. may refer to the union of Theodahad and Amalasuntha, but it is possible that Principum (instead of Principis) may be used by analogy with the conventional 'Victoria Augustorum' found on the Imperial gold coins. The legend VICTORIA AVCVST. is also stated to occur (Sabatier, Descript., vol. i, Theodahad, No. 2; Mem. Soc. Arch. St. Petersburg, 1851, p. 159; cp. Friedlaender, M. d. Ostgothen, p. 39). The Victory type of the rev. is derived from a specimen of the 'Quasi-autonomous bronze of Rome' (time of Theodoric), described infra and Pl. XIII. 1, and figured in Friedlaender, M. d. Vandalen, Pl. II and p. 68, and Sabatier, i, p. 211, No. 6, Pl. XIX. 29.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
22	150-	Æ 1.	(DNTHEO DAHATV SREX)	(VICTORIAP RINC IPVM) [de Salis gift]	ix. 16
23	162.3	Æ 1.05	(DNTHEO DAHATV SREX) (cross smaller than on Nos. 19, 20)	(VICTORIAP RINCI PVM) [Earl of Enniskillen, 1856]	ix. 17
24	147-2	Æ 1·	(DUTHEOD AHATV SRE X) (cross obscure)	VICLOBIVE RINCP VM (sic) (2 C) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; from the York Moore sale, Sothe- by's, 9 March, &c., 1889, lot 1146]	

¹ The engraving of the types and legends is careless. Perhaps the coin is an ancient forgery. For modern forgeries of bronze coins of Theodahad see *Num. Zeitschrift*, iii, p. 140; xxvii, pp. 123, 124. In some cases the name Theodahatus has been altered into 'Theodebaldus'. Cp. Regling, *Jahresberichte über die num. Literatur*, 1901, 1902 (in *Z. f. N.*, xxiv), p. 58.

WITIGIS

husband of Matasuntha, grand-daughter of Theodoric Nov.? 536—Spring, 540 (deposition) (died, 542)

~		Metal an	1				
No.	Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate		
			Go For gold coins with	RAVENNA Gold For gold coins with the name of Justinian I			
			laric', supra, p. 60 (ii)				
			Sil	ver			
			(with head o	of Justinian I)			
			Half	Siliqua			
			Inscr. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	VVIT ICES			
1	22.6	Æ .55	DNIVSTINI ANVSPR	[Baron Kolb, 1847]	x. 1		
2	22.	Æ .55	DNIVSTINI ANVSP	[Devonshire coll.]	x. 2		
3	19.5 (worn)	Æ ·5	DNIVSTI NIAN(A	(Letters small) [Devonshire coll.]			

-		M.A.	.1 1	1			1
No.	Weight		al and lize	ОЪ	verse	Reverse	Plate
4	19.	A	.55	DNIVSTI VC	NIANP(I	[Devonshire coll.]	
5	20.8	Æ	.5	DNIVSTI VC	\[N\\N]\	(N) [Blacas, 1867]	
6	19-6	R	.5	DNIVSTI NG?)	(NIANPF	(ICIS) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought at Sim sale, Sotheby's, 23 June, &c., 1890, lot 694]	x. 3
					Quarter	Siliqua	
				tinian r	ust of Jus- ., beardless, diadem and Border of	(monogram of Theodoric) within broad wreath.	
7	11.1	R	.45	DNIV\$TI	NIANVSA	(R disjoined; wreath narrow) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-14]	x. 4
8	9.6	A	.45		NIANAC lis gift]	(RSD) in upper part of wreath, circular ornament; in lower, X	x. 5
9	11.	Æ	.45	DNIVSTI VC	[NI\N]\	(Mon. as on No. 8, but ζ for C ; limbs of E shown); wreath has circular ornament.	x. 6
10	10.6	A	•45	DNIVSTI	ΝΙΛΝΛΟ	(Mon. as No. 9, but limbs of T shown; no pellet); wreath has circular ornament.	x. 7

As to the attribution of these coins see 'Introduction', supra, § 2, Italian coins with Imperial names, Justinian I. The obv. of No. 7 closely resembles the obv. of Matasuntha, infra, No. 1.

No.	Weight	Metal an Size	d Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			1	VVIT	
11	69.6	Æ ·65	[Baron Kolb, 1847]		x. 8
12	47.	Æ ·65		(Ornaments of wreath obscure)	x. 9
13	56.8	Æ ·65	(Obv. badly preserved) [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	(ICIS) (circular orna- ment obscure)	x. 10 rev.

MATASUNTHA

grand-daughter of Theodoric, queen of Witigis (Dec.?) 536—(Spring?) 540

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			RAVI	ENNA	
			Silv	ver	
			Half S	Biliqua	
			DNIVSTINI ANVSP PA Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	(monogram of Matasuntha) within wreath.	
1	21.1	Æ .55	[Rev. Greville J. Chester, 1890 ¹]		x. 11
			TICE	NUM ?	
			Sil	ver	
			Half	Siliqua ²	
			DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAC Bust of Jus- tinian r., beardless, wearing ornamented diadem, paludamen- tum, and cuirass. Border of dots.	within circular border; whole in wreath.	
2	18.9	R .55	[Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 588]		x. 12

A modern forgery of these types is noted in Num. Zeitschrift, xxvii, p. 123.

The obv. head is of the same style as No. 7, Pl. X. 4, of Witigis, supra.

The low relief of the obv., the style of the drapery, &c., prove that these coins (Nos. 2-5) were not struck at Ravenna. Ticinum (Pavia), the second Ostrogothic capital, has probably the best claim to their issue, which may have taken place at the time of the marriage of Matasuntha (Dec.? 536) or, later. after the battle of Ticinum (A.D. 538), when the Goths, defeated by the Imperialists, took refuge in Pavia. On these coins see further 'Introduction', supra, § 2, 'Matasuntha,' where the possibility of Constantinople being the mint-place is alluded to.

A modern forgery of these types is noted in Num. Zeitschrift, xxvii, p. 123.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size		Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			ize			
3	17.7	Æ	.5	[Sale at Sotheby's, 4 Dec. 1854, lot 17]		
4	18.	Æ	.6	(Ends Λ C)	[de Salis gift]	x. 13
5	18.6	Æ	.55	[Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12July,1853,lot 588]		x. 14
				_		
				Bro	nze	1
				20 nummi?		
				DNIVSTINI ANVS (inscr. partly obscure) Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Border.	(i.e. monogram of Matasuntha and K) within wreath.	
6	87.	Æ	-85	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-89]		x. 15

¹ Another specimen of this rare coin is described in the Thomsen Catalogue, p. 84, No. 1013, Pl. II. 1013; and another was in the E. F. Weber collection (Sale Catalogue, Hirsch, No. xxiv, München, May, 1909, lot 3038). K may be explained as '20' (nummi), the mark of value found on the Imperial coins of Justinian. The style of the rev. would be quite suitable to Ravenna, but the obv. in its low relief and its treatment of the drapery resembles the obverses of Nos. 2-5. The coin may therefore be assigned, like them, to Ticinum. See further, 'Introduction,' supra, § 2, 'Matasuntha.'

ILDIBAD

Spring? 540—Max? 541

Apparently did not issue coins.

ERARIC

May ?—Sept. ? 541

Apparently did not issue coins.

BADUILA

(also called TOTILA)

nephew of Ildibad

Sept. ? 541—July or Aug. 552

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			TICI	NUM	
				ld ¹ 41–552	
				idus VICTORI AAVCCC I	
			AVÇ Bust of Anastasius I r., beardless, with head three-quarters r.; wears helmet, with plume and ornament, and armour; r.handholds spear behind his head; l. hand (not represented) supports shield decorated with horseman device.	Victory in chiton and peplos standing l., holding in r. broad cross; in field r.,	
1	69.	N .75	[de Salis gift]		x. 16

¹ The mint-place was probably Ticinum (Pavia), the Gothic centre, now that Ravenna was in the hands of the Imperialists. It is not unlikely, however, that some of the coins may have been struck, for convenience, at other cities, such as Naples, which came into Baduila's hands in May, 543.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Trer	missis	
			Inser. Bust of Anastasius I r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass.	Inser. Victory to front moving r., looking l.; inr., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., CONOB¹	
2	20.2	A .55	DNANASTA SIVSPP AC On head, crescent and pellet.	VICTORIAAVÇVST ORVM (COMOB) [de Salis gift]	x. 17
3	20.2	A⁺ .55	DNANASTA SIVSPP AC On head, crescent and pellet.	VICTORIAAVÇVST ORVM (COMOB) [de Salis gift]	x. 18
4	22.2	A ·6	DNANATA SIVSPP NC On head, **.	VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM (CONOI) [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-20]	x. 19
5	21.6	A∕ .55	DNANASTA SIVSP AVC On head, +.	VICTORSAAVGOSTR VI [de Salis gift]	x. 20
6	21.8	A .55	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC	VICTORIAA VCSTO RVM [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-18]	x. 21
7	22.4	A' .6	DNANASTASIVSPP AVC	VICTORI AAVÇVZT N (Star, in field l.) [de Salis gift]	x. 22

 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle 1}$ The globus on which the Victory stands on the tremisses of earlier reigns is now no longer represented.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
8	22.2	A .5	DNANASTA SIVSPA VC On head, +.	VICTORIAAVGVST ORVM [de Salis gift]	x. 23
9	22.7	A ∙65	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-72] 1	VICTORI AAVGVST ROVH	x. 24
10	21.6	A⁄ .55	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC	VICTORIAAVCVST OUVM [de Salis gift]	x. 25
11	23.1	A* ·6	DNANAST SIVSPPA VC [de Salis gift]	VICTORIAAVGVST ORV (without star) (CONOR)	x. 26
12	22.4	A .6	DNANASTA• SIVSP PAVC [Dr. G. F. Nott's sale, 1842]	VICTORIAAVCVSTO RAH (CONOR)	xi. 1
13	21.	N ⋅65	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC [Royal coll.]	VICTORIAAVSVSTO RVH (CONOR)	xi. 2
			Sil	ver	
			(i) with head issued circ	l of Justinian 2. a.d. 541 ²	
			Half S	Siliqua	
			siliqua) is described in the (Rome, 1880), p. 251 Head of Justinian, rev. wreath. The similar claender (M. d. Ostgothe	at not stated; ? half the Rossi Sale Catalogue, lot 3359, with obv. DN BADV ILA REX in oin described by Fried- en, p. 46, No. 1, Pl. II. 1) ter siliqua: see the next	

¹ On Nos. 9-13 the neck of the obv. bust is abnormally long.
² Coins of Baduila with the head of Justinian are very rare. It may be presumed that they were issued for a short time at the beginning of Baduila's reign, but that the king was soon induced by political reasons to reject the head of the reigning emperor and to substitute for it (since commercial convention required the presence of an Imperial effigy) the head of another emperor. He selected Anastasius, who had been the contemporary of Theodoric, and whose head had appeared on Theodoric's coins.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Quarter DUIVSTUI AUVS Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing palu-	BADV	
			R. Size, 5 inch; weight,	REX 405 grammes (= 6-7 grains useum, Copenhagen.	xi. 3
	0		This rare coin is her plaster cast of the orig British Museum by Dr been previously described and rot, as Friedlaender in his M. Pl. II. 1. It must be a weight, and not, as Friesiliqua. The obv. lego sufficiently clear to sho	re photographed from a ginal kindly sent to the C. Jörgensen. It has libed and figured by d. Ostgothen, p. 46 A, quarter siliqua of light dlaender described it, a end is very faint, but w that it consists of the not (as we should rather	1
			scribes a coin with obv. i.e. monograme bronze coins,	fo. 17, Pl. XIX. 18, dehead of Justinian, rev. on of Baduila (as on the Pl. XI. 14, infra), with-He does not state from ption is derived.	
			(ii) with head	of Anastasius I	
			Half S	iliqua	
			Issued 541 (c	or 542)-549?	
			Inser. Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.		
14	21.4	<i>A</i> R .55	DNANASTA SIVSP	[Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 586]	xi. 4

¹ These coins cannot have been struck at Ravenna, but Nos. 14 and 15 are good imitations of the productions of that mint, perhaps due to the employment at Ticinum of an old Ravenna craftsman. The remaining specimens are of much cruder work, which likewise characterizes the corresponding coins of the next reign.

No.	Weight		ıl and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
15	19.8	AR	.55	DNANASTA SIVS	(L for L) [Baron Kolb coll.,1847]	xi. 5
16	21.2	AR	.55	DNANAS TASIVS [Blacas coll., 1867]	(+ before DN; pellet above L)	xi. 6
17	19.	AR	.55	DNANAS TASIVSPA [de Salis gift]	(RIX, with pellet beneath the I)	xi. 7
18	16.7 (chipped)	AR	. 55	Above head, pellet in crescent; (tie of diadem separated from the diadem)	(RIX) [Baron Kolb coll., 1847 ¹]	xi. 8
19	6.4	A	.4	(circ. 541 DNAIIA ITAHVI Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. [de Salis gift] Sabatier describes (i. 13) a quarter siliqua	or 542?) RSD (monogram of Theodoric) within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament.2 p. 208, No. 9, Pl. XIX. with obv. Head of Anamonogram of Baduila),	

¹ A similar (or possibly the same) coin is engraved by Banduri, vol. ii, Plate, p. 621: Friedlaender (M. d. Ostgothen, p. 48) doubted his reading, which is, however, confirmed in essentials by our No. 18. The obv. legend seems in the main blundered, but DOMNOI (domino) may be compared with the DOMNVS on a silver coin of Theia described infra.

² A later development of the coins with the monogram of Theodoric that we have

assigned, supra, p. 78, to Witigis.

No.	Weight	Metal ar Size	d Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Inser. Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of	B \ D \ V within wreath.	
20	9.5	$R \cdot 5$	DNANAS TASIAVO (letters blurred); above head, star.	X in lower part of wreath. [de Salis gift]	xi. 10
21	6.4	Æ ·4	Ends \ST\SI [de Salis gift]	(BADV) (REX) circular ornament in upper part of wreath.	xi. 11
22	8.7	AR .4	Inscr. obscure, ends	[de Salis gift]	xi. 12
				,	
			(iii) with he	ad of Baduila	
			Half	Siliqua	
			circ. A	. р. 549 1	
			DNBADV ILARIX Bust of Baduila r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	BADV within wreath.	
23	21.7	R -5	Baron Kolb coll.,1847]	Pellet in centre, be- tween L and A	xi. 13

¹ The appearance of a portrait of Baduila on his bronze coins (see infra, p. 91, No. 38) may be assigned to the year 549. The head on this coin, inscribed with Baduila's name, may also be another innovation introduced at about the same date. No doubt it was intended to pass as a portrait of the king, though it is in reality hardly modified from the head of Anastasius. As the types of the regal half siliquae had become stereotyped, any startling change—such as one from the profile bust to the full-face bust seen on the bronze money of Baduila—would no doubt have impeded the free circulation of the coins.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Bro	nze	
			(i) with head of circ. A. D.		
			Small	Bronze	
			(Тур	e A)	
			DN ANASTASIVS PPA Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass.	BADV .	
			Æ. Size, 4 inch. Descr i, p. 84,	ribed in Thomsen, Catal., No. 1015.	
			(Тур	е В)	
			Inser. Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery.	(monogram of Baduila) within wreath; above monogram, small cross.	
24	12.3	Æ -35	(Traces of inser.)	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-450]	x i. 14
25	12.2	Æ -35	ΛΝΛ S Λ V (Σ?)	[de Salis gift]	x i. 15
26	11.	Æ ·35	Ends ASIVS	[de Salis gift]	
27	11.	Æ ·35	(Traces of inscr.)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	

¹ Baduila does not (as in the case of his silver money, p. 85, supra) appear to have issued bronze with the head of Justinian. The coins with the head of Anastasius may be assigned to the period 541-549, in which last-named year, in all probability (see p. 91, '(iii) Bronze,' infra), the profile bust of Anastasius was withdrawn in favour of the full-face bust of Baduila.

Of the coins with the head of Anastasius there are three types, the order of which is somewhat hard to determine. Type A corresponds to the regal half siliquae and quarter siliquae (pp. 86-8, supra) issued 541 or 542-549? Type B perhaps precedes C, as its monogrammatic reverse is based on old models (e.g. the bronze of Theodahad), while C displays a rev. type of a new kind.

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				(Тур	e C)	
				Inser. Bust of Anastasius r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery.	DNREX B within wreath.	
28	14.6	Æ	-35	DNANA STA &c.	Above inscr., * [Cracherode bequest, 1799]	xi. 16
29	10.	Æ	.35	In front, N [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-462]	Above inscr., ★	xi. 17
30	11.5	Æ	-3	(Inser. off flan)		xi. 18
31	11.8	Æ	.4	Ends AVC	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	xi. 19
32	8.2	Æ	.3	Ends AVC	(DN for DN) [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	xi. 20
33	13.	Æ	-35	(Inscr. off tlan)	[de Salis gift]	
34	10.7	Æ	.35	DN &c. [de Salis gift]	(DN for DN)	
35	10.5	Æ	.35	(Inser. off tlan)	[Doubleday purchase, 1849]	
36	8.3	Æ	.3	Traces of inscr.	[Presented by Mr. J. Doubleday, 1846]	xi. 21

1 Most of these coins are struck on flans of insufficient size, and the X in REX, and

other details, are, therefore, often not visible.

With regard to date, No. 37 may be most conveniently placed in the period 541-549, because it will supply the large bronze currency, the small coinage being represented by

² This coin is modelled, as regards the obv., on the Felix Ravenna coins (Pl. XIV. 8-13), which we assign to the time of Theodoric and Athalaric (with the name of the city compare Paul. Diac., H. L., ii. 15 'Ticinus, quae alio nomine Papia appellatur'). Two specimens (weighing about 42 and 72 grains respectively) in the Brambilla collection (C. Brambilla, Monete di Pavia (1883), Pl. I, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 9 f.) show the X in the lower part of the wreath on the vev., and the coins are for this reason perhaps to be identified as 10-nummus pieces. However, specimens occur of varying module and weight: thus, Brambilla, Pl. I. 4, is considerably larger than our No. 37, and weighs over 72 grains troy, as contrasted with the 46 grains of No. 37. We might consider these two weights as representing the 10-nummus and the 5-nummus, but perhaps it is best to regard them as a heavy and light coinage of the 10-nummus denomination. (Cp. the heavy and light 10-nummus described, infra, p. 91, note 3.)

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Inser. Bust of Ticinus (female personifica- tion of the city of	later)—549 mmi? DN BADV ILA within wreath.	
37	46.	Æ ·6	Ticinum) r., wearing turreted head-dress and drapery. FELIXTI CINVS ²	[Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 7]	x ⁱ . 22
			X nu	ame of Baduila only 49-552 mmi* coinage)	
			Inser. Bust of Baduila, beardless, facing, wearing embroidered robes and closed crown ornamented with ball at apex, and divided in front by vertical bars into two divisions. Border of dots.		
38	114-3	Æ .7	anb√a [Art. %c. 5]	(ILA)	xi. 23

the pieces bearing the head of Anastasius (supra, pp. 89, 90). But it may be doubtful whether it was first issued in 541, i.e. from the very beginning of the reign of Baduila: the lettering of the rev. perhaps suggests a time nearer 549 (compare rev. of No. 37 with rev. of No. 38). Whatever, however, be the first date of issue, the latest date may be fixed to A.D. 549, when the full-face head of Baduila was introduced on his large bronze coinage (see No. 38).

coinage (see No. 38).

This series would, at first sight, appear to present two distinct denominations, one (No. 38) the double of the other (Nos. 39-43). On referring to the corresponding bronze coins struck by Baduila at Rome (infin, pp. 93, 94) we find similar weights, one set of coins being double the other. But at Rome both series of coins are marked X. Perhaps the best course is to regard all these coins (at Rome and Ticinum) as intended for 10-nummus pieces, representing both a heavy and a light issue of the denomination.

⁴ A comparison with the bronze coins of Rome (*infra*, p. 93) suggests that the issue of these pieces began in A. D. 549, the probable date of the Roman coins. With regard

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			(Light	coinage)	
39	62.7	Æ ·65	DNBAQV ELAREX	(ILA)	
40	65-7	Æ ·65	DNBADV ELAREX Star in each division of crown ¹ [Northwick sale, 1860]	(DN) (ELA?) between REX and wreath, X ²	xi. 24
41	71.6	Æ ·7	DNBAD (rest off flan) star in each division of crown.	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought at Webster sale, Sothe- by's, 1886]	xi. 25
42	67.6	Æ ·7	.NBADA. (rest obscure) star in each division of crown.	(Circular ornament in upper part of wreath) [de Salis gift]	xi. 26
43	58.6	Æ ·65	DN[BADV] ELAREX Star in each division of crown.	[Purchased, 1908, 5-6-23]	xi. 27
			Small	Bronze	
			А. р. 5	49–552	
			DN (no type)	within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; above monogram, small cross.	xi. 28
			Æ. Size, 3 inch; weig Museum; described, Frie p. 51, No. 11, Pl. II. 11.	ht, about 12 grains. Berlin edlaender, M. d. Ostgothen,	
				the rev. would suggest rs to class (i), supra,	

to their place of mintage, it is difficult, for reasons of style and fabric, to avoid the suspicion that they were struck at Rome. I have, however, assigned them to Ticinum on the following grounds: (1) It is more likely that these coins, being a regal issue (on the general model of the older Ostrogothic coins of the Ravenna mint) would be struck at the royal capital—at that time Ticinum—than at Rome, where the coinage was primarily a civic concern. (2) The letters of the reverse inscription closely resemble those found on the rev. of No. 37, a coin which, on account of its obv. consisting of a personification of Ticinum, it is reasonable to suppose was struck at Ticinum itself. (3) The Roman style of these coins may be sufficiently accounted for by the employment at Ticinum of some skilful workman from the Roman mint.

¹ Compare the crown of Theodahad, Pl. IX. 13-18.

² The X, originally the binding of the wreath, is here detached, as if a mark of value.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate		
			pp. 89, 90, but it is without the head of Anastasius. Equally, it lacks the head of Baduila, but the omission of the emperor's head indicates that the coin belongs to the time of Baduila's numismatic autonomy, and we may, therefore, assign it to the last period of his reign, 549-552. It supplies a small denomination to accompany the 10-nummus piece, Nos. 38-43.				
			RO	ME			
			Bro	nze			
			A. D. 5	49–552			
			(with head	of Baduila)			
			X nu	mmi?			
			(Heavy	coinage)			
			Inser. Bust of Baduila, beardless, facing, wearing embroidered robes and crown ornamented with ball at apex, and divided in front by vertical bars into two divisions. Border of dots.	Inser. Baduila standing r., holding in r. spear, in l. oval shield; wearshelmet, cuirass, and paludamentum. In field r., X. Border of dots.			
44	121.4	Æ ·8	DNBADV ELAREX (partly obscure)	[FLOREA?] [22]EMP ER Pellet in centre of shield. [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-8]	xi. 29		
45	116.5	Æ .75	Ends [E]LAREX	FLVR[EA?] SSEMPE	xi. 30		

¹ Nos. 44-9. Types. The obv. portrait-bust may have been partly suggested by the portrait-bust found on the Roman bronze coins of Theodahad (see Pl. IX. 13), and is represented with a similar closed crown (but without the stars?). That the bust is full-face, and not in profile, is probably due to the portrait on the Imperial coins of Justinian which, since the year 538, had usually shown the emperor's bust full-face (see especially the Roman bronze coins of Justinian, Pl. XVI. 6-10). The rev. type is borrowed from the Roman coins of Athalaric (see Pl. VIII. 21-5), but the disappearance of the letters S. C. is noteworthy. The significance of the inscr. Floreas semper is not quite obvious. The most natural interpretation of the words is probably as a wish for the prosperity of Rome, though on the present coin the head of Invicta Roma which appeared on the coin of Athalaric (Pl. VIII. 22) is omitted. Still, however, the coins would be generally recognized as emanating from the mint of Rome. The other alternative is to treat the words as an acclamation for the long life of the king. (Cp. coins of the Constantine period,

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
46	113.7	Æ	.85	[DN]BADV [EL]AREX	[FLV?]REA [2?]ZEM [PER] [de Salis gift]	
				(Light	coinage)	
47	69.6	Æ	.65	ONBAGY [ELAREX] (without ball on crown)	REA SSEM[P] [Northwick sale, 1860]	xii. 1
48	66.2	Æ	.7	DNBADV ELAREX (partly obscure) (without ball on crown)	FLORE∧S SEMPER .	xii. 2
49	54.2	Æ	-65	ONBAD VELA[R]EX (without ball on crown?)	FLOREAS	xii. 3
				Small I	Bronze	
				Inser. Bust of Baduila, beardless, facing, wearing crown and robes. Border of dots.	Lion advancing r., within wreath.	
50	15.6	Æ	.35	Ends ADVE	Above, * (border of dots instead of wreath) [Purchased, 1864, 7-19-32]	xii. 4
51	18.5	Æ	-35	[DNB] VrL (=VEL)	[de Salis gift]	xii. 5
52	15.2	Æ	.4	DNB [V]DVELV	[de Salis gift]	xii. 6

Constantine Caes. Vivas; Herculi Caes. Vincas; Maurice, Num. Constantinienne, i, p. 347. Cp. also Wroth, Imperial Byzantine Coins, i, p. 99 n., Vita on coins of Justin II.)

Denomination. Nos. 44-6 seem to represent a value that is double that of Nos. 47-9; thus, the 20-nummus and the 10-nummus. But it will be observed that all these coins are marked X; therefore (unless we are to assume that Baduila's engraver mechanically copied the X from the coins of Athalaric regardless of its changed meaning) we are almost bound to believe that all these specimens were intended to pass current as pieces of ten nummi, though issued both of a heavy and of a light weight (cp. the bronze coins of Ticinum, supra, Nos. 38-43).

Date. Baduila first came into possession of Rome on 17 Dec., 546, but the city (which had been practically deserted) was soon given up, and it is in the highest degree unlikely that he issued money at that time. But in 549 Baduila, after a siege, again recovered Rome, and he now recalled the exiled senators, began to rebuild the city, and was himself present at games held in the Circus Maximus. There can be little doubt that it was

in this year that the issue of these coins was first undertaken.

¹ The coin is modelled on the small Roman bronze of Justinian, with the same rev. See Pl. XVI. 9, 10.

THEIA JULY OF AUG. 552-553

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				NUM	
			Inser. Bust of Anastasius I r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass; on head, pellet in crescent.	l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger;	
1	23.	A⁄ .6	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC (without pellet and crescent). [Bought of an Italian coin-dealer, 1869]		xii. 7
2	22.2	A⁄ .55	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC	VICTORIAAVCVCT ORIV [de Salis gift]	xii. 8
3	22.1	A .65 (base)	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC [Royal coll.]	VICTORIAAVÇVST ORVII (pellet after CONO)	xii. 9
4	22.2	A .65	PANANAS TASIVEP	VICTORIAAVCVST ORVII [de Salis gift]	xii. 10
5	22.	<i>N</i> ⋅6	PAVC ATSANAND	VICTORIAAVGVST ORVN [de Salis gift]	xii. 11

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
6	22.7	A	.6	DNANASTA SIVSPP AVC	VICTORIAAVCVITO RW [de Salis gift]	xii. 12
7	21.2	A	.65	DNANAST ASIVSP PAVG (on head, cross).	VICTORIAAVCVST ORVI (СОИО) [de Salis gift]	xii. 13
8	21.	A	.6	DNANSTA SIVSFA ¹ (on head, star?).	VICTORIAAVCVST OVI (COIIC) [de Salis gift]	xii. 14
				Half S	Siliqua	
				Inser. Bust of Anastasius I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass.	Inscr. within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X	
9	20.8	Æ	.6	DNANASTA SIVSP PA [de Salis gift]	DN THE I/\ REX	xii. 15
10	17.6	AR	.55	DNANAST ASIVSA V[Ç?] On head, crescent [Baron Kolb coll., 1847]	DN THEI ² AREX	xii. 16
11	20.	AR	.55	DNANASTA SIVSA VC On head, crescent. [Blacas coll., 1867]	DN THIL [®] AREX	xii. 17
12	22.2	Æ	.5	DNANA2 TA2IV2P AC On head, pellet in crescent. [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-16]	DOM NV2TH EINP REX 1	xii. 18

¹ The head is treated very much as on Nos. 11, 12, infra.

² Either a badly formed 1, or L.

³ THIL∧ occurs on a coin in the Rossi catalogue (Rome, 1880), p. 251, and on a silver coin described in Friedlaender, M. d. Ostgothen, p. 53, No. 3.

⁴ Name of Theia. Procopius calls this king Teias. On the coins his name appears as THEIA, TEIA, THELA (Paris: Friedlaender, M. d. Ostgothen, p. 53), and THILA.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Quarter DNANASTA SIVSP PN Bust of Anastasius I r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass; on head, pellet and crescent. Border of dots.	DN THE I/ REX	
13	9.5	Æ .55	[de Salis gift]¹		xii. 19

The form THEIA may be judged to be the official spelling of the mint, more especially as it occurs on No. 12 in an inscr. on which some extra thought appears to have been expended (i.e. DN is expanded to Dom(i)nus, and a unique title, P-presumably Piusexpended (i.e. DN is expanded to Dom(i)nus, and a unique title, P—presumably Pius—is added). The variety TEIA is very rare, apparently occurring only on a coin in the Strogonoff collection, described by Sabatier (i, p. 209, No. 2). With regard to THELA and THILA, I would suggest the probability that they are engravers' blunders, a ising thus:—a badly formed I in THEIA (cp. our No. 10) would give rise to THE A or THELA. Of THELA, THILA would be an easy variant, either I being deliberately written for E (a common interchange), or an E with the projecting limbs faintly represented (as is sometimes the case) being mistaken for I.

Attribution. Dr. H. Bradley, in his interesting account of The Goths (London, 1888), has suggested (chap. 28, p. 311) that these coins may have been issued by Thelane, the son and titular colleague of Odovacar. But this view must be negatived, because (1) we

son and titular colleague of Odovacar. But this view must be negatived, because (1) we do not know that Thelane was also called Theia, and this series of 'Thela' and 'Theia' coins clearly emanated from a single issuer; (2) these coins belong to the continuous series of Ostrogothic silver coins, and, by style and fabric, take their place in it as the latest, not the earliest, issues; (3) it is not improbable that 'Thela' is an engraver's

blunder, and does not reproduce any actual name.

1 The silver (or bronze?) coin with rev. monogram, described by Sabatier (i, p. 210, No. 6), after Lagoy, is ascribed to Theia on no sure grounds, as Friedlaender (M. d. Ostgothen, p. 52) has already pointed out. So far as is known, Theia issued no coinage in bronze.

QUASI-AUTONOMOUS BRONZE COINS OF ROME AND RAVENNA

We have here (Pl. XII-XIV), as has been generally admitted, coinages struck at Rome and Ravenna. Of these, the Roman series is the more extensive and important, and may be first discussed.

ROME. The types of these Roman coins, and the entire absence from them of the regal or Imperial name, suggest that they were issued on some special occasion or in accordance with the grant of special privileges. Such a coinage may have taken place at any period when the Ostrogoths were masters of the Imperial City, or, on the other hand, in the period, under Justinian, when Rome had been won back for the Empire. But although the hypothesis of the Imperial origin of these coins is not at first sight an unlikely one, it is seen to be hardly tenable when we take into consideration the bronze coins (Pl. XV, XVI. 1–10) which Justinian issued for his newly-regained city. Of these there are at least two distinct issues, each bearing a portrait of the emperor and a large M, the familiar Byzantine mark of value (40 nummia), and it is extremely hard to find a place for a third Imperial coinage of Rome—and that, moreover, a coinage entirely anonymous and with the mark of value in Roman numerals (XL).

The coins, then, may be best regarded as issues made while Rome was Ostrogothic. I am not aware of any quite decisive data for fixing the exact period of coining, but an accumulation of evidence of various kinds will be found to lead us in the direction of Theodoric rather than that of the latest Ostrogothic rulers. At the outset, one king—Theodahad—may certainly be rejected as a claimant, because we know that the large bronze money which he caused to be issued in Rome bore his own name and—what was an innovation—his own portrait (Pl. IX. 13). For a nearly similar reason, one of Theodahad's successors, Baduila, may be excluded. Theia, the last king, had no authority at Rome; and in the reign of Witigis Rome was mainly in the hands of the Imperialists, and its coins may be expected to bear the stamp of Justinian.

There remain only Theodoric and Athalaric his successor. Athalaric is known to have struck at Rome small bronze coins, 'X nummi,' with his own name (Pl. VIII. 21-5), and these, it must be noted, bear the head of *Invicta Roma*, the head that figures on the obverse of the large quasi-autonomous bronze coins now in question (Pl. XIII, XIV). Athalaric, therefore, may seem to have some claim, but still more, perhaps, Theodoric, who is not otherwise represented by any bronze coins at the Roman mint.

The whole of this *Invicta Roma* coinage, with its thick flans and bold types, contrasts in a rather remarkable way with the ordinary coins of the Ostrogothic series, but it becomes less strange when we study its genesis. Now, among the issues of the Roman mint that immediately precede the Ostrogothic issues are thick bronze pieces bearing the head of Zeno (circ.

A.D. 474: Pl. XII. 20-3). Evidently it was from this source that our coins derived their peculiar fabric, their prominent border of dots, their mark of value XL, and one of their types, the Victory: even their obverse type, the bust of Invicta Roma, was probably suggested by the legend *Invicta Roma* found on the prototype coins.

The 'Invicta Roma' coins are mainly of three classes:-

- (i) With rev. Victory (Pl. XIII. 1).
- (ii) With rev. Eagle (Pl. XIII. 2-8; also rev. Two Eagles and Tree, Pl. XIII. 9-11).
- (iii) With rev. Wolf and Twins (Pl. XIV. 1-7).

I suggest that this coinage first began in the time of Theodoric, under whom life and government in the city of Rome went on without any violent changes; and that the first type struck was No. (i) with the Victory reverse, a type which was modelled on the nearly similar reverse of the Roman bronze coins bearing the name of the Emperor Zeno (Pl. XII. 20-3), which were probably struck by the Senate (SC) during the reign of Odovacar and which would be in circulation at least till Zeno's death in 491, and perhaps until the accession of Theodoric in 493.

Coins of this 'Victory' type are now very rare: perhaps the borrowed design was soon displaced by a more distinctively Roman emblem—the Eagle (ii) or the Wolf and Twins (iii). As this coinage displays three (or, rather, four) types, it is probable that it extended over a considerable period. Thus, it may have constituted the large bronze coinage of Rome under Athalaric as well as under his predecessor, Theodoric.

Type i, the Victory-reverse, will naturally be assigned to Theodoric, as imitated from the 'Victory' coins with Zeno's head (Pl. XII. 20-3). Type ii (the Eagle) might also be assigned to him, and type iii (Wolf and Twins) to Athalaric; but seeing that the precedence of type ii over type iii is not completely certain, the safest course will be to group types ii and iii together as Roman coins 'of the time of Theodoric and Athalaric'.

Athalaric's successor, Theodahad, struck at Rome large bronze coins with his own head upon them (Pl. IX. 13–18).² In the troubled times that followed his deposition (A. D. 536) the bronze currency of Rome consisted chiefly of the portrait-coins of Baduila and (as will be seen *infra*, 'Coins with Imperial names', p. 108) of Justinian.

RAVENNA. These are small pieces of ten nummi, all having on the obv. the bust of FELIX RAVENNA. There are three reverse types:—

- (i) Victory (p. 106).
- (ii) Eagle (Pl. XIV. 8).
- (iii) Monogram of Ravenna in wreath (Pl. XIV. 10).

¹ For the smaller bronze coinage of Rome, Athalaric himself provided by allowing the Senate to strike pieces of X nummi with the bust of Invicta Roma on the *obv.* and his own name on the *rev.* (Pl. VIII. 21).

² But the Romans may even, for a time (and previous to the issue of the portraitcoins of Theodahad), have continued to mint the *Invicta Roma* bronze: compare the bust of Invicta Roma on some of the Ravenna bronze of Theodahad (Pl. IX. 12) with the bust on some of the 'Invicta Roma' (Theodoric and Athalaric) coins (Pl. XIV. 7, &c.).

As Ravenna was the capital and residence of Odovacar and of the Ostrogothic kings, and finally the residence of the Imperial representative, it is not easy to point to a period when it is likely to have issued these quasi-autonomous coins. Such coins (as we have just seen) were, indeed, in use at Rome, but Rome always enjoyed a semi-independence: it was still in possession of its ancient Senate (who apparently controlled the local coinage), and it was never—in our period—the capital or permanent residence of king or emperor. In point of style these coins, perhaps, most resemble the bronze coins of Athalaric, and the best course may be to assign them to him and to Theodoric.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			XL n	ME ummi d of Zeno)	
			A. D. 4 Inser. (reading outwards from front of neck). Bust of the	chiton advancing r.; in r., wreath;	
1	211.1	Æ 1.05	[I]MPZENOFELI[CIS SI?]NOSENAVG ² ; be- neath head ³	[Northwick sale, 1860]	xii. 20

authority (as M. Sambon has remarked to me) for reading on any of the coins of this class the names of Zeno and Leo in conjunction, and the legend given by Sabatier (i, p. 141, No. 21), viz. ZENO ET LEO CAES NOV. CAES, is probably misread. N, in

NO, is written for M; SEN = SEM(per).

3 In the Catal. of the Mus. Naz. di Napoli, ii, specimens (Nos.15,202-4) are described as reading IIII beneath the head; but on our examples letters seem to be represented.

¹ Notice the wreath, which is of the same style as the wreath on coins of Athalaric. The obv. type is, moreover, found joined to a rev. with the monogram of Athalaric on a bronze coin which Friedlaender (M. d. Ostgothen, p. 35, Pl. I. 11) repeats from the original description by Pinci, though this description may require verification. A coin of Baduila (Pl. XI. 22) displays a bust of FELIX TICINVS, but this coin is of coarser (and, no doubt, later) style than the FELIX RAVENNA coins.

2 The obv. inscriptions on these coins are hard to read, but there seems to be no good with original control of the contr

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
2	213.6	Æ	1.1	CISSIMOS ENAVC; beneath head, IIOI?	[Townley coll.]	xii. 21
3	251.4	Æ	1.15	INPIENOFENAVC; beneath head, I. I.	[Northwick sale, 1860]	
4	306.	Æ	1.15	IIIPIENOFELN .SEIINVC; beneath head,	[de Salis gift]	xii. 22
5	283.6	Æ	1.1	IMPZENOSEMPERA VC (inscr. beginning behind head) (bust draped) ¹	100,1	xii. 23
				XL n	ummi	
					he time of Theodoric, .D. 493	
				IUVICT \(\Lambda \) ROM\(\Lambda \) Bust of Roma r., wearing helmet, earring, necklace, and drapery; hair long. Border of dots.	in r., wreath; in l., palm-branch resting	
				laender. M. d. Vandalen. H	fuseum. (Figured in Fried- Pl. II, p. 68; cp. Sabatier, 9; Rev. num., 1858, p. 200,	xiii. 1
				with the head of Zeno (it has a similar reverse- the rev. is perhaps the	ced next after the coins Nos. 1-5, supra) because -type (Victory). II on mark of the officina. NVICTA ROMA, see	

¹ The inscription and bust show signs of having been touched by a modern graver's tool; the coin is, however, antique, and this *obv.* legend is found on other coins, e.g. Thomsen, *Catal.*, p. 4, No. 58; Windisch-Grätz coll., vi, p. 6, No. 50; cp. Sabatier, i, p. 140, No. 16.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			XL and X Probably struck in the	X nummi ne reigns of Theodoric rc. a.d. 494(?)-534	
			(α) Fir	est Series	
			×	L	
			(with rea	. Eagle) 1	-
			Inser. Bust of Romar., wearing crested hel- met, pendent ear- ring, necklace, and drapery; hair long. Border of dots.	Eagle with wings spread, standing l., looking back; in field l., X. Border of dots.	
6	215.8	Æ 1.1	I[N]VIC TAROMA	Exergue plain. [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-451]	xiii. 2
7	143.5	Æ ·95	INVIC TAROMA [Baron Kolb coll., 1847]	(X) ² Exergue plain.	xiii. 3
8	177.2	Æ 1.	INVIC TAROMA	In ex., • A • ³ [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-9]	
9	156.5	Æ 1.	IMVICT AROMA	In ex., • A • [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-598]	xiii. 4
10	157.3	Æ 1.	IMVIT AROMA	In ex., • A • [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-452]	

¹ This series may be placed immediately after the coin with rev. Victory, described on p. 101, because the mark of value XL is, as on that piece, placed beside the type and in the form X. (The XL on Nos. 24 f., infra, rev. Wolf and Twins, is differently arranged.) The eagle, if imitated from a coin (as need not necessarily be the case), may have been suggested by the eagle on the (Italian) coins of Zeno; see Sabatier, Pl. VIII. 3, 4, 5.

2 This is an exceptional arrangement of the mark of value.

³ This and other similar numerals in the exergue may be best explained as officinamarks; they run from 1 to 5.

No.	Weight	Metal and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
		Size			
11	128-	Æ ·9	IMVICT AROMA	In ex., • II • [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-455]	
12	152.2	Æ ·95	IMVICT AROMA	In ex., • 「 • [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-453]	
13	130.3	Æ 1.1 .	IMVICT AROMA	In ex., • 「• [Purchased, 1835]	xiii. 5
14	174.7	Æ 1.	INVICT AROMA	In ex., • Δ • [Purchased, 1893, 10-7-39]	xiii. 6
15	135.2	Æ ·95	IMVICT AROMA	In ex., • € • [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-10]	xiii. 7
16	139.8	Æ 1.05	IMVICT AROMA	In ex., • • • • [Purchased, 1904, ' 5-11-454]	
17	183.	Æ ·95	IMVIC TAROMA	In ex., •[Э]•¹	
18	174.2	Æ 1.05	INVIC TAROMA	In ex., • € • [de Salis gift]	xiii. 8
			×	×	
			(with rev. Tree :	and two Eagles)	
			IMVICT AROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing crested hel- met, necklace, and drapery; hair long. Border of dots.	Fig-tree, beneath which, on each side, eagle with head turned back; in ex., •XX• Border of dots. ²	
19	167.4	Æ ·95	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; bought of an Italian coin-dealer]		xiii. 9

are of the denomination XL.

Only the top of the numeral is visible, the rest being off the flan.
The eagles on the rev. connect these coins with Nos. 6-18, supra (rev. Eagle), which

No explanation of the rev. type has been offered except by Eckhel (Doct. num. vet., viii, p. 216; cp. Friedlaender, M. d. Ostgothen, p. 57), who suggested that the two eagles symbolized Rome and New Rome (Constantinople), but this explanation takes no account of the tree. As to the general meaning of the type, it is hardly doubtful that it refers in

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
20	129.	Æ	.9	(Ends MA)	[Purchased, 1904, 6-4-600]	xiii.10
21	116·2 (worn)	Æ	·8 5	[de Salis gift]		
22	115.3	Æ	-85	(IMVICT A ROMA)	[Baron Kolb coll.,1847]	
23	82.5	Æ	.85	(IMVICT A ROMA)	[Purchased, 1904, 6-4-599]	xiii.11
				(β) Seco	nd Series	
				×	L	
				(with rev. Wo	lf and Twins)	
				IMVICT AROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing crested hel- met, pendent ear- ring, necklace, and drapery; hair long. Border of dots.	the Twins, Romulus and Remus; above,	
24	189.8	Æ	.95	(A; A)	In ex., •[11]•²	xiv. 1
25	221.	Æ	1.05	[Purchased, 1835]	In ex., • 111 •	xiv. 2

some way to the ancient glories or legendary history of the Eternal City, because the obv. type is *Invicta Roma*, and other coins of the same class represent the Roman eagle (p. 102) and the wolf and twins (p. 104). The tree is almost certainly a fig-tree, and it is natural to identify it with the ficus ruminalis beneath which Romulus and Remus were suckled by the wolf. A well-known denarius (second century B.c.) of Sextus Pompeius Fostulus (Grueber, B. M. C., Rom. Coins, i, p. 131) shows the wolf suckling the twins, and the shepherd Faustulus surveying the scene: in the background is the fig-tree with three birds perched on its branches (one variety of our coins, Nos. 19-23, is stated in the Thomsen Cat., p. 80, No. 978, to show a bird on the tree; so also Sabatier, i, Pl. XIX. 28, p. 211, No. 5).

If the tree of our coins is the ficus ruminalis, the substitution of the eagles for the twins is of course remarkable; and the only comment I am able to make is that the Ostrogothic type seems, at any rate, to have been derived from a much older original. A small bronze coin of Scepsis in the Troad (Imhoof-Blumer, Kleinasiatische Münzen, i. p. 46, No. 5, Pl. II. 6), which—from its obv. type, a Capricorn—is probably of the time of Augustus, shows on the rev. a gnarled fig-tree, near the trunk of which stands an eagle with head turned back towards it, a type identical, except for the absence of the second eagle, with the Ostrogothic type. Unfortunately, the interpretation of the Scepsian reverse is, itself, doubtful, though it is probably of Imperial and not of local significance.

There are no very strong reasons for placing these later than the XL coins described as the 'First Series', supra, p. 102: the position of the mark of value seems, however, to indicate that their place is here and not earlier (see p. 102, note 1).

Apparently II, as on Friedlaender, M. d. Ostgothen, p. 58, No. I, and Thomsen,

Cat., p. 80, No. 972.

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
26	234.2	Æ	1.05	(Inser. partly obscure)	In ex., • IIII • [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-456]	
27	233.2	Æ	1.05	(\Lambda ROMA)	In ex., • •	
28	224.6	Æ	1.15		In ex., •V•	
29	236.6	Æ	1.05	(IMVIC TAROMA)	(Exergue worn)	xiv. 3
				X	X	
				Bust of Roma r., wearing crested helmet, pendent earring, necklace, and drapery; hair long. Border of dots.	Wolf l., with head turned r., suckling the Twins, Romulus and Remus; above, two stars; in ex., • X • X • Border of dots.	
30	118. (br o ken)	Æ	.95		Between the stars, 1?	xiv. 4
31	111.	Æ	·85	[de Salis gift]	Between the stars, I	xiv. 5
32	126.2	Æ	.8	(INVIC &c.) [de Salis gift]	Between the stars, 🙎	xiv. 6
33	100.	Æ	-8	[Royal coll.]	Between the stars, & (in ex., XX)	xiv. 7

¹ The two stars are not ornaments or mint-symbols, but part of the type, as may be seen on comparison with the representation of the Wolf and Twins on the medallions of

seen on comparison with the representation of the Wolf and Twins on the medallions of Constantine the Great (Froehner, Méd. de Vemp. rom., pp. 287, 288 (obv. bust of Vrbs Roma); Grueber, Cat. Rom. Medallions, p. 86, Nos. 6 and 7).

The group is a reproduction of an older representation, such as that found on the medallions of Constantine (just referred to); on the denarius of Fostulus (second century B.C.; cp. p. 104, supra); and on Romano-Campanian coins of the late fourth century and early third century B.C. (cp. figures in Klio, 1909, p. 34). On the group see further E. Petersen's Lupa Capitolina', in Klio, 1908, pp. 440 f., and 1909, pp. 29 f. It may be added that the festival of the Lupercalia was still celebrated at Rome at the beginning of the reign of Theodoric (Fowler, Roman Festivals, p. 321; Gregorovius, Hist. of City of Rome, bk. ii, chap. 1, vol. i, p. 269, Eng. trans.).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				ENNA mmi¹	
			1. With r	ev. Victory	
			Time of 2	Theodoric?	
			FELIXR AVENNA Bust of Ravenna r., wearing mural crown, earring, necklace, and drapery. Border of dots.	palm-branch. Border of dots.	
			Æ. Size,	.65 inch.	
			Friedlaender, M. d. O	ribed and figured by stgothen, p. 60, No. 3, the authority of Ramus	
			2. With	rev. Eagle	
			Time of '	Theodoric?	
			FELIXR AVENNA Bust of Ravenna r., wearing mural crown, earring, necklace, and dra- pery. Border of dots.	stars, standing on branch to front,	
34	60.	Æ ·7	[Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 7]		xiv.8
35	38.8	$\stackrel{ }{\mathbb{A}}$.65			xiv. 9

¹ As to the date of these coins see p. 100, supra.
² With the eagle type cp. No. 6, p. 102, supra. It is no doubt the eagle of Rome.
Two stars are seen above the Wolf and Twins on No. 30, p. 105, supra.
FELIX RAVENNA. Compare the inscr. Felix Carta. on Vandal coins of Carthage (supra, p. 13) and the Felix Ticinus on the coins of Baduila (supra, p. 91). Felix Roma does not occur on Ostrogothic coins (invicta Roma perhaps taking its place), but is found on monuments of the time, as on the tiles of Theodoric and of Athalaric: reg(nante) d(omino) n(ostro) Theoderico, felix Roma (see Gregorovius, Rome in the Middle Ages, bk. ii, chap. 2, pp. 315, 316, Eng. trans.; Cabrol, Dict. d'arch. chrét., s. v. brique, p. 1322 and p. 1326). The legends FLAVIA LVCA, FLAVIA TICINO, &c., on Lombard coins may also be recalled in this connexion (see 'Introduction', supra, § 3, on legends of Lombard coins). of Lombard coins).

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
					ogram of Ravenna	
				FELIXR AVENNA Bust of Ravenna r., wearing mural crown, earring, necklace, and dra- pery. Border of dots.	within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X. Border of dots.	0
36	48.1	Æ	.7	(Ends NA)		xiv.10
37	46.5	Æ	.6	[R. Payne Knight bequest, 1824; Nummi veteres, p. 304, No. 2]		
38	49.6	Æ	.65	[Baron Kolb coll., 1847]		xiv. 11
39	46.6	Æ	.65	[de Salis gift]	(RE)	xiv.12
40	52.2	Æ	.65		Above monogram, +	xiv.13
				4. With obv.	Invicta Roma	
				Time of A	Athalaric?	
				INVICTA ROMA Bust of Roma r., wearing helmet and drapery.	within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X.	
					e, ·6 inch.	
				Friedlaender, M . d .	yed and described by Ostgothen, p. 60, No. 4, the authority of Pinci,	

¹ On Nos. 36, 37 the X is boldly represented and almost separated from the wreath, as if clearly to denote the denomination of the coin (as on Nos. 34, 35). On Nos. 38-40 the X is smaller, and has more distinctly the appearance of being the tie of the wreath.

IMPERIAL COINS OF JUSTINIAN I

struck at

ROME AND RAVENNA

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			RO	ME	
			Period I. D	Dec. 536–538 ¹	
		:	M (40	nummi)	
			DUIVSTIMI ANVSPP AVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless; hair short, but arranged in fringe in front; wears diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum. Border of dots.	of which, circular ornament; in lower	
1	311.4	Æ 1·1	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	(1 for A); beneath M, A; on l., +; on r., +	xv. 1
2	287.5	Æ 1.15	(∧ for A)	(1 for A); beneath M, X; on l., +; on r., +	xv. 2
3	207.2	Æ 1.	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-84]	(1? for A); beneath M, \bar{A} ; on l., \star ; on r., \star	xv. 3
4	248-6	Æ ·95	(Beginning doubtful; ends AV) [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-241]	(1 for A); beneath M, $\overline{\Delta}$; on l., $\overline{\star}$; on r., $+^2$	xv. 4

¹ On the date of the Imperial coins of Justinian I struck at Rome and Ravenna see 'Introduction', supra, § 2, under 'Coins with Imperial Names'. All the Roman coins of Period I show the head in profile; those of Period II have the bust facing, except on the tremissis, where, by the convention of Byzantine coins, it is in profile.

² Nos. 1-4 are of thick fabric. Nos. 5-14 are of thinner fabric and inferior workmanship; they are without the officina-mark (\$\overline{\Delta}\$).

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
5	154.8	Æ ·95	(DMIVSTI[N ?]I AN VSPPAV) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-85]	(ROM); on 1., +; on r., *	xv. 5
6	138.	Æ 1.05	(DMIVSTINI ANVSP PAV) [de Salis gift]	(∧ for A); on l., +;	
7	163.8	Æ 1.2	(N for И; ends PPV ΛC)	On l., +; on r., 💥 [Townley coll.]	xv. 6
8	146.1	Æ 1.2	(N for W; ends PPV AC)	On l. *; on r., + [Townley coll.]	xv. 7
9	170.5	Æ 1.15	(Ends ANVSPPAV) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-83]	On 1., * ; on r., +	
10	152.2	Æ 1·15	(DNIVSTINI ANVS &c. [Royal coll.]	(∧ for A); on I., * ;	
11	144.8	Æ 1.05	(DNIVSTIN IANVSP PAVC) [Townley coll.]	(\(\Lambda\) for A); on I., \(\pi\); on r., + (circular ornament absent)	
12	126.	Æ 1.05	(DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC) [Townley coll.]	On l., *; on r., +	
13	152.7	Æ 1.15	(Type double-struck) [Townley coll.]	On l., [*?]; on r., +	
14	161.6	Æ 1.15	(DNIVSTI NIANVSP PA) [Townley coll.]	On l., ★; on r., + (upper part of wreath has ⊗; lower part,)	xv. 8
			K (20	nummi)	
			Inser. Bust of Justi- nian I r., as on No. 1. Border of dots.	K• in wreath; in upper part of which, ⊕; in lower part, X	
15	102.8	Æ ·85	DИIVSTIИI ANVSP PAV [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-271]	On l., +; on r., *	xv. 9

No.	Weight		ıl and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
16	115.5	Æ	.9	DИIЛSTIИI ANVSP PAV [Doubleday purchase, 1849]	On l., +; on r., *	xv. 10
17	134.5	Æ	.85	DИIVSTIИI ANVSP PAV [Blacas coll., 1867]	On l., +; on r., *	
18	117.4	Æ	·85	DUINZTIUI [NNVSP PNV?] [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-270]	On 1., *; on r., +	xv. 11
19	128.5	Æ	.8	DUIV STI NIANV SPP [Townley coll.]	On l., *; on r., +	xv. 12
20	97.5	Æ	.85	DUIVST INIANVSP	On l., *; on r., + (without •) (wreath without ornaments)	
21	113.8	Æ	.8	DNIV TINIAN[S?] [Townley coll.]	On l., *; on r., + (without •)	
22	85.5	Æ	.9	DNIVSTIN IANVSPP [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-269]	On l., ★; on r., + (without •) (upper part of wreath has ⊗; lower part, ×¹	xv. 13
23	82.2	Æ	.9	DUIVST TINIANV [Townley coll.]	On l., *; on r., + (without •) (wreath without ornaments)	xv. 14
				I (10 r	nummi)	
				DNIVSTINI ANVSP PA Bust of Justi- nian I r., as on No. 1. (Border obscure)	I between * and *; all in wreath.	
24	43.1	Æ	•65	[Purchased, 1904, 6-4-284]	Below, within wreath, AMOR (Roma: AM in ligature).	xv. 15
25	64.1	Æ	.65	(End of inser. obscure) [de Salis gift]	(Mark of value smaller than on No. 24)	xv. 16

¹ Cp. the wreath on No. 14. This coin has been washed or plated with silver.

No.	Weight	Metal Siz		Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Period II.		
				DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC Bust of Justinian I, beardless, full-face; wears helmet with plume, and cuirass; in r., globus cruciger; l. (not represented) holds shield, on which, horseman device.	VICTOR I AAVCCC Victory wearing chi- ton and peplos, stand- ing facing; in r., long cross; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., CONOB	
26	68.3	A	-85	(Ends WC) [Dr. Nott's sale, 1842]	(Pellet after last C)	xvi. 1
27	68.3	A	-85	(Ends NC)	(A for Λ) [Bank of England gift, 1877]	xvi. 2
28	68.5	AV .	-85	[Lord Elgin]	At end of inscr., \(\Lambda\)	xvi. 3
		A	.8	(Ends AVC) (In the Berlin Museum:	(RI) at end of inscr., A (ROMOB instead of CONOB) cp. Zeit. f. Num., i, p. 303.)	xvi. 4
				Tremissis		
				DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC Bust of Justi- nian I r., beardless, wearing jewelled dia- dem, paludamentum, and cuirass.	girdled chiton mov- ing r. on globus,	
29	23.	A	-65	[de Salis gift]		xvi. 5

¹ The attribution of Nos. 26-8 to Rome is not determined by any decisive evidence, but seems probable, seeing that the coins cannot so well be attributed to Constantinople or to any other mint. No. 26 appears to me to be of Italian style and fabric, and its provenance—the collection of Dr. Nott—to some extent bears this out: the lettering on the obv. is small and close. Nos. 27, 28 are of much the same style as No. 26.

² Of neat work: with ROMOB compare the preceding solidus (Pl. XVI. 4) in the Berlin Museum. The tremissis with the supposed monogram of Roma (obv. head of Justinian, rev. Victory r.), assigned to the Roman mint by Pinder and Friedlaender, Münzen Justinians, p. 24, Pl. III. 5, is evidently Visigothic.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
30	200.1	Æ 1·15	_	R M M above, +; beneath, *; whole in wreath. [Maximilian Borrell, 1850] I between * and *; whole in wreath; in upper part of which, circular ornament.	xvi. 6
31	86.7	Æ ·65	[Purchased, 1835]¹		xvi. 7
32	96.3	Æ .75	[de Salis gift]		
33	76.2	Æ .65			
34	79.8	Æ ·65	(DNIVSTINI ANVSP		xvi. 8

¹ A very fine specimen of this coin, stated to have been found in Rome, was shown at the British Museum in March, 1910.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Small IVSTIN IANVS Bust of Justinian I, facing, as on No. 31. Border of dots.	Bronze Lion advancing r., within wreath.	
35	15.6	Æ ·4	[Purchased, 1864, 7-19-30]		xvi. 9
36	17.7	Æ ·4	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-156]		xvi.10
			See a coin of this der	X nomination described in erial Byzantine Coins,	
			RAVI	ENNA	
				. 555–565°	
			DNIVSTINI ANVSPP AVC Bust of Justinian, beardless, facing; wears helmet with plume, cuirass, and paludamentum; in r., globus cruciger; l. holds shield with horseman device.	VICTORI AAVCCC Victory in chiton and peplos standing facing; in r., cross (with P); in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., CO NOB	
37	66.8	A .75	[de Salis gift]	At end of inscr., \(\Lambda\) (CONOH)	,

¹ A specimen occurred in the Monte Roduni hoard (Friedlaender, M. d. Vandalen, p. 43): see also Pinder and Friedlaender, Münzen Justinians, p. 54. The lion type was borrowed by Baduila: see supra, p. 94, No. 50.

² As to the date of these coins see 'Introduction', supra, § 2, 'Coins with Imperial Names,' Gold, Justinian I.

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
38	68.	AJ	-85	(Ends ANVSPPAC)	At end of inscr., [Blacas coll., 1867]	xvi. 11
39	68.3	A	.85	[de Salis gift]	At end of inscr., (CONOP)	xvi.12
40	67.2	AJ	-85	(TININI) [Purchased, 1865, 8-10-14]	(R I) At end of inscr.,	
41	53.	AJ	.75	(PF for PP)	(R I) at end of inscr., 5; pellet after CO	
				Sem	issis	
				DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC Bust of Justi- nian I r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, cuirass, and paluda- mentum.	VICTORIAAVCCC Victory wearing mantle over lower limbs seated r. on shield and cuirass; on her knees she sup- ports a shield on which with her r. hand she inscribes numerals (rudely re- presented); in front, ; behind, star; in ex., CONOB	
42	34.1	A	.7		(B formed like D)	xvi.13
				_		
					nissis	
				PAVC Bust of Justinian I r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, cuirass, and paludamentum.	VICTORIAAVCVSTO RVM Victory moving r.,looking l., holding in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in field r., star; in ex., CONOB	
43	22.7	A	-6	[de Salis gift]	(Λ for A)	xvi.14
44	22.	A	.65	[Purchased, 1863, 7-11-26]	(CONOR)	
45	22.7	A	-65	[de Salis gift]	(Ends RVH)	xvi. 15

No.	Weight		ıl and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
46	21.2	A		[de Salis gift]	(VICTORIANVCVST	
47	22.7	A	·55	[de Salis gift]	(VICTORIAAVCVST ORVII)	xvi.16
48	22.5	A	•6	[Bank of England gift, 1877]	(Ends RVN)	
49	21.5	A	.65	[de Salis gift]	(Ends RVN) (B formed nearly like H)	
				Silv	/er¹	
				CN	(250)	
				DNIVSTINI ANVSP PNC Bust of Justi- nian r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, cuirass, and paluda- mentum. Border of dots.	ment; in lower part,	
50	21.6	R	.55		[Purchased, 1906, 11-4-1]	xvii. 1
51	16.3	Æ	•55	[Purchased of an Italian coin - dealer, 1867, 7-4-111]	(N has ornamented base)	xvii. 2
52	21.9	Æ	.55	(Ends N)	[Purchased of an Italian coin - dealer, 1867, 7-4-114]	xvii. 3
53	16.3	Æ	.5	(Crescent and pellet wanting)	Beneath CN, X ² [Purchased, 1868, 5-14-128]	xvii. 4
54	15.2	AR	·55	(Crescent and pellet wanting)	(CN•), beneath CN, X [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-48]	xvii.5
55	20.3	Æ	. 55	(Ends \(\Lambda\)\VSU\\\C\) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-49]	(Without pellet) above CN, +	xvii. 6

See Babelon, Traité, i, p. 579, and 'Introduction,' supra, § 2, 'Denominations.'
 This is, strangely enough, in addition to the X which forms the tie of the wreath.

No.	Weight		l and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
56	21.8	Æ	-6		Above CN, star 1	xvii. 7
57	15.8	Æ	•5	(DNIVSTIN IANVSP Ps letters partly confused)	(Without pellet) beneath CN, star	xvii. 8
58	13.8	Æ	.5	(Ends AV) [Purchased of an Italian coin - dealer, 1867, 7-4-113]	(Without pellet) be- neath CN, star	
				PK€	(125)	
				Inser. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	circular ornament;	
59	11.3	Æ	.45	DNIVSTI NIANVS	Above numerals, + [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-53]	xvii. 9
60	9.7	Æ	.45	UNIVS[TIN IA]NVS PI/VC [de Salis gift]	Above numerals, star ²	xvii. 10
61	8.3	Æ	•4	DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAV [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-52]	(Limbs of K short) be- neath numerals, star (without ornaments in wreath)	xvii. 11
62	8.6	Æ	.4	DNIVSTI NIANVS [Purchased of an Italian coin - dealer, 1867, 7-4-122]	Beneath numerals, scroll-ornament ³	xvii. 12
				PK	(120)	
				Inser. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, and cuirass. Border of dots.	P•K within wreath	

The symbol has rather the appearance of a leaf, but is probably a rudely-formed star; cp. No. 60, infra.
 Probably a misformed star rather than a leaf; cp. No. 56, supra.
 Cp. No. 51, supra.

No.	Weight		l and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
63	10.2	Æ	•45	DNIVSTI NIANAVC		xvii. 13
64	10.4	Æ	.45		[Purchased of an Italian coin - dealer, 1867, 7-4-115]	xvii. 14
65	10.2	Æ	.45	[DN]IVSTINI ANVS P	(PK•)	
				Rev.	. 🕈	
				DNIVSTI NIANVS NC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, and cuirass. Border of dots.	within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X	
66	16.2	Æ	•5	[Royal coll.]		xvii. 15
67	15.4	Æ	·55	[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-13]		xvii. 16
68	16.7	Æ	.5	[D]NIVSTIN IANV	[de Salis gift]	xvii. 17
				Rev	. *	
				DNIVSTI NIANAVC Bust of Justinian r., as on No. 66. Border of dots.	* within wreath.	
69	22.1	Æ	.55		[de Salis gift]¹	xvii. 18
70	21.9	R	.55	[Purchased of an Italian coin - dealer, 1867, 7-4-110]		xvii. 19
71	17.	Æ	.55	(DNIVS ANSAV	[de Salis gift]	xvii. 20

¹ The monogram on the rev. is in high relief, like the numerals PK on No. 63, supra.

	1	Matal			
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Rev. DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent and pellet, and cuirass. Border of dots.	* with step at base, beneath the globus; all within wreath,	
72	11.6	R .55	[Purchased of an Italian coin - dealer, 1867, 7-4-116]		xvii. 21
73	11.	Æ .5	[Sale at Sotheby's, 20 Dec., 1852, lot 376]		
74	12.	Æ ·5	(DNIVSTI NIANV SIC) [de Salis gift]	(Circular ornament wanting)	xvii. 22
75	10.4	Æ ·5	(DNIVSTI NIANVSI) [Rollin sale, Sotheby's, 12 July, &c., 1853, lot 587]	(Circular ornament wanting)	
	•		Rev.	*	
			DNIVS[TI NI]ANAC Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass.	* within wreath, in lower part of which, X	
7 6	7.7	R .45	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-54]		xvii.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
	ļ				
			Bro	nze	
			IO ni	ummi	
			DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVC Bust of Justinian, beardless, facing, wearing cuirass and paludamentum; holding in r. globus cruciger; l. (not represented) holds shield with horseman device.	* within wreath.	
77	49.3	Æ ·65	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-145] ¹		xvii. 24
				ronze coins of Ravenna, and I, see Brit. Mus.	

¹ Another specimen was published by Baron d'Ailly (in *Rev. num.*, vii (1842), p. 19, Pl. II. 4), who suggested its attribution to Rome. But the treatment of the bust, when compared with the solidi of Ravenna (*supra*, p. 113, Nos. 37-41, Pl. XVI. 11, 12; notice especially the rendering of the eyes), seems to me to indicate Ravenna. The denomination I (10 nummi) may, as d'Ailly has pointed out, be indicated in the *rev.* type.

IMPERIAL COINS OF JUSTIN II

struck at

RAVENNA

A.D. 565-578

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Go See Brit. Mus. Cat., <i>Im</i> i, pp. 1	old perial Byzantine Coins, 03, 104	
				Silv	ver¹	
				CN	(250)	
				DNIVSTI NVSPPAV G Bust of Justin II r., beardless, wearing diadem with cres- cent and pellet, and cuirass. Border of dots.	CN within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, X	
1	10.6	Æ	.45		In field r., +	xvii. 25
2	8.2	Æ	•45	(Ends AV) [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	Beneath, *	xvii. 26
3	11.4	Æ	.5	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906]		xvii. 27
4	10.4	Æ	.45	[Purchased, 1868, 5-14-129]		
5	11.4	Æ	.5	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-37]		
6	11.	Æ	.45	(Ends AV)	[Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-123]	

¹ As to the attribution of these coins see 'Introduction', supra, § 2, 'Coins with Imperial Names,' Silver, 'Justinus.'

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
7	11.	Æ	.45	DNIVSTIN IVS(sic)PPAVC Bust of Justin II r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	(125) PK€ within wreath. Beneath K, *1	xvii.
				Rev.	***	28
				DNIVSTI NVSPPAV G Bust of Justin II r., beardless, wearing diadem with cres- cent and pellet, and cuirass. Border of dots.	*I* within wreath, in *I* upper part of which, circular orna- ment; in lower part, X	
8	11.	Æ	.45	(I for C)	[de Salis gift]	xvii.
9	10.7	Æ	.45			
10	11.2	Æ	.55	(A)	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-38]	xvii. 30
11	11.2	Æ	.5	(Ends NI) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-42]	(Base of cross varied)	xvii. 31
12	11.3	Æ	.45	(Ends NVSPI?) (type and lettering rough)	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-39]	xvii. 32
				Rev.	4	
				DNIVSTI NVSPPAV C Bust of Justin II r., as on No. 8. Border of dots.	T within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part,	
13	6.	Æ	•35	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-43]		xvii. 33

¹ The leaves of the wreath are not compressed as on the other Ravenna coins, and the treatment of the *obv*. bust is somewhat peculiar; but it is difficult to suggest any other mint.

IMPERIAL COINS OF TIBERIUS II

Mints of

ROME and RAVENNA

See Brit. Mus. Cat., Imperial Byzantine Coins, pp. 123-4

IMPERIAL COINS OF MAURICE TIBERIUS

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Tren	advancing to front, looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus	`
1	22.8	N •6	[Rev. R. Mylne, 1909]	,	xvii. 34
			See Brit. Mus. Cat., Im	ENNA perial Byzantine Coins, is, tremissis, &c.)	

 $^{^{1}}$ This coin is of neat work, rather recalling the Roman tremissis of Justinian I described $supra, \, p. \, 111, \, Pl. \, XVI. \, 5.$

III.

COINS OF THE LOMBARD KINGS

Circ. A.D. 568-584

Reigns of

ALBOIN

568—spring 572

CLEPH

spring 572-574

INTERREGNUM

574-584

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				nissis astin II, 565–578)	
			Inser. Bust of Justin II r., beardless, wearing diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum. Annular border in high relief.	l.,globus cruciger; in	
1	23.2	A .65	Before the head a	VICTORIAAVCVSTO RVN [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1869, 7-9-63]	xviii.1

¹ Nos. 1 and 2 differ but little from the Imperial tremisses struck at Ravenna (B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, i, p. 104, Nos. 291-3, Pl. XIII. 16), but are perhaps best explained as Lombardic imitations.

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
2	23.	A	.7	DNIVSTI NVSPPAV [de Salis gift]	VICTORIAA IV)VS TRVN (CONOH)	xviii. 2
				Silv	ver	
				(i) with name of Ju	stinian I, 527–565 ¹	
				CN	(250)	
				DNIVSTINI ANVSP PAVD Bust of Jus- tinian r., beardless, wearing diadem with crescent, cuirass, and paludamentum. Border of dots.	CN within wreath.	
3	15.8	Æ	.55		[Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-112]	xviii. 3
				*	P J *	
				Inser. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	*T* in upper part of which, cir-	
4	11.	Æ	.55	D ••• VSTIIII AZIAV C pellet in crescent on diadem (linear border)		xviii.
5	10.7	Æ	·5	DNIVSTI [NIAN]VS	(Bar of cross, forked instead of potent) [de Salis gift]	xviii. 5
6	10.2	AR	.45	DNIVSTII (rest obscure)	(Bar forked) [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-119]	xviii.
7	9.2	Æ	.5	DNIVSTII ANVSPP	(Bar forked) [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-118]	xviii.

¹ Cp. the Imperial coins of Justinian struck at Ravenna, supra, p. 115.

No.	Weight		l and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
8	10.4	Æ	•5	DNIVSTINI ANVSP PA	[Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-117]	xviii. 8
				•	F	
				Inser. Bust of Justinian r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Linear border.	P within wreath, in upper part of which, circular ornament; in lower part, [X]	
9	4.6	Æ	.35	DNIVSTIII A • • AVC (no border)	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-44]	xviii. 9
10	5.8	Æ	.35	NIVST AIVIVC		xviii. 10
11	5.6	Æ	.45	DIIVIIAI (rest obscure)	[Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-121]	xviii. 11
				•	t	
				Inscr. Bust of Justinian 1 r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	T upper part of which, circular orna-	
12	5.5	R	•4	(•IIVSTI?) IVIFFIIC on head, cross.	[Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-125]	xviii. 12
13	5.4	AR.	•4	DNIVST SPPAC? (partly obscure)	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-51]	xviii.

¹ The legend of these coins is blundered and abbreviated, and it would suit Justin II as well as Justinian, but an attribution to Justinian may be preferred because this rev. type is found on the Ravenna coins of Justinian (which are, however, of larger module) and because the style of the obv. is somewhat better than in the case of the imitative coins of Justin II, described infra, Nos. 14 f.

No.	Weight		ıl and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				(ii) with name of	Justin II, 565–5781	
				Inser. Bust of Justin II r., beardless, wear- ing diadem and cui- rass. Border of dots.	within wreath, in ** upper part of which, circular orna- ment; in lower part, X	
14	11.4	Æ	.5	DNIVSTI NVSPPA (linear border)	(X omitted) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-41]	xviii. 14
15	11.7	Æ	.5	OIIVST NVSPPAII	(Bar instead of globe at foot of cross) (circular ornament omitted) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-40]	xviii. 15
16	10.7	Æ	•45	ONIVSTI NVSPPAII	(Cross pattée; base varied) [de Salis gift]	xviii. 16
17	10.3	Æ	.45	DNIVSTI NVSPPNI	(Type as on No. 16) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; purchased in Rome]	xviii. 17
18	11.6	Æ	.5	VIGANI (type rude) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-45]	(Type as on No. 16, but ruder; base varied; ornaments in wreath omitted)	xviii. 18
19	6.7	Æ	.45	NVSPPN (partly obscure) (no border)	(Type as on No. 16) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-10]	xviii. 19

¹ Cp. the A of Justin II struck at Ravenna, supra, p. 121.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				.5821 Cross potent on two	
20	4.8	R ∙4	Inscr. obscure, VNII PPAV?	[Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-129]	
21	6.1	Æ ·45	Inscr. obscure, VMMS	[de Salis gift]	xviii.

¹ Compare the silver coin struck at Ravenna by Tiberius II in B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, i, p. 124, No. 161, Pl. XVI. 18. There is a similar Ravenna type of Maurice Tiberius, op. cit., No. 281.

Circ. A. D. 584-615

Reigns of

AUTHARI

APRIL (?) 584-5 SEPT. 590

and

AGILULF

Nov. 590-615

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				cing to front, looking l.; in r., wreath; in l., globus cruciger; in	
22	21.9	A √65	DNMAVR CTIbPPVI [de Salis gift]	VICTORIAAVIVITO RVN (C ONOR)	xviii.
23	20.	A/ .65	DИМЛVR СТІЬРРVІ [de Salis gift]	VICTORIAAVIVITO RYLL (CONOA)	
24	23.	A ⋅65	DNMAVR CTbPPVI [de Salis gift]	VNTOVRIAAVIVI TORVN (CONOR)	
25	22.3	A .75	DNMAVR CTbPPVI [de Salis gift]	VICTORIAAVIVITO RV (CONOR)	xviii. 23

¹ Compare the tremissis struck at Ravenna by Maurice Tiberius, B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, i, pp. 155, 156. On the Ravenna coins the Emperor's eye on the *obv.* is represented less clumsily, and in the field of the *rev.* is a star instead of a cross.

					
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
26	21.1	A .75 (base)	.NMAVR CTdPPV (letters carelessly formed)	VIITORIAAVIVITO RV (COIIOR) [de Salis gift]	xviii. 24
27	12.2	A ·65 (base?)	DUMVI (16?)PPVI (without border) [Purchased, 1864, 7-16-31]	VIIIПОТVIVIТО (IO ИОІR) (type very rude)	xviii. 25
			Sil	ver	
			with name of Mauric	ce Tiberius, 582–602	
			CN	(250)	
			Inser. Bust of Maurice Tiberius r., beard- less, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	CN within wreath.	
28	16. (chipped)	Æ .5	DNMA VRCTIPA [de Salis gift]	Between the numerals, •; above N, star.	xviii. 26
29	12.2	R .55	DNTIberm AVRIC (partly obscure)	[de Salis gift]	xviii. 27
30	4.5	Æ ·35	Ends MARIAI?	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-50]	xviii. 28
			PK€	(125)	
			Name and bust of Maurice Tiberius r.	PKE within wreath; above K, star.	
			R. 45 inch. Hirsch's S. E. F. Weber's coll., Münch	ale Catalogue (No. xxiv) of hen,1909, Pl.LIX, No.3102.	

¹ A similar specimen in Hirsch's Sale Catalogue (No. xxiv) of Consul E. F. Weber's coll., München, 1909, Pl. LIX, No. 3101.

Circ. A. D. 615-652

ADALWALD

615-624?

ARIWALD

624-636

ROTHARI¹

636-652

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Trem	iissis ²	
			with name of He	eraclius, 610–641	
			Inscr. Bust of Heraclius r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Annular border in high relief.	Inscr. Cross potent. Border as on obv.	
31	23.2	<i>AJ</i> ⋅6	ONHIRACL PERP ³ A VI; on head, cross.	VIITORIAAVCVSTO RVN; in ex., IOHOO (= CONOB) [de Salis gift]	xviii. 29

¹ Brambilla (Tremisse di Rotari, Pavia, 1887) has read on a tremissis in the Brescia Museum the name ROTHARY, but Engel and Serrure (Traité, i, p. 31) agree with M. Prou in considering this to be only a blundered imitation of the legend on an Imperial coin. Moreover, one side of this tremissis bears the name of a moneyer, and moneyers' names are not otherwise known to occur on Lombard coinage.

More recently, V. Dessi (Rivista ital. di num., 1908, p. 298) declares the coin to be of Rothari, speaking from an examination of a photograph of it, which, however, he has not published. The coin is in the Museo Civico of Brescia, is of very thin fabric, and

weighs 1,380 grammes (i.e. over 21 grains):-

Obv. MARINVS MON. REX in monogram. Head r.

Rev. DN OTARI VIVTORIIV Victory holding long sceptre and cross.

I yet strongly doubt whether this coin was intended to bear the name of Rothari. Compare another blundered tremissis in the Erba Sale Catalogue, Paris [1900], p. 51 lot 558.

In connexion with Rothari, several numismatists have already called attention to an enactment in the Lombard Laws (which he first reduced to writing) enforcing

		35.4	1 1			
No.	Weight	Meta	l and ze	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
32	22.6	A	•6	DNHERACLI VSPPA VSI [de Salis gift]	VICTORIAAVSTOI II; in ex., CONOB	xviii. 30
33	22.5	AJ	.55	HERACL VSPPAVC [de Salis gift]	VITORIAAVIVITOR V; in ex., IOMOM	xviii. 31
34	22.7	A	.6	DNHERACL IVSPPA VCCC [de Salis gift]	VICTORIAAVCVST ORVM; in ex., CON OB	xix. 1
35	22.5	N	.65	DNHERACL IVSPPA VCCC (bust similar to No. 34)	VICTORIAAVCVST ORVI; in ex., CONOB [de Salis gift]	
36	22.4	A	.55	DH€R∧ LIVSPP∧V [de Salis gift]	VICTORIAAVIVSTO RVN; in ex., CONO	xix. 2
37	23.3	N	.55	DUHIR[A]CLI? ADII AVCC [de Salis gift]	VAIORIAAVVSTOIV N; in ex., IONOB	xix. 3
38	22.	A	.65	DNHIRA CIVIPAVC; on head, ••• [de Salis gift]	VIIONINVIVIIONV II; in ex., CONOD	xix. 4
39	22.6	A	-65	СЛІИІ •• ЛОVІИ [de Salis gift]	VIITORVAIIIOIRV N; in ex., IONO	xix. 5

a penalty (the loss of a hand) on any one who struck gold money or stamped it without the king's command. This passage, though it proves that a gold currency was in common use at the time, does not necessarily imply (as has been asserted) that Rothari struck coins bearing his own name; nor, again, need we suppose that the Lombards first began to employ a gold coinage under Rothari, for his law may very well have been

a re-enunciation of a much older enactment.

The British Museum possesses three varieties of a rare semissis (weight, 34-5 grains) with the name and head of Heraclius. Its rev., with inscr. VICTORIA AVCVSTORVN CONOB (or abbreviated), has the type of the Constantinople semissis of Heraclius (B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, Pl. XXIII. 13-15), viz. cross potent on globus, but the globus is represented like a wreath with a pellet in the centre. From their fabric these coins are undoubtedly Italian. I was formerly inclined from the style of their obverses to regard them as Lombardic, but I now think they may best be regarded as Imperial coins of the Ravenna mint, which otherwise (so far as I know) would not be provided with any coins of this type and denomination; it must be said, however, that the inscriptions on the coins are not free from blunders.

3 PERP, as on the Ravenna tremissis of Heraclius, B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, No. 434.

No.	Weight	Metal Size		Obverse	Reverse	Plate
40	22.5	A .	55	• ИІЯПЛСІ OVSPPП V [Purchased, 1867, 12-24-3]	IAM·ATIMUATOU AI; in ex., dOUOb	xix. 6
	•			Sil	ver	
				with monogram of	Heraclius, 610-641	
				Bust of Heraclius r., wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots. (Type rude)	Heraclius);	
41	4.	Æ .	4	In front, H∧	[Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1867, 7-4-130]	xix. 7
42	3.	Æ ··	4	(Type l.) [de Salis gift]	(Cross represented by pellets)	xix. 8
43	3.4	Æ ·	4	(Type l.) [de Salis gift]	(Cross represented by pellets)	

¹ Compare the Ravenna silver coin of Heraclius in B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, i, p. 247, No. 450, Pl. XXIX. 21.

Circ. A.D. 652-671

RODWALD

652

ARIPERT I

653-661

PERCTARIT and GODEPERT

661-662

GRIMWALD

662-671 1

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Tren	nissis	
			with name of Cor	stans II, 641–668	
			Inser. Bust of Constans II r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Annular border.	Inscr. Cross potent. Annular border.	
44	22.	A .55	DNIOITA NTINVI [de Salis gift]	VICTIRIΛΛVIVITI; in ex., ΙΟΝΟΛ	xix. 9
45	22.8	A⁄ .55	[+?]STANCON ZIN PSPC; above head, •••	ICTORIAAVSJO; in ex., CONOB [de Salis gift]	xix.10
46	22.9	A √65	VATONV VATINS TI [de Salis gift]	ICTORIA AVSTOS; in ex., CONOB	xix.11
47	22.7	A⁄ ·6	VITONIA VATINS VI [de Salis gift]	ITORIA IVSTO; in ex., CONOB	xi x.12
48	22.4	AJ .6	ONUNVIC UVINP [de Salis gift]	VIOTIVIVINBOTV;	xix.13

¹ W. Boyne (Annuaire de la Soc. franç. de num., x, p. 461) has proposed to assign to this king a rare tremissis of Lombardic fabric which bears both on the obv. and rev. a monogram which may be read as Grimoaldus rex: see Engel and Serrure, Traité, i, p. 32, Fig. 90, and Gariel, Monnaies royales de France, Part 2, Pl. IV, Nos. 84, 85, pp. 86, 87, where the monograms are read as those of Carloman and Charles the Great.

PERCTARIT

son of Aripert I

Second reign, A.D. 672-688

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				nissis mperor, blundered	
			Inser. Bust of an emperor r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass; above head, and Linear or annular border.	Inscr. Cross potent. Annular border.	
1	22.	<i>A</i> ⋅45	IVIIV VUOV:; before head, B [Parkes Weber gift, 1906]	NIONVAVHOI¹; beneath, ANAN	xix.14
2	21.2	<i>N</i> ⋅45	IVIIV V::OVI; before head, B [de Salis gift]	r•oпілпііо; be- neath, unuii	xix.15
3	23.	A .45	IVIIV VIUVI; before head, B	ΠΙΟΗΥΛΥΗΟΙ; beneath, ΛИΛΗ [de Salis gift]	xix.16
4	22.2	A .45	IVHV IVOUVI; before head, B; behind, •	ΠΙΟΗΥΛΥΗΟΊ; be- neath, ΛИΛΗ [Woodhouse gift, 1866]	xix.17

¹ O (twice repeated) occurs in all these blundered series (Nos. 1-14). It is, doubtless, ultimately derived from the 'Victoria Augustorum' legend, but on these coins the letters are placed—evidently with decorative intention—so that one of them is always at the extremity of the horizontal bar of the cross.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
5	22.5	A ·45	IVHVA AVIHVII; before head, B [Royal coll.]	□IOHVAVHOI; beneath, □ANAH	
6	14.	El. ·45	VAV VII•IV; before head, B [Baron Kolb, 1847]	VOINIAVOA; beneath, IAVA	xix. 18
7	19.2	El. ·45	VAVI VAVA•; before head, B [Purchased, 1908, 7-7-4]	↑IOV∧VVIO; be- neath, ∧∧∧V	
8	16.3	El. ·45	VAV VAIV; before head, B	VOVVVVIO; beneath, AAAA [Parkes Weber gift, 1906]	xix. 19
9	18.	El. ·5	VI \VIVI•; before head, star. [Purchased, 1908, 10-8-2]	IOVIVVIO; beneath,	xix. 20
10	21.1	El. ∙5	VI•VI• VIIOV∧; before head, 2 (without ornaments above head)		xix. 21
11	19.7	AJ ∙5	NVAIA VNOVA; before head, <; behind head, star (without ornaments above head)	neath, ∧N∧⊔	xix. 22
12	21.5	A7 ·5	INVNV VIONVI (without ornaments above head)	IIIONVIVNOI; beneath, AMAN [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-12]	xix. 23
13	22.	A .55	•NIVA •VAONI (without ornaments above head)	IIIONVIVNOI; be- neath, ANAN [de Salis gift]	xix. 24
14	22.1	A/ .5	IVNVA VHOIV (without ornaments above head)	ΠΙΟΝΥΛΥΝΟ; be- neath, ΛИΛΠ [de Salis gift]	xix. 25

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Sil	ver ·	
				PAV	7IA ?	
				T_{y}	pe 1	
				Rex) within circle (scyphate).	Traces of inser. Bust of king r., in cuirass, within incuse circle.	
15	3.4	A	.5	[Baron Kolb, 1847]		xix. 26
				Tyl	pe 2	
				PE (in monogram) and R,2 represented as below. Whole within circle (scyphate).	Similar to obv., but not always struck up; letters reversed, and in incuse. Whole within incuse circle.	
16	2.6	Æ	.45	:e· <u>r</u> .	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xix. 27
17	2.3	Æ	.45	• P. P.	[Baron Kolb, 1847]	xix. 28
18	3.3	Æ	·55	E.P.	[de Salis gift]	xix. 29
19	2.7	AR	.45	ë P	[de Salis gift]	xix. 30

Rudely represented and faintly struck, as on the specimens figured by Promis, Monete dei Romani pontefici, Turin, 1858, Pl. X; cp. p. 101.
 REX is thus written on the tremisses of Cunincpert and Aripert II described infra.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
20	2.6	Æ ·45	€ β:	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906]	xix. 31
21	3.3	Æ ·55	€ ß	[J. G. Pfister, 1855 ¹]	xix. 32

¹ I follow the usual attribution of these coins (see Thomsen, Cat., p. 85; Gnecchi Sale Cat. (Hamburger, Frankfurt a. M.), 1902, p. 198; Brambilla, Monete di Pavia, pp. 39, 40: Keary, Coinages of Western Europe, p. 96, makes no reference to these pieces), but it must be admitted that they do not fit very well into this place in the Lombardic series. Perhaps, however, the issue of silver in this form was only a temporary experiment, and the peculiar bracteate-like fabric, with the broad annular border, may be accounted for as derived ultimately from the fabric of the gold coins of Ravenna. A writer in H. Grote's Blätter f. Münzfreunde, Leipzig, 1881, p. 804, has gone so far as to deny altogether that these are coins of the Lombard period and claims them as bracteates of about the time of Frederick II (thirteenth century), the letters of the inscr. being read as IPER, i.e. Imperator. But this view must almost certainly be rejected, if only for the reason that in the hoard of these coins that was discovered in 1833 at Biella in Piedmont (Promis, Monete dei Romani pontefici, Turin, 1858, pp. 101-3, Pl. X) there occurred several specimens of the gold tremissis of the Lombard king Liutprand (A.D. 712-744), whose coins can hardly have been so long hoarded as to form part of a deposit of the thirteenth century.

CUNINCPERT

son of Perctarit

A.D. 688-700

(with his father, 680-688)

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Tren DNCVNI NCPE& Bust of Cunincpert r., beardless, wearing diadem, cuirass, and paludamentum.	Michael, winged and wearing long robes,	
1	21.7	A⁄ .75	Before head, D; on shoulder, D?	[de Salis gift]	xx. 1
2	20.9	A .75	(N for N; E for E) before head, M ²	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xx. 2

¹ The head of the cross is formed by three pellets. R = REX. SCS = SANCTUS (Michael).

² M also on a specimen in the Gnccchi Sale Cat. (Hamburger, Frankfurt a. M.), 1902, lot 3946. Keary (Coinages of W. Europe, p. 96) has read it as H. On tremisses of this type various letters are found in front of the head:—B (and D on the shoulder: Gnecchi, Cat., No. 3948); D (and D? on the shoulder: Brit. Mus.); M (Brit. Mus.; Gnecchi, Cat., No. 3946); V (and D on the shoulder: Gnecchi, Cat., No. 3947). We also find a hand placed before the head, but no letter on the shoulder: see the specimens described in Thomsen, Catalogue, No. 1034, and in the Gnecchi Sale Catalogue, No. 3949. These are probably mint-masters' marks, but it is doubtful whether they indicate the names of mints.

[According to Brambilla (Monete di Pavia, p. 28), citing Promis, there is a tremissis of Cunincpert with rev. Star and inscr. Flavia Mediolano (cp. the coins of Aistulf and of Desiderius described infra). But Dessi (Rivista ital. di num., 1908, p. 301) seems to doubt the attribution of this type to Cunincpert, which, certainly, does not seem a probable one.]

Dessi (Rivista ital. di num., 1908, p. 308) has suggested that the hand was placed on the coins as a reminder to forgers of the penalty they would incur under the law of Rothari:—
'Si quis sine iussione regis aurum figuraverit, aut monetam confixerit, manus eius incidatur.' But if this were the intention of the hand, we should expect it to be engraved on all the coins of Cunincpert, and not only on certain varieties whereon it seems to take the place of letters. (So also in the case of the tremisses of Liutprand described infra.) Moreover, an instance of such a warning to evil-doers is probably not to be found on ancient or early mediaeval coins, though in modern times we have such inscriptions as the Has [litteras] nisi periturus mihi nemo adimat on the edge of the crowns of Oliver Cromwell (a warning against the illegal clipping of the coin), and the inscription 'To Counterfeit is Death' on the paper-money of the early American Colonies (circ. A.D. 1771 and later).

LIUTPERT

son of Cunincpert

A.D. 700 (eight months)

In the Gnecchi Sale Catalogue (Hamburger, Frankfurt a. M.). 1902, lot 3951, the following triens is attributed to this king, though with a note of interrogation:—

Obv. DNLVT VDHVX Bust of king r.
Rev. SCS AHILL St. Michael standing l. Cp. Marchant, Lettres
(ed. 1851), p. 303, No. 3.

According to Brambilla, Monete di Pavia, pp. 28, 29, citing Promis, there is a tremissis of Liutpert with rev. Star and inser. Flavia Mediolano. But Dessi (Rivista ital. di num., 1908, p. 301) seems to doubt the attribution of this type to Liutpert.

RAGINPERT

son of Godepert

A. D. 700

No coins have been attributed to this king.

ARIPERT II

son of Raginpert

A.D. 701-712

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			DNA RIPER Bust of		
1	20.4	A .75	Before head, M 1	[de Salis gift]	xx. 3

¹ M also on a specimen in the Gnecchi Sale Cat. (Hamburger, Frankfurt a. M.), 1902, lot 3954. Keary (Coinages of W. Europe, p. 97) has read it as H. As on the tremisses of Cunincpert (p. 138, supra), a variety of letters appear:—C in front of head (Gnecchi, Cat., No. 3952; cp. No. 3953); M in front of head (Brit. Mus.); M in front of head and M on bust (Gnecchi, Cat., No. 3956); S in front of head (Berlin; figured in Dahn's Urgesch. d. germ. u. rom. Volker, iv, p. 243). A curious variety is described in Gnecchi, Cat., No. 3956:—obv. DM ARI PERT REX Bust of king r.; M on bust. Rev. VIVIT MORVI VMTO RIAAI Victory facing, looking l.; in l., globus; beneath, COMOR. This coin possibly does not properly belong to the Lombard regal series; but from the character of the rev. (which is not Lombardic but based on an Imperial prototype) one would be inclined to assign it to Aripert I (A. D. 653-661) rather than to Aripert II. The following tremissis, described by Promis, Monete di zecche italiane (Turin, 1867), pp. 5f., Pl. I. 1 (cp. Engel and Serrure, Traité de num., i. p. 33; Brambilla, Monete di Pavia, p. 26) can hardly belong to the Lombard regal series, but is probably an issue of Central or Southern Italy (Beneventum?). The dux IFFO is otherwise unknown. Obr. ARIPER XCEL REX Bust of Aripert, bearded, facing, draped, holding globus cruciger. Rev. IFFO CLORIVSO DVX. Cross potent.

ANSPRAND

A.D. 712 (three months). Ob. 13 June, 712

A tremissis in the Vienna Museum has been assigned to Ansprand by Arneth (cp. Marchant, Lettres, ed. 1851, p. 303, No. 5, Pl. XXI. 10). It resembles the tremisses of Cunincpert, Aripert II, and Liutprand (with rev. St. Michael), but is described as reading SPRANK on the obv. The coin, however, is of rude style, and this reading may be doubtful: in the engraving published in Marchant, op. cit., the legend appears as SPPAIK. From the style of the bust (with \uparrow ornament) and the broad, spread flan, I suspect that it is in reality a coin of Liutprand (cp. our No. 3 of Liutprand described infra).

LIUTPRAND

son of Ansprand

A.D. 712-JAN. 744

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				long robes, standing	
1	18-	<i>A</i> ⋅9	DNLIV TPRANK (?) partly obscure; before head, M ²	•SCS IIIIL [de Salis gift]	xx. 4

¹ A leaden seal with the name of Liutprand, published by Schlumberger in Rev. num., 1905, p. 356, is probably of Liutprand, Duke of Beneventum, A. D. 751-758, as suggested by Sambon in Le Musée, 1908 (Bull. Num.), p. 9.

² Here, as on the similar coins of Cunincpert and Aripert II, various letters, &c.,

occur :-

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H [? M] before head (Rivista ital., 1908, p. 303, No. 6).
                           (Boyne Sale Cat., 1896, ii, lot 145).
M
                           (Brit. Mus., No. 1).
               ,,
N
                           (Rivista ital., 1908, p. 304, No. 10).
И
S
                     ,, (Gnecchi, Cat., 1902, No. 3960).
,, ; on bust, & (Brit. Mus., No. 2; Gnecchi, op. cit.,
                                No. 3962).
SSETTV
                     ,, ; on bust, + (Rivista ital., 1908, p. 304, No. 7).
                     ,, ; on bust, ∧ (Rivista ital., 1908, p. 304, No. 11).
                        ; on bust, \(\Lambda\) (Gnecchi, Cat., No. 3958).
                           (Brit. Mus., No. 3).
                           (Boyne Sale Cat., 1896, ii, lot 144; Thomsen, Cat.,
                     lot 1035; Rivista ital., 1908, p. 304, No. 8).
,, ; L on bust (Gnecchi, Cat., No. 3959).
                           (Gnecchi, Cat., No. 3961; Rivista ital., 1908, p. 304, No. 13).
Hand
Hand
                     ,, ; on bust, C (Rivista ital., 1908, p. 304, No. 12).
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No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
2	18.6	AJ .95	ONLVT PRI[P?] (inscr. and type blurred and confused); before head, S; on bust, &	scs IIIIL (type blurred) [Purchased of an Italian coin-dealer, 1869, 7-9-66]	xx. 5
3	19.5	A .9	DNLV TPR∧N&; before head, T	SCSM HAHIL [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xx. 6
			Sil	ver	
			Inscr. Bust of Constans II (Constantinus III) r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Border of dots.	+ VTPRAND (or LIVDP RAND) REX) within	
4	8.3	Æ ·5	DIICOI TANTI	[de Salis gift]	xx. 7
5	8.4	Æ .5	DNIOI. AIIIIII 2	[Campana sale, 1846, lot 1187]	xx. 8

¹ The bust was probably copied from the silver coins of Constans II, struck at Ravenna: see B. M. C., *Imperial Byz. Coins*, p. 310, Nos. 399 f., Pl. 35, Nos. 17, 18.

Ravenna: see B. M. C., Imperial Byz. Coins, p. 310, Nos. 399 f., Pl. 30, Nos. 11, 18.

² Two specimens occurred in the Boyne Sale Cat., 1896, ii, lot 140, but the reading DN LOITPRAND may be suspected. The assignment of coins of these types to Liutprand was suggested by de Salis, and there is no difficulty in reading the monogram as Dn. Liudprand rex (or Liutprand, if the X is made to do duty for T also). The attribution is not, however, without its difficulties: thus, it will be observed that the coins are totally different in fabric from the silver pieces that were apparently introduced by Perctarit (Pl. XIX. 26-32). Again, we should expect that the obv. would, at this period, bear the name of the Lombard king, and not the name of an emperor. Perhaps, however, the Lombards, having been in the habit of servilely copying the Imperial silver coins, without (except in the case of Perctarit) originating types of their own for the silver coinage, may have felt no repugnance in copying an Imperial obv. (Constans II, in this instance), being content to record the king's name on the rev.

HILDEPRAND

nephew of Liutprand
Associated with Liutprand, 735—Jan. 744
Sole reign from Jan. 744, about six months.
No coins are known of this ruler.

RATCHIS

brother of Aistulf

Sept. 744-749

(Second reign, Dec. ? 756—March, 757)

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Trem DMRA TCHIS Bust of Ratchis, bearded, facing, draped. On 1. of head, A; on r. of head, T; on drapery, AT HI and +R.	scs IIIIL St. Michael, winged and wearing long robes, standing l., holding in l., circular shield; in r., long cross; in field r., star. Annu- lar border in high relief.	
			MAJESTY THE KING OF figured by G. Ruggero in p. 137.	grains. Collection of HIS ITALY. Described and Rivista ital. di num., 1908, is has also been read in tremissis, p. 151, No. 3, Leary (Coinages of W. Lep. Engel and Serrure, arked, 'without much at the true interpretate must compare it with 16, p. 151, No. 4, which assign to 'Athalgis'. It that the small R in	
			letter, for on No. 4 anot and, further, that the No. 3 that looks like part of N or V, as on N on the two coins may, to be identical, at any Ruggero, writing in th for 1908 (p. 138), has suggram should be read L that can, I think, be re over, in type and legend coins, especially No. 4, the Flavia Luca coins figured described under 'Q of Lucca', Nos. 1 and 2,	ther letter (A) is seen; straggling stroke on art of a large R is only to 4. The monograms indeed, be pronounced rate in all essentials. e Rivista ital. di num. grested that this monovCA, an interpretation adily accepted. Morels, the reverses of both agree admirably with gured in Pl. XX. 13, 14, uasi-Autonomous Coins	

AISTULF

brother of Ratchis

July, 749—Dec.? 756

No. Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
		Tren	nissis	
		$\mathbf{T}_{\mathbf{y}_{\mathbf{l}}}$	pe 1	
		+DN ∧I∽TVLF REX In centre, monogram composed of CRX; beneath, +.	SCS IIIIL St. Michael, winged and wearing long robes, standing l.; in l., circular shield; in r., long cross. Annular border in high relief.	
		A. Size, ·8 inch. Gne (Hamburger), p. 199, No. 3	cchi Sale <i>Cat.</i> , May, 1902 963, Pl. XXIX. 3963.	
		Brescia, is described by di zecche italiane (Toris	no, 1867), p. 9, Pl. I. 3.	
		Another variety, in the described by Gariel, France, part ii, p. 87, N. Gariel (ii, p. 87) inter	Monnaies royales de lo. 86, Pl. IV. 86. prets the monogram on	
		the <i>obv.</i> as that of Charson of Pepin, and supp- struck in 754 to express Astaulfe de la suzeraine	oses that the coin was	
		d'une sorte de lieutena bard établie par Pép Charles'. Some doubt	nce du royaume lango- pin en faveur de son fils may be felt as to this	
		interpretation, more esp fait dont les historiens n part'. A simpler view coin as a purely Lombare	ont fait mention nulle would be to regard the	
		the CRX as 'Christian'	us rex', an expression la of enactment of the	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			DNAISTVLFREX Cross potent with limbsofequal length. Annular border in	+FLAVIALVCA Star (or flower 1) within circle. Whole in linear border.	
1	17.4	<i>N</i> ⋅65	high relief.	[Collection of Miss Sarah Banks, pre- sented, 1818]	xx. 9

¹ The type may be regarded either as a star of twelve rays, or as the corolla of a flower with its petals and stamens.—Solidus. Promis (Monete di zecche italiane, Torino, 1867, pp. 7 f., Pl. I. 2; cp. Engel and Serrure, Traité de num., i, p. 34, Fig. 94; and cp. Marchant, Lettres (ed. 1851), p. 304, No. 7, Vienna coll.) describes the following solidus, which he ascribes to Aistulf: Obv. TYLFR Bearded bust of the king,

facing, holding globus cruciger. Rev. VICTO RIA SA Cross potent, with mon. at its foot; in field r., Z; in ex., CO. Some doubt may possibly be felt as to whether this coin really bore the name of Aistulf; but, in any case, it may be doubted whether it belongs to the regal series of the Lombards. The solidus was a denomination that formed no part of their usual issues, and the types and thick fabric of this coin rather suggest Central or Southern Italy as the region of its mintage. Promis, indeed (p. 9), maintains that it was struck in Ravenna by Aistulf, subsequent to his occupation of that city in 751; but, in that case, we should expect the flan to reproduce the bracteate-like fabric that was characteristic of the Imperial solidi of Ravenna.

DESIDERIUS

757-June, 774

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Tren	nissis	
			Inser. Cross potent with limbs of equal length. Annular border.	Inser. Star (or flower) within circle. Whole in linear border.	
1	10.6	El. ·65	+DNDESIDER.R	+FLAVIALVCA [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xx. 10
2	17.2	El. ·65	D•MD€SID€RR€X (type represented by dots instead of lines)	+FLAVIALVCA [Purchased, 1847, 6-19-100]	xx. 11
3	16.6	E'. ·65	+DNDeSiDeR/VS&• (A pellet at each extremity of the cross).		xx. 12

¹ Besides these tremisses of Desiderius, bearing the names of Lucca and Placentia ('Flavia Placentia Augusta'), there are others known of the same type inscribed with the names of Milan ('Mediolano'), Pavia ('Ticino'), Castel Seprio ('Sibrio', 'Sebrio'), Treviso, Vicenza ('Vicentia'), and Vercelli ('Vircelli'). Specimens (now in the Museum of Coire) occurred in the Ilanz hoard referred to infra, p. 152, under 'Italian tremisses of Charlemagne'. Whether these tremisses all emanated from a central mint (Lucca or Pavia), or whether they were actually struck at the cities whose names they bear, is a question that can only be determined by a careful comparison of a large number of specimens.

QUASI-AUTONOMOUS COINS OF LUCCA

Struck at some time after June, A.D. 7741

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Tren	nissis	
			Ty_{I}	pe 1	
				•VIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVI	
1	21.	El65	[Sp. Mostras, 1852]		xx. 13
2	20.8	El65	(+FLAVIVCL(I?)V) [de Salis gift]	(•VIVIVIVIVIVIVIVI V)	xx. 14

¹ Nos. 1 and 2 resemble the tremisses of Aistulf and Desiderius, but as they are not inscribed with the name of any Lombard ruler, and bear a meaningless legend on the rev., the presumption is that they were issued after the fall of Desiderius, the last of the Lombard kings. Nos. 3 and 4, judged by their metal, fabric, and rev. type and legends, are clearly Lombard coins of about the same period as Nos. 1 and 2. The monograms that they bear almost certainly indicate the name of Lucca, though they have been sometimes interpreted as the names of Ratchis and Athalgis (see supra, p. 146, under 'Ratchis'). It is not easy to fix the precise date when these pieces (Nos. 1-4) were issued. The Lombard kingdom was overthrown in June, 774, when Charlemagne became master of Pavia and captured Desiderius, and the obvious view would be to regard these coins as issues made in the latter part of 774, or a little later. But it must be borne in mind that there exist similar 'star' (or 'flower') tremisses of Lucca which bear the name of Charlemagne (infra, p. 152, 'Italian tremisses of Charlemagne'). It is a question, then, whether our Nos. 1-4 preceded the Carolingian issues, or whether they were minted at some later period when the Carolingian gold coins had ceased to be current. I do not attempt to settle this point, but it may be remarked that specimens of our Nos. 1-4 were absent from the Ilanz hoard, which included tremisses of Desiderius and of Charlemagne (the latter pieces bearing the mint-names of Lucca and also of various other Italian cities). The non-inclusion in this hoard of these 'quasi-autonomous' coins of Lucca may, of course, be accidental, but it, so far, suggests that these tremisses were issued subsequently to the Carolingian tremisses. For quasi-autonomous tremisses of Pisa, of the same class as our Nos. 1, 2, see Th. Friedlaender, Numismata medii aevi inedita, Berlin, 1835, pp. 18 f., Pl. I, Nos. 7, 8.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				1	
			Ty_{1}	pe 2	
			(monogram of Lucca). Within linear border.	VIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVIVI	
3	18.8 (chipped)	El. ·55	[Sp. Mostras, 1852]		xx. 15
4	20.2 chipped)	El55	(«\(\bar{\bar{\bar{\bar{\bar{\bar{\bar{	(VAVAVAVAVAVAVAVA) [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xx. 16

ITALIAN TREMISSES OF CHARLEMAGNE

These coins are not represented in the British Museum, but it is desirable to refer to them as illustrating the quasi-autonomous pieces of Lucca described p. 150, and because of their unusual historical and numismatic interest.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			D•N•CARVLVSR•€X Cross potent	+ FL • AVIA• LVC A Star (or flower) within circle. Whole in linear border.	
			Prou, Monnaies Carolingies On other specimens the	eque nationale, Paris. (See nes, 1896, p. lxxv.) obv. type is a facing bust gel and Serrure, Traité de	xx. 17
			ton Grisons, Switzerla one or two tremisses of (or 'flower') tremisses of similar 'star' (or 'flow the name of Charlemag pieces were further insequences, Seprio. For a see F. Jecklin, Der lang, Münzfund bei Ilanz, Mithe reviews of this metalliche see St. Section of the second seed of the second second seed of the second second seed of the second se	in 1904 at Ilanz, Canned, contained, besides Liutprand, many 'star' of Desiderius, and many 'er') tremisses bearing me. These Carolingian cribed with the name of Milan, Pavia, Bergamo, description of this find gobardisch-karolingische länchen, 1906; see also monograph, Rev. num., ; Rivista ital. di num.,	

UNCERTAIN

of

LOMBARDIC SERIES

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
1	19.5	A .65	V-IIIII TOTO+(?) Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Annular border. [Purchased, 1863, 7-11-74] From the style, and the legend, probably of the was a Duke Toto of Nother Invaders, vii, p. 27 A. D. 767; but it would attribute the coin to hi	Annular border in	xxi. 1
2	21.1	A .65	instead of letters). Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Annular border. [Purchased, 1867, 12-24-4] The obv. is of much the	VITIIOITIIMATIO VII Cross potent; be- low, OMO L. Annu- lar border in high relief.	xxi. 2

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			DII[M?] AV[R?] T [T?] II 9 PAVI Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem and cuirass. Annular border.	VIITORVHIIOIRVI Cross potent; below, IOUOT. Annular border in high relief.	
3	22.7	A .65	[de Salis gift]		xxi. 3
			On the obv. an attempt seems to be made to write the name of Maurice Tiberius (A.D. 582–602), but the form of the cross potent on the rev. suggests that the coin is not earlier than the period of Heraclius, circ. A.D. 610.		
		-	VIVIII. IIAITV Bust r., beardless, wearing diadem and drapery. Annular border.		
4	22.6	A .65	[de Salis gift]		xxi. 4
				l of Heraclius (A.D. 610– tum and cuirass on the ered.	

IV

COINS OF THE DUCHY (AND PRINCIPALITY) OF BENEVENTUM¹

GRIMOALD I, 647-662; King of Lombards, 662-671
ROMOALD I, 662-687
GRIMOALD II, 687-689
GISULF I, 689-706

The coinage of these dukes, or a portion of it, is perhaps to be identified with the gold coins described, *infra*, under 'Uncertain Beneventine Coinages'.

ROMOALD II

A.D. 706-731

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Inser. Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown (with globus), mantle, and robe; in r., globuscruciger. Border of dots.	Inser. Cross potent, with base, placed on three steps; in field l., R (initial of Ro- moald); in ex., CO	

¹ On the coins generally see especially A. Sambon, Recueil des monnaies de l'Italie méridionale, 'Bénévente,' published in Le Musée for June, 1908, and following parts.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Obverse	Plate
			(Vari	ety 1)	
1	64.4	A .8	DNIUST INIANVSP PEA ' (On crown, glo- bus cruciger)	VICTORI AVÇUS• [de Salis gift]	xxi. 5
2	64-	A .75	DNIUST INIANVSP PEA (On crown, glo- bus cruciger)	VICTORI AVÇUZ• [Blacas coll., 1867]	
			(Vari	ety 2)	
3	64.2	<i>A</i> ⋅8	DNIVS — TINIVN UPP [Purchasedofan Italian coin-dealer, 1869, 7-9-65]	VICTORI AVÇVS• (globus instead of base)	xxi. 6
4	63.5	A .8	DNIVS — TINIVN UPP [Purchased, 1904, 10-8-53]	VICTORIA AVÇVST• (globus instead of base)	xxi. 7
5	61.2	N .75	DNIVS[TI?]M IVNV 2PP[+?] (On crown, cross instead of glo- bus); pellet (flaw?) in field r.	VICTORIA AVÇVSV• (globus instead of base) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; obtained from an Italian dealer]	
6	62.2	A .8	DИIUЗ HINVP [de Salis gift]	VICTORA AVÇUZ• (globus instead of base; four steps) ²	xxi. 8
			Tren	nissis	
			Inser. Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown (with cross), mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Linear border.		
			(Varie	ety 1)	
7	20.	A .6	DNIUS TINIVNUS	VICTO ASVU [de Salis gift]	xx i. 9

¹ PPEA = Perpetuus Augustus.
2 A variant of Nos. 3-6 (Naples Museum = Sambon, No. 3) has R and • in the field of the rev., instead of R only.

		100	1		
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
8	17.6	N .55	SVNANITS VIND	VICTO AV(4S [Purchased, 1904, 10-8-58]	
9	19.5	<i>A</i> ⋅6	V∧I∧ 2[I?]TUV2 (crown has globus) [de Salis gift]	VICTOR IAÇV2 (base detached from cross)	xxi.10
10	17.3	A ⋅6	DUII VICVIZV [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-483]	VVSV OTOIV	xxi.11
			(Varie	ety 2)	
11	21.6	A .55	DNIUS TINIANUS (crown has pellet) [de Salis gift]	VICTOR IAVÇVS (globus between cross and base)	xxi.12
12	20.7	A ⋅6	ONIVS TTINIV□ (crown has globus). Same die as No. 13. [Purchased, 1864, 7-18-34]	VITORIA AVÇS. (globus between cross and base)	xxi.13
13	20.9	A ⋅6	ONIVS TTINIVO (crown has globus). Same die as No. 12.	VICTOR AVÇV• (globus between cross and base) [de Salis gift]	xxi.14
14	21.3	A ^r .55	DNIV STINIVN (erown without cross) [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	VICTO RIVVÇ (globus between cross and base)	
15	18.3	A .55	DN ZINIAN (crown has globus) [de Salis gift]	VICTOR IAVÇV• (globus between cross and base)¹	xxi.15

A variant of Nos. 11-15 (Sambon, No. 4) has R and • in the field of the rev., instead of R only.

AUDELAIS

л. р. 731-732

To this usurper Sambon (Nos. 5 and 6) has assigned a rare solidus and tremissis similar in character to those of Romoald II, but marked on the rev. with A. This letter (on the analogy of other coins in this series) is almost certainly the initial of the issuer, but among the Beneventine rulers there are five besides Audelais whose names begin with A. Of these, Arichis I and his son Aio lived long before the time of Justinian II, and cannot have struck these coins which are imitated (ultimately) from that Emperor's money. Adelchis and a later Aio, both rulers of the ninth century, are, on the other hand, too late for claimants, and their known coinage is of a different character.

There remains Arichis II, whose coins, though marked on the rev. with A, may without difficulty be distinguished from these which M. Sambon rightly assigns to Audelais, viz. by their roughness of style and fabric; by the type (in the First Coinage) of the Emperor holding the mappa and globus cruciger; by the inscriptions (in the Second Coinage) VICTORIA on obv. and VICTIR on rev.; both of which inscriptions are found on the series of A coins inscribed PRINPI (Princeps), which last-named coins can only belong to Arichis II, Prince (and, originally, Duke) of Beneventum.

GREGORIUS

А. р. 732-739

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Soli	dus	
			DNI - • • • NVSPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cru- ciger. Border of dots.	VICTO[R?] VζV2 * Cross potent with glo- bus and base, placed on three steps; in ex., CO NOB; in field l., ζ.	
			A. Sambon, No. 8, Fig.	'7'(i.e.'8). Cp. Sambon,	
			Trem	issis	
			DN. NVSPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Linear border.	VICT 42* Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in field l., ζ. Linear border.	
1	19.2	A⁄ .6	[de Salis gift]		xx i.16
			6:1.		
			Silv		
			Bearded bust of an emperorfacing, wearing crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger, above which, star. Border of dots.	O within border of dots; pellet at extremities of cross.	
2	4.8	AR .4	[de Salis gift]		xxi. 17
3	3.7	Æ .4	[Baron Kolb coll., 1847]		xxi.18

 $^{^1}$ Cp. Sambon, No. 9. The attribution to Gregory of gold coins (solidus and tremissis) with ζ is fairly certain, the only other likely claimant being Gottschalk, the next duke; but the division between the two rulers proposed by Sambon seems probable.

The attribution of these coins (Nos. 2, 3) to Duke Gregory, supported by Muratori, Promis, and others, is dismissed by M. Sambon (op. cit., p. 5) as 'tout à fait invraisemblable'. He does not specify his grounds of doubt: one objection would be, probably, that silver coins are not known to have been issued by the Beneventine rulers of this period. Another, that small Byzantine silver coins hardly occur so late as A.D. 732, and yet the coins in question would seem to have been inspired by Byzantine originals.

With regard to provenance, M. Sambon does not furnish any details. I do not know whether these coins are usually found in Italy, though our No. 3 came from the Kolb collection of Italian coins. In style, fabric, and size, and in the general character of the reverse type, the coins present some similarity to Imperial coins struck in Italy by Constans II (B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, Nos. 379-83, Rome; No. 399, Ravenna) and by Constantine IV (op. cit., No. 95, Ravenna) which belong, approximately, to the period A. D. 654-680. On the other hand, the treatment of the obverse bust seems to me to suggest a later period than 680, and one may notice especially the arrangement of the hair in straight lines on the forehead, just as we find it on the Beneventine coins of the eighth century (gold of Romoald II and of Duke Gregory).

M. Sambon would follow those numismatists who assign these coins to Gregory the Patrician, the governor of Africa who revolted from the Emperor Constans II in 647, and who, according to Ibn Abd-el-Hakam, struck coins with his own effigy (see B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, p. xxviii n.). This attribution is not lightly to be rejected, but it must be observed that we have no evidence as to the African provenance of these coins, but that, if anything, they are somewhat Italian in style, and that the obverse, and perhaps even the reverse, seem to belong to a later date than 647.

Until further light is forthcoming, Muratori's attribution of these coins to Duke Gregory of Beneventum may therefore, perhaps, be conveniently retained, though it is by no means entirely satisfactory.

GOTTSCHALK

А. д. 739-742

Solidi and tremisses marked D ζ (D = dux) may be attributed to this duke (Sambon, Nos. 12, 13); they belong to him rather than to his predecessor Gregory, because D ζ seems to lead up to the Θ ζ found on the coins of the successor of Gottschalk, viz. Gisulf II.

These coins with D ζ have as obverses the conventional name and bust of Justinian II, but there are also solidi and tremisses with ζ on the reverse which bear on the obverse the name and bust of the Emperor Leo III, A. D. 717-741 (Sambon, Nos. 10, 11). These coins, which seem to be Beneventine in style, might possibly have been struck by Duke Gregory (A. D. 732-739), but Gottschalk is the more probable issuer because, as Sambon has pointed out, he was for a time in alliance with the Emperor's representative at Ravenna.

GISULF II

A. D. 742-751

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse .	Plate	
			Type 1 Solidus			
			DNI INVSPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown (above which three pellets), mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Border of dots.	VICTOR ACVSTO Cross potent, with globus and base, placed on three steps; in ex., CONOB; in field, Θ and ζ . Border of dots.		
1	58.	A⁄ .8	[Purchased, 1863, 7-13-3] ¹		xxi. 19	
			Tren	nissis		
		,	See Sambon, Nos.	15, 16 (with ς Θ).		
			Tyl	pe 2		
			Soli	dus		
			DV — INVPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown (above which, three pellets), mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa. ² Border of dots.	VICTRV VÇVSTV Cross potent, with globus and base, placed on three steps; in ex., CONOB; in field, \(\zeta\) and \(\text{Q}\). Border of dots.		
2	61.6	A .75	[de Salis gift]		xxi. 20	

¹ Cp. Sambon, No. 14. On the attribution of Gisulf's coins see Sambon, p. 7. The monogram Θ appears also in the form Θ , and sometimes precedes and sometimes follows Θ . Sambon explains it as containing 'the elements of the word dux': a more easily interpreted monogram of dux is seen on the coins of Duke Liutprand (pp. 165, 166, infu, and Sambon, Figs. 24-5).

This representation of an Imperial bust holding the mappa as well as the globus are the same of the coins of the property of the coins of the

crueiger does not occur on the Imperial coins of Justinian II, but is first found on those

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			nian II, bearded, fac- ing; wears crown,	Inscr. Cross potent, with base; in ex.,	
			r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa. Border of dots.		
3	20.2	A .6	DNIVIVSPP	VICT VÇTO [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xxi. 21
4	20.3	A⁄ .55	DNIVCPP	VICOF V5TV [de Salis gift]	
5	20.4	<i>N</i> ⋅55	DVCPP [de Salis gift]	VICAO VÇTV (ON OB)	xxi. 22

of Anastasius II (A.D. 713-716). Later emperors also hold the mappa, and it is found on the coins of the Beneventine rulers who immediately succeeded Gisulf II, but in the course of the reign of Arichis II the mappa is once more abandoned, permanently.

LIUTPRAND

А. D. 751-758

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse .	Plate
			Period I, A	Period I, A.D. 751-755	
				dus	
			DN - · · · - IVNPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cru- ciger; in l., mappa. Border of dots.		
			A. Weight about 60 gra and Martinori in Rivista it	ains: see Sambon, No. 19; al. di num., 1908, p. 219.	
			Tren	nissis	
			DN IVNPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa; above crown, —••••— Border of dots.	VTRA AÇVT Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in field, S and L. Border of dots.	
1	20.1	A .6			xxii. 1
			Period II, 1	л. д. 756-757	
			Soli	dus	
			Inscr. Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa; above crown, —••••— Border of dots.	with globus and base,	

¹ A leaden seal with obv. and rev. types as on Nos. 2-4 and the name LIVTPRII is attributed by Schlumberger (Rev. num., 1905, p. 356) to the Lombard king Liutprand (712-744), but it may rather, as M. Sambon suggests, belong to Duke Liutprand.

	1	1			
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
2	61.9	A .75	DN IVNPP	VICTVRVVCVST	xxii. 2
				[de Salis gift]	
3	60.5	AJ .75	DN •VNVPP	VITORV VÇVSTI [de Salis gift]	xxii.3
4	33.4	Æ .75 (gilt)	DII •VNPP	VICTOR. AÇVSTV [de Salis gift] 1	xxii. 4
			Tren	nissis	
			Inser. Bust of Justinian II, facing; all as on Nos. 2-4. Border of dots.	Inscr. Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in field l., L. Border of dots.	
5	20.3	N .55	DN VNPP	VITR∇ ∇ÇVTV [de Salis gift]	xxii.5
6	20.3	A ·55	DN VNPP	ViTR• ∇ςVT [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	
			Period III,	A. D. 757–758 ²	
			Sol	idus	
			DNI INVSPP Bust of	VICTRO⊽ ∇ÇVSTV	
			Justinian II, facing; all as on No. 1. Border of dots.	Cross potent, with glo-	
				in field r., DX (i.e. L. DVX). Border of dots.	
	1		A. Weight about 60 gr	rains. Sambon, No. 23.]

¹ This coin is of bronze, but traces of gilding or gold plating are visible both on obv. and rev. It is perhaps the identical specimen, formerly in the Reichel collection, published by Koehne in Mém. Soc. imp. d'arch. de St.-Pét., v. 1851, p. 341, No. 1, Pl. XII. 3. Another similar bronze 'solidus' of Liutprand was in the Colonna collection (Sale Catalogue, Canessa, Naples, Part i, May, 1909, lot 7). These pieces are no doubt ancient

contemporary forgeries.

² I here follow the classification of M. Sambon, who assigns to Period III 'Monnaies de Liutprand rebelle, avec le titre de dux, 757-758.'

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			nian II, bearded, fac- ing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger;	VICTO VÇTV Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in	
7	19.5	A .55	in I., mappa; above crown, — • • • • — Border of dots.	dots. [de Salis gift]	xxii.6

 $^{^{1}}$ Cp. Sambon, No. 25, a variety with D in field 1., and ${\bf \mathcal{X}}$ in field r.

ARICHIS II

а. р. 758–787

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			I. As DUX Period I, A.D. Soli DU IVNPP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, robe, and mantle; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa; above crown, —••••—. Border of dots.	dus	
1	61.2	A .8	[de Salis gift]		xxii. 7
			Trer	nissis	
			Inser. Bust of Justinian II, facing; all as on No. 1. Border of dots.		
2	21.5	A .6	DN VNPP	VITIRV•••VÇVTI [de Salis gift]	xxii.8
3	20.	A ·6	DN VNPP (above crown, • -) [Purchased, 1908, 7-7-1]	VTR∇•••∇ςVT (II for N)	xxii.9

 $^{^1}$ Sambon (Nos. 26, 27) assigns to $circ.\ {\tt A.D.}\ 758$ a 'Monnayage anonyme' with the symbol of a hand; on this coinage see infra under 'Uncertain Beneventine Coinage'.

No.	Weight		l and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Period II, circ	. а. д. 770–774 _. dus	
				Inser. Bust (of Arichis II?), bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, and mantle; in r., globus cruciger. Plain border in relief.	Inscr. Cross potent, with base, on three steps; in ex., CON OB; in field 1., A. Plain border in relief.	
4	59.	A	·85	DNSVI CTORIA [de Salis gift]	VICTIRVVÇVSTV	xxii. 10
5	60.2	N	. 75	DNSVI CTORIA [Baron Kolb coll., 1847]	VICTIR V••• ∇ÇVSTI	xxii. 11
				Tren	nissis	
				Inser. Bust (of Arichis II?), facing; all as on Nos. 4–5. Plain border in relief.	Inscr. Cross potent, with base; in ex., CONOB; in field l., A. Plain border in relief.	
6	19.4	A A	.55	DNSVI CTORIA	VITIR∇•••∇ςVTV [Loscombe sale, 1855, lot 957]	xxii. 12
7	19.2	A	.6	DUSVI → ← CTORIA [Purchased, 1908, 7-7-2]	VITIRV. •• VÇVTI (Ö NÖB) (A for A in field)	xxii.
8	19.8	A	.6	DNSVI CTORIA [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	VITIRV VÇVTI (C	xxii.
9	20.1	A	.6	DNSVI CTORIA [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; originally in an Italian collection]		xxii. 15

 $^{^1}$ The mappa once more disappears, and is not represented again in later reigns; cp. note, p. 162, supra.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
10	60.3	A/ ·85	Sol	CEPS (774-787) idus VICTIRV. PRINPI Cross potent, with base, on three steps; below cross, C. ONO. B; in field l., A. Plain border in relief.	xxii.
			Tren Inser. Bust facing; all as on No. 10. Plain border in relief.	Inscr. Cross potent, with base; below cross, Cono in field l., A. Plain border in relief.	
11	20.	A ⋅65	DNSVI→ ←CTORIA	VITIRV. PRINPI [Purchased, 1908, 7-7-3]	xxii. 17
12	19.8	A .65	DNSVI CTORI	VITIRV •• PRINPI [Baron Kolb coll., 1847]	

GRIMOALD III

May? 788-806

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Period I, 2	а. р. 788–792	
				s of Grimoald III and magne)	
			(α) with ti	tle of DVX	
			Sol	idus	
		3	CRIM → • VAL™ (i.e. Dux) Bust of Grimoald III, bearded, facing; wears crown, with cross, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cru- ciger. Plain border in relief. A. Weight about 59 gr	DOMS. CAR. Cross potent, with base, on three steps; in ex., VICA; in field, Cand R. Plain border in relief.	
			usual position of CON	No. 1, &c.) occupies the IOB: it is probably an CTORIA introduced by p. 168.)	
			Tren	nissis	
			Inser. Bust of Grimoald III, facing; all as on the corresponding solidus (see supra, Sambon, No. 34).	Inser. Cross potent, with base; in ex., VICΔ; in field, ζ and R (i.e. name of Grimoald). Plain border in relief.	
1	19.3	A .65	CRIM→ ←VAL⋉ [Earl of Enniskillen, 1857]	DOMS. CAR'R (i.e. Dominus Carolus rex)	xxiii. 1
2	20.3	A -65	Inscr. as on No. 1. [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; originally acquired in Naples]	Inser. as on No. 1.	

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
					title of DVX dus DOMS.CAR.R Cross potent, with base, on three steps; in ex., VICA; in field, ζ and R	
3	60.5	AJ	.8	[de Salis gift]		xxiii.
4	60.6	AJ	-85	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	(A, in ex., varied, as on No. 5)	2
5	60.	A	.8	[J. G. Pfister, 1857]	(CVAR for CAR.) (A, in ex., varied) 1	xxiii. 3
				Tren	nissis	
				CRIM→ → VALD Bust of Grimoald III, facing: all as on Nos. 3-5. Plain border in relief.	DOMS. CAR. R Cross potent, with base; in ex., VICA; in field, \$\mathcal{G}\$ and R. Plain border in relief.	
6	18.	A	.65	(A for A) [J. G. Pfister, 1857]	(A for A)	xxiii. 4
7	19.2	A	-65	[Baron Kolb coll., 1847]		
8	19.4	A	.6	[Baron Kolb coll., 1847]	(In field l., ς , instead of ς and ς ²)	xxiii. 5
				Den	arius	
				(i.e. Carolus Rev) within wreath.	+ M moaldus) within	
9	$\begin{vmatrix} 17.8 \\ (chipped) \end{vmatrix}$	Æ	.7	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	wreath. ³	xxiii.

The solidus in Sambon, No. 38, has in the field of the rev. instead of ζ and R. It corresponds to the tremissis No. 8, infra.
 Cp. note 1.
 As Sambon, No. 41; for other types of the denarius see Sambon, Nos. 40 and 42.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
10	60.3	El. ·85	(Coinage with name and title F Sol. CRIM → -VALD Bust of Grimoald III, bearded, facing; wears crown, with cross, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger. Border of dots. [Purchased, 1847, 6-19-95]	of Grimoald III only PRINCEPS) idus VICTORV••PRINCIP Cross potent, with globus and base, resting on two steps; below, C•ONO•8; in field, \$\mathcal{G}\$ and \$\mathcal{R}\$. Border of dots. (No globus; three steps)¹ (PRINCE for PRINCIP) (C \(\text{A} \(\text{B} \))	xxiii.
			[de Salis gift]	(B	8
12	59.6	El. ⋅85	[Baron Kolb coll., 1847]		xxiii. 9
13	57.3	El. ·85	(A)		
			CRIM - VALD Bust of Grimoald III, facing: all as on Nos. 10-13. Border of dots.	VITORV • • PRINCIP Cross potent on globus and base; below, C•ONO•B; in field, Ç and R. Border of dots.	
14	19.7	El65	(A) (plain border in relief) [Purchased, 1847, 6-19-96]	(PRINCI) (without globus) (plain border in relief)	xxiii. 10

¹ The representation on No. 10 of the cross with base (only) and three steps is as on the solidi, Nos. 3-5, supra. On Nos. 11-13, which may be assumed to be a little later in issue than No. 10, the cross has both globus and base, and rests on two steps.

No.	Weight		l and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
15	19.3	El.	·65	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	(BONOS)	xxiii. 11
16	19.3	El.	.7	[Baron Kolb coll., 1847] ¹	(BONOD)	
				Dena	arius	
				(Grimoaldus) In centre, pellet. Border of dots.	potent, with base on two steps; above, pellet; beneath, -•-; in field, A and W. Border of dots.	
17	22.1 (chipped)	Æ	.75	(O for O in mon.); on 1., cross; on r., star-like object, with long stem. ²	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xxiii. 12
18	18.7	Æ	.75	On l., cross (wreath for border).	(Wreath for border) [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xxiii. 13

¹ There is a curious variety of these tremisses reading on the obv. AMAND ... PFAV: see Promis, Monete di zecche italiane, Turin, 1867, p. 14, Pl. I. 7=Sambon, No. 45.

² Cp. Sambon, No. 47, where it is described as a 'une comète' or 'un ostensoir?' [ostensorium, monstrance]. Cp. the similar object on a denarius of Adelchis, infra, Pl. XXV. 6.

GRIMOALD IV, Princeps

A. D. 806-817

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			CRIMOALDFILIVSER	HAEL • Cross pattée, radiate. Border of	
1	22.1	Æ .65	(CRIN for CRIM)	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xxiii.

¹ The absence of a gold coinage is remarkable, because Grimoald's reign was of some length, and both his predecessor and successor issued gold solidi and tremisses. The simplest supposition is that the numerous gold coins of Grimoald III's latest issue (A.D. 792-806) continued to supply the currency of Grimoald IV.

It is, indeed, natural to ask whether among the gold coins assigned to Grimoald III there may not be some that belong to Grimoald IV; but an examination of the gold pieces bearing the name of *Grimoald* (latest issue) will show that they are all so much of one style that there are no rational criteria for dividing them between the two kings of this name.

Still, it may be by an accident that Grimoald IV's gold has not come down to us; and that he was no servile imitator of the coins of his predecessor is shown by his selection of new types for his denarius and by his inscribing upon it the name of the archangel Michael. His successor Sico retained this Archangelus Michael legend on his silver coins, and on his gold solidi placed not only the name but also the full-length figure of the archangel. If Grimoald IV struck solidi it may be conjectured that they bore a similar figure of St. Michael, though on his denarius—as we know—only the name of the archangel appeared.

The type of the rer. may, conceivably, have been suggested by the star or flower type of the tremisses of the Lombard king Desiderius (dethroned A.D. 774; Pl. XX. 12), and the legend Archangelus Michael by the Scs. Mihahil of the Lombard regal coinage. But in neither case can there have been more than a suggestion, and the obv. type is original, or at any rate new, on the coins. This curious design (Pl. XXIII. 14-17) has been described as a trident with an ear of corn, as a flower, and even as an anchor. The best view may be that it is a stylized representation of an ear of corn and ivy leaves (cp. Sambon, No. 49; Keary, Coinages of W. Europe, p. 100. On the denarii of Prince Radelchis I (A.D. 839-851), described infra, the type or a variation of it reappears; Pl. XXV. 2, 3).

No.	Weight		l and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
2	21.1 (chipped)	Æ	.7	(AL for AL)	(S for 2) [Samuel Smith sale, London, May, 1908, lot 138]	xxiii. 15
3	16.5 (broken)	Æ	.65	(CRIM DFIL MENRIHI•) [Baron Kolb coll., 1847]	(ARCHAU 2MI AEL•)	
4	20.4	Æ	•65	(GRIMOALDFILVSER MENRIHI•) (stem of Y form)	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xxiii. 16
5	18.8	Æ	.75	(CRIMOADFILIVSER MENRIHI•) (stem of Y form)	(ARCHANCELV2 MI CHAEL•) [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xxiii. 17

SICO, Princeps

а. р. 817-832

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Inser. The archangel Michael, winged, standing facing; in r., long cross with crooked head 1; in l., globus cruciger; below, towards l., CONO. Plain border in relief.	
1	59.7	El85	SICO PRINCES [de Salis gift]	ARCHANGELVS MI	xxiv.
2	58.	N ⋅85	SICOP→ ←RINCES; in field r., ▲ [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	ARCHANÇELVS MI HAEL (ONO); be- neath, type, •	xxiv.
3	59.	El. ·85 (pale)	(All as on No. 2)	(All as on No. 2) [Parkes Weber gift, 1906; originally in an Italian coll.]	
			Trem	nissis	
			Inser. Bust of Sico, facing; as on No. 1.	Inser. Cross potent, with base; in field, S and C (i.e. Sico).	
4	20.4	N ⋅65	SICO→ ← PRINCES; in field r., pellet. Plain border in re- lief. [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	ARCHANCELV : S MICHAEL : inscr. beginning beneath type: a pellet at each end of base. Plain border in relief.	xxiv.

¹ Evidently derived from P, part of XP, the name of Christ.

No.	Weight	Metal a Size		Obverse	Reverse	Plate
5	18.6	El. ·6	35	SICO→ ← PRINCES; in field r., ♠. Border of dots. [Purchased, 1862, 4-15-5]	••• ARCHANÇELVSM ICHAEL; inscr. beginning on r.; on l. of cross, pellet. Plain border in relief.	
6	19.4	El. ·6	35	SICO→ ← PRINCES; in field r., ▲. Border of dots. [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	() and Z for S and C) ARCHANCELVSM ICHAEL ▲; inser. beginning on r. Border of dots.	xxiv. 4
				Dena	arius	
				PRINCESBENEBEN TI. C (i. e. Sico). Border of dots.	Inscr. Cross potent, with base, on two steps. Border of dots.	
7	16.6	æ .7	7	Inscr. begins at top;	ARCHANÇELVSMIC	xxiv.
				pellet in centre. [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	HAEL•; inscr. begins at top; in field, pellet r. and l.	5
8	18.8	Æ •6	35	Inser. begins at bottom; pellet in centre. [Parkes Weber gift, 1906]	ANCNANÇELVSMI CNACL•; inser. be- gins at top; in field, pellet r. and l.	
9	19.9	Æ ·7	75	Inser. begins at bottom; pellet in centre. [de Salis gift]	ANCNANGELVSMIC NACL•; inscr. begins at top; in field, pel- let r. and l.	xxiv.
10	19.8	A .7	,	(+ for •) inscr. begins at top; in centre and each angle of cross, pellet. [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	ARCHANÇELVSMIH AEL; inscr. begins at top; in field, pellet r. and l.	xxiv. 7
11	19.8	Æ .7	5	(PRIH for PRIN) inscr. begins at top; in lower r. angle of cross, pellet. [Baron Kolb coll., 1847]	ARCHANÇELVSMIC HAEL•; inscr. begins at top; in field l., pellet.	
12	19.6	Æ ·6	5	(PRINCESBENIBEN TI) inscr. begins at top; in upper r. angle of cross, pellet. [de Salis gift]	ARCHANGELVSMIC HAEL•; inscr. begins at bottom; in field l., pellet.	xxiv. 8

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
13	17.3	AR -65	for •, and +) inser.	ARCHANÇELVSMIC HAEL♠; inscr. begins at bottom; in field l., pellet.	
14	19-	Æ .7		ΛRCHΛΝζ€LVSMIC HΛ€L♠; inscr. begins at bottom.	
15	17.2	Æ .7	for •, and +) inscr. begins at top; pellet	ARCHANGELVSMIC HAEL•; inscr. begins at bottom. [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	
16	15.4	Æ .65	(PRIHCESBENEBEHM IT); inser. begins at top; (instead of •)	H∧€L♠; inscr. be-	

SICARDUS, Princeps

A.D. 832—JULY 839

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			SIC - ARDV. Bust of Sicardus r., bearded, facing; wears crown with cross, robe, and mantle; in r., glo- bus cruciger; in field r., A. Border of dots.	VICTORV + PRINCI Cross potent, with base, on two steps; below, CONO8; in field, S and I (i.e. name of Sicardus). Border of dots.	
1	54.	El. •9	Two pellets above head.	·[Purchased, 1849, 6-28-2]	xxiv.
2	58.8	El9	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]		
3	58.2	EI. ∙9	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906; from an Italian source]	(• for ∇)	
4	52.2 (chipped)	Æ .9 (or El.)	[Baron Kolb coll., 1847]	(• for ∇)	xxiv.
	And the second s		Tren	nissis	
			SIC → ←ARDV• Bust of Sicardus facing, as on Nos. 1-4; in field r., ▲. Border of dots.	VICTOR V. PRINCI Cross potent, with base; below, CON OB; in field, S and I. Border of dots.	
5	18.	El65	[de Salis gift]	(📤)	xxiv.
6	19.2	El65	(^) [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	(BONOD)	
7	18.4	El65	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]		

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Den	arius	
			+ PRINCEBENEBENT 5 (i. e. Sicard) Border of dots.	•A•RCHANÇELVΠIC HAEL• Cross potent, with base, on two steps; in field, r. and l., pellet. Border of dots.	
8	19.2	Æ .7	Pellet in centre.	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]	xx iv.
9	17.4	Æ ·65	Pellet in centre (D for B')	[de Salis gift]	xxiv.

¹ The letter B is intended, which on No. 8 is formed as D with a horizontal stroke.

RADELCHIS I

а. р. 839–851

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
1	53.	El. •9 (pale)			xxv. 1
			letters RADEL attached denarius of Sicardus); steps.	4. The obv. has the to a cross (as on the on rev. Cross potent, on e 2 and Colonna Sale Cat. p. 3, No. 28. Similar th letters RADEL. On	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Тур	e 3	
			Inser. Ornament formed of an ear of corn and two ivy-leaves on stalks bent downwards. Border of dots.		
2	16.5	Æ .75	RADELCIHSPR'NCE PS• [de Salis gift]	A RHANGEI TICHAE	xxv. 2
3	18.8	Æ .7	RADELCHISPRNICE PS• [J. G. Pfister, 1855]	ARCHANGEITICHA	xxv. 3

¹ Compare the nearly similar type on denarii of Grimoald IV (A.D. 806-817), described *supra*, p. 174.

RADELGARIUS, Princeps

а. д. 851-853

Of the son and successor of Radelchis I no coins are known.

ADELCHIS, Princeps

а. р. 853-878

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			A. With name of	of Adelchis only.	
			Denarius ¹		
			$T_{y_{ m I}}$	Type 1	
			With ADEL on obv. a	nd Cross radiate on rev.	
			1 1 1 1 1	padopoli in <i>Rivista ital</i> .	
			Tyl	pe 2	
			On obv. Cross on ste PRINCE; on rev. Cros Sambon, No. 69.	eps and inser. ADELHIS s with two rosettes, &c.	

¹ Adelchis is not known to have struck any coins in gold. In his reign, or a little earlier, we find frequent mention in the contracts of Salerno of the gold money of earlier Beneventine rulers; e.g. Pretium auri figurati solidi ex monetis domni Sicardi veteri.—Boni tremissi ex monetis domni Arechis: see Sambon, op. cit., pp. 24 f.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
1	16.6	R .75	+ SANCTAMARIA P In centre, ADL R (i.e. Adelchis Princeps). Border of dots. [Purchased, 1908, 10-8-5]	e 3¹ +ARHANÇELVΠΙΗ Cross pattée. Borof dots. pe 4 nogram of St. Maria on ent on steps. Inscr.	xxv. 4
2	13.6 (chipped)	Æ ·8	+ADELÇISIPRINCE Crosspattée, between A and W. Border of dots. [Purchased, 1908, 10-8-3]	In centre, TA (i.e. Sancta Maria). Border of dots.	xxv. 5

¹ Sambon, No. 70.

² Sambon, No. 72; cp. No. 73.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
3	18-3	A: .75	Type (name of Adelchis); on l., cross pattée; on r., star-like object with long stem. ² Border of dots. [Purchased, 1908, 10-8-4]	•BENE• •BENTV Cross potent, with base, on two steps;	xxv. 6
			Lou	elchis and the Emperor is II. –Aug. 8713	
			(a) Obv. LVDOVIC	varius VSIMPE Ornament (cp. ra) formed of ear of corn stalks bent downwards, thangelus). Rev. ADEL	
			and H (Michael). Sambon, No. 76.	, ; Rec. with ARHANÇE	
			MIHAEL, and in cen Sambon, No. 77.	tre, ADEL R	
			There are also denar with the names of Angilberga. Sambon, Nos. 78-87	rii struck at Beneventum Louis II and his wife	2

¹ Sambon, No. 75.

² The same object is found on a denarius of Grimoald III, supra, p. 173, No. 17, Pl. XXIII. 12, which has evidently suggested the types of both sides of the present coin (No. 3)

(No. 3).

These dates respectively refer to the submission of Adelchis at Beneventum to the invading emperor Louis II and to the capture and imprisonment of Louis by Adelchis.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			C. With the name Pope Jol Circ. л.	es of Adelchis and in VIII . v. 875 ¹	
			Dena	arius	
			Obv. ADELÇI•PRИ, a monogram composed of (Sancta Maria) written and below, a rosette. Sambon, No. 88.	nd in centre cruciform IOHA. Rev. SCAMR across the field; above	

 $^{^{\}rm I}$ When the Pope was endeavouring to bring the Lombard states under his suzerainty.

GAIDERIS, Princeps

A. D. 878-881

Denarius

Obv. Monogrammatic cross with letters of ζ AIDERI PRIN. Rev. Monogrammatic cross with letters of $\overline{\varsigma}$ MARIA.

Sambon, No. 89; Promis, Monete di zecche italiane, 1867, p. 19, Pl. I. 14.

RADELCHIS II, Princeps (First Reign)

A.D. 881-884

Denarius

Obv. Monogrammatic cross with the letters of RADELHIS PRIN. Rev. SCAMARIA and monogrammatic cross with MIHA (Michael Archangelus).

Sambon, No. 90.

AIO, Princeps

A. D. 884-890

The only coin known of this prince is a denarius of base alloy with obv. Monogrammatic cross with letters AIO PR; and rev. Cross potent on steps between A and U.

Sambon, No. 91; Promis, Monete di zecche italiane, 1867, p. 20, Pl. II. 16.

INTERREGNUM

а. р. 890-897

Beneventan coins probably ceased to be issued during the greater part of this period, but an anonymous denarius is attributed by Sambon (No. 92) to Bishop Peter, governor of the town in 897.

RADELCHIS II (Second Reign)

а. р. 897-899

Apparently issued no coins. On the expulsion of Radelchis in 899 the Beneventans acknowledged Atenolf, lord of Capua, as their prince (A.D. 900–910). Some small silver coins (half denarii?) bearing simply SCA on the *obv*. and MAR on the *rev*. (=Sancta Maria) have been assigned to the period of his rule at Beneventum (Sambon, Nos. 93, 94).

UNCERTAIN BENEVENTAN COINAGES

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse		Reverse	Plate
			→NCON TUVA NOVAT Bust of C	Solidus		
			stans II (on l.) we long beard and mo tache and small bust of Constantine IV, beardle each facing and we ing paludament and cuirass, a crown with glol cruciger; betwee them, small crown of dots.	us- ler r., an- bea ess, ar- um crc gld bea Bo	se, on three steps; l., Heraclius; on Tiberius; each is ardless, stands fac- g, wears long robes d crown with oss, and holds in r. obus cruciger; neath, CONOB. rder of dots.	
1	67.4	A .75	[Sale of Cav. J. Campana of Ror London, Sotheby 1846, lot 1367] This coin closely Emperor Constans Imp. Byz. Coins (p. 5 to the mint of Rom would be no difficus same mint were it mof the inscriptions (tinus et Constant. Victoria Augu on the clude Rome, and recearly period a not une carly period a not une constant to the constant of the constant.	resemble II assign 306, No. 3 e, A. D. 6 lty in as of for the represent PP. Au. e rev.) wl	578, Pl. XXXV. 3), 59-668, and there signing it to the gross blundering ting Dn. Constanton the obv. and hich seems to preneventum at this	xxv. 7

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
2	66.	N .75	GRIMOALD GISULF I Sol ONCO V SPPY Bust of Constantine IV, bearded, facing, wears cuirass, diadem, and helmet with crest; in r., spear held transversely; in l., shield with horseman device. Border of dots. [Purchased, 1904, 10-8-36] Compare B. M. C., I stantine IV,' Nos. 13-1 No. 77, Rome; date, cominute dots of the bord of the types point to Robut the blundering of	base, on three steps;	xxv. 8
			Tren	nissis Inscr. Cross potent,	
			stantine IV r., beardless, wearing diadem, paludamentum, and cuirass. Border of dots.	with base. Border of dots.	
3	22.	El55	ICONT•	VIITOIIII IVIITII; in ex., COMO; in field r., Θ	xxv.9

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
4	21.7	A/ .55	OIIOOAIT-II±70PI Ir [de Salis gift]	VIIFOAI [1?]TOIIF; in ex., IOLO; in field r., Φ	xxv. 10
			Imp. Byz. Coins, 'Cor 86, assigned to the R again the blundered leg	tremisses in B. M. C., astantine IV, Nos. 78-coman mint; but here ends of our Nos. 3 and 4 an attribution to Rome.	
			Period of GISU	LF II (742-751)	
				idus	
			DNI -•••- INVS PP Bust of Justinian II, bearded, facing; wears crown, mantle, and robe; in r., globus cruciger; in l., mappa. Border of dots.	in field 1., open right hand. Border of	
5	62.6	<i>A</i> ⋅8	[Montagu sale, Paris, 1896, lot 1291; found at Benevento]		xxv.
			_		
			Trer	nissis	
			DNI— -IVSPP Bust of Justinian II, facing; all as on No. 5, but without mappa and no pellets above crown. Border of dots.	beneath, CONOB; in field r., open left hand; in field l.,	
6	19.4	A .6	[J. G. Pfister, 1855]		xxv. 12

No. 5 probably came from the hoard of Beneventan gold coins discovered at Benevento about the year 1878 (see Capobianchi in *Rivista ital. di num.*, 1892, p. 88; cp. Photiades, *Cat.*, 'Monn. byzantines,' Paris, 1890, No. 370, Pl. I. 370, apparently our No. 5). Sambon (Nos. 26 and 27) would assign the solidi and tremisses of this class—the chief characteristic of which is the *hand* symbol on the *rev.*—to about the year 758, and Capobianchi (*loc. cit.*) attributes them to the reign of Duke Liutprand, A. D. 751–758.

It cannot be doubted that this dating is near the mark, but I think it may be shown on numismatic grounds that the coins should be placed some

few years earlier than 758 or 751, and even that their exact position, or at any rate the position of the solidus, is between the first and second coinages of Gisulf II (Pl. XXI. 19, 20; p. 162, supra). In the case of the solidus (No. 5) this may be shown as follows:—

i. From a comparison of the obv. legend with that on other Beneventan solidi of the eighth century.

Duke Gisulf II (Type 1)	DNI	INVSPP
,, (Type 2)	D[N]	INVPP
Uncertain Beneventan solidus (No. 5)	DNI	INVSPP
Duke Liutprand (usual legend)	DN	IVNPP
	DN	IVNPP

- If the solidus (No. 5) were inserted between Liutprand and Arichis, circ. 758, as proposed by Sambon, it would break the sequence of the legends, i.e. DN INVSPP would come between coins reading DN IVNPP. (One coin of Liutprand, however, reads DNI INVSPP.)
- ii. Style.—The solidus on the obv. closely resembles the solidus of the first coinage of Gisulf II (Pl. XXI. 19), but it is not quite so rough in appearance as the second coinage of the same duke (Pl. XXI. 20), or as the solidi of his successors, Liutprand and Arichis II. In colour, moreover, it approximates to that of the first solidus of Gisulf II.
- iii. Type.—The solidus, though in style like the first coinage of Gisulf II, has the obv. type of his second coinage, i.e. the figure holds the mappa in addition to the globus. Its place is, therefore, between the two coinages.
- Similar arguments apply to the tremissis (No. 6), except that it would seem to be slightly earlier than the solidus (No. 5), because it has the *obv*. type of the *first* coinage of Gisulf II (bust with globus and without mappa).

But though the approximate date of issue of these coins may not be doubtful, i.e. it must be some time between 742 and 751 (the extreme dates of the reign of Gisulf II), it would, perhaps, be rash to assert that the issuer was Gisulf himself, though I regard this as very probable. The clue to the issuer is doubtless given by the symbol of the hand on the rev., which here takes the place of the letter or letters which are regularly inserted for the purpose of recording the issuer's name (e.g. L on coins of Liutprand, C on those of Gisulf, &c.). But the precise significance of the hand is unfortunately obscure. All that we can say, perhaps, is that it appears to be a Lombard emblem; at any rate, it occasionally occurs on the Lombard regal coins as early as the time of Cunincpert, A.D. 688-700, and is also found on coins of King Lintprand, A.D. 712-744. If we might regard the hand as distinctly the badge of Lombard kings-and this is very doubtful-we might bring it into connexion with King Liutprand who, in 742, visited Beneventum and installed Gisulf II as Duke. But, on the whole, it seems best for the present to leave the issuer's name uncertain.

V.

COINS OF THE EMPIRE OF THESSALONICA

A. D. 1222-1243 (1246)

THEODORE Angelus Comnenus Ducas

1222-1230

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Silver Nomis Inser. Theodore Angelus, bearded, on l., and St. Demetrius, beardless, onr., standing facing, holding between them long cross ornamented with O, •, and \(\Delta \); on r. and l. of base of cross, a star. Theodore wears crown, tunic, and sash with stellate ornament; his r. hand placed on heart. St. Demetrius wears nimbus, military cloak, and cuirass, and holds in l. drawn sword. Two borders of dots.	IC XC Christ, bearded, seated, facing, on throne without back; wears nimbus (ornamented with radiating lines and with •	

¹ This coin has usually been assigned to Theodore II ('III') Ducas Lascaris, Emperor of Nicaea (see Marchant, Lettres, p. 357; De Saulcy, Essai de class., Pl. 31. 7; Sabatier, ii, p. 296, No. 4, Pl. 65. 5; Windisch-Grätz, Cat., p. 31, No. 347), and there are, at least, no decisive objections to this attribution. I am, however, inclined to assign the coin to

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
1	41.9 (pierced)	At 1.05	On 1., $\Theta \in O\Delta WPO(\Delta X)$ KAC (some letters indistinct); on r., $OA[\Gamma HOC?]\Delta HM$ HTPO (letters carelessly formed)	(K obscure) [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-406]	xxvi. 1
2	40.7 (pierced)	AR 1.1	(Traces of similar inser. to No. 1; ends HM HTP O); stars obscure; sash ornamented with cross and squares.	[de Salis gift]	xxvi.
			Bronze Nomi	sma (Scyphate)	
			Ty	pe 1	
			Inscr. Theodore Angelus, bearded, on I., and St. Demetrius, bearded, on r., standing facing. Theodore wears crown, mantle, and tunic; places r. hand on heart and holds in I. sword. The Saint wears nimbus, cloak, and cuirass, and holds in I. drawn sword. Two borders.	wearing nimbus cruciger with, tunic, and mantle.	
3	75.5	Æ 1·2	[Θε]ΟΔΨΡΟC on l.; ΟΛΓΗΟC[ΔΗΜ?] on r. (type double- struck)		xxvi.

Theodore Angelus because (i) we have no silver nomismata of his reign, while Theodore II is already provided with at least one type of the silver nomisma; (ii) Demetrius is the patron-saint of Thessalonica, while Theodore II especially honours St. Tryphon; (iii) the treatment of the figures on the obv., the representation of the nimbus of Christ, &c., differ from what we find on the coins of Theodore II. But the attribution can hardly be settled satisfactorily without evidence as to provenance.

The rev. inser. has been explained by Svoronos (Journ. int. d'Arch. Num., ii, p. 387) as an abbreviation of 'Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς είς ἄγιος Κύριος.

The identical specimen described by Sabatier (ii, p. 298, No. 11, Pl. 65. 12), who has preferred to attribute it to Theodore II ('III') of Nicaea.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
4	53.2 (pierced)	E 1.15	Typ \[\text{\$\exitt{\$\end{\text{\$\exitint{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$\text{\$		xxvi.
			Inser. Bust of Theodore Angelus on l. and bust of St. Demetrius on r., both facing; between them cross crosslet, adorned with crescent and •, placed on steps. The Emperor wears crown and drapery; and holds in l. volumen. St. Demetrius holds in r. sword, in l. shield. Border of dots.	OZWPOC	

¹ The last three words of the inscr. are nearly obliterated, but the coin may be compared with Sabatier, ii, p. 301, No. 1, Pl. 66. 7; with Photiades, Cat., No. 634, which is described as similar to Sabatier's Pl. 66. 7; and with Photiades, No. 635. (Some specimens have the word €MMANSHΛ on the rev.) The attribution to this Theodore in preference to either of the two Theodores who were Emperors of Nicaea is due to Marchant (Lettres, ed. 1851, p. 348, No. 2, and p. 357). A concave bronze coin is attributed in Photiades, Cat., No. 636, to this Theodore reading on obv. ΘΕΟΔΟΡΟC (sic) Δδ and with the type of the Emperor and St. Michael standing; rev. Christ seated facing. The possibility of its being of Theodore II of Nicaea is not to be overlooked.

The possibility of its being of Theodore II of Nicaea is not to be overlooked.

The small bronze coin attributed by Pfaffenhoffen in Rev. Num., 1865, p. 291, Pl. XII. 5, to this Theodore would seem, if correctly described, rather to belong to Theodore II of Nicaea. It has obv. ΘΕΟ ΔΕΓΠΟΤΗ Theodore standing holding cross and volumen, and rev. Lis. Cp. the lis on coins of Theodore II of Nicaea. The bronze nomisma in Sabatier, ii, p. 302, No. 2, Pl. 66. 8 (originally published by Sabatier in

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
5	62.7	Æ	-85	ΘΕΟΔΨΡΟCΔΕC on l.; AΓΙΟCΔΙΜΙ on r.	[Sale at Sotheby's, 20 Dec., &c., 1852, lot 169]	xxvi. 5
6	30.8 (worn)	Æ	.9	(Inser. illegible) [Doubleday purchase, 1849, 7-17-444]	(Inser. as above, but written thus:— +ΘΕ ΟΔΨΡΟC ΤΟΠCΕΔ VΟΔΟCH [K]AC)	

The numismatists who have published specimens of these coins have assigned them to Theodore II ('III') Ducas Lascaris, Emperor of Nicaea (see Marchant, Lettres, p. 357, No. 3; de Sauley, Essai de class., Pl. 31. 8; Sabatier, ii, p. 297, No. 7, Pl. 65. 8; Thomsen, Cat., p. 67, No. 839). Preference should, however, perhaps, be given to Theodore Angelus Ducas of Thessalonica, partly on account of the presence of St. Demetrius, the patron saint of Thessalonica.

No one has commented on the curious fact that the obv. type (two busts and cross crosslet) and the rev. consisting entirely of an inscription are characteristic—at least so far as coins are concerned—of a considerably earlier age than the period of Theodore II (1254-1258) or even than that of Theodore Angelus (1222-1230). The latest occurrence on coins of types like these is, so far as I know, to be found under the Emperor Nicephorus III, Botaniates, A. D. 1078-1081 (B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, p. 537, Pl. 63. 8), though a coin of Alexius III, A. D. 1195-1203 (B. M. C., op. cit., Pl. 73. 13) has types of a not very dissimilar character. Judging from the types, then, we should expect our coins (Nos. 5, 6) to belong to some ruler of the eleventh or twelfth centuries rather than to one of the thirteenth century. Thus, the pretender Theodore Mankaphas (B. M. C., op. cit., p. lxvi; A. Meliaraki, Ίστ. Βασ. Νικαίας, pp. 13, 23, 44) who struck coins (according to Niketas, silver coins) during his rebellion in 1189, and later, might conceivably have issued money with such types, but we have no reason to suppose that he assumed the surname Ducas which figures on our coins.

We are thrown back, then, on Theodore II Ducas Lascaris of Nicaea, and Theodore Angelus Ducas of Thessalonica, and, of the two, Theodore Angelus, as the earlier in date, is perhaps to be preferred; and it has already been suggested that the Saint (Demetrius) is somewhat more appropriate for his coins than for those of Theodore II Ducas Lascaris.

Revue belge, 1859, p. 320, Pl. 11. 10) attributed to this Theodore, is in the British Museum and is described, infra, among the coins of Theodore II of Nicaea.

If the reading of the name Theodore on the Æ published by Sestini, Descriz...

Mus. Hedercariano, 1830, iv, p. 118, No. 87 (cp. Sestini, Descr. Num. Vet., p. 123, No. 113

= Mionnet, Suppl., iii, p. 172, No. 1110), is to be relied on we should have a coin of Theodore resembling in its main details the coin of his successor Manuel described. infra, p. 198, No. 2, Pl. XXVI. 7, i. e. obv. the Emperor and St. Demetrius and the name of Thessalonica NOAIC; rev. St. Michael.

MANUEL Angelus Comnenus Ducas

A. D. 1230-1232

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				wears nimbus cru- ciger, mantle, and tunic, and holds in l. book of Gospels; r.	
1	26.2	AR 1.05	MANδΗΛΔΕCΠ (Some letters indistinct) double-struck.	[de Salis gift] ²	xxvi.

Cp. a bronze coin published by Baron de Koehne (Rev. belge, 1881, p. 351, Pl. 16. 20) with ΘΕΟΔW ... VKAC; but the reproduction does not seem very satisfactory.

¹ The gold nomisma (rev. Christ seated) assigned by Sabatier (ii, p. 303, No. 1, Pl. 66. 9) to Manuel Angelus is probably a coin (silver gilt?) of Theodore I Lascaris, Emperor of Nicaea: see infra under 'Theodore I', p. 206, note 3.

² The identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 297, No. 9, Pl. 65. 10, who has assigned it to Theodore II ('III') Ducas, Emperor of Nicaea, reading on the obv. ΘΕΟΔΨΡΟC (on l.) and ΔΧΚΑC (on r.). But of the word ΔΧΚΑC I cannot detect the slightest trace, nor can ΘΕΟΔΨΡΟC be regarded as correct, for the first letter of the located is certainly. the legend is certainly M or N. Though the letters are minute and blurred through double-striking the legend may, I think, be fairly read as MANSHA (or MANOVA?) $\Delta \in \mathsf{C} \mathsf{\Pi}$. There is no legend on the right of the obv. except $\Theta \mathsf{V}$.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Bronze I Tyj	Nomisma	
			[MANSHA AECTO THC] [OAFIOC AH MHTPIOC?] The Emperor Manuel (on 1.) and St. Demetrius (on r.) seated facing on throne, holding between them, glo- bus cruciger?; above, TION[IC] ANO NIKI The Emperor wears crown, mantle, and robe, and holds in r. sceptre. St. Deme- trius wears nimbus, robe, and mantle, and holdsin r. sword?	St. Michael, the archangel, winged, standing facing; on I. and r. of head, X ; wears nimbus, short military tunic, and cloak; holds?	
2	38.	Æ 1·15	Concave; pressed flat. [Parkes Weber gift, 1906]	(Double-struck; and the whole coin per- haps re-struck on older types) 1	xxvi. 7
			Tyl	pe 2	
			Inscr. The Emperor Manuel, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. long cross, in l. globus	wears mantle and tunic, and nimbus	

¹ Cp. Sabatier, ii, p. 303, Nos. 3 and 4. Pl. 66. 11 and 12; Photiades, Cat., No. 640; de Sauley in Rev. num., 1842, p. 416, Pl. 20. 1. According to de Sauley (l. c.) the object held by the Emperor and the Saint is 'un édifice surmonté de trois tours', the ΠΟΛΙΟ of Thessalonica. If Sestini's description may be relied on the type was initiated by Manuel's predecessor, Theodore (see under Theodore, note, p. 196, supra).

It may be mentioned that a representation of the Civitas Thessalonicarum occurs on a seal of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat; Schlumberger, Mélanges d'arch., i, p. 57.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			cruciger; wears crown, tunic, sash, and mantle. Border of dots.	limbs of cross; r.hand blessing; l. holds book of Gospels. Border of dots. ¹	
3	46.	Æ 1.05	MANVHΛΔ (rest of inser. obliterated) ••• on sash. Concave.	[Purchased, 1904, 6-4-551]	xxvi. 8
4	54.	Æ 1.15	MAN•VHΛ Δ Π	[de Salis gift] ²	xxvi. 9
			тур	e 3	
			MANSHΛΔεCΠ OA [Δ HMHTPIOC?] The Emperor Manuel (on l.) and St. Demetrius? (on r.) standing facing, holding between them globus cruciger? The Emperor wears crown, tunic, and sash with X, and holds in r. long cross. The Saint wears nimbus, long robe, and mantle, and holds in l. long cross. Borderofdots.	Bust of the Virgin facing, orans; wears nimbus, veil, tunic, and mantle; •• on drapery; in field, MP and [OV]. Border of dots.	
5	30.7 (pierced)	Æ 1.	Concave.		xxvi.

¹ Similar to Photiades, Cat., No. 639, where also another coin is described apparently with rev. St. Michael. Their rough style differentiates our coins from those of the Byzantine Emperor Manuel I, A.D. 1143-1180.

² The identical specimen described and figured by Sabatier, ii, p. 303, No. 2,

Pl. 66. 10.

The style of this coin, especially of its rer., seems more suitable to Manuel than to his namesake the Byzantine Emperor (Manuel I).

Photiades, Cat. (No. 641), further attributes to Manuel a scyphate bronze coin: obv. The Emperor standing crowned by 'un ange' [St. Michael]; rev. The Virgin seated facing. The obv. inscr. is MANSHΛ ΔΕCΤΙ.

JOHN Angelus

Emperor, 1232-1243; ob. 1244. Despot of Thessalonica, 1244.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Æ. Concave nomisma. by Sabatier, ii, p. 306, No.	Size, 1.05 inch. Described 2, Pl. 67. 2.	

This attribution of Sabatier's may be correct; at any rate, the style of the rev. seems not unsuitable to Thessalonica, and the coin does not appear to be of John II Comnenus, the Byzantine Emperor. (John I Angelus, Duke and Sebastocrator of Neopatras, might also perhaps claim the coin.) But the gold nomisma assigned by Sabatier (ii, p. 305, No. 1, Pl. 67. 1) and other numismatists to John Angelus is much better given to John II Comnenus. Again, the small bronze coin (not a nomisma) with rev. Bust of St. Demetrius, assigned by Sabatier (ii, p. 306, No. 3, Pl. 67. 3) to John Angelus is more likely, judging from style and fabric, to be of John II Comnenus.

In addition to the concave bronze nomisma above described (Sabatier, Pl. 67. 2) there is another 'petit bronze concave' described in the Photiades Cat., No. 644, which may perhaps belong to John Angelus:—

Obv. IWANNHC ΔεςΠΟΤΗς L'Empereur debout.

Rev. OACHOC (sic) AHMHTPIOC Saint Démétrius debout.

With regard to Nos. 645 and 646, attributed in the Photiades Cat. to John Angelus, it is difficult to judge.

It may be convenient to state here that the British Museum specimen of the bronze nomisma referred to in B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 613 n. (= Sabatier, ii, p. 244, No. 15, Pl. 59. 16), as having been assigned, perhaps by de Salis, to John Angelus of Thessalonica, is a very curious piece. It seems to be cast and perhaps tooled (so also a specimen in the Windisch-Grätz *Cat.*, No. 337), but if not an ancient coin it no doubt reproduces an ancient original. It was presented to the British Museum by Count de Salis.

I cannot find any decisive reason for attributing it to John Angelus, though the rude style of the rev. (Bust of the Virgin) and the choice of the Saint (apparently Demetrius) might suit the Thessalonica mint. The coin seems to me to read on obv. MI (Michael?) and IMIT (St. Demetrius?). Sabatier thought MI must indicate Michael VIII Palaeologus, A.D. 1261-1282, but the coin does not at all harmonize with the known money of that Emperor.

DEMETRIUS

Despot of Thessalonica, A.D. 1244-1246

No coins bearing his name are known; but see below.

COINAGE OF THESSALONICA?

Under JOHN Angelus (Despot), 1243-1244

DEMETRIUS (Despot), 1244-1246

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Concave; flans o X X 1 A M St. Michael, the archangel, winged, standing facing; wears nim- bus and military dress, and holds in r. trifid sceptre, in l. globus cruciger. Border of dots.		
1	56.	Æ 1·1	[de Salis gift]		xxvii.
2	50.3	Æ 1.05	[de Salis gift]	(Double-struck)	xxvii.
3	38.5	Æ 1.05	[de Salis gift]	(Double-struck)	xxvii.

¹ For APX. MIX. (Cp. B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 597, Nos. 44-7, and p. 595, No. 37.) The letters are seldom completely legible.

No.	Weight		al and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
4	51.4	Æ	1.	[Parkes Weber gift, 1906]		xxvii.
5	51.1	Æ	.95	[de Salis gift]		xxvii. 5
6	44.	Æ	.9	[Northwick coll., 1860]		xxvii.
7	19. (clipped)	Æ	.7	[de Salis gift]		xxvii.
				Museum series of The Count de Salis, who pre the collection. I am ne evidence as to provenan and especially the resenthe reverse of Manuel A Pl. XXVI. 8, 9), render plausible. The coins do not bear but if of Thessalonica have been minted in 1 John Angelus during 1 he had renounced (A. Emperor, under pressur Nicaea, John I ('III') successor the weak whose rule did not extend who was eventually det Emperor. Sabatier, Pl. 58. 7, is class as our Nos. 1–7. it to Isaac II Angelus, ta. D. 1185–1195 (first refabric seem to me to be There is, however, an with similar, but not may fairly be assigned to	end beyond the city and hroned by the Nicaean evidently of the same Sabatier has attributed the Byzantine Emperor, ign), but the style and later than Isaac's time, other bronze nomisma identical, types which	

VI.

COINS OF THE EMPIRE OF NICAEA

A. D. 1204–1261

THEODORE | Lascaris

1204-1222

(crowned, 1206)

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
No.	Weight		Gold Nomisr	na (Scyphate) IC XC Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne without back; wears	Plate
			Above, MP; in field r., OV. Border. A. Size, 1.05 inch. Ip. 172, Pl. VIII. Cf. Sabe	Rollin in Rev. num., 1841, atier, ii, p. 295, Nos. 1, 2, 3, ' (= II). No. 3, according	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			THC, a reading which any case he is in error in streading exists in the Bri	AWPOC ΔΧΚ ΔΕΟΠΟ may be suspected, and in tating that a coin with this itish Museum. Photiades, to be like Sabatier, No. 1,	
			niae), as were other there is reason to the Nicaean Emperors (see find in Rev. num., 1841 1863, p. 459 n.). I fattribution of Rollin, I genitus' is strange, becof the Imperial stock, the married a daughter of this title was, however coins of Theodore's suc. The issue of a gold capparently implied in 1219 between Tiepolo, stantinople, and Theogold or silver coins in	at Brusa (Prusa Bithygold nomismata which ink are issues of the Rollin's account of the policy account of the policy account of the policy are reading and out the title 'Porphyrocause Theodore I was not chough he had, it is true, he Emperor Alexius III. It, inscribed on the gold cessor, John I Vatatzes. Oinage by Theodore I is an agreement made in Venetian podestà at Condore I not to strike any imitation of one another Num. de l'Orient lat.,	
			pp. 275, 276). Rollin (op. cit., p. to Theodore I the O AACKAPIC, which work to Theodore II (se reasons for the attrib	172) further attributes gold nomismata with I have assigned in this ee Pl. XXXL 6, 7). My ution are (i) that it is	
			gold coins two distinct name 'Lascaris' and genitus'; (ii) that if to Theodore I, Theodor yided with a gold coi	re I would use on his legends, viz. the simple the title 'Porphyrothese coins are assigned to II will remain unpromage, unless, indeed, we	
			of the coin which Roll to Theodore II, a read open to doubt; (iii) the and fabric (rather thick John I ('III') Vatatzes to the second and not (iv) as has already Borrell (Num. Chrone coins with O AACKAF	g (ΔVKA O ΛΑCKAPI) lin (p. 174) has assigned ling which seems to me chese coins in their style k) seem to be later than s, i.e. they must belong t to the first Theodore; been pointed out by ., iv, 1841, p. 17), these PIC are much alloyed and aced later than John I	
			('III') Vatatzes, who meres) first consider	(according to Pachy- ably debased the gold at be assigned to John's I, and not to John's pre-	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				ma (Scyphate) Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne with back, above which, IC and XC; he wears nimbus cruciger with •, mantle, and tunic, and holds in l. book of Gospels.	
1	45.2	.R 1·15	Inscr. obliterated, except C O [H. P. Borrell]	Legs of throne with crooked ornament, as on coins of John I Vatatzes (Pl. XXX. 2, 4, 5).	
		A 1.2 (pierced)	[Θ]ΕΟΔШΡΔΕC ΠΟ O In the collection of Profe	essor C. W. Oman, Oxford ²	xxviii. 2
	68.	$\mathbb{R} \stackrel{ extbf{1.3}}{\overset{ ext{(gilt)}}{ ext{}}}$	ΔΕ(Π Τ Φ\ ΘΕΟΔΨΡΟ(; (head of cross varied, with circular ornament)	(Two borders of dots)	xxviii. 3
				Paris. De Foville in Rev. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, p. 571,	

¹ The identical specimen described and figured (obr. only) by Sabatier, ii, p. 297, No. 6, Pl. 65. 7. Cp. Sale Cat. of Consul E. F. Weber coll.; München (Hirsch, No. xxiv), 1909, lot 3342; cp. lot 3343.

² Prof. Oman has kindly permitted the publication of this coin, which furnishes valuable testimony as to the issuer's name. It is possible that the issuer may have been Theodore II of Nicaca, but I rather incline to Theodore I, partly because the St. Theodore type seems especially to belong to him, as shown by his billon and bronze coins. In the obr. inser. P is nearly I, and \in in ΔεC is confused.

³ M. de Foville, l. c., attributed this specimen to Manuel I Commenus (A.D. 1143–1180), relying mainly on a coin of similar type, stated by Sabatier (ii, p. 303, No. 1,

^{1180),} relying mainly on a coin of similar type, stated by Sabatier (ii, p. 303, No. 1, Pl. 66. 9) to be of gold and to read MANOVHA. This 'Manuel' coin, formerly in the

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Billon Nomis [OEOAUPOC on l.; O OEOAUPOS on r.¹]. Theodore I and St. Theodore, both bearded, standing facing, holding patriarchal cross. The Emperor wears crown and long tunic, and holds in r.labarum. St. Theodore wears nimbus and military dress, and holds in l. spear.² Double border.	sma (Scyphate) MF OV The Virgin, holding the infant Christ, seated facing on throne; she wears nimbus, veil, mantle, and tunic; the throne is without back, and is decorated with squares and pellets.	
2	64.6	Billon 1·1	(Traces of inscr. on r.)	Double-struck. [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-470]	xxviii.
3	54.5	Billon 1·1	(Traces of inscr. on I. and r.); double-struck.	Double-struck. [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-448]	xxviii. 5
			Bronze Nomisma (Scyphate)		
		V	Inser. Theodore I and St. Theodore, both bearded, standing facing, holding patriarchal cross. The Emperor wears crown, tunic, and sash, and holds in	Mr OV The Virgin, holding the infant Christ, seated facing on throne; she wears nimbus, veil, mantle, and tunic; the throne is without back, and is decorated with	

Hoffmann collection, is not now forthcoming, and Sabatier's testimony as to the reading of the issuer's name can hardly be accepted without corroboration. Prof. Oman's coin (Pl. XXVIII. 2) renders it almost certain that the name should be read 'Theodore', and

fabric and style point in the direction of Nicaea.

¹ Cf. Revue belge, 1858, p. 275, No. 2, Pl. XV. 12, with ΘΕΟΔ(ω) on l. The types, and no doubt the inscriptions, are as on the bronze nomisma (Nos. 4-11).

² For a seal attributed to Theodore I see Journal international d'arch. num., Athens, 1903, p. 4, and Schlumberger, Mél. d'arch. byz., i, p. 238: Obv. St. Theodore standing with spear and shield. Rev. ΘΕΟΔΨΡΟΝ [ΛΑ]CKAPIN TO[N] [BA]CIΛΕΑ, &c.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			r. labarum. St.Theo- dore wears nimbus and military dress, and holds in l. spear. Double border.	squares and pellets. Double border.	
4	55.3	Æ 1-15	Traces of inser. on r.	[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1106; found in Cyprus ¹]	xxviii.
5	59.5	Æ 1.2	⊕ € Ο Λ Ο ⊕ € Ο Δ ²	[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot1106; found in Cyprus]	xxviii. 7
6	50.5	Æ 1-1	Inscr. nearly oblite- rated.	Double-struck. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot1106; found in Cyprus]	xxviii. 8
7	55.4	Æ 1.05	. OΔWPOC; rest of inscr. obliterated. (Emperor holds in r. cross instead of labarum) (single border)	Type blurred through mis-striking. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot1106; found in Cyprus]	xxviii. 9
8	62.	Æ 1.15	Traces of inser. on r. (cross? instead of la- barum) (single bor- der)	Double-struck. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot1106; found in Cyprus]	
9	50.5	Æ 1·1	Traces of inser. on r.	[de Salis gift]	

¹ Lot 1106, acquired by the British Museum, consisted of 'five extremely fine and patinated varieties of an unpublished type, all concave; found in Cyprus'. In the sale catalogue they are attributed to the rebel 'Emperor' Theodore Mankaphas (A.D. 1189 and later: cp. B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. lxvi). The attribution has nothing much to recommend it, and the seat of the short-lived power of Mankaphas was at Philadelphia. No doubt, however, coins are needed for Mankaphas, and are probably to be found among some of the pieces that it is customary to assign to the Theodores of Nicaea and Thessalonica (cp. also under Theodore Angelus of Thessalonica, bronze coin, Pl. XXVI. 5, p. 196, No. 5, supra).

No. 5, supra).

This, judging from the shape of the flan, is the identical specimen figured by Sabatier, ii, p. 298, No. 12, Pl. 65, 13, who has, however, misread the clear Ο ΦΕΟΔ.... as Ο ΑΓΙΟCΔ.... and described the saint as Demetrius. For another apparent variety

of the legend see Photiades, Cat., No. 637.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
10	70.	Æ 1·15	(On l., O⊕€O∆WP and the figure of St. Theodore upside down; onr., O⊕€O and the figure of St. Theodore: through mis-striking, the figure of the Emperor and the patriarchal cross do not appear) (single border)	striking. [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-569]	
11	64.6 (pierced)	Æ 1.15 (flattened)	ΘΕΟΔΨ POC O Type double-struck, so that each figure appears to hold a patriarchal cross.	mis-striking. [de Salis gift]	xxix. 2

JOHN I ('III')

Ducas Vatatzes

1222—30 Ост. 1254

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				without back; in l., book of Gospels; r. outstretched in bene- diction; wears tunic, mantle, and nimbus	
1	66.6	A/ 1.05	$\overline{\overline{IW}}$ ΔEC \overline{IO}	On seat of throne, r. and l., +. Doublestruck. [C. A. Murray, 1849]	xxix.
2	57.6	A .95	□	On seat of throne, r. and l., + [C. A. Murray, 1849]	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
3	61.8	A 1.05	[1]W	On seat of throne, r. and l., + [C. A. Murray, 1849]	
4	69.5	A 1.1	ιѾ	On seat of throne, r. and l., + [C. A. Murray, 1849]	
5	64.2	A 1.1	T IW II .EC [O?] IIO	On seat of throne, 1. [and r.?], +	xxix.
6	62.	At 1.05 (formerly plated)	[I]W & .EC II 	On seat of throne, r. and l., + [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-27]	
7	65.7	A 1.15	[<u>]</u>	Above seat of throne, r., ••• (••• instead of • in cross) [C. A. Murray, 1849]	xxix. 5
8	71.4	N 1·1	[1]Ψ	Above seat of throne, r., ••• (••• instead of • in cross) [C. A. Murray, 1849]	
9	64.4	A .95	(Legend obscure and blundered) .V	Above seat of throne, r., [•?]•• [Presented by Mr. J. T. Wood (the explorer of Ephesus), 1874]	
10	69.	A 1.05	IW	Above seat of throne, r. and l., •	
11	66.7 (pierced)	N 1.05	(Inscr. obliterated)	Above seat of throne, r. and l., •. Double- struck. [C. A. Murray, 1849]	xxix. 6

No.	Weight	Metal and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
12	70.2	Size N 1-1	[I]W	[C. A. Murray, 1849]	
13	73.3	A 1.1 (flattened)	IW (W blundered) Δες Π Π• Φ ¬ P . Γ (Presse	[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 971]	xxix. 7
14	64.8	A 1.05	[I]W &	Double-struck. [Royal coll.]	
15	67.6	A 1.	[I]W & . EC II II II II II II II	[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 972]	
16	62.1 (pierced	N 1.2	(MI for MP) IW	Double-struck. [Purchased, 1905, 4-8-27]	xxix. 8
17	65.	N ∙95	[I]W &C П Ф (Border obliterated) (On obv., graffito X;	Above seat of throne, on l., Δ , on r., P on rev., graffito $\overline{ }\overline{\mathbb{U}}$)	
18	67.2	N 1-1	[I]W & (Mf blun- ΔEC Π dered) Π • C Φ I F• • C	[Blacas, 1867]	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
19	65.6 (pierced)	A 1. (flattened)	(::: for M̄+ ; V̄ for Θ̄V̄) [IW] [C] [O] [O] [O] [O] [O] [O] [O] [O] [O] [O	[Colonel De Bosset]	
			(Press	ed flat)	
20	69.8	A 1.1	(Θ for M+; ΘVomitted) [1] W T Δ.C Π ΠΟ Φ Τ Ρ	(•• for • in cross) [C. A. Murray, 1849]	
21	46.2 (pierced)	R 1. (gilt)	I₩ & Δ€C Π ΠΟ Φ Τ	(Ancient forgery?) [Royal coll.]	
22	65.9 (pierced)	N 1.05	Inscr. on l., blurred; on r., &	Double-struck. [Purchased, 1904, 6-4-481]	
23	73.3	A' 1.05	$ \begin{array}{ccc} . W & & \begin{bmatrix} T ? \\ \Pi & \\ & \varphi & \\ & \vdots & & \begin{bmatrix} P \end{bmatrix} \\ & & only) \end{array} $	(One border only) [Townshend coll.]	
24	61.9	N 1.05	.W &	Double-struck; above throne, r., • [Parkes Weber gift, 1906]	
			B. M. C., Imperial Byz Nos. 20-40), where the Constantinopolitan E- nenus, a.d. 1118-1143 in favour of that attril on them of the epithe epithet which is found of John II (such as B. Pl. LXVII. 11), and the least from literature— any other emperor nar In spite, however, of now convinced by th (Revue numismatique, and H. P. Borrell (Num that, on grounds of	eady been described in cantine Coins (pp. 557 ff., ey are attributed to the mperor John II Common argument bution was the presence to Porphyrogenitus', and the indisputable coins M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, which is not known—at-to have been borne by ned John. This consideration, I ame arguments of Rollin 1841, vol. vi, pp. 173 f.) in. Chron., iv, 1841, p.18) style, fabric, and prolong to John I Vatatzes	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
	W Cagnib	Size	(i) The most convince of the attribution of the attribution of the obtained by comparing nomismata of Theodore G-7), which last-named really of Theodore II case, of Theodore II case, of Theodore II at the issues of a Nicaean the surname O AACKA (ii) Although in typance (especially the sea Nos. 1-24 bear not a light gold nomismata of Jol on a minute examinat ferences in several det of style, the coins of are of more careful we then Nicaean. The coin a difference of alloy with the Nicaean. The coin a difference of alloy with the Nicaean. The coin a difference of alloy with the Nicaean. The coin a difference of alloy with the Nicaean of John II are yellow on (iii) A hoard of nediscovered near Smyr. H. P. Borrell (Num. Coonsisted almost entire (like our Nos. 1-24) mindore II of Nicaea and Palaeologus, the lates Now, the coins of Theodocover (approximately) 1282, and (as Mr. Borrelit is highly probable thoard is the predecessor John I Vatatzes (A. D. 15 Emperor John II Composition of the finding of a coin resident in the predecessor John I Vatatzes (A. D. 15 Emperor John II Composition of the finding of a coin resident in the finding of a coin resid	cing evidence in favour Nos. 1-24 to John I is a them with the gold II of Nicaea (Pl. XXXI. coins (whether they are or, as is possibly the re beyond all question Emperor, for they bear APIC. De and general appearated Christ of the rev.) tale resemblance to the an II, it will be found ion that there are diffials, and that, in point John II the Byzantine or kmanship and design here transfer to John I are of a brownish hue of copper), while those corange. arly 1000 gold coins, and described by thron., iv, 1841, p. 18), ely of coins of 'John' and with a few of Theoa few of Michael VIII the period A. D. 1254-1 has already observed) that the 'John' of this of Theodore II, namely 222-1254), and not the tenus who had reigned a 1118-1143. A less hence from provenance esembling our Nos. 1-24	Plate
			at Brusa in Bithynia, with other gold coins of Rev. num., 1841, vi, pp. (iv) The transference John II to John I of relieving the former of abundant coinage in gethe latter with a currence are good historica	together (apparently) Nicaean emperors (see 172 f.). of our Nos. 1–24 from fers the advantage of of a somewhat supergold and of providing tency in a metal that	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			(v) The arguments iii, iv) seem to me than any that can be to 'Porphyrogenitus'. Juright to such a title, of the preceding empewhom he was only commarried his daughter In Théodore II Lascaris, inconceivable that Jo assertor, against foreighthe claims of the anca title as Porphyrogenito suppose that it had by Theodore I (see the Theodore I, supra, p. tensions of John are, the inscription of a se Schlumberger (Sigillog be assigned to him to Neopatras: CΦPAΓIC TO ΔΟΚΑ PIZAN FE BACIΛEUN. It may perhaps be gold coins assigned to B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coiother specimens which claim to be transferrethese are Nos. 3, 4, 7, 8, after careful considerations.	the rest being alloy. Cp. p. 214 (ii), supra. (v) The arguments above suggested (i, ii, iii, iv) seem to me to be much weightier than any that can be based on the inscription 'Porphyrogenitus'. John I had, indeed, no right to such a title, for he was not the son of the preceding emperor (Theodore I), with whom he was only connected through having married his daughter Irene (cp. Pappadopoulos, Théodore II Lascaris, p. 4). Yet it is not inconceivable that John, in his position of assertor, against foreign and other rivals, of the claims of the ancient empire, took such a title as Porphyrogenitus, and there is reason to suppose that it had already been assumed by Theodore I (see the gold coin assigned to Theodore I, supra, p. 204). The high pretensions of John are, moreover, apparent in the inscription of a seal which, according to Schlumberger (Sigillogr., pp. 428, 429), should be assigned to him rather than to John I of Neopatras: CΦPAΓIC CEBACTOV IWANN& T& ΔΧΚΑ PIZAN ΓΕΝΟΥC EXONTOC EK	
				sma (scyphate) pe 1	
				Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne with back; in l., book of Gospels; wears tunic, mantle, and nimbus cruciger, with • in limbs of cross; above, IC and XC. Linear border.	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			in r., plain cross. The Saint is bearded, and wears nimbus, crown, tunic, and sash, the two latter being richly ornamented, but varying from the dress of the Emperor; he holds in l. sword in sheath (?). Linear border.	·	
25	41.6	Æ 1.4	IWΔε[C]ΠΟΤ[H?] (on l.) Ο/ΚШΤΛΝ TIN (on r.)	[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1035 ¹]	xxx.1
			\mathbf{Typ}	e 2	
			Inscr. John I (on l.), bearded, and the Christ of Chalce, bearded (on r.), standing facing. The Emperor wears crown, tunic, mantle, and sash with stellate ornament, and holds in r. labarum, in l. globus cruciger. Christ wears nimbus cruciger (with • in cross), mantle, and tunic, and with r. hand crowns the Emperor, holding in l. hand book of Gospels. Double linear border.	The Virgin, seated facing on throne with back, holding infant Christ; she wears nimbus, veil, tunic, and mantle, with •• ornament; above, MP and ΘV ; legs of throne with crooked ornament. Linear border. ²	
26	50.7	Æ 1.3	ΙΨΔ[εςΠΟΤΗ?]ς ις Χ [ΧΑΛ]ΚΙΤΗς	[Purchased, 1904, 4-3-28]	xxx.2

¹ This coin (like Nos. 26-9, infra) is of spread, thin fabric, and somewhat resembles a large bracteate (No. I of Theodore I, supra, has a very similar fabric). It is the identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 296, No. 5, Pl. 65. 6, who has entirely misread the legend as ΘΕΟΔΨ.....Ο ΑΓΙΟΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙ and assigned the coin

to Theodore 'III' (= II) of Nicaea.

St. Constantine is also represented on the coins of Alexius III (A.D. 1195-1203) standing beside the Emperor: see B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, pp. 599-604.

Nos. 26-9 have the same bracteate-like appearance as No. 25. As to the Christ of Chalce see Dumont in *Rev. num.*, 1867, p. 199, &c.; Schlumberger, *L'Épop. byz.*, i, pp. 80,

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate		
27	48.8	Æ 1.3	IWΔεςΠΟΤΙ IC X (rest obliterated)	[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1032]	xxx. 3		
28	49.1 (chipped)	Æ 1.3	ιωΔεςποτηι ίς Χο [ο ?]ΧΛΛΚΙΤΙς	[H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1029]	xxx.4		
29	47.3 (chipped)	Æ 1·25	ιψοτι ις ΧΟ ΧΛΛΚΙΤΙς	[de Salis gift] ¹	xxx.5		
			Bronze Nomis	sma (scyphate)			
			Tyl	Type 1			
			Inscr. John I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum, in l. sword in sheath; wears crown, mantle, tunic, and sash with stellate ornament. Double linear border.	Inser. Christ of Chalce, bearded, standing facing, holding in 1. book of Gospels; wears nimbus cruciger (with • in cross), tunic, and mantle. Linear border.			
30	46.4	Æ 1·2	[Ι]Ѿ Ο [Δε]ς δ [Π [?]] ΚΛ	X KI [A]A TH; above, [IC] and XC [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1109] ²	xxx.6		

83; cp. B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, pp. 545 n., 599, 600. Dumont (op. cit., p. 195; cp. Photiades, Cat., No. 676) has suggested that a silver scyphate coin in the Photiades collecrhottades, Cat., No. 046) has suggested that a silver scyphate coin in the Phottades collection with obv. the Christ of Chalce, IC XC O XAAKHTHC, rev. the Virgin standing, belongs to the reign of John 'III' (= I) Vatatzes (cp. the rev. of No. 29, infra (Christ of Chalce). The attribution seems probable, but no issuer's name appears upon the coin. With the type of the Virgin on Nos. 26-9 compare coins of Isaac II, B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, Pl. LXXI. 17.

1 The coin in Sabatier, ii, p. 198, No. 8, Pl. 53. 18, of the same type as our Nos. 26-9, has evidently been misread and wrongly attributed to the Emperor John II Company.

² This is the identical specimen published by Sabatier, Pl. 64. 10, ii, p. 293, No. 4, but he has misread Ο ΔΣΚΑC as Ο ΔΕΟΠΌΤΗC and not deciphered the rev. inser. On the Christ of Chalce see p. 216 n., supra.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
31	61.2	Æ 1·2	Inscr. John I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. laba-	A PI ΔH M Z I St. Demetrius, wearing nimbus and military dress, standing facing; holds in r. spear; l. rests on kite-shaped shield. Linear border. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1111]	xxx. 7
			rum, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic, and mantle. Border of dots.	dots.	
32	29.3	Æ .75		[de Salis gift]	xxx.8
33	32.5	Æ ·85	ω ο Δ 8	[de Salis gift]	xxxi.

¹ The identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii. p. 298, No. 10, Pl. 65. 11 (cp. Photiades, Cat., No. 633b), who has strangely read the obv. legend as ΘΕΟΔΟΡ ΔΕCΠ and assigned the column to Theodore 'III' (- II) of Nicaea

and assigned the coin to Theodore 'III' (= II) of Nicaea.

² Contrast the seraph-head on coins of Andronicus II and Michael IX; B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, p. 623, No. 32, Pl. LXXV. 10. The specimen described by Rauch and Friedlaender (in Koehne's Zeitschrift für Münz, Siegel- und Wappenkunde (Berlin), ii, 1842, p. 203, Pl. VI. 17 = de Saulcy in Rev. num., 1842, p. 416, Pl. XIX. 8) as having on the rev. a vine-leaf or a shield is really of the seraph-type.

No.	Weight		al and ize		Obverse	Reverse	Plate
34	27.9	Æ	.65	••	Ο Δ 8	[de Salis gift]	
35	27.5	Æ	.75	<u>ω</u> ες πο ΤΙ	0	[de Salis gift]	
					Тур	e 2	
				ho ru sh ma	r. John I, beard, standing facing, lding in r. labam, in l. sword in eath; wears crown, antle, tunic, and sh. Border of dots.	George, beardless, facing; hair curly; wears nimbus, cuirass, and cloak, and holds in r. spear, in l. shield. Border of dots.	
36	33.2	Æ	.8	.₩ .€	ΟΔ8 Κ Α \$	[Northwick sale, 1860]	xxxi. 2
37	49.8	Æ	.75	ιѾ Δ€0 ΠΟ Η	O & &	[Purchased, 1904, 5-11-471]	xxxi. 3
38	34.4	Æ	.85	ω Δ€ ΠΟ Τ Η	Ο Δ & Κ Α	[de Salis gift]	xxxi.
39	30.3	Æ	.65	.₩ Δ€ ΠΟ	Ο Δ Κ Α C	(A for A) [de Salis gift]	xxxi. 5

¹ With this type of St. George on coins cp. B. M. C., *Imp. Byz. Coins*, p. 587, Nos. 19, 20; p. 606, No. 43.

^{20;} p. 606, No. 43.
To types 1 and 2 of the bronze coinage should be added the following: Obv. IW Δες
O ΔδΚΑς. The Emperor standing. Rev. Four interlaced bands. Thomsen, Cat., No. 836; Sabatier, Pl. 64. 11 and 12; de Sauley in Rev. num., 1842, p. 416, Pl. XIX. 7.

THEODORE II Ducas Lascaris

1254—Aug. 1258

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate		
				na (scyphate) IC XC Christ, bearded, seated facing on throne without back; wears nimbus, mantle, and tunic, and holds in 1. book of Gospels; r. hand in benediction. Linear border.			
1	66.3	N 1.	Θ€ ΠΟ ΟΔΨ Ής ΡΟς ΟΛ. Δ€ [K] (P]	Above throne, on r., λ [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 968]	xxxi.		
2	65.8	A 1.05	Θ€ Π. . ΔW H. C OΛ. . € K	Above throne, on r., λ [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 970]	xxxi.		
			Nos. 1 and 2 are from a hoard discovered hear Smyrna (Borrell in Num. Chron., iv, 1841, p. 18). It is somewhat strange that Theodore II abandons the title Porphyrogenitus borne on the gold coins of his father and predecessor John I Vatatzes, and on this account it might be thought that the gold coin assigned, supra,				

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate	
			Porphyrogenitus, would be best attributed to Theodore II. On the whole, however, for the reasons stated supra, p. 205, the attribution of our gold coins (Nos. 1 and 2) with O ΛΑCKA PIC to Theodore II seems preferable; and the gold coins with Porphyrogenitus are thus left to Theodore I. No. I is the identical specimen published by Sabatier, ii, p. 296, No. 3, Pl. 65. 4, who has wrongly read ΔεC as ΔεK and omitted O Λ, &c., on the obv. The A above the throne on the rev. of Nos. 1 and 2 has by some been regarded as a monogram of ΛΑ (Lascaris) but it is much simpler to consider it a form of the letter A. Similar letters are found above the throne of the Saviour on Nicaean coins, as follows:—Γ Γ on gold of Theodore I, supra, p. 204; A A (or Δ Δ?) on a gold coin of Theodore II (Rev. num., 1841, Pl. IX. 1); Γ P on a silver coin attributed to Theodore II (infra, No. 4, rev. Virgin enthroned); cp. IC λK on a silver coin assigned to Theodore Angelus of Thessalonica, supra, p. 193, No. 1. These may, of course, be moneyers' marks denoting different issues, but the view of Svoronos (Journal internat. d'arch. num., ii, 1899, p. 387) is perhaps to be preferred, viz. that such letters are descriptive of the enthroned figure (Christ or the Virgin). Thus, IC XC A A is explained as 'Ίησοῦς Χριστὸς "Αρχων 'Αρχόντων; A as ἄγιος, &c.			
			Silver Nomis	sma (scyphate)		
			Ty	pe 1		
			Inscr. Theodore II, bearded, on l., and Christ, bearded, on r., standing facing. Christ wears nimbus cruciger (with •), tunic, and mantle, and with r. crowns the Emperor; in l., book of Gospels; above, IC; on r., XC. The Emperor wears crown, mantle, tunic, and sash with			

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			stellate ornament, and holds in r. long sword, in l. roll or short staff. Border of dots.		
3	42.3 (pierced)	$rac{A\!\!\cdot\! 1}{(gilt)}$	ΘΕΟΔϢΡΟ ΔδΚΑΟ [de Salis gift]	Two lis on back of throne (MP OV) (no border) ¹	xxxi. 8
4	49.2	At 1.15	C ΔԾΚΑC [Purchased, 1905, 4-8-22]	(Back of throne varied, and instead of the lis, Γ and P) ²	xxxi. 9
			$\mathbf{T}_{\mathbf{y}\mathbf{p}}$	e 2	
			Similar to the bronze nomisma No. 5, infra: see Moustier, Cat., No. 4168; Photiades, Cat., No. 630.		
			Bronze Nomisma (scyphate)		
			Type 1		
			Inscr. Theodore II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, mantle, and tunic; above, r., manus Dei crowning Emperor.	Inser. St. Tryphon, wearing nimbus, tunic, and mantle, standing facing; in r., patriarchal cross; in field, l. and r., lis.	
5	63.6	Æ 1·15	Θ€ Δ8 ΟΔΨ ΚΑC C ΟΛ . CK . P . C	(A) (TP in mon.] V [de Salis gift] ³	xxxi. 10
			Presse	ed flat.	

¹ The identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 297, No. 8, Pl. 65. 9. The Emperor holds a long sword, and not, as Sabatier states, a cross or labarum. The lis (which occurs also on No. 5, infra, has been regarded as an emblem of the Lascaris family (Sathas in Rev. archéol. 1877, Pt. 1, p. 99), but it appears not infrequently on Byzantine and mediaeval coins (see Longpérier, Œuvres, vi. 26 = Rev. num. 1869-70,

Pp. 270 f.).

This coin was acquired by the Museum in 1905, from MM. Rollin and Feuardent, and is probably the identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 175, No. 4, Pl. 51.5, as belonging to them. Sabatier attributed it to Michael VII Ducas. With Γ P compare remarks on Nos. 1 and 2, supm.

3 The identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 298, No. 13, Pl. 66. 1 = Revue

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse Reverse		Plate	
			Inscr. Theodore II, bearded, on l., and the Virgin, on r., standing facing. The Emperor wears crown, mantle, tunic, and sash with stellate ornament, and holds in r. long cross, in l. globus cruciger. The Virgin wears nimbus, veil, mantle, and tunic (*o* on drapery), and with r. hand crowns the Emperor; l. hand in benediction. Border.	Inser. Christ seated (or standing?) fac-		
6	69.	Æ 1.15		B B and traces of two other letters. [de Salis gift] -struck on rev., and ack?	xxxi.	

belge, 1859, p. 319. St. Tryphon, who is also represented on the bronze nomisma of Michael VIII, described infra, was martyred at Nicaea, and honoured as its patron. Theodore II built a church at Nicaea dedicated to this saint, and wrote an eulogium of him. With the lis cp. the rev. of No. 3, supra. The lis occurs as the rev. type of a bronze coin (of Theodore II?) with the name 'Theodore', attributed in Rev. num., 1865, p. 291, Pl. XII. 5, to Theodore Angelus of Thessalonica. Sabatier, Pl. 67. 10, 'Trebizond,' is clearly misdrawn, and evidently represents on the rev. St. Tryphon; the coin (as already suggested in Journ. int. d'arch. num., ii, p. 224, by C. M. Constantopoulos) is doubtless not of Trebizond, but of Nicaea (Theodore II or John I?).

¹ Evidently the same specimen as Sabatier, ii, p. 302, No. 2, Pl. 66. 8 = Sabatier in Revue belge, 1859, p. 320, though the rev. type is unaccountably described as a 'croix grecque'. Sabatier has assigned the coin to Theodore Angelus of Thessalonica, but the name O AACKAPIC (not recognized by Sabatier on the coin) proves that the specimen belongs to one of the Nicaean Theodores, and probably to Theodore II, as a comparison of the obv. with the obv. of the gold nomisma of Theodore II (Pl. XXXI. 6) suggests (cp. also the obv. of the bronze nomisma of Michael VIII described infra). On the BB see Svoronos in *Journ. int. d'arch. num.*, ii, pp. 381 f., 386; Sathas in *Rev. archéol.*, 1877, Pt. 1, pp. 92 f. Cp. Hasluck, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Athens*, xv (1908-9), p. 265.

JOHN II ('IV') Lascaris

а.д. 1258-1259

No coins known.

MICHAEL VIII Palaeologus

Jan. 1260 1-Aug. 1261 (at Nicaea)

(15 Aug. 1261-11 Dec. 1282, at Constantinople)

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
No.	Weight		Gold Nomisma The extant gold coins bearing the name of Michael are of two types: i. with rev. View of Constantinople (B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, Pl. LXXIV. 1); ii. with rev. Virgin enthroned (ib. Pl. LXXIV. 3). Of these, No. i was obviously struck in Constantinople; No. ii has some claims to be regarded as belonging to the Nicaean coinage of Michael, but until convincing evidence from finds is forthcoming it seems best to regard it as another type of the Constantinopolitan coinage of Michael: see B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, p. 610, note 1. With regard to the specimens described in the British Museum Catalogue, Nos. 1–5 are un-		Plate
			British Museum Catald doubtedly of Constan nomisma, No. 6 (rev. assigned to Nicaea, it	ogue, Nos. 1-5 are untinople. If the gold Virgin enthroned), be would seem that the s. 7-12, should also be	

¹ As to this date see Bury, ed. Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. vi, p. 439.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Ob	verse	Reverse		Plate
			X M	Bronze i OΠ ΛΛ € O	Nomisma A	φ W	
			l., and tr., stan Michael mantle, twith stell and hold cross, in The Virg bus, veil tunic, an crowns l. in Above	C II, bearded, on he Virgin, on ding facing. wears crown, unic, and sash late ornament, is in r. long l. roll or staff. in wears nim, mantle, and d with r. hand Michael; her	St. Tryphon, facing, wear and mantle r. short cross	standing ing nimbus; holds in	
			schrift für I Theodore II of the obv. on his Con	<i>Num.</i> , ix, 1882, I, No. 5, p. 222, legend is corre	shed by P. Lambers, 19, 44. (With some supra.) If the set, the title despendence, is considered.	description potes, found	

VII.

COINS OF THE DESPOTS OF EPIRUS

MICHAEL | Angelus Comnenus Ducas

а. д. 1205-1214

Nomisma

Obv. X A ΔΗ Michael I and St. Demetrius standing facing, holding between them a nimbate cross.

Rev. X St. Michael standing facing.

Æ Concave.

Schlumberger, Num. de l'Or. lat., p. 373. Cp. Pl. XIII. 21. Berlin Museum, &c. Cp. Sabatier, Pl. 59. 10 and 11 (incorrectly engraved, and attributed to the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus).

A specimen of the coin has been found in Epirus: see W. Miller, Latins

in the Levant, p. 80 and references there.

Another concave nomisma is attributed by P. Lambros and Schlumberger to Michael I (or Michael II), and is thus described by Schlumberger:—

Obv. St. Michael standing holding a castle with three towers (the Castle of Arta?).

Rev. O AF XMHA Bust of the despot Michael. Schlumberger, Num. de l'Or. lat., p. 373. (Bronze or Billon.)

This coin is also described by Sabatier, ii, p. 242, No. 10, Pl. 59. 12, who, however, attributes it to the Emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus, a less probable attribution. Sabatier reads on the obv. MX, and describes the rev. type not as the despot Michael, but as the Archangel Michael, and this description would seem, from the accompanying legend, to be more probable than Schlumberger's. But the coin does not, at present, appear to be quite satisfactorily figured and described.

As to the coinage of later Despots of Epirus see 'Introduction', supra, & vii.

VIII.

COINS OF THE DUCHY OF NEOPATRAS

(Great Vlakia)

JOHN I Angelus Comnenus, Duke and Sebastocrator

A. D. 1271-1296

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Bronze Nomis OT HC John l, standing facing, crowned by manus Dei (on r.); wears crown, robe, and mantle; holds in r. labarum, in l. volumen; in field l., angel's wing? Double border.	sma (scyphate) MP OY Bust of the Virgin facing; wears nimbus, veil, tunic, and mantle; in field, l. and r., small cross. Border.	
1	44.3	Æ 1·1		[de Salis gift¹]	xxxi. 12

¹ The attribution is that of P. Lambros (Rev. num., 1869-1870, p. 188, No. 2), who published a similar nomisma in the Athens Museum. If the object in the field of the obv. is, as Lambros explains it, an angel's wing, it is no doubt a symbol of John Angelus. Lambros thinks that on grounds of style the coin is more likely to belong to this John Angelus than to John Angelus the Despot of Thessalonica. I do not feel quite the same certainty, but the attribution (accepted also by Schlumberger, Num. de l'Orient lat., p. 381) may be adopted. The appearance of the symbol or signet of Angelus seems like a new departure, such as might be made by the first duke and founder of Neopatras, but which is less likely to have been due to John Angelus of Thessalonica because he was not the founder but only the third ruler of that empire, and his predecessors, though also Angeli, made no use of any such symbol.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			John I, seated facing on throne, crowned by manus Dei (on r.); wears crown, robe, and mantle; in r., cruciform sceptre; in l., volumen; in field l., angel's wing? Double or triple border.	A M Bust of St. Miehael, facing; wears nimbus and robe; holding in r. sword, in l. globus cruciger. Border.	
			National Museum. Descri	a. Size, 1·1 inch. Athens bed, Rev. num., 1869-1870, Lambros) = Schlumberger, 11, Pl. XIII. 22.	

¹ The seal of 'John Ducas', assigned by P. Lambros (loc. cit., p. 188) to this John I Angelus, is thought by Schlumberger (Sigil., p. 429) to appertain rather to John I ('III') Ducas Vatatzes, the Emperor of Nicaea. In the rer. inscription the owner of the seal proclaims himself as PIZAN FENOVC €XONTOC €K BACIΛ€WN. Cp. p. 215, supra.

CONSTANTINE Angelus

а. р. 1296-1303

No coins known.

JOHN II Angelus Comnenus

а. р. 1303-1318

Struck deniers tournois of the French type (obv. Châtel tournois: rev. Cross) with inser. Angelys sab. c. (i.e. Sebastocrator, Commenus) neopatrie or dela patria. Some with dvx angelys. See Schlumberger, Num. de l'Or. lat., pp. 382, 383; Lambros, Rev. num., 1869-1870, pp. 191 f.

IX.

COINS OF THE EMPIRE OF TREBIZOND

A. D. 1204-1461

ALEXIUS I Comnenus

1204-1222

Although it is not impossible that Alexius I struck coins, none have hitherto been identified. It may be conjectured that they would be Byzantine in style and fabric, like the silver nomismata attributed to Manuel I, Emperor of Trebizond (Pl. XXXII. 6-10).

The characteristic 'Asper' coinage of Trebizond did not apparently arise till the reign of John I Axuchos (see p. 232), and the aspers that bear the name 'Alexius' must be attributed to Alexius II, III, and IV, because they are of the 'equestrian' type which evidently did not prevail on the coins till comparatively late in the history of Trebizond.

Sabatier (ii, p. 309, No. 1, Pl. 67. 4) attributes to Alexius I a large bronze concave nomisma:—

Obv. Emperor and St. Eugenius holding patriarchal cross; on l., O ∈V Γ∈ NI OC; on r., star.

Rev. St. Eugenius standing facing; on l., E V FE NI O C.

Sabatier does not state from whence this description is derived (Moustier, Cat., p. 287, No. 4171, would appear to be a similar coin, but uninscribed?), and some inaccuracy may be suspected in his description. Thus, the name of the Saint occurs on both sides of the coin, and the name of the Emperor is omitted. Also it is strange that a representation of the Saint should appear both on obv. and rev. One would rather suppose that the rev. type is the Saviour. Even if the coin is of Trebizond, its attribution to Alexius I is entirely conjectural. (See also Introduction, supra, § 9, 'Alexius I.')

The bronze coin covered with inscriptions both on obv. and rev., attributed by Sabatier (ii, p. 310, No. 2, Pl. 67. 5) to Alexius I, is really a coin of Gabalas of Rhodes, and is similar to a specimen figured in *Journal int.* d'arch. num., ii, p. 389, No. 31.

ANDRONICUS I Gidos

A. D. 1222-1235

No coins have been identified as struck by this Emperor, and this fact, coupled with the absence of coins of Alexius I, tends to induce a belief that the Trebizond coinage did not come into existence till after the death of Alexius I and Andronicus I.

JOHN I Axuchos

A. D. 1235-1238

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Inser. John I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. long cross (with crescent-shaped object below the cruciform top), in l. roll; wears crown, tunic, and mantle with one end falling over l. arm (on tunic and mantle); in field r., manus Dei in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots.	Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe; wears nimbus and robe fastened by	
1	43.7	Æ ∙9	(Pell O	O	xxxii. 1

¹ The attribution was proposed by Pfaffenhoffen. As compared with the silver coins of John II (Pl. XXXV, &c.) these have the name of John written at full length and not abbreviated, and the emperor holds a long cross instead of a labarum with a short shaft. The vertical line in the descriptions of obv. and rev. represents, approximately, the position of the type as it appears on the coins.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
2	43.1	Æ .95	(pellets for X on bottom of tunic; long sceptre with lis head instead of cross)	[O € ∨ Γ € ΓΙ NI O O O [de Salis, 1862]	
3	43.6	Æ .9	U O K H N O K NH C NH ON tunic)	III D Dannall cale	xxxii.
4	44.6	A ·95	1.1	pellets) O	
5	44.3	Æ ∙95	(**, N, and W	O C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C	xxxii. 3

No	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
.NU.				Ο €	
6	43.4	AR .9	W K K K K K K K K K K K K K K K K K K K	O A V I FE O N I I Sattached to the shaft of the long cross) [de Salis, 1862]	
			(N and	pellets)	
7	43.9	Æ ·85	3	. O [6	xxxii.
8	44.9	Æ .95	tached to the shaft of the long cross)	tached to the shaft	
9	43.5	AR -9	I W O K H C N N (the second N is attached to the right side of the shaft of the long cross)	shaft of the long	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
10	44.5	Æ .95	I U O NI K H N N (the second N is attached to the shaft of the long cross)	O F V F E O N I (the N on l. is attached to the shaft of the long cross) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-34]	xxxii. 5
			not been identified. The coin in Sabatier, (= our Plate XXXVII. John I, is better (on acc form of the Emperor's n and the globus crucige see infra under bronze The coin in Sabatie Pl. 67. 10, also assigned	any, of this reign have ii, p. 312, No. 4, Pl. 67. 9 17), assigned by him to count of the abbreviated ame, the short labarum, r) assigned to John II: of John II. er, ii, p. 312, No. 5, ed by him to John I, is Nicaean Empire with	

MANUEL I

A. D. 1238-1263

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	e	Reverse	Plate
			Inser. Manuel ed, standing holding is barum (on pellets), in wears crown and mantle end falling arm (on to mantle, X) r., manus sleeve crown	I, beard- g facing, n r. la- which, l. roll; n, tunic, with one over l. nic and ; in field Dei in	ma (scyphate) ¹ The Virgin (Panagia Chrysoke-phalos?) wearing nimbus, veil, mantle, and tunic, seated facing on throne with back, holding infant Christ.	
1	47.8	A 1.1 (gilt)	м н н ж	0 K N	On back of throne, • and • [de Salis, 1862]	xxxii.
2	45.	A 1.1	м и н х	О К М И	On back of throne, pellets. [Baron Marochetti, 1860]	xxxii.

¹ These nomismata are doubtless rightly assigned by Sabatier to Manuel I of Trebizond. The reverse type and fabric may be compared with the nomismata of contemporary Nicaean emperors (Pl. XXIX-XXXI), but usually the execution is very careless. This coinage of silver nomismata was probably experimental, and was soon completely superseded by the silver aspers.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
3	45.7	Æ 1·1	M κ N : H (λ?) (N)	On back of throne, pellets (on r., ••) [de Salis, 1862]	xxxii. 8
4	41.4	Æ 1:1	Μ Κ Ν Η (λ?) (Ν?)	On back of throne, pellets (on r., •••) [de Salis, 1862]	
5	41.6	At 1.05	? O K (H)	On back of throne, ••• and •• [de Salis, 1862]	xxxii. 9
6	43.6	At 1.1	(Inscr. nearly obliterated)	On back of throne, pellets. [de Salis, 1862]	
7	41.8	AR 1.1	(Traces of inser.; on l., H; on r., K, &c.)	(O) [H.P. Borrellsale, 1852, lot 1038]	xxxii. 10
			Asp	pers	
			(let	ters)	
			(lett	er, B)	
	•		Inser. Manuel I, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum, in l. roll; wears crown, tunic, and mantle with one end falling over l. arm (on tunic and mantle, X); in field r., manus Dei in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots.	Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe; wears nimbus, and robe fastened by brooch. Border of dots.	
8	44.7	Æ •9	H [O] ? K N A B (pellets instead of ※ on bottom of tunic)	O FV	xxxii. 11

					
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
9	43.	At .85	H O O K K A B O Tunic)	O	
10	38.7	Æ ·8	₩ В О К	O	xxxii. 12
				K both on obv. and rev. Komn., p. 28)	
11	44.6	Æ ·9	H ON K K H (two pellets on shaft of labarum)	$ \begin{array}{c c c} O & & \varepsilon[V] \\ K & & \Gamma \varepsilon \\ \Gamma I & \bullet & NI \\ J & & J \\ \hline \text{(two pellets on shaft of cross)} \\ & \text{[de Salis, 1862]} \\ \end{array} $	xxxii 13
12	44.3	Æ .9	H ON K K [1?] N W H (two pellets on shaft of labarum)	O A FE NI (two pellets on shaft of cross) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-41]	
13	44.4	Æ ·85	H O K H N V I N V	O EV FE FI N. N. O Purchased, 1908, 5-6-17]	
14	39.4	Æ -85	H O K H : (two pellets on shaft of labarum)	O [V] A . [V] FE NI O (pellets on cross) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1039]	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
15	45.5	.R ·85	• Н О К Н	O & & C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C	xxxiii.
16	40.9	Æ ·85	N K K	O € F F N O [de Salis, 1862]	
17	40.9	Æ •9	H O N K H H N N (two pellets on shaft of labarum)	O A FE NI O (two pellets on shaft of cross) [de Salis, 1862]	xxxiii. 2
18	45.5	Æ ∙9	H O K K H H (+ on shaft of labarum)	O Cross bar on shaft of cross) [H. P. Borrellsale, 1852, lot 1041]	
19.	34.3	Æ .85	H.O.N.K.K.K.C.M. [H] (two pellets on shaft of labarum)	O EV A FE FI NI	ð
20	43.6	.R ·85	H O K K I A H	O EV FE NI O O [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-39]	

				1	
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
21	45.	At .85	• O K H	O EV FE NI O H. P. Borrellsale, 1852, lot 1040]	
22	45.5	AR ∙85	И К К [1] Л	O	xxxiii 3
23	43.2	Æ ·85	+ O K N	O	
			(letters,	K and A)	
24	43.5	Æ ·9		O E[V] FE NI O O [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1040]	
			Pfaffenhoffen, p. 82 certain specimens as	ter \wedge) 2, Pl. VI. 56-9, describes bearing the letter \wedge on that this is not a mint-	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
25	44.	Æ ·85	н	O EV FE NI O O O O O O O O O	
26	43.5	Æ ·85	H N N O K N	O • 6V FE NI O [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-48]	xxxiii. 4
27	44.1	AR .9	н N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N	O	
28	44.5	.R ·9	H O [N 7 K N N	O	

¹ This seems to be a letter—though its position on the coin is unusual—and is no doubt **z** and not, as Pfaffenhoffen (p. 82) declares, **z**: cp. the plates of letters in Pfaffenhoffen, Pl. XIV, XVI, XVII.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
29	43.6	At ∙85	(Letter H O N K A D H	(?),)') O EV A FE FI O O [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1040]	xxxiii. 5
30	43.2	Æ ·85	(Letter(?), X on H	shaft of labarum) O F[V] A F FI NI O [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1041]	
31	44.5	R ⋅8	У	O	
32	43.5	AR .9	H X 0 K H	O	xxxiii.
33	43.8	R .9	H X	O EV A FE FI NI O O [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043]	

¹ Two specimens with this letter (apparently C reversed) are described by Pfaffenhoffen, p. 82, Pl. VI. 60. See further Retowski, Komn., pp. 34 f.

					1
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
34	44.6	Æ •9	H N X H N	O	
35	39.5	Æ ·85	HX K N N (Perhaps Georgian: see Retowski, Komn., pp. 20, 64)	O € A Γ Γ € O [N] (reverse type rude) [de Salis, 1862]	xxxiii.
			• 0		
			(Pe	llets)	
			(1 pellet	t on obv.)	
36	39.6	Æ ·85	H O K H N W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W W	O	xxxiii. 8
37	45.3	Æ .95	H N • O K [1?]\[H N (the pellet is on the shaft of the labarum)	O EV FE FE FI FE FE FE FE FE	
38	43.8	Æ ·85	• Н N О К N	• 6 O V A F 6 FI NI O O [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043]	
39	39-8	Æ ·9	H O K A • [H] (also + with pellets on the shaft of the labarum)		

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
40	41.9	- AR →95	E Z - C E Z	on obv.) O EV A FE FI O O (cross bar on shaft of the cross) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043]	
41	43.8	AR -85	т N H .	[O	
42	43.3	Æ •9	H O K K I A N (attached to base of shaft of labarum)	O • •• F[V] A F € FI N O N [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043]	xxxiii. 9
43	28.8	AR .85	the pellets are on the shaft of the labarum)	A FE N[1?] (the pellets are on the shaft of the labarum) [de Salis, 1862] on obv.)	
44	44-1	AR .9	H O K H N	O	xxxiii. 10

No.	Weight	Metal a Size	od Obverse	Reverse	Plate
45	44.3	Æ •9	H. ON [L?] K K H (pellets instead of X on bottom of tunic)	O • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
			(4 pellet	s on obv.)	
46	44.3	Æ •9	H N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N	0 • €V A ΓΕ ΓΙ ΝΙ Ο Ο [H. P. Borrell sale,	
47	43.4	Æ •9	H O K H N O K O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O	O EV CE NI O (the pellets are on the shart of the cross)	
48	45.4	Æ .8	shaft of labarum) H	[de Salis, 1862] O	
49	44.	Æ •9	H [O?] N • K IA H N (also + with pellets on the shaft of the	O A EV FE NH O O [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1041]	
50	41.	Æ ·9	labarum) H N K N K N H N (also + with pellets on the shaft of the labarum)	O & V A FE N	xxxiii.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
51	44.2	A .85	(5 pellets H • O N • K IA • H NI	O	
52	43.6	Æ .9	H O N ••• H [I] N N (the pellets, forming a cross, are on the shaft of the labarum 1)	O EV A FE FI NI [O?] [de Salis, 1862]	xxxiii. 12
53	43.	AR .8	H O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O	O A C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C	
54	43.7	AR .9	H O K K H C two of the pellets on	O FE NI O (inser. on l. nearly off flan: two of the pel-	
55	34.1	AR ⋅85	Shaft of labarum) O	lets on shaft of cross) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043] O A O O O O O	xxxiii. 13

¹ Cp. No. 92, infra, with cross on obv. but not on the shaft of the labarum. Strictly, on No. 52, there are no pellets on the obv. apart from those that form the cross, but the coin seems to fit in best with the '5 pellets' series: cp. Nos. 39, 49, 50, supra, and No. 57, infra, where there are pellets on obv. in addition to the cross of pellets.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
56	36.2	At .85	(Rude style; probably Georgian: Retowski, p. 65, No. 210)	Purchased, 1904, 4-3-49]	xxxiii. 14
57	43.8	A -9	(6 pellets H	on obv.) O EV FE NI O O (the pellets are on the shaft of the cross) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1041]	
58	43.8	R .9	the North Control of the pellets on shaft of labarum)	O & CV FE O NH O [Purchased, 1905, 5-6-18]	
59	43.7	A .85	H N H	O ¢V A Γ€ ΓΙ ΝΙ Ο Ο [Campanasale, London, 1846, lot 1191]	
60	44-1	Æ ·85	H : O K K H N N (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum)	O ÉV F F F F F F F F F	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
61	44.8	AR .9	H O K K IA C H N N (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum)	A	
62	43.4	Æ -85	H: OK K N: H [I] \ N (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum)	O FOR Shaft of cross) [de Salis, 1862]	
63	42.7	Æ .9	H K K H H [1] \(\text{Chree of the pellets on shaft of labarum}\)	O & ČV A	
64	44.1	Æ .95	H O N K H N N (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum)	C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C	xxxiv
65	40.2	AR -85	(7 pellets (7 pellets (8) (8) (1) (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum)	(three of the pellets on shaft of cross) [de Salis, 1862]	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
66	44.6	Æ .8	H O K H N O K H N O N Shaft of labarum)	O • EV A FE FI:: NI O • O (three of the pellets on shaft of cross) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1042]	
67	44.1	Æ •9	H ON K H (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum)	O EV C C C C C C C C C	xxxiv.
68	41.9	Æ •9	H O K K H (three of the pellets on shaft of labarum)	O FV FE NI [O?] [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1040]	
69	44.9	Æ •9	H N IN IN O K H N O One of the pellets on shaft of labarum)	O	
70	43.2	Æ -85	[•] H N K H N (one of the pellets on shaft of labarum)	O EV FE FI NI O O O O O O O O O	
71	37.	Æ ·85	H O K N N H H N (four of the pellets on shaft of labarum)	O A FE NI O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O	,

	1					-		
No.	Weight		ize	Obver	rse	Rev	erse	Plate
72	45.6	Æ	.85	#Z <	O K # Z	O • A 「I [O] [Purchas 4-3-44]	• V F E NI O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O	xxxiv.
73	43.9	AR	-85	H Z :	O [K] # [N]	_	€ [•?][V] F€ NI O s, 1862]	
					(9 pellets	s on obv.)		
74	43.8	A	.9	H N IN (three of the shaft of la	O K H [N] pellets on barum)	O A FI :: O · · · (three of the shaft of c [de Sali	eross)	xxxiv.
					(\$+	ars)		
					•			
					(1 star	on obv.)		
75	44.3	Æ	.8	(pellets inst		(H. P. Bo	F. F	xxxiv. 5
76	33.1	AR	.85	[ˈm] * ?	O K	shaft of c [Purchase 4-3-36]	ed, 1904,]	xxxiv.
	1	}		(reverse of	rude style	: Georgian	imitation?)	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
77	43.	At .75	inscr. off Inscr. off Inscr.	[O]	
78	41.4	At -85	[•] H N H off flan] (the star is on the shaft of the labarum)	O	
79	42-	Æ -85	[inser. ob- literated]	[O]	
80	45.5	Æ .85	(the star is on the shaft of the labarum)	[O]	xxxiv.
81	44.9	Æ .8	. X .	O • [€] V Γ€ O N[1] O	xxxiv. 8
82	44.4	Æ -85	H K [O] N K K [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1043]	O EV A F. FI N. O (A and F conjoined)	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
83	44.7	AR .9	И И К К О К	O & V V F C NI O NI O [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-45]	
84	44.4	AR .9	H • O × K	O	
85	39.5	AR ⋅8	и × к и × к	O • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	
86	44.	Æ .85	H: N [1?] \ X K H	O	
87	40.9	Æ .85	H: X K	O * *V F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F F	xxxiv.
			(2 stars	s on obv.)	
88	45.8	R ·85	у ж н к н к н к н	O K FE FI X I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I I	10 xxxiv.

		Metal and			
No.	Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
89	43.7	Æ ·8	(3 stars H N K K K H (pellets on bottom of tunic instead of \times)	0 X	xxxiv.
90	42.6	Æ .9	H	O	xxxiv.
91	43.8	Æ •9	(4 stars H	O & & & & & & & & &	xxxiv.
92	43.5	Æ .8	(→ on obv	[O] + NH EV	xxxiv.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Manuel I and beyond th	Inck after the death of the Empire of Trebizond. Inser. St. Eugenius, bearded, standing facing; in r., long cross; I. holds robe; wears nimbus and robe. Border of dots.	
93	43.1	Æ ·9	Δ? H NV [H]Λ II	(A) O 1 EV FA FEV TES N TI O [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1052]	
94	43.3	R .85	Н К НЛ Н К	(A) (TI♠ €V (TI) (TI) (TI) (TI) (TI) (TI) (TI) (TI)	xxxv.

¹ This inscription (cp. the corresponding inscriptions on Nos. 94-8) may from its position on the coin be presumed to refer to St. Eugenius. The word intended is probably Τραπεζούντιος, as Koehne has suggested (Mém. Soc. d'Arch. et Num. de St.-Pétersbourg, iii, 1849, p. 109: cp. Pfaffenhoffen, p. 83. Koehne himself has, however, preferred the untenable view that the letters of this inser. are blundered letters of the name of St. Eugenius).

The form of the inser., the sign $\overline{\mathbf{b}}$ used for $\mathrm{T}\rho$, and the sign $\overline{\mathbf{d}}$ at the end of the inser. (Nos. 94, 95) are less surprising on the supposition (suggested in/ra, after No. 98) that these coins (93-98) were struck beyond the limits of Trebizond and by an engraver imperfectly acquainted with Greek. It may be worth noting that $\overline{\mathbf{b}}$, $\overline{\mathbf{d}}$ bear some resemblance to the Georgian letters $\overline{\mathbf{b}} = \mathbf{Z}$ and $\overline{\mathbf{b}} = \mathbf{L}$ (see Plate I in V. Langlois, Essai de classification des suites monétaires de la Géorgie, Paris, 1860). (See further the recent work of Retowski Komn., p. 22.)

	1	1	1		
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
95	44.3	Æ .95	N K HA [H]	(A) (TI) (7) (7) (7) (7) (7) (7) (7) (7) (7) (7	xxxv.
96	40.8	Æ .85	H N [H]A. H C · N	[inser.? eVF off flan] eVF NIOC O[FA?] (ϵ and ϵ conjoined) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-50]	3 3
97	42.	Æ .85	H O K H O H N (inser. on l. nearly off flan) (tunic ornamented with pellets and squares: on sash, :::)	[A?] EVFE NIOC OFA FILE?].	xxxv.
98	46.5	Æ .95	In the first place, it ma beyond doubt that th these coins is Manuel I either Manuel II or II a period when, on the I ing figures (such as ar superseded by equestria however, differ in seve aspers of Manuel I pre 8-92), especially (on a short shaft for the lat	n figures. These coins, eral respects from the eviously described (Nos.	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			John II, the next of the to strike this denomina It is, at first, natural coins formed the latest served as the model for But a closer examine doubtful whether Manuissuer of the coins of they are inferior in st only to the bulk of t (Nos. 8–92), but also to were struck seventeen death of Manuel. An towards the end of his worth while to make on his hitherto stereotypthat they should have clumsily; (ii) the schefrom that found on the John II, and the epithe ζούντιος (see note on p. ever found on any coins of Trebizond. The view that I wo origin of these coins (No origin of these coins (No origin of these coins). Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35 f.; cp. Blau in Better the sper-coinag J. Bartholomaei, Lettre pp. 35	resemble the aspers of successors of Manuel I tion. to suppose that these issue of Manuel I and the aspers of John II. Intion renders it very el I can have been the this group, because, (i) tyle and execution not he coins of Manuel I those of John II which years or more after the d, again, if Manuel I long reign thought it tonsiderable alterations ed coinage, it is strange to been carried out so one of lettering differs aspers of Manuel I and et—apparently δ Τραπε-254, supra)—is hardly that are incontestably that are incontestably and suggest as to the see 93–98) is this. They be Empire of Trebizond try—perhaps Georgia—to was in demand (see somm., StPét., 1859, or liner Blätter, iv, 1868, or struck till after the were copied, as regards to a spers of John II to legends were not many Trebizond coins, (I) was adopted because quired great reputation and Georgia we know that it is Manuel) became the oins: see Bartholomaei, epithet δ Τραπεζούττιος so name for the sake of apply information. In Europe of the Middle speak of St. James of commas of Canterbury, for the native Spaniard man to refer simply to s. (See also Retowski's	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			(Bronze N	Inscr. Bust of St. Eugenius, facing, holding in r. short cross; wears nimbus and robe. Border of	
99	48.7	Æ 1.05	H O K K H (flat; originally concave?)	O [inscr. obscure, E V &c.] [Bought of H. Hoffmann, Paris, 1864, 4-8-22]	xxxv.

¹ The identical specimen published by Sabatier, ii, p. 315, No. 8, Pl. 68. 2, though with some inaccuracies in the reading of the legends. In Retowski, Komn., p. 69, No. 221, Sabatier's description is repeated and the specimen is incorrectly stated to be in the Stroganow collection. Sabatier, ib., No. 7, Pl. 68. 1, further describes and attributes to Manuel I (correctly?) a smaller bronze coin (concave) with obv. standing figure of Manuel, rev. standing figure of St. Eugenius. (Retowski, Komn., p. 69, No. 222, repeats Sabatier's description.) I may point out that the obv. bears considerable resemblance to the coin of Manuel I of Thessalonica figured in our Pl. XXVI. 8.

ANDRONICUS II

А. D. 1263-1266

No coins known.

GEORGE

A. D. 1266-1280

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Retowski, Komn., pp. 6 bronze coins of the follo 1. Obv. The Emperor a Rev. Bust of St. Geo Æ Nomisma. 2. Obv. The Emperor sceptre. Rev. St. Eugenius st Æ Nomisma. Rev. belge, 18 3. Obv. The Emperor s Rev. Cross crosslet o Æ Nomisma. The following, a va	and St. Eugenius standing. orge. Tolstoi coll. Pl. XV. 1. standing, holding trifid anding, holding long cross. Hermitage. Pl. XV. 2 (cp. 181, p. 346, Pl. XVI, No. 14). standing, holding labarum. on steps.	
		Æ 1.	[inser. obscure]	? ?	6
				us., Athens. Cp. Konstanto- nat., ii, 1899, pp. 219 f.	

JOHN II A. d. 1280-1297

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obv	erse	Rev	erse	Plate
				Asp	ets on rev.)		
			standing holding rum with in l. gld ger; we tunic (w mantle f l. arm; manus D crowning	II, bearded, g facing, in r. labashort shaft, bus cruciars crown, ith ϕ), and falling over in field r., ei in sleeves the Emreder of dots.	beardeda standing	nd nimbate, facing; in cross; l.	
1	43.2	Æ •9	₹ 9×0E	N O	(A) EV C [H. P. Borre lot 1048]	€ NI O ••• } ellsale,1852,	***v.
2	42.7	Æ .85	₹×oEl	N O	(A)	€ NI O ••• } O Sill sale,1852,	
3	42.5	Æ ·95	₩ 8 (1]	N O	(H. P. Borre lot 1045]	€ NI O ••• } ell sale,1852,	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
4	44.2	AR .85	形 0 K 0 S N 0	(A) 6 EV NI O 0 ••• 5 [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-62]	xxxv. 8
5	44.9	Æ ·9	表 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8 8	(A) € NI O O O O O O O O O	xxxv. 9
6	43.8	Æ .85	IW O (inser. obscure)	(A) [€] (NI O O O O O O O O O	
			omi 	6, but pellets on rev.	
7	44.8	Æ ·85	I₩ 0 N K 0 HN }	(A) NI O FE S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S S	xxxv. 10
8	43.5	Æ ·9	300 EI	(A) Γ _€ NI O [O or V?] ∫ [de Salis, 1862]	xxxv.
9	45.6	AR .9	130 KO H Z	(A) FE EV N O [de Salis, 1862]	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				bate, standing facing; in r., long cross; I. holds robe. Border of dots.	
10	43.5	AR .9	IW O N KO O HN ∫ (wears tunic with ⋄, and mantle over 1. arm, as on Nos. 1-6; no sash)	(A) F6 NI O S S S S S S S S S	xxxvi. 1
11	41.9	Æ ·85	#Z C C Z C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C	O EV A FE FI NI O + O [de Salis, 1862]	xxxvi. 2
12	43.	AR .9	A 0 を	(A) F € NI O C C [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-19]	xxxvi. 3
13	44.7	AR -8	\overline{\pi} N		xxxvi. 4

No.	Weight	Metal an	d Obverse	Reverse	Plate
14	42.1	- AR .9	[IW] O KO HN O (sash with •••)	(A) NI O C C Cross in l. hand; holds robe with r.) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-57]	
15	42.	R ∙9		(cross in l. hand; holds robe with r.) [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-22]	
16	42.3	Æ ·9	IW O [N] O HN [C] (sash with •••)	(cross in l. hand; holds robe with r.) [H. P. Borrellsale, 1852, lot 1044]	
			(Lis (*) Inser. John II, standing facing: all as on No. 10.	Inscr. St. Eugenius,	
17	42.8	Æ -85	IW O KO N O ↓ C (sash with dotted X)	Α Γ€ ΝΙ Ο Ο (de Salis, 1862)	xxxvi. 5
18	43.7	Æ .85	Similar to No. 17 (Coff flan) (sash with dotted X)	Similar to No. 17. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1044]	

No.	Weigth	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
19	45.8	R .9	(sash with X and dotted ornamentation; lis between • and •)	(A) Γ € NI O C (H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1045]	
20	43.3	R -85	(sash with X and dotted ornamentation; lis between • and •)	A F NI O C [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-56]	xxxvi. 6
21	42.8	Æ .9	[IW] O [K]O [M] [O?] O? (Sash with ※; tunic with ※ and ;; lis blundered)		
			(letter	on obv.)	
			Inser. John II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic (with \$\cdot\$), and sash falling over l. arm; in field r., manus Dei in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots.	Inser. St. Eugenius, bearded and nimbate, standing facing; in r.,long cross; l.holds robe. Border of dots.	

				1	
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
22	42.	At .85	IW O N O A C C C (∴ ∴ on sash)	$ \begin{array}{c cccc} \cdot \dot{\mathbf{\beta}}^{1} & & & & \\ \cdot \dot{\mathbf{\beta}}^{1} & & & \\ & & & &$	xxxvi
23	37.6	Æ .95	I₩ Δ² O [•?] KO HN NO (••• on sash)	(A) β Γ € NI O C (H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1044]	
24	42.9	Æ ·9	IW A O ** KO MN NO (•V• on sash)	(A) F ∈ NI O C C [H. P. Borrellsale, 1852, lot 1044]	
25	39.3	AR -9	IW A O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O	(A) r \(\)	
26	43.7	R ·9	IW	V FE NI O C [H. P. Borrellsale,1852, lot 1048]	

 $^{^1}$ This object occurs also in the Lis series, No. 17, supra. 2 This letter nearly resembles $\Delta,$ but probably A is intended. So also on the following coins of this series.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
27	43.8	AR .9	IW	(A) F & NI O C Purchased, 1904, 4-3-52]	xxxvi. 8
28	44.4	Æ .9	IW A N K O C (** on sash)	O EV FE NI O O O O O O O O O	xxxvi. 9
			(* on	rev.)	
			Inser. John II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic (with •), and sash falling over l. arm; in field r., manus Dei in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots.	Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded and nim- bate, standing fac- ing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe. Border of dots.	
29	42.5	Æ .9	IW O N O C (tunic and sash ornamented with ♦)	O	xxxvi. 10
30	44.2	Æ •9	IWO N N O C (tunic and sash with ♦)	O V FE N[1] O X [OC] [Purchased, 1908, 5-6-15] M m	

_					
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
31	44.8	AR •9	IW O N N [O] [C] (tunic and sash with ♦)	O	
32	42.6	R .95	IW O KO [HN] O (sash with ♦)	O FV FE NI O C [H. P. Borrellsale, 1852, lot 1045]	
33	36.5	Æ •9	[I\overline{\text{W}}] O KO H N O (sash with \$\displays)	O K FE V A NI OC C Purchased, 1904, 4-3-55]	xxxvi. 11
34	42.5	Æ •9		O # 6V FÉV FÉ N[1] O C C C C C C C C C	
35	35.7	Æ .8	IWON NO N	O	xxxvi. 12

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
		•	Inscr. John II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic (with), and sash (with) falling over l. arm; in field r., manus Dei in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots.		
3 6	43.3	Æ ·85	[I\overline{\ove	(double-struck) [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-58]	
37	41.5	Æ .95	I₩	O	xxxvi.
38	45.4	Æ .95	I	€V NI 0 C [Purchased, 1904, 4-3-61]	xxxvi. 14
39	40.6	Æ ·8	I₩	(A)	

		Motel and			
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
40	41.7	At .9	N KO O HN I I C (sash with X)	(A) F€ €V NI ∴ O C [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048]	
41	47.8	Æ ·9	IW O N N C C (sash with X)	(A) F & NI V O C [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048]	
42	45.5	Æ .9	IW O N N CO C (sash with X)	(A) F	
43	43.6	Æ .85	NO NO C MN (sic) ☆	(A) F € NI O S (Purchased, 1908, 5-6-16]	xxxvi. 15
44	41.8	Æ .9	#X \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$ \$	(pellet on shaft of cross) [de Salis, 1862]	
45	34.7	A≀ -85	NĪ O N O (C?) [☆?]	(A) F6 NI O 1 O 1 (H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1049]	xxxvi. 16

¹ This blundered piece was probably not produced at the official mint, but may be a contemporary forgery.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
46	38.4	Æ .85	IWO NO CONTROL CONTRO	Α Γε' ΝΙ Ο C [de Salis, 1862]	xxxvii.
47	42.	Æ •9	₩\ \$ ¢ €	(A) F ∈ NI V OC [de Salis, 1862]	
48	44.1	Æ -85	IW O KO O HN C (inser. on l. partly off flan; 6 pellets in sash)	(A) F €	
49	40.7	Æ .85	Similar (inser. complete; 5 pellets in sash) [de Salis, 1862]	Similar, but EV for EV; pellet on shaft of cross.	
50	41.7	Æ .8	₩ ¢ ¢ c	(A) Γ€ (EV NI (OC) (De Salis, 1862)	
51	41.2	Æ ·85	IW O KO N O [MN] ☆ C (4 pellets in sash)	[A] re' NI OC [de Salis, 1862]	
52	44.	Æ .9	IW O KO KO HN ☆ C (4 pellets in sash)	(A) Γ € (EV NI (OC) [de Salis, 1862]	

No.	Weight	Metal a Size	Ob	verse	Reverse	Plate
53	42.4	At ∙8	₩ 0 1 <u>Э</u> 0	N O C C	(A) 'C F (C NI OC OC [de Salis, 1862]	
54	42.	/R ⋅8	130 KF	N 0 c	[A]	
55	36.8	AR ⋅8	₩ 60 1 <u>3</u>		(A) F (C) NI O C [de Salis, 1862]	
56	43.4	Æ .9	IW O KO HNH (4 pellet	N O C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C	(A) F6 NI OC [de Salis, 1862]	
57	32.3	Æ .9	[IW] [O] KO HNH (several pe	N ☆ · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	(A) F ∈ NI OC (de Salis, 1862)	
58	39.4	Æ ·8	5 IW O KO HNH		(A) F ∈	xxxvii. 2
59	44.5	.R .8	KO HNH (tunic wit instead sash)	N O C	(A) Γ € NI O C [de Salis, 1862]	

 $^{^{\}rm 1}$ Perhaps not a letter but an annulet inserted to balance the O on the other side of the type.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
60	39.2	Æ ·85	形 の な が と と と と と と と と と と と と と	(A)	
61	44.4	Æ .85	₩₩ \$.	(A) F € (EV NI [de Salis, 1862]	
62	41.1	Æ ·85	IW O KOH NN (sash,; double- struck)	(A) F ∈	xxxvii 3
63	42.6	Æ ·8	N N NO NO NO Sash, NO C	(A) r ∈ NIO C [de Salis, 1862]	
64	40.2	R ⋅85	[IW] O KO HNH (sash, ••••)	(A) F (C) NI O (C) C [de Salis, 1862]	
65	42.8	Æ ·85		[A] F	
66	43.7	R ⋅9	I	(A) Γ€ NI O C Purchased, 1904, 4-3-63]	xxxvii. 4

¹ Cp. No. 43, supra.

No.	Weight	Metal Siz	and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
67	44.7	A	.85	I	(de Salis, 1862)	
68	43.6	AR	-85	N N O C Sash,)	(A) F (C) N OC [de Salis, 1862]	xxxvii. 5
				(on $obv.:$ asp	ers of rude style)	
				Inser. John II, standing, as on No. 36. Style rude.	Inser. St. Eugenius, standing, as on No. 36. Style rude. ¹	
69	46.4	AR	.95	W O N O STATE OF THE STATE OF T	(A) F € NI O [de Salis, 1862]	xxxvii.
70	30.8	A	-85	W KO N O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O	O C NI NI S V Purchased, 1904, 5-11-414]	xxxvii. 7

¹ The barbarous character of these coins has led Pfaffenhoffen (p. 102), Blau (Berl. Blätter, iv, p. 181), and Sabatier to attribute them to John IV (Kalojoannes), one of the latest of the Emperors of Trebizond (died A.D. 1458). But this attribution is, surely, most improbable, if only for the reason that long before the period of John IV the standing figures on the asper had been replaced by equestrian types. Aspers of the reign of John IV should therefore present equestrian figures, and we should, moreover, expect them to be struck on much smaller flans than those which characterize the coins now under discussion. The coins, then, must be regarded either as contemporary forgeries of the reign of John II or, more probably, as barbarous imitations of the aspers of John II made in some country—Iberia (Georgia)?—where the silver coins of Trebizond were a popular medium of exchange. (Cp. note to No. 73, infra.) These coins will thus be not earlier than A.D. 1280, the date of the accession of John II, but it is not impossible that they may have continued to be struck even after the death of John II which took place in A.D. 1297. (Retowski, Komm., pp. 73 f., 108 f., cp. p. 20, has independently reached very similar conclusions as to these and other barbarous coins.)

	1		1		1
No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
71	38.4	Æ ·85	IW O N KO N (monogram blundered) (sash with	0 FE V N E : (V small) [de Salis, 1862]	xxxvii. 8
72	30.3	Æ -85	W KO II O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O O	(A) Γ€ (By NI O* (Purchased, 1904, 5-11-412)	xxxvii. 9
73	34.7	Æ ·85	W O KO HI (sash with)	O FE III O O O O O O O O	xxxvii. 10
74	35.2	Æ -85	Similar to No. 73.	⊙ F€ CV N O [de Salis, 1862]	
			(Annulet—O	or Q—on rev.2)	
			Inser. John II, standing, as on No. 36, supra.	Inser. St. Eugenius, standing, as on No. 36, supra.	
75	45.	Æ .9	IѾ O KO N HN C (sash with 班)	[A] r \(\) NI O C C [de Salis, 1862]	xxxvii. 11

¹ This rudely executed coin (so also No. 74) should be compared with an undoubted Georgian imitation of the Trebizond aspers, and specially in regard to the curious form of the crown: see Langlois, Essai de class. des suites monétaires de la Géorgie (1860), p. 104, Pl. VIII. 9. The coin reads on the obv. 'King George' in Georgian letters. It is attributed by Langlois to George VIII, A. D. 1452-1469, but it would not seem impossible to assign it to one of the earlier kings of Georgia bearing this name. Cp. another imitation in the 1852 edition of Langlois, Pl. V. 11. (See also Retowski, Komn., p. 109.)

² Probably only inserted to balance the letter O of the reverse inscription; cp. No. 55, supra. The annulet on No. 76 has a hook.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
76	38-6	A 1.	\box{\overline{\pi}} \box{\overline{\pi}} \box{\overline{\pi}} \box{\overline{\pi}} \box{\overline{\pi}} \box{\overline{\pi}} \box(\sash with \overline{\pi})	(A) Γ _€ NH O C C [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1045]	xxxvii. 12
			(without	symbol)	
			Inser. John II, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic (with \$\display\$), and sash falling over l. arm; in field r., manus Dei in sleeve crowning the Emperor. Border of dots.	Inser. St. Eugenius, beardedandnimbate, standing facing; in r., long cross; l. holds robe. Border of dots.	
77	43.4	Æ .85	I₩ N OK : [₩N] : (sash with X)	(A) F € (B) NI OC (Compared to Salis, 1862)	
78	41.7	Æ .8	IW [N]	(A) N[I] EV O FE C [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1044]	xxxvii. 13
79	42.8	Æ .95	IWOON NON ON	[O]	xxxvii. 14

¹ The vev. bears a very close resemblance to the coin of Theodora (circ. A.D. 1285) described infra (Pl. XXXVIII. 1). The ornamentation of the Emperor's dress is also in some respects similar to that found on Theodora's dress as represented on the same coin.

No.	Weight		ıl and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate			
80	42.6	R	-85	IѾ O KO KO HN (sash with 垂)	[inscr. off Fe NI O [5?]' [de Salis, 1862]	xxxvii. 15			
81	44.	Æ	.95	IѾ O N KO O HN C (sash with 垂)	(A) F ∈ NI OC [de Salis, 1862]				
82	40.2	Æ	.95	Similar to No. 81.	Similar to No. 81. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1044]				
83	43.6	Æ	.95	Similar to No. 81; sash with 王.	A NI EV O FE C [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1048]				
84	36.4	Æ	. 85	IW O NO HN C (sash with	(A) F ∈ NI	xxxvii. 16			
				See also supra, p. the whole asper-coir pp. 76–129.	260, Nos. 7–9, and on age, Retowski, <i>Komn.</i> ,				
				Br	onze				
				Nomisma	Nomisma (scyphate)				
				Inser. John II, standing facing, holding in r. labarum with short shaft; in l globus cruciger wears crown, striped tunic, and sash falling over l. arm. Border of dots.	and nimbate, facing; r. hand in blessing; l. holds long cross. Border of dots.				

¹ The rev. closely resembles the rev. of the coin of Theodora in Pl. XXXVIII. 1. ² The O has a tail or hook, resembling Q. Cp. No. 76.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse		Reverse		Plate
85	35.	Æ 1·	₽ 8 8 13	N O S	Q W O [Purchase 4-8-22]	ο (i.e. δ πρόδρομος, the Fore- runner) ed, 1864,	xxxvii. 17

JOHN II AND HIS SON ALEXIUS

There are aspers with obv. John II and Alexius, standing; rev. St. Eugenius, standing: see Retowski, Komn., p. 130: cp. Revue belge, 1881, pp. 347, 348; Sabatier, ii, p. 332, 'Manuel III and Alexius IV'; Photiades Catal., p. 46, No. 651.

A bronze coin with obv. John II, standing; rev. Alexius, standing, is described by Sabatier, ii, p. 318, No. 1, Pl. 68. 5: cp. Retowski, p. 131.

¹ This is the identical specimen published by Sabatier (ii, p. 312, No. 4, Pl. 67. 9). who has attributed it to John I; but the short-shafted labarum and the globus cruciger are better suited to John II, as has already been pointed out, p. 232, supra, 'John I.' Sabatier has not understood the monogram on the rev., and has read the whole reverse inscr. as O A. IW ANNE. (In Retowski's Komn., p. 105, Sabatier's engraving is reproduced and the coin is incorrectly stated to be in the Stroganow collection.)

reproduced and the coin is incorrectly stated to be in the Stroganow collection.)

To John II, Sabatier (ii, p. 317, No. 2, Pl. 68. 4) has assigned a bronze coin with rev. 'Bust of St. Eugenius' [St. George?], but there is reason to think that his description of it is incorrect: see Konstantopoulos in Journ. internat. d'arch. num., ii, 1899, pp. 223, 224. (Retowski, p. 187, reproduces Sabatier's engraving.) As to other bronze coins that have been attributed to John II (rev. St. Eugenius) see Retowski, pp. 75 f., and pp. 105-7.

THEODORA

circ. 1285

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Inscr. The Empress Theodora, standing facing, holding in r. globus cruciger; l. hand placed on breast; wears crown, tunic (with X), and sash (with X X) falling over r. arm; in field l., manus Dei in sleeve crowning the Empress. Border of dots.	Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. long cross; wears nimbus and robe (fastened by brooch), which he holds in l. hand. Border of dots.	
1	44.5	Æ .95	[Θ]€	O	xxxviii. 1
			Bro	nze	
			There is a bronze no standing; rev. St. Euge: In Revue belge, 1881, p. 3 coin with obv. Stand Virgin, Christ, and Em to Theodora, but the stactorily preserved. (A bronze coin with o rev. Cross, engraved in 1865, Pl. XIX. 2, is also in the Thomsen Sale Carto Theodora.	48, Pl. XVI. 16, a bronze ing figure; rev. The apress (?) is attributed specimen is not satiscep. Retowski, p. 134. bv. Equestrian figure, a Berliner Blätter, ii, attributed (correctly?)	

¹ For similar aspers see Sabatier, ii, p. 319; Pfaffenhoffen, p. 88; Koehne in Mém. Soc. d'Arch. et Num. de St.-Pétersbourg, iii, 1849, p. 152, Pl. III. 10; cp. Bartholomaei, Lettres num. et arch., 1859, p. 39. (Also Retowski, pp. 132 f.) Some aspers (Nos. 79, 80, supra) of John II resemble Theodora's aspers in various respects.

ALEXIUS II

а. р. 1297-1330

The various aspers and half-aspers inscribed with the name 'Alexius' must be distributed between Alexius II, III, and IV, for there is good ground for refusing to assign any of them to Alexius I (see *supra*, p. 230, Alexius I).

Pfaffenhoffen (p. 92) has well noted that the sceptre held by the emperor on the *obv*. of the 'Alexius' coins assumes several forms, and that these changes seem likely to give a clue to the attribution of the coinage. The sceptre is represented, as regards its head, in three different ways: with an empearled head (represented by several pellets, $\stackrel{\bullet}{\bullet}$) with a triple head, $\stackrel{\bullet}{\Psi}$, with a three-barred cross as head, $\stackrel{\bullet}{\pm}$.

Pfaffenhoffen has assigned to Alexius II those coins which display the triple-headed sceptre, and to Alexius III those which display the empearled sceptre. But if we take a broader survey of the coinage than was possible for Pfaffenhoffen with his comparatively scanty material, cause can be shown why we should reverse this arrangement, i.e. we must assign to Alexius II the silver coins with the empearled sceptre, and to Alexius III those with the triple head.

The distribution of the sceptres is as follows:—

It is thus clear that if the sceptre is assigned (as Pfaffenhoffen proposed) to Alexius III it will break the sequence of Y sceptres. It is necessary, therefore, to place it *before* the introduction of the Y sceptre, i. e. in the reign of Alexius II, and the coins with this sceptre are, moreover, by their style and fabric, better suited to this position than to the reign of Alexius III.

To Alexius IV falls the series with ‡, a form of sceptre already in use during part of the reign of his predecessor, Manuel III.

M. Retowski, in his Münzen d. Komnenen, pp. 136 f., and pp. 161 f., published since the above was written, takes a different view, in several cases, as to the coins to be assigned to Alexius II and Alexius III. He attributes many of those with the Ψ sceptre to Alexius II (not III), and on the whole appears to attach less importance to the ornamentation of the sceptre than to the indications supplied by the form of the legends, the weight, &c.—indications which certainly deserve full consideration.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Inser. Alexius II, bearded, facing, seated on horse walking r.; wears crown and tunic (with ;); in r. hand, sceptre with empearled head (;); l. hand on bridle. Border of dots.	Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, seated facing on horse walking r.; wears nimbus and tunic (with \diamondsuit); in r. hand, cross; l. hand on bridle. Border of dots.	
1	35.5	Æ ∙9	(lett	er B) A N EV B[O?] [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1046]	xxxviii. 2
2	29.7 (chipped)	Æ .85	A M B W	(A) N B [T] [de Salis, 1862]	xxxviii. 3
3	32.8	Æ ·85	Similar to No. 2.	Similar to No. 2; inser. on l. complete; inser. on r. off flan. [de Salis, 1862]	

		Metal and	01	n	
No.	Weight	Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
4	36.2	A: √8	(Quatrefoil orn A	nament and B) A	xxxviii.
5	40.	Æ .9	(Cr A + K E H N	ross) A + EV [N] (tunic covered with pellets) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1046]	xxxviii. 5
6	36.7	Æ ·9	A EKO N	(tunic covered with pellets) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1046]	
7	40.5	Æ .85	A ← N N	(tunic covered with pellets) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1046]	xxxviii. 6

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			(Si	car)	
8	42.8	Æ .95	A	(tunic covered with pellets) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1046]	xxxviii. 7
9	40.2	R ∙9	[inser. * K H N	(tunic covered with pellets) [de Salis, 1862]	
10	41.7	Æ ·85	(Plants or A M M M N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N N	Flowers) Flowers Flowers Fe N beneath horse, \Psi, \Psi, \Psi (tunic covered with pellets) [de Salis, 1862]	xxxviii. 8
11	36.8	Æ ∙9	e H e N beneath horse, Y, Y, Ψ (partly obscure) (tunic with ♦)	v FE N N beneath horse, \$\varPsi\$, and two nearly similar plants, partly obscure (tunic covered with pellets) [de Salis, 1862]	

No	Weight		tal and Size	Obverse		Rev	rerse	Plate
12	27.5	Æ	.75	(P.		Aspers r Flower)	NI	xxxviii.
				beneath horse, (double-struck	'	beneath l (EVF dou [de Sali	uble-struck)	
13	24.3	Æ	.75	A htd. A beneath horse,		EVF? beneath h [de Sali	NI orse, '∀ ' s, 1862]	
14	17.3	Æ	.65	A	Ÿ.	(A). [E]V beneath ho of 'V' [H. P. Bo 1852, le	·	xxxviii. 10
15	18.5	Æ	.65	A hff ∴€0 beneath horse, **		EVΓ beneath he [de Salis	NH orse, ∀ s, 1862]	
16	19.6	Æ	.75	$\frac{A}{\epsilon}$ [hh\] \sim O beneath horse,		EV	NI horse, ↓ rrell sale, ot 1053]	xxxviii. 11
17	18.6 (chipped)	A	.65	A C O Deneath horse,	1	beneath h [H. P. Bon 1852, lo	orse, ↓• rell sale,	xxxviii. 12

No.	Weight	Metal ar Size	Obverse	Obverse		Reverse		
18	18.7 (chipped)	R .7	beneath horse, (type double-str inser. on l. ne off flan)	‡ ?	(type a double-st [H. P. Bo	B chorse, \$\pm\$? and \$\int \mathbb{V} \Gamma\$ cruck) arrell sale, ot 1055]	xxxviii.	
19	22.7 (chipped)	Æ .75	Deneath horse, (plant or flower	· Q	beneath l [H. P. Bo 1852, lo	rrell sale,	xxxviii. 14	
				Bronze				
			Pl. 68. 13, rev. bus as of Alexius II, is Alexius III on ac and the form of the towski, however,	The coin in Sabatier, ii, p. 321, No. 6, 1. 68. 13, rev. bust of St. Eugenius, described of Alexius II, is probably better assigned to lexius III on account of the small module of the form of the border on the obv. (Rewski, however, Komn., p. 147, agrees to batier's attribution.)				

¹ The letters NI\s are inscribed in this position through a careless or ignorant blunder: they really represent the end of the name of St. Eugenius as the rev. inscr. proves. Retowski, p. 164, No. 5, attributes this coin to Alexius III.

ANDRONICUS III

A.D. 1330—JAN., 1332

Coins have not usually been attributed to this emperor, but M. Retowski, Münzen d. Komn., p. 148, Pl. XII. 1-3, publishes three varieties of a rare asper on the obv. of which he reads the initials (in monogram) of the name of Andronicus.

MANUEL II

JAN.—SEPT. 1332

No silver coins are known, and the bronze coins with *rev*. figure of Christ in oval frame, attributed by Sabatier (ii, p. 322, Nos. 1, 2, Pl. 68. 14, 15) to this Manuel, are better assigned to the Byzantine emperor Manuel II; see Retowski, *op. cit.*, p. 149; cp. Brit. Mus. Cat., *Imperial Byzantine Coins*, p. 638, No, 16; cp. p. 642, No. 12.

BASIL Sept. 1332—April, 1340

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Inser. Basil, bearded, facing, seated on horse walking r.; wears crown and tunic; in r. tripleheaded sceptre; l. on bridle. Border of	Inser. St. Eugenius, bearded, facing, seated on horse walk- ing r.; wears nimbus	
1	30.3	Æ ·85	dots. BA •	(A) N	xxxviii. 15
2	26. (chipped)	Æ .85	Similar to No. 1; • obscure.	Similar to No. 1, but ϵ instead of ϵ V, and V instead of N. [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1047]	
3	18. (flan small)	Æ .75	<u>B•A</u>	(A) V [€?] [de Salis, 1862 °]	xxxviii. 16
4	21.	R .7	<u>B•A</u>	(A) I beneath horse, • [Purchased, 1904, 5-11-411]	xxxviii. 17

¹ Specimens described by Retowski, *Komn.*, pp. 151 f., display as symbols ♥, •.•, &c. ² The low weights would suggest that Nos. 3 and 4 are *half* aspers, but on account of the style and size of the types it is difficult to separate them from the aspers: the flans of both specimens have been clipped.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obv	erse	Rev	'erse	Plate
	-		facing, he triple-head in l. glob wears crow	il, standing olding in r. led sceptre, us cruciger; vn, tunic, and g over l. arm.	ing facing	, holding in cross; wears	
		Æ .7	BA	H	(A)	EV FE NI	
			p. 324, Nos should prob None of a Sabatier to correctly probable to correctly the analogy and of his (= Sabatier expect the cated not be course, it (See further of Trebizon it is suggestionally suggestionally the suggestion of the Empther reign to companie to the Empther reign to companie to the correctly probable to correctly p	cription is to 5, 6, Pl. 65 cably be BA. the other because of the ature of the ature of the ature of the ature of the shazardous. To f the silve bronze coince, Pl. 68. 20 name of the by B, but by her coins of nze money cannot be in r, infra, 'U d'at end of sted that B at 1.) On accompany of the second the	8. 20, 21. () onze coins a or can be a tier, in his a letter B whise coins, but initial of In the first er coins of the sa a above of John III nterpreted neertain Br Trebizond, for John III nterpreted neertain Br Trebizond seand BB have count of the would seem the reign of sail and his the usual ties the standing replaced time of Euge	assigned by regarded as ttributions, ch is a conthis inter- 'Basil' is t place—on his emperor e described—we should to be indin, this B is for example, a where, of as 'Basil'. Fonze Coins eries, where a religious heir types, a to belong Basil. For successors, ypes of the ling figures; but after g figure of by a cross nius) or by	

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			coins assigned by Sab Basil, only Nos. 5 and are rightly attributed. probably belong to the Trebizond, subsequent of B both on obv. and on coin of Trebizond. (Retowski, in his Mic. 5, published since the repeats the descriptions 324, Nos. 5 and 6, Pl. 68. (with BA and the figural supra, p. 286) must coremarks, to Basil. With bronze coins ascribed (which I have discussionally with most of them to Ba Descript., ii, pp. 323, 32-10. BB he interprets as	Nos. 3, 4, 8, 9, 10, 11 ne latest emperors of to Michael. No. 7, with rev., is perhaps not a nzen d. Komn., pp. 153-e above was written, of Sabatier, ii, pp. 323, 20 and 21. These coins re of St. Eugenius: see the regard to the other by Sabatier to Basil sed above), Retowski, some hesitation, assigns sil, namely, Sabatier, 4, Nos. 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, and	

IRENE PALAEOLOGINA

April, 1340—July, 1341

No coins have been identified as belonging to this short reign.

ANNA

JULY, 1341--SEPT. 1342

No coins are known of this empress: cp. Retowski, Münzen der Komnenen von Trapezunt, p. 156.

JOHN III

Sept. 1342—May, 1344

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate		
			If silver coins were s doubtless bore equestr the emperors who im- followed him. The coi- which Pfaffenhoffen a- have assigned to this character of their typ	_			
				holding in r. triple- headed sceptre, in l. globus cruciger; wears crown, tunic, and sash falling over l. arm. Border of			
1	41.2	Æ ·85	IW KO H (Sabatier, ii, p. 326, No. 5, Pl. 69.8: the identical specimen.)	N A C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C C	xxxix.		
2	24.8 worn)	Æ ·8	[I] ** OK H (without globus cruciger; l. hand holds dress)	(inscr. partly obscure) (flat) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xxxix. 2		

¹ Retowski, Komn., p. 107, No. 155, assigns this specimen to John II.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size			Plate
			`	module) .	
3	14.4	Æ ·65	[1?] W B	A ^O ε V B Γ (scyphate) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xxxix.
4	21.1	Æ ·65	Inser. obscure; style rude (tunic varied)	FE (inser. partly obscure) (scyphate) [de Salis, 1862]	xxxix.
5	20.4 (worn)	Æ ·65	(inser. and type obscure)	On l., B, rest of inser. obscure (flat) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	

¹ The identical specimen published by Sabatier, ii, p. 336, No. 3, Pl. 70. 5, who assigned it to John IV, i.e. nearly a century later; but the fabric, types, form of the sceptre, &c., point much more directly to the reign of John III. (Retowski, Komn., p. 157, No. 2, who reproduces Sabatier's description, rightly assigns the specimen to John III; but his statement that it is in the Stroganow cabinet requires correction.)

MICHAEL

MAY, 1344—Dec. 1349

No.	Weight	t Metal and Size Obverse Reverse		Reverse	Plate
				Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, facing, seated on horse walking r.; wears nimbus and tunic (with \diamondsuit); in r., cross; l. on bridle. Border of dots.	
1	26. (pierced)	Æ .7	X MI beneath horse, ?	(A) [€]V beneath horse, ★ [de Salis, 1862]	xxxix. 5
2	25.8	Æ .75	X M MI beneath horse, ••••	(A) [N] EV [de Salis, 1862]	xxxix.
			Inser. Michael, bearded, standing facing, holding in r. triple-headed sceptre, in l. round shield with star; wears crown, tunic, and sash. Border of dots.	bearded and nim- bate, standing fac- ing, holding in r.	

No.	Weight		ıl and ize	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
3	12.8	Æ	.7	X M	• [€] V Γ € (flat)	xxxix.
4	25.	Æ	.75	Similar to No. 3.	[de Salis, 1862] Similar to No. 3 (inscr. on r. complete) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xxxix. 8
5	16.9	Æ	.55	(figure on rev. l	nalf-length only)	xxxix.
J	10.0	210	.00	Mî '''	V [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	9
6	20.4	Æ	.75	Similar to No. 5 (inscr. obscure)	Similar to No. 5 (inscr. obscure) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xxxix. 10
7	18.9	Æ	.75	Similar to No. 5 (inscr. partly obscure)	Similar to No. 5 (inser. obscure) [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xxxix.
8	13.5	Æ	.65	Similar to No. 5 (inscr. partly obscure)	Similar to No. 5. [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	

ALEXIUS III

13 Dec. 1349-20 March, 1390

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Inser. Alexius III, bearded, seated facing on horse walking r.; wears crown and tunic (with ;); in r., sceptre with triple head(\psi); l. on bridle. Border of dots.		
1	38.2	Æ ·85	(L A A E N beneath horse, ♣ (lis¹) (sceptre with • head)	is) A	xxxix. 12
2	31.3	Æ .8	A ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ← ←	N € V r O beneath horse, ★ (lis) [de Salis, 1862]	xxxix. 13

¹ The actual form of the lis is less elaborate.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size		Obve	erse	Rev	erse	Plate
3	31.3 (chipped)	A	.9		M N rse, ‡ (lis)] with † as	EV beneath ho [de Salis	N O orse, * (lis) s, 1862] ¹	xxxix. 14
					(Plant o	r flower)		
4	32.9	Æ	.85	A − € ×	+	€V Γ beneath		xxxix. 15
				beneath l	NO horse, ∜	[de Sali	is, 1862]	
5	33.	Æ	-85	A $\widetilde{\epsilon}$ \searrow beneath	horse, Ψ	several s in front	horse, Ψ ; mall pellets of horse. is, 1862]	
6	30.2	Æ	-8	A beneath	\ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \ \	(A) [€?]∨ beneath [de Sal	ИI 0 ? horse, Ф is, 1862]	
7	33.2 (pierced)	AR	.85	A [€] [≫] beneath	N horse, \Psi	beneath [Purchas 5-6-21	horse, V sed, 1908,	xl. 1

¹ The sceptre on those aspers that appear to belong to Alexius III (see supra, p. 278, at beginning of Alexius II) has a triple head (Ψ), but on Nos. 1, 2, and 3 the form is different. No. 1 shows the sceptre with the empearled top that seems to be characteristic of Alexius II, but the treatment of the emperor's head differs from that on the coins of Alexius II, and so closely resembles the head on the coins of Alexius III, that it seems necessary to assign it to the latter reign. On Nos. 2 and 3 a cruciform (or lis-shaped?) top is adopted for the sceptre, but these (as in the case of No. 1) appear to be only abnormal varieties of the type of sceptre (Ψ) mainly represented on the coins of Alexius III. (As to Retowski's attributions see p. 279, supra.)

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse .	Reverse	Plate
8	28.5	Æ .8	$ \begin{array}{c c} \underline{A} & -\overline{\psi} \\ \hline \overline{\epsilon} & \\ [\infty] & \nu \\ \text{beneath horse, } \Psi \end{array} $	beneath horse, Ψ [Purchased, 1908, 7-7-5]	
9	35.8	Æ ·85	$\begin{array}{c c} A & & & \\ \widetilde{\epsilon} & & & \\ \end{array}$ beneath horse, $[\boldsymbol{\Psi}]$	A NH V• V• beneath horse, ♥ [de Salis, 1862]	xl. 2
10	29.6	Æ ·85	(Bird's A MN E No KO In front of horse, bird's head r.	head) NI EV r in front of horse, bird's head. [J. G. Pfister, 1850]	xl. 3
11	24.1	AR ·75	(Pelle	ets) A V beneath horse, • [de Salis, 1862]	xl. 4
12	29.2	Æ ·8	A H : in front of horse, •	: N in front of horse, • [de Salis, 1862]	

¹ As to the solar device found on Nos. 6-9 see Introduction, supra, § 9, under 'Symbols and letters'.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			Half A	Aspers	
			Inscr. Alexius III, riding r., as on the aspers (No. 4, &c.). Border of dots.		
13	24. (pierced)	Æ ·8	beneath horse, B (numerous pellets on tunic)	EVI MM MM beneath horse, B. [de Salis, 1862]	xl. 5
14	17.4	Æ .7	A hmN E heneath horse, B	EVF beneath horse, B (A blundered) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1053]	xl. 6
			Quarter	Aspers	
		•		Inscr. St. Eugenius, riding r., as on the aspers (No. 4, &c.). Border of dots.	
15	13.2	Æ -65	A htN /> E beneath horse, B	beneath horse, B (A written Λ) [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1053]	xl. 7
16	13.2	-R -6	A [MN?] beneath horse, B	beneath horse, B (A written Λ) [de Salis, 1862]	xl. 8

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate				
			Some of the coins. Alexius III have beer to Alexius IV, and the emperor, as well as the demand consideration. Seem to form a homoger of their fabric, which irregular shape and the and on account of their except in the case of No devices (cross, eagle, earlier bronze coinage coinage, it will have been jects are the usual typestherefore, that they were meror of the name of emperor was Alexius II or Alexius regarded as likely, on the The bronze coins of the devices of a figure-subjuius. Our Nos. 17–34, their small module at Nos. 17, 18) of figure-tyseem well suited to the Their unsuitability to is not so obvious; yet coins of Manuel III, the coins of Manuel III, the coins of Manuel III, the coins of Manuel III, (Retowski, Komn., pp.	Bronze (scyphate) Some of the coins here attributed to lexius III have been assigned by Sabatier Alexius IV, and the claims of the latter in peror, as well as those of Alexius II, fairly emand consideration. These coins (Nos. 17–34) em to form a homogeneous group, on account it their fabric, which is characterized by the regular shape and the thickness of the flans, and on account of their reverse types which, acept in the case of Nos. 17 and 18, consist of exices (cross, eagle, &c.) not found on the arriver bronze coinage of Trebizond, of which binage, it will have been observed, figure-subcts are the usual types. It is highly probable, herefore, that they were all issued by a single inperor of the name of Alexius; and that this imperor was Alexius III, rather than either lexius II or Alexius IV, may perhaps be grarded as likely, on the following grounds:—The bronze coins of the reigns that precede and follow the reign of Alexius II are of comparatively large module, and their reverses insist of a figure-subject, usually, St. Eugetus. Our Nos. 17–34, therefore, by reason of heir small module and their lack (except os. 17, 18) of figure-types on the rev., do not seem well suited to the reign of Alexius II. Their unsuitability to the reign of Alexius IV. Their unsuitability to the reign of Alexius IV. The obvious; yet an examination of the bins of Manuel III, the emperor who interence between the reigns of Alexius III and lexius IV, will probably suggest that our os. 17–34 are earlier, rather than later, than he coins of Manuel III, that is to say, they should in r. sceptre with foil enclosure, St. Eugenius, standing facing; wears crown, tunic, and sash; holds in r. sceptre withempearled head, in l. globus cruciger. Inscr. Within six-foil enclosure, St. Eugenius, standing facing; wears crown, tunic, and sash; holds in r. cross; l. holds robe. Border of dots.					
			Inser. Within six- foil enclosure, Alexius III, standing facing; wears crown, tunic, and sash; holds in r. sceptre with empearled head,						

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obv	verse	Rev	erse	Plate
17	31.	Æ	.65	A / 6? X	M	(A) (7) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A) (A	N ed, 1864,	xl. 9
18	24.5	Æ	.65	^ € <i>≫</i>		(A) (A) (Purchas 4-8-23)	N ed, 1864,	xl. 10
					Tvi	pe 2		
				standing on No.	lexius III, facing, as 17 (six-foil e omitted).	Cross, fourc	hée, resting ; inscr. in Border of	
19	24.4	Æ	.8	A ∕>∈ O (ben	[H?] t flat)		EV NI[{?] bbscure) sed, 1864,	xl. 11
20	17.9 (worn)	Æ	.7	(ben	[[ΟΑ Γ є [Purchas 4-8-23	EV NI ed, 1864]	xl. 12
					$T_{\mathbf{y}}$	ре 3		
				standing No.17 (g indicate	clexius III, gfacing, as on clobus rudely d) (six-foil re omitted).	Cross of do ted wrea to the limbs;	cross. Bor-	

¹ The identical specimen published by Sabatier, ii, p. 334, No. 2, Pl. 69. 26, who has attributed it to Alexius IV. Retowski, *Komm.*, p. 170, No. 46, is the same piece.

No.	Weight		ıl and	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
21	20.6	Æ	.6	A Љ€ B		xl. 13
22	13.8	Æ	•55	Similar to No. 21.	Similar to No. 21. [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xl, 14
				Ty	pe 4	
				Inscr. Alexius III, standing facing, as on No. 17 (globus rudely indicated) (six-foil enclosure omitted). Border of dots.	and gateway); on l.	
23	16.5	Æ	.7	ĀĒ N	[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23 ²]	xl. 15
				T_{y}	pe 5	
				Inscr. Alexius III, standing facing, as on No. 17 (globus³ rudely indicated in field r.) (six-foil enclosure omitted). Border of dots.	Dotted cross within plain cross voided; inscr. in angles of cross. Border of dots.	
24	20.4	Æ	-55	V€ [₩ ?]	OA EV NI [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xl. 16

¹ Compare a similar specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 334, No. 4, Pl. 70. 2, who has assigned it to Alexius IV.

² The identical specimen published by Sabatier, ii, p. 334, No. 3, Pl. 70. 1, who assigned it to Alexius IV. Cp. Retowski, p. 171, No. 47.

³ Here, and on some of the following types, the globus cruciger is ignorantly or carelessly represented by a mere detached circlet, and the emperor's left arm is placed against his side.

		Moto	l and			T) (
No.	Weight		ze	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
25	22.4	Æ	•6	Similar to No. 24; letter on r. obscure.	(A) EV N [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	
				TyI	pe 6	
				Inscr. Alexius III, standing facing, as on No. 17 (sash omitted; globus rudely indicated in field r., as on No. 24) (six-foil enclosure omitted). Border of dots.	Cross potent within wreath, with two loops above and two below; inser. in angles of cross. Border of dots.	
26	17.4	Æ	.55	Æ H ∧€	€	xl. 17
27	26.2	Æ	.55	<u>λ</u> € H	€ ∧ O [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xl. 18
28	22.	Æ	.55	[Æ] H	€	xl. 19
29	11.2 (worn)	Æ	.55	Similar to No. 27.	Similar to No. 27. [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	
				Tyj	pe 7	
				Inser. Alexius III, standing facing, as on No. 17 (globus rudely indicated, as on No. 24; sash omitted) (six-foil enclosure omitted). Border of dots.	Cross pattée within dotted star; inscr.in angles of cross. Bor- der of dots.	

¹ Cp. Sabatier, ii, Pl. 69. 15, 16.

No.	Weight		al and ize	Òр	verse	Reverse	e	Plate
30	16.4	Æ	.55	A A E	•	Or [Purchased, 4-8-23]	€ И 1864,	xli. 1
31	22.4	Æ	.6	A ^ E	h l	Or Purchased, 4-8-23]	€ И 1864,	xli. 2
					Ty_{I}	pe 8		
				standing on No. rudely i on No. comparts	lexius III, facing, as 17 (globus ndicated, as 24) (six-foil ment omit- order of dots.	Double-heade displayed. of dots.	d eagle, Border	
32	15.3	Æ	.55	A	H	[Purchased, 4-8-23 ¹]	1864,	xli. 3
33	19.3	Æ	•5	A ∧€	H	[Purchased, 4-8-23]	1864,	xli. 4
34	19.1	Æ	.55	Ŋ€	#?	[Purchased, 4-8-23 ²]	1864,	xli. 5

¹ Cp. a similar specimen in Revue belge de num., 1881, p. 350, which—if Koehne's reading is correct—bears the name of Manuel (III).
² Retowski, Komn., p. 171, No. 48, describes this actual specimen as having a single-headed eagle, but a comparison with our Nos. 32 and 33 will show that it is double-headed. The attribution to Alexius III of Sabatier, ii, p. 329, No. 4, Pl. 69. 17 (rev. Christ standing within oval frame), is probably to be suspected. The coin is, perhaps, one of Manuel II, the Byzantine emperor. Cp. B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, ii, Pl. LXXVII. 5. See p. 284, supra, 'Manuel II,' and Retowski, p. 149.

MANUEL III

а. р. 1390-1417

No.	Weight	Metal an Size	Obve	erse	Rev	erse	Plate
			bearded, ing on hor r.; in r., s three-bar (‡); 1.	seated factree walking ceptre with red cross on bridle; rown and the Bor-	oers?) Inscr. St. bearded, ing on ho r.; wea and tunion	Eugenius, seated factors walking rs nimbus c (with \diamondsuit); geross; l. on Border of	
				(St	ar)		
1	14.6	Æ ·7		B horse, * has triple	[H. P. Bo	B horse, X prrell sale, ot 1055]	xli. 6
2	13. (clipped)	R .55		H? B horse, * has triple)	O E beneath [de Sal	B (off flan) horse, ** is, 1862]	
3	16.9	AR .65	beneath (head obscure)	B horse, X of sceptre		[B?] horse, × ?) is, 1862]	

¹ The aspers with standing figures assigned by Sabatier (ii, Pl. 69, 18, 19) to this reign obviously belong to an earlier period.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
4	16.8	Æ .6	(Plant of H AO B B beneath horse, Y (sceptre has triple head, Y)	O N B B beneath horse, Y	xli. 7
5	14.	Æ .6	H H AO [B?]	. VI	xli.8
			beneath horse, Y1	beneath horse, Y [de Salis, 1862]	
6	17.5	R .65	(Star and pla	ant or flower)	xli. 9
			K beneath horse, ★	€Г O beneath horse, Ψ [de Salis, 1862]	
7	16.7	R ⋅65	H H AO K	<u>(А)</u> И	
			beneath horse, *	beneath horse, \(\formall'\) [H. P. Borrell sale, \(1852\), lot 1054]	
8	16.2	Æ .65	H H	€L 0	xli. 10
			beneath horse, * (cross of sceptre with one bar only)	beneath horse, \(\mathbf{Y}\) [Rollin sale, London July, 1853, lot 588]	,

 $^{^{\}scriptscriptstyle 1}$ On this coin the cross-headed sceptre ($\mbox{\Large \pm}$) is first introduced.

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			(Bird's head and	plant or flower)	
9	17.	Æ ·6	н н 40 К	€L N	xli.11
			beneath horse, ••• and bird's (eagle's?) head r.	beneath horse, \(\forall \) [de Salis, 1862]	
10	15.	R .6	А Н НО К		
			beneath horse, ••• and bird's (eagle's?) head r.	beneath horse, \(\forall \) [Parkes Weber gift, \(\frac{1906}{3}\)	
11	20.5	R .7	Similar to No. 10.	Similar to No. 10. [de Salis, 1862]	xli. 12
12	17.6	Æ .6	H H beneath horse, •• and bird's head? r.	o beneath horse, ♥ [de Salis, 1862]	
			Bronze	(scyphate)	
			ту	pe 1	
			Inser. Manuel III, standing facing, holding in r. cross, in l. globus; wears crown, tunic, and sash. Border of dots.	the city-wall of Trebizond with its battlements and	
13	9.3	Æ ·6	н Г?	[OA?] [EV?] [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-232]	xli. 13

¹ The coin in Sabatier, ii, p. 332, Pl. 69. 25, attributed to Manuel III and Alexius IV, is an asper of John II and Alexius: see p. 276, supra.

² Cp. Introduction, supra, § 9, Miscellaneous reverse types. A similar rev. occurs on coins of Alexius III, supra, p. 299, No. 23.

No.	Weight		al and ize	Obve	erse	Reverse	Plate
14	12.3	Æ	•6	₩? • O	Ж	Similar to No. 13; legend obscure. [Purchased, 1864. 4-8-23]	xli. 14
					Tyl	pe 2	
				standing in l. glod crown,	nuel III, g facing, n r. cross, bus; wears tunic, and der of dots.	Inser. Cross pattée, ornamented with pel- lets. Border of dots.	
15	13.6	Æ	-55	.0	₩ K	O 6 F H [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xli. 15
16	13.9	Æ	.6		H K	г и [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xli. 16
17	11.7	Æ	.6	, o		О Є [Г] И [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xli. 17
					Ty	pe 3	
				num., 1881 there is a su obv. Emper eagle. (The	, p. 350, F nall bronze or standing e double-hea	Coehne (Recue belge de Pl. XVI. 18) is correct, coin of Manuel III with g; rev. Double-headed aded eagle is also found kius III, No. 32, p. 301.	
					Ty	pe 4	
				publishes a	small bron nel III facin	1, No. 6, Pl. 69. 23, nze coin with obv. Emng (M H); rev. Eagle	•

¹ Cp. Sabatier, ii, p. 331, Nos. 3 and 4, and rev. type of Alexius III, No. 24, p. 299, supra.

ALEXIUS IV

а. р. 1417-1446

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			(or As (Pel Inser. Alexius IV, bearded, seated fac-	Inscr. St. Eugenius, bearded, seated fac-	
			ing on horse walking r.; in r., sceptre with three-barred cross (‡); l. on bridle; wears crown and tunic (with \$). Border of dots.	ing on horse walking r.; wears nimbus and tunic (with �); in r., long cross; l. on bridle. Border of dots.	
1	27.5	Æ .75	Å ∴ M ···	(double-struck) [de Salis, 1862]	xlii. l
			(Star and pla	int or flower)	
2	13.5 (pierced)	·R ·75	beneath horse, [:.?]	heneath horse, :. and [de Salis, 1862]	xlii. 2
3	20.3	A	\begin{array}{c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c c	M N B B Deneath horse, K and Y [H. P. Borrell sale, 1852, lot 1053]	

No.	Weight		al and lize	Obv	verse	Rev	erse	Plate
4	20.3	Æ	.65	1	Brse, K and *		[N?] B sse, Kand \(\mathbf{Y}\) e, London, i3, lot 588]	xlii. 3
5	21.	Æ	.6	λ λε beneath hor (λ as on	Brse, K and * No. 4)	€ _V beneath hor [de Salis		xlii. 4
6	21.	Æ	.65	λ λε beneath hor (λ as on	VH [B] rse, K and * No. 4)		B rse, K and Y orrell sale, ot 1053]	
					silver coins to Alexius pp. 179 f.			
					Bro	nze		
				to this reig some of the	can with or gn (cp. Reto 'Uncertain' may belong	owski, <i>loc. ci</i> ' pieces desc	t.), though	

JOHN IV (Kalojoannes)

а. р. 1446-1458

Retowski (Komn., p. 184, Nos. 1-7, Pl. XV) has for the first time attributed to John IV some rare aspers (or half aspers?) in the Hermitage Museum and in his own collection. They bear types resembling those of Alexius IV, the preceding emperor, and are inscribed $I\overline{\mathbf{W}}$ O \mathbf{H} , $\overline{\mathbf{W}}$ \mathbf{H} , &c.

DAVID

а. р. 1458-1461

No coins can with certainty be attributed to this emperor. The asper assigned to him by Sabatier (ii, p. 336, No. 1, Pl. 70. 6) is the identical specimen first published, from a private French collection, by Victor Langlois (Revue archéol., vi, 1849, p. 115). The first letters of the legend of this coin, ΔB , have been interpreted as the name of 'David', but the types (standing figures of the Emperor and St. Eugenius), the symbol (large star), the large plan, and the form of inscription point to a much earlier period of the Trebizond coinage. Moreover, Δ may be intended for A, and the coin is probably a blundered asper of the period of John II. (Retowski, in his recent Münzen d. Komn., pp. 119, 186, takes a similar view of this coin and considers it to be a Georgian imitation of the aspers of John II.)

UNCERTAIN BRONZE COINS OF TREBIZOND

No.	Weight	Metal and Size	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
			considered money of I not bear the name of from style and fabric t the reign of Alexius II best regarded as coins	have a fair claim to be rebizond, but they do their issuers. Judging hey are not earlier than I, and may, perhaps, be s of Alexius IV (A.D. v, of his two successors.	
			(Scyr	ohate)	
			Eagle r., with wings spread; on head, cross. Border of dots.	Cross planted on citywall. Border of dots.	
1	15.8	Æ ·55		[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23 ¹]	xlii. 5
			Eagle r., with wings spread; on head, cross. Border of dots.	B.B Border of dots.	
		Æ ·55	See Sabatier, ii, p. 324, No. 9, Pl. 69. 1.		

This is the identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 324, No. 11, Pl. 69. 3, who has assigned it on insufficient grounds (cp. supra, p. 287) to Basil. (Retowski, p. 178, No. 30, gives it to Manuel III.) The rev. type, cross on city-wall, is found on bronze of Alexius III and of Manuel III. The fabric would suit Alexius III, but the bronze coins of Alexius III (and of Manuel III) have as obv. a figure of the emperor.

The obv., Eagle with cross on head, is found conjoined (see the next coin described) with BB as rev., and it would therefore seem that our coin should be grouped with the

coins, described infra, that have B or BB as one of their types.

No.	Weight		l and ze	Obverse	Reverse	Plate
				Eagle facing, with wings spread, head l. Border of dots.	B * B 1 Border of dots.	
2	13.5	Æ	.6		[Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23 ²]	xlii. 6
				★ B• ★ Border of dots.	Cross with letter in each angle. Border of dots.	
3	14.	Æ	.7		ТА Г Є И [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23°]	xlii. 7
4	10.8	Æ	.6	Similar to No. 3.	Similar to No. 3. [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23]	xlii. 8
5	13.	Æ	.55	Similar to No. 3.	Similar to No. 3. [de Salis, 1862]	
6	20.5	Æ	.65	Cross potent (flat fabric).	Cross potent (flat fabric). [Purchased, 1864, 4-8-23 4]	xlii. 9

¹ These letters are probably best explained as having a religious significance. BB, BBBB, or B occur on some Byzantine imperial coins of the fourteenth century (B. M. C., Imp. Byz. Coins, p. 627, 49, p. 629, 1) and on many coins that more or less show traces of Byzantine influence (e.g. the coins of Rhodes, Schlumberger, Num. de l'Orient lat., Plates VIII and IX), and their meaning has been discussed at length by Svoronos in his Journ. internat. d'arch. num., ii, pp. 363 ff. Svoronos (p. 388) would interpret the two letters on our No. 2 as Baσιλεῦ (Χριστὸ) βοήθει. The single B on No. 3 may be read in connexion with the name of St. Eugenius on the rer.—Βοήθει (τῷ βασιλεῖ). Svoronos's suggestion (p. 388) that B is a monogram composed of B and P, signifying Bασιλέα ῥῦσαι, is less acceptable, because B is, at this period, a common form of B and there is no necessity to regard it as monogrammatic. Cp. pp. 286, 287, supra.

2 Cp. Sabatier, ii, Pl. 68. 23, 'Basil.'
3 The identical susciment described by Sabatier, ii, p. 323 No. 3 Pl. 68 18 'Basil.'

³ The identical specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 323, No. 3, Pl. 68. 18, 'Basil.'
4 Resembles the specimen described by Sabatier, ii, p. 339, No. 9, Pl. 70. 15, who has classed it among the 'Uncertain Byzantine coins', at the same time remarking:—
4 Plusieurs exemplaires du cuivre précédent se trouvant mêlés parmi les monnaies de Trébizonde qui formaient une grande partie des deux trouvailles que j'ai eues en main, je suis autorisé à croire que ces cuivres ont été frappés dans cet empire.'

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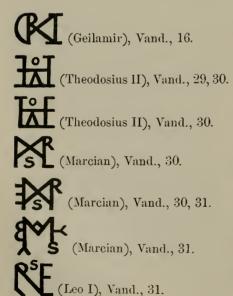
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(See L. Schmidt, Gesch. der Wandalen, p. 203; cp. Hodgkin, Italy and her Invaders, ii, p. 290.)

- 1. Gaiseric, 428 (429 in Africa)—25 Jan. A. D. 477
- 2. Huneric, son of Gaiseric, 26 Jan. 477—23 Dec. 484.
- 3. Gunthamund, nephew of Huneric, 24 Dec. 484—3 Sept. 496.
- 4. Trasamund, nephew of Huneric and

brother of Gunthamund, 3 Sept. 496—6 May 523.

5. HILDERIC, son of Huneric by Eudocia, 6 May 523—19 May 530 (d. 533).

6. Gelimer, nephew of Gunthamund, 19 May 530—Dec. 533.

OSTROGOTHIC KINGS

(Odovacar, 23 Aug. 476-15 March 493.)

Theodoric, March 493—30 Aug. 526. Athalaric, 31 Aug. 526—2 Oct. 534. Amalasuntha, regent, 31 Aug. 526— 2 Oct. 534; queen, 534—30 Apr. 535.

Тнеоданар, 3 Oct. 534—(Nov.?) 536.

Witigis, (Nov.?) 536—(spring) 540 (deposition); d. 542.

Matasuntha, (Dec. ?) 536—(spring?) 540.

ILDIBAD, (spring?) 540—(May?) 541. Eraric, (May?) 541—(Sept.?) 541.

Baduila (Totila), (Sept.?) 541— July or Aug. 552.

THEIA, July or Aug. 552-553.

LOMBARD KINGS

Alboin, 568-572 (reign in Italy). Сьерн, 572-574.

INTERREGNUM, 574-584.

AUTHARI, son of Cleph (married Theudelinda), (April?) 584—5 Sept. 590. AGLULF (married Theudelinda), Nov. 590—615.

ADALWALD, son of Agilulf and Theudelinda, 615-624? (reigns jointly with Theudelinda, who dies 628).

ARIWALD, 624-636. ROTHARI, 636-652.

Rodwald, son of Rothari, 652 (about 5 months).

ARIPERT I, nephew of Theudelinda, 653–661.

Percharit and Godepert, sons of Aripert I (joint rulers), 661-662.

GRIMWALD, 662-671.

Percharit (second reign), 672-688 (with his son Cunincpert from 680). Cunincpert (sole reign), 688-700. LIUTPERT, son of Cunincpert, 700 (8) months).

RAGINPERT, son of Godepert, 700. Aripert II, son of Raginpert, 701-

Ansprand, 712 (3 months); ob. 13 June 712.

LIUTPRAND, son of Ansprand, 712— Jan. 744.

HILDEPRAND, nephew of Liutprand (with Liutprand), 735—Jan. 744; alone from Jan. 744 (about 6 months).

RATCHIS (first reign), Sept. 744—749. Alstulf, brother of Ratchis, July 749—(Dec.?) 756.

Ratchis (second reign), (Dec.?) 756—March 757.

Desiderius, 757—June 774 (with his

son Adelchis, Aug. 759—773).

IV. DUKES AND PRINCES OF BENEVENTUM

(i) Dukes

Zotto, 571?-591.
Arichis I, 591-641.
Aio, 641-642.
Radoald, 642-647.
Grimoald I, 647-662; King of the Lombards, 662-671.
Romoald I, 662-671 (with his father Grimoald as Duke; 671-687 alone).
Grimoald II, 687-689.
Gisulf I, 689-706.

Romoald II, 706-731.
Audelais, 731-732.
Gregorius, 732-739.
Gottschalk, 739-742.
Gisulf II, 742-751. (Married Scauniperga.)
Liutprand, 751-758.
Arichis II, 758-774. (See also as Prince.)

(ii) PRINCES

Arichis II, 774-787. Grimoald III, 788-806. Grimoald IV, 806-817. Sico, 817-832. Sicardus, 832-839. Radelchis I, 839-851. Radelgarius, 851-853. Adelchis, 853-878.
Gaideris, 878-881.
Radelchis II, 881-884 (first reign).
A10, 884-890.
Interregnum, 890-897 (Bp. Peter governor, 897).
Radelchis II, 897-899.

V. EMPERORS OF THESSALONICA

Theodore Angelus Comnenus Ducas, 1222-1230. Manuel Angelus Comnenus Ducas, 1230-1232. John Angelus (as Emperor), 12321243; (as Despot of Thessalonica, 1244).

Demetrius (Despot of Thessalonica), 1244-1246.

VI. EMPERORS OF NICAEA

Тнеороге 1 Lascaris, 1204–1222 (crowned 1206).
 Јонк I ('ПГ') Ducas Vatatzes, 1222—30 Oct. 1254.
 Тнеороге П Ducas Lascaris, 1254—

Aug. 1258. John II ('IV') Lascaris, 1258-1259. Michael VIII Palaeologus, Jan.1260— Aug. 1261.

VII. DESPOTS OF EPIRUS

MICHAEL I Angelus Comnenus Ducas, 1205-1214. Theodore Angelus Comnenus Ducas, 1214-1230(EmperorofThessalonica, 1222-1230). MANUEL, 1230-1237.

MICHAEL II, 1237-1271.
NICEPHORUS I, 1271-1296.
THOMAS Angelus, 1296-1310.
(Succeeded by rulers of the House of Orsini.)

VIII. DUKES AND SEBASTOCRATORS OF NEOPATRAS (GREAT VLAKIA)

John I Angelus Comnenus, 1271-1296. | John II Angelus Comnenus, 1303-Constantine Angelus, 1296-1303. | I318.

IX. EMPERORS OF TREBIZOND

Alexius I Comnenus, 1204–1222. Andronicus I Gidos, 1222–1235. John I Axuchos, 1235–1238. Manuel I, 1238–1263. Andronicus II, 1263–1266. George, 1266–1280. John II, 1280–1297. Theodora, circ. 1285. Alexius II, 1297–1330. Andronicus III, 1330—Jan. 1332. Manuel II, Jan.—Sept. 1332. Basil, Sept. 1332—April 1340.

IRENE Palaeologina, April 1340—July 1341.

Anna, July 1341—Sept. 1342.

John III, 4 Sept. 1342—3 May 1344.

Michael, May 1344—13 Dec. 1349.

Alexius III, 13 Dec. 1349—20 March 1390.

Manuel III, 1390—1417.

Alexius IV, 1417—1446.

John IV (Kalojoannes), 1446—1458.

David, 1458—1461.

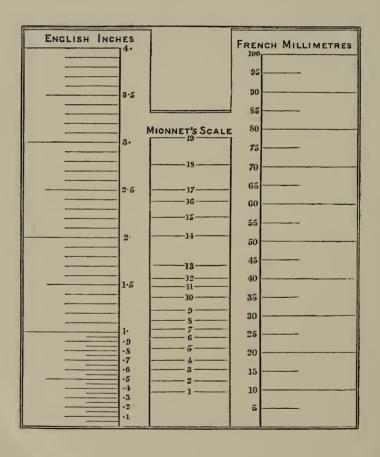
TABLE

FOR

CONVERTING ENGLISH INCHES INTO MILLIMETRES

AND THE

MEASURES OF MIONNET'S SCALE



TABLE

OF

THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND FRENCH GRAMMES

Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.
1	.064	41	2.656	81	5.248	121	7.840
	.129	42	2.720	82	5.312	122	7.905
$\frac{2}{3}$	$\cdot \hat{1}94$	43	2.785	83	5.378	123	7.970
4	$\cdot 259$	44	2.850	84	5.442	124	8.035
$\overline{5}$	$\cdot 324$	45	2.915	85	5.508	125	8.100
6	.388	46	2.980	86	5.572	126	8.164
7	.453	47	3.045	87	5.637	127	8.229
8	.518	48	3.110	88	5.702	128	8.294
$\overset{\circ}{9}$.583	49	3.175	89	5.767	129	8.359
10	.648	50	3.240	90	5.832	130	8.424
ii	.712	51	3.304	91	5.896	131	8.488
$\overline{12}$	-777	52	3.368	$\frac{92}{92}$	5.961	132	8.553
13	.842	53	3.434	93	6.026	133	8.618
14	.907	54	3.498	94	6.091	134	8.682
15	.972	55	3.564	95	6.156	135	8.747
16	1.036	56	3.628	96	6.220	136	8.812
17	1.101	57	3.693	97	6.285	137	8.877
18	1.166	58	3.758	98	6.350	138	8.942
19	1.231	59	3.823	99	6.415	139	9.007
20	1.296	60	3.888	100	6.480	140	9.072
21	1.360	61	3.952	101	6.544	141	9.136
22	1.425	62	4.017	102	6.609	142	9.200
23	1.490	63	4.082	103	6.674	143	9.265
24	1.555	64	4.146	104	6.739	144	9.330
25	1.620	65	4.211	105	6.804	145	9.395
26	1.684	66	4.276	106	6.868	146	9.460
27	1.749	67	4.341	107	6.933	147	9.525
28	1.814	68	4.406	108	6.998	148	9.590
29	1.879	69	4.471	109	7.063	149	9.655
30	1.944	70	4.536	110	7.128	150	9.720
31	2.008	71	4.600	111	7.192	151	9.784
32	2.073	72	4.665	112	7.257	152	9.848
33	2.138	73	4.729	113	7.322	153	9.914
34	2.202	74	4.794	114	7.387	154	9.978
35	2.267	75	4.859	115	$7 \cdot 452$	155	10.044
36	2.332	76	4.924	116	7.516	156	10.108
37	2.397	77	4.989	117	7.581	157	10.173
38	2.462	78	5.054	118	7.646	158	10.238
39	2.527	79	5.119	119	7.711	159	10.303
40	2.592	80	5.184	120	7.776	160	10.368

TABLE

OF

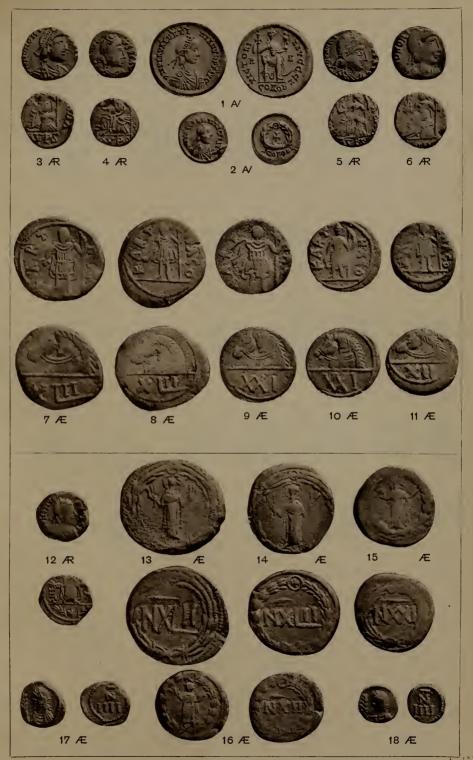
THE RELATIVE WEIGHTS OF ENGLISH GRAINS AND FRENCH GRAMMES

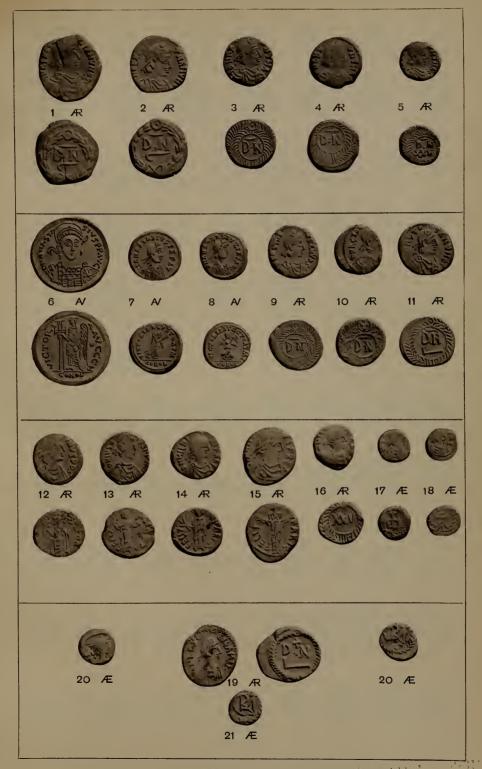
a :	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes,	Grains,	Grammes.
Grains.	Grammes.	Grains.	Grammes.	Grams.	Grammes.	Grams.	Grammes.
161	10.432	201	13.024	241	15.616	290	18.79
162	10.497	202	13.089	$\frac{241}{242}$	15.680	300	19.44
163	10.562	203	13.154	243	15.745	310	20.08
164	10.626	204	13.219	244	15.810	320	20.73
165	10.691	205	13.284	245	15.875	330	21.38
166	10.756	206	13.348	246	15.940	340	22.02
167	10.821	207	13.413	247	16.005	350	22.67
168	10.886	208	13.478	248	16.070	360	23.32
169	10.951	209	13.543	249	16.135	370	23.97
170	11.016	210	13.608	250	16.200	380	24.62
171	11.080	211	13.672	251	16.264	390	25.27
172	11.145	212	13.737	252	16.328	400	25.92
173	11.209	213	13.802	253	16.394	410	26.56
174	11.274	214	13.867	254	16.458	420	27.20
175	11.339	215	13.932	255	16.524	430	27.85
176	11.404	216	13.996	256	16.588	440	28.50
177	11.469	217	14.061	257	16.653	450	29.15
178	11.534	218	14.126	258	16.718	460	29.80
179	11.599	219	14.191	259	16.783	470	30.45
180	11.664	220	14.256	260	16.848	480	31.10
181	11.728	221	14.320	261	16.912	490	31.75
182	11.792	222	14.385	262	16.977	500	32.40
183	11.858	223	14.450	263	17.042	510	33.04
184	11.922	224	14.515	264	17.106	520	33.68
185	11.988	225	14.580	265	17-171	530	34.34
186	12.052	226	14.644	266	17.236	540	34.98
187	12.117	227	14.709	267	17.301	550	35.64
188	12.182	228	14.774	268	17.366	560	36.28
189	12.247	229	14.839	269	17.431	570	36.93
190	12.312	230	14.904	270	17.496	580	37.58
191	12.376	231	14.968	271	17.560	590	38.23
192	12.441	232	15.033	272	17.625	600	38.88
193	12.506	233	15.098	273	17.689	700	45.36
194	12.571	234	15.162	274	17.754	800	51.84
195	12.636	235	15.227	275	17.819	900	58.32
196	12.700	236	15.292	276	17.884	1000	64.80
197	12.765	237	15.357	277	17.949	2000	129.60
198	12.830	238	15.422	278	18.014	3000	194.40
199	12.895	239	15.487	279	18.079	4000	259-20
200	12.960	240	15.552	280	18.144	5000	324.00
1				<u> </u>			<u> </u>

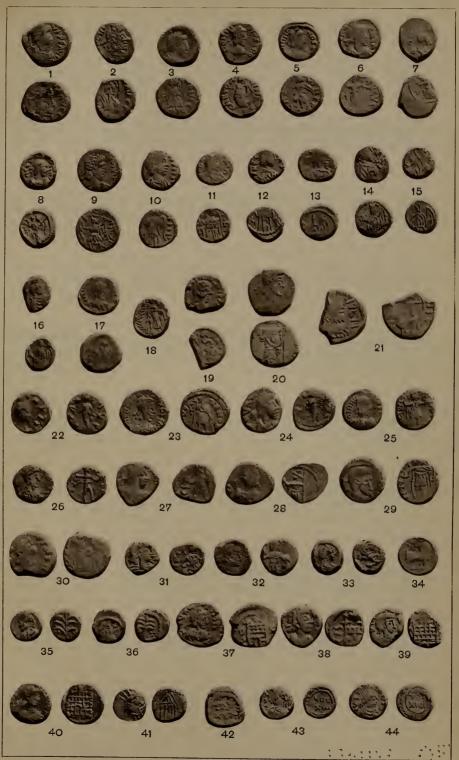
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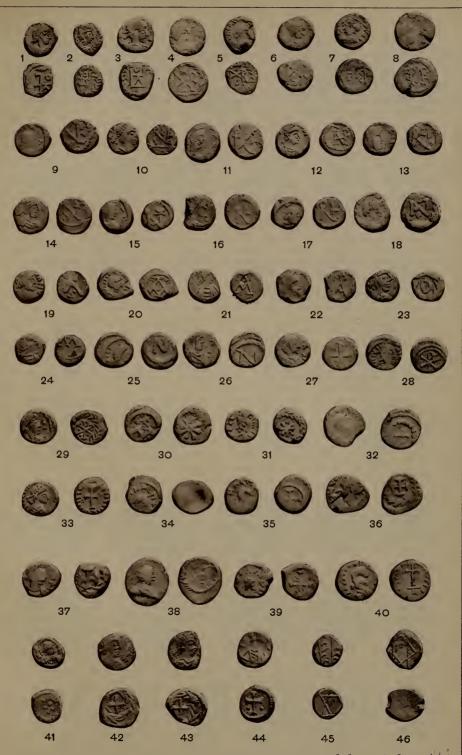
GOLD COIN OF THEODORIC (ENLARGED) IN THE COLLECTION OF COM. F. GNECCHI, MILAN.



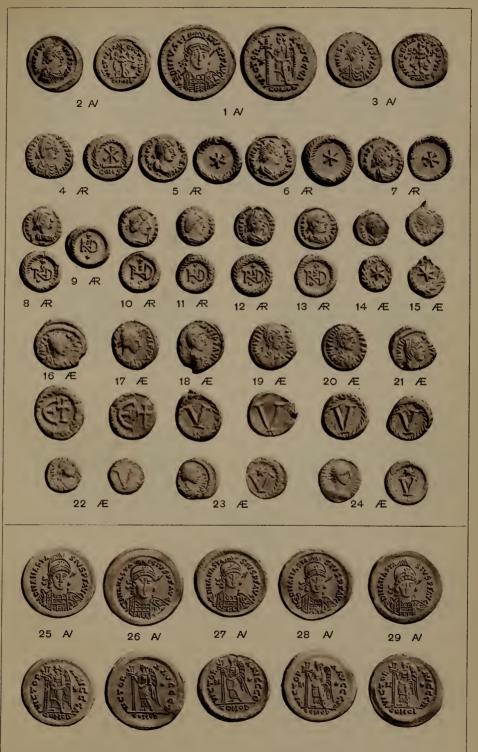




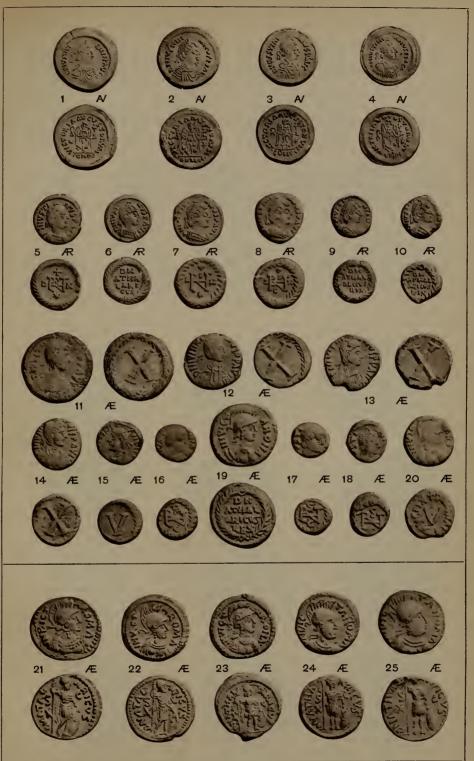
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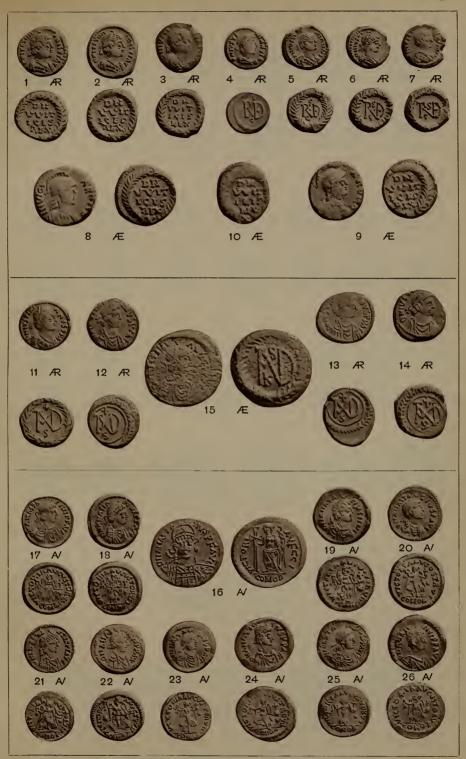






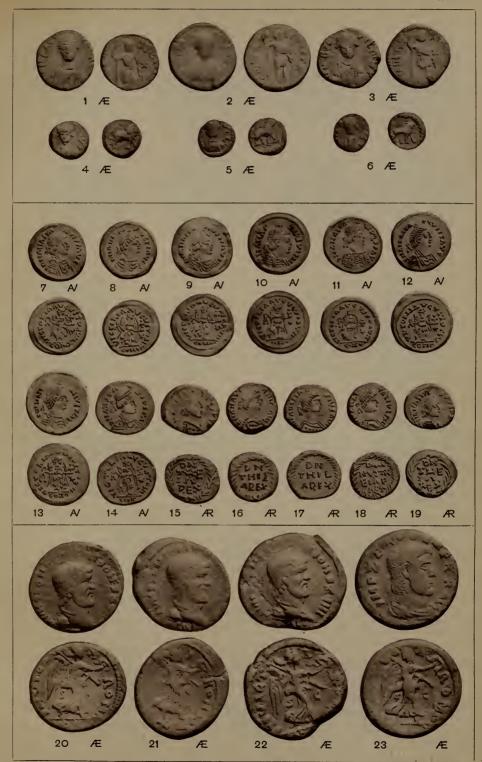


OSTROGOTHS:-THEODAHAD (RAVENNA; ROMES



OSTROGOTHS:—WITIGIS (1-10). MATASUNTHÁ (11-15) (1-1





OSTROGOTHS:—BADUILA (ROME, 1-6). THEIA (7-19). QUASI-AUTONOMOUS BRONZE OF ROME (20-23).

90 MIND 9888HIAD



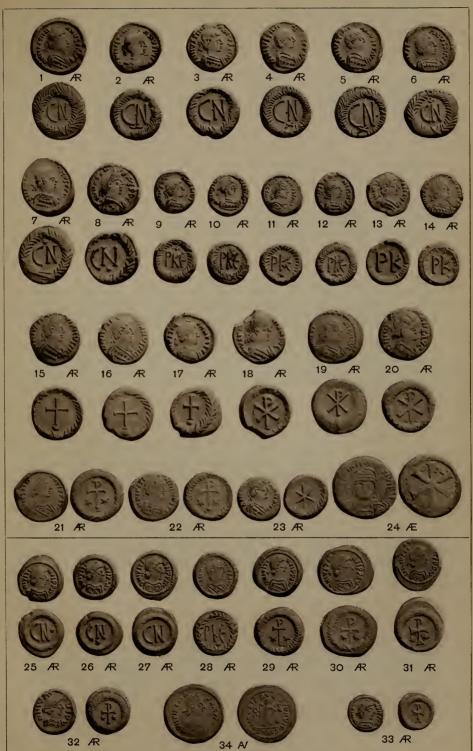
OSTROGOTHS:-QUASI-AUTONOMOUS BRONZE OF ROME.



IMPERIAL COINS OF JUSTINIAN I (ROME, BRONZE)

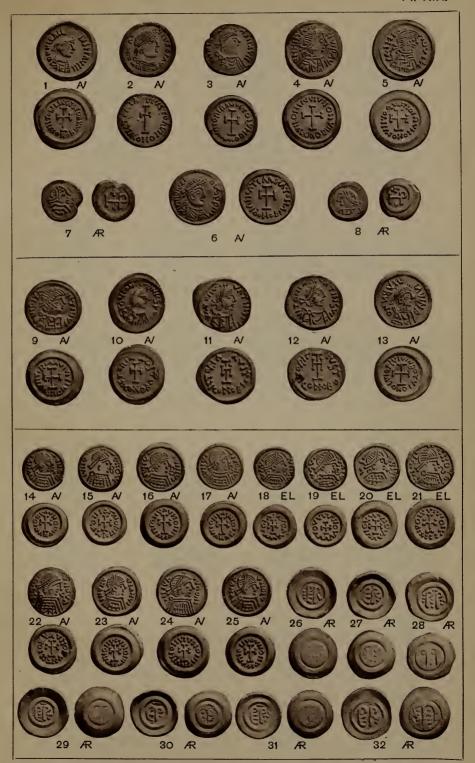


IMPERIAL COINS OF JUSTINIAN I (ROME; RAYENNAS)

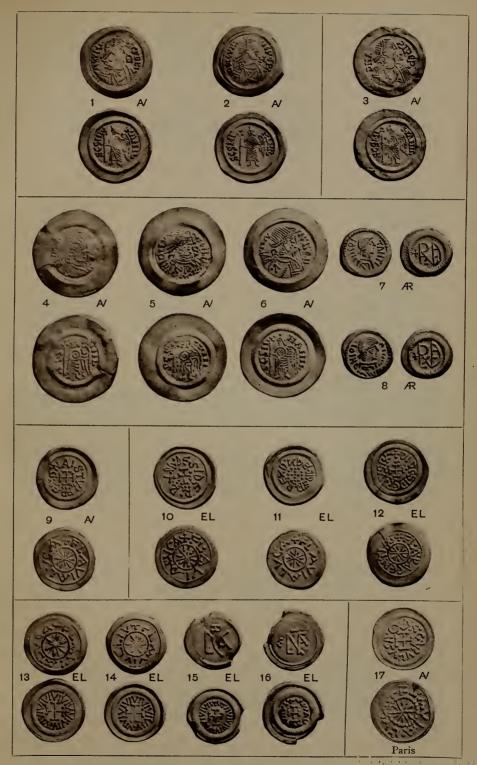




LOMBARDS:-ALBOIN-INTERREGNUM (1-21). AUTHARI-AGILULF (22-28). ADALWALD-ROTHARI (29-31).



LOMBARDS:—ADALWALD—ROTHARI (1-8). RODWALD—GRIMWALD (9-13).

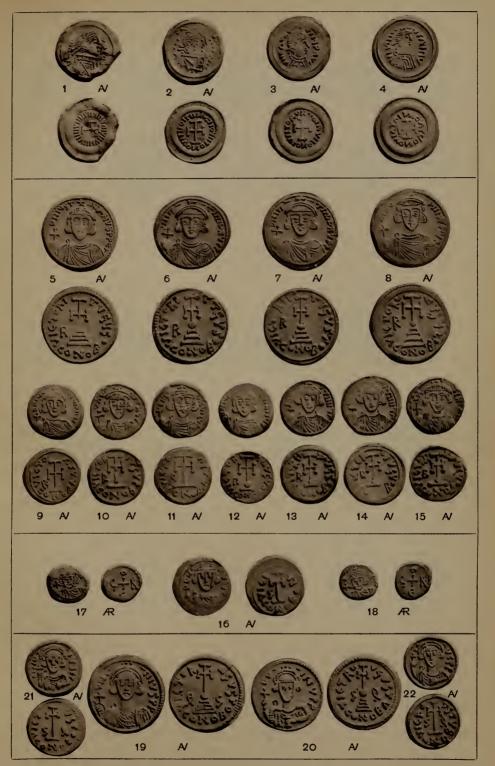


LOMBARDS:—CUNINCPERT (1, 2). ARIPERT II (No. 3). LIUTPRAND (4-8).

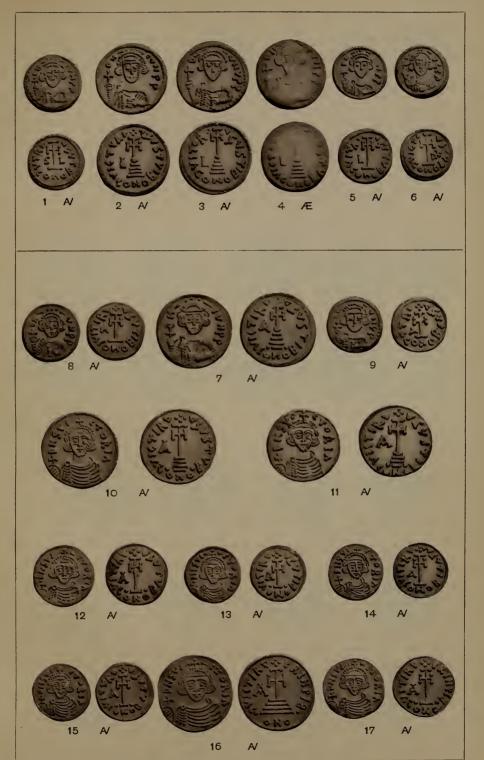
AISTULF (No. 9). DESIDERIUS (10-12). COINS OF LUCCA (13-16),

CHARLEMAGNE (No. 17).

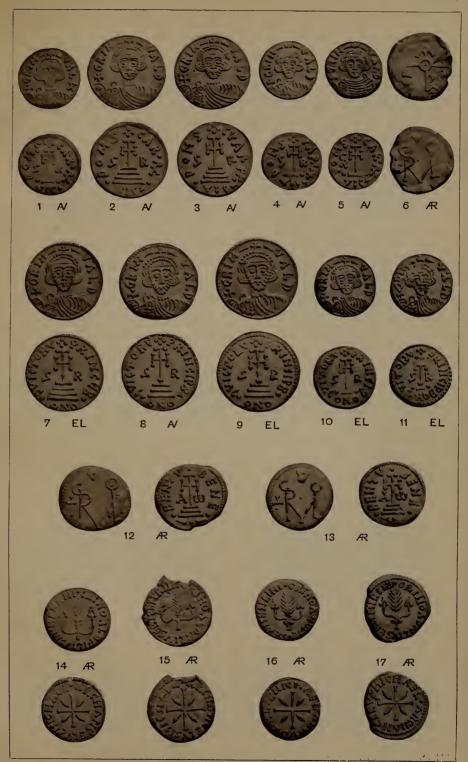


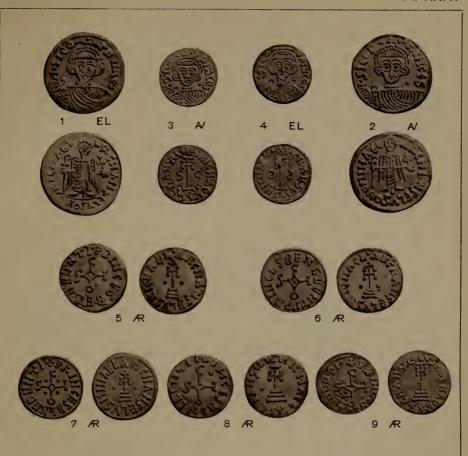


LOMBARD, UNCERTAIN (1-4). BENEVENTUM:—ROMOALD; (5-15). GREGORIUS (16-18). GISULF II (19-22).

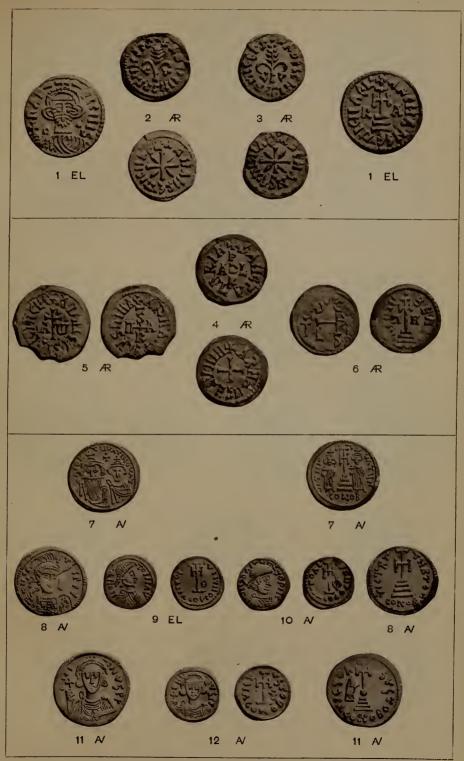


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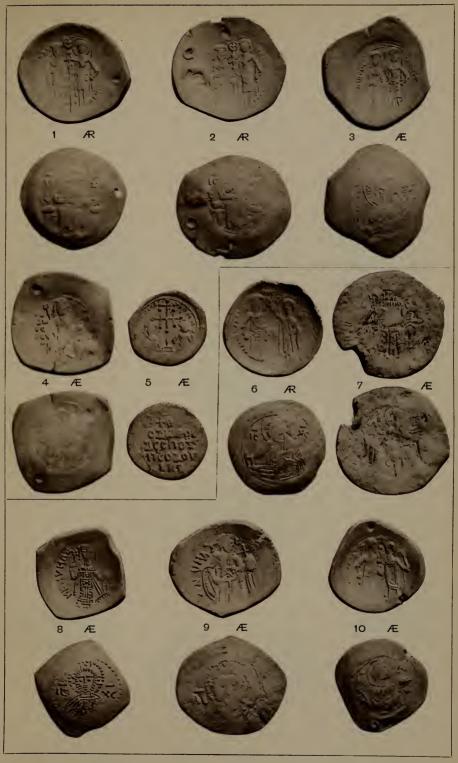




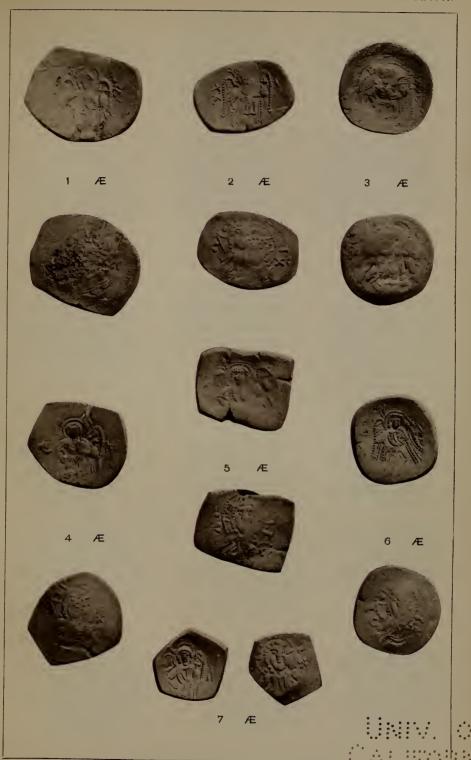




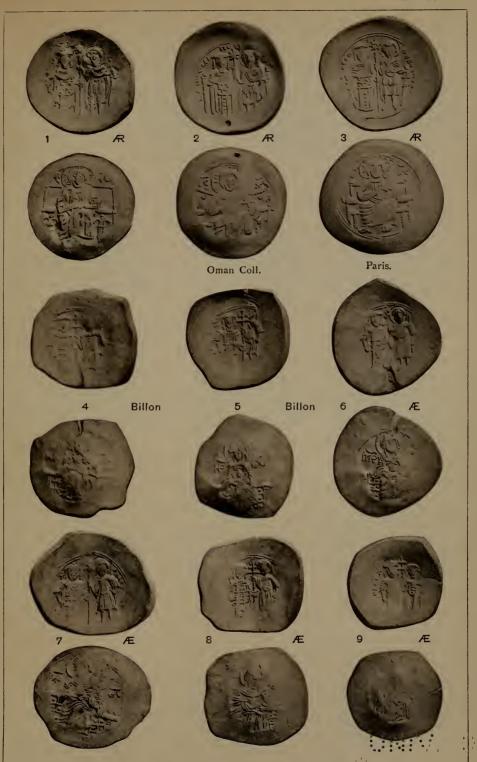
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THESSALONICA:—THEODORE ANGELUS (1-5). MANUEL, ANGELUS (6-10).

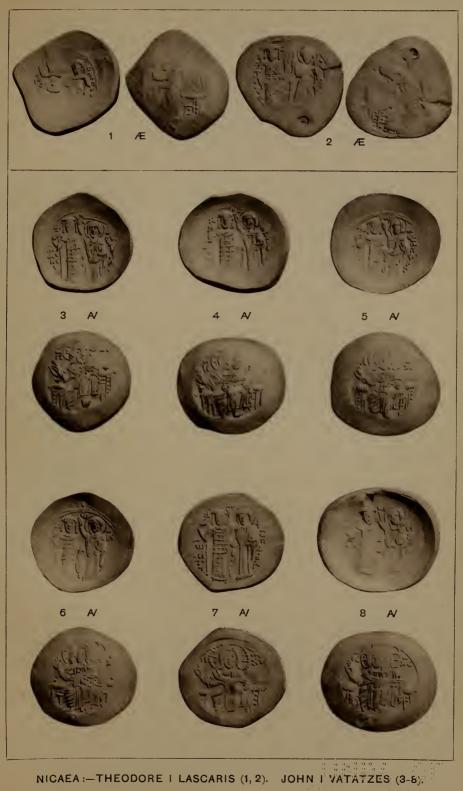


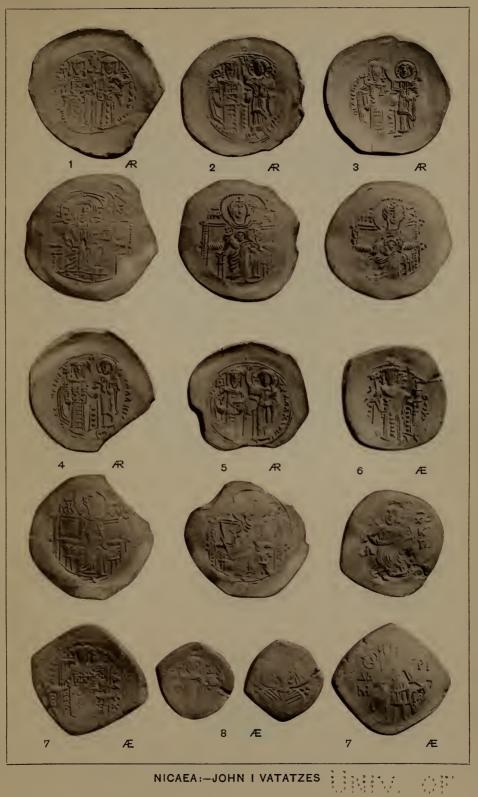
All Thillad



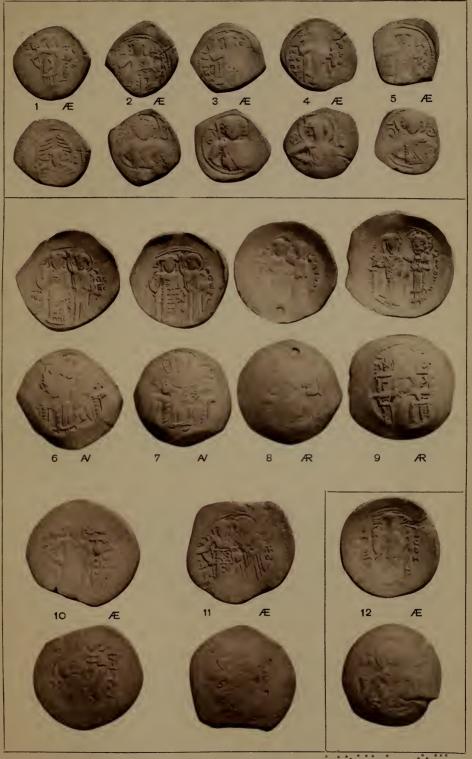
NICAEA:-THEODORE I LASCARIS.

MAN WEST

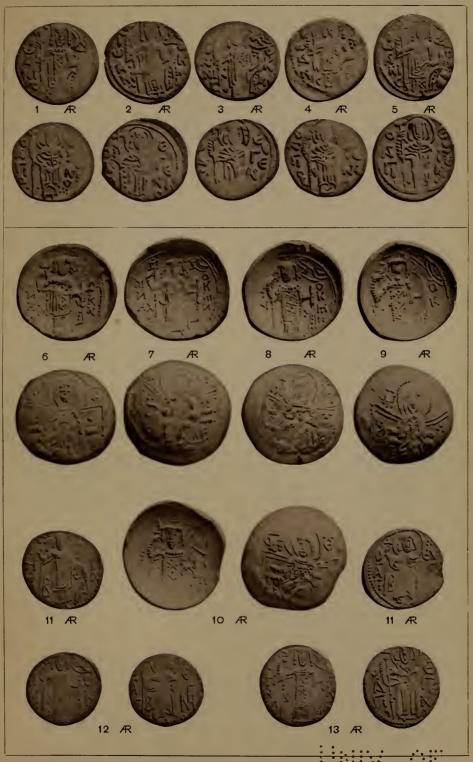


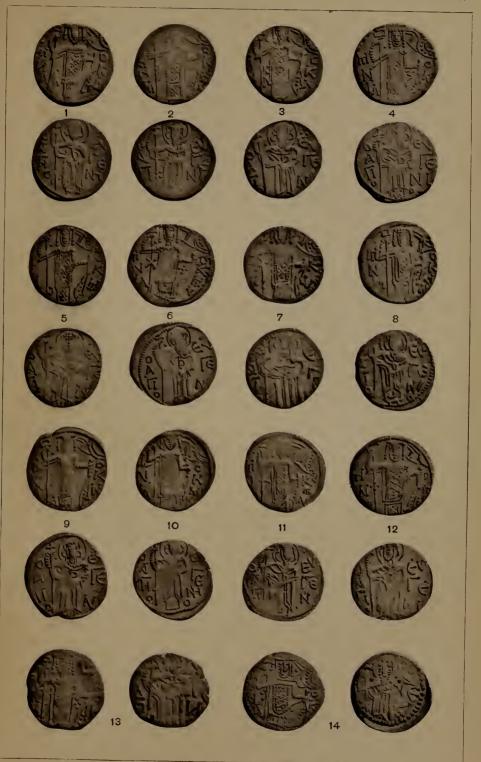


A CONSTRUCTION A

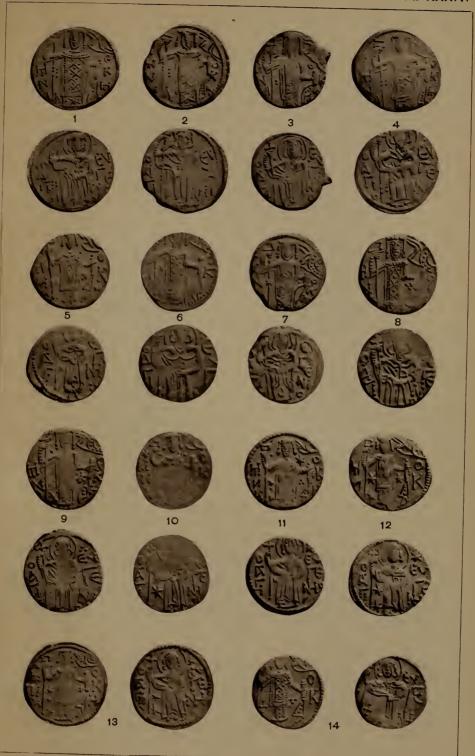


NICAEA:--JOHN I VATATZES (1-5). THEODÔBE 1 (1-5). NEOPATRAS:--JOHN I (No. 12).

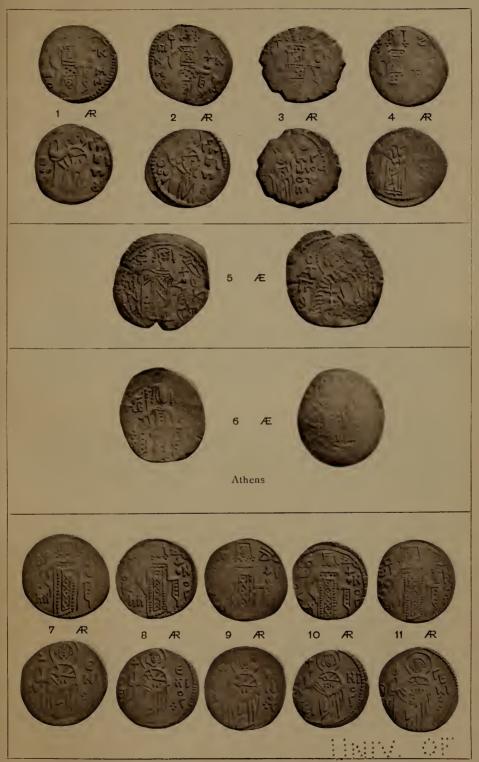


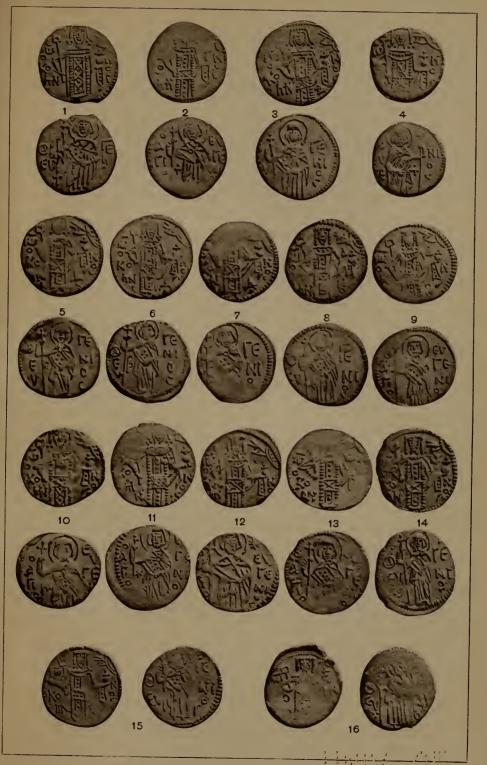


TREBIZOND:-MANUEL I. SILVER.



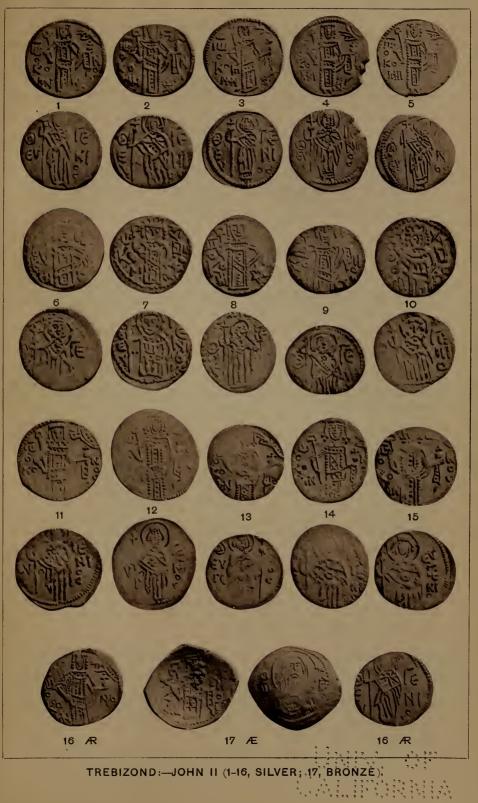
TREBIZOND:--MANUEL I (SILVER)

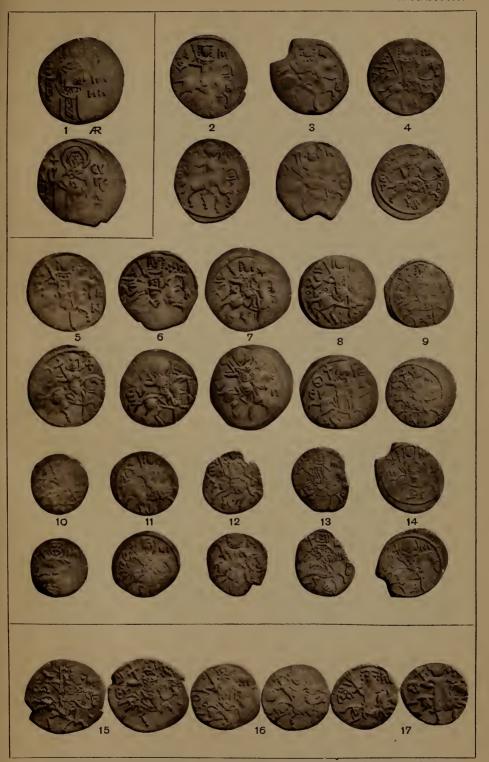




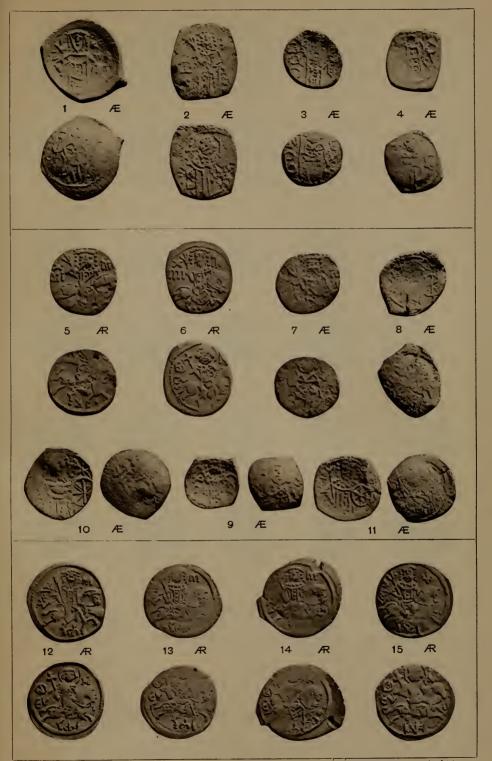
TREBIZOND:-JOHN II. SILVER

- 1960 yeye Marana



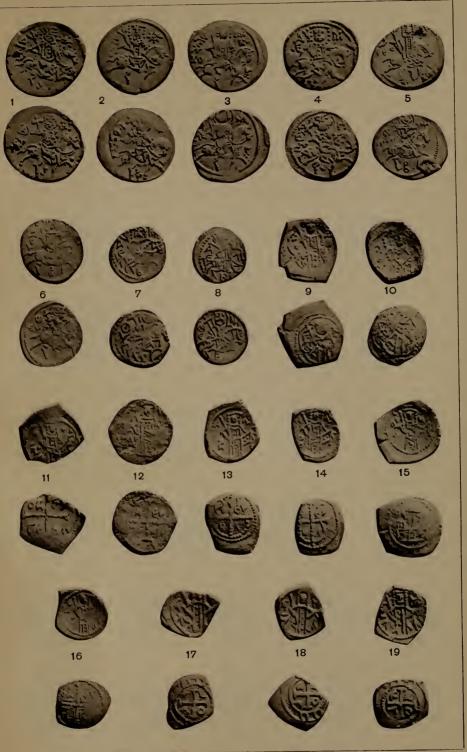


TREBIZOND:-THEODORA (I). ALEXIUS II (2-14 本) (南南山 (15-17) 本).

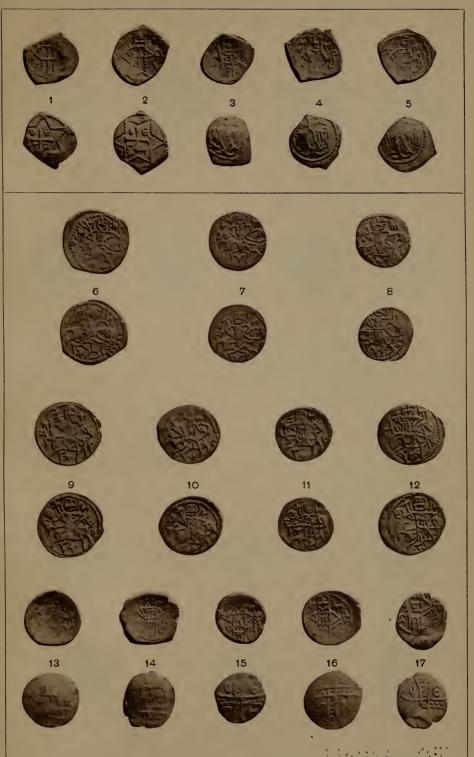


TREBIZOND:-JOHN III (1-4). MICHAEL (5-11). ALEXIUS II (12-15),

ANTENNAME OF THE STATE OF THE S



TREBIZOND:—ALEXIUS III (1-8 R: 为有效。



TREBIZOND:--ALEXIUS III (1-5 Æ). MANUEL III (6-12 Æ; 13-17 Æ).





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